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## A New Date for an Old Hippopotamus

Fig. 1. Pottery Hippopotamus, Ceramic (Nile Alluvium), H. 13.7 cm, L. 26.0 cm, W. 9.0 cm (5<sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub> x 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> x 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Charles Gaston Smith's group, 48.252.



THE wealth of publications on the masterworks of Egyptian art has inadvertently created a trap that ensnares novice and expert alike. One is so used to seeing only the finest examples of pharaonic art reproduced that one is easily led into a false view of what the gamut of ancient Egyptian material culture was truly like. Most museum displays add to this confusion by selecting what to our western taste is considered "only the finest" Egyptian artifacts. As a result, objects that appear inferior in execution, preservation, or material languish in obscurity. Such pieces are often summarily banished to the dark recesses of the Prehistoric or "Late" periods, if not dismissed as forgeries altogether.

Such is the case with a ceramic figurine of a hippopotamus in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Purchased in 1948, this appealing figurine has long occupied a place devoted to the Egyptian Predynastic Periods.

The hippopotamus has a gently curving back and downturned snout with two rounded ears made by poking fingers in the wet clay and pushing upward to form the edges of the ear. The protruding eyes are indicated by two lumps of applied clay. The body was formed out of a square slab of clay rolled over and inward. Additional clay was used to form legs that also serve to attach the body to the base. The roughly rectangular base is pierced by rows of four holes on each edge of the long sides. In front are two upturned projections representing the leading edge of the runners of a sledge (fig. 2).<sup>2</sup>

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Both the animal figure and the base are made of a low-fired, reddish-brown alluvial clay mixed with straw that acted as a tempering agent. The surface was smoothed with the artist's fingers and coated with a dark red-brown slip of clay.<sup>3</sup> The slip has exfoliated from most of the base and legs of the creature, but in the areas where it is preserved, traces of white pigment applied over the slip can be seen. Analysis shows that this consists of a gypsum, often used for white paint by the Egyptians.<sup>4</sup>

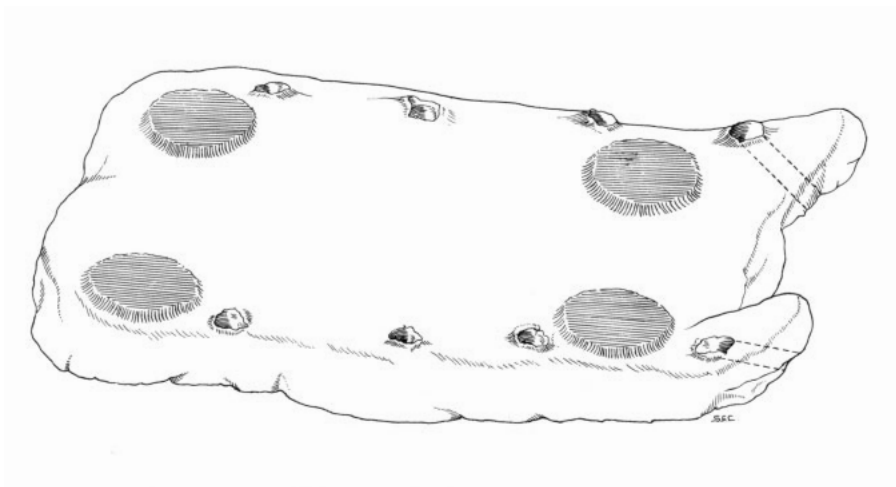


Fig. 2. Baseplate of Boston Pottery Hippopotamus. (Drawing by Suzanne E. Chapman.)



Fig. 3. Middle Kingdom Pottery Hippopotamus from Dendera, L. 18.8 cm, W. 10.6 cm (7 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Oriental Institute Museum, Gift of The Egypt Exploration Society, OI 4729. (Photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute Museum.)

