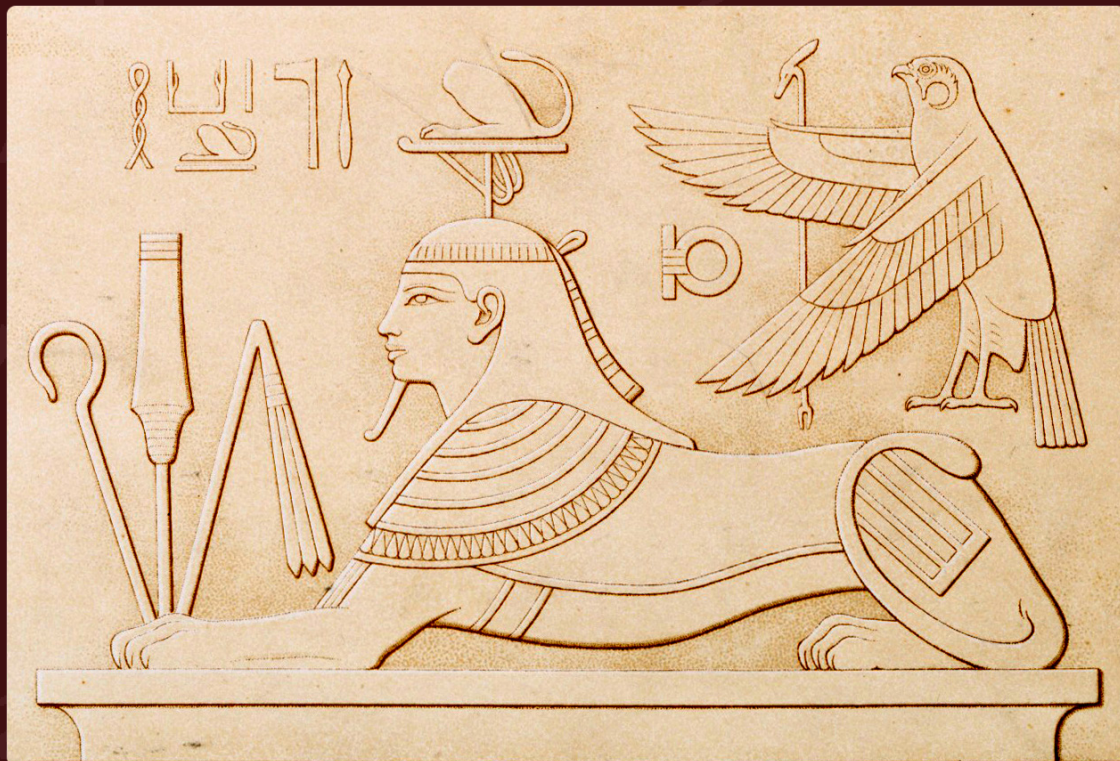


A Master of Secrets in the Chamber of Darkness

*Egyptological Studies in Honor of Robert K. Ritner
Presented on the Occasion of His Sixty-Eighth Birthday*

EDITED BY FOY D. SCALF AND BRIAN P. MUHS



INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURES • NUMBER 3

A MASTER OF SECRETS
IN THE CHAMBER OF DARKNESS



Robert K. Ritner illuminating ancient Egyptian secrets in a darkened chamber for tour participants, March 6, 1989. Photo by George Jacobi, used by permission of Angela Jacobi.

A MASTER OF SECRETS IN THE CHAMBER OF DARKNESS

EGYPTOLOGICAL STUDIES IN HONOR OF ROBERT K. RITNER
PRESENTED ON THE OCCASION OF HIS SIXTY-EIGHTH BIRTHDAY

Edited by

Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT CULTURES
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

STUDIES IN ANCIENT CULTURES • NUMBER 3

Library of Congress Control Number: 2024938840

ISBN (paperback): 978-1-61491-110-4

ISBN (Adobe PDF): 978-1-61491-111-1

ISBN (Adobe Digital Editions): 978-1-61491-112-8

*Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures
of the University of Chicago*

© 2024 by the University of Chicago. All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America.

Studies in Ancient Cultures
formerly
Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization

Series Editor

Andrew Baumann

with the assistance of

Connie Gundry Tappy

Cover Design

Foy D. Scalf

Cover Illustrations

Front cover: The god Heka as a sphinx. Detail from Émile Prisse d'Avennes, "Sculpture: types de sphinx," *Histoire de l'art égyptien d'après les monuments depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à la domination romaine* (Paris: Bertrand, 1878). New York Public Library Digital Collections, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art and Architecture Collection.

Back cover: Head of the god Bes from a Horus on the Crocodiles cippus currently in the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures Museum (ISACM E16881, photograph D. 9259).

Background: Hand copy of column 6 from P. British Museum EA 10070,2 showing one of the last dated references to the god Heka. From F. Ll. Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London: Grevel, 1904).

Layout

PerfecType, Nashville, TN

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of American National Standard for Information Services—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1992. ©

CONTENTS

| | |
|---|------|
| Acknowledgments | vii |
| Preface | ix |
| The Master of Secrets: Robert K. Ritner. <i>Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs</i> | xi |
| Publications of Robert K. Ritner. <i>Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs</i> | xvii |
| The Ritner Stela. <i>Megaera Lorenz and Mary Szabady</i> | xxv |
| | |
| 1. Black Magic (Woman) <i>Solange Ashby, University of California, Los Angeles</i> | 1 |
| 2. An Additional Layer of Complexity: Northern and Southern <i>Warets</i> in Middle Kingdom Administration <i>Kathryn E. Bandy, University of Chicago</i> | 23 |
| 3. Hieroglyphs of Value across the Great Green <i>Karen Polinger Foster, Yale University</i> | 47 |
| 4. Seth the Gleaming One <i>François Gaudard, University of Warsaw and University of Chicago</i> | 73 |
| 5. “Destructive Flame,” “Dazzling Beauty,” and “Source of Enlightenment”—Royal Light Terminology and Metaphor from the New Kingdom to the Late Period <i>Katja Goebis, University of Toronto</i> | 87 |
| 6. The “Libyan Family” at Kawa: Fashion as a Political Statement of Taharqo <i>Aleksandra Hallmann, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences</i> | 121 |
| 7. A Version of Book of the Dead Spell 99 in Demotic (P. Dem. MAIL 1) <i>Richard Jasnow, Johns Hopkins University</i> | 139 |
| 8. Three Demotic Silver Accounts from the ISAC Museum Collection <i>Jacqueline E. Jay, Eastern Kentucky University, and Foy D. Scalf, University of Chicago</i> | 151 |
| 9. Assorted Observations on Inheritance in Ancient Egypt <i>Janet H. Johnson, University of Chicago</i> | 167 |
| 10. Akhenaten and the Opening of the Mouth Ritual? An Enigmatic Karnak <i>Talatat</i> Block Found at Luxor Temple <i>W. Raymond Johnson, University of Chicago</i> | 177 |
| 11. A Portal for Isis of Djeme <i>J. Brett McClain, University of Chicago</i> | 185 |
| 12. Sur quelques passages de la <i>Stèle de la tempête</i> d’Ahmosis <i>Pierre Meyrat, University of Geneva</i> | 199 |
| 13. A Group of Three Human Figurines from Tell Edfu <i>Nadine Moeller, Yale University</i> | 213 |
| 14. A Note on the Meeting Places of Egyptian Associations <i>Ian S. Moyer, University of Michigan</i> | 225 |

| | | |
|-----|--|-----|
| 15. | Alterity, Amalgamation, and Royal Identity in Early Egypt <i>Hratch Papazian, University of Cambridge</i> | 233 |
| 16. | Once Again the Boatmen's Joust: A Study in Ritual and Symbolic Action <i>Peter A. Piccione, University of Charleston</i> | 247 |
| 17. | Syntactic and Modal Markers ("Particles") in the Texts of the Shabaqo Stone <i>Joshua A. Roberson, University of Memphis</i> | 261 |
| 18. | The Transmission of Magical Texts at Deir el-Medina: A Hieratic Copy of a Horus Cippi Text on Ostrakon ISACM E17008 <i>Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs, University of Chicago</i> | 277 |
| 19. | Spells on the Interior of the Headboard of the Coffin of Ahanakht and Connections with Chapters from the Book of the Dead <i>David P. Silverman, University of Pennsylvania</i> | 313 |
| 20. | Merenptah's Israel, His Shasu Militiamen, His Copper Caravan Route, and the Watering Stations Bearing His Name at Kadesh-barnea and Me-nephtoah: Part One <i>Richard C. Steiner, Yeshiva University</i> | 329 |
| 21. | The Inscribed Clay Cobra Figurines of Abydos: Protecting the Reawakening of Osiris <i>Kasia Szpakowska, Swansea University</i> | 403 |
| 22. | Three Demotic Ostraca from Dakhla Oasis (Mut 30/2, 30/15, and 42/12) <i>Günter Vittmann, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg</i> | 421 |
| 23. | The Twenty-Second Dynasty Coffin of a Chantress in the Pure Foundation of Ptah: A Glimpse into Priestly Society in Libyan-Period Memphis <i>Jennifer Houser Wegner, University of Pennsylvania</i> | 441 |
| 24. | New Light on the Mayors and Ruling Family of Wah-Sut <i>Josef Wegner, University of Pennsylvania</i> | 471 |
| 25. | "I Interrogated the Arabs of the Desert": Local Interlocutors in the Egyptological Research of Claude Sicard, 1712–1726 <i>Jennifer Westerfeld, University of Louisville</i> | 505 |
| 26. | The Last Buchis Bull(s) of Armant: Notes on the End of an Indigenous Animal Cult in Late Roman Egypt <i>Terry G. Wilfong, University of Michigan</i> | 527 |
| 27. | New Observations on the Cryptographic Text of Pinudjem I at Medinet Habu <i>Jonathan Winnerman, University of California, Los Angeles</i> | 539 |

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

AN HONORARY VOLUME SUCH AS this could not have been completed without the help and hard work of many people, and in particular the work of the staff of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures—West Asia & North Africa (ISAC), known before 2023 as the Oriental Institute. The editors would like to thank former ISAC director Chris Woods and former interim ISAC director Theo van den Hout for supporting this project from the beginning. In the ISAC Museum, registrar Helen McDonald and associate registrar Susan Allison fielded many queries about examining objects and acquiring image permissions. Archivist Anne Flannery provided unflagging support, assistance, and research in the archives. Her predecessor as archivist, John Larson, had a major impact on this volume as well. John was a close friend of Robert’s for a very long time, and we spoke with him about this Festschrift for several years, going back to at least 2016. The tens of thousands of digitized and born-digital image files produced and saved by John provided an important source for the compilation of this volume. John is also owed an immense debt of gratitude for all the help he offered to Robert throughout his career, particularly in helping digitize and organize his files. Robert could not have been the scholar he was without John’s help. We would like to thank Charissa Johnson, Steven Townshend, Andrew Baumann, and all the former and current staff in the ISAC publications office for their help in bringing this volume to fruition and making it available to the world.

The editors would also like to thank all the contributors whose work fills the following pages. We realize the tedium that goes into writing, editing, proofreading, and ultimately publishing this material, and we thank them for their contributions, patience, and cordial agreement to participate. Please accept our apologies for the length of time this volume was in production.

Finally, the editors would like to thank Robert K. Ritner and make an offering on the altar in his memory. We miss him as the *ḥry-ḥ3b.t ḥry-tp* “chief lector” of Egyptian philology at ISAC and in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations at the University of Chicago, and as the *ḥry-sšB* “master of secrets” for his many students.

PREFACE

A VOLUME SUCH AS THIS with contributions from many individuals will inevitably contain some inconsistencies. In general, all dates have been converted to BCE/CE unless within a direct quote, for which the original designations remain unchanged. The reader may encounter in such quoted passages dates designated by BC/AD. Individual contributors employed their own lists of abbreviations. Readers should consult the list of abbreviations that accompanies each essay for clarification, as the same work may be referenced in various ways or under different abbreviations within separate contributions. A consistent transliteration font has been used throughout this volume for any romanized transliteration characters, used for Egyptian or otherwise; however, choice of transliteration characters and style has been left up to the individual contributors. Therefore, where one contribution may use *i* another may use *j* or *y* or *j*; where one uses =*f*, another may use ≠*f* or .*f* and so on. As this work has been compiled primarily for a technical audience, the editors hope that these minor inconsistencies will not pose much difficulty.

A note is in order here about the title of this volume. All readers will likely be familiar with the Egyptian title *ḥry-sšt*, often translated as “master of secrets,” a title that Robert himself discussed in numerous publications. However, perhaps less well known is the *‘t kky* “chamber of darkness.” For Robert’s colleagues working in Demotic, this reference will be immediately familiar from the so-called Book of Thoth as a cryptic reference to the “house of life” scriptorium. Not only does the frontispiece illustration show Robert exercising his skills as a “Master of Secrets in the Chamber of Darkness,” but a further allusion is made to Robert’s dedication to Janet Johnson in her Festschrift, titled *Essays for the Library of Seshat*. There, Robert included an image from the temple of Philae and an inscription mentioning the “library of Seshat,” Seshat being a goddess referred to at Edfu as the “foremost of the chamber of darkness.” As such, the editors hope that the title will be seen as a fitting tribute filled with wordplay and allusion.

Finally, it was with great sadness that we learned of the death of Robert K. Ritner on July 25, 2021, after several years of compounding health issues, including kidney disease and leukemia. A draft of this Festschrift was presented to Robert on his sixty-eighth birthday—May 5, 2021—in a private visit while he was in a rehabilitation hospital in the suburbs of Chicago. He was extremely touched at the gesture of his colleagues. Because of troubles with his eyesight from medical treatments, he was unable to read the contributions. In June 2021, we were able to read to Robert each of the dedications written in this volume in his honor, a gesture that was extremely important and comforting to him during a difficult time. Since Robert knew this publication as his Festschrift, the editors have decided to retain the Festschrift designation, and we hope in the near future to arrange a much more inclusive Gedenkschrift to honor Robert’s legacy and scholarly contributions.

THE MASTER OF SECRETS: ROBERT K. RITNER

Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs

ROBERT KRIECH RITNER JR. WAS BORN ON May 5, 1953, to Robert (“Bob”) Kriech Ritner (November 16, 1923–June 5, 2006) and Margaret Ritner (*née* Shelton) (October 8, 1929–October 31, 2013) in Houston, the metropolitan center of Harris County, Texas. Robert’s younger brother, Richard (“Rick”) Mark Ritner, was born five years later, on October 2, 1958. Robert’s interest in ancient Egypt was fostered by an enthusiastic second-grade teacher who introduced young students to a wide variety of cultures in a series of educational modules; it was the cardboard pyramids and mummies of ancient Egypt that stuck with Robert and inspired the rest of his intellectual life.¹ These interests were further fueled by Boris Karloff’s portrayal in *The Mummy* (1932) and Henry Rider Haggard’s *Cleopatra: Being an Account of the Fall and Vengeance of Harmachis*. Robert’s love of Egyptomania film and kitsch is legendary, with his childhood partially influenced by the Egyptian revival ornamentation of the Metropolitan Theatre in downtown Houston (demolished in 1973) and in more recent years witnessed by an ever-growing, and quite stunning, personal collection of vintage movie posters, statues, books, and figurines.² By the time he entered high school, Robert had devoured what books were available on ancient Egypt in the Houston Public Library, allowing him to pester his unsuspecting and unprepared world history teacher with questions about whether the human remains found in KV 55 were those of Akhenaten. As Robert’s students and lecture audiences over the last thirty-five years of his life know, he continued to entertain and pester with “deep and penetrating historical” questions about Akhenaten and his Aten-centric religion. By self-admission, Robert characterized his junior-high self (fig. 1) as “probably horribly obnoxious,” noting that he went on to be the head of the debate team and sharpened his well-known rhetorical skills during acting classes at college. In Robert’s own words, he had “no trouble standing on a stage and being forceful, and I don’t get embarrassed.”

Robert’s father earned a bachelor of science in engineering from Rice University in 1944 and went on to a very successful career as owner and president of Independence Sheet Metal, where Robert’s mother also spent twenty years as an office manager. When it came time for Robert’s secondary education, he stayed close to home, acquiescing with the wishes of his father by studying at Rice University, where he would receive a bachelor of arts in 1975. However, Robert steered clear of engineering and instead studied psychology, while unofficially minoring in medieval studies.³ His first published article resulted from these interests: “Egyptians in Ireland: A Question



Figure 1. Robert K. Ritner, senior portrait, ca. 1971.

1 For an oral account of Robert Ritner’s background, see the Mormon Stories podcast #1339. The direct quotes in this section have been taken from this interview. Several *in memoriam* articles have appeared, including Muhs 2021 and Scalf 2023.

2 Most of Robert’s Egyptomania collection was inherited by Jennifer Houser Wegner. His scholarly library was donated to Rice University, and we would like to thank Sophie Crawford-Brown and Scott Vieira for all their help. His academic papers are in the ISAC Museum Archives.

3 Woods 2020, p. 3.



Figure 2. Demotists at the University of Chicago revive the Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project, originally started by William F. Edgerton using the *Nachlass* of Wilhelm Spiegelberg. Left to right: George Hughes, Mark Smith, Janet Johnson, Michael Fitz Patrick, Robert Ritner (holding a portrait of Wilhelm Spiegelberg), Richard Jasnow, Charles Nims.

of Coptic Peregrinations” appeared in *Rice University Studies* 62 (1976), just as Robert was entering the PhD program in Egyptology at the University of Chicago. This was the first and only article he would ever publish with the author line “Robert K. Ritner, Jr.” Although as the eldest son Robert had the opportunity to join his family’s successful business, his interests in humanistic studies, and his passion for Egyptology in particular, ultimately took him to Chicago for graduate school, leaving the family business interests to his father, mother, and younger brother.

At the University of Chicago, Robert joined a cohort of students studying with Janet Johnson, Ed Wente, Klaus Baer, and the recently retired George Hughes, many of whom would go on to shape generations of Egyptologists around the world. These student colleagues included Richard Jasnow (Johns Hopkins University), Tom Logan (Monterey Peninsula College), and Mark Smith (Oxford University), among many others, including several contributors to this very volume. Robert and a number of these colleagues formed the early staff working on the Chicago Demotic Dictionary (CDD), formally launched under the direction of Janet Johnson with the support of George Hughes (fig. 2). The translations, notes, and hand copies of these scholars remain in the CDD archives and include many pages written in Robert’s hand.

From 1983 to 1990 while completing his PhD, Robert taught classes as a lecturer in the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations of the University of Chicago on “practically every Egyptological subject”; former ISAC director William Sumner called him an “all purpose, multitalented lecturer.”⁴ He also regularly taught adult education classes for the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago. Despite these many commitments, Robert received his PhD with honors in 1987, writing a 342-page dissertation that

⁴ Quotations of William Sumner, former ISAC director, while introducing Robert during his talk “Seven Brides with Seven Stingers: The Scorpion Wives of Horus” in Breasted Hall for an ISAC members lecture on October 9, 1996.



Figure 3. Robert Ritner with his mother, Margaret, inscribing roof tiles for ISAC in 2001.

contained 897 footnotes and a Demotic note dedicating the work to his parents (*n pʒy=y iṯ hnʿ tʒy=y mw.t*), with whom he remained close (fig. 3).

Robert's dissertation committee consisted of Ed Wente as chair, Klaus Baer, Robert Biggs, and Janet Johnson (fig. 4). His PhD thesis is well known to all of us: *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, published formally in 1993 as volume 54 of the Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization series,⁵ has been not only one of the most influential ISAC volumes but also a "perennial best seller."⁶ This volume helped launch a renaissance in the study of ancient Egyptian religion and magic, exemplified well by the contributions to this very Festschrift.

In 1991, Robert was lured away from Chicago to become the inaugural Marilyn M. Simpson Assistant Professor of Egyptology at Yale University (fig. 5). While at Yale, Robert suffered a major setback when floods caused by Hurricane Bob in 1991 destroyed reams of his "personal volumes, papers, correspondence, and notes."⁷ Much of his professional library had to be rebuilt. However, one would not recognize such a setback in Robert's professional career, as his publication record during his Yale years was extremely active: several seminal articles appeared, in addition to the publication of his revised dissertation in 1993.

While at Yale, Robert's *Mechanics* volume would win the university's Heyman Prize for Outstanding Scholarly Publication or Research by a Junior Faculty Member in the Humanities. During 1995–96, which would turn out to be Robert's last year at Yale, he was awarded the Morse Fellowship for Scholarly Research. Ultimately these accolades led the University of Chicago to lure him back, hiring him as associate professor of Egyptology in 1996, and promoting him to associate professor with tenure in 2001 and to full professor in 2004. One of the great honors of Robert's professional career was being appointed as the first Rowe Professor of Egyptology, announced at ISAC's centennial celebration on September 28, 2019 (fig. 6).

Over the course of his career, from Chicago to Yale and back, Robert taught innumerable classes, covering all phases and scripts of the ancient Egyptian language. Many of his classes were extremely popular

⁵ Succeeded by the Studies in Ancient Cultures series, to which the current volume belongs.

⁶ As described by William Sumner.

⁷ Ritner 1994, p. 205, n. 2.



Figure 4. Robert Ritner with members of his dissertation committee, George Hughes and Janet Johnson, at the University of Chicago's graduation ceremony on August 28, 1987.



Figure 5. Robert Ritner in his office at Yale, ca. 1991. His photocopy of Erichsen's *Glossar* sits on the windowsill behind him and would remain a fixture in his office throughout his career.



Figure 6. Jeanne Rowe, Robert Ritner, and John Rowe at the ISAC centennial celebration following the announcement of Robert's appointment to the Rowe Professorship of Egyptology on September 28, 2019. Photo by Anne Ryan.

with students. As expected, Robert's course on Egyptian religion and magic always reached its enrollment cap, with many overflow students petitioning directly to be added to the course. Classes on Ptolemaic hieroglyphs, Ptolemaic and Roman hieratic, and Coptic dialects were also much in demand. As one contributor to this volume has remarked, Robert's teaching, while certainly demanding of the highest academic standards, was relentlessly fun, and he "was really the best teacher I had at the OI." Robert brought an infectious enthusiasm to class, wanting students to know every morphological form but also peppering discussions with fascinating insights and asides. Anyone who has seen Robert's media interviews about the Egyptomania themes in Katy Perry's "Dark Horse" video will immediately recognize the enjoyment he passed on to his students. Of course, everyone knows of his renown as a dazzling lecturer, which during the last five years of his life reached a much wider audience through ISAC's YouTube channel, where his presentations consistently ranked among the most viewed.

As a tribute to Robert K. Ritner, Rowe Professor of Egyptology at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago, the editors hope the contributions in this volume reflect Robert's continuing influence and past stewardship of Egyptology, both in Chicago and beyond. We have sought an intimate group of contributors—former students, close colleagues, and academic collaborators—to celebrate Robert's outstanding career. Space limitations necessarily restricted us to this cohort, but of course Robert advised, lectured, and collaborated with people from around the world for over thirty-five years. Certainly, many more volumes could be placed upon his offering table—and they likely will be! The contributions here reflect Robert's diverse interests and interdisciplinary methodologies, as well as his close guidance of his students and his willingness to collaborate and contribute with his colleagues. More importantly, these contributions are a testament to Robert's enduring friendships from around the world. All of us offer them to Robert K. Ritner as the merest token of our esteem and gratitude for all that he gave to the field of Egyptology and to us as friends.

ⲓⲛⲓⲣⲏ

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Mormon Stories Podcast

- 2020 "Dr. Robert Ritner—An Egyptologist Translates the Book of Abraham Pt 1: Mormon Stories #1339." <https://youtu.be/ORNYUyHg3pY>.

Muhs, Brian P.

- 2021 "In Memoriam Robert K. Ritner." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 57: 9–10.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 1994 "Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of Theban High Priest Nebwenenef: Block Statue OIM 10729." In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, pp. 205–26. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 55. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Scalf, Foy D.

- 2023 "In Memoriam Robert Kriech Ritner Jr." *Enchoria* 37: xxxix–xlv.

Woods, Christopher

- 2020 "Message from the Director." *Oriental Institute News & Notes* 244: 3.

PUBLICATIONS OF ROBERT K. RITNER

Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs

THE PUBLICATION LIST OF ROBERT K. RITNER is long and varied. It includes many pieces in popular publications, media, and a wide variety of interviews. In the list that follows, the editors have compiled his academic and scholarly contributions, a task facilitated immensely by the up-to-date *curriculum vitae* maintained by Professor Ritner himself until 2021.

- 1976 "Egyptians in Ireland: A Question of Coptic Peregrinations." *Rice University Studies* 62: 65–87.
- 1980 "Khababash and the Satrap Stela: A Grammatical Rejoinder." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 107: 135–37.
- 1981 "Hermes Pentamegistos." *Göttinger Miszellen* 49: 73–75.
- 1981 "Additional Notes to Hermes Pentamegistos." *Göttinger Miszellen* 50: 67–68.
- 1982 "Graeco-Egyptian Magical Papyri." In *Oriental Institute 1981–82 Annual Report*, edited by Robert McC. Adams, pp. 77–79. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1982 "A Misinterpreted Passage in Insinger." *Enchoria* 11: 113–14.
- 1984 "A Property Transfer from the Erbstreit Archives." In *Grammata Demotica: Festschrift für Erich Lüddeckens zum 15. Juni 1983*, edited by Heinz-Josef Thissen and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, pp. 171–87. Würzburg: Gisela Zauzich.
- 1984 "A Regional Variant in Demotic Orthography: *nfr*." *Enchoria* 12: 187–88.
- 1984 "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43: 209–21.
- 1984 Review of *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*, by Dietrich Wildung. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43: 353–55.
- 1985 "Anubis and the Lunar Disc." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71: 149–55.
- 1985 "Two Demotic Notes." *Enchoria* 13: 213–14.
- 1986 "Gleanings from Magical Texts." *Enchoria* 14: 95–106.
- 1986 "The Site of the Wild Bull-Hunt of Amenophis III." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 72: 193–94.
- 1986 "Unrecognized Decorated Linch Pins from the Tombs of Tutankhamon and Amenhotep II." *Göttinger Miszellen* 94: 53–56.
- 1986 Review of *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*, vol. 3, *The Late Period*, by Miriam Lichtheim. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45: 243–44.
- 1987 "The Chicago Demotic Dictionary Project: A Status Report." In *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Congress for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984*, edited by Sven P. Vleeming, pp. 145–48. Studia Demotica 1. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1987 "Poll Tax on the Dead." *Enchoria* 15: 205–7.
- 1987 Review of *Die Lehre des Anchsheschonqi*, by H. J. Thissen. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 44: 642–46.
- 1988 "Demotic Dictionary: Demotic Facsimiles—Reasons, Methods, and Problems." In *Oriental Institute 1987–1988 Annual Report*, edited by Janet H. Johnson, pp. 47–51. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1988 "Mummy Bandage." In *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catherine H. Roehrig, pp. 226–27. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.

- 1988 Review of *Papyrus démotiques de Lille (III)*, by Françoise de Cenival. *Chronique d'Égypte* 63: 278–81.
- 1988 Review of *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt*, by Paul Ghalioungui. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47: 199–201.
- 1988 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy Newsletter* 16: 37–38, 42–47.
- 1989 “The Demotic Dictionary,” with Janet H. Johnson. In *Oriental Institute 1988–1989 Annual Report*, edited by William M. Sumner, pp. 43–46. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1989 “Horus on the Crocodiles: A Junction of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic Egypt.” In *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, pp. 103–16. Yale Egyptological Studies 3. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- 1989 “So-Called ‘Pre-dynastic Hamster-Headed’ Figurines in London and Hanover.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 111: 85–95.
- 1989 Review of *The Egyptian Hermes*, by Garth Fowden. *Cauda Pavonis*, n.s., 8: 13–15.
- 1989 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy Newsletter* 17: 39–45.
- 1990 “The End of the Libyan ‘Anarchy’ in Egypt: P. Rylands IX, cols. 11–12.” *Enchoria* 17: 101–8.
- 1990 “Horus Cippus ‘Text C’ and the ‘Business of Sepa.’” *Varia Aegyptiaca* 6: 167–68.
- 1990 “Multiple Meaning and Ambiguity in the ‘Demotic Chronicle,’” with Janet H. Johnson. In *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, edited by Sarah Israelit-Groll, vol. 1, pp. 494–506. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- 1990 “O. Gardiner 363: A Spell against Night Terrors.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27: 25–41.
- 1990 Review of *Essai sur la théologie du temple d’Horus à Edfou*, by Sylvie Cauville. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 110: 754–57.
- 1990 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy Newsletter* 18: 17–24.
- 1991 “The Post-mortem Triumph of Ramses II; Or, Ramses Gets Greater in Dallas.” *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 129: 4–5, 8.
- 1991 Review of *Studies in Egyptian Religion Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee*, edited by M. Heerma van Voss, D. J. Hoens, G. Mussies, D. Van der Plas, and H. te Velde. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50: 209–13.
- 1991 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy Newsletter* 19: 91–95.
- 1992 “Egyptian Magic: Questions of Legitimacy, Religious Orthodoxy and Social Deviance.” In *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, edited by Alan B. Lloyd, pp. 189–200. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- 1992 “Implicit Models of Cross-Cultural Interaction: A Question of Noses, Soap and Prejudice.” In *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, edited by Janet H. Johnson, pp. 283–90. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 51. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1992 “Religion vs. Magic: The Evidence of the Magical Statue Bases.” In *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákósy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by Ulrich H. Luft, pp. 495–501. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14. Budapest: Chaire d'égyptologie de l'Université Eötvös Loránd de Budapest.
- 1992 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine and Pharmacy Newsletter* 20: 54–62.
- 1993 “An Egyptian Granite Funerary Stela of Kherituankh.” In *Antiquities: New York, Monday, June 14, 1993*, pp. 17–18. New York: Christie's.

- 1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute. Reprinted with minor corrections in 1995, 1997, and 2008.
- 1993 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine Review* 21: 27–30.
- 1994 “Curses,” “Lead Curse against the Health of Kyriakos,” “Bone Curse to Make Apollo Burn,” “Bone Curse to Bring the Powers of Darkness Down upon Aaron,” “Spell for a Bone and Corpse,” “Mary’s Curse against Martha,” “Jacob’s Curse to Give Someone an Ulcerous Tumor,” “Victor’s Curse to Silence Semne,” and “Invocation of a Power for Blessing and Cursing.” In *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*, edited by Marvin Meyer and Richard Smith, pp. 183–86, 202–11. San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco.
- 1994 “Denderite Temple Hierarchy and the Family of the Theban High Priest Nebwenenef: Block Statue Oriental Institute Museum 10729.” In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, pp. 205–26. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 55. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 1994 “Enigmatic Throne Element Is Probably a Manacle.” *KMT* 5, no. 1: 2.
- 1994 “*Rwy.t*, ‘Radiating’ Symptoms of Gallstone Disease in Ancient Egypt,” with Robert L. Miller. *Göttinger Miszellen* 141: 71–76.
- 1994 “An Unusual Offering Table in Dallas.” In *Acta Demotica: Acts of the Fifth International Conference for Demotists, Pisa, 4th–8th September 1993 = Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 17: 265–74.
- 1994 Reviews of all current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine Review* 22: 26–30.
- 1995 “A Cession Document from the Theban Archives of Amenothos Son of Harsiesis.” *Enchoria* 22: 130–38.
- 1995 “Egyptian Magical Practice under the Roman Empire: The Demotic Spells and Their Religious Context.” In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, part 2, *Principat*, vol. 18.5, edited by Wolfgang Haase and Hildegard Temporini, pp. 3333–79. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- 1995 “The Post-mortem Triumph of Ramses II; Or, Ramses Gets Greater in Dallas.” *Newsletter of the North Texas Chapter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 3, no. 6: 3–6. Reprinted from *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 129 (1991): 4–6.
- 1995 “The Religious, Social, and Legal Parameters of Traditional Egyptian Magic.” *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, edited by Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki, pp. 43–60. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 129. Leiden: Brill.
- 1995 Review of *Cahiers de Tanis I: Mission française des fouilles de Tanis*, edited by Philippe Brissaud. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 115: 132–33.
- 1995 Reviews of current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine Review* 23: 38–43.
- 1996 “The Earliest Attestation of the *kpd*-Measure.” In *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, edited by Peter Der Manuelian, vol. 2, pp. 683–88. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- 1996 “Egyptian” and “The Coptic Alphabet.” In *The World’s Writing Systems*, edited by Peter T. Daniels and William Bright, pp. 73–84, 87, 287–90, 295–96. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1996 “Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption,” with Karen P. Foster. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55: 1–14.
- 1996 Reviews of current Egyptological literature pertinent to medical history. *Society for Ancient Medicine Review* 24: 49–50.
- 1997 “The Cult of the Dead.” In *Ancient Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, pp. 132–47, 244. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1997 “Plaque of Tutu,” “Jubilee Relief of Osorkon II,” and “Magical Wand.” In *Searching for Ancient Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, pp. 36, 82–83 (no. 22), 168–69 (no. 51), 178, 234–35 (no. 77). Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art.

- 1998 "Egypt under Roman Rule: The Legacy of Ancient Egypt." In *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, vol. 1, *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, edited by Carl F. Petry, pp. 1–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1998 "Fictive Adoptions or Celibate Priestesses?" *Göttinger Miszellen* 164: 85–90.
- 1998 "The Wives of Horus and the Philinna Papyrus (PGM XX)." In *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, edited by Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems, vol. 2, pp. 1027–41. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 85. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1998 Review of *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, by Geraldine Pinch. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57: 298–99.
- 1999 "An Oblique Reference to the Expelled High Priest Osorkon?" In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 351–60. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2000 "The 'Breathing Permit of Hôr' Thirty-Four Years Later." *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 33: 97–119.
- 2000 "Innovations and Adaptations in Ancient Egyptian Medicine." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 59: 107–17.
- 2001 "Cleopatra in Egypt." *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 171: 1–3.
- 2001 "Dream Books," "Magic: An Overview," "Magic: Magic in Medicine," "Magic: Magic in Daily Life," "Magic: Magic in the Afterlife," "Medicine," and "Neferti." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Donald B. Redford, vol. 1 (A–F), pp. 410–11, and vol. 2 (G–O), pp. 321–36, 353–56, 512–13. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2002 "Magic: An Overview," "Magic: Magic in Medicine," "Magic: Magic in Daily Life," and "Magic: Magic in the Afterlife." In *The Ancient Gods Speak: A Guide to Egyptian Religion*, edited by Donald B. Redford, pp. 191–214. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 2002 "Necromancy in Ancient Egypt." In *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, edited by Leda Jean Ciruolo and Jonathan Lee Seidel, pp. 89–96. Ancient Magic and Divination 2. Leiden: Brill.
- 2002 "Des preuves de l'existence d'une nécromancie dans l'Égypte ancienne." In *La magie en Égypte: À la recherche d'une définition. Actes du colloque organisé au musée du Louvre les 29 et 30 septembre 2000*, edited by Yvan Koenig, pp. 285–304. Paris: La Documentation française—Musée du Louvre.
- 2002 "Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology." In *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, edited by Kim Ryholt, pp. 343–59. CNI Publications 27. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2003 "The 'Breathing Permit of Hôr' among the Joseph Smith Papyri." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 62: 161–80.
- 2003 "Report of Wenamon." In *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Martti Nissinen, pp. 219–20. Writings from the Ancient World 12. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2004 "A Selection of Demotic Ostraca in the Detroit Institute of Arts." In *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, edited by Friedhelm Hoffmann and Heinz-Josef Thissen, pp. 487–508, pls. XL–XLI. Studia Demotica 6. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2005 "Appendix B: Scarab." In *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects*, vol. 1, *Surveys in the Plain of Antioch and Orontes Delta, Turkey, 1995–2002*, edited by Kutlu Aslıhan Yener, p. 281, pl. 1. Oriental Institute Publications 131. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2006 "And Each Staff Transformed into a Snake': The Serpent Wand in Ancient Egypt." In *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kasia Szpakowska, pp. 205–25. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.

- 2006 “The Cardiovascular System in Egyptian Thought.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 65: 99–109.
- 2006 “Preface.” In *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, vol. 8, *Middle Kingdom Copies of Pyramid Texts*, by James P. Allen, p. xiii. Oriental Institute Publications 132. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2006 “Tutankhamun for the Twenty-First Century: Modern Misreadings of an Ancient Culture.” *University of Chicago Record*, December 7: 8–10.
- 2007 “Cultural Exchanges between Egyptian and Greek Medicine.” In *Moving across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by P. Kousoulis and K. Magliveras, pp. 209–21. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 159. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2008 “Anubis,” “Cleopatra,” “Horus,” “Osiris,” “Ramses II,” “Serapis,” “Seth,” “Seti I,” and “Thoth.” In *The World Book Encyclopedia*, vol. 1, p. 562; vol. 4, p. 662a–b; vol. 9, p. 370; vol. 14, p. 863; vol. 16, p. 134; vol. 17, pp. 312, 323; vol. 19, pp. 267–68. Chicago: World Book.
- 2008 “Household Religion in Ancient Egypt.” In *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*, edited by John Bodel and Saul M. Olyan, pp. 171–96. *The Ancient World: Comparative Histories*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 2008 “Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian.” In *Egypt and Beyond: Studies Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, edited by Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian, pp. 305–14. Providence: Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University.
- 2008 “Oriental Institute Museum Notes 15: A Coptic Lintel from Qustul.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67: 107–15.
- 2008 “Some Problematic Bipartite Nominal Predicates in Demotic.” Paper given at the Eighth International Congress for Demotic Studies, Würzburg, August 30, 2002. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/individual-scholarship/some-problematic-bipartite-nominal-predicates-demotic>.
- 2009 “Egypt and the Vanishing Libyan: Institutional Responses to a Nomadic People.” In *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*, edited by Jeffrey Szuchman, pp. 43–56. *Oriental Institute Seminars* 5. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2009 “Fragmentation and Re-integration in the Third Intermediate Period.” In *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, edited by G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper, pp. 327–40. *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 23. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. *Writings from the Ancient World* 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2009 “Practical Egyptian Magical Spells.” *Newsletter of the North Texas Chapter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 16, no. 5: 4–5.
- 2009 “Reading the Coffin of Meresamun.” <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/individual-scholarship/reading-coffin-meresamun>.
- 2010 “From the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project, 2: Seals with Egyptian Hieroglyphic Inscriptions at Persepolis,” with Mark B. Garrison, and “Egyptian Elements in the Persepolitan and Other Achaemenid Glyptic.” *Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology* 2010.002 (July): 1–3, 42–52. <http://www.achemenet.com/document/2010.002-Garrison&Ritner.pdf>.
- 2010 “Une introduction à la magie dans la religion de l’Égypte antique.” *Annuaire de l’École pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses* 117: 101–8. <https://doi.org/10.4000/asr.794>.
- 2010 “Setna’s Spell of Taking Security (Setna I, col. IV/31–34).” In *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, edited by Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen, pp. 425–28, pl. 79. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters.

- 2010 “Two Third Intermediate Period Books of the Dead: P. Houston 31.72 and P. Brooklyn 37.1801E.” In *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Wegner, vol. 2, pp. 167–83. Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte 39/2. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités.
- 2011 “An Eternal Curse upon the Reader of These Lines (with Apologies to M. Puig).” In *Ancient Egyptian Demonology: Studies on the Boundaries between Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic*, edited by Panagiotis Kousoulis, pp. 3–24. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 175. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2011 “Foreword: An Egyptological Perspective.” In *Early Northwest Semitic Serpent Spells in the Pyramid Texts*, by Richard C. Steiner, pp. ix–xi. *Harvard Semitic Studies* 61. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 2011 *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition (P. JS 1–4 and the Hypocephalus of Sheshonq)*. Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation.
- 2011 “Ptolemy IX (Soter II) at Thebes.” In *Perspectives on Ptolemaic Thebes: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2006*, edited by Peter F. Dorman and Betsy M. Bryan, pp. 97–114. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 65. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2011 “Throwstick.” In *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization*, edited by Emily Teeter, pp. 242–43. *Oriental Institute Museum Publications* 33. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2012 “Birds as Protection in Life,” “Thoth Rebus Amulet,” “Thoth and Maat Amulet,” “Thoth and Feather Amulets,” and “Apotropaic Knife.” In *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, pp. 143–46. *Oriental Institute Museum Publications* 35. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2012 “Killing the Image, Killing the Essence: The Destruction of Text and Figures in Ancient Egyptian Thought, Ritual and ‘Ritualized History.’” In *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, edited by Natalie Naomi May, pp. 395–405. *Oriental Institute Seminars* 8. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2013 “Heka among the Phoenicians.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 237: 93–95.
- 2013 “Some Errors in a Publication of the Petrie Collection.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 236: 5–6.
- 2013 “The Statue of Liberty and Its Ties to Egypt.” *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 216: 13.
- 2014 “The Ahmose Tempest Stela: An Ancient Egyptian Account of a Natural Catastrophe,” with Nadine Moeller. In *Egyptian Curses 1: Proceedings of the Egyptological Day Held at the National Research Council of Italy (CNR), Rome, 3rd December 2012 in the International Conference “Reading Catastrophes: Methodological Approaches and Historical Interpretation. Earthquakes, Floods, Famines, Epidemics between Egypt and Palestine, 3rd–1st Millennium BC,” Rome, 3rd–4th December 2012, CNR–Sapienza University of Rome*, edited by Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozi, pp. 63–81. *Archaeological Heritage and Multidisciplinary Egyptological Studies* 1. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico. Republished in *Reading Catastrophes: Proceedings of the International Conference “Reading Catastrophes: Methodological Approaches and Historical Interpretation. Earthquakes, Floods, Famines, Epidemics between Egypt and Palestine, 3rd–1st Millennium BC,” Held in Rome, 3rd–4th December 2012*, edited by Lorenzo Nigro, pp. 345–66. Rome “La Sapienza” *Studies on the Archaeology of Palestine and Transjordan* 11. Rome: “La Sapienza” Expedition to Palestine and Jordan.
- 2014 “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela,’ Thera and Comparative Chronology,” with Nadine Moeller. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73: 1–19.
- 2015 “Osiris-Canopus and Bes at Herculaneum.” In *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Kathlyn M. Cooney, pp. 401–6. *Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt* 1. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.
- 2016 “Ben Carson and the Myth of Joseph’s Barns.” *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 228: 20.
- 2016 “The Hound of Horus.” In *Sapientia Felicitas: Festschrift für Günter Vittmann zum 29. Februar 2016*, edited by Sandra L. Lipert, Maren Schentuleit, and Martin A. Stadler, pp. 507–12.

