Current Research in Egyptology 2019

Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Symposium, University of Alcalá, 17–21 June 2019

Edited by

Marta Arranz Cárcamo, Raúl Sánchez Casado, Albert Planelles Orozco, Sergio Alarcón Robledo, Jónatan Ortiz García, Patricia Mora Riudavets

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Cover: Wall painting located in the early 11th dynasty tomb of Dagi (TT 103 / MMA 807). Photography by Patricia Mora. © Middle Kingdom Theban Project

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Introduction

The study of Egyptology has developed at the University of Alcalá only in the most recent years, but it is becoming firmly established thanks to a group of researchers that are very active in research and in establishing formal teaching, providing complementary courses, organizing conferences and seminars for both undergraduate and postgraduate students as well as for the general public interested on this ancient culture. Under these circumstances, organising the 20th edition of the Egyptological conference for young scholars, *Current Research in Egyptology*, was a significant challenge but also an important boost for a department that is trying to consolidate a high standard Egyptological programme. The conference was held on 17th–21st June 2019 with almost 200 participants who presented their research and attended very interesting and thought-provoking lectures. For one week, the city of Alcalá de Henares in Madrid became the frame for scientific discussion, exchange of ideas and networking with a conference programme that included not only scientific events but also a complete set of social and cultural activities.

The Organising Committee of CRE 2019 – Alcalá would like to express their gratitude to all participants and attendants to the conference for their exciting contributions and collaborative attitude. Special thanks are due to Dr Antonio J. Morales for his unconditional support and for his inestimable help during the organization of the conference and the edition of these proceedings. We would like to thank also the researchers who kindly accepted to join our conference by giving a keynote lecture. Thanks are due to Juan Carlos Moreno García, Antonio J. Morales Rondán, Josué J. Justel Vicente, María del Carmen Pérez Díe, José Ramón Pérez-Accino Picatoste, Miguel Ángel Molinero Polo, Alejandro Jiménez Serrano, Joan Oller Guzmán and José Manuel Galán Allué. We would also like to acknowledge the authorities of the University of Alcalá for supporting us and providing premises, funding, and technical facilities for the CRE. We shall also mention the *Asociación de Amigos de la Universidad de Alcalá*, the National Archaeological Museum in Madrid, the Temple of Debod and the City Councils of Alcalá de Henares, Madrid and Toledo for having contributed to the realisation of the conference. Last but not least, we would like to thank all our colleagues and students that have helped us during the whole process, especially our congress volunteers.

The present volume includes fourteen papers of a variety of topics that certainly represent the diversity, quality and interest of the contributions presented during CRE 2019 conference at Alcalá and stand for the research being developed by very promising young scholars in Egyptology in different institutions all over the world.

The University of Alcalá is also the institution under whose auspices is developed the Middle Kingdom Theban Project, led by Egyptologist Antonio J. Morales. The MKTP aims at the excavation, conservation, and epigraphic study of several Middle Kingdom tombs in the area of Deir el-Bahari and Asasif. Most of the editors of this volume and organisers of the conference are members of this archaeological mission. The development of the archaeological works of the MKTP expedition in its first five years of existence has also contributed to the consolidation of the Egyptological studies at Alcalá and the organization of events such as the CRE 2019. On that account, the cover photo illustrates a wall painting located in the early 11th dynasty tomb of Dagi (TT 103 / MMA 807), one of the monuments granted by the Egyptian Authorities to the Spanish concession of the University of Alcalá.

CRE University of Alcalá Editors

Group photograph taken by Patricia Mora Riudavets on June 19th 2019
Major College of San Ildefonso, University of Alcalá

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Speaking bodies: an approach to the Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures of the Bronze Age (preliminary remarks)

Christos Kekes

Abstract

The present study is a preliminary presentation of a doctoral thesis in progress which focuses on Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures during the Bronze Age. A comparative study of gestures in Egyptian and Aegean cultures has never previously been carried out. The existence of potential common Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures could demonstrate a close relationship on both a symbolic and an ideological level. The present paper provides an analysis of the methodology followed in my doctoral research. Some aspects of the ritual significance of the human body in Egyptian and Aegean thought are also indicated, together with a 'gestural *koiné*' used in ancient Egypt and the Aegean world.

Keywords

Egyptian gestures; Aegean Bronze Age; ritual gestures; nonverbal communication; Egypto-Aegean interaction; gestural *koiné*; human body

Introduction

Nonverbal communication is a fundamental element of human behaviour. People in antiquity performed a great variety of postures and body movements during their daily interactions with others (e.g. Herodotus, *Histories*, II.80), when demonstrating loyalty and submission to the ruling class (see e.g. Miller 1983; Burrow 2002: 12–13), worshipping their local deities (see e.g. Calabro 2014a: 652–65). Ritual gestures are prevalent in ancient Egyptian art and literature and in Aegean Bronze Age art. An understanding of the symbolic meaning(s) that these particular bodily movements may convey can contribute to a more in-depth understanding of the ritual activities within the framework in which they were performed, of Egyptian and Aegean society, and of the interaction between the two.

The present article is a preliminary presentation of my doctoral thesis in progress, carried out at the Department of Mediterranean Studies of the University of the Aegean under the supervision of Dr Panagiotis Kousoulis, Associate Professor of Egyptology. My doctoral research focuses on the comparative study of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures during the Bronze Age and expands into the following thematic areas:

- Analysis of the methodology followed in the research. Issues of terminology are addressed, while thirteen interpretation criteria, the combined examination of which can help researchers interpret the ancient gestures, are presented and analysed.
- Typological classification and interpretation of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures.
- Analysis of references to ritual gestures in Egyptian sources and their correlation with gestures recorded in Egyptian iconography. Concerning Aegean gestures, emphasis is placed on iconography, due to the lack of detailed written records. The Linear B tablets are mainly concerned with the economic transactions of the Mycenaean palatial centres and do not refer to ritual gestures.

However, a correlation of certain Aegean gestures with references by ancient Greek authors to gestures performed during historical times has been attempted. Such correlations have been made following thorough analysis of the sources, since the civilisations of the Aegean Bronze Age and ancient Greece are separated by a long period of time and display major cultural differences.

- Investigation of the ritual significance of the human body in Egyptian and Aegean perceptions and the implementation of gestures as part of various ritual activities.
- Identification and analysis of potential common Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures.

Methodology and typological classification of gestures

One of the first issues researchers are called upon to deal with when studying ancient gestures is what terminology to use. As Wedde (1999: 913) and Morris (2001: 246–7) have indicated, the terminology which was used by most researchers until recently is problematic. According to Wedde (1999: 913), during the early stages of a study, researchers should avoid terms that refer to the function of a gesture, such as '...raises the arms in "adoration" ' (Fig. 1) or '...is depicted in an "attitude of respect" ' (Fig. 2), etc. This kind of term could prejudice researchers and prevent them from interpreting the gestures objectively (Wedde 1999: 913). Furthermore, many gestures appear to include a wide range of symbolism. For example, the hieroglyphic sign depicting a human figure raising its arms with its palms turned outwards was used as a determinative in various Egyptian words, such as *dwꜣ* 'worship', *jꜣw* 'praise', *swꜣš* 'extol', *tr* 'show respect' (Wilkinson 1992: 29), *ḥᶜj/ḥᶜᶜwt* 'rejoice/joy', (Dominicus 1994: 28), *twꜣ/twꜣ(w)* 'appeal to someone' / 'man of low station, inferior' (Faulkner 1991: 295), etc. These examples suggest that the corresponding gesture (Fig. 1) could serve different symbolic functions in different circumstances and contexts. Therefore, defining a gesture from the start based on a specific function could negate other potential symbolic meanings.

Figure 1. Ani and his wife before Thoth. Vignette of the Book of the Dead of Ani, New Kingdom, 19th dynasty (*c.* 1250 BC). British Museum, inv. no. EA 10470 (drawing by the author, after Faulkner 2004: 174).

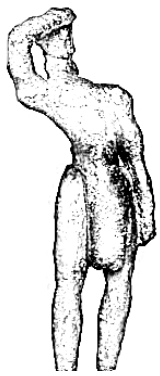

Figure 2. Bronze male figurine from Skoteino cave, LM I period (*c.* 1600–1450 BC). Heraklion Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 2573 (drawing by the author, after Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005: 107).

In his paper on Minoan and Mycenaean ritual gestures, Wedde (1999: 914) refers to gestures by number (G1–G24). This kind of classification is also problematic, as Calabro (2014a: 287) notes, as it may confuse the readers as well as the researchers themselves, especially when the number of gestures examined is quite large. Morris and Murphy in their studies on Minoan gestures, and Calabro in his thesis on ancient Levantine gestures, use various brief descriptive terms based on the form of the gestures, such as 'Hand

to Forehead', 'Partial Arm Extension', 'Parallel to the Sides of the Body' (Morris 2001: 247), 'Fist on Chest', 'Raised Hand', 'Arm Extended Forwards' (Murphy 2011: 14, tbl. 2), 'Palm Out', 'Fist Up' (Calabro 2014a: 287).

A. Main Criteria	**I. Direct Criteria**	1. Gesture morphology
		2. Who or what is the gesture addressed to? 2a. To the figure itself? 2b. To another figure? 2c. To an object?
		3. Is the figure performing the gesture holding an object? 3a. Is it for daily use? 3b. Is it a ritual/symbolic object?
		4. Does the gesture resemble an object or something else?
	II. Indirect Criteria	5. Posture of figure performing the gesture
		6. Size of figure performing the gesture and of the figures surrounding it
		7. Position in the scene of figure performing the gesture
		8. Setting of the scene 8a. Are there other figures in the scene? 8b. Where is the activity taking place? 8c. What kind of activity is depicted?
		9. Social identity of figure performing the gesture
		10. Emotional state of figure performing the gesture
B. Secondary Criteria		11. Artefact depicting the gesture
		12. Archaeological context of the artefact
		13. Is there an accompanying inscription?

Table 1. Interpretative criteria of gestures of the ancient world.

Following the suggestions of the researchers above, the typological classification of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures in my doctoral study is based on their different morphological characteristics. Brief descriptive terms are used, such as 'Palms Outwards' (Figs. 1 and 7), 'Hand on Forehead' (Fig. 2), 'Palm Outwards' (Fig. 7), 'Upraised Arm Holding Weapon', 'Outstretched Arm Holding Weapon' (Fig. 3), 'Hand on Shoulder' (Fig. 6), 'Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Elbow' (Figs. 8–9), 'Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Forearm' (Fig. 9), 'Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Wrist' (Fig. 10), etc. The preliminary use of this kind of morphological definition has the following advantages:

- Firstly, the researcher's objectivity is not undermined. On the contrary, the interpretation of gestures starts without preconceptions and is founded on their form, which is the essential element of their study (see also Calabro 2014b: 145).
- Secondly, brief descriptive terms give readers a first impression of the form of the gestures, even if they are unfamiliar with the subject and the artefacts.

- Lastly, we avoid the potential confusion caused by numerical classification, due to the large number of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures examined.

In order to interpret a gesture, researchers should consider a variety of factors directly or indirectly related to it. Some factors are concerned with the morphology of the gesture, other factors, the iconographic context that it is performed in, and yet other factors, the archaeological context of the artefact on which it appears. Based on these observations, a list of interpretative criteria has been developed (Table 1). The combined examination of these criteria can help researchers interpret the studied gestures of the ancient world (for a detailed presentation see Kekes 2018: 227–33).

It should also be noted that one interpretation does not invalidate other interpretative approaches. On the contrary, a gesture may have different symbolic meanings in different contexts, or be interpreted in various ways even in the same iconographic and ritualistic context depending on the researcher's point of view (see also Calabro 2013: 76–82; 2014b: 147–55).

The ritual significance of the human body

In my doctoral research, the human body will be approached as a basic symbolic element of Egyptian and Aegean rites. This means that, on the one hand, the human body can be a fundamental ritual implement with which the expected result of a rite can be achieved. On the other hand, a gesture, a posture, the human body as a whole or in part, and individual members (such as the hand) may symbolise a variety of things. These may include an abstract concept, an object, a physical or emotional state, and a person or a living creature of the real or mythical world (Burdick 1905: 6–39; MacCulloch 1914: 492–3; Coomaraswamy and Duggirala 1917; Corbeill 2004: 20–4; Streeck 2008; Calabro 2013: 71–2; 2014b: 152–3).

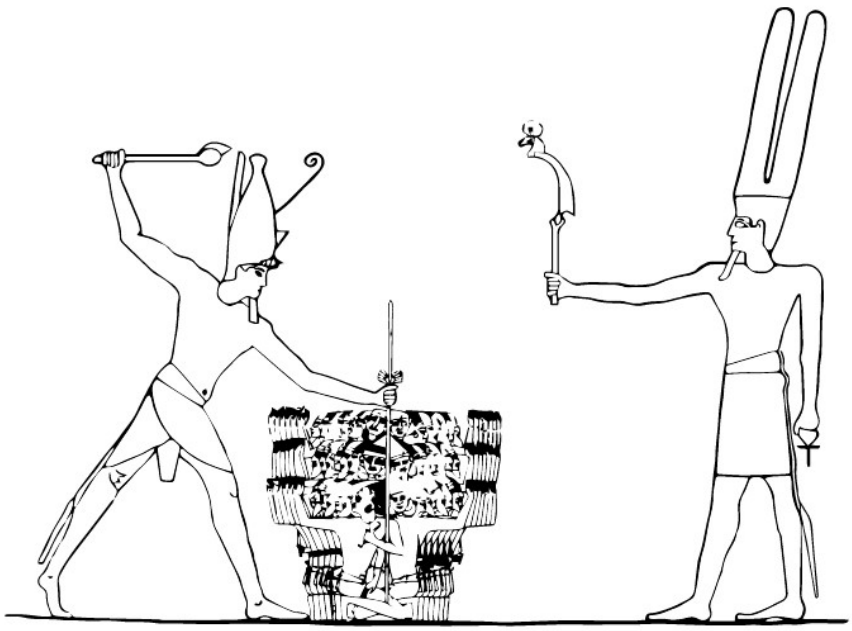

Figure 3. Pharaoh smites the enemies of Egypt in the presence of Amun. Detail of a relief from Medinet Habu (exterior, First Pylon, South Tower). New Kingdom, 20th dynasty, reign of Ramses III (drawing by the author, after Breasted and Allen 1932: pl. 101).

More specifically, the human hand will be examined as a symbol of power, authority, and life, and as a ritual conduit of divine power in Egyptian perception. For example, in the famous scene of 'Pharaoh smiting his enemies' (Hall 1986; Morkot 1986: 2; Luiselli 2011; Sales 2012; 2017; Leprohon 2015: 313, 315; Matić 2017), the Pharaoh is depicted brandishing a weapon (usually a mace head or a sword) in his raised fist ('Upraised Arm Holding Weapon'), ready to exterminate his enemies, whom he holds with his other hand (Fig. 3). A deity (the patron god of the temple) is frequently portrayed with the Pharaoh, holding a scimitar in his outstretched hand ('Outstretched Arm Holding Weapon') as though offering the Pharaoh the means and the power to execute his prisoners. In fact, the accompanying texts sometimes tell us that the god gives the weapon to the king (Wilkinson 2015: 98–9). The Egyptian name for the scimitar, *ḫpš*, is etymologically related to the term 'strong arm' found in Egyptian literature, which refers to deities (Graham 2001: 165) or to pharaohs on campaign (see, for example Kitchen 1975: 7–12). It is also often found in royal titulary (see e.g. Leprohon 2013: 97, 100, 102).

Moreover, the enemies of Egypt are usually depicted in a kneeling position with their elbows tied behind their backs (Wilkinson 1992: 19). Such figurines and sculptures were often used in various Egyptian apotropaic rituals (Ritner 1993: 113–19, 142–4, 161–2; O'Neill *et al.* 1999: 440; Kousoulis 2012: 132–3, 135–6). The fact that the enemies of Egypt are depicted with their hands bound indicates that, to the Egyptian mind, they were a constant danger, and their source of power had to be neutralised by immobilising their hands.

Figure 4. Soldier cutting off the hand of a dead enemy. Detail of a relief from Medinet Habu (First Court, East Wall). New Kingdom, 20th dynasty, reign of Ramses III (*c.* 1186–1155 BC) (drawing by the author, after Breasted and Allen 1932: pl. 72).

Figure 5. Counting of severed hands. Detail of a relief from Medinet Habu (Second Court, South Wall). New Kingdom, 20th dynasty, reign of Ramses III (*c.* 1186–1155 BC) (drawing by the author, after Breasted 1930: pl. 23).

Expanding on the notion of the power represented by hands, one can also interpret the practice of removing one hand from dead (or living) enemies in a different way. The victors on the battlefield cut off the right hand of the deceased (Fig. 4) and presented it as proof of the number of enemies they had killed (Fig. 5), in order to receive the corresponding fee (Bietak 2012: 42). However, on a symbolic level, through the removal of hands, the Egyptians probably sought to render their enemies powerless in the Underworld, as well as harmless to Egypt and the Cosmic Order (see also Bietak 2012: 42–3).

Figure 6. The gold 'Ring of Minos' from Knossos. LM II period (*c.* 1450–1400 BC). Heraklion Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 1700 (drawing by the author, after Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005: 124–5).

Figure 7. Gold ring from Crete (CMS II,3 no. 326). LM I period (*c.* 1600–1450 BC). Heraklion Archaeological Museum, inv. no. 216 (drawing by Susanne Lieberknecht, CMS).

In Aegean seals and sealings, the iconographic theme of the ritual pulling of trees is quite frequent (e.g. CMS I, no. 126; CMS I, no. 219; CMS I, no. 514. See Sakellariou 1964: 142–3, 253, 542, respectively. See also the CMS website: ‹https://arachne.uni-koeln.de/browser/index.php?view[layout]=siegel›, accessed 5 September 2020). One or more human figures are portrayed pulling, with apparently ecstatic movements, the branches of a tree growing on a sanctuary or an altar (Figs. 6–7). Furthermore, in this type of scene, small floating figures and/or larger upright or seated figures are observed watching the ritual action. This particular ritual activity is intended to ensure the epiphany of a deity. In this case, through ecstatic movements, the human body functions as a ritual vehicle for communicating with the transcendent (Morris and Peatfield 2002: 114; 2004: 36, 40).

In the context of the Aegean rites, the ecstatic movements were probably accompanied by the consumption of alcohol and psychotropic substances, in order to achieve an altered state of consciousness (ASC) and commune with the divine world (Morris and Peatfield 2002; 2004; McGowan 2006; Peatfield and Morris 2012; Tully and Crooks 2015). The small floating figures, as well as larger ones depicted in such scenes observing the ritual action, may represent the deities descending from the sky and appearing to the faithful.

Parallels between Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures

The development of complete typological catalogues of Egyptian and Aegean body movements allows potential parallels between Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures to be identified. A comparative study of gestures in Egyptian and Aegean cultures has never previously been performed. The identification and analysis of common ritual gestures may demonstrate a close relationship between the two civilisations on both symbolic and ideological levels.

In fact, several morphologically common gestures have already been identified. For example, the 'Palms Outwards' gesture (Figs. 1 and 7) involves, among other things, a symbolic meaning of worship, both in Egypt (Wilkinson 1992: 29; Dominicus 1994: 28–36) and in the Aegean world (Marinatos 1993: 163). The 'Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Elbow' gesture (Figs. 8–9) is a gesture of respect (Dominicus 1994: 5–18), probably indicating the performer's social status, since in Egyptian art the gesture is often

performed by officials or family members of the main figure of the scene: the deceased (Fig. 9). The bronze female figurine (Fig. 8) probably represents a priestess or a participant in a female rite of passage. The Egyptian 'Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Forearm' gesture (Fig. 9) morphologically refers to the Aegean gesture of 'Hands on Opposite Shoulder and Wrist' (Fig. 10). These gestures also appear to be expressions of respect (Dominicus 1994: 5–18) and probably indicate the social status of those making them. The clay male figurine (Fig. 10) may represent an adorant approaching the worshipped deity, or a participant in a male rite of passage.

Figure 8. Bronze female figurine from Rhodes. LM IA period (*c.* 1600–1500 BC). Rhodes Archaeological Museum, inv. no. M1069 (drawing by the author, after Marketou 1998: 61, Fig. 10).

Figure 9. Detail of a wall painting from the mastaba of Ti. Old Kingdom, 5th dynasty, reign of Niuserre (drawing by the author, after Épron and Daumas 1939: pl. 17).

Figure 10. Clay male figurine from Piskokephalo. MM III period (17th c. BC). Heraklion Archaeological Museum (drawing by the author, after Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 2005: 98).

However, before we reach any absolute conclusions and interpretative approaches, a series of questions must be answered in order to demonstrate that these morphologically common gestures also share a common symbolic background. We should consider several factors, such as the period in which a gesture appears in Egypt and in the Aegean, its potential symbolic meaning(s) in each culture, the method of transmission from one culture to the other (if any), and the ritual context in which it is performed in both cases.

Conclusions

The study of gestures is a notable research field on societies of the past, in this case, Egypt and the Aegean, which has attracted increasing interest from researchers in recent years (see e.g. Dominicus 1994; Wedde 1999; Morris 2001; Burrow 2002; Corbeill 2004; Calabro 2014a; Kekes 2018). The interpretative approach to the gestures of the ancient world is a complex task, due to the often-fragmentary nature of the archaeological material (such as fragmentary wall paintings or individual figurines) and the lack of detailed written records. Organising and examining the material based on the methodology proposed in the present study may facilitate this endeavour.

When examining ancient gestures, it is first necessary to define a terminology for the typological classification of the gestures under study which will not undermine the objectivity of their

interpretation. In my doctoral research, emphasis is placed on the brief description of the form of gestures.

Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures, like any other gestures of the ancient world, may convey a variety of symbolic meanings that are related to the gesturers' emotional world, their social status, their gender, their age, their political ideology, their religious beliefs, etc. Gestures were certainly manifestations of the temperament of the ancient Egyptians and the inhabitants of the Aegean. Therefore, understanding the symbolic significance of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures is crucial to the overall view and understanding of each of these civilisations and their interaction with each other.

The comparative study of Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures, attempted here for the first time, may prove to be a decisive contribution to the interpretation of Aegean gestures, as is already evident from this preliminary presentation. Several common Egyptian and Aegean ritual gestures have been identified so far. Some of these are presented in the present paper. Gestures which are primarily expressions of the respect shown by the figures also appear, on a secondary level, to indicate their social identity. From this perspective, it seems that Egypt and the Aegean world shared a common perception of the gestural expression of social hierarchy. Furthermore, the ancient Egyptians and the Aegeans apparently adopted certain common attitudes of worship when approaching a deity, e.g. the 'Palms Outwards' gesture, which, among other symbolic values, indicates worship in both Egypt and the Aegean.

In the next stage of my doctoral research, I will carry out an in-depth analysis of the data, as presented in the table of interpretative criteria above (Table 1) (e.g. the social identity of the figures making the gestures and the iconographic context in which the gestures are made). The aim here is to understand the symbolic function of each gesture in specific ritual contexts, examining questions such as: who is making the gesture and to whom it is addressed? What factors led to the execution of this gesture? What are the consequences of the gesturer's action on the development of the ritual activity? What is the aim of the ceremony? It is hoped that this approach will shed light on certain as-yet-unexplored aspects of Egyptian and especially Aegean ritual practices and their symbolic significance in Egyptian and Aegean thought. We have already briefly referred to the characteristic stance of enemies of Egypt with their arms bound behind their backs. This stance was both literal and symbolic, by binding (or cutting off) their enemies' hands, the Egyptians rendered them harmless to Egypt and the Cosmic Order.

In the ancient world, the integration of individuals into society was sealed by their participation in religious and secular rituals, depending on their age, gender, social status, etc. (see for example Meskell 2002: 148). During these ceremonies, the human body served to simultaneously receive and transmit knowledge. The movements of a dance, the ceremonial, the rhythmic steps of a procession, the various gestures and the separate symbolism of each were learned and passed on by active participation in social events. Even in modern Greece, for instance, children are taught from an early age, through participating in church gatherings, to make the 'sign of the cross' (and its significance); they learn the steps of traditional dances by joining in at cultural and social events (balls, weddings, etc.). Consequently, the study and interpretation of the various gestures performed within specific ritual contexts can contribute to our understanding of ritual practices and their role in the development of social bonds among the members of a society, which in this case are those of Egypt and the Aegean.

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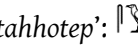
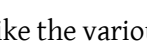
Classification of 'directive speech acts' in Egyptian teaching texts

Simon Thuault

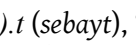
Abstract

Many pieces of advice, recommendations and warnings in Egyptian teaching texts are introduced by imperative verbal lexemes (which linguists call 'directive speech acts'): *šsp rd.t=f*, 'Accept what he gives' ('*Ptahhotep*' 6, 11), *m jr ṯnḥ s.t*, 'Don't look at her' ('*Ani*' 16, 13), *m mḥ jb=k...*, 'Don't trust...' ('*Amenemhat*' II, 4), etc. The great number of imperative lexemes in these texts offer a wide range of writings, syntactic constructions and semantic contents. In fact, the same lexeme can appear in several forms in a sole text, with various phonograms and classifiers. This is the case of *sʾq jb*, 'focus' in '*Ptahhotep*':  (11, 9) *vs.* (14, 10). From a semantic point of view, there are also notable variations, like the various meanings of  *sʾ(w)*, which is usually translated as 'refrain from', even if it is clearly polysemous: 'Hold back from X' (advice), 'Keep yourself from X' (warning), 'Don't do X' (order), etc. This paper gives an overview of a current project which aims to fill a gap in the Egyptological literature on directive speech acts. Every aspect of the related verbal lexemes is studied, including grammatical analysis, graphemic comparisons, lexicographical and semantic study, as well as their issues and potential conclusions.

Keywords

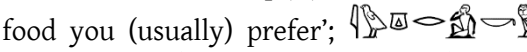
Teaching texts; imperative; classifiers; grammar; cognition; linguistics; graphematics

Topic presentation

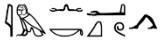
The research presented here focuses on directive speech acts as attested in Egyptian 'Teaching' texts (sometimes called 'Instructions' or 'Wisdom'). These literary compositions are thus called because of their Egyptian title  *sbʾ(y).t* (*sebayt*), 'teaching, instruction', and because of their contents: long lists of advice, recommendations, orders, and warnings, usually from a master to a student, or from father to son. For example, the 'Instructions for *Kagemni*' (probably composed during the 12th dynasty) were addressed to a person whose name is linked to a famous vizier from the 6th dynasty, a great period in Egyptian history and memory. In this text, we find different kinds of directive utterances:

- ORDERS:  ***sḏm s(j)*** (hear:IMPV -3SF)[1] **'Listen!'**
- PROHIBITIONS:  ***m mdw:w...*** (abstain:IMPV- talk:ADVZ) **'Don't talk...'**

[1] Following the Leipzig Glossing Rules (‹https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/pdf/Glossing-Rules.pdf›, accessed 3 September 2020) adapted to ancient Egyptian (‹http://wwwuser.gwdg.de/~dwernin/published/DiBiase_Kammerzell_Werning-2009-Glossing_Ancient_Egyptian.pdf›, accessed 3 September 2020).

- RECOMMENDATIONS:  ***msḏ*** *ʿq:(w) mrr=k* (dislike:IMPV food:PL like:REL_IMPV-2SM) '**(Pretend to) dislike** the food you (usually) prefer';  ***jw gr=k*** *m r(ʾ)=k* (NMLZ:be_silent:PRS-2SM in- mouth-2SM) '**Stay discreet** in your remarks'
- WARNINGS:  ***sʾw*** *jtn=k* (guard_against:IMPV be_insubordinate:SBJ-2SM) '**Be careful** not to be insubordinate!'

These classifications are not exhaustive and are rather tentative given the fact that there is no comprehensive modern treatment of directive speech acts[2] in Earlier Egyptian. Moreover, we are faced with the situation that, even after more than 150 years of philological work on Egyptian texts, our understanding of the more complex literary compositions is not always sufficient.

What is especially interesting for the present study is the morphological diversity in the writings of these imperative clauses. In fact, the distinctive morphosyntactic means of expressing directive utterances are fascinating. For example, negative forms ('vetitive') sometimes include a negation morpheme,  *m* as in  *m mdw:w* (abstain:IMPV- talk:ADVZ) 'Don't talk'. But this negative auxiliary can take other forms, as in  *m-jr ḏd n=s* (abstain:IMPV- do:ADVZ say:INF -for-3SF) 'Don't tell her...', or  *jm=k ʿqw* (abstain:SBJ-2SM- enter:ADVZ) 'You should not go into...'. The main goal is to investigate the interrelations between the morphosyntactic devices and the specific communicative functions as outlined in the sub-classification of directive speech acts, e.g. whether there is a regular pragmatic difference between prohibitions with a single auxiliary *m...* 'don't...' and those with double auxiliary *m-jr...* 'don't do...'.

Secondly, the spellings are taken into consideration. In the previous examples, some verbs are only written with phonograms (i.e.  *jm* 'take care that...'). However, most of them show a structure including one or several classifiers:

-  *mdww* 'talk': classifier of man putting his hand on his mouth = [MOUTH ACTS]
-  *msḏ* 'disdain, dislike': sparrow = [BAD THINGS], [TRIFLING THINGS]
-  *sʾw* 'keep, guard, be careful not to': (1) seated shepherd = [GUARDING], [PROTECTING] (specific classifier) + (2) man hitting with a stick = [ACTIVE NOTIONS] (generic classifier)

In Late Egyptian, the absence of a classifier on a verb form is a clear indication of its status as a function word (as opposed to content words, cf. Kammerzell 2015). The fact that the corpus considered shows apparently similar auxiliaries without classifier (*m* 'do not'), and with classifier ( *jm=k* 'you should not') provides us with grounds for scrutinising the topic. The working hypothesis that this criterion may have already played a similar role in earlier Egyptian may result in researchers being able to differentiate between different degrees of grammaticalisation and to postulate a *continuum* ranging from verbs which always carry a classifier via those occurring with or without one, to those written regularly without a classifier. This will also contribute to a more precise understanding of the texts whose translations are sometimes still a little rudimentary.

[2] In this paper I use the expressions 'directive speech act' and 'imperative' in a similar way in order to avoid redundancy, but the first one is preferred. In fact, it is more accurate from a linguistic point of view and it covers a broader range of verbal clauses (see *infra*).

Ten texts have been selected in order to make a detailed analysis. Four of them date to the Middle Kingdom, and more precisely to the 12th dynasty: '*Ptahhotep*', '*Khety*' ('Satire of the trades'), 'Loyalist', '*Kagemni*'. The other six date to the 18th dynasty: '*Amenemhat*', and to the Ramesside period: '*Ani*', 'Chester Beatty IV', '*Amennakht*', '*Hori*' and '*Amenemope*', respectively.

But even though the corpus contains ten texts, more than 100 different documents have been examined. These documents date from different dynasties and offer a detailed overview of each text, both in synchronic and diachronic ways. For example, 25 versions of the 'Teaching of *(Dua-)Khety'* have been taken into account, both from the Middle and New kingdoms. *Ani*, for its part, provides us with ten relevant documents, in the form of papyri or *ostraca*; for '*Amennakht*', eleven versions will be considered; for the 'Loyalist Teaching', more than 30 fragments of *ostraca* and a few papyri constitute the corpus, documents covering a great number of dynasties. The synoptic and comparative study will thus be greatly improved, both for each text and for the 'Teaching' corpus in general.

Current state of the issue

This work aims to fill a gap in Egyptological literature and to initiate new research in the field of modal grammar and speech acts in general. The existing literature on these topics is either outdated (Müller 1893; Sander-Hansen 1941; Sauneron 1962), or restricted to only one precise lemma or document (Quack 2004; Jenni 2005; Peust 2006a; Schweitzer 2008) and thus, needs to be extended. Only very few references are directly linked to our topic (Vernus 1990; Loprieno 1995; Polis 2009).

The literature dealing with cognitive studies has also been also of great help in the creation of this research, of an Egyptological (Goldwasser 1995, 2002; McDonald 2002; Lincke 2011, 2015; Kammerzell 2015; Thuault 2017, 2018) and a more theoretical nature (Rosch 1978; Lakoff 1982, 1987; Fillmore 1985; Victorri 2004). This has also been the case with the bibliography in general linguistics and semiotics, with an incursion into construction grammar (Talmy 1978, 1988; Geeraets 1991; Haspelmath 2003; Legallois and François 2006; Grossman and Polis 2009; Jary and Kissine 2014; Nyord 2015; etc.).

Research aims and issues

Three major aims can be identified, with their underlying issues. The first one covers several lines of questioning and methods. It consists of a systematic study of the verbal lexemes, word-forms, auxiliaries and other morphological elements included in the documentary corpus, both their forms (the **morphological** part of the work) and functions (the **semantic and pragmatic** part). More than any comparative and conclusive study, the creation of a corpus which gathers numerous examples imperatives involved in Egyptian wisdom literature will be very useful and of major interest for further analyses—it could even be potentially extended to other textual genres.[3]

The second issue is linked to the graphemic study of the directive forms, i.e. their composition and the different classifiers that can be included in their writing (see *supra*). It is already well known that classifiers offer much information on the Egyptian world-view and how their minds functioned Thus, a synoptic analysis will help to improve our knowledge of semantics, and more precisely of the meanings of verbs[4] (depending on the precise sense the author wanted to convey). Moreover, it will be interesting

[3] We could imagine an application of the current issues and methods with other literary compositions (e.g. tales) or non-literary texts (letters, medical papyri, etc.).

[4] Like the difference between the injunctive, the jussive, and other sub-forms of imperative, for example.

to observe whether there are any specificities linked to the imperative: does it offer, in general, more classifiers than other speech acts? Are these signs more varied? Do the same verbal lexemes accept equivalent classifier(s) in sentences without directive content?

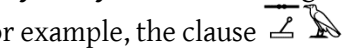
The third main concern is linked to the difference between 'form' and 'function' in verbal modes—we consider the imperative one here. The 'form' issue is related to the close connections between the imperative, the prospective, and the subjunctive. Thus, trying to show whether there are clues which allow these various forms to be distinguished *predictably* will be of great interest: context and co-text, flexional endings and classifiers, etc.—I could add some prefixed writings (e.g.  *j.ms*, 'bring!' with a prosthetic *yod*) or enclitic forms (e.g.  *jw gr=k*, 'You should stay discreet/quiet' with a *jw* particle—var. ). The 'function' issue, concerns the various orders conveyed by the verbs with a directive function (see *supra*, order *vs.* prohibition *vs.* recommendation *vs.* warning). Once again, the comparative grammatical study will give clues that enable us to better analyse and understand these functions.

It is likely that other issues will emerge from these lines of questioning (for example, the diachronic evolutions in the language and constructions used between Middle and New Kingdom texts). These new elements will surely increase the interest in such research and, at the same time, open up new perspectives.

Methods and fields

In order to achieve these objectives, various fields and methods have been taken into account. Besides the usual Egyptological tools for philology (dictionaries and lexicons, grammars, and specialised studies, etc.), several linguistic subfields offer what is needed.

Semiotics and synoptic tables

Firstly, semiotics and lexicography are essential for every study that tries to highlight variations in vocabulary and, therefore, in the meanings conveyed. For example, the clause  *s' tw r ḫ*, refers to different meanings depending on the information the author wanted to convey: (1) 'Keep yourself from X!', (2) 'Don't do X!', (3) 'Be careful of X!', etc. This is why synoptic tables and comparisons are useful. These observations allow several clues to be highlighted, enabling better understanding of the context in which each meaning is preferred.

In fact, synoptic tables enable both the study of the different verbal forms in a single text and the study of these lexemes in several documents. For example, a common verb like *jrj*, 'to do', which appears with great frequency, is easier to analyse with these tables. If the different writings are in the same document or there are several occurrences in every text, a comparative edition will allow a great range of observations and analyses.

These examinations are similar to the ones done by A. Shisha-Halevy in his study of the *jrf* particle in Coffin Texts (Shisha-Halevy 1986), and by C. Peust in his paper dealing with some verbs of movement usually translated as '(to) go' (Peust 2007). In this work, he analyses the different occurrences of each verbal form with their morphological variations (particles, negations, etc.). Then, the author concludes with schemas giving the evolution of some verbs, considering their modality and their syntactic peculiarities.

Winand's reflexions on the verbs of cognition are also of major interest. His thoughts concerning the relation between Semantics and Grammar and the excerpts dealing with the corpus and issues are really stimulating:

> In my opinion, it is as important to show which combinations are actually attested in our material (with the corresponding intended meanings) as to state what is not attested and for which reasons. As is well known, an absence can mean as much as a presence (Winand 2015: 116–17).

The author's conclusions (Winand 2015: 136–9) can also be adapted to my own project: a verbal lexeme usually has several meanings (both in synchrony and diachrony) that are linked to the grammatical tense; the semantics are related to the structure of the argument; the genre of the text is important; classifiers can influence a result (validation or refutation), etc.

Cognition and predictability

This comparative study also greatly benefits from cognitive and construction grammars. These two subfields offer methods to 'predict' the precise meaning of a clause or particular word form (see *infra*). Cognitive linguistics and grammar mainly focus on the link between the perceptive process and language. They are linked to cognitive psychology, which is really helpful in work concerning the perception, classification and connection between the environment and the mind (for which language is an indirect testimony). This is why cognitive linguistics and grammar are of major interest in a study of a verbal mode that concerns human relationships and direct interactions between two or more people. With the observation of the graphemic aspect of the lexemes, an interesting part of the Egyptian mind will be discovered, in particular, its impact on language and writing system(s). For example: what information can be emphasised through the comparison between the different lexemes showing the same classifier(s) (like  ,  ,  , etc.)? Conversely, in the case of verbs written with two (or more) semograms (e.g.  *s'w*): what can we conclude from the addition of these signs regarding the meaning of the verb? It is in answering this question that semographic analysis takes place and brings its share of conclusions that construction grammar can improve.

Construction grammar combines issues and methods of syntax, morphology, and semantics, uniting these diverse elements in order to give new information. In this way, the notions of 'conventionality' and 'predictability' are of central relevance. The first notion can be drawn by studying both the 'form' and the 'meaning' of a wordform or clause (this issue of conventionality is especially significant in the study of metaphors and other linguistic process conveying indirect or sub-meanings). The second notion appears when a construction or sense can be deduced from information already recognised as indices. For example, if the analysis of classifiers leads to the conclusion that the man hitting with a stick  appears with **order** or **command** imperative constructions, thus it will be possible to 'predict' the intention(s) of directive verbs including this semogram in their spelling. This is also true for some morphological elements like the flexional endings: if it is proven that the suffix *-w* ( or ) appears in **warning** constructions and is omitted in **recommendation** clauses, it will be possible to show that the intention of directive forms can be 'predicted' on the basis of morphological and syntactical information, with the help of some semantic clues.

The works of scholars like L. Talmy are interesting (see reference list) when considering this area. In his papers, he suggests using the whole formal and grammatical structure of a clause or a word in order to give information about the 'cognitive representation' of a listener or reader. Therefore, prototype theory will be useful because of its involvement in the cognitive functioning of both societies and

individuals. Moreover, this theory implies a deep diachronic dimension to the study, as Geeraerts (1983: 18–19) explains. According to the author, the 'semantic development' of a lexeme implies that a word-form has no 'rigid' meanings but evolves as a 'prototypical organisation of partially overlapping senses without clear boundaries'. This is even more evident with the 'fuzzy' meanings, linked to the 'peripheries' of categories. Moreover, some senses are more important than others:

> The different weight of particular features in semantic change is the diachronic parallel of the difference in salience in a synchronous prototypical organisation (Geeraerts 1983: 18–19).

Semantic maps

Finally, after all these observations and analyses, it will be possible to draw semantic maps in order to show the results and emphasised patterns schematically. The use of semantic maps is increasingly widespread in Egyptology, as in general linguistics, even if some methodological issues still exist which need to be solved before these maps can be totally accurate. According to M. Haspelmath, maps allow the 'multifunctionality' of a grammatical morpheme to be drawn, that is to say, its different meanings ('conventional' dimension) and functions ('contextual' dimension). Furthermore, even though mapping can present problems and biases, it has several advantages: it avoids 'general meanings' (and distinguishes between polysemy and fuzzy uses), solves homonymy issues, and finds 'universal semantic structures that characterise the human language capacity', etc. Moreover, the diachronic dimension of Semantics can clearly appear on such maps.

There are useful reflections in H. Narrog's works, with a focus on diachrony and semantic relationships between linked lexemes or grammatical forms. For example, in a paper written by Narrog and Van der Auwera (2011), we can find this excerpt:

> Semantic maps are a way to visualise regular relationships between two or more meanings or grammatical functions of one and the same linguistic form. (...) The evidence that is normally, but not necessarily, used as the basis for the construction of semantic maps is polysemy data. Consider a form which has three uses (functions or meanings). Since we are dealing with polysemy rather than with homonymy, the uses are related, but they are all related to each other either in a similar way, or one use is intermediate between the other uses (Auwera 2011: 318–19).

These elements can also be found in Egyptological works like those of Grossman and Polis (2012). They add that a semantic map can associate several approaches combining monosemy, polysemy, or even homonymy. Therefore, one of the remaining issues is to choose the kind of map that is needed or is suited to the topic considered: for example, to choose between 'deductive' (from theory to data) or 'inductive' (from data to theory) systems, or between a 'top-down' way (from lexical field to lemmas) and a 'bottom-up' way (from lexemes or constructions).

To sum up, the whole methodology can be divided as follows: (1) give an overview of common subtypes of directive speech acts from the theoretical linguistic literature; (2) assign each Egyptian occurrence to these subtypes on the basis of the existing translations and those created by the author;[5] (3) investigate the relations between morphosyntactic forms and pragmatic functions; (4) refine

[5] A parallel question arises that could be considered in an annex: how do Egyptologists of a particular mother tongue interpret Egyptian modal expressions (in this case, directive ones)?

translations and textual analyses; (5) describe the range of functions for each particular form; (6) set up semantic maps.

Lexicometry and sociolinguistics could complete this multidisciplinary analysis if needed and considered feasible. These methods are ordinarily used to analyse political speeches and their impact on people, and it is highly likely that the same process can be applied to Egyptian documents with great results, in particular for the study of the corresponding socio-history.

Examples

In order to illustrate the previous points, we can consider a few examples:

Of course, if we choose the examples only from a statistical point of view, some verbal lexemes can be emphasised: *jmj*, 'give! place!'; *jrj*, 'do'; *ḏd*, 'speak, talk'; *s3w*, 'keep from...', etc. However, their diversity and graphemic variations are not the most interesting element. For instance, *jmj* and *jrj* are almost always written in the same way, except for a few flexional endings. The problem is the same with *s3w* despite its semantic variety. In fact, even though this verb can convey several meanings (see *supra*), its writings do not show such variety. Only '*Ptahhotep*' offers special writings with a double *aleph* and/or pintail duck as a phonogram (e.g.). The other texts show the same graphemic compositions with the seated shepherd, an *aleph* and two classifiers together with the flexional endings: the papyrus roll and the man hitting with a stick. Therefore, it is probable that I will have to look at other clues in order to highlight the difference between the various meanings and semantic contents.

Some other verbal forms are more varied than these common ones. For example, *msḏj*, '(to) hate, dislike', appears in at least three compositions: '*Kagemni*', '*Ani*' and '*Amenemope*'. Of course, the differences are not *extreme*, but we can highlight the change of *s*-phonogram from Middle to the New Kingdom, the permanent presence of the sparrow-classifier, the duplication of the *d*-phonogram in *Ani* or the variety of less common classifiers (three strokes, small cross) (Fig. 1).

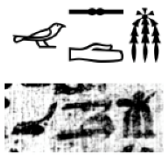
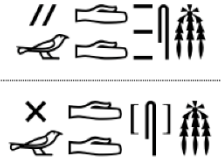
	Kagemni	*Ani*[5]	*Amenemope*
***msḏj*, 'hate, dislike'**			

Figure 1. Comparisons of the writings of *msḏj*.

The example of *ḫnms*, 'be friendly', is also interesting. The phonographic structure is always the same: the four uniliteral phonograms (*ḫ-n-m-s*) and the *-nm-* sign (T34). The variations concern the classifiers added to this phonetic structure (Fig. 2). In '*Ptahhotep*', three different classifiers appear: the seated man with arms down, the papyrus roll and the 'noble man' with a walking stick. This standing man also appears in '*Amenemope*', in addition to the seated man (A1). This latter sign is the chosen

classifier for the two occurrences of '*Ani*', below the oblique stroke—probably a filling sign—and the usual three little strokes.

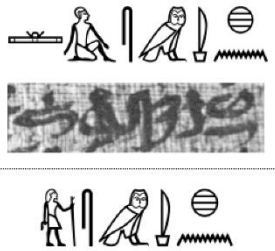
	Ptahhotep	*Ani*	*Amenemope*
***ḫnms*, 'be friendly'**			

Figure 2. Comparison of the writings of *ḫnms*.

The final example is the one of *snj*, 'exceed, overstep'. The phonetic writing is variable: the most frequent structure shows the 'bolt'-*s* (O34), a -*n* and the flat bread-*sn* (X5) (plus the -*y* flexional ending in 'Loyalist'). But in '*Ani*', the *s*- and the -*n* are followed by a *yod* that completes the phonographic reading. A -*w* flexional ending also appears. An interesting element is that the classifiers are almost totally different depending on the text being considered (Fig. 3). Where '*Ptahhotep*' and '*Kagemni*' only show the papyrus roll, the 'Loyalist' uses the walking legs to which '*Ani*' adds the bended leg and the three strokes.

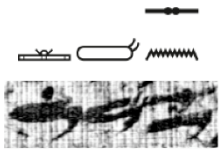
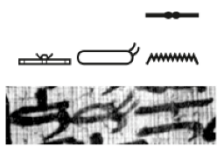
	Kagemni	*Ptahhotep*	*Ani*
***snj*, 'exceed, overstep'**			

Figure 3. Comparison of the writings of *snj*.

As explained above, the analysis of the various examples takes all these graphemic observations into consideration, in addition to contextual and syntactic elements. Thus, it is likely that interesting semantic conclusions will arise, but it is also likely that the results will mostly highlight information about the writing strategies of the authors: the evolution of classification methods, the use of flexional endings, ligatures, and sign gathering, etc. It is very probable that these grammatological conclusions will also offer new clues about the evolution of meanings and the use of directive speech acts in general. All these results will surely be both synchronic *and* diachronic, in each specific text and from a comparative point of view.

Conclusions

This study is still in progress, a lot of work still has to be done (it really is 'Current Research in Egyptology'!). The creation of synoptic tables of directive verbal lexemes is ongoing and has already highlighted some fascinating elements: for example, the evolution of classification process,[6] variations in the meanings conveyed by the lexemes, and dating clues from writing details.

The translation of clauses bearing a directive speech act is also being developed. Obviously, some of these translations look like previous ones, but a lot of other ones differ either from a formal point of view and/or the interpretation given to the clause. In fact, given the absence of particular interest indirective clauses and verbal forms in teaching texts, the reading of them has usually been focused on the content of the maxims. With this work, I would like to show that the way in which the maxims are expressed is also important, and that the kind of directive utterances used by the scribe has to be analysed.

During the next stages of this study, I will finish the synoptic edition of the lexemes and the translation of the clauses, and at the same time the application of methods stemming from the cognitive fields (see *supra*) will take place. Therefore, the analysis will be as accurate as possible and will bring some methodological tools to Egyptology that are usually put aside or totally ignored. Linguistics and psychology have been increasingly used in Egyptological works in recent years. It is now time to seal the association of these various fields and to highlight the great results that Egyptology can achieve with to this multidisciplinary approach.

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[6] Some interesting conclusions about this question can be found in Chantrain 2014 and Chantrain, Di Biase Dyson 2017, among others. Their method and issues are of major interest and really stimulating for the present research.

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Preliminary study on offering trays in Qubbet el-Hawa

[1]

Cristina Lechuga Ibáñez

Abstract

This preliminary research is focused on some pottery offering trays documented by Elmar Edel during his archaeological work in the necropolis of Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan, between 1957 and 1984. This Egyptologist found a large quantity of archaeological objects and, even though he did not study them in depth, he wrote a brief description of them. Edel's depiction of the offering trays focused on their shape, chronology, and the appearance of the clay. Regarding the clay, this paper concludes, based on Edel's work, that the trays might have been made of alluvial clay. Generally speaking, offering trays are normally found in funerary contexts and their origin can be traced to earlier stone offering tables. These objects might have been manufactured in clay because it was the most affordable alternative. A wide typological range of these trays can be found, as several shapes are distinguishable: from complex Soul Houses to simple pottery trays with models of food. This variety might have been the result of each craftsman's personal creativity. It is for this reason, and Edel's limited description that our aim is to establish a formal typology and a chronological approach to the offering trays found at Qubbet el-Hawa. In addition, this paper aims to establish a foundation that could be applied to other offering trays documented in recent and future archaeological work, as well as in future research.

Keywords

Offering trays; Qubbet el-Hawa; pottery; tombs; Edel; Middle Kingdom

Introduction

Offering trays are handmade pottery artefacts which show different designs and elements such as household-related features, models of food, and canals for libations on their surface. These objects are mainly found in funerary contexts dating from the First Intermediate Period to the Second Intermediate Period. Despite this, some offering trays have been documented in domestic contexts (Smith 2003: 128–9; Kilian 2012: 110); and, generally, the discovery of this type of object is more common in Upper Egypt than in Lower Egypt (Tooley 1989: 295–6; Leclère 2001: 99; Kilian 2012: 106). Concerning the funerary contexts in which they are commonly found, the presence of offering trays has been recorded over shafts (Petrie 1907: 14; Taylor 2001: 106), in burial chambers, cult chapels, or in the courtyards of tombs (Edel 2008, vol. 3; Kilian 2012, 2016).

Petrie and Quibell established the designation of these objects in the 19th century (1896: 42). The terminology refers to these artefacts in different ways: 'offering trays' and 'soul houses.' The first name encompasses ordinary offering trays that have simple elements and canals on their surface. The second

[1] The English version of the present paper has been proofread by the linguist Nuria Linares Fernández. The author is grateful for the help of Nuria Linares Fernández and Luisa M. García González.

designation refers to the offering trays that present more elaborate elements, canals and architectural features (Petrie 1907: 15–16). According to research conducted by Petrie (1907: 15), their origin might be traced back to stone offering tables, but they might have been manufactured in clay because it was a more affordable alternative than stone offering tables, which would have provided the deceased with nutritional offerings. However, the latest research on these artefacts indicates that stone offering tables and pottery offering trays developed independently. This belief is mainly due to the elements found on them (Kilian 2012: 112).

There is a wide typological range of different elements and shapes on the trays. This variety might have been the result of each craftsman's or sponsor's personal creativity (Leclère 2001: 104) and for this reason, it is difficult to categorise them. In spite of this, some researchers have established general typologies, and Petrie was a pioneer in this area in 1907. He studied a set of offering trays and soul houses found at Deir Rifeh (Middle Egypt) in depth and classified them Later on, Niwinski (1975, 1984) created a further classification of offering trays, dividing them into three groups according to their architectural features and shapes, and taking into account both the complexity of household-related elements or the absence of them. Another example is the typology created by Tooley (1989). Her work focused on the shapes of the offering trays and the areas of Egypt in which they had been prevalent. Leclère (2001) also established a new classification, which was similar to Niwinski's typology, but by conducting a more in-depth study which added subgroups to the already established typology.

As for the offering trays from Qubbet el-Hawa, Aswan, being the primary subject of this preliminary study, the above-mentioned typologies will be taken as a reference for the application of a more specific typology.[2]

Elmar Edel in Qubbet el-Hawa

Elmar Edel carried out archaeological work at Qubbet el-Hawa between 1957 and 1984. During these excavations, he found several pottery offering trays that he recorded and documented graphically. Years later, his collaborators, Siegfried and Vieler, published three books on Edel's documentation and notes on his work at Qubbet el-Hawa, on the west bank of the Nile River. In that publication, which is key for this preliminary study, Edel documented fifteen pottery offering trays found in several tombs of the necropolis (Edel 2008, vols. 2 and 3). Edel briefly described these offering trays, focusing on their shape, chronology, and the appearance of the clay. He did not specify whether the trays were made of alluvial or marl clay.

However, his description might suggest that the trays were conceivably made of alluvial clay, which symbolised vital regeneration (Raven 1988: 240–1; López Grande 1994: 15); a meaning associated with the function of the offering trays themselves—survival in the afterlife. However, the graphic documentation was not homogenous due to the unsuccessful use of photography and/or drawings.

Tombs with pottery offering trays at Qubbet el-Hawa

Elmar Edel found offering trays in six tombs during his work at Qubbet el-Hawa; these are QH90b, QH93, QH106, QH110, QH206a, and QH207 (Edel 2008, vols. 2 and 3) (Fig. 1). In all these tombs, located on

[2] The criteria followed to create the previous typologies on offering trays—namely, shape, canals, and elements—have been considered to establish Qubbet el-Hawa´s typology.

different terraces,[3] he found several offering trays, except for in QH90b and QH106, in each of which Edel only found one offering tray. The artefacts were discovered in different areas, such as courtyards, cult chapels, and shafts (Table 1). In some cases, offering trays were found *in situ*, uncovered in courtyards (Fig. 2).

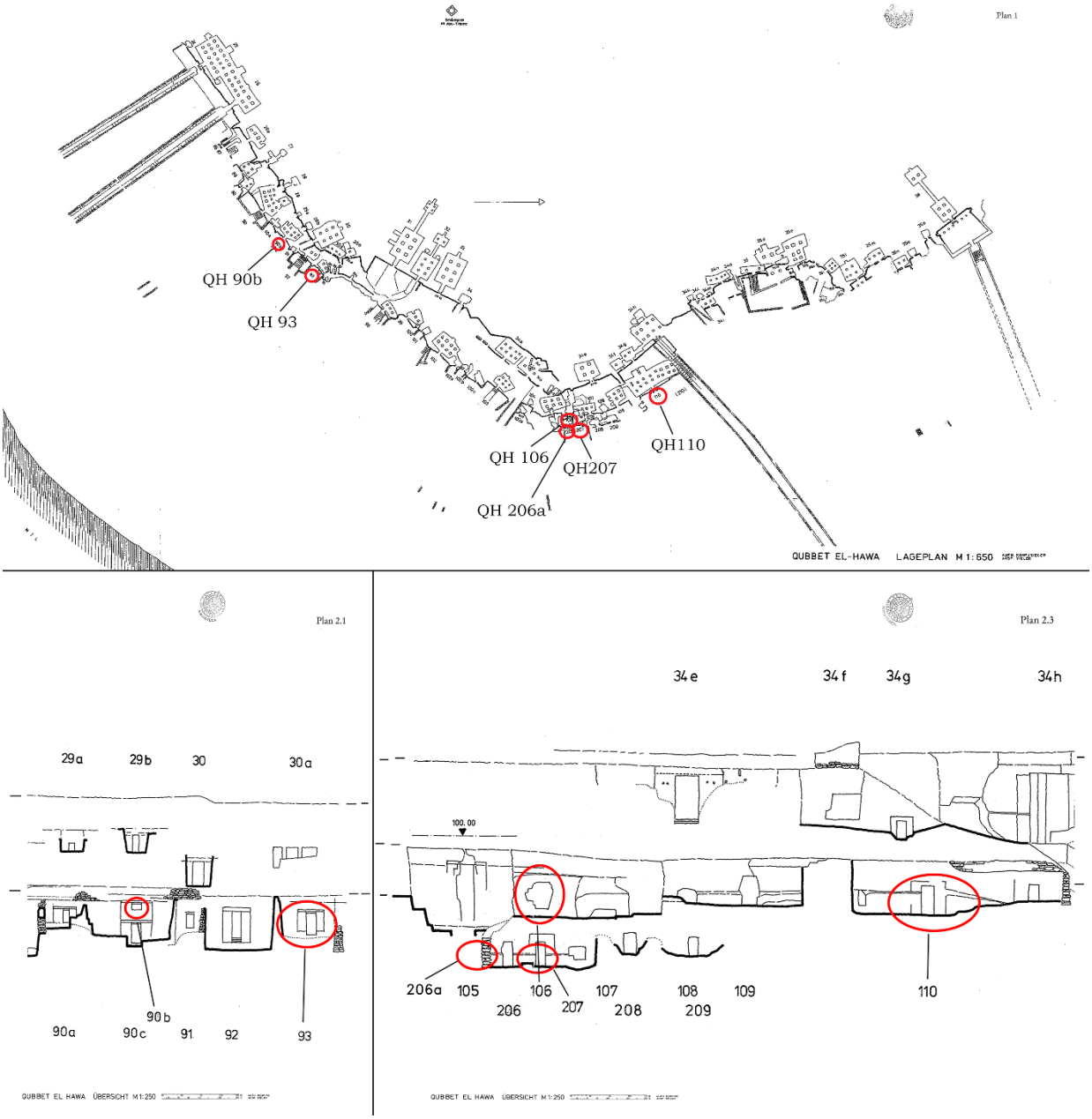

Figure 1. Tombs where Edel found offering trays (Edel 2008: pls. 1, 2.1, and 2.3).

[3] The tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa on the west bank of the Nile River are distributed differently along the terraces of the hill. This allocation reflects the social strata of the Elephantine population. The governors' tombs are found on the geologic stratum of the highest quality of the necropolis (Jiménez Serrano 2012: 35).

Offering tray	Tomb	Shaft	Chapel	Courtyard
0/754	QH90b			X
0/665	QH93			X
0/666	QH93			X
0/667	QH93			X
0/668	QH93			X
0/669	QH93			X
0/621	QH93			X
106/1	QH106		X	
110/22	QH110	X		
110/91	QH110	X		
110/78	QH110	X		
110/90	QH110	X		
0/1325.04	QH206a			X
0/1318.01	QH206a			X
0/1114.01	QH207			X

Table 1. Location of the offering trays in the tombs.

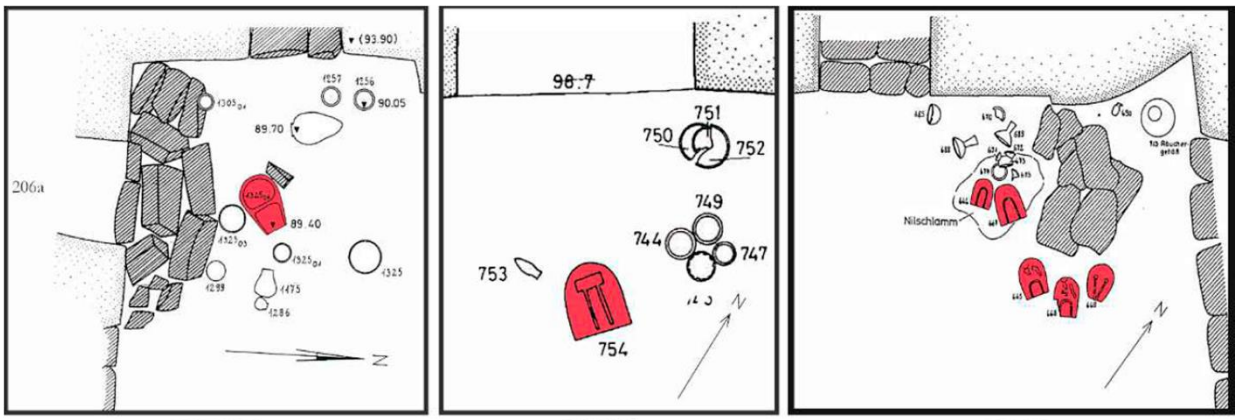

Figure 2. Offering trays found *in situ* in the courtyards of the tombs (Edel 2008: 1192, 1288, 1292, 1945–6).

Chronology of the tombs of Qubbet el-Hawa and offering trays

All of the tombs were built during the Old Kingdom, except for QH110, which was built during the First Intermediate Period (Edel 2008, vol. 3: 1795–6). However, these burial sites were later reused in different periods; namely the First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, the New Kingdom, the Late Period, and/or the Coptic Period. But Edel's offering trays date from the Middle Kingdom, particularly (Edel 2008: 1194, 1284–5, 1626, 1631, 1762–88, 1795, 1860, 1862, 1944–62, 1979).

The preservation conditions of the offering trays differed depending on the location where they were found. The artefacts found *in situ* were better preserved than the rest of the trays, which were fragmented to a greater or lesser degree (Table 2). This matter has become a decisive factor in classifying the offering trays, just as the elements and features appearing on them, together with the shape, determine their typology.

Offering tray	Tomb	Fragment	Complete	Fragmentary
0/754	QH90b		X	
0/665	QH93		X	
0/666	QH93		X	
0/667	QH93		X	
0/668	QH93			X
0/669	QH93		X	
0/621	QH93		X	
106/1	QH106			X
110/22	QH110	X		
110/91	QH110	X		
110/78	QH110	X		
110/90	QH110			X
0/1325.04	QH206a	X		
0/1318.01	QH206a		X	
0/1114.01	QH207	X		

Table 2. Preservation conditions of the offering trays.

With regard to these elements and features, the trays showed food offerings, libation canals, and basins on the surface, along with other elements such as seats and vessels (Table 3). All these components were modelled in clay. Due to the preservation condition of some trays, it is impossible to identify any of these kinds of elements.

The shape of the trays is characterised by a rectangular, horseshoe shape and an oval constitution; however, the original shape of some fragments might be difficult to identify. Even if the shapes of these fragments can be discerned, in this preliminary study, they have been considered as indeterminate due to the absence of other pottery shards related to them (Table 4).

The canals and basins for libations which are modelled on the surface of the offering trays are also important elements: they allow us to establish criteria that can be used to locate, (or not) parallel trays found in other areas and the possible connections between them (Figs. 4–8, 18–19, 21–2).

Offering tray	Tomb	Inscription	Offering food	Channels /basins	Furniture (Seat)	Household elements (table/vessel)
0/754	QH90b		X	X	X	X
0/665	QH93		X	X		
0/666	QH93			X		
0/667	QH93			X		
0/668	QH93		X	X		
0/669	QH93			X		
0/621	QH93		X	X	X	X
106/1	QH106	X	X	?	?	?
110/22	QH110	?	?	?	?	?
110/91	QH110	?	?	?	?	?
110/78	QH110	?	?	X	?	?
110/90	QH110	?	X	X	?	?
0/1325.04	QH206a			X		
0/1318.01	QH206a	?	?	X	?	?
0/1114.01	QH207	?	?	?	?	?

Table 3. Surface elements of the offering trays

Offering tray	Tomb	Rectangular	Horseshoe	Oval	Indeterminate
0/754	QH90b		X		
0/665	QH93		X		
0/666	QH93		X		
0/667	QH93		X		
0/668	QH93		X		
0/669	QH93			X	
0/621	QH93	X			
106/1	QH106		?	?	
110/22	QH110				X
110/91	QH110				X
110/78	QH110				X
110/90	QH110				X
0/1325.04	QH206a				X
0/1318.01	QH206a		X		
0/1114.01	QH207				X

Table 4. Shape of offering trays.

U-shaped canals, found on some offering trays from Egypt and on some found in Dendera (Figs. 18–19), are especially common at Qubbet el-Hawa. Although there are other types, such as the double parallel canals with an additional wall or the single straight canal. Basins are normally rectangular or circular in shape, though they are not present on some of the offering trays (Table 5).

Offering tray	Tomb	Parallel channels	U-shaped channels	Diagonal channels	A right channel	Rounded basins	Rectangular basin
0/754	QH90b	X					X
0/665	QH93		X				
0/666	QH93		X				
0/667	QH93		X				
0/668	QH93		X				
0/669	QH93			X		X	
0/621	QH93				X		X
106/1	QH106	?	?	?		?	?
110/22	QH110		X				
110/91	QH110		X				
110/78	QH110	?	?	?	?	?	?
110/90	QH110	?	?	?	?	?	?
0/1325.04	QH206a	X					
0/1318.01	QH206a	X					
0/1114.01	QH207	?	?	?	?	?	?

Table 5. Shape of the canals and basins.

Regarding the fragments of the offering trays from Qubbet el-Hawa found by Edel, small portions of libation systems on them can indicate the possible shape of their canals. Thus, similar model typologies could be established among the different offering trays from the necropolis. However, it has been decided not to include them within the same group of possible parallels because the fragments do not add any conclusive data.

Typology[4]

Taking into account the above-mentioned issues, three primary groups of offering trays have been established using the following acronyms: QHA, QHB and QHC (Lechuga Ibáñez 2019); which refer to the current archaeological documentation from Qubbet el-Hawa.

Each group has been standardised by the elements on their surface and the shape of the trays, except for QHC. The QHA group does not show any food or furniture-related models: only canals and basins. On the other hand, we have the QHB group, which comprises offering trays with libation canals, basins, and other features like food offerings furniture representations, vessels, or even epigraphy. Lastly, there is the QHC group, which includes fragments of offering trays. In addition, each group can be subdivided into other types according to the design of the elements and/or the shape of the tray itself; except for QHC, which is a single group.

[4] The author of this paper has used the same inventory numbers of the offering trays established by Edel in his archaeological records.

The QHA group

This type only encompasses horseshoe and oval-shaped offering trays with libation canals and basins. These elements have different designs, and they can be divided into further subtypes; namely: QHA. I, QHA. II and QHA. III.

The first subtype, QHA. I, includes artefact no. 0/667 (Fig. 3). This tray is horseshoe-shaped and has a U-shaped canal on it. After reviewing Edel's archaeological records, we know that he found other offering trays with this design, like object no. 0/666. However, only one of these items, no. 0/667, was graphically depicted by Edel.

Tray no. 0/669 (Fig. 4) is representative of the second subtype, QHA. II. This design is oval-shaped and shows two diagonal canals and two circular basins.

Finally, there is tray no. 0/1325.04 (Fig. 5), which belongs to the last subgroup: QHA. III. This tray has two parallel canals with an additional wall, as well as a horseshoe-shaped design.

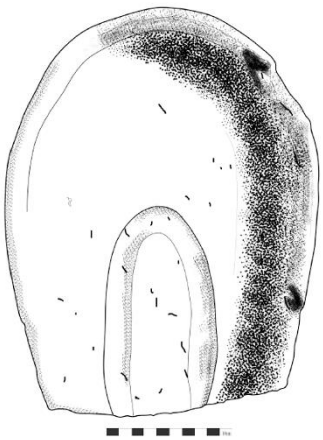

Figure 3. Group QHA. I. Offering tray no. 0/667, QH93. 28.7 x 21.3 cm.

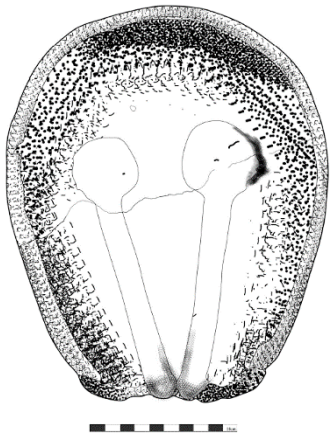

Figure 4. Group QHA. II. Offering tray no. 0/669, QH93. 27 x 22.5 cm.

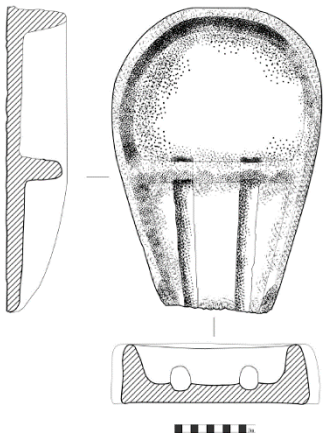

Figure 5. Group QHA. III. Offering tray no. 0/1325.04, QH206a. 27 x 22.5 cm.

The QHB group

These offering trays display U-shaped canals, two parallel channels, a single straight canal, rectangular basins, food offerings, furniture models, and vessels. In addition to these elements, some examples may also show brief epigraphical inscriptions on their surfaces. This last feature, of which there is only one example in this typology, is exceptional in Egypt (Kilian 2016: 174). Although the horseshoe shape is predominant in these offering trays, both rectangular and oval shapes may also be present. The QHB group is divided into four subtypes: QHB. I, QHB. II, QHB. III and QHB. IV.

Artefacts no. 0/665 (Fig. 6), no. 110/90 (Fig. 7), and no. 0/668 (Fig. 8) are, accordingly, classified into the QHB. I subtype. Their key features are: U-shaped canals, food offerings, and the whole object is shaped like a horseshoe. The food offerings consist of oxen heads, cattle limbs, vegetables, and pieces of meat.

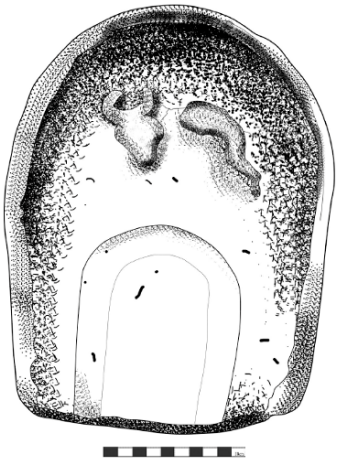

Figure 6. Group QHB. I. Offering tray no. 0/665, QH93. 28.4 x 20.3 cm.

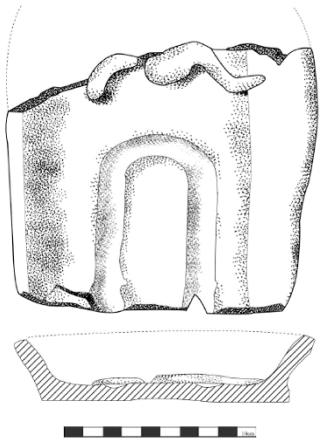

Figure 7. Group QHB. I. Fragmentary offering tray no. 110/90, QH110. 16.4 x 18.6 cm.

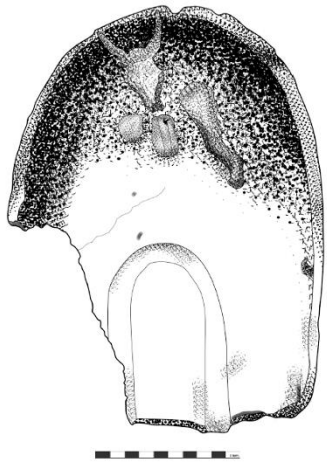

Figure 8. Group QHB. I. Fragmentary offering tray no. 0/668, QH93. 29.8 x 19.7 cm.

The second subgroup, QHB. II, encompasses object no. 0/754 (Fig. 9), which is horseshoe-shaped and shows food offerings such as bread, cattle limbs, vegetables, and oxen heads. A rectangular seat, three vessels, two parallel canals and a rectangular basin are also shown.

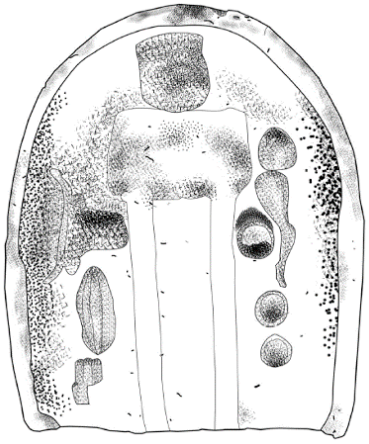

Figure 9. Group QHB. II. Offering tray no. 0/754, QH90b. Unknown measurements.

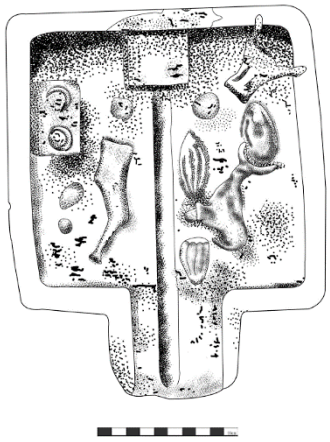

Figure 10. Group QHB. III. Offering tray no. 0/621, QH93. 28, 8 x 39, 8 cm.

Subtype QHB. III is represented by offering tray no. 0/621 (Fig 10). As in the previous case, it shows food offerings and a rectangular seat; but it also shows a table with two vessels on it. However, its libation system consists of a single straight canal, and its shape is rectangular with a spout on the front.

The last subtype is QHB. IV, which includes the peculiar no. 106/1 (Fig. 11). This artefact is a large fragment whose shape could be either oval or horseshoe. Although the libation system has disappeared,

other significant elements have been preserved: a cattle limb, a vegetable, and a hieroglyphic inscription cut its surface,[5] which consists of an offering formula for the deceased.