The figure was formerly in the collection of Dr. F. R. Martin, who purchased it in Egypt in 1903. As with most unexcavated objects, ascribing it to a particular historical period is problematic. When it was acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts and first published in the *Museum Bulletin*, it was assigned to the prehistoric era, known in Egypt as the Predynastic Period (ca. 4800–3100 B.C.).<sup>5</sup>

The sole criterion used to date the piece was its coarse appearance, which gave the “general impression of primitive force which alone points to its predynastic origin.”<sup>6</sup> This attribution was questioned soon after it was published, and the Middle Kingdom (ca. 2061–1784 B.C.) was proposed as an alternative date for the figurine.<sup>7</sup> Although evidence cited for redating the piece to the Middle Kingdom is convincing, the original “Predynastic” dating of the Boston ceramic hippo has been the one most frequently cited in the literature.<sup>8</sup>

The Boston hippopotamus has been used as evidence in discussing the origin of a number of other unexcavated hippopotamus figurines and assigning them to the Predynastic Period.<sup>9</sup> Rather, we should compare the Boston hippo with similar examples from a dated archaeological context. Those that do come from graves and cemeteries that can be dated by other finds and inscriptions all belong to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>10</sup> One such hippo, now in the Oriental Institute Museum in Chicago (fig. 3), was mistakenly dated to the Predynastic Period by comparison to the Boston hippo. In fact, a recent examination of the excavator’s notes on this object showed that the tomb from which it came was ascribed to the Middle Kingdom!<sup>11</sup>

Fig. 4. Middle Kingdom Faience Hippopotamus, H. 10.4 cm, L. 20.9 cm, W. 8.3 cm (4 $\frac{1}{8}$  x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$  in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Martha A. Wilcomb Fund, 51.8.



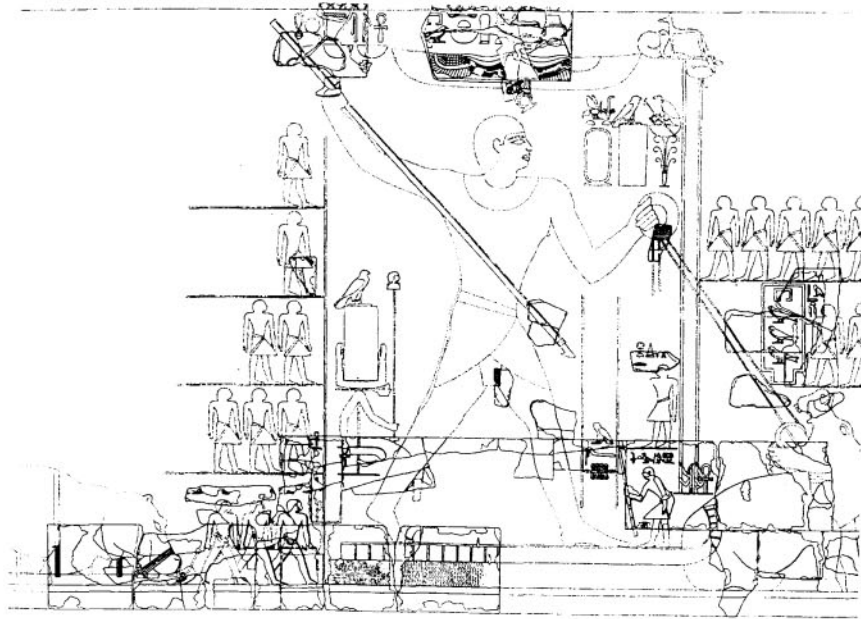


Fig. 5. Relief of Pepi II harpooning a hippopotamus and transporting it on a sledge (after G. Jéquier, *Monument Funéraire de Pepi II*, vol. 3 [Cairo, 1940], pl. 32).

Another pitfall that contributed to misdating the Boston hippo was an “apples and oranges” comparison of two different media. It was suggested that the pottery hippopotamus could not be dated to the Middle Kingdom, as the summary technique used in modeling the clay did not appear to be as sophisticated as the craftsmanship lavished on the better-known blue-glazed faience hippos of the Middle Kingdom. Such figurines are known from a number of Middle Kingdom sites.