- Cahiers Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne 14. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry (Montpellier III)—Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- 2016 “King Petemenekh’: New Kingdom Royal Sarcophagi Texts on a Private Coffin.” In *Problems of Canonicity and Identity Formation in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, edited by Kim Ryholt and Gojko Barjamovic, pp. 179–200. CNI Publications 43. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2016 “The Libyan Mahasun Tribe.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 250: 25–27.
- 2016 “Oriental Institute Museum Notes 16: Two Egyptian Clepsydrae (OIM E16875 and A7125).” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 75: 361–89.
- 2017 “Decorated Ware Vessel,” “Relief of Nefermaat and Itet,” “Statue of a Potter,” “Stela of Uha,” “Astronomical Instrument of Tutankhamun,” “Mummy and Coffin of Meresamun,” “Hearing Ear Stela,” “Statue of Basa, Priest of Hathor,” “Horus on the Crocodiles,” and “Mummy Mask.” In *Highlights of the Collections of the Oriental Institute Museum*, edited by Jean M. Evans, Jack Green, and Emily Teeter, pp. 87–88, 90, 91, 96, 100, 102, 103, 106, 108. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2017 “Divinization and Empowerment of the Dead.” In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 109–15. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2017 *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2017 “The Origin of Evil in Egyptian Theological Speculation.” In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 281–90. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2017 “Pantheistic Figures in Ancient Egypt.” In *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer, pp. 319–24. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.
- 2017 “Papyrus of Shemaynefer Inscribed with a Mortuary Compendium.” In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 306–9. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2017 “Unprovenienced Seals from the Amuq in the Hatay Museum,” with Hasan Peker and Ömer Çelik. In *Overturning Certainties in Near Eastern Archaeology: A Festschrift in Honor of K. Aslıhan Yener*, edited by C. Maner, M. Horowitz, and A. Gilbert, pp. 577–613. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 90. Leiden: Brill.
- 2018 “Egyptian Examples of the ‘Koine’ Art Style of the Second Millennium BC.” In *Paintbrushes: Wall-Painting and Vase-Painting of the Second Millennium BC in Dialogue. Proceedings of the International Conference on Aegean Iconography Held at Akrotiri, Thera, 24–26 May 2013*, edited by Andreas G. Vlachopoulos, pp. 67–75. Athens: University of Ioannina, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports—Archaeological Receipts Fund.
- 2019 “Anubis, Archer Figures, and Demotic Magic,” with Foy D. Scalf. *Göttinger Miszellen* 259: 185–212.
- 2019 “The Coffin Texts Project” and “The ‘Ancient Egyptian Paintings’ Project.” In *Discovering New Pasts: The OI at 100*, edited by Theo van den Hout, pp. 206–8, 209–12. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2019 “Egyptian New Kingdom Evidence for the Chronology of Alalakh.” In *Tell Atchana, Alalakh, Volume 2a (Text): The Late Bronze II City, 2006–2010 Excavation Seasons*, edited by Kutlu Aslıhan Yener, Murat Akar, and Mara T. Horowitz, pp. 295–310. Istanbul: Koç University Press.
- 2019 “Report of Wenamon.” In *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Martti Nissinen, pp. 271–73. Writings from the Ancient World 41. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

- 2020 “Erotica from Roman Egypt: A Demotic Magical Spell to Induce Lovesickness,” with Foy D. Scalf. *Oriental Institute News and Notes* 246: 4–9.
- 2020 “The ‘God’ Ptiris and the Curses of Philae.” In *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, edited by Janice Kamrin, Miroslav Bárta, Salima Ikram, Mark Lehner, and Mohamed Megahed, vol. 3, pp. 1359–70. Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts.
- 2020 “The Supposed Earliest Hieroglyphic Mention of Israel (Berlin ÄM 21687): A Refutation.” In *Semitic, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Richard C. Steiner*, edited by Aaron J. Koller, Mordechai Z. Cohen, and Adina Moshavi, pp. 27*–36*. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.
- 2021 “The God Kothos.” *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 67: 138–45.
- 2022 “Confronting and Uniting with Divinity in Ancient Egypt.” In *Conceptualising Divine Unions in the Greek and Near Eastern Worlds*, edited by Eleni Pachoumi, pp. 74–94. *Ancient Philosophy and Religion* 7. Leiden: Brill.
- 2022 “Jubilating Baboons and the Bes Pantheos.” In *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow*, edited by Betsy Bryan, Mark Smith, Christina Di Cerbo, Marina Escolano-Poveda, and Jill Waller, pp. 335–44. *Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt* 6. Columbus, GA: Lockwood Press.
- Forthcoming “Clothing as a Marker of Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Libyans.” In *Outward Appearance versus Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World*, edited by Aleksandra Hallman. *Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures Seminars* 15. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.
- Forthcoming “Graffiti and Ostraca in the Tomb of Nespakashuty.” In *The Tomb of Nespakashuty*, edited by Elena Pischikova. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

THE RITNER STELA

Megaera Lorenz and Mary Szabady

IN 2006, WE WERE SECOND-YEAR graduate students in the PhD program in Egyptology at the University of Chicago. Between the two of us, we had taken several courses with Robert, including “Ptolemaic Hieroglyphs,” “Ptolemaic and Roman Hieratic,” and “Coptic Texts.” By this time, we were both thoroughly familiar with his favorite scholarly talking points. While we still viewed Robert as a somewhat intimidating figure, we had also begun to get a better sense of the unique and endearing personality that lay beneath his prickly exterior. He was a larger-than-life figure whose presence in our academic lives was both delightful and, at times, infuriating. When we spoke about ancient Egyptian language or religion, the conversation would inevitably turn to him. “Of course, you know what Ritner would say,” was a phrase we uttered frequently.

It was autumn, and our Middle Egyptian comprehensive exams were looming. In the interest of preserving our sanity, we decided to study together—a process that involved many late nights reviewing texts. Among these was a bombastic gem from Hatnub dating to the Middle Kingdom, the *Laudatory Autobiography of Kay*.¹ *Kay* has long been a staple text in Middle Egyptian reading courses, and we had both encountered it several times. *Kay*’s unabashed pride in his wisdom and accomplishments reminded us of Robert, who seemed endlessly (and justifiably) confident in his Egyptological acumen. Late one night, in a giddy mood after several hours of studying, we joked about writing our own “Ritnerized” version of *Kay*—in good Middle Egyptian. It was not long before we found ourselves actually composing the text, complete with descriptions of the beloved Egypto-kitsch that adorned the shelves in Robert’s office, references to his frequently self-cited publications, and even a section invoking several of his pet grammatical preoccupations.²

While the original *Kay* text was a hieratic graffito, the document that we produced was modeled after a typical funerary stela, with an illustrated lunette at the top (fig. 7). In keeping with our general disregard for the conventions of both medium and genre, we included several rubrics within the text. These were a nod to Robert’s merciless wielding of the red pen, a tradition that he gleefully traced back to the practice of ancient Egyptian master scribes correcting their students’ work in red ink.³ Given the limitations of known Middle Egyptian vocabulary, we were also forced to invent a number of *hapax legomena*.⁴ We dubbed our creation “The Ritner Stela.” Despite our various modifications, any reader familiar with *Kay* will undoubtedly recognize sentence structures, vocabulary, and complete phrases lifted directly from the original text. Observant readers will also recognize a brief reference to the letters of Heqanakht, which the authors had also read recently in class.⁵

At the time, we were not sure what the upshot of our efforts would be. We knew we had to share it with Robert, but we were less certain how he would react. It was our hope that he would receive our masterpiece in the spirit in which we had intended it: as a gentle roast, but also an homage to a brilliant scholar, an amazing teacher, and a fellow Egyptology nerd. Once it was completed to our satisfaction, we crept into the

1 Hatnub Gr. 24. Originally published in Anthes 1928, pp. 54–56; drawing on pl. 24. See also de Buck 1948, pp. 73–74.

2 Most of Robert Ritner’s Egyptomania collection was inherited by Jennifer Houser Wegner.

3 Cf. MMA 28.9.4, a gessoed writing board inscribed with a model letter copied by a student scribe. Several misspellings have been corrected by a teacher in red ink. Published in James 1962, pp. 98–101, pl. 30.

4 There is, for instance, no extant Middle Egyptian term for a hamster in Ptolemaic queenly attire that dances to “Walk Like an Egyptian” by The Bangles.

5 Extensively published and discussed in Egyptological literature, but see especially Allen 2002.

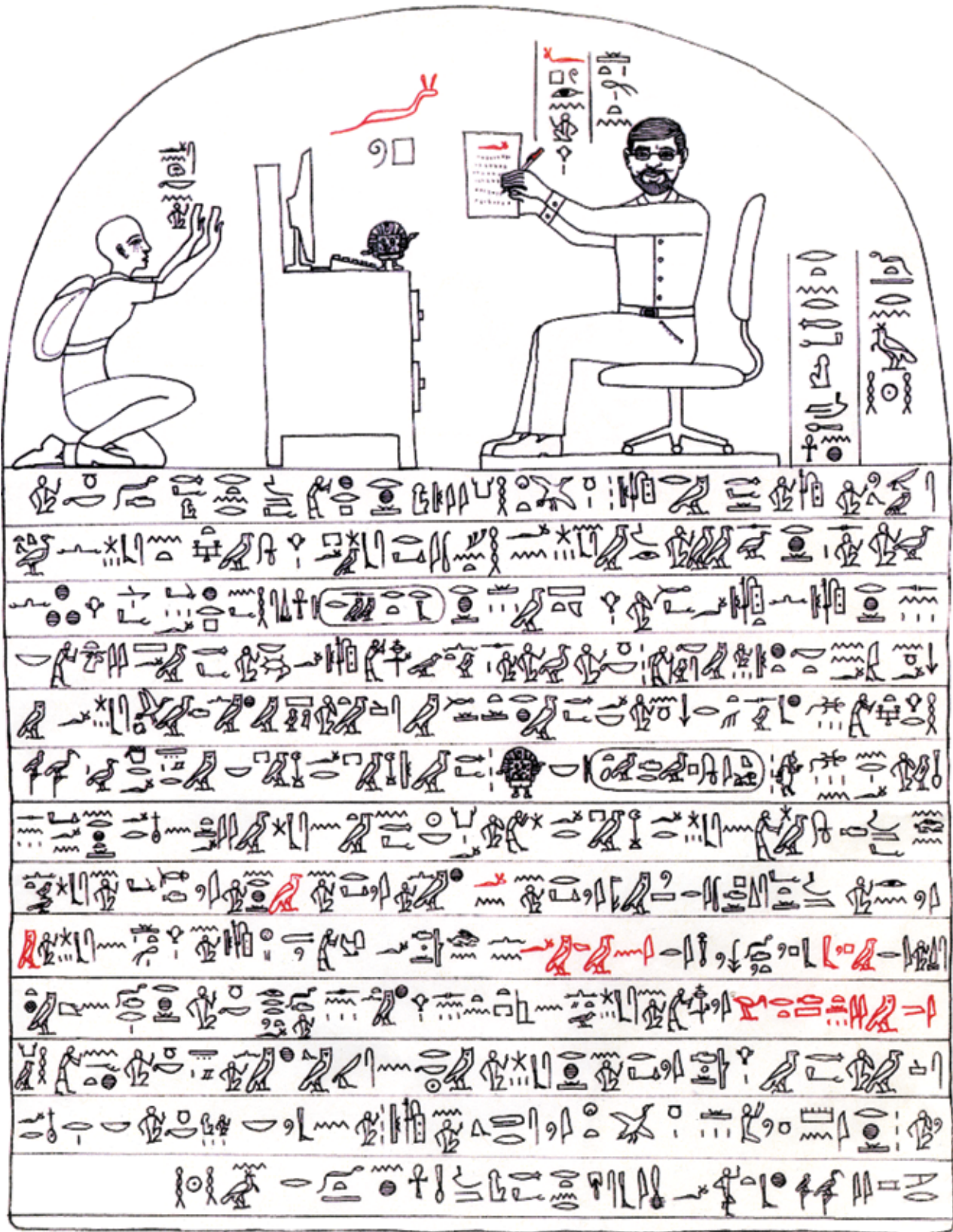



Figure 7. The Ritner Stela.

Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures early one morning and attached it to his office door. When we showed up for class later that day, he was sitting at the table with the stela in front of him, grinning. To our immense joy and relief, he was delighted. We soon confessed that we were the culprits, and the stela was eventually given a place of honor on his office wall, where it would serve to remind future generations of students of his greatness.

Revisiting the stela for this publication has been a deeply poignant experience for both of us. The boilerplate honorifics that we appended to Robert's name—typical of the kinds of funerary monuments our stela was designed to emulate—held little significance for us at the time. Today, our text feels less like a loving practical joke and more like a sincere monument to Robert's brilliance. It is a testament not only to his wisdom but also to his fiercely indomitable spirit and his sparkling sense of humor. May he live forever and ever.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STELA

Authors: Text composed by Mary Szabady and Megaera Lorenz; art and epigraphy by Megaera Lorenz
 Materials: Paper; black and red ink
 Date: Ca. 2006 CE
 Provenance: Discovered on the office door of Robert K. Ritner, Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, Chicago, Illinois, USA. Now part of the papers of Robert K. Ritner in the ISAC Museum Archives.

Although the Ritner Stela is drawn on paper, the document is clearly intended to imitate a round-topped stone stela, a type of monument attested in Egypt from at least the First Dynasty. An illustrated lunette comprises roughly the top third of the stela, while the remaining portion is inscribed with a biographical text written in hieroglyphs. Robert Ritner (designated *Rtnr-3* in the text) is represented at the right-center of the lunette, seated in a wheeled office chair. His status is indicated not only by his relatively large stature compared to the student supplicant at the left side of the scene, but also by the fact that he is slightly elevated on a raised dais. In his upraised hands, he holds a paper and a pen with a red cap. The paper features a large red  at the top, over several indistinct lines of writing. Unusually, the artist has chosen to render Ritner's face in a frontal view rather than in profile. This is perhaps an allusion to conventional portrayals of the god Bes, a deity Ritner was known to favor. Directly to Ritner's left is an office desk, which holds a computer monitor, a keyboard, and a small figure of Spongebob Squarepants dressed in a *nemes* headcloth.⁶ The Spongebob was one of several *objets d'art* with clear Egyptianizing influences that adorned Ritner's office at the time of the stela's composition. That this particular object was a tribute offering presented to Ritner by one of the authors of the stela may explain its prominent placement in the lunette illustration. At the far left side of the lunette, a weeping student kneels with arms raised in a gesture of propitiation. The student is generic in appearance and is unlikely to represent a specific individual.

LUNETTE

Caption behind the student supplicant:

sf̄n=k n=i “May you be merciful to me!”

Caption before the student paper:

f̄pw “It is an F!”

⁶ The Pharaoh Spongebob figure was part of a series of *Spongebob Squarepants: Lost in Time* collectible figurines released by Burger King in early 2006, establishing a clear *terminus post quem* for the Ritner Stela. See *Chief Marketer* 2006.

Caption above Ritner the Great:

f pw ir.n=i hr md3.t tn “It is an **F** which I have made upon this paper.”

Caption behind Ritner the Great:

Rtnr-3 m3'-hrw 'nh d.t r nhh “Ritner the Great, true of voice, living forever and ever.”

MAIN TEXT

1. *s3mw s3 3 imy-r s3.w ny.w p3wt hk3y rh hrp m3' Rtnr-3 dd ink*

The leader, the great scribe, overseer of writings of the primeval time, the magician, who knows how to administer truly, Ritner the Great, who says: “I am

2. *s3 s rh s33 m3 n sb3.w=f n-hnty rdi sb3=f hr w3.t n(y).t sb3.w n 'qt=sn*

the son of a man, knowledgeable and wise, who looked after his students continually, who placed his door upon the path of his students before they had entered,⁷

3. *rh s3 n s3t=f8 mh hr st3.w rh |(Rbrt-Zmmr) 'nh wd3 snb hn' hrp.w=f w' hr-hw9 iwtv*

who knew writing before it is written, who pondered upon mysteries, known of Robert Zimmer,¹⁰ l.p.h., together with his administration, exclusively unique one, without

4. *snw=f iy.n n=f k.t-h.t m ksw ink s3 s iwtv hsf s3=f nb snd 3 sf.yt nb*

his equal, to whom others came bowing. I am the son of a man, without one who opposes his writing, lord of fear, great of majesty, lord of

5. *hr.t 3 hbsw.t r snw=f nb 3 rh.t mh m s3.t sw m hm d3 sb3.w=f m*

dread, more plentiful of beard than any of his fellows, great of knowledge, replete with wisdom, bereft of ignorance, whose students trembled at

6. *hrw n(y) r=f 3 n(y) hmstr.w |(Qliw3p3dr'.t) nb Spnd-Bb 'Ifd-hbs.w 3 h3=f r h3 nb m t3 r-dr=f s3 Dhwtv*

the sound of his speech, plentiful of Cleopatra hamsters,¹¹ lord of Spongebob Squarepantses,¹² whose office is greater than any office in the entire land, a son of Thoth

7 The implication is that he would prevent students from entering by closing the door before they could do so. This is a reference to an early encounter between Ritner and the authors, who were at the time waiting for him to return to his office so they could register for classes. When he arrived and saw the authors and several other students waiting in the hall, he quickly slipped into his office and closed the door. This incident was subsequently a frequent topic of conversation between the authors.

8 A rare passive use of the active *n sdmt=f* construction. While this phrase translates literally to “who knew writing before he had written it,” the intended meaning is clear (or at least it was to the authors at the time of composition). The authors were attempting to emulate the phrase *rh dw3w [n] iwt=f* (“who knew the morning [before] it had come”) from *Kay*, line 1, which is a more typical active construction with a pronominal subject.

9 The phrase *w' hr-hw*, as written here, also appears in *Kay*, line 2. While the compound preposition *hr-hw* alone means “except for” or “in exclusion of,” in expressions like *w' hr-hw(=f)* and *nn wn hr-hw(=f)* it expresses uniqueness or exclusivity. See Gardiner 1957, §178.

10 Robert Zimmer served as president of the University of Chicago from July 2006 to August 2021. See University of Chicago 2021.

11 Perhaps the only known occurrence of the loanword “hamster” in Middle Egyptian.

12 Literally, “Square of Garments.”

7. *n wn m3^c dw3.n sb3.w=f r h3=f r dw3 k3=f r^c nb n-3.t-n sb3.y.t=f n nfr n rh.t di.(t)=f n=sn*

in very truth, whose students rose early to (go to) his office in order to adore his ka every day on account of the greatness of his teaching (and) on account of the perfection of the knowledge which he gave to them.

8. *iw ir.n=i m3^c.t spd.ti r wsm iw rdi.n=i f n hm iw rdi.n=i 3 n rh iw sd.n=i sb3 iwty*

I made justice sharper than a carving knife.¹³ I gave an **F** to the ignorant; I gave an **A** to the knowledgeable.¹⁴ I rescued the student who was without an advisor.¹⁵

9. *sd3=(f) ir A pw B B pw dd.(t).tw sw tpy ir in A sdm=f nn wn=f h3 tw sp-sn ss.n=i hr md3.t n(y.t) sb3.w=i m*

As for “**A pw B**” (sentences), that which one must say first is “**B**.”¹⁶ As for “**in A sdm=f**,” its form does not exist.¹⁷ Pay attention, pay attention!¹⁸ **It is in red ink** that I have written

10. *imy.t dsr.t iw hsf.n=i sb3.w iwty n s.t tn <sn>¹⁹ hr hm.t=sn dd=i irr.tw=f ink rh dd r n Km.t*

upon the papers of my students! I opposed the teachings which did not belong to this place on account of their ignorance. As I speak, so it is done.²⁰ I am one who knew how to speak the language of Egypt,

11. *s3 3 hr qd iw rdi.n=i rh sb3.w=i m rk n(y) ssm hm t3 ink nht hk3w*

wise and great in every respect. I caused my students to learn in the time of an ignorant one leading the land.²¹ I am one mighty of magic,

12. *rh imn.w n(y).w p3.wt iw sphr.n=i ss.w=i n bw nb ink nb r nfr*

who knew the secrets of antiquity. I caused my writings to circulate to everyone.²² I am the lord of excellent speech,

13. *mry Dhwtwy hbt=f mi Bs Rtnr-3 m3^c-hrw nh d.t r nhh*

one beloved of Thoth, whose dance is like Bes,²³ Ritner the Great, true of voice, living forever and ever.”

13 Those who studied the *Laudatory Autobiography of Kay* in Ritner’s class inevitably spent considerable time discussing the hieratic determinative associated with this word and the veracity of the translation given in Faulkner 1996, p. 70, as “ear of corn.” Such memorable in-class discussions are no doubt why the full sentence from *Kay* was included here *verbatim*.

14 Had this stela been composed a few years later, the authors would undoubtedly have written this statement as a *Wechselsatz*, in honor of how fond Ritner was of pointing out this grammatical construction in class.

15 In honor of Ritner’s stepping in to read the master’s theses of many students during a turbulent year.

16 For Ritner’s opinions on the translation of “**A pw B**” sentences, see Ritner 2002, n. 5. Note how the A-element of this particular “**A pw B**” sentence is, in fact, the letter “**B**” in a clever attempt to trick Ritner into a paradox in which B must be said last. The authors feel obliged to report that Ritner was not tricked in the slightest and had a good chuckle at them for the sneaky attempt.

17 Ritner also held strong opinions on the so-called prospective nominal. In at least one class the authors can recall, he mischievously asked the students to identify this form, to which one of the authors answered: “It’s that form that you say doesn’t exist.” Ritner deemed this response acceptable.

18 A phrase repeated with comical frequency in the letters of Heqanakht, to the extent that Allen 2002, p. 15, noted that it was “ignored in translation” in his publication of the texts. While the literal meaning of *h3* is “fight,” it is used here and in the Heqanakht documents in the sense of “take care” or “be vigilant.”

19 This *sn* is apparently a scribal error.

20 A *Wechselsatz* in honor of Ritner’s fondness for them, and one that earned a distinct chuckle of approval from him upon reading the stela in class.

21 A reference to the US presidential situation in 2006. One can only imagine that more recent students experienced a similar contrast between the quality of wisdom in Ritner’s class and the lack thereof on the national stage.

22 For example, Ritner 2002. See also Ritner 1985 and Ritner and Foster 1996, both frequently cited.

23 A reference to the “Bes dance” that Ritner was known to perform in his “Introduction to Egyptian Religion and Magic” class.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, James P.

- 2002 *The Hekanakht Papyri*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 27. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Anthes, Rudolf

- 1928 *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 9. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs.

Chief Marketer

- 2006 “Burger King Renews Spongebob Premiums, Sweeps.” February 22, 2006. <https://www.chiefmarketer.com/burger-kings-renews-spongebob-premiums-sweeps/>.

de Buck, Adriaan

- 1948 *Egyptian Readingbook*. Vol. 1, *Exercises and Middle Egyptian Texts*. Chicago: Ares Publishers.

Faulkner, Raymond O.

- 1996 *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Gardiner, Alan H.

- 1957 *Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

James, Thomas G. H.

- 1962 *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 19. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 1985 “Anubis and the Lunar Disc.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71: 149–55.
 2002 “Some Problematic Bipartite Nominal Predicates in Demotic.” Paper presented at the Eighth International Congress for Demotic Studies, Würzburg, August 30, 2002. https://oi.uchicago.edu/sites/oi.uchicago.edu/files/uploads/shared/docs/bipartite_nominal_predicates.pdf.

Ritner, Robert K., and Karen P. Foster

- 1996 “Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55: 1–14.

University of Chicago

- 2021 “Robert J. Zimmer, 2006–2021.” Accessed November 29, 2023. <https://president.uchicago.edu/en/about-the-office/history/robert-j-zimmer>.

1 BLACK MAGIC (WOMAN)

Solange Ashby
University of California, Los Angeles

THIS CHAPTER¹ HONORS THE SCHOLARSHIP of Professor Ritner, my first and only teacher of Demotic, with whom I read “The Romance of Setna Khaemuas and the Mummies” (Setna I) during my time as a doctoral student at the University of Chicago. I offer this commentary on his translation of “The Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire” (Setna II)² to emphasize and highlight a different perspective, one that prioritizes the cultural context of the Nubian magicians depicted in this Egyptian tale. As part of a larger tradition of Egyptian Demotic literature, this tale sheds light on the contemporary culture and beliefs while employing titles for the Nubian magicians that are derived from the cultural context of the kingdom of Meroe (300 BCE–300 CE), contemporaneous with the transmission of the Setna cycle.

Written on the verso of two Greek papyri joined to form a single scroll, the tale of Setna II consists of seven preserved columns.³ Several columns are missing at the beginning of the document. The papyrus, held by the British Museum (P. BM EA 10822-1, P. BM EA 10822-2), was purchased in Aswan in 1895. The Greek texts on the verso are land registers dated to the seventh year of the Roman emperor Claudius (46–47 CE) that relate to a locality called “Crocodilopolis.” Several towns in Egypt bear this name. Based on the site of purchase of the scroll (Aswan), Griffith suggested that the land registers refer to a town in the vicinity of Gebelein,⁴ an opinion accepted by Ritner. Copies of this tale have been found throughout Egypt and as far north as Tebtunis in the Fayyum. Some scholars have posited Akhmim as the locality called “Crocodilopolis” in the Greek texts; this is currently the majority opinion.⁵ Yet definitively connecting this copy of the tale to the site of Gebelein is not necessary in order to make a claim that the scribe and transmitter of the tale had direct knowledge of Nubian customs.⁶ Increasingly we are aware of a Nubian presence in Egypt throughout all chronological periods and at numerous sites, including those in the north of Egypt.⁷ However, the town of Gebelein serves as a particularly potent example of Nubian presence in Egypt. Populated as early as the Predynastic period, Gebelein had Nubian residents in the late Old Kingdom/

1 I would like to thank the volume editors and an anonymous reviewer for their comments, especially Foy Scalf who suggested copious additional citations and graciously provided PDFs of many of them.

2 Ritner 2003, pp. 470–89. See also Hoffmann and Quack 2007, pp. 118–37; Quack 2005, pp. 36–40; Jay 2016, pp. 250–57.

3 As mounted at the British Museum, the first scroll (BM EA10822-1; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10822-1) in its frame measures 141.0 cm wide × 50.5 cm high; the second scroll (BM EA10822-2; https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10822-2) as mounted measures 148.4 cm wide × 50.5 cm high.

4 Griffith 1900, p. 68.

5 Jay 2016, p. 62 n. 173, citing Wilcken 1908, pp. 535–37.

6 On the use of Meroitic-language titles such as *kwr* and *ate* in the papyrus, Hofmann says: “Die Verwendung der beiden meroitischen Titel zeigt, daß die Schreiber in Ägypten der meroitischen Terminologie gegenüber nicht ganz unkundig waren.” See Hofmann 1993, p. 210.

7 De Souza 2020, pp. 148–50; Ashby 2020; Meurer 2021, among others.

early First Intermediate Period,⁸ Middle Kingdom,⁹ and Thirteenth Dynasty/Second Intermediate Period¹⁰ and was home to a Blemmye community during the Roman period.¹¹ It is during the latter period, the first century CE, that this scroll containing the tale of Setna II is believed to have been written.¹² The association of Gebelein (Greek Pathyris, from the Egyptian *Pr-Ḥwt-Ḥrw* “temple of Hathor”) with the goddess Hathor¹³ and the temple dedicated to her there (or at Akhmim, if the alternative location of Crocodilopolis is accepted)¹⁴ will also bear relevance to our interpretation of the tale of Setna II.

The papyrus records three distinct tales: the miraculous birth of Si-Osiris; a journey to the underworld by Si-Osiris and his father, Setna; and a magical duel with Nubian magicians. It is the third episode with which this chapter is concerned. Told as a story within a story, Si-Osiris is magically able to read a scroll, still sealed, that has been brought to the court of his grandfather, the king of Egypt. The scroll records events that took place during the reign of Thutmose III (1479–1425 BCE) when a king of Kush overheard three Nubian magicians boasting of magical exploits they hoped to perform as acts of aggression against Egypt. One magician hoped to plunge Egypt into darkness for three days; the second schemed to spirit the Egyptian king away at night to Nubia, where he was to be beaten with 500 blows before being returned to Egypt within six hours; and the third magician planned to render the fields of Egypt unproductive for three years. The Kushite king commanded the second magician to carry out his plan to magically kidnap the king of Egypt in order to beat him in the presence of the Kushite king.¹⁵ In this story, as read aloud from the scroll by Si-Osiris, a fourth magician, Hor Paneshy, came to the aid of the Egyptian king.

By placing the action of a magical conflict between Egypt and Nubia in the period of Thutmose III, the height of Egyptian imperialism and direct domination of the lands of Nubia, this Demotic tale hearkens back to the days of Egypt’s glory as the ideal setting for the victory of one powerful Egyptian magician who defends the honor of Egypt from the treachery and devious scheming of Nubia. Yet in the period when the tale of Setna II was recorded on this papyrus, the first century CE, Egypt had been reduced to the status of a colony of Rome, while in Nubia the kingdom of Meroe was enjoying a classical period of wealth, with the flourishing of native traditions, and had met Roman troops in battle to expel them from the land of Nubia. Nostalgia for the dominant power of imperial Egypt threads through this tale of dueling magicians, a fantasy along the lines of “Make Egypt Great Again.”

This essay will explore the portrayal of the Nubian culture of the first century CE in the tale of Setna II through a close analysis of the names of the three Nubian magicians, who not only share the first name “Horus” with their Egyptian rival but also bear epithets that portray central tenets of Nubian society and reflect the power of women as wives, mothers, priestesses, and sole-ruling queens. Several Meroitic titles rendered in the Demotic language of the text will be explored, adding the Nubian cultural context and removing the disparaging translations offered in earlier published versions of this text. Finally, actual Nubian magicians employed by the king of Meroe and attested through their prayer inscriptions at the temples of Philae and Dakka will be discussed to demonstrate that the tale of Setna II was no mere fantasy. Rather, during this period, professional magicians from Nubia did journey to participate in rites at Egyptian temples—not as aggressive antagonists, but as well-received colleagues of their peers: Egyptian priests.

8 Fiore Marochetti 2013, p. 4.

9 Darnell and Darnell 2002, p. 145. Graffiti at a site in the western desert called “Dominion behind Thebes” depict Nubian warriors.

10 Darnell and Darnell 2002, p. 132.

11 Török 1985, p. 59.

12 Griffith 1900, p. 70; Ritner 2003, p. 470.

13 Fiore Marochetti 2013, p. 2.

14 Centers of Hathoric worship existed at Akhmim, Cusae, and Naga ed-Der as early as the Sixth Dynasty. See Gillam 1995, pp. 228–30.

15 Ritner 2003, pp. 480–81.

WHAT IS A MAGICIAN?

The Demotic term *hry-tb* is translated as “magician” in this text, but more precisely it refers to the temple title “chief (lector priest),”¹⁶ attested from as early as the Old Kingdom until late antiquity (2700 BCE–500 CE). The more complete title *hry-hb hry-tp* referred to the priest’s role as the one in charge of the festival scroll. Lector priests assisted the clothing priests in performing temple rituals and were “those responsible for the ritual texts and guardians of a correct performance of rites and a faultless recitation of hymns and invocations.”¹⁷ They could also be called “scribe of the divine book” and “feather bearer (πτεροφόροι)” for the two feathers they wore atop their heads in the Late Period. These priests served alongside the prophet, god’s father, and *wab*-priest, while also occasionally being designated as “scribe of the House of Life.”¹⁸ The translation “magician” is justified by the importance of written and spoken spells used by the principal characters in Setna II, yet it demeans the ritual role accorded to these temple priests in the Egyptian context. The knowledge of the sacred scripts recorded on temple scrolls and the ability to properly intone those spells afforded the magicians in this tale—Egyptian and Nubian—the power and ability to transport kings via litters constructed of wax and spells spoken to teleport them. Additionally, we see the lector priest serving his king as a representative in diplomatic relations with other kingdoms.¹⁹

Two Nubian magicians, bearing the Demotic title *hry-tb* in their third-century CE prayer inscriptions in the Egyptian temples of Dakka and Philae, arrived as representatives of the Meroitic king in order to perform rites on his behalf and conduct political negotiations with the officials of Roman Egypt. These magicians are discussed later in this chapter.

THE NAMES OF THE FOUR MAGICIANS

The four magicians in Setna II share the spiritually potent name “Horus,”²⁰ signifying, in Egyptian religion, the son of Osiris and a defender of his father. In Egyptian kingship iconography, the king is a manifestation of the god Horus who has claimed his deceased father’s throne to rule Egypt as a god-king. Si-Osiris’s name, meaning “the son of Osiris,” connects him to the group of four magicians named Horus and emphasizes Horus’s role as protector of his father and, by extension, savior of Egypt.

In the Nubian context, Horus, Lord of *T3-sti* (Lower Nubia), was worshipped as four highly localized manifestations in Lower Nubia: Lord of Baki (Kuban), Lord of Miam (Aniba/Qasr Ibrim), Lord of *M-h3* (Abu Simbel), and Lord of *Bhn* (Buhen).²¹ Yet it is not these localized Nubian manifestations of Horus who lend their names to the enemy magicians of Setna II. Rather, each Nubian magician bears a name that refers to his mother, whose epithet provides hints as to her identity.

The three Nubian magicians bear the names Horus-the-son-of-the-Sow, Horus-the-son-of-[the]-Princess, and Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman. Each magician’s name includes a reference to a facet of the divine feminine, in keeping with the centrality of the mother in Nubian culture,²² the importance of the Kushite queen mother’s participation in coronation rites for her son,²³ and the culture’s general attitude

16 EG, pp. 321–22; Ritner 1993, pp. 220–22; Dieleman 2005, pp. 205–8, esp. p. 205 n. 43.

17 Dieleman 2005, p. 207.

18 Dieleman 2005, p. 205 n. 43; Ritner 1993, p. 222.

19 Lucarelli 2020, p. 3. This is precisely what we see with the Nubian lector priests and their family members (primarily members of the Wayekiye family) who arrive at Philae to conduct rites and to undertake diplomatic negotiations with officials in Egypt.

20 Griffith 1900, p. 55, note to line 10.

21 Ashby 2020, pp. 38–39.

22 Khalil 2017, pp. 5–7.

23 Lohwasser 2001, pp. 68–69.

of reverence for the maternal lineage.²⁴ Furthermore, this divine feminine principal is none other than the goddess Hathor as she appears in the Myth of the Eye of Re.

Horus-the-son-of-the-Sow (Demotic *ryr*) is the Nubian magician who would “not let [Egypt] see the light for three days and three nights.”²⁵ His name incorporates the Egyptian word *rr.t*,²⁶ meaning “pig” or “hippopotamus” and translated by Ritner as “Sow.” Both Erichsen’s *Glossar*²⁷ and the *Wörterbuch*²⁸ offer a translation of this word with an astrological meaning—the Sow as a constellation—which offers a connection to the astronomical titles and knowledge claimed by Nubian magicians who engraved their prayer inscriptions at Philae in the third century CE (discussed later in this chapter). Yet another facet of the word’s semantic range is its use as the title of the mother goddess²⁹ or as a verb meaning “to raise (a child),” attributed to the goddess who raises the king.³⁰ This concept derives from the meaning of *rr.t* “nurse, guardian.”³¹ Of course the standing hippo goddess who protects infants³² is Taweret, a powerful figure evoked in Nubia as early as the Kerma period (2600–1550 BCE), when her image was used for mica inlays on beds used in funerary contexts and beautiful faience figurines that may have served as amulets. The image was associated with the burial of high-status women and appears to have been used together with other elements as a “representation of high-status female Kerman identity.”³³ Finally, *rr* is used as a magical word³⁴ in Middle Egyptian and maintains this sense as late as the Coptic magical texts.³⁵

The rearing Taweret is associated with the Distant Goddess who has returned to Egypt. On a stela discovered on the west side of the Nile at the site of Hagar el-Gharb, in view of Qubbet el-Hawa (Aswan), a priest is shown worshipping the rearing hippopotamus goddess. In the graffito she is called *ir.t R* “the Eye of Ra,” an epithet of the Distant Goddess. Darnell suggests that the rearing hippo is the transformed roaring lioness, the Distant Goddess who, having bathed in the cool waters of the Nile, has become the “protective riverine beast of Nubia.”³⁶

Hippopotamus goddesses (*rr.i.t*) appear at the end of a hymn that decorates the kiosk in front of the temple of Monthu at Medamud, 5 km northeast of Karnak.³⁷ Decorated during the reign of Ptolemy XII (ca. 80–51 BCE), the kiosk contains a three-part hymn that describes the Egyptian, Nubian, and animal worshippers of the goddess Hathor (called “Rat-Tawy”) as she returns to Egypt from Nubia. Embedded among a variety of Nilotic animals that worship the returning goddess, the hippopotamus goddesses (*rrty.w*) open their mouths (*r3=sn wn*) and raise their arms in adoration of Hathor (*dr.ty=sn m i3w n hr=t*).³⁸

Darnell and Darnell stress the association of the hippopotamus goddesses with the desert areas to the west of Thebes. Several rock-art depictions of hippopotami from the Middle Kingdom attest to the association of this goddess with the region:

24 Hintze 1974, pp. 26–27.

25 Ritner 2003, p. 480.

26 Griffith 1900, p. 176, line 10: “*ryr* probably the fem. of *pṛp* ‘pig,’ Eg. *rr.t*, ‘pig,’ ‘hippopotamus.’”

27 EG, p. 251. For the continuation of this meaning in Coptic, see *pṛp* in Crum 1939, p. 299a.

28 *Wb.* II, p. 438/9.

29 *Wb.* II, p. 438/11; Schlögl 1975, p. 243: “In der Spätzeit tritt dann R[eret] besonders als Benennung einer der in Ägypten zahlreichen Nilpferdgottheiten hervor, deren Hauptaufgabe es ist, den Frauen bei der Geburt und im Wochenbett beizustehen und den Schutz des neugeborenen Kindes zu übernehmen.”

30 *Wb.* II, p. 439/1.

31 *Wb.* II, p. 439/8.

32 *Wb.* II, p. 438/10.

33 Minor 2018, pp. 257, 259, fig. 8; Reisner 1923, pp. 266–67, pls. 54–56.

34 *Wb.* II, p. 439/13.

35 Crum 1939, p. 299a: AM 59B “used by magician.”

36 Darnell 1995, p. 90 n. 229.

37 Darnell 1995, pp. 52, 89.

38 Darnell 1995, pp. 80–81.

At several sites behind Thebes, from near Gebel Tjauti in the north to *w3s h3 W3s.t*, “Dominion behind Thebes” in the south, there are Middle Kingdom depictions of hippopotamus goddesses, *Rerit* or *Taweret*. . . . Their positions along the routes north and west of Thebes represent a hemispheric line of goddesses “around behind” Thebes—a magical force field protecting the back door to Thebes, and the religious counterparts to the towers and patrols of the *Alamat Tal* Road and Nubian soldiers.³⁹

It is precisely this type of magical protection that is being evoked in the matronymic of the Nubian magician *Horus-the-son-of-the-Sow*, which connects him to the local hippopotamus goddesses of the western desert and their protection surrounding the area of Thebes and its environs, including *Gebelein* with its long-attested Nubian populations, and to the apotropaic, knife-wielding standing hippopotami depicted at *Kerma*. Furthermore, the threat of *Horus-the-son-of-the-Sow* to block out the light in Egypt for three days may also include a reference to the light from the torches that guide the *Distant Goddess* from the desert back to the riverine temples of Egypt. *Darnell* connects the hippos depicted at *Medamud* with *Hathoric* worship and the eastern desert of *Nubia*:

The *rr.t*-goddesses at times appear with the *hit/ihty* entities and *Bes* himself, all of whom make music for *Hathor*. Just to the right of the *Medamûd* hymn, which concludes with a mention of *Reret*-goddesses, there is carved a large figure of *Bes*. Thus the last in a list of real and fabulous animals recalls the human celebrants through its composite nature, and the *Hathoric* dancing itself through association with other music-making apotropaic deities. . . . In the *Medamûd* hymn, those beings present on the magical knives of earlier *Hathoric* celebrations have come in the flesh out of the Eastern Desert.⁴⁰

By explicitly connecting the rearing hippo goddess to *Hathor*, her musical rites, and the magical knives used in birth rituals, as well as to worshippers arriving in Egypt from the eastern desert, *Darnell* connects the hymn at *Medamud* with the Nubian context of *Hathor* as the *Distant Goddess*. I suggest that the name of the Nubian magician, *Horus-the-son-of-the-Sow*, makes a similar, multifaceted symbolic reference.

Horus-the-son-of-[the]-Princess (Demotic *rpyt*⁴¹) boasts, “I shall cast my magic up into Egypt. I shall not allow the fields to be productive for three years.”⁴² Although *Ritner* translated the final element of the magician’s name as “Princess” and *Griffith* tentatively rendered it as “noblewoman,” a better option exists that is more firmly rooted in the Nile Valley magical tradition. *Waraksa* suggests that “the term *rpyt* may be understood as a generic one applied to female images of all sizes and materials, including magical figurines.”⁴³ Four female figurines and a paddle doll excavated as part of a cache of ritual texts (two of which are concerned with gynecology, pediatrics, and childbirth) and other ritual artifacts from the late Middle Kingdom “magician’s kit” buried beneath the storerooms at the *Ramesseum* lend credence to this suggestion.⁴⁴ Their discovery shows that female figurines were paired with texts that contain ritual incantations used by literate priests. *Waraksa* suggests that these figurines stood in for the goddess and could be activated by the magician as part of the rites he performed:

It is likely that female figurines were fashioned as generic females so that they could serve as any one of numerous goddesses, depending on the situation at hand. . . . It was through the recitation of a spell that a female figurine actively became a goddess for the temporary purposes of healing and protection.⁴⁵

39 *Darnell and Darnell* 2002, p. 145.

40 *Darnell* 1995, pp. 88–89. *Schlögl* 1975, p. 243: “Im Mammisi (Geburtshaus) erscheint sie häufig in der Gemeinschaft mit den Schicksalsgöttern *Schai* und *Renenutet*, aber auch mit dem pantheistischen *Bes* und dem löwengestaltigen *Miysis* ist sie verbunden.” See also *Quack* 2010, p. 348 for a discussion of the hymn at *Medamud*, p. 353 for a discussion of musical scenes in the forecourt of the temple of *Hathor* at *Philae*.

41 EG, pp. 244–45; *Wb.* II, p. 416/8. *Wüthrich* cites *Zibelius-Chen*’s translation of two Nubian divine names from *Book of the Dead* chapter 164, the first of which, *sp-khr*, is rendered as “princess.” See *Wüthrich* 2009, p. 276.

42 *Ritner* 2003, p. 480.

43 *Waraksa* 2008, p. 2; EG, p. 244; CDD R (01.1), p. 29.

44 *Ritner* 1993, pp. 222–23; *Miniaci* 2020, pp. 14–21.

45 *Waraksa* 2008, p. 3.

Female figurines were associated with many goddesses: Hathor, Mut, Nut, Taweret, Isis, and Selqet. In relation to the tale of Setna II, the goddesses Hathor (whose temples stand at Gebelein, Cusae, and Akhmim) and Taweret (referred to as *ryr* above) are most relevant. Horus-the-son-of-[the]-Princess issues the threat to revoke the fertility of the fields of Egypt for three years. The Nubian magician's name makes reference to goddesses associated with childbirth and, by extension, fertility: Hathor, Isis, and Taweret.⁴⁶ His threat might be understood as casting a spell of infertility on a woman, with the "woman" in this case being *t3 kmt*, the land of Egypt being conceived of as feminine and her black soil as imbued with fertility by the Nile in an act of conception carried out annually by the flood.

The final and most prominent Nubian magician in the tale of Setna II is Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman (Demotic *t3 nhs*⁴⁷), who threatens to transport the Egyptian king to Kush to have him beaten with 500 lashes before returning him to Egypt. He is the magician who actually carries out his threat with the blessing of the ruler in Kush and engages in a ritual battle with the Egyptian magician, Hor Paneshy. At first sight, Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman has the least impressive name. Yet his matronymic refers to a female magician (his mother) who appears near the end of the tale to save her son when he is bested by the Egyptian magician. While Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman's name seems to refer simply to a generic woman, it reflects the high regard in which Nubian mothers were held by their communities. Kinship lineages, the central point around which Nubian communities were organized, were based on the maternal line.⁴⁸ Nubians consistently employed matronymics in preference to the general use of patronymics in Egypt.⁴⁹ Furthermore, in the Prophecy of Neferty, the titular character is a lector priest who predicts the coming of a savior-king from the south: "But then there shall come a king from the south. His name will be Ameny, justified. He will be the son of a woman of Ta-Sety."⁵⁰ While the translator conceives of Ta-Sety as the first Upper Egyptian nome, it is the exclusive reference to the mother of Ameny that identifies him as a Nubian. The practice of identification by descent from a mother (as opposed to a father) is a practice that is standard in Meroitic-language funerary texts.⁵¹ The deep respect accorded to mothers in Nubia is completely lost in Griffith's translation of the name of Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman as "Hor, son of the Negress."⁵² Ultimately, the name is used as an epithet of the goddess Hathor (*Nhs.t*⁵³) in her role as the Distant Goddess, whose close association with Nubia is made explicit through a connection with multiple Nubian locations: Keneset, Bougem, or more generally Ta-Sety and Ta-Nehes. In this role as the raging goddess Tefnut who is lured back to Egypt, we can see a parallel with the mother of Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman who flies up to Egypt to rescue her son. The glorious return of the Distant Goddess to Egypt has, in the tale of Setna II, been turned on its head, however. Instead of a glorious welcome for a revered goddess, traditionally celebrated by festivals throughout Egypt, we see the ignoble defeat of both mother and son at the hands of the triumphant Egyptian magician.

Before embarking on his sorcery against the Egyptian king, Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman consults with his mother, who advises him to "leave some signs between me and you, so that if something happens that you are suffering, I shall come to you and see if I can save you."⁵⁴ Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman chooses food and drink as signs to alert his mother to his distress. The fact that food will change

46 CDD R (01.1), p. 29, "female statue, goddess," with reference to *Wb.* II, p. 415/2, "Göttin Hathor-Isis u.a.," and *Wb.* II, p. 416/9, "von Göttinnen," for the Greco-Roman period.