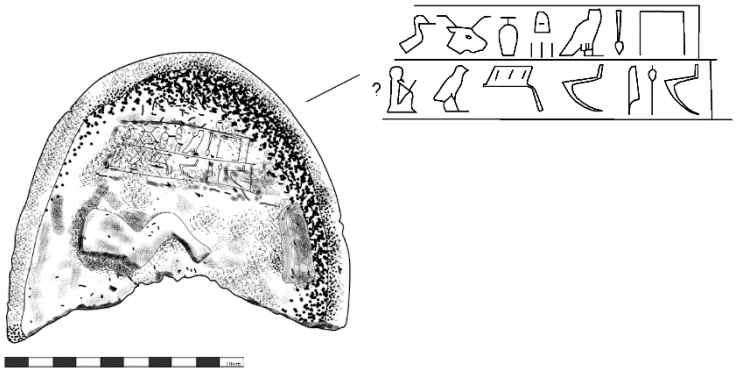

Figure 11. Group QHB. IV. Fragment of offering tray no. 106/1, QH106. 15 x 17, 5 cm.

First line: *prt-ḫrw m t ḥnkt kꜣ ꜣpd.*

Second line: *mꜣḥḏi imꜣḫw*.

First line: 'Invocation-offerings of bread, beer, ox and fowl'.

Second line: 'The revered *Mahedji*'.

The QHC group

This group comprises fragments of the offering trays no. 110/22 (Fig. 12), no. 110/91 (Fig. 13), no. 0/1114.01 (Fig. 14), no. 110/78 (Fig. 15), and no. 0/1318.01 (Fig. 16). These objects provide little information on their shape and other factors and provide little data on libation systems or other elements. Artefacts no. 110/22, no. 110/91, and no. 0/1114.01 are fragments without any remains of food models or libation systems. It not possible to ascertain their shape: they could have been horseshoe, oval, or circular.

[5] It was not possible to review the original artefact and, consequently, the transcription of the hieroglyphic inscription provided by Edel has been used. According to the information provided by Luisa M. García González, the name of the deceased is not recorded in Ranke (1935), but it might be a nisbe of *Mꜣ-ḥḏ*, which is the name given to the 16th Nome of Upper Egypt, the Oryx Nome. A paper on this matter is in progress.

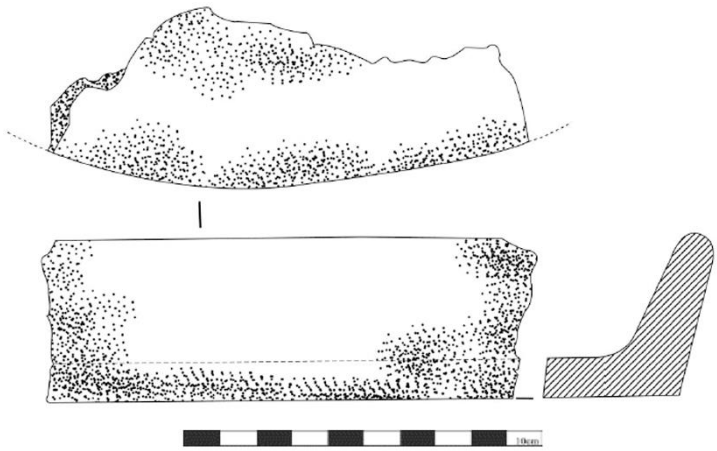

Figure 12. Group QHC. Fragment of offering tray no. 110/22, QH110. 13 x 5 cm.

In contrast, objects no. 110/78 and no. 0/1318.01 show a small portion of their libation systems. These remains could suggest that object no. 110/78 (Fig. 15) had a U-shaped channel while the tray itself could have been horseshoe shaped (Edel 2008: 1766). Object no. 0/1318.01 (Fig. 16) probably had two parallel channels (Edel 2008: 1956) with an additional wall, and the whole object is shaped like a horseshoe. Thus, this last tray, no. 0/1318.01, could be similar to offering tray no. 0/1325.04 from Qubbet el-Hawa (Fig. 5).

Figure 13. Group QHC. Fragment of offering tray no. 110/91, QH110. 9 x 16 cm.

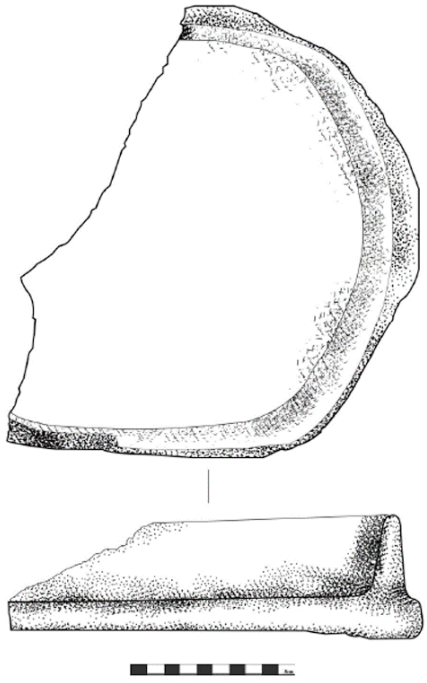

Figure 14. Group QHC. Fragment of offering tray no. 0/1114.01, QH207. 28 x 32 cm.

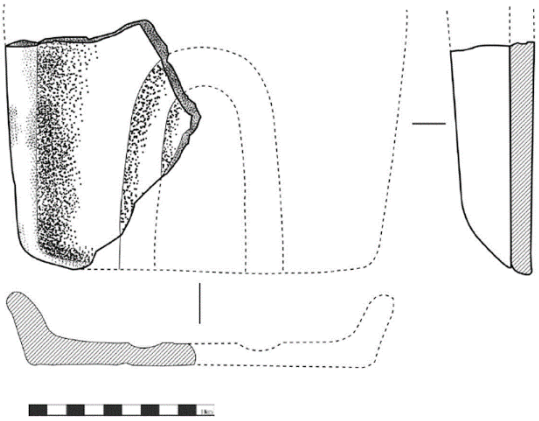

Figure 15. Group QHC. Fragment of offering tray no. 110/78, QH110. 12.5 x 10.4 cm.

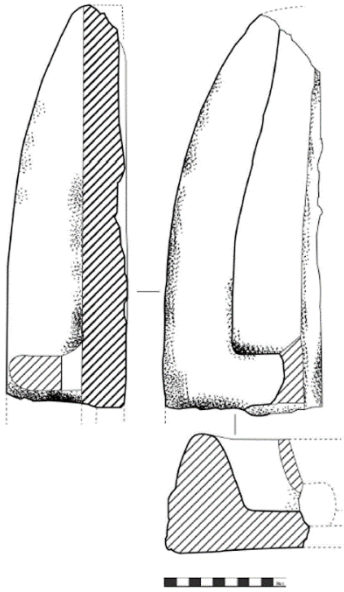

Figure 16. Group QHC. Fragment of offering tray no. 0/1318.01, QH206a. 28.6 x 11.4 cm.

Parallels and connections with offering trays discovered in other areas

Due to the fact that information and/or documentation about offering trays from Qubbet el-Hawa is currently limited to Edel's publications, it is necessary to study them extensively and in detail. However, in 2012, Andrea Kilian approached this topic regarding connections between these objects and those from the First Nome. The author highlighted the design similarities of the offering trays from Qubbet el-Hawa in relation to other trays from the Theban region (Kilian 2012: 109). It is also possible to observe further similarities to the examples presented in this study as well as those documented in Dendera during the archaeological work carried out by Fisher between 1915 and 1918.

The main similarities between the trays are their shape and their libation systems. Horseshoe and U-shaped canals are particularly prevalent. In addition to these details, other designs can be observed; like rectangular shapes, double parallel canals additional walls on their surface, two diagonal canals with rounded basins, and single straight canals (Figs. 17–22).

Regarding the common features of the offering trays mentioned above, it is possible to perceive some differences. These could have derived from either each craftsman's or sponsor's personal creativity, as mentioned previously in the introduction, or the styles and individual trends in the material culture of each place (Jeffreys 2010: 104). Perhaps, the hieroglyphic inscription on offering tray no. 106/1 could give answers to these questions but, so far, there are no other similar examples at Qubbet el-Hawa nor at other sites. This unusual element could be understood as a request from the sponsor, as suggested by Leclère in his research.

Figure 17. Horseshoe-shaped offering tray with two parallel canals. Dendera (courtesy of the Penn Museum, object no. 29-65-713).

Figure 18. Oval-shaped offering tray with a U-shaped canal and an additional wall. Dendera (courtesy of the Penn Museum, object no. 29-65-735).

Figure 19. Horseshoe-shaped offering tray with a U-shaped canal. Dendera (courtesy of the Penn Museum, object #29-65-711).

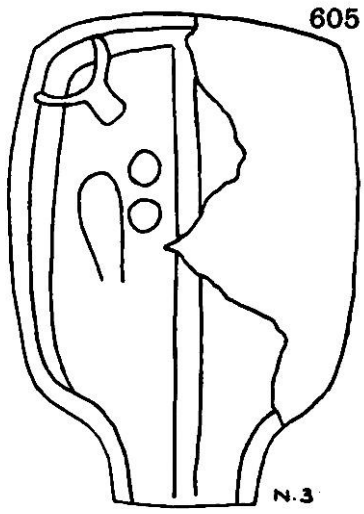

Figure 20. Rectangular-shaped fragmentary offering tray with only a right-hand canal for libations, similar to 0/621 from Qubbet el-Hawa. Qurneh (Petrie 1909, pl. 20).

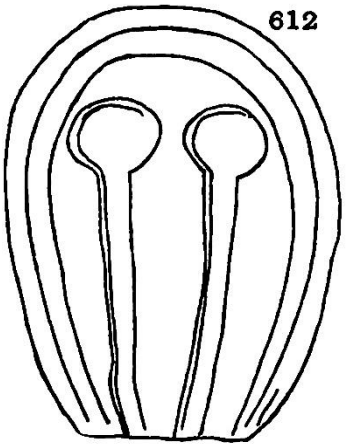

Figure 21. Similar offering tray to object no. 0/669 from Qubbet el-Hawa. Qurneh (Petrie 1909, pl. 21).

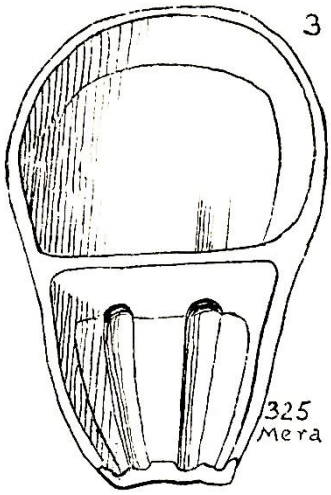

Figure 22. Similar offering tray to object no. 0/1325.04 from Qubbet el-Hawa. Dendera (Petrie 1900, pl. 19).

Conclusions

In the archaeological work of Elmar Edel at Qubbet el-Hawa, no 'soul houses' were documented. However, it is known that at the beginning of the 20th century, Lady Cecil found at least three models of these pottery houses (Cecil 1903, 1905). These were discovered outside tombs 23 and 29. Furthermore, her reports suggested that these objects were in good condition, except for one.

Regarding the archaeological context in which these objects are documented, the differences between offering trays and stone offering tables have been distinguished. Whilst the latter are normally found in the public areas of the tombs, pottery offering trays may well be found in both, public and private areas. This fact, along with the elements represented on the trays and tables, suggest that pottery offering trays and stone offering tables developed differently, as indicated by Kilian (2012: 112). Nevertheless, both types of artefacts served a common purpose: to provide nutritional offerings and comfort to the deceased in the afterlife. Qubbet el-Hawa offering trays have been usually found in the courtyards of the tombs, due, perhaps, to the continued use of these objects in libation rituals after the burial rites.

Concerning the Qubbet el-Hawa typology established by the author, the acronyms have been applied according to the current archaeological terminology used at this necropolis. This has led to the use of the denomination 'QH (number)', which we have considered to be essential for the creation of a standardised inventory numeration in Qubbet el-Hawa, which may be used in future studies of offering trays findings in this necropolis.

This preliminary study categorised offering trays from Qubbet el-Hawa into three main groups; two of which were subsequently divided into smaller subgroups based on the styles of the trays. They show different offering designs, channels and shapes, possibly as a result of each craftsman's or sponsor's creativity—this is most likely to be the case of the tray which includes a hieroglyph inscription.

The predominant shape of this set of trays is that of a horseshoe, and the main design of the libation system is that of a U-shaped canal. Due mainly to this canal, the clear influence of Dendera and Thebes,

and particularly of Qurneh, can be suggested for the offering trays from Qubbet el-Hawa. This may be because of the importance of Thebes during the First Intermediate Period and beginning of the Middle Kingdom (Hayes 1978: 152–3; Shaw 2000: 109) and the proximity of these regions to Elephantine. However, the research on these trays is in progress and it will be continued in the search of parallels at other archaeological sites in Egypt.

Finally, and focusing on chronology, it is known that Elmar Edel dated offering trays found at Qubbet el-Hawa to the Middle Kingdom. This data was based on the reoccupations of the tombs of the Old Kingdom during the Middle Kingdom. However, future research in connection with these artefacts will be carried out in order to review their chronological context.

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Towards a prosopography of the priests of Akhmim from the Late Period to the Roman Period

Marion Claude[1]

Abstract

This paper presents my post-doctoral research project, which deals with the prosopography of the priests of Akhmim from the Late Period to the Roman Period. In the last centuries of the Pharaonic Period in Egypt, Akhmim was a particularly important city and the temple of Min, Horus, and Isis was one of the largest sacred areas of the country. Unfortunately, the history of this sanctuary and its priests is not very well known, mostly because of the fact that many objects belonging to the priests that were found during excavations at the end of the 19th century are now dispersed throughout the world. As a part of my doctoral thesis, I endeavoured to gather many of these objects in order to study the temples, divinities, and priestly titles of the city. However, the funerary material of the priests also allows for a reconstruction of the families and a prosopographical study of the priests through an analysis of their careers, the inheritance of their titles from father to son and mother to daughter, their matrimonial strategies, and so on. In this paper I will give an overview of the results of this study and highlight the importance of prosopographical research for the field of Egyptology and knowledge of Egyptian society.

Keywords

Prosopography; priests; Akhmim; Late Period; Graeco-Roman Period; titles; family

Introduction

Prosopography is a method of historical analysis that is widely used in other historical disciplines, such as studies of the Roman Empire and Medieval and Modern Europe (Keats-Rohan 2007). It is based on the Greek word '*prosopon*' which means 'face' or 'mask', which indicates that it deals with people: its goal is to study a given group of individuals by gathering the common traits of individual lives. It then aims to compare these traits in order to answer specific questions concerning the group and its characteristics. In this way, prosopography brings a new light to history, distinct from the history of events and the elite, by focusing on the general organisation of society and its evolution.

Katherine Keats-Rohan (2000: 2) gives a definition—chosen from many similar ones—of the term and what it entails: 'prosopography is about what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connection between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the institutions—social, political, legal, economic, intellectual—of their time'.

How can this method be applied to Egyptian sources? The first endeavour of a prosopographical project is to establish its basis, that is to say, the coherent group of individuals that will be at the centre of the

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research process. This usually means answering the following questions: which category of individuals? At what time? And in which geographical area?

Presentation of the research area and goals

For this research project, I chose to focus on the town of Akhmim, the capital city of the ninth Upper Egyptian province.[2] Akhmim is indeed particularly suitable for a prosopographical study, since its large necropolis is rich in funerary material and, therefore, information on its inhabitants has been unearthed there. The first, and most extensive, excavation took place in the last two decades of the nineteenth century after it was discovered by G. Maspero. Unfortunately, it was also looted on a massive scale. As a result of the laws of that time, the material from these tombs was dispersed throughout the world, part of it being sold to travellers in Akhmim, and another part going to the Boulaq museum (now The Egyptian Museum, Cairo), which has kept some of the objects and sold some of the others in its own sales room (Kuhlmann 1983: 53–8).

Therefore, one of the first hurdles when beginning this prosopography was to gather the objects dispersed throughout the museums and private collections of the world. This work is still in progress, but so far, around 750 objects have been gathered from nearly 180 different collections.

The objects excavated span from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period, though there is hardly any material from the Middle Kingdom, and little more from the New Kingdom. Therefore, I chose to focus on the Late to Roman periods, since they offer more evidence and this still has not been gathered and studied in detail, as opposed, for example, to the Old Kingdom sources (Kanawati 1980–1992; 1992; McFarlane 1995). Moreover, the choice of such a period provides insight on the potential cultural evolutions between the last era of indigenous Egyptian rule and the later Ptolemaic and then Roman rules.

Finally, the choice of the category of people to investigate was rather easy to make, as most of the people whose funerary material was found in Akhmim bore priestly titles, whereas the others bore, most of the time, no titles at all. As most of the relevant information concerned the priests, it would be almost impossible to reconstruct prosopographical links between the other, untitled, individuals. Therefore, the main focus of this prosopography is the sacerdotal families of Akhmim from the Late Period to the Roman period.

An overview of the sources and their contents: research questions

This project naturally includes a detailed look at the sources available and the information they provide on the priests of Akhmim and their families. The objects are mainly stelae, coffins, offering tables, papyrus, and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statues. Most of them bear similar funerary inscriptions, either the classic offering formula or spells from various funerary texts, such as the *Book of the Dead*. The prosopographical information is usually located in the parts where these texts are dedicated to the deceased. Next, the name and titles of the deceased are stated, as well as their filiation and sometimes, other ascendants, from the paternal or, more rarely, maternal line. Sometimes, other types of information are recorded, such as some autobiographical remarks or details on a career.

To sum up, these texts contain information concerning the anthroponyms themselves, the family relationships, and the various titles of the individuals. Based on these pieces of evidence, it is possible

[2] The decision to choose Akhmim from the many cities of Egypt derived from the topic of my PhD (Claude 2017).

to reconstruct family trees, study them, and try to shed light on familial organisation and social patterns.

An example of such avenues of study is the question of the transmission of titles from father to son, or the naming patterns throughout generations. For example, the phenomenon called 'papponymy', which is very prevalent in the period under study, states that the eldest son was usually named after his paternal grandfather (Rowlandson and Lippert 2019: 332–5). In the example (Fig. 1), *Djed-her* holds the same name as his paternal grandfather *Djed-her* and is therefore probably the eldest son of *Iret-Hor-ru*, a hypothesis which is corroborated by the fact that the two *Djed-her,* as well as *Iret-Hor-ru,* all held the title 'priest of Horus-*senedjem-ib*', a rare sacerdotal title and the most important one in their titulary. In the next generation, *Nes-Hor*, did not hold this title, just as he did not bear the name *Iret-Hor-ru* like his own grandfather. Thus, we can postulate that he might have had an older brother, perhaps named *Iret-Hor-ru*, who inherited this title—if the title did indeed keep running in the family.

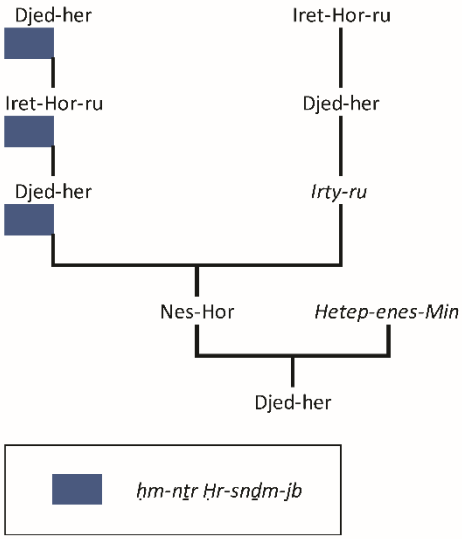

Figure 1. Family tree of *Nes-Hor*, based on stela London British Museum EA 1018 (© M. Claude).

Regarding women, prosopographical studies can be used to see whether they married into a family of the same rank as their own or not, or whether they themselves held priestly titles or not.

These are examples of avenues of research that can be investigated using the internal references of only one object.

Prosopography: problems and methodology

In order to build a larger prosopography, and in particular, to reconstruct larger priestly families and expand on these preliminary results, the goal of studying these sources is to identify objects belonging to the same individual or to different members of the same family, from which to then create a larger family tree.

Such an endeavour is not without problems, the most prominent one being how to be sure that two individuals, mentioned on two different objects, are one and the same. Indeed, when trying to reconstruct a family by linking together many different objects, one has to be very careful of whether the links can be established with any certainty or not.

Many problems of this nature arise. The first one derives from the previously mentioned phenomenon of 'papponymy', as well as that of homonymy. Because of this, many people bear the same name, in different families as well as inside a given family, which makes identifying a precise individual quite difficult. It is even more so when they bear only a few very common titles.

For example, in Fig. 2, the owner of the objects bears only two titles, *smꜣty Jpw* and *ḥm-Ḥr*, which were two of the most common titles in Akhmim from the Late Period onwards. As for his ancestors on his father's side, we do not really know their titles, only that they are reputed to have held the same titles (*mj-nn*) as *Djed-her* and also bore either the name *Djed-her* or the name *Nes-Min*, with the exception of Hor. This means that, if we come across another object belonging to a *Djed-her* who was *smꜣty Jpw* and *ḥm-Ḥr* and son of a *Nes-Min*, it will be impossible to tell if it is the younger *Djed-her*, or his grandfather, or maybe even his great-great-great-great-grandfather, for all we know. It could also be someone else totally unrelated to him, considering that both *Djed-her* and *Nes-Min* were also very common names in Akhmim at that time. In this instance, the name of the mother or the spouse might help differentiate between individuals, but they are not always known.

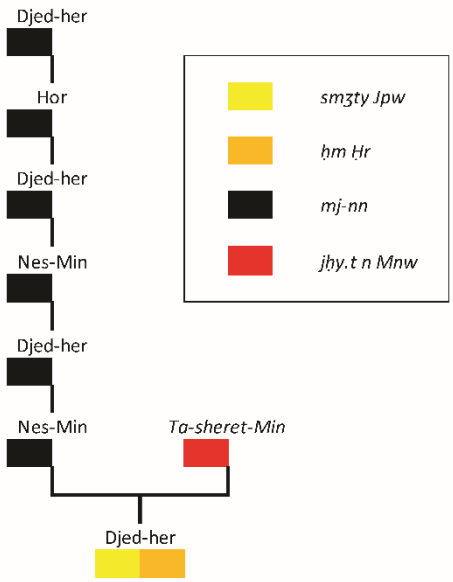

Figure 2. Family tree of *Djed-her*, based on the Bourges coffin, Musée du Berry B2666 (© M. Claude).

In such a case, the only way to have a better idea of whether two individuals could be the same or not is to determine if they could have been contemporaries. In this situation we encounter another problem when dealing with such documentation, especially in provincial settings: the problem of datation. Absolute dating through the mention of reigning years or links to well-known and well-dated individuals such as viziers or members of the reigning family is indeed pretty rare in Akhmim, when compared to capital cities such as Thebes or Memphis, where such mentions are more frequent and facilitate the dating of individuals and their families.

Dating using scientific methods is also rarely available and not always reliable. For example, C14 dating of wood does not necessarily mean dating the object itself, since wood is frequently reused. As for mummies, they do not always belong to the coffin they are kept in, whether because of a secondary burial or because dealers in antiquities used to swap them to enhance the price of a well-preserved coffin.

Stylistic studies have also been conducted on some of the Akhmim material, for example on coffins by Ruth Brech (2008), on stelae by Peter Munro (1973), and on papyri by Marcel Mosher (2001). However, whatever the intrinsic quality of these publications, establishing different styles does not necessarily lead to identifying the precise periods in which they were used. Doing so has proven to be quite risky when the prosopographical relationships between objects have not been considered.

Another problem is that of establishing the duration of a generation (Payraudeau 2014: 112–15). Indeed, even when we are lucky enough to have a precise dating for an individual, every generation removed from him becomes dated with a lower level of certainty, because we cannot know how long each member of each generation lived, nor when, during their lifetime, they had a burial set completed for them. The average span of a generation is considered to be 30 years, but this is only an easy way to give an estimation of the *floruit* of an individual and it is quite probable that this would not be accurate if we discovered more precise information.

To sum up, it is quite difficult to establish a prosopography, especially when recreating family trees and relationships from these *membra disjecta*.

Therefore, it is very important to establish fixed principles by which to discriminate the documentation. To do so, one must establish various levels of certainty, both for datation and for the relationships between objects belonging to the same family.

For datation, we must indicate for each object whether we can suggest:

- A precise, *id est* absolute dating, which is, as we said, quite rare;
- A probable dating, through comparison with other objects, palaeographical hints or onomastics, for example;
- A vague dating such as 'Graeco-Roman', 'Ptolemaic', 'Roman' or 'Late Period' which should be considered as very unsure.

For family relationships, similar criteria can be applied:

- Certain: that is to say that both the names and the titles are rare enough, and numerous enough to ascertain the identity of one or a few of the people mentioned on the objects;
- Probable: the prosopographical data is consistent in both texts, but it may not be enough to be sure whether the individual is the same, or whether, for example, it is a grandson and his grandfather. In this case, the dating criteria might be useful in decision making;
- Possible: the data is consistent, but both titles and names are so widely used that it is just as likely to be someone else, and there is not enough data (such as the name of the mother or spouse, or a genealogical line spanning many generations) to be sure. Dating is also inconclusive. Further information should be considered.

When using these criteria, it becomes possible to identify, to a greater or lesser degree of certainty, links between objects and individuals and to establish larger family trees. Since the levels of certainty

vary, it is very important, in the study of each family, to indicate clearly which links are reliable and which are less so. This should be done in writing, but it can also be shown directly on the trees.

In the first example (Fig. 3), each stroke of colour links all the individuals mentioned on the same object. The owner of the object has their name underlined in the same colour. This allows the researcher to immediately notice how many names from different sources overlap. The more names linked by two different strokes of colour, the more certain the identity of the individuals named on the two objects is, especially when they include women.

However, as discussed, name identity is not enough on its own to ascertain prosopographical relationships and one must also consider title identity. In the second example (Fig. 4), each name is accompanied by coloured squares representing the titles attested for the individual on the various monuments that mention him. The number in each square refers to the number of objects on which each title is given to him.

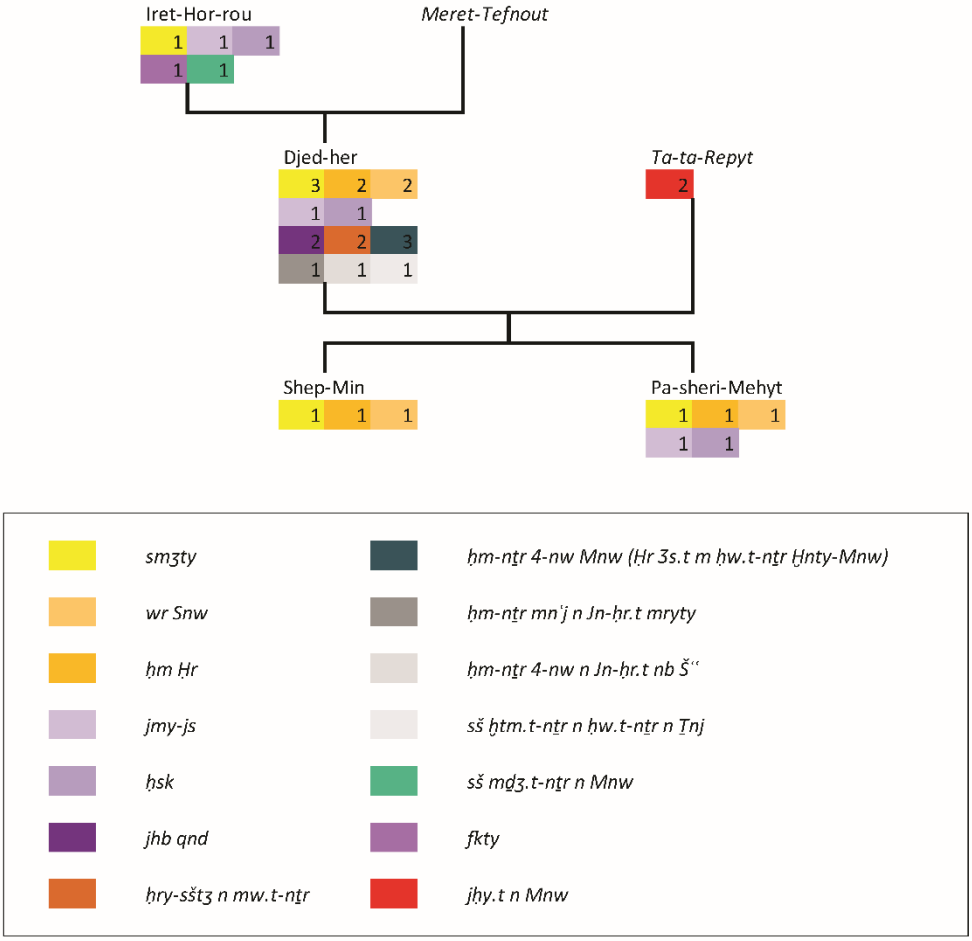

Figure 3. Family tree of *Djed-her* and his sons with titles, based on the offering table Heidelberg Inv. no. 11, and the stelae Cairo CG 22045 and London BM EA 1349 (© M. Claude).

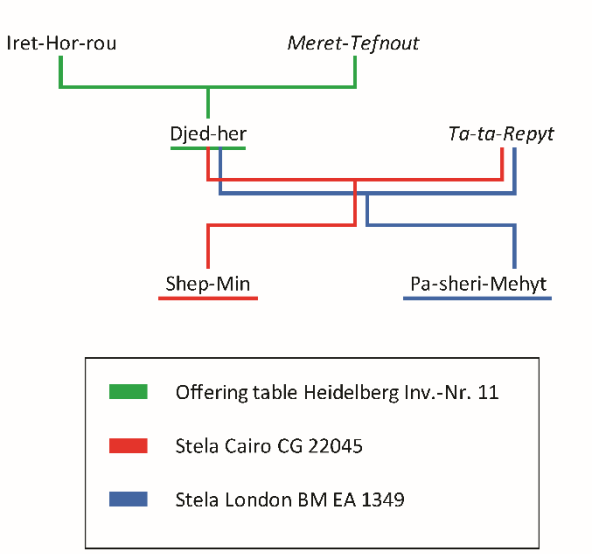

Figure 4. Family tree of *Djed-her* and his sons with links between objects, based on the offering table Heidelberg Inv-Nr. 11, and the stelae Cairo CG 22045 and London BM EA 1349 (© M. Claude).

Using these two types of representation, it is possible to determine the value of a proposed reconstructed link quite quickly, while the second type of tree becomes the basis for the proper prosopographical investigation, following the research areas outlined earlier.

Therefore, the goal of this project is to enhance the raw data by linking together as many objects as possible to ascertain as many prosopographical links as possible. In this respect, one has to begin with what is most certain, that is the certain prosopographical relationships, in order to obtain relative dating of the objects belonging to the same individual or to the same family. Based on the objects whose relative date can be established, and on a few whose absolute date is known, we may come to identify precise dating criteria, from palaeographical study or the identification of workshop patterns, for example (Claude, forthcoming). Using these, we may obtain new datation for other objects bearing these specific traits, and thus reinforce or exclude possible prosopographical identifications, depending on whether the objects belong to the same period or not.

If the reconstruction of families in which the connections between objects is certain is already giving interesting results for the analysis of familial structures, the issue of their date and dating criteria is still very much in progress and much more difficult to implement for the transmission of titles and names, or even matrimonial strategies. However, I certainly hope that careful study of the wealth of funerary material from Akhmim will provide interesting results on the relative dating of provincial art. It certainly deserves attention.

Acknowledgments

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Architectural models of ancient Egypt: the soul houses of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

The value of miniatures and their role in the reconstruction of ancient architecture

Filippo Mi

Abstract

Ancient architectural models can be understood either as useful tools for an architect, illustrating their project, or as representations of already existing buildings. In both cases, these models provide crucial information about the perceptions that ancient peoples had of architecture. The character of these models contributes greatly to the integration of elements and features that were not preserved over time and are no longer ascertainable from archaeological contexts. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance to understand their reference to the reality surrounding them and the degree of objectiveness in the miniaturisation of architecture. Though geographically and chronologically limited, the corpus from Egypt, commonly labelled as 'soul houses', constitutes a very important example of the funerary practice of the Middle Kingdom. Discoveries of soul houses and their widespread presence in almost every Egyptian collection in the world have generated the interest of scholars who have tried to understand the nature of the representation. The collection of soul houses in the Rijksmuseum in Leiden is the main reference and starting point for the present study: the totality of specimens is thoroughly described, analysed, and compared with other known examples from other museum collections and excavations. The re-evaluation of physical and symbolic characteristics, as well as manufacturing techniques, provenance, and archaeological context, plays a key role in the reinterpretation of the soul houses as being representative of a not clearly recognisable architectural reality. The archaeology of Middle Kingdom sites offers the most effective reference for proving that neither domestic nor funerary architecture is displayed in the models, but a completely different kind of architectural reality.

Keywords

Soul houses; offering trays; funerary cult; Middle Kingdom; architecture; domestic archaeology

Introduction

After meditating on the relationship between man and space, the Italian architect and theorist B. Zevi offered a thoughtful definition of architecture: the *conditio sine qua non* for the existence of architecture must be found in the interaction between man and artificial space, something which is different from *natural* space as a result of the combination of external and internal spaces. The dialectic interaction between internal and external spaces is the foundation of the very existence of architecture, which is perceived as a combination of spaces with which man can physically interact (Zevi 1956: 21).

Sculpture, on the other hand, exists in a three-dimensional space as a piece of matter to which man has given a shape. It physically occupies a limited space to the same extent as architecture, but man can only interact with it through its exterior qualities (Margueron 2001: 230).

Looking at the wealth and variety of three-dimensional objects which have been preserved from antiquity, a spontaneous question arises concerning the nature of ancient architectural models and the *hybrid* character of sculptures representing buildings.

Objects referred to as architectural models—French *maquettes architecturales*, German *Hausmodelle*—(Muller 2002: 10–11) are physical representations of buildings or part of buildings on a smaller scale than their real counterparts (Margueron 2001: 230; Bommalaer 2001: 364). A 'perfect' architectural model gives a faithful reproduction of every component of a building in smaller dimensions, maintaining the proportions of each of its parts.

The advantage of architectural models is that their reduced dimensions enable them to be moved and transported where needed, something which is obviously impossible with real architecture. *Maquettes* proved (and still prove) extremely useful for architects in the display of their projects and plans (Muller 2016: 76). Some ancient architectural models may have had this function too, but only a small number of all the models found throughout the Mediterranean are ascribed to this category: *a priori* models exist before the structure they represent and are a direct product of the architect's mind and hand (Muller 2016: 76–100). Models must have specific characteristics to be included in this category: the presence of minor architectural details; precision in the depiction of dimensions; balanced distribution of internal and external spaces; presence of notations and measurements on the surface; all these features suggest that a model under analysis was used as a tool by an architect (Muller 2001: 331–56). *A priori* models provide information on the process of planning and the realisation of architectural projects. They were certainly used in antiquity, and some exemplars have been preserved in good condition (for a review, see Azara 1997).

By contrast, an *a posteriori* model exists as a copy of an architectural reality, which is reduced in dimensions and miniaturised into a three-dimensional object. This copy retains the essential proportions of the real structure in its form (Muller 2016: 56). The nature and character of the architecture represented are conceived and communicated through the model thanks to the depiction of essential elements that are recognisable to the observer as specific characteristics of the building. Architectural models have an unavoidable relation with an existing reality.

The motive for the study of ancient architectural models lies in the opportunity to use these artefacts as sources for the reconstruction of ancient buildings (Badawy 1966: 12–22; Roik 1988: 40–8). While buildings are generally not preserved above the ground floor, single artefacts of smaller dimensions are more likely to be found intact or in a good state of preservation. When the real counterpart of an architectural model is recognised, it is possible to reconstruct missing elements of the real structure with the details included in the miniature (Bietak 1979: 105).

Buildings, as artefacts, are actively and effectively part of the material culture of a civilisation, as they are 'concrete, spatially, and temporally limited entities, functioning in a human context, i.e. distinct from nature itself' (van Walsem 2005: 1). A building is full of elements and features that allow the observer to immediately ascribe specific architectural typologies to it. These characteristics, which may be layouts, materials, or minor details, always maintain their *folkloristic* and *aesthetic* reference. Buildings share *folkloristic* qualities because they are structures that follow customs and express traditions connected with a specific social group and form of cultural transmission (Olivier 1997: 3, 40–2). If architecture is the result of a multiplicity of factors which combine and influence its form (Olivier 1997: 6–8), an architectural miniature will be as full of character and symbolism as the building it represents. Through the observation of an architectural model, messages, data, pictorial images, and

sensations are decoded and recalled as particular elements belonging to a specific system (Olivier 1997: 19–21). Buildings, and their models, can be recognised by individuals and groups through social, cultural, historical, and anthropological determination. The right theory to be used in this research can only be the emic/etic dialectic approach (van Walsem 2005: 49), distinguishing our modern reactions from those of ancient people when considering the same architectural model.

During his campaign of excavations at the necropolis of Deir el-Rifeh, the British archaeologist W. M. F. Petrie uncovered *c*. 150 architectural models made of clay. These types of objects had rarely been found in Egypt previously, and had always been in the context of necropolises. They owe the name 'soul houses' to Petrie and Quibell (1895: 42), who first called them this at the end of the 19th century.

That soul houses fall into the category of architectural models is self-evident since these objects clearly represent buildings. Because they have a noticeable funerary character, owing to the context of their discovery, and lack elements and features functional to their use as projects and plans, I can assume that soul houses belong to the category of *a posteriori* models. The sometimes rather schematic representations of buildings in some soul houses has generated a debate on the identification of these models with real architecture. There has always been some difficulty in definitively interpreting the aesthetic message in some soul houses. Even though certain models have a clear reference to domestic architecture, others have a certain ambiguity that makes the interpretation less obvious.

Soul houses were found exclusively in late First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom archaeological contexts (Niwinski 1975: 81). In most cases, they were found at necropolises, and, when *in situ*, they were directly connected with single tombs and individual burials. The limit of their geographical distribution is from Middle Egypt to the Nubian fortresses (Tooley 1989: 251; Leclère 2001: 103–4; Spence 2011: 895; Picardo 2017, personal communication). Therefore, soul houses are an interesting case study in the panorama of ancient Egyptian architectural models because they belong to a very specific class of objects produced by ancient Egyptians over a limited period of time, for a specific purpose, and in a defined part of the country.

As will be shown in the present contribution, the six specimens kept in the Rijksmuseum of Oudheden in Leiden are a very interesting case study, especially because of their extreme variety, different characteristics, and, in some cases, unique features.[1] Besides bringing a group of objects that so far has not received enough attention into a new circle of considerations, the present work also attempts to set a common methodology and terminology for the study of this specific material. Through an objective quantitative approach and a qualitative analysis, which will be as neutral as possible, this work aims to relocate the objects in their specific social and archaeological contexts, and even attempt a possible identification of their provenances.

Status quaestionis

When previous scholars have dealt with this subject, three issues have been considered to be relevant for the comprehension of the phenomenon of soul houses: genesis, development, and interpretation of architectural features. However, two main problems exist in previous scholarship: the authors were working with limited and unquantified corpora of material; and some authors treated offering trays

[1] Access to the artefacts was granted by the curators of the Museum, M. Raven and L. Weiss, who allowed me to consult the material and permitted new photographs, drawings, and three-dimensional digital models to be taken directly from the objects. This is an occasion for me to thank them personally for their availability and openness to my work.

and soul houses simultaneously, sometimes without clarifying the distinction between the two (Spence 2011: 898, n. 17).

Genesis

It is generally agreed that soul houses derive directly from offering trays (Petrie 1907: 14–15; Niwinksi 1975: 76; Tooley 1989: 251; Leclère 2001: 101; Spence 2011: 895–8). They have common formal and functional characteristics: exclusively made of clay, the two categories of objects share the same funerary contexts and function as receptacles for the pouring of liquid libations. The only distinguishable difference is the presence of an architectural model on top of the tray. The first models which appeared on trays seem to have been the 'huts', vaulted small structures, often with a seat depicted below (Type C of Petrie 1907: 17).

Petrie was convinced of a non-Egyptian origin for the appearance of architecture on offering trays, a practice that he interpreted as coming either from the Mediterranean area (Petrie 1907: 15) or from southern African regions (Petrie 1908–1926: 755).

An acceptable explanation for the appearance of architecture on offering trays is offered by Spence: starting out from the hypothesis that early trays were rimless, she argues that the inclusion of a rim conferred a spatial quality on the tray: this enclosed space was the *stimulus* for the spatial visualisation of the tray as a courtyard, leading to the development of more complex architecture from that point onwards (Spence 2011: 900).

Offering trays have been interpreted as having derived directly from stone offering tables, the differentiation in the material used for the manufacture being a consequence of the economic background of the owners (Petrie 1907: 15): clay, cheaper than stone, was a more suitable material for the manufacture of such objects. The difference between soul houses and offering trays lies in the presence or absence of architectural references, a quality that must have also been regarded as characteristic by ancient Egyptians.

Development

Attempts to make a typological seriation of the soul houses have been undertaken, in the first instance, by Petrie, followed by other scholars (Leclère 2001: 107, n. 35), with no reference to technical, material, and formal distinctions. Furthermore, Petrie based his chronological seriation on the assumption that the simplest specimens are the most ancient, and formal complexity is a consequence of an evolution in style and taste (Niwinski 1975: 79).

Niwinski, on the other hand, sees a process of formal change that he defined as '*décadence formelle*', noticing a progressive shift in the form of the base of the offering trays from square to round (Niwinski 1975: 94). It is not clear if Niwinski applies this theory to soul houses as well, but it has been roundly dismissed by Tooley (1989: 251) because the hypothesis is based on the incorrect dating of the material. Niwinski dates round trays later than square trays, but the contrary has been demonstrated by Slater (1974: 302–13) through the dating of the Dendera offering trays exclusively to the First Intermediate Period. Her research, combined with other materials from other archaeological excavations, has also shown that the shapes of trays depend on regional trends (Tooley 1989: 249–96; Leclère 2001: 118–19; Spence 2011: 901). This concept will be shown to be of crucial relevance for the present research since it has been theorised that the provenance of such objects could be ascertained by using the comparison of the shapes of the bases as one of the criteria (Tooley 1989: 297). This approach departs from the

concept that no one existing soul house is identical to another (Spence 2011: 901) but asserts that they can resemble one another and have common characteristics.

Interpretation

Two distinct lines of interpretation have been expressed by scholars about the architectural typology represented in soul houses.

Petrie, noticing the emphasis on domestic features (especially the presence of stairways, furniture, and windcatchers), expressed the idea that soul houses only represent domestic buildings. Because of their position outside the tombs to which they were related, the objects were meant to be visible from the ground and accessed by the visitors to the tomb. Another function, closely linked to domestic architectural representation, is that they were supposed to be shelters for the wandering souls of the deceased.

Niwinski notices that, although some models show a clear reference to domestic architecture, others have a marked funerary character, which coincides with the context of discovery; soul houses were meant to be substitutes for rock-cut tomb chapels. Niwinski states that the prototype of soul houses must have been rock-cut tombs located in the same cemetery where soul houses were developed, notwithstanding the discovery of soul houses in necropolises without rock-cut tombs. Poor people, not being able to afford massive tomb chapels excavated in the rock, would have felt the need to provide their tombs with a superstructure (Niwinski 1975: 101–5).

Leclère (2001: 111–12) has no doubts that trays and soul houses were meant as substitutes for unaffordable luxurious burial equipment. As for the interpretation of miniature buildings on offering trays, the main point of Leclère's article is to stress the exclusively funerary reference of the architecture of such models. The most ancient models, those with the 'hut', would have been developed as an imitation of the Osiris cenotaph in Abydos, while the appearance of a portico would have been inspired by contemporary rock-cut tombs. The axial arrangement of the major architectural spaces of the models and their funerary context in direct relation to elite rock-cut tombs all indicate an incontrovertible interpretation of soul houses as tomb models (Leclère 2001: 112–13). When Leclère explains the presence of domestic architectural elements in a consistent number of soul houses, he refers to the appearance of such elements in complex Middle Kingdom tombs and monuments, namely the tombs of Qau el-Kebir and the mortuary temple of Montuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari (Leclère 2001: 115).

The most recent interpretation, offered by Spence, does not question the domestic reference of the miniatures (2011: 899), and takes into consideration the minor features included in the models: a strong emphasis on physical comfort is seen in the majority of the architectural elements, closely associated with air and wind (Spence 2011: 901). Fresh air played an important role in the soul houses, as demonstrated by the presence of the portico, windcatchers, and windows. Stairways provided access to the roof, used for sleeping during the night. Coffin Texts (spell 355), mentioning *ṯ3w* playing the role of provider of relief to the deceased, support Spence's theory. The inclusion of wind-associated domestic features in the Rifeh soul houses can be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to represent the provision of wind/air/breath in a form where it could have been activated and transferred to the deceased through the pouring of libations, as was also the case for food offerings (Spence 2011: 903). This may be true for the Rifeh material, where these minor architectural elements appear on the specimens (though not consistently), but some doubt remains about those other models from other sites where windcatchers are not included. So far, Spence's approach remains the best and most comprehensive since she couples the material evidence with the literary tradition of the contemporary period.

Figure 1. Section and drawing of AT 99 (after Leemans 1840: pl. 88).

Dating

The dating of this material has shifted considerably towards dates which are later than originally theorised. It must be stated that no absolute criteria for dating the soul houses exist, and archaeometric analysis has been attempted for offering trays with unsatisfactory results.[2] The dating of soul houses is largely dependent on the pottery found in the same contexts. Petrie (1908–1926: 755) ascribed the objects to a time frame of *c.* 400 years (6th to 12th dynasties), but, after a comparison of the pottery from Dendera and Rifeh, he shortened the dating to the period of the 9th to the 12th dynasties (Petrie 1907: 14). Niwinski (1975: 97) dates the material to only the early 12th dynasty, greatly shortening the period of diffusion to a range of one dynasty and locates the site of origin of offering tables and soul houses in the Lisht/Sedment area.

Tooley (1989: 298–9) ascribes offering trays to a period of diffusion between the 9th and 11th dynasties, with soul houses being slightly later than trays, from the contexts of the 11th to the 12th dynasties. Leclère (2001: 120) dates the material to the early 12th dynasty but does not dismiss the possibility of an 11th-dynasty date for some specimens. The most recent dating for the Rifeh material has been proposed by Do. Arnold (2005: 113) who looked at the pottery assemblage found in the same context as soul houses: she ascribes soul houses to the 12th and 13th dynasties.

Soul houses and offering trays formal complexity co-existed in the same period, but trays are earlier than soul houses because some have been found in contexts dated to the early First Intermediate Period (Minault-Gout 1980: 277; Kilian 2012: 110).

The process of the disappearance of soul houses seems to have been rather abrupt.

The soul houses in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

The soul houses of the Egyptian collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO) in Leiden will be the main focus of this study. Among the numerous Egyptian antiquities kept in the Museum, the soul houses represent a small, but extremely important, collection of six different specimens. They have been part of the collection of the RMO since the beginning of the 20th century. Some of the objects can be traced back to very specific sites, and sometimes even to very specific excavation campaigns.

AT 99 was the first soul house to become part of the collection of the RMO. It arrived in the Netherlands in 1828, together with the artefacts collected and purchased by Giovanni Anastasi. There is no information regarding the place of acquisition of the object.

The soul house is in perfect condition, with all its components entirely preserved and only one small detail missing. Although all the details of the object are finely executed, not all of them can be easily interpreted. The base is of regular quadrangular shape, open at the front, without a frontal rim. The low rim rises slightly from the front to the back. Offerings are laid all over the court. It is possible to distinguish a bird on the left, a bull's head leaning against the wall of the structure, an offering stand on the right of the central doorway, a table with three jugs (one of them is not preserved), and another jug on the floor. Other offerings are lying around the courtyard, but they are more difficult to identify. A basin is modelled in the centre on the front of the object, with two parallel canals leading off from the sides. Four unidentifiable objects, of conical shape, are modelled in between the canals, with parallel

[2] The Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum of Hildesheim has conducted thermoluminescence analysis on an offering tray, resulting in an early 2nd millennium BCE date for the object (Leclère 2001: 120, n. 82).

scratchings on their surface.[3] Two doorways open into the structure, the central one is the biggest and it gives direct access to a seat; the second one, on the left side of the model., is slightly smaller. Both of them are decorated with a scratch that contours the casing.

Several authors have commented on the presence of AT 99 in the Museum collection. AT 99 is briefly defined as a 'model of the entrance to a hypogeum' (Leemans 1840: 104–5 [146]). A revised and amplified description was offered in 1853, including a colour plate with a drawing of the object and two sections (Fig. 1) showing the thickness of the walls of the building and the presence of the seat. Finally, in more recent times, Niwinski (1975: 103–4) has discussed the characteristics of AT 99, highlighting the absence of domestic architectural references in order to support his thesis of a marked funerary reference.

Direct parallels for AT 99 have not yet been found, but soul houses with similar characteristics can be seen in other museum collections. The absence of a spout, the lack of a frontal rim, the shape of the base, as well as the two canals leading off from the sides of the large basin are also found on other objects: Cairo CG 1902 (unpublished), UC 18417 from Elkab (Tooley 1989: 258 [7]), Ash. E2093 from Elkab (Tooley 1989: 259 [10], pl. 69.2), and MMA 35.7.52-4 from Hierakonpolis (Tooley 1989: 257; Hayes 1953: 256). Notably, the parallel objects collected show no frontal rims and are ascribed to the u-shaped form category. An offering-stand in front of the seat can also be seen inside CG 1902 and on UC 14818 from Elkab. Given the similarities with these soul houses in other museum collections, it could be stated that some of the characteristics of AT 99 are typical of soul houses found in Upper Egypt, especially, given the pieces of known provenance, in the Hierakonpolitan region (Hierakonpolis and Elkab). It could be assumed that AT 99 comes from Southern Egypt, though this remains uncertain.

F 1901/1.62 (Fig. 2) is the most interesting of the soul houses from the RMO and the most exceptional of all the specimens. The base has an irregular quadrangular shape, with a very high rim on 3/4 of the base. The rim bends down at the front. Three parallel drainage canals run on the left side of the object, next to a table with an irregular quadrangular shape. Small, round elements are modelled on the table and behind it, where four round loaves of bread, a bull's head, and a bull's leg are visible on the surface of the base. There are four different buildings, similar in shape but separated by a cross-shaped court. Each of these buildings has two storeys: the upper ones are always accessed with external stairways. Looking inside each upper storey, four different humanoid figurines can be seen. Of these, three are completely preserved, while one is headless. The ground floors are completely empty. The four buildings have one doorway per storey. The disposition of the door openings means that none of the doors face the others. The stairway that gives access to the upper storey of the building on the front right was modelled with particular care and does not lean against the rim of the soul house, in contrast with the other three shorter stairways.

The inclusion of four separate buildings on the same soul house makes it a *unicum* from a complexity point of view. The provenance from Gebelein is stated as certain in the Museum registers, though many elements seem to contradict this. In the first place, the object was not found during documented archaeological excavations, and was only bought by Insinger in Luxor. Although it is not possible to reconstruct the processes that brought F 1901/1.62 out of its archaeological context into the hands of the dealer and, later, into Insinger's possession, other conclusions could be drawn on the basis of soul houses of known provenance. As a result of several excavation campaigns in the necropolis of Gebelein, the Museo Egizio in Turin enriched its collection, between 1910 and 1920 (Bosio 2016: 64) with four soul houses (S. 11961 and S. 11962; S. 16030 and S. 16031). It should be noted that all the soul houses from

[3] In previous works of literature, they were interpreted as '*sceaux funeraires*' or '*faisceaux de tiges et fleurs de papyrus*' (Leemans 1840: 56, pl. 88).

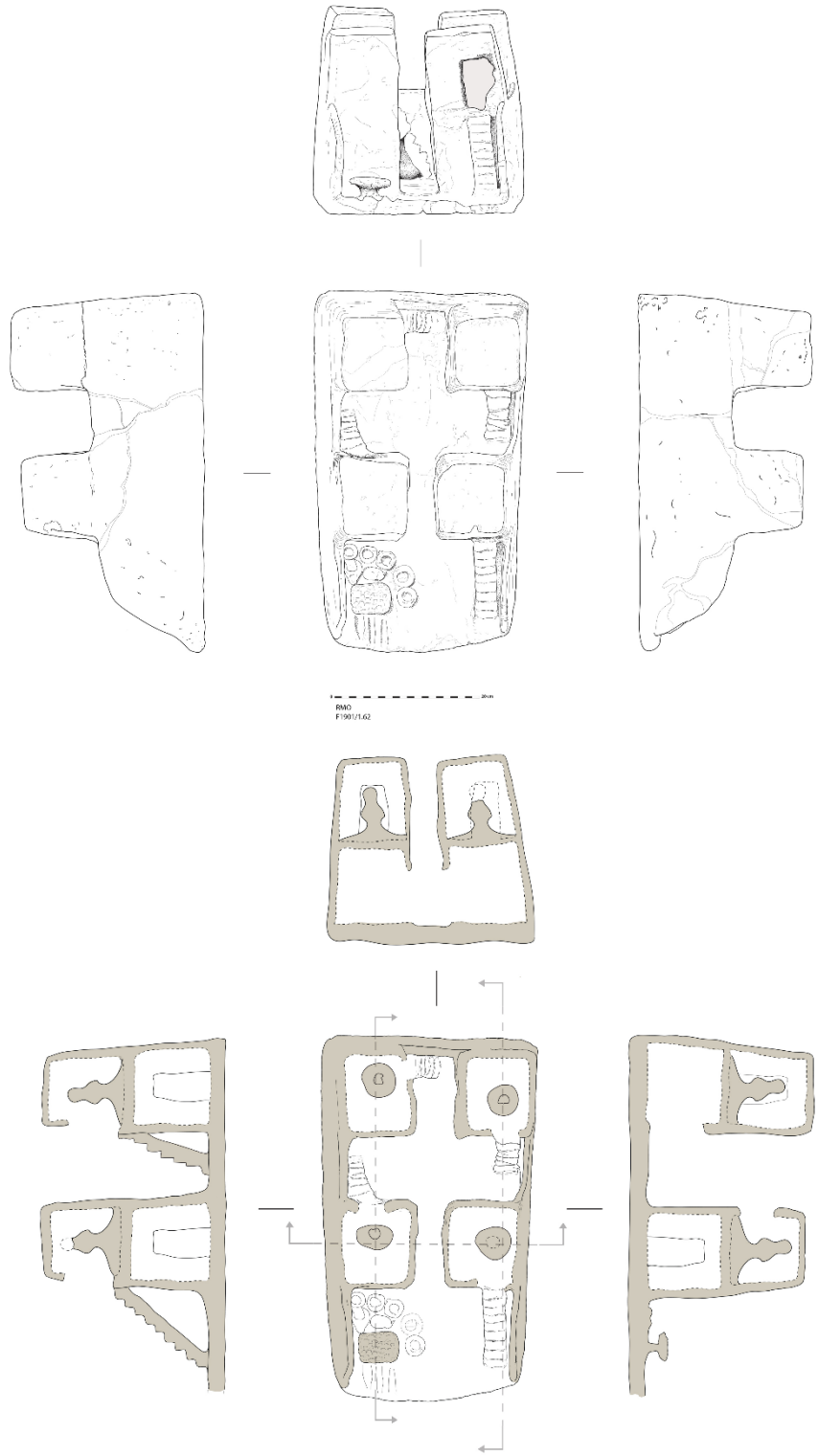

Figure 2. Drawing and sections of F 1901/1.62 (drawings by the author).

Gebelein are well fired, the Nile clay being of a light-brown, yellowish colour (except for S. 11961, which is a light-brown, red colour). Two of the four specimens, S. 16031 and S. 11962, were roughly made and unpainted, their features were hand-modelled and crudely applied onto the surface of the base.

The other two, S. 11961 and S. 1630, are more refined and coated with red paint. S. 1630 is the most complex and best manufactured of the four, and it is still possible to distinguish the layers of paint that were applied to the object: the surface and the upper part of its sides were painted with a brown-reddish coat, the lower part coated with a white paint. Thus, it can be noticed that the objects from the excavations in Gebelein do not share any formal or material characteristics with F 1901/1.62. It is, however, still possible that F 1901/1.62 was found in Gebelein, and that its formal differences are a result of later—or earlier—production, as well as of different modellers with different materials and different representational intentions. Until further evidence emerges supporting a Gebelein provenance, the account recorded in the registers should be taken critically and the provenance should be considered to be questionable.

F 1901/1.62 has been mentioned several times in Egyptological literature, but its details and characteristics haves never been fully discussed. Boeser (1910: 1) briefly describes it as an 'offering table' in the form of four houses and mentions the presence of the four humanoid figures on the upper floors. Tooley (1989: 264–5) is aware of the existence of the object in the Dutch collection: she comments on it as a 'complex soul house' composed of four tall 'towers', enclosed by a 'high enclosure wall square in shape'. It is only with Schneider (1995: 27) that the soul house gets an interpretation of its features: the buildings are described here as 'tower-shaped', and the soul house itself is interpreted as a summary image of a 'house-complex in an ancient Egyptian village'. The grey colour of the piece is also interpreted as a reference to the colour of sun-dried mud-bricks. Finally, the absence of any reference to F 1901/1.62 in Niwinski's 1975 article is noteworthy, even though he surely knew of Boeser's publication.

Regarding the interpretation of these buildings offered by previous scholarship, Tooley and Schneider use the words 'towers' or 'tower-shaped' buildings, thus describing their nature in a very precise way. Problems arise when trying to define what a tower is, its functions as an architectural space, and its existence in the urban and rural landscape of ancient Egypt.

Another interesting aspect of F 1901/1.62 is the above-mentioned presence of directly incorporated human figurines modelled inside the upper floor of each of the four buildings (Fig. 3). While, on the one hand, previous scholarship does mention their presence, on the other hand, it does not take the interpretation of their function any further. Human figurines included in the frame of architectural models seem at first to be an exception: the way soul houses are displayed in museums shows them without any human presence and leads to the conception of an idea of empty architecture. Only after careful examination of the existing publications is it possible to see that this image is far from the original reality of the objects: for example, soul house ECM 1720, from the Eton Collection in the John Hopkins Archaeological Museum, shows three

human figurines lying against the walls of the piece, and one sitting figure modelled inside the upper storey.[4] A very interesting soul house kept in the Archaeological Museum of the Library of Alexandria, said to have come from Al-Qurna, has *c.* 14 humanoid figurines modelled against the walls.[5] Many of the models from Rifeh are enriched by the presence of humanoid figurines: in no. 118 of Petrie's publication (1907: pl. 18), a sitting figure is modelled below the stairway; in no. 36, a sitting figure is

[4] Personal communication; the object was obtained by the John Hopkins Museum in 1899.

[5] Object seen in 2017 in the Archaeological Museum of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina.

Figure 3. Photograph of the soul house and close-ups of the preserved figurines on the upper floors of the buildings (courtesy of the RMO photo department).

represented next to a piece of furniture; and, in no. 134, a sitting figure is modelled against the back wall of the piece. On the same plate, many other loose figures, which are likely to have belonged to soul houses, are shown in the photograph, where one can also see a squatting figure grinding wheat. A fragmentary soul house recovered in Hu contains eight figurines seated at a meal (Tooley 1989: 277 [3]). These are only some of the known examples which can help to redefine the presence of figurines included in the models. Not only were figurines sometimes modelled and applied to the tray before firing the object; they could also have been modelled and fired separately and later included in the soul house. It is acceptable to think that their scarcely attested survival in the archaeological context is due to the small dimensions of such figurines or to poor, careless methods of excavation. The possibility that figurines were made of other (more perishable) materials than clay should not be dismissed.

Parallels and similarities with F 1901/1.62 can be found in a limited number of soul houses from other museum collections: a specimen in the Art and History Museum in Brussels shares evident similarities with the soul house from Leiden: E.2283 is a soul house with a rectangular base, without a frontal rim, of light-brown, greyish ware, which includes a tall building with a flat rooftop, accessed by an external stairway. On the left side of the model, there is a small offering table, with loaves of bread modelled on top, from which three drainage-canals lead off. At the back of the table, four round-shaped loaves of bread and a cow's leg are seen in front of a doorway. Inside the lower storey of the building, a sitting figure is visible. The upper floor shows a group of human figurines, absorbed in baking and brewing. The upper rim of the model is curved, similar to F 1901/1.62. This detail, the colour of the soul house, the modelled table on the left side, the three drainage canals leading off from it, the rounded loaves on the back, and the figures modelled inside the building closely resemble the characteristics of the object in Leiden E.2283 was bought in 1907 in Giza (Anonymous 1981: 52 [46], fig. 53; Tooley 1989: 292–3), and it is highly unlikely that it comes from the same place where it was purchased: it would be the only soul house from Giza and the only one ever found further north than Beni Hasan. An alternative explanation could be that the object was found somewhere else, later brought to Giza and acquired there for the Museum in Brussels. Two other specimens in the Egyptian collection of the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago also share a close resemblance to the objects from Leiden and Brussels: the first, FMC 105209, is a soul house with an irregular rectangular base, without a frontal rim, of light-brown, greyish ware, with two storeys: the lower storey is composed of a portico supported by four quadrangular pillars; the upper storey is accessed by a narrow central stairway which gives access to a single shrine/niche, containing a sitting figure. On the right side, in front of the portico, five conical-shaped, vertical objects are arranged in a row; on the left side, there is a small offering table, with loaves of bread on top and behind, which are circular in shape. Three drainage canals lead off from below the table. The second soul house, FMC 31595, is composed of three different tall, narrow buildings, with slightly curved rooftops, modelled on a rimless rectangular tray. The buildings are accessed by three external stairways, similar in shape and not leaning against the rim. The soul house displays a modelled offering table, this time on the right the object, with loaves of bread modelled on top and at the back, from which three drainage-canals lead off. At the present stage of research, it is not possible to see if there are any figurines modelled inside the buildings. All the soul houses from Chicago display very similar physical characteristics, including the colour of the ware, which is reminiscent of that of the soul houses in Leiden and in Brussels. These examples were obtained by the Field Museum in 1899 and were acquired in Luxor by E. E. Ayer (Allen 1936: 9; Brovarski 2016: 1).[6] Only further research can explain if these objects from a specific location in Egypt, but, at this stage, the common characteristics of these four soul houses can be highlighted: their material similarities point to a possible common place of origin for the clay; 'stylistically' similar, especially in the inclusion of human presence in the models,

[6] ‹https://collections-anthropology.fieldmuseum.org/catalogue/1228777›, accessed 3 July 2018.

these soul houses could have been manufactured in the same location. Who were the men behind these models? Who manufactured these objects? Are we talking about potters or artists?

Figure 4a–b. F 1901/9.120, front view (photograph courtesy RMO photo department) and drawing (by the author).

F 1901/9.120 is one of the finest specimens in the collection. Its state of preservation is remarkable, and the refinement of its execution is visible in every minor detail as well as in the well-preserved, brown-reddish coat that covers the entire surface of the piece. The base of the object is of regular quadrangular shape, with a protruding spout in the centre of the front. In the centre of the courtyard there is a basin of quadrangular shape from which two drainage-canals lead off. Several offerings are laid inside the courtyard: a bull leaning on the left side of the rim, a cow's leg, a bird, and several forms of bread. A storage facility can be found under the stairway (Fig. 5b). Inside the portico, a table with three jugs and a seat can be seen, with the accurately modelled stoppers on them (Fig. 5a). The seat is in a central position and in axis with the spout of the object. A wall, which is lower on the front and gradually higher towards the back, encloses the courtyard of the model. The building is composed of a portico with two columns resting on circular bases, slightly larger than the shafts. There is a straight flight stairway with a window. A grid of 5 x 8 irregular squares has been carefully scratched in the centre of the top floor (Fig. 4b).

This soul house was acquired by Insinger, though it is not specified where. It was obtained by the museum in September 1901, and the museum registers report it to have originally been found covered by a cloth supported by wooden beams. None of these elements is in the possession of the RMO. Remarkable care was taken in the representation of all its details, like the offerings laid on the courtyard, some of which show the use of different techniques. Two windows can be seen on the piece, one above the stairway, the other inside the room of the building, just above the table with the three offering jugs. The interpretation of the 5 x 8 irregular grid is debatable; it has been noticed in the past, but none of the authors who have mentioned its presence has commented on its interpretation. It is not that different from the representations of gardens that we know from contemporary tombs (Badawy 1966: 235–7, fig. 110) and tombs of the New Kingdom, and actual remains of such gardens have

recently been found at the Theban Necropolis.[7] The only hindrance to such an interpretation is the position of the alleged garden squares: their position on the top of the building makes the identification of such a grid as a garden installation more doubtful. Considering the position of the grid on the rooftop and considering the possible activities that were carried out there, the grid could be a schematic representation of a matting or net, which could have been used for the drying of fruit or as a sleeping facility. The only other soul house that displays such a grid on the rooftop is E.15.1950 (Bourriau 1981: 118–19) in the Fitzwilliam Museum, which shows a grid of 6 x 4 regular squares, enclosed in a rectangle, slightly raised from the rest of the rooftop. These two soul houses not only share the grid on the top of the building, but the ware is also similar, as well as the shape of the base, and there are similarly shaped offerings in the courtyard.

Figure 5a–b. Close-ups of the table with jugs and minor details of soul house F 1901/9.120 (photographs by the author).

Another feature that makes F 1901/9.120 an exceptional soul house is the presence of fifteen post holes on the surface of the object. Other soul houses with numerous postholes are Cairo CG 1902 (17 postholes around the basin) and UC 18418 (11 postholes around the basin Tooley 1989: 260, no. 2). Furthermore, several of the models recovered by Petrie in Rifeh show the presence of postholes in the courtyard, generally encircling the central basins. F 1901/9.120 is different from all these other soul houses because the postholes are not just around the basin in the courtyard (4/15), but the majority of them are on the walls of the model (6/15) and on the rooftop (5/15). Until now, no other soul house in museum collections or excavation reports has shown such a high number of postholes positioned in so many different places. If these postholes were initially interpreted as being meant for the placing of wooden beams to support a shelter, more recently other interpretations have prevailed, such as seeing them as holes for the placing of miniature trees and plants, as seen in the models from the tomb of Meketre (Leclère 2001: 105–6; Spence 2011: 904). Although this interpretation could better suit the nature of postholes in the courtyard and around the basin, it is difficult to imagine model trees or bushes placed on the walls and on the rooftop of the structure. It is true that the ambiguous grid could be interpreted as a garden, which would strengthen the interpretation of the holes as tree holes, but its position on the rooftop and the reference in the museum registers to the object as being originally

[7] ‹https://www.livescience.com/59006-ancient-funerary-garden-discovered-in-egypt.html›, accessed 5 July 2018.

found with a cloth on wooden beams, seem to confirm my interpretation of the holes for the placing of a cover, a shelter from wind and sunlight.

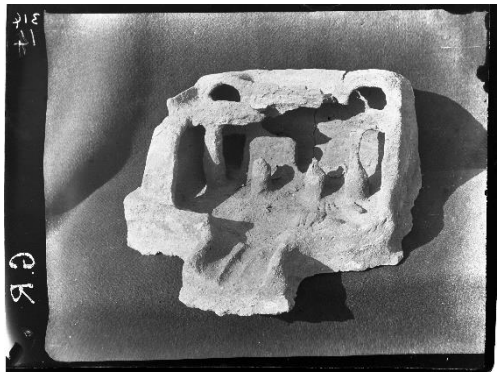

Figure 6. Photograph courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, University College, London.

F 1939/1.17 is the least well-known of the soul houses of the RMO: it is not mentioned in the 1907 publication, and a reference to its existence in the record of Petrie's excavation was made available by the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology of the University College: in the photograph (Fig. 6), included among the flashcards of the excavations (but not included in the final publication), it is possible to see the state of preservation of the object before the restorations which took place after it was found. Unfortunately, the restoration creates a bias in the analysis of the features of the soul house, preventing any definitive interpretations. The tray has a regular square shape, with a protruding spout in the centre of the front. A canal connects the rim of the spout to the central basin. On the right side, a few offerings are represented: it is possible to clearly distinguish only a calf leg and two groups of four parallel scratches. The building is composed of a portico with four columns without bases, whose diameters taper towards the top. The building has only one room. This is accessed by two doorways, one on the left side, the other on an axis with the centre of the tray and with the protruding spout. A stairway gives access to the top of the building which is characterised by the presence of two vaulted wind catchers, on the left and right sides of the back of the building. In its present state, the building is characterised by low walls that encircle the rooftop. One of them runs between the extremities of the windcatchers, but it is not clear if these walls were the product of the modern restoration of the object.

The most interesting of the details that characterise the piece, and that did not undergo the restoration process, are the windcatchers: a large number of the corpus of soul houses recovered from Rifeh show the presence of windcatchers.[8] The closest parallel is to be found in Cairo JE 38970 (unpublished), also from Rifeh.

[8] Petrie, *Rifeh*, nos. 116, 10, 19, 98, 13, 25, 150, 67, 74, 35, 128, 3, 85, 153, 121, 42, 101, 71, 93, 4, and 18. They all show air provision facilities applied on the top of the roof. The examples are listed from the most to the least complex.

Figure 7. F 1939/1.18, front view (photograph by the author).

F 1939/1.18 has a slightly irregular quadrangular base. The front part is broken, but it must have had a central spout. The building has two storeys with two porticos. Behind the first storey portico, two doorways give access to the inner room of the building. The second floor must have been accessed by a stairway on the left side by a stairway. This has not been preserved, but there is still a trace of its junction with the upper storey on the left side, in between the wall and the first column of the portico. The upper storey has a broad terrace, not enclosed by any walls. Two windows are visible on the left and right sides of the upper portico (Fig. 8).

Figure 8. F 1939/1.18, side openings (photographs by the author).

This is the soul house that, at first sight, most resembles a rock-cut tomb. Its porticos on two storeys closely resemble the architecture of contemporary funerary complexes like those of Middle Egypt, with monumental rock-cut porticos that still enrich the facades and characterise the natural landscape. Only after a closer inspection is it possible to notice traces of characteristics that are no longer preserved, or details that are not visible when viewing the object from the front: the two holes cut on the side of the upper portico are easily interpretable as window openings, which suggests that the building

represented is, at least on the upper floor, a free-standing building, not connected to other buildings or excavated from the rock. Other similar models in the corpus from Rifeh can be found in Cairo JE 38969 (Petrie 1907: pl. I [102]), Petrie's no. 101 (1907: pl. XVIII), M 48360 (Petrie 1907: pl. XVIII [59]) and Fitzwilliam E.58.1907 (Petrie 1907: pl. XVIII [2]; Bourriau 1981: 119). The similarities between these objects are visually appreciable: besides the common presence of two storeys with porticos supported by columns, the bases have the same winding irregular shape, probably corresponding to the shape of the fragmentary base of F 1939/1.18.

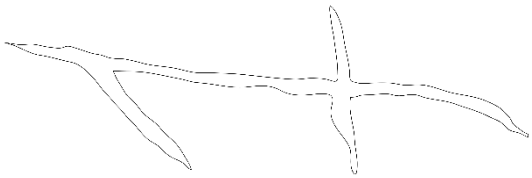

Figure 9. F 1939/1.18, pot-mark on top of the second storey (photographs by the author).

Another interesting feature of this soul house is that it is the only one in the Rijksmuseum collection to bear a mark on the top (Fig. 9). The presence of such a mark raises questions about the manufacture and/or ownership of the object. Within the context of soul houses as uninscribed objects, pot-marks, apparently present on many soul houses from Rifeh, could provide interesting information that has not yet been discussed: is this a pot-mark or an identificatory mark? Was this mark made by a potter or possibly by the owner of the object, or by someone else after the object was manufactured? It is indeed possible to claim that the pot-mark was incised on the top of the object before firing, and not carved after the object was completed. In his plate XIII J, Petrie includes several marks that he states were found on soul houses. The documentation of marks on soul houses is scarce, and closer attention is required when these objects are being described, analysed, and musealised. A better understanding of the nature of such marks could shed new light on evidence that these objects were actually produced in specialised workshops and also marked by their owners so that they could be identified.

F 1939/1.19, the last of the three soul houses from Rifeh, is the best preserved. The base is of quadrangular shape, with a protruding spout in the centre of the front. There are no traces of canals or a basin in the court. Several offerings have been laid in the courtyard, but their state of preservation means they cannot be identified, except for a distinguishable bull's head, leaning on the right rim. Four columns *in antis* constitute the portico of the building. The shafts have circular sections and constant dimensions from the base to the top. The building has only one doorway, in the centre of the internal wall, corresponding to the central spout. The only room in the building has two window openings at the back. The rooftop is not accessed by a stairway, but it is composed of two sections, encircled by low walls. The front section is separated from the back by a low wall, which is open in the middle. The back part is slightly higher than that of the second.

Figure 10. F 1939/1.18, front view (photograph by the author).