They are typically made of “Egyptian faience,” a self-glazing ceramic composed of a body of crushed quartz with copper added to produce a deep blue color. These figurines were often decorated with designs of lotus flowers and swamp vegetation in a purple-black manganese pigment. Scholars erroneously concluded that the pottery hippos had “nothing whatsoever in common with the [faience] figurines dated to the Middle Kingdom which are well known for their colorful glaze and plant ornaments on the body.”<sup>12</sup>

Egyptian faience was a very difficult medium to work with and probably was produced only in the workshops of skilled artisans. By the Middle Kingdom the Egyptians had mastered the material and the techniques used to form and decorate it. Many kinds of objects were produced in this attractive material but few are as well known as the faience figurines of hippopotami (fig. 4).<sup>13</sup>

The Egyptians, however, often created the same type of objects in a wide variety of media and this was the case with the hippopotamus figurines. Unlike the fine glazed faience figurines, the pottery hippos are usually made of a rough, low-fired clay. Less durable, and probably

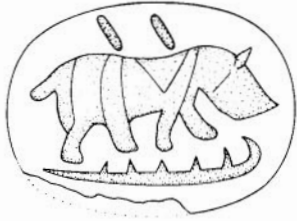


Fig. 6a. Harpooned hippopotamus on a sledge from a base design of a faience scarab, New Kingdom, L. 2.8 cm, W. 2.1 cm (1 $\frac{1}{8}$  x  $\frac{7}{8}$  in.). (Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.)



Fig. 6b. King harpooning a hippopotamus from a base design of a steatite scarab, Second Intermediate Period, L. 1.9 cm, W. 1.3 cm ( $\frac{3}{4}$  x  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.). (Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.)

less highly valued and cared for by dealers and collectors, these pottery figures do not always survive in good condition.<sup>14</sup> The bases are often broken off because the body and base were separately made and then welded together, creating a weakness at the join between the feet and the surface of the baseplate.

While ceramic figurines of hippopotami, along with other animals, are known from the Predynastic Period,<sup>15</sup> the closest parallels clearly point to a Middle Kingdom date for the Boston hippo and his orphaned brethren.<sup>16</sup> The Boston hippopotamus is one of the most complete and detailed of all of these pottery figurines, and an examination of it sheds some light on their function and significance.

The clay base on the Boston hippo is of particular interest. Baseplates are found on most of the pottery and some of the faience hippos.<sup>17</sup> Although most are abstracted and take the shape of simple rectangular plates, the baseplate on the Boston figure is more detailed than the others and clearly represents the type of wooden sledge used by the Egyptians to transport heavy objects which were often secured with rope lashings.<sup>18</sup> The Boston hippo figure has holes bored along the sides of the sledge which could have been for actual rope to be pulled through to "tie" the figure to the base (fig. 2).<sup>19</sup> The bands of white paint running over the surface may have served to represent the bindings of the animal as well.<sup>20</sup> It has already been suggested that the cross-line patterns found on the faience hippos may indicate the lashings used to tie the hippo down.<sup>21</sup>

A fragmentary relief from the Mortuary Temple of Pepi II (ca. 2355–2261 B.C.) at Sakkara depicts the king hunting hippopotami.<sup>22</sup> One scene shows him harpooning one of the beasts, and in the next it is tied to a sledge and dragged by a team of men (fig. 5). Similar depictions of a king harpooning a hippo and a hippo tied to a sledge and pierced with a harpoon are found on private scarabs of the Middle and New Kingdoms (fig. 6a & b).<sup>23</sup>

The transition from royal relief carving to private scarabs and provincial figurines can be seen as an example of the "democratization" of Egyptian funerary practices. In both the First and Second Intermediate Periods, eras of civil war and weak central authority in Egypt, symbols that had previously been solely royal symbols were widely adopted in the funerary iconography of commonfolk.<sup>24</sup>

Hippopotamus hunting was not represented on the Old Kingdom reliefs as a sport, but rather as a duty of the king, as the killing of wild animals was symbolic of the victory of order over chaos. This was the principal duty of the pharaoh to maintain Ma'at, the cosmic order.<sup>25</sup> The hippopotamus, as an untamed beast, was occasionally used as the symbol of the god Seth, "the god of confusion," who represented the chief threat to this cosmic harmony.<sup>26</sup>