47 EG, p. 224, "die Negerin"; *Wb.* II, p. 303/9–10, "die Südländerin, die Negerin."

48 Edwards 2004, p. 175; Ashby 2020, p. 16.

49 Hintze 1974, pp. 235–36; Ashby 2020, p. 17. While some exceptions apply in both cultures, the strong preference for the use of matronymics in Nubia is striking and unparalleled in Egypt.

50 Tobin 2003, p. 219.

51 Griffith 1911b, p. 32; Trigger 1970, pp. 22, 49, table 6; the table shows the order in which the parents' names are listed at Karanog, Shablul, and Faras: (B) name—mother, (C) name—father. The vast majority list the mother's name first.

52 Griffith 1900, p. 177, line 13.

53 *Wb.* II, p. 303/11.

54 Ritner 2003, p. 485.

to the color red may be related to color symbolism in Egyptian magical practice as described by Waraksa in relation to female figurines excavated at the Mut Temple at Karnak.⁵⁵ The color red is associated with both the blood that ensures bodily health and the blood that is copiously present at childbirth, but also the sickness and disease meant to be cured by transferring it to the female figurine during the rites of healing. As a color fraught with negative associations in Egyptian magical practice, it is fitting that the enemy magician would choose red to signify his need for assistance from his mother if his magic should fail in Egypt. As Waraksa and Ritner both note, red is the color of the execration rite “The Breaking of the Red Vessels,” meant to protect Egypt apotropaically against its enemies. Waraksa notes that “given the abundance of scenarios in which red is a signifier of a dangerous force, the presence of red on so many New Kingdom and later ceramic female figurines may be taken as evidence that these objects, too, were embodiments of dangerous forces, and ones that needed to be execrated.”⁵⁶ The color red extends to the description of a woman who has recently given birth as a *ḥm.t dšr.t*, “a red woman.”⁵⁷ This interpretation may be relevant in the agreement between the Nubian woman and her son as he embarks on a dangerous mission in Egypt by highlighting the preeminent bond between them: his emergence from her body at the moment of his birth.

The name of the Egyptian magician, Hor Paneshy, is rendered as “Horus-the-son-of-the-Wolf” in Ritner’s translation,⁵⁸ while Griffith maintained the name as written in the papyrus, translating it as “Hor son of Paneshy.”⁵⁹ While generally concurring with Griffith’s reading of the text, Ritner proposed that “the writing *P3-nšy* is a contraction for *P3-wnšy* ‘The Wolf.’”⁶⁰ Ritner referred to another Demotic literary text published by Zauzich to support the translation of *P3-wnšy* as “The Wolf” based on similarities between the two stories.⁶¹ Porten published an Aramaic text from the Persian period (525–404 and 343–332 BCE) that references a magician named Hor bar Punesh and relates him to the powerful Egyptian magician of Setna II, Hor *P3-wnš*,⁶² who, the reader will recall, lived during an earlier time and was reincarnated as Si-Osiris. However, the *wnš* of Setna II does not refer to a wolf but rather to the primate form taken by Thoth in Nubia. Prada takes the translation of the enigmatic name *wnš* a step further by comparing Greek and Demotic versions of the Myth of the Eye of Re and showing that *wnš-kwf* means “dog-faced monkey,” a cynocephalus simian (an African primate) that is a manifestation of the god Thoth sent to fetch the Distant Goddess from Nubia.⁶³ Prada notes the depiction of the lute-playing simian on the columns in the entrance to the Hathor temple at Philae with a hieroglyphic label that reads *p3 kwf*.⁶⁴ Junker connects this primate to the Nubian region of *T3-w3d* (near Pnubs) and to Thoth of Pnubs:⁶⁵ “Hier sei auch auf das Herkunftsland der Affen hingewiesen; wir lernten die tanzenden Affen oben . . . in *T3-w3d* kennen, und den äthiopischen Affen Thot von Pnubs sehen wir in Dakke gerade in der Szene der Entführung der Göttin, in gleicher Rolle wie der ‘kleine Wolfsaffe.’”⁶⁶

55 Waraksa 2009, pp. 103–10. See also Ritner 1993, pp. 147–48, 169–70.

56 Waraksa 2009, p. 106.

57 Waraksa 2009, pp. 105–6.

58 Ritner 2003, p. 482 n. 28.

59 Griffith 1900, pp. 182–83, pl. Va.

60 Ritner 2003, p. 482 n. 28.

61 Ritner 1993, pp. 70–71 n. 320; Zauzich 1978.

62 Porten 2004, p. 437; Jay 2016, p. 254: “Several additional factors indicate that Setna II ‘borrowed’ the character of Horus-son-of-the-Wolf from his own separate story cycle. His earliest appearance occurs on an Aramaic papyrus with a date (based on paleography) of the third quarter of the fifth century BC; here, he is called ‘Hor bar Punesh.’”

63 Prada 2014, p. 113. The *šm wnš-kwf* (*Wb.* I, p. 325/1; *EG*, p. 92) was a small, dog-nosed monkey closely associated with the worship of Hathor as the Distant Goddess with her strong connections to Nubia. In Darnell’s analysis of the hymn to the Distant Goddess found in the kiosk of the Ptolemaic period at Medamud, the *wnš-kwf* is closely associated with the *rr.t*-goddess who appears in the name of Horus-the-son-of-the-Sow in this tale. See Darnell 1995, p. 88.

64 Prada 2014, p. 163.

65 Junker 1917, pp. 10, 162–63.

66 Junker 1917, p. 163; Quack 2010, p. 342: “These ape forms, be it guenon or baboon, are not native to Egypt at the time of the story, but imported from the south.”

The temple of Dakka is dedicated to the god Thoth of Pnubs, a distinctly Nubian manifestation of Thoth. While Thoth was an Egyptian god, Thoth of Pnubs appeared in Egyptian temples only in Lower Nubia: in Dakka, Dabod, Dendur, Kalabsha, and Philae. The god's hypostasis was a primate, not the ibis of the Egyptian god Thoth. Within the sanctuary (built by the Meroitic king Arqamani II, ca. 218–200 BCE), a relief on the inner east wall shows the king offering to Shu and Tefnut,⁶⁷ prominent protagonists in the Myth of the Eye of Re, while Thoth as the *wnš-kwf* worships Tefnut in her fearsome lioness form in a narrow room to the east of the sanctuary of Arqamani II (fig. 1.1).⁶⁸

The presence of a sacred jujubier tree (Egyptian *nbs*) in the ancient religious precinct of Doukki Gel, near the ancient Kushite capital Kerma, suggests that this variant of Thoth had southern origins. Doukki Gel, called *pr nbs* “house of the jujubier-tree” in ancient times, was the New Kingdom town founded by Thutmose I. Charles Bonnet, who has excavated at the site for fifty years, remarked on the discovery in 2011 of “an extraordinary African town” under the New Kingdom site built by Thutmose I. Palace A, a circular ceremonial building more than 50 m in diameter, was surrounded by 4 m thick walls and contained two thrones, a large offering table in a chapel, and a circular enclosure perhaps for the sacred jujubier tree.⁶⁹ While “Pnubs” was the name given to the New Kingdom town founded at Kerma, the sacred tree for which Pnubs was named had been worshipped in Kerma before the Egyptian conquest. This suggests that the association of a divinity with the toponym Pnubs—be it Amun or Thoth—was originally a Kushite concept, adopted for the worship of Thoth in Lower Nubia.⁷⁰



Figure 1.1. Thoth of Pnubs worshipping Tefnut.

67 Roeder 1930, pp. 255–56, fig. 28.

68 Roeder 1930, pl. 115 (small room off the sanctuary of Arqamani II, south wall, upper row); Junker 1911, p. 55: “Am wichtigsten aber sind die Darstellungen auf der Rückwand. Da steht ein Affe mit erhobenen Armen, in der Stellung des Preisens vor einer Löwin mit erhobenem Schweife, die auf ihrem Kopfe die Sonne mit Uräus trägt.” See Griffith 1937, pp. 17–18, for a plan of the temple of Dakka.

69 Bonnet 2016, p. 4.

70 Boylan 1922, p. 170; Sauneron and Yoyotte 1952, pp. 163–69. *Ziziphus spina-christi* (Egyptian *pnbs*) is attested from the Neolithic period at the Lower Nubian site of Nabta Playa; it belongs to the native flora of Sudan. See Lityńska-Zajac and Wasylkowska 2018, p. 553.

Thus, each of the four magicians named “Horus” in Setna II was associated with the goddess Hathor, the consort of Horus and the mollified Distant Goddess who returned to Egypt to consummate the “sacred marriage” with the god.

MEROITIC WORDS USED IN SETNA II

The inclusion of identifiable (proto-)Meroitic lexemes in the supplemental spells of the Book of the Dead dates to the late New Kingdom/early Third Intermediate Period and demonstrates a familiarity with Kushite ritual practice and language among Egyptian theologians.⁷¹ In his recent survey of foreign words borrowed from elsewhere in Africa, Julien Cooper notes evidence of religious exchanges that occurred between Egypt and Nubia over the course of their long, mutually entangled history:

The foreign African lexical material in the “Supplementary Spells” of the *Book of the Dead* presupposes some detailed religious exchange between Egyptian and Nubian theologians. Such intimate exchanges are also observed in the “Kushite spells” of Egyptian magical papyri. These passages contain a small number of non-Egyptian words, suggesting the incorporation of foreign phrases and words in the performance of these rituals.⁷²

We see lexical evidence of this mutual exchange in the presence of several Meroitic words in the tale of Setna II. While discussing the cultural context of such words as used in Nubia, I want to offer a corrective to the disparaging terms used to translate them. There is nothing in the original Demotic text to indicate such demeaning terminology. In fact, the incorporation of indigenous titles for the Nubian protagonists in this tale reveals a familiarity with Nubian culture and a choice to depict that culture appropriately by using the correct Meroitic-language terms for cultural elements not present in Egypt.

ATE

The word *ate*⁷³ is used in reference to the Kushite individual (*ʔte n ʔgš*) who arrives at the Egyptian court demanding to know whether there exists in Egypt someone who is able to read his unopened scroll. Ritner translated this term as “shaman,”⁷⁴ which suggests that the Nubian magician somehow comes from a different ritual milieu than does Hor Paneshy, who is described as a lector priest—a title that acknowledges his training as a literate priest and scribe. The *ate* issues a challenge in the court of the pharaoh:

[Is there anyone who] will read this letter that I have brought to Egypt before Pharaoh without removing its seal, and who will read the writings that are on it without opening it? If it happens that [there is no good scribe or wise man] in Egypt who will be able to read it without opening it, I shall take the humiliation of Egypt to the land of Nubia, my country.⁷⁵

Labeling the Nubian magician a “shaman” deflects the shame to be ascribed to Egypt—namely, that “there is no good scribe or wise man . . . who will be able to read” the letter—onto the Nubian. Using the term “shaman” suggests that the Nubian magician may not have received sufficient priestly training to be called a lector priest. Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman is called a shaman precisely because he is Nubian: “As the role of these individuals regularly concerns Nubian magic, the title is here translated ‘shaman.’”⁷⁶ As I will show later in this essay, fully literate Nubian priests, trilingual in Egyptian, Meroitic, and Greek, were participants in cultic practices at Egyptian temples in Lower Nubia during the time when the tale of Setna II

71 Vernus 1984; Zibelius-Chen 2005; Wüthrich 2009, pp. 275–82; Rilly 2007, pp. 19–26; Rilly 2010, p. 14; Wüthrich 2010, pp. 12–26, esp. pp. 22–26; Zibelius-Chen 2011.

72 Cooper 2020, p. 11.

73 The term *ate* is found in the following columns and lines of the Setna II text: II, 29; III, 2, 13, 25, 26, 29, 32; IV, 2, 23.

74 Ritner 1993, p. 476 n. 12.

75 Ritner 1993, p. 477.

76 Ritner 2003, p. 477 n. 12.

was written. As Naether suggests, “the Nubian shaman from the Second Setna Novel bears a Meroitic title corresponding to the Egyptian priestly title of *hry-ḥb*.”⁷⁷ Why then is he not simply called a “lector priest”?

While Griffith leaves the Meroitic term *ate* untranslated, he offers an explanatory note: “Man (?) of Ethiopia”; the meaning of *ate* can only be guessed from the context:—‘foreigner,’ ‘magician,’ ‘rascal,’ ‘slave,’ ‘captive?’⁷⁸ Elsewhere, Griffith muses that *ate* “from the det. may mean ‘foreigner’ or ‘negro,’ unless it be an expression for sorcerer or an abusive term.”⁷⁹ The negative connotations of Griffith’s suggested meanings are clear. Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman is not honored as a lector priest trained in the temple tradition but is instead labeled with a host of terms that range from derogatory to “othering”: slave, foreigner, negro, shaman. This is not historically accurate.

What does the Meroitic context offer by way of possible meanings? Ritner identified the term *ate-qere* “royal *ate*” used in late Meroitic-language funerary inscriptions from Arminna West (dated to the third century CE⁸⁰ and thus contemporary with the Nubian magicians’ inscriptions at Philae and Dakka), a short distance north of Abu Simbel.⁸¹ This site lies north of the Second Cataract and is situated in a cluster of important Nubian centers: Aniba and Qasr Ibrim to the north and Ballana/Qustul and Faras to the south. The Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition in 1963 excavated eleven Meroitic funerary stelae and two inscribed offering tables at Arminna West. Two of the stelae bore two inscriptions each, so a total of fifteen Meroitic funerary texts were found at the site.⁸² Among them, Text 3A is a funerary stela inscribed in the Meroitic cursive script. The text names members of the deceased’s family using the Meroitic term *yetmede*,⁸³ which likely is a kinship term connecting the deceased to the status and social web of his extended family. After opening with an invocation of Isis and Osiris, the text provides the name of the deceased’s parents, although the first five lines of the text containing this information are broken. Line 7 begins the list of *yetmede* relatives, including several *hrphn*-officials in Faras, messengers to Rome, an official of the governor of the northernmost Meroitic province of Akin (Meroitic *pesheto* < Egyptian *p3 s3 nisw.t*⁸⁴), and a general/cult association president (Meroitic *pelmeš* < Egyptian *p3 mr-mš*⁸⁵). Lines 15–16 of Text 3A⁸⁶ read *ate-qere yetmede-lewi*, announcing that the deceased is related to the *ate* of the king (*qere*, rendered *kwr* in Setna II).⁸⁷ The royal association of the title *ate* at Arminna West echoes the status of the magicians of Setna II, who are all in the employ of a king, and reflects the title claimed by Nubian magicians in their Demotic-language prayer inscriptions at Philae and Dakka who are in the employ of the king of Kush, two of whom are also a “royal scribe of Kush” (see below).

The stela containing Text 3A belongs to a group of six stelae found at Arminna West that break with Nubian tradition by naming the father before the mother in the inscribed funerary texts. Trigger suggests that:

77 Naether 2019, p. 105 n. 4.

78 Griffith 1900, p. 51.

79 Griffith 1900, p. 162.

80 Trigger 1970, p. 7.

81 Ritner 2003, p. 476 n. 12; Trigger 1970, p. 13 (Text 3A). Hofmann already connected this title (*3te*) to that of Meroitic priests. See Hofmann 1993, pp. 209–10. For the Meroitic priestly title *ant* derived from Egyptian *ḥm-ntr*, see Trigger 1970, p. 28.

82 Trigger 1970, p. 55.

83 Trigger 1970, pp. 22–23; Hintze 1999, pp. 235–36; Ashby 2020, pp. 16–19. On this type of extended kinship forming a social consciousness as typical of Nubian culture, see Edwards 2004, p. 175.

84 Trigger 1970, p. 56 (*pestê*); Ashby 2020, pp. 163–64.

85 Ashby 2020, pp. 167–69.

86 Trigger 1970, p. 13.

87 Meroitic employs the subject-object-verb grammatical structure; thus the “nominal phrase” *yetmedelowi* follows the subject *ate-qere* and serves as the verbal element. The nominal phrase *yetmedelowi* consists of the noun *yetmede* followed by the singular article *-l*, the singular copula *-o*, and the emphatic marker *-wi*. See Rilly 2016, p. 7.

It is noteworthy that on all the stelae, except stela 6, the father's name precedes that of the mother. This is contrary to common Meroitic practice elsewhere. The reason for this difference is not clear. In view of the lateness of the cemetery at Arminna West, it might be interpreted as reflecting a change in kinship relations in late Meroitic times or it might reflect the apparently close connections that the inhabitants of this site had with the Dodecaschoenus and Roman Egypt. Possibly, these two phenomena are interrelated.⁸⁸

As mentioned above, Arminna West is located between the important Lower Nubian centers of Karanog and Qasr Ibrim to the north and Gebel Adda (near Faras) to the south. Each of these sites contains epigraphic evidence of the extended family members of the Nubian magicians Hornakhtyotef II and his father Wayekiye A attested at Philae and Dakka. It is possible that the *ate* of Arminna West belonged to one of the two powerful Nubian families that merged when Wayekiye A married Taese.⁸⁹

KWR

The Meroitic term *kwr* is used in Setna II to refer to the king of Meroe, translated by Ritner as “chieftain” and by Griffith as “viceroys.” Both translations ignore the clear meaning of the word, which is used in the Meroitic context exclusively for the ruler, whether male or female. Derived from a proto-Northeast Sudanic word meaning “head,” the term *qore* is used for the paramount king, foremost among rulers.⁹⁰ Ritner suggested that his use of the lesser term “chieftain” reflects the “ethnocentric Egyptian perspective.”⁹¹ Yet elsewhere in the text, the scribe of Setna II uses the term *kwr* to refer to the Egyptian king: “the *kwr* of Egypt.”⁹²

This term for the Kushite ruler was known to Egyptian writers and was employed in a variety of contexts. In the Rituals of Mut and Nekhbet, preserved on a papyrus in Berlin (Berlin P. 3053) and on blocks from El Kab, the *kwr* is said to perform a Nubian dance called *ksks*.⁹³ Darnell describes the participation of the *kwr* as the one who performs the *gsgs*-dance (*ksks*) in the rites performed for Hathor as recorded in the hymn at Medamud.⁹⁴ The presence of the Meroitic term *kwr* and the Kushite ruler as a character in Setna II evoke these earlier Egyptian references to the Kushite king's performance of sacred dances for the goddess Hathor in her role as the Distant Goddess in the Myth of the Eye of Re. The Kushite king himself is said to have been one of the worshippers of the Distant Goddess as she made her way from Bougem, in far southeastern Nubia, to Egypt. The Nubian nome lists at Philae (western doorway through the first pylon) record hieroglyphic texts that tell how the god Shu danced before Hathor in Bougem.⁹⁵ Kushite kings adopted the imagery of Shu/Onuris in his role as the one who brings the Distant Goddess to Egypt; the performance of dance as an act of worship was central to this concept.⁹⁶

Actual Kushite kings are attested in Egyptian temples. In their Meroitic-language inscriptions they claim the title *qore* and assert political control over the Egyptian temples of Lower Nubia at Dakka and Philae. In the late first century BCE, Teriteqas and his queen, the kandake Amanirenas, had their cartouches engraved in the facade of the pylon that stands before the temple of Dakka (MI 92),⁹⁷ which also includes a

88 Trigger 1970, p. 56. It is possible that Trigger is mistaken, as line 4 of Text 3A contains the Meroitic nominal phrase associated with the mother's name (*tdhelewi* “born of”) followed by approximately eight missing characters. The nominal phrase is repeated again in line 7, perhaps justifying Trigger's assertion that these stelae name the father before the mother, yet one wonders whose name preceded the “born of” nominal phrase in line 4.

89 Ashby 2020, pp. 76 n. 78, 146–47; p. 76 n. 78: “The marriage of Wayekiye A and Taese in Generation 3 of the Wayekiye family combined the Meroitic military titles held by Taese's family with the Egyptian priestly titles held by Wayekiye A's family.”

90 Rilly 2010, pp. 136–38; Griffith 1911a, p. 64. Recently, Rilly has modified the pronunciation of the Meroitic term *qore* to /*qur*/, which more closely reflects the writing of this term in Setna II as *kwr*. See Rilly 2021, p. 663.

91 Ritner 2003, p. 480 n. 19.

92 Griffith 1900, p. 175, line 4. Translated by Ritner as “chieftain of Egypt.” See Ritner 2003, p. 480.

93 Wild 1959, p. 86; Ashby 2018, p. 76.

94 Darnell 1995, pp. 69–70.

95 Junker 1917, p. 74. For Ptolemy VI's Nubian nome list, see Junker 1958, pp. 263–77; *FHN* II, pp. 614–30.

96 Bonnet 2006, pp. 119, 128, 160.

97 Griffith 1912, pp. 25–26.

sanctuary built by an earlier Meroitic king, Arqamani II (ca. 218–200 BCE), described above. Centuries later, the penultimate Meroitic ruler, Yesbokheamani (ca. 300 CE), had two nearly identical prayer inscriptions (MI 119 and MI 120)⁹⁸ added to an image of a king presenting the fields of the Dodechaschoenos on the interior north and south walls of the Gate of Hadrian, an important locus of Nubian piety at Philae.

QMʒ

The term *qmʒ* describes Nubian food. The Setna II papyrus speaks of Nubia as “the land of Nubia, country of gum eaters” (*pʒ tʒ nḥs tš n wnm qmʒ*).⁹⁹ A type of porridge made with grain is compared in its viscosity to the gum incense derived from the lands of Nubia. The porridge eaten in Nubia was distinct from the bread and beer consumed by the Egyptians and thus could serve as an ethnic marker for the foreigner at the Egyptian court: “They made for him swill (*nbʿyʒ*)¹⁰⁰ in the Cushite manner.”¹⁰¹ Griffith translates this word as “wickedness(?)” In a footnote to this line, Griffith indicates that he is extrapolating the meaning of this otherwise unknown term from a Coptic word: “may be *ⲛⲟⲩⲓⲛⲟⲩⲉ* ‘sin,’ ‘error.’”¹⁰² All other translators have followed Griffith’s lead, yet it is often the case that Egyptian expressions for Nubian cultural items are derived from Nubian words. Might this be so with the name of a food unique to Nubians? Rather than indicating “wickedness,” the term rendered *nbʿyʒ* in the Demotic script may simply attempt to capture a Nubian word that lacks an Egyptian equivalent. This happens fairly often in the Demotic prayer inscriptions in the temples of Lower Nubia, where Meroitic titles without Egyptian equivalents (e.g., *qeren*, *ḥbḥn*, *kroro*) are simply transcribed into the Demotic script. Perhaps advances in our understanding of the languages of Nubia will reveal an indigenous word for a typical Nubian dish that will allow us to cease translating the word as “swill.” In the heartland of Kush, a potentially similar gumlike food was considered worthy of serving as an offering to the god Amun.

Pope has analyzed the Sanam Historical Inscription to identify the type of food offered at the temple of Sanam.¹⁰³ Built for Amun-Re under the Kushite king Taharqo in the seventh century BCE, the temple of Sanam is situated at the Fourth Cataract of the Nile in Sudan in close proximity to the Kushite capital of Napata and the sacred site of Gebel Barkal. A hieroglyphic text from the forecourt includes a long list of offerings made at the temple. Pope examines references made to a pot and its contents labeled *iwš* in Egyptian hieroglyphs and mentioned repeatedly.¹⁰⁴ Exploring the word’s cognates from the Afroasiatic language family, Pope includes “kneading” and “mixing” among the lexical range of the word written *iwš* at Sanam:

The temple inventory at Sanam also stands as our first textual evidence *commissioned by Nubians themselves* [emphasis original] to give testimony of the Sahelian “Porridge-and-Pot” tradition otherwise manifested in the abundant evidence of archaeology, ethnography and iconography; in the process, the unpublished passages of the Sanam Historical Inscription demonstrate that the culinary contrast between Nubia and Egypt was manifested not only in the material and visual dimensions of Nubian culture, but also in its textual expression.¹⁰⁵

98 Griffith 1912, pp. 44–45. Interestingly, the royal image claimed by the Meroitic king Yesbokheamani on the north wall stands in close proximity to the last dated hieroglyphic inscription (394 CE), that of Esmet Akhom dedicated to the Nubian god Mandulis.

99 Ritner 2003, p. 477; Griffith 1900, p. 164.

100 EG, p. 214.

101 Ritner 2003, p. 478. Following Lichtheim, Woods renders the term as “muck.” See Woods 2006, p. 154 n. 135. The term is translated as “Dreck” in Quack 2005, p. 125 n. 200.

102 Griffith 1900, p. 165, line 6.

103 Pope 2013, p. 489. In a more recent publication, Pope revisits his analysis of Nubian food referred to in Demotic literature in light of new archaeological discoveries. See Pope 2018, p. 509.

104 Pope 2013, pp. 480–81.

105 Pope 2013, p. 485.

Smith provides an indigenous context for understanding Nubian foodways in his study of the Egyptian fortress of Askut, called by the Egyptians “Destroyer of the Nubians,”¹⁰⁶ located at the Second Cataract of the Nile. Smith surveys the changes in cooking and serving vessels excavated at the site to determine the culinary practices of the different populations that were resident at the fort from the Middle Kingdom period, when the fortress was built, through the Late Period, after the Kushite Twenty-Fifth Dynasty was expelled from Egypt.¹⁰⁷ The fortress of Askut was occupied during the entire time. After establishing the distinctiveness of the two pottery corpora—handmade Nubian fine ware and Egyptian mass-produced utilitarian pottery—Smith uses the ceramic assemblage of Askut to track the prevalence of one type of pottery in relation to the other over time. Nubian service and storage vessels follow an expected ebb and flow with the change in power from dominant Egyptians in the Middle Kingdom to dominant Kerman Nubians during the Second Intermediate Period. Thus we see a “peak [in Nubian wares] in the Second Intermediate Period and a small decline following, though still at higher levels than during the Middle Kingdom.”¹⁰⁸ The change in cookware seems to demonstrate an acculturation of the Egyptian population at Askut to Nubian foodways:

Nubian cookpots are disproportionately represented at Askut, constituting almost half of all cooking vessels during the Middle Kingdom and increasing steadily over time to dominate the culinary assemblage. In comparison, Nubian serving vessels remain a minor component of their respective sub-assemblages as do storage vessels. . . . During the Second Intermediate Period, not only does the frequency of cookpots jump, but the relative frequency of Nubian service vessels, most of which are fine wares used for display and in feasting, also surpasses cook pots for the first and only time, again supporting the political scenario. Nevertheless, the dramatic rise in cook pots points towards the incorporation scenario, perhaps with intermarriage between colonists and Kerman Nubians.¹⁰⁹

In stark contrast to the denigration of Nubian food recorded in the translation of these terms by Egyptologists (“swill,” “dreck,” “muck”), the reality of cultural entanglement is, of course, more complex. It seems that over the course of their long cohabitation, the Egyptian residents at the fortress of Askut came to appreciate the foodways of Nubia, as reflected in the growing prevalence of Nubian cookware required to produce the porridge typical of Nubian cuisine. Rather than regarding the characteristic Nubian meal as “swill,” it seems the Egyptians chose to join their Nubian neighbors in the consumption of porridge “in the Kushite manner.” The ideology of a militarily dominant Egypt may have been comforting in the literature of the Greco-Roman period, when Egyptians found themselves under foreign political control. However, the reality of human-to-human interaction in a culturally diverse Egypt and Nubia, even at the height of Egyptian colonization in Nubia, speaks to an openness to the adoption of Nubian cultural elements by Egyptians who lived in Lower Nubia or even in communities with long-lived, sizable Nubian populations in Egypt proper:

The ideological construction of both physical and cultural boundaries drew a strict black and white divide between inner civilization and outer barbarism in order to legitimate royal power and authority. The distribution of culinary equipment in the form of ceramics for food service and cooking at Askut shows Egyptian frontier communities did more than simply implement central policy. . . . In spite of the politically charged ideology of separation and otherness, the patterns of Nubian pottery and other artifacts at Askut indicate that Egyptians and Nubians interacted and probably intermarried. In particular, Nubian women had a profound impact on colonial society through the gradual dominance of Nubian foodways reflected in cooking vessels.¹¹⁰

I imagine it is no coincidence that it is once again Nubian women who are at the center of this story of cultural entanglement. Just as they are prominently featured in the names of their sons, the Nubian magicians of Setna II, Nubian women are central to the creation of a shared, hybrid culinary culture among family members even while living under the imposition of Egyptian hegemonic dominance in Nubia. Through

106 Smith 2003, p. 41.

107 Smith 2003, pp. 40–45.

108 Smith 2003, p. 52.

109 Smith 2003, p. 52.

110 Smith 2003, pp. 59–60.

sharing food, Nubians and Egyptians came together in community to consume the tangible evidence of their shared humanity, disregarding the bombastic pronouncement of Egyptian superiority and Nubian oppression. It may be safe to assume that no one turned up their nose at the “swill” brought to the table at Askut by Nubian women.

NUBIAN MAGICIANS AT PHILAE AND DAKKA

Postdating the period in which the Setna II papyrus was written (first century CE), actual Nubian magicians (*hry-tb*) are attested by their prayer inscriptions at the temples of Philae and Dakka. Members of the prominent Wayekiye family of priests and provincial officials in Lower Nubia are attested for seven generations at these sites. The earliest family member to inscribe a prayer at Philae was Paese the Elder (*P3-Is.t-3*), who wrote his prayer in Egyptian Demotic on the southwest wall of the pronaos of the Temple of Isis.¹¹¹ While Paese’s inscription (Ph. 251) is undated, we can extrapolate from a dated inscription of his grandson to place this earliest Wayekiye family inscription at approximately 175 CE.¹¹² The accumulation of increasingly prestigious titles shows the family’s rise over the course of four generations, reaching its zenith in the mid-third century CE. While Paese held titles that indicate he was a minor financial official in the cult of Isis,¹¹³ his son Hornakhtyotef I rose to attain the position of *lesonis* “chief financial officer” at Dakka.¹¹⁴ The first attested Nubian magician at Philae was Paese’s grandson Wayekiye A. In his prayer inscription (Ph. 421)—one of the few dated Nubian inscriptions (year 7 of Severus Alexander [227 CE])—Wayekiye A claims the title of chief lector priest of the king of Kush (*hry-tb n nsw n Kš*).¹¹⁵ As a flourish, and to showcase his ability to read and write the sacred scripts of Egypt, Wayekiye A wrote every divine name and his priestly titles in the hieroglyphic script, while the rest of the graffito is written in the Demotic script.

Wayekiye A’s son Hornakhtyotef II dedicated several prayer inscriptions, in which we see a steady accumulation of titles. In Ph. 257 he holds the titles “*qeren* of Isis” and “agent of Isis,” titles that his great grandfather Paese the Elder claimed, as well as the title “prophet of Isis” (*hm-ntr ʾIs.t*), demonstrating Nubian entry into the Egyptian priesthood. In Ph. 410, at the peak of his career, Hornakhtyotef II together with his maternal uncle Manitawawi (brother of Hornakhtyotef II’s mother Taese) claimed the priestly titles of his earlier inscription and added a series of titles that demonstrate that he had become a powerful official in the administration of Meroitic Nubia—agent of the king of the land of Nehes, hereditary prince (*r-pʿt*) of the country of Takompso, chief (*hry-tp*) of the Triacostaschoenos, and royal scribe of Kush (*sš nsw n Kš*), as well as *hm-ntr* priest of Isis.¹¹⁶ Yet it is in his inscription at the temple of Dakka (Dakka 30) that Hornakhtyotef II claims the title “magician of the king of Kush” (*hry-tb n nsw n Kš*).¹¹⁷ It is surely no coincidence that this title appears in the first four lines of the inscription, which are written in hieroglyphs while the rest of the text, comprising seven lines, is written in Demotic. Just as his father Wayekiye A did in Ph. 421, Hornakhtyotef II writes the priestly titles including “chief lector priest of the king of Kush” in the ancient sacred script, probably to show reverence for the titles and to demonstrate his proficiency in the hieroglyphic script associated with the role of royal magician. Hornakhtyotef II also claims the title

111 Griffith 1937, p. 83.

112 Ashby 2020, p. 2.

113 Paese the Elder’s titles were *qeren* of Isis and agent of Isis (Ph. 251). See Ashby 2020, p. 86.

114 Hornakhtyotef I was mentioned as father in the graffiti of his sons Sosen (Ph. 223) and Wayekiye A (Ph. 421).

115 Griffith 1937, pp. 121–22. For *hry-tb* as the Demotic word for “magician” and a late abbreviation of the earlier title *hry-hb hry-tp*, see Ritner 1993, pp. 220–22; EG, p. 321; CDD H (09:1), p. 211.

116 Griffith 1937, p. 112. The title “royal scribe of Kush” was also held by Hornakhtyotef II’s paternal uncle, Sosen (Ph. 409).

117 Griffith 1937, pp. 26–31, esp. p. 27; FHN III, p. 982.

“professional magician” (*rh-ht*).¹¹⁸ Furthermore, he is simultaneously the magician of the king of Kush in Meroe and of the cities of the “Great Green” (*rh-ih*)¹¹⁹ *wr m niwt w3d-wr*).¹²⁰

Hornakhtyotef II begins his prayer inscription with an invocation of Thoth of Pnubs (chief deity of the temple at Dakka), followed by Tefnut, daughter of Re. The reference to Tefnut as daughter of Re refers to her role as the Distant Goddess in the Myth of the Eye of Re. Hornakhtyotef II’s status as magician of the cities of the Great Green also associates him with the Distant Goddess, as this toponym appears in the Myth of the Distant Goddess.¹²¹ In the Nubian nome list of Ptolemy VI, engraved in the western passage through the first pylon at Philae, the personified district of *T3-w3d* offers to Hathor as she comes out of Bougem; Shu stands before her and dances for her Ka.¹²² In his description of the Nubian nome list of Ptolemy VI, Junker notes that *B-w3d* (*w3d-wr*) was located between two sites, Abu Simbel and Pnubs, which were arrival points on the Nile of a route through the eastern desert from Bougem, the region where the Distant Goddess (Hathor/Tefnut) was said to reside: “Hinter *T3-w3d* schreitet der Gau von Pnubs. . . . Es könnte sein, daß wie von Pnubs, so auch von *Mht* (Abu Simbel) aus ein Weg durch *Bwgm* zum Myrrhenlande gedacht war.”¹²³

Closely related to the title of chief lector priest are the astronomical priestly titles held by Wayekiye A and his son Hornakhtyotef II. Both men were prophets of Sothis (*hm-ntr Spdt*), the star Sirius that rises just before the Nile’s inundation and inaugurates the New Year. Each man expands upon the title of prophet of Sothis with the assertion that he “knows the rising and setting of the moon,” a clear reference to his skill as an hourly priest (*wnwtj*) trained in astronomical knowledge.¹²⁴ Furthermore, both Wayekiye A and Hornakhtyotef II are *wab*-priests of the five living planets, to which designation Hornakhtyotef II adds that he “knows the time of obscuration of the Sun and Moon.”¹²⁵

In contrast to the negative depiction of Nubian magicians as fearsome enemies of Egypt, prayer inscriptions at Philae attest to the friendly, collegial relations between Nubian priests and their Egyptian counterparts. Sasan, Nubian author of the longest known Demotic inscription (Ph. 416), which was engraved at Philae in 253 CE, states: “Fine were the honors which the prophets and the priests and the people of the city did to me until [we] were [taken] to the temple of Isis.”¹²⁶

THE POWER AND DANGER OF NUBIAN MAGICIANS

The power and danger of Nubian magicians is a trope that appears frequently in Egyptian literary sources and magical texts. Execration texts performed against Nubian enemies likely targeted both the foreign ruler and the magicians he employed. In his discussion of execrating the one who rebels against the pharaoh, Koenig says that “Nubia was famous for its magic and alluding to it was believed to increase the efficacy of formulas.”¹²⁷ Rilly has used Egyptian execration texts as rich sources from which to recover the names of early Nubian leaders who were targeted as enemies.¹²⁸ Setna II plays with this trope to highlight the danger

118 Ritner 1993, pp. 229–30.

119 Ritner 1993, pp. 229–31.

120 Graffito Dakka 30; see Griffith 1937, pp. 27–28. The *w3d-wr* “Great Green” is to be identified with the *T3-w3d* “Green Land” listed between Sedeinga and Pnubs, an area on either side of the Third Cataract, in the Nubian nome list of Ptolemy II on the Dodecaschoenos stela that stands before the second pylon at Philae. See *FHN* III, p. 987 n. 606, and *FHN* II, p. 564 (*T3-w3d*).

121 Junker 1917, p. 74.

122 Junker 1917, p. 74.

123 Junker 1917, p. 74.

124 Griffith 1937, pp. 27–28 (Dakka 30, line 4), 121 (Ph. 421, line 14).

125 Griffith 1937, pp. 28 (Dakka 30, line 4), 112 (Ph. 410, lines 7–8).

126 Griffith 1937, p. 115.

127 Koenig 2007, p. 227; pp. 236–37: “This also explains why, during the Late Period, a period of invasions, the priests spent a great deal of their time performing execration rituals to maintain the very survival of the country, and showed a compulsive need of purity to lessen their anxiety.” See also Wüthrich 2009, p. 281; Thissen 1991.

128 Rilly 2014, pp. 1169–70; Rilly 2007, p. 35.

posed to the Egyptian king by a trio of Nubian magicians, one of whom appears at court with a seemingly impossible challenge: to read the sealed scroll that he carries. This scroll contains the entire story of Setna II, a story within a story, which Si-Osiris reads effortlessly. The end of the tale reveals that Si-Osiris is a reincarnation of a powerful magician from the time of Thutmose III—Hor Paneshy—who came back to life as Si-Osiris to defeat the aggressive and rebellious Nubian magicians. Yet the tension of the story would be impossible without relying on the culturally efficacious trope of the fearsome Nubian magician and the power of “black magic” at his command: “The efficacy of Kushite magic was well known in Egyptian circles.”¹²⁹

It seems that the Nubian magician’s power derived from his association with powerful Nubian gods: “The Magician tried to seize the nature of the god under all its aspects, all its forms or names, according to the Egyptian belief which held that the essence of the thing was expressed in its name. . . . In a way, such invocations of the god Amun are exceptions founded on the Nubian origin of the god.”¹³⁰ Setna II repeatedly invokes “Amun, Bull of Meroe” in relation to the Nubian characters as a way to associate them with the power and foreignness of the god from whom they derive their power. This is done in recognition of the tight association of Kushite royal power with the god Amun, yet this association dates to an earlier period, as do many elements of this story, when the Napatan kings built their royal iconography around a narrative of divine descent from the ram-headed Amun of Napata. Amun was not the only Kushite god to bestow power on the Nubian magicians. Several gods associated with the sacred site of Pnubs, itself located adjacent to the most ancient Kushite capital of Kerma, are evoked in reference to the practice of magic in Nubia: “Other magical texts establish a relationship between Osiris and Pnoubis in Nubia (Dukki Gel).”¹³¹

In her recently published study of Egyptian priests in the Greco-Roman period, Escolano-Poveda explores various literary sources to describe the activities of Egyptian priests in the Late Period. Regarding the Nubian magician of Setna II, Escolano-Poveda reiterates the Egyptian propaganda against the enemy magicians as recorded in literary sources while ignoring the lived reality of Egyptian temple practice as detailed in the prayer inscriptions at Philae, Dakka, and elsewhere: “In the magical contest, the Nubian sorcerer is also the one who starts the attacks, which are always repelled by Horus son of Paneshe, proving the superiority of Egyptian magic, despite its similar procedural character.”¹³² The Nubian magicians are relentlessly aggressive, yet undoubtedly inferior. The tale of Setna II may serve as the literary equivalent of an execration text against the feared power of the Nubian magician by narrating the triumph of the Egyptian magician. Yet the tale also preserves references to earlier collaborations between the two protagonists—Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman and Horus Paneshy. After flying up to Egypt in defense of his Kushite king, Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman is confronted by Horus Paneshy, who calls the Nubian magician a “villain of Kush” but adds a reference to his prior rescue of the Nubian magician:

Are you not Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman, whom I saved in the gardens of Pre when your companion from Cush was with you, and you were both fallen into the water, cast down from the mountain on the east of Heliopolis?¹³³

To this, Horus-the-son-of-the-Nubian-Woman retorts, with an allusion to the Egyptian magician as an upstart former pupil: “Is it the one whom I had instructed in the language of wolves who now performs magic against me?”¹³⁴ Ritner used this passage to argue for interpreting the name of the Egyptian magician as evocative of the “jackal” ape (*p3 šm wnš-kwf*) of the Myth of the Eye of Re. I concur and further understand this passage to acknowledge the antiquity of Nubian ritual knowledge and the training received by Horus Paneshy from his Nubian nemesis in the art of magic, referred to here as “jackal language” (*mt.t*

129 Cooper 2020, p. 11. Cooper cites a letter of Amenhotep II to his viceroy in Nubia warning him of the power of Nubian magicians (*Urk.* IV, 1344/11–12); Wüthrich 2009, p. 275.

130 Koenig 2007, p. 227.

131 Koenig 2007, p. 235.

132 Escolano-Poveda 2020, p. 68.

133 Ritner 2003, p. 486.

134 Griffith 1900, p. 197; Ritner 2003, p. 486: section VI, line 13.

wnše).¹³⁵ Ritner noted the depiction of a jackal on the top of a box containing a Middle Kingdom “magician’s kit,” reading it as a sportive writing of *hry sšt3* “He who is over the secrets,” which may have indicated one with privileged access to cultic mysteries.¹³⁶ In the Late Period this title was held by specialists in magic and ritual. If the Nubian magician taught this “jackal language”—words of power used in magic—to the Egyptian hero, how does the Egyptian magician emerge victorious from their magical battle? I would argue that the victory is equivalent to the victory of Moses over the Egyptian magicians of Pharaoh in the book of Exodus in the Hebrew Bible.¹³⁷ In each tale, an ethnocentric narrative drives the story and ultimately the outcome. The magicians of the morally superior and divinely sanctioned group emerge triumphant to underscore cultural superiority against a more powerful enemy. Why Egyptologists choose to revel in the ethnocentric and derogatory depiction of the Nubian “other” in this tale is a question for another day. Yet none of the terms I have surveyed in the original Demotic text of the tale of Setna II need be translated as demeaning to the Nubians. Although the tale itself is clearly meant to bolster an Egyptian concept of cultural superiority that hearkens back to the glory days of Egyptian empire under the New Kingdom pharaohs, the fact that Setna II was composed in the period when Egypt had been reduced to a colony of Rome (“aegypto capta”¹³⁸) shows the tale to be only a dream of former glory.

The title of this chapter is an allusion to three distinct yet interrelated cultural phenomena: the Nubian feminine in the tale of Setna II evoked through the matronymic epithets of the Nubian magicians that invoke birth and fertility goddesses; royal Nubian women; and the centrality of the Nubian woman in her society’s extensive kinship ties. They are the Black magic women. The title also alludes to the popularly held belief through time and geography of the inherent danger and power of African magicians that informs the horror-story tropes of voodoo priestesses, African root doctors, and the often-female Sudanese *zar*-practitioners of the medieval Muslim world. These African religious practices are typically referred to as “black magic.” Finally, the title also refers to the 1970 hit song from the Carlos Santana album *Abraxas*. The song mixes various musical elements, including jazz and blues, and incorporates African drums—the congas and timbales—thus infusing a spiritual quality into a song originally written and performed by Fleetwood Mac. The album’s cover features a nude African woman reclining near her altar while a nude African angel riding a conga drum hovers above her, evoking a vague sense of African religiosity that dabbles in otherworldly magic centered on the African woman and the trance-inducing power of African drumming, which is itself evident in the extended riff toward the end of the song.

The presence of the divine feminine in the tale of Setna II is not clearly visible when the tale is viewed through the standard Egyptological lens. With an understanding of the Nubian context that informs the nomenclature, the divine references, and even the foodways associated with the Nubian characters in this tale, the presence of Hathor as the Distant Goddess emerges, as does the centrality of the mother in Nubian culture. Finally, by approaching the Nubian characters with an understanding of the history, language, and religious practices that were indigenous to Nubia, it is possible to offer improved translations of Meroitic words used in the text—free of the unwarranted, demeaning connotations injected into them in previous publications. While the Egyptian author of Setna II certainly meant to “put Nubians in their place,” the writer also displayed an understanding of and familiarity with Nubian culture that demand the same of scholars who wish to comment on this text.