This object closely resembles many other specimens recovered from Rifeh by Petrie, which are also composed of a portico and a courtyard, with rooms at the back. However, it differs in other areas as it does not have a basin in the courtyard, nor does it have a stairway to give access to the rooftop.

A direct formal parallel for this object can be found in Brussels E.03175 from Rifeh (Petrie 1907: pl. XV [100]). This model also has a regular quadrangular shape, a protruding spout, a building of one storey with a façade decorated by a portico on four columns *in antis* and a rooftop encircled by a low wall. No stairways give access to the rooftop.

Figure 11. F 1939/1.19, back and plan (photograph and drawing by the author).

In contrast with the other parallels, the model in Leiden is singular in nature as it in has a rooftop divided into two parts, with the front part lower than the other. The low wall that divides the sections has a central opening.

The other interesting aspect of F 1939/1.19 is to be found at the back of the object: two window openings, of slightly circular shape, are cut out in the back of the building in order to provide light and air to the room. The inclusion of these details could indicate that the modeller intended to represent a self-standing building, without any physical relation to the other buildings at its back.

Archaeology

Domestic architecture

When looking at the period that spans from the First Intermediate Period to the end of the Middle Kingdom, settlements which have been excavated and properly documented can be found as far north as the Delta and as far south as the Nubian fortresses.

The sites analysed are those that correspond to the period contemporary with the diffusion of soul houses and comprise settlements all over Egypt.

In settlement archaeology, a marked functional distinction of settlement typologies is generally made: theorists are mainly concerned with defining the nature of the site either as 'organically developed' or artificially planned (Bietak 1979: 101), though other categorisations are possible (Moeller 2016: 14–30). This distinction is drawn after considering the circumstances behind the origin and foundation of settlements and their primary *functions*. Sites defined as 'organically grown' originated spontaneously in favourable locations, probably around natural resources or a traditional religious institution. In contrast, the artificially planned settlements were built under the supervision of a single planning body in strategic positions and responded to specific functions. Such is the case of pyramid towns; living quarters and residences built with the purpose of hosting the population of workers, chiefs, and administrators involved in the building of royal funerary monuments (Bietak 1979: 104).

Although this distinction is comprehensible and pertinent to every known settlement in Ancient Egypt, its application to the present discussion is only tangential: since house units and dwellings are the focus of the present analysis, it is only partially relevant to specify the nature and function of the broader settlement context. A house responds to the requirements of the people that live within its walls and is designed to satisfy everyday needs and to accommodate the performance of activities strictly connected with the life of its inhabitants. Whether the house was in an 'organically grown' settlement or located in a specially designed settlement, it responded to determined canons and designs that were partially independent from the nature of its location and reflected the mind-set of the people who lived inside its walls (Shaw 1992: 147–66; Spence 2010: 289–98). The first scholar who laid the foundations for a discussion of ancient Egyptian house layouts was Ricke in his study of the Amarna mansions (Ricke 1932). Evaluating the evidence from domestic contexts collected at that time, he highlighted the existence of a dual division in possible layouts, namely, the 'tripartite plan house' and the 'standard Amarna villa' (Pilgrim 1996; Bietak 2010: 23–44). Further steps in the creation of a typology of house layouts were taken by Bietak in his 1996 article, resulting in the creation of two typological groups of house layouts: Group A refers to the Tell el-Dab'a house; Group B to the Amarna house. Later expanded and reformulated by Müller (2015: 244–6), this typology theorises a formal evolution from the simple 'snail house' (Type I), composed of only two adjoining rooms, to more complex layouts, with the addition of an entrance room, a vestibule, and back service-rooms (Type VI). The disposition of the rooms is arranged so that the more private rooms figure at the centre of the house plan (Moeller 2016: 344). It is worth noting that the appearance of the vestibule room had already appeared in Type II (late 12th dynasty), in direct relation to the central room. This obligatory passage into the core of the house is always accessed by a door at its side, thus avoiding a direct line of sight into the main room. Such a non-axial relation was a clever way to ensure privacy (Badawy 1960: 4; Spence 2010: 296).

This typology has been successfully applied to almost all the cases excavated in Egypt: if a formal division can be made between the complex domains embodied in orthogonal settlements (Dahshur, Kahun, and Abydos) and the houses excavated in organically grown settlements (Tell el-Dab'a stratum b/3-2 and Lisht), this differentiation relates to the core of the house itself: the tripartite arrangement is ascertainable in all the cases listed, showing that the idea or concept of a house was similar all over the country, and that the number of service rooms was a consequence of different status and economic means, not of different architectural design.[9]

The Kahun, Dahshur, and Abydos houses have substantial enclosure walls within which the private and service spaces were inserted. This is a direct consequence of the general urban layout of the settlements. The Tell el-Dab'a and Lisht houses belong instead to settlements with looser urban patterns. The relation with the external space of the house is not as marked as in the former examples, probably because the space available was more extensive and the need to organise and mark it were different.

In this picture, apparently, Elephantine is an exception. The topographical character of the site, located on an island on the border of the ancient Egyptian Kingdom, prompts critical evaluations as to how significant its architectural remains are in respect to other contemporary remains. The amount of buildable land was limited so architecture had to follow the inevitable growth patterns, dependent on questions of space and land availability.

Cornelius von Pilgrim defined at least two categories of house layouts, the *Dreistreifenhaus*, characterised by a tripartite division of spaces and a gradual passage from open to semi-closed to closed space; and the *Hofhaus* (court-house) whose central focus was the courtyard where all the activities connected to the household took place. House H70 (con Pilgrim 1996: fig. 4.6) is characteristic of the *Dreistreifenhaus* category. Located in a row of houses in the centre of the northern settlement of Elephantine, H70 has a courtyard which is the central focus of the house: accessed from a perpendicular side entrance room (a short vestibule), the court was, quite probably, partially roofed, as the presence of four column bases in its centre suggests a substantial roofing. The courtyard, where remains of domestic installations such as a quern, an oven, and an under-stair storage unit were found, was provided with a stairway leading to the roof of the house. This was probably only a simple terrace and not a second storey, as the archaeological findings seem to contradict the idea that H70 had another storey (Moeller 2016: 370). The two back rooms had multiple functions, as the finding of a layer of animal dung proves. Sleeping did not happen in a specifically appointed space, but probably anywhere comfortable, through the use of movable mats (von Pilgrim 1996: 216). Looking at the spaces from which the Elephantine house was composed, it is possible to ascertain once again that the essential elements of the plan-layout were the courtyard, accessed from a (long or short) vestibule, and the private rooms of the house, of smaller dimensions than those in Kahun or Tell el-Dab'a and more flexible in the designation of sleeping spaces, though conforming to a common division of external, internal, functional, and private spaces.

Middle Kingdom funerary architecture

The excavations and explorations of the necropolis south of the Fayum have yielded an exceptional number of burials dated to the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, mostly represented by rock-cut architecture (Dodson and Ikram 2008: 186). Looking at tombs from Beni Hasan to Qubbet el-Hawa, during the Middle Kingdom, the tomb architecture follows a common pattern that is

[9] M. Müller, *Ancient Egyptian Domestic Architecture Revisited, Households in Egypt's Borderlands from the Middle to the New Kingdom,* unpublished lecture, 45e Vlaams-Nederlandse Egyptologendag (Nijmegen, 20 October 2017).

recognisable in all the contexts analysed: the layout is designed along a central axis, which works as a guideline for the development of rooms and spaces in the tomb. The orientation of the axis is never consistent: it can either be parallel or perpendicular to the course of the Nile. The alignment of spaces on the same axis lends the tomb a strong monumental character. The tomb that is fronted by a portico and court is the latest stage of a development that started at the end of the First Intermediate Period and developed over the course of the 11th dynasty. The 12th dynasty tombs are the formal and structural peak of this development.

The number of columns which constitute the portico is highly variable: from a minimum of two to a maximum of nine columns, the portico is generally supported by only one row of columns, but in some cases this row can be doubled, and the columns shaped in different designs.

A causeway that leads to the courtyard also seems to have been standard during the Middle Kingdom, though, in some cases, the scarce archaeological documentation does not allow for the identification of such pathways. In some extreme cases, like in the tomb of Wahka II (Steckeweh 1936: 32–3, 38) and that of Meketre (Winlock 1955: 10), the causeway is a monumental ramp leading to the façade of the tomb.

The tombs of Qau el-Kebir are the most monumental of those analysed and share formal similarities with royal monuments rather than with more modest private tombs (Steckeweh 1936: 40). Their effective relevance in this architectural discussion could easily be questioned: their exceptional character and monumentality does not make them a standard example of funerary architecture.

Another common element in all the rock-cut tombs is that they are cut into the rock and, except in the tombs of Qaw el-Kebir, they have only one storey, and there are no stairways leading to upper floors or rooftops. Their nature as rock-cut monuments makes them a kind of architecture surrounded by the natural context from which they are cut and engraved in an immovable landscape in a context of coexistence with other monuments of the same funerary nature.

Temple architecture

Even though temples of the Middle Kingdom have been preserved in a much worse manner than the temples of the New Kingdom and later ages (Wilkinson 2000: 22), the evidence available may be worth evaluating to try to see if any ascertainable influences can be detected in the architecture of the soul houses. This has never been attempted by any scholar studying the subject, but a consideration of temple architecture might be useful to better frame the cultural and artistic contexts in which soul houses were generated and, later, extinguished.

The surviving temples of the Middle Kingdom selected for this analysis are those which are sufficiently well-preserved and whose plans are available in publications.

During the Middle Kingdom, the tendency to build temples constructed partially or completely in stone increased (Wilkinson 2000: 23). The most common layout is the tripartite temple, e.g. Ezbet Rushdi (Adam 1956: 209–10; Bietak and Dorner 1998: 19–20; Czerny 2015) and Temple A in Medinet Madi (Bresciani 2009: 59). This consists of three shrines preceded by a transversal hall or vestibule that in some cases was replaced by a pillared portico. The use of a tripartite layout, reminiscent of contemporary house layout, suggests that the direct inspiration for the architecture of temples came from the domestic sphere (Bietak 1998: 13–16). The mortuary temple of Montuhotep in Deir el-Bahari is a formal exception among the known examples of temple architecture: the innovative terracing of the structure, the superimposition of two porticos and the central ramp were certainly regarded from antiquity as paradigmatic of a new type of architecture, unprecedented during the Old Kingdom. This had an influence on the layout of contemporary and later tombs, as ascertained from the tombs in Qau

el-Kebir (Leclère 2001: 115). The extensive building programme instituted by Montuhotep is reflected in the architectural choices as visible from the remains of the 11th-dynasty phase of the temple of Satet in Elephantine where a large portico stood beside the main sanctuary of the goddess—which also had a portico in its façade (Kaiser 1998: 50).

Overall, it is possible to ascertain a strong emphasis on the axial and symmetrical development in the layouts of the temples in almost all the examples (except the Senwosret I temple of Satet). This same emphasis is visible in the architecture of contemporary rock-cut tombs while it is absent in domestic contexts, probably for reasons of privacy.

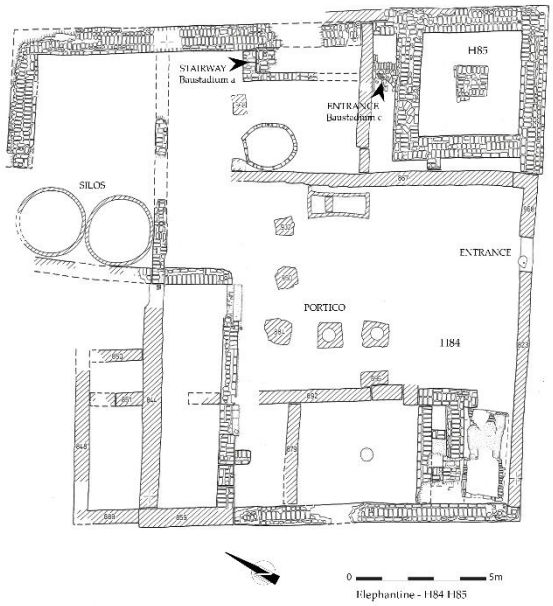

Figure 12. Elephantine, buildings H84 and H85 (after von Pilgrim 1996: figs. 25 and 27).

Towers in the Middle Kingdom

In the previous chapter, some questions were raised about the possibility that soul house F 1901/1.62 could actually represent a cluster of tower-houses—or towers.

When thinking about the supporting evidence, a legitimate doubt is raised as to whether multi-storied buildings existed at all in that period of Egyptian History (Spence 2004: 140–6).

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* offers a satisfactory definition of the architecture of a tower:

> 'any structure that is relatively tall in proportion to the dimensions of its base. It may be either freestanding or attached to a building or wall'.[10]

It is made very clear that it is not the number of storeys that defines a tower but the relation between the proportions of height and width. Hence, a tower is a building with definitely more than one storey,

[10] ‹https://www.britannica.com/technology/tower›, accessed 30 May 2018.

but it is not the number of storeys that generates the distinction as much as the shape that the building assumes according to the relation of its dimensions and height.

The only building dated to the Middle Kingdom that meets the requirements to be identified as a tower is H84 from Elephantine (Fig. 12). Von Pilgrim gave a detailed description of all the phases that characterised the history of this building. Initially interpreted as a supply institution, with storage facilities facing a large central court, the building was later expanded and provided with another building in the south-east corner (H85). H85 had only one room, with a central pillar, interpreted as support for the upper floors. The identification with a tower is possible (von Pilgrim 1996: 97–9), but not uncontroversial: its foundation walls are not particularly thick, which indicates that it would have been impossible for the building to support more than two storeys. Furthermore, it is not clear where the entrance to the building was, and whether it had external or internal stairs. In a first phase (*Baustadium c*), the entrance could have been very close to the perimeter walls of the building, recognisable from remains interpreted as a threshold (von Pilgrim 1996: 97). In a later phase (*Baustadium a*), the stairway could have been much farther from the walls of the building: perpendicular to the tower, the stairway could have leaned against the walls enclosing the entire complex H84 (von Pilgrim 1996: 96). The space under the stairs was interpreted as an under-stair storage facility. Unfortunately, the nature and function of H85 have never been established with any certainty. Building H85 is easily comparable to those depicted on F 1901/1.62: in both cases, the structure has only one room on the ground floor. The stairway leading to the upper storey is external and leans against the enclosure wall in F 1901/1.62. A similar arrangement has been proposed for the '*Baustadium a*' phase of H85. The main difference is that the buildings represented on the soul house are self-standing and are not connected to any other structures in the vicinity, while the 'tower' in H85 is physically connected to H84, even though the functional relation between the two is disputable (Moeller 2016: 341–2).

A possible interpretation of the *towers* in F 1901/1.62 is that they represent bastions of a fortress. The high wall enclosing the structure is reminiscent of a fortress wall. The figurines on the upper floors could be watchmen in watchtowers. The internal organisation of the buildings of the soul house produces a cross, pointing to an orthogonal disposition of the urban arrangement, as seen in the remains of fortresses dated to the Middle Kingdom (Moeller 2016: 297). If the representational and archaeological evidence for towers in military contexts were taken into account, one would immediately notice that the bastions of fortresses always jut out from the enclosure walls (Vogel 2010: 21), while in the Leiden example they are contained inside the wall. Furthermore, the representations of towers and bastions from contemporary—but also later—periods, always include crenulations on the top of the tower.[11] This distinguishable detail is completely missing in F 1901/1.62. Therefore, the fortress hypothesis must be rejected.

The most probable reason behind the reduced proportions between height and base has to be found in the unusual attempt of the modeller to include four distinct buildings on the same tray: in order to fit them onto the same restricted space, the modeller had to reduce the width of each building, generating, in this way, a distorted *ratio* between the relative narrowness and height of the buildings.

Conclusions

The soul houses of the RMO are a group of six architectural models representing edifices of greater and lesser complexity, in most cases limited to three spaces: courtyard, portico and interior. The models have one or more storeys, and, almost always, the presence of an upper storey implying the need for a

[11] See the siege scene in the tomb of Kheti, Beni Hasan no. 17; see also Berlin 18031, and EA 35525.

stairway. The minor architectural details represented vary in number and dimensions from model to model. Common characteristics are ascertainable among models from the same provenance. The same applies to the offerings placed in the courtyards. In general, the soul houses have a common layout, organised on a central axis to which the spaces of entrance, courtyard, and the building itself relate.

The comparison with the archaeological remains of the Middle Kingdom has been very useful to understand how buildings which were contemporary to the soul houses may have looked. Courtyards and porticos, so prominent in the models, are common to tombs, houses, and temples. When excavated in domestic and funerary contexts, porticos and courtyards are physically connected. This strict relationship makes it probable that these two elements were recognised as common characteristics of contemporary Egyptian architecture. Of the numerous layouts analysed in the course of this thesis, the architectural typology which shows an axial disposition similar to that of soul houses, is that of tombs. Hence, it should not be problematic to claim that soul houses are miniature tombs. However, other elements must be considered in this analysis. Although inconsistently distributed, minor architectural elements of the soul houses are strongly characteristic and helpful in the cognitive process of categorising the aesthetic value of the representations. Stairways, rooftops, windows, windcatchers, under-stair storage units, water installations, and canals are all typical elements of domestic architecture, and are seldom, if ever, found in tombs or temples. Windows and windcatchers, in particular, as seen on the sides and the backs of soul houses F 1901/9.120, F 1939/1.17–18–19, can only be interpreted as elements belonging to a type of free-standing architecture which was not linked to other buildings and definitely not excavated in the rock. Moreover, the presence of terraces and walls on the rooftops, as in F 1901/9.120 and F 1939/1.19, can only communicate images of buildings with spaces on their tops that were accessible and could have been used for various reasons.

Even though AT 99 retains a marked funerary character, especially due to the absence of domestic elements which are so characteristic in other models, in general it can be stated that soul houses are representations of contemporary houses, as the minor architectural details suggest. Unlike the axial relationship between the open space of the courtyard and the semi-open space of the portico seen in tombs and temples, real houses were based on a more complex layout and had indirect access to the private internal spaces. The axial disposition of these three spaces (courtyard, portico, and interior) in soul houses could be explained by considering their functional nature: from a practical point of view, the axiality was more functional for the expelling of the liquids and offerings poured onto the receptacles.

Soul houses cannot be considered as architectural models that are objective and faithful in the representation of real architecture because the real proportions were not respected, and some essential spaces were left out. They cannot be used for the reconstruction of the layouts and plans of buildings. Even the most complex of soul houses will never be an exact scale rendition of a real building. Their character is one of simplified and summary representations: using a limited selection of elements to characterise representations of very complex buildings. This *pars pro toto* uses a few elements such as stairways, upper storeys, and openings to communicate very precise and definite images of domestic architecture.

Egyptians recognised in soul houses what the details suggested. What for us, modern observers, has to be researched through close inspection, was, for them, extremely obvious and characteristic of the aesthetic message conveyed by the object.

This wealth of details, no longer preserved in the archaeological data, suggests the use of architectural models in the reconstruction of the past appearance of complete buildings. This could have been achieved through the integration of minor architectural details in layouts and plans recovered from archaeological excavations.

From a technical point of view, soul houses are complex objects that result from a composite series of actions and the use of numerous tools which were probably owned only by expert modellers and potters.

The competences required for the manufacture of such objects suggests that the modeller was a potter with special skills for the manufacture of objects other than vases.

This makes the objects even more relevant and interesting since, in many cases, it is possible to see the traces that the modeller left in the models he manufactured. My research has attempted to show that there are some architectural models that share many characteristics from iconographic, material, and technical points of view: some of these objects could well be the products of the same person or of people working in the same workshop.

Even though it is not completely indisputable that soul houses originated directly from offering trays, their functional interpretation is not uncertain: these objects are recipients for offerings. The activation of these offerings happens through the pouring of liquids which caused the offerings to function effectively for the addressee of the act (Borghouts 1980: 1014–15). Liquids were poured onto the objects, but not *for* the objects or for what they represent, but rather for what they contained: the addressee of the libations is the deceased to whom the soul house was linked. Since the aim of the performative act of pouring water on the tray was to provide the deceased with offerings, it is clear that the focus of the Egyptians was not on the house but on the person inside it. Soul houses were linked to individuals and not to their tombs or to their body: this is well demonstrated by the discovery of soul houses in contexts different from those of necropolises (Tooley 1989: 252; Leclère 2001: 102 [12]; Spence 2011: 908–9; Picardo 2017, personal communication).

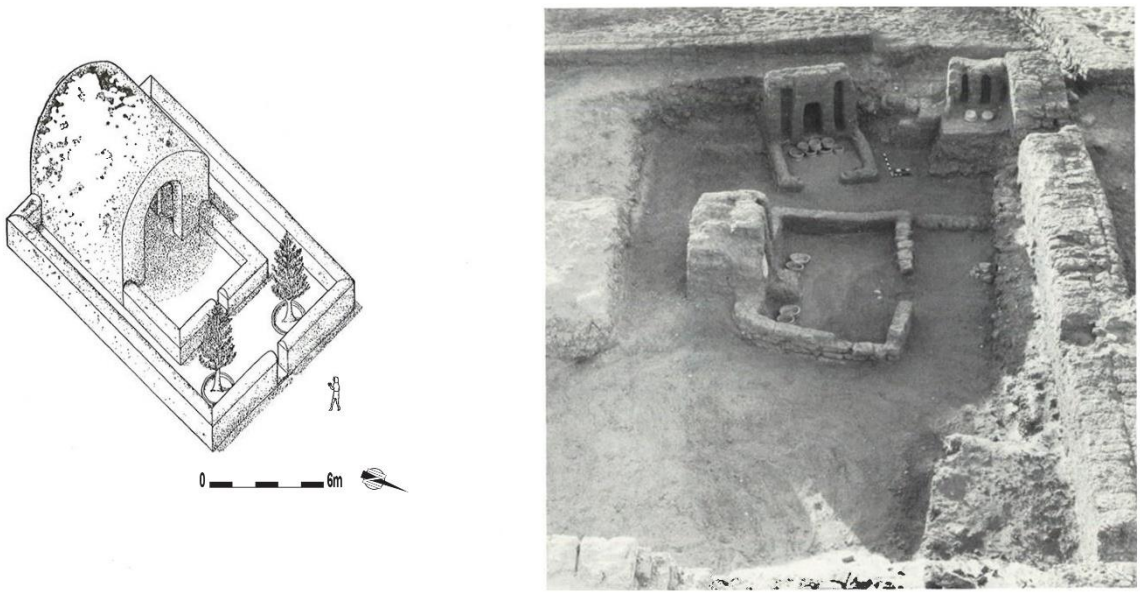

Figure 13. Reconstruction of an Abydene *mᶜḥᶜt* and 'model-mastabas' excavated in Balat (after O'Connor 1985: 176; Koenig 1980: pl. XII, fig. A).

Excavations in Abydos have long discovered cultic installations set along the main processional path of the necropolis. These shrines, called *mᶜḥᶜt* in Egyptian, were mud-brick memorial chapels concentrated in an area to the west of the Osiris temple (O'Connor 2009: 95), built over a period which spans from the 12th to the 13th dynasties (O'Connor 1985: 170). By no means related to any tomb or burial (O'Connor 1985: 170; Snape 2011: 124), the chapels were all built of mud-brick which was plastered and whitewashed. The single-chamber chapels were fronted by low-walled forecourts (O'Connor 2009: 95), spaces suitable for cult performances by the visitors who venerated the deceased represented in those chapels (Snape 2011: 124).

Figure 14. Left: soul house Berlin ÄM 14357 (photograph courtesy of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin). Right: shrines (after Kemp 2006: 145, fig. 51).

The deceased was represented through memorial stelae and statuettes in the *mᶜḥᶜt*, which can be considered as spaces for the self-presentation of the deceased (Snape 2011: 124). These cultic installations were not only typical of the Middle Kingdom; evidence has been found for First Intermediate Period 'model-mastabas' in Dendera (Slater 1974: 161): small rectangular mud-brick structures, sometimes rounded on top, referred to single burials (Slater 1974: 169) and with a space for the allocation of stelae. The other examples of this type of model architecture, also dated to the same period, belong to the necropolis of Balat where three different tomb shafts were discovered topped by three mud-brick structures. Built with spaces for the allocation of small stelae, these 'model-mastabas' were fronted by quadrangular forecourts where offering vases were found *in situ* (Koenig 1980: 37).

The relationship of the offering place and stela/statue is also evident in the sanctuary of Heqaib in Elephantine (Habachi 1985) where mayors and the chief priests of the town, together with royal officials and Heqaib himself, were venerated by the local population (Arnold 2015: 17–22). In front of each shrine, where the figure of the venerated person stood, offering tables were placed in order to provide the deceased with the desired offerings for the sustenance of his ka. The similarities between these

cultic installations and the soul houses are evident: they functioned as places for the commemoration of the dead through the laying of offerings, and they are small structures which imitate bigger examples of architecture where the image of the deceased was contained under the form of a stela or statue.

Plausibly, the main reference must go to ka-houses (*ḥw.t-kꜣ*, literally house/temple/mansion of the ka) which were initially of royal prerogative, and their influential role in the shaping of similar structures for worship practices (Kaplony 1980: 284–7; O'Connor 1999: 100–2).

Soul houses combine shrines with offering tables, uniting the space for containment of the image with the space for the deposition of offerings. The simplest soul houses, those with the 'hut' (Fig. 14), have the shape of ancient and later shrines, and the recurring presence of seats below the vault of the shrine testify that there must have been a figurine located in that space. This figurine could have been real, made of the same or a different material, or immaterial, only imagined and pictured, 'perceived' inside the shrine. In the most complex models, the principle is the same: the architectural model on the tray is nothing but the container, the 'box', inside which something or someone is placed. The deceased was represented by the house because he was in the house. Egyptians probably did not recognise the soul house as being separate from the deceased, rather the deceased as being separate from the soul house. If soul houses are 'shrined offering trays', as postulated, the house appeared as a development and expansion of the shrine while still retaining its function as the container of the image of the deceased.

Soul house F 1901/1.62 is a *unicum* in the panorama of forms and materials of soul houses: the representation and inclusion of four distinct edifices on the same tray makes this soul house a complex object with several layers of meaning. The number of storeys of each building, the means of access, the disposition of the doors, and the orientation of the stairways: everything suggests that this model was planned and executed by a person with project abilities and experienced pottery skills. It conveys an image of a complex of houses organised on several layers and storeys, divided among several people. If, in general, the buildings on soul houses are strictly linked to individual owners, F 1901/1.62 must have been the property of at least four different individuals because there are four human figurines located in four distinct buildings. Whether these individuals were kin-related or they were living in the same complex or village (could this have been called a 'community'?), is a matter of speculation, and only the precise reading of the archaeological context where this model was found could help to find an answer. What is not difficult to read is the clearly discernible complex of characteristics, iconological messages, and architectural reality that this object conveys.

It must be acknowledged that soul houses form part of the collections of many western and Egyptian museums, and, until a comprehensive list of all the specimens, both from museums and excavations, is published, we shall not be aware of the quantity of the material and of its potential. The first approach towards a comprehensive study of this material must begin with the documenting of all the specimens kept in museums and storehouses. After this essential and indispensable step, considerations about materials, techniques, forms and provenances can be addressed, using as points of secure reference for the analysis those soul houses which come from secure, documented contexts and have clear and verifiable provenance. Finally, research must be carried out on the extensive corpus of literary culture of Ancient Egypt, to establish the existence of references to the practice of miniaturizing architecture which, as I hope I have demonstrated in the course of this research, was not exceptional or rarely attested in the culture of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom.

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The feminine touch: aspects of the role of women as evidenced in ancient Egyptian personal correspondence

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Abstract

Prompted by the need to communicate in writing to a recipient at a distance, over the years, private letters have been an important source of social and historical information. Personal letters are a very valuable source of information on many aspects related to ancient Egyptian society. This study will look at letters covering aspects such as a woman's authority and active participation in the workforce, in both familial situations and the religious sphere. The presence of women in letters as the reason, or part of the reason, for writing will also be discussed This study will research and analyse these differing aspects from individual letters across a timeframe from the 18th dynasty to the 21st dynasty. It will confirm the importance of personal correspondence as a primary source of information—in this instance regarding the status and responsibilities of women in ancient Egyptian society.

Keywords

Women; role; status; relationships; historical context

Introduction

Prompted by the need to communicate in writing to a recipient at a distance, private letters have been an important source of social and historical information. Personal letters are a very valuable source of information about many aspects related to ancient Egyptian society, and are especially valuable as they give insight on the role and status of women in ancient Egyptian society. This study will analyse a selection of letters, from the 18th dynasty to the 21st dynasty. These particular letters have been chosen as having the most relevant information to evidence the differing roles and responsibilities in which women could have been involved. It will look at an interpretation of the structure, forms of address, and content of each of the selected letters to discern how women are portrayed regarding their place and role in relationships and society.

While translations and detailed interpretations of individual letters and their content have been made, these studies are often limited to providing us with information related to their content rather than a full literal translation of a complete text. The following analysis will include a translation, together with a transliteration of specific words and phrases, both for confirmation of the textual content and to illustrate modes of address, historical context, and emotional implications. The letters have been grouped under sub-headings which reflect the topics with which they are concerned. Firstly, the study will cover aspects such as women's authority and their active participation within the workforce and the familial and religious spheres. Secondly, it will reflect on the role played by women in the creation of the letters. Finally, the question of literacy will be discussed.

Authority and active participation in the workforce, in familial situations, and in the religious sphere

Four letters follow which evidence these aspects.

A woman's authority in the workforce (P. Gurob III.1, rt.)

This incomplete papyrus from the 19th dynasty, which was discovered in the town of Gurob, is one of several pieces (Gardiner 1948b: 14–15; Wente 1990: 36, Letter 34) '... directly or indirectly concerned with the harem at Miwer and dated in Year 2 of Seti II' (Gardiner 1953: 145). The letter is from a woman who addresses her royal recipient, Seti II, as an equal. Her name, as the sender of the letter, is unknown due to the missing portion at the beginning, but the content reflects the fact that she is in charge of weaving.[1] Gardiner notes (1953: 145) that the harem at Miwer was where the kings would go to 'indulge in their favourite pastimes of fishing and fowling,' and where 'the ladies were placed in the charge of an "Overseer of the Harem".' In the letter, she boasts about the quality of her work, and says that *nn jw-j r djt ṯꜥy n.j pꜣy-j nb* / 'I will not allow fault to be found with me.' She comments on how 'advantageous' it was that *jdw pꜣy-j nb jn.tw.(w)* / 'my lord has caused to be brought (to me)' people to be taught and instructed by her in the important *jpt* / 'occupation' of weaving. She appreciates the quality of those sent who 'are foreigners like those who used to be brought to us in the time of *Usermaatre-setepenre* (Ramesses II), the great god, your grandfather,' a reminder of her long experience in the training of weavers. Although the sender addresses her recipient as 'my Lord' on a number of occasions, she writes in a straightforward style, communicating in a direct manner to her king to advocate her prowess. She is her own 'boss', and there is no suggestion that she is acting under the orders of a male administrator. This letter is an example of a woman's role in the workplace, in this case, a weaver, and it shows that a role of this nature did not necessarily demand deference to superiors.

A wife's responsibility regarding a financial matter (Cairo 58056)

While the following piece of correspondence (Kitchen 1969, vol 3: 254, no. 135; Allam 1985: 19–23; Wente 1990: 117, letter 138) concerns an issue over the return of a ship, it also evidences a woman's role in a familial situation involving finance. Allam (1985:19) notes that the papyrus was found at Saqqara, together with the remains of an unnamed mummy, in a tomb which had already been violated. It has been dated to the 19th dynasty due to its palaeography and the reference to the price of cereals, attested in the letter, which are relevant to this period (Allam 1985: 22–3, n. 21).

Firstly, the background of the recipient and the sender's reason for writing are examined. The unnamed sender addresses his recipient *Akhpet* as his *sn* / 'brother.' His greeting *ḥr nḏ-ḥrt* follows the style for correspondence between members of the same family. While this is primarily a letter of complaint, the sender does include the courtesy of a complimentary preamble including invocations to 'Ptah the Great, South of his Wall, Lord of *ꜥnḫ-tꜣwy* / '*Ankhtowy*', *Sakhmet* the Great, beloved of [Ptah, and upon] all [gods] and goddesses of *ḥmt-kꜣ-pth* / '*Hikuptah*'. He then states the issue which is the reason for writing.

His complaint—the failure to carry out a promise—is structured as a straightforward statement indicating the situation, followed by the way in which his recipient should correct the matter. It appears

[1] That she is in fact a woman can be evidenced from the use of female suffix *t* in the text and Gardiner's quoted reference.

that *Akhpet* has failed to send a ship as agreed when he *wḏj dy m pȝ hȝw mšᶜ* / 'set out from here during the mobilisation of the army.'

This reference reflects *Akhpet*'s military connection as he has the title *tȝy-sryt* / 'standard-bearer.' He does not have a designated company, but the title is attested as indicating the rank of a man qualified to command (Allam 1987: 6, n. 1), which was once a duty to be undertaken personally, but which eventually came to be performed by subordinates (Schulman 1964: 71). As noted by Jones (1988: 149–81) the word used for 'ship' is *kr* a 'kind of small boat,' so it is unclear whether they are supply vessels or vessels connected with military use given the military association of *Akhpet*'s title. The sender tells *Akhpet* to *hȝb.k n wᶜw* / 'you write to the soldier' *Pasanesu* to order him to *jmj n j pȝ kr dj j bȝk pȝ hrw n bȝk ḫr* / "Give to me the ship, that I might put it to work," the day for work is now.'

The content at the beginning of the letter has been cited to provide background on the sender, his relationship with *Akhpet*, and historical background, together with details of the issue regarding the return of a ship and the action his recipient should take. This gives the context for the alternative resolution of the problem that is relevant to the topic of this paper, which is that *Akhpet*'s wife had to settle an outstanding debt. The sender writes '...if you are unwilling to hand over the ship, write to your wife that she should give me *pȝ 80 n dbn n ḥmt m-r-pw pȝ 80 n ḫȝr n bdt* / "the 80 *deben* of copper or the 80 *khar* measures of emmer" which you promised to give three years ago. Do not let my payment be wanting any longer this year so that I remain without the emmer while the copper is absent.'

This evidences a woman's status and authority regarding a monetary issue. She is able to manage financial affairs of this nature in her husband's absence. The fact that the sender tells *Ahkpet* to order his wife to settle the debt indicates a presumption that there is no problem with the wife having the authority to comply with her husband's request. The information in this personal letter indicates a woman's status and the equality of responsibility within a marital relationship in the handling of financial affairs.

A woman's status as the principal of the harem of Amun-Re (P. Turin: unnumbered)

The following is a communication from *Herere*, the principal of the harem of Amun-Re, to a troop captain *Peseg*. Her letter has been dated to the ten-year period of the Renaissance era, which coincided with the last ten years of the reign of Ramesses XI (Černý 1939: 60–1, Letter 38; Wente 1967: 74, Letter 38; 1990: 200, Letter 324). Her complaint is in the form of a question introduced by *jḫ* followed by a direct request to rectify the situation. This complaint is prompted by the recipient's failure to act on a previous order. She does not ask for an explanation or justification. The introductory address is in the direct sender to recipient form without the use of *ḏd* / 'says', reflecting her status as *wr ḫnty n jmn rᶜ* / 'principal of the harem of Amun-Re', with the authority to address her recipient in this way. There is no form of complimentary preamble invoking the favour of Amun-Re and other gods for her recipient.

This is a brief note stating the problem and the means by which her recipient needs to rectify it. *Herere* asks *jḫ nȝ rmṯ n nȝ ḫr ᶜȝ šps j.hȝb.j n.k r-ḏd jmj n.w jt tw.k tm rdt n.w ᶜn* / 'What about the personnel of the great and noble necropolis, I wrote to you saying "give them rations" you have not caused them to come' (lines 2–4). She orders *Peseg jw.k ptr nȝ jt* / 'you shall look for the grain' *ḥr mtw.k rdt n.w dj m w* / 'and you shall give to them from it' (lines 5–6). Her final order *ỉs m-di smj.k n.j ᶜn* / 'do not complain to me again.'

A letter dated to the same year ten of the Renaissance notes her as being in Elephantine, stating that 'in the fourth month of the second season ... I left him in Elephantine in the company of *Herere*...' (Wente 1967: Letter 2, 20 P. Turin 1973). It is possible this letter was written during her time there. His

responsibility for providing rations to the 'noble necropolis' shows that the troop captain *Peseg* 'was clearly stationed on the west of Thebes' (Wente 1967: 15)—a confirmation of the military control at Thebes at this time.

The importance of food supply is apparent. A further letter from *Herere* to *Peseg* in which *Herere* again demands '[As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall look after the men of the Necropolis about whom I have written] you to give them rations,' provides additional confirmation (Wente 1967: Letter 39, 75 P. Turin 2069), showing the additional responsibility of a troop captain for ensuring the welfare of the personnel of such an important location. With regard to a woman's role in society, this piece of personal correspondence provides evidence of a hierarchy in which a woman, because of her societal status, is able to address a male troop captain in this direct, authoritative manner regarding his insubordination in not carrying out her previous command regarding rations.[2]

A woman's involvement in an assassination plot (P. Berlin 10589)

This piece of correspondence, addressed to a woman named *Nodjme*, is the third of three letters from *Piankh*, *wr mšᶜ n ᶜ-pr* / 'the general of Pharaoh' (Černý 1939: 54, Letter 35; Wente 1967: 69, no. 35; 1990: 183–4, nos. 301–3). The other two recipients are named *Payshuuben* and *Tjaroy*. *Piankh*'s concern regards the 'matter of the two policemen' who 'spoke these charges.' If proved correct, his order to the recipients in the first two letters is to 'put them [in] two baskets and they shall be thrown [into] the water by night.' However, this third letter, addressed specifically to *Nodjme*, tells her *mtw.t djt ḫdb.<w>* / 'you **cause** (them) killed.'

He addresses her as 'the great one of the harem of Amun-Re' and as the *špst* / 'noble lady Nodjme.' A more elaborate greeting follows in which Piankh asks *nṯr nb nṯr.t nb r-nty tw.j (ḥr) snj ḥr.w* / 'every god and every goddess whom I pass, to keep her alive and healthy' (lines 2–3). He asks to see her when he returns so that he can *mtw <.j> mḥ jt.ty <.j m> prt.t rᶜ nb sp <sn>* / 'fill my eyes with the sight of you every day' (line 4). The inclusion of the intensifying particle appears to imply some type of emotional attachment between the two. Ridealgh (2013: 186) notes that 'no other letters sent by Piankh have survived that include this emotional overtone'. The nature of their relationship is the subject of much speculation. Taylor (1998: 1142–55), after reviewing in detail arguments put forward by Kitchen and others, proposed the hypothesis that *Nodjme* was *Piankh*'s wife. *Piankh*'s tone in this third letter would seem to reflect a husband/wife relationship. He does not address her in the abrupt authoritative manner of a 'general of Pharaoh.' His personal feelings are reflected in his request to 'every god and every goddess whom I pass, to keep her alive and healthy,' and in his desire (emphasised) to 'fill his eyes with the sight of her'.

From the perspective of a woman's role in the religious sphere, the fact that he is asking her to be responsible for the killing of the two policemen by stating *mtw.t djt ḫdb.<w>* / 'you **cause** (them) killed' (verso, line 2), evidences the power and authority that a high-ranking woman such as *Nodjme—wrt ḫnrt* / 'Great one of the harem' and *špst* / 'noble lady'—could exercise.

Her involvement could also be seen as a consequence of her position as the wife of *Piankh*, so there is the additional implication of marital influence and obedience. As a primary source of ancient Egyptian life, this piece of correspondence reveals a woman's involvement in an assassination plot, an insight

[2] Taylor has argued (1998: 1142–55) that *Herere* was the mother of the general *Piankh* a major figure at Thebes, who assumed high office there while Ramesses XI was still officially King.

into relationships, and the implication of emotional involvement from a high-ranking military commander.

A woman's status regarding property ownership (P. Berlin 8523)

This piece of correspondence is from *Shedsukhons* of the Temple of Khonsu to a recipient named *Painebenadjed* (Spiegelberg 1917: 107–11; Wente 1990: 90, Letter 339). It gives insight into the status of a married woman regarding property. *Shedsukhons* advises his recipient that although he had told him he would not let him have further ploughing rights, when he returned to Thebes his wife had told him not to withdraw this landholding from *Painebenadjed*'s charge, but to restore it to him. So he now advises *Painebenadjed* that 'As soon as my letter reaches you, you shall attend to this landholding and not be neglectful of it.' He gives instructions about the work to be done. He asks specifically that he *ṯ3y p3y ḳm3 sk3 wꜥ stꜣt ꜣḥt w3ḏ-smw n t3y šdyt* / 'remove the reeds, cultivate one *aroura* of land in vegetables at this well' (lines 13–17). He tells *Painebenadjed* that with regard to someone who may dispute this arrangement, he should *s3w t3y šꜥt iry st n.k mtr* / 'guard this letter as testimony for you' (lines 26–7) and take it as testimony to *Serdjehuty*, *p3y sš ḥsb n pr Wsjr* / 'accounting scribe of the temple of Osiris,' the person to whom *Shedsukhons* has entrusted his holdings of land.

The sender, *Shedsukhons*, gives his title as *ḥry-pḏt* / 'commander of a host', one of the highest-ranking officers, subordinate only to a general. The presence of such a high-ranking officer at the Temple of Khonsu would have been in keeping with the political division between Upper and Lower Egypt, in which the Theban priesthood in Upper Egypt not only held the position of the High priest of Amun, but also that of the general military command of Upper Egypt. *Shedsukhons*' title would place him as the second-in-command, possibly to either *Masaharta* or *Menkheperre*. The status of *Painebenadjed* is unclear. He is addressed as *mnḥ n k3š*. In other documents, *mnḥ* has been translated as 'youth' or 'tenant farmer.' In the context of husbandry requirements, 'tenant farmer' appears to be appropriate (Spiegelberg 1917: 109, n. 2), although given the military role of the sender, the word has also been rendered as 'cadet' (Wente 1990: 90, Letter 339). The greeting is a polite one, but perhaps, in this way, *Shedsukhons* is reminding his recipient that he is a foreigner and thus of a lower status both in this regard and in terms of rank/occupation—one of the commander's men who possibly needed to be differentiated from an Egyptian soldier.

Schulman (1964: 55) notes that while a person with this title would usually have been associated with combat duty, he could also have been concerned with administrative requirements. Here, while the sender of the letter holds a high military rank, he is also a landholder whose land is being farmed by a third party. The issue which has prompted *Shedsukhons* to write gives insight into the status of a married woman with regard to property. He has to rescind the order to *Painebenadjed*, denying him further ploughing rights. His wife *t3y ḥnwt n p3y pr.j* / 'this mistress of my house,' has told him, with imperative emphasis, *m nḥm t3y ꜣḥt m ḏrt p3-nb-n-ꜥḏd* / 'not to take away the land from *Painebenadjed*'s hand,'[3] but to *swḏ st n f jmj sk3.f st* / 'hand it over to him, let him plough it' (lines 8–11). This can be seen as an example of the rights of a married woman in the management of property. It has been noted (Pestman 1961: 152–3) that a woman 'married or unmarried is quite free to perform legal acts with regard to her own property without the interposition of her husband for legal validity or without there being any question of other restrictions whatsoever.' Additionally, he states that 'During the marriage, the husband may acquire further property. In some cases from the New Kingdom onwards it appears that the wife is allotted a part of it, usually a third...' that this is a case of 'lease of the land by the husband at the instigation of the wife.' Harari suggests (1983: 52–3) the husband could presumably oppose the

[3] Alternative reading *m-ḏr p3-nb-n-ꜥḏd* / 'away from *Painebenadjed*'.

desires of his wife, the fact that here he chooses not to do so could reflect the fact that his wife was the sole owner, not a part owner. From this piece of correspondence, it appears that the status of the husband with regard to property management was not necessarily related to his societal status—in this instance as a high-ranking commander and administrative official.

Initially, this piece of correspondence was interpreted as being related to land management, cultivation, and landownership, a straightforward instruction from a landholder to his tenant. On closer analysis, it deals with a woman's responsibilities within a marital relationship, it has provided knowledge about a woman's authority in the management of property as well as the property rights of married women.

The appearance of women as the reason, or part of the reason for writing

This aspect is evidenced by the following three letters.

A complaint involving two women (Moscow Bowl 3917)

From the scribe *Neb*[4] to 'his lord' the *wꜥb* priest *Khenememuskhet* (Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 27–8, pl. IX; Wente 1990: 96, Letter 128). This letter, written on the interior of a red pottery bowl purchased in Luxor, is part of the collection of Professor Golénischeff in the Moscow Museum. Its 'interior surface is almost completely filled with five concentric lines of hieratic...'. The suggested dating, based on the language and writing forms, is the end of the 18th dynasty (Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 27).

It is a brief mixture of complaints and requests from *Neb*, directed to *Khenememuskhet* as the third party recipient for their resolution. The nature of the first complaint is contained in the action *Neb* requires from the *wꜥb* priest. He asks 'Please have the woman *Tit* brought to you,' *ꜥḥꜣ s* / 'reprimand her', and asks *js bn pssw nt tjt jḫ pw pꜣy-j ḏrt-j* / 'is not so that the portion of *Tit* is in my charge?' (lines 2–3). *Neb* feels that he has been denied property belonging to him. He has involved the priest as an intermediary because he thought there was no point in 'my speaking further since I acted as a *s jtj ḥr ḫꜣꜥ ḥmt* / 'man impatient to divorce the woman.' *Neb* gives no reason for his next brief complaint prompted by antagonism towards a second woman, *Tey*. He just asks the priest to write to *Tey* saying that *jw.s r. j ḥr ḥwj.s* / 'if she comes to me I will strike her' (line 4). *Neb* concludes by stating that if *Khenememuskhet* ceases his kindness towards him, he will do the same to him. It seems that there has been some previous ongoing contact between the two, an indication perhaps that they have helped each other resolve problems in the past.

This piece of correspondence has been considered by some as an example of a 'letter to the dead' due to its presence in a pottery bowl, the issue of an inheritance and the final threat. These are aspects which appear in letters within the corpus of 'letters to the dead' (Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 27; Donnat Beauquier 2012). However, there are strong indications that this is a letter to a living recipient, from a sender concerned with issues regarding people who are alive. Firstly, there is no evidence to suggest that the sender is addressing a relative, which differentiates this piece of correspondence from other letters to the dead. Secondly, the fact that *Neb* talks about striking one of the women involved indicates she is a living person. As Gunn comments (1930: 154) 'it seems both futile and imprudent to try to hit a ghost.' Another major difference is that the text deals with more than one issue another indication this is a piece of correspondence between the living. The reason for it being written on the interior of a bowl

[4] The name *nb* is attested as a personal name in two New Kingdom instances (Gardiner and Sethe 1928: 27, n. 1).

is unclear. As the recipient was a *wᶜb* priest, perhaps it was chosen as an item which was symbolic of a votive offering.

A comment on societal structure can be found in the fact that *Neb* appeals to the authority of a *wᶜb* priest to convey the reprimand to his divorced wife and his attitude to *Tey*. From a familial perspective this letter provides an insight into a husband's problem with his wife and evidences a situation regarding a relationship with another woman—the personal touch from the original written source of a private letter.

An issue of a woman's behaviour (O. Colin Campbell 21 + Berlin 10616)

This personal letter of complaint dated to the 18th dynasty is from *Userhat* to his sister *Resti* (Černý and Gardiner 1957: pl. XLII [4]; Wente 1990: 93, Letter 120).

Written on an ostracon, this letter is one of a collection given to the Hunterian Museum by the Reverend Colin Campbell. McDowell (1993: 1) notes that it was likely this collection 'originally came from the workmen's community at Deir el-Medina, or from the area of Medinet Habu...'. Černý and Gardiner (1957: pl. XLII [4]) describe it as being on 'Limestone, inscribed on both sides with a continuous text in a 18th dynasty hand; Glasgow portion marked "Med. Habu 1906" ', which would appear to confirm a Medinet Habu provenance.

The introductory address and greeting is in the brief *ḏd n* / 'says to' recipient style without any elaborate greeting invoking the favour of Amun-Re or of any other gods to keep his sister in good health. Its directness is a short form appropriate for a complaint as well as being due to the limited space available on an ostracon. The background of the sender and his recipient is uncertain. The tomb of a person named *Userhat* was discovered in the Theban necropolis. Among his other titles he is referred to as guardian of the temple. A scene in his painted tomb shows him bringing offerings to Amenophis II (Mond 1904: 67), in keeping with the dating of this brief note. While the Userhat of this letter refers to his role as a *wᶜb* priest, it is possible that by the time of his death he had moved up the priestly hierarchy. The only attested name of a woman named Resti is as the wife of *Neb Amun* (Ranke 1935: 227) inscribed in his tomb and dated to the time of Thutmose I/II (Sethe 1961: 153 [62]).

The content of the letter covers several issues. The initial statement regards the behaviour of a woman named *ʾIupy*. He comments on her *wjʾwj*[5] *m ḥry-jb nʾy jry*[6] / 'indifference in the midst of my companions' (verso, lines 2–3). A complaint in the form of a question follows. *Userhat* asks *ḥr-mᶜ rdt n.j nʾ dḥʾ jnj.n.j n.j* / 'why is this straw' (chaff) brought to me' so that he has to fetch it from his own house, even though he has no *ḫr* / 'magazine' there in which to store it. He returns to the subject of *ʾIupy*, telling his sister to *sḫr s mj sšr rḫ.s jrt n.k* / 'advise her in a proper way so she is able to help you' (recto, line 5), adding he has taken *sḫr nfr* / 'good care' (of her/ *ʾIupy*). He then states that *n jnj ḫnw mᶜrḳ*/ 'no sworn accusation (has been) brought' (recto, line 6), and reiterates his complaint that *tnw ᶜḳ wᶜb*/ 'every time I went in as *wᶜb* priest' he had to fetch for himself. To conclude, he repeats his order to reprimand *ʾIupy* with extreme emphasis to be *bᶜ sp-snsp-sn ᶜḥʾ ḥnᶜ s m rdj jrj s wjʾwjʾ m ḥry-jb nʾy jry* / '**sure** you reprimand her. Do not let her be indifferent in the midst of my companions.'

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[5] Wente (1990: 93, Letter 120) renders this as 'indifference.' Alternative renditions suggest 'helpless' and 'weakness.' (Sweeney 2003: 116–17) sees the term in this later period as indicating more serious abuse and suggests 'wrong' as the translation.

[6] Wente (1990: 93, Letter 120) renders this as 'adherents' giving a more formal interpretation.

There is the implication of an underlying problem between *'Iupy* and *Userhat*. The statement about *'Iupy*'s indifference, *Userhat*'s comment that he has taken good care of her, followed by the words that no sworn accusation has been brought (presumably against him), suggest a relationship that has ended in discord. His imperative to his sister to reprimand *'Iupy* could be caused by her rejection. His wish is to correct whatever has prompted *'Iupy*'s behaviour towards him, especially when they are amongst other people, his 'companions.'

Userhat offers no suggestions as to how to solve the issues but places the responsibility on his sister *Resti*. His reason for writing appears to be caused by *'Iupy*'s behaviour towards a person of his status, and by what appears to be her rejection of him after his attention to her welfare. The medium of an ostracon is an unusual one for a letter such as this, concerned with both a family and a personal relationship, with the emotions that this implies.

A brother's concern for his sister (P. Robert Mond 2)

This letter is one of two sent together by Robert Mond to Thomas Eric Peet in a photographic-plate box labelled 'from the tomb of *Hes*' (Peet 1930: pls. XVIII–XXV, XXVII–XXX; Wente 1990: 94–5, letters 123, 124). Written on two papyri by the same person to two different people, it is unclear whether the recipients received the letters. Peet comments (1930: 82) on their 'exceedingly bad condition' which has made them hard to decipher.

The second of these two letters is relevant to the focus on a woman as the reason for writing. It is from Ramose, the unguent preparer of the house of *Meritaton*, to his sister *Sherire* referring to her as *st nbt pr* / 'the lady of the house.' There is no invocation of the traditional deities in the greeting but the words 'in life, prosperity and health and in the favour of the living Aten every day' can be construed as having this function—it is the Aten that Ramose calls upon to keep *Sherire* in good health.

From a personal and social perspective, he asks after her health, berating her about her lack of contact, asking why she has never written *m dt rmṯ nbt nty ḫr jj* / 'by the hand of every person who comes.' The timespan of this neglect appears to be a number of years, but the exact figure is unclear.[7] He mitigates the complaint by stating that if you have *jry n.j ḥḥ* [...] *ḫm.j sn mj-ḳd pȝy.j ḫm nty m j* / 'made to me a million [faults] I forget them just as I forget those which are in me' (Peet 1930: pl. XXVII, line 6). The word *ḫm* / 'forget', in this context can be seen as being synonymous with forgiveness (Sweeney 1998: 356). In this way, he implies that one person should forgive another because they themselves also do wrong on occasion. Sweeney (1998: 355) comments on the rarity of examples of forgiveness in ancient Egyptian letters and cites this as the 'most explicit instance.'

This mutual forgiveness is followed by a series of requests and questions, perhaps as a way of showing that he has moved on to continue with normal brother/sister matters, unaffected by the previous complaint. The fragmentation of the papyrus makes it difficult to interpret but he appears to tell his sister to return as soon as she receives this letter, expresses his concern for her once again, warns her to keep watch over the things in her possession, and that he has no woman with him. The final matters of the letter concern a request to his sister to denounce a person, whose name appears to be *Nebnefer,* to the magistrates, an instruction to her to ignore his daughter, and messages to various other people wishing them good health.

[7] With regard to a possible timespan of four years, Baines comments that this could represent a third of the possible timespan within which letters from el-Amarna were sent (2001: 21, n. 62).

In terms of societal structure and personalities, the points that can be discerned are, firstly, that *Ramose* invokes *jtn* / 'the Aten' rather than the traditional deities. Secondly, this piece of correspondence provides insight into a familial relationship. *Ramose*'s reason for writing is to show a brother's concern for the welfare of his sister, his worry at not having heard from her for a length of time. It evidences the relevance of a personal letter as a source of information into actual lives and issues.[8]

A question of servitude (P. Bankes 1)

The following letter from the 20th dynasty from *Wenenamon* to *Amenkhau* involves a woman, *Tentuendjede*, referred to as a *ḥmt* / 'slave-woman', together with her son, also referred to as *ḥm* / 'slave' (Edwards 1982: 127–9, pl. XII–XIII; Wente 1990: 129, letter 154). In his letter, *Wenenamon* describes how they had been entrusted by him to *Amenkhau*, who had then given them to *Hori* and a fisherman named *Pamershenuty*. These people then told *Amenkhau* that *jw ꜥḥꜥ tw jw irt.tw ṯ3wt t3 rmṯ m-ṯ3wt* / 'one was involved,[9] one took this woman secretly', suggesting that *Wenenamon* had stolen her. *Amenkhau* tells them *Wenenamon* told him this was a *ꜥḏ3* / 'lie',[10] that he had bought her with *ḥḏ* / 'payment' from the *ḥry mrt* / 'master of weavers,' *Ikhterpay*. Wenenamon notes that he went before *Iupehy*, commander of *Tuhir*-troops who commanded that the woman be entrusted to *Amenkhau*. He adds that *Amenkhau* has sent the scribe *Efnamon* with this letter of complaint to him, implying that *Wenenamon* should deal with the matter. But *Wenenamon* sees it as *Amenkhau*'s problem. He tells him how he should resolve the matter by going to the *rmṯ jw ṯ3y sw* / 'people who took her.' He tells him that *wnn.w nḫt r k mtw k* / 'if they are more powerful than you,' he should go to the master of weavers and get him to replace her with a *b3kt hr jb* / 'contented maidservant' who has a *šrj m knj r mjtt* / 'young son at her bosom likewise.' *Wenenamon* notes that the letter will provide *mtr* / authorisation and finishes by reminding *Amenkhau* of the 'many good things that I've done for you' with the adjunct *m smk* / 'do not forget' or *n3y.k ḏ3yt mḥ k* / 'your wrongdoing will fill you.'

The letter is structured as a series of statements from the sender to the recipient that outline the details of the events that are causing him to write and providing his solutions to the problem. The form of greeting uses the form *ḥr nḏ-ḥrt* and invokes the favour of Amun-Re, king of the gods. A full complimentary preamble follows using the simple form of Amun in which he is mentioned in a triad, in this case, Mut and Khonsu. The dating of this letter is uncertain, but it is probably from the 20th dynasty, as this form ceased to be used after this point (Bakir 1970: 89).

The woman *Tentuendjede* who is at the centre of the complaint, is referred to both as a *b3kt* / 'maidservant' and as a *ḥmt* / 'slave'. She is referred to first as 'slave-woman' at the beginning of the text in lines 4 and 5, but as 'maidservant' in lines 11,12,14, and *verso* lines 2 and 3. The letter states that 'payment' was given for her, the implication being that she had been sold as a slave (Bakir 1978: 71–2). In P. Cairo 65739, dated to the beginning or middle of the reign of Ramesses II, which concerns a lawsuit arising from the purchase of slaves, there is a similar alternation in the use of the words in lines 16 and 29 (Gardiner 1935: pl. XV). As Gardiner comments (1935: 145), 'information as to slave-dealing in Pharaonic times is very scanty.' From a societal perspective, this piece of correspondence provides some confirmation that servants were purchased. In this case the person involved is a woman. The

[8] Overall, there are very few examples of personal letters from the 18th dynasty, and this is one of only two found so far from the time of Akhenaten, indicating the spread of the influence of the new religious focus to the people themselves.

[9] See Edwards (1982) for idiomatic use of *ꜥḥꜥ* in this context.

[10] For discussion of use of this term to indicate false statements, see Sweeney (2003: 109–10).

alternation of the words 'slave' and 'servant' shows ambivalence as to how the woman, *Tentuendjede*, was viewed. From the point of view of the 'feminine touch', the content of this piece of correspondence indicates the ancient Egyptian acceptance of a woman being in a position of servitude, whether as a maidservant or a slave. It shows the complex situations that could arise in this context with regard to servant/slave ownership.

The question of literacy

Looking at the letters discussed in this study, only two were sent by a woman. Regarding the question of female literacy in the context of these letters, it has been argued that overall literacy was represented by only 1% of the population. In their overview, Baines and Eyre (1983: 65–96) cover the various issues that can be considered when assessing this small percentage. Their approach is to evidence the number of the literate elite who would have been present in an administrative capacity in comparison to most of the population. They comment that 'evidence for female literacy relates to a very narrow compass. Women who were literate would have been a special class of administrators.' This 'narrow compass' would seem to be related to the overall small percentage of literacy of the population rather than to specific reasons leading to the oppression of women with regard to their ability to read and write. In the case of the two letters sent by women from the nine letters analysed, one was from a weaver and the other from *Herere*. The former would have fallen into the non-literate category and would have needed to employ the services of a scribe. In the case of *Herere,* it is possible that, in her position as principal of the harem of Amun-Re, she was one of the 'special class of administrators' and was able to pen the letter herself—an example of the small percentage of those competent in writing and authorship. The other piece of correspondence in this study in which there is the suggestion of female literacy is the letter from Ramose to his sister, *Sherire*, in which he instructs her to *ptr* / 'look at' the letter when it reaches her. This could imply that she is able to read it rather than depend on an oral delivery. Wente (1990: 9) has interpreted it to mean this and has translated as 'read', but the reference remains ambiguous.

Conclusions

These examples of personal letters reflecting aspects of the role of women in ancient Egypt, and in which a woman has been involved in the reason for writing have shown a responsibility for managing financial affairs and a woman's rights with regard to matrimonial property. They have revealed the authority that could be wielded by women with the status of the 'Principal of the Harem' of Amun Re, enabling them to give orders to a male troop captain and be involved in the carrying out of an assassination. They have shown that a woman who was a weaver in the workplace could address her king without deferring to his status. Their content has given insight into the issues arising from everyday relationships involving a woman—a man's issues regarding a divorced wife and another woman, a brother's complaints to his sister, the concern of a brother for his sister, and the ambiguity of slave/servant status. In the letters, the writers do not specifically state 'I am angry' or 'I am sad' to provoke action or resolve any issue. Actual vocal tones and body language are not available in this form of communication. This study has shown the manner in which the senders addressed their recipient, and the structure of the wording conveying their message. This is how insight is gained on aspects of female personalities, and how knowledge of their societal status and responsibilities is gained. This study has evidenced the contribution of personal correspondence to an understanding of the roles of ancient Egyptian women and how they were perceived—the feminine touch.

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The temple of Khonsu at Karnak: the decoration of the south gate of the pylon

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Abstract

The inscriptions on the south gate of the pylon of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak have long remained unpublished despite their relevance. An epigraphical and architectural study of the scenes of the gate allows the verification of various building and decoration phases that were initiated during the pontificate/reign of Herihor and which continued during the reigns of Pinedjem I and, mainly, Alexander the Great. In this later period, much of the gate was dismantled and rebuilt, probably due to how poorly it had been maintained.

Keywords

Temple of Khonsu; Alexander the Great; Pinedjem I; Karnak; restoration; offering scenes

Introduction

In 2018, during the editing and publication process of the inscriptions at Karnak, the CFEETK Documentation Department in Luxor studied the texts and scenes of the pylon gate in the Khonsu temple in the southwest sector of the Amun-Ra religious domain. The scenes decorating the north side of this monument were published by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in volume 103 of the OIP collection (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pls. 112–25, 148, 150).[2] In these scenes, different decoration phases can be identified, which mainly began in the pontificate/reign of Herihor (1080–1074 BC), whose figure is identified—though not clearly—through certain iconographic elements, and these were completed in the times of Pinedjem I (1070–1032 BC), whose name appears in most of the scenes on the jambs (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 113–14, 117A–125A).[3] The lintel decoration includes the representation of Ptolemy II Philadelphus before various divinities (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 115–16 = KIU 9177–79), and his royal cartouches appear on the cornice and on the ceiling blocks of the passage between both sides of the doorway (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 148A, 150 = KIU 9175, 9204). In this area of circulation,

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References to the monuments of Karnak are given with their KIU numbers (Karnak Identifiant Unique) which allow access to the full entrees (hieroglyphic texts, photographs, bibliographical references, etc.) from the Karnak project at: ‹http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak›, accessed 4 October, 2020.

[2] This volume also included scenes from the western wall and the roof of the central passage between the two facades of the door.

[3] For the scenes of Herihor usurped by Pinedjem I on the northern side of the Khonsu temple gateway, see primarily Römer (1994: 119–23, §97–101).

the *soubassements* of the western wall is inscribed with the name of Alexander the Great (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 112 = KIU 9193–94).

As for the south side of the monument, which is integrated into the façade of the pylon decorated by Pinedjem I, an architectural study was carried out in the 1990s by Françoise Laroche-Traunecker (1998: 903–16). This author comments on the successive reconstructions witnessed at the temple of Khonsu and includes a section on the gateway of the pylon. A recent article confirms F. Laroche-Traunecker's proposal from an epigraphical point of view, including a complete edition of the texts and the scenes on the gate (Fernández Pichel forthcoming). With the purpose of complementing and extending these publications, in the following pages we will provide a succinct synthesis of the main aspects of the monument, accompanied by a brief analysis of the scenes that decorate it and of the divinities represented therein.

The Khonsu temple in Karnak and the south gate: constructive phases

The construction of the temple of Khonsu in Karnak dates back to the early years of the 20th dynasty. The internal areas of the sanctuary were erected during the reign of Ramses III, and the decoration of these spaces was mainly completed by his successor, Ramses IV, and by the Ptolemaic and Roman rulers.[4] The hypostyle hall of the temple, built by Ramses XI, was mostly decorated by him and by the high priest Herihor (Epigraphic Survey 1981, *passim*). The access to this space also included scenes in the names of Nectanebo II and Ptolemy IV Philopator (e.g. Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 126A–B, 127A, 128A–B, 129A, 130A–B = KIU 9091–94, 9097–100). The construction of the first courtyard and the pylon dates back to Herihor's pontificate/reign, the decoration of the pylon mainly corresponds to the period of Pinedjem I (Epigraphic Survey 1979).[5] The exterior walls of the temple were later decorated with inscriptions of the reigns of Nectanebo I (north wall), Teos (east wall) and Ptolemy XII Auletes (west wall). There are also some annexed structures, dating from the Late Period, such as the Kushite colonnade that precedes the pylon, the chapel at the north exterior wall of the temple, and the monumental gate erected by Ptolemy III Evergetes in front of the temple itself (Clère 1961; Laroche and Traunecker 1980: 167–96).

The publication of all the inscriptions of the temple is an ongoing project of the Epigraphic Survey of the University of Chicago, from whose work two volumes have been created so far, numbers 100 and 103 of the OIP collection, published in 1979 and 1981, respectively. Both include facsimiles and some photographs of the decoration of the first courtyard and the hypostyle hall (Epigraphic Survey 1979; Epigraphic Survey 1981).[6] Subsequently, several studies have been dedicated to inscriptions from other areas of the temple, thus accessible in their hieroglyphic version (Mendel 2003; Degardin 1985: 115–31). We will now focus on the specific case of the south façade of the pylon door.

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[4] Most of the inscriptions in the four-columned hall and the bark shrine have not yet been published. An exception is found in the cosmogonic texts of the four-columned hall, published by Mendel (2003). See the recent edition and translation of certain scenes from the doorway to this room in Altmann-Wendling (2018, 508–15, pl. 21b, 22a). The doorway of the bark shrine presents a restoration formula in the name of Nectanebo II in its soubassements (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 193A–B = KIU 9145–9146) and its upper part was decorated under Ptolemy IX Soter II (Epigraphic Survey 1981: pl. 190A, 191A–B = KIU 9144, 9153–9154).

[5] Some inscriptions from Khonsu's pylon were copied and published by Römer (1994: 539–45 [5–9]) and Jansen-Winkeln (2007: 7–10 [10–3]).

[6] A third volume, relating to graffiti on the roof of the temple, was published in 2004 (Jacquet-Gordon).

The decoration of the south gateway of the pylon has a conventional arrangement in four vertical registers and a *soubassement* on each of its jambs, and a lintel composed of four horizontal scenes. Surmounting them, this ensemble is crowned by a cavetto cornice decorated with a winged solar disc. The interior surface of each jamb, in the access passage to the first courtyard, is also inscribed using a distribution in four vertical registers. Concerning the date of the monument, an analysis of the texts and scenes reveals the presence of the name and/or titles of the high priest Pinedjem I in the second register of the western and eastern jambs, as well as the mention of his name in the *soubassement* on the west side of the door. The scenes of the lintel and the fourth register of the jambs, on the other hand, show the royal cartouches of Alexander the Great, which mention his throne and personal names. There are evident differences in paleography and carving (Fernández Pichel forthcoming: cap. 1) between both decorative phases. Finally, the third register of both jambs, shows the cohabitation of blocks inscribed at the time of the pontificate of Pinedjem I, with others, mainly in the upper part of the register, dating from the reign of the Macedonian ruler. The same chronological sequence can be noticed in the third register of the passage of the gate on its eastern side.

Therefore, the Late restoration of the southern façade of the gate, probably in a state of ruin at the beginning of the 4th century BC, consisted of the reconstruction of its upper part, i.e. the fourth register, the lintel and the cornice, as well as the partial restoration of the third register of the jambs (Fig. 1).

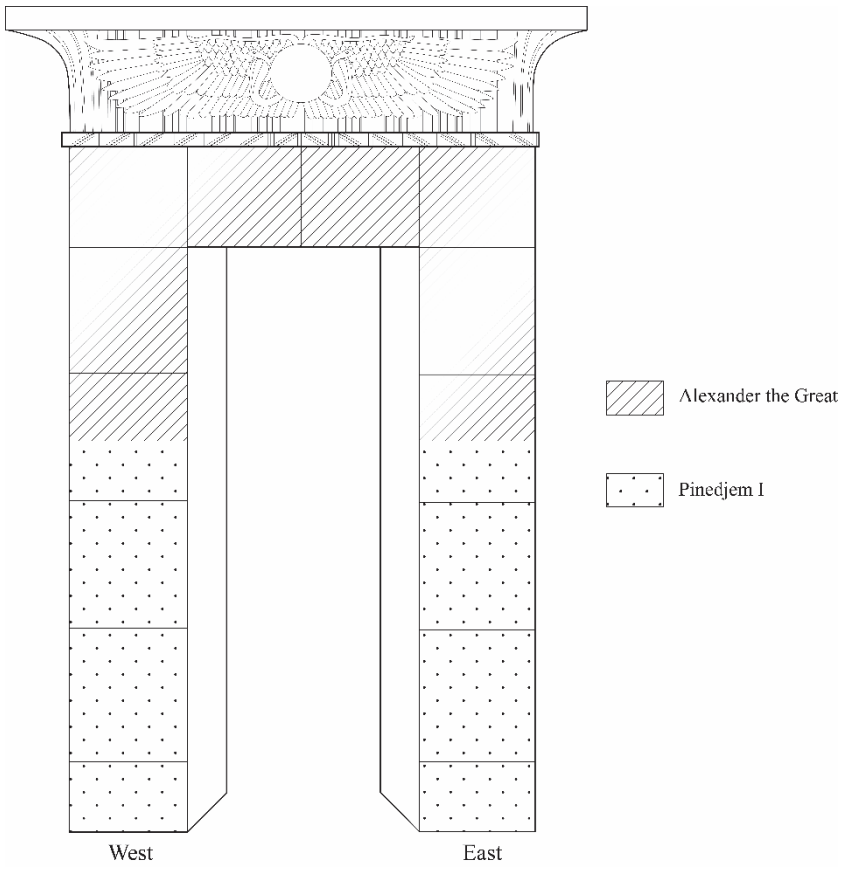

Figure 1. Decorative phases of the south gate of the pylon of the temple of Khonsu (drawing by Florie Pirou).

Only one piece of evidence (Fig. 2) informs us of the possible re-use of the blocks of the first phase in these Late examples of remodeling. The rear part of a lintel block, observable in the passage between the two towers of the pylon, still shows the decoration of the cornice of the door from the times of Pinedjem I.[7]

Figure 2. Decoration of the winged solar disk on the back of a lintel block (photograph by the author).

The scenes of the south door of the pylon of the temple of Khonsu

We have previously stated that the south doorway of the pylon, in both its physical configuration and decorative arrangements, is not unique. It is the usual set of 'offering scenes' arranged in horizontal and vertical registers over the entire surface of the monument. The same can be said about the choice of the divinities represented and their description in the short texts included in each scene. Amun-Ra, Khonsu, Mut, Hathor of the temple of Khonsu and Amunet, as receivers of the offering in these scenes, are divinities about whose Theban affiliation there is no doubt. However, as for the figure of the donor, the representations of Pinedjem I and Alexander the Great display a notable iconographic peculiarity. Both individuals are dressed in the typical clothes of the high priests of Amun of Thebes (and other priesthoods throughout the country), consisting of a wide panther skin covering the left shoulder, while the right one remains uncovered. Both figures also have shaved heads, by virtue of

[7] This issue has already been addressed by F. Laroche-Traunecker (1998: 909, n. 19).

the demands of ritual purity of the personnel in charge of directing the cult in the temple.[8] If a representation of Pinedjem I in this form does not need any clarification, given his function as high priest of the cult in Thebes,[9] its use for Alexander the Great is less obvious. Evidence seems to suggest that the theologians of the Late Period, responsible for selecting the texts and configuring the scenes of the deteriorated parts of the door of the pylon in the 4th century BC, intended to endow the whole monument with the preceding decorative unity, without altering either the characters represented or the texts that accompanied them. To this end, they adopted the iconographic models of the past, present in the preserved parts of the door which are still preserved, and thus introduced Alexander the Great as the depositary of the offering, following the same iconographic conventions originally reproduced for Pinedjem I in the decoration of the door. The brief description of the scenes below shows the late configuration of the ensemble (Fig. 3).

- Very little information can be extracted from the *soubassements* and from the first register of both jambs, whose surfaces have been almost completely destroyed.

- In the second register, on the western door jamb (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: doc. 2.1.5, fig. 3), Pinedjem I, bringing a tray with vases containing the ointment-*mḏt*, is represented before Khonsu, described as 'the one who loves Maat' (*mr mꜣꜥt*) (Leitz 2002b: 764c–5b) in his usual form in his sanctuary of Karnak (*Ḫnsw m Wꜣst Nfr-ḥtp*) (Epigraphic Survey 1979: pl. 58 = KIU 8772). The same divinity, and possibly his consort in the south sector of Karnak, Hathor, receives the ointment-*mḏt* from Pinedjem I in the scene of the second register of the eastern jamb (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: doc. 2.1.6, fig. 4).