A text of the Second Intermediate Period relates an insult delivered by the Hyksos, foreign invaders who had gained control over northern Egypt, to the native Egyptian king, Sekenenre, residing in the southern capital at Thebes. The Hyksos king Apophis noted that the bellowing made by the hippopotami in the river at Thebes was keeping his town, hundreds of miles away up in the Delta, awake at night!<sup>27</sup> Such a statement was a clear implication that the Theban king, Sekhenenre, by not keeping the hippopotamus at bay, was failing to perform his royal duty to fend off the forces of chaos.<sup>28</sup>

As we have seen, the ritual harpooning and capture of the hippopotamus initially appeared on royal monuments in the Old Kingdom,<sup>29</sup> but by the late Middle Kingdom the motif is found on private seal amulets.<sup>30</sup> Figures of hippopotami are also found in increasing numbers in the burials of this period. Throughout the Twelfth Dynasty small faience figures of food, animals, and even people were part of the tomb equipment of individuals of humbler means.<sup>31</sup>

Small figurines of hippopotami were, on occasion, included in these assemblages. The other faience animals in these groups seem to be creatures that either had protective functions, such as cats, dogs, and the Horus falcon (who fended off evil animals), or had amuletic significance, as for example, frogs and hedgehogs, which were associated with childbirth and fertility.<sup>32</sup> In this context, the hippopotamus figurines probably would have served an amuletic function by being associated with the household goddess Taweret, protector of women in childbirth.<sup>33</sup>

Although the chronology of these faience figurines is still being refined,<sup>34</sup> it seems that the smaller animals known from Twelfth-Dynasty contexts (fig. 4) disappear by the later Middle Kingdom and are replaced solely by the larger hippo figures (fig. 5). These larger faience hippos and their pottery counterparts can therefore be ascribed to the end of the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.<sup>35</sup> A fragmentary faience example, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, is the largest of all of these later figures (fig. 7). It is a strange, provincial variant that was excavated by the Museum of Fine Arts at Kerma in the Sudan and dates to the very end of the Second Intermediate Period (ca. 1668–1570 B.C.).<sup>36</sup>

Not only the size, but also the significance of the faience figures change by the end of the Middle Kingdom. It is at this point that they appear to acquire the darker aspects of the beast. Like many of the "mascots" of the Egyptian pantheon, the hippopotamus had both good and evil qualities. When associated with the household goddess Taweret, the hippo could be a protectress of home and family, but in the guise of Seth, god of evil and chaos, it could be a force of darkness and destruction.

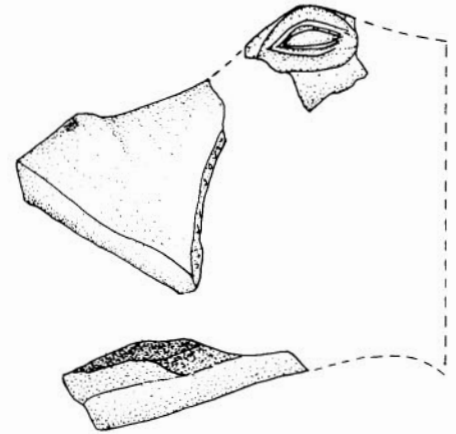
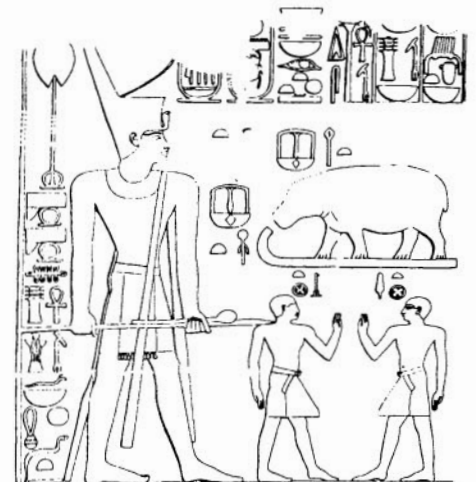


Fig. 7. Reconstructed head from a fragmentary faience hippopotamus from Kerma, Second Intermediate Period, H. approx. 10.0 cm, L. approx. 14.0 cm, W. approx. 13.0 cm (4 x 5½ x 5¼ in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Museum Expedition, S 13-12-793a&b, 801 (Drawing by Yvonne Markowitz.)