135 Ritner has explored various animal “speakers of divine language,” including dogs, jackals, snakes, and especially baboons. Ritner 2022, p. 336: “In the symbolic extensions of the ‘Ptolemaic’ hieroglyphic system, the figure of the baboon does acquire a relevant value as *dd* ‘to say/speak.’” The baboon is the hamadryas baboon, which is the cynocephalus simian called *wnš-kwf* in Egyptian mythical texts. See Ritner 2022, p. 337. It is especially apt that the baboons that Ritner discusses from the Book of Thoth “invoke the sacred name of Abrasax,” a metathesis of the name of the Carlos Santana album from which the title of this chapter takes its name. See Ritner 2022, p. 336.

136 Ritner 1993, pp. 231–32; Ritner 2006, p. 206. For an alternative interpretation, see Miniaci 2020, pp. 21–22, who lists previous interpretations of the identity of the recipient(s) of the assemblage, among them lector priest, midwife, and magician. See Miniaci 2020, p. 85.

137 Discussed in Ritner 2006.

138 Text on a coin minted in 28 BCE to celebrate victory in the Egyptian campaign of the Roman emperor Caesar Augustus. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1866-1201-4189.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CDD Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>
- EG Wolja Erichsen. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954
- FHN Tormod Eide, Tomas Hägg, Richard Holton Pierce, and László Török, eds. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*. Bergen: University of Bergen, 1994–2000
- Ph. Philae graffito numbered according to Francis Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenos*. Vol. 1, *Text*. Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1937
- Urk. IV Wolfgang Helck, ed. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Part 17, *Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1955
- Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Ashby, Solange

- 2018 “Dancing for Hathor: Nubian Women in Egyptian Cultic Life.” *Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies* 5 (“Nubian Women”): 63–90.
- 2020 *Calling Out to Isis: The Enduring Nubian Presence at Philae*. Gorgias Studies in the Ancient Near East 13. Piscataway: Gorgias.

Bonnet, Charles

- 2006 *The Nubian Pharaohs: Black Kings on the Nile*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- 2016 “Une ville cérémonielle africaine du début du Nouvel Empire égyptien.” *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 116: 1–14.

Boylan, Patrick

- 1922 *Thoth: The Hermes of Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cooper, Julien

- 2020 “Egyptian among Neighboring African Languages.” In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2fb8t2pz>.

Crum, Walter E.

- 1939 *A Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Darnell, John Coleman

- 1995 “Hathor Returns to Medamud.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 22: 47–94.

Darnell, John Coleman, and Deborah Darnell

- 2002 “Opening the Narrow Doors of the Desert: Discoveries of the Theban Desert Road Survey.” In *Egypt and Nubia: Gifts of the Desert*, edited by Renée Friedman, pp. 132–55. London: British Museum Press.

De Souza, Aaron M.

- 2020 “Melting Pots: Entanglement, Appropriation, Hybridity, and Assertive Objects between the Pan-Grave and Egyptian Ceramic Traditions.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 27: 1–23.

Dieleman, Jacco

- 2005 *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153. Leiden: Brill.

Edwards, David

- 2004 *The Nubian Past: An Archaeology of the Sudan*. London: Routledge.

Escolano-Poveda, Marina

- 2020 *Egyptian Priests in the Graeco-Roman Period*. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 29. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.

Fiore Marochetti, Elisa

- 2013 “Gebelein.” In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2j11p1r7>.

Gillam, Robyn

- 1995 “Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline and Disappearance.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32: 211–37.

Griffith, Francis Ll.

- 1900 *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*. Oxford: Clarendon.
 1911a “The Inscriptions from Meroë.” In *Meroë, the City of the Ethiopians, Being an Account of a First Season on the Site, 1909–1910*, edited by John Garstang, pp. 57–88. Oxford: Clarendon.
 1911b *The Meroitic Inscriptions of Shablûl and Karanóg*. The Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Expedition to Nubia 6. Philadelphia: The University Museum.
 1912 *Meroitic Inscriptions. Part 2, Napata to Philae and Miscellaneous*. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
 1937 *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenos. Vol. 1, Text. Les temples immergés de la Nubie*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hintze, Fritz

- 1974 “Meroitische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen.” *Meroitic Newsletter* 14: 20–32.
 1999 “Meroitische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen.” In *Studien zum antiken Sudan: Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin*, edited by Steffen Wenig, pp. 230–38. Meroitica 15. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hoffmann, Friedhelm, and Joachim Quack

- 2007 *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte: Anthologie der demotischen Literatur. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 4*. Münster: LIT Verlag.

Hofmann, Inge

- 1993 “Der kuschitische Horus als Seth.” In *Ancient Egypt and Kush: In Memoriam Mikhail A. Korostovtsev*, edited by E. Kormyseva, pp. 201–33. Moscow: Nauka Oriental Literature.

Jay, Jacqueline E.

- 2016 *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 81. Leiden: Brill.

Junker, Hermann

- 1911 *Der Auszug der Hathor-Tefnut aus Nubien*. Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophische-Historische Klasse 3. Berlin: Verlag der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 1917 *Die Onurislegende*. Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 59. Vienna: Hölder.
 1958 *Der grosse Pylon des Tempels der Isis in Philae*. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.

Khalil, Nubantood

- 2017 “Signs of Maternalism in the Nobiin Language.” *Sudan Studies Association Bulletin* 35: 6–14.

Koenig, Yvan

- 2007 “The Image of the Foreigner in the Magical Texts of Ancient Egypt.” In *Moving across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by P. Kousoulis and K. Magliveras, pp. 223–38. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 159. Leuven: Peeters.

Lityńska-Zajac, Maria, and Krystina Wasylkowa

- 2018 “The Role of *Ziziphus* in the Economy of Neolithic Nomadic Societies of the Sahara (S Egypt).” In *Desert and the Nile: Prehistory of the Nile Basin and the Sahara. Papers in Honour of Fred Wendorf*, edited by Jacek Kabacinski, Marek Chlodnicki, Michal Kobusiewicz, and Malgorzata Winiarska-Kabacinska, pp. 551–60. *Studies in African Archaeology* 15. Poznań: Poznań Archaeological Museum.

Lohwasser, Angelika

- 2001 “Queenship in Kush: Status, Role, and Ideology of Royal Women.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 38: 61–76.

Lucarelli, Rita

- 2020 "The Magician as a Literary Figure in Ancient Egyptian Texts." In *Cult Practices in Ancient Literatures: Egyptian, Near Eastern and Graeco-Roman Narratives in a Cross-Cultural Perspective. Proceedings of a Workshop at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York, May 16–17, 2016*, edited by Franziska Naether. ISAW Papers 18. <http://dlib.nyu.edu/awdl/isaw/isaw-papers/18/>.

Meurer, Georg K.

- 2021 "Nubians in Egypt from the Early Dynastic Period to the New Kingdom." In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia*, edited by Geoff Emberling and Bruce Beyer Williams, pp. 289–308. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Miniaci, Gianluca

- 2020 *The Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Papyri Tomb and Its Archaeological Context*. Kitab—Egyptology in Focus. Material Culture of Ancient Egypt and Nubia 1. London: Nicano Books.

Minor, Elizabeth

- 2018 "Decolonizing Reisner: A Case Study of a Classic Kerma Female Burial for Reinterpreting Early Nubian Archaeological Collections through Digital Archival Resources." In *Nubian Archaeology in the XXIst Century: Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Conference for Nubian Studies, Neuchâtel, 1st–6th September 2014*, edited by Matthieu Honegger, pp. 251–62. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 273*. Leuven: Peeters.

Naether, Franziska

- 2019 "Wise Women and Men in Literary Papyri." In *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology, Barcelona, 1–6 August 2016*, edited by Alberto Nodar and Sofia Torallas Tovar, pp. 105–13. *Scripta Orientalia 3*. Barcelona: Publicaciones de l'Abadia de Montserrat.

Pope, Jeremy

- 2013 "Epigraphic Evidence for a 'Porridge-and-Pot' Tradition on the Ancient Middle Nile." *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 48: 473–97.
- 2018 "The 'Gum-Eaters' of Nubia Revisited." In *Across the Mediterranean—along the Nile: Studies in Egyptology, Nubiology and Late Antiquity Dedicated to László Török on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, edited by Tamás A. Bács, Ádám Bollók, and Tivadar Vida, vol. 1, pp. 503–14. Budapest: Archaeolingua.

Porten, Bezalel

- 2004 "The Prophecy of Ḥor bar Punesh and the Demise of Righteousness: An Aramaic Papyrus in the British Museum." In *Res severa verum gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zaunich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, edited by Friedhelm Hoffmann and Heinz J. Thissen, pp. 427–66. *Studia Demotica 6*. Leuven: Peeters.

Prada, Luigi

- 2014 "Translating Monkeys between Demotic and Greek: Or Why a Lynx Is Not Always a Wildcat." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 189: 111–14.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

- 2005 *Einführung in die altägyptische Literaturgeschichte: Die demotische und gräko-ägyptische Literatur*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 3. Münster: LIT Verlag.
- 2010 "The Animals of the Desert and the Return of the Goddess." In *Desert Animals in the Eastern Sahara: Status, Economic Significance, and Cultural Reflection in Antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop Held at the University of Cologne December 14–15, 2007*, edited by Michael Herb, Heiko Riemer, Frank Förster, and Nadja Pöllath, pp. 341–61. *Colloquium Africanum 4*. Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institut.

Reisner, George A.

- 1923 *Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV–V*. Joint Egyptian Expedition of Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Harvard African Studies 6. Cambridge, MA: Peabody Museum Press.

Rilly, Claude

- 2007 *La langue du royaume de Méroé*. Paris: Champion.
- 2010 *Le meroïtique et sa famille linguistique*. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2014 "Language and Ethnicity in Ancient Sudan." In *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond: Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies*, edited by Julie R. Anderson and Derek A. Welsby, pp. 1169–88. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1. Leuven: Peeters.

- 2016 “Meroitic.” In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2ts0n9p0>.
- 2021 “Language and Writing in the Kingdom of Meroe.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia*, edited by Geoff Emberling and Bruce Beyer Williams, pp. 653–70. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ritner, Robert K.
- 1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2003 “The Adventures of Setna and Si-Osire (Setna II).” In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, pp. 470–89. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 2006 “‘And Each Staff Transformed into a Snake’: The Serpent Wand in Ancient Egypt.” In *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Kasia Szpakowska, pp. 205–26. Swansea: Classical Press of Wales.
- 2022 “Jubilating Baboons and the Bes Pantheos.” In *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow*, edited by Betsy Brian, Mark Smith, Christina Di Cerbo, Marina Escolano-Poveda, and Jill S. Waller, pp. 335–44. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 6. Columbus, GA: Lockwood.
- Roeder, Günther
- 1930 *Der Tempel von Dakke*. Les temples immergés de la Nubie. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Sauneron, Serge, and Jean Yoyotte
- 1952 “La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 50: 157–207.
- Schlögl, Hermann
- 1975 “Reret.” In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, vol. 5, pp. 2443–44. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Smith, Stuart Tyson
- 2003 “Pharaohs, Feasts, and Foreigners: Cooking, Foodways, and Agency on Ancient Egypt’s Southern Frontier.” In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*, edited by Tamara L. Bray, pp. 39–64. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- Thissen, Heinz-Josef
- 1991 “Nubien in demotischen magischen Texten.” In *Ägypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext: Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens*, edited by Daniela Mendel and Ulrike Claudi, pp. 369–76. Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere Sondernummer. Cologne: Institut für Afrikanistik.
- Tobin, Vincent A.
- 2003 “The Prophecies of Neferty.” In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, pp. 214–20. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Török, László
- 1985 “A Contribution to Post-Meroitic Chronology: The Blemmyes in Lower Nubia.” *Meroitic Newsletter* 24: 1–96.
- Trigger, Bruce
- 1970 *The Meroitic Funerary Inscriptions from Arminna West*. Publications from the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 4. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Vernus, Pascal
- 1984 “Vestiges de langues chamito-semitiques dans des sources égyptiennes méconnues.” In *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics: Papers of the Third International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, edited by James Bynon, pp. 477–81. Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science 4, Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 28. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Waraksa, Elizabeth A.
- 2008 “Female Figurines (Pharaonic Figurines).” *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4dg0d57b>.
- 2009 *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and Ritual Function*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 240. Fribourg: Academic Press.

Wilcken, Ulrich

1908 "Papyrus-Urkunden." *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 4: 526–68.

Wild, Henri

1959 "Une danse nubienne d'époque pharaonique." *Kush* 7: 76–90.

Woods, Andreas

2006 "A Grammatical Analysis of the Late Demotic Tale *Setne II* (Papyrus BM EA 10822)." PhD diss., Brown University.

Wüthrich, Annick

2009 "Abracadabras méroïtiques dans le Livre des Morts?" In *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Burkhard Backes, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Simone Stöhr, pp. 267–82. Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2010 *Éléments de théologie thébaine: Les chapitres supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*. Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten 16. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Zauzich, Karl-Theodor

1978 "Neue literarische Texte in demotischer Schrift." *Enchoria* 8: 33–38.

Zibelius-Chen, Karola

2005 "Die nicht ägyptischsprachigen Lexeme und Syntagmen in den chapitres supplémentaires und Sprüchen ohne Parallelen des Totenbuches." *Lingua Aegyptia* 13: 181–224.

2011 "Nubisches" *Sprachmaterial in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten: Personennamen, Appellativa, Phrasen vom Neuen Reich bis in die napatansische und meroitische Zeit*. Meroitica 25. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2

AN ADDITIONAL LAYER OF COMPLEXITY:
NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN *WARETS*
IN MIDDLE KINGDOM ADMINISTRATION

Kathryn E. Bandy
University of Chicago

DURING MY DISSERTATION RESEARCH, I had many discussions with Robert K. Ritner about nuances in the translation of administrative terminology. Frequently, they involved teasing out details from very broken and poorly preserved texts. I am deeply grateful for his support, wisdom, and encouragement throughout the years, and it is only fitting that I contribute yet another foray into administrative hieratic here. It is a pleasure to dedicate this essay to him.

INTRODUCTION

The term *wʿr.t* ($\int \frac{\circ}{\text{X}}$) appears in a range of different contexts during the Middle Kingdom, including but not limited to private funerary inscriptions, documentary texts, control marks, and rock inscriptions. Broadly, attestations have been divided into categories of labor and territorial administration. Groups of specialized craftsmen and artists are predominantly identified through titles of their respective overseers (e.g., *imy-r3 wʿr.t ms-3.t* “the overseer of the *waret* of jewelers”).¹ *Waret* is also used in association with divisions of territory, most notably the “District of the Head of the South” (*wʿr.t tp rsy*).

In addition to the Head of the South, northern and southern *warets* (*wʿr.t mht.t* and *wʿr.t rsy.t*) are attested in the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Together with the Head of the South, these compounds, identifying different geographically referential entities, were thought early in Egyptology to signify the division of the state into three discrete administrative units—the north, south, and Head of the South.² Yet the three are never encountered together in the same source, and the vision of a tripartite division of the Nile Valley has been largely abandoned.³

Of the three, only the Head of the South has identifiable boundaries and can be cleanly situated in Egypt’s broader administrative system. The geographic scope of the Head of the South is never explicitly stated in Middle Kingdom sources. The identification of the stretch of the Nile between Elephantine and Asyut (or Akhmim)⁴ as the extent of the Head of the South is based on the series of place-names in the Middle Kingdom Ramesseum Onomasticon (P. Ramesseum D)⁵ and the Fugitive List of P. Brooklyn 35.1446,⁶

1 Studied in Quirke 2003. For the specific title, see Quirke 2003, p. 93; Ward 1982, p. 19 (no. 111). Fischer 1985, p. 43 (nos. 109–18) suggests that *waret* designated a location where craftsmen worked rather than an organizational unit.

2 Hayes 1953, esp. pp. 31–33. See also Helck 1958, pp. 12–13.

3 Quirke 1990, pp. 4, 160.

4 The two Middle Kingdom papyri explicitly extend only up to Akhmim.

5 Gardiner 1947, vol. 1, pp. 6–23; vol. 3, pls. III–IIIa.

6 P. Brooklyn 35.1446 ro., 1–80 (Hayes 1955, pls. I–V).

together with the taxation scenes in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Rekhmire (TT 100)⁷ and Useramun (TT 131).⁸

The northern and southern *warets*, on the other hand, remain ill defined. Identifiable boundaries are absent and their administrative roles are murky, even though most attestations come from documentary hieratic sources. Rather than “district” as in the *wʿr.t tp-rsy*, a translation of “section/sector” or “department” is typically used, reflecting the remaining uncertainty as to their precise locations, structures, and administrative capacities. “Zone” is perhaps better fitting, reflecting the existence of both territory and administrative structure. “*Waret*” is used here to avoid any potential confusion in translation.

Attestations of northern and southern *warets* are primarily found in the Faiyum, and, as a result, the northern and southern *warets* have been correctly interpreted as more relative in nature. Relative to what, however, has been questioned, resulting in vastly different sizes of administered areas. In 1934, H. Kees proposed that north–south divisions would have been present in many of the individual nomes.⁹ W. Hayes later viewed their areas as significantly larger, dependent on the location of the current royal residence.¹⁰ The northern *waret* in the Thirteenth Dynasty would have encompassed the area north of the Faiyum, including Memphis and the Delta, with the southern stretching from the Faiyum down into Nubia, necessitating its division into the southern *waret* and the “District of the Head of the South.”¹¹ More recently, S. Quirke observed that the attestations in the Lahun documents suggest more local designations, creating smaller zones of operation, while noting that, based on the documents, they constituted “local divisions of the Illahun district.”¹²

Thirty-two documents attest to the northern and/or southern *warets* (see tables 2.1 and 2.2 at the end of this chapter).¹³ Of these, twenty-three are from the Faiyum, six are from elsewhere in Lower Egypt, one is from a stela at Serabit el-Khadim, and two are from Upper Egypt. The northern and southern *warets* are attested sixteen and eighteen times, respectively (two documents identify both). Thirteen of those for the northern are in hieratic,¹⁴ and all eighteen for the southern are in hieratic.

A closer examination of the documentary sources for the northern and southern *warets*, many of which are fragmentary, elucidates aspects of their administration. This, in turn, helps clarify their relationships to one another and other administrative entities in terms, form, and structure, while confirming their independence and operations at a local level.

THE FAIYUM

Attestations of the northern and southern *warets* are predominantly found in the late Middle Kingdom documentary papyri from the Faiyum. Twenty papyri attest to one or both *warets* (eighteen from Lahun and two from Harageh). The relative nature of the northern and southern *warets* presents the possibility that the two Harageh texts do not refer to the same locations as the Lahun documents. The close proximity of, and relationship between, the two sites, together with the similarity of the papyri, does not eliminate the possibility that they may refer to the same locations. Three hieratic control marks from the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht provide additional, earlier examples of *waret*.

7 Dziobek 1994, pp. 85–89, pls. 87–90.

8 Davies 1943, vol. 1, pp. 32–33; vol. 2, pls. XXIX–XXXV.

9 Kees 1934, p. 90.

10 Hayes 1953, pp. 32–33; 1955, p. 138.

11 Hayes 1953, p. 32.

12 Quirke 1990, pp. 4, 160.

13 Full citations and relevant passages for each text are compiled in the tables. Papyri Berlin 10053, 10089a, 10377c, and 10433h are described with only limited transliteration in Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971. The full text for each is quoted in tables 2.1 and 2.2.

14 Eleven documents were collected by Stefanović (2002). The present study omits UC 32168, which references seasonal dates rather than the northern *waret*.

The northern and southern *warets* in the Faiyum present an uncommon example of a late Middle Kingdom administrative office with multiple attestations in different administrative contexts preserved exclusively in hieratic sources with minimal direct comparison to settlements elsewhere. Comparanda for the Faiyum documentary attestations are also not found among the preserved funerary monuments, seal impressions, and associated title strings found in the Faiyum. Thus, the “Faiyum *warets*” present a rare Middle Kingdom case where an administrative entity is not viewed through the lens of monumental sources.

There are twelve attestations in the Faiyum of the northern *waret*. In addition to their number, the northern attestations provide more administrative details. The ten southern attestations are complementary and, although more limited in terms of number and content, are suggestive of a similar system.

THE NORTHERN WARET IN THE FAIYUM

Two papyri, P. Harageh 3 and P. UC 32127, from Lahun, appear to include references to both the northern and southern *warets*. Papyrus UC 32127 and P. Berlin 10236a, from Lahun, provide explicit, albeit still ambiguous, information as to the northern *waret*'s location. Together, they provide a sense of its territoriality.

The papyri from Harageh were found as surface debris and tomb infill at the cemetery and remain largely unpublished.¹⁵ Given the proximity to Lahun and the association of the two sites, a provenience of Lahun is reasonable. Papyrus Harageh 3 (UC 32775) records the assessment of dues for land in the northern and, potentially, southern *warets*.¹⁶ The possible attestation of the southern *waret* in line 12 is damaged and not entirely clear.¹⁷ That of the northern is preserved almost in full. An important but often unremarked-upon aspect of the papyrus is that the preserved land assessment is the second column of text. On the far-right end, a single name, Ibi, is preserved (perhaps the survey official in lines 6 and 21), extending the administrative coverage of the papyrus. The work recorded in the northern and southern *warets* was part of a larger document.

Over five days (15–19 of the second month of Akhet), agricultural business was conducted relating to lands in the southern *waret*. The hieratic traces are difficult. As translated by Smither, scribes measured(?) land in the southern *waret*.¹⁸ On the following day (20), dues were assessed in the “Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret*” (*h3 n 3h.t w'r.t mht.t*). A roll call of officials present was also taken on the same day in association with the royal seal-bearer and overseer of fields Redienptah of the northern *waret*.¹⁹ Over the following three days (21–23), at least, further business was conducted in an “Office of the Fields [. . .].”

The necessity of several days of work suggests the fields were not insubstantial in size, yet were small enough and located close enough together as to be surveyed by five officials over five days. The document does not indicate whether the entire *waret* was surveyed or who/what was responsible for the land and its dues. “For him” (*n=f*) follows *wrš hr* in line 14; however, it is unclear who “he” was. Perhaps the “estate

¹⁵ Grajetzki 2004, pp. 54–56; Gunn 1923, pp. 32–33.

¹⁶ Smither 1941. Additional photographs of the papyrus are available in the UCL Petrie Collection Online Catalogue (<https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/petrie/67291>).

¹⁷ The end of a horizontal stroke is visible after *w'r.t*, potentially the cross-stroke for *rsy*, followed by what appear to be the *t* and determinative. The traces do not match the writing of “northern” in the following line.

¹⁸ Read as “measured by scribes of the fields” (*h3.t m sš.w 3h.t*) by Smither (1941, p. 74). Quirke instead suggests “inquired in the office of fields” (*šnt m h3 n 3h.t*) (Quirke 1990, p. 186 n. 65). Both readings are difficult. The vertical sign with horizontal stroke at the bottom lacks the expected oblique for *šn*, and the determinative is of a man with a stick rather than with hand to mouth. Equally difficult, however, is the lack of phonetic complement and use of the man-with-stick determinative rather than the more standard strong arm for the verb *h3i* (“to measure”). The traces read by Smither as *sš.w* “scribes” conform to the writing of the title “scribe” elsewhere in the document (lines 14 and 16). Regardless of specifics, business regarding agricultural lands in the southern *waret* was conducted over five days.

¹⁹ Once again, the hieratic is problematic. Smither transcribes and translates “in the office of” (*m h3 n*) (Smither 1941, p. 75). Quirke proposes an alternative of “in the presence of” (*m b3h*) (Quirke 1990, p. 186 n. 65). I am more inclined to follow Smither, although the traces are extremely difficult because of the break. Redienptah is otherwise known only by a series of scarabs (Grajetzki 2000, p. 134, V11; Martin 1971, pp. 72–73, 898–902).

overseer [. . .],” whose messenger (*wpw.ty*) is listed after the field scribes but before the cord officials, was the owner of or individual responsible for the land.²⁰

The absence of evidence for the state organization of fields or additional officials bearing the title “royal seal-bearer” with either *waret* could indicate that the two were referential to the lands assessed at the time rather than formal divisions.²¹ However, the qualification of an Office of the Fields as being that of the northern *waret* rather than simply the “Office of the Fields” argues for their being distinct, established zones within an operational system. The potential for ambiguity and the need for clarification existed in the writing of the document. Additionally, the Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* is attested elsewhere in the Lahun documents, further substantiating its existence (P. UC 32163; see below).

Redienptah’s office (or presence) is where the roll call of officials was taken. Redienptah himself is never identified as an active official, but rather only as the administrator with an office. He, and not his office, is qualified as being of the northern *waret*. The distinction is subtle but has implications for the organization of the location where the administration of fields was conducted, particularly given the identification of other titled inhabitants of Lahun as being “of the northern *waret*” (see below).

Wherever the P. Harageh 3 report was destined for further use or archiving, the two *warets* were accounted for together. The registration and roll call happened on the same day, in locations that could not have been too far from one another. This has implications for both administrative/accounting practices and the (physical) organization of Lahun’s administration.

Both offices were likely in the same town and, potentially, even in the same administrative complex. Bureaucratically, keeping all pertinent records and their creators under the same roof but distinct from one another, whether by physical space or simply “on paper,” is logical. The Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* was likely not a physically separate building but rather a department or section within a larger bureau or administrative building. Its “office” constituted its associated officials, whether permanently assigned or acting in such a capacity as required. This does not negate the importance of its designation as a stand-alone entity that needed to be classified and accounted for as such. Instead, it highlights the administrative importance of its distinction within the large fields accounting system.

In Redienptah’s case, his qualification could be either a personal affiliation or a note that he was acting in the capacity as the identified higher official who shared the responsibility of accounting for those lands at that point in time. His presence gives the land assessment authority. His position was relative; that of the lands was not. The five officials who conducted the work and were noted as present have no such qualification. If the distinction is important, then they served in the Office of the Fields at large, conducting business in different areas of fields as needed. Given the local nature of the northern and southern *warets*, a dedicated survey team for each of the two would be unnecessary. The Office of the Fields at large had subdivisions for different territorial zones that needed to be accounted for separately but that also could share officials.

That the same officials conducted the work and were documented in the same papyrus by a single scribe indicates an administrative unity between the two within the broader administration of the area. Somewhere in the documentary system of fields, they were tracked separately, in reference to a *waret* rather than a fixed point such as a town or individual. Papyrus Harageh 3 indicates the existence of a bifurcated system somewhere in the administrative structure.

The administrative nature of the northern *waret* and agricultural produce is further substantiated by the very fragmentary P. Berlin 10397a, which records deliveries (*inw*) of the northern *waret*. The interaction between central authorities and the northern *waret* was not unidirectional, however, with agricultural produce or other goods moving only to the governmental seat. Papyrus UC 32127 documents the movement of grain from the Residence to the northern *waret* (ro. 1). Grain is taken to the granary of the northern *waret* in the single preserved line on the verso of P. UC 32145D. Material could be taken to and stored in the northern *waret* as a defined entity, as well as provided by it.

²⁰ Ward proposes a tentative restoration of *pr-wr* (Ward 1982, p. 85, no. 708). However, there are no remaining traces. A chief/high steward named Horu is not attested elsewhere.

²¹ Quirke 1990, pp. 174–75.

Papyrus UC 32127 from Lahun provides a territorially broad environment for the northern *waret*.²² Grain is moved from the Residence to the northern *waret* in the *w*-districts of the Lake of Sobek (i.e., the Faiyum).²³ *W*-districts were land-related economic units with ties to different institutions and their own facilities.²⁴ The affiliation of a single individual in the Fugitive List of P. Brooklyn 35.1446 indicates their potential complexity. Nen-teni's son Iku was based in Akhmim, far from the Faiyum and in a different agricultural setting; however, his position is telling. He is identified as a "doorkeeper of the granary of the *ḥbsw*-lands of the *w*-district in Akhmim" (*iry-ꜣ n šnw.t n.t ḥbsw w ḥr-ib Ḥnt-Mnw*) (ro. 4a–b).²⁵ The granary at which Nen-teni's son Iku was employed is stipulated as being in (*ḥr-ib*) Akhmim. The location of the *w*-district in the ninth Upper Egyptian nome is unstated, but its associated storage facility appears to have been in the town itself. "Outside" sources of grain could have been attributable to other locations and stored centrally, as documented in P. UC 32145D.

The plural "*w*-districts" in P. UC 32127 suggests that the northern *waret* was not insubstantial in size and indicates that it encompassed or included the territory of more than one *w*-district. *W*-districts did not have to be in the town or its immediate surrounding area. Rather, they were administered by or in association with a local center.²⁶ The *w*-districts of P. UC 32127 did not need to be adjacent to one another, instead being spaced around the holdings of individuals and other institutions in the Faiyum, with ties to the settlement. Papyrus UC 32186, a land account recording individual holdings, records two plots of *šdy.t*-land in the *w*-district of Horus, with the southern one located in the town, providing an example of how an explicitly named location could be associated in reference to an *w*-district.²⁷

The references to granaries, deliveries, *w*-districts, and fields suggest a rural or agricultural nature for the northern *waret*. Papyrus Berlin 10236d provides a clear association with the settlement Sekhem-Senwosret.²⁸ The papyrus remains largely unpublished and is identified by U. Kaplony-Heckel and E. Lüddeckens as a document relating grain deliveries and their being received by officials. A passage published by U. Luft states "amount completed in the district of the northern *waret*, which is in Sekhem-Senwosret."²⁹

Sekhem-Senwosret can be identified textually and archaeologically as the western portion of the town at Lahun, sectioned off from the eastern portion, Hetep-Senwosret, by a large north–south running wall.³⁰ Papyrus Berlin 10236d not only indicates that the northern *waret* is in the settlement but also identifies it as a "district" (*spꜣ.t*). Within the Lahun documents, the attestations of *spꜣ.t* do not relate to the nome at large but rather to an administrative district related to the town. Papyrus UC 32168, a roll call of workers for two months of stone-hauling work, was drawn up in the "Office of the District of Hetep-Senwosret" (*ḥꜣ n spꜣ.t n.(t) Ḥtp-S-n-wsr.t-mꜣꜥ-ḥrw*) (ro. 2).³¹

The association between Sekhem-Senwosret and the Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* is furthered by P. UC 32163, one of three documents relating to the family and household of the military men Hori and his son Snefru.³² Papyrus UC 32163 extends the role of the office beyond agricultural accounting. The recto is a copy of a household document (*wꜣw.t*) for Snefru, with the verso recording the household's swearing an oath in the Office of the Vizier.

22 Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 224–25.

23 Gomaà 1986, pp. 387–92 (with a list of attestations of *š-Sbk* on pp. 391–92); Zecchi 2010, pp. 13–14.

24 Bandy 2016, p. 96 n. 92; Russo 2010, pp. 79–80. For a compilation of attestations, see Russo 2010.

25 Hayes 1955, pl. I.

26 Horváth 2009, p. 176.

27 Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 74–75; Horváth 2009, p. 176.

28 Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 128 (no. 304); Luft 1998, pp. 31–32.

29 Luft 1998, p. 32. Luft transcribes and translates only the single passage, which he identifies as the second line.

30 Horváth 2009; Moeller 2017.

31 The term of service is identified as a *waret* (*wꜣr.t n.t ꜣbd 4 ꜣht ꜣbd 1 pr.t*). Here, as in P. UC 32182 and P. UC 2190B, the term relates to a section or cadre of workers serving for a period of time and not an administrative district.

32 Papyri UC 32163, UC 32164, and UC 32165 (Lots I.3–5; Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 110–17).

The text on the verso notes that it was drawn up in the Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* in the presence of the Great of Tens of Upper Egypt and by the estate overseer and cattle accountant (vo. 3–5). Also present were the council scribe (*sš d3d3.t*) and the overseer of the army Sinuhe of the northern *waret*. The group of officials seems random but is not. The presence of officials associated with cattle accounting in an agricultural office is fitting—Sinuhe was a documentary official working in the office.³³ The overseer of the army would have been the high official over Hori and Snefru and may have served as a witness because he was personally acquainted with the parties. The council scribe, providing legal authority, is not identified as the author of the document but as a witness.

Three of the four men involved in generating and witnessing P. UC 32163 are described as being “of the northern *waret*.” The council scribe is not, perhaps because space was limited and the qualifications of the other men indicated his affiliation. Snefru himself is not qualified as such, although one of the women in his household is described as a ward (*nmhy.t*) of the cemetery workers of the northern *waret* (ro. 4). His father Hori is identified in P. UC 32164 and P. UC 32165 as being “on the second (unit?) of troops” (*hr sn-nw.t n.t d3mw*), with the first line of P. UC 32165 specifying that he was installed in the *waret* (*srwd wʿr.t*). A restoration of “northern” is logical in the breaks elsewhere in the documents.³⁴ The family can thus be associated with the northern *waret* for at least two generations through troop affiliation, named witnesses, and document generation, indicating an enduring association.

The family’s papyri, P. UC 32163–32165 (Lot I.3–5), were found rolled together and sealed.³⁵ Reconstruction of Petrie’s excavations by C. Gallorini suggests that they came from the southwestern corner of the town in the ranks of houses and perhaps belonged to their residents.³⁶ A specific location in the Rank A houses was proposed.³⁷ However, further archival work indicates that Petrie was at the same time working in Rank C, which can be safely identified as the findspot of Lot II.³⁸ Since shared content between the two lots of papyri suggests that they may have been part of a single archive, Lot I.3–5 may have come from Rank C rather than Rank A.³⁹ Despite this uncertainty, that they came from the ranks of houses in Sekhem-Senwosret is all but certain.

The same is true for P. UC 32058 and P. UC 32167, two of the papyri relating the property transfer between the assistant to the sealer and director of works Ankhren and his brother, the *wʿb*-priest and chief of phyles of Soped Wah, whose documents can be assigned a findspot of Rank C.⁴⁰ One of the houses of Rank C has been suggested to be that of Wah.⁴¹ Should this be the case, then we can physically locate both the property and the dwelling space of an individual associated with the northern *waret*. Notably, Ankhren’s testament to Wah is for all his property, that in the town (*niw.t*) and that in the country (*š3*) (P. UC 32058, ro. 4).

Household documents were used by members to establish their property rights and, in turn, could have been part of a larger series of records used by local authorities, in association with the Office of the Vizier, to raise labor.⁴² Part of the role of the overseer of fields involved managing and obtaining workers for

33 A cattle accountant was also involved in the household document of his father Hori (P. UC 32164; Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 112–13).

34 Following Collier’s restorations (Collier 2009, pp. 211–12). The leg for *wʿr.t* is preserved in P. UC 32165, but the determinative and any following signs are lost. A southern, rather than northern, *waret* cannot be entirely ruled out. Papyrus UC 32127, which identifies the *w*-districts of the northern *waret*, includes a man identified as the first of the officers of the southern *waret* (*tp.t n.t nḥ.w*).

35 Griffith 1898, vol. 1, p. 19. See Gallorini 1998, p. 57 n. 31 for details of the find.

36 Gallorini 1998, pp. 44–45. For further reconstruction of the archaeology, see Collier 2009; Collier and Quirke 2002, pp. vii–viii; Gallorini 1998.

37 Gallorini 1998, pp. 44–45.

38 Described as the “Head of Rank C” (Collier 2009, pp. 231–32).

39 Collier 2009.

40 Collier 2009, pp. 63–64; Collier and Quirke 2002, pp. vii–viii.

41 Quirke 2005, p. 80.

42 Quirke 1990, p. 169; Muhs 2016, p. 65; Kóthay 2002, pp. 362–63.

agricultural labor, drawing from the population who worked the lands under his authority.⁴³ The Office of the Fields of the Northern *waret* may have been involved in the legal documentation for just such a reason. What essentially functioned as the local office of agricultural land and personnel management, operating in coordination with the Office of the Vizier and other authorities, copied the document for the family. As with its role in P. Harageh 3, such an arrangement need not mean that the office was in a rural area. The office was responsible for documenting landholdings and the affairs of individuals under its purview. A centrally located office should be expected.

The individuals associated with the northern *waret* in the Lahun and Harageh texts follow the pattern “title + personal name + northern *waret*.” D. Stefanović collected nine examples in her 2002 study, six of which are in four documents from the Faiyum.⁴⁴ In total, six unique individuals are identified in the documents from the Faiyum. This pattern is not unique to the northern *waret* at Lahun but is also found with individuals associated with the southern *waret* attested in the late Middle Kingdom pyramid control marks. In his publication of P. Harageh 3, Smither takes the combination as an early example of the later New Kingdom pattern in which personal names could be inserted in titles.⁴⁵ Should this be the case, then an entire group of titles can be attributed to the northern *waret* as a stand-alone administrative entity, not attested elsewhere and with responsibilities seemingly overlapping those of other officials and individuals for affairs involving Lahun, its population, and its holdings. This is not to say that the northern *waret* did not have its own officials or contingents but, rather, that a large staff should not be expected despite what appears to be a wide breadth of coverage.

More likely, however, is that the designation “of the northern *waret*” is attributed to the person, rather than the fixed office held, and may have been used only in certain contexts. The first section of the recto of P. UC 32058 is identified as a “copy of the testament the trusty seal-bearer of the director of works Ankhren made” (ro. 1). Ankhren is only “of the northern *waret*” in the text of the copied testament to his brother Wah (ro. 3). He is not further identified as “of the northern *waret*” in the transfer of the same property from Wah to Wah’s wife in the second document on P. UC 32058. In all three examples there, he is titled without the *waret* designation following his name (ro. 9, 11, and 13).

Papyrus UC 32167, the transfer (*swn.t*) document between the two brothers, identifies Ankhren, who initiates the transfer, as the assistant to the treasurer “of the northern *waret*” (ro. 4). Despite his change in title, the *waret* designation remains. Legal documents are texts in which the absolute identification of individuals using all available associations would have been desired. The sample of legal documents is limited to those of two families, but it is of note that the individuals generating and witnessing documents are those with the *waret* designations.

Ankhren’s two titles in P. UC 32058 and P. UC 32167, controller of works and assistant to the treasurer, are not areas of administration where one would expect a separate staff dedicated to each of two sections. An offering table belonging to Ankhren identifies him only as the assistant to the treasurer.⁴⁶ Rather, like the family of Snefru and Hori, Ankhren himself had an ongoing association with the northern *waret* that was not always reflected in his titulary. In the case of P. UC 32163, the estate overseer and cattle accountant Senebeni, who wrote the document, was more likely himself associated with the northern *waret* or professionally affiliated with it at times; the document does not necessarily indicate that the northern *waret* had its own, well-developed cattle infrastructure. This exact pattern is seen in the contemporary control marks from the pyramids at Mazghuna and Saqqara that reference groups of workers associated with individuals affiliated with southern *warets* (see below).

Ankhren, and never his brother Wah, is identified as “of the northern *waret*.” Unlike Ankhren’s, Wah’s titles are priestly. Individuals bearing priestly titles are never directly associated with *warets* in the available Lahun documents. This is despite Sekhem-Senwosret’s association with the mortuary cult of Senwosret II.

43 Grajetzki 2000, p. 139; Hayes 1955, p. 75; Quirke 2004, p. 91.

44 Stefanović 2002, pp. 81–82. Of the remaining three, one is a Sinai stela and two are Theban stelae (see below).

45 Citing the example of the much later Ramesside mayor of the city Paser (Smither 1941, p. 27 n. c).

46 Quirke 2005, p. 79.

A described but unpublished P. Berlin 10342c is said to identify temple workers from the northern *waret*, but the lack of further context or the actual text does not allow for a definitive association.⁴⁷ The preserved record provides no clear evidence of association of the *warets* with temple affairs or management at Lahun or elsewhere.

Documents from the Faiyum indicate that the northern *waret* had an established fields office that coordinated with other administrative offices, was responsible for the accounting of fields, was capable of creating copies of official documents, and had an associated granary. It was responsible for providing deliveries and could receive goods. Individuals associated with fields, the military, cattle, and the (local) treasury were related to it and had enduring relationships with it. Despite its limited attestations, the northern *waret* played a significant and diverse role in the administrative affairs of Lahun. It further interacted as an authority with offices at higher administrative levels.

THE SOUTHERN WARET IN THE FAIYUM

If the northern *waret*, or the holdings and officials associated with it, can be identified with at least parts of Lahun, the question becomes where the southern *waret* and its associations were located. The ten attestations in the Lahun and Harageh documents for the southern *waret* provide limited additional information. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that the “south” refers to anywhere significantly south of the Faiyum.

By all accounts, the southern *waret* appears to have operated similarly to the northern *waret*. The verso of P. UC 32145A indicates that, like the northern *waret*, the southern *waret* possessed the authority to seal. Over two fragmentary lines, the account references a document brought from the treasury, something (a document?) bearing the seal of the southern *waret*, and a document brought bearing the seal of the mayor (vo. 16–17). The treasury referenced is likely local and not national.⁴⁸ The preserved content does not allow for a reconstruction of the administrative acts other than the interaction of the three entities, with the southern *waret* sealing under its own authority in parallel to the office of the mayor in relation to an accounting document brought from the treasury.

The authority of the southern *waret* is extended further through a letter addressed to its council (*ḏḏ.t*) (P. UC 32212). The letter reports on the supplies of grain being sent from the *w*-districts to Hetep-Senwosret, the mortuary chapel of Princess Neferuptah (located at Hawara), and the town Atfih.⁴⁹ The supplies are directed to the overseer of fields.

Letter P. UC 32212 was found sealed.⁵⁰ Based on her reconstruction, Gallorini provides a tentative provenience of Rank N.⁵¹ Without a specific findspot, little can be said other than that it was found in what appears to have been a residential area of Hetep-Senwosret, referenced in the papyrus, rather than in Sekhem-Senwosret. An administrative area has been archaeologically identified in relative proximity to Rank N, whereas Sekhem-Senwosret lacks clear administrative buildings.⁵²

Papyrus UC 32212 is not unique in content. Three unpublished papyri in Berlin indicate further associations between the southern *waret*, its council, supplies, and (the cults of?) royal daughters. The recto of P. Berlin 10053 records supplies for the Sokar festival and a princess, with the verso identifying Sekhem-Senwosret and the southern *waret* oriented as to indicate sender and recipient.⁵³ Papyrus Berlin 10089a

47 Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens identify the papyrus as a “Verzeichnis der [Tempel-Beamten] aus dem nördlichen Bezirk” (Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 195).

48 P. UC 32102Ai specifies a treasury as being “of this town” (Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 164–65).

49 Gomaà 1986, pp. 380–81.

50 Identified as Lot VI.1. The seal impression is large and badly degraded (Martin 1971, p. 147 [1896], pl. 47 [7]; Petrie 1890, pl. X [21]). Despite its preservation, it is possible to state that it does not appear to match any other sealings found at Lahun. The presence of a cartouche in the center of the seal suggests a royal foundation.

51 Gallorini 1998, pp. 48, 58 n. 53.

52 Moeller 2016, pp. 283–85.

53 Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, pp. 24–25.

records the delivery of drinks in connection to the northern channel of Sobek with reference to the council (*d3d.t*) of the southern *waret*.⁵⁴ Finally, the verso of P. Berlin 10377 names a princess Neferet-[. .] and the southern *waret*.⁵⁵

The southern *waret* of P. Harageh 3 was discussed above. Even more fragmentary than P. Harageh 3 is P. Harageh 6, a letter whose sender and addressee are both lost.⁵⁶ The only clear identification of the southern *waret* is in line 3. The letter includes two references to Sekhem-Sobekneferu-True-of-Voice, potentially her as-yet-unlocated pyramid (lines 5 and 9). A broken reference to either Hetep- or Sekhem-Senwosret in line 8 provides a potential association with Lahun. Despite the breaks, a geographic sense close to Lahun is provided.

Any agricultural produce of the southern *waret* is not referred to as explicitly as that of the northern *waret* in P. Harageh 3. Papyrus UC 32179, a cattle account, does include a broken reference to the southern *waret* in a rubric. The preserved portion of the first page is a significant cattle account with large and not individual holdings. Unfortunately, “the southern *waret*” is all that is preserved in the rubric of an earlier column, and its accompanying text is lost. Thus, while it is possible to associate the southern *waret* with cattle management at some level, as with the northern, the nature of that association remains unclear.