- In the third register, the two scenes show Amun-Re, wearing the high feather crown, receiving the incense and the offering of plants-*rnpwt* from Pinedjem I (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs 2.1.7–8, figs. 5–6). The god is accompanied, on the western jamb, by Mut, while on the eastern side, the divinity represented is Amunet. Amun-Ra and Mut appear in their typical Theban aspects, the goddess linked to lake Isheru of Karnak.[10] The god and Amunet are described in their primordial and creative aspects: Amun-Re is 'the primordial of the Two Lands' (*pꜣwty Tꜣwy*) and Amunet is the great cow-*jḥt*, 'who gives birth to the solar god' (*mst Rꜥ*).[11]

- From the fourth register, as indicated above, Alexander the Great is represented in the scenes of the jambs and lintel presenting offerings to the Theban divinities. In the fourth register, on the western side, the monarch offers a libation to Khonsu, in an anthropomorphic and hawk headed form, in the vicinity of Hathor of *Bnnt*, the designation of the temple of Khonsu in Karnak (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: doc. 2.1.9, fig. 7); on the eastern side of the door, these same gods receive an offering table from the king (*ḫrp wdḥw*) (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: doc. 2.1.10, fig. 8).

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[8] 'The priests shave their whole body every other day, so that no lice or any other impure things may adhere to them when they are engaged in the service of the gods' (Herodotus, *Histories* II: 37).

[9] The royal prerogatives displayed by Pinedjem I in some of his representations at the monuments of Thebes have mainly been studied by Bonhême (1987: 38–51) and Römer (1994: 59–62).

[10] For the Isheru lake, see B. Gessler-Löhr (1981: 401–24). For Mut as 'lady of Isheru' (*nbt Jšrw*), see Leitz (2002a: p22b).

[11] For *jḥt wrt*, see Wüthrich (2016: 895–913). For Amunet's creative role and his relationship to the masculine principle of creation as Amun, see Klotz (2012: 72).

- As for the lintel, we note the spatial symmetry established by the interior scenes, in which Alexander offers the Maat to Amun-Ra seated on his throne on two occasions (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs. 2.2.3–4, figs. 11–12). In the exterior scenes, the king brings two lettuces-*ꜥḥwy* to Amun-Ra, in an ithyphallic form, and Mut in her celestial aspect (west side) (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs. 2.2.1, fig. 9), and presents the ointment-*mḏt* to Amun-Re *kȝ-mwt.f* 'Bull of his mother' and Khonsu *m Wȝst Nfr-ḥtp* (east side) (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs. 2.2.2, fig. 10).
- Concerning the scenes of the gateway passage, there are obvious similarities between the type of offerings presented to the divinity in the third and fourth registers. In the third register, on the western side, Alexander presents a necklace to the goddess Mut, who wears the double crown (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs. 2.3.5, fig. 15). On the eastern side, Pinedjem I makes the same gesture, this time offering the necklace-*mȝḥ* to a female divinity (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs. 2.3.6, fig. 16).[12] Finally, in the fourth register, Alexander brings a floral offering to Khonsu, who is mummified and wearing the lunar disk on the top of his head, on both sides of the door (Fernández Pichel, forthcoming: docs. 2.3.7–8, fig. 17–18).

Conclusions

At a time when Thebes had lost much of the political, economic and religious importance of previous centuries, the rulers of the Argead and Ptolemaic dynasties, nevertheless, undertook a major architectural plan of construction and restoration of the monuments of Karnak, most notably those erected in the south-western sector of the Amun domain. We certainly know of their works in the temple of Opet, in the so-called 'temple haut' and on the aforementioned gate of Ptolemy III Evergetes, among others. In the case of the doorway of the pylon of the temple of Khonsu, as stated above, the new works implied a reconfiguration of its decorative program, for which they resorted to the fundamental elements of the original model, comparable to the programme carried out in the sanctuary of Alexander in the Akhmenu of Tutmosis III in Karnak (e.g. Martinez 1989: 107–16).

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[12] The divine figure is destroyed. The symmetry with the preceding scene on the western side and the use of the feminine suffix in the introduction to the titles of Pinedjem I invite us to think, however, of Mut as the beneficiary of the offering.

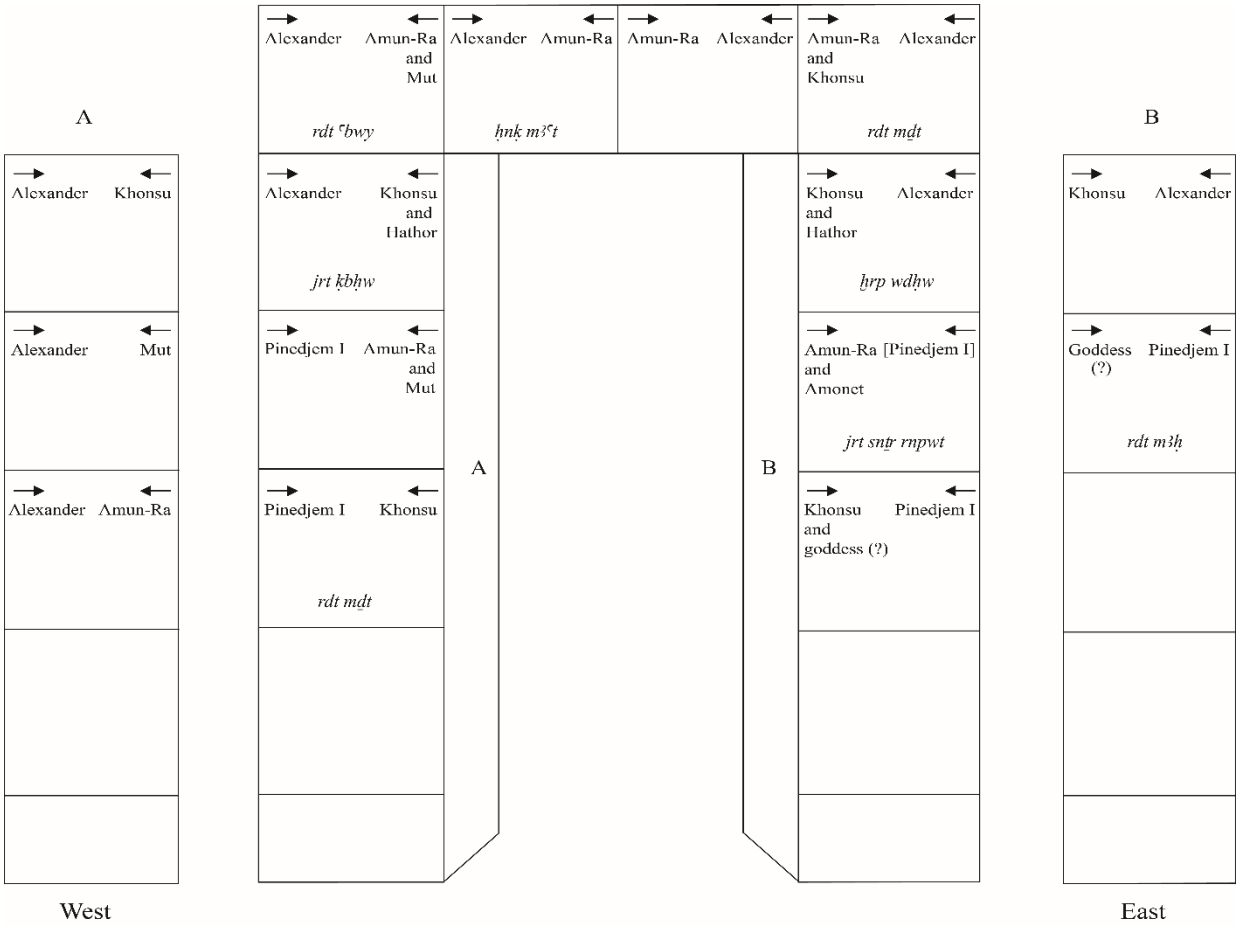

Figure 3. Scenes and divinities represented on the monument (drawing by Florie Pirou).

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Officials under Queen Mother Ahhotep

Beatriz Noria Serrano

Abstract

Female pharaohs have been the subject of several studies which have focused on the iconography, the phraseology, and the official documentation that these queens produced. However, little attention has been paid to the male officials who had to serve under a female ruler and how they perceived their queens. Queen Ahhotep probably reigned Egypt as co-ruler for around twenty years, including the end of Hyksos' domination and the beginning of the 18th dynasty since the Pharaoh, her son Ahmose, was still a child when he acceded to the throne. This paper will examine the evidence on the officials of the early 18th dynasty and how they interacted with King Ahmose and the king's mother. It will focus on the officials who explicitly linked their office to Queen Ahhotep compared to those who mention King Ahmose or his successors. The importance of the role of the queen mother in the reorganisation of the country after the Second Intermediate Period will also be addressed.

Keywords

Queen Ahhotep; King Ahmose; administration; Second Intermediate Period; 18th dynasty

Introduction

Throughout the history of ancient Egypt, several women ruled the country as pharaohs or regents. Scholars have studied these female characters, focusing on the iconography they adopted, the phraseology they made use of, their relationship with their successors and the actions they conducted both inside and outside Egypt. Their reigns have been studied using the official documentation that was produced by these queens themselves or produced for them (Troy 1986; Robins 1993; Galán 2015: 23–7).

The officials who worked under these queens are usually well known: their names, their titles, and even their families have been analysed. However, there is one aspect that has not been considered: their perception of and relationship with their female rulers and how they, as males, saw themselves and reacted to working for a woman. It is assumed that the existence of female pharaohs was an unusual situation that did not comply with the very essence of the ideology of kingship, according to which the king was a male, the manifestation of the god Horus (Posener 1960; O'Connor and Silverman 1995; Morris 2010: 201–17; Hill *et al.* 2013). The presence of a female Pharaoh was therefore, an abnormal, unorthodox circumstance which generated all sorts of awkward and uncomfortable situations around her. Approaching how these male officials experienced and acknowledged the reign of these female rulers can help us to get a better picture of this circumstance and understand how female rulers were perceived in society. Indeed, the sources are not eloquent or explicit in their treatment of this matter, but some information may still be retrieved by reading between the lines in textual and iconographic inscriptions in tombs or on stelae.

Officials who served under queens may be traced back to the 11th dynasty. In an inscription carved on a stela in Dendera (CG 20543), its owner, Rediukhnum, recorded his autobiography. In this text, he is

presented as holding the titles *ḫtmw bity smr wᶜty imy-ib n nbt.f*, 'seal bearer of the *bity*, sole friend and person of trust of his great lady' (Galán 2005: 75). She was Queen Neferukayt who probably was the wife of one of the Intef kings (Petrie 1898: 51–3; Troy 1986: 156; Galán 2015: 75; González León 2018: 61). The queen occupies most of the text, while the king is not even mentioned. The way in which Neferukayt is mentioned is certainly unusual and seems to indicate that she exercised remarkable political influence. Moreover, it shows that Rediukhnum had a close relationship with her:

> '(5) ...the one who enters in the heart of his lady and stays in her heart, whom she appointed to the great office, (6) reputed, beloved in the mouth of the people, first rank in the palace, steward, venerated Rediukhnum, he said: I am beloved of (my) lady, (7) whom she favours daily. I have spent many years under the mistress, the royal ornament Neferukayt, great one (8) in provisions, foremost in her positions, great in fathers, first in mothers, for whose noble fathers this sky has been raised, first of this [earth]?, (9) first princess of Upper Egypt. While she was king's daughter and king's wife, his beloved, she succeeded all her mothers, [who founded...]? (10) Leader of the people, from Elephantine to Aphroditopolis, consisting of women together with governors and officials of the entire land. I grew under [...] her majesty [as]? (11) the youngest one of the ancestors. Then, she acknowledges the excellence of my activity and (my) loyalty to the officials. Then, she appointed me to Dendera, in the great stalled cattle (12) of her mother, great of documents, first in income of the greatest office of Upper Egypt. (20) [...] (My) mistress is the lady of Upper Egypt [...] of the Two Lands, grandee of this land. May her ka endure (21) over the throne, may she spend millions of years in life as Re forever.'[1]

The events of the tale of *Sinuhe* take place at the beginning of the 12th dynasty. Sinuhe presents himself as *bꜣk n ipꜣt-nswt (i)rt-[p ᶜt] wrt ḫswt ḫmt-nswt-s-n-wsrt m ḫnm-[is]wt sꜣt-nswt-imn-m-ḥꜣt m qꜣ-nfrw nfrw nbt imꜣḫ* 'king's apartment servant of the member of the elite, great of blessing, king's wife of Senwosret in United of Places, king's daughter of Amenemhat in High of Perfection, Neferu, possessor of honour' (Allen 2015: 57). His link with her is personal and direct, while his relationship with the king is more distant (Galán 2005: 74–5). Although Sinuhe is a fictional character, the story was credible enough for the audience, who would have accepted Sinuhe's relationship with the queen as something plausible, as Rediukhnum's biography shows.

Most of the studies on queens and female pharaohs have focused on Hatshepsut and her administration due to the wealth of useful evidence available (Bryan 2006: 69–122; Galán *et al.* 2014), which is understandable because her rulership was the longest female reign of pharaonic Egypt. Her co-regency with Thutmose III lasted for around 21 years (*c.* 1479–1458 BC). Her officials have been the subject of several publications (Ratié 1979; Dorman 1988; 1991; Dziobek 1994; 1995: 129–40; Bryan 2006: 69–122; Shirley 2014: 173–245), and some of them, like Senenmut, Useramun, and Puiemra are extraordinarily well documented. Nevertheless, no attempt has been made to try to grasp the perception which these officials had of Hatshepsut as female Pharaoh.

Queen Mother Ahhotep

Queen Ahhotep probably reigned Egypt as co-ruler for around twenty years, including the end of Hyksos domination and the beginning of the 18th dynasty (*c.* 1540–1520 BC). Two female coffins, one found in Deir el-Bahari (CG 61006) (Daressy 1909: 8–9; Porter and Moss 1964: 660) and another in Dra Abu el-Naga (CG 28501) (Porter and Moss 1964: 600–2), bear the name Ahhotep. Nevertheless, different titles are inscribed on them. Coffin CG 61006 states: *sꜣt nswt snt nswt ḫmt nswt wrt ḫnmt nfr ḥdt mwt nswt*

[1] Translated by the author.

ỉꜥḥ-ḥtp, 'King's daughter, king's sister, great royal wife, she who is joined to the white crown, king's mother Ahhotep'. Coffin CG 28501 refers to Ahhotep as: *ḥmt nswt wrt ḫnmt nfr ḥdt ỉꜥḥ-ḥtp*, 'Great royal wife, she who is joined to the white crown Ahhotep'. These two coffins, along with other inscribed objects belonging to the royal family at the end of 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty, have been the subject of several studies discussing whether there were one, two or even three queens named Ahhotep (Roth 1999: 361–77; Sidpura 2015: 21–46). Analysing the different hypotheses and evidence on which these are based goes beyond the aim of this research. Leaving the question of who her husband was to one side, this paper will focus on Ahhotep, the 'king's mother' (*mwt nswt*) of Ahmose, founder of the 18th dynasty.

It seems that Ahmose was only a child when he ascended to the throne (Barbotin 2015: 67–8). Therefore, it was his mother, Queen Ahhotep, who ruled Egypt on his behalf until he reached a certain age and it seems that she continued holding some authority until she died. Ahmose erected a stela (CG 34001) in Karnak, at the southern face of the Eighth Pylon, to commemorate his conquests and merits. Unexpectedly, the text is interrupted to insert a hymn in praise of Queen Ahhotep's powers:

> '(24)...Give praise to the lady of the (flat) land, mistress of the shores of Haunebu, exalted of name on every foreign/hilly land, who carries out the plan of the multitude, the royal wife and sister of (25) the sovereign—life, prosperity and health!, daughter of the king and august royal mother. Who knows the affairs and assembles/cares for Egypt. She has taken care of her entourage, she has supported them. (26) Her fugitives come back to her, she embraces her deserts; she had pacified the south, she has subdued her detractors. The royal wife Ahhotep—live! (27) Now, his majesty has commanded to make a memorial for his father Amun-Ra...' (Galán, in press).

It is not known if Ahhotep actually commanded an army, but it is clear that she played an important role in the governance of the country during the youth of her son, King Ahmose, and during his campaigns to the north to expel the Hyksos, and to Nubia to quell riots that occurred after the expulsion of the Asian rulers (Barbotin 2015: 82–4).

Officials at the beginning of the 18th dynasty

To rule the city of Thebes and the territory under its influence, Ahhotep had to have several trusted men under her command. This survey has gathered seventy-eight officials who served at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty, until the beginning of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III's reign.

Five categories of officials have been established according to their relationship with the queen mother and the king as attested in their inscriptions:

A. Four officials only mention the Queen Mother Ahhotep.
B. Two officials only mention a queen mother and a third one mentions a god's wife without indicating her name.
C. One official had a scarab with the name of king's wife, Ahhotep.
D. Sixteen officials only mention kings: Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I or Thutmose II.
E. Four officials mention a king's name together with a queen's name.

Officials who only and explicitly mention Queen Mother Ahhotep

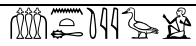
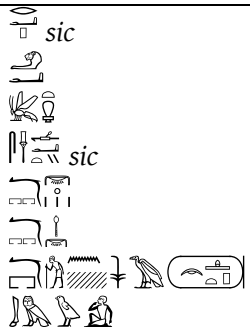
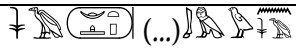
NAME	TITLES	DOCUMENT
1. 		Tomb TT 12
2. 		Statue ÄS 3900
3. 	 *sic* *sic*	Stela CG 34003
4. 	 (...)	Stela MMA 19.3.32

Table 1. Table of officials who only and explicitly mention Queen Mother Ahhotep.

1. The tomb-chapel of Hery, TT 12, is located at Dra Abu el-Naga North. His titles, preserved on the south west wall are listed as: *sḫ*[2] *wbꜣ imy-r šnwty n ḥmt nswt mwt nswt ỉꜥḥ-ḥtp*, 'scribe, butler and overseer of the double granary of the royal wife and king's mother Ahhotep' (Table 1). The tomb has been dated to the reign of Amenhotep I due to its style, as the closest parallels are the relief blocks of Amenhotep I in Karnak (Galán and Menéndez 2011: 146). However, no reliefs have been found that can be unequivocally dated to the reign of Ahmose, and therefore we cannot dismiss the possibility that Hery's tomb ought to be dated to this reign. In this well-preserved tomb, Queen Ahhotep is mentioned on at least three occasions, every time Hery indicates his titles and filiation. Ahmose is not mentioned anywhere in the tomb, which is awkward if we consider that Hery's brother was called *Aamu*, 'the Asiatic', a nickname probably understood as a reference to his involvement in the campaign against the Hyksos (Galán and Menéndez 2011: 154). Hery probably chose not to depict or mention the king, because he himself had no direct relation with Ahmose.
2. Sakhentikheti held the same title as Hery, *imy-r šnwty n mwt nswt ỉꜥḥ-ḥtp*, 'overseer of the double granary of the king's mother Ahhotep' (Table 1). The provenence of this statue is unknown (Jaroš-Deckert 1987: 1, 20–1, 24).
3. Kares held the titles *iry-pꜥt ḥty-ꜥ ḫtmw bity smr wꜥty imy-r prwy nbw imy-r prwy ḥḏ n mwt nswt ỉꜥḥ-ḥtp imy-r pr wr wḥmw*, 'noble, leader, seal bearer of the *bity*, sole friend, overseer of the double house of gold, overseer of the double house of silver of the king's mother Ahhotep, senior steward, herald' (*Urk.* IV, 45–9) (Table 1). These are recorded on a stela found in Dra Abu el-Naga and are dated to the tenth year of reign of Amenhotep I. The king is named in the dating formula, while the rest of the text focuses on the Queen Mother Ahhotep and the relationship that Kares had with her. It is known that even during Hatshepsut's reign, the years were counted according to the reign of Thutmose III, who was the legitimate heir, and never referred to her coronation (Redford 1967; Murname 1977: 32–44). Therefore, this circumstantial

[2] For the transliteration of the word 'scribe' see Piacentini 2002: 40.

evidence shows that the dating formula should not be used as an indicator of a personal link between the king and the official. Kares did not mention Amenhotep I again on the stela and Queen Mother Ahhotep is the only and indisputable protagonist.

4. Aametju describes himself on a stela found by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition in the middle of Asasif (Lansing 1920: 12, 14) as a *wḥmw n mwt nswt*, 'herald of the king's mother' (Table 1). The cartouche of Queen Ahhotep is written in the lunette between two pairs of *wadjet*-eyes and above a *šn*-ring, which may be an indication of who the king's mother was.

Officials linked to Queen Mother Ahhotep held titles such as *imy-r prwy nbw, imy-r prwy ḥḏ imy-r šnwty* and *wḥmw*. They were officials connected with the treasury of the state, food supplies and official announcements, which seems to indicate that Queen Mother Ahhotep acted as a ruler in the Theban area at least.

Officials who mention a queen mother or a god's wife without indicating her name

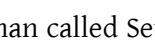
	NAME	TITLES	DOCUMENT
5.		official of a queen mother	HE Tomb 1
6.			Stela CG 34004
7.			Coffin CG 61010

Table 2. Table of officials who mention a queen mother or a god's wife without indicating her name.

1. There is an 'official of a queen mother' whose name is Se (Table 2), father-in-law of Sataimau. The title is found in the tomb of Sataimau at Hagr Edfu. W. Vivian Davies (2013: 50), who is documenting this tomb, suggests that the queen mother mentioned here is most probably Ahhotep.
2. Kenres is another coetaneous official who does not specify which queen he worked for on a stela found at Dra Abu el-Naga, where he is called *wḥmw imy-r pr wr n mwt nswt*, 'herald, senior steward of the king's mother' (Table 2). On the lunette, he is also depicted making offerings to the king's son Ahmose, called Sapair. It was found in January 1886 by Urbain Bouriant (1887: 93–5) before he excavated the tomb-chapels of Montuherkhepeshef (TT 20) and Nebamun (TT 24) which are located 39 m and 33 m northeast of the tomb-chapel of Hery (Galán, in press). The stela CG 34003 was found two months later, in March 1886. Therefore, we may assume that both stelae were discovered near Hery's tomb. The fact that the stela CG 34003 and the tomb-chapel of Hery recorded the name of Ahhotep suggests that the king's mother on the stela CG 34004 is indeed Queen Ahhotep.
3. Another official that could have served under Queen Ahhotep is Seniw. On his coffin his titles are: *imy-r pr (wr) n ḥmt ntr*, '(senior) steward of the god's wife' and *sḫ* 'scribe' (Table 2). The coffin was found in the first royal cache of Deir el-Bahari, in TT 320, by Gaston Maspero and Emil Brugsch in 1881 (Abd el Sattar 2018: 18). However, there is a possibility that Seniw did not serve under Ahhotep if the title *ḥmt ntr* was given to him after her death (Gitton 1984: 21–3) and he could have served under Ahmose-Nefertari instead.

There are two officials that mention a *mwt nswt* without indicating a name, but that probably refer to Queen Mother Ahhotep. A third one mentions a *ḥmt nṯr*. These officials, together with the previous ones, make seven men whose administrative titles were exclusively linked with a queen.

An official who had a scarab with the name of king's wife, Ahhotep

The excavations by the Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter in el-Birabi between 1911 and 1914 (Miniaci 2011: 276) discovered an inscribed *rishi*-coffin (*r*T02CarCa) of a man called Seped,  . He is said to be *iry-ꜥ n nswt*, 'doorkeeper of the king', but the king who he worked for is not written, which is a common feature. Inside the coffin, a scarab (MMA 26.7.120) was found inscribed with the name of the 'king's wife Ahhotep',  , which seems to reflect a close relationship with the queen. The problem here is that Ahhotep's title is 'king's wife' and not 'king's mother', and therefore it is not clear if she was the mother of King Ahmose, as there could have been one Ahhotep that was king's wife but not king's mother, as mentioned above (Roth 1999: 370–6). The shape of the crescent moon on the scarab cannot be used as dating criteria, as the hypothesis of Vandersleyen (1971: 205–28) has been recently questioned by Barbotin (2015: 40–1) and Galán (2017: 196).

Officials who only mention kings: Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I or Thutmose II

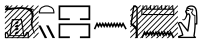
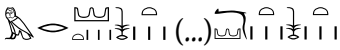
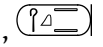
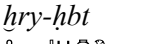
The following table (Table 3) has been condensed for reasons of space. Only the officials who mention King Ahmose and King Amenhotep I are described and detailed on it. However, for this research, officials who mention Thutmose I and Thutmose II have also been considered. Even though it is probable that the official Ineni, overseer of the double granary of Amun, also worked in the reign of Amenhotep I, he is not detailed in the table because the name of this king (and also King Thutmose I's name) is now lost, but he was taken into consideration in the research.

Among the 78 officials analysed, sixteen explicitly and intentionally mention the names of Ahmose, Amenhotep I, Thutmose I, or Thutmose II in their inscriptions, which means that only 20.51% seem to have a direct connection with a male king and wanted to highlight this circumstance.

Besides these officials, there are two other officials (Amenemhet, 'noble at the head of the people' (Porter and Moss 1960: 457) and Sobekhotep 'leader of Elkab' (Davies 2010: 237)) whose tombs have a dating formula using the regnal year. However, as discussed above, the dates should not be considered as an indicator of a close relationship between an official and a king and therefore, they have been put aside.

There is evidence of one more official, Minmot called Senires 'first prophet of Amun' and 'seal bearer of the *bity*', who does not mention a king in his titles, but he is associated with objects inscribed with a royal cartouche (Legrain 1908: 54–7; Lefebvre 1929: 227–8; Polz 2007: 280–2). These objects do not necessarily indicate a personal relationship between the official and the king, and therefore, have also not been considered in this study.

Other officials were part of the funerary cult of some of these kings, and therefore, they mention them in their inscriptions. However, these officials did not have real relationships with these kings, they did not serve during their reigns and even they could have held their offices years after the death of the kings. For that reason, this evidence has also not been contemplated.

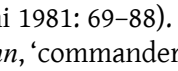
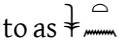
NAME	TITLES	DOCUMENT	KING
1. 		Tomb TT A20 (Champollion 1973-1974: 541-542)	
		“	“
		“	“
2. 		Inscription Semna’s temple (*Urk.* IV, 39-41)	
		“	
		“	“
		“	
		Inscription Kumme’s temple AJSL 1908 (*Urk.* IV, 141-142)	-
		“	“
		“	“
		“	“
3. 		Arminna East graffiti (Simpson 1963: 34, fig. 27)	 (also )
4.  ()		Funerary cone (Davies & Macadam 1957: 535)	
		“	“
		Funerary cones (Davies & Macadam 1957: 536-7)	 , 
		“	“
5. 		Graffiti Deir el-Bahari (Wente 1984: 47-54)	-
		Tomb Elkab 7 (Tylor 1900; Davies 2010: 235-237)	The cartouche  is adored in the offering chapel
		“	“
		“	“
		“	“
		Tomb Elkab 10 (Davies 2010: 237, pl. 50)	The inscription is dated in line one to year 22 of King Ahmose
6.  called 	*šši*	Tomb Hagr Edfu 1 (Davies 2013)	 and
	ḥry-ḥbt	“	“
	 [Behdety]	“	
	ḥnky	“	“

7.			Tomb Elkab 5 (*Urk.* IV, 1-10)	 and 
			Tomb Elkab 3 (Tylor and Griffith 1894)	-
8.	 called 		Statue Louvre C49 (Davies 2014, 401-407)	 , ,  and 
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			Statue NMS 1948.486 (Davies 2014, 401-407)	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			Tomb Elkab 2 (*Urk.* IV, 32-39; Davies 2014, 381-409)	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
			"	"
9.			(Davies & Macadam 1957: 204)	

Table 3. Table of officials who mention King Ahmose and King Amenhotep I.

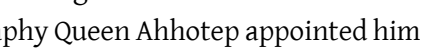
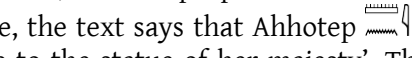
Officials who mention a king's name together with a queen's name

Queen Mother Ahhotep and King Ahmose are also mentioned together in the inscriptions of two officials. Moreover, other queens from the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty are mentioned together with their male relatives. Two examples of this last situation are also analysed in order to show that Ahhotep's situation is not unique.

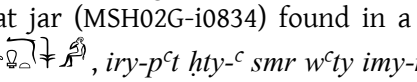
1. The viceroy Ahmose-Turo is one of the best documented officials at the beginning of the 18th dynasty (Habachi 1981: 69–88). He is mentioned at the northern temple gateway of Buhen as  *ṯsw n Bhn*, 'commander of Buhen'. King Ahmose and Queen Ahhotep are depicted on the lintel; but only Ahmose is mentioned on the door jambs (Smith 1976). Turo received a royal decree (Berlin 13725 and CG 34006; see *Urk.* IV, 79–81) informing him of Thutmose I's coronation names. In this decree he is referred to as  *sꜣ nswt*, 'son of the king', and *imy-r ḫꜣswt rsyt*, 'overseer of the southern foreign lands'. On the lunette of the stela preserved in the Cairo Museum, Queen Ahmose and Queen

Ahmose-Nefertari are depicted behind the king, with their names inscribed in two cartouches. There is no other document by Turo that mentions a king or a queen, except in dating formulae: a piece of graffiti at Uronarti (*Urk.* IV, 78 [29]) where the prenomen of Amenhotep I is mentioned and two inscriptions on Sehel Island (*Urk.* IV, 89–90) where he refers to King Thutmose I.

Turo became the commander of the fortress of Buhen in the early reign of Ahmose, after Lower Nubia was brought back under Egyptian control. He would later be named viceroy, thus, he would have been in charge of the recently conquered southern foreign lands and of dealing with the difficulties that probably arose (Shirley 2013: 577). The fact that Ahhotep was depicted together with his son in Buhen is significant as this fortress was a new frontier between Egypt and Nubia. The presence of the queen mother might indicate that she played an important role, if not during the conquest, at least during the re-establishment of administration on the frontier.

2. Iwef served under Queen Ahhotep and Queen Ahmose, the favourite wife of Thutmose I and mother of Hatshepsut. Therefore, it seems that Iwef was connected with the royal house through at least four generations of kings. His titles are inscribed on the stela CG 34009 which was found at Edfu. According to his biography Queen Ahhotep appointed him  *snw ḥm-nṯr n sȝw n ḥȝty iry-ꜥȝ n ḥwt-nṯr wꜥb*, 'second prophet of the dues of the altar, doorkeeper of the temple, *wab*-priest'. Furthermore, the text says that Ahhotep  *mn.n.s wi m rp(y)t nt ḥmt.s* 'she attached me to the statue of her majesty'. These expressions seem to indicate that Ahhotep herself entrusted Iwef with her statue when she was alive despite the fact that his titles are related to her funerary cult and that the stela was carved when she was already dead as it was dedicated to the *ka* of Queen Mother Ahhotep, *mȝꜥt-ḫrw*, 'justified of voice' (Galán, in press). Therefore, there was a personal, direct relationship between Queen Mother Ahhotep and Iwef. The official describes how he also held two other titles  *sḫ ḫtm(w)-nṯr*, 'scribe and seal bearer of the god', which were assigned to him by Queen Ahmose. It is noteworthy that King Ahmose and King Thutmose I are acknowledged as the ruling kings, however, they are mentioned highlighting women's positions, who are the main characters of the biography.

The existence of a link between an official and a queen at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty is not exclusive to Ahhotep. Other queens like Tetisheri and Ahmose-Nefertari also had officials who were linked or, at least, connected with them. Examples of these officials are:

3. Neferperet mentions Queen Ahmose-Nefertari together with her husband King Ahmose. The evidence available on this official comes from mud-bricks from the outer enclosure of Temple A at Abydos (Harvey 2004: 4) (where he is *imy-r ḫtmw*, 'overseer of the seal'), from the stela VI and VIII of Maasara (he is mentioned here as  , *mḥ-ib n nṯr nfr ḫtmw bity smr wꜥty imy-r ḫtmw*, 'confidant of the perfect god, seal bearer of the *bity*, sole friend, overseer of the seal' (*Urk.* IV, 25-25) and from a squat jar (MSH02G-i0834) found in a royal tomb in Qatna (Syria)—here, he held the titles  , *iry-pꜥt ḥty-ꜥ smr wꜥty imy-r ḫtmt sḏty nswt*,[3] 'noble, leader, sole friend, overseer of the seal, foster child of the king' (Ahrens 2006: 15–36).

4. The priest of Montu, Ahmose, mentioned King Ahmose with his grandmother, Queen Tetisheri in the last line of a stela kept at the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 25.184.2). Tetisheri's influence during the years of the war against the Hyksos seems to have been notorious and she was probably connected with several cults similar to Montu, when the kings Sequenenre and Kamose were at war and Ahmose was only a child. Tetisheri could have been the guarantor of the cults and rituals in the absence of the king.

[3] For the title *sḏty nswt* see Jones 2000: 986–7, no. 3645.

Although some officials acknowledged the male rulers under whom they served, they also indicated their personal relationship with the queen. This relationship could be direct, as in the case of Iwef who was appointed to the different offices he held in life by Queen Mother Ahhotep, or indirect as in the case of Ahmose-Turo who suggests the remarkable influence that Ahhotep had on the political affairs of Egypt. Apart from Ahhotep, other queens from the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty also had officials associated with them who recorded these relationships, like Tetisheri, Ahmose-Nefertari, and Ahmose. These officials chose to have the queens mentioned or depicted their monuments together with the king as a way of expressing their relevance and probably their relationship with them.

Officials who do not associate themselves with any royal name

In some cases, the evidence for some officials is only available through their relatives, so it is not possible to know if they linked themselves to any king in particular. This is the case of Pahery and Ineni's relatives, and in the case of Ahmose-Satayit, who was Ahmose-Turo's father. Satayit held the titles *sḫ ḥtp-nṯr n ỉmn*, 'scribe of divine offerings of Amun' and *sꜣ nswt imy-r ḫꜣswt rsyt*, 'son of the king and overseer of southern foreign lands', the same title that his son would later hold. The evidence which is available on him comes from monuments of his son Turo and his great-grandson Tety (BM EA 1279 and BM EA 888) (Shirley 2010: 75).

In other cases, we find evidence for some officials in objects on which the name of the king was not usually written, such as funerary cones, scarabs, or *rishi*-coffins. This is the case of Amenhotep, who was *sḫ n imy-r ḫtmt*, 'scribe of the overseer of the seal' or Renseneb *sꜣ nswt*, 'son of the king'. The evidence of these officials comes from their coffins *r*T06C (Miniaci 2011: 232–3) and *r*T07C (Miniaci 2011: 234–5) and, therefore, it is not possible to associate them with a particular king.

On the other hand, the name of the king is often mentioned in other contexts, like in decorated tomb-chapels. However, in the tomb-chapel of Elkab (TEK 3), Pahery, grandson of Ahmose, son of Ibana, does not mention the king whom he served (Taylor and Griffith 1894). This is even more surprising if we consider that Pahery was *mnᶜty n sꜣ nswt*, 'tutor of the son of the king', Uadjames, son of Thutmose I. Another well-known official who does not record the name of a king in his tomb is Tetiky (TT 15), *sꜣ nswt*, 'son of the king' and *ḥꜣty-ᶜ (n) m niwt rsyt*, 'leader in the southern city'.[4] Unless the king was depicted in the area of the tomb that is now lost,[5] Tetiky decided to only record Queen Ahmose-Nefertari.

Statues and stelae often recorded the name of a king. However, high officials like Roy, *imy-r šnwty n mnṯw iwni*, 'overseer of the double granary of Montu in Hermonthis' and *imy-r gs-pr*, 'overseer of the administrative district/temple?', inscribed his titles on a statue kept at the Norwich Castle Museum (93.925) omitting any reference to the ruling king.

It is also worth mentioning that women who held priestly offices or had job which was separate from their household chores did not mention either kings or queens in their inscriptions. Therefore, it is

[4] The title 'leader in Thebes' appears in a statue fragment of Tetiky but it is not attested in his tomb. Newberry (1912: 21) recorded this title and claimed that it is the earliest known reference to this office. Nevertheless, to my knowledge there is no photograph or drawing of the fragment.

[5] Despite the fact that the tomb-chapel of Tetiky is well preserved, most of the damage is on the right half of the lunette above a doorway. If King Ahmose had been depicted, this is the most probable area.

almost impossible to see and understand these women's perceptions about kings and queens with the evidence available.

Conclusions

Despite our partial knowledge of the early 18th dynasty officials, and taking into account the considerations previously described, we can formulate the following hypotheses.

An analysis of the administrative titles associated with King Ahmose and those linked to Queen Mother Ahhotep shows different spheres of control between the two groups. Besides the common *iry-pᶜt*, 'noble', *ḥty-ᶜ*, 'leader', and *ḫtmw bity*, 'seal bearer of the *bity*', no other title is repeated in these two groups. The officials linked with King Ahmose seem to share two main characteristics: they are related to the border administration and/or they are related to the cult of a god, mostly Amun. The inscriptions of officials like Seni or Djehuty found in Semna, Kumme and Arminna show that some of these officials worked on the border of Egypt with Lower Nubia. Furthermore, titles such as *imy-r šnwty n ỉmn*, 'overseer of the double granary of Amun', or *ḥm-nṯr tpy n ỉmn*, 'first prophet of Amun' are found among officials linked with the king.

Ineni, one of the most conspicuous officials of the early 18th dynasty, is a curious case. In his tomb, TT 81 (Dziobek 1992), he is referred to several times as *imy-r šnwty n ỉmn*, 'overseer of the double granary of Amun', together with other titles related to the temple of Karnak. On four occasions he is only referred to as *imy-r šnwty*, 'overseer of the double granary', which could be due to a lack of space, a scribe's mistake or just an abbreviation of the full title. Ineni recorded the name of the kings under whom he served in two areas of his tomb: the transverse hall and on a stela located at the southern end of this hall. The stela suffered greatly in the 19th/20th century and the names of Amenhotep I and Thutmose I, as well as a possible reference to King Ahmose or Queen Ahhotep, have been lost.

However, officials linked to Queen Ahhotep held titles connected to the civil administration, such as *imy-r šnwty n (ḥmt nswt) mwt nswt ỉᶜḥ-ḥtp*, 'overseer of the double granary of the (royal wife and) king's mother Ahhotep', *imy-r prwy nbw*, 'overseer of the double house of gold', *imy-r prwy ḥd*, 'overseer of the double house of silver', or *imy-r pr wr n mwt nswt*, 'senior steward of the king's mother'.

Although these are only pieces of partial evidence, it seems plausible that, while the king focused on the re-establishment of royal power on the borders and abroad, Queen Ahhotep was in charge of internal affairs, the administration of the palace and the city of Thebes. This effective division would have helped to establish kingship in Egypt after the expulsion of the Hyksos. The fact that the officials related to the cult of the temples were also the ones connected with the king may suggest a relationship between temple administration, the foreign affairs of Egypt, and the acquisition/exploitation of resources abroad. As a later example, the biography of Djehuty, overseer of the treasury and closely associated to Hatshepsut, mentions how he was in charge of registering, in writing, the marvels brought from Punt in year nine and re-directed them to Amun-Re, lord of Karnak (Galán 2014: 248).

The fact that Turo, 'commander of Buhen', decided to depict Queen Mother Ahhotep in the north temple of this fortress could indicate her relevance to the restoration of Egyptian control in the south. Nevertheless, Ahmose-Turo gave pre-eminence to King Ahmose, explicitly mentioning him on the door jambs of the fortress without mentioning Queen Ahhotep. Therefore, even in this particular case, it seems that the administration of border-related matters was usually within the king's sphere of control.

It would not be until the reign of Thutmose I that titles related to civil administration, such as *imy-r pr wr*, would appear linked to the king. During this reign, Queen Mother Ahhotep would have already died,

Egypt would have been unified, and the administration of the border and religious and civil matters would have been different, in order to serve the new interests of Thutmose I.

The tomb of Hery, the tomb of Sataimau, and the stela of Kares only mention Queen Mother Ahhotep and have been dated to the reign of King Amenhotep I whilst the stela of Iwef is dated to the reign of Thutmose I. This implies that they served not only during Ahhotep's regency but also during the sole reign of Ahmose and even under Amenhotep I and Thutmose I. Therefore, they would have had time to add the names of these kings to their monuments if they had considered their previous situation to be unusual as well as undesirable. However, they did not change their titles to include these kings and they preserved the name of the queen under whom they served.

Since the first unification of Upper and Lower Egypt, Egyptian rulers were meant to be male. The iconography and official phraseology developed in this direction and perpetuated the idea of a male monarchy. The presence of a woman on the throne was certainly not common, but neither was it an aberration, as reality was more complex. The officials who served under Queen Mother Ahhotep proudly manifested their links with the queen, who, at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th dynasty, held Egypt together and helped her son to rule Egypt efficiently. She was perceived as a ruler, not necessarily a common ruler, but a ruler to be remembered, a ruler whose name deserved to be recorded for posterity.

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Evidence for medical relations between Egypt and Ḫatti: a brief overview

Marco De Pietri and Elena Urzì

Abstract

Some Egyptian and Hittite documents refer to the exchange of medical knowledge; on one hand, Egypt sent physicians and medical ingredients to the Hittite land; on the other, the Hittites provided Egypt with raw materials used to prepare remedies for healing purposes. The Egypto-Hittite correspondence frequently mentions the dispatch of medicines to cure the sicknesses of members of the Hittite royal family, and the Amarna letters had already reported the exchange of medical notions and remedies. Egyptian physicians were needed by the Hittites on many occasions, e.g. to cure the sterility of the Hittite princess Matanazi, or to treat ocular diseases affecting Ḫattušili III and Kurunta of Tarḫuntašša. Despite official and propagandistic accounts of political events, connections between Egypt and Ḫatti were strong including those in the field of medicine. This paper offers an overview of such relationships, reconsidering the work of previous studies in the light of both the Egyptian and the Hittite documentation: a history behind (and alongside) the official accounts, which provides us with greater insight on ancient medical practices and international relationships.

Keywords

Egyptian medicine; Egypto-Hittite correspondence; physicians; herbalists; Pariamaḫu; *jr.t-pḫr.t = epēšu šammi*

Introduction

The relationships between Egypt and Ḫatti are well documented thanks to a wealth of historical sources (on both sides); nevertheless, it is probably less well known that many documents also refer to the field of medicine. Egypt sent physicians and medical ingredients to the Hittite land, while the Hittites supplied Egypt with vegetable ingredients used to prepare medical remedies (Lefebvre 1956; von Deines and Grapow 1959; Edel 1976; Germer 1979; Milani and Carruba 1986; Nunn 1996; Westendorf 1999; Bresciani and Del Tacca 2005; Allen 2005; Germer 2008; Cockitt and Rosalie 2010; Beck 2019).[1] The Egypto-Hittite correspondence exchanged between Ramses II and Ḫattušili III (and possibly his successor Tutḫaliya IV) frequently mentions the dispatch of medicines to heal the sickness of members of the Hittite royal family, and the Amarna letters refer to the exchange of medical knowledge in the time of Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten. Egyptian physicians were requested by the Hittites on many occasions, e.g. to cure a fertility problem involving the Hittite princess

[1] Further research on ancient Egyptian pharmacopoeia and its connections with medical practices are currently being conducted by a team of the University of Manchester, the 'KNH Centre for Biomedical Egyptology': [online] ‹http://www.knhcentre.manchester.ac.uk/research/previousandcompletedresearch/pharmacyproject/›, accessed 10 January 2020; cf. Urzì 2018.

Maššanawazi/Matanazi, sister of Ḫattušili III (text KBo XXVIII 30 = CTH 163: Edel 1994: 178–81 [75]; Bryce 1998; Cordani 2017: 145–6). Conversely, on some occasions, the Egyptians benefited from Near Eastern medical knowledge, e.g. when the precarious health of Amenhotep III led the King Tušratta of Mittanian to deliver a statue of the goddess Ištar of Nineveh to Egypt, with the purpose of improving the health of the sick Pharaoh (EA 23: Moran 1987: 61–2; Rainey 2015: 184–7).

The present contribution aims at pinpointing four key topics:

- The attestations and the role of physicians sent from Egypt to Ḫatti;
- An insight on Pariamaḫu, probably the most important Egyptian physician at that time, with some insights on his prosopography;
- An examination of the medicines dispatched to heal the sight of the Hittite King Ḫattušili III and of his vassal Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša, trying to identify the nature of some of these medicines through the analysis of Egyptian medical papyri from the New Kingdom;
- An overview on the remedies for the eyes, the ingredients used by the Egyptian physicians to prepare eye medicaments and a possible magical use of *udjat*-eye amulets.

Physicians, ^{LÚ}A.ZU = ^{LÚ}*asû*(*m*), sent from Egypt to Ḫatti

One of the most particular classes of envoys sent from the Egyptian court to Ḫatti (often treated and considered just as 'royal gifts') is surely that of physicians. These envoys sometimes carried the second, complementary title of 'scribe' (^{LÚ}DUB.SAR). Considering that in Egypt many different figures acting within the medical field are attested (namely *swnw*, *z3w*, *ḫr.y-ḥb*, *wᶜb n Sḫm.t*, *sm*-priest and *jr.t pḫr.t*, possibly the 'remedy-maker'), the equation of the term ^{LÚ}A.ZU = ^{LÚ}*asû*(*m*), which is probably also connected to the exorcist priest ^{LÚ}*a-ši-pu* (Pecchioli Daddi 1982: 119ff), with an Egyptian counterpart is, unfortunately, still fairly obscure; therefore, it is not possible to further understand the actual nature of this specialist. Some physicians are nominally quoted in the Hittite sources: the most famous among them is surely Pariamaḫu, the physician sent by Ramses II to Ḫatti, mentioned in many documents by Boğazköy; only three of them are reported here, some relevant words or passages have been highlighted (it is worth recalling that these texts have been strongly integrated by Elmar Edel, mostly for comparison):

a. KUB III 66 (Edel 1994: 170–3 [72, F4]); Ramses II to Puduḫepa:

Transliteration
Verso.
1' [.....] x x
2' [*a-na-ku aṣ-ṣa-ra-aḫ*] ^{LÚ}**DUB.SAR** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU** ^{I}***Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-*****]*ú***
3' [*a-na e-pe-ši* **Ú.MEŠ** *a-na* LUGAL KUR *Tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš ki-*]*i at-tu-nu*
4' *t*[*àš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši um-ma-a šu-up-ra-an-na-ši* ^{LÚ}**]DUB.SAR** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU** *an-na-a*
5' *ù* [*a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu a-na aš-*]*ri ša* LUGAL *aš-ra-nu*
6' *q*[*à-du* ***gab-bi gab-bi*** **Ú.MEŠ** *ki-i šu-ú i-kaš-š*]*a-du a-na* UGU-*ḫi-ku-nu*
7' *i*[*-na* UD-*mi ul-li-i* **2** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU.MEŠ** *an-nu-t*]*i aš-ra-nu ú-ka*$_4$*-lu*
8' *ù* [*at-ti id-ni a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na* KU]R *Mi-iṣ-ri-i* Rasur
9' *i-na* [UD-*mi ul-li-i a-mur al-te-mé ša a*]*t-ti tàš-pu-ri*

10' *ù* [x ..... *an-*]*ni-i ša at-ti tàš-pu-ri*
11' *i-n*[*a-an-na a-nu-ma* ^{LÚ}**DUB.SAR** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU** *ša* LUGA]L *iṣ-ṣa-bat i-na a-da-ni an-ni-i*
12' [KASKAL $^{URU.KI}$*Ḫa-at-tu-š*]*a* UG[U **Ú.MEŠ** *ša*] *ip-pu-uš a-na* UGU-*ḫi-ki*

Translation
Verso.
1' [.....]
2' [ich habe nunmehr **den Schreiber (und) Arzt Pariamaḫ]ū** [abgesandt]
3' [um für den König des Landes Tarḫuntaš **Arzneien** zu bereiten, wi]e ihr
4' [mir] geschrieben habt, nämlich: „Sende uns] diesen **Schreiber (und) Arzt**!“
5' und [ich habe veranlaßt, daß er zu dem Or]t [geht], wo sich der König (= Ḫattušili) befindet,
6' m[it **allen, allen Arzneien**. Sobald er] zu euch [gela]ngt,
7' sollen a[n jenem Tage dies]e [**zwei Ärzte**], (die) sich dort befinden, (mit ihrer Tätigkeit) aufhören;
8' und [veranlasse sie], an [jenem Tage ins Land] Ägypten [zu gehen]!
9' [Siehe, ich habe vernommen, was d]u geschrieben hast.
10' Und .[..... die]sen [Plan], den du geschrieben hast
11' so[eben. Der Schreiber (und) Kön]igs[arzt hat nunmehr] in diesem Augenblick
12' [den Weg nach Ḫattuš]a eingeschlagen weg[en der **Arzneien**, die] er für dich bereiten wird.

b. KUB III 67 (Edel 1994: 170–1 [71, F3]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III or Tutḫaliya IV:

Transliteration
Recto.
12' [*u*]*m-ma-a a-nu-ma a-na-ku aṣ-ṣa-ra-aḫ* ^{LÚ}**DUB.SAR** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU-*ú***

Verso.
1 ^{I}***Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú*** *it-ta-an-nu a-na a-la-ki-šu a-na e-pe-ši*
2 LÚ.MEŠ *a-na* LUGAL KUR *Tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš* ^{I}*Ku-ru-un-ta ù šu-ú*
3 *e-si-iḫ i-na* ***gab-bi gab-bi*** **Ú.MEŠ** *a-ki-i la at-ta tàš-pu-ra*
4 *ù ki-i šu-ú i-kaš-ša-du a-na* UGU-*ḫi-ka ù at-ta pí-qí-id-su*
5 *a-na* LUGAL KUR *Tar-ḫu-un-ta-aš* ^{I}*Ku-ru-un-ta* ***a-na e-pe-ši*** **Ú.MEŠ** *a-na*
6 *ù at-ta ṣu-ru-uḫ* **2** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU.MEŠ** *an-nu-ti ša aš-ra-nu it-ti-šu*
7 *ù at-ta i-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na* KUR *Mi-iṣ-ri-i*
8 [*k*]*i-i* ^{LÚ}**DUB.SAR** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU** ^{I}***Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú*** *i-kaš-ša-du a-na* UGU-*ḫi-šu*
9 [*i-n*]*a* UD-*mi ul-li-i u-ka*$_4$*-lu* [*a-mur a*]*-du-ku-ul a-na-ku al-te-me*
10 [*ša at-t*]*a táq-bu-ú iṣ-ṣa-a*[*r-ḫu* ^{LÚ}**DUB.S]AR** ^{LÚ}**A.ZU-*ú***[2]
11 **[**^{I}***Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-*]***ú*** *ù šu*[*-ú e-si-iḫ i-n*]*a* ***gab-bi gab-bi*** **Ú.MEŠ**
12 [*a-ki-i ša at-ta tàš-pu-ra a-mur a-du-ku-ul a*]*t-ta*[
13 [..... x] [...

Translation
Recto.
12' So (sprich): Ich habe nunmehr **den Schreiber (und) Arzt**

Verso.
1 **Pariamaḫū** entsandt; man hat ihn zu gehen veranlaßt, um
2 **Arzneien** für den König des Landes Tarḫuntaš (namens) Kurunta herzustellen, und er
3 wird alle, alle (Arten von) **Arzneien** zuweisen entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast.

[2] The Sumerogram ^{LÚ}A.ZU-*ú* (representing the Akkadian nominative singular ^{LÚ}*asû*) is mistakenly used here as a direct object.

4 Und sobald er zu dir gelangt, überstelle du ihn
5 dem König des Landes Tarḫuntaš (namens) Kurunta, um **Arzneien für ihn herzustellen**.
6 Und entsende du diese **zwei Ärzte**, die sich dort bei ihm (Kurunta) befinden,
7 und veranlasse sie, ins Land Ägypten zu gehen.
8 [Sob]ald **der Schreiber (und) Arzt Pariamaḫū** zu ihm gelangt,
9 [a]n jenem Tage sollen sie (**die beiden Ärzte**) ihre Tätigkeit einstellen. [Siehe, f]ürwahr, ich habe vernommen,
10 [was d]u gesagt hast. Man hat [**den Schrei]ber (und) Arzt**
11 **[Pariamaḫ]ū** entsan[dt], und er [wird] alle, alle (Arten von) **Arzneien** [zuteilen],
12 [entsprechend dem, was du geschrieben hast. Siehe, fürwahr d]u [.....
13 [.....] . [...

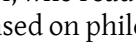
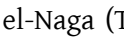
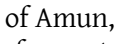
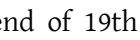
c. NBC 3934 (Edel 1994: 52–7 [22, D3]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:

Transliteration
Verso.
7' [*ù a-mur at-ta te-te-ri-š*]*a ma-la 2-šu 3-šu a-na ša-pa-ri*
8' [**1** ^{LÚ}***a-sa-a*** *a-na ka-a-ša ù*] *al-ta-ap-ra-ak-ku* **1** ^{LÚ}***a-sa-a***
9' [*i-na ša-ap-li* **Ú.MEŠ SIG$_5$-*qú-ti*** *ù*] ^{I}*Le-e-A+A it-ti-šu*
10' [*ù šu-nu il-la-ku ar-ḫi-iš a-na k*]*a-a-ša ù ul-te-bil-ak*[*-ku*]
11' [**Ú.MEŠ SIG$_5$-*qú-ti dan-níš dan-níš*** *i-*]*na* ŠU-*ti* DUMU.KIN.MEŠ-*ri-ia*
12' [*ù šu-nu ip-pu-šu* ***ša-am-ma*** *a-na k*]*a-a-ša i-na* ŠÀ-*bi-šu-nu*
13' [*ù a-mur a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na*] *ša-pa-ri* ^{LÚ}***a-sa-a*** *a-na ka-a-ša*
14' [*qa-du* ^{I}*Le-e-A+A ù i-le-eq-qú-ni-i*]*k-ku* ***gab-bi* Ú.MEŠ SIG$_5$-*qú-ti***
15' [***dan-níš*** *ša an-ni-ka-a i-na* KUR *Mi-*]*iṣ-ri-i ù ki-i a-na-ku ad-din*
16' [*a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu a-na ka-*]*a-ša ki-i* DÙG.GA *ki-i* DÙG.GA
17' [*a-na bu-ul-lu-ṭi-ka e-te-pu-uš*] UGU *šu-mi-ka*
---------- ----------
18' [*ù a-mur a-na-ku aq-ta-bi*] *a-na* **A.ZU.MEŠ**
19' [*an-nu-ti um-ma-a šum-ma ma-ši-ik-t*]*u it-te-en$_6$-pu-uš*
20' [*a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia ep-ša-ni-iš-šu* ***gab-bi* Ú.MEŠ SIG$_5$-*qú-ti dan-níš dan-níš***
21' [*ù a-na-ku at-ta-din a-na a-la-ki-šu-nu*] *a-na* KUR *Ḫa-at-ti*
[22'] [*a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia ...*

Translation
Verso.
7' [und siehe, du hast] einmal, zweimal, dreimal [gebete]n,
8' [dir einen **Arzt**] zu senden; [und] ich habe dir einen **Arzt** gesandt
9' [mit **guten Arzneien**, indem] sich Leja bei ihm befindet,
10' [und sie sollen eilends zu d]ir [gehen], und ich habe di[r]
11' [**sehr, sehr gute Arzneien** du]rch die Hand meiner Boten übersandt,
12' [und sie sollen d]ir [ein **Heilmittel**] aus ihnen [bereiten];
13' [und siehe, ich habe veranlaßt], dir den **Arzt**
14' [und den Leja zu] schicken, [und sie werden] dir alle **[sehr] guten Arzneien** [bringen],
15' [die es hier im Land Äg]ypten gibt; und daß ich [sie] freundlicherweise veranlaßte,
16' [zu d]ir [zu gehen]
17' [um dich zu heilen, tat ich] wegen deines Namens.
---------- ----------
18' [Und siehe, ich sagte] zu [diesen] **Ärzten**
19' [wie folgt: „Falls meinem Bruder Übl]es angetan werden sollte,
20' [so bereitet für ihn alle Arten] **sehr, sehr [g]uter [Drogen]**!“
21' [und ich ließ sie] ins Land Ḫatti
[22'] [zu meinem Bruder gehen.

These letters provide us with important information on the exchange and sharing of medical knowledge between the Egyptian and the Hittite courts: firstly, KUB III 66 attests the sending of the ^{LÚ}DUB.SAR ^{LÚ}A.ZU ^{I}*Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú*, 'the scribe and physician Pariamaḫu', in charge of a specific purpose, i.e. *a-na e-pe-ši* Ú.MEŠ,[3] 'to prepare (lit. make) medicines', which are qualified as *gab-bi gab-bi* (AHw 1 [A–L]: 282; cf. CDA: 87 and CAD 5 [G]: 4–5), 'all all (i.e. of any kind)' for Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša. Together with the (probably chief) physician Pariamaḫu, two other physicians (possibly his assistants) are sent to Ḫattuša. The second document, KUB III 67, mentions Pariamaḫu with the aforementioned titles, together with the same two 'assistant physicians'; the attestation of these functionaries in two letters of the same period indicates a specific event and possibly suggests a cluster or pattern of exchange, describing determined teams of physicians who were always sent in a group to the Hittite court (probably because of the difficulties of the journey, or maybe because the chief physician needed his own 'assistants'). The last letter, NBC 3934, mentions the sending of an unnamed physician together with the messenger Leja; this physician is specifically responsible for preparing *gab-bi* Ú.MEŠ SIG$_5$-*qú-ti dan-níš dan-níš*,[4] 'all, very very good remedies (lit. plants)' (for this last term, reduplicated to render, as sometimes happens in Akkadian, the absolute superlative adjective, see AHw 1 [A–L]: 160–1; cf. CDA: 56 and CAD 3 (D): 91–2); furthermore, E. Edel translated the term *šamma* (lit. 'plants') in *verso* 12' as 'Heilmittel', suggesting the interpretation of the lemma as '(medical) remedy' (nevertheless, this last consideration has to be regarded as a personal, not cogent suggestion).

An attempted prosopography for Pariamaḫu

Since Pariamaḫu is frequently attested as a physician in the Egypto-Hittite correspondence, further insight into his role is justified. Some information about this name has already been presented in two papers published by William Foxwell Albright and later by E. Edel (Albright 1946; Edel 1948). According to Albright, the name Pariamaḫu would have derived from the Egyptian name *P3-r^{c}-m-ḥb*, 'the Sun-God is in Festival' ( ; Ranke 1910: 17; Ranke 1935: 114 [13]), a hypothesis which was rejected by E. Edel, who read the name as *P3-r^{c}-m-ḥ3.t*, 'the Sun-God is in front' ( ; not attested in Ranke 1935), based on philology. If we share W. F. Albright's interpretation, we have, so far, only two funerary contexts related to the name '*Parē'amaḫū* (*Pa-re-a-ma-ḫu-ú*) = *P3-r^{c}-m-ḥb*'; the first one is in a tomb at Dra' Abu el-Naga (TT 302) belonging to an 'overseer of the magazine', son of Userḥat, chief of the magazine of Amun, dating to the Ramesside period (Porter and Moss 1960: 381 ); the second one comes from a tomb at Khôkha (TT 363) belonging to an 'overseer of the singers of Amun' and dated to the end of 19th dynasty (Porter and Moss 1960: 427 ); no further archaeological

[3] For the term Ú.MEŠ, see the ePSD2, under lemma Ú = u$_2$, 'bread, loaf, food, grass, herb, pasture, plant(s)'; the term is usually classified by the determinative for 'plant' and is here rendered in the plural form (MEŠ). The equation between Sumerian Ú and Akkadian *šammum* is clearly stated in the ePSD2: cf. also AHw 3 (Ṣ–Z): 1156–7; CDA: 353; CAD 17/1 (Š): 315–21. The equation of Sumerian Ú with Hittite *waššī-* is stated e.g. in Burde 1974: 81 (cf. Haas 2003: 125–8, about the Sumerogram Ú in Hittite).

[4] SIG$_5$ is the Sumerogram (see ePSD2 under lemma 'sag'; the Hittite version SIG$_5$, from the Akkadian syllabary, can be found in HZL: 236 [239]) corresponding to Akkadian *damqu*(*m*), feminine *dami/eqtu*(*m*): see AHw 1 (A–L): 157; cf. CDA: 55 and CAD 3 (D): 68–74. On this topic, cf. also Edel 1976: 77–8, advancing the hypothesis of the equation *jr.t-pḫr.t = epēšu šammi*, describing the expression as referring to the possible existence of a herbalist.

contexts offer information about *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb*. Although the dating of these two tombs within the Ramesside period fits the span of the Hittite letters, it is impossible to attribute one of these tombs to the physician Pariamaḫu with any certainty since (as far as the archaeological evidence testifies) in both the aforementioned tombs, the owner is never defined as a 'physician' (*swnw*).

Moving to archaeological artefacts, the name *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb* is attested nine times: on a *djed*-pillar, quoting an 'overseer of the cabinet', from the 19th dynasty (Bologna, no. 1892 ); on three canopic jars, one held in New Haven and two in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Tahrir Square (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Art Gallery, no. 13.1.1953; Egyptian Museum, Cairo, CGC 4322): one of these refers to a 'Great Overseer of the cattle of Amun', probably dating to the 19th dynasty (Reisner 1967: 218–9, pl. 54, ); two stelae, one from the Temple of Ḥauron-Ḥaremakhet, referring to a 'head of works' (reign of Seti I), the second one from the surroundings of the Great Sphinx (undatable); one door-jamb of *P3y*, at the British Museum, quoting *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb*, dated to the 19th dynasty (BM EA 186 ); two stelae at the British Museum quoting *P3y-nḥsy* and *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb*, dating to the 19th–20th dynasty (BM EA 141  / ; BM EA 1183), the former referring to a 'chief of goldsmiths in the House of Gold'; finally, an inscription on a limestone portion of what could have been part of a sarcophagus or a wall, today held at the Berlin Museum, where the name *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb* can be read in the central part of the inscription (Berlin 7289  , in Roeder 1924: 166 [7289]).

Broadening the textual evidence to attestations of the name on papyri, we have only two references to *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb* in Papyrus Anastasi III, within the 'extracts of the journal of a border official'. Here, we find attestations of the 'garrison-commander' *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb* and of the 'lieutenant' *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb* (relevant passages in bold):

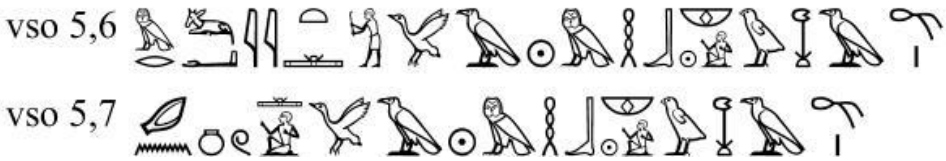


Figure 1. Transcription of Papyrus Anastasi III, vso. 5–6 (after Gardiner 1937: 32).

> '(vso. 6,1) Regnal-year 3, first month of Shōmu, day 15. [...] (vso. 5,4) Coming by Pmerkhetem son of Any, stable-master of Meneptaḥ-ḥotpḥimā-ĕ (l. p. h.), a town (vs. 5,5) which is in the district of Pirem. What he took to the place where the King is: 2 dispatches, viz. (vso. 5,6) (for) **the garrison-commander Pra-emḥab**, 1 dispatch; (vso. 5,7) (for**) the lieutenant Pra-emḥab**, 1 dispatch' (Caminos 1954: 108–9).

In conclusion, we have neither any other Hittite references to *P3-rᶜ-m-ḥb* nor (on the Egyptian side) any striking attestations about this figure, which would align with the information found in the letters of the Egypto-Hittite correspondence. Thus, with the current data at hand, it is impossible to create a complete prosopography of Pariamaḫu.

Medicines for healing eye sicknesses

Many letters exchanged between the Egyptian and Hittite courts attest the dispatch of medical remedies sent to cure the ocular diseases of Ḫattušili III and of Kurunta (relevant words or passages are in bold):

a. KBo XXVIII 4 (Edel 1994: 116–23 [46, E13]; Cordani 2017: 118–21); Ramses II to Puduḫepa:

Transliteration
Verso.
[0'] [x IGI.MEŠ *šúm-mu-ḫu-tù ša* KÙ.GI SIG_5 *tam-lu-ú* KI.LAL-*šu* 36 GÍN] [...]
12' [...] 5 ^{DUG}*ku-ku-bu* [*š*]*a* **Ú.MEŠ *ša* IGI.MEŠ SIG_5 SIG_5**

13' 20 GI.MEŠ *ša* **Ú.MEŠ *ša* IGI.MEŠ SIG_5 SIG_5**

Translation
Verso.
[0'] [x verschiedene (Uzat)augen aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt]. [...]
12' [...] 5 *kukubu*-Gefäße [m]it **sehr guten Arzneien für die Augen**;

13' 20 Körbe mit **sehr guten Arzneien für die Augen**.

b. KUB III 63 (Edel 1994: 164–7 [51, E18]; Cordani 2017: 123–4); Ramses II to Puduḫepa:

Transliteration
Verso.
8' 1 *na-aš-*[*pa-ku ša* KÙ.GI(?) *ša* Ú.MEŠ *ša* IGI.MEŠ SIG_5 SI]G_5 [...]10 ^{DUG}[*ku-*]*k*[*u*]-⌊*bu*⌋ GA[L *ša* ...] Ú.MEŠ *ma-l*[*i*]

Translation
Verso.
8' l Vorrat[skrug aus Gold(?) mit sehr gu]ten [Arzneien für die Augen(?); x +] 10 gro[ße *ku*]*kubu*-Gefäße [aus Gold(?), die] mit Arzneien gefü[llt] sind.

c. KBo XXVIII 5(+)6 (Edel 1994: 112–6 [45, E12]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:

Transliteration
Verso.
7' [x ..... IGI.MEŠ *šúm-mu-ḫ*]*u-tù ša* KÙ.GI SIG_5 *tam-lu-ú* KI.LAL-*šu* 36 GÍ[N] [...]
[19'] [...] 5 ^{DUG}*ku-ku-bu ša* **Ú.MEŠ *ša* IGI.MEŠ SIG_5 SIG_5**[

[20'] [20 GI.MEŠ *ša* **Ú.MEŠ *ša* IGI.MEŠ SIG_5 SIG_5**]

Translation
Verso.
7' [x verschied]ene [(Uzat)augen] aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Sche[kel] beträgt. [...]
[19'] [...] 5 *kukubu*-Gefäße mit **sehr guten Drogen für die Augen**[

[20'] [20 Körbe mit **sehr guten Drogen für die Augen**]

d. KUB III 51 (Edel 1994: 16–9 [2, A1]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:

Transliteration
Verso. (?)
1' [.....] x [.....] x [ ] x [...
2' [..... *ù a-na-ku*] *ul-te-bíl* ***gab-bi ša-am-mi***[MEŠ]
3' [**SIG$_5$-*qú-ti a-na* IGI.MEŠ** *ša* ŠEŠ-*ia ù*] *a-na-ku at-ta-din* 1-*en* LÚ*sà-ag-ru-ma*[*-aš*]
4' [*a-na a-la-ki it-ti* ^{I}*Pí-ri-iḫ-*]*na-ua ù šu-ú il-li-ik a-na* [^{I}ZAG.ŠEŠ]
5' [LÙ KUR *A-mur-ri it-ti* DUMU.KIN-*ri-ia* ^{I}]*Pí-ri-iḫ-na-ua ù it-ta-an-na-aš*[*-šu*]
6' [***gab-bi ša-am-mi***MEŠ *ša il-qú-ú ù(!)*] *šu-ú it-ta-din* 1-*en* LÚ*sà-ar-gu*
7' [*a-na a-la-ki a-na* UGU-*ḫi* ŠEŠ-*ia q*]*à-du* ***ša-am-mi***MEŠ *ša* LUGAL ŠEŠ-*ia*
8' [*id-di-nu a-na šu-bu-li-šu-nu ar-ḫi-*]*iš ar-ḫi-iš a-na* UGU-*ḫi* ŠEŠ-*ia*
9' [*i-na* ŠU-*ti ša* ^{I}*Pí-ri-iḫ-na-ua ù a-na-k*]*u al-tá-pár ṭup-pa a-na* LÚ KUR [*A-mur-ri*]
10' [*um-ma-a a-na-ku ú-še-bi-la a-na* ŠEŠ-*]ia* ***ša-am-ma a-na*** **IGI.MEŠ** *ša* [ŠEŠ-*ia*]

Translation
Verso. (?)
1' [.....] ..... [...
2' [..... und ich] ließ **alle [guten] Arznei[en]**
3' [**für die Augen** meines Bruders] bringen [und] ich ließ einen Streitwagenoffizier
4' [mit Piriḫ]nawa [gehen], und dieser ging zu [Bentešina],
5' [dem Fürsten des Landes Amurru, mit meinem Boten] Piriḫnawa, und er gab ih[m]
6' [alle **Arzneien**, die er gebracht hatte, und] der ließ einen *sargu*-Offizier
7' [zu meinem Bruder gehen m]it den **Drogen**, die der König, dein Bruder,
8' [eile]nds, eilends zu meinem Bruder [hatte bringen lassen]
9' [durch die Hand Piriḫnawas, und i]ch schrieb einen Brief an den Fürsten des Landes [Amurru]
10' [folgendermaßen: „Ich habe] meinem Bruder eine **Arznei fur die Augen** [meines Bruders bringen lassen (sowie)].

e. KBo VII 10 (Edel 1994: 200–1 [93, I13]); Ramses II and Nefertari to Ḫattušili III and Puduḫepa:

List of gifts sent by the Egyptians:
Transliteration
Recto.
3' [...] 5 *ḫ*]*u-bu-né-tu*$_4$MEŠ ◌
4' [*ša* URUDU(?) *ša ma-lu-ú* ***ša-am-mi***MEŠ ***ša*** **IGI.MEŠ] SIG$_5$.‹MEŠ›SIG$_5$.MEŠ**
5' [20(?) GI.MEŠ *ša ma-lu-ú* ***ša-am-mi***MEŠ ***ša*** **IGI.MEŠ S]IG$_5$.MEŠ SIG$_5$.MEŠ**

Translation
Recto.
3' [...] 5 *ḫubunnu*-Gefäße
4' [aus Kupfer (?), die gefüllt sind mit] **sehr guten [Arzneien für die Augen]**;
5' [20 (?) Körbe, die gefüllt sind mit **s]ehr guten [Arzneien für die Augen]**.

f. KBo VIII 13 + KBo XXVIII 24 (Edel 1994: 80–5 [30, D11]; Cordani 2017: 138–9); Ramses II to Ḫattušili III:

Transliteration
Recto.
12' [*u*]*m-ma-a a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia-m*[*a ù ša* ŠEŠ-*ia iš-pu-ra a-n*]*a ia-ši um-ma-a* ***š*[*u-bi-la*** **Ú.MEŠ** ***li-ú-ti*** *ša* **IGI.MEŠ-*ia*]**
13' [*ša tu-še-bi-l*]*a a*[*-na ia-ši a-na pa-na-nu* ŠEŠ-*ia kán*^{a}]^{n}*-na iš-pu-r*[*a a-na ia-ši a-nu-ma ul-te-bi-la* **Ú.MEŠ**]

14' [*li-ú-ti*] *ša* **IGI.MEŠ** *ša* [ŠEŠ-*ia i-na* ŠU-*ti* ^{I}***Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-*]*ú*** *um-ma-a* [*a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia-ma ù ša* ŠEŠ-*ia iš-pu-ra*]

Verso.
7 [*a-*]*nu-ma* ŠEŠ-*ia i*[*l-ta-na-ap-pa-ra a-na ia-ši gi-n*]*a-a gi-na-a um-ma-a ul ta-ša*[*p-pa-ra-a* **Ú.MEŠ**]
8 [*a-n*]*a ia-ši* UG[U ^{I}*Ku-ru-un-ta* ŠEŠ-*ia liš-pu-ra ḫi-ši-iḫ-t*]*a a-na ša-a-šu ù a-na-ku ú-še*[*-bíl ḫi-ši-iḫ-ta*]
9 [*a-*]*na ka-a-ša* [*ù a-mur a-na-ku al-tap-ra a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia*] *ù a-mur a-na-ku e-te-ri-iš ḫi-š*[*i-iḫ-ti ša* **IGI.MEŠ(?)-*šu***]
10 [*it-t*]*i-ka* [ŠEŠ-*ia kán-na iš-pu-ra a-na ia-ši a-mur il-tap*]*-ru* **Ú.MEŠ *li-ú-ti*^{MEŠ} *ša* [IGI.MEŠ(?)** *ša* ^{I}*Ku-ru-un-ta*]
11 [*i-na* ŠU-*ti* ^{I}***Pa-ri-a-ma-ḫu-ú*** .....] *um-*[*m*] *a-*[*a*] x x-*nu ù*[...
12 [..... *š*]*u-bi-la-a*[*š-šu-* ...
13 [.....*-ú*]*-ni-in-ni* x[...
14 [..... *a-ma-t*]*i an-ni-ta u*[*m(?)-ma-a a-na* ŠEŠ-*ia-ma a-nu-ma* ŠEŠ-*ia il-ta-na-ap-pa-ra*]
15 [*a-na ia-ši gi-na-a gi-na-a um-ma-a ul ta-šap-pa-ra*]*-a a-na ia-ši* **2 [**^{LÚ}**A.ZU.MEŠ** UGU ^{I}*Ku-ru-un-ta*]

Translation
Recto.
12' [S]o (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: [Und was m]ir [mein Bruder geschrieben hat], wie folgt: „L[aß **wirksame Arzneien für meine Augen** bringen]
13' [die du] m[ir (schon) zuvor gesan]dt [hast!“ - s]o hat [mein Bruder mir] geschriebe[n; ich habe nunmehr]
14' [wirksame **Arzneien] für die Augen** [meines] B[ruders bringen lassen durch die Hand des Pariamaḫ]ū.