Fig. 8. Relief of Thutmosis III celebrating the "Feast of the White Hippopotamus Festival" from Karnak. (Drawing after Oriental Institute Copy.)



The red slip found on the pottery hippos made them ideal as representations of Seth, who was known as the “red one,” a color of evil.<sup>37</sup> The bound figures of the hippos then were a magical depiction of the deceased’s victory over the forces of evil in the same way as in the earlier reliefs of the king hunting his wild prey.

Not all of the hippo figurines need be equated with Seth, however. A few reliefs and texts allude to a ceremony known as the “white hippopotamus festival.” Depictions of this obscure ceremony show a hippopotamus standing on a sledge (fig. 8).<sup>38</sup> In these renderings, however, the animal is not shown bound to the sledge and does not seem to be hunted. Indeed as Save-Södebergh has pointed out: “it seems as if the king does reverence to the goddess [ie. the white hippopotamus]. The ritual background can . . . be interpreted as a rejoicing at the appearance of the sacred animal with the rare sacred white color.” In much the same way, finding a bull with the correct markings indicated it as the sacred Apis bull to the Egyptians.<sup>39</sup>

The distinction between the “good hippopotamus” and the “bad hippopotamus” may also be due to gender. Sexual dimorphism in Egyptian deities is common,<sup>40</sup> and while the male hippopotamus might be feared as a ferocious wild beast, the female could be honored for her devotion to her young. Relief scenes show female hippos holding their young aloft to keep them safe from the hungry jaws of the Nile crocodile.<sup>41</sup>

A fine white limestone figurine, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, can be seen as an example of the “good hippopotamus” (fig. 9).<sup>42</sup>

Fig. 9. White Limestone Hippopotamus, Middle Kingdom, L. 8.0 cm (3 1/8 in.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, 20.2.25 (Photograph: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)





The image of the white hippo could also be used as a protective icon, as can be demonstrated by a small gold amulet in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 10).<sup>43</sup> It shows a hippo standing on a square of gold which could be a sledge or a mat. It might also be suggested that it belongs to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>44</sup>

The colors white and gold were symbolic of goodness and purity to the Egyptians and the white stone or gold hippos were intended to depict the good qualities of the mother hippopotamus. Conversely, the red pottery ones represented the raging bull hippopotamus. The blue faience hippos, however, seem to combine both natures of the animal. There are indications of ropes tied around some,<sup>45</sup> and they are often shown crouched down as if bound or with their heads turned and their mouths opened in a bellow with their teeth exposed as if they were being harpooned (fig. 11).<sup>46</sup> They were also often broken, to ritually "kill" them, a device to protect the tomb owner from encountering them in the next life.<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, some of the hippo figures appear to be rather benign, simply standing or squatting. A later faience scaraboid seems to depict both sides of the animal's nature with a reclining hippo on the obverse(?) and confronting images of Horus and Seth on the reverse (fig. 12).<sup>48</sup>

The ubiquitous decoration of lotus blossoms on the faience bodies may represent the animal in its riverine lair, but more importantly the lotus which closes at night and opens again in the morning was considered to be a potent symbol of rebirth.<sup>49</sup> With the beginning of the New Kingdom (1570–1070 B.C.), lotus blossoms and buds as symbols of rebirth appear on blue faience bowls,<sup>50</sup> while hunting scenes depicting hippos and other wild game reappear on tomb walls and on funerary furniture. The faience hippos which had been doing double duty symbolizing both good and evil, disappear from the archaeological record only to become popular with museum visitors millennia later.<sup>51</sup>

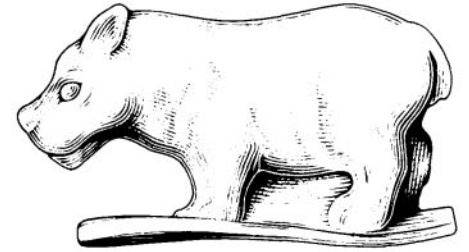


Fig. 10. Gold hippopotamus amulet, Middle Kingdom, L. 2.7 cm, H. 1.5 cm (1¼ x 5⁄8 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of William Lawrence and his children in memory of Julia Cunningham Lawrence, 27.854. (Drawing by Andrew Boyce.)