Finally, P. UC 32127, which identifies the northern *waret* as being in the *w*-districts of the Lake of Sobek, goes on to identify a follower Ibi as being of “the first (unit) of the officers of the southern *waret*” (*tp.t n.t 'nh.w w'r.t rsy.t*). Whether of the military ranks, as with the Snefru and Hori family, or a host of laborers, it indicates that individuals were, collectively, also associated with the southern *waret*. The control marks from the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasty pyramids at Mazghuna and Saqqara provide further context for the organization of workers into groups identified with northern and southern *warets*. The southern *warets* of the Thirteenth Dynasty pyramids and P. UC 32127 are not to be equated geographically but further indicate the way in which directionally designated *warets* could be utilized.

FINAL REMARKS ON THE FAIYUM

The existence of the Head of the South and its large territory leave us seeking large administrative divisions where they do not exist. Sekhem-Senwosret, the most explicit location identified with ties to the northern *waret*, is located south of Itj-Tawy and the area around Lisht, closer to the Bahr Yusuf and entrance to the Faiyum. Both Sekhem-Senwosret and Hetep-Senwosret, as well as other locations, are textually associated with the southern *waret*, adding further complications.

The affairs of the northern *waret* in the hieratic records take place *within* the Faiyum. The location of the southern *waret* is more difficult to identify, given that multiple important passages remain largely unpublished, but its affairs also appear to take place within and not south of the Faiyum. At least one individual affiliated with the southern *waret* receives material in an account (P. UC 32127) that records deliveries to the northern. They were not separated by significant distance, and records for individuals and goods involving both were documented in Lahun. The sizes of the two areas are unclear but appear to be not insubstantial. Likewise, the documented administrative affairs related to the *warets* involve the range of activities expected for administrative divisions with territory and people in their jurisdiction.

Both the northern and southern *warets* can be related to affairs occurring in Hetep- and Sekhem-Senwosret and their populations. A north-south division is not identifiable in the settlement, where the east-west division between Hetep-Senwosret and Sekhem-Senwosret is most visible. Nothing textually indicates that the northern and southern *warets* are to be identified with either section of the town. Administratively, seeking a division between the two separated settlement areas is difficult, given the absence of evidence for a separate administrative structure in Sekhem-Senwosret. By all accounts, it functioned under the authority

⁵⁴ Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 41.

⁵⁵ Identified only in translation as the “südlichen Bezirk” (Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 217).

⁵⁶ Grajetzki 2004, pp. 54–56.

of Hetep-Senwosret. Sekhem-Senwosret had no “coequal governing body.”⁵⁷ Nevertheless, its inhabitants had to go somewhere for administrative and legal purposes.

That the Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* is documented does not necessitate the existence of a separate, stand-alone building somewhere in the town or outside it. Instead, it was likely part of a larger administrative system at Lahun, which could house other local, perhaps nonmayoral, administrative divisions. It seems most likely that the Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* was located somewhere in the bureaucratic system of Hetep-Senwosret. As P. UC 32145A indicates, a sealed item of the southern *waret* also interacted administratively with the mayoral residence and treasury. Both served under the same overarching administrative system of Lahun. The presumed location of the Office of the Fields of the Northern *Waret* (and other administrative offices) in Hetep-Senwosret indicates that, if the individuals of the Lots I and II papyri did indeed live in the houses in Rank C (and/or Rank A), the inhabitants of Sekehem-Senwosret would need to go into Hetep-Senwosret to create and confirm their legal documents.

The absence of seal impressions identifying the northern and southern *warets* (at Lahun or elsewhere) is challenging at first glance, given that they possessed the authority to seal documents and played a significant administrative role. However, if they served as a means through which documents passed on to higher office or coordinated with individuals and their property under its authority, then preserved sealings would be unlikely. To date, corpora of seal impressions from large administrative units such as the Office of the Vizier or the treasury have not been found. It is likely there, and not in the corpora of sealings recovered from places such as mayoral residences, temples, fortresses, and elite housing, that any such sealings would have been found. If a *waret* essentially functioned as a go-between, then a titled official such as Redienptah would not need a separate *waret* seal; common knowledge about his role and authority would have permitted him to use his everyday personal seal. Design seals, which belonged to literate individuals but did not include their title and name, are also well attested on papyrus documents and may have been used instead of, or in addition to, personal seals. In these cases, the generating administrative office and official are masked. Such may have been the case even in communities with significant documentary papyri, such as Lahun.

LOWER EGYPT

In addition to the Faiyum and Upper Egypt, attestations of northern and southern *warets* are found at Serabit el-Khadim (northern), Mazghuna (southern), and Saqqara (northern and southern). These *warets* cannot be equated with those at Lahun or one another. All date to the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties.

Sinai Inscription 115 at Serabit el-Khadim commemorates an expedition under Amenemhat III.⁵⁸ The stela includes a name-list of the council (*d3d3.t*) members who were present in the mining district (west face, lines 4–13). The first, identified as a scribe, is Ameny-heteru of the northern *waret* (line 6). Ameny-heteru’s association with the northern *waret* was added in smaller script.⁵⁹

No like-named or similarly titled official is present in Sinai Inscription 115. Nevertheless, there was need for either clarification or memorialization of his association with the northern *waret*. It is possible that it was a later addition, to clarify his position or indicate a new duty when Ameny-heteru returned to the area on a subsequent expedition.⁶⁰ Or it may be an indication of where he was living.⁶¹ The expedition members following Ameny-heteru’s name are chamber-keepers associated with the palace and treasury. All have a specificity of place for their employment. Ameny-heteru, by contrast, was simply “a scribe.” The addition of “northern *waret*” gave his position some specificity to match theirs. The scribe was the documentarian and could be said to be the highest in the hierarchy of the workers. Perhaps the council and

57 Horváth 2009, pp. 182–83, 197.

58 Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XXXIX; 1955, pp. 118–19; Stefanović 2002, pp. 80–81.

59 Gardiner and Peet 1955, p. 118 (d).

60 Stefanović 2002, pp. 80–81.

61 Stefanović 2002, p. 81.

involvement of a northern *waret* scribe in the inscription are akin to those of the council of the southern *waret* in P. UC 32212. In Sinai, he recorded the material to be brought back.

Only two of the control marks from the south pyramid at Mazghuna preserve textual passages.⁶² Neither inscription names individual workers. In both cases, a collective, the “officers of the crew of the southern *waret*” (*‘nh.w nw t.t w’r.t rsy.t*), is identified as having brought the stone.⁶³ Wherever the southern *waret* from which the workers were drawn was located, the group was identified as a cohort from there. That the inscriptions were dated indicates that they were further accounted for by means of it. Such affiliation is similar to the identification of Ibi, of the first (unit) of officers of the southern *waret*, in P. UC 32127. The southern *waret* was the higher-level local means of identification.

Khendjer’s pyramid at Saqqara provides additional late Middle Kingdom examples of control marks associating *warets* and labor. Four of these inscriptions reference the southern *waret*. As with the Mazghuna blocks, they are dated. All four identify domains/sections of a named interior-overseer of the southern *waret* (*rmny.t imy-r3 ‘hnwty NN w’r.t rsy.t*). Inscription 7 (Kh7) makes it clear that the men were responsible for removing the stone (*šd . . . in rmny.t*). Unlike at Mazghuna, crews of workers are not named. Instead, the raised crews of men were known by affiliation with a titled figure identified as being of the southern *waret*. Not all such officials were identified by *waret*. Some, as in Kh8 and Kh28, are more specialized, being the interior-overseer of the inner palace (*k3p*) and chamber-keeper of the enclosure.⁶⁴

Two earlier marks from the pyramid of Senwosret I at Lisht (N2 and N7) indicate that the use of northern and southern *warets* in relation to construction work was not an innovation of the late Middle Kingdom. Both identify cowherds of the southern *waret* as responsible for dragging the blocks.⁶⁵ A third from the Lisht pyramid (W5) is labeled only as the “*hbsw*-fields of the northern *waret*,” indicating the presence of workers associated with both the northern and southern *warets* during the construction process. Attestations of *hbsw*-lands are limited in the early Middle Kingdom. If similar to their later Middle Kingdom counterparts, they served as state-established and state-operated agricultural units in which drafted laborers would work.⁶⁶ Both the cowherds and those associated with the *hbsw* were identified by their primary group. Unlike the workers with cattle, individuals from *hbsw*-lands could serve in different capacities in the *hbsw*. From an organizational standpoint, their collective identification through occupation or institution/location is logical.

Both organized agricultural units and herdsmen would have been valuable labor pools from which the state could draw for construction projects. In the case of the northern and southern *warets* at Lisht, they were local workers from the area, as crews of workmen from elsewhere are identified by settlement.⁶⁷ While it cannot be stated that the administrative uses of the northern and southern *warets* encountered in the Lahun and Harageh papyri are not reflective of some developments during and after the reign of Senwosret III, it is clear an organizational system using *warets* existed in the earlier Middle Kingdom from which workers could be identified.

The *warets* attested at Mazghuna and Saqqara cannot be the same as those in the hieratic papyri. They are also not to be equated with the *warets* in the control marks at Lisht. Given the relative distance between Saqqara and Mazghuna, the two sites may have “shared” a common southern *waret*, perhaps through their proximity to Memphis. It is likely that such divisions existed elsewhere in relation to other work projects

62 The blocks were found right outside the wavy wall associated with the south pyramid (Arnold 1990, p. 174).

63 Ma1 and Ma3 (Arnold 1990, pp. 174–75).

64 Arnold 1990, pp. 178, 183.

65 N7 adds the detail that it was being taken to a workshop/chamber (*di r is n* [. . .]). P. UC 32168 records similar events—a group of *mny.w* workers (not identified as herdsmen) are members of a section of workers recruited to haul stone for two months (*w’r.t n.t 3bd 4 3ht 3bd 1 pr.t*) (Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 56–57). The document was drawn up in the Office of the District of Hetep-Senwosret and not the northern or southern *waret*. Similar recruitments for sections of the calendrical year are recorded in P. UC 32182 and P. UC 32190B.

66 Hayes 1955, pp. 28–29.

67 Also present on the west and northwest sides of the pyramid are *warets* of Heliopolis (W1–2, W4, NW 9c1, NW 12, and NW 39) and Athribis (N8) (Arnold 1990, pp. 66–68, 92–93, 101, 106).

and settlements. The examples from Lisht clearly indicate that local workers did not need to be specified as such and thus differentiated from laborers identified as coming from outside.

UPPER EGYPT

These interweaving networks of local, regional, and national associations for the town and its residents at Lahun could hardly have been unique, even given its special status. Documentary sources relating to non-royal affairs in Upper Egypt during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period remain scarce, and the document loss evident in the Faiyum cannot be forgotten when seeking solutions for administrative questions elsewhere.

There are no unequivocal attestations of a southern *waret* in Upper Egypt. While it may seem that the District of the Head of the South would render such a division unnecessary, the use of “*waret*” in relation to local centers in Lower Egypt indicates the likelihood of their presence, particularly given the two attestations of a northern *waret* in Thebes. Not every settlement in Upper Egypt may have had such sections. Smaller populations and local circumstances in terms of land and resource availability may have rendered such an administrative division unnecessary.

A military man named Memi, known from his stela at Abydos, bore the title “commander of the Southern City, the northern *waret*” (*3ṯw n nīw.t rsy.t wʿr.t mḥt.t*; Cairo CG 20378). Based on stylistic traits, the stela has been identified as a Thirteenth Dynasty product of Elephantine.⁶⁸ The title “commander of the city” and its accompanying title “officer of the city” (*nḥ n nīw.t*) are not otherwise attested with the specification “Southern City” or “northern *waret*.” Elsewhere, locals bearing the titles do not include reference to the towns in which they were based. The meaning in CG 20378 is clear: Memi, perhaps with a family history in Elephantine, was an official based in Thebes. The extended title in a funerary context suggests that this position may not have been temporary—it was worth commemoration. The affiliation of a military man with the northern *waret* is not dissimilar to that of Hori’s family at Lahun, whose affiliation with the northern *waret* there extended beyond a single generation.

That the northern *waret* was a more permanent designation in the late Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period at Thebes is substantiated by the Stèle Juridique from Karnak, which documents the transfer of the office of mayor of el-Kab between two collateral branches of the family (Cairo JE 52453).⁶⁹ Keksi, the mayor of el-Kab, transferred the office to his relative Sobeknakht to resolve an outstanding debt. In doing so, he affirmed his right to transfer the office through an earlier documented testament from his grandfather, the vizier and mayor of el-Kab Iy, to his father, the vizier and mayor of el-Kab Iymerw.

Two offices are involved in the transfer process. As expected, the Office of the Vizier served as the primary authority. The second was the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret*, which generated and received documents and was present when an oath was taken. The involvement of the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* is curious, given that el-Kab is located south of Thebes. H. Kees’s suggestion that it was used because of a family history in the northern part of the country does not comport with an understanding of northern and southern *warets* being locally referential.⁷⁰

In summary, a testament (*imy.t-pr*) for transfer of the mayorship was made by Keksi for Sobeknakht (line 4). It was done in the presence of the vizier, a dignitary (*sʿb*), and a *ḥm-nṯr* priest of Horus of Nekhen (lines 10–11). It is said to have been made by the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret*, with the scribe of the *ḥnr.t* acting as proxy (*m-īdn*) for the scribe of the reporter of the northern *waret* (lines 11–12).⁷¹ The petition (*spr*) that resulted in the transfer was in a document (*snn*) brought to the Office of the Reporter

68 Ilin-Tomich 2017, p. 207.

69 Lacau 1949. For further discussion and citations for the stela, the extended el-Kab family, and the historical and chronological implications of the transfer, see Bandy 2016, pp. 33–43.

70 Kees 1934, p. 91.

71 Translating *ḥnr.t* (*kheneret*) is challenging, and multiple terms, including “prison” and “enclosure,” have been used. None properly reflects the nature of the institution. For recent discussion of the *ḥnr.t*, particularly in relation to the *ḥnr.t wr*, see Di Teodoro 2018, pp. 62–73 (2.4.1).

of the Northern *Waret* in the Office of the Vizier (line 15). It was subsequently discussed in the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* (line 18). The sale of the mayoral office was made to satisfy the claim of debt by means of a testament (line 20). Finally, the oath was taken in the presence of the reporter Kamose of the northern *waret* and registered in the Office of the Vizier (line 22).

The involvement of the reporter of the northern *waret* follows the pattern “title + personal name + *waret* association.” Kamose, the official in whose presence the oath was sworn, is identified as “the reporter Kamose of the northern *waret*.” Here, the affiliation is akin to that of the treasurer Redientpah of P. Harageh 3. Kamose was a reporter serving in the capacity of the northern *waret* at that point in time. What follows the recording of the oath in the stela is a record of the earlier transfer of the office of mayor from Iy to Iymerw via testament in order to affirm the later transfer (lines 22–28). A copy of that document was brought from the Office of the Vizier, which was then responsible for its verification and the ultimate approval of the case. The Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* was entirely absent from this process. While the Office of the Vizier was the final and highest authority, it was the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* that conducted the bulk of the work prior to finalization. The finality of the vizier’s authority is expressed in the composition *The Duties of the Vizier* (line 19)⁷² as well as the few preserved legal documents from Elephantine, Thebes, and Lahun.

The Office of the Reporter and reporters acting as go-betweens in official capacities are well attested in the late Middle Kingdom. The transfer document of Wah was filed in the Office of the Second Reporter of the South (P. UC 32058).⁷³ The local reporter at Elephantine served as the point of contact for the Office of the Vizier in the Berlin leather roll P. 10470, recording the transfer of a servant in Elephantine.⁷⁴ The Office of the Reporter of the Southern City was the recipient of two royal decrees directed to the vizier in P. Brooklyn 35.1446 (ro. Insertion B 2–4 and ro. Insertion C, 2–3).⁷⁵ The Office (of the Reporter of the [Southern City?]) was also the place to which a sealed family transfer document between a man and his wife was given (P. Brooklyn 35.1446, vo. Text B, 29–30).⁷⁶ In this final case, it is not indicated that the Office of the Reporter was the ultimate destination where the document was to be filed. More than likely it was presented to the reporter’s office to be ultimately bound for the Office of the Vizier, as with most legal documents pertaining to property.

The *Stèle Juridique* further specifies that the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* was in the Office of the Vizier (lines 15). Not only did the two offices work in association with each other administratively, but they also were likely in the same facility. The proximity and association of the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* with the high administration at Thebes is further indicated by the scribe of the *hnr.t* filling in for the scribe of the reporter of the northern *waret*. The position of reporter was one of status in the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.⁷⁷ The prominence of the position of reporter at Thebes during the late Middle Kingdom has been noted, with the proposal that the reporter served as the highest local authority at the time in the absence of a Theban mayor.⁷⁸

That the Office of the Reporter was of high status is substantiated by the fact that it was able to receive the oaths with respect to the petition and then register them with the Office of the Vizier. It was not, however, the highest local authority everywhere outside Thebes. The Berlin leather roll P. 10470 preserves a fragmentary reference to the action of the local mayor of Elephantine, indicating that he too was involved

72 van den Boorn 1988, p. 172.

73 Perhaps an abbreviation for the southern *waret*? The same office is present in P. UC 32293, an additional family document (Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 122–23). Philip-Stéphan points to the *Stèle Juridique* as a potential parallel (Philip-Stéphan 2008, pp. 93–94 and n. 349).

74 Smither 1948.

75 Hayes 1955, pp. 71–72, pls. IV, V.

76 Hayes 1955, pp. 115–16, pl. XIV.

77 Philip-Stéphan 2008, pp. 93–99.

78 Ilin-Tomich 2015, pp. 123–24; Quirke 2004, p. 112.

in the process (I, 15–16).⁷⁹ The reporter in the legal process was the primary actor, submitting to the authority of the vizier and not the mayor.⁸⁰ The reporter of Elephantine served as the point of contact between the local officials and the state in order to resolve the dispute. In Thebes, the Office of the Reporter functioned as the point of contact between “local” and “state.” The position of mayor was superfluous locally, resulting in the rise in prominence of the local reporter.

Ultimately, the question becomes why it was the northern *waret* and not a southern *waret* that conducted the business. A full understanding of the administration of Thebes as a settlement rather than a seat of state during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period remains difficult.⁸¹ The absence of a southern *waret* in Thebes and the limited attestations in the Faiyum documents further complicate matters.

Nevertheless, some speculations can be made. Given the Theban base of state administrative institutions during the Thirteenth Dynasty, perhaps nonlocal affairs or those requiring investigation were conducted in the Office of the Reporter of the Northern *Waret* located within the Office of the Vizier. If this is the case, it does not resolve the problem of why a northern *waret* office even existed. After all, Thebes had its own local reporter, as well as the one in the Office of the Vizier.⁸² Lahun provides a possible solution in that, despite the evidence for a complex bureaucratic system that would presumably be able to handle all administrative affairs, a northern *waret* still existed that interacted with residents and handled legal and administrative affairs. Its Theban location in the Office of the Vizier made it a point of administrative contact for nonlocal affairs out of expediency. The latter possibility is tempting, given that the earlier parties of the exchange, Iy and Iymeru, held the office of vizier themselves. Family-related business was handled “in-house.”

Memi continues to present a complication. That officers could be associated with *warets* is substantiated at Lahun. As with the families and holdings in Lahun, the northern *waret* was perhaps the area in which Memi’s larger affairs (including any property) were handled. That his stela predates the Stèle Juridique indicates the existence of a northern *waret* in Thebes for several generations.

CONCLUSION

Despite wide recognition that the District of the Head of the South, the northern *waret*, and the southern *waret* do not constitute a tripartite division of the Nile Valley, the existence of set boundaries in which the administrative activities of the District of the Head of the South can be situated has resulted in a search for the boundaries of smaller *warets* rather than a full examination of their administrative roles. Their fragmentary, seemingly scattershot attestations present a less-than-full administrative picture. Their general absence from the monumental record results in a lack of associated titles and the contextual information usually derived from such sources for administrative studies. Rather than being a detriment, however, this monumental absence complements the hieratic record. *Warets* served an administrative role at the local level that was not regularly monumentalized. The Stèle Juridique is an exception due to the nature of the transfer and its memorialization. There is no reason to assume that the legal process for the transfer at el-Kab was extraordinary. It is only preserved on the stela to memorialize that process at Karnak—a monumental act that would not be undertaken by lower-level officials.

The view of the northern and southern *warets* as being respective to the current royal residence cannot be reconciled with the documentary texts from Lahun and Harageh. The conclusion that they are local and not regional divisions bears out in all cases but can be expanded upon. Their attestations, although largely limited to frequently fragmentary or short hieratic sources, indicate a relatively expansive administrative role, underrepresented in the textual record. By all indications, the northern and southern *warets* exercised authority over, or were involved in, the administration of territory and individuals associated with it rather

⁷⁹ Smither 1948, p. 32, pl. VII.

⁸⁰ Philip-Stéphan 2008, p. 95.

⁸¹ Ilin-Tomich 2015.

⁸² Ilin-Tomich 2015, p. 123; Quirke 2004, pp. 87–88. Examples of the latter are limited, however, and none can be definitively located in Thebes.

than larger, town-wide administrative affairs. The northern and southern *warets* were not merely territorial designations but important administrative organizational units in the larger administrative system at Lahun that were formalized. The prominent role such divisions could play is evidenced in the monumental recording of the transfer of the mayoral office at el-Kab. Texts, such as the short control marks from the Middle Kingdom pyramids, corroborate and expand the local role of *warets* outside Thebes and Lahun. They served as areas from which individuals and groups of workers could be collectively identified. *Warets* were locally referential and defined administrative units that engaged at all levels of local administration and resource management.

One of the challenges and benefits noted about P. Harageh 3 is that it provides a sense of the type of documentation that is not preserved.⁸³ Those limitations are not exclusive to the Harageh account but even apply to the Lahun corpus, despite its relative size. This documentary loss hides different, even unexpected roles that various offices would have played, such as the use of an Office of the Fields to draw up legal documents for a military family that had associations with a northern *waret*.⁸⁴ The administratively wide range of attestations in the hieratic documents go beyond what is missing from the archives we have by exposing wider absences in the nonhieratic record as well. The exploration of terms such as *waret* speaks to the types of administrative intricacies missing in our understanding of local and regional administration, as well as to the value and necessity of exploring further the fragmentary hieratic record from the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.

Table 2.1. Northern *waret* attestations.

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|--|-------------|--|--|
| Stela Cairo CG 20378 | Abydos | <i>ʒtʷ n nīw.t rsy.t wʳ.t mḥt.t</i> Commander of the Southern City, the northern <i>waret</i> | Lange and Schäfer 1902, vol. 1, p. 378 |
| Stela Cairo JE 52453 (Stèle Juridique) | Karnak | (11) <i>ir in ḥʒ n wḥmw</i> (12) <i>wʳ.t mḥt.t (r) dd n sš n ḥnr.t</i> 'Imn- <i>ḥtp m-idn sš n wḥmw wʳ.t mḥt.t</i> ... (15) <i>gm=tw in snn m ḥʒ n wḥmw n wʳ.t mḥt.t m ḥʒ n tʒ.ty</i> <i>ḥsb.t 1 ḥʒw ḥwi-bʒq ʿnh wḏʒ snb pʒ snn m dd ḥm-ntr</i> (16) <i>Ḥr-</i> <i>Nḥn Sbk-nḥt ʒtʷ n t.t-ḥqʒ Kbsi in r ḥʒ n wḥmw n wʳ.t mḥt.t</i> <i>m ḥʒ n tʒ.ty ḥsb.t 1 ḥʒw ḥwi-bʒq</i> ... (18) ... <i>ʿḥ. n mdw r=s m ḥʒ n wḥmw n wʳ.t mḥt.t</i> (22) <i>pʒ ʿrq m-bʒḥ wḥmw Kʒ-msw n wʳ.t mḥt.t m hrw pn ḥnʿ</i> <i>ʒw rdi.tw=s n ḥʒ n tʒ.ty</i> (11) Made by the Office of the Reporter (12) of the Northern <i>Waret</i> . Said to the scribe of the <i>ḥnr.t</i> Amenhotep, acting as proxy for the scribe of the reporter of the northern <i>waret</i> ... | Helck 1983, pp. 65–69 (98); Lacau 1949 |

(continued)

⁸³ Hagen 2018, p. 131.

⁸⁴ Indeed, the Office of the Fields appears to have regularly intervened in legal affairs. P. UC 32055 records the overseer of fields as the official charged with inquiring as to the satisfaction of two parties in an exchange (Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 102–3).

Table 2.1. Northern *waret* attestations (*continued*).

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|-------------------------|----------------------|---|--|
| | | (15) One found that a document was brought to the Office of the Reporter of the Northern <i>Waret</i> in the Office of the Vizier in year 1 of the Protector of Egypt, l.p.h. The document is in the words of the <i>hm-ntr</i> priest of (16) Horus of Nekhen Sobeknakht and the commander of the ruler's table Kebsi. It was brought to the Office of the Reporter of the Northern <i>Waret</i> in the Office of the Vizier in regnal year 1 of the Protector of Egypt. ... (18) . . . Then the matter was discussed in the Office of the Reporter of the Northern <i>Waret</i> . . . (22) The oath was taken in the presence of the reporter Kamose of the northern <i>waret</i> on this day and it was placed (registered?) in the Office of the Vizier. | |
| Sinai 115, west face | Serabit el-Khadim | (4) <i>imy-rn=f d3d3.t</i> (5) <i>wn m b3w pn</i> (6) <i>sš 'Imny-ḥtrw w'r.t mḥt.t</i> (4) Name-list of the council (5) which was in this mining-district: (6) the scribe Ameny-heteru of the northern <i>waret</i> | Gardiner and Peet 1952, pl. XXXIX; 1955, pp. 118–19 |
| P. Berlin 10236d | Lahun | (2) <i>km.t m sp3.t n.t w'r.t mḥt.t nt.t m Shm-S-n-wsr.t</i> (2) amount completed from the district of the northern <i>waret</i> , which is in Sekhem-Senwosret "Tempel-Tagebuch: Tageseintrag über Abschluss der Getreide-Lieferungen und Quittung (<i>šsp</i>) der zuständigen Beamten" (Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 128) | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 128 (no. 304); Luft 1998, pp. 31–32 |
| P. Berlin 10397f | Lahun | <i>inw n w'r.t mḥt.t</i> [. . .] Deliveries of the northern <i>waret</i> [. . .] | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 230 (no. 585A) |
| P. Berlin 10342c | Lahun | [. . .] <i>n w'r.t mḥt.t</i> [. . .] [. . .] of the northern <i>waret</i> [. . .] "Tempel-Tagebuch: Verzeichnis der [Tempel-Beamten] aus dem nördlichen Bezirk, mit einer flüchtigen Notiz von anderer Hand auf dem Verso über 'zwei Meldungen'" (Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 195) | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, pp. 194–95 (no. 485A) |
| P. Berlin 10433h | Lahun | "den 'nördlichen Bezirk' erwähnend" | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 254 (no. 649) |
| P. UC 32058 Lot I.1 | Lahun | (3) <i>imy.t-pr ir.t n ḥtmw kβ-ib n ḥrp k3t šps.t s3 'Iḥy-snb ḏdw n=f 'nh-rn w'r.t mḥt.t</i> (3) Testament made by the trusty seal-bearer of the director of works Shepset's son Ihy-seneb, who is called Ankhren, of the northern <i>waret</i> | Quirke 2004, pp. 104–5 |

(continued)

Table 2.1. Northern *waret* attestations (*continued*).

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|------------------------|-------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| P. UC 32127 | Lahun | (1) [. . .] <i>km m-^c hnw r w^r.t mht.t m w.w Š-Sbk rmny.t n.t smsw h³y.t Ib</i> [. . .] (1) [. . .] amount completed (i.e., delivery) from the Residence to the northern <i>waret</i> in the <i>w</i> -districts of the Lake of Sobek (i.e., the Faiyum), the district/section of the elder of the portal, Ib [. . .] | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 224–25 |
| P. UC 32137E | Lahun | (1) [. . .] <i>w^r.t mht.t</i> [. . .] (2) [. . .] <i>šsp m h³ n t³.ty rdi.n sš n t³.ty</i> [. . .] (3) [. . .] <i>w nb n³h.t n.t gs-pr</i> [. . .] (1) [. . .] <u>the northern <i>waret</i></u> [. . .] (2) [. . .] <u>received from the Office of the Vizier, given by the scribe of the vizier</u> [. . .] (3) [. . .] all of the fields of the half-domain [. . .] | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 238–39 |
| P. UC 32145D vo. | Lahun | (1) [. . .] <i>dī r šnw.t n.t w^r.t mht.t</i> [. . .] <i>hq³.t</i> [. . .] 26(?) (1) [. . .] given to the granary of the northern <i>waret</i> [. . .] heqat [. . .], 26 | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 128–29 |
| P. UC 32163 Lot I.3 | Lahun | Ro. (1) <i>mī.ty wpw.t n.t h³w.ty Hri s³ Snfrw it=f hr sn-nw.t n.t q³mw</i> ... (3) <i>mw.t n.t it=f H³-r^h.n=i nmhy.t n.t hr.tyw-ntr w^r.t mht.t</i> (1) Copy of the household list of the fighter Hori's son Snefru, his father being in the second (unit) of troops ... (3) Mother of his father, Harekheni, dependent of the stonemasons/cemetery-workers of the northern <i>waret</i> Vo. (1) <i>r^q hr pn m h³ n t³.ty m hsb.t 5 3bd 1 pr.t sw 8</i> (2) <i>m hr 3w</i> (3) <i>ir m h³ n 3h.t w^r.t mht.t</i> (4) <i>r-gs wr mdw šm^cw Mntw-m-h³.t s³ Imy-r³-hnr.t w^r.t mht.t</i> (5) <i>in imy-r³ pr hsb ihw Snb-n=i w^r.t mht.t</i> ... (9) <i>sš n mš^c S³-nh.t w^r.t mht.t</i> (1) Swearing of this household in the Office of the Vizier in year 5, month 1 of Peret, day 8 (2) as the household of a dead man(?) (3) Drawn up in the Office of the Fields of the northern <i>waret</i> (4) in the presence of the Great of Tens of Upper Egypt, Montuemhat's son Imyrakheneret of the northern <i>waret</i> (5) by the estate overseer and cattle accountant Senebeni of the northern <i>waret</i> ... (9) The scribe of the army Sanehet of the northern <i>waret</i> | Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 110–11 |

(continued)

Table 2.1. Northern *waret* attestations (*continued*).

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|----------------------------|---|--|---|
| P. UC 32165 Lot I.5 | Lahun | (1) <i>wꜣw.t n.t ḥꜣw.ty Dḥwty [sꜣ] Ḥri [sn]wt dꜣ[mw s]rwd wꜣr.t [mḥt.t(?)]</i> (1) Household document of the fighter Djehuty's son Hori of the second (unit) of troops installed in the [northern(?)] <i>waret</i> | Collier and Quirke 2004, p. 115 |
| P. UC 32167 ro. Lot I.2 | Lahun | (4) <i>swn.t ḥr-ꜥ n imy-rꜣ ḥtm.t Šps.t sꜣ Ḳhy-snb wꜣr.t mḥt.t</i> (4) Transfer deed of the assistant to the treasurer Shepset's son Ihy-seneb of the northern <i>waret</i> | Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 118–19; Griffith 1898, vol. 1, pp. 35–36; vol. 2, pl. XIII |
| P. Harageh 3 | Harageh | (14) <i>wꜣš ḥr sꜣ n ḥb inw m ḥꜣ n ꜣḥ.t wꜣr.t mḥt.t</i> (15) <i>snhy m ḥꜣ n ḥtm.ty-bi.ty imy-rꜣ ꜣḥ.t Rdi-n-Pth wꜣr.t mḥt.t</i> (14) Spent assessing . . . the dues in the Office of the Fields of the northern <i>waret</i> (15) (and) registering in the office of the royal seal-bearer and overseer of fields Redienptah of the northern <i>waret</i> | Smither 1941 |
| W5 | Lisht (west face, Senwosret I pyramid) | (1) <i>ḥbsw wꜣr.t mḥt.t</i> (1) <i>ḥbsw</i> -lands (ploughlands) of the northern <i>waret</i> | Arnold 1990, p. 68 |

Note: Underlining indicates text in red ink.

Table 2.2. Southern *waret* attestations.

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|-------------------------|-------------|--|--|
| P. Berlin 10053 vo. | Lahun | “Tempel-Tagebuch: Recto Festgaben an Geflügel zum Sokaris-Fest, für verschiedene verstorbene (und [lebende?]) Königstochter <i>Ḳ[ḥ] Kꜣj.t</i> (nach DÉVAUD). Verso Die senkrechten Ortsangaben <i>Šḥm-S-n-Wsr.t mꜣ-ḥrw</i> und (in entgegengesetzter Richtung) <i>wꜣr.t rsj.t</i> geben dem ganzen Text die Gestalt eines Briefes mit Absender und Empfänger, also mit liefernder und quittierender Instanz” (Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 25) | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, pp. 24–25 (no. 42) |
| P. Berlin 10089a | Lahun | “Tempel-Tagebuch: Lieferungen an Getränke usw., in Zusammenhang mit dem nördlichen Kanal des <i>Sbk</i> ; erwähnt wird auch die Behörde (<i>dꜣdꜣ.t</i>) des südlichen Bezirks (<i>wꜣr.t rsj.t</i>)” (Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 41) | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 41 (no. 72) |
| P. Berlin 10377c vo. | Lahun | “Verso nennt die ‘Königstochter <i>Nfr.t</i> [. . .]’ und den ‘südlichen Bezirk’” | Kaplony-Heckel and Lüddeckens 1971, p. 217 (no. 547) |

(*continued*)

Table 2.2. Southern *waret* attestations (*continued*).

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|------------------------------|--|--|--|
| P. UC 32127 | Lahun | (2) <i>ʒtpw(?) šnd.t</i> [. . .] <i>šmsw Sʒ.t-Hwt-Hr sʒ ʿIbi tp.t n.t ʿnh.w wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (2) Cargo(?) of acacia [. . .] the follower Sahathor's son Ibi, first (unit) of officers of the southern <i>waret</i> | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 224–25 |
| P. UC 32145A vo. | Lahun | (16) [. . .] <i>ip . . . hft snn iny m pr-hd in.n</i> [. . .] (17) [. . .] <i>hr htm n wʿr.t rsy.t</i> [. . .] <i>snn iny hr htm hʒ.ty-^c</i> (16) [. . .] reckoned . . . according to the document brought from the treasury, brought [by . . .] (17) [. . .] bearing the seal of the southern <i>waret</i> [. . .] the document brought bearing the seal of the mayor | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 182–83 |
| P. UC 32145C | Lahun | (1) [. . .] <i>spʒ.t pr . . . km.t</i> [. . .] (2) [. . .] <i>dī r wʿr.t rsy.t . . . km.t</i> [. . .] (1) [. . .] district of the estate . . . , amount completed [. . .] (2) [. . .] given to the southern <i>waret</i> , amount completed [. . .] | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 182–83 |
| P. UC 32179 ro. Lot VI.10 | Lahun | (1, 1) [. . .] <i>wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1, 1) [. . .] the southern <i>waret</i> | Collier and Quirke 2006, pp. 24–31; Griffith 1898, vol. 1, pp. 45–47; vol. 2, pl. XVI–IXX |
| P. UC 32212 vo. Lot V.1 | Lahun | (1) <i>nb ʿnh wḏʒ snb</i> (2) <i>dʒdʒ.t wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) The lord, l.p.h. (2) The council of the southern <i>waret</i> | Collier and Quirke 2002, pp. 138–41; Griffith 1898, vol. 1, pp. 45–47; vol. 2, pl. XVI–IXX |
| P. Harageh 3 (UC 32775) | Harageh | (12) <i>wrš m hʒ.t m sš.w ʒh.t wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (12) Spending the day measuring by the scribes of the fields of the southern <i>waret</i> | Smither 1941 |
| P. Harageh 6 (UC 32778) | Harageh | (3) [. . .] <i>wʿr.t rsy.t r pʒ</i> [. . .] (3) [. . .] of(?) the southern <i>waret</i> to the [. . .] | Grajetzki 2004, pp. 54–56 |
| Control mark Lisht N2 | Lisht (north face, Senwosret I pyramid) | (1) [<i>ʒbd . . .</i>] <i>šmw sw 3</i> (2) <i>itḥ mnyw nw wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) Month . . . of Shemu, day 3: (2) Dragged (by) the cowherds of the southern <i>waret</i> | Arnold 1990, p. 104 |
| Control mark Lisht N7 | Lisht (north face, Senwosret I pyramid) | (1) <i>ʒbd 1 šmw sw 12</i> (2) <i>itḥ mny.w nw wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (3) <i>dī r is n</i> [. . .] (1) Month 1 of Shemu, day 12: (2) Dragged (by) the cowherds of the southern <i>waret</i> . (3) Given to the workshop/chamber [. . .] | Arnold 1990, p. 106 |

(continued)

Table 2.2. Southern *waret* attestations (*continued*).

| Source | Provenience | Text | Bibliography |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|------------------------|
| Control mark Mazghuna Ma1 | Mazghuna (south pyramid) | (1) <i>ḥsb.t 2 3bd 3 šmw sw 2</i> (2) <i>inn ḥw.w nw t.t wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) Year 2, month 3 of Shemu, day 2: (2) What the officers of the troop of the southern <i>waret</i> brought | Arnold 1990, p. 174 |
| Control mark Mazghuna Ma3 | Mazghuna (south pyramid) | (1) <i>ḥsb.t 3 3bd 4 šmw sw 7</i> (2) <i>inn ḥw.w nw t.t wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) Year 3, month 4 of Shemu, day 7: (2) What the officers of the troop of the southern <i>waret</i> brought | Arnold 1990, p. 175 |
| Control mark Khendjer Kh1 | Saqqara (Khendjer pyramid) | (1) <i>ḥsb.t 4 3bd 4 3ḥ.t sw 10</i> (2) <i>rmny.t imy-r3 ʿ-ḥnw.ty Nm.ty-nḥt s3 šbnw wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) Year 4, month 4 of Akhet, day 10: (2) The domain/section of the interior-overseer Nemty-nakht’s son Shebenu of the southern <i>waret</i> | Arnold 1990, p. 176 |
| Control mark Khendjer Kh7 | Saqqara (Khendjer pyramid) | (1) <i>šd m ḥsb.t 4 3bd 3 šmw sw 20</i> (2) <i>in rmny.t imy-r3 ʿ-ḥnw.ty Nm.ty-nḥt s3 šbnw wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) Removed/extracted in regnal year 4, month 3 of Shemu, day 20 (2) by the domain/section of the interior-overseer Nemty-nakht’s son Shebenu of the southern <i>waret</i> | Arnold 1990, p. 177 |
| Control mark Khendjer Kh9 | Saqqara (Khendjer pyramid) | (1) <i>ḥsb.t 3 3bd 4 šmw sw 6</i> (2) <i>rmny.t imy-r3 ʿ-ḥnw.ty Nmty-nḥt s3 ʿImny wʿr.t rsy.t</i> (1) Year 3, month 4 of Shemu, day 6: (2) The domain/section of the interior-overseer Nemty-nakht’s son Ameny of the southern <i>waret</i> | Arnold 1990, p. 178 |
| Control mark Khendjer Kh12 | Saqqara (Khendjer pyramid) | (1) <i>ḥsb.t 4 3bd 4 3ḥ.t [sw . . .]</i> (2) <i>rmny.t imy-r3 ʿ-[ḥnw.ty . . .]</i> (3) <i>ʿImny [wʿr.t rsy.t(?)]</i> (1) Year 4, month 4 of Akhet, [day . . .]: (2) Section of the [interior]-overseer (3) Ameny [of the southern <i>waret</i> (?)] | Arnold 1990, p. 179 |

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----|--------------------|
| Kh | Khendjer (pyramid) |
| Ma | Mazghuna |
| P. | Papyrus |
| ro. | recto |
| vo. | verso |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnold, Felix

- 1990 *The South Cemeteries of Lisht. Vol. 2, The Control Notes and Team Marks.* Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition 23. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Bandy, Kathryn

- 2016 “Town and District: Local and Regional Administration during the Second Intermediate Period.” PhD diss., University of Chicago.

Collier, Mark

- 2009 “Lots I and II from Lahun.” In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner, pp. 205–61. New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University.

Collier, Mark, and Stephen Quirke

- 2002 *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters.* BAR International Series 1083. Oxford: Archaeopress.
 2004 *The UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical.* BAR International Series 1209. Oxford: Archaeopress.
 2006 *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts.* BAR International Series 1471. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1943 *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes.* 2 vols. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Egyptian Expedition 11. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Di Teodoro, Micòl

- 2018 *Labour Organisation in Middle Kingdom Egypt.* Middle Kingdom Studies 7. London: Golden House.

Dziobek, Eberhard

- 1994 *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun: Theben Nr. 61 und 131.* Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 84. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.

Fischer, Henry George

- 1985 *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index.* New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Gallorini, Carla

- 1998 “A Re-construction of Petrie's Excavation at the Middle Kingdom Settlement of Kahun.” In *Lahun Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, pp. 42–59. Reigate: SIA Publishing.

Gardiner, Alan H.

- 1947 *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica.* 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gardiner, Alan, and T. Eric Peet

- 1952 *The Inscriptions of Sinai. Part 1, Introduction and Plates.* Excavation Memoirs 45/1. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
 1955 *The Inscriptions of Sinai. Part 2, Translations and Commentary.* Excavation Memoirs 45/2. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Gomaà, Farouk

- 1986 *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches. Vol. 1, Oberägypten und das Fayyum.* Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert.

Grajetzki, Wolfram

- 2000 *Die höchsten Beamten der ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen.* Achet—Schriften für Ägyptologie A2. Berlin: Achet Verlag.
 2004 *Harageh, an Egyptian Burial Ground for the Rich around 1800 BC.* London: Golden House Publications.

Griffith, F. L.

- 1898 *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob Principally of the Middle Kingdom.* 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch.

Gunn, Battiscombe

- 1923 "The Hieroglyphic and Hieratic Inscriptions." In *Harageh*, by Rex Engelbach, pp. 20–33. British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account 28. London: British School of Archaeology / Bernard Quaritch.

Hagen, Fredrik

- 2018 "Archives in Ancient Egypt, 2500–1000 BCE." In *Manuscripts and Archives*, edited by Alessandro Bausi, Christian Brockmann, Michael Friedrich, and Sabine Kienitz, pp. 71–170. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Hayes, William

- 1953 "Notes on the Government of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12: 31–39.
 1955 *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)*. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.

Helck, Wolfgang

- 1958 *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 3. Leiden: Brill.
 1983 *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*. Kleine ägyptische Texte 5/2. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Horváth, Zoltán

- 2009 "Temple(s) and Town at el-Lahun: A Study of the Ancient Toponyms in the El-Lahun Papyri." In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner, pp. 171–203. New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University.

Ilin-Tomich, Alexander

- 2015 "Theban Administration in the Late Middle Kingdom." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 145: 120–53.
 2017 *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae*. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. London: Golden House Publications.

Kaplony-Heckel, Ursula, and Erich Lüddeckens

- 1971 *Ägyptische Handschriften I*. Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 19/1. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner.

Kees, Hermann

- 1934 "Zu einigen Fachausdrücken der altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 70: 83–91.

Kóthay, Katalin

- 2002 "Houses and Households at Kahun: Bureaucratic and Domestic Aspects of Social Organization during the Middle Kingdom." In *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga: "Le lotus qui sort de terre,"* edited by Hedvig Györy, pp. 349–68. Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts Supplément. Budapest: Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts.

Lacau, Pierre

- 1949 *Une stèle juridique de Karnak*. Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte 13. Cairo: Imprimerie de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Lange, H. O., and H. Schäfer

- 1902–25 *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*. 4 vols. Catalogue générale des antiquités du Musée du Caire 46–47. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Luft, Ulrich

- 1998 "The Ancient Town of Lahun." In *Lahun Studies*, edited by Stephen Quirke, pp. 1–41. Reigate: SIA Publishing.

Martin, Geoffrey

- 1971 *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Moeller, Nadine

- 2016 *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- 2017 “The Foundation and Purpose of the Settlement at Lahun during the Middle Kingdom: A New Evaluation.” In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert Ritner, pp. 183–204. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Muhs, Brian

- 2016 *The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000–30 BCE*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Petrie, William Matthew Flinders

- 1890 *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner.