Verso.
7 [N]un, mein Bruder s[chreibt mir im]mer wieder, wie folgt: „Sen[dest] du keine [**Arzneien**]
8 [a]n mich fü[r Kurunta? Mein Bruder möge das Gewünscht]e für ihn [senden], und (auch) ich werde [Gewünschtes]
9 [a]n dich se[nden! Siehe, ich habe meinem Bruder geschrieben], und siehe, ich habe das [für seine **Augen**(?)] Gewü[nschte]
10 [v]on dir erbeten“ - [so hat mein Bruder mir geschrieben. Siehe], man [hat] wirksame **Arzneien für** [**die Augen** (?) Kuruntas geschickt
11 [durch die Hand des Pariamaḫū .....] wie folgt .....
12 [..... l]aß ihn/sie bringen! [...
13 [.....] sie [.....] mich [...
14 [.....] diese [Angelegenheit. S[o? (sprich) zu meinem Bruder: Nunmehr schreibt mir mein Bruder]
15 [immer wieder, wie folgt: „Sendest du] mir [nicht die] **zwei [Ärzte** für Kurunta? ...]

This last text reports on agreements for the dispatch of some medicines for Ḫattušili's eyes and openly quotes the 'Pax Hethitica', established with the 'Silver Treaty'. The end of the verso, convincingly integrated by E. Edel, would probably have reported on the request for physicians (probably the usual Pariamaḫu) by Ḫattušili to take care of Kurunta's health. The quotation, on the verso of KUB III 51 (*supra*, text d) is particularly noteworthy; among the other gifts, of 'various good plants/medicines for the eyes' (*gab-bi ša-am-mi*[^{MEŠ}] / [SIG_5-*qú-ti a-na* IGI.MEŠ, *Verso* 2'–3'), to heal a disease in the eyes of Ḫattušili (nevertheless, it is worth remembering that this last passage has been convincingly integrated by E. Edel and therefore a margin of error and uncertainty must be always considered). Ramses delivered these medicines firstly to Bentešina, king of Amurru, with the purpose of dispatching them 'very quickly' (*ar-ḫi-iš ar-ḫi-iš*, *verso* 8') to the Hittite king through a *sargu*-official (for this title, see Edel 1994, vol. 2: 34). The recourse to this person could be explained (as E. Edel did) by the need for the quick dispatch of these medicines (maybe because the health problems of the Hittite king might have been

serious); in fact, the entire expedition led by Piriḫnawa would have taken much more time to reach Ḫatti because of the considerable amount of gifts. Among the Hittite sources, some texts deal with medical treatments (CTH 461, 765, 808–9, 811); in particular, CTH 809 reports medical remedies for healing ocular diseases (Burde 1974; Arnold 2002: 43; Fincke 2010; Schwemer 2013: 153). Unfortunately, these Hittite texts do not allow for the identification of the precise components of such remedies, and neither is the typology of the diseases healed not well-defined, generally referring to an eye sickness 'making the eyes blank/white' (probably something similar to albuginea). Furthermore, in the Hittite capital, some Akkadian oracular texts (*omina*) against diseases were discovered (CTH 537: Wilhelm 1994); unfortunately, these documents do not provide us with any further information about ocular diseases, and neither does the oracular nature of the texts properly fit medical science as it was perceived in Egypt, taking a much more Mesopotamian approach to the topic. Nevertheless, the analysis of the Hittite medical documentation seems to show that the Hittite physicians did not succeed in providing effective therapies for the eye disease of Ḫattušili III, and thus, we can wonder if the Hittite king was forced to request the well-renowned medical assistance of the Egyptians.

Medical recipes for healing eye diseases, ingredients used to prepare eye medicaments and the possible magical use of *udjat*-eyes

In order to better clarify the quality and the components of the aforementioned remedies, this paragraph presents some data from New Kingdom Egyptian medical papyri, mostly the Ebers Papyrus, the London medical papyrus BM EA 10059 (hereinafter called the London Papyrus), and the papyrus Louvre E 32847.

Among the corpus of Egyptian medical texts, there are examples of many diseases that were healed: 37% of this information is related to unidentified diseases; 33% describes diseases which were specifically identified; 16% focuses on eye protection; 14% includes diseases which were not clearly identified. Focusing on the Egyptian sources concerning eye medicaments, we can find 150 remedies to heal eyes: 91 from the Ebers Papyrus,[5] six from the London Papyrus,[6] and 47 from papyrus Louvre E 32847.[7] It is important to consider that the remedies are not always clear; thus, all the data provided must be regarded as an approximation. When considered in detail, the remedies include 126 medicaments for specific ocular diseases (some of them still have not been identified), 29 medicaments for undefined ocular diseases (one, Eb. 422, for a person from Byblos), and thirteen formulae for eye protection, limited to ritual spells.

The following diseases are the most attested ones (for specific cases, see *Grundriss* V, Index; cf. also Pommerening 2017): *šnj m jr.t* = trichiasis, lit. 'hair in the eye' (ten times); *wb3 m33* = 'open the eyesight' (nine times); *sḥḏw* = albuginea (eight times); *snf* = 'blood [in the eyes]' (six times); *ḫ.t n.t mw* = 'water

[5] *Grundriss* V, nos. 336–385, 387–417, 419–431.

[6] *Grundriss* V, nos. 9, 22–23, 34–36 = Leitz 1999, nos. 9, 57–58, 22–24.

[7] Bardinet 2018, rto. x + 3,7; rto. 3,7–8; rto. 3,8–9; rto. 10,21–11,2; vso. 17,13–21 (A–C) + 18,1–4 (three remedies concerning the same treatment); vso. 19,19; vso.19,20; vso. 19, 21; vso. 20,1; vso. 20,1–2; vso. 20,2–3; vso. 20,3–5; vso. 20,5–6; vso. 20,6–7; vso. 20,7; vso. 20,8–9; vso. 20,9; vso. 20,21–21,2; vso. 21, 2–3; vso. 21,3–4; vso. 21,4 (two remedies); vso. 21,4–5; vso. 21,5; vso. 21,5–6; vso. 21,6; vso. 21,6–7; vso. 21,7; vso. 21,7–8; vso. 21,8–9; vso. 22,1; vso. 22,1–2; vso. 22,2–4; vso. 22,4 (three remedies); vso. 22,4–5; vso. 22,5–7; vso. 22,7 (two remedies); vso. 22,8; vso. 22,8–9; vso. 22,9; vso. 22,9–10).

stasis [in the eyes]' (five times); *3dj.t* = glaucoma (five times); 'to remove a pebble (*psd.t*) from the eyes' (four times); *ḥrw* = 'eyesight weakness' (four times).

Medical papyri usually show a tripartite scheme for the remedies, presenting:

1) An introductory *rubrum*, sometimes missing either because of lacunae or because it was substituted by the general feminine pronoun *k.t* (*pḫr.t*), when the remedy follows another one dealing with the same topic; similar one;

2) The list of ingredients (sometimes with their quantities).

3) The posology.

Besides the recipes, magical/ritual formulae are also attested, composed of an invocation and a final section with indications about the correct use of the remedy itself.

The ingredients mentioned in the texts were used for both recipes and magical formulae (sometimes adding water) and can be divided into four major categories: vegetable ingredients (38%), animal ingredients (20%), mineral ingredients (19%), and unclear ingredients (7%), sometimes mixed together with water (16%). Some of these components are still unknown, especially in the vegetable category (Germer 1979; 2008). Some primary data can be outlined using statistical analysis:

1) Frequent use of plants or resin-like ingredients: *ḏ3r.t* plant, maybe 'colocynth' (20.18%—22 times); *ḫ.t ꜥw3.t*, lit. 'rotten wood' and 'aloe' (15.60%—seventeen times); *ꜥntjw*, 'resin' (12.84%—fourteen times); *snṯr*, 'incense' (12.84%—fourteen times);

2) Extremely frequent attestation of *bj.t*, 'honey' (24.77%—27 times), of *snf*, 'blood' (11.92%—thirteen times), and of *mrḥ.t*, 'fat' (10.09%—eleven times);

3) Recurrent mention of some minerals: *msdm.t*, 'galena' (59.63%—65 times); *w3ḏ*, 'malachite' (29.36%—32 times); *mnš.t*, 'red ochre' (19.27%—21 times), and the undefined *sj3* (16.51%—seventeen times);

4) Several occurrences of the *snn*-balsam (11.01%—twelve times).

Among these medical recipes, only one (a spell recited on a 'jackal and an *udjat*-eye [amulets]', the London Papyrus 22) mentions the use of an *udjat*-eye; in this case, it represents the object on which the physician had to pronounce the incantation formula against *š3rw*, 'night blindness'. This text (Fig. 2) includes a discussion on the possible use of *udjat*-eye amulets for healing practices, maybe suggesting the application of such an amulet on the body of the patient (relevant words are in bold):

Figure 2. Transcription of the London Papyrus (BM EA 10059), L. 22 (after Leitz 1999: pl. 32).

> *Incantation for night blindness*: 'O dead male and female, who cause the night blindness and veiling of my eyes: you should not cause me night blindness, veiling and poor sight. Anubis [...] when he had found there a dead male or female, etc. as [...] he [...] *ḏ3.t* of Osiris, who swallows [...] *wry.t*-canal (?). That night of [...] dead male or female, etc. [...] saying [...] delay. May you place yourself before me [...] Indeed, Thot is beside [...] They see this your name [...] you are there and you shall see. [*This incantation is to be*] *spoken* [*four times over*] *a jackal and a* ***wedjat-eye****, drawn in...* [...] *To be added to it in beer and* [...] *or... To be rubbed into his eyes with the hand of the one suffering night blindness. Then he will see at once'* (Leitz 1999: 64–5 [L. 22]).

A noteworthy archaeological datum (strengthening the connection between Egypt and Anatolia) is represented by the finding of actual *udjat*-eye amulets in Turkey (in total, six *udjat*-eyes have been found in Anatolia so far: three at Alishar Höyük, one at Eskiyapar, and two at Tarsus; see Schmidt 1933: 61, fig. 83; Özkan 2007, 93, fig. 9; Goldman 1963, vol. 2, 181, fig. 36; Helft 2010, 283 [140]; cf. De Pietri 2019, object cat. [A11-3, A21, A26, A37]), respectively; such objects, like the two *udjat*-eyes from Alishar Höyük and Eskiyapar (Figs. 3–4), could be evidence of such specific amulets actually being sent to heal the eyes of local people who were ill, as suggested by the aforementioned Egyptian remedy (Haas 2003: 765 reports other eye-shaped amulets which were already in use in Syria at this time).

Figure 3. Green frit *udjat*-eye from Alishar Höyük (after Schmidt 1933: 61, fig. 83).

Figure 4. Frit *udjat*-eye from Eskiyapar (after Özkan 2007: 93, fig. 7).

This archaeological evidence can be further supported by two letters from the Egypto-Hittite correspondence which mentioned the sending of 'eyes' (IGI.MEŠ) from Egypt to Ḫatti; these 'eyes' could be easily interpreted as being *udjat*-eye amulets, since they are described as being made of fine gold, probably inlayed with precious stones (cf. Edel 1994, vol. 2: 193; the relevant words are in bold):

a. KBo XXVIII 4 (Edel 1994: 116–23 [46, E13]; Cordani 2017: 118–21); Ramses II to Puduḫepa:

Transliteration
Verso.
[0'] [x **IGI.MEŠ** *šúm-mu-ḫu-tù ša* KÙ.GI SIG_5 *tam-lu-ú* KI.LAL-*šu* 36 GÍN]

Translation

Verso.
[0'] [x verschiedene **(Uzat)augen** aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Schekel beträgt].

b. KBo XXVIII 5 (+) 6 (Edel 1994: 112–116 [45, E12]); Ramses II to Ḫattušili:

Transliteration
Verso.
7' [x ..... **IGI.MEŠ** *šúm-mu-ḫ*]*u-tù ša* KÙ.GI SIG_5 *tam-lu-ú* KI.LAL-*šu* 36 GÍ[N]

Translation
Verso.
7' [x verschied]ene [**(Uzat)augen**] aus gutem Gold, mit Besatz, dessen Gewicht 36 Sche[kel] beträgt.

Conclusions

Ultimately, we can feel fairly confident in drawing the following (preliminary) conclusions, pinpointing some topics for further research (such as the spirit of 'Current Research in Egyptology' conference).

First of all, from the information contained in original sources (mostly the Egypto-Hittite correspondence), Egyptian physicians sent to Ḫatti played a peculiar role in cases of particular pathologies, e.g. those affecting eyes (specifically those involving the Hittite King Ḫattušili III and Kurunta, king of Tarḫuntašša). Among the physicians sent to the Hittite land, a preeminent position was taken by the Egyptian (chief?) physician Pariamaḫu; who certainly deserves further research, adding much more information from other types of sources (e.g. Deir el-Medina documentary sources, the Book of the Dead, or other artefacts which possibly carry his name and titles together).

The identification of the actual ingredients sent to the Hittites is still quite evanescent (on the topic see e.g. Imhausen and Pommerening 2016); further information could be gained by comparing the Egyptian documentation with Hittite medical texts, such as CTH 809 (see *supra*), or other Mesopotamian (i.e. Akkadian) texts mentioning similar or equivalent medical components.

E. Edel's hypothesis about the equation *šamma* = *pḫr.t* and *jr.t-pḫr.t* = *epēšu šammi* (only briefly alluded to here, for specifics, see Edel 1976: 77–8) needs further research in order to better clarify the still quite obscure identification of *šammu*(*m*) and to confirm the alleged existence of an *jr.t-pḫr.t* = *epēšu šammi* (i.e. a 'herbalist'), as suggested by some Egyptian documents (this will definitely be the topic for another contribution).

On a statistical (therefore not strictly definitive) analysis of occurrences within the Egyptian medical *corpus*, the results show that the most frequent eye diseases were the *šnj m jr.t* = trichiasis, and the *sḥḏw* = albuginea. Considering the medical components of the remedies, the most attested ingredients are the *ḏ3r.t*-plant, which could be 'colocynth' (for the vegetable group), the *bj.t*, 'honey' (regarding animal materials), the *msdm.t*, 'galena' (within mineral components), and the still obscure *snn*-balsam.

A hypothesis about the use of *udjat*-eyes for healing purposes has finally been put forward; unfortunately, only one magical spell could support such an interpretation (i.e. L. 22 Leitz = L. 34 *Grundriss*), and an unequivocal archaeological confirmation is still lacking, since the medical use of these amulets in Egypt cannot yet be proven on strict and definitive archaeological grounds.

Further research, always carried out from an interdisciplinary perspective, will help to better define all these suggestions and insights on this noteworthy but, nevertheless, very elusive topic.

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Jmy-r³ jp.t nsw at the end of the 18th dynasty: An iconographical study

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Abstract

Jmy-r³ jp.t nsw is the title traditionally connected with the royal *harîm*; or, in modern Egyptological literature, with the royal household. This article focuses, in part, on one of the earliest appearances of the depiction of the holder of this title in combination with the motif of the royal audience and the royal household in a Theban context (i.e. vizier Ramose and tomb TT 55). This specific motif also appears in the decoration of all non-royal Amarna tombs, where it has further developed into the characteristic scene of the royal household, most likely including the *jmy-r³ jp.t nsw*, behind the royal couple. This paper discusses the general characteristics of the title being discussed and role, as well as the elements of continuity and change within these types of scenes.

Keywords

King's private apartment; window of Appearance; Amarna; New Kingdom; tomb; royal couple

The *jp.t nsw*—An introduction

The character of the institution of *jp.t nsw* has certainly been as one of the most constantly discussed topics in Egyptology (e.g. Reisner 1972; Lorton 1974; Kemp 1976b; Callender 1994; Yoyotte 2008) for a long time. Even though a recent interpretation of its designation as 'the king's private apartment' was listed in Jones' index of titles (Jones 2000: 56), the translation as 'royal *harîm*' is still in use, even in more recent literature (e.g. Roth 2012; Kozloff 2012: 17–20; Higginbotham 2013: 82–3). Based on the iconographical study of the 'window of Appearance' (Vomberg 2004) from the reign of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, the interpretation of the term *jp.t nsw* as king's private apartment or household will be discussed in the following pages. The motifs representing the members of the royal household within this theme of 'Window of Appearance' are of great relevance and are the main focus of this study.

The Theban tomb of Ramose—A new way of portraying the royal audience

The tomb of vizier Ramose, TT 55 (Porter and Moss 1960: 105–11; Davies 1941), dates to the end of the reign of Amenhotep III and beginning of the reign of his son Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, and is situated at the bottom of the Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh hill. The tomb is remarkable, for it depicts two different types or versions of the royal audience, and consequently, is the only tomb which incorporates both

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types. The scenes in question feature on the focal (or west) wall of the large pillared hall; this wall is normally the traditional place for the so-called 'Blickpunktsbilder' (Hartwig 2004: 52) since it can be observed by any visitors on entering the tomb, as it is lit by natural sun light. However, in the case of Ramose's tomb, the prominent pillars hinder such a direct encounter.

On the far-left side when entering the tomb (the south part of the rear wall), the more traditional manner of later 18th dynasty tomb decoration is portrayed, even though it is unfinished. King Amenhotep III/IV (Davies 1941: pl. 29) is depicted in the traditional manner in the iconic royal kiosk (Hartwig 2004: 54–73). However, the identity of the king is disputable because the rest of the scene names him as Amenhotep IV. Nevertheless, the scene has elements of later retouching and the shape of the face of the depicted ruler could lead to the conclusion that it was originally Amenhotep III. He is shown sitting on the throne with the blue crown on his head and holding a crook and flail, followed by the goddess Maat, who is touching his shoulder. The tomb owner approaches the kiosk dressed as a vizier and handing over the staff of Amun (Davies 1941: pl. 30).

The right (north) side of the same back wall depicts a different and a new iconographic invention, namely the royal couple in the so-called 'Window of Appearance' (Davies 1941: pl. 33). This is one of the very earliest depictions of this motif. The king and the queen stand in the window under the rays of the god Aten and interact with their subjects who are shown in two registers in front of them. The upper register shows the ceremony of the tomb owner receiving the gold of honour (Davies 1941: pl. 34), the lower register shows the adoration, among other images, by representatives of foreign countries (Davies 1941: pl. 37); both of these ceremonies are represented in front of the royal couple. There is a schematically depicted building before (Davies 1941: pls. 33–4) the 'Window of Appearance'; it could be a tall building with storeys such as the palace which Davies (1941: 32) proposed as being the Malqata Palace, founded by Amenhotep III, even though no inscription verifies this hypothesis. Another possibility, since the scene is highly stylised, is that the registers with palace members are not depicting any architectural features. In this depiction, it seems that the window might have been situated on the façade of the palace, or the structure could also have faced toward some of the open courtyards—a peristyle. However, it must be highlighted that the scene is highly stylised, therefore the interpretation of the architectural representation is highly tenuous.

On the left side of the scene, there is a simplified depiction of the palace staff in several registers (Davies 1941: pl. 32). Two figures are identified as *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw*, while others are marked as inspectors of *pr ḫnr* (TLA:[2] lemma-no. 118350), (usually translated as inspector of the *harîm*) and policemen (*sꜤšꜣ.t*, Lesko 2004: 16). The nearest individuals to the royal couple, directly behind the window, are two groups of elite women and a single man. One of the two groups is accompanied by men. All the men lack accompanying inscriptions and therefore, their precise positions cannot be identified. They are dressed in fine garments and hold fans and strips of linen—*sash*—in their hands. Unlike these two clearly depicted groups, the staff of the palace are depicted as being somewhat smaller and in a bowing position with their hands in close to their knees. The two policemen are dressed in shorter kilts and have a stick in each of their right hands. The rest of the men are wearing plisse kilts and the traditional wigs of the time with an undercut. All the figures of these officials are deployed in six sub-registers with the first and last containing two bowing figures, while each of the other four sub-registers only has one man in a bowing position. The first figure in the upper register is identified as *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw* and is followed by a policeman with a stick. The bottom register is more problematic, and the identification of the first figure is not entirely clear. It could be read again as *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw*, but this reading of the title remains

[2] TLA: *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*: ‹http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/BwlSearch?u=guest&f=0&l=0›, accessed 28 August 2020.

uncertain after considering Davies's illustration. The man behind this figure is identified as an 'inspector'. Unfortunately, the figures are only identifiable only by their titles, therefore we can only speculate on whether the *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw* from this particular scene is in fact Userhat, owner of tomb TT 47, who held this position during the reign of Amenhotep III (Porter and Moss 1960: 87), or another holder of this title. Nevertheless, this scene is the only depiction of this type where the titles are inscribed.

Figure 1. Depiction of the palace-staff standing behind the 'window of Appearance' (Davies 1941: pl. 32).

Amarna tombs—the royal family and their household

This particular theme of the royal family followed by the palace staff appeared later as part of the decoration of non-royal tombs in El-Amarna. The Amarna scene developed the earlier version of this type of scene in the Theban tomb of Ramose, the Amarna scene developed it further, showing elements of both continuation and change. As stated by various authors (Robins 1997: 156–7; El-Saddik 2008; Fitzenreiter 2009), the Amarna tombs present a different iconographic program, in accordance with the new religious beliefs of the time. Most of the tomb decorations then focused on the royal family during their public appearance in the new capital, such as giving the gold of honour, riding chariots, making offerings in the temple. The royal family is usually accompanied by the palace staff during these public

events, or in other words, members of the royal household who follow/escort them. These motifs can be identified in all the decorated non-royal tombs from both the Northern and Southern cemeteries, like, for example, in the tombs of May (No. 14), Parennefer (No. 7), Ay (No. 25) in the Southern Cemetery, and Panehsy (No. 6), Meryre I (No. 4), Huya (No. 1) in the Northern Cemetery.

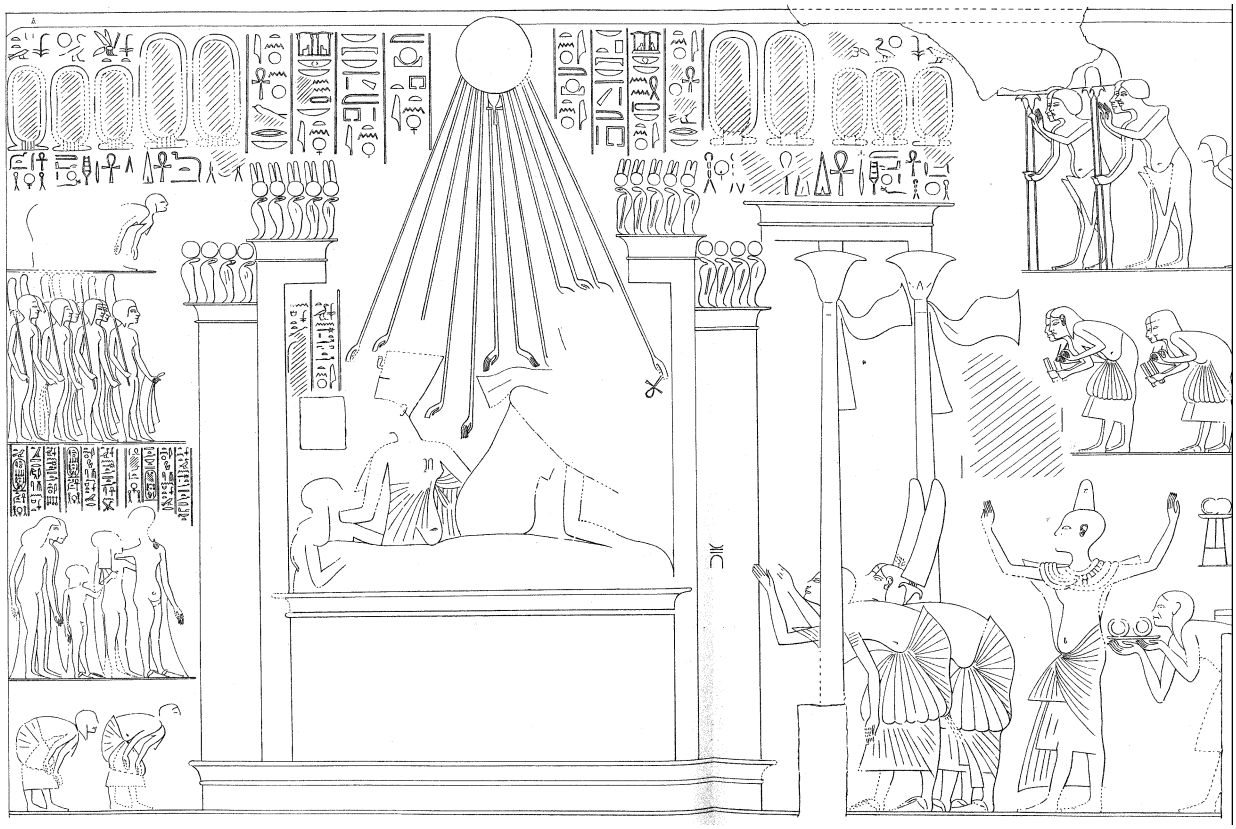

Figure 2. Depiction of the 'window of Appearance' from the tomb of Panehesy in Amarna (Davies 1905a: pl. 10).

The scene of the 'window of Appearance'

The 'window of Appearance' is depicted on the South Wall, the west side of the transverse hall of the tomb of Panehesy (No. 6; Davies 1905a: pl. 10), who held the titles of 'Overseer of the Oxen of Aten' (*jmy-rꜣ jḫw n Jtn*), 'praised by the king' (*ḥsy n nṯr-nfr*), 'Chief Servant of Aten in the House of Aten in Akhetaten' (*bꜣk tp.y n Jtn m pr Jtn m ꜣḫ.t-jtn*), 'Acquaintance of the King' (*rḫ nsw*), and 'Overseer of the Granary of Aten in Akhetaten' (*jmy-rꜣ šnw.ty pꜣ jtn m ꜣḫ.t-jtn*)[3]. Here, the 'Window of Appearance' is yet again part of the scene of giving the gold of honour. One of the princesses now follows her parents and is standing together with them in the 'window of Appearance'. As in Ramose's composition, the rest of the royal household is represented behind the window, now grouped in four registers. The highest and lowest registers show two officials in a bowing position, one of them is possibly the holder of the title *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw*—similar to the situation in the earlier tomb of Ramose in Thebes. The second register

[3] For more information about the owner of the tomb, see Davies 1905a: 28–9.

from the top depicts the procession of female fan bearers with *sash*-linen in their left hands. Underneath these women, the other princesses, three in this specific case, are followed by two females, probably their wet nurses.

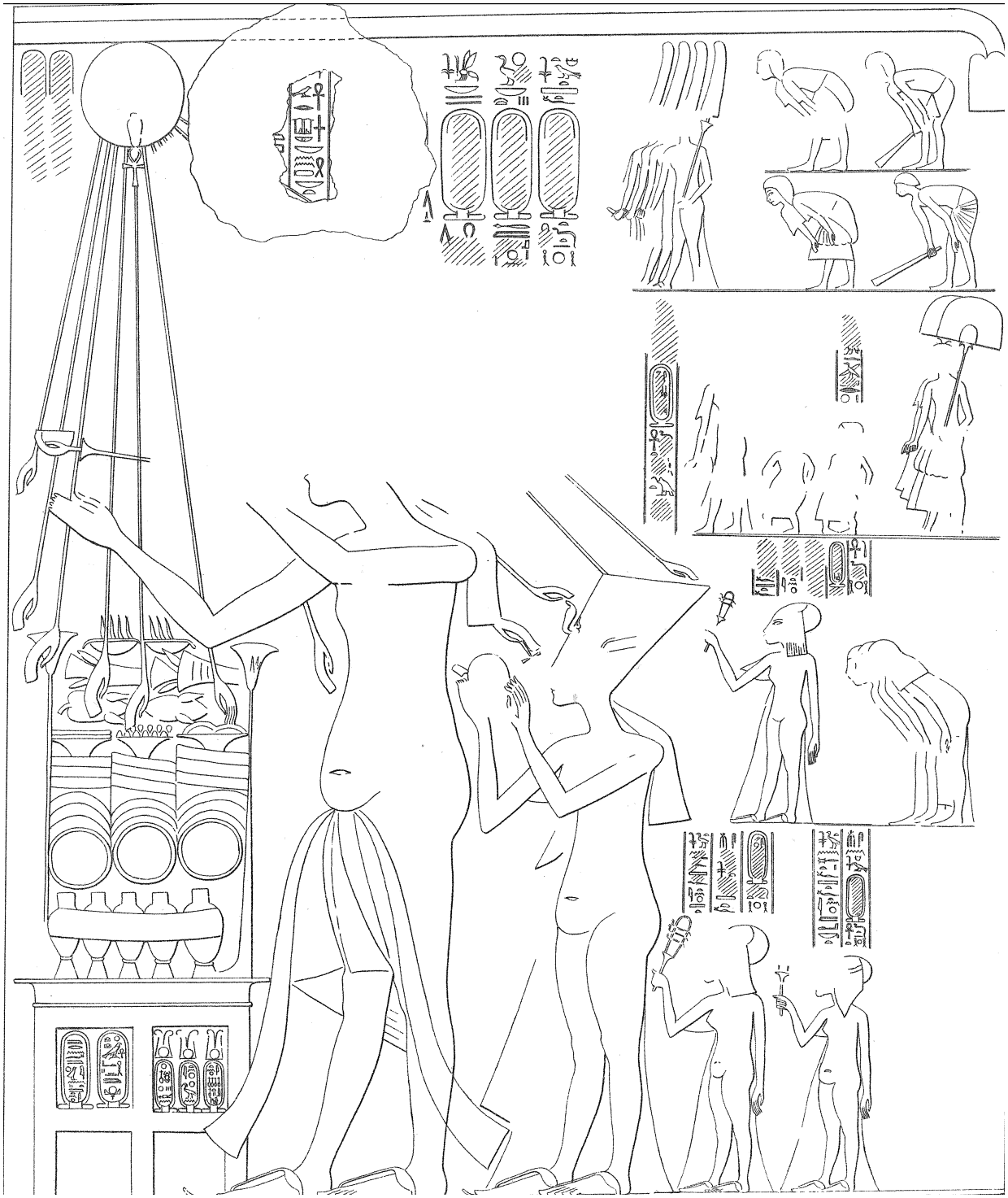

Figure 3. Depiction of the royal family worship Aten (Davies 1908a: pl. 3).

The scene of the royal family worshipping Aten[4]

A worshipping scene is depicted among other scenes in the tomb of the Southern Cemetery No. 14, which belongs to May. The patron is the holder of the titles 'royal scribe' (*sš nsw*), 'fan bearer on the right hand of the king' (*ṯ3t ḫw ḥr wnm n nsw*), 'general' (*jmy-r3 mšᶜ n nb-t3.wj*), 'overseer of the house Sehet-aten' (*jmy-r3 pr sḥtp jtn*), 'overseer of all works of the king' (*jmy-r3 k3.wt nb.wt n nsw*), 'overseer of the house Waenra in Heliopolis' (*jmy-r3 pr wᶜ-n-rᶜ m Jwn.w*), and 'overseer of the cattle in the house of Ra in Heliopiolis' (*jmy-r3 kᶜ.w n pr rᶜ m jwnw*) (Davies 1908a: 4–5). On the North Wall of the transverse hall, which is also the only hall of this tomb, the offering scene features (Davies 1908a: pl. 3) the king, followed by Nefertiti, and both of them are standing in front of a pile of offerings and the arms of Aten are reaching down to them. There are four registers behind the royal couple; the first register depicts the female fan bearers with *sash*-linen followed by two sub-registers with the same depiction of a bowing official followed by a policeman holding a stick. It can once again be presumed, judging from the scenes of the tomb of Ramose, that one of the policemen could be an official with the title *jmy-r3 jp.t-nsw*. The second register is very damaged, nevertheless it can be assumed that the first person is one of the royal women, probably the king's mother, Queen Tiye, or the sister of Queen Nefertiti, followed by two female-dwarfs, who are also depicted in other Amarna tombs in the context of the queen mother (Davies 1905a: 13–14). Two, on this occasion male, fan bearers complete the group of the second register. The two lower registers, which are directly behind Nefertiti, are reserved for the representations of the royal daughters; the upper register shows one princess with a sistrum followed by three bowing females, presumably their wet nurses, whereas the lower register only depicts two princesses with sistra, this time without any palace personnel. This can be explained by the fact that their nurses are already shown in the register above, however this composition leaves an unusual empty spot behind the princesses.

The scene of rewarding with the gold of honour[5]

The gold of honour ceremony is usually connected with the scene of the 'Window of Appearance'. However, variants of this scene can be found , for example, on the east wall of the antechamber of tomb No. 4, belonging to Meryra (I) (Davies 1903: pl. 30), the 'fan bearer on the right hand of the king' (*ṯ3t ḫw ḥr wnm n nsw*), 'high priest of the Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten' (*wr m33.w n p3 Jtn m pr Jtn m 3ḫ.t Jtn*), 'royal seal-bearer' (*ḫtm.tj-bj.tj*), 'only friend (of the king)' (*smr wᶜ.tj*), and 'acquaintance of the king' (*rḫ nsw*) (Davies 1903: 42–3). In this scene, the king, leaning on along staff and accompanied by his wife, rewards his subject Meryra in the rather unusual surroundings of the Aten temple (Davies 1903: 33–4, pls. 30–1). As in other scenes, the royal couple is followed by members of their household. The front position, which has been partly damaged, is designed for the female fan bearers in the two upper registers and the royal daughters below. The precise number of princesses in this scene cannot be determined due to the badly preserved condition of the relief. The palace staff are depicted at the back, in the second position, filling a rather large space, where each individual figure is depicted in a separate sub-register. Three of these seven submissive men are shown with a stick, suggesting that they are part of the recurring police group in this type of scene. Moreover, the man in the upper register is shown with typical Nubian features. Therefore, one could speculate that he belongs to the *medjay* unit. Once again, one of the depicted men might have been the *jmy-r3 jp.t-nsw*, because the scene of the tomb of the vizier of Ramose displays the pairing of the policeman with the *jmy-r3 jp.t-nsw*.

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[4] For more information on architecture and cult, see Vomberg 2008.

[5] For further details about this type of scene, see Binder 2008.

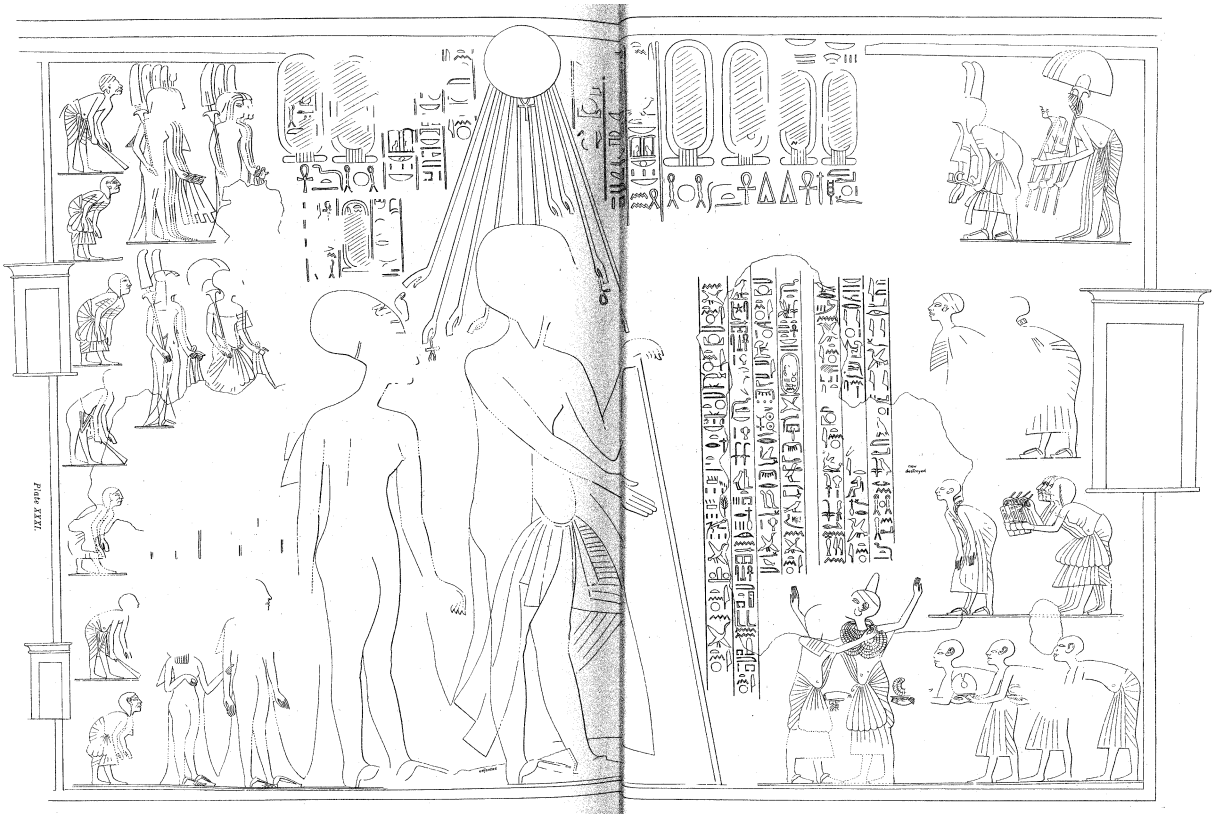

Figure 4. Depiction of the Meryra being rewarded (Davies 1903: pl. 30).

A different location of the palace staff

All the above-mentioned examples have similar layouts and dispositions of the members of the royal household. In accordance with the Egyptian canon of importance, the 'Bedeutungsmaßstab' (Schäfer 1930: 244–5; Assmann 1987a: 18–42), the central figures—the royal couple—are shown on the largest scale, followed in size by princesses and their wet nurses with female fan bearers. On the other hand, on a much smaller scale at the end of the scene and furthest from the focal point of the image, one finds the male staff in a bowing position, probably representing policemen, different inspectors, and male servants. Once again, in parallel to the scene from the tomb of the vizier Ramose, the *jmy-rꜣ jp.t-nsw* is possibly shown.

As well as the vertical layout with several registers of household staff behind the main figures, other compositions have a more horizontal layout of the motif. This is demonstrated in the scene of the tomb of Tutu, tomb No. 8. He held the titles of 'overseer of the treasury of Aten in the house of Aten in Akhetaten' (*jmy-rꜣ pr-ḥḏ n pꜣ jtn m pr jtn m ꜣḫ.t-Jtn*), 'chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Lands' (*jmy ḫnt n nb tꜣ.wj*), 'first servant of Neferkheperure Waenra in house of Aten in Akhetaten' (*bꜣk tp.j n nfr-ḫpr.w-rᶜ wᶜ-n-r m pr jtn m ꜣḫ.t jtn*), 'overseer of all commissions of the Lord of the Two Lands' (*jmy-rꜣ wḏ.wt nb.t n nb-tꜣ.wj*), 'overseer of all works of His Majesty' (*jmy-rꜣ kꜣ.wt nb.wt n ḥm=f*), and 'overseer of silver and gold of the Lord of Two Lands' (*jmy-rꜣ ḥḏ nb.w n nb-tꜣ.wj*) (Davies 1908b: 14–15). A scene on the west wall of the transverse hall, which belongs to the rewarding cycle, depicts the owner approaching the royal family (Davies 1908b: pl. 17). Two princesses are positioned on the lap of the queen and a schematised representation of the palace is directly attached to the dais where the king and his family are sitting. Consequently, there is no space available for the representation of the royal

household in this composition. Accordingly, the members of the palace were moved from the side position to the bottom of the scene, and thus below the depiction of the king and queen. At the same time, the general sequence of the group was also slightly changed or modified. The first figure is an official in a bowing position, who could be, as before, associated with the *jmy-rꜣ jp.t-nsw* due to his larger scale and his leading role in this fragmentary scene. After a small area of damage on the scene, the fan bearers follow in the order of female-male-female and are followed by two wet nurses. Two bowing officials, arranged in two sub-registers, close the whole group of royal attendants.

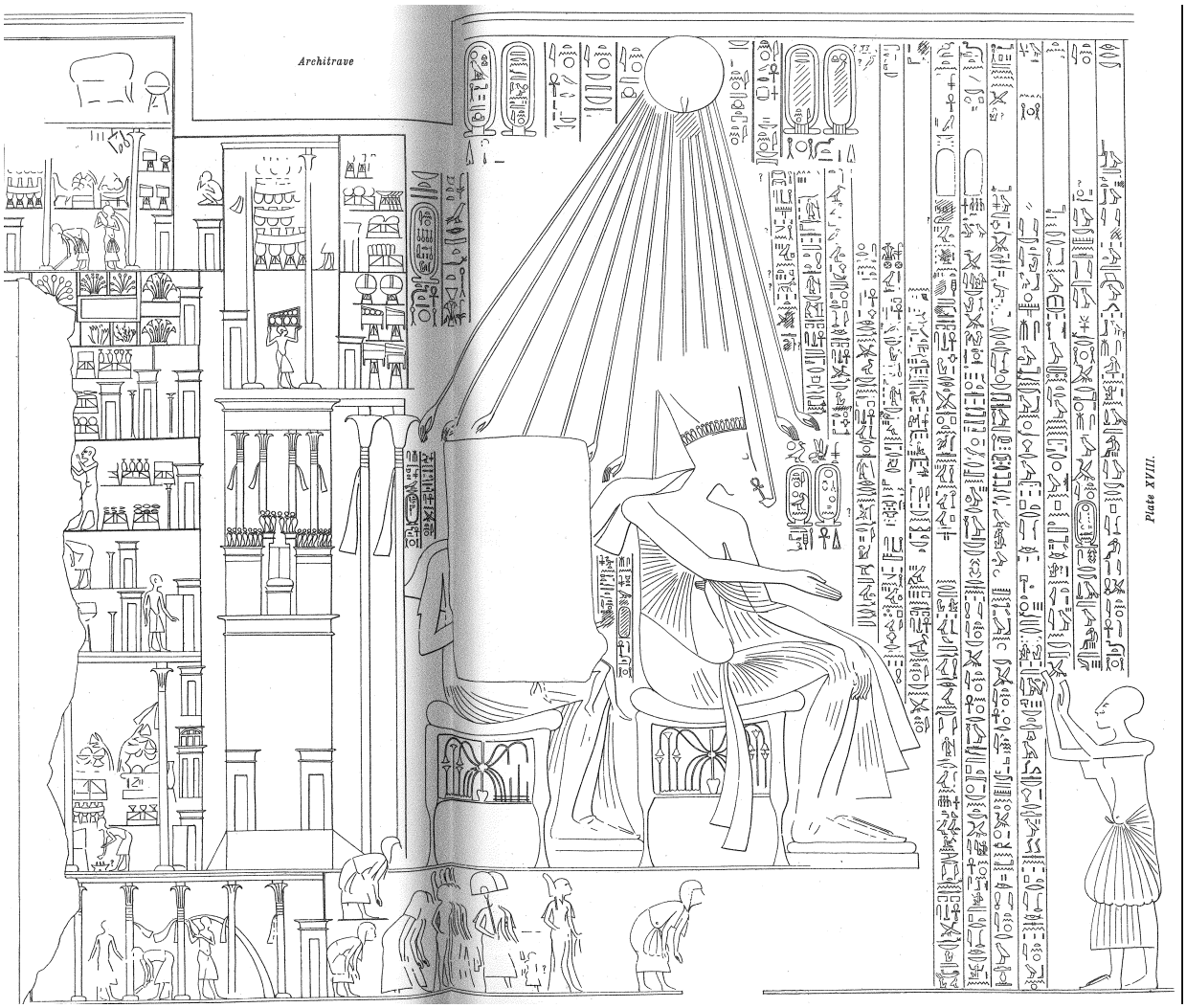

Figure 5. Depiction from the tomb of Tutu (Davies 1908b: pl. 17).

The vertical composition of this representation of the royal household cannot be taken as an anomaly, due to the existence of several similar examples (e.g. Davies 1903: pl. 22; Davies 1905b: pl. 16; Davies 1905a: pls. 7–8). In other words, two different scene types depicting the examined motif examined can be observed in non-royal tombs at Amarna.

The tomb of Huya—A depiction of the Tiye household

A very elaborate version of the depiction of the royal household, in this case that of Queen Tiye, can be seen in tomb No. 1 at Huya (Davies 1905b: 1–25). The particular choice of the more detailed representation of the household members is most probably connected with the specific offices of Huya. He was *jmy-r3 jp.t nsw*, 'overseer of the treasury' (*jmy-r3 pr.wj-ḥḏ*), 'overseer of the house of the king's wife' (*jmy-r3 pr n ḥm.t nsw*), and 'overseer of the house of king's mother, great wife of the King Tiye' (*jmy-r3 pr m pr mw.t nsw ḥm.t wr.t nsw ṯiy*) (Davies 1905b: 19). The last two titles are both connected with the former queen, the wife of the Amenhotep III and mother of Akhenaten. Therefore, it seems logical that the scene of the tomb of Huya (Davies 1905b: pl. 8) displays the household of the queen and not the royal couple. Davies (1905b: 7–9) named the whole cycle of scenes as a 'visit of Tiye to the temple', but only one specific sequence will be discussed here (Davies 1905b: pl. 7). King Akhenaten, canonically represented as the main figure in the scene, is here followed by his mother, Queen Tiye. It can be presumed, based on the preserved titles, that she is accompanied by her own household, shown behind her in two registers. The upper register displays male and female fan-bearers. However, for the topic under discussion, the lower register is more relevant, since instead of showing Akhenaten's daughters, this row starts with princess Baketaten, daughter of Queen Tiye. She is followed by female household staff, namely two wet nurses, and more female fan bearers. As seen before, bowing officials are also represented at the end of the scene; in this case, four figures in four separate sub-registers. Yet, as expected, an official with the title *jmy-r3 jp.t nsw* precedes the king and queen and is even identified by name. This unusual situation might be explained by the fact that the holder of the title is indeed the owner of this tomb. Thus, the patron Huya is bowing down at the door leading to the temple, together with another official who is not identified by name or title.

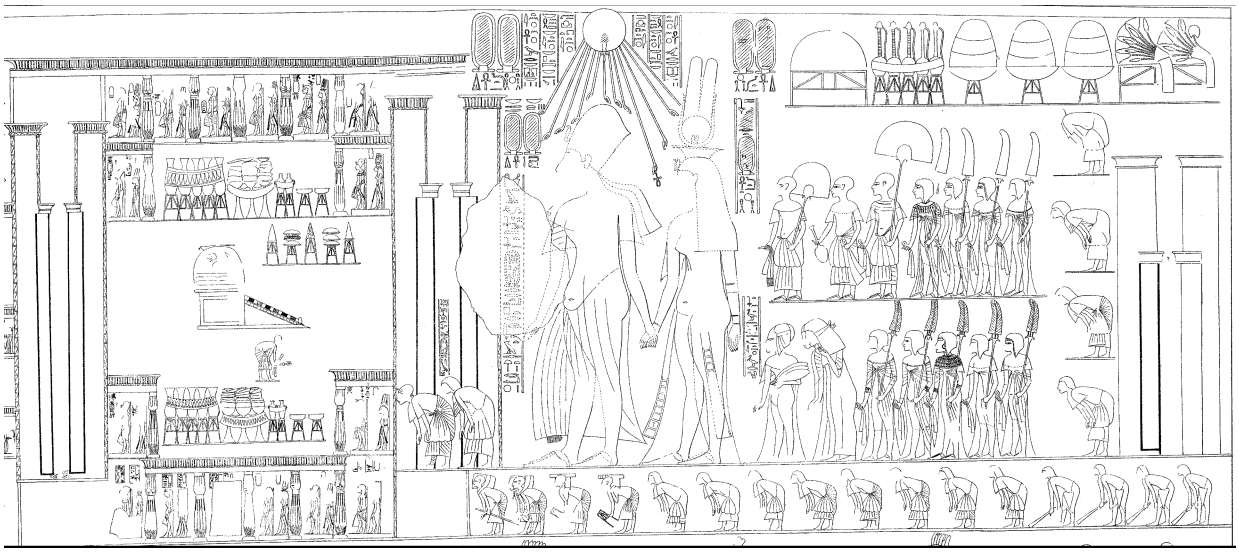

Figure 6. Depiction of the Tiye household (Davies 1905b: pl. 8).

Discussion and conclusions

The depiction of the royal household is first attested in the tomb of Ramose (TT 55; Davies 1941), among others. The unfinished decoration of the tomb which still stands mostly follows the tradition of Theban tombs of the second half of 18th dynasty. In this period the iconic motif of the king was used for self-

fashioning (Assmann 1987b), putting direct emphasis on the high status and personal relationship of the ruler and the tomb owner, around whom the decoration was centred (Hartwig 2004: 122). In contrast with the tombs in Amarna, the larger scale of the figures is evident, and moreover, they are identified by title and/or name. In this case, and in contrast with other attestations of the scene of the palace staff, the holder *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw* is clearly identified.

Shortly after Ramose, the motif of the king followed by members of his household (e.g. Davies 1908b: 1) could be seen in all the non-royal decorated tombs at Amarna. The scene in question, in comparison with the earlier attestations from a Theban context, displayed elements of both continuity and change. In Amarna, the depiction of the royal household was used in different motifs and has two different decorative schemes of either a horizontal or vertical layout of registers. In contrast to the Theban tombs, the identification of the individuals in the scenes is limited to members of the royal family and the tomb owner himself (Robins 1997: 156–7). On the other hand, taking into consideration that the iconography of the royal household in the tomb of Ramose and in the Amarna tombs follows the same general pattern, it can be assumed that the status of the depicted offices also remains the same. Thus, one of the bowing officials from the tombs of Amarna, presumably the figure at the head of the whole group of the palace-staff, probably represents the *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw*. Consequently, the position of the *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw* at the front and, literally, at the head of the royal household can be seen as a clear indication for the precise function of this office within the private household of the royal family. Thus, it is indeed more reasonable to translate this title *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw* as 'overseer of the royal household', instead of royal *harîm*, a term which gives rise to false associations regarding this office.

Moreover, it can also be argued that Queen Tiye had her own household, as demonstrated by the titles of Huya and by the depiction of her household in her own tomb (Davies 1905b: pl. 8). The household members were housed or at least employed in the palace itself, as is apparent from the scene under study, meaning that the idea of an isolated *harîm* somewhere outside the residence can be disproved. Another feature to be emphasised is that the king was followed by his household during public appearances. The display of the entire palace staff was of course a matter of presenting the status of the king as shown on the Amarna correspondence tablet EA 1 (Moran 1992: 1–3). Iconography seems to indicate that *jmy-rꜣ jp.t nsw* did not oversee some isolated institution located somewhere in Fayum, but that the display of the king's staff—among other valuable assets—could have been an attempt to showcase his wealth.

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The perception of bodily fluids in ancient Egypt

Clémentine Audouit

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to understand the representations and functions of body fluids in ancient Egypt. Indeed, body fluids have not been perceived objectively: they indicate the cultural identity of a society. For example, the presence of urine, sweat, and spit is notable in medical and magical texts. Sperm, blood, and milk are directly related to the family sphere, sexuality, pregnancy, and maternity. Moreover, all the hidden fluids of the body are integrated into a collective form of thought, mostly when they are found outside of their environments. Therefore, they enter the field of social relationships. Finally, all these physiological and social experiences are mirrored in the religious sphere. Fluids that flow from deities can be fertile but may also be considered as destructive. This study is a work in progress and will offer an introduction to the exploration of these 'parts of oneself' in the ancient Egyptian world through lexicographical, medical, social, political and religious studies.

Keywords

body; fluids; medicine; sexuality; religion; literature; society

This paper aims to present my research project on the 'perception of bodily fluids in ancient Egypt'. A very limited number of studies have tried to understand the role of bodily fluids as perceived by the Egyptian mind. Of course, some ancient publications focused on a particular fluid like tears or saliva, on which a wealth of scientific literature already exists. These works, which were pioneering in this field, did not compare the substance studied with the other fluids and, thus, did not question all the categories properly. Recently, the topic of bodily fluids has been gaining popularity, shown by their inclusion in several PhD theses, articles (Correador 2013; Pehal and Preininger-Svobodova 2018; Audouit 2020), a chapter of a book (Nyord 2009: 321–31), and even an interdisciplinary symposium ('Bodily Fluids in Egypt and the Near Eastern civilisation', Montpellier, 5–7 September 2019), which tried to show the ambiguity of bodily fluids and their link with fundamental concepts like health, purity, sexuality, and religion. My research project aims to list and identify all the lexicon relating to these fluids to understand how they circulated, and their role in physiology and pathology. It will try to investigate how these fluids were perceived socially and their connection with emotions. Finally, it will analyse how they were used in myths and how they were manipulated in rites.

Writing and naming body fluids: lexicographical survey

More than eighty Egyptian terms have been used to designate human, animal, and vegetable fluids, and the actions to release a liquid from a living body. Most of these names cannot be translated into our modern languages but, of course, our ignorance does not mean they did not mean something: on the contrary, this fact seems to show all the complexity of the terminology related to body fluids, which is very precise and specific.

Lexemes

Some lexemes, of course, are rather well translated and their meaning is generally accepted as being  *snfw* 'blood',  *jrṯ.t* 'milk',  *rmy.t* 'tears',  *mwy.t* 'urine', and  *fd.t* 'sweat'. Other lexemes are known but they have double meanings, which are ambivalent. Therefore, the exact meaning of the lexeme can only be established through context. For example,  *mtw.t* designates human male semen but also snake venom, which is equally a bodily fluid. The snake is a well-known phallic symbol, but it has been claimed that the analogy could also be about other similarities in appearance and form—viscosity, white colour—, storage in glands, quick, spontaneous expulsion (Brix 2010: 123, 136). Furthermore, the transmission of sperm or venom could create a form of control over an individual (woman/prey) (Pehal and Preininger-Svobodova 2018: 119). The word  *ḥmn* means both 'menstruation' and 'purification', on the one hand, and 'natron' on the other (a purifying agent; Harris 1961: 195–6). Therefore, periods could be linked to the concept of impurity: the woman who bleeds releases a stain from her body; the menstruation period corresponds to a purification phase which ends with the restoration of the woman's normal state (Frandsen 2007: 95).

Some liquids that seem common to us (such as saliva) are actually referred to by a multitude of terminologies that are often interpreted as synonyms. For fluids released by the mouth, R. K. Ritner (Ritner 1993: 74) indicated that Egyptian vocabulary has no less than thirty different words: *ꜣb.t, ꜣš/jš, jšš, jšd(d), ᶜᶜ, bs.t, bšj/bšw, pꜣy, pᶜg, psḥ/pḫs, psg/pgs, fꜣḫ, mw, mwy.t-rꜣ, nby, nḫ, nḫnḫ, nš, nšš, snḫt, hmh, ḫr, ḫḫᶜᶜ, sty, šp, qꜣᶜ, qys, tf, tfn, dp/tp, ḏꜣk.* No proper analysis has been carried out on all this vocabulary, and it is still not clear what these words really correspond to. The same problem concerns the pathological fluids such as  *ḫn.t,*  *rš,*  *njꜣ* or  *nšw.t*, mentioned in medical texts, which seem to refer to some kind of exudate that comes out through the nose/mouth or maybe the throat area. Rune Nyord, in his study of the body in Coffin Texts, groups several terms under the title 'secretions' since they generally show similar usage patterns*: jꜣf, jwtyw, jd.t, fdt, ḥwꜣꜣ.t, qjsw/t* (Nyord 2009: 321). The author states that, as with saliva, lexemes, even if their exact meanings remain unclear, can be divided into two groups: those that emphasise the creative potential of the fluid and those that describe it as an aggressive agent.

Finally, all this vocabulary can be the subject of metaphorical expressions. Analogies can be related to similarities in aspect or colour: blood is designated with the term  *dšrw* 'red' but also  *ṯrw* 'red ochre' (Audouit 2017), milk is  *ḥḍ.t* 'the white' or  *bnr* 'the sweet'. They can be described with hydrographical terminology like  *mw* 'liquid, waters',  *jtrw* 'river',  *ꜣgb* 'flood',  *ḥᶜpy* 'the Nile, the flood',  *sš* 'nest/marsh' (Bardinet 1995: 130–131; Audouit 2020: 52-55).

Some metaphors relating to their ritual functions are also known:  *ḥtp* 'offerings' for sacrificial blood (Audouit 2017) or *ᶜnḫ-wꜣs* 'life and power' (for all the names of milk, Ivanova 2009).

Choices of determinatives and classifiers

To understand how these liquids were perceived in Egyptian thought, the study must focus not only on the terms themselves, but also on hieroglyphic signs called 'determinatives' or 'classifiers' (Golwasser 2002; 2006; Lincke and Kammerzell 2012; Lincke 2015; Nyord 2015). The most common sign for the category of bodily fluids is the  (*Gardiner* D26) 'the mouth spitting a liquid'. It seems to be a kind of

prototype for any action involving the release of liquid from the body, or the liquids themselves. It is not only employed for buccal evacuations, but also for vaginal discharges or sweat (cf. *supra*; Audouit 2020: 42). Nevertheless, the mouth and its saliva are the representatives of the 'body fluids' category.

There are, of course, exceptions. Depending on the source, the time, and the context, some fluids are determined by other signs. One of the most frequent is the sign of  'the three waves' (*Gardiner* N35), which reflects their natural fluid essence (Franci 2005). It has a rather neutral value but can sometimes refer to the idea of the overflow and uncontrollability of fluids, such as the waters of the river (Audouit 2017; Audouit 2020: 40-41). The 'pustule' classifier  (*Gardiner* Aa3) is also common, often used for dangerous, foul-smelling, morbid secretions. It implies the idea of decomposed materials such as fluids secreted by rotten bodies ( *rḏw*) or excreta substances ( *ḥsw*).

Other more specific well-known signs explicitly indicate the release of some bodily fluids. The phallus from which a liquid flows ( *Gardiner* D53) is used for 'urinating' or 'ejaculating', 'urine' or 'semen'. The eye with flowing tears ( *Gardiner* D9) determines the act of 'crying, weeping and tears'; finally, the defecating man represented with his knees bent and defecating ( *Gardiner* A81) refers precisely to 'defecation'.

Lastly, the names of bodily fluids that were consumed in everyday life or used in cooking or medicine, like fat, honey—as a bodily fluid from bees—or milk, whether human or animal, are always ended with the sign of the little pot:  or , which is just for milk. This is a common metonymic association of CONTAINER<>CONTENT in the Egyptian hieroglyphic system for liquids, as we can see for *jrp* 'wine' or *ḥ(n)q.t* 'beer' (Audouit and Thuault 2019: 31).

Physiology, pathology and pharmacopoeia

The internal system: mtw

The pathway of fluids inside the body was difficult for an Egyptian to understand because the movement of these fluids instantly ceased with death and were thus no longer observable, unlike bones, muscles, or organs (for information about the butchery practices which allowed Egyptians to observe the inside of the bodies of animals, see Ikram 1995; 2002). Fortunately, medical papyri, dated from the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period, provide us with information about the Egyptian understanding of these particular elements of the body. According to them, all the parts of the body are connected to each other by an infinity of 'vessels', called  *mtw* that intertwine with each other in a tight cordage (Dawson 1929: 91; Jean 2012: 11; Bardinet 1995: 66; Ritner 2006). They are all inside the body, converging at the heart in a large vertical tube which opens at the facial orifices (upper part) and at the anus / at the sexual organs (lower part). They carry bodily fluids such as water, food, and air, but also waste and sometimes pathogenic elements, like the famous *wḫḏw* (Bardinet 1995: 66; Ritner 2006: 100).

The 'Vessel Book' of the Papyrus Ebers (854–5) and the '*Wekhedu* Book'—to be found in both in the same document (856a–856h) and the Berlin Papyrus [n°3038] (163a–163h)—provide information on Egyptian physiology (Grapow 1958; Bardinet 1995; Westendorf 1999). The physician analyses numerous heart diseases as well as the entire *mtw* system. Thus, the list of symptoms provides details on the paths of the bodily fluids and the origin of their production/storage. For instance, for sperm: 'Two vessels are for his two testicles: they bring the seed' (Pap. Ebers 854i), or for urine: 'Two vessels are for the bladder: they bring urine' (Pap. Ebers 854n). Several passages describe the facial *mtw* and especially those with

an external outlet. Indeed, during a pathologic event, they let fluids flow out. Blood loss is particularly monitored as haemorrhages through body orifices are greatly feared (Audouit 2017): 'Four vessels are in his two nostrils: two bring mucus and two bring blood' (Pap. Ebers 854b); 'Four vessels are inside the temples and bring blood to the eyes' (Pap. Ebers 854c). The body's organs cannot function properly without the body fluids that irrigate them. All the body parts needed to be constantly wet: first, the heart  *ḥ3ty* because all the vessels come from the heart and go toward the various organs to distribute energy (Nunn 1996: 60–2; Lefebvre 1956: 34–5; Walker 1993: 159) and the *jb*  that was believed to be behind the heart and corresponded to both ventral and thoracic areas. The *jb* was thought to be the seat of consciousness, desire, and will. Anatomical interactions between *ḥ3ty* and *jb* are constant (Bardinet 1995: 68–80; Nyord 2009: 55–68). They always share fluids and air. If fluids cannot reach an organ, it becomes dry, strangled: '**About the fact that the *jb* is dried**: it is (because of) the blood that is tied up in the heart' (Pap. Ebers 855l). The liver-*mjs.t*  and the trachea-lung system *sm3*  are also involved in issues regarding vessels and fluids ('Four vessels are for the liver: they bring fluids and air' (Pap. Ebers 854l); 'Four vessels are for the *sm3* and four for the spleen: they bring fluids and air' (Pap. Ebers 854m). A passage describes, '**About the fact that the *jb* is on his knees**: it is the *jb* which is strangled. His heart is in its (right) place in the blood (masses) of the *sm3*, it becomes small because of that: it is the heart that heats up' (Pap. Ebers 855k).

Indeed, some bodily fluids also have a thermal function: blood is naturally warm and when it is trapped somewhere, it creates a negative heat. However, in a healthy body, the temperature is regulated because blood is in movement. Moreover, fluids are often linked to another vital, fresh element:  *ṯ3w* 'air, breath, wind'. The conceptualisation of the respiratory system is not clear; however, they surely appreciated the life-giving importance of this air, offered by gods to human beings during their *in-utero* development (Nunn 1996: 55). The dynamic force of this first breath triggers the movement of fluids, especially blood: it pushes them in the right direction in the body. Thereafter, liquids and air would flow through the body together, as in the case of the liver and the *sm3*, as seen above.

Fluid leakage and flow: a serious symptom

Body fluids are regularly involved in pain and illness, especially when they flow outside the body (Audouit 2020: 54-55). Indeed, excretion should normally stay hidden inside, so when it becomes visible, it constitutes a symptom of disease. The diagnostic process includes careful observations of all the pathologic signs and physicians often emphasise the leakage of liquids. In the Smith papyrus (Sanchez and Meltzer, 2012), which is actually a book of trauma surgery, we find many references to fluids that flow spontaneously from the body after an injury, and mostly from the natural orifices in the head: 'Many tears are dripping from his eyes' (Pap. Smith r° 8, 1); 'He is losing through his nostrils and ears' (Pap. Smith r° 2, 5–6); 'His dribble hanging down from his lips' (Pap. Smith r° 3, 18–19). It seems that the evacuation of fluids like blood through natural orifices, is considered to be particularly dangerous because no one knows where the lesion is and why it is a physical necessity to let the fluids escape. Therefore, it is very difficult to stop the leak because the liquid flows through a natural hole which cannot be clogged. Sweat appearing on the surface of the skin in the case of physical or emotional distress is also considered: 'His forehead is clammy with perspiration' (Pap. Smith r°3, 10).

Sometimes, body fluids become dangerous because they flood the body from the inside (Audouit 2020: 54). Indeed, when the *mtw* system fails, the flow suddenly becomes too high and/or too fast. Then, limbs and organs are drowned, such as in these examples where the patient is in pain because his saliva or his faeces spread everywhere in his body and create diseases: 'The *jb*-organ is submerged because of the humidity of the mouth; the different parts of the human body are completely soaked' (Pap. Ebers 855b);

‘The anus opens on each vessel that is on the right and left side of the arms and legs, while it is drowned in excrement’ (Pap. Ebers 854o). But, in other circumstances, the fluids do not circulate properly due to obstructions, clogging that has been created in the *mtw*. Then, they are trapped in an area of the body and stagnate. This is particularly true for menstrual blood, which is normally supposed to drain out each month. In this case it gets trapped in the matrix, forms an obstacle, causing great pain for the women: ‘**If you examine a woman having pain in her *jb*, whose menstruation has not come, and you find something on the upper side of her navel. You should conclude about it**: it is a blood obstruction in her uterus (Pap. Smith v°3, 13-3,17). Some bodily fluids are only pathologic; they are not present in a healthy body. But when a problem occurs and the matter (fluids, air, food, wastes) is blocked in one area, it starts to stagnate and damage the surrounding flesh. Then, morbid substances, such as pus, are generated ( *ry.t*). Pus is born from blood when it is blocked somewhere, as in this text about a head injury from the medical papyrus Louvre E 32847: ‘You will examine the edge of its wound: a liquid flows down from it while the blood has made pus’ (Bardinet 2018: 163).

Fluids as a remedy

To treat ailments, the physician mainly uses herbs and plants, but there are also animal products and minerals in Egyptian pharmacopoeia (Nunn 1996: 144–62). Among the ingredients from the animal world, fluids and secretions play an important role since more than 500 uses are listed (including duplication) from the fifteen most well-known medical papyri (Audouit, forthcoming). These liquids are mainly used as excipients (milk and honey, for example) but in other cases, they are active agents. Most of the animals are livestock, or animals which are hunted and consumed, such as fish or birds. However, human fluids are also used, especially women's milk. More rarely, substances from wild animals such as the lion, hippopotamus, or even the bat and cobra are collected. The fluids collected are fat, milk, urine/excrement, blood and sometimes gall, marrow, pus, tears and seeds. There are no prohibitions on the handling of these substances by the physician and the patient. However, it is possible that some of these ingredients are, in truth, ‘code names’ given to commonplace substances in order to keep the doctor's recipes hidden. By doing so, these substances become more mysterious and powerful (Dawson 1929: 66; Nunn 1996: 145).

Body fluids are chosen for their emollient qualities; the application of fat to the body soothes and softens tense and stiff areas, as mentioned here: ‘**Another ointment to soften rigidity**: pig fat *(ꜣḏ)*: 1; snake oil (*mrḥ.t*): 1; *ibjersou*-animal oil (*mrḥ.t*): 1; mouse oil (*mrḥ.t*): 1; cat oil (*mrḥ.t*): 1. Mix together and bandage with it’ (Pap. Ebers 658). They are also often applied to wounds and burns because the Egyptians believed they possessed important cicatrising properties, as shown by this formula recited by Isis for her son Horus who suffers from a burn: ‘I know (how) to stop this for him with my milk, the healing water that is between my breasts. I pour (it) on your limbs and your vessels are healed. I push back the fire... Mix (the remedy) with the milk of a woman who gave birth to a male child’ (P. London n°34; Leitz 1999: 72). If the body fluid, thanks to its liquid nature, fights against fire, it also seems to be used to cool the body when it becomes too hot (‘**Cooling a vessel**: bull fat; donkey fat; ram fat: 1 (...))’ (Pap. Ebers 693) or to fertilise the arid areas of the body, especially the head, with formulas against alopecia. In that case, body fluids are like the waters of the Nile which, by flooding dry lands, help the plants to grow again: ‘**Beginning of remedies to drive out baldness and cure hair**: Black calf blood. Cook in fat and coat with (that)’ (Pap. Ebers 451 bis), ‘**Other (remedy) to drive out baldness effectively and cure hair**: black bull's blood. Place on oil and coat with (that)’ (Pap. Ebers 459). These powerful animals, with their thick, black coats, transfer these qualities through their blood. Wild animal fat is also widely used in the same type of formulas (‘**Another (formula) to make a bald person's hair grow**: lion oil: 1; hippopotamus oil: 1; crocodile oil: 1; cat oil: 1; snake oil: 1; ibex oil: 1. Mix together and anoint the bald person's head’ (Pap. Ebers 465). Vernus (1999/2000: 119–22) considers that these species

represent the profusion and inherent abundance of nature. Finally, fluids and secretions are frequently used against snake venom, but also against attacks from supernatural entities. Indeed, disease is often perceived as the penetration of an evil substance, particularly the 'seed' of gods or dead people into the body called *âaâ* (von Deines and Westendorf 1961: 132; Bardinet 1995: 121–25). Therefore, the fluids from an animal annihilate the bad liquid and also frighten it since urine and faeces are predominant: '**Another (formula) to drive out the liquid-*âaâ* of a god, goddess or seed of a dead or dead person**: honey, fresh moringa oil, sea salt, urine of a woman, donkey excrement, cat excrement, pig excrement; 'conise'; *ḫt-ds* tree. To grind together and fumigate man' (Pap. Berlin [n°3038] n°64).

A particular case: the sexual fluids

Special emphasis should be placed on the study of sexual fluids and their relation to domination/assimilation/transformation. While bodily fluids are inherently individual, hidden, and intimate, sexuality reveals them to the other party, breaking a significant socio-cultural barrier that is relatively constant in both ancient and modern societies. Sperm, blood, and milk are closely linked to the family sphere, the sexualisation of beings, pregnancy, and motherhood.

For Egyptian people, both the man and the woman bring some elements to the foetus *via* their fluids during the sexual act. This is clearly described in a passage from the Jumilhac papyrus: 'His (the god Anti) flesh and skin, his mother made them grow from her milk; it is through his father's seed that he has his bones' (Vandier 1961: 124). Many studies have discussed the role of male and female elements in the genetic process (Sauneron 1960; Yoyotte 1962; Bardinet 1995: 139–53; Nyord 2009: 421–78; Mathieu 2012). The male parent gives the 'solid' elements to his child (especially the bone system but also teeth, nails, hair) from the seed that comes from his spine. The vertebral spine is a kind of sperm container, and it flows to the phallus during the sexual act. The 'soft' components (flesh, skin, organs, etc.), on the other hand, are provided by the mother and her milk, present in a latent state in the woman's flesh. This inner milk acts as 'maternal semen', which is similar to sperm, with which it shares creative and regenerative functions (Jean and Loyrette 2010: 99; Volokhine 2017: 86–8). Chromatic elements are relevant here because white elements are masculine, and red elements are feminine, but both masculine and feminine sexual substances are white.

These elements are mixed inside the uterus by the action of the catamenial blood. Indeed, at the moment of fecundation, the blood stops flowing and remains inside the body. It is the most active fluid in the development of the embryo as it binds male and female fluids before giving shape to and performing the cooking of the embryo (Bardinet 1995: 128–135, 147–149; Audouit 2017). The uterus is also compared to a jar, and the creator god Khnum often models creatures with his potter's wheel (Spieser 2006: 219–21). After birth, it is, of course, with milk that the child continues to grow. This information leads to the next chapter on the perception of fluids when they become visible in the public sphere.

Perceptions of body discharges in the social sphere

Bodily fluids, and especially their ejection from the body, are subject to various social norms depending on time and context. Generally, the emergence of secretions in public/social spaces provokes multiple reactions. Indeed, as Mary Douglas stated (Douglas 1966: 115–30), excreta, blood, milk or vomit are linked to the concept of body boundaries, of liminal space, and interior/exterior differences. Bodily fluids have specific powers and a unique energy because they pass through the skin or flow out of natural orifices, carrying a small part of the person with them. But we have to question the reason why

some of them are perceived as more negative than others. Certain categories of individuals often come into contact with bodily fluids, and therefore, the same interior/exterior ambivalence exists.