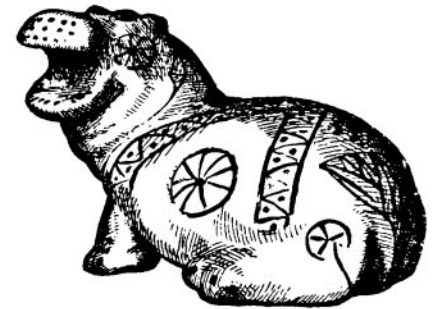


Fig. 11. Faience Hippopotamus, Middle Kingdom, H. 8.0 cm (3⅜ in.) (after H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art: The MacGregor Collection* [London, 1898], p. 4, fig. 7).

#### NOTES

I would particularly like to thank the following individuals for their help in preparing this article: Dorothea Arnold and Catharine Roehrig of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Lorelei Corcoran of the Institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology at Memphis State University, Emily Teeter, John Larson and Karen Wilson of the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago, Felicity Nicholson of Sotheby's London, Lewis M. Dubroff and the Dubroff family, Brent Benjamin, Sue D'Auria, Rita Freed, Suzanne Hahn, Joyce Haynes and Julia McCarthy of the Museum

of Fine Arts. I am also grateful to Yvonne Markowitz, Andrew Boyce, and Peter Der Manuelian for providing illustrations.

1. MFA, acc. no. 48.252; see Bernard Bothmer, "A Predynastic Egyptian Hippopotamus," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* 46, no. 265 (October, 1948), pp. 64–69.

2. For examples of sledges see Dieter Arnold, *Building in Egypt: Pharaonic Stone Masonry* (New York, 1991), pp. 58–101.

3. The slip is composed of a fine, dark red-brown clay. The surface color ranges from 7/2 10R to 3/6 10R, as per *Munsell Color Chart* (Baltimore; Munsell Color Co., Inc., 1968).

4. Alfred Lucas, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*

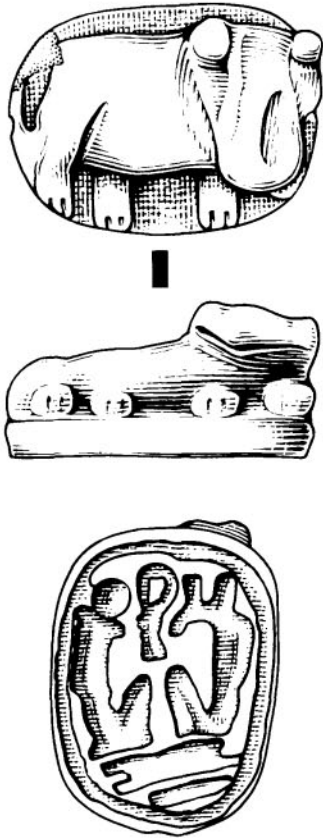


Fig. 12. Horus and Seth on the base of a faience hippopotamus scaraboid, New Kingdom, Ramesside Period, L. 1.2 cm (1/2 in.). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of the Dubroff Family in honor of Morris Dorsky, 1992.93. (Drawing by Andrew Boyce.)

and Industries (London, 1989), reprint of 4th ed., pp. 348–349.

5. Bothmer 1948, p. 65.

6. Ibid.

7. Adrienne Tony-Révillion pointed out that many of the features found in the Boston hippo are not found in the predynastic representations of the animal and that a large body of similar hippo figures on bases derive from Middle Kingdom contexts at Assuit, Thebes, and Dendera, "A propos d'une statuette d'Hippopotame récemment entrée au Musée de Boston," *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 50 (1950), pp. 47–63.

8. Cf. John D. Cooney, "Egyptian Hippopotami in the Brooklyn Collection," *The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin*, 12/1 (1950), pp. 5–13, esp. p. 6; W. S. Smith, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1981), p. 28, fig. 5; Sylvia Schoske, "Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst" *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, 39 (1988), pp. 203–204.

9. Henry Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B. C.* (Gluckstadt, 1968), p. 1, n. 1.

10. For example, there is a rough stone example of a hippo on a base from the Middle Kingdom site of Kahun now in the Cairo Museum (JE 28786), and a number of ceramic examples derive from the Middle Kingdom site of Assuit (see footnote 16 below).