Philip-Stéphan, Alexandra

- 2008 *Dire le droit en Égypte pharaonique: Contribution à l'étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu'au Nouvel Empire*. Brussels: Safran Éditions.

Quirke, Stephen

- 1990 *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents*. New Malden: SIA Publishing.
- 2003 “‘Art’ and the ‘Artist’ in Late Middle Kingdom Administration.” In *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, edited by Stephen Quirke, pp. 85–106. Berlin: Achet-Verlag.
- 2004 *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC*. London: Golden House Publications.
- 2005 *Lahun: A Town in Egypt 1800 BC, and the History of Its Landscape*. London: Golden House Publications.

Russo, Barbara

- 2010 *The Territory W and Related Titles during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*. Golden House Publications Egyptology 13. London: Golden House Publications.

Smither, Paul

- 1941 “A Tax-Assessor’s Journal of the Middle Kingdom.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27: 74–76.
- 1948 “The Report concerning the Slave-Girl Senbet.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34: 31–34.

Stefanović, Danijela

- 2002 “*W^rt mḥtt* on the Stela Sinai 115.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 190: 75–82.

van den Boorn, G. P. F.

- 1988 *The Duties of the Vizier: Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Ward, William

- 1982 *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom with a Glossary of Words and Phrases Used*. Beirut: American University of Beirut.

Zecchi, Marco

- 2010 *Sobek of Shedet: The Crocodile God in the Fayyum in the Dynastic Period*. Todi: Tau Editrice.

3

HIEROGLYPHS OF VALUE ACROSS THE GREAT GREEN

Karen Polinger Foster
Yale University

INTRODUCTION

This essay explores aspects of the relationship between text and image, writing and iconography, as seen especially in Minoan seals and sealings with Cretan Hieroglyphic or Linear A signs.¹ My findings have led me to suggest that certain of those script and motif combinations represent commodity signifiers for textile products and were an integral part of accountability and pictorialization related to weaving, cloth, and clothing. And I have ventured a bit farther down this road to propose that several specific hallmarks belonged to individuals, institutions, or localities purveying particular kinds of merchandise in Minoan wool and silk. My journey owes much to recent research and new ways of thinking about scribal and nonscribal communication in the Bronze Age world. For background and parallels, I have also benefited from works treating the semiology of ancient and more modern logos and branding. I offer my thoughts, alas posthumously, to our Festschrift honorand in recognition of his abiding interest in interconnections across the Great Green, as well as his willingness to entertain speculation on these matters, with warm recollections of our joint project years ago on the Tempest Stele and the Thera eruption.²

The first part of my title derives from the words of Karl Marx, whose intriguing choice of them would seem to reflect the places and times in which he worked. A German-trained scholar of post-Aristotelian philosophy and a resident of Paris and London during the heady days of hieroglyph and cuneiform decipherment, Marx wrote *Das Kapital* in the reading room of the British Library, then newly housed in the great courtyard of the British Museum. Various ills often obliged him to rise from his seat and walk about the galleries, his path surely taking him to see the Egyptian and Mesopotamian antiquities freshly arriving by the crateful, not to mention the touchstone of the Rosetta Stone, displayed there since the turn of the century.

In chapter 1 of *Das Kapital*, Marx addresses what he terms the “fetishism of the commodity”:

A commodity appears at first sight an extremely obvious, trivial thing. But its analysis brings out that it is a very strange thing, abounding in metaphysical subtleties and theological niceties. . . . Value does not have its description branded on its forehead; it rather transforms every product of labor into a social hieroglyph. Later on, men try to decipher the hieroglyph, to get behind the secret of their own social product.³

1 This essay could not have been written during the dark winter of the pandemic without the support of colleagues around the world who generously furnished references, shared insights, and offered encouragement—especially Anne Chapin, Janice Crowley, John Darnell, Jean-Marie Durand, Benjamin Foster, Eckart Frahm, Julie Hruby, Philippa Steele, Nancy Thomas, Klaus Wagensohn, and Judith Weingarten. I am particularly grateful to John Younger for reading with his usual alacrity and attention to detail a draft of the manuscript and saving me from various glyptic gaffes; the blame is mine for any that remain. I also thank Brian Muhs and Foy Scalf for their very helpful editorial comments. The *CMS* images are reproduced with the kind permission of Diamantis Panagiotopoulos; Maria Anastasiadou greatly assisted me in navigating the *CMS* database.

2 K. Foster and Ritner 1996; K. Foster et al. 2009; Ritner and Moeller 2014.

3 Marx 1994, pp. 230–31, 234.

Consider, he says, an ordinary wooden table. Once transformed into a commodity, it begins to stand not only with its feet on the ground but also on its head, issuing “out of its wooden brain grotesque ideas, far more wonderful than if it were to begin dancing of its own free will.” In the pages following, let us attempt to decipher some of the ideas secreted in selected Minoan hieroglyphs of value.

HALLMARKS OF COMMUNICATION IN MESOPOTAMIA AND EGYPT

As we might expect, our earliest evidence for commodity systems comes from the ancient Near East. In the sealing practices of late fourth-millennium BCE Uruk, we can trace the crucial transition from marking storeroom and other doors to placing the same or similar marks on portable products or containers kept in those secured areas, and from there to generalizing those marks to apply to product types, which lend themselves more readily to administrative accountability.⁴ These developments may also be seen in seal imagery, which became “inherently more memorable and transmissible,” with increasingly complex motifs.⁵ In addition, the proto-cuneiform documents from Uruk provide forerunners to the later lexical lists’ wealth of information about the shape of classification in the Mesopotamian mind.⁶

Two features of the Uruk texts seem especially relevant for our present purpose. The first is their apparent use of rebus writing (see below), the other their concentration on and connection with textile products.⁷ Woven goods appear to be differentiated by qualifiers indicating color, weave, and the like, with certain items listed as “EN textiles.” We cannot at this point in the evolution of writing in Mesopotamia determine whether these were considered fit for the EN (ruler) or were his property, or both.⁸ One wonders whether the so-called Brocade-style seals of the following period reflect the finest fabrics of the day, with their “decorative scheme applied as deliberately to these seals as a weaver or embroiderer might use it in his own material.”⁹

Not until the first third of the third millennium would inscriptions regularly be added to seals.¹⁰ Early examples include a small group of sealings from archaic Ur, whose glosses often refute any purely iconographic interpretations.¹¹ Thanks to these short texts, we learn, for instance, that a seal crowded with animal combats starring lions does not relate to warfare, as we might have surmised, but was used to close a facility storing goods, some possibly of wool, intended for a fertility ritual. By millennium’s end, elite owners’ seals might have their name, title, and father’s name, as well as a brief expression of their dependence on some authority. When their status changed, they had the seal recut or ordered a new one; extant sequences permit us to track, if not fully grasp, the motif selections of individuals as their careers advanced.¹² In succeeding periods, the signs either wove themselves around the imagery or were framed in panels, more or fewer of them, until the Kassites in the mid-second millennium expanded glyptic inscriptions to an unprecedented extent.

Third-millennium texts also provide evidence that inscriptions and images were sometimes tattooed on people and animals, a practice, together with branding and tagging, that continued well into the Neo-Babylonian period.¹³ Here, Aegeanists will recall the marks, some sign-like, surviving mainly as

4 Wengrow 2008.

5 Wengrow 2008, p. 16.

6 For a comprehensive guide to this complex material, see Veldhuis 2014.

7 Englund 1998, pp. 76–77, 153; Topçuoğlu 2010, p. 32, cat. nos. 13, 14, 35.

8 In later textile records, a “royal” designation referred to top-quality goods in general: Waetzoldt 2018, p. 128.

9 Frankfort 1939, p. 40.

10 Frankfort 1939, pp. 8–14; Gelb 1977.

11 Charvát 2020; Topçuoğlu 2010, p. 32. See also below, nn. 71, 72.

12 Winter 1987.

13 Ditchey 2016; Thavapalan 2020. In the reign of Darius, an “alphabet writer” gave a white horse to the Shamash temple in Sippar that he had branded, fittingly, with an alphabetic Aramaic sign (Jursa and Weszeli 2000). This and related documents

faint paint on Cycladic figures and usually read as tattoos of uncertain significance,¹⁴ while Egyptologists will be reminded of the pictorial, textual, and artifactual evidence for livestock and human branding.¹⁵ In Mesopotamia, the symbolism of many marks is fairly clear. It is not surprising to find, for instance, the star emblem of the goddess Ishtar on a wrist tag worn by a person serving in her temple at Babylon.¹⁶ But what of the scorpions associated with the Neo-Assyrian queens of the ninth and eighth centuries, seen on seals, jewelry, and other of their royal possessions?¹⁷ Although we might view them as a straightforward iconography of power, given the menace of scorpions, the nuance comes from cuneiform wordplays (see below) on “raising”: for scorpions, lifting their tails to strike or backpacking their young; for nursemaids or nannies, tending babies and children; and for queens, elevating their sons to the throne.

In Egypt, the final centuries of the fourth millennium BCE, on the cusp of the dynastic age, likewise saw developments of great consequence in conceptualizing and codifying modes of communication. There are, for instance, some 2,000 pot marks, incised before firing or inked afterwards, plausibly identifying specific pottery workshops and akin to what one finds on more modern ceramics.¹⁸ A rich trove of the earliest hieroglyphs comes from the First Dynasty royal tomb U-j at Abydos, which contained over 200 perforated tags of bone, ivory, and wood.¹⁹ Those with numbers may refer to cloth yardage, for bolts were found in the tomb’s cedar boxes. The bone tags were made by scoring plates, writing on them, and then cutting them into small rectangles, an indication that the labels were produced in whole series rather than being individually inscribed and attached to goods wherever they were made or whenever they arrived.²⁰

There and elsewhere in the First Dynasty royal cemeteries at Abydos, and at Saqqara as well, we see the first widespread use of cylinder seals.²¹ Likely introduced from Mesopotamia during the Predynastic period, cylinders soon took on Egyptian motifs and characteristics, incorporating hieroglyphic inscriptions giving names and titles. By the turn of the second millennium, cylinder use had essentially disappeared—a casualty, it would seem, of the political decentralization of the early First Intermediate Period.²² Henceforth, Egyptian sealing practices favored stamping by a range of seal types, a few seen already in the late Old Kingdom, whose trajectories similarly seem to have reflected wider cultural and historical developments. Among the complex systems was that used by Middle Kingdom commodity sealers, who followed a formal procedure to certify intact contents: institutions stamped first and smaller entities stamped between those impressions.²³ Three new varieties are of particular interest for the Aegean hallmarks discussed below. One is the large shield-shaped seal, first used at the end of the Middle Kingdom. The others are the New Kingdom signet ring and the large oval stamp seal, with emblems and little to no readable text.

Of additional note, especially during the New Kingdom, is the substantial corpus of nontextual marks, with some elements derived from hieroglyphs but most reflecting sign systems used within communities.²⁴ The workers preparing the Theban royal tombs and living in the nearby village of Deir el-Medineh have

may add an interesting dimension to the recent study of Aramaic branding texts in Late Period Egypt (Karev 2022), to which Brian Muhs drew my attention.

14 *PM IV*:2, pp. 756–57; Blakolmer 2012; Papanthimou and Fappas 2012; Younger 1995; Hoffman 2002; Hendrix 2003.

15 Haring 2018, pp. 40–41; Karev 2022; Mollerup 1997, p. 11. In a few instances, it is tempting to see in the puzzling Aegean glyptic motif known as the “impaled triangle” (Krzyszowska 2005, pp. 208–11) a schematic representation of a branding iron, hovering over a bovine back or rump (e.g., *CMS I* 137, *CMS II* 8 503, *CMS XI* 060), rather than a dagger.

16 Dandamaev 1984, pp. 234, 489.

17 Radner 2012, pp. 690–93.

18 MacArthur 2010, p. 117; see also below, n. 89.

19 Graff 2017; MacArthur 2010, p. 120.

20 Stauder 2010, pp. 137–42.

21 On Egyptian sealing practices over the millennia, see Williams 1977; Wegner 2018.

22 In the Middle Kingdom, cylinders made a curious comeback, bundled together in small sets and individually inscribed with a royal name. These objects were not rolled but rotated, so that each engaged barrel could be stamped in turn (e.g., Wegner 2018, pl. XIX). On Minoan stamp-cylinders, see n. 45.

23 Smith 2018, p. 309.

24 Haring 2018; Budka, Kammerzell, and Rzepka 2015.

left us thousands of what Egyptologists call “funny signs” on ostraca, pottery, and other surfaces. While builders had long had team marks, these craftsmen adopted and adapted marks for individual identity, perhaps in wider recognition of their personal skills, perhaps in self-promotion. A few of their marks suggest a modicum of literacy. A fellow named Hori, for example, punned on the Horus falcon for his mark featuring a raptor-like bird.²⁵ Other family members used the mark too, sometimes skipping generations. When it came to recording official duty rosters and deliveries, at least one scribe must have worked closely with a local informant to transform the lists of workmen’s marks like Hori’s into standard hieratic.²⁶

At the opposite end of the literacy spectrum and independent of accountability or identification are cryptographic writings, most often attested in the Ptolemaic period but known in the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms.²⁷ These sophisticated intellectual games involved rebus puzzles, sign riddles, and metonymical, metaphorical, and other clever conundrums. In Mesopotamia, scholars used the complexities of the cuneiform writing system to produce ingenious new renderings of certain texts, based on word or syllabic puns, sign analogies, and so forth, sometimes across more than one language.²⁸ A prime example is the learned commentary on the fifty names of the god Marduk, preserved in several manuscripts from the seventh-century library of Assurbanipal at Nineveh, which uses wordplay to serious theological purpose.²⁹ As for the Minoan world, I feel there must have been similar linguistic wit, could we but read it.³⁰

MARKS OF TRADE IN THE MODERN WORLD

In illuminating ways, it is instructive to consider contemporary commodity branding. While it might seem to have little bearing on any ancient traditions, in my view this is not because its communicative reach is longer, its intended audience larger, or its competitiveness louder³¹ but because our cultural competence provides the elements needed for us to understand the *story* told in its hieroglyphs of value. Indeed, it is the magic of a brilliant tale that makes a logo iconic—distinctive, memorable, and enduring. The noted television series *Mad Men* dramatized the creative act, as season after season the main character wove spellbinding webs around his clients’ products.

Today’s real-life iconic logos set the stage, then bring in images and/or texts that suggest overtly or subliminally associative ideas that seamlessly form a narrative.³² Paul Rand’s work for IBM offers a classic case in point, which is especially apt for the heart of the present inquiry.³³ He chose to treat the three letters as a wordmark, relying on the robust geometry and slab serifs of the City Medium font to convey the

25 Haring 2017.

26 Soliman 2013.

27 Gaudard 2010.

28 Frahm 2011, pp. 40, 70; Crisostomo 2019, pp. 61, 158–59, fig. 4.6 (example of multilingual phonological substitution at work in the sun/donkey wordplay).

29 Bottéro 1977, p. 24.

30 One thinks, for example, of the sealing (CMS V 478) on a hearth rim from Kea; was the Aegean sauceboat inserted among its strange quasi-hieroglyphs part of an elaborate (bilingual?) wordplay? Or did it (also?) have religious/ritual significance, as Weingarten (2015) has suggested might explain the stamped pot handles from Myrtos/Pyrgos, or as Davis (2014) has proposed for stone vases with Linear A inscriptions?

31 Holt 2008; in large part, his criticism of Wengrow 2008 would seem to stem from misguided notions about ancient evidence—for example, his asserting that “in premodern times, icons (mostly religious) gradually diffused through oral storytelling traditions and scarce written documents” (Holt 2004, p. 2). To the contrary, there are many thousands of texts detailing merchant practices, market dynamics, and business strategies, including targeted transactions and supply-chain manipulation. For the proceedings of two recent conferences on these matters, with several contributors applying the approaches of social network analysis and new institutional economics to Mesopotamia and Egypt, see Baker and Jursa 2014; Michel and Nosch 2010. I thank Gojko Barjamovic for Old Assyrian trade insights and reference to the Baker and Jursa volume. See also Weingarten 2010.

32 Cato 2016; Lees-Maffei 2014; Chermayeff and Geismar 2011; Holt 2004; Meggs and Purvis 2012, pp. 412–35.

33 Rand 1985, p. 135; Meggs and Purvis 2012, p. 418.

solidity, reliability, and precision of the machinery and, by extension, of the entire company. Stripes suggesting video terminal scan lines were added later, expanding IBM's story into the new realms of information processing. At the dawn of the personal-computer age, Rand introduced a plot twist, with a visual rebus in which the "I" became a human eye and the "B" the industrious honeybee, both rendered in inviting colors and clean shapes. Entertaining, yes, but inductive too: viewers were now drawn into the story, encouraged to create their own workplace and self-expressive narratives—and enjoy doing so.

Part of the brief for many modern branders is to ensure that the story can be told irrespective of consumers' ability to read the words or fully decode the imagery, relying instead on visual or metaphorical identifiers that are embedded in general awareness.³⁴ Take, as an outstanding example, the Coca-Cola wordmark and bottle.³⁵ The ribbon text, unchanged since the late nineteenth century, is instantly identifiable worldwide. As for the iconic bottle, glass designers in 1915 intended to evoke the coca leaf or the kola nut but mistakenly modeled it on the cocoa pod, coming up with a sinuous, organic, Art Nouveau form. This matters not for the story. On the contrary, from its outline on aluminum cans to its iteration in plastic, the bottle fluently furthers the immediately recognizable, compelling narrative of Coke's natural origins and timeless trustworthiness.³⁶

The story may on occasion engage an iconic logo in a dialogue with current events. This, for instance, is what Unilever did with its Dove brand during the COVID-19 pandemic. For decades, a gold dove had flown above or below a blue wordmark in the graceful Civita Light Italic font, image and text together conveying the gentle, pure quality of the soap's proprietary cleansing cream.³⁷ When the virus struck the United States, the bird was roofed by a small gable and chimney, and the empathetic words "Take care, be safe" were added. Two public-health messages thereby wrote a new chapter in the story: wash your hands frequently with (Dove) soap, and nest at home for the good of yourself and others.

What might make commodity branding *noniconic*? A Golden Bear Cookies tin of the 1930s, container for the products of a California bakery, affords a good instance of a design that just misses. It is fitting in the warm gold color; charming in the repeated image of a bear happily clutching a cookie; and adroit in the reference to the state nickname and animal.³⁸ The sans-serif capital letters are nicely set slightly askew, with some joined, as though on a cookie sheet fresh from the oven. The story, however, is lost in the welter of positive and negative shapes; sidetracked by the "Bridge Assortment" text and its card-suit signs; and diverted by the bear's facing left, at odds with the direction of reading.³⁹

My final modern example comes from a Tiffany & Co. advertisement in the *New York Times* of October 21, 2020. A gold signet ring was pictured, with a shooting star engraved on the round face and "my lucky star" inscribed inside the shank. What caught my eye, deep as I was into research for this essay, were the words "make your mark" and the arrow pointing to the ring, both invitingly written as if by hand. With its promised individuation combining visible and private hieroglyphs of value, the world-renowned jeweler happened to be offering a striking contemporary counterpart to the manifestations, glyptic and otherwise, of ancient scribal and nonscribal communication, especially in the Bronze Age Aegean.

34 On marks that remain iconic despite having lost their original meaning, see Mollerup 1997, pp. 103 (the barber pole), 108 (the Citroën chevron).

35 Jorgensen 2014.

36 John Younger reminded me that Coca-Cola's campaign, launched in 1985, to alter its iconic taste and imagery fell flat: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Coke.

37 Holt 2004, p. 20.

38 Jankowski 1992, pp. 36–37.

39 On the direction of reading and its conceptual importance, note Chermayeff and Geismar 2011, p. 20: "The [NBC] peacock had been facing left—the wrong way for a reader's eye—so we flipped it to face right."

MINOAN SEALS AND SIGNS

In the mid-second millennium BCE, when palatial Minoan Crete was at the height of its power and repute, goldsmiths created signet rings of consummate workmanship.⁴⁰ On a minute scale, the rings showcase intricate tableaux of human, animal, landscape, and uncanny elements, all rendered with exquisite attention to detail and modeling. Lapidaries did the same on stones in sumptuous colors, among them the blues of amethyst and lapis lazuli; the yellows, greens, and reds of jasper, carnelian, and serpentine; and the umbers of veined agate. In common with narrative jewelry of later times and places, such as Roman cameos and Victorian mourning pieces,⁴¹ these Minoan rings and seals tell their stories through the broader resonance of their miniaturized iconography.⁴² Some seem also to offer sophisticated visual analogues to wordplay, which we might term “sightplay.” In the darkest corner of a variegated chalcedony sealstone (*CMS VI 257b*), to cite one example, the engraver placed an owl, its great eyes watchful in the night.⁴³

Figurative motifs in Minoan glyptic appeared in the late third millennium BCE. Known as the Parading Lions, they stride around the rim of one face of hippo dentine stamp-cylinders, perhaps as emblems of an emergent elite.⁴⁴ The faces opposite feature a dozen or so types of close-set patterns, variations of which may be seen on earlier stamps and cylinders.⁴⁵

It is many of these designs that give us our first intimation in Minoan Crete of the strong, pervasive links between sealing and textiles, which culminate, in my view, with textile-product hallmarks becoming part of the island’s accountability systems (see below). If we are justified in deeming the patterns reflections of weaving operations or kinds of cloth, as in the Mesopotamian Brocade style (see above), were these seal owners members of a textile elite, or representatives of particular workshops with distinctive output? Sealings from roughly contemporaneous Lerna on the Greek mainland exhibit similar designs, as well as spiders, reasonably implying a textile connection there too.⁴⁶ Did some single-face stamps with interlace and other patterns serve to imprint plain fabric, an “easy alternative to weaving them”⁴⁷ and perhaps a way for nonelites to imitate premier cloth? Also in the third millennium, textile installations found at coastal sites in eastern and south-central Crete were home to the important Minoan invention of the purple-dye process, based on the exploitation of three species of murex snails.⁴⁸

The finesse and success of the island’s textile industry likely made it one of the prime enterprises during the time of the first Cretan palaces, which arose about 1900 BCE. To the weaving motifs already in circulation may possibly be added a new design, found on one face of numerous prisms from early in this palatial period.⁴⁹ Originally interpreted as a row of pendant vessels, it might show instead a schematized vertical loom with weights hanging down, or perhaps tassels or fringes. As for the loom weights and spindle whorls themselves, those with seal impressions suggest that they were stamped to indicate ownership, product type, or weight.⁵⁰ The small cuboid and pyramidal weights may have been used in fabrication and/or were attached to bags, maybe together with now-lost wooden or bone tags, on the order of the Abydos labels (see above). In passing, we note that it was bales of sixteenth-century cloth that bore the earliest form of printed

40 General sources on rings and other seals include Krzyszkowka 2005; Crowley 2013; and Weingarten 2018, with more specialized treatments indicated in the notes following.

41 Neyman 2020.

42 Blakolmer 2010; Tsangaraki 2010.

43 Younger 2014, p. 213. See also below, n. 90.

44 Anderson 2016; Younger 1993; Ferrara 2017.

45 The rolling of cylinders did not prove popular on Crete; many Minoan cylinder barrels were left blank and their flat faces engraved for stamping: A. Foster 2000; A. Foster 2010. On Egyptian stamp-cylinders, see n. 22.

46 Younger 2020b, p. 75; see below, n. 113.

47 Younger 1995, p. 332.

48 Burke 2010, pp. 34–39; Militello 2014; Brogan, Betancourt, and Apostolakou 2012.

49 Burke 1997, pp. 418–19, table; Burke 2010, fig. 30.

50 Burke 2010; Vlasaki and Hallager 1995.

labels known in modern Europe, and that it was the burning of marks onto bale wrappers that transferred the term “branding” to commodities.⁵¹

Although one might have expected that the administrative and societal changes that brought about the initial palaces and the expansion of the textile and other industries would have led the Minoans to include writing on their seals as a matter of course, this did not occur. Even when they imported scarabs from Egypt, their preference seems to have been for ones without hieroglyphs on their faces.⁵² True, just prior to the palatial period, a small group of seals was inscribed formulaically and sparingly in what is known as the “Archanes script.”⁵³ And then, among the many hundreds of seals made in a workshop on the outskirts of the Mallia palace, mainly three-sided prisms, each with a unique permutation of images, there is the rare presence of Cretan Hieroglyphic and other signs.⁵⁴ If, taken as a whole, the seals represent a controlled onomastic system, possibly for some sort of census, the early Mallia bureaucracy and its atelier of engravers played a vanguard role in the development of writing on Crete.⁵⁵

The prime exceptions to the essentially a-scribal nature of the glyptic corpus of the first palace period are the seals, sealings, and clay documents bearing the syllabic, as-yet-undeciphered script dubbed “Cretan Hieroglyphic.” Tightly packed, mostly onto the faces of three- and four-sided prisms, the signs come in various iconicities and groupings, as well as in geometric and filler forms.⁵⁶ But which were meant to be read, in our modern sense, and which were not? How did the Minoans perceive their orientation and ordering?⁵⁷ Is a sign/not-sign dichotomy valid? And should it be used for sorting seals into official versus private usage?⁵⁸ Perhaps the Minoans did not distinguish so categorically as we do between the glottographic (signs bound to spoken language) and the semasiographic (signs communicating ideas).⁵⁹

About 1700 BCE, the island suffered earthquakes that resulted in the rebuilding of the palaces on a grand scale, with growth in every aspect of Minoan civilization. A more streamlined script, known as Linear A, came to prevail.⁶⁰ In the waning days of Cretan Hieroglyphic, while we find a handful of the increasingly popular cushion-shaped seals with a few signs, mainly repeating the old Archanes (dedicatory?) formula in full or abbreviated form, was it still understood?⁶¹ When seals with Linear A and Cretan Hieroglyphic impressed the same clay surface, were the latter already curiosities?⁶² And when they were stamped a century or so later, were they seen as ancestral emblems of hereditary status, or were their present owners somehow adepts in their antique idiom?⁶³ Finally, is it possible that certain of the forthrightly cut motifs on the so-called talismanic seals retain memory of Cretan Hieroglyphic signs?⁶⁴

51 Jankowski 1992, p. 6. See also below, n. 107.

52 Phillips 2010.

53 Schoep 2006.

54 Anastasiadou 2016; Krzyszkowska 2005, p. 95 n. 43; Younger 2020a, whose analyses suggest that the seals were cut first, then distributed to individuals, and that a rebus principle was not operative.

55 Anastasiadou 2016; Younger 2020a. See Michel 1990 for discussion of cuneiform documents from the contemporaneous palace at Mari, attesting to the appointment of officials charged with taking a census to enable the state to conscript for its military and agricultural needs.

56 Olivier and Godard 1996; Evans 1909; Jasink 2009; Decorte 2017; Younger 1996–97. For additions to the corpus of all three scripts, see Del Frio 2017.

57 Olivier 1995.

58 Weingarten (1995, p. 287), and others, would say not.

59 On distinction, inclusion, and exclusion, see Olivier and Godard 1996; Woods 2010, pp. 18–19; Jasink 2009; Ferrara and Jasink 2017; Weingarten 1995, p. 305; Krzyszkowska 2015.

60 On the transition, see Hallager 2000, p. 104; Hallager 2010; Weingarten 1995; Schoep 2002.

61 Dionisio, Jasink, and Weingarten 2014, p. 121.

62 Dionisio, Jasink, and Weingarten 2014, p. 104.

63 Flouda 2013, p. 167; Weingarten 2009; Krzyszkowska 2019; Weilhartner 2019; Weingarten 1995, p. 310.

64 Dionisio, Jasink, and Weingarten 2014, p. 53.

In common with the earlier script, Linear A signs are predominantly syllabic signifiers for the Minoan language, whatever it may have been.⁶⁵ After island-wide destructions about 1450 BCE, Crete fell under the dominion of mainlanders, whose Mycenaean Greek language was written in the script called Linear B.⁶⁶ While sealing practices reveal complicated modes of marking, very seldom are either Linear A or B signs present.⁶⁷

The principal Minoan sealing systems include the following, with some less prevalent, or even unknown, in some periods than in others:⁶⁸

Independent, not meant for attachment

Noduli: dome, disk shapes, with one or more sealings

Roundels: chunky disks, with multiple sealings around the rim

Applied to ties binding folded documents of perishable materials⁶⁹

Flat-based nodules: standing or recumbent, one, two, or three sealings on their sides

Long, flat-based, two-sided nodule (unique example): multiple sealings in rows on each side

Hung on strings attached to items of perishable materials

One-hole nodules: pyramid, pendant, cone, dome, pear shapes, with one or more sealings

Two-hole nodules: fusiform shapes, with one or more sealings

I focus here on what these sealing systems might tell us about their users and the commodities they dealt with, which included agricultural products, livestock, and textiles. The roundels are of particular relevance in the search for marks of trade.⁷⁰ In nearly all examples with signs on the flat faces, they appear to have been sealed before being inscribed. Over the years, it has been tempting to posit straightforward connections between someone's seal iconography and his business. Was, for instance, a person with bovids or goats on his seal a herd master of cattle or goats? Or does the imagery indicate collective identities for families, socioeconomic groups, or professionals in various fields?⁷¹ As an aside, we may note that among the woodcutters and water carriers at Deir el-Medineh (see above), one fellow is named "The Goat" and another "The Beer Jar," so, barring irony, there may not be overt occupational correlations for our roundel people.⁷²

What did roundels record? If they were receipts for, say, administratively sanctioned, internal transfers of goods from storerooms to workrooms, would the sealings have been proof against future disputatious claims?⁷³ This idea supposes that the impressions were thought difficult to erase, but a few roundels show that a bit of clay was simply put over the sealing and then smoothed out, similar to how Mesopotamian scribes sometimes altered cuneiform documents.⁷⁴ In any event, if each sealing represents responsibility for one unit and the ideographic signs were readily identifiable, does this scenario suggest that an appreciable number of Minoan sealers and/or bureaucrats at the time had limited literacy and were loath to quantify abstractly?⁷⁵ Or were roundel users operating within a sphere of commodity control separate from that of

65 See Davis 2014, for linguistic/statistical analyses pointing to Minoan being a non-Indo-European, non-Semitic language; K. Foster 2018, for evidence from the Mari records that Minoan was a non-Semitic language; and Schoep 2002, pp. 43–65, for a concise introduction to Linear A. See also Davis 2014, pp. 179–81, "Is Minoan one language, or many?"—his answer being that even if several languages were spoken, only one was the *lingua franca* for administrative and other documents.

66 For reappraisal of the various scenarios surrounding the Mycenaean takeover, see Wiener 2015.

67 Olivier 2010, with statistics.

68 Hallager 1996, fig. 2; Rehak and Younger 1998, fig. 5.

69 Perna 2017, especially for experiments with folded papyrus to estimate sealed document length, although the Minoans appear to have used leather or parchment rather than papyrus or palm leaves.

70 Hallager 1996.

71 Schoep 2017, p. 85; Evans 1909, pp. 263–72; Weingarten 2018.

72 Gabler 2018, p. 196; Panagiotopoulos 2010, p. 306, for a cautionary note.

73 Hallager 1996.

74 B. Foster 2020, p. 4; Hallager 1996, p. 100.

75 Weingarten 1995, p. 286.

the Linear A tablet system, which seems to have treated information in both complementary and parallel stages and ways?⁷⁶

We are of course missing what may well have been a critical aspect of these proceedings, that is, the colors and related qualities of the seals themselves, which likely conveyed salient points about their owners and the transactions in question.⁷⁷ For that matter, one wonders also about those in gold and other precious materials,⁷⁸ no doubt possessed by the Minoan elite and brought out on high-level occasions. Did those individuals or sealing authorities deal predominantly in luxury goods or affairs of state or cult? Given the complexity and specificity of their imagery, were there iconographic associations between signet owners and their administrative functions or political affiliations?⁷⁹

In addition, when seals of different materials were stamped together, did rings take precedence? A unique two-row/column nodule with twelve impressions (*CMS V Suppl IA 128–37*), found in a cupboard at Khania, affords insights even as it raises more questions. The nodule sealed the ties binding a lengthy, long-lost parchment document.⁸⁰ At the bottom (if that is the orientation) were stamped (first? last?) two rings, one showing a pair of tethered captives being marched along, and the other a remarkable sheep-milking scene.⁸¹ Someone used a lion-decorated seal to stamp three times. In the spaces between, as in Egyptian practice (see above), are singleton seals: three have lions, two have women, one has monkeys, and one has a female demon figure. Did any of these themes pertain to the contents of the document? Were they indicative of their owners' standings with respect to this act, this community, or some larger entity?

A few cross-cultural thoughts come to mind, inspired by the palm-size sealings from the Middle Kingdom Nubian fortress on the Nile at Buhen. One of them depicts an Egyptian soldier with a leashed captive and perhaps functioned as a pass.⁸² On others, the large signs may be the insignia of companies stationed there, and as a group they might have served the administrative command as a kind of reference registry of the soldiers' emblems.⁸³ Could our Khania sealers and their document likewise have had a link with the Minoan military?⁸⁴

TEXTILE MARK(ET)ING

From soldiers to civilians, from artisans to agriculturalists, from workroom supervisors to palace notables—for them, their groups, and their institutions, Minoan seals appear in many instances to have functioned as what Evans called “canting badges.”⁸⁵ More familiar with armorial bearings than many of us are today, Evans saw in the esoterica of escutcheons apt reflection of the seals and sealings that had piqued his initial interest in ancient Crete. Younger has neatly bridged the referent gap by adducing the emblems chosen by contemporary states, while using heraldic vocabulary to describe glyptic animal poses.⁸⁶

I believe that the Minoans also created and used certain seals as commodity brands. The first to voice the notion was Evans, who speculated, in passing, that linear signs might be “a means of classifying and

76 Schoep 2002.

77 On the significance of seal qualities, see Hruby 2012; Dionisio, Jasink, and Weingarten 2014, p. 128 nn. 15, 16; Ferrara and Jasink 2017; Schoep 2002, p. 192; Weingarten 2018, p. 330; Weingarten 2005; Tsangaraki 2010; Krzyszkowska 2012. See also the color frontispiece and plates in Krzyszkowska 2005 for a good idea of the (in)visibility of the imagery on the seals themselves. In Mesopotamia, color brightness and saturation were key concerns; for discussion, see Thavapalan 2020.

78 See Müller 2012, on a possible Minoan ranking order for the precious materials of seals and rings, and Müller 2010, on a possible correlation between the artistry and the material of seals and rings.

79 Rehak and Younger 1998, pp. 405–6.

80 Younger 2018, fig. 19.1.

81 For ethnographic and glyptic parallels, see the *CMS* entry.

82 Wegner 2018, fig. 13.4; Weingarten 1990, pp. 18–19.

83 A. Foster 2010.

84 Laffineur 1999.

85 Evans 1909.

86 Younger 2018, p. 364; Younger 1993, pp. x–xi.

arranging manufactured objects.⁸⁷ Dumas, writing about Thera and Minoan sealing motifs, wondered whether some were used as “a kind of trade mark for the commodities they sealed.”⁸⁸ In discussing potters’ marks, Militello suggested that the ones on top-quality ceramics may have identified their studios.⁸⁹

Minoan art and thought would seem to have been eminently conducive to the development of commodity branding. As we have seen in our brief look at modern theory and practice, two factors are key. One relies on an openness to double or multiple meanings through wordplay and sightplay.⁹⁰ While for the Minoans our understanding of the former is lexically stymied, we have instances aplenty in art, as in the owl mentioned above. To cite another example, at first glance a seal used on a hanging nodule from Ayia Triada (*CMS* II 6 28) shows a bird-woman, but then her skirt morphs into a boar’s-tusk helmet, her upper body into a bucranium, and her small head into the bull’s rosette/hair whorl often depicted in Aegean and Near Eastern art.⁹¹ The second factor depends on a willingness to envision a supple relationship between text and image, wherein one or the other assumes priority and dissolves the boundaries between the abstract and the pictorial. This we have certainly observed in the preceding sections.

I propose that the major Minoan branded commodities were textile products, one of Crete’s prestige industries. Wall paintings and other works vividly attest to the intricacy and inventiveness of the color combinations, patterns, and styles worn by the elite.⁹² Unfortunately, extant swatches are few and far between, among them hem, fringe, tassel, and embroidery fragments volcanically preserved on Thera, as well as an elegant three-fiber plaited band from Khania.⁹³ Thera’s exceptional circumstance has also yielded dozens of loom weights, heaps of crushed murex shells, and nearly sixty flat-based nodules dealing with ewes, oils, and textiles.⁹⁴ As for textual documentation, again the evidence is relatively sparse compared with that in the Linear B records, possibly because production was centralized in the Mycenaean palaces whereas it appears to have occurred at both palatial and private levels in Minoan times.⁹⁵

The numerous loom weights and other finds from the villas at Ayia Triada afford a suggestive, if inconclusive, case study of textile works. No cloth survives, of course, but I wonder whether some of the scattered rock-crystal disks and fragments had been destined to spangle garments, as perhaps shown on the Camp Stool fresco from Knossos, as opposed to having been inlays for leather or furniture.⁹⁶ I focus here on the forty-five uninscribed noduli recovered from a window ledge, along with two needles, as well as a broken Linear A tablet found lying nearby, the whole group very likely part of the original contents of a small suite of rooms at the southern end of the complex.⁹⁷ Side A of the tablet (HT 24) appears to record wool obligations or contributions, with 36½ units preserved and room for restoring an additional 8½; side B seems to pertain to (wool?) weight in talents, compatible with the number of units.⁹⁸ It would seem more than coincidental that the tablet’s putative total of 45 units equals the number of noduli, each one bearing

87 Evans 1909, p. 115.

88 Dumas 2000, p. 65.

89 Militello 2017.

90 Morgan 1989; Koehl 2016.

91 McGowan 2018; Thomas 2016; K. Foster 2021b and forthcoming.

92 Essential starting points on Minoan and other Aegean textiles include Barber 1991; Burke 2010; Jones 2015; and Shaw and Chapin 2016.

93 Burke and Chapin 2016, p. 19; Nosch 2012, p. 51.

94 Karnava 2008.

95 Militello 2014, p. 277. On reconstructing the Minoan palatial and private economic system in general, see the seminal studies in Hägg and Marinatos 1987, including analyses of the interlocking and independent roles of Minoan entrepreneurs, palace stakeholders, merchants, and commodity producers.

96 Weingarten 1988, as possible leather ornaments; Watrous 1984, p. 126, as possible furniture inlays; *PM* IV:2, fig. 330 (Camp Stool fresco detail).

97 Hallager 1996, pp. 41–43; Watrous 1984, who notes on p. 126 that looms in an upper story (whence many of the Ayia Triada weights fell) align with where Homer has Penelope weaving in her Ithaca palace.

98 Schoep 2002, p. 187; Del Frio 2010, pp. 349–51 (restoring 46–47 units and seeing side A as a deficit and side B as a target), fig. 17.10; Militello 2014.

the same single sealing (*CMS* II 6 20). If they are in fact related, this demonstrates a solid connection, rare in Minoan Crete, between two modes of accountability for a commodity, with the added benefit of archaeological context.

Comparanda from Mesopotamia may help fill out the picture of textile operations. Extensive archives from late third/early second millennium cities such as Isin, Ur, and Nippur treat wool transactions in great detail, from the dealings of the “wool office” to the activities of specific individuals.⁹⁹ We can follow, for example, one Lukalla from Nippur as he receives unprocessed wool, passes it on to weavers, and then brings finished garments back to the issuing (and sealing) authority.¹⁰⁰ To cite another example, contemporaneous tablets, probably from Garshana, tell us that a thriving textile mill was supervised by a woman named Ashtaqqar, whose seals depict an all-female cast of characters in the standard presentation style of the day (see also below).¹⁰¹

Mesopotamian scribes frequently included qualifiers in their textile records. Wool, yarn, and thread colors, especially red, purple, and blue hues, were described in terms of their brightness, saturation, and dye process, whether genuine murex or less expensive vegetal.¹⁰² Linear B recorders were similarly concerned with differentiating coloration methods.¹⁰³ So too, if our Ayia Triada scribe (see above) did make reference to some sort of wool quality, I suspect it was the color or dye process.¹⁰⁴ In addition, Mesopotamian goods were typically graded based on such attributes as weave, decoration, and fineness/softness, the latter apparently corresponding to what part of the sheep had been plucked.¹⁰⁵ The aforementioned Lukalla from Nippur, for example, listed a shaggy garment of fourth quality, but also two ceremonial garments of combed mountain-sheep wool.¹⁰⁶ It stands to reason that many finished materials would have been specifically marked. Indeed, the Old Assyrian merchants using donkey caravans to ship textiles to their outposts in Anatolia did just that, from sealing the tied-up bags, to marking the fabrics themselves “by recognizable sign or seal,” as the texts put it, to attaching sealed nodules to them.¹⁰⁷

The best-preserved evidence for marks on textiles comes from Egypt but is likely representative of what was done elsewhere, albeit on different types of weaving. Many of the Egyptian marks appear to be the “logo, as it were, of the weaver.”¹⁰⁸ Patches could be woven in, or colored threads inlaid, or signs burned (branded!) onto the linen. The distinctive mark on some fifty loincloths belonging to Kha, supervisor of royal tomb projects at the height of the Eighteenth Dynasty, might be a composite sign of origin and ownership, as the same sign occurs on some of the nontextile items also found in his tomb.¹⁰⁹ Pharaonic raiment may not have needed logos, for the bespoke features were no doubt sufficiently distinctive. Notables at the court of Tutankhamun, for instance, surely recognized the work of the *haute couturiers* who lavished the royal tunics with bands woven or embroidered variously with flying ducks, rosettes, and lotus flowers.¹¹⁰

99 Van de Mieroop 1987; Van de Mieroop 1992; Jacobsen 1970.

100 Hallo 1958, pp. 95–96.

101 Kleinerman 2011; on this and related textile/gender issues, see Harlow, Michel, and Quillien 2021.

102 Thavapalan 2020, pp. 227–31, 415–17.

103 Nosch 2004, pp. 32–39.

104 Militello 2014, pp. 273–74.

105 Durand 2009, pp. 12, 14–16.

106 Hallo 1958, pp. 95–96.

107 Veenhof 1972, pp. 41–44. About an unusual sealing from the third-millennium site of Geraki in Lakonia, Weingarten (2000, p. 321) says “it is likely, but not certain that the textile was itself the object sealed” and posits a very early parallel to the Old Assyrian textile trade, with Geraki perhaps shipping fine linen up to Lerna. There, the sealings once on baskets and chests may have safeguarded the cloth until it was traded onward (Weingarten 2000, p. 329).

108 Barber 1991, p. 153.

109 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, p. 12.

110 Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, pp. 139–42.

The same may have held for such confections as Neo-Assyrian royal sleeves or Minoan palatial hems, the latter perhaps reflected in glyptic as animals on patterned grounds.¹¹¹

This brings us to the Mesopotamian practice of pressing the hem or fringe of a person's apparel into the moist clay of a tablet, constituting a legal signature in juridical matters usually involving the ceding of certain rights.¹¹² Some of these imprints, such as at Mari, look as though they were made using a garment's piping or perhaps the cord holding a cylinder seal. Elsewhere, tablets bear witness to a wide range of textile weaves and trimmings. There is, I believe, much valuable information to be gained, should someone undertake a comprehensive study of all Mesopotamian cloth-marked tablets and related matters, combining Assyriological, glyptic, and textile expertise.¹¹³ As just one example of the subject's potential and scope, I mention here a presentation-scene sealing likely from Garshana (see above).¹¹⁴ On it, the worshipper's name is written on his garment, down the fringed edge, precisely as it appears in the seal's inscription, which finally confirms the long-standing supposition that the presentees in this seal genre are the seal owners. Given the signatory significance of textile impressions, the fringe placement is telling, as is the hem location of a boxed text reading "Gudea, ensi of Lagash" on a fragmentary stele of that king.