A characteristic for people, groups, and professions

This contact between people and bodily fluids is sometimes so important that it becomes an almost characteristic feature. For example, the mother (or the nurse) and the child are linked through an interpersonal fluid. Thanks to the milk that the woman naturally produces and stores in her breasts, her body itself becomes the provider of vital food for the child. This very strong bond, established between the breastfeeding woman and the child, is clearly perceptible in Egyptian stories such as the 'Eloquent Peasant': '(Like) a thirsty man's approach to water, (like) the reaching out of the child's mouth to a nursing woman for milk' (translation Simpson 2003: 43) or, in *Ani's Teaching,* 'The child who is in his mother's bosom, his wish is to be breastfed' (Vernus 2010: 323). The same document also tells us that the child has to treat his mother with respect because: 'Her breasts were in your mouth for three years... and your excrements were repugnant, but she (your mother) felt no repugnance there' (Vernus 2010: 324). The mother must refrain from the disgust felt on contact with the child's excrement. Indeed, body waste is very badly perceived by ancient Egyptians as it is the first symbol of dirt (von Lieven 2011: 292–96) and therefore, potential contact is frightening. We are familiar with the older funeral texts that highlight the dangers of urine and faeces in the afterlife: 'My abomination is excrement and I won't eat it; I won't put my hand on it ... I won't walk on it with my sandals on' (*BD* 189; Quirke 2013: 488; for Coffin Texts, see Nyord 2009: 327). Therefore, children are likely to pollute their environment since they are unable to control their anus and their stools, yet children are never described in this negative way.

It is interesting to note that humans seem to have the same characteristics at the beginning and end of their lives: complete absence of control over their bodies and the physical boundaries of their bodies. The texts also describe elderly people affected by the loss of diverse bodily fluids. Old age causes the deterioration of the body and fluids escape more easily, thus infirm people become unable to control the opening and the closing of the boundaries of their bodies. For example, drooling is a sign of physical decline that affects both men and gods, even Ra: 'The divine aged one's mouth drooped, and he let his saliva drip to the ground' (translation Borghouts 1978: 51). We also found a remarkable inscription on a funeral stele where a person says that despite his old age, he does not spit blood: 'I have reached the age of 96 without a single tooth being pulled out of my mouth and without spitting out the blood from my mouth' (Hoffmann and Quack 2010: 309–10).

Fluids are also a feature of some professions: this is obviously the case for wet nurses who act as substitute mothers by feeding other people's children with their milk, but also the 'weeping women' because their job entails weeping tears during funeral processions (Werbrouck 1938; Sweeney 2001; Volokhine 2008). In iconography, affliction is not only expressed by the position of the body and gestures, but also with tears, which are drawn on their cheeks. It is an artistic way of showing the role of these characters in expressing emotion (pain, sadness, and nostalgia). Tears are definitely responsible for expressing the pain of separation and the extreme sadness associated with the loss of an individual. The funeral texts clearly describe the behaviour of the weeping women. Tears are a tool of their work: 'The weeping women for you with their arms... they cry out for you, they lament for you and they weep for you' (BD 180; Quirke 2013: 458).

In the *Satire on the Trades* some professions are highly criticised because people are in contact with waste and secretions: sweat, urine, excrement, and blood. The situation of the washer-man is particularly unpopular: 'His food is mixed with filth, and there is no part of him which is clean. He cleans the clothes of a woman in menstruation' (Simpson 2003: 435; Quirke 2004: 124). The worst of all indignities is long-term, recurrent contact with the blood of menstruating women. The soldier who is covered in sweat

because he is constantly walking under the sun is mentioned in a letter from the 19th dynasty (Pap. Chester Beatty V, rt 6, 12–7, 4): 'High officials are behind them with baton(s) as they strike in time. They are thirsty (but) drinking cannot balance the heat and sweat' (Gardiner 1935: 48; Jäger 2004: 277). Sweat and bad smells are perceived negatively by society. Moreover, there are remedies which seem to neutralise transpiration with terebinth resin: 'to remove the *ḫnš*-smell (from the body) in the summer' (Pap. Hearst n°31). Finally, the sick gardener is described with pity in the *Satire of Trades*. The storyteller said that 'by carrying his rod, he is a victim of a blister full of fat on his shoulders' (Vernus 2010: 246; Simpson 2003: 434).

Emotions and excretions

The notion of excretion as a sign of emotional reactions is related to the specific conventions of each society. However, even if these modes of expression are fluid and change in space and time, the voluntary or involuntary release of bodily fluids, as a result of strong emotional tension (positive or negative), is an extremely widespread phenomenon, and makes it possible to define a person's mood. Of course, as previously mentioned, tears refer to the sphere of mourning and funerals, but some testimonies highlight a more natural sadness than those of the professional weeping women. For example, the nostalgia of an aging man, who feels that his life is coming to an end and who is afraid of the unknown. In the 'Dialogue between a Man and his *ba*' (Amenemhat III, 12th dynasty, Pap. Berlin 3024), the storyteller complains of his loneliness, the misery of his soul. However, the *ba* encourages him not to worry about the situation but to enjoy life: 'If you think about burial, it's heartbreak; it's bringing tears and causing sadness; it's taking a man away from his house' (cols. 58–9; Goedicke 1970: 124–5; Parkinson 1997: 156). However, unhappiness is also associated with physical pain and with feelings of disadvantage, disappointment, shame, or sorrow. The eloquent peasant feels these emotions when he is beaten and robbed of his donkey ('This peasant cried very loudly because of the pain that had been done to him' (Lichtheim 1973: 171; Parkinson 1991: 13). In the *Tale of Horus and Set*, after Seth mistreated his nephew: 'Then he plucked his eyes out of their sockets... (Hathor) found Horus lying down and crying on the desert' (Gardiner 1981: 50–1; Broze 1996: 87; Simpson 2003: 98). Tears also appear in the context of great distress and loneliness in 'Wenamon Report'. After leaving his country to travel to Byblos, he is arrested: 'Apprehend him! Put no boat at his disposal (headed) for the land of Egypt. So, I sat down and wept' (Gardiner 1981: 73; Simpson 2003: 123).

Several texts show relationships between emotions and a bodily fluid. Indeed, anger, resentment, and even the condemnation of an individual who breaks social rules are expressed through spitting. Some texts evoke the emotional impact that spit can have when deliberately expelled into a public space and in front of other citizens. Spitting in someone's path so they can see it or onto another person's face is a serious sign of contempt and indignation, and it is considered to be a serious social insult. For example, this inscription was found on a funerary stela: 'Not one spat in front of my eyes because my speech was perfect and my advice wise' (translation Nyord 2003: 73). The owner, Merer, claims that no one spat on him. If this had happened, it would probably have made him less credible in the eyes of society. Not being spat at is a sign of fair and honest behaviour. In the 'Tale of Sinuhe', the main character flees from Egypt. When he arrives at Retenu, a prince asks him about the reasons for his wandering. Sinuhe takes care to highlight his blameless attitude; he has not left Egypt because of immoral acts: 'No one had said anything bad about me, no one had spat in my face and I heard no abusive words (about me)' (Lichtheim 1973: 222; Koch 1990: 29–29a; Parkinson 1997: 29). Public spitting, as well as the announcement of the herald, have the value of a judicial charge and therefore mean social exclusion or even expulsion from the group.

The divine secretions and their metamorphosis

Finally, all these elements must be examined in relation to the world of gods and religion. Deities also have bodies and bodily fluids like humans. However, their excretion does not exactly have the same nature and function. It has important fertility powers and never becomes dangerous waste.

Create gods and men with divine fluids

We find multiple modes of creation in the great cosmogonic myths. First, through masturbation and sperm for the conception of Shu and Tefnut: 'He (Atum) put his penis in his fist so that he might make orgasm with it, and the two twins were born, Shu and Tefnut' (Pyr. §§ 1248 a–d [*PT* 527]). In the Coffin Texts, the phallus is no longer mentioned but the Creator's mouth appears; it plays the role of a uterus, it performs the female function (like the hand) (Bickel 1994: 74). The seed is then placed in the oral cavity which becomes pregnant and gives birth to its children: 'I am your semen of which you are pregnant in your mouth' (*CT* III 334 j–335a [245]). Saliva can also be similar to an ejaculation and become a vehicle for fecundity. Thus, in other formulae of the Pyramid Texts, Atum creates the first couple by spitting 'O Atum-Khepri ... you spat out (*jšš*) Shu and you expectorated (*tf*) Tefnut' (Pyr. §§ 1652 a–1653a [*PT* 600]; Allen 2015: 265). There is a clear homophonic resemblance between the names of the gods and the verbs (*šš*/Shu and *tf*/Tefnut). The sweat and tears of Ra are also a well-known medium of creation: 'I have made the gods born of my sweat and Men are the tears of my eye' (*CT* VII 465a [1130]) (Caron 2014). Apart from these great cosmogonic narratives, many other sources highlight the inherent creative power of divine fluids when the deities release them whether in a voluntary manner or not. A mythological episode of the *BD* 17, refers to the birth of two entities that sit in the boat of Ra and participate in his regeneration: Hou and Sia. They seem to come into existence after the sexual self-mutilation of the solar god: 'It is the blood that fell from Ra's phallus as he moves away to cut off himself. Then came the gods who are before Ra, there are Hou and Sia who are following Atum throughout the day' (Quirke 2013: 57).

Egyptian funeral beliefs consider death as a new birth (Arnette 2019). The renewal of a divine body seems to be established by 'new embryological' standards. This genetic process is similar to the one initiated during the reconstitution of the Osirian body. In this context, the male elements (organs and fluids) are predominant. First, it is through the transmission of a new divine *jb* that the deceased obtains the status of Osiris's son (Bardinet 1995: 76–7) as suggested here: 'I bring you your *jb* that I put for you inside your body' (Pyr. §§ 1640a–c [*PT* 595]; Allen 2015: 126). There is also the famous *rḏw* 'efflux' of Osiris, which is the result of his decomposing flesh. Unlike the process of human putrefaction, Osiris's *rḏw* are not destructive agents; they are highly creative and powerful substances (Dobbin-Bennett 2014; Pehal and Preininger-Svobodova 2018: 118; Audouit 2020: 44) The process happens in two steps, as with the *jb*: it is necessary to remove the dangerous and putrid *rḏw* -fluids from the corpse and to replace Osiris's beneficial *rḏw* inside the corpse: 'You have your water, you have your inundation, the efflux that comes from the god, the decay that comes from Osiris' (Pyr. §§ 788 a–b [*PT* 436]; Allen 2015: 109).

Egyptian understanding also implies the idea of a new gestation time. The womb of the sky goddess, Nut, is used as a metaphor for the real gestational envelopes of the deceased: the sarcophagus, the tomb, and the necropolis. Therefore, delivery is like the birth of Ra in his boat, which emerges from Nut's uterus every morning. The texts describe, in a very realistic way, the loss of water and the release of amniotic fluids: 'The Nurse Lake is opened up, the Winding Lake is inundated, the Fields of Reeds fill with water, and my ferrying is ferried on them to that eastern side of the sky, to the place where the gods give me birth, and I am fully reborn there, new and rejuvenated' (Pyr. §§ 343a–344b [*PT* 264], Allen 2015: 82; Audouit 2020: 47). The red sky at dawn is regularly compared to the blood of enemies, but also to the blood of birth as in the 'Book of Nut', for example: 'Red appears after birth. Red appears

after birth. It appears, the one called Ra (in) the colour that comes from the disc at dawn' (von Lieven 2007: 378). Finally, the new being receives the same care as a new-born baby and begins a new cycle of existence among the gods. Then, he will be breastfed by the goddesses; this topic is very common in iconography and textual sources: 'Here is the breast of your lactating sister Isis, which you should take to your mouth' (Pyr. §§ 32b [*PT* 42]; Allen 2015: 22); ' "My son", she (Isis) says, "accept my breast and suck it", she says, "that you may live" ' (Pyr. §§ 911–912 [*PT* 470]; Allen 2015: 131). J. Leclant has shown that suckling, especially for the king, is involved in three major life-changing events: his real birth, his royal birth at the coronation, his rebirth in the afterlife. At each moment, the milk of the goddesses acts as a vehicle for legitimation (Leclant 1952: 123–7).

Create Nature by Divine Fluids

Egyptian myths also tell us that most of the elements of the landscape in Egypt are the result of divine bodily secretions which fell to the ground. The most well-known example is, of course, the divine flood that is sometimes described as the sweat of the god Hapy, the personification of the beneficial flood (Koemoth 1994: 1–2; Audouit 2020: 43-44). He says in one formula of the Coffin texts that: 'The Emergence-season is the sweat which issued from my flesh' (*CT* IV, 142a [318]). Here, the perspiration which exudes from 'the pores' of the god's body corresponds to the shoots of vegetation that appear in the waterlogged soil. In the 'Hymn to the Nile', the same god spits the waters of the flood: 'He spits (on) the arable land, he waters the field' (van der Plas 1986: 35). The black silt that fertilises the fields is also interpreted as the efflux of Osiris (the *rḏw*), who becomes, after his murder, the god of cyclical regeneration which floods Egyptian lands with its putrid but fertile body secretions: 'Flow out *rḏw* (of Osiris)! Come out of this Blessed, fill the canals and create the names of rivers' (*CT* I, 307c–e [74]).

Divine discharges are at the origin of the apparition of plants, minerals, and other substances on earth. They are like a natural and powerful fertiliser for the soils (Audouit 2020: 44-45). There are several examples of this. We know that the blood of the bull, Bata, creates trees in the 'Tale of the Two Brothers': 'he poured two drops of blood out near the two wooden door jambs ... They gave birth to two great perseas' (Pap. Orbiney [BM 10183], 16, 7–11; Hollis 1990: 169; Simpson 2003: 89). A variety of minerals are also considered to have been produced by divine haemorrhages: Horet/Bastet bleeds turquoise at Bubastis in the Delta papyrus (Meeks 2006: 19), Osiris's enemies, hunted by Isis in the Jumilhac papyrus, bleed red stones on mountains called *chesayt* and *perech* (Vandier 1961: 113–14, 133). However, the best example is from an episode recorded in the papyrus Salt 825 in which the entire pantheon was in mourning after Osiris's murder. Gods begin to secrete various fluids (not only tears) that fall to the ground and generate many substances: 'Horus cried... that's how the dry oliban was produced...blood fell from his nose (Geb's), it germinated and pines grew... Shu and Tefnut cried ... that is how the terebinth resin was produced. Ra cried again. The water in his eye fell to the ground. She turned into a bee...the sweat of his body (Ra) fell ... it turned into linen ... He (Ra) spat, he vomited and that is how the bitumen was created' (The ellipsis corresponds to passages that I have cut; Derchain 1965: 137; Audouit 2020: 44).

If the Nile flood water and vegetation are derived from divine fluids, by extension, all the products of nature can be substitutes for divine fluids during funeral procedures and rituals in temples. Indeed, many of them, offered or manipulated during the rites, have the function of 'reactivating' life in the mummy or in the statue of the god. Particular attention should be paid to beverage offerings such as milk, wine, and red beer. Indeed, they are often cited together which is explained by the fact that a red liquid with a white liquid suggests the colour of the sexual fluids: semen, blood, and milk. Thus, the offering is a pledge of rebirth, the substitute drinks to form a new divine embryo. In the same way, the meat, fat, and blood of animals killed during sacrifices are obviously substitutes for those of the enemies

of the deceased. This notion is clearly expressed in the embalming ritual: 'May the fat of your enemies enter you, may your *jb* be regenerated in the blood of those who are rebelled against you' (Pap. Boulaq no. 3 l. x+2, 13-2, 14; Töpfer 2015: 73). By feeding on these materials, the deceased acquires strength and power for his new life: this contributes to his justification. Finally, ointments which are often composed of animal fat, vegetable sap, mineral powder or honey could certainly be 'functional substitutes for body fluids', since their application is supposed to restore life and provide dynamism to dead bodies or statues. The offering of the *medjet* ointment, for example, is an element used in the reassembly of the body: 'fill yourself with it (*medjet*) so that it can tie your bones, reunite your limbs, gather your flesh and leave your bad efflux on the ground' (Moret 1902: 76).

Conclusions

The body is at the centre of all human experiences, and many concepts and ideas have been developed around it. However, its mechanisms are often invisible and unintelligible. Therefore, Egyptians transposed elements that were familiar and tangible to them (the structures of society, country, and landscape), turning the body into a real microcosm. As a result, we can obtain information about the environment and society by studying the body and all its parts. Fluids play a fundamental role in understanding the Egyptian mind because they are mobile, dynamic, and can leave their owner. This separation does not necessarily cause the death of the individual and neither does the disappearance of the fluid, which becomes a social element and can even be collected and reused by another man/woman. This is only the beginning, and these issues are just sketches for the future of my project.

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Presenting four coloured linen in Ptolemaic temples

Dorotea Wollnerová[1]

Abstract

This article focuses on the ritual offering of four types of coloured linen that are depicted five times on the walls of the Edfu temple and once in Dendera. In these types of scenes, the king is presenting the *ḥḏ.t*- (white) linen, the *wꜣḏ.t*- (green) linen, the *jrtjw*-linen, and the *jdmj*-linen. The recipient of this offering is either the god Horus, or Horus in the company of another deity or deities. Based on a comparison of the associated inscriptions and iconography, this paper focuses on every variety of coloured linen and its meaning and the arrangement of these offering scenes in certain temple chambers as well as in the entire temple. Overall, the study shows the existence of recurring patterns in the distribution and placement of these scenes, not only in a single temple, but also the patterns which show clear continuity in the arrangement of texts and images between temples in time and space.

Keywords

linen; temple rituals; offering scene; Edfu; Dendera

Introduction

Linen, with a great variety of characteristics and designated by a large number of different terms, is one of the most typical offerings presented to the gods in many temple rituals (Pécoil 1981; Cauville 2011: 115–20). One recurring type is the four strips of *mnḫ.t*-linen, each of which was probably in a different colour (or shade of colour) but offered together. In these scenes, the king presents the *ḥḏ.t*- (white), the *wꜣḏ.t*-(green), the *jrtjw*-, and the *jdmj*-linen. The precise colour of the first two textiles is obvious, but scholars have been involved in a lengthy discussion about the exact appearance of the latter two types of linen. Nowadays, it is generally accepted that both *jrtjw* and *jdmj* were red or dark red, but this issue is far from being definitively resolved. R. Germer, in her study on the dyeing of textiles (1992: 129–30), and A. Egberts (1995: 139–42), in his publication on the rite of Consecrating the Meret-chests, provide strong indications that *jrtjw*-linen are much more likely to have been some variety of red linen and not blue, as was previously suggested (e.g. Erman and Grapow 1926–1931, vol. I: 116 [12]; Aufrère 1991: 575).

These four pieces of linen appear in a wide variety of different rituals. For instance, they were kept in the *Meret*-chests during the joint rite of Consecration of the *Meret*-chests and the driving of the calves (Egberts 1995). Inscriptions clearly state that these chests functioned as containers of cloths (E V, 183, 7) with four kinds of linen inside them: *ḥḏ.t*, *wꜣḏ.t*, *sšd,* and *jdmj* (Chassinat 1966: 127). The terms *sšd*-linen and *jrtjw*-linen are interchangeable in texts describing these four textiles, both are sometimes used in one single scene. For example, the inscription next to one of the four boxes depicted in the scene with the title 'Dragging the *meret*-chest four times' (E VI, 248, 11–249, 17) lists the content of this box as *jrtjw*-linen, but the recitation within the title of this scene refers to *sšd*-linen. Therefore, it is

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clear that when the two names for this linen were used in parallel, they most likely had the same or, at least, a very similar function. An interesting question remains on whether the *sšd* and the *jrtjw*-linen were two different kinds of linen with a similar function, or two names for the same piece of textile.

Another kind of linen (or the name for it) that also replaces *jrtjw* and *sšd*-linen is *jns*-linen. It was used in the daily temple sanctuary ritual alongside the other three—*ḥḏ.t*, *wꜣḏ.t* and *jdmj* (Moret 1902: 178–90). This ritual was probably performed three times a day, at dawn, midday, and in the evening. The reliefs in the six chapels of the temple of Sethi I at Abydos (Gardiner 1933–1935) provide the most complete set of episodes, although even these scenes do not provide a complete version of the ritual (there are 29 episodes). The Berlin papyri 3014 and 3055 from the 22nd dynasty, also known as the Daily Rituals for Amun and Mut at Karnak (=pAmun I, pAmun II, and pMut; Möller 1901), provide a more extensive list of these ritual acts. The Rituals in pAmun I sets out a list of episodes performed on a daily basis in the temple of Karnak (66 episodes). It is thought to be a condensed version of another yet undiscovered service-book (David 2016: 127). After the purification and undressing of the statue of the god, the priest adorns it with new clothes and insignia. In episodes nos. 17, 19 and 21 at the Abydos temple (David 2016: 142, 144) the *ḥḏ.t*-linen, the *wꜣḏ.t*-linen and the *jns*-linen are presented to the god, while the *jdmj*-linen is often not mentioned in the title of the episode, but it appears as an offering in the scene entitled *rꜣ n ḥbs n mnḫ.t ꜥꜣ.t ḥr sꜣ nn* 'Spell for putting on the great *mnḫ.t*-cloth after these' (David 2016: 151, episode no. 33).

The *jdmj*-linen appeared from the Old Kingdom onward (first attested in the mastaba of Hesire from the Third dynasty: Munro 1994: pls. 47–9; and also in the papyrus archives of King Raneferef: Posener-Kriéger *et al*. 2006: 222–6). It is the most frequently mentioned coloured fabric throughout all the periods up to Graeco-Roman times (Kapiec, in press). On a symbolic level, it had a transformative character (Goebs 2011: 58–60; Rummel 2006). The cloak worn by the king during the Sed festival was made of *jdmj*-linen and it is represented as being wrapped around the king's figure, its form resembles the cloth worn by Osiris, Geb and Atum. Rummel indicated that this garment 'possesses regenerative properties associated with mummy bindings' (Rummel 2006: 381). The *jdmj*-linen also appears in the coronation ritual of the sacred living falcon in Edfu, where it is tied around the neck of the falcon (E VI, 298, 5; E VI, 299, 10–11; Alliot 1949: 560–676; Kurth 1994: 229–33; Van de Hoven 2014).

Four coloured linen were also part of the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth (Otto 1960; Cruz-Uribe 1999). The earliest references to this rite appeared in the tomb of Metjen, but most of the preserved versions are known from the New Kingdom onwards. It was a rite of activation, performed on statues and other inanimate objects, including the temple as a whole, as well as for the benefit of the deceased. In its most complete form, it consisted of seventy-five episodes, but it is highly likely that, in some instances, an abbreviated version of the rite may have been performed, incorporating only a selection of the most important episodes (Smith 1993: 13). Most versions of this ritual concern two themes: the animation or reanimation of the statue or mummy (opening the mouth, ears, nose etc.) and the purification and presentation of offerings (food, drink, and clothing) to ensure the continued survival of the newly (re)animated being. Scenes 50–53 of this ritual concern the offering of the white, green, *jrtjw* and *jdmj* linen. The *jdmj* and the *sšd* cloth are also a part of the demotic Liturgy of Opening the Mouth for Breathing that was inspired by the Rite of Opening the Mouth and was probably based on it (Smith 1993: 16).

Clothing the statue with coloured linen was also part of the Feast of the New Year which took place in Ptolemaic and Roman temples (Alliot 1949; Coppens 2008: 278–83; Rickert 2019: 648–56).

Offering the four coloured linen in Ptolemaic Temples

Scenes including the offering of these four kinds of linen appear on the walls of Ptolemaic and Roman temples (Cauville 2011: 115–17; Hallof 2008: 114–15; scenes in SERaT:[2] 110817, 110855, 900048, 900049, 900064, 900065, 900439, 900442, 901144, 901154, 901538, 901547, 901623, 901624, 901638, 901639). In these types of scenes, the king is offering the white linen, green linen, *jrtjw*-linen and *jdmj*-linen; the recipient of this offering is either the god Horus (or Hathor in the case of Dendera) or Horus in the company of another deity or deities.

We can find five examples of these scenes in the Horus temple in Edfu—on the west and the east (lateral) walls of the main sanctuary, on the north wall of the Mesenit and the Wabet (this concerns the rear wall on both occasions), on the east wall of the Chamber of the Throne of Ra (similarly on the rear wall) and on the south wall of the Chamber of Linen and Oils. There is one case of this type of offering in the Hathor temple at Dendara, namely on the rear south wall of the Wabet (D IV, 247, 3–248, 4; D IV, 265, 7–266, 10, pl. CCCXI; Cauville 2001: 394–7, 422–3).

In the sanctuary (E I, 31, 2–16, pl. XI; E I, 44, 19–45, pl. XII; Hussy 2007: 149–56) as well as in the Wabet (E I, 423, 5–424, 3, pl. XXXIIIa; E I, 432, 9–433, 7, pl. XXXIIIa) in the Horus temple at Edfu, four scenes depict the offering of individual types of linen. The standing king presents one folded piece of linen (holding it with both hands) to a seated Horus. Another composition depicting this scene appears in the other chambers: the offering of white and green linen appears together in one scene, and the offering of *jrtjw* and the *jdmj*-linen in a second one. As a result, the king is holding two folded strips of linen, one in each hand.

In the Chamber of the Throne of Ra (E I, 289, 14–290, 5, pl. XXIXa; E I, 296, 7–14, pl. XXIXa), Horus is not the sole recipient of the offerings, Hathor keeps him company in the scene with the white and the green linen, and Harsomtus in the case of the *jrtjw* and the *jdmj*-linen. All three deities accept the king's gifts in both these scenes in the *Mesenit* (E I, 237, 16–238, 9, pl. XXVIb; E I, 244, 15–245, 7, pl. XXVIb).

Two rows of six gods and goddesses are sitting or standing before the king who is bringing the offering in the Chamber of Linen (E I, 124, 16–125, 18, pl. XXIb; E I, 126, 14–127, 14, pl. XXIb). The general arrangement of the decoration in this chamber, where one half (north) of the room is dedicated to linen, and the second half (south) to oils, clearly influenced the position of the two scenes with the offering of coloured linen: the reliefs are located one above the other on the south wall. Horus, Hathor, Harsomtus, Horus, the slayer of foreign lands, Khonsu-Thoth, Shu, and Tefnut accept the offering of white and the green linen in the first register, whilst above them, in the second register, the king offers *jrtjw* and *jdmj*-linen to Horus, Hathor, Hedjhetep, Tayt, Nut, and Horus-of-Gold.

Offering the white and green linen

As already mentioned, white and green linen are presented together in the same scene in three cases in Edfu (in the *Mesenit*, the Chamber of the Throne of Ra, and in the Chamber of Linen) and once in the Wabet in Dendera. It is therefore clear that these two kinds of linen (as well as the *jrtjw* and *jdmj*-linen) are closely connected.

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[2] System zur Erfassung von Ritualszenen in altägyptischen Tempeln (eine Datenbank der Ritualszenen in ägyptischen Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit). ‹http://www.serat.aegyptologie.uni-wuerzburg.de/›, accessed 30 January 2020.

King

Interestingly, in the three cases at Edfu, the king has only royal titles and no other epithets. The text related to **the white linen** in the sanctuary names the king as 'the excellent heir, the one who Renenet engendered, the great lady in Qedem' (*jwᶜ mnḫ wtṯ n rnn.t ḥnw.t wr.t m qdm*; E I, 45, 1). 'Great of fear, the son of Hedjhetep' (ᶜꜣ *snḍ sꜣ ḥḏ-ḥtp*; E I, 423, 6) are other epithets used for the king in the *Wabet*. The king brings the white linen (sometimes called the Eye of Horus or the white Eye of Horus) to Horus, or Horus with other god(s), so that it may 'brighten your (i.e. Horus') skin' (*sšp=s jnm=k*; E I 423, 7) or 'illuminate the awe-inspired terror of you' (*sḥḏ=s šfy.t=k*; E I, 244, 17; E I, 296, 8). While Horus adorns himself with it, he 'may come over the land complete in your body like Ra, who is at the head of the elders' (*ḏbꜣ.n=k ṯw jm=s jj=k ḥr tꜣ twt m ḫᶜ.w=k mj rᶜ ḫntj wr.w*; E I, 423, 7–8) and his *ka* may be perceived against his enemies (*sjꜣ.tw kꜣ=k r ḫftjw=k*; E I, 45, 2).

During the presentation of **the green linen** in the main sanctuary and in the *Wabet*, the king is said to be 'the offspring of Sakhmet' (*wꜣḏ n sḫm.t*) and 'the son of *Wadjet*' (*sꜣ wꜣḏ.t*) supplemented with 'who raises up her perfections' (*wṯs nfr.w=s*) or 'who rises with the *dngns*-uraeus' (*wbn m dngns*; E I, 423, 15–16). These two titles are accompanied by epithets expressing the strength of the king—'the one who strikes the foreign lands' (*ḥw ḫꜣs.wt*) or 'the one who strikes the Nine-bows' (*ḥw pḏ.wt-psḏ.t*).

Horus

In return for these offerings, the god(s) presented the king with various types of gifts that were supposed to ensure health, royal power, protection or other privileges and manifestations of the god's favour. Horus rewards the king for **the white linen** with 'an appearance in the *šṯ*-cloth of Horus' (*ḫᶜ m šṯ n ḥr*; E I, 245, 1; E I, 423, 9), 'so that you (i.e. king) may walk upon the whole land' (*nmt=k ḥr tꜣ m-twt*; E I, 45, 3) or with 'an appearance adorned with your *šṯ*-cloth like Horus when he ruled this land' (*ḫᶜ ḏbꜣ m šṯ=k mj ḥr ḥqꜣ.n=f tꜣ pn*; E I, 125, 4–5). This *šṯ*-cloth could be also accompanied by the '*jryw*-garment of Ra, great of fear' (*jryw n rᶜ ᶜꜣ snḍ*; E I, 423, 9). He also gives the *wr,ty*- and *nb.ty-uraei* and promises protection of the body (E I, 423, 11). The king will 'walk the land adorned with the adornments like Horus the day that he took control of the two lands' (*nmt=k tꜣ ḏbꜣ.tj m ḫkr.w mj ḥr hrw ḥqꜣ=f tꜣ.wj*; E I, 423, 12) and 'equipped with all *jryw*-garments like the Majesty (on) the day Horus appears' (ᶜ*pr m jryw nb mjt.t ḥm hrw ḫᶜ ḥr*; E I, 45, 4–5). All these garments and adornments are those of Horus 'on the day of his appearing' or 'the day he took control of the two lands', so they are evidently very important and maybe even necessary for the king to be able to walk the land like Horus, and thus legitimise or confirm his rule over the land.

A very important gift to the king is the *šrt*-cloth 'of his justification against his enemies' (*šrt mꜣᶜ-ḫrw=k r ḫftjw=k*; E I, 125, 3). In the Chamber of the Throne of Ra, Horus gives 'an appearance in the *šrt*-cloth of Horus, so that you (i.e. king) may rule both lands upon his throne' (*ḫᶜ m šrt n ḥrw ḥqꜣ=k tꜣ.wj ḥr nst=f*; E I, 296, 10). Using his own garment, Horus legitimates the inheritance of the king and establishes him as his successor.

In return for **the green linen,** Horus gives the *wꜣḏ.t*- and the *ḥnks.t*-uraeus 'appearing on your (i.e. the king's) forehead to command her (i.e. *Wadjet*'s) breath against the enemies' (*wbn.tj m wp.t=k ḥr wḏ nf=s r wn-mw=k*; E I, 45, 10–11; E I, 424, 2). *Wadjet* likewise protects the limbs and sends her flame against the enemies (E I, 45, 11). Horus also gives 'renewal like Ra' and makes 'that you will be young again like Iah' (*mꜣw mj rᶜ wḥm rnp mj jᶜḥ*; E I, 45, 10), while in the *Wabet*, he gives 'an appearance like Ra, renewal like Iah and repetition of life like Hapi' (*ḫᶜ mj rᶜ rnp mj jᶜḥ wḥm-ᶜnḫ mj ḥᶜpj*; E I, 423, 18).

As we can see, the white linen has a strong connection with light and, more generally, with making something clear or emphasising something. The green linen allows kings and gods to thrive, to be prosperous and it is clearly related to the concept of renewal.

The appearance of both types of linen are also stressed in the epithets of Horus, but this is more visible in the scenes where the offering of white and the green linen are separated. Horus accepting the white linen 'brightens the processions of Jubilee-festivals (*heb-sed*)' (*sšp ḫᶜw ḥb-sd*; E I, 45, 4), he is the one 'who illuminates with rays, who sends out rays, who lights up the darkness, who rises in the East daily, who sets in the West like Ra every day' (*ḥꜣy stwt wḏ mꜣꜥ.w sḥḏ snk wbn m bꜣḫw ḫr.t-hrw ḥtp m mꜣnw mj rᶜ (n) rᶜ nb*; E I, 423, 10–11). In the Chamber of the Throne of Ra he 'shines with his *wedjat* eyes and brightens when he places himself in the East' (*psḏ m wḏꜣ.tj=f sḥḏ dj=f m bꜣḫw*; E I, 296, 11). During the offering of the green linen, Horus is named (just like the king) 'the one who is upon his papyrus-stalk, the son of *Wadjet*, who came out of her' (*ḫr.j wḏꜣ=f sꜣ wꜣḏ.t pr jm=s*; E I, 424, 1) and 'the offspring of Sakhmet' (*wꜣḏ n sḫm.t*; E I, 45, 12).

Other deities

Hathor and Harsomtus are other regular recipients of the offering of white and green linen. All the related texts in the Chamber of the Throne of Ra and in the *Mesenit* emphasise receiving kingship and the establishment of inheritance. The lady of Dendera gives 'the adornments of Horus as the king, so that you (i.e. the king) may receive the kingship on the throne' (*ḫkr.w n ḥr m nsyt šsp=k nsjw ḥr wṯs.t*; E I, 296, 12), Harsomtus gives 'the strength as the ruler of the Two Halves (i.e. Egypt)' (*sḫm.t m ḥqꜣ psš.tj*; E I, 245, 6). The king receives from both of them 'the *šrt*-cloth of Horus as he appeared that day of establishing his inheritance' (*šrt n ḥr m ḫᶜ=f hrw pfj n smn-jwᶜ=f*; E I, 245, 6–7; E I, 296, 13–14) and they encourage the king: 'take for yourself his throne so that your kingship will be like (that of) his Majesty' (*jṯ n=k nst=f twt nsjt r ḥm=f*; E I, 245, 7; E I, 296, 14).

Emphasis is also placed on family relationships: Hathor is the one 'who protects her son Horus as a child until he may become as the Lord of Might' (*sꜣ sꜣ=s ḥr m ḫnw r jw=f m nb pḥtj*; E I, 296, 13), Harsomtus is 'the child, the son of Hathor, the heir of Behdet' (*pꜣ ḫrd sꜣ ḥwt-ḥr pḫr-nst n bḥdt*; E I, 245, 6). These epithets also refer to the relationship between the king and the gods, while the king himself is the god on earth and the heir of Horus.

As stated above, one of the deities who is frequently mentioned with the offering of green linen is *Wadjet*. Ancient Egyptians liked the use of word play—the name of the green *wꜣḏ.t*-fabric refers directly to this goddess, and the term makes the main features of the linen implicit. The verb *swꜣḏ* means 'to make green' as well as 'to make fresh' or 'prosper', thus she and all related items, such as the *wadjet*-uraeus (*wꜣḏ.t*) and the *wadj*-scepter (*wꜣḏ*), have similar effects; they make the body, the skin (and everything else) thrive, becoming excellent and prosperous. *Wadjet* also has a strong relationship with the king and he is often referred to as her son. The green linen comes 'from the hands of *Wadjet* as a tribute of *Nebuy*' (*m ꜥ.wj wꜣḏ.t m jnw n nby.wy*; E I, 423, 16). This goddess, the mistress of Nebuy (E I, 45, 9), also makes Horus' body thrive with her *wꜣḏ*-sceptre of life and makes him excellent with her cloth (*swꜣḏ=s ḏ.t=k m wꜣḏ=s n ꜥnḫ smnḫ=s ṯw m mnḫ.t=s*; E I, 45, 9; E I, 423, 16–17; partially E I, 125, 1–2).

Offering of the *jrtjw*-linen and the *jdmj*-linen

King

No epithets of the king appear in the scenes of the joint presentation of *jrtjw* and *jdmj* linen which is the same as with the offering scenes of the green and white linen. The king is likened to Horus and is said to be 'great of terror' (*ꜥ snḏ*) while offering **the *jrtjw*-linen** in the sanctuary and the *Wabet* (E I, 31, 3; E I, 432, 10). Family relationships are also highlighted; the king dresses his parents, he is 'the son of Hedjhetep, who clothes his father in the *psḏ*-cloth' (*sꜣ ḥḏ-ḥtp ḥbs jtj=f m psḏ*; E I, 31, 3–4) and 'born of Isis, who clothes the god with the work of the two companions (= the weaving deities Isis and Nephthys)' (*ms nꜣ ꜣs.t ḏbꜣ nṯr m kꜣ.t rḥ.tj*; E I, 432, 10–11).

The inscriptions indicate that the main function of the *jrtjw*-linen is to 'bring the fear of the king into existence' (*sḫpr.n=s snḏ=k*; E I, 31, 4–5) and to 'cause it to circulate' (*spḫr jrtjw snḏ=k*; E I, 289, 17). It was supposed to make the limbs of the king sacred as well. There are also several other textiles mentioned together with *jrtjw*-linen. It is, above all, the *wabet*-cloth that was supposed to 'hide your (i.e. king's) image' (*štꜣ sḫm=k*; E I, 31, 4) and 'clothe your limbs' (*stꜣm ḥꜥ.w=k*; E I, 238, 1; E I, 289, 16–17). Furthermore, the cloth of Renenet may 'cover your body' (*ḏbꜣ n rnn.t r ḏbꜣ ḏt=k*; E I, 238, 1; E I, 289, 17) and 'send out fear of you' (*wḏ.t snḏ=k*; E I, 432, 11) just as the *jrtjw* linen does.

In the scenes with the offering of **the *jdmj*-linen**, the ruler is 'the child nourished/raised by the Two Ladies' (*jd šd (j)n rḥ.tj*; E I, 31, 11–12; *nn šd (j)n rḥ.tj*; E I, 433, 2), but the adult form is also mentioned ,he 'is mighty/appears on the serekh' (*sḫm ḥr srḫ*; E I, 31, 11; *wbn ḥr srḫ*; E I, 433, 1). Two aspects of *jdmj*-linen are evidently crucial—that it cleaves directly to the divine limbs (*dmj jdmj r ḥꜥ.w=k nṯrj*; E I, 238, 1–2; E I, 289, 17) and its connection with the goddesses: it comes from both hands of Tayt, it is spun by Isis and woven by her sister Nephthys (*sšn n ꜣs.t m ꜥ.wj=s ḏs=s msn n sn.t=s nb.t-ḥw.t*; E I, 31, 12–13).

Horus

Almost all the gifts from Horus in exchange for the offering of the ***jrtjw*-linen** are associated with inspiring awe in people, increasing fear and terror, and spreading them among Egyptians and foreigners alike. The king receives 'the adornments of the majesty of Ra so that the terror of you (i.e. king) may be like (that of) his majesty, while fear of you is great among the Egyptians and the foreigners, their hearts filled with terror of you.' (*ḫkr.w n ḥm n rꜥ twt šfy.t=k r ḥm=f [snḏ]=k wr.tj ḫr kmtjw ḫꜣstjw jb.w=sn mḥ.w m šfy.t=k*; E I, 432, 14–15).

The '*šṯ*-garment of Ra' and the '*šrt*-cloth of Horus of justification against the enemies' are other reciprocal gifts that are also supposed to be instrumental in this task, so that all people 'kiss the earth because of the might of your majesty' (*sn-tꜣ=sn n bꜣw ḥm=k*; E I, 31, 7).

These two kinds of cloth are also given in return for **the *jdmj*-linen** and they enable the king to 'be firm and appear upon the serekh' (*šrt n.t mꜣꜥ-ḫrw mn.tj ḫꜥ.tj ḥr srḫ*; E I, 433, 4), or 'appearing in your form equipped with your *šṯ*-cloth, so you may go round the land complete in your (i.e. the king's) body' (*ḫꜥ m jrw=k ꜥpr m šṯ=k pḫr=k tꜣ twt m ḏt=k*; E I, 31, 15), and 'take numerous *Sed*-festivals of Tatenen on the throne of Ra, who is the first among the living' (*jṯ=k ḥb.w-sd wr.w n tꜣ-tnnḥr s.t rꜥ ḫntj ꜥnḫ.w*; E I, 433, 6–7).

The epithets correspond well with the themes associated with each type of linen. Horus, while accepting the *jrtjw*-linen, is named 'the lord of fear' (*nb snḏ*) and 'great of terror' (*ꜥ šfy.t*). Likewise, he is the one 'who makes red both eyes' (*ḥrs mr.tj*; E I, 31, 7–8) and 'whose rage goes against its assailants' (*nmt nšn=s r tkk=s*; E I, 432, 13–14). In the case of *jdmj*-linen, Horus is 'great (or sacred) of forms' (*ꜥ/štꜣ jrw*), 'sacred

of manifestations' (*ḏsr ḫpr.w*; E I, 31, 16) and he 'conceals his image from the gods' (*tḥn sšm=f r nṯr.w*; E I, 433, 5). These epithets relate to the fact that this textile cleaves to the body, and thus touches and covers that which is most sacred, the god himself, whose shape remains unknown to unauthorised persons.

Other deities

In the Chamber of the Throne of Ra, Harsomtus is the second one who receives the *jrtjw* and the *jdmj*-linen. His utterances, as well as the epithets, centre upon taking the throne and controlling the position of the ruler, entirely in line with the name of this chamber. He says to the king: 'I give you the adornments of Horus as the ruler that day of uniting his Two Halves (=Egypt), so that you may control his offices, take for yourself his throne so that your years are like his majesty's' (*dj=j n=k ḫkr.w n ḥr m ḥqꜣ hrw pfj n dmḏ psš.tj=f ḥqꜣ=k jꜣ.t=f jṯ n=k srḫ=f snj rnpt=k r ḥm=f*; E I, 290, 4–5). This child-deity and Hathor sit behind Horus while accepting these types of linen in the *Mesenit*. Hathor emphasises the aspects of the *jrtjw*-linen, she is 'the lady of fear' (*nb.t snḏ*; E I, 127, 4), 'the Eye of Ra, great of terror' (*jr.t-rᶜ ᶜꜣ.t snḏ*) and 'the gods adore her because of the fear of her' (*dwꜣ s(j) nṯr.w m šfy.t=s*; E I, 238, 5–6). She places 'the fear of you (i.e. the king) into the hearts of sun people (=Egyptians)' (*snḏ=k m jb n ḥnmmt*; E I, 238, 5) and she gives 'two uraei shining on your (i.e. the king's) head, placing its rage against your foes' (*wr.tj wbn m-tp=k ḥr wd nšn=s r ḫftjw=k*; E I, 127, 3).

As mentioned above, there are other deities connected to these kinds of linen, and to linen in general—Tayt, Nephthys, Isis, Renenet, Hedjhetep, and others. Their mutual relationships and connections with these textiles are not the focus of this paper, but they have been outlined e.g. in Backes's publication about Hedjhetep (2001).

Conclusions

Four kinds of *mnḫ.t*-linen were used during several important temple rituals, and the meaning of each one and its specific features has been outlined above.

The iconography of the scenes and associated texts related to the offering of these pieces of textiles provide some extremely interesting connections. Looking at the depictions, one can observe that in those cases where the two kinds of linen were presented together in the same scene (i.e. the Chamber of Linen, the *Mesenit*, and the Chapel of the Throne of Ra in Edfu), the king is wearing the specific crown of one part of the Egyptian kingdom. The king offering the white and the green linen always wears the white crown of Upper Egypt (*ḥḏ.t*), and in the scenes with the *jrtjw* and the *jdmj*-linen, he has the Lower Egyptian red crown on his head.

Similarly, the position of the scenes is certainly not coincidental. The white and the green linen are placed on the east wall (sanctuary) or on the east half of the north wall (*Wabet* and *Mesenit*). Conversely, the *jrtjw* and the *jdmj* linen are depicted on the west wall or on the west half of the north wall. In the Chapel of the Throne of Ra, all these types of linen are offered on the rear (in this case east) wall and in the Chamber of Linen on the south wall, because the entire south half of the chamber is devoted to the presentation of textiles to the deities by the king.

The scene in the temple of Dendera confirms this pattern—the king with the white crown offers the white and green linen on the eastern half of the south wall and the presentation of the *jrtjw* and *jdmj* linen is performed by the ruler wearing the red crown on the west side of the wall.

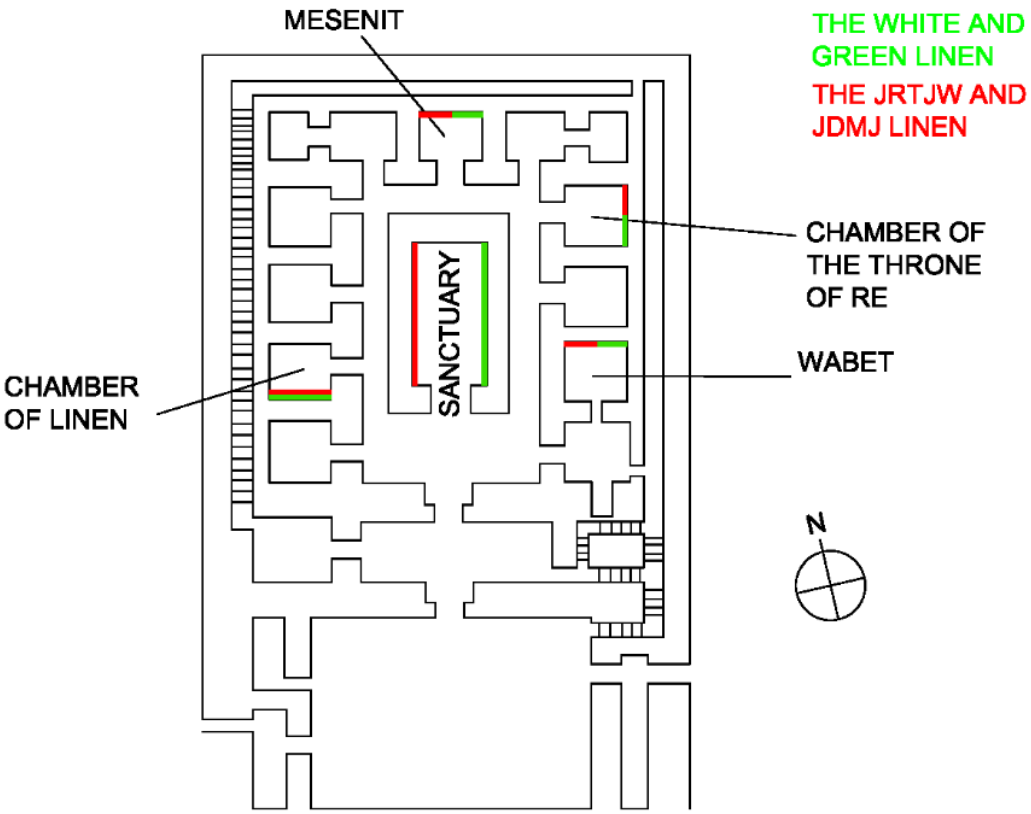

Figure 1. Plan of Edfu temple with the marked position of the scenes of presenting the four coloured linen.

The facts stated above indicate several interesting links. The connection between the white and green linen and the white crown is obvious. The eastern side, where the sun rises, is also related to the (symbolic) meaning of these kinds of linen and the themes they are associated with—illumination, renewal, and making something prosper and fresh. This is also obvious in the epithets associated with the king and the gifts he receives from the god(s) in return for presenting white and/or green linen.

Equally, the *jrtjw* and the *jdmj* linen (in both red and dark red) clearly correlate with the red crown of Lower Egypt. The evening alpenglow characterised by a reddish sky and its range of gradually darkening reds and purples suggests a connection with the western side. The references about spreading the fear of the gods or of the king among the Egyptians and foreigners, making both eyes red and the justification against the enemies definitely fit very well with the colours of these linens (and the approaching night and darkness).

Based on the aforementioned connections, I suggest that the white and green linen represent the morning, its light and the life-giving sun, or maybe even the whole day, and the *jrtjw* and *jdmj* linen refer to the evening or the night, its darkness and the constantly repeating fight with Apophis and associates.

the white and green linen	the *jrtjw* and *jdmj* linen (red or dark red colour)
the white crown of Upper Egypt	the red crown of Lower Egypt
the east	the west
the illumination, the renewal, making prosper and fresh	the fear, the fight, the secret
the morning / the day ?	the evening / the night ?

Table 1. Connections between the different kinds of linen, the crown of the king, the position on the wall and the topics of the related inscriptions.

The overview of the disposition of the scenes with the offering of coloured linen to the gods within the Horus temple at Edfu as well as the associated inscriptions, such as the epithets of the king or the speech of the deities, clearly indicate the existence of a continuously recurring pattern in their placement, meaning, and function. In part, these patterns also show the continuation of a long tradition, dating back to at least the time of the New Kingdom (e.g. to the Daily Temple Ritual), even into Ptolemaic times, when Egypt was no longer ruled by indigenous pharaohs. The decorative pattern, as well as the iconography and related inscriptions, associated with the offering of coloured linen by the ruler, engraved upon the rear wall of the *Wabet* chapel in the Hathor temple at Dendara during the reign of Cleopatra VII clearly illustrates a continuation of this tradition hundreds of kilometres to the north and many generations later.

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Ancient Arabian horses?
Revisiting ancient Egyptian equine imagery

Lonneke Delpeut and Hylke Hettema

Abstract

'The Pharaohs were able to extend the Egyptian empire by harnessing the Arabian horse to their chariots and relying on his power and courage', claims Judith Forbis in her book *The Classic Arabian Horse*. This orientalist view is based on the fact that some of the ancient depictions share visual characteristics with the current phenotype of many an Arabian horse and is strengthened by the fact that Arabian horse breeders tend to favour such desirable ancestry. Tracing the history of the Arabian horse all the way back to ancient Egyptian horse imagery by comparing visual characteristics is an example of 'retrojection', the projection of a current idea onto something from the past. The ancient Egyptian reliefs and wall paintings contain all kinds of information, including what the horses of that era might have looked like, but it would be incorrect to use the shape and form of the animal as a reliable source to determine its exact phenotype. Considering the fact that the depictions of horses were representations of a concept rather than a specific animal, we cannot simply assume that these shapes are naturalistic without taking the intended message and target audience into consideration. In this presentation, we aim to introduce the misinterpretation of the scenes and the involvement of the depictions in the debate surrounding the mysterious history of the Arabian horse. Subsequently, we will shed light on how the idea of an ancient Egyptian Arabian horse was gradually constructed, and then successfully exploited, by many breeders, resulting in a sub-type; 'Straight Egyptian', which is currently one of the most expensive varieties of Arabian horses in the world and still marketed as 'the Pharaoh's horse'.

Keywords

Horses; art history; Orientalism; Arabian horse; horse breeds; images; retrojection

Introduction

In 1848, John Frederick Herring Sr. (1795–1865) painted his *Pharaoh's Horses*, which is one of the most celebrated works of art that features equines, and has become especially popular as a tattoo design since the globetrotting tattoo artist Gus Wagner (1872–1941) featured it in his design catalogue in the 1920s. The three horse heads are said to represent the biblical event of the ancient Egyptian pursuit of Moses narrated in *Exodus* 14: 15–28. The Jews, led by Moses, were fleeing from the Egyptian king who was running after them with 'all his host, his chariots, and his horsemen' and in order to escape Moses split the Red Sea in half, enabling them to walk across. 'The Egyptians pursued and went in after them into the midst of the sea, all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, and his horsemen.' After crossing the sea, Moses ordered it to return to its normal state and 'The waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen; of all the host of Pharaoh that had followed them into the sea, not one of them remained.'

Figure 1. Pharaoh's Chariot Horses (photograph: www.john-frederick-herring.org).

Pharaohs and ancient Egypt are considered to be a crucial component of current popular histories of the Arabian horse breed, not only in biblical iconography and literature but also because people believe that they see Arabian horses in ancient Egyptian equine imagery. 'These horses have all the looks of the modern Arab with its small head, slender body, fine limbs and high carriage of the tail' (Clutton-Brock 1992: 80). Depictions from ancient Egypt are often (ab)used to project a concept from a more recent time onto antiquity, a process called retrojection. The imagery of horses from ancient Egypt is abused in such a way that it retrojects the Arabian horse into antiquity, in an effort to 'remake the Arabian horse' in the 20th century AD, as described by Christoph Lange (2019). This research is concerned with reexamining the narrative that the Arabian horse has ancient Egyptian roots and reinterpreting the Egyptian material respecting Egyptological methodologies. We will show that the belief that ancient Egyptian horses are the ancestors of modern Arabian ones has its roots in early modern Europe, reflecting romantic, orientalist and biblical views of ancient Egypt rather than realistic views. We will also attempt to explain why the images used cannot be taken at face value.

Imagining ancient Egyptian origins for the Arabian horse

Herring's 'Pharaoh's Horses' expresses the proposed connection between ancient Egypt and the history of the Arabian horse that is typical of the romantic era. The iconic painting featuring the three white horses seemingly in the middle of the sea was first displayed in 1848 as 'Pharoah's Chariot Horses' (explained as archaic spelling). Coachman turned painter John Frederick Herring Sr. had bought the grey stallion that modelled for this and other works of his through the famous auction house Tattersalls.

Imaum is said to have been an Arabian stallion who was given to Queen Victoria by the Ima(u)m of Muscat, most probably as a wedding gift in 1840.[1]

Much of the most currently esteemed literature on the history of the Arabian horse has been produced in the modern period (starting in the 18th century CE). The earliest extant western information which goes into detail about horses in the Middle East is found in the diaries and diplomatic reports of European travellers to the East such as *'Das Pferd bei den Arabern'* by Joseph Hammer-Purgstall (1856) and '*Voyage en Syrie et dans le Désert'* by Louis Damoiseau (1833).[2] That information on *Arabian*[3] horses has often been reproduced without contextualisation in subsequent books narrating the history of the breed, resulting in a highly romanticised tale, even after the romantic era, as most of these 19th century authors are Orientalists. Not only does their work reflect the typical imperial[4] discourse on race, but it also idolises products from the Orient, in this case the horse, as appropriated goods which would have been useful for the imperial motherland.[5] After all, Imaum was a special horse because he had belonged to Queen Victoria for a while, rather than because he might have been an exotic Arabian diplomatic gift. Moreover, these protagonists of Arabian horse history writing lived during the height of early modern Egyptomania. Lady Anne Blunt (1837–1917), often described as the saviour of the Arabian horse, spent much of her childhood in the home of Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (1797–1875), in the United Kingdom who was one of the fathers of British Egyptology.

Orientalism and Egyptomania often go hand in hand, as asserted by Claudia Gyss (2010: 106–23), but they are in no way synonymous with each other. She explains that 'The fundamental difference between Egyptomania and Orientalism is that Egyptomania only includes, as Jean-Marcel Humbert has observed, the reuse and reinterpretation of 'decorative elements borrowed from ancient Egypt in different forms and at different periods,' while Orientalism constitutes the representation of a contemporary reality.' (Gyss 2010: 107). Edward Said has argued that Orientalism is a result of the French Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801) (Said 1995: 87), and Gyss has confirmed how Egyptomania thus

[1] It is difficult to figure out the dates surrounding this horse. Imaum traveled together with a bay horse called Mustafa and they were accompanied by two men. Sir George Hayter (1792–1871) painted *Two Arab Servants* in August 1840 for the Queen and the artist himself wrote on the back of the work 'Two persons in the service of The Imaum of Muscat / who came to England in August 1840 with Two beautiful Horses / for Her Majesty The Queen / 'Haggi Hammed'. The one standing is an Egyptian: the other a Georgian 'Mahomed Hassan' / born at Tiflis, / painted for Her Majesty by Her Majesty's dutiful servant / George Hayter.' Although I have found a bay and a black stallion being sold in a Tattersalls sale in 1837, both listed as 'of the Imaum of Muscat', I have not found a grey stallion with that same description being sold through Tattersalls after 1840.

[2] Damoiseau specifies he traveled there as part of the mission of M. De Portes to buy Arabian stallions.

[3] In this period, almost every horse stemming from the Orient was considered to be Arabian, regardless of where the horse actually came from, especially disregarding the Ottoman influence and rule in the region, often based on political bias and dislike of the Turks (e.g. Blunt 1882: 7–8).

[4] It has been suggested that both Orientalism and Egyptomania were fuelled by the Romanticism movement but the very reasons to voyage to the 'orient' in the early modern period were often political in nature and closely connected to imperialist colonial efforts.

[5] An example of this appropriation is the 'Pride of Poland', the national auction of Purebred Arabian horses in Poland.

preceded but also immensely influenced the birth and progression of Orientalism which had been present since the Renaissance.[6]

While the discourse on the Arabian horse initially seems to be purely orientalist, as 19th century travelers to the Orient sketched a romanticised perception of their contemporary reality by observing the horses among the Arabs, the narrative took a turn towards Egyptomania when the origin of the breed was to be debated. As is evident from the 'Pharaoh's Horses' by Herring, Arabian horses were often used to represent ancient Egypt with biblical iconography. Influenced by their own religious morals, 19th century travellers described Arabia as a familiar place, as explained by Lady Anne Blunt in her opinion on how Arabia and Egypt are interlocked through biblical characters; 'I look upon Ibn Rashid's government as in all likelihood identical with that of the kings of Arabia, who came to visit Solomon, and of the Shepherd Kings, who, at a still earlier date, held Egypt and Babylonia ; and I have little doubt that it owes its success to the fact of its being thus in harmony with Arab ideas and Arab tradition.' (Blunt 1881: 314–15). Subsequently, Lady Anne was not the only author who believed Arabian horses were strongly connected to ancient Egypt, British army official William Tweedie, in his book on the Arabian horse, actually argues for ancient Egyptian origins: 'Familiar passages of Scripture were cited to illustrate how the collection and distribution of horses ranked among the many sensational features of Solomon's reign. A daughter of a Pharaoh was one of his 700 wives. At that time (10th century BC) the Nile Kingdom was rich in horses. Therefore, it naturally followed that the horses which Solomon had were out of Egypt.' (Tweedie 1894: 226–7).

Opposing biblical views on the origin of certain breeds was the totemistic debate of horse breeders of the Victorian era; whether Herring's Imaum was actually an Arabian horse or not is uncertain as in 1837 the breed of the horses gifted by the Imaum of Muscat was already being questioned (Lapham 1837: 699). William Ridgeway contested the idea of ancient Egyptian origins in his 'The origin and influence of the Thoroughbred Horse' (1905), stating that the origins of the oriental horse were to be found in Libya, causing an intense debate with Lady Anne Blunt in the final years of her life, when she still lived in Egypt with her Arabian horses.[7] Lady Anne was so infuriated by Ridgeway's claims that she started writing a book on the origin and history of the Arabian horse, which she never got to finish but it was partly published posthumously in the work of her daughter Lady Judith Wentworth (1962).

In several of her publications, Wentworth emphasises an ancient Egyptian origin for the Arabian horse, especially in a 1946 article: 'Ancient Egyptian monuments dated at about 1300 BC bear depictions of what are very recognisable Arab-type horses, and a statuette, which is possibly among the first representations of a ridden horse, shows a similar horse with pronounced Arab characteristics. This latter, also found in Egypt, is dated around 2000 BC.' (Wentworth 1946: 19). Wentworth featured a photograph of the allegedly ancient Egyptian sculpture of a horse with a rider in her 1960 publication about the English Thoroughbred horse (1960: 73). Wentworth found the sculpture in the collection of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art at the time, but it is no longer listed in its collections as the statuette was later subject to discussion on its authenticity and deemed to be a fake by Henry Fisher (1987: 97–9). The retrojection of the phenotype of the modern Arabian horse into antiquity proved successful for the popularity of the breed and is rarely criticised. In fact, Sandra Olsen has claimed antiquity for the Arabian horse by projecting the breed onto petroglyphs from the 9th to the 4th century BC (Olsen 2017). Her conclusion that these rock drawings represent Arabian horses rests only

[6] Egyptomania is not exclusive to the romantic era and predates the Renaissance as Greeks were already fascinated by ancient Egypt, as demonstrated in texts such as the '*Bibliotheca Historica*' by Diodorus Siculus (1st century BC) and 'Herodotus' Histories' (5th century BC).

[7] See correspondence between Lady Anne Blunt and Sydney Cockerell held at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

on the observation that the phenotype of the modern Arabian horse matches that of some of the petroglyphs, and her own publication in which she calls ancient Egyptian horses 'proto-Arabians', again, solely based on the retrojection of visual characteristics of the modern Arabian horse (Olsen 2010: 45). Cynthia Culbertson similarly states that 'The proto-Arabians depicted in Egyptian art confirm that these remarkable horses have possessed their unique archetype for thousands of years' (Marei 2014: 2).

Making the modern Arabian horse Egyptian

Every year the Arabian horse world features a horse show[8] called The Egyptian Event. This annual spectacle welcomes horse owners with Arabian horses of specific lineage to compete in a slightly exotic setting that often features replicas of ancient Egyptian columns, sphinxes, and depictions of typical ancient Egyptian imagery such as hieroglyphs. Based on the decoration of the event, one could almost forget that the focus of the show is the Arabian horse. However, it all makes sense to people familiar with the popular historic narrative of the breed, as the Arabian horse is generally said to have ancient Egyptian roots. Margaret Greely writes in her 'Arabian Exodus' that the earliest evidence of a horse of a 'perfect Arabian type appears on the tomb of Phiri the Egyptian; and here we may say begins the documented evidence of the purity of the breed' (Greely 1975: 21). Herring's 'Pharaoh's Horses' as an emblem of both Egyptian and Arab identity for the horse, is therefore featured on the cover of 'Asil Arabians V—The Noble Arabian Horses' (2000), a publication of the Asil Club, an organisation that strives to preserve the Arabian horse.

The annual Egyptian Event is an initiative of The Pyramid Society. The logo of this organisation features a horse standing inside a pyramid, wearing a headdress that is similar to that of the horses featured on JE 61467, the painted wooden box of Tutankhamun held in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.[9] One of the society's founders, Judith Forbis, could be regarded as the creator of the Straight Egyptian horse, a subgroup of Arabian horses which trace their ancestry back to a specific group of horses born and bred in Egypt over a particular period of time.[10] In 1959, Forbis and her husband imported several Arabian horses from the Egyptian state stud, the Egyptian Agricultural Organisation, to the United States where they founded their breeding program called Ansata, with a logo depicting two horses beside the carefully chosen ancient Egyptian crux Ansata or Ankh.[11] Forbis took the association of the Arabian horse with ancient Egypt to the next level by claiming that 'The resourceful Pharaohs of Egypt wasted no time in acquiring the choicest Arabian horses available in the East, and they established such carefully planned breeding programs that the Egyptian horses quickly surpassed all competitors.' (Forbis 1976: 47). Her publication 'The Classic Arabian Horse', which strategically features a 1849 engraving of Herring's 'Pharaoh's Horses' (Forbis 1976: 48), is also cited by Olsen and Cynthia Culbertson in their 'A Gift from the Desert' as a basis for the idea that Arabian horses were present in antiquity: 'Judith Forbis and a few other scholars have observed the similarity between the modern Arabian breed and the ancient Egyptian horse, as reflected in both artistic depictions and actual skeletal remains.' (Olsen 2010: 41).

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[8] For a (anthropological) discussion of the Arabian Show world see Christoph 2018.

[9] See ‹www.pyramidsociety.org›, accessed 24 May 2020.

[10] The SE pool of accepted horses is closed, no new individuals can be added if they do not trace 100% of their pedigree back to horses considered to be SE. DNA testing is done to verify a horse's parentage prior to declaring that the horse has been accepted into the registry or studbook.

[11] ‹www.ansata.com›, accessed 24 May 2020.

As enthralling as an ancient Egyptian history for the Arabian horse would be, reality contradicts such claims as no scientific study done by Egyptologists has concluded that the scarce amount of skeletal remains from ancient Egypt come from be Arabian horses, or any other breed for that matter. Furthermore, DNA research has shown that the modern Arabian horse population in Europe was developed about two centuries ago (Głażewska 2010: 49–55). But the Pyramid Society, founded in 1969 by Forbis and a few other American breeders of Straight Egyptian horses, seeks to preserve the 'ancient breed' and to spread awareness of the 'historic basis for the traits we seek to perpetuate as breeders' (The Pyramid Society 2019). On their website, as in their publications, The Pyramid Society uses ancient Egyptian horse imagery to retroject the Arabian horse onto antiquity, an assumption that has been accepted by many Arabian horse breeders. This is understandable, as this spectacular provenance can be quite appealing to breeders, as the value of their horses depends on their lineage. After all, the Straight Egyptian horse is seen as an exclusive subgroup within the Arabian horse population and is therefore often valued and marketed as being rather more expensive than non-Straight Egyptian Arabian horses. Despite the fact that these ancient Egyptian images can most certainly function as a source of information, it is anachronistic to project Arabian horse history onto ancient Egyptian imagery without taking some factors into account.

The first aspect to pay attention to is the relation between two different historic time periods. The current author (Hettema) holds the opinion that the idea that the Arabian horse has ancient Egyptian roots conflicts with the popular consensus among Arabian horse enthusiasts that the Arabian horse is a product of Arab culture and society. In the literature on the breed, the fluidity of the presence of the horses from ancient Egyptian times into the history of the Arabs is often facilitated by illustrating the biblical connection as expressed in Herring's 'Pharaoh's horses' and in Orientalist literature. However, adopting a more empirical view that includes recent research of the formation of Arab identity, the presence of biblical Prophets in Arabic narratives of antiquity is in itself another example of retrojection. Peter Webb discusses how early Muslim scholars in the 8th to 10th century AD actively constructed a past for the Arab identity that was believed to have started in antiquity, based on a genealogy of the prophets (Webb 2016: 255). Subsequently, the same scholars who forged a pedigree for the Arab identity wrote up a matching lineage for the horse; however, Hylke Hettema has shown that early Islamic works on horses are part of the same Muslim narrative, reimagining the past in order to provide an ancient history for the Arab identity (Hettema 2020). Even if the construction of the legend which places the horse and the Arab identity into antiquity did not take place, the assumption that the ancient Egyptians possessed Arabian horses would create an incoherent timeline, because Arab identity and its auxiliary breed of horses emerged after the rise of Islam in the 7th century AD.

The second aspect to consider is the interpretation of the material within the fields of Egyptology and archaeology. Although it is tempting to use ancient Egyptian images as a direct source as to what ancient Egyptian horses looked like, these images cannot be taken at face value as they were produced with a certain target audience in mind and with a specific purpose. Providing a realistic image was not always their main priority. One has to consider the function of the image and its intended message, as well as its target audience. Moreover, one has to differentiate between *how* something is depicted and *what* is depicted.

The ancient Egyptian equine image as a source of information

Every ancient Egyptian depiction, be it two—or three-dimensional, can be used to obtain specific information on several levels, namely *what* is depicted, *how* it is depicted and *why* it is depicted. Symbolism has been described as a primary form of Egyptian thought (Wilkinson 1994: 7), which is only part of the analysis, namely *why* something is depicted. *What* focuses on the context and content of the subject, while *how* studies the shape and form of the depicted concept. The current author (Delpeut) is

convinced that the aim of the Egyptians was to display an idealised concept of the animal rather than an exact representation of the animal. Wildung describes how Egyptian art did not produce reproductions of visual reality, but instead produced reproductions of a new reality, founded with existing elements, but surpassing that which was visible by using these elements with a new meaning (Wildung 1994: 12). Weeks believes that the representations of Old Kingdom tombs are generally representations of categories rather than of specific and unique events (Weeks 1979: 61). He also mentions that in order to interpret any scene, it is necessary to have an awareness of context when examining the content of a relief; a recognition of the significant attributes in terms of that content; and a willingness to study and correlate those features in terms other than those our own culture may try to impose upon them (Weeks 1979: 65). Typically, new forms are further defined by the opposition to existing ones and are then assimilated into the general repertory. Insofar as representation is a system of signs, there can be tension between the visual criterion of appearance, or resemblance, and the requirement for a system of intelligibility (Baines 2007: 213). This explains, and illustrates, any lack of, or existence of, naturalism; initially, the horse has to contain the significant attributes, but, primarily, it needs to be subjected to representational conventions. It is the combination of these two aspects that creates the *what* versus the *how*. In conclusion, the concept itself seems to be always based on reality, but the question is to what extent the concept *conveys* actual practical reality. The following paragraphs will attempt to explain how the depictions of the horse developed throughout the 18th dynasty, starting from the very first depictions of horses, and offer possible explanations for the choices made by the ancient Egyptians in depicting the animal, aiming to assess the naturalism of these depictions.

Figure 2. Horses and bovines from TT 123, tomb of Amenemhat (photograph: J. J. Shirley).

As seen above, the abuse of ancient Egyptian imagery in order to provide an ancient provenance to the Arabian horse breed is done by using the overlap of visual characteristics between the modern Arabian horse and the ancient Egyptian horse to support their ancestral relation. In this case, the interpretation is based on the phenotype of the horse, *how* it is depicted. Therefore, this chapter will focus on the conceptual display of horses and their significant attributes. The shape and form of the horses changed throughout the 18th dynasty. The horse was introduced into Egyptian society during the Second Intermediate Period and found its way into two-dimensional display during the early 18th dynasty. Although it is unclear in what exact context the horse first appeared in ancient Egypt, Judith Forbis has no problem stating that 'the resourceful Pharaohs of Egypt wasted no time in acquiring the choicest Arabian horses available in the East' (Forbis 1976: 47). Not only is this wildly speculative, the terminology of 'Arabian horses' is also problematic, as the earliest notion of a defined purebred Arab(ian) breed in Arabic literature can be found in AD 1333 (al-Bayṭār 1333: 56) and the earliest Euro-American breed standard was published in 1918 (Brown 1918). In private tombs, the first depictions of horses appeared regularly during the reign of Queen Hatshepsut, for example, TT 155 (Säve-Söderberg 1957: pl. XVI), TT 11 (Säve-Söderberg 1958: 287), TT 39 (Davies and Davies 1922: pl. XI), and TT 99 (Strudwick 2016: pl. 16) and greatly increased in frequency during the reign of Thutmose III such as TT 123 (Wegner 1933: pl. Vc)—also Fig 2—. 1, TT 100 (Davies 1935: pl. XXXIII), TT 84 (Wreszinski 1923: pl. 269), TT 86 (Wreszinski 1923: pl. 274), EK 3 (Tylor 1894: pl. III). As Mark Twain said, 'There is no such thing as a new idea. It is impossible. We simply take a lot of old ideas and put them into a sort of mental kaleidoscope. We give them a turn and they make new and curious combinations. We keep on turning and making new combinations indefinitely; but they are the same old pieces of coloured glass that have been in use through all the ages.' (Bigelow Paine 2018: 208).

Figure 3. Horses from TT 100, tomb of Rekhmira (photograph: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Based on the aforementioned statements by Wildung, Baines and Twain, it is likely that the first images of the horse were formed based on depictions of other animals. When comparing horses to other quadrupeds, the overlap is evident, especially in their posture and the way the walking motion is depicted (Fig. 2). A more familial overlap is found between horses and donkeys, as they come from the same family (*equidae*). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that there is a great amount of overlap in the depiction of these two animals. However, this overlap is also balanced by distinct differences. The artists and craftsmen had to make sure that their audience was able to identify the horse as a horse, and it therefore needed its own specific elements. These differences are what constitute the significant attributes of the horses at the beginning of the 18th dynasty. When looking at the depictions of horses in the early18th, the differences between them and their familial cousin are clear: the horses have longer, more slender bodies, their tails are bushier, their ears are smaller, and, very importantly, the colour of their fur is distinctly different. All depictions of horses up to the reign of Thutmose III have the same coat colours, namely white[12] and chestnut, of which an example can be seen in TT 100, the tomb of Rekhmire (Fig. 3). Donkeys are usually depicted as dark grey or dark brown, often with white bellies. Their tails are much thinner, and end in a small tuft. The physical differences between horses and donkeys are clear, but they were emphasised in the two-dimensional depictions as the shape of the animal was initially based on the donkey. This was done partly to distinguish the horse from the donkey, but also because, at this time, the audience might not have been familiar enough with the horse to be able to identify them as such.

Figure 4. Horses in TT 74, tomb of Tjanuny (photograph: R. J. Demarée).

