

prominence of Maat and to private individuals appealing directly to the Aten in private texts of the Amarna period, seriously undermining Assmann's thesis that Maat was jettisoned as an ethical standard after the Amarna period when Egyptians sought direct contact with the gods without royal intermediaries. She also objects to the notion of personal piety among the kings. Certainly, the increased frequency of the POM in monumental reliefs and the importance of Maat in the titularies and ideological statements of Ramesside kings shows that it had not declined in importance. Instead the iconography of the POM shows a continuity with and evolution from Eighteenth Dynasty examples. The *do ut des* relationship of god and king as expressed in the Ramesside *ir.f. di ʿnh* formula indicates that the king was able to influence the actions of the gods, in contrast to Assmann's notion of personal piety, which held that all mortals were powerless over divine will.

Teeter's rebuttal of Assmann's interpretation of personal piety in the Ramesside age is well founded and convincingly argued. This is not to say, however, that there was no sense of personal piety in this age, only that the role of Maat, far from diminishing, flourished in Ramesside times. With regard to her observations on the king's relationship to the gods at this time, although I generally agree with her conclusions, I would take issue with her conclusion that there was *never* a sense of royal humility before the gods in the Ramesside period: "nor does the king assume humble postures (bending or kneeling before the god) any more than he did in previous eras" (p. 85). This is true of most Ramessides but not for Seti I and Ramesses IV. Under Seti I, in particular, it is common to find the king bowing, kneeling with an inclined torso, or crouched in a semiprostrate stance before the deity.¹ These postures are, I believe, indicative of an official attitude of royal humility toward the gods on Seti's part. With the exception of some examples of Ramesses IV in the Karnak Hypostyle Hall columns and in the temple of Khonsu, however, such postures are rare or absent from the reliefs of

other Ramesside pharaohs. Nor are they limited to—or even related to—the POM.

There is a sense of tension between the humility inherent in Seti's posture in ritual scenes and the more traditional royal ideology expressed through the king's building program, which included great royal colossi, obelisks, and temples dedicated to the cult of the deified ruler.² Such tension arose from Seti's position as the scion of a nascent dynasty who was aware—as were his subjects—of his nonroyal pedigree. On the one hand, he sought to prove his worthiness to the gods through pious actions on their behalf, often with an air of royal humility. At the same time, he consciously molded himself in the image of his great Eighteenth Dynasty predecessors, especially Amenhotep III. Against this historical background, we find a greatly increased occurrence of the POM in temple reliefs, including a new variant by which the royal name was first equated with Maat and offered up to the gods by Seti I.

In sum, this well-written and important work contributes greatly to our understanding of the functions and ideology of the POM ritual, the offering formulas in ritual texts, and to a clarification of the role of Maat and personal piety in the wake of the Amarna period. It should serve Egyptology well for many years to come.

PETER BRAND

University of Toronto

² See my article "The 'Lost' Obelisks and Colossi of Seti I," *JARCE* 34 (1997): 101–14.

The Complete Pyramids: Solving the Ancient Mysteries. By MARK LEHNER. London: Thames and Hudson, 1997. Pp. 256 + 556 figs. \$34.95.

Yet another outstanding offering in the *Complete* series,¹ this book concentrates on the pyramids. One can well imagine the challenge faced

¹ Cf. Calverley and Broome, *Abydos*, vols. 1–4, *passim*. This iconography is discussed in my doctoral thesis *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden, 2000).

¹ See N. Reeves, *The Complete Tutankhamun: The King, The Tomb, The Royal Treasure* (London, 1990); and N. Reeves and R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Valley of the Kings: Tombs and Treasures of Egypt's Greatest Pharaohs* (London, 1996).

by the author: how to avoid repeating the information already given in the plethora of books dealing with the pyramids written for scholars as well as nonspecialists.² Lehner has handled this skillfully by giving his readers an informative account that could only have been written by someone with the extensive experience and knowledge that come from having spent so many years in the field surveying, examining, and asking ever more questions about this subject.

The book begins with introductory remarks on the geography of the Nile Valley, the pyramid as a mortuary temple, a quick history of the development of the pyramids, and a description of the standard pyramid complex, along with useful sidebars on ancient Egyptian chronology, a chart giving us a cross-section of each of the Old and Middle Kingdom pyramids along with its name and measurements,³ and a map showing the location of the major pyramids. These opening statements are followed by four major sections: "Tomb and Temple," "Explorers and Scientists," "The Whole Pyramid Catalogue," and "The Living Pyramid."

The first section of the book, on the religious beliefs underlying the pyramids, is divided into five subsections. The first, on mummification and on the concepts of the *ka*, the *ba*, and the *akh*, will be useful to students of ancient Egyptian religion who do not possess more detailed and less easily available studies on the subject.⁴ Next comes an account of the burial rituals—along with a wonderful representation of an ancient Egyptian funeral from the Sixth Dynasty tomb of Qar at Giza—followed by a description of the ancient Egyptians' view of the Underworld; remarks on the Pyramid Texts and the categories of spells found therein, including a useful isometric drawing showing the location of the Pyra-

mid Texts spells inside the pyramid of Unas,⁵ and an explanation of the shape of the pyramid.

The second major section is a marvelous account of the early travelers to pyramid sites—some even dating back to Pharaonic Egypt—medieval legends and attempts at breaching the Great Pyramid, and on to the first endeavors by Europeans at interpreting the pyramids. This is followed by a survey of the Napoleonic expedition, Belzoni and his contemporaries, Lepsius and Mariette, and the subsequent birth of a scholarly field. Much of this is well-traveled territory, but the author must be congratulated for his vivid prose and his choice of illustrative material, from charming sketches of the Sphinx dating back to the mid-sixteenth century to useful photographs of modern excavations. One minor quibble: on p. 47, the text on the medallion struck to honor the now famous phrase about the forty centuries looking down upon Napoleon's men does not contain the vocative "Soldiers."