A second, nonscribal signature device is found on tablets bearing two or three arcs shaped like thumbnail impressions, which are sometimes labeled "fingernail."¹¹⁵ The oddity is that there are no signs of fingerprints. Replication efforts carried out on my behalf found it natural to leave a print with or without the nail but did not succeed in leaving only a nail impression. Just so, there are hundreds of ancient, nailless fingerprints on clay, as well as prints with nails, as in a Minoan roundel signed with a thumb.¹¹⁶ How, then, were the Mesopotamian ones made? Mallowan suggested the use of incurved pieces of terracotta, for he noticed that a group of these little objects from Nimrud made exactly the same kind of arc.¹¹⁷ To judge from certain impressions, wooden stamps also seem to have served, which may explain why a wooden-object determinative precedes the logogram for fingernail mark.¹¹⁸ In our perplexity here, we might recall the current use of "thumbnail" for small images.

What these practices have to do with the Aegean requires a short detour to the Linear B textile records. At issue are the qualifiers building on *o-nu-ka*, which credibly describe types of woolen decoration, both white and multicolored.¹¹⁹ If *o-nu-ka* relates to the later Greek word for nail, claw, or talon, does it denote hooklike tassels or fringes? Or, thanks to burgeoning Mycenaean overseas networks, was there some familiarity with Mesopotamian "nail" or cloth impressions?¹²⁰ Alternatively, it could relate to another of its meanings in Greek—operculum, which is a ridged membrane that slides over the soft body of a marine creature like the murex snail to safeguard it inside the shell.¹²¹ As it happens, a Minoan sealing from Phaistos

111 Canby 1971; Younger 1995, p. 33 n. 14; on Minoan hems, see Jones 2015, pp. 132–36.

112 Durand 2009, p. 148; Marti 2007; Koschaker 1931, pp. 112, 115–17.

113 It is welcome news that Agata Ulanowska has launched a "Textiles and Seals" research project for Aegean material, whose database will include seal-marked textile tools, impressions of textiles on sealings, textile production imagery, and such weaving iconography as spiders (above, n. 46). For preliminary results, see Ulanowska 2020; Ulanowska 2022. On the textile substrate in Aegean ceramic and fresco decoration, see Sherratt 2021.

114 Mayr 2011.

115 Renger 1977.

116 Hallager 1996, vol. 2, p. 189; Hallager 1989, pp. 75–76, for a Himalayan parallel to the practice. In the mid-1980s, Hallager initiated "Project Fingerprint" and a series of practical experiments, described in Hallager 1996, appendices 1 and 2. Other Aegeanists have followed suit in examining fingerprints left on clay, noted in Younger 2010, p. 413. The advantages of having a large, stratified sample of fingerprints are seen in Sanders 2015; he was able to correlate a shift to all-male potters at Tell Leilan, Syria, with the rise of an early second-millennium BCE polity there.

117 Mallowan 1950, p. 173.

118 Renger 1977, p. 86 n. 64; Kienast 1960, p. 99, fig. 25, for example.

119 Burke 2010, pp. 88–90.

120 Jones 2015, pp. 223–25.

121 Burke 2010, p. 89.

offers the earliest representation of an operculum (*CMS* II 5 304).¹²² Perhaps the Linear B scribes meant tassels or fringes with attached opercula, plain or polychrome, and deliberately used a many-layered term. The notion is appealing, for we would thus have referents to the murex-dye industry, the sealing action of the animal, and the hallmarks of certain textiles.

A TRIO OF MINOAN TEXTILE MARKS

With this, we return to Minoan Crete in search of specific instances of such hallmarks and their icons. I highlight here three sets. The first comes from the newly conserved miniature frescoes from the villas at Tylissos.¹²³ Part of a crowd scene, a boxer is shown wearing at his waist something blue, shaped like a shield and emblazoned with a linear sign in brown consisting of a long vertical and two short horizontals (fig. 3.1). Rethemiotakis interpreted this emblem as the boxer's bronze victory prize, observing it also on a boxer figurine sporting a pad similarly marked on his upper arm.¹²⁴ I would see in both a textile connection, though, for the sign appears in Linear B records as the "abbreviated Mycenaean word [PA] superimposed within the cloth sign [TELA]," and it is known as well in Cretan Hieroglyphic and Linear A.¹²⁵ I wonder whether our boxers wear the burn-branded, murex-colored, shield-shaped logo of a textile workshop outfitting champion athletes.

Elsewhere in the Tylissos paintings are lavishly dressed women, some seated as spectators and others carrying textiles as participants in presentation scenes. It is striking that the same Λ patterns recur on the fabrics worn and offered. About these, Rethemiotakis thought that the design may represent tassels that "function as a trademark," with distinctive color combinations being the recognizable logos of specialized workshops.¹²⁶ This was welcome support for my argument in general, and in particular for my seeing an athletic-gear brand at Tylissos, the Nike swoosh of the Minoans.

For my second set, I have chosen a seal (*CMS* V Suppl 1A 169) that was stamped multiple times on the rims of eight surviving roundels and once on eight extant hanging nodules, all from Khandia (fig. 3.2).¹²⁷ The roundels concern units of textiles, indicated by the minor variants of AB 164, the rare ideogram for cloth, inscribed on the face side.¹²⁸ The seal in question has a simple, bold design of an insect, wings outspread, filling the field. Although it is often termed a butterfly, the creature is actually a moth, which the seal maker has diagnostically shown by carving thick antennae rather than the filiform ones of butterflies.¹²⁹ I propose that it is either of the two European moth species producing silk.

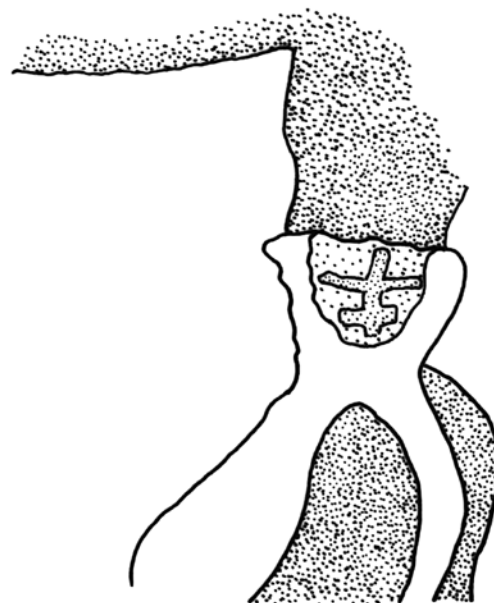


Figure 3.1. Detail of the boxer, Tylissos. Drawn by the author, after Rethemiotakis 2020, fig. 11.

122 Schifko 2005.

123 Rethemiotakis 2020.

124 Rethemiotakis 2020, p. 126, figs. 12, 13.

125 Burke 2010, p. 74, fig. 45.

126 Rethemiotakis 2020, pp. 129, 140.

127 Hallager 1995, p. 96; Hallager 1996, pp. 91, 213.

128 Del Frio 2010; Weingarten 2017, pp. 104–6.

129 Coutsis 2000; Van Damme 2012.

The discovery of a calcified silk moth cocoon and chrysalis at Thera has sparked excitement over the possible existence of an Aegean Bronze Age silk industry.¹³⁰ The principal bolstering evidence is indirect but, I believe, compelling: very light loom weights, most suitable for silk; fresco fabrics depicted as so diaphanous and fluidly draping that it is hard to see them as anything other than silk; and the silk moths painted as identifiers on the miniature ships from the West House, Thera.¹³¹ Silk skeptics, on the other hand, would remind us that AB 164 relates to the Linear B sign *164, which appears to document wool of substantial weight, hardly silk.¹³² Even if that held true in pre-Mycenaean times on Crete, some of the AB 164 variants at Khania might have been created with a silk subclass in mind.

In my view, the Khania sealings provide not only additional evidence for Minoan silk entrepreneurs but also a splendid logo. To judge from the consistently high worth of silk throughout history, this was presumably a luxury business, with elite consumers.¹³³ There is no reason to assume, however, that high-echelon administrators, doubtless authorized to document a variety of such goods, would have been involved at every silk transaction point. What we seem to have at Khania is a lower-level specialist, who left us another clue to his activities in inscribing the signs A 301 on two of his nodules and AB 74 on six of them. While he is the only person there to use these signs, he has company among the sealers at Ayia Triada—likewise specialists, perhaps also in silk.¹³⁴ Furthermore, as I see it, our Khania seal's gossamer elegance and tensile strength comprise an icon perfectly evocative of silk. Thirty-five hundred years later, this is precisely how the Silk Mark Organization of India conceived its logo to authenticate product purity: within an implied circle, mirror-image strands form a calligraphic silk moth in murex maroon.¹³⁵

I conclude with the pieces that first aroused my interest in Minoan marks of trade. While investigating birds in Aegean island art and thought,¹³⁶ I came across sealings from Khania showing a rather naturalistic dove flying with outspread wings beside a “cone-shape object with protruding ‘horns.’”¹³⁷ The owner of this seal (CMS V Suppl 1A 165) (fig. 3.3) acknowledged on four or five surviving roundels his receipt of units of a textile, indicated (as above) by minor variants of AB 164 inscribed on the face sides. The type of fiber is signaled by the close resemblance that the floating sign bears to the relatively uncommon wool logogram (AB 80) attested in Cretan Hieroglyphic, Linear A, and Linear B.¹³⁸ Another airborne columbid was stamped on more than 130 nodules at Ayia Triada (CMS II 6 110) (fig. 3.4). Were those transactions also about wool? As an aside, we see that both birds, when stamped, fly in the direction of reading, consistent with how at Ayia Triada “scribes of the villa wrote their signs not haphazardly, but in the direction intended to be read.”¹³⁹

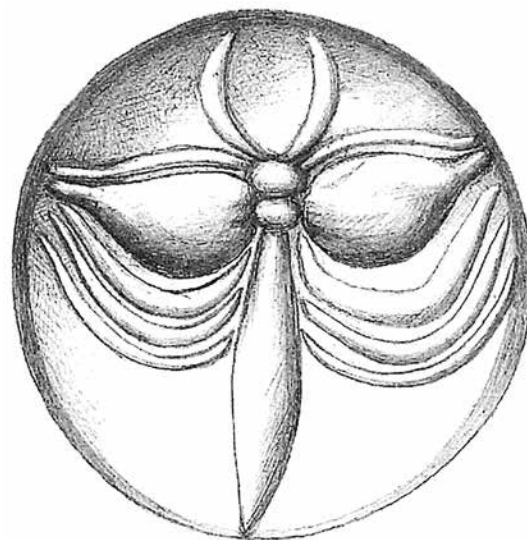


Figure 3.2. CMS V Suppl 1A 169.

130 Panagiotakopulu 2000; Van Damme 2012; Ulanowska 2022, p. 27.

131 K. Foster 2012.

132 Burke 2010, pp. 78, 94.

133 Fundamental studies of the global silk industry include Lieu and Mikkelsen 2016; Lerner and Shi 2020; Anquetil 1992.

134 Weingarten 2017, p. 105; Weingarten 1987, 1988 on the Ayia Triada seals and sealers.

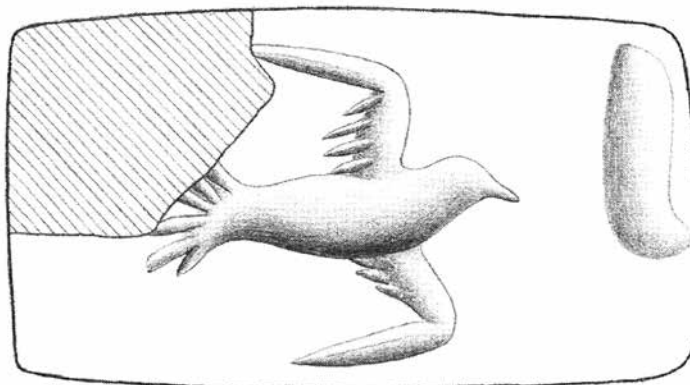
135 At www.silkmarkindia.com, touted as “the world’s first label of authenticity for pure silk.”

136 K. Foster 2021a.

137 Weingarten 2017, p. 104.

138 Weingarten 2017, p. 106; Petrakis 2012.

139 Weingarten 1987, p. 22.

Figure 3.3. *CMS V Suppl 1A 165*.Figure 3.4. *CMS II 6 110*.

Weingarten was the first to suggest that the Khania dove sealer “put the sign of his ‘trade’ on the seal”¹⁴⁰—welcome support, again, for my argument. But what kind of wool was he, and probably his compatriots at Ayia Triada, dealing in? I propose that the answer may lie in one or more dove associations, just as today we understand the NBC logo’s meaning through the peacock’s fanning its technicolor tail. Since doves in Aegean art are conventionally blue, the product might well have offered particular shades of murex-dyed wool. Additionally or alternatively, if finished goods were involved, they could have been woven using a “dovetail” tapestry technique joining contiguous color blocks.”¹⁴¹

There may also have been a cultic connection.¹⁴² In Evans’s discussion of dove/cult links,¹⁴³ he cited among other works one of his earliest purchases, a green jasper seal showing a man with a dove perched on his hand (*CMS VI 318*). As Evans pointed out, the dove holder’s mantle hangs over his back in a “fringed appendage,” elaborated in the blue-and-white mantles of Camp Stool fresco celebrants to look decidedly feathery.¹⁴⁴ Were our dove sealers known for their special, murex-dyed wool, especially sought for making winglike garments or trimmings for cultic personnel?¹⁴⁵ A recent study of the multivalent Christian symbolism of purple textiles in medieval Gospels illuminates the emblematic richness that I feel must have been present in the Aegean Bronze Age, glimpsed perhaps in these dove hallmarks.¹⁴⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In the foregoing pages, I have suggested some decipherments for the social hieroglyphs, as Marx would put it, of the Minoan textile industry. My efforts have profited from insights gleaned from Mesopotamian and Egyptian comparanda, particularly for sealing practices and textile matters, as well as from branding concepts and modes operational in how commodities derive and promote their value today. Communicating scribally and nonscribally, the stories told by my proposed marks of trade in Minoan wool and silk speak to us from a Bronze Age world, across the Great Green, of enterprise and accountability, specialty and innovation, metaphor and imagination.

¹⁴⁰ Weingarten 2017, p. 106.

¹⁴¹ Barber 1991, p. 158, color pl. 1, left.

¹⁴² Brøns and Nosch 2017.

¹⁴³ *PM IV:2*, pp. 405–12.

¹⁴⁴ See Jones 2015, pp. 263–66, for her reconstruction of the Camp Stool mantle.

¹⁴⁵ Lenuzza 2012.

¹⁴⁶ Bücheler 2019.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CMS *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1964–
 PM Sir Arthur J. Evans. *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*. 4 vols. London: Macmillan, 1921–35

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anastasiadou, Maria
 2016 “Drawing the Line: Seals, Script, and Regionalism in Protopalatial Crete.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 120: 159–93.
- Anderson, Emily S. K.
 2016 *Seals, Craft and Community in Bronze Age Crete*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anquetil, Jacques
 1992 *Routes de la soie: Des déserts de l’Asie aux rives du monde occidental*. Paris: Lattès.
- Baker, Heather D., and Michael Jursa, eds.
 2014 *Documentary Sources in Ancient Near Eastern and Greco-Roman Economic History*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Barber, E. J. W.
 1991 *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages, with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Blakolmer, Fritz
 2010 “Small Is Beautiful: The Significance of Aegean Glyptic for the Study of Wall Paintings, Relief Frescoes and Minor Relief Arts.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 91–108. *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8*. Mainz: von Zabern.
 2012 “Body Marks and Textile Ornaments in Aegean Iconography: Their Meaning and Symbolism.” In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 325–34. *Aegaeum 33*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bottéro, Jean
 1977 “Les noms de Marduk: L’écriture et la ‘logique’ en Mésopotamie ancienne.” In *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, edited by Maria de Jong Ellis, pp. 5–28. *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 19*. Hamden: Archon Books.
- Brogan, Thomas M., Philip P. Betancourt, and Vili Apostolakou
 2012 “The Purple Dye Industry of Eastern Crete.” In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 187–92. *Aegaeum 33*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Brøns, Cecilie, and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds.
 2017 *Textiles and Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Bücheler, Anna
 2019 *Ornament as Argument: Textile Pages and Textile Metaphors in Early Medieval Manuscripts*. *Zurich Studies in the History of Art 22–23*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Budka, Julia, Frank Kammerzell, and Sławomir Rzepka, eds.
 2015 *Non-Textual Marking Systems in Ancient Egypt (and Elsewhere)*. *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 16*. Hamburg: Widmaier.
- Burke, Brendan
 1997 “The Organization of the Aegean Textile Trade of the Early Second Millennium B.C.” In *TEXNH: Craftsmen, Craftswomen, and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Philip P. Betancourt, pp. 413–24. *Aegaeum 16*. Liège: Université de Liège.
 2010 *From Minos to Midas: Ancient Cloth Production in the Aegean and in Anatolia*. Oxford: Oxbow.

- Burke, Brendan, and Anne P. Chapin
 2016 "Bronze Age Aegean Cloth Production: A Cottage Industry No More." In *Woven Threads: Patterned Textiles of the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Maria C. Shaw and Anne P. Chapin, pp. 17–42. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Canby, Jeanny Vorys
 1971 "Decorated Garments in Ashurnasirpal's Sculpture." *Iraq* 33: 31–53.
- Cato, Ken
 2016 *Thinking Trademarks, Symbols and Logotypes*. Mulgrave: Images Publishing Group.
- Charvát, Petr
 2020 "Pictura est laicorum litteratura?" Image and Word on an Archaic Ur Seal." In *Dealing with Antiquity: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Walter Sommerfeld, pp. 165–71. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Chermayeff, Ivan, and Tom Geismar
 2011 *Identify: Basic Principles of Identity Design in the Iconic Trademarks of Chermayeff & Geismar*. New York: Print Publishing.
- Coutsis, John G.
 2000 "The Insects Depicted on the Wall Paintings of Thera: An Attempt at Identification." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, edited by Susan Sherratt, pp. 580–84. Athens: Thera Foundation.
- Crisostomo, C. Jay
 2019 *Translation as Scholarship: Language, Writing, and Bilingual Education in Ancient Babylonia*. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 22. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Crowley, Janice L.
 2013 *The Iconography of Aegean Seals*. Aegaeum 34. Leuven: Peeters.
- Dandamaev, Muhammad A.
 1984 *Slavery in Babylonia*. Translated by Victoria A. Powell. Edited by Marvin A. Powell. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press.
- Davis, Brent
 2014 *Minoan Stone Vessels with Linear A Inscriptions*. Aegaeum 36. Leuven: Peeters.
- Decorte, Roeland P.-J. E.
 2017 "Cretan 'Hieroglyphic' and the Nature of Script." In *Understanding Relations between Scripts: The Aegean Writing Systems*, edited by Philippa M. Steele, pp. 33–56. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Del Frio, Maurizio
 2010 "Logograms in Linear A." In *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and the Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*, edited by Cécile Michel and Marie-Louise Nosch, pp. 348–54. Oxford: Oxbow.
 2017 "Rapport 2011–2015 sur les textes en écriture hiéroglyphique crétoise, en linéaire A et en linéaire B." In *Aegean Scripts*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Hedvig Landenius Enegren, pp. 3–30. Incunabula Graeca 105. Rome: Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico.
- Dionisio, Giulia, Anna Margherita Jasink, and Judith Weingarten
 2014 *Minoan Cushion Seals: Innovation in Form, Style and Use in Bronze Age Glyptic*. Studia Archaeologica 196. Vicino Oriente 2. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Ditchey, Mallory
 2016 "Body Language: Tattooing and Branding in Ancient Mesopotamia." *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History* 3: 1–24.
- Doumas, Christos
 2000 "Seal Impressions from Akrotiri, Thera: A Preliminary Report." In *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 57–66. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 6. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

Durand, Jean-Marie

2009 *La nomenclature des habits et des textiles dans les textes de Mari*. Paris: CNRS Éditions.

Englund, Robert K.

1998 "Texts from the Late Uruk Period." In *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, edited by Josef Bauer, Robert K. Englund, and Manfred Krebernik, pp. 15–233. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/1. Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Evans, Arthur J.

1909 *Scripta Minoa: The Written Documents of Minoan Crete*. Oxford: Clarendon.

Ferrara, Silvia

2017 "Another Beginning's End: Secondary Script Formation in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean." In *Understanding Relations between Scripts: The Aegean Writing Systems*, edited by Philippa M. Steele, pp. 7–32. Oxford: Oxbow.

Ferrara, Silvia, and Anna Margherita Jasink

2017 "To Have and to Hold: Hieroglyphic Seals as Personal Markers and Objects of Display." In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 41–54. Florence: Firenze University Press.

Flouda, Georgia

2013 "Materiality of Minoan Writing: Modes of Display and Perception." In *Writing as Material Practice: Substance, Surface and Medium*, edited by K. E. Piquette and R. D. Whitehouse, pp. 143–74. London: Ubiquity.

Foster, Ann L.

2000 "Administrative Functions of Seals on Sealings at Phaistos: A Comparative View from Egypt." In *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 79–94. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 6. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

2010 "The Function of Forms: An Aspect of Aegean and Egyptian Sealing Practices in the Early and Middle Bronze Ages." In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 187–204. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.

Foster, Benjamin R.

2020 *Sargonic and Pre-Sargonic Cuneiform Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection*. Atlanta: Lockwood.

Foster, Karen Polinger

2012 "The Adornment of Aegean Boats." In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 673–84. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

2018 "Mari and the Minoans." *Groniek* 217: 342–62.

2021a "Flights of Fancy: Birds in Aegean Island Art and Thought." In *ZOLA: Animal-Human Interactions in the Aegean Middle and Late Bronze Age*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Thomas G. Palaima, pp. 83–99. Aegaeum 45. Leuven: Peeters.

2021b "Lions and Science and Whorls, Oh My!" In *The Ancient Egyptians and the Natural World: Flora, Fauna, and Science*, edited by Salima Ikram, Jessica Kaiser, and Stéphanie Porcier, pp. 113–22. Leiden: Sidestone.

Forthcoming "Magical Menageries: Talismanic Lions and Bulls in Mesopotamia and Beyond." In *Der altorientalische Mensch in seiner Umwelt*, edited by Michael Streck.

Foster, Karen Polinger, and Robert K. Ritner

1996 "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55: 1–14.

Foster, Karen Polinger, J. H. Sterba, G. Steinhauser, and Max Bichler

2009 "The Thera Eruption and Egypt: Pumice, Texts, and Chronology." In *Time's Up! Dating the Minoan Eruption of Santorini*, edited by David A. Warburton, pp. 171–80. Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 10. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens.

Frahm, Eckart

2011 *Babylonian and Assyrian Text Commentaries: Origins of Interpretation*. Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 5. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

Frankfort, Henri

- 1939 *Cylinder Seals: A Documentary Essay on the Art and Religion of the Ancient Near East*. London: Macmillan.

Gabler, Kathrin

- 2018 “Methods of Identification among the Deir el-Medina Workmen and Their Service Personnel: The Use of Names, Titles, Patronyms and Identity Marks in Administrative Texts.” In *Decoding Signs of Identity: Egyptian Workmen’s Marks in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, edited by B. J. J. Haring, K. V. J. van der Moezel, and D. M. Soliman, pp. 190–218. Egyptologische Uitgaven 32. Leuven: Peeters.

Gaudard, François

- 2010 “Ptolemaic Hieroglyphs.” In *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, edited by Christopher Woods, pp. 173–75. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Gelb, I. J.

- 1977 “Typology of Mesopotamian Seal Inscriptions.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, pp. 107–26. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6. Malibu: Undena.

Graff, Gwenola

- 2017 “Predynastic Egyptian Iconography: Contributions and Relations with the Hieroglyphic System’s Origin.” In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 221–32. Florence: Firenze University Press.

Hägg, Robin, and Nanno Marinatos, eds.

- 1987 *The Function of the Minoan Palaces*. Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 4/35. Stockholm: Paul Åströms.

Hallager, Erik

- 1989 “The Use of Seals on the Minoan Roundel.” In *Fragen und Probleme der bronzzeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 55–78. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 3. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- 1995 “Identical Seals on Roundels and Other Documents.” In *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 87–104. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 5. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- 1996 *The Minoan Roundel and Other Sealed Documents in the Neopalatial Linear A Administration*. Aegaeum 14. Liège: Université de Liège.
- 2000 “New Evidence for Seal Use in the Pre- and Protopalatial Periods.” In *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 97–106. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 6. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- 2010 “Development of Sealing Practices in the Neopalatial Period.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 205–12. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.

Hallo, William W.

- 1958 “Contributions to Neo-Sumerian.” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 29: 69–107.

Haring, Ben

- 2017 “Identity Marks in Ancient Egypt: Scribal and Non-scribal Modes of Visual Communication.” In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 233–46. Florence: Firenze University Press.
- 2018 *From Single Sign to Pseudo-Script: An Ancient Egyptian System of Workmen’s Identity Marks*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 93. Leiden: Brill.

Harlow, Mary, Cécile Michel, and Louise Quillien, eds.

- 2021 *Textiles and Gender in Antiquity from the Orient to the Mediterranean*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Hendrix, Elizabeth A.

- 2003 “Painted Early Cycladic Figures: An Exploration of Context and Meaning.” *Hesperia* 72: 405–46.

- Hoffman, Gail L.
2002 "Painted Ladies: Early Cycladic II Mourning Figures?" *American Journal of Archaeology* 106: 525–50.
- Holt, Douglas B.
2004 *How Brands Become Icons: The Principles of Cultural Branding*. Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
2008 Response to David Wengrow, "Prehistories of Commodity Branding." *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 1: 22.
- Hruby, Julie
2012 "Identity and the Visual Identification of Seals." In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 389–406. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.
- Jacobsen, Thorkild
1970 "On the Textile Industry at Ur under Ibbi-Sin." In *Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture*, edited by William L. Moran, pp. 172–87. Harvard Semitic Series 21. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jankowski, Jerry
1992 *Shelf Life: Modern Packaging Design 1920–1945*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
- Jasink, Anna Margherita
2009 *Cretan Hieroglyphic Seals: A New Classification of Symbols and Ornamental Filling Motifs*. Biblioteca di "Pausanias" 8. Pisa: Fabrizio Serra.
- Jones, Bernice R.
2015 *Ariadne's Threads: The Construction and Significance of Clothes in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Aegaeum 38. Leuven: Peeters.
- Jorgensen, Finn Arne
2014 "Coca-Cola Bottle, USA." In *Iconic Designs: 50 Stories about 50 Things*, edited by Grace Lees-Maffei, pp. 218–21. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.
- Jursa, Michael, and Michaela Weszeli
2000 "Der 'Zahn' des Schriebers: Ein aramäischer Buchstabenname in akkadischer Transkription." *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 90: 73–84.
- Karev, Ella
2022 "'Mark them with my mark': Human Branding in Egypt." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 108: 191–203.
- Karnava, Artemis
2008 "Written and Stamped Records in the Late Bronze Age Cyclades: The Sea Journeys of an Administration." In *Horizon/Opiζων: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades*, edited by Neil Brodie, Jenny Doole, Giorgos Gavalas, and Colin Renfrew, pp. 377–86. McDonald Institute Monographs. Cambridge: McDonald Institute.
- Kienast, Burkhard
1960 *Die altassyrischen Texte*. Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie 1. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Kleinerman, Alexandra
2011 "Craft Production at Garšana: The Leather and Textile Workshops." In *Garšana Studies*, edited by David L. Owen, pp. 183–207. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 6. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Koehl, Robert
2016 "The Ambiguity of the Minoan Mind." In *METAPHYSIS: Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Eva Alram-Stern, Fritz Blakolmer, Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, Robert Laffineur, and Jörg Weilhartner, pp. 469–78. Aegaeum 39. Leuven: Peeters.
- Koschaker, Paul
1931 *Über einige griechische Rechtsurkunden aus den östlichen Randgebieten des Hellenismus*. Leipzig: S. Hirzel.

Krzyszowska, Olga

- 2005 *Aegean Seals: An Introduction*. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplements 85. London: Institute of Classical Studies, School of Advanced Study, University of London.
- 2012 “Worn to Impress? Symbol and Status in Aegean Glyptic.” In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 739–48. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2015 “Why Were Cats Different? Script and Imagery and Middle Minoan II Glyptic.” In *The Great Islands: Studies of Crete and Cyprus Presented to Gerald Cadogan*, edited by Colin F. Macdonald, Eleni Hatzaki, and Stelios Andreou, pp. 100–106. Athens: Kapon.
- 2019 “Changing Perceptions of the Past: The Role of Antique Seals in Minoan Crete.” In *MNHMH/MNEME: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Elisabetta Borgna, Ilaria Caloi, Filippo Maria Carinci, and Robert Laffineur, pp. 487–96. Aegaeum 43. Leuven: Peeters.

Laffineur, Robert, ed.

- 1999 *POLEMOS: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze*. Aegaeum 19. Liège: Université de Liège.

Lees-Maffei, Grace, ed.

- 2014 *Iconic Designs: 50 Stories about 50 Things*. London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts.

Lenuzza, Valeria

- 2012 “Dressing Priestly Shoulders: Suggestions from the Campstool Fresco.” In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 255–64. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

Lerner, Jeffrey D., and Yaohua Shi, eds.

- 2020 *Silk Roads: From Local Realities to Global Narratives*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Lieu, Samuel N. C., and Gunneer B. Mikkelsen, eds.

- 2016 *Between Rome and China: History, Religions and Material Culture of the Silk Road*. Silk Road Studies 18. Turnhout: Brepols.

MacArthur, Elise V.

- 2010 “The Conception and Development of the Egyptian Writing System.” In *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, edited by Christopher Woods, pp. 115–21. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Mallowan, M. E. L.

- 1950 “The Excavations at Nimrud (Kalḫu), 1949–1950.” *Iraq* 12: 147–83.

Marti, Lionel

- 2007 “Des sissiktum à Munbâqa.” *Notes assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires* 1: 20–21.

Marx, Karl

- 1994 *Selected Writings*. Edited and translated by Lawrence H. Simon. Indianapolis: Hackett.

Mayr, R. H.

- 2011 “The Figure of the Worshipper in the Presentation Scene.” In *Garšana Studies*, edited by David L. Owen, pp. 227–32. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 6. Bethesda: CDL Press.

McGowan, Erin

- 2018 “Cryptic Glyptic: Multivalency in Minoan Glyptic Imagery.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, edited by Marta Ameri, Sarah Kiehl Costello, Gregg Jamison, and Sarah Jarmer Scott, pp. 368–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meggs, Philip B., and Alston W. Purvis

- 2012 *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*. Hoboken: Wiley & Sons.

Michel, Cécile

- 1990 “La culture matérielle à Mari: *ebbum et ebbûtum*.” *Mari: Annales de recherches interdisciplinaires* 6: 181–218.

Michel, Cécile, and Marie-Louise Nosch, eds.

- 2010 *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean from the Third to the First Millennia BC*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Militello, Pietro

- 2014 "Wool Economy in Minoan Crete before Linear B: A Minimalist Position." In *Wool Economy in the Ancient Near East and the Aegean: From the Beginnings of Sheep Husbandry to Institutional Textile Industry*, edited by Catherine Breniquet and Cécile Michel, pp. 264–82. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2017 "Management, Power, and Non-literate Communication in Prepalatial and Palatial Mesara." In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 55–72. Florence: Firenze University Press.

Mollerup, Per

- 1997 *Marks of Excellence: The Function and Variety of Trademarks*. London: Phaidon.

Morgan, Lyvia

- 1989 "Ambiguity and Interpretation." In *Fragen und Probleme der bronzzeitlichen ägäischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 143–62. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 3. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

Müller, Walter

- 2010 "Bemerkungen zur Qualität minoischer und mykenischer Siegel." In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 27–30. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.
- 2012 "Concepts of Value in the Aegean Bronze Age: Some Remarks on the Use of Precious Materials for Seals and Finger Rings." In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 463–69. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

Neyman, Bella

- 2020 "Stories You Can Wear: All about the Genre of Narrative Jewelry." *The Magazine Antiques*, July/August, 80–85.

Nosch, Marie-Louise

- 2004 "Red Coloured Textiles in the Linear B Inscriptions." In *Colour in the Ancient Mediterranean World*, edited by Liza Cleland and Karen Stears, pp. 32–39. BAR International Series 1267. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- 2012 "From Texts to Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age." In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 43–56. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

Olivier, Jean-Pierre

- 1995 "Les sceaux avec des signes hiéroglyphiques: Que lire? Une question de bon sens." In *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 169–82. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 5. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- 2010 "Les sceaux et scelles inscrits en 'hiéroglyphique' crétois, en linéaire A et en linéaire B en Crète: Un bilan." In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 287–96. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.

Olivier, Jean-Pierre, and Louis Godard

- 1996 *Corpus Hieroglyphicarum Inscriptionum Cretae*. Etudes crétoises 31. Paris: de Boccard.

Panagiotakopulu, Eva

- 2000 "Butterflies, Flowers, and Aegean Iconography: A Story about Silk and Cotton." In *The Wall Paintings of Thera: Proceedings of the First International Symposium*, edited by Susan Sherratt, pp. 585–92. Athens: Thera Foundation.

Panagiotopoulos, Diamantis

- 2010 "A Systemic Approach to Mycenaean Sealing Practices." In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 297–308. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.

Papanthimou, Aikaterini, and Ioannis Fappas

- 2012 "Ceremonial Adornment and Purification Practices in Mycenaean Greece: Indigenous Developments and Near Eastern Influences." In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 779–88. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

Perna, Massimo

- 2017 “Administrative Documents without Writing: The Case of Sealings and Flat-Based Nodules.” In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 73–80. Florence: Firenze University Press.

Petrakis, Vassilis P.

- 2012 “‘Minoan’ to ‘Mycenaean’: Thoughts on the Emergence of the Knossian Textile Industry.” In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 77–86. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

Phillips, Jacke

- 2010 “Non-administrative Glyptic Relations between the Aegean and Egypt.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 309–24. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.

Radner, Karen

- 2012 “The Seal of Tašmetum-šarrat, Sennacherib’s Queen, and Its Impressions.” In *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, edited by Giovannia B. Lanfranchi, Daniele Morandi Bonacossi, Ginzia Pappi, and Simonetta Ponchia, pp. 687–98. Leipziger altorientalistische Studien 2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rand, Paul

- 1985 *A Designer’s Art*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rehak, Paul, and John G. Younger

- 1998 “Review of Aegean Prehistory VII: Neopalatial, Final Palatial, and Postpalatial Crete.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 102: 91–173.

Renger, Johannes

- 1977 “Legal Aspects of Sealing in Ancient Mesopotamia.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, pp. 75–88. Malibu: Undena.

Rethemiotakis, Giorgios

- 2020 “Tylissians and Knossians: An Interactive Relationship—New Evidence on the Miniature Wall Paintings from Tylissos.” In *Current Approaches and New Perspectives in Aegean Iconography*, edited by Fritz Blakolmer, pp. 117–45. Aegis 18. Louvain: Presses universitaires.

Ritner, Robert K., and Nadine Moeller

- 2014 “The Ahmose ‘Tempest Stela,’ Thera and Comparative Chronology.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73: 1–19.

Sanders, Akiva

- 2015 “Fingerprints, Sex, State, and the Organization of the Tell Leilan Ceramic Industry.” *Journal of Archaeological Science* 57: 223–38.

Schifko, Georg

- 2005 “Zoologische Anmerkungen zu zwei minoischen Siegelabdrücken mit einem Tritonshorn (Gattung *Charonia*) als Motiv.” *Annalen des Naturhistorischen Museums in Wien* 106: 27–33.

Schoep, Ilse

- 2002 *The Administration of Neopalatial Crete: A Critical Assessment of the Linear A Tablets and Their Role in the Administrative Process*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.
- 2006 “Looking beyond the First Palaces: Elites and the Agency of Power in EM III–MM II Crete.” *American Journal of Archaeology* 110: 37–64.
- 2017 “The Role of Non-written Communication in Minoan Administrative Practices.” In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 81–98. Florence: Firenze University Press.

Shaw, Maria C., and Anne P. Chapin, eds.

- 2016 *Woven Threads: Patterned Textiles of the Aegean Bronze Age*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Sherratt, Sue

- 2021 “Representation and Hidden Technologies.” In *Representations: Material and Immaterial Modes of Communication in the Bronze Age Aegean*, edited by John Bennet, pp. 107–21. Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology. Oxford: Oxbow.

Smith, Stuart Tyson

- 2018 “Middle and New Kingdom Sealing Practice in Egypt and Nubia: A Comparison.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, edited by Marta Ameri, Sarah Kielt Costello, Gregg Jamison, and Sarah Jarmer Scott, pp. 302–24. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Soliman, Daniel M.

- 2013 “Duty Rosters and Delivery Records Composed with Marks and Their Relation to the Written Administration of Deir el-Medina.” In *Decoding Signs of Identity: Egyptian Workmen’s Marks in Archaeological, Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Perspective*, edited by B. J. J. Haring, K. V. J. van der Moezel, and D. M. Soliman, pp. 155–90. Egyptologische Uitgaven 32. Leuven: Peeters.

Stauder, Andréas

- 2010 “The Earliest Egyptian Writing.” In *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, edited by Christopher Woods, pp. 137–48. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Thavapalan, Shiyanthi

- 2020 *The Meaning of Color in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 104. Leiden: Brill.

Thomas, Nancy

- 2016 “‘Hair Stars’ and ‘Sun Disks’ on Bulls and Lions: A Reality Check on Movements of Aegean Symbolic Motifs to Egypt, with Special Reference to the Palace at Malkata.” In *METAPHYSIS: Ritual, Myth and Symbolism in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Eva Alram-Stern, Fritz Blakolmer, Sigrid Deger-Jalkotzy, Robert Laffineur, and Jörg Weilhartner, pp. 129–38. Aegaeum 39. Leuven: Peeters.

Topçuoğlolu, Oya

- 2010 “Iconography of Protoliterate Seals.” In *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, edited by Christopher Woods, pp. 29–32. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Tsangaraki, Evangelia

- 2010 “Sealings with Representations of Human Figures: A Neopalatial Repertoire and Its Significance in the Administrative System.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 363–82. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.

Ulanowska, Agata

- 2020 “Textiles and Seals: Recognising the Relationship between Textile Production and Seals, and Sealing Practices in Bronze Age Greece.” *Revue de l’archéologie du vêtement et du costume* 1: 1–25.
- 2022 “Textile Production in Aegean Glyptic: Interpreting Small-Scale Representations on Seals and Sealings from Bronze Age Greece.” In *Textiles in Ancient Mediterranean Iconography*, edited by Susanna Harris, Cecilie Brøns, and Marta Zuchowska, pp. 19–40. Ancient Textiles 38. Oxford: Oxbow.

Van Damme, Trevor

- 2012 “Reviewing the Evidence for a Bronze Age Silk Industry.” In *KOSMOS: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Marie-Louise Nosch and Robert Laffineur, pp. 163–70. Aegaeum 33. Leuven: Peeters.

Van de Mieroop, Marc

- 1987 *Crafts in the Early Isin Period: A Study of the Isin Craft Archive from the Reigns of Išbi-erra and Šū-ilišu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 24. Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek.
- 1992 *Society and Enterprise in Old Babylonian Ur*. Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 12. Berlin: Reimer.

- Veenhof, K. R.
1972 *Aspects of Old Assyrian Trade and Its Terminology*. Studia et documenta ad jura Orientis antiqui pertinentia 10. Leiden: Brill.
- Veldhuis, Niek
2014 *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*. Guide to the Mesopotamian Textual Record 6. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Vlasaki, Maria, and Erik Hallager
1995 "Evidence for Seal Use in Pre-Palatial Western Crete." In *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 251–70. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 5. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
- Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian
1993 *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Studies in Textile and Costume History 2. Leiden: Brill.
- Waetzoldt, Hartmut
2018 "Wolle." In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, edited by M. P. Streck, vol. 15, pp. 127–29. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Watrous, Livingston V.
1984 "Ayia Triada: A New Perspective on the Minoan Villa." *American Journal of Archaeology* 88: 123–34.
- Wegner, Josef
2018 "The Evolution of Ancient Egyptian Seals and Sealing Practices." In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, edited by Marta Ameri, Sarah Kielt Costello, Gregg Jamison, and Sarah Jarmer Scott, pp. 229–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weilhartner, Jörg
2019 "The Use of 'Heirlooms' in Mycenaean Sealing Practices." In *MNHMH/MNEME: Past and Memory in the Aegean Bronze Age*, edited by Elisabetta Borgna, Ilaria Caloi, Filippo Maria Carinci, and Robert Laffineur, pp. 497–506. Aegaeum 43. Leuven: Peeters.
- Weingarten, Judith
1987 "Seal-Use at LM IB Ayia Triada: A Minoan Elite in Action, Part I: Administrative Considerations." *Kadmos* 26: 1–38.
1988 "Seal-Use at LM IB Ayia Triada: A Minoan Elite in Action, Part II: Aesthetic Considerations." *Kadmos* 27: 81–114.
1990 "More Unusual Minoan Clay Nodules: Addendum III." *Kadmos* 29: 16–23.
1995 "Sealing Studies in the Middle Bronze Age III: The Minoan Hieroglyphic Deposits at Mallia and Knossos." In *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 285–312. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 5. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
2000 "Early Helladic II Sealings from Geraki in Lakonia: Evidence for Property, Textile Manufacture, and Trade." In *Minoisch-mykenische Glyptik: Stil, Ikonographie, Funktion*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 317–29. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 6. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
2005 "How Many Seals Make a Heap: Seals and Interconnections on Prepalatial Crete." In *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*, edited by Robert Laffineur and Emanuele Greco, pp. 759–66. Aegaeum 25. Liège: Université de Liège.
2009 "Appendix D: Hieroglyphic Seals and Sealings in LM (or Later) Context." In *Cretan Hieroglyphic Seals: A New Classification of Symbols and Ornamental Filling Motifs*, by Anna Margherita Jasink, pp. 209–15. Biblioteca di "Pasiphae" 8. Pisa: Fabrizio Serra.
2010 "Corridors of Power: A Social Network Analysis of the Minoan 'Replica Rings.'" In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 395–412. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.
2015 "Old, Worn and Obscured: Stamped Pot Handles at Pyrgos." In *The Great Islands: Studies of Crete and Cyprus Presented to Gerald Cadogan*, edited by Colin F. Macdonald, Eleni Hatzaki, and Stelios Andreou, pp. 71–75. Athens: Kapon.
2017 "When One Equals One: The Minoan Roundel." In *Non-scribal Communication Media in the Bronze Age Aegean and Surrounding Areas: The Semantics of A-literate and Proto-literate Media*, edited by Anna Margherita Jasink, Judith Weingarten, and Silvia Ferrara, pp. 99–110. Florence: Firenze University Press.

- 2018 “Introductory Remarks, Aegean.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, edited by Marta Ameri, Sarah Kielt Costello, Gregg Jamison, and Sarah Jarmer Scott, pp. 327–33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wengrow, David
2008 “Prehistories of Commodity Branding.” *Current Anthropology* 49, no. 1: 7–34.
- Wiener, Malcolm H.
2015 “The Mycenaean Conquest of Minoan Crete.” In *The Great Islands: Studies of Crete and Cyprus Presented to Gerald Cadogan*, edited by Colin F. Macdonald, Eleni Hatzaki, and Stelios Andreou, pp. 131–42. Athens: Kapon.
- Williams, Bruce
1977 “Aspects of Sealing and Glyptic in Egypt before the New Kingdom.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, pp. 135–40. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 6. Malibu: Undena.
- Winter, Irene J.
1987 “Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend: Seals Belonging to Officials in the Administrative Bureaucracy of the Ur III State.” In *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, pp. 69–99. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 46. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Woods, Christopher
2010 “Introduction—Visible Language: The Earliest Writing Systems.” In *Visible Language: Inventions of Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond*, edited by Christopher Woods, pp. 15–28. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 32. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Younger, John G.
1993 *Bronze Age Aegean Seals in Their Middle Phase (ca. 1700–1550 B.C.)*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 102. Jonsered: Åströms.
1995 “Interactions between Aegean Seals and Other Minoan-Mycenaean Art Forms.” In *Sceaux minoens et mycéniens*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 331–48. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 5. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.
1996–97 “The Cretan Hieroglyphic Script: A Review Article.” *Minos* 31–32: 379–400.
2010 “Attributing Aegean Seals: Looking Back, Glancing Ahead.” In *Die Bedeutung der minoischen und mykenischen Glyptik*, edited by Walter Müller, pp. 413–24. Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel Beiheft 8. Mainz: von Zabern.
2014 “The ‘World of People’: Nature and Narrative in Minoan Art.” In *PHYSIS: L’environnement naturel et la relation homme-milieu dans le monde égéen protohistorique*, edited by Gilles Touchais, Robert Laffineur, and Françoise Rougement, pp. 211–15. Aegaeum 37. Leuven: Peeters.
2018 “Aegean Bronze Age Seal Stones and Finger Rings: Chronology and Functions.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, edited by Marta Ameri, Sarah Kielt Costello, Gregg Jamison, and Sarah Jarmer Scott, pp. 334–54. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2020a “The Middle Bronze Age Sealstone Workshop at Malia, Crete: Its Seals and Their Role in the Development of Writing.” Paper presented at the American Society of Overseas Research virtual annual meeting, November 15.
2020b “Narrative in Aegean Art: A Methodology of Identification and Interpretation.” In *Current Approaches and New Perspectives in Aegean Iconography*, edited by Fritz Blakolmer, pp. 71–86. Aegis 18. Louvain: Presses universitaires.