[12] Horses are rarely truly white, most white horses actually have grey skin and are born with a dark coat. Their coat turns whiter as they grow older. What matters in this case however is the colour used to depict the horses, and I will therefore use 'white' and not 'grey', to avoid confusion.

Figure 5. Horses and hybrids from TT 17, tomb of Nebamun (photograph: Suzanne Onstine).

The ancient Egyptian equine: a changing concept

The way horses were depicted, kept changing throughout the 18th dynasty. The image was never actually 'finished', which makes perfect sense, as the concept of the horse adapted to the customs of the time period and depended on the personal preference of the artists, craftsmen, and the tomb owner. Where at the beginning of the dynasty, the horses were similar to other quadrupeds, this changed during the reign of Amenhotep II. As the horse became more familiar in Egyptian society, the artists and craftsmen had more freedom in the way they displayed the horses in two dimensions. The audience was able to recognise the horse not only as 'not a donkey', but as an animal with its own characteristics. From the reign of Amenhotep II onwards, the way the horse is depicted changes, both in visual and behavioural characteristics. Their colours vary greatly (e.g. Figs. 4 and 6), their hind quarters become more voluminous, and their backs are dented. Their feet seem to be tiptoeing, instead of having all four feet on the ground, as was customary for all quadrupeds which had been previously depicted. Their dented backs and voluminous hind quarters are sometimes depicted with such exaggeration that the horse turns into a caricature of itself. An example of the more common version of the depiction of the horse is visible in TT 90, tomb of Menna (Fig. 6), and for a more exaggerated version, see TT 75, the tomb of Amenhotep-sise (Davies 1923: pl. XVIII). An example of the development of the image of the horse is visible in the famous tomb painting in the tomb of Nebamun (Fig. 5), now in the British Museum (EA 37982). In this case, the horses are juxtaposed with depictions of hybrids in the lower register, probably

in order to clearly distinguish between the two animals. This is supported by the fact that hybrids are always depicted in the vicinity of horses, as in TT 57, the tomb of Khaemhat, TT 267, the tomb of Amenemopet called Tjanefer, and the tomb of Horemheb in Saqqara. The horses are clearly distinguishable from their hybrid cousins by coat colour, posture, shape, and behaviour. The artists and craftsmen had the luxury of using a dark grey colour, previously reserved for donkeys, because a white or chestnut coat was no longer a significant attribute of the horse. The horse is clearly a horse, even with a grey coat. The positions of the grooms reflect a difference in behaviour between the hybrids and the horses. The groom in the top register is standing upright, holding the reins rather tightly, paying close attention to the horses, who hold their heads up high and their chests protruding forward. This is in great contrast to the groom depicted in the lower register, who is sitting, turning his back to the hybrids, who are calmly eating or drinking from a trough. They are completely still. This kind of behaviour is very naturalistic, as hybrids are known to be much calmer than horses, so much so that the hybrids are not even castrated, this is again in contrast with the horses in the upper register. The image of the horse is always a balance between something the artisans[13] had seen, and something they wanted to display, using the horses' significant attributes to convey the concept of the horse. As soon as the depiction of the horse was no longer dependent on that of the donkey, artisans had the freedom to 'play' with the image, so to speak, and put in more variety in terms of shape, colour, and behaviour. This is visible in the private tombs in Amarna, where all horses have the same coat colour (chestnut), and their posture often shows them tiptoeing. In these tombs, the shape of the horses is more in proportion than the aforementioned horses in TT 75, for example. In conclusion, the Egyptians chose to depict various degrees of naturalism, depending on the significant attributes of the time and the degree of freedom they had.

The image of the horse kept developing throughout the18th dynasty, it is difficult to say at which point the image reached its most naturalistic form. As mentioned previously, degrees of naturalism can be found in every depiction. Therefore, it is not reliable to use any of these depictions of horses as a reliable source of the way the visual characteristics depicted overlapped with reality. Although the World Arabian Horse Organization does not provide us with a breeding standard that contains a description of what an Arabian horse should look like, Arabian horse breeders seem to agree on certain characteristics that set the breed apart from all other breeds. According to the Arabian Horse Association (2018: 3), the five key elements to distinguish the type are small heads, arched necks, short backs, a comparatively level croup, and a high, natural tail carriage. Four out of five of these characteristics can indeed be found in some of the depictions of horses, such as the aforementioned horse in the tomb of Menna (Fig. 6) in comparison to Amiri TJ (Fig. 7), an Arabian horse. According to the Arabian Horse Association, these qualities identify type in the purebred Arabian horse, and if the horse has these qualities (and correct information), they have their ideal standard (Arabian Horse Association 2018: 3). Looking back at the way the Egyptians composed these images, however, there is no way to say with any certainty that the shape of these horses is in any way naturalistic. Considering the fact that the shape of the horse changed completely during the 18th dynasty and that the image of the animal does not necessarily function as a realistic representation, it is not at all reliable to assume that the horses shared these characteristics in real life. It is convenient to believe that they do in order to ascertain an impressive history, but it is not historically acceptable at all.

[13] A term coined by Dimitri Laboury, used to mean both craftsmen and artists, leaving the discussion to what extent the depictions can be considered 'art' out of it.

Figure 6. Horses from TT 69, tomb of Menna (photograph: J. J. Shirley).

Figure 7. Amiri TJ, owned by C. Magendans (photograph: P. Vogelsang).

Conclusions

The belief that the horses of ancient Egypt were Arabian is a largely 19th century belief that has lasted ever since, born out of Orientalism, imperialism and the projection of biblical views onto the history of the Arabian horse. In this research, we have shown the importance of being very careful when addressing Egyptian images in terms of naturalism. Although every image can be used as a source of information and both what is depicted and how it is depicted contains a degree of naturalism, we have seen that the function of the image is to portray an idealised concept rather than an exact representation of the way the animal actually looked. The concept displayed is based on the significant attributes of the image, combined with the personal preferences of the artists, craftsmen, and, quite possibly, the tomb owner, as well as the preferred trends of the time. It is therefore not reliable to assess the shape of the horse as a naturalistic interpretation of the animal. However convenient it is to interpret the images as such, it can be said with some certainty that the concept of a 'proto-type Arabian' based on these two-dimensional images is not a sustainable theory.

A traveller to Egypt may have observed the more frequent appearance of skewbald[14] horses, than in other countries in the Arabic speaking Middle East, as well as the display of piebald horses in ancient Egyptian depictions of horses. As is evident from the popularity of the iconic *Pharaoh's Horses* by Herring, the predominantly orientalist discourse about the history of Arabian horses has overshadowed the actual reality of the identity of the Egyptian horse. Further specific research may answer questions of descent, as one may wonder if there are horses to be found in Egypt that do indeed descend from the ancient Egyptian horses, in the same way that humans and other animals do. In order to corroborate this, more research is needed. To reach the most substantial result, one would have to do DNA research and compare the DNA of horses found in the ancient Egyptian context with modern samples. A degree of overlap is perhaps to be expected between the horses living in Egypt now and those who lived there in antiquity.

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[14] A horse with two coat colors across its body instead one color: brown and white.

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The demon-deity Maga: geographical variation and chronological transformation in ancient Egyptian demonology

John Rogers

Abstract

The study of ancient Egyptian demonology is complicated by the tendency of entities to transcend modern conceptual boundaries and the paucity of easily-interpretable evidence; such beings are often expressed only in repeated instances of complex iconography or textual prescription without direct explanations. However, a way forward may be found in the liminal entity Maga, whose forms and functions radically altered between the New Kingdom and Roman Egypt. Maga offers a remarkable opportunity to map the fluidity and dynamism of liminal-entity characteristics in relation to humanity and the ordered world. Therefore, the temporal transformation of his forms and contexts is examined in this paper, allowing for the analysis and interpretation of his changing nature to be carried out. These transformations illustrate the variety of possible interactions between the human and the divine in later pharaonic history when traditional understandings were re-imagined and adapted as part of new meanings and experiences.

Keywords

Demonology; heka; magic; Seth; crocodile demons

Introduction

The ancient Egyptian world was filled with ontologically ambiguous and theologically fluid beings that have variously been called demons, minor deities, genii, or liminal beings. The study of such beings, their contexts, manifestations, and relation to the broader social and religious experiences of ancient Egypt is usually termed demonology in order to avoid complicated periphrasis. The issues that are central to ongoing research in this field are:

1. The ontological categorisation and understanding of non-physical beings and their relation to local religious traditions.
2. Moreover, the relationship between 'state religion' and local experience, and the role of the demonic in this relationship.
3. The link between religious thought and the changing socio-political landscape in the Egypt of the Late and Graeco-Roman period, particularly as understood through concepts such as demonisation and the politicisation of evil.

Firstly, it is difficult to create a systematic grid of distinctions and definitions. Such categorisations, and generalisations, are for scholarly benefit rather than to act as a reflection of indigenous conceptualisation. However, for ease of reference, a distinction has been made between 'stationary/guardian' and 'wandering/messenger' demons (Lucarelli 2017: 55), 'malevolent' and

'benevolent' demons (Lucarelli 2010: 3), and a differentiation based on function and role (Kousoulis 2011: XI–XII, who notes the need for nuanced study rather than rigid classification). Another avenue of classification is that of locative category: monsters belong to places while demons escape from places (Smith 1978: 429; Lucarelli 2013: 15). Despite this, demonologists are in agreement that studies of beings and sources within this field need to carefully analyse specific beings in their specific contexts (see the contributions in Kousoulis 2011): the scholarly distinctions remain unstable so long as studies of individual entities (including groups) in relation to gods and humanity in different contexts are lacking. Such studies should particularly focus on the places where these beings act, their actions, and the methods used to appease them or to repel them (Lucarelli 2013: 16–17). Moreover, the material, spatial, and experiential aspects of demonology must not be marginalised: the placement of, and relationship between spells in text sequences, the use and placement of material objects associated with rituals, and cross-cultural comparative study (particularly between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian worlds) each present exciting avenues for further research.

For these reasons, this paper presents the crocodile Maga, son of Seth, firstly to contribute to creating an improved functional typology of non-physical beings, and secondly to exemplify the theological fluidity and dynamism of religious conceptualisations throughout Egyptian history. To this end, the present paper provides a basic outline of the theological development of this being, before using his attestations to discuss his changing nature and functions in Egyptian theology and religious experience. Source data is mostly quoted in full; allowing a holistic analysis of each of the focus-points above, and this approach also avoids favouring certain study characteristics. Such an analysis contextualises and explains crocodilian theology, the relationship between the human and non-human, and the multiplying expressions of, and the difference between, temple theology and lived religious experience in Graeco-Roman Egypt. The relationship between Maga and other beings, notably Seth and Apep, is a topic of ongoing research and will be the focus of more in-depth study in a future paper.

Any discussion of ancient Egyptian demonology must inevitably begin with a discussion and explanation of terminology (see, for example, Kousoulis 2011: IX–XIV); what do we mean by 'demon', 'deity', 'religion', 'good', 'evil', 'magic', to name but a few? Before discussing Maga, it is necessary to explain the terminologies used.

Definitions

Firstly, it must be made clear that the definitions given here are for the purposes of this paper only and are not meant as general definitions outside this specific context; other contexts may require different definitions. A more in-depth discussion of these terms is outside the scope of the present paper.

As stated above, the distinction between non-physical beings (gods, demons, spirits, etc.) is problematic, and a modern creation. However, for the purposes of this paper, Frandsen has helpfully established four criteria for distinguishing between gods and humans, and non-humans in scholarship (Frandsen 2011: 59–60), as follows:

1) Worship: gods are worshipped; non-gods are not. However, as Frandsen notes, there are gods for whom we know of no cult.

2) Festivals: religious festivals only honour gods, not demons.

3) Iconography: this is not as clear as other criteria, though there is a distinction to be made between gods and non-gods. In particular, monstrosity is a concept which affects demonic iconography.

4) Use of determinatives: generally, in texts, gods are associated with A41 or G7 determinatives, while demonic beings are associated with A14 or T31 determinatives, sometimes with their name written in red ink (Shalomi-Hen 2000: 39, 43–6).

There are numerous exceptions and difficulties, particularly in trying to separate 'gods' and 'demons': Seth's name written in red, or the 'monstrous' nature of Taweret, are but two examples of this fuzzy boundary. Therefore, the general nature of such criteria must be emphasised; the criteria above are by no means absolute, they are only intended as a guide.

For the purposes of this paper, 'religion', in an ancient Egyptian setting, is defined as the corpus of beliefs on and conceptualisation of the cosmos as populated and shaped by non-human, 'super-natural' beings. These beings are, to a greater or lesser extent, deserving of or requiring human attention in order to maintain *maat*.

The terms 'good' and 'evil', so often used in Egyptological literature, are also problematic; the indigenous terms that are used to translate these words, *maat* and *isfet,* respectively, are never directly opposed to each other in the dichotomic sense that good and evil are (Roccati 2011: 90; Kousoulis 2012: 131). Therefore, instead of superposing *maat* and *isfet* onto western ideas of good and evil, it is perhaps better to leave them untranslated, or to discuss actions as being 'in accordance with *maat*' or 'leading to *isfet.*'

'Ritual' is used simply to describe any formulated set of actions or speech that function to impact the non-physical world, while 'liminal' is used to define any being, action, or place that borders or overlaps with, and/or travels between, two or more conceptual spaces.

Furthermore, in this paper, the term 'magic' is not used; the English word, as inherited from Greek through Judeo-Christian traditions, carries several problematic nuances that do not reflect the ancient Egyptian concept of *heka* in any way. To study 'magic' in ancient Egyptian creates a confusing mix of emic and etic methodologies that do not fit together well (for a good discussion of the theory behind this, see Frankfurter 2019: 3–20). *Heka* could be seen more as 'ritual power' rather than magic (Lloyd 2011: 104). However, care must be taken to avoid simply replacing the word 'magic' with '*heka*' in writing analysis: to do so is methodological box-ticking.

Heka was both a deity, as attested in *CT* 261, and (more often) a concept. As a deity, his form *Heka-shemsu* travelled in the divine barque, protecting the sun god on his nightly journey through the underworld (Zandee 1960: 192–3, 294; Kousoulis 2002: 14). As a concept, *heka* is far more widespread, permeating the fabric of Egyptian existence. In its most basic sense, *heka* is ritual action, the knowledge of which can be gained by people to influence the non-physical world. Lucarelli suggests differentiating between 'defensive *heka*' (such as on Oracular Amuletic Decrees) and 'productive *heka*' (such as Book of the Dead spells) (Borghouts 1999: 151; Lucarelli 2009: 232). It can be used to further both *maat* and *isfet*, and can be something to be protected from, as attested in pLondon BM EA 10083, vs.34–36. Furthermore, in the so-called 'reversal texts' of the Coffin Texts, the deceased must be able to differentiate between a *heka* that he must know and a *heka* used by beings which he must avoid (Frandsen 2011: 50). Although a full discussion of *heka* is outside the scope of this paper, in its most basic sense, the power of *heka* can operate in five ways (see also Szpakowska 2009: 799–800):

1. Identification of the speaker with a deity through 'divine speech' (most obviously through *jnk* + personal pronoun/name),

2. Commands and/or threats, which are successful because of the powerful speech of the reciter who is assimilated with the divine being at that point,
3. 'listing formulae', wherein many forms, names, and characteristics of a being are listed to mobilise the totality of that being in a world where the many names of beings are indicative of the multitudinous nature of divine force (Kousoulis 2007: 1049–50),
4. 'mythological emplacement', sometimes called *historiola*, in which the object and/or reciter of the ritual action are placed in a mythological context with a positive outcome. By placing the protagonists in the episode, the same positive outcome is ensured.
5. Physical action, in which prescriptions using mythologically-powerful items are made and applied, objects are destroyed, or further spells are recited over an object.

The use of *heka* is particularly foundational for recitations against demons—the texts where Maga first appears.

The chronological development of Maga: source study

Maga is attested *by name* from the New Kingdom until the Roman era. Attestations in iconography are more difficult to determine, as his form is, for the most part, simply that of a crocodile. The corpus of attestations is surprisingly widespread, allowing the study of his historical development to progress in a way often impossible for many other beings. However, there is a distinct paucity of sources between the 7th and 4th centuries BC, during the period in which his functions appeared to change. Therefore, while the (re)development of Maga as a liminal identity with wildly differing characteristics holds exciting prospects for the study of Egyptian conceptions of the non-physical realm, the actual ontological transformation can only be imperfectly studied, via the comparison and analysis of his characteristics before and after his transformation.

While a comparative approach is well-suited to demonological study (see, for example, Meyer and Mirecki 1995), Smith has warned against comparative study which only uses two *comparanda* to establish generalised 'genealogies' of theological evolution, which risk 'parallelomania' and unreliable conclusions (Smith 1990: 46). An example of such study might be a linear comparison of attestations of a being found on a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text spell and a 21st dynasty Oracular Amuletic Decree. Such a study would provide a narrative of development without a point of reference shared by both sources, for comparisons such as place, textual genre, type of action, etc. Comparative study must have at least a third *comparanda* to avoid this pitfall. Therefore, in examining Maga, this paper will particularly emphasise the physical and mythological context in which Maga appears, the actions used to appease or to repel him, and the material emplacement of the texts in which he appears. It will also consider the characteristics known for most attestations, and use them as *comparanda* to avoid parallelomania and move towards a better understanding of his nature and function, as expressed in the sources tabulated below:

Period	Dynasty/Reign	Source	Provenance	Material space
New Kingdom	18th dynasty, Amenhotep II	pCairo JE 52000, R. N. 1–7	Unknown: bought in Cairo in 1918	Papyrus
	Unknown	pLondon BM EA 10042, rt. II, 2 (Harris Magical papyrus)	Unknown: believed to be Thebes	Papyrus
		pLondon BM EA 10042, rt. VI, 5; 8		
		pLondon BM EA 10042, rt. IX, 9; 11		
	19th dynasty	Cairo CG 9427	Tanis	Stele – Acacia wood
	Late 19th dynasty	pLondon BM EA 10184, 23, 1–2. (pSallier IV)	Thebes	Papyrus
Third Intermediate Period	Unknown: first half of 1st millennium BC	Cairo, Museum of seized antiquities inv. No. 379	Thebes	Stele – Limestone
Late Period	26th dynasty	London BM EA 32 (Sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre)	Medinet Habu	Sarcophagus – basalt
	26th dynasty	pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.84, x.15,2	Elephantine	Papyrus
	26th dynasty	Cairo CG 9405	Memphis	Stele – Calcite
	26th dynasty	Cairo CG 9410	Memphis	Stele – Green Feldspar
Graeco-Roman period	c.300–200 BC	Cairo CG 9402	Memphis	Stele – Metasiltstone
	3rd – 2nd century BC	Edfu temple sanctuary	Edfu	Temple wall
	Unknown	Göttingen statue 3	Unknown – in Gottingen since 1862	Statuette – Limestone

	Nero or Trajan	Dendera temple mammisi, sanctuary, second register	Dendera	Mammisi wall
		Dendera temple mammisi, sanctuary, right thickness	Dendera	Mammisi wall
Uncertain	1st millennium BC	Heidelberg, Feucht no. 235	Unknown	Statuette – material unknown

Table 1. Attestations of Maga.

New Kingdom

The first *bona fide* attestation of Maga (excluding older crocodilian iconography which may or may not represent him) is found in pCairo JE 52000. This text, published by Weill in 1922, is concerned with protection from crocodiles and illnesses through the use of commands, identification, and prescriptions to be taken by the patient (for the transcription see Weill 1922: 655–6):

R.N 1–7: '...save (?) Asheshek, who is such a son of such, similarly...I, such a son of such, bite the one who passes me; I am the son of Seth. He does not allow me to bite him. This recitation is to be said over donkey excrement; put it on the breast of the person, with a twig (?) of persea; heat and grind and fill the eye with it. Another: I am unknown, I manifest among those who dabble, I am the companion of Sobek, I walked... What the one who caused death did the first time the day before (?) does so by running from moment to moment, carrying a burden. The town of Seth and Horus kill him, the town of Horus and Seth kill him. This recitation is to be said over an infusion of grain and *amu*-seeds, to be drunk by the person. I, such a son of such, Thoth makes my protection; Maga stands, mouth rising to attack (?). The seven uraei of Re make my protection, and every day my days... (There is) considerable (weight to) what is said at that time (?). I am Thoth, emerged from the water. I have found Khu standing in his place as he had found the bull of Mut burning in the place there.'

The 'such a son of such' formula is well known in texts of medical prescription and seems to act as a filler for the patient's name and filiation which would have been said in the recitation itself.

The text, as preserved, contains four spells, the first of which is severely damaged. In the second, the excrement of a donkey, an animal associated with Seth, is used as a prescription for a patient. Frandsen (2011: 48–9) has argued that excrement was seen as being both a part of and not a part of the being from which it came. That the excrement of an animal linked to Seth is conceptually distant from the hostile power of that being, and his crocodilian son, may explain its use as a prescription. In the third spell, the reciter identifies with the companion of Sobek, while in the fourth the power of Thoth and the seven uraei of Re are invoked against Maga.

In this text, there are two points of interest: firstly, the identification of the reciter, not with a protective divinity, but with the enemy himself, the son of Seth, the companion of Sobek, but not with Maga, is highly unusual. The damaged papyrus hinders a clear reading and therefore, the writing of *jnk* is not completely certain. However, the context and structure do not allow another interpretation to be made easily. Weill (1922: 658) interprets this identification with the dangerous enemy as an attempt to confuse the entity, who is therefore paralysed and controlled by the words of the reciter. Such an identification supports the view that in these 'I am X' texts, identification does not mean merely

becoming a mouthpiece through which a deity or being speaks, but that the reciter becomes the being itself; here the reciter does not speak on behalf of, or channel the strength of these crocodilian beings whose will is outside of the speaker, but *becomes* them in order to control their actions.

Secondly, the connection between the crocodilian beings is not immediately apparent. It is unclear whether the 'son of Seth' refers to Maga, who is determined by this filiation in all other New Kingdom texts, or to another being. This ambiguity may be deliberate. Moreover, there is little evidence for the 'companion of Sobek' in historical record, so that argument is limited. However, while Weill argued that they are all one and the same (1922: 659), their consecutive appearance in a sequence of spells, and the appearance of 'son of Seth' (an epithet associated with Maga) and Maga in spells on either side of the companion of Sobek is insufficient grounds to definitively identify them as being the same. Therefore, while it is tempting to analyse the reciter's identification with the companion of Sobek as pertaining to Maga, such an interpretation should be reserved until more evidence is available to strengthen the argument.

In the previous recitations Maga's connection is only a potential one, however, in the fourth spell, he is explicitly named, with only the crocodile determinative, where he rises to attack. The verb (*šf*) is uncertain; the determinatives indicate both 'rising' and 'fighting' as underlying meanings. The recitation calls on Thoth and the seven uraei of Re as divine protection against Maga. If Maga and the companion of Sobek are the same, then one might expect a similar identification strategy as in the previous spell.

Even with the difficulties in interpreting the text, the role of Maga is clear: he is to be driven away from a suffering person by the use of *heka* through the invocation of divine beings, but cannot be controlled by the identification of the reciter with him. It must be through the power of a deity, whom the reciter calls on and identifies as.

Though he is first attested in pCairo JE 52000, Maga's most well-known appearance from the New Kingdom is in the 'Harris magical papyrus' (pLondon BM EA 10042), probably from Thebes, and which cannot be dated more precisely than to the New Kingdom. In this famous text, which has a number of close parallels with pCairo JE 52000, he is attested by name three times, firstly in a hymn to Shu, secondly as part of a hymn to Amun-Re-Horakhty, and thirdly in an address to the two crocodiles of Neith:

Rt. II: '**2** You are more secret and mightier than the gods in this your name of Shu, son of Re. Stop, Maga, son of **3** Seth, for I am Onuris the great, lord of strength. You [Onuris] are greater than and senior to the gods in this your name of Great of Uraeus...You bring the distant one on your carrying-pole in this your name of Onuris. You repel the storm, **6** after you have illuminated the rainclouds in this your name of Repeller of Storm. You drive off the raging (crocodile), emerging from Nun in this your name of **7** He who Drives off the Raging (Crocodile). You stab your lance into the *ḏsr-tp-njk* snake in this your name of Sharp-Horned' (after Leitz 1999: 33, pl. 13).

Rt. VI: '**4** Come to me, O lord of the gods! Repel for me **5** the lions on the desert edge, the crocodiles on the river, all venomous serpents in their caverns. Back Maga, son of Seth, **6** without disrupting with your tail, without grasping with your arms, without opening your mouth. May the waters become a stream of fire before you, may the finger of the seventy-seven gods be **7** in your eye, with you roped to the great stake of Osiris, roped to the four supports of *wꜣḏ-šmˁ*, which are **8** at the fore of the bark of Re. Rise, Maga, son of Seth! See, I am Amun, bull of his mother. Words recited (over) an image of Amun **9** with four heads (on) one neck. Drawn upon the ground, with a crocodile under his feet, and the Ogdoad (on) his right and his left and giving him adoration' (after Leitz 1999: 38–9, pl. 17).

Rt. IX: '**5** O you (s.) who are within the womb of Neith in the hall of the judgement of cases. You **6** lords of the *rs-nt* and the *mḥ-nt*: may you not raise your heads against those who are in the water.[1] Osiris is on the water, the *wedjat*-eye of Horus **7** is with him. I (?) testify to this, after you have written to me. There was a sitting in Memphis to say: Cause there to be made for me a shrine of **8** a half-cubit. Yet you are told, O man of seven and a half cubits: How will you enter it? It is made for you, that you **9** may rest in it. Maga, son of Seth, had come, and he opened it. He saw the one who was within it. **10** He had the face of a guenon, and the hair of a baboon. Woe! Woe! Woe! Fire! Fire! Fire! I am not the one who **11** said it. I am not the one who repeated it. It is Maga, son of Seth, who said it, who repeated it. **12** To be said over two crocodiles. **13** *rs-nt* and *mḥ-nt*. You make them (on) the ground...?... **14** ship plank' (Leitz 1999: 43, pl. 20).

The purpose of his inclusion in these texts is, in the broadest sense, to stop him from acting or doing what he naturally does. Of particular note is pLondon BM EA 10042, rt. VI, 5 and 8, where his physical actions are commanded against, showing a close link between Maga and the behaviour of physical crocodiles (for which see Evans 2010: 46). He is not merely a non-physical entity who takes the form of a crocodile for purely 'symbolic' meaning, but an entity with the *physical* abilities and limitations in movement (having to row his tail to move fast and stalking prey by paddling with his arms) of a physical crocodile. To what extent Maga may have been a 'master of crocodiles' is speculative. However, it is clear in the New Kingdom that he had a close relationship with physical crocodiles and that the conceptualisation of his mythological actions stems from the observation of the physical actions of crocodiles—exemplifying the lack of boundaries between the physical and mythological world in ancient Egyptian thought.

Furthermore, although the context of his attestations, in spells typically aimed against demonic beings without clearly defined ontological existence or developed mythological history, would indicate that he is to be conceptualised and treated in the same way as these beings, Maga's epithet, 'son of Seth', indicates familial connections with the major pantheon of divinities and separates Maga from other demons through his lack of anonymity. At the same time, such a connection suggests a longer history for this being than the surviving evidence displays; it is unlikely that a being would have suddenly emerged with a fully-formed mythological genealogy.

The mechanics of these spells work in much the same way as the spells in pCairo JE 52000, though the better state of preservation makes the text clearer. In rt. II, 3–7, the reciter assimilates with Onuris in order to give a powerful command to Maga, who must be turned back. This command is then strengthened by a listing formula, which is used to describe and mobilise the totality of Onuris/Shu against the son of Seth. In rt. VI, 4–9, the reciter invokes divine protection before assimilating with Amun to energise the recitation just given. This (invocation) is followed by prescribed ritual action, wherein an image of Amun operates as a powerful physical protection over the crocodile. These texts are clear examples of the multi-faceted use and ability of *heka* in New Kingdom Egypt, and here all of these abilities are brought to bear against Maga, the one who must be driven back.

An intriguing, and so far unique attestation is found in rt. IX, 9 and 11, in which Maga opens a shrine, causing woe and fire. This is a peculiar and challenging text, which has no parallel in other texts recounting Maga's actions. It may be a passing mythology that was not developed any further. There are stories and episodes that are never integrated into the dominant variations of theological accounts in the history of most mythologies. However, it may simply be an accident of survival that only one text of this kind has been preserved.

[1] Or perhaps 'may you not raise your heads, you who are in the water', deleting the *r*. For *rs-nt* and *mḥ-nt*, see Kaplony 1974: 119–50.

As demonstrated in previous spells, while having links with the physical realm, Maga is an agent in the metaphysical, or non-physical, mythological world. In this world Maga acts in specific events in a physical place in mythological time. Such actions are outside the usual domain of demons who, for the most part, act without a fixed temporal context in mythology. A further rarity for a demon is that the reciter is careful to stress that it is Maga who speaks he words in the text; the majority of monstrous beings and demons are notably unable, or (are) not allowed, to speak (Lucarelli 2006: 212). Maga, while appearing in demonic contexts and being spoken against as a demon, is clearly not acting as expected for such a being. In fact, his abilities and activities place him closer to an autonomous divine being, a position that makes his demonological classification more complicated. Such difficulties could be dismissed if this suggestion of a mythological history were an isolated incident—but it is not.

A further indication of Maga's role in mythology is found in pSallier IV (pLondon BM 10184, 23, 1–2), where Maga's *particular unspecified action* is referred to on a list of good and bad days. The action which he performed (which is argued herein to be linked to later attestations) occurred on the 25th day of the fourth month of *peret*, when the flood waters subsided, and crops started to grow. In a physical sense, the departure of the inundation would not have been exactly the same as the departure of the crocodiles from the once-inundated riverbanks and so, during this time of year, it is probable that crocodiles were more visible and posed a greater threat to those living in the vicinity. However, although the course of the year explains the reference to a crocodile demon in *prt*, it does not explain the reference to his past action.

'Month four of *peret*, day 25. This is the day in which what has been done with the tongue of Maga happened.'

This text seems to refer to a deliberately-vague (perhaps widely known) past action, involving the mouth (specifically the tongue) of Maga. If the action was widely known, then the need to explain what *Maga* had done in the text is obviated. It is possible that this is an example of negative writing, where the belief that what is written becomes true forces the writer to only refer to bad actions and events in an indirect manner.

The final attestation of Maga from the New Kingdom is the only one which is certain to have come from outside Thebes. Cairo CG 9427 is an Acacia stele from Tanis (Daressy 1903: 35). Here again, Maga, son of Seth, is commanded to stop with divine speech in a text which closely parallels other New Kingdom examples. However, here, Maga jumps out of the water in a failed attack on Horus, an account which finds interesting parallels in later narratives of Maga's actions. The location of this stele shows that Maga was not a regional being confined to Thebes, but one known throughout the country and, significantly, that the words to be spoken against him were also known throughout the country.

In the New Kingdom, Maga is to be feared. In all texts, he is to be driven away, for he always looks to attack. He is driven away by the use of spells through a range of *heka* practises as other demons are, but it must be a deity who controls him; it appears that the spells do not allow the reciter to identify themselves with him. His appearance in spells against crocodiles is not surprising but his actions in these spells are.

When he appears in demonic contexts, his role in mythological episodes and his filiation suggest that he is more than a simple animal-demon. When he is perceived as acting as a physical crocodile, paddling and rowing, he is also able to speak, acts of his own volition, and is not under the control of any deity. Furthermore, surviving sources only give a glimpse of his widespread renown; a stele from Tanis which mirrors papyri from Thebes shows the existence of knowledge of his mythological history, and the specific words to say against his actions throughout the country.

The actions of Maga, barring a reference to him opening a shrine in Memphis and an attack on Horus, are not explicitly stated in the surviving New Kingdom sources, but it seems that, by this time, there was already a form of minor-mythological history involving Maga in existence, which would argue for his presence before this time, though any attempt to find this evidence is currently speculative. To understand more of this mythological history, sources which make later conceptions of his theology explicit must be used.

Third Intermediate Period

Maga is only found once in the Third Intermediate Period, on a limestone stele seized at Cairo airport in 1990, but this was almost certainly Theban (Kákosy and Moussa 1998: 143). The front of the stele is illustrated by the Horus-on-the-crocodiles motif and the Sokaris-Osiris festival, while on the back Maga appears for the first time in a prayer to the 'Old man who renews his youth' (the so-called Text *B*), where he is repeatedly referred to as the 'rebel'.[2] This text gives an in-depth exegesis of Maga's actions and how they are stopped, in far more detail than the New Kingdom texts. He is confronted in the expected ways, through *heka*-filled recitations, but here, his mythological history is better developed, via a long narrative of mythological emplacement, and he is confronted more vigorously (Kákosy and Moussa 1998: 154–6):

'O Aged One who rejuvenates himself in his time, Old Man who becomes a youth! May you cause Thoth to come to me at my cry, so that he may drive away Nehaher for me...I have turned away your step, rebel! Behold, I am Khnum, the lord of the *ḥwt-wr.t*. Beware lest your aggression (punishment?) should be repeated for the second time because of what was done to (against) you before the great Ennead. You are kept back (?). I have turned away your step. I am a god. Hey, hey! O Re, did you not hear the loud sound in the night on that bank of Nedit and the long silence among all the gods and all the goddesses. All the gods lament over the injury which the rebel who committed evil, has done. Behold, Re is raging and furious because of it. He has ordered, may your execution be carried out. Back you rebel, hey, hey. O who comes forth from the Netherworld and rises from the Nun; who illuminates the earth with his eye. Behold, your crew hastens to your boat in order... (*nḏ-k*?). You are deprived of your steps, Mag, turn back, rebel, yourself, (because of) what you have done in Wadjwadj where the (god?) is Re.[3] Back, Apophis, that bowels, the intestines. You have no body (twice), that one who is turned back (?) from Re. I know the crime, you have committed by slaughtering. You will not rise against the great (?) god, the great (?) god has power over you. Flame is in front of you, fire is for your *ba*. A slaughtering place is created against your flesh. You will smell the slaughtering of the gods and of Heka the great (?)...and of Selqet. O, stop, stop, turn back, it is Heka which comes forth from my mouth, hey, hey. O, o, the one who comes, beware of coming! If you come against the father, Osiris, the god's father, the beloved of god, Hori, the justified, the son of Shed-Hat-Amun, the justified—while he is on the water and the eye of Horus is behind him—, your face will be made blind (?), your step will be turned back. Flee back, beware yourself Mag, you will be watched in Heliopolis. You will fall down. Back, back you will not have power over him, over all his people, all his horses, all his animals (small cattle) on the river. There is a voice of lamentation in the temple of Neith, a wailing, a wailing (in) the mouth of the Cat because of those (things) which Mag has committed. "Is there no punishment" (*jdrwt*?), so says (*jn*) who makes it (i.e. the punishment?). A great lamentation. The punishment (?) against your body came forth. Beware yourself, rebel! Your step is turned back, and it is destroyed. Your mouth is sealed. Behold, your remains

[2] It is unclear whether every reference to the 'rebel' indicates Maga, who is called 'rebel' a number of times in the text. Again, ambiguity may be a key component in such texts, acting against a range of potential threats.

[3] Here the text is read as Mag rather than Maga, as is sometimes the case in later Egyptian attestations.

(?) are (ordered for) the fire (?). What was (ordered to be) carried out against you (*jryt rk*), will befall you. Turn back from me, I am Khnum. I come from Heliopolis with the commission of Sepa. I am *Jnj ᶜ-f*... [commands against the crocodiles Imeny and Senem-ra follow] ...Words to be uttered above a lock of hair to be placed on the sufferer. "What is it, what is it"—said Isis. "Why (happened) this, why (happened) this"—said Nepthys. Red pills of *jmy nnſt* (?) *ḫrw* (?) *wrt* that...Selqet gave to her son...behind him (?) (twice) that Isis gave (to) Horus, her son.'

It is immediately apparent that Maga has a detailed, but implicitly referenced, mythological past. If 'rebel' is a consistent reference to Maga, then the demon was responsible for the injury of another, accompanied by a loud sound and a long silence, taking the gods and goddesses by surprise, and enraging Re. Throughout the text, the reciter identifies with Khnum, lord of the *ḥwt-wr.t*, in order to speak against Maga as/and the rebel.

The range of major deities who are invoked against Maga in the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period is informative in itself, making it clear that Maga is not a demonic force under the control of a deity, but an entity who can only be the object of specific divine attention without being completely influenced or contained by divine force. That is to say, the force exerted over him by deities is not complete. While other attestations from this period are texts designed expressly for the purpose of controlling the effects of *Maga*, the fact that the deities also *react* to him distinguishes him from other demons. Specific deities must be invoked by name to bring him under control, and this places him in a different category (separate from the majority of demons) of beings, who are generally negative, though powerful enough that they cannot be subjugated under *maat*. This lack of control is stressed by the context of the attestation, in a pair of parallel clauses (Kákosy and Moussa 1998: 155):

'Maga, turn back, rebel, yourself, because of what you have done in Wadjwadj, where the god Re is. Back, Apophis, that bowels, the intestines. You have no body (twice), that one who is turned back (?) from Re.'

Here, it becomes clear that Maga is not simply a demon, as had been implicitly expressed in the New Kingdom, but belongs to a separate (so far unnamed) class of beings. Here, he is compared with Apep, who, in demonological taxonomy, is usually treated as an outlier without category. This parallelism suggests that these two beings should be seen in the same category of taxonomical liminality, being neither demon nor deity.

Reference is made again to an action of Maga in the mythological past, though this time, a place is named: *Wadjwadj*. Rather than being commanded to turn back as in the New Kingdom, here, the action is stated rather than commanded: he is deprived of his steps. This statement is reinforced several times throughout the text. Specifically, he is deprived of his steps because of what he did in *wꜣḏwꜣḏ*. *Wadjwadj* is perhaps a favoured centre of Re (Kákosy and Moussa 1998: 157), though nothing else is known about it.

The strong statements of punishment and the execution of Maga and Apep end the mythological emplacement of the protagonists and events, ensuring that the same positive outcome is ensured for Hori, son of Shed-Hat-Amun, whose safety is further strengthened by commands against this demonic rebel, who does not act in accordance with *maat*, but brings *isfet*.

While the long narrative of mythological events does not explicitly refer to the actions of Maga, the commands against him on behalf of Hori, which create a link between past action and present hope (ensuring the outcome of the past is secured in the present), provide a tantalising clue:

'If you come against the father, Osiris, the god's father, the beloved of god, Hori, the justified, the son of Shed-Hat-Amun, the justified—while he is on the water and the eye of Horus is behind him—, your face will be made blind (?), your step will be turned back.'

The central concern of the text is to ensure that Maga does not rise out of the water to attack the deceased while he is travelling across the water; as well as the link between this and the mythological past created by the mechanics of recitation, later sources indicate that it was precisely this action which Maga committed in the non-physical world. Furthermore, this is reminiscent of Maga's rising out of the water to attack Horus on CG 9427; Maga must not be allowed to attack again. This threat is quickly followed by further threats, and a statement of punishment: though he was punished in the past, the cyclical aspect of Egyptian time (*nḥḥ*) means that he continues to be a threat (see Hornung 1966; Popko 2014: 2–3). The text following these threats reiterates that the words of the reciter are effective due to their identification with the power of Khnum.

All the texts are clear: Maga is a powerful autonomous being who must be stopped at all costs. The use of mythological narrative to ensure that he is deprived of his steps display something of his history, though still only implicitly. His characteristics and abilities are reminiscent of Apep, purveyor of *isfet par excellence*. However, it is unclear whether this is a temporal change in Maga's theology, or simply a more detailed exegesis of theological characteristics which were already present in the New Kingdom. Maga certainly does not carry out the will of any deity, whose power continues to be the predominant method of controlling him, when a reciter identifies themselves as such. However, divine beings *react* to Maga, and his actions surprise deities—which is also seen in Late Period sources.

Late Period

It is only in the early Saite Period that the event referred to in previous sources is explicitly referred to in connection to Maga.[4] The so-called *Myth of Maga and Osiris* (Wagner 2016: 68–87) is appropriately found on the right side of the lid of the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre (London BM EA 32):

'Re-Atum appeared in the great temple, the noble of the earth, who loves *maat*, the Osiris of the God's Wife, Ankhnesneferibre, the justified one, was in the great barque. When she left Heliopolis, Heaven, Earth, and all Heliopolis were weeping over the Osiris of the God's Wife, Ankhnesneferibre, the great God to the sky. The gods are in their entourage, making music with an ornate flail (?) on a large cymbal, while Horus is at your head and weeping. You are in the night barque of gold inside the wooden barque and the Ennead are with you in one place. While they rowed in the night, the enemy emerged from the water: Maga is his name. Then he seized his enemy (Osiris) on his left shoulder and the gods wept over all the people with their loud voices to the height of the sky. Thereupon, the majesty of Osiris spoke to the God's Wife and adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre, the justified one: "Go and return to Heliopolis, so that you may hear my matter with him, so that the guilty one may again be killed." Then, he landed at the gate of Heliopolis. Sia said to *nb-r-ḏr*, "May your heart be whole, O Lord of the Gods! Osiris is at the gate of Heliopolis." Then *nb-r-ḏr* said: "What is it that has happened to his flesh, after having caused it to be restored in the embalming place? Go, gods, bring it hastily, that we may hear its words, hurry!" He was brought here. And so *nb-r-ḏr* said: "You are protected, Osiris, the God's Wife and adoratrice Ankhnesneferibre, the justified one! Bull of the West, what is it that has happened with your shoulder?" But now I said, "Behold, I will cause you to know so that your *ka* experiences it well: after you had caused

[4] This assumes that there is mythological connection between sources, constituting a larger theology around certain events, albeit with numerous facets of meaning and manifestation. There is no evidence to suggest otherwise, and in fact, there are suggestions that the individual attestations fit into a larger framework; see discussion in the main text.

me to go to the embalming hall, and caused me to go to the night barque, Maga appeared, then grabbed my shoulder. I did not know where he was! Let me talk to him again, and kill the guilty one." '

The textual program of the coffin means that this strange text is cut off here, with the next line of inscription beginning on *CT* 1030, and the episode with Maga is neither resolved nor mentioned again. This is a rather unusual episode to be inscribed on a coffin, particularly without resolution, and no clear explanation can be given.[5] However, this is a clear indication of the mythological history of Maga, whose actions are unambiguous, attacking Osiris and tearing off his left shoulder (the verb literally means 'to steal'). In this context, earlier attestations become much clearer. A spell in pLondon BM EA 10042 prevents Maga from moving or coming forward, and in particular from opening his mouth, while pCairo JE 52000 reports that he rises up out of the water to attack (in precisely the same way as in the myth described above). A stele from the 19th dynasty (Cairo CG 9427) shows Maga attempting to attack Horus, in a variation on the theme of Maga as a dangerous attacker who seeks to disrupt the cosmic order by destroying the members of the pantheon. In the Third Intermediate Period, he fails to strike in the present and is deprived of his steps because of the trauma he had caused in the mythological past. The Cat (*mjw*) wails because of what he did, and the spell seeks to stop Maga from attacking the deceased while he is on the water in exactly the same way as he did against Osiris. Therefore, a clear argument can be made that the overt reference to this mythological episode in the Saite Period is a later attestation of the same mythological episode known (but only implicitly referred to) during earlier phases of Egyptian history, and it is only by comparing these earlier examples in the light of the Saite exemplar that their meaning becomes clear.[6] Maga, the crocodile, the son of Seth, seeks to destroy humans, both in the a) physical and b) non-physical worlds, by attacking them a) when the flood-waters recede, and b) as they cross into the afterlife. He seeks to do this in the same way as he seeks to destroy Osiris (although, in an earlier version of the myth, Horus is the object of his attack) in order to cause chaos.

A further attestation from the Saite Period, this time from Elephantine, proves the widespread nature of the myth and Maga's general identity. Here, a papyrus (pNew York Brooklyn 47.218.84) refers again to this confrontation between Maga and Osiris, demonstrating that it is Osiris who is the object of attack in the dominant version of the myth. The papyrus affirms that this assault was directed at Osiris' left shoulder/arm, and adds that the town where it happened is now hated because of what he did there (see Meeks 2006: §42–3 for transcription and translation). This papyrus strengthens the argument that Maga was not an entity who was confined to one region, only known in Thebes, but that he, and his mythological history with Osiris, was known as far south as Elephantine.

There are two further sources from Saite Egypt, both of which are held in Cairo: CG 9405 and 9410 (Daressy 1903: 15–17, 23–6). Both stelae feature Horus-on-the-crocodile motifs and the same so-called Text *B,* where Maga features in negative contexts as in previous texts.

In the Saite era, the mythology behind Maga becomes clear: he rose out of the water to attack Osiris while the latter travelled in the night barque, injuring him in the process, and looks to do the same to both living and deceased people. Such an ability makes the need for the existence of numerous spells

[5] Wagner, though giving a complete and exemplary analysis, is also unable to propose a clear reason for the inclusion of this text in the programme of the sarcophagus.

[6] Although it is acknowledged that reading sources backwards anachronistically is often troublesome, the incomplete archaeological record often leaves no option. In the present instance, it is currently impossible to account for temporal developments in theological expression as a factor affecting the sources. However, it is hoped that the arguments made and attestations shown in this paper demonstrate that such a process, in this instance, gives the most plausible explanation of the varying examples.

to ward him off clear. However, his actions, functions, and role in Egyptian theology were to change radically towards the end of the first millennium BC.

Post-Saite Egypt

There is, unfortunately, a lack of sources between the Saite- and early Graeco-Roman Period, an era of profound change in the conceptions of the religious and supernatural spheres of the non-physical world. Demonologically speaking, this period, extending into the Graeco-Roman era, has been characterised by the processes of *demonisation* and the *politicisation of evil* (Lucarelli 2011; Assmann 2008: 50). A study of Maga must rely on an anachronistic reading of defined sources at the beginning (reign of Psamtik II) and the end (most probably Ptolemy III) in order to attempt to reconstruct the missing middle period. Maga, who had previously been conceptualised as a negative force acting against the pantheon, the living, and the justified dead, underwent a complete change of identity at some point after the Saite Period, perhaps as an opposite parallel to the ongoing demonisation (in Osirian contexts) of his father Seth.[7] To study this development in a linear comparison would be to fall into the 'genealogical trap' mentioned above. However, a topic of more definite study is the geographical variation in the identity of Maga during this period. Therefore, the change in the identity and role of Maga will not be examined separately but will be investigated in conjunction with an analysis of the geographic variation in these functions.

Edfu

At Edfu, in the first temple inscription featuring Maga, his characteristics have not been settled. Textually, there is only a passing reference to a *pr mgȝ* (E VIII, 7, 11–2). This is almost certainly a temple; Lucarelli (2011: 123) remarks that during this period, it was not uncommon for demons to receive cults and become gods in their own right. This text is found in the sanctuary of the temple at Edfu, an area where 'negative' beings would not normally be allowed conceptualised power.

However, at Edfu, the distinction between Maga and Seth is nebulous and is an example of the blurred conceptual boundaries of this period (te Velde 1977: 150). Examples of *mgȝ* (or simply *gȝ*) from outside the temple sanctuary appear to refer to Seth in a *heka*-filled alliteration of *m* (Wilson 1997: 473). The context and content of the current attestation in the sacred architecture of the temple sanctuary provide an argument in favour of an identification against Seth, who by this time had been heavily demonised in these contexts and was, by the Ptolemaic era, largely a representative of foreign forces. In fact, outside of this specific attestation, it is often difficult to differentiate between Maga and *mgȝ* as a name for Seth. The relationship between Maga and Seth at Edfu is particularly complex and beyond the scope of this paper.

[7] The concept of 'demonisation', particularly regarding Seth, is a complex one, and far beyond the scope of this paper. In fact, the 'demonisation' of Seth is not as clear as it might at first seem. As Osiris grew in importance Seth's 'evilness' was featured more heavily, as he was evil in Osirian contexts. Furthermore, Seth appears as a representative of foreign forces. However, he appears in other contexts in which he is not evil but is a positive entity, for example in the Oases. It is clear that there is still much work needed to explain Sethian theologies that goes beyond the Osirian connections. For this reason Maga's relationship with Seth will form the focus of a separate study. However, this paper will refer to the 'demonisation of Seth', understanding that this is by no means a systematic development, but a contextual emphasis. However, see Smith 2010: 396–430. I thank Manon Schutz for her insightful comments here.

Considering the Late and Ptolemaic periods more generally, Lucarelli (2011: 125) suggests that there was 'systematic priestly work, which aimed at providing a grid of apotropaic texts and illustrations that involved a major place for minor gods and demons.' The iconographic context of Maga in Edfu, in a row of what appears to be protective beings around the sanctuary, would fit this theory well. However, around the same time, a small, perhaps amuletic, statuette of Isis (Göttingen Inv. No. 3) of undisclosed provenance maintains the older identity of Maga, describing him as one who must be warded off, and retaining the familial distinction between Maga and Seth (Karig 1962: 54–9). In addition, a 3rd–4th century BC stele in Cairo (CG 9402) belonging to Parashtereth/Pari features text which more closely resembles the older mythological story of Maga (Daressy 1903: 3–11). Thus, it seems that the transformation of Maga was nearly, but not entirely, complete during the reigns of the early Ptolemies. In the temple, Maga is repurposed as a protective being, with a *pr mgȝ*, though his links with Seth perhaps prove problematic for the gods-servants' philosophy, while outside the temple architecture the older mythology remains. This differing nature reinforces Lucarelli's point: if the transformation of Maga were part of a systematic priestly re-imagining of the function and role of demons, then this redevelopment would only have been seen in the temples where the gods-servants were to begin with. The disparity between the 'new' *apotropaic* Maga and the 'old' malevolent Maga is evidence of this.

Dendera

The transformation of Maga which is alluded to at Edfu is confirmed and completed at the later Roman mammisi in Dendera. Here, he appears twice, in a group of 60 protective guardians safeguarding both the sanctuary (Daumas 1959: 140 [25], pl. 61 [25]) and the entrance (Daumas 1959: 93 [7.3-5], pl. 56 [7.3-5]), with only one caption indicating his identity. In fact, if it were not for the caption, the identification would not be possible, as he now sports an Atef crown, two arrows and a knife, and has a falcon-head in the sanctuary, and he is armed with two knives in his representation at the doorway. His attestation as a protective figure in the sanctuary echoes his presence in the earlier Edfu sanctuary, although here, his purpose is not to defend the temple itself but the sanctuary of the mammisi. His nature as a protector is confirmed by the representation of him in the thickness of the doorway, holding two knives. Here, he becomes a guardian of liminal space, in much the same way as the guardian demons of the underworld are re-purposed during this time period, as part of a broader anxiety about the protection of the temple (the temple being a symbol of the ordered world), which led to the re-construction of demonic entities as apotropaic guardian demons and protectors of this symbolic world (Lucarelli 2011: 119).[8] However, the re-structuring of the demonic world instituted by the priests at these temples usually re-purposes already (often violently aggressive) protective demons, whose function remains mostly the same, with the only change being the object of their defence. Maga, on the other hand, has been clearly shown to be a negative being, and the reason for his specific inclusion (and therefore the change in his context *and* function) is unclear. However, what is clear is that, at this time, he had now most definitely become an apotropaic protective figure, transformed from his negative Osirid connotations.

The issue of his possible cult and divine status, a key parameter in studying the transformation of beings in later theology, must centre on his attestations at Edfu and Dendera. In the first, reference is made to a 'house of Maga'—almost certainly a temple.[9] The location of this *pr mgȝ* is not specified, though the

[8] The use of demonic apotropaic guardians in temples as the protectors of the symbolic cosmos is paralleled in Greek mythology, for example the creation of Hephaestus in Homer's *Odyssey*, 7.91–94.

[9] In demonological scholarship, the lack of cult, worship, or temple is often used as a defining feature separating a 'demon' from a 'divinity.' See Lucarelli 2010; Szpakowska 2009; and comments above.

existence of such a temple would (in modern classification) indicate that Maga would, at this time, have been identified as a deity (albeit a minor one). However, this identification as a possible deity is only found within temples. Outside the temples, the older, negative, Maga persisted.

An interesting detail is shown in the caption accompanying his representation in the mammisi doorway: he is the one who drives the rebels out of Athribis, under the name *mgꜣ-ḫnty-ḫty*, and his name makes it clear that here he is syncretising with a god.[10] Khentykhety is associated with Athribis from the Middle Kingdom onwards, but the association with Maga is unusual, especially considering his usual syncretism with Osiris or Horus. The example of Maga as a syncretising being indicates that he is not simply a protective *genie/genius* in Athribis, as he appears to be at Dendera, but had become, at this point, a *deity* of some form, albeit a minor one. The reasons for his syncretism are unclear, although he was a protector of Athribis in his own syncretised right, not one among a large group protecting a building (Wilson 1997: 473). Here, it is he himself who is said to drive the rebels away, marking the completion of a so-far unique, transformation in Egyptian mythology, on which more work needs to be done.

The chronological development of Maga: summary

Throughout his attested history, the contexts, functions, and purposes of Maga continually changed. However, his nature and function can be broadly divided into two parts:

A) New Kingdom (though probably earlier) until the Early Saite Period, continuing into the Ptolemaic era

B) Early Ptolemaic-Roman Period temple theology

In A), his nature revolves around a mythological story in which he jumps out of the water to attack Osiris and therefore, is to be protected against. He jumps out of the water, while Osiris is travelling in the night barque, and he does a hated thing in a place called Wadjwadj on the fourth month of *šmw*, day 25. The Cat (*mjw*) is said to have wailed because of what he did, with an array of beings invoked to protect against and restrain him: Thoth, the seven uraei of Re, Onuris, and Khnum, to name but a few. Numerous spells commanding him to stay away and retreat can be explained using this story as reference: it is hoped that through these spells, Maga would not attack humans (living or deceased) in the same way that he attacked Osiris (and Horus, in a variation on the episode). These spells would demarcate Maga as a negative demon, though his attack on a major god and his familial connection to another major god preclude his position in any traditional category of reference. Instead, his identity should be viewed as similar to that of Apep, with whom he is paralleled on a Third Intermediate Period stele, and who is especially dangerous, though not demonic in the usual sense of the term in Egyptological literature. Like Apep, Maga is a liminal being in every sense of the word, neither demon nor deity, but a defined, autonomous *agent of chaos*.

In B), the very end of Maga's transformation may be seen at the Edfu temple, where he was re-purposed as part of the changing religious landscape of Ptolemaic-Roman Period temples, becoming an apotropaic entity used to protect the sanctuary, where he was later associated with his vilified father. His inclusion in such protective processions may be a part of the attempt to appease malevolent demons by improving their status and giving them worship (Lucarelli 2011: 124).

[10] For syncretism as a concept, see Hornung 1996: 91–9.

The potential divinity of Maga in this time-period is more explicit in his connection to Athribis at the mammisi at Dendera, where his iconography and caption indicate a more divine status than expected. Here, he is not another protective being in a long line of protective beings, but is capable of syncretising with another deity, and being hailed as the one who drives the rebels away—which is quite ironic considering that only a few centuries earlier, he was driven away as a rebel himself.

Of particular note in B) is the disparity between the theology of Maga as expressed in the temples, and the older theology which was still present in attestations coming from outside this context, such as Göttingen 3 and Cairo CG 9402, wherein Maga was still a feared being to be driven away through the use of *heka*-filled speech and action, as in earlier history. Therefore, we should be extremely cautious in using temple texts as evidence to comment on wider social and religious issues outside that context itself; it is still unclear how significant the disparity is, and only further cross-context analysis will elucidate this.

Conclusions

The ontological categorisation and understanding of non-physical beings with regard to local religious tradition is a central issue in ancient Egyptian demonology. However, Maga consistently proves difficult to categorise in any meaningful sense. The disparate natures of Maga prevent a simple classification and are a reminder of the loose boundaries between modern categorisations of the Egyptian conception of the non-physical, as well as the fuzzy margin between the physical and non-physical in ancient Egyptian cosmotheism and mythology. While there is some form of differentiation between beings in ancient sources, shown by the determinatives used in writing their names, Maga is determined simply by a crocodile throughout Egyptian history, with only occasional variations that do not support previous arguments for god/demon typology based on the use of determinatives. For example, in pCairo JE 52000, where he is a wholly negative being, his name is determined by the divine determinative A40. Meanwhile, in pLondon BM 10042, rt. VI, 5, a text in which his role and nature are much the same, his name is determined by H8, the egg. The reasons for such differences are uncertain, though it is clear that if the use of determinatives is to play a role in understanding the conceptualisation of beings and their relation to each other, much work is still needed to create a convincing frame-of-reference that is both true to the source data and contextually flexible while providing a useful theoretical framework for future research. For the moment, however, determinatives are not a reliable means of ascribing meaning and creating typological distinction. Of course, such difficulties are a modern problem; in the ancient Egyptian sources, the primary function was not to categorise beings and divide them based on ethical grounds, but to know them and know how one should interact with them. Demonological scholarship would gain much from pursuing an understanding of the latter over the former.

Setting problems of classification aside, Maga is a useful case-study in testing current demonological theory, such as the appropriation of beings in temple contexts during later Egyptian history. The radical change in Maga's role and abilities, and the manner in which humanity interacts with him, clearly supports and clarifies this premise.

It is not only protective (often violently aggressive) beings, such as guardian beings, who are used to protect temples. In fact, it appears that historical mythology was not an important characteristic in deciding which beings to use, and the previous relationship of beings with *maat* and *isfet* were superfluous. While the guardian beings of the Netherworld re-purposed in the temples were aggressive and violent, these characteristics were used to ensure *maat*, allowing only those who knew the correct *heka,* and in accordance with *maat* to pass. Similarly, beings such as Ammut and the Swallower of the donkey should not be categorised as malevolent, for their role was basically the enforcement of *maat*,

by destroying that which is not in accordance with it. In such contexts, it is the *person* who must prove their accordance with *maat* to avoid the punishment of the being, who uses terrifying power and monstrosity to enforce *maat* (see Lucarelli 2006: 207–9). Such aspects make the inclusion of Netherworld guardians in later protective contexts unsurprising. Maga, on the other hand, is never protective, and never in accordance with *maat* outside of Ptolemaic-Roman temples. His aim is the destruction of the pantheon, which he attempts by attacking Osiris and those who travel across the water after life, such as Hori and Ankhnesneferibre. It seems that his inclusion in the temple theology is solely due to his aggressive power, which itself is repurposed to defend the temple, changing him from an agent of *isfet* into an agent of *maat*. If the temple is a microcosm of the ordered universe and in need of protection in later history, the inclusion of such a being is a bold, and perplexing, development.

However, this disregard for the previous function is not unique to Maga. The *ḫ3tjw* demons, hated in earlier times, received a cult in Ptolemaic Thebes (Thissen 1989: 30–3), as did 'Great of strength', the first of Tutu's seven arrows (Kaper 2003: 61–2). Furthermore, 'Eater of the excrement of his posteriors' was perhaps transformed into a beneficent being in the Late Period, after his previously negative role in earlier texts (Pantalacci 1995: 187–98). The repurposing of negative beings in later Egyptian theology has been interpreted as an attempt to appease dangerous beings, or that the dangers posed by negative beings must be repelled through the use of equally dangerous beings (Lucarelli 2013: 18). However, there is no evidence to suggest how such an idea of 'theological mercenaries' would be actualised: what made certain beings suitable as protective punishers against other beings? For what reasons were previous methods of deterring harmful beings now useless? In what ways were the major gods now unable to fully confront agents of *isfet*, therefore needing to use such morally ambiguous beings? The change in the role of Maga shows that such theological issues, if they existed, *only* existed in the temples and are not indicative of theology outside those specific contexts. The contemporaneous attestations of Maga outside the temples, on Cairo CG 9402 and Göttingen 3, preserve the older mythological history of Maga as an autonomous destructive force. This discrepancy between manifestations of theologies within temple architecture and outside the temple opens up further avenues of research in late Egyptian theology. In particular, in-depth comparative analysis is needed to elucidate the relationship between temple theology and lived religious experience during this era, moving away from efforts to use the former to comment on the latter, which is almost certainly erroneous. At the very least, it is safe to say that the purpose of such temple inscriptions was *not* to reflect and document a 'normative' corpus of beliefs, if such a thing existed, as is often assumed.

Furthermore, the different functions of Maga at Edfu and Dendera exemplify the well-known individuality of theology expressed at each temple, whereby each temple created its own religious praxis, which varied from temple to temple. At Edfu, Maga's conceptualisation focused on his relationship with his father Seth, which became problematic later on, if later attestations of *mg3/g3/sth* are a reliable foundation for analysis. At Dendera, however, perceptions of Maga centred on his syncretism with Khentykhety and affirmed his apotropaic qualities more clearly. The wider praxis and needs behind these very different expressions of and emphases in Maga's manifestations may prove vital in understanding the relationship between the religious and the socio-cultural aspects of the 1st millennium BC, as well as the increasingly political role of demons within the temple in later Egyptian history. The transformation and appropriation of Maga should be a key reference point in discussions on the changing conceptual landscape of Late and Graeco-Roman Period history, where there is much work still to be done and many questions still to be answered.

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What might the temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III at Luxor have looked like? Some hypotheses about the decorative programme on sandstone remains

Linda Chapon

Abstract

During archaeological excavations started in 2008 in the *Henket-Ankh*, the temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III located on the West Bank of Thebes, a large number of relief fragments have been discovered. The study of this sandstone material has allowed hypotheses to be made regarding some of the scenes that would have been represented, as well as to propose possible reconstructions. These scenes included the massacre and list of enemies and battles, a calendar of festivities, processions, the *Ished* tree and the king wearing the *Heb Sed* robe. These iconographic elements would have responded to an intentional programme in which each type of representation, ritual, or other element, would have had its place in specific areas of the temple. These would have been combined with scenes of offerings to the gods, in particular to Amon. The reliefs discovered in the temple evidence the complexity of its decorative and symbolic programme, as well as the quality of the relief and polychrome.

Keywords

Iconography; architecture; reliefs; New Kingdom; temples of Millions of Years; Thutmosis III

Introduction

The '*Hut net hehu em reneput*', or temple of Millions of Years, first appeared during the 13th dynasty, and perhaps even earlier, in southern and northern Egypt. However, it was during the New Kingdom when it became especially important (Haring 1997: 21; Leblanc 2010: 46). Post New Kingdom, they almost disappeared (Leblanc 2010). The temples have been clearly documented since the beginning of the 18th dynasty on the West Bank of Thebes, but they are generally very poorly preserved. Hatshepsut projected her temple in the valley of Deir el-Bahari while for Thutmosis III, the *Henket-Ankh*, his temple of Millions of Years, was actually built. It is the first temple that was constructed on the border between the desert and arable land (Schröder 2010: 95). It is specifically situated between the hills of El-Assassif and El-Khoka about 100 meters north of the Ramesseum and southeast of the valley of Deir el-Bahari.

This paper aims to provide an overview of the results of the iconographic and epigraphic study of the fragments that belonged to the sandstone-decorated walls of the *Henket-Ankh*.[1] This study has focused on the sandstone material discovered during recent excavations in the *Henket-Ankh*, which was stored by two of the archaeologists who mainly worked on the temple prior to the current Hispanic-Egyptian project directed by M. Seco Álvarez. A. E. P. Weigall worked in 1905 (1906) and H. Ricke between 1934

[1] This paper presents some of the results of the PhD thesis carried out by the author. It is the fruit of an agreement between the Project of the temples of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III directed by M. Seco Álvarez, the University of Tübingen, and *Santander Universidades*.

and 1937 (1939). We must start from the premise that the great majority of the reliefs that made up the scenes of these walls disappeared and that defining the iconographic program of the temple is certainly arduous and, to a great extent, hypothetical. Exclusively, the comparison with other temples makes it possible to form some relatively convincing proposals, but these are certainly never definitive. The few architectural elements preserved at the site allow the architectural programme to be defined to some extent and, consequently, also help to establish iconographic parallels with other better-preserved temples.

A temple of Millions of Years

The exact nature of temples of Millions of Years has often been debated. This is mainly due to the fact that most of them are located on the West Bank of Thebes. Hence, the tendency has been to circumscribe them to this area and to interpret them as fundamentally funerary temples (e.g. Badawy 1968: 321–64; Stadelmann 1978, 1979, 1986; Haeny 1982, 1994; Myśliwiec 1985; Murnane 1999; Ullmann 2002; Arnold 2003: 112–3). It seems, however, that they encompassed different functions closely related to the ideological, political, and religious conceptions of this period (Haeny 1997; Leblanc 2010). Monuments with this designation were erected throughout Egypt without having an exclusive funerary function (Leblanc 1997, 2010).

During the reign of Thutmosis III, several temples were named in this way. In western Thebes, these include the *Djeser-Akhet* located in Deir el-Bahari, constructed towards the end of his reign (Lipińska 2007), and the building called *Akh-Menu* in Karnak was started in the 24th year of his reign (Laskowski 2006: 192–5). It seems, however, that the *Henket-Ankh* was specifically designed to receive the funerary provision and the cult during the life of the sovereign (Stadelmann 1979: 304; Dolińska 1994: 33; Haeny 1997: 96, n. 55). The fact that Thutmosis III was very young when his father died allowed Hatshepsut to establish a regency and subsequently a coregency. Their relationship must have been very complex and would have changed over time. It seems that Hatshepsut was the dominant power. Nevertheless, the rather simplistic vision that K. Sethe (1932) propounded, which considered that the crowning of Hatshepsut was explained by the thirst for power of a woman with a strong character who thus overstepped the legitimate rights of Thutmosis III, is nowadays out of date. In fact, the queen never tried to completely remove Thutmosis III from power. On the contrary, she always associated him with in her public manifestations, and particularly with architectural activity (Chappaz 1993; Davies 2004; Dorman 2006; Laboury 2014). Furthermore, it was not until the last decade of the reign of Thutmosis III that the persecution of her memory actually occurred. The reasons for this are still unclear (O'Connor 2006: 33–4) but it was probably not in revenge against Hatshepsut (Dorman 2006: 269). It was precisely during the regency or coregency that the temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III would have begun to be constructed (Ricke 1939: 16–25, 29; Seco Álvarez 2012: 68). The goal was probably to ensure the eternal survival of the sovereign if he died prematurely.

In a broad sense, these constructions would have been destined for the cult of the sovereigns who built them—in the *Henket-Ankh* it would have been Menkeperre—but also to the deities sheltered in the sanctuaries, in this case, Amun of the *Henket-Ankh* (Ricke 1939: 27–8; Laskowski 2006: 207). They embodied, first and foremost, the exaltation of royal power and the supreme function of the king and would have served as a space where the eternal regeneration of royal power was possible. The goal was, ultimately, to personify the symbiosis between the king and the divine (Haeny 1982, 1997; Leblanc 1997, 2010).

Although this type of temple was dedicated to the main god of Thebes, Amun, and the ruler, western Thebes was especially associated with the gods of the netherworld, mainly Osiris, Anubis and Hathor. Not surprisingly, these deities also had a significant place in the cultic and decorative programmes of

temples of Millions of Years located in this area (Stadelmann 1979: 321; Myśliwiec 1985: 5; Troy 2006: 125), certainly in connection with the clearly funerary aspects that they embodied. Likewise, at least in Thebes-West, Amun-Ra and Hathor together with the king could have been seen as a triad where the king played the role of divine son. At the same time, the presence of Ra was connected to the solar imaginary that also existed in the decoration of the tombs (Troy 2006: 125, 153). Therefore, in this type of temple, worship would have been based on both Osirian and solar symbolism. A double nature that would be reproduced in architecture, decoration and statuary (Leblanc 1997, 2010; Troy 2006: 153–4, 157).

Festivities and processions were a key element in this ritual landscape and could be used to reactivate vital energy in order to maintain balance and harmony on earth (Bleeker 1967: 18–23; Haeny 1997; Stadler 2008; Leblanc 2010). The processional iconography representing the 'Festival of the Valley' and the 'Opet Festival' seems to have become especially important from the reign of Hatshepsut onwards (Schott 1952: 5–133; Troy 2006: 139–46; Stadler 2008; Karlshausen 2009: 189–90). The temple of the queen at Deir el-Bahari became the centre of the procession of the 'Festival of the Valley'. On this occasion, Amun's boat visited the temples of Millions of Years, at least those which were important for the reigning king. Undoubtedly, the *Henket-Ankh* of Thutmosis III in Qurna was also visited during his reign and even later (Dolińska 2007). Inside the buildings, the hypostyle hall and the barque room were prepared to receive the procession. In this way, the queen constantly affirmed her intimate bond with Amun. For the reign of Thutmosis III, it is possible to find the representation of the procession of the divine barque of Amun in another temple of Millions of Years that he constructed at the end of his reign at Deir el-Bahari, between the construction by Hatshepsut and the temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep (Gorski 1990; Wiercińska 1990).

According to C. Leblanc (1997), the decoration of this type of construction could have been divided into different but complementary aspects, whose main objective was to immortalise the gestures of the king, and consequently the royal function. The first of the themes represented on the walls of the outermost areas—that is, the hypostyle hall or the courts/porticoes—was/were connected with political aspects (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988: 266–85). The most characteristic scenes are the royal coronation, both a political and a religious act (Leblanc 1997), or the scenes related to the *Heb Sed*, as one of the main rituals of royal regeneration (Leblanc 1980; Myśliwiec 1985: 12). A second important issue is related to military aspects (Leblanc 1997). As such, the king had the duty to maintain order and stability in the country and protect it from external enemies (Derchain 1962; Myśliwiec 1985: 17; Bonhême and Forgeau 1988: 113–17,119–20, 124). The scenes which were depicted could have had an apotropaic function (Derchain 1966; Shubert 1981) as well as a political one. They could even have served to impress the viewer with the royal gestures of dominance.

Finally, the cult given to the divinities was carried out in the same way as in the other exclusively 'divine' temples (Gundlach 2001). The ruler also had to perform rituals and ceremonies here using litanies, offerings, and daily worship (Leblanc 1997). Ritual scenes can be of two types. On the one hand, there are those that make up the daily divine ritual and the liturgy of the offerings to the divine statue that were performed in the sanctuary and, on the other hand, there are those which accompanied other rituals, such as ceremonies or festivals that took place within the temples (Myśliwiec 1985: 11). Thus, the architecture and decoration of the walls remind us that the king fulfilled his duties perfectly and deserved to become a divine entity. Consequently, he could reach immortality and receive worship on earth and after his death (Stadelmann 1979; Haeny 1997; Leblanc 1997).

Concerning the case of the *Henket-Ankh*, very little remains of the original architecture of the temple, the only remaining parts are the foundations of the walls, the bases of the columns and two pillars and the pavement. However, H. Ricke (1939: 9–15, pls. V–VI) quite convincingly put forward three hypothetical plans and determined the functions of several rooms (Fig. 1). He also established three

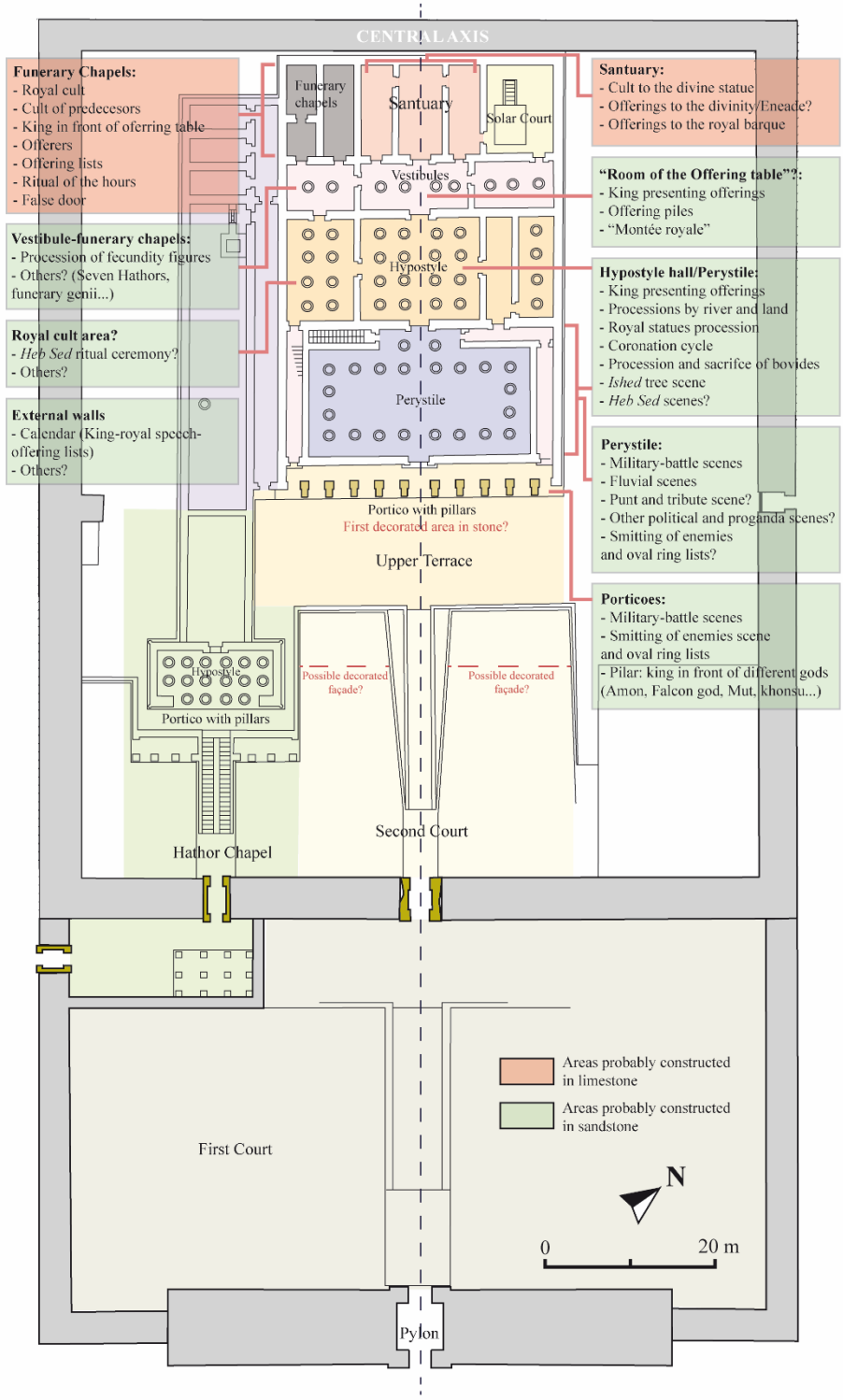

Figure 1. Reconstruction of the temple based on H. Ricke (1939). The different areas of the temple are indicated by colours. The main iconographic themes that were probably represented on the temple walls are specified for each area (drawing: Linda Chapon).

construction phases (Seco Álvarez 2015: 106). The distribution of the different rooms of the temple looks very similar to other temples in Western Thebes and the *Akh-menu* of Karnak (Laskowski 2006: 209).