The third major section, a chronological catalogue of all the pyramids in Egypt and the Sudan, perforce occupies the bulk of the book. This is where the author's vast knowledge of the subject really comes to the fore. The catalogue begins with the origins of the pyramid at Hieraconpolis in the Early Dynastic period and goes on to the early royal tombs at Abydos. The latter description relies heavily on the recent work done at the site by G. Dreyer, W. Kaiser, and D. O'Connor and exemplifies the strength of the book: by visiting the sites and talking with the excavators, Lehner has avoided rehashing old information and has, instead, provided fresh new material to his narrative.

The catalogue of pyramids is well known and need not be repeated here, but a few comments may be in order. In the subsection on the late Fourth Dynasty, the drawing of Queen Khentkaues shown on p. 138 is misleading. The representation of the queen wearing a uraeus and a false beard from her tomb at Giza should not show what seems to be a leaf-like attachment to the back of the vulture headdress, since this is simply a break in the stone, as the photograph in M. Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids: Abusir* (Prague, 1994), p. 129, clearly shows. I remain unconvinced by the attempts to show, on

² One immediately thinks of the various editions of I. E. S. Edwards's *The Pyramids*, easily available in paperback (London, 1947–91), which must surely stand in the library of every person interested in ancient Egypt.

³ Echoing the chart shown in J. Baines and J. Málek's *Atlas of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1980), pp. 140–41; and Edwards, *The Pyramids*, rev. ed. (London, 1991), pp. 289–90.

⁴ For example, S. D'Auria and P. Lacovara, eds., *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), mentioned in the bibliography on p. 246.

⁵ Cf. a similar drawing in S. Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion* (London, 1992), p. 153.

p. 167, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's mortuary temple capped by a podium instead of the older reconstruction with a pyramid. Unless the pyramid determinative following the name of the funerary estate in the owner's title on the Twelfth Dynasty stela of the Chief Lector Priest of Nebhepetre's mortuary temple⁶ is simply a convention, the earlier reconstruction should be taken seriously.⁷ On p. 180, the remarks on Amenemhat III's pyramidion from Dahshur, that the good condition of the pyramidion makes us question whether it was, in fact, ever set in place, might explain the erasures of the divine element in the occurrences of the theophoric royal name Amenemhat (a fact not mentioned in the book).⁸ If, as suggested by Lehner, the capstone was kept in the king's mortuary temple after the pyramid itself was abandoned, perhaps this made it easier for Akhenaten's men to do their work later on.

The last section of the book, "The Living Pyramid," will fascinate those interested in the logistics of building a pyramid. After introductory remarks on the transportation and quarrying of stone, the author then goes on to describe his efforts at building a small pyramid (9 m wide and 6 m high), an experiment done for a NOVA television program. A fascinating tale ensues of moving stones to the site and then upward to build the pyramid. Following this are descriptions of the various tools used by the ancient Egyptian quarrymen, how to survey the sites and align the pyramids properly, and the difficult question of the kinds of ramps used to raise the stone to such astonishing heights. Next comes a discussion of the workforce and its organization in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, the pyramid as an important factor within the Egyptian economy,

and the supplying of the royal mortuary cult. A final subsection on the legacy of the pyramid examines some more modern uses of the pyramid shape, from ancient Rome to the twentieth century.

The book ends with a touristic account of the best way to visit pyramids in Egypt today, followed by an excellent bibliography into which an unfortunate number of typographical errors have crept. Most are simple omissions of agreement of number and gender, particularly in the French entries (for example, *passim*, correct *Institute français* to *Institut Français*), but a few that could possibly mislead readers who wish to look up the titles in a computer database should be pointed out: p. 246, for Wilson, *JEA* 3 (1944), read *JNES* 3 (1944); p. 250, for W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln . . .* (Glückstadt, 1954), read . . . *Beamtentiteln . . .*; p. 251, for H. Jacquet-Gordon, *Les nomes des domaines funéraires . . .* (Cairo, 1962), read *Les noms . . .*

Lavishly illustrated and well written, with information that is easy to find, Lehner's book is bound to become the standard work on pyramids for a long time to come. Scholars who feel they have read everything they need to know about pyramids will ignore this book at their peril. The amount of new information in its tightly packed 256 pages repays careful reading. The book should be on the bookshelf of everyone remotely interested in ancient Egypt as well as on the reading list of every university course dealing with the period.

RONALD J. LEPROHON

University of Toronto

⁶ This is the title of Tetu, one of two men named on CG 20088, for which see K. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo*, vol. 1 (Cairo, 1902), pp. 105–7, pl. 8.

⁷ See also the reference to the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II in Pap. Abbot 3:14 (= T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Dynasty* [Oxford, 1930], pl. 2; and G. Möller, *Hieratische Lesestücke für den akademischen Gebrauch*, vol. 3 [Berlin, 1961], pl. 18:14), where the complex is clearly called a *mr*, with the pyramid determinative.

⁸ Personal observation. The pyramidion is illustrated on p. 34 of the book under review, but see also the excellent photograph in W. Forman and S. Quirke, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1996), p. 73.

Catalogue of the Monuments of Ancient Egypt from the Museums of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, Bielorussia, Caucasus, Middle Asia and the Baltic States. By OLEG BERLEV and SVETLANA HODJASH. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*, Series Archaeologica 17. Fribourg, Switzerland: Presses Universitaires; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998. Pp. xiii + 328 + 208 pls. 120 Swiss francs.

Rare is the museum in even a remote town that does not possess at least one ancient Egyptian scarab or shabti. These minor collections are always of interest to Egyptologists in search