11. Oriental Institute Museum (OIM 4729); I thank Dr. Lorelei Corcoran and John Larson for the information on this figurine and Dr. Karen Wilson, Curator, for permission to publish it here. The registration card for the ceramic hippopotamus at the Oriental Institute gives the provenance as Dendera (Tomb ?) "602." It is also listed in the original distribution record as "pottery hippopotamus XI Dynasty?" Petrie's excavations at Dendera concentrated on a cemetery that ranged in date from the late Old Kingdom to the Middle Kingdom. No earlier remains were found and he states that "few tombs of any importance were found of later date than the XIth Dynasty." W. M. F. Petrie, *Dendereh* (London, 1900). For another example from Dendera see footnote 7, above.

12. Bothmer 1948, p. 69.

13. The most famous of course is "William" in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See Peter Dorman in "Egyptian Art," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (winter, 1983/4), no. 21.

14. See Almuth Behrmann, *Das Nilpferd in der Vorstellungswelt der Alten Ägypter: Teil I, Katalog* (Frankfurt, 1989), pp. 134, 137.

15. Ibid., pp. 39–45.

16. These include examples from Assuit in Cairo, C. G. 44883 and 65852; in Turin, see G. Farina, *Museo di Antichità di Torino, Sezione Egizia* (Rome, 1938), p. 21.

17. For example, a reclining blue faience hippo from Lisht in Cairo, C. G. 58853 and an example in the Louvre (E 7709); there is also a limestone hippo on a rectangular base from Lahun in Cairo, C. G. 28786.

18. Arnold, *Stone Construction*, pp. 276–280.

19. An examination of these holes revealed no remains of rope; however, they may have been destroyed when the piece was cleaned in the past. There are some traces of abrasion around the mouths of some of the holes that may have been caused by rope lashings.

20. However, white painted crossmarks were sometimes used to designate pottery to be used as funerary offerings and this may also have been the reason for the color; Dorothea Arnold, personal communication.

21. Almuth Behrmann, "Zur Bedeutung der Nilpferd-Fayencen," *Göttinger Miszellen* 96 (1987), pp. 11–22.

22. Torgny Save-Söderbergh, "On Egyptian Representations of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive," *Horae Soederblomiana: Travaux publiés par la Société Nathan Söderblom* 3 (Uppsala, 1953), pp. 19–21.

23. Both scarabs were originally part of a New York private collection and were sold at auction recently. See Joyce Haynes, Yvonne Markowitz, and Sue D'Auria, *Scarabs and Design Amulets: A Glimpse of Ancient Egypt in Miniature* (NFA Classical Auctions, Inc., December 9, 10, and 11, 1991; New York, 1991), nos. 34 and no. 165. I thank Yvonne Markowitz for calling these pieces to my attention and for information on their date.

24. Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine Roehrig, eds., *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston, 1988), pp. 47, 51, 187, 241.

25. On the king's role in maintaining the cosmic order, see John Baines, ed., Erick Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (Ithaca, 1982), pp. 213–215.

26. Hermann Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion* (Leiden, 1967).

27. The text reads: "Now as for King Apophis, it was his wish to send an inflammatory message to King Seknenre, the Prince of the Southern City. And after many days following this, King Apophis then had the high officials of his palace summoned, and he

proposed to them that a messenger be sent to the Prince of the Southern City with a complaint . . . concerning the river, but he was unable to compose it himself. Thereupon his scribes and wisemen . . . and high officials said: O, sovereign, our lord, demand that there be a withdrawal from the canal of hippopotamuses which lies at the east of the city because they don't let sleep come to us either in the daytime or at night, for the noise of them is in our citizen's ears. And King Apophis answered to them saying, I shall send to the Prince of the Southern City . . . And when the messenger of King Apophis reached the Prince of the Southern City, he was taken into the presence of the Prince of the Southern City, then [King Sekenenre] said to the messenger of King Apophis, Why have you been sent to the Southern City? Wherefore have you come journeying here? The messenger then told him: It is King Apophis who has sent me in order to say, 'Let there be a withdrawal from the canal of hippopotamuses which lie at the east of the city, because they don't let sleep come to me in the daytime or in the night' for the noise of them is in his citizen's ears," as recorded in Papyrus Sallier, ca. 1274 B.C., translation by William Kelly Simpson in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 77–80.