The first phase of construction of the temple was probably carried out during the coregency and it is possible that the same local limestone identified in the temple of Hatshepsut was also used in the *Henket-Ankh*. This was probably the case of the sanctuary. Whether the queen was still alive, or after her disappearance, most of the temple structures were constructed with sandstone, although architectural elements such as roofs, columns, and pillars were apparently planned from the beginning in sandstone. The occurrence of both types of stone was often observed during the reign of Thutmosis III. One such example is the case of the small temple built in the 18th dynasty at Medinet Habu, the constructions of Thutmosis III at Karnak, and his temple at Deir el-Bahari (De Putter and Karlshausen 1997; Harrell 2016: 1). In the case of the *Henket-Ankh*, at first glance, it seems that the limestone and sandstone were not present in the same wall. This distribution could have been for a symbolic reason since limestone was apparently often considered to be more 'noble' than sandstone. However, a chronological explanation for the sanctuary can also be proposed. While at the beginning of the 18th dynasty, limestone was still mainly used in the Theban area, it was gradually substituted by sandstone for major temples (Harrell and Storemyr 2009; Harrell 2012; 2016). Most New Kingdom temples and probably also the *Henket-Ankh* were edified with sandstone extracted from the quarry of Gebel el-Silsileh (De Putter and Karlshausen 1997; Klemm and Klemm 2001: 637–8; Harrell 2016).

To clarify and synthesise the general vision of the preserved decoration of the temple, we propose reconstructing it from the interior to the exterior in its most extensive and, therefore, most recent construction phase (Fig.1). These hypotheses are based both on the preserved reliefs of the temple and the parallels that exist, as well as on the various hypothetical reconstructions that H. Ricke (1939) proposed, taking into account the modifications introduced by the recent excavations. However, it should be noted that although some reliefs may allow the identification of their elements and provide interesting information, it will not always be possible to attribute them to a specific scene. For a description of the temple and the excavations carried out at the site see Seco Álvarez and Radwan (2010); Seco Álvarez (2012; 2015).

The traditional structure of this type of temple consists of a pylon, a court, a hypostyle hall, and the sanctuary itself (Donadoni 1999: 146–8). Since the temples of Millions of Years in the Theban area during the 18th and Ramesside dynasties were essentially dedicated to Amun, they have the same features of a typical New Kingdom temple (Badawy 1968: 322). This also seems to have been the case in the *Henket-Ankh*. The sanctuary is located on the central axis of the temple, which divides it into two halves. From this axis, the rest of the rooms are arranged symmetrically to the north and south (Fig.1). Although the temples of Millions of Years have the same denomination and certainly a specific function, each building presented its own peculiarities. The iconography and architecture were fairly standardised, but specificities also existed depending on the reign. We must bear in mind that the planimetry and decorative programmes of this type of temple became more complex over time, and that the Ramesside period structures are quite different from those of the pre-Amarna era (Haeny 1997).

The sanctuary area

During the first phase of construction in the *Henket-Ankh*, the upper terrace was built, where the sanctuary, the hypostyle hall, the peristyle, and the main access portico were located (Seco Álvarez 2015: 106). A similar arrangement existed in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Dąbrowski 1968: 39–46). The main part of this structure consisted of a sanctuary in the central axis and rear rooms, to

the south and to the north (Fig. 1). The sanctuary consisted of two chambers, the first one was used to receive the divine barque of Amun and the second one to house the statue of the god, which must have had a double false door at the back (Badawi 1968: 365; Haeny 1997; Gundlach 2001). In the *Henket-Ankh*, Amun was the one who received the offerings in the sanctuary. The walls of this room were usually decorated with reliefs that depicted the daily ritual and the liturgy of offerings to the god and the divine barque. In the case of the *Henket-Ankh*, it is difficult to determine whether these decorated walls were constructed in limestone or in sandstone. What is certain, in any case, is that some walls must have been completely constructed with this limestone as blocks and fragments with part of the *kheker* friezes, lower decorative bands (Seco Álvarez and Radwan 2010) and part of the door jambs have been recovered.

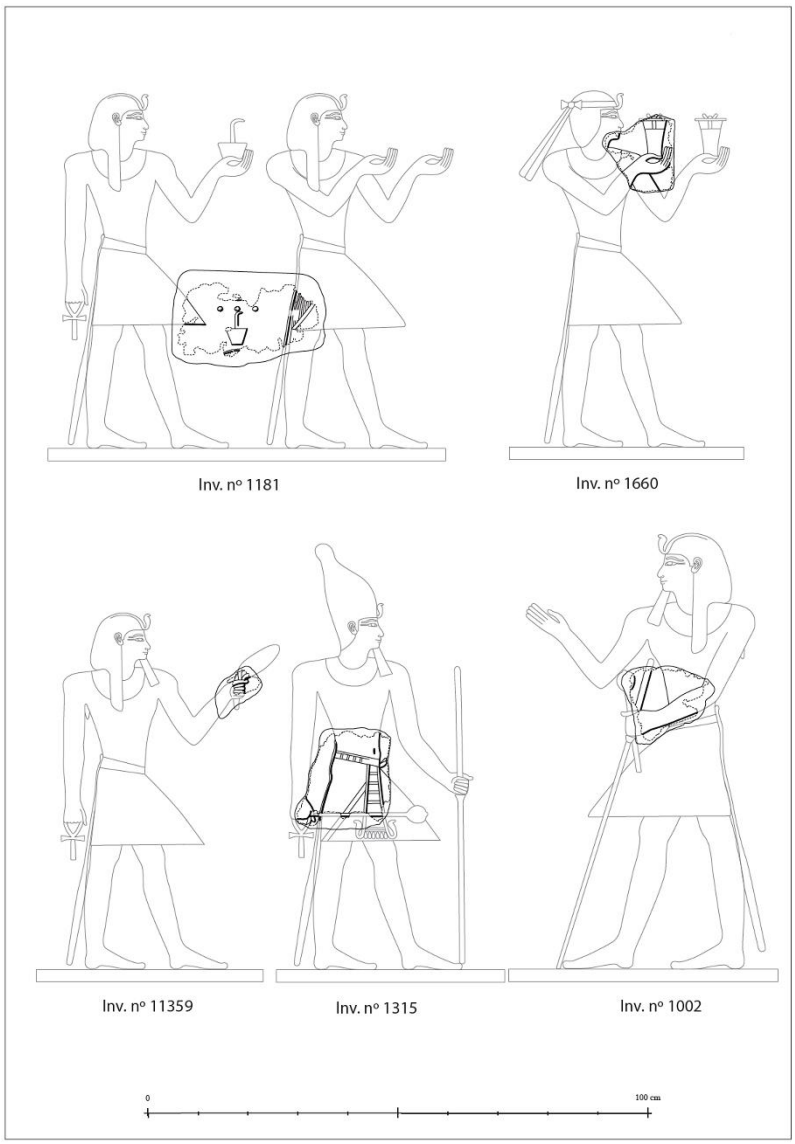

Figure 2. Reconstruction of some sandstone fragments showing the king carrying out different offerings (drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

Many limestone blocks and fragments show partial scenes that include offerings, representations of Amun, the king making offerings, and gifts offered by the deity to the king (Seco Álvarez and Radwan 2010). Some of these blocks retain parts of an offerings list which conforms to the type E of W. Barta (1963) that was most probably located in the sanctuary area and that would have been dedicated to a divinity (Weigall 1906: g; Seco Álvarez and Radwan 2010). Despite this, some sandstone reliefs include what were, most probably, sections of a list of the same type. This indicates that at least one similar scene must have existed in sandstone. The divinity with which it was associated could have been Amun or another deity.

Limestone fragments also feature the divine processional barque placed on a dais and to which offerings are presented. They might therefore have been located in the barque room. If that is the case, this fact would reveal that this space, or at least a part of it, was built in limestone (Seco Álvarez and Radwan 2010; Seco Álvarez and Martínez Babón 2015). A fragment in limestone could also have belonged to the offerings list in the style of type D of W. Barta (1963). This is a list that is usually found in this kind of context, which includes the king presenting a list and a pile of offerings to the divine barque. Thus, sandstone reliefs that also contain parts of a type D list could have belonged to the walls of another room of the temple.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to affirm that part of the sanctuary area was not also built in sandstone. It is also possible that some of the adjoining rooms or the 'offering room' or 'room of the offering table', which could correspond to a type of hall with columns that H. Ricke (1939: 12) reconstructs between the hypostyle hall and the possible barque room, were constructed of sandstone or in both stones. From an architectural point of view, this type of room symbolised a passage between the innermost part of the temple and its outermost parts (Arnold 1962: 42–3; Myśliwiec 1985: 6). It would possibly have included presentations of offerings and a scene depicting the introduction of the king into the sanctuary of the hand of some divinities, the so-called 'montée royale'. This vestibule connects with two other similar rooms, one located to the north and the other to the south.

Rituals were the fundamental component of Egyptian temples. Their iconographic representations are a means of ensuring these actions and the close connection between the king and the deities for eternity. These ritual scenes would have probably been activated not only in the sanctuary itself, but also in other rooms and contexts where the presentation of offerings or rituals were necessary, such as in processions and other ritual ceremonies (Myśliwiec 1985: 11). Therefore, parts of offering scenes preserved in sandstone fragments could have been placed in the possible vestibule, but, equally in other parts of the temple. Numerous fragments of sandstone preserve parts of offerings (Fig. 2). We must mention here the existence of one or two scenes that show the figure of Amun seated on a throne (Fig. 3). It is a type of scene that appears on the back walls of the rooms where the divinity is oriented from the inside to the outside, while the figure of the king is oriented towards the divinity in the act of presenting an offering. There are still many unknowns regarding the distribution of the stone used and the scenes depicted in the area of the sanctuary of the temple. Nevertheless, they are likely to have corresponded to the chapel rooms dedicated to Amun and perhaps to one or more corporations of divinities, as is the case in the sanctuary of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Karkowski 2001: 139–46).

In this section, we must also highlight the existence of niches that have very close parallels in other temples of this era. They include scenes where the king or another personage is seated at a table of offerings crowned by an offering list type C of W. Barta (1963). It is usually presented by Iunmutef, the divine counterpart of the Sem priest who was responsible for the worship of the royal Ka, or by a king who played his role. In niches of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari and in the royal chamber of the 18th temple at Medinet Habu, it is the god Thoth who plays the role of Iunmutef. This type of decoration in niches seems to have been typical of the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III (e.g. Barta 1963: 117–18, 120; Dolińska 1994). The existence of such niches in the *Henket-Ankh* is proven thanks to

different elements that usually appeared in these contexts. Firstly, there are sandstone fragments with a type of pointed *kheker* frieze with a green central medallion whose top ends in a point. Secondly, several fragments of list C, whose signs are small, have been discovered. Some limestone reliefs, which will be the subject of further study, have preserved lists of offerings of type C. At least two of them do not seem to belong to a niche although a third one may well have done so because of its size.

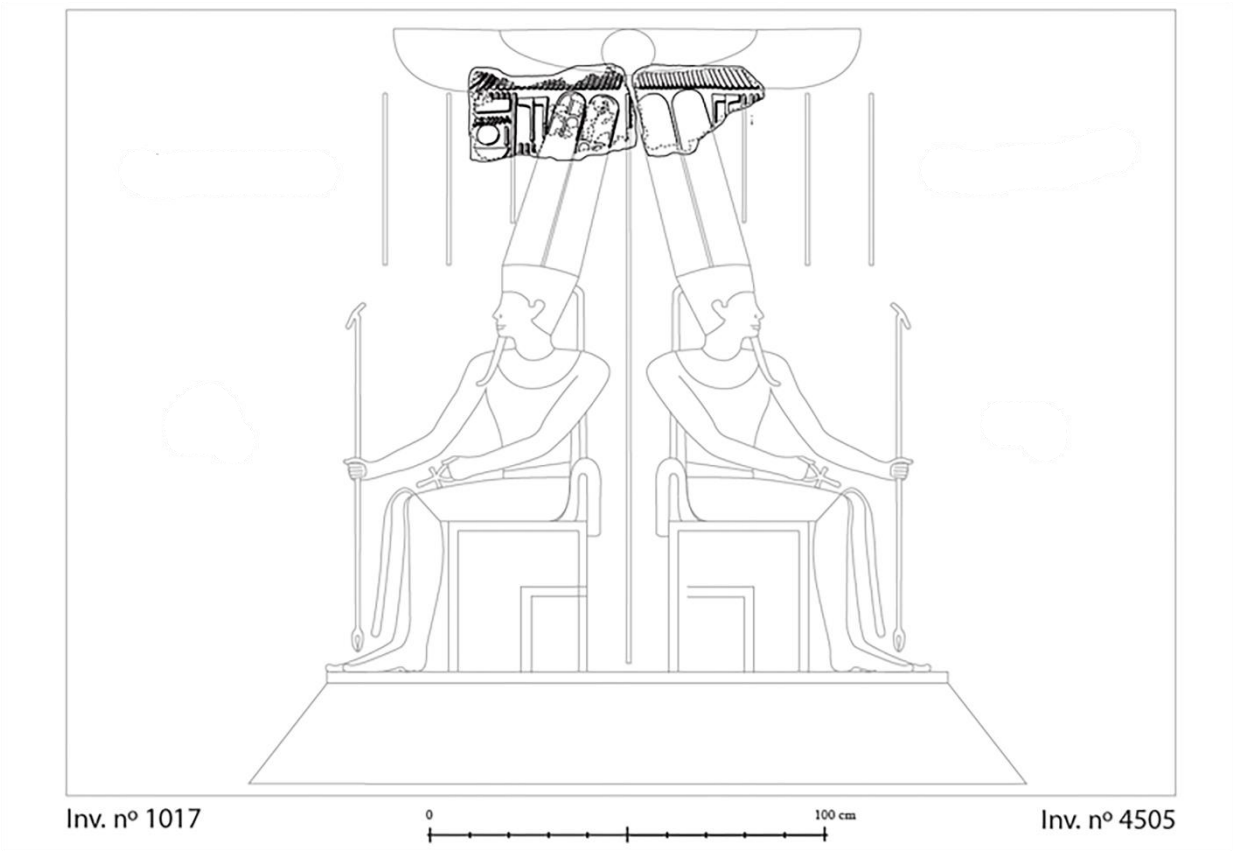

Figure 3. Reconstruction of some two fragments showing Amun seated on a throne belonging to a scene placed on the rear wall of a room (drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

It is very difficult, considering the state of preservation of the temple architecture, to know where these niches would have been located. In known parallels, they are usually found in areas where offerings were presented and rituals were performed in honour of one or more deities. In this sense, the king or another member of the royal family participated and benefited from these offerings. Thus, in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, for example, niches have been documented in the area of the sanctuary, the solar court, the chapels of Anubis and the chapel of Hathor (Naville 1895: pls. 4, 6, and 7; 1906: pls. 135–6, 146–7; Porter and Moss 1975: 124 [433, 435, 438], 362 [115], 364, 366–7 [134–7]; Pawlicki 2000: 154). It is possible to determine that there were at least nine sandstone scenes from the *Henket-Ankh* that included a list conforming to list type C of W. Barta. This could have corresponded to at least three different niches. Two blocks also undoubtedly belong to a niche. One of them, whose current location is unknown, was published by H. Ricke (1939: pl. IIId). It showed the figure of the king in front of a table and a list of offerings. The second presents Iunmutef and an inscription (Fig.4).

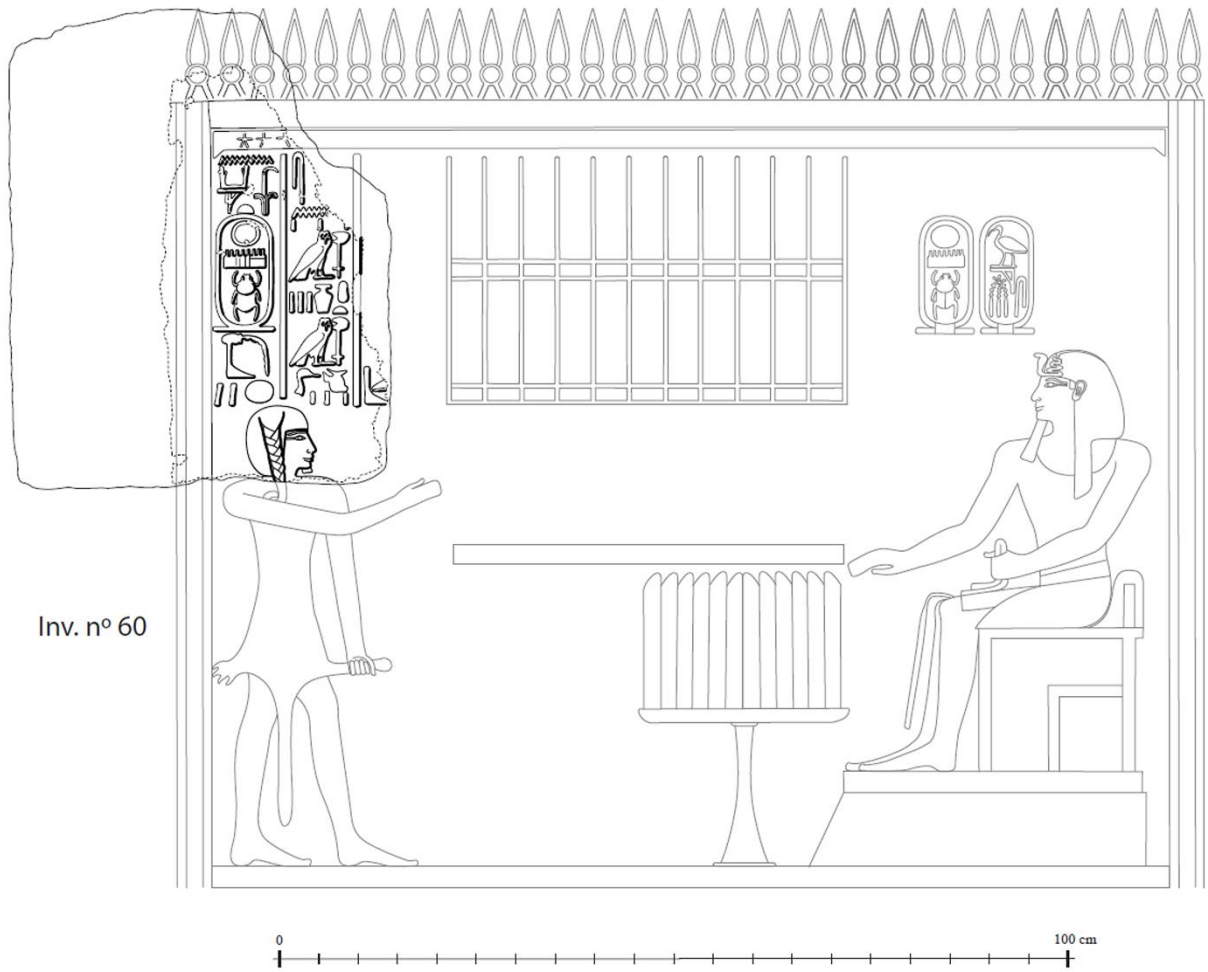

Figure 4. Reconstruction of a block (Ing. no 60) belonging to the decoration of a niche showing Iunmutef performing an offering on behalf of Thutmosis III (drawings: Linda Chapon. © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

Rooms placed in the northern and southern part of the sanctuary

On the north side of the sanctuary of the temples of Millions of Years, it is common to find a court dedicated to the solar cult as in the case of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari or in the temple of Seti I in Qurna. The fact that H. Ricke found a block that could have belonged to a possible solar altar in this part of the *Henket-Ankh* (1939: 12, 16) and the comparison with other similar buildings allowed him to suggest the existence of this room in the temple (Fig. 1). There is, however, no other evidence to support its existence. Hatshepsut was the first to include this type of court. In this way, she attempted to connect with her father on earth, the king who preceded her, as well as with her divine father, Ra. Her right to the throne was thus fully guaranteed (Stadelmann 1979; Haeny 1997; Donadoni 1999: 148; Gundlach 2001). These solar courts would become common in the temples of later periods. As early as

the reign of Thutmosis III, a solar court was also planned in the northern area of the *Akh-Menu* (Barguet 1962: 191, 203–5). Consequently, it is perfectly possible that it also existed in the *Henket-Ankh*.

Two other rooms may have existed south of the sanctuary (Stadelmann 1979), the last of which was divided into two parts in the reconstruction proposed by H. Ricke (1939). During the Ramesside era, when the Theban triad of Karnak became the most prominent one; a chapel dedicated to Mut and another to Khonsu would appear on each side of the barque room of Amun (Stadelmann 1979).

The worship given to the gods in the temples of Millions of Years was similar to that of any other cultic building, although it also included the cult presented to the statue of the king (Nelson, 1942). There were probably no rooms or areas in the temple dedicated specifically to royal worship at that time. It was rather a place dedicated to the funerary cult, which must surely have been associated with one or several predecessors. This is the case in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Haeny 1997; Donadoni 1999: 148; Gundlach 2001). In the *Henket-Ankh*, a vestibule would have given access to these last two south-facing rooms, an arrangement similar to that of the temple of this queen. The decoration was possibly made of sandstone and part of it included a sequence of fertility figures (Fig. 5) carved in sandstone and oriented towards the entrance to the chapels, as is the case again at Deir el-Bahari. This type of representation has not yet been documented in limestone in the *Henket-Ankh*.

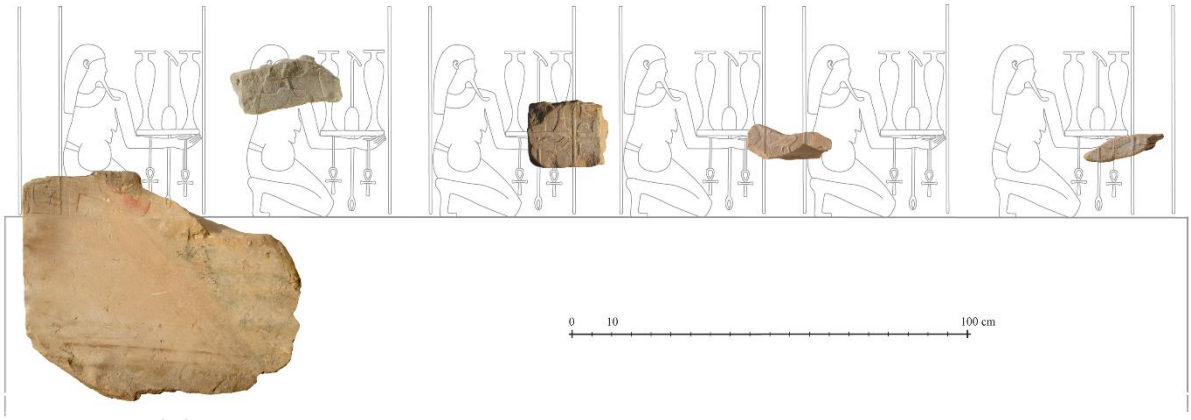

Figure 5. Reconstruction of sandstone fragments representing part of a procession of fertility figures (photographs and drawings: Linda Chapon. © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

The chapels dedicated to the funerary cult in temples of Millions of Years usually include different scenes clearly connected with the funerary rituals and that are, therefore, destined for the rebirth in the hereafter and for the eternity of the sovereign. The offerings chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari included a vaulted ceiling decorated with what is known as the Ritual of the Hours. Furthermore, the north and south walls of the room show the king seated in front of a table with breads and offerings and a large list of products. Numerous offering bearers and priests performing rituals also appear in several registers (Naville 1901: 8–9, pl. 112–13; Karkowski 2001: 146–8). Thoth, Iunmutef or another king consecrates the offerings and rituals on behalf of the king himself (Arnold, 1962: 57–61; Myśliwiec, 1985: 6–8). Several sandstone reliefs discovered in the *Henket-Ankh* lead us to believe that a room with a similar iconographic program could have existed in this building. Blocks and fragments belonging to a vaulted roof represented a scene of the Ritual of the Hours (Ricke 1939: 11, 31, pls. VIII–XX) (Fig. 6).

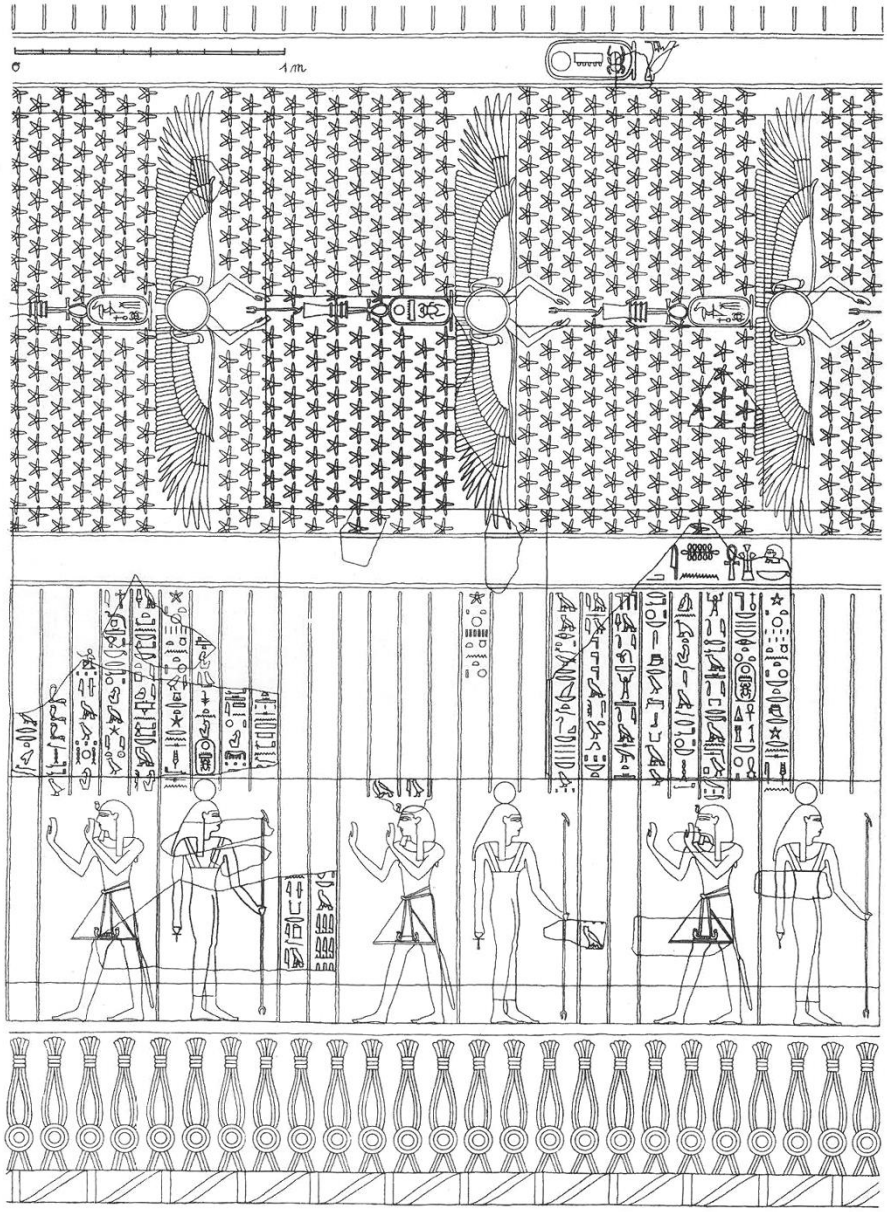

Figure 6. Reconstruction by H. Ricke (1939: pls. VIII–XX) of the vaulted ceiling representing the Ritual of the Hours in the possible funerary chapel of Thutmosis III in the *Henket-Ankh*.

Furthermore, fragments from at least two offerings lists of type A/B of W. Barta (1963) were found, as well as two fragments of inscriptions comparable to the text composed of 35 columns that are repeated on the north and south walls of the chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1901: 8–9, pls. 112–13), and figures of priests and offering bearers have also been identified (Fig. 7).

These reliefs were most probably part of the decoration of a room dedicated to Thutmosis III (Ricke 1939: 11, 31, pls. VIII–XX), which was built in sandstone. A false door stela that most probably corresponds to this area of the temple, and which is very similar to the one dedicated to Hatshepsut in her temple, was found at Medinet Habu. The scene shows the king presenting an offering to Osiris and

Anubis in the presence of a goddess (Ricke 1939: 31; Maruejol 2007: 240). Some limestone fragments preserve figures of priests and similar offering bearers. Consequently, a room built entirely or partially in limestone was maybe devoted to a predecessor. It is quite likely that if one room was dedicated to the funerary cult of Thutmosis III, the second one situated to the south of the sanctuary was for one of his ancestors. Thutmosis I was honoured in the temple of Hatshepsut. It seems logical to think that it was Thutmosis II, the father of Thutmosis III, who was the main beneficiary of this cult to the predecessors in the temple of his son (Ricke 1939: 15).

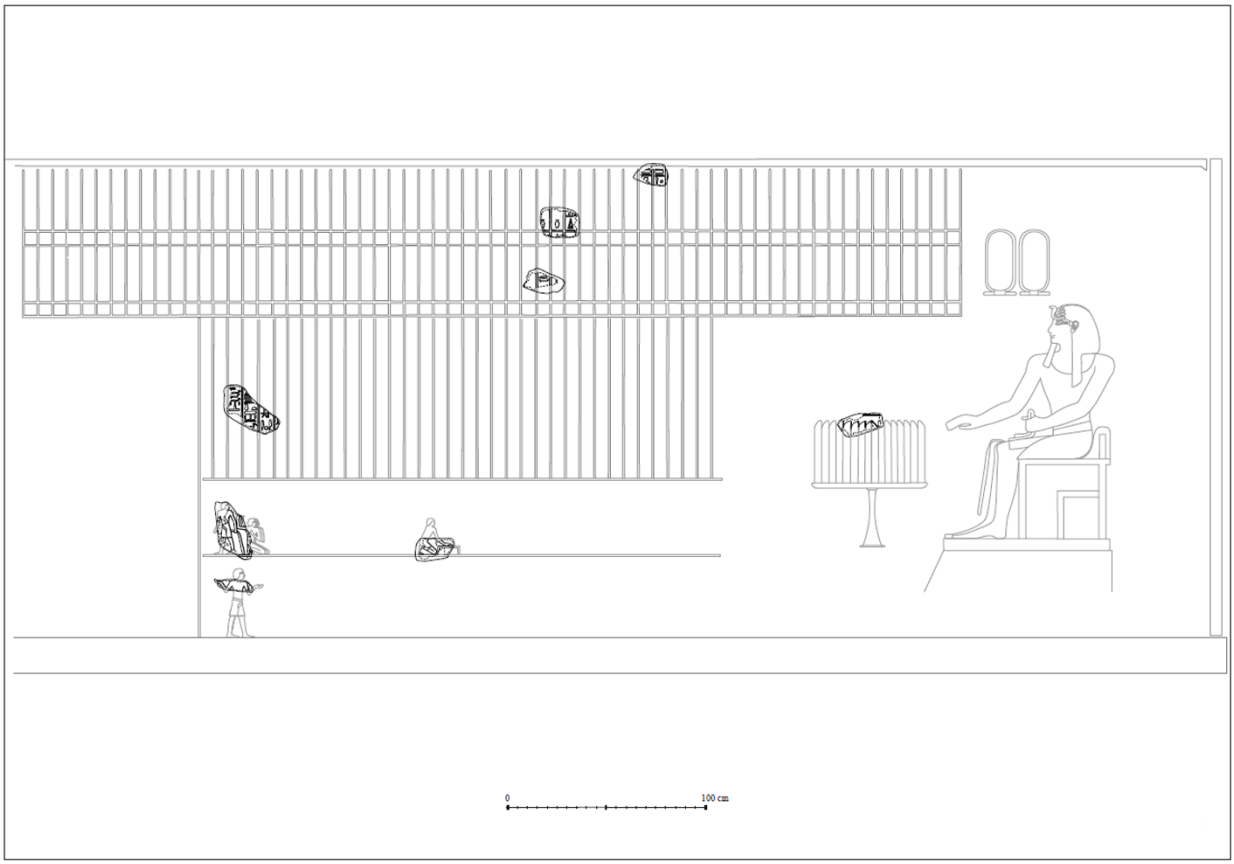

Figure 7. Reconstruction of the possible south wall of the funerary chapel of Thutmosis III in the *Henket-Ankh* based on several sandstone fragments (drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

The hypostyle hall, the open court and the facade of the temple

In the *Henket-Ankh*, this third part of the temple was surrounded by a series of rooms distributed on each side of the hypostyle hall, whose function is currently impossible to determine (Ricke 1939: 13, pls. V–VI). For the fourth part, the reconstructions of H. Ricke were based on the temples of Hatshepsut, Amenhotep II, and Thutmosis IV situated on the West Bank. He rebuilt a large porch or peristyle court that could have been surrounded by columns on each side (Ricke 1939: pl. V) (Fig. 1). This front part was the place where the barque of Amun emerged from inside the temple to appear to the public in the 'hall of appearances' or hypostyle hall (Myśliwiec 1985; Haeny 1997). These areas of the temple which were more open and gave progressive access to the sanctuary were mainly intended for religious festivals. Parts of the functions of the room were eventually assumed by the 'large temple court' or 'court for

festivals' (Arnold 1962: 107). As stated previously, the processions acquired particular importance during the reign of Hatshepsut and this would be reflected in the temples of this era (Schott 1952; Bleeker 1967; Dolińska 2007; Stadler 2008). Many reliefs in sandstone have preserved partial episodes fitting with scenes of processions. They intended to show the king in his role of principal ritualist and his perfect symbiosis with Maat (Leblanc 1997).

It is precisely in the hypostyle hall, or in the peristyle, where these scenes depicting the entry and exit of the barque would have been found, including scenes in which the king accompanies the divine barque, the barque being received by the king and placed on a dais and the ritual of the offerings celebrated in its honour. In the case of the fragments discovered in the *Henket-Ankh*, no inscription survives to indicate which festival was represented. It is logical however to think that it was the 'Feast of the Valley'. However, in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, for example, both the 'Feast of the Valley' and the 'Opet Festival' were represented on the east and north walls of the upper terrace of the temple. In the chapel of Hathor, another procession that included this goddess was represented. In the temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari, only the 'Feast of the Valley' was shown (Gorski 1990; Wiercińska 1990; Dolińska 1994).

At least four scenes representing priests carrying the divine processional barque on their shoulders have been documented in the *Henket-Ankh* (Fig. 8). There is a difference in scale between at least two groups of priests who were transporting the barque of Amun on their shoulders. They, without a doubt, do not belong to the original decoration of the temple and were subsequently restored following the Amarna period. This would mean that the barques of Mut and Khonsu could have been included following the barque of Amun, as was the case at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.

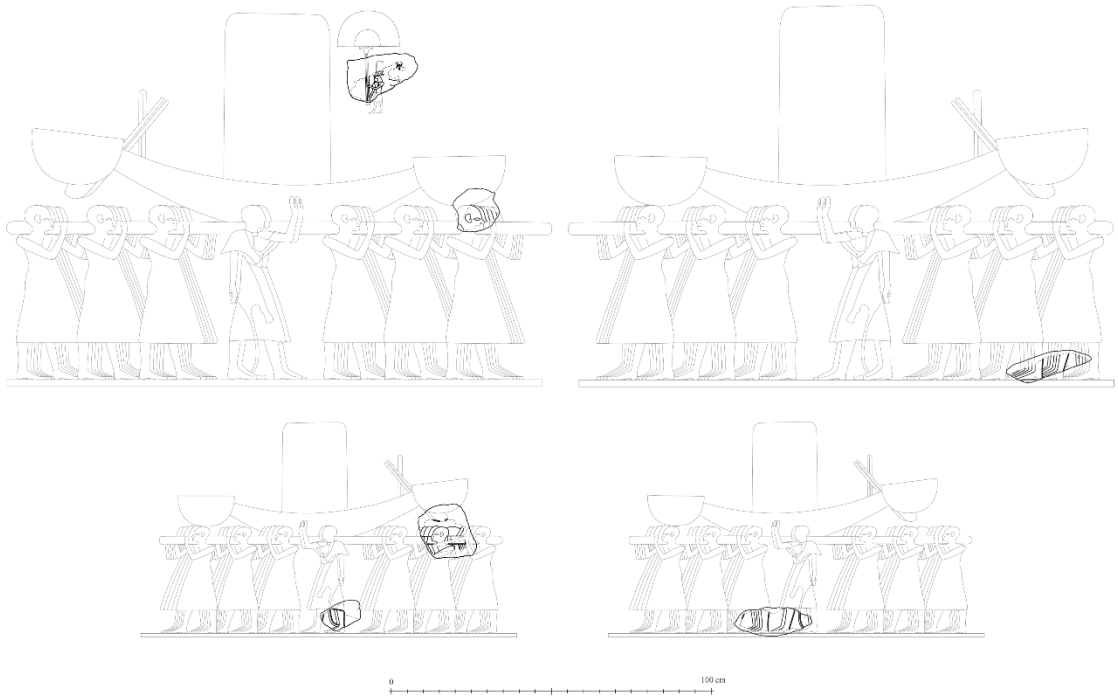

Figure 8. Reconstruction of four divine barques being transported on the shoulders of priests based on several sandstone fragments (drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

The river transport of the divine barque was also included on these walls, as many fragments of the boats that towed the royal boat seem to prove. Some fragments show that parades of royal statues, priests, singers, musicians, and other characters participated in these processions. As in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, it is possible that these walls were divided into two large, horizontal registers, which, in turn, were composed of two sub-registers. The lower one would have staged this parade of figures and the upper one the transport on land or river of the divine barque. As for the location, like all the narrative-type scenes, the procession of the divine boat was usually situated on the side walls of the hypostyle hall (Arnold 1962: 96) or in the court. A similar sequence must have been placed in the *Henket-Ankh*.

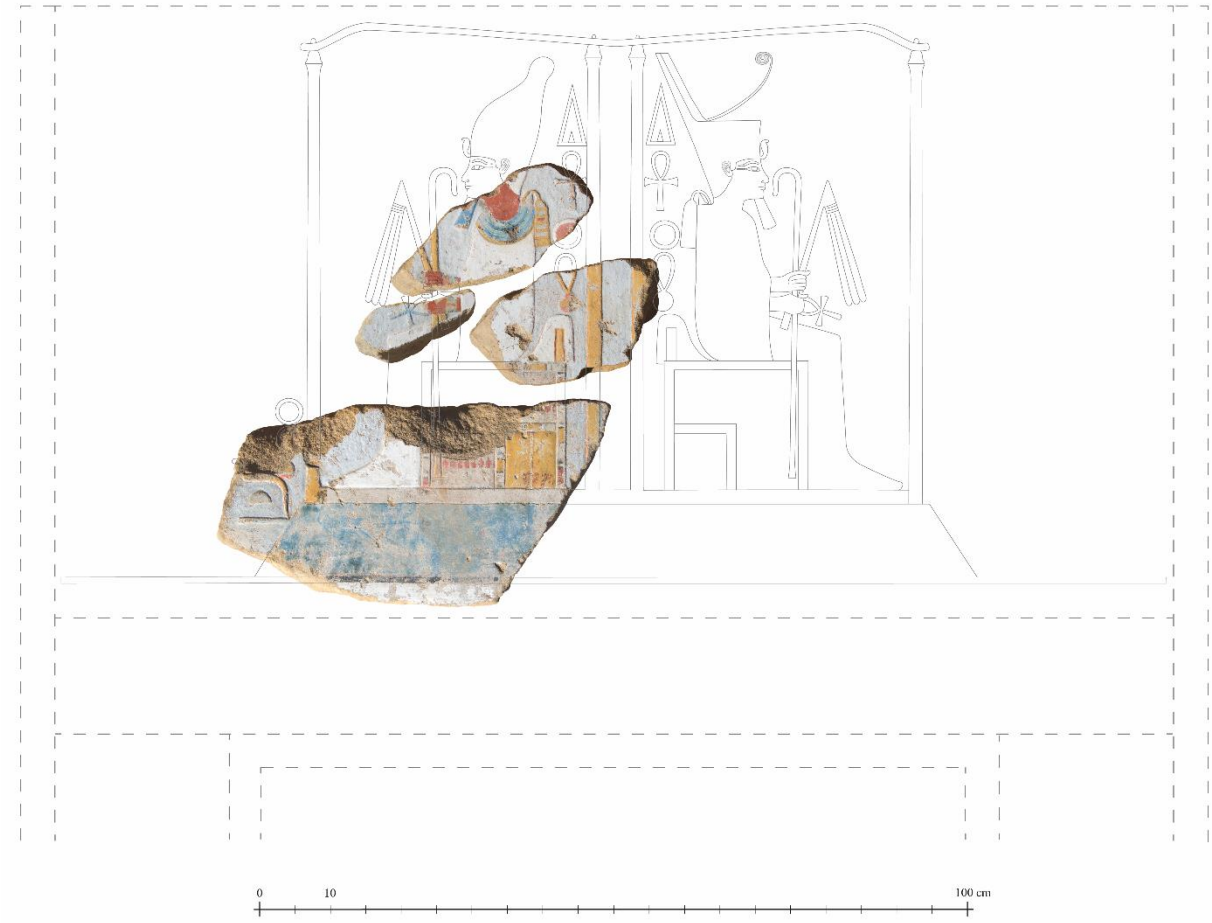

Figure 9. Reconstruction of several block showing the king with the *Heb Sed* robe seated on a double pavilion (photographs and drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

The sandstone reliefs belonging to parts of an offerings list type D of W. Barta (1963) would have been placed on the walls of a separate room located in the sanctuary. In Deir el-Bahari, this great offering appears in the divine barque room, as it also does in the small temple of the 18th dynasty at Medinet Habu (Barta 1963: 166). In the *Henket-Ankh*, this list could have been located in another part of the temple, either in one of the rooms that would have led to the sanctuary, in the hypostyle hall or perhaps

even in the second court or peristyle. In this case, the king would have been represented in the act of consecration before a table of offerings that was crowned by the list of offerings. On the other side of the scene was the divine barque that was possibly the recipient of the offering in the context of a procession, surely the 'Feast of the Valley'.

It is possible to connect a scene of a parade of bovines led to sacrifice to this processional iconography from which some fragments have been identified in sandstone. This type of scene seems to be related to court areas (Leclant 1956; Cabrol 1999), as evidenced by the composition that appears on a porch of Thutmosis IV at Karnak which has been reconstructed in the open-air museum (Barguet 1962: 95, 307308; Letellier and Larché 2013: 176–87, pl. 63, foldable 5–6), or in the court of the Luxor temple (Epigraphic Survey 1994: pls. 100–1, 104–7).

Rituals and ceremonies, including several episodes of the coronation cycle, founding ceremonies, and performances connected with the *Heb Sed* festival, were also held in the hypostyle hall and the peristyle, among others. The objective was to commemorate the history of the temple and its political aspects (Arnold 1962: 107; Myśliwiec 1985; Haeny 1997). The coronation cycle undoubtedly deserved an important place in the iconographic programme of the temple (Leblanc 1997) and must surely have existed in the *Henket-Ankh*. Unfortunately, it has been impossible to clearly identify this group of scenes from the sandstone material.

The scenes related to the *Heb Sed* ritual are one of the key iconographic elements that served to stage the eternal regeneration of royal power (Leblanc 1980; Myśliwiec 1985: 12). They include representations of the ritual race of the king and those in which he is depicted with the *Heb Sed* robe either standing or seated on a throne. This type of scene could have been included in this more public part of the temple, but also in adjacent rooms that would have had a specific function in the symbolic and ideological discourse of the temple. This is the case, for example, of the Sokar complex of the *Akh-menu* of Karnak (Barguet 1962: 187–90; Porter and Moss 1975: 116 (373); Masquelier-Loorius 2017). In addition, the scenes in which the king wears the *Heb Sed* robe are not always related to the actual celebration of the ceremony, but to the use of a recurring motif as a symbolic element in different contexts where the emphasis was placed on the concept of regeneration (Bonhême and Forgeau 1988: 289–92; Hornung and Staehelin 2006: 33–8). The king seated on his throne symmetrically in the double

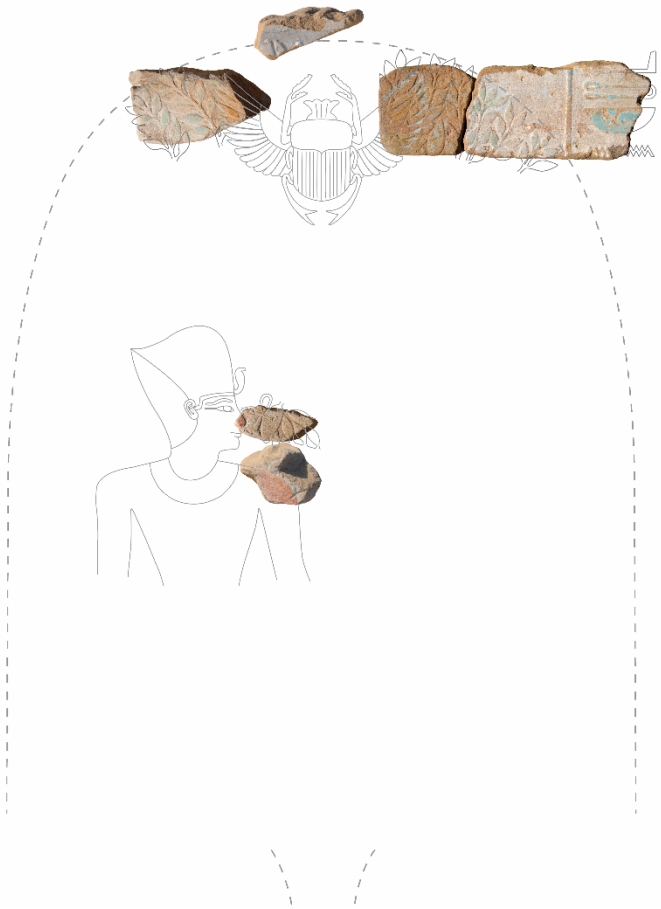

Figure 10. Reconstruction of the scene of the Ished tree based on several sandstone fragments discovered in the Henket-ankh (photographs and drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

pavilion of Upper and Lower Egypt of the *Heb Sed* has been documented in the sandstone material of the *Henket-Ankh*. This type of scene is often depicted at the top of the doors on lintels (Leblanc 1997). According to known parallels, it is likely that this scene was located in a room adjacent to the hypostyle hall or in the vestibules leading to the chapels for the king or for his predecessor (Fig. 9). Some other blocks and fragments have been documented that present the king wearing the *Heb Sed* robe, but their exact contexts and, therefore, their locations are difficult to determine (Chapon 2018).

Another important rite that probably originated in Heliopolis and could have been represented in this part of the temple is the mythical scene of the inscription of the name of the king onto the leaves or fruits of the *Ished* tree (Myśliwiec 1985: 12–13). Many fragments that may have belonged to one or two scenes of this type have been identified in the *Henket-Ankh* where the king would have been placed in front of the tree and received a sign of life from a deity (Chapon 2016) (Fig. 10). Three other fragments could be related to the transport and/or cult of the royal statues.

It is possible that the rooms located to the south of the hypostyle hall were also connected to the royal cult. In fact, H. Ricke (1939: 13, pls. V–VI) proposes that a door joined this part of the temple with the possible vestibule that led to the funerary chapels. However, at the present time we do not have any clues to suggest the function of those rooms located to the north. In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, specific parts of the temple were consecrated to Anubis and Hathor (Myśliwiec 1985: 6; Haeny 1997). It seems quite certain that a chapel for Hathor existed in a separate complex on the south side of the *Henket-Ankh*. There is, however, no evidence of another chapel similar to those of Anubis in Deir el-Bahari.

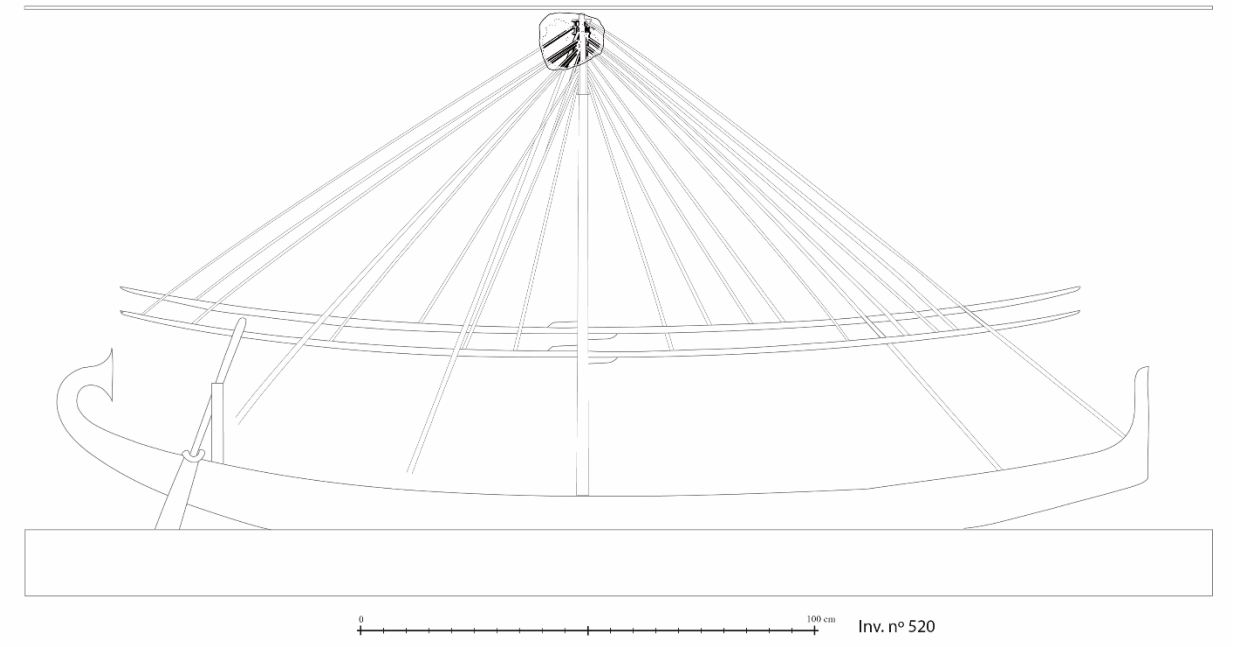

Figure 11. Reconstruction of one of the transport boats represented in the *Henket-Ankh* (drawing: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

Other fragments of sandstone reliefs reveal the existence of more scenes that could have been placed in the peristyle. Some retain partial images of transport boats (Fig. 11). The state of preservation of the reliefs does not allow these particular scenes to be clearly identified, although a trip to Punt could be a

quite plausible possibility. The originality of the expedition carried out by Hatshepsut and its staging in his temple at Deir el-Bahari has often been highlighted (e.g. Säve-Söderbergh 1946: 17; Landström 1970: 122). However, it is perfectly possible that Thutmosis III also represented a trip to Punt in the *Henket-Ankh* or at least a reception of tributes from this land.

Figure 12. Reconstruction of a possible scene of list of enemies and massacre of enemies based on sandstone fragments discovered in the *Henket-Ankh* (photographs and drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

The victory of the king over his enemies is another theme that is generally depicted in external areas such as the court or the portico. The most common scenes are the submission of foreign countries, the parades of prisoners and the massacre and lists of enemies, along with scenes of royal hunting or battle. The scene of massacre and lists of enemies began precisely at this time to become a recurring theme of the decoration of New Kingdom temples. It is not surprising that a relatively large number of fragments of lists of enemies placed inside oval rings have been documented in the *Henket-Ankh*. They would probably have belonged to one or two scenes, probably accompanied by representations of massacres of enemies (Fig. 12). On the other hand, some sandstone reliefs may have belonged to representations of battles (Fig. 13) and sieges of one or more fortresses, as well as to various parts of historical inscriptions. These iconographic elements were certainly placed in the peristyle.

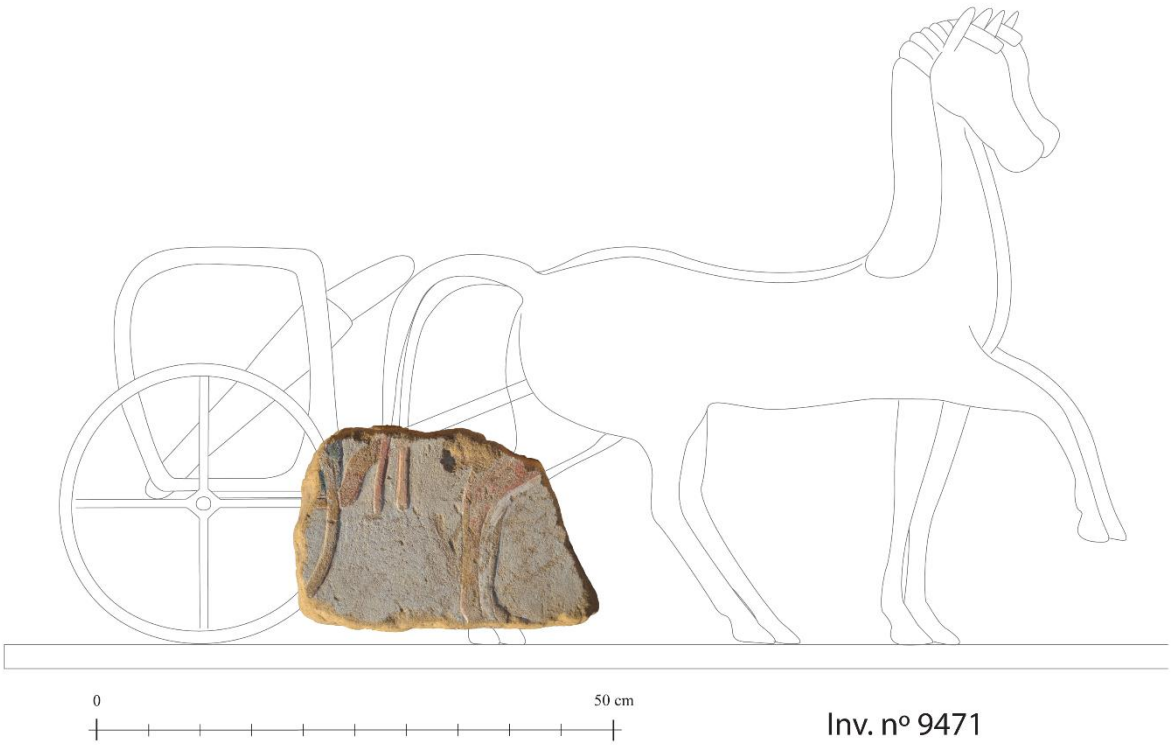

Figure 13. Reconstruction of a war chariot form a sandstone fragment discovered in the *Henket-Ankh* (photograph and drawing: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

Finally, the fifth part of the building consisted of a porticoed facade that would probably have corresponded to the entrance to the temple itself and from where the peristyle was accessed (Fig. 1). The portico of the *Henket-Ankh* was composed of a row of ten pillars. These pillars appear to have been of the Osiriac type. In this case, the statue rested in front of the pillar. Both the northern and southern sides of the pillars were carved in sunk relief while the west face was in bas-relief. Each side represented the god Amun, and perhaps other deities, facing the king. The iconographic typology of these pillars is similar, for example, to that of the intermediate portico of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1901: pls. 65–6). These types of scenes usually show a deity heading towards the king, embracing him or even offering him the *Ankh* symbol (Myśliwiec 1985; Haeny 1997). The lower part of its decoration contained the usual formulas, such as the wish to 'celebrate millions of Sed Festivals' and to 'celebrate the first Sed Festival', archetypes that are found in the same way in the temple of Deir el-Bahari (Leblanc 1997). Other pillars must have had four faces in bas-relief or two faces in sunk relief and could not, therefore, have belonged to those of the Osiriac type. Their location is more difficult to determine, although a rather plausible option would be that there were two rows of pillars at the entrance to the chapel to Hathor, which was placed in the southern part of the second court (Fig. 14).

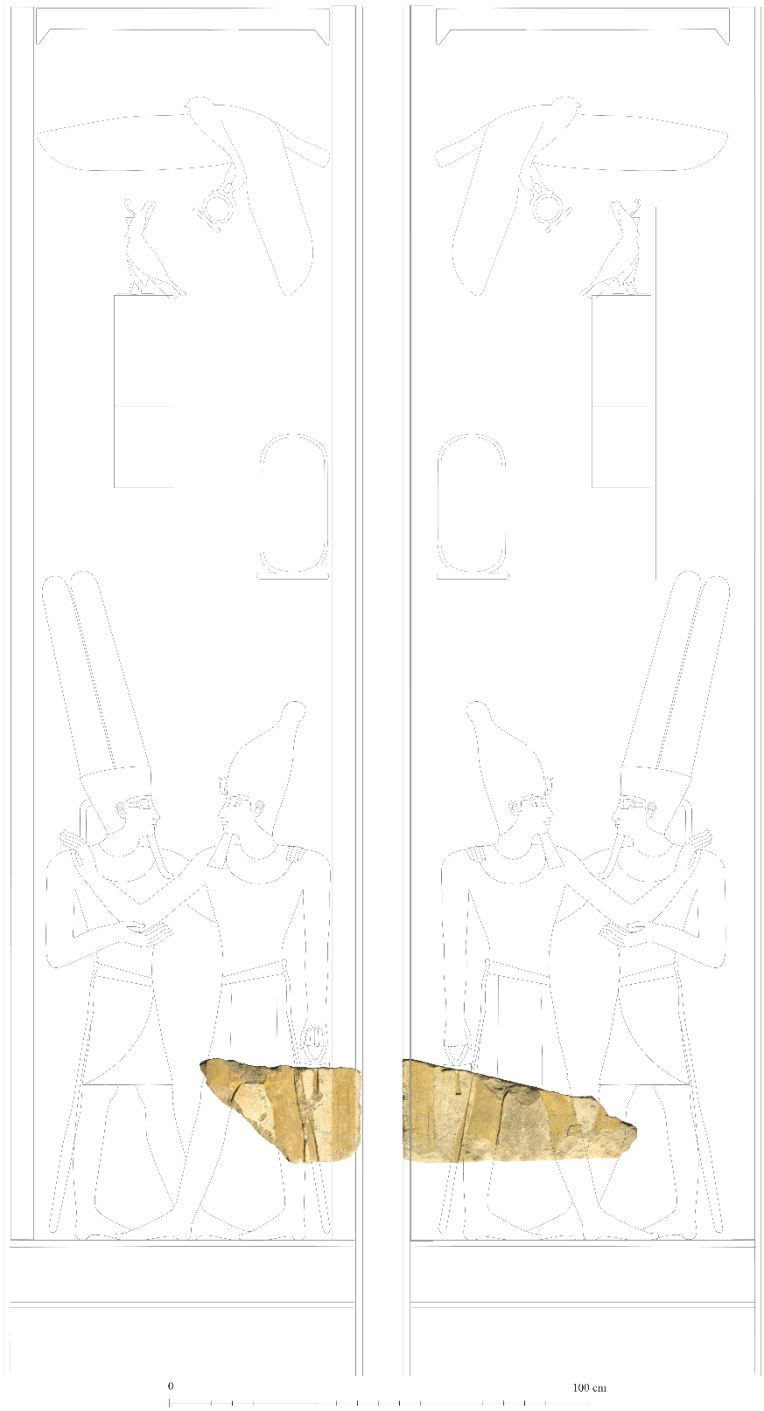

Figure 14. Reconstruction of two sides of a pillar carved in sunk relief based on a large sandstone block discovered in the *Henket-Ankh* (photographs and drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

The external walls of the main building

In the *Henket-Ankh*, following the entrance portico, there was a terrace and a ramp located on the main axis that connected the upper terrace to the second court (Fig. 1). The last decorated area of the main temple could therefore have been the portico or some external wall in the second court. The main entrance to the sacred area of the complex was made through the monumental mudbrick pylon, which connected to the enclosure wall, also built in mudbrick, and that completely surrounded the temple (Seco Álvarez and Radwan 2012–2013: 330; Seco Álvarez 2015: 106). Unfortunately, few structures from the first court are known.

We have already mentioned the existence of a chapel dedicated to the goddess Hathor in the *Henket-Ankh,* located to the south of the main temple, similar to that of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. The columns of the hypostyle or the pillars of the portico were surmonted by Hathoric capitals, of which H. Ricke (1939:21, pl. 3c) discovered a fragment. The ramp, surely surrounded on each side by three or four pillars, gave access to the possible hypostyle hall and the sanctuary (Ricke 1939: 21–5, pls. V–VI; Seco Álvarez 2015: 106) (Fig. 1).

Unfortunately, no conclusion can be reached on the decoration that would have existed in this chapel. Some fragments retain the name of the goddess Hathor, but it is not possible to specify whether they belonged to the walls of this chapel. The fact that many of the reliefs identified in sandstone are mainly related to the presentation of offerings or even processions, and their small size makes it difficult to assign them to the area of this chapel, to the main sanctuary dedicated to Amun, or even to chapels dedicated to other deities. However, it seems quite certain that the chapel of Hathor was built in sandstone (Ricke 1939: 29). As is the case in Deir el-Bahari, it must quite certainly have included the goddess represented in the form of a cow or with an anthropomorphic form, offerings dedicated to this divinity, or the king breastfed by the goddess.

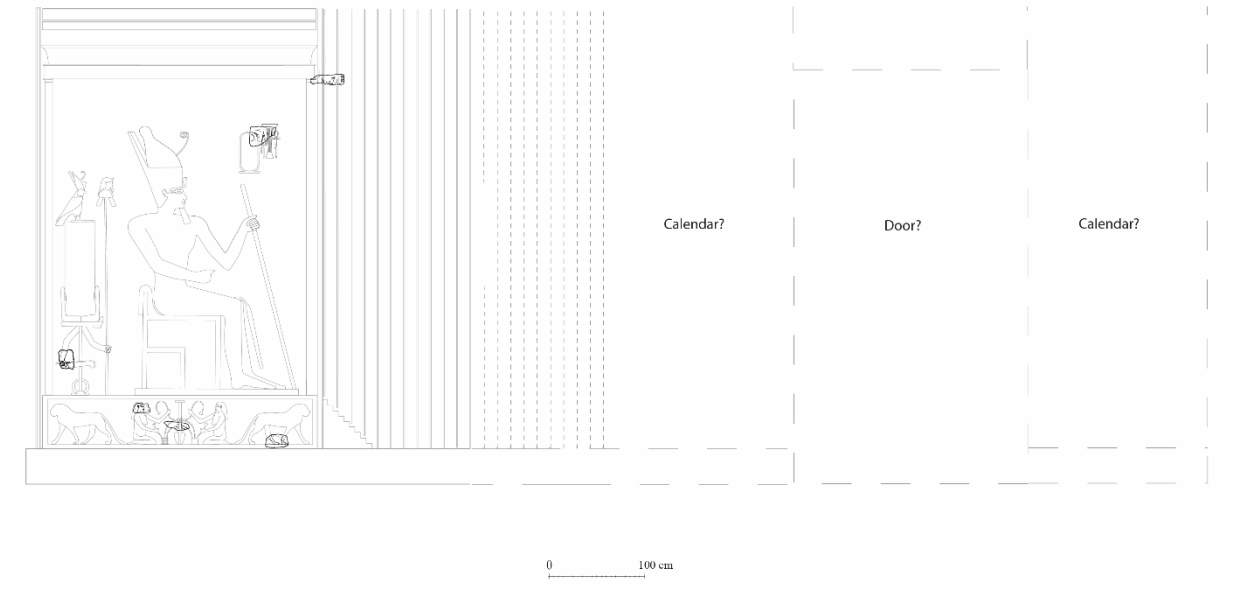

Figure 15. Reconstruction of a possible scene representing a festival calendar based on several fragments discovered in the *Henket-Ankh* (drawings: Linda Chapon, © Thutmosis III Temple Project).

Finally, an exterior wall would have contained a festival calendar. According to the number of preserved sandstone fragments and the size of the inscriptions identified in sunk relief, it must have been a large scene (Fig. 15) that represented the king seated on a throne followed by a royal speech and one or several lists of festivities and offerings. It is difficult to identify the area where it was located, although it was probably on the outer transverse wall of the temple on the north or south side. On the West Bank of Thebes, a similar calendar is preserved in the temple of Millions of Years of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (Epigraphic Survey 1940).

Final considerations

The analysis and interpretation of the iconographic and symbolic programme of the *Henket-Ankh* is certainly difficult when what has remained of the architectural elements and the reliefs of the walls that originally made up the temple are considered. The parallels known for this period, and especially the reign of Thutmosis III, have allowed us to establish analogies between the different temples. Through abductive reasoning, it is often possible to establish fairly coherent assumptions for some of the scenes that decorated the temple walls.

The construction of the *Henket-Ankh* probably started during the regency or coregency between Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III. The cartouches of Thutmosis II and this queen were identified in some mudbricks stamps that surely belonged to the first phase of the construction in the temple (Ricke 1939: 8, no. 15). However, it is likely that this building was dedicated from the beginning to the cult of Amun and Thutmosis III. The cartouche of Hatshepsut has been documented on some sandstone fragments, and a number of inscriptions have a feminine ending that has sometimes been erased. The presence of this queen during the first phase of construction is understandable, considering that this dates back to at least the period of coregency.

In fact, there are many similarities between the *Henket-Ankh* and the *Djeser-Djeserou*, the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Firstly, the limestone used in both structures is alike. As works in the temple began during the regency or coregency, they could have been edified with the same material. These constructions also shared iconographic themes. The offering chapel of Hatshepsut and the possible funerary room that would have been dedicated to Thutmosis III in the *Henket-Ankh* were probably decorated in a similar way. If we consider that the fragments identified belonged to a funerary chapel, which was undoubtedly devoted to Thutmosis III, then it is possible to assume that the decoration of *Henket-Ankh* was inspired by the programme of Hatshepsut or that the two chapels would have been at least decorated at the same time.

The style found in many fragments of reliefs discovered in the temple of Thutmosis III is similar to those of the temple of Hatshepsut, especially in the case of offering bearers or soldiers, or the use of the Pyramids Texts. This has been interpreted as an attempt by the queen to connect with older traditions of the Old and Middle Kingdom to seek further legitimisation (e.g. Naville 1901: 8; Smith 1946: 204; Aldred 1980: 152; Roth 2005; Laboury 2013; Cwiek 2014). This is also reflected in the general organisation of the decoration of this room, which follows the model of the sanctuary of Pepi II (Jéquier 1938: 54–5). The proportions of the chapel of Hatshepsut are a copy of a version of the 5th dynasty. In this way, the queen blended two great periods and the two main cities of Egyptian history in the decoration of her temple (Roth 2005: 150). Her example set a precedent that was in all probability followed by Thutmosis III. It should be noted that the kings of the 18th dynasty showed particular zeal in the worship of the great kings of the Middle Kingdom, particularly those of the 12th dynasty. This dynasty was also of Theban origin that, like the 18th dynasty, reunified Egypt after a period of instability under the patronage of Amun-Ra (Redford 1995: 157–84). In this sense, Hatshepsut constructed her temple

precisely at Deir el-Bahari, close to the one of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (Laboury 2013). Finally, following the example of the temple of Deir el-Bahari, that of Thutmosis III was also erected on terraces.

Regarding the chronology of the temple, we must remember that since the time of H. Ricke, it has been established that the *Henket-Ankh* was built in several phases. The use of limestone and sandstone seems to prove this, although the question of whether there was a symbolic reason for the choice of one stone or another cannot be completely excluded. However, it is not certain that the construction phases were identical to the decorative phases, since they could have taken place at different times. At least part of the decoration in the peristyle area or the portico could have been made after year 33 because it is possible that the battle scenes and inscriptions correspond to the events that took place around this date. The extension in a second architectural phase of the upper terrace and the addition of a court and a pylon could have been performed previously or carried out in parallel with this decorative phase. The royal titulary documented in the *Henket-Ankh* also reflects the different phases that existed in the decoration of the temple. Unfortunately, most of the reliefs preserved are decontextualised and do not allow e a chronology to be attributed to parts of the temple. The presence of Queen Merytre-Hatshepsut in several reliefs also indicates a phase of decoration after the fourth decade of the reign.

The chapel of Hathor was added during a final phase, and its decoration was likely to have been completed by Amenhotep II. The name of this king is preserved twice on the sandstone material. Unfortunately, these reliefs cannot be connected directly to one wall of this chapel. An ostracon discovered in the temple of Thutmosis III at Deir el-Bahari mentioning works in the temple in the Year 49 of his reign (Hayes 1960: pl. 12–12a, 16 recto), could correspond to this new addition, or to a transformation of the processional axis because the dimensions of the divine processional barque were enlarged at that time (Wiercińska 1993; 2010).

Regarding its function, even if several temples were called temple of Millions of Years, it seems possible that the *Henket-Ankh* was the one that also included the funerary cult of the king, as also proved by the decoration on sandstone. According to M. Dolińska (1994), great importance was given to the royal cult in the temple of *Djeser-Akhet* at Deir el-Bahari. However, the funerary-type cult would have taken place in the *Henket-Ankh* because in the first temple there was no vaulted room, as there was in the temple of Hatshepsut, where the king sat in front of offerors and priests performing rituals (Arnold 1962: 58–61). It is likely that another type of royal cult was developed in the *Djeser-Akhet*, which would also have included a room dedicated to the cult of the royal statue (Dolińska 1994).

The study of the fragments of sandstone reliefs of the *Henket-Ankh* has been essential to approaching the decorative program and the function of the temple, as well as the iconographic connexions with other constructions of this period regarding the style and the kind of scenes represented. Indeed, some of them are unique and were unknown for the reign of Thutmosis III, such as the scene of the bovids for sacrifice or battle scenes including fortresses. Other scenes appear in other Thutmoside constructions. This is the case, for example, of the four calendars which had already been acknowledged from the reign of Thutmosis III or the *Heb Sed* scenes of the *Akh-menu*. This iconographic material would enrich the early New Kingdom iconographic corpus. Furthermore, it could set the basis for future comparisons between temples, particularly with other Thutmoside constructions.

The *Henket-Ankh* was certainly a building of great importance in the royal ideology of the moment as a place of funerary and divine worship, as well as of the regeneration of royal power. Unquestionably, very few remains have been recovered from this temple, but these allow us to get an insight on the complexity of the iconographic programme that was conceived by theologians and the quality of most of the reliefs that were to cover the walls.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the Project of the temple of Millions of Years of Thutmosis III in Luxor and its director, Dr Myriam Seco Álvarez, for giving me the opportunity to study the sandstone relief fragments discovered in that temple, as well as all its team. Without their support the PhD thesis, whose main results are presented in this paper, would not have been possible.

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