28. On the meaning of the passage see Donald Redford, "The Hyksos Invasion in History and Tradition," *Orientalia* 39 (1970), pp. 1–51.

29. Behrmann 1989, nos. 69–114.

30. See footnote 24.

31. Barry J. Kemp and Robert S. Merrillees, *The Minoan Pottery Found in Egypt* (Mainz, 1980), pp. 161–168.

32. On frogs, see Carol Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Jewellery* (London, 1990), p. 175; on hedgehogs, see Janine Bourriau, *Pharaohs and Mortals: Egyptian Art in the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, England, 1988), p. 118.

33. On Taweret, see Rolf Gundlach, "Thoeris," in Wolfgang Helck, ed., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie: Band 6* (Wiesbaden, 1986), pp. 494–497.

34. Bourriau 1988, p. 120; and Peter Lacovara, "Review of Barry J. Kemp and Robert S. Merrillees, *The Minoan Pottery Found in Egypt*," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47, no. 4 (1988), pp. 304–307.

35. Peter Lacovara, "Hippopotamus," in D'Auria et al., 1988, p. 127.

36. George A. Reisner, *Excavations at Kerma: Part IV-V* (Cambridge, MA, 1923), p. 173.

37. Save-Södebergh 1953, p. 48.

38. *Ibid.*, pp. 47–55.

39. On the Apis bull, see Rita E. Freed, *A Divine Tour of Ancient Egypt* (Memphis, 1983), pp. 48–52.

40. Save-Södebergh 1953, p. 46.

41. Behrmann 1989, nos. 78, 90b.

42. Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 20.2.25); I thank Dr. Catharine Roehrig for information on this object and Dorothea Arnold for permission to publish it here.

43. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 27.854.

44. Although this piece was not excavated, a similar, smaller gold hippo did come from the Museum's excavations at Meroe in the Sudan (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, acc. no. 23.380; From Meroe, Tomb W 643). It was found in a grave dating to later Meroitic Period (ca. 2nd to 3rd century A.D.). The context of the latter, however, need not be taken as firm evidence for a late date or Sudanese origin for either piece, as many examples of Egyptian objects of earlier date were found reused in these burials, as for example: a gold amulet of Bastet inscribed for the prince P3-m3j dating to the Third Intermediate Period, D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush V: West and South Cemeteries at Meroe* (Boston, 1963), p. 8; a gold ring inscribed for Taharqa, *op. cit.* p. 49; a glass inlay head of a Ptolemaic king, p. 259, and scores of Egyptian scarabs including: a steatite scarab of Second Intermediate Period date as well as an amethyst scarab probably of Middle Kingdom date, p. 9; another steatite scarab of Second Intermediate Period date, p. 12, a steatite scarab of New Kingdom date, p. 32, a group of New Kingdom scarabs and cowroids, p. 34, etc.

45. Behrmann 1987, pp. 11, 18–20.

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–13.

47. Lacovara, "Hippopotamus" in D'Auria et al., 1988, p. 127.

48. See *Fine Antiquities*, Christie's sale catalogue (London, 10 July 1991), p. 29, no. 64. For the reconciliation of Horus and Seth, see Te Velde 1967, pp. 63–73.

49. Cf. Martha Bell, "Lotiform collar terminal" in D'Auria et al., 1988, pp. 133–134; G. Tait, "The Egyptian Relief Chalkice," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49 (1963), pp. 93–139, esp. pp. 98–99.

50. Barbara Porter, "Bowl," in D'Auria et al., 1988, p. 138.

51. Ceramic figures of hippopotami are sporadically found in later periods, as for example a New Kingdom example from Tell el-Amarna, H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten II* (London, 1933), pl. XL: 8; and they are mentioned as execration figures used in temple foundation ceremonies, cf. E. Chassinat, *Le temple d'Edfou V* (Cairo, 1929), p. 133. These are clearly not the same form or type as the funerary offerings of the Middle Kingdom discussed here.