4

SETH THE GLEAMING ONE*

François Gaudard

University of Warsaw and University of Chicago

Something hidden. Go and find it.
 Go and look behind the Ranges—
 Something lost behind the Ranges.
 Lost and waiting for you. Go!
 —Rudyard Kipling, *The Explorer*

THERE WAS NO MORE REWARDING experience than attending a lecture by Robert Ritner. With a skillful blend of knowledge, expertise, wit, and humor, this magician captivated the members of his audience so well that, just like Setna under Tabubu’s spell, “they did not know where on earth they were”¹ and left the auditorium with the strong feeling of being both smarter and rejuvenated. What held true for Robert’s lectures holds equally true for his many publications, including several major books, such as his masterful study of ancient Egyptian magic,² which is a classic, and over a hundred articles. Juggling topics as diverse as Egyptians in Ireland;³ Egyptian religion, medicine, magic, and sociopolitical history; Demotic legal terminology;⁴ the Libyan anarchy;⁵ the Joseph Smith papyri;⁶ or even the interpretation of the name of Nyarlathotep, the Black Pharaoh, Robert, avid explorer of still unknown “Egyptological territories,” was always ready to “go and look behind the Ranges.” Therefore, as his former student, colleague, and friend, it is with great pleasure and gratitude that I dedicate to him this article on a little-known “hypostasis” of the god Seth.

*This article is the third in a series discussing little-known aspects of the god Seth. The first two articles dealt with the camel as a Sethian creature (Gaudard 2017a) and the “immortality” of the god Seth (Gaudard 2017b). At the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, I would like to thank Verena M. Lepper and Jan Moje for providing me with color photographs of Pap. Berlin P. 8278, as well as Myriam Krutzsch for her restoration work. Likewise, my thanks go to the Institut français d’archéologie orientale for giving me permission to use the illustrations of the Edfu Temple scenes. I would also like to express my gratitude to my colleagues W. Raymond Johnson and J. Brett McClain of the Epigraphic Survey of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) of the University of Chicago for their useful information about scene MH.B 206 from the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu; to Dieter Kurth of Hamburg University and the Edfu Project for his helpful comments about the Edfu Temple scenes and suggestions; to Olaf Kaper of Leiden University and the Dakhleh Oasis Project for bringing to my attention scene N.II.4 from the mammisi of the temple of Tutu at Kellis in Dakhleh Oasis and for providing me with a photograph of that scene and useful information about it; to Joachim Quack of Heidelberg University for his valuable comments about the various determinatives of the name “Seth”; and to Roman Gundacker of the Austrian Academy of Sciences and Hratch Papazian of the University of Cambridge for providing me with publications I did not have at my disposal. N.B.—The symbols used in the transliterations and translations are as follows: [] lacuna in the text or restoration; ¯ partial restoration; () scribal omission reconstructed or addition made by me for the sake of greater clarity; and { } superfluous characters to be skipped by the reader.

1 Cf. Setna I, 5/1; see Ritner 2003, p. 463.



2 Ritner 1993.

3 Ritner 1976.

4 Ritner 2002.



5 Ritner 2009.

6 Ritner 2011.

The mere mention of the name “Seth” evokes evil, violence, and chaos. It is a well-known fact, however, that even this reputedly malevolent god could play a positive role,⁷ as when accompanying Re each night on the solar bark to repel Apophis⁸ or as a protector against illness and even death.⁹ Alternative versions of the Osiris myth also depict Seth in a less negative way, assigning blame to Osiris.¹⁰ Far less known is the positive “hypostasis” of this god, referred to as “Seth the Gleaming One,”¹¹ whose study is made all the more difficult by the scarcity of its occurrences. Indeed, only one attestation of this deity is listed in the *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* as  *Sth-ṯhn* “der glänzende Seth.”¹² It occurs in a scene from an architrave of the first hypostyle hall of Edfu Temple (fig. 4.1),¹³ where Seth the Gleaming One appears as the fifth in a group of nine gods, designated elsewhere as “the Lesser Ennead,” in front of which Ptolemy VIII performs the ritual called  *dw3 ntr sp 4* “worshipping god four times.”¹⁴ All these gods are depicted in human form, each of them seated on a block throne. They wear a tripartite wig and a false beard, and they carry a *was*-scepter and an *ankh*.

The group is composed as follows:

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
|  |  |  |
| 1. <i>ḥ3 wr</i> The Great Fighter | 2. <i>ḥ3 nds</i> The Little Fighter | 3. <i>Wr-ḥk3.w</i> Great of Magic |
|  |  |  |
| 4. <i>Hr ṯhn</i> Horus the Gleaming One | 5. <i>Sth ṯhn</i> Seth the Gleaming One ¹⁵ | 6. <i>Dšr</i> The Red One ¹⁶ |
|  |  |  |
| 7. <i>Hnty-ir.ty</i> Khentiryty | 8. <i>K3 MB:t</i> The Bull of Maat | 9. <i>ṯhssf</i> Ikhsefef |

The same group of gods also occurs as  *psd.t nds(.t)* “the Lesser Ennead” on the exterior of the naos of this same temple (fig. 4.2),¹⁷ but only seven of the nine gods are depicted because of the lack of space.¹⁸ In front of them, Ptolemy VIII performs the ritual called  *ts wsh n psd.t nds(.t)* “tying

7 See, e.g., Nagel 1929, pp. 34, 38; te Velde 1977, p. 116; Meeks 1986, pp. 14–15, 21–22, 25, 30; Quack 2019, p. 61. On Seth’s dualism, see, e.g., Guerneur 2015; cf. Barguet 1964, p. 8; Meeks 1986, p. 28; 2018, pp. 114–15; Quack 2019, pp. 57–58.

8 See, e.g., Nagel 1929; te Velde 1977, pp. 99–108, pl. 7; von Lieven 2006, pp. 142–43; Quack 2019, p. 57.

9 Cruz-Urbe 2009, p. 206.

10 For discussion and references, see Mathieu 1998; Meeks 2006, *passim*; von Lieven 2006; Smith 2008, p. 2; 2010, p. 404; Mathieu 2011, pp. 149–51; Stadler 2012, p. 57.

11 For the other entities referred to by the denomination “Seth,” see, e.g., Mathieu 2011, p. 139; Guerneur 2015, p. 77.

12 *LGG* VI, p. 697. Judging by the shape of the ears in the original publication (see following note), the name “Seth” should be written here with a donkey rather than with the Seth animal; cf. Meeks 1986, p. 25. For a spelling of this name as *Sth ṯhn*, see n. 15 below.

13 *Edfou* III, p. 296, 14, pl. LXXVIII.

14 *Wb.* V, p. 427/20; *PtoLex*, p. 1185.

15 Note that the name “Seth” is written here with a donkey, while in the case of the four ancestor gods called “Seth” also occurring at Edfu (see n. 33 below) it is written with uniliteral signs; cf. Meeks 1986, p. 14; von Lieven 2006, p. 142; Quack 2019, p. 60. For *Sth* as a late spelling, see *Wb.* IV, p. 345/2; for examples of this spelling at Edfu, see Meeks 1986, p. 46 n. 141. Alternative readings could be *Swth*, *Stḥ*, *Stš*, or *St*. On the evolution of the writing of the name “Seth” depending on the time period and the context, see te Velde 1977, pp. 1–3; Quack 2019, pp. 58–61.

16 The alternative reading of this group as *gm wš* “found destroyed” suggested in *LGG* VII, p. 570, is impossible in this context, all the more so when taking into account the similar writings of the name of this god at *Edfou* IV, p. 266, 15, and in scene MH.B 206; see n. 32 below.

17 *Edfou* IV, pp. 265–67; *Edfou* X/1, pl. XCI. On the Lesser Ennead, see, e.g., Barta 1973, *passim*, esp. pp. 50–60.

18 *Edfou* IV, pp. 266–67 n. 2.

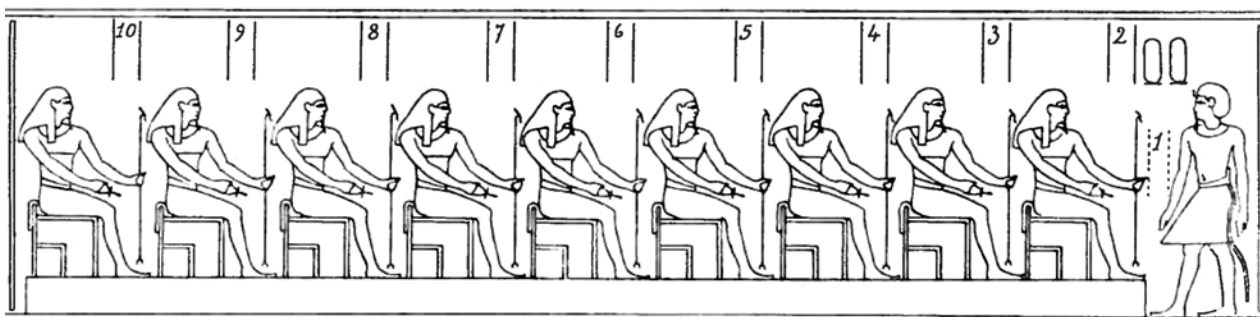


Figure 4.1. The Lesser Ennead, Edfu Temple (first hypostyle hall [pronaos], tableau C'. archit. 2'-2" d. ext. o. I). From *Edfou* III, pl. LXXVIII (detail). © IFAO.

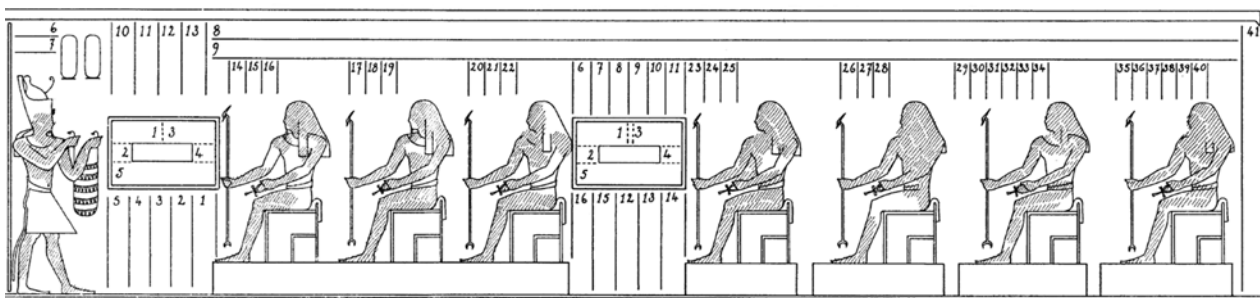


Figure 4.2. The Lesser Ennead, Edfu Temple (exterior of naos, field of eastern wall [second section], tableau F'e. 3 g. VII). From *Edfou* X/1, pl. XCI (detail). © IFAO.

on the *wesekh*-collar for the Lesser Ennead.”¹⁹ Here too, just as I surmised, it is Seth the Gleaming One who appears in fifth position (as $\text{Sth}^* \text{thn}$)²⁰ and not Mbi thn “the Gleaming Lion,” mistakenly depicted in Chassinat’s publication.²¹ In this scene, he is called $\text{Sth}^* \text{thn tm}^3\text{-k} \text{hb hnt Pr-h}^3$ “Seth’ the Gleaming One, strong of arm, violent in the House of Fighting.”

In the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu, while working as an epigrapher, I identified a further attestation of Seth the Gleaming One that once occurred in scene MH.B 206, on the south interior wall of the bark shrine (fig. 4.3).²² In this scene, the same group of gods, preceded by Montu-Re and Atum, appears with some modifications in its composition and the order of its members, under the denomination $\text{psd.t } \text{z.t n(t)} \text{ } \text{Ip.t-s.wt}$ “the Great Ennead of Karnak.”²³ The gods are depicted in human form, as they are at Edfu, but this time standing instead of sitting. At first sight, there is no mention of Seth the Gleaming One after Horus the Gleaming One, in eighth position where we would expect him to be, but instead we find Dhwty thn “Toth the Gleaming One.”²⁴ However, the fact that the group Sth is recessed suggests an alteration. Indeed, the name of the deity called “Toth the Gleaming One” must originally have been carved as “Seth the Gleaming One” in the reign of Thutmose III before the name “Seth” was hacked

19 *PtoLex*, p. 261, s.v. “*wsh*”; p. 375, s.v. “*psd.t*.” On the offering of the *wesekh*-collar, see, e.g., Cauville 2012, pp. 146–47.

20 At my request, Dieter Kurth was so kind as to validate my suspicion by confirming the presence of a damaged, but clearly recognizable, Seth animal, on the basis of the Edfu Project photograph Canon 050411, capture 00233. Note that the damage was most probably not intentional. The asterisk means that this word has been collated and corrected by the Edfu Project.

21 *Edfou* IV, p. 266, 14. Note that in *LGG* III, p. 212, the mention of the Gleaming Lion’s occurrence in scene MH.B 206, referred to as “[1] Kleiner Tempel von Medinet Habu, Barkenkapelle,” is also due to a misreading; see n. 31 below.

22 *LD* III, pl. 37b. This scene will be published by the Epigraphic Survey of ISAC in *Medinet Habu XII: The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple*, Part 4 (Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures). I would like thank my colleague J. Brett McClain for providing me with a detailed description of the stages in the alteration of the text in this scene.

23 Cf. Barta 1973, p. 66 n. 8.

24 *LGG* VII, p. 650.



Figure 4.3. The Great Ennead of Karnak, small Amun temple at Medinet Habu (scene MH.B 206, south interior wall of bark shrine, right half of lower register, upper row of deities). Photograph by François Gaudard.

out, presumably during the Saite Period, and finally recarved as “Thoth” under Ptolemy VIII. Such a name change is corroborated by the fact that a similar alteration occurs in the lower row of deities of the same scene, where the name of the god Seth, in seventh position, was also hacked out and later replaced by that of Thoth before the epithet $\overline{\text{nb p.t}}$ “lord of the sky.”²⁵ This lost occurrence of Seth the Gleaming One would then be the oldest-known attestation of the epithet $\overline{\text{thn}}$ “the Gleaming One” attributed to Seth.

Olaf Kaper was so kind as to bring to my attention another occurrence of Seth the Gleaming One as a member of the Lesser Ennead, at Kellis (modern Ismant el-Kharab) in Dakhleh Oasis. It appears in scene N.II.4, painted on plaster, in the second register of the north side of the vaulted ceiling of the mammisi of the second-century Roman temple of Tutu (fig. 4.4).²⁶ The gods of the Ennead are standing, as in scene MH.B 206, facing Tutu and paying homage to him.²⁷ They are in the same order as in the abovementioned Edfu scenes. Their iconography is more varied than usual. Indeed, not all of them are depicted in full human form: Horus the Gleaming One and Khentyirty have a falcon head, and the Bull of Maat that of a bull.²⁸ Seth the Gleaming One appears in fifth position as $\overline{\text{st thn}} \{ \text{wy} \}$.²⁹ Once again, he is depicted in human form, but this time wearing the double crown, just like Horus the Gleaming One.³⁰

25 *LD Text III*, pp. 159–60. For further examples of Seth replaced by Thoth, see, e.g., Mathieu 2011, p. 138; cf. Meeks 1986, p. 20; von Lieven 2006, p. 145. For discussion and references on the destruction of Seth’s images and the obliteration of his name, see, e.g., Smith 2010, p. 416 n. 145; Quack 2019, *passim*.

26 This scene is still unpublished. For additional information and photographs, see Kaper 2002, pp. 219–20; 2009; 2022a; 2022b.

27 Kaper 2003, pp. 285–86 (R-65).

28 This difference in iconography could be attributed to the fact that the artists ignored the more traditional depiction of these gods as human headed, since we are dealing here with a scene from the Roman period in an oasis.

29 For the present writing of the name $\overline{\text{st}}$ “Seth” with a knife piercing the letter s, see the discussion below. For similar writings of the name “Seth” (1) with the letters s and t, the house determinative, and a knife piercing the letter s, see Quack 2015, p. 454 n. 112; cf. Quack 2006, p. 129; (2) with the letters s and t, the house determinative, and the evil determinative, see, for example, P. Carlsberg 676 verso, col. 1, line 18: $\overline{\text{st}}$ (Ryholt 2012, p. 171). For the house determinative \square (O1) as a replacement for the stone determinative \square (O39) in writings of the name “Seth,” see Quack 2015, pp. 453–54; cf. Quack 2019, p. 61. For the spelling of the name “Seth” as $\overline{\text{st}}$, see Quack 2015, p. 453. For the spelling of the word $\overline{\text{thn}}$ as $\overline{\text{thnwy}}$, also with the hand $\overline{\text{thn}}$ (D46) reading $\overline{\text{t}}$, see n. 31 below.

30 I would like to thank Olaf Kaper for the description of scene N.II.4, where he also notes that the text of the columns in front of the legs of Horus the Gleaming One and Seth the Gleaming One consists of generic formulae in which these two deities address the god Tutu. He translates it as follows: in front of Horus, “May your heart be sweet when I come”; in front of Seth, “I invoke your beautiful face.”



Figure 4.4. Horus the Gleaming One and Seth the Gleaming One as members of the Lesser Ennead in the mammisi of the temple of Tutu at Kellis in Dakhleh Oasis (detail of scene N.II.4, north side of vaulted ceiling, second register). Reconstruction by Olaf Kaper and Laurence Blondaux. Photograph by Olaf Kaper.

As expected, in the four abovementioned temple scenes, Seth the Gleaming One is always preceded by *Hr ṭhn* “Horus the Gleaming One”³¹ and followed by *Dšr* “the Red One.”³² In the Edfu scenes (figs. 4.1 and 4.2), the fact that Seth the Gleaming One is depicted with fully anthropomorphic features and as a member

31 At *Edfou IV*, p. 266, 13, this god is called $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n} \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{d}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{y} \mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{d} \mathfrak{i}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{f} \mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{k}\mathfrak{y}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{y} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{q}\mathfrak{r}\text{-}\mathfrak{p}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{.}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{y} \mathfrak{m} \mathfrak{?}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{w}\text{-}\mathfrak{n}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{n}$ “Horus the Gleaming One, the protector, who protects his father from enemies, mighty in strength in the Island of Fury.” In scene MH.B 206, the occurrence of $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}$ “Horus the Gleaming One” displays a sportive writing of the word *ṭhn* with the hand $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{46}$ reading *t* (see Junker 1906, p. 33; Daumas et al. 1988a, p. 190, no. 871; Kurth 2007, p. 174, no. 71; 2010, p. 47, no. 71) and the crocodile $\mathfrak{I3}$ reading *hn* (see Daumas et al. 1988b, p. 350, no. 15; Kurth 2007, p. 276, no. 7; 2010, p. 105, no. 7). This group was misread as *Hr-Bhdty*-**Mbi-ṭhn* in *LGG V*, p. 254, and as *Hr-Bhdty*(?)-**Mbi-ṭhn* in *LGG III*, p. 212, s.v. “*Mbi-ṭhn*,” presumably due to the confusion in Lepsius’s copy (*LD III*, pl. 37b; *LD Text III*, p. 159 n. 3) and the erroneous occurrence of $\mathfrak{M}\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{i} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}$ “the Gleaming Lion” in the parallel text at *Edfou IV*, p. 266, 14; see nn. 20–21 above. In scene N.II.4 from the mammisi of the temple of Tutu at Kellis, the name of this god occurs as $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{r} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}\{\mathfrak{w}\}$ “Horus’ the Gleaming One,” and his epithet is also written with the hand $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{46}$ reading *t*. The spelling of the word *ṭhn* as *ṭhnw* (or *ṭhnwy*) probably finds its origin in a confusion between the toponym *Ṭhnw* “Libya” (*Wb. V*, p. 394/5) and the verb *ṭhn* “to gleam” (*Wb. V*, pp. 391–93), and also in the fact that a deity named *Hr Ṭhnw* “Horus of Libya” is attested (*LGG V*, p. 295; Vernus 1978, p. 456). For the association of Seth the Gleaming One with Horus the Gleaming One, see the discussion below.

32 In scene MH.B 206, the gods $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{w}\mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{y} \mathfrak{t}\mathfrak{h}\mathfrak{n}$ “Thoth the Gleaming One” and $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{r}$ [sic] (probably for $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{r}$ or $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{s}\mathfrak{r}$) *Dšr* “the Red One” are cited in the same column, one after the other, possibly due to the lack of space or an error of the sculptor. For the sign $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{26A}$ reading *dšr*, see Kurth 2007, p. 251, no. 64; 2010, p. 93, no. 64. For the sign $\mathfrak{X1}$ reading *d*, see Daumas et al. 1995, p. 810, no. 3; Kurth 2007, p. 434, no. 1; 2010, p. 205, no. 1. Alternatively, one could consider that the sign $\mathfrak{G26}$ should not be there. Note that *Dšr* “the Red One” is mistakenly referred to as “Thoth rouge” by Yoyotte (1970, p. 179).

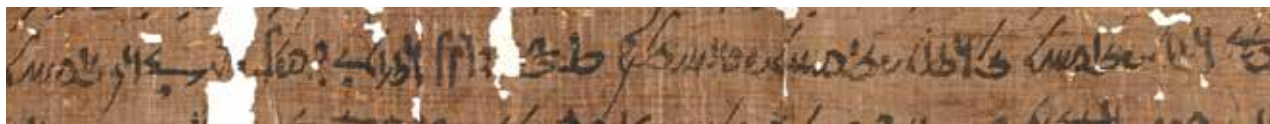


Figure 4.5. Pap. Berlin P. 8278b, line x+11. © Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

of a group of gods worshipped by the pharaoh in a temple commemorating the victory of Horus over Seth testifies to the positive nature and character of this deity,³³ already suggested by the epithet “the Gleaming One,” and shows that he is not to be confused with the evil Seth, who, in the same temple, is replaced by another god³⁴ or depicted as various Sethian creatures, bound, speared, and sacrificed.³⁵ Likewise, this distinction between the two gods is striking in scene MH.B 206 from the small Amun temple at Medinet Habu when Seth the Gleaming One, depicted in human form (upper row, eighth god; fig. 4.3), is compared with Seth lord of the sky (lower row, seventh god), traces of whose original long, pointed snout were still visible in Lepsius’s time.³⁶ Similarly, in scene N.II.4 from the mammisi of the temple of Tutu at Kellis, Seth the Gleaming One is also depicted in human form (fig. 4.4).

This dichotomy is confirmed in line x+11 of Pap. Berlin P. 8278b (fig. 4.5), which provides us with one more occurrence of Seth the Gleaming One. In this text, which consists of a Demotic religious drama performed during the celebration of the Khoiak festival in the Fayum under Ptolemy VI,³⁷ the evil Seth is addressed as follows:

Mtwk St p3 why d St p3 why p3 nt iwzy d r-rzf hpr wn [g]3 ntr St thn r mzf r bn-pwzf why

“You are Seth the Failed One, for it is Seth the Failed One about whom I am speaking, because there is [ano]ther god, ‘whose name’ is ‘Seth the Gleaming One,’ who did not fail.”

In this very interesting passage, *St p3 why* “Seth the Failed One”³⁸ and *St thn* “Seth the Gleaming One” are presented as two gods that are opposite in all respects. A clear distinction is made between the evil Seth, who failed, and the good Seth, who did not fail. Seth the Failed One is used here to embody all the negative aspects of Seth without directly attacking the god himself,³⁹ whose positive aspects, such as his role as slayer of Apophis, are in turn embodied by Seth the Gleaming One. However, despite the positive nature of the latter, the name “Seth” is still written with the evil determinative,⁴⁰ just as it is written with a Sethian creature at Edfu.⁴¹ Note that in scene N.II.4 from the mammisi of the temple of Tutu at Kellis, the name *St* “Seth” has been rendered harmless by avoiding writing it with a Sethian creature or with the common spelling *S(w)th* and by adding a knife piercing the right side of its first letter.⁴²

33 At Edfu, compare with the four ancestor gods called “Seth” referred to as *ntr.w nh.w pr(.w) m R' psd.t ms.w 'Itm* “the living gods who came forth from Re, the Ennead, the children of Atum”; see Meeks 1986, p. 22; cf. von Lieven 2006, p. 142. For references on these gods, see Klotz 2006, p. 118 n. 332.

34 See *Edfou* III, p. 299, 5, and *Edfou* IV, p. 110, 18, where Seth is replaced by Horus, as noted in *PtoLex*, p. 375, s.v. “*psdt*”; cf. Mathieu 2011, p. 138.

35 See, e.g., Labrique 1993; cf. von Lieven 2006, p. 142. Of course, it does not mean that the evil Seth cannot be depicted in human form in other contexts; see, e.g., Cruz-Urbe 2009, pp. 203; 208; 215, no. 13; 216, nos. 15–16; 217, no. 17; 224–26, no. 50.

36 *LD* III, pl. 37b; *LD Text* III, pp. 159–60; see also Quack 2019, pp. 58–59.

37 Spiegelberg (1902, pp. 20–21, 36) dates this text to the reign of Ptolemy II. However, the general paleographic impression and other reasons internal to the text rather support a Middle Ptolemaic dating, which leads to the conclusion that we are dealing with a text written in year 35, Phaophi 1, of the reign of Ptolemy VI, i.e., October 29, 147 BC; see Gaudard 2005, 2012.

38 For *why* “one who is undone/unsuccessful” as “an epithet applied to enemies, especially the god Seth,” see Smith 1987, p. 73 n. a to col. III, line 4 (where this passage is cited); Gaudard 2005, vol. 1, p. 183 n. 81; *LGG* II, p. 514, s.v. “*Wh*.”

39 Cf. Meeks 1986, pp. 25, 28–29.

40 Cf. Quack 2019, p. 61.

41 *Edfou* III, p. 296, 14; *Edfou* IV, p. 266, 14; see nn. 15, 20–21 above and the discussion below.

42 I thank Olaf Kaper for this comment about the name of Seth in scene N.II.4. For further examples of a knife piercing the letter *s* in writings of the name “Seth,” see n. 29 above. For the name “Seth” written with uniliteral signs, see n. 15 above.

Both the verb *ṯhn/ṯhn* and the word *ṯhn.t* are generally written with the sign $\overline{\text{𓆎}}$ (S15 and other forms), described by Gardiner as a “pectoral of glass or fayence beads.”⁴³ *ṯhn/ṯhn* means “to gleam”⁴⁴ and, for Aufrère, *ṯhn.t* designates “un produit passant pour lumineux, étincelant.”⁴⁵ Interestingly, he adds:

Dans la langue poétique de l'époque tardive, *ṯhnt* passe pour l'émanation d'une lumière cosmique: “Tu illumines la terre, (alors) parsemée de *ṯhnt*.” Un leitmotiv des parois des temples tardifs fait état, d'une façon toute poétique, du bouleversement qui se produit lorsqu'une divinité à vocation lumineuse—Rê, Hathor—apparaît à l'horizon, entraînant le reverdissement de la végétation (*mfk3t*) et l'illumination des temples par la *ṯhnt*.⁴⁶

Concerning *ṯhn.t*, Kees also notes that

Da ihre älteste und auch später neben dem Lasurblau beliebteste Färbung das lichte Grün war, war dies Ersatz-material Träger der gleichen Symbolik, wie die grünen Halbedelsteine; es konnte das “Gedeihen” und “Gesundsein” sinnfällig verkörpern. Aber der Begriff “fayencen” brauchte sich nicht auf die Sondersymbolik der grünen Farbe zu beschränken, ebensogut konnte die glänzende Farbigekeit des Materials auch als Analogie zum strahlenden Licht der Sonne dienen.⁴⁷

Grapow observes that *ṯhn.t* can be a metaphor for joy in the inscriptions of Late Period temples.⁴⁸ Harris, for his part, points out that it “has been the subject of much controversy” but that this term “stands alone as a general word for faience or glass, referring, perhaps, principally to the green and blue varieties.”⁴⁹ Wilson adds that it “derives from *ṯhn* ‘to be bright, coloured (blue ?)’ and blue is the epitome of brightness, for it is the colour of the sky and the Nile waters.”⁵⁰

As for the epithet *ṯhn(.t)* “the Gleaming One,” it applies to various gods and goddesses,⁵¹ such as Horus, Osiris, Thoth, Hathor, and Nephthys, as well as to the sun god Re as *ṯhn(t)y*.⁵² According to Aufrère, this epithet refers to the luminosity, lunar or solar, one should expect from a god.⁵³ The Demotic epithet $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆎} \text{𓆎}$ *ṯhn* “the Gleaming One” applied to Seth in Pap. Berlin P. 8278b (fig. 4.5) is indeed written with the sun and divine determinatives. The association of Seth with the sun is not unheard of. Actually, Seth is also an ancient solar god who had a cult in Heliopolis until the Late Period, where he was identified with Re and worshipped under the name “Seth-Re.”⁵⁴ Moreover, just like Hathor, Seth is associated with gold and its brilliance.⁵⁵ For Wilson, however, “in most cases, the brightness is not caused by light but by colour (of plants or pigments) and in particular the colour blue or turquoise is associated with *ṯhn*.”⁵⁶ Note that even the evil Seth can be gleaming in his own way, as in the Greek magical papyri, where he is addressed as $\pi\upsilon\rho\iota\lambda\alpha\mu\pi\epsilon\varsigma$ $\pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha$ “fire-bright spirit.”⁵⁷

43 Gardiner 1982, p. 505.

44 *Wb.* V, pp. 391–93; Faulkner 1981, p. 306; *PtoLex*, pp. 1170–71; *AnLex* II, p. 425, no. 78.4708; *AnLex* III, p. 332, no. 79.3500; cf. EG, p. 655, s.v. “*ṯhn*”; CDD, T (14 July 2012), p. 277, s.v. “*ṯhn(y)*”; p. 291, s.v. “*ṯhn*.”

45 Aufrère 1991, p. 521; cf. Harris (1961, p. 137), who also notes “the glittering appearance of *ṯhnt*.”

46 Aufrère 1991, p. 524.

47 Kees 1943, p. 432.

48 Grapow 1924, p. 56; see also Kees 1943, pp. 433–34.

49 Harris 1961, pp. 135, 137; see also Schlick-Nolte 1977; *Wb.* V, pp. 390–91; Faulkner 1981, p. 306; *AnLex* I, p. 429, no. 77.4965; cf. EG, p. 652, s.v. “*ṯhn*”; p. 655, s.v. “*ṯhn*”; CDD, T (14 July 2012), pp. 276–78, s.v. “*ṯhn(y)*”; p. 291, s.v. “*ṯhn*.”

50 *PtoLex*, p. 1171.

51 *LGG* VII, pp. 479, 485; *Wb.* V, p. 394/1–2; *AnLex* II, p. 425, no. 78.4711; Griffiths 1982, p. 240. For the epithet *ṯhn.t* applied to the Eye of Horus, see, e.g., Kees 1943, p. 432; Aufrère 1991, p. 529. For the epithet *ṯhn* applied to the pharaoh, see, e.g., Kees 1943, p. 432; Aufrère 1991, pp. 531–32.

52 *Wb.* V, p. 393/26 (*ṯhny*); Aufrère 1991, p. 531 (*ṯhnty*).

53 Aufrère 1991, p. 531.

54 Meeks 1986, p. 5; 2018, p. 115; cf. te Velde 1977, pp. 106–7.

55 Meeks 2018, p. 118.

56 *PtoLex*, p. 1170.

57 *PGM* VII, 965. Translation by R. R. Hock in Betz 1992, p. 143. For the Greek text, see Preisendanz 1974, p. 42.



Figure 4.6. Seth spearing Apophis at Hibis Temple in Khargeh Oasis (hypostyle N, west wall, northernmost bay, register II). From Davies 1953, pl. 43. Restoration in full color by Charles K. Wilkinson. © Metropolitan Museum of Art. Rogers Fund, 1948.

In order to define better the meaning of the epithet *ṯhn* “the Gleaming One” in the context we are interested in, it would be useful to know why both Horus and Seth are referred to as such in the abovementioned temple scenes. Dieter Kurth was so kind as to share with me his conjecture on this matter, according to which

- since Seth the Gleaming One appears next to Horus the Gleaming One, as mentioned earlier;
- since the word *ṯhn.t* “faïence” can also refer to the blue-green color of a period of the early morning “before actual sunrise”;⁵⁸
- since Horus and Seth fight the serpent Apophis, enemy of the sun god, in the early morning;⁵⁹ and
- since Seth the Gleaming One and Horus the Gleaming One belong to the Lesser Ennead, which consists exclusively of gods who are strong in battle,

the “hypostases” of these two gods could be special helpers of the rising sun god, Khepri. Kurth thinks that his conjecture is corroborated by the following passage from one of the Edfu scenes where these two gods are mentioned (fig. 4.2):⁶⁰

58 Spalinger 2008, pp. 242–43.

59 te Velde 1977, p. 106, pls. 8–9; Davies 1953, pp. 27–28, pls. 42–43, 77b. For further references and examples, see, e.g., Kaper 1997, pp. 55–62; Klotz 2006, p. 90.

60 *Edfou* IV, p. 265, 10–12. Transliteration and translation by Dieter Kurth.



Ḥpri mi sprk hr s3.wt3k wtt irf m hn.ty k3k im3sn d.t3k m-h.t3sn nhn.w3k pw shpr.n3k

“Khepri, come in order to reach your children, who are engendered at the right time. Your Ka is in them, your body is within them, they are your children that you have created.”

In light of the above, it is worth noting that the famous winged hieracocephalic depiction of Seth at Hibis Temple in Khargeh Oasis looks like a syncretic deity combining both Seth and Horus united in their fight to overcome Apophis (fig. 4.6), although this god is called simply $\text{𓆎} \text{𓆏} \text{𓆑} \text{Sth} \text{ } \text{3} \text{ } \text{ph.ty}$ “Seth, great of strength.”⁶¹ Interestingly, Goyon already referred to this entity as “Seth-Horus.”⁶²

In conclusion, Seth the Gleaming One is a fighter, as indicated by his epithets “strong of arm, violent in the House of Fighting,” who, unlike the evil Seth, is perceived positively and did not fail, since his brute force is used to serve a good cause. This violent aspect would explain why his name is still either written with a Sethian creature (or the evil determinative) or pierced with a knife. In most cases, he is depicted as a member of the Lesser Ennead. With this “hypostasis,” the ancient Egyptians had apparently found a way to deal with Seth’s ambiguous nature by splitting him up into a good and an evil god.⁶³ In the future, it is hoped that further occurrences of Seth the Gleaming One will come to light and thus allow a better understanding of this enigmatic god.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AnLex* Dimitri Meeks. *Année lexicographique: Égypte ancienne*. 3 vols. Paris: D. Meeks, 1980–82. Reprint, Paris: Cybèle, 1998
- CDD* Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>
- Edfou* Marquis de Rochemonteix, then Émile Chassinat, then Sylvie Cauville and Didier Devauchelle. *Le temple d’Edfou*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire. Paris: Leroux, then Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1892–
- EG* Wolja Erichsen. *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954. Reprint, Milan: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1972
- IFAO* Institut français d’archéologie orientale
- ISAC* Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, University of Chicago
- LD* Carl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*. Berlin: Nicolai, 1849–59; *Ergänzungsband*, edited by Édouard Naville. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1913. Reprint, Geneva: Éditions de Belles-Lettres, 1972–73
- LD Text* Carl Richard Lepsius. *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: Text*. Edited by Édouard Naville. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1897–1913
- LGG* Christian Leitz, ed. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16, 129. Leuven: Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002–3
- P(ap)*. Papyrus
- PGM* *Papyri Graecae Magicae*
- PtoLex* Penelope Wilson. *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies, 1997
- Wb*. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Reprint, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1982

61 Davies 1953, pp. 27–28, pls. 42–43, 77b. For discussion, similar examples, and references, see Capart 1946; Kaper 1997, pp. 55–62; 2019, pp. 37–39, figs. 1–2; Cruz-Urbe 2009, p. 201 n. 5; cf. Barguet 1964, p. 8.

62 Goyon 1985, frontispiece and p. 122; cf. Klotz 2006, pp. 90–91.

63 This statement contradicts te Velde (1977, p. 106), who suggests that “Seth in the solar bark might be interpreted as the violent aspect of Re,” which “obviates the necessity of splitting up Seth into a good and a bad god.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aufrère, Sydney

- 1991 *L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*. Vol. 2, *L'intégration des minéraux, des métaux et des "Trésors" dans la marche de l'univers et dans la vie divine*. Bibliothèque d'étude 105/2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Barguet, Paul

- 1964 "Parallèle égyptien à la légende d'Antée." *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 165, no. 1: 1–12.

Barta, Winfried

- 1973 *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 28. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Betz, Hans Dieter, ed.

- 1992 *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation Including the Demotic Spells*. Vol. 1, *Texts*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Capart, Jean

- 1946 "Contribution à l'iconographie du dieu Seth." *Chronique d'Égypte* 41: 29–31.

Cauville, Sylvie

- 2012 *Offerings to the Gods in Egyptian Temples*. Translated by Bram Calcoen. Leuven: Peeters.

Cruz-Uribe, Eugene

- 2009 "Stḥ ʿ pḥty 'Seth, God of Power and Might.'" *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 45: 201–26.

Daumas, François, et al.

- 1988a *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. Vol. 1. Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier.
- 1988b *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. Vol. 2. Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier.
- 1995 *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. Vol. 4. Montpellier: Publications de la Recherche, Université de Montpellier.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1953 *The Temple of Hibis in El Khārgēh Oasis*. Part III, *The Decoration*. Edited by Ludlow Bull and Lindsley F. Hall. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 17. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Faulkner, Raymond O.

- 1981 *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. 4th printing. Oxford: Griffith Institute. First published 1962.

Gardiner, Sir Alan

- 1982 *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum. First published London: Clarendon, 1927.

Gaudard, François

- 2005 "The Demotic Drama of Horus and Seth (P. Berlin 8278a, b, c; 15662; 15677; 15818; 23536; 23537a, b, c, d, e, f, g)." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- 2012 "Pap. Berlin P. 8278 and Its Fragments: Testimony of the Osirian Khoiak Festival Celebration during the Ptolemaic Period." In *Forschung in der Papyrussammlung: Eine Festgabe für das Neue Museum*, edited by Verena M. Lepper, pp. 269–86. Ägyptische und Orientalische Papyri und Handschriften des Ägyptischen Museums und Papyrussammlung Berlin 1. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.
- 2017a "The Camel as a Sethian Creature." In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 41–52. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2017b "On the 'Immortality' of the God Seth." In *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer, pp. 93–98. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 2. Atlanta: Lockwood Press.

Goyon, Jean-Claude

- 1985 *Les dieux-gardiens et la genèse des temples (d'après les textes égyptiens de l'époque gréco-romaine): Les soixante d'Edfou et les soixante-dix-sept dieux de Pharbaethos*. Vol. 1. Bibliothèque d'étude 93/1. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Grapow, Hermann

- 1924 *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Aegyptischen: Vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Griffiths, J. Gwyn

- 1982 "Eight Funerary Paintings with Judgement Scenes in the Swansea Wellcome Museum." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 68: 228–52.

Guermeur, Ivan

- 2015 "Du dualisme et de l'ambivalence séthienne dans la pensée religieuse de l'Égypte ancienne." In *Dualismes: Doctrines religieuses et traditions philosophiques*, edited by Fabienne Jourdan and Anca Vasiliu, pp. 63–88. *χώρα: Revue d'études anciennes et médiévales*, hors-série. Cluj / Paris: Editura Polirom / Chôra.

Harris, John Raymond

- 1961 *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Minerals*. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientforschung, Veröffentlichung 54. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Junker, Hermann

- 1906 *Grammatik der Denderatexte*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Kaper, Olaf E.

- 1997 "Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh: Studies in the Indigenous Cults of an Egyptian Oasis." PhD diss., University of Groningen.
- 2002 "Pharaonic-Style Decoration in the *Mammisi* at Ismant el-Kharab: New Insights after the 1996–1997 Field Season." In *Dakhleh Oasis Project: Preliminary Reports on the 1994–1995 to 1998–1999 Field Seasons*, edited by Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen, pp. 217–23. Dakhleh Oasis Project, Monograph 11. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2003 *The Egyptian God Tutu: A Study of the Sphinx-God and Master of Demons with a Corpus of Monuments*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 119. Leuven: Peeters and Departement Oosterse Studies.
- 2009 "Restoring Wall Paintings of the Temple of Tutu." *Egyptian Archaeology* 35: 3–7.
- 2019 "The Egyptian Royal Costume in the Late Period." In *9. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie/9th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Ideology and Kingship under Periods of Foreign Rulers; Case Studies from the First Millennium BC, Munich May 31–June 2, 2018*, edited by Julia Budka, pp. 31–39. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4.6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2022a "The Kellis Mammisi: A Painted Chapel from the Final Centuries of the Ancient Egyptian Religion." In *Egypt and the Classical World: Cross-cultural Encounters in Antiquity*, edited by Jeffrey Spier and Sara E. Cole, pp. 79–91. Getty Publications. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum.
- 2022b "The Pharaonic and Classical Religious Complexes and the Cult of Tutu." In *Kellis: A Roman-Period Village in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis*, edited by Colin A. Hope and Gillian E. Bowen, pp. 203–42. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kees, Hermann

- 1943 *Farbensymbolik in ägyptischen religiösen Texten*. Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse 11. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Klotz, David

- 2006 *Adoration of the Ram: Five Hymns to Amun-Re from Hibis Temple*. Yale Egyptological Studies 6. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.

Kurth, Dieter

- 2007 *Einführung ins Ptolemäische: Eine Grammatik mit Zeichenliste und Übungsstücken*. Vol. 1. Hützel: Backe-Verlag.
- 2010 *A Ptolemaic Sign-List: Hieroglyphs Used in the Temples of the Graeco-Roman Period of Egypt and Their Meanings*. Hützel: Backe-Verlag.

Labrique, Françoise

- 1993 “Transpercer l’âne’ à Edfou.” In *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991*, edited by Jan Quaegebeur, pp. 175–89. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 55. Leuven: Peeters and Departement Oriëntalistiek.

Mathieu, Bernard

- 1998 “Un épisode du procès de Seth au tribunal d’Héliopolis (Spruch 477, Pyr. §957a–959e).” *Göttinger Miszellen* 164: 71–78.
- 2011 “Seth polymorphe: Le rival, le vaincu, l’auxiliaire.” *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 4: 137–58.

Meeks, Dimitri

- 1986 “Seth—de la savane au désert ou le destin contrarié d’un dieu.” In *Les dieux et démons zoomorphes de l’ancienne Égypte et leurs territoires: Rapport final*, by Christine Meeks and Dimitri Meeks, pp. 1–51. Action thématique programmée “Les polythéismes: Pour une anthropologie des sociétés anciennes et traditionnelles.” Carnoules:n.p.https://www.academia.edu/2216407/Seth_De_la_savane_au_d%C3%A9sert_D_Meeks_La_vache_divine_Chr_Favard_Meeks.
- 2006 *Mythes et légendes du Delta d’après le papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.84*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 125. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- 2018 “Hathor et Seth passeurs de l’Autre.” In *The Gods of the Others, the Gods and the Others: Forms of Acculturation and Construction of Difference in the Egyptian Religion; Journée d’études in memory of Sergio Donadoni*, edited by Paola Buzi, pp. 109–18. *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 84/1. Rome: Morcelliana.

Nagel, Georges

- 1929 “Set dans la barque solaire.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 28: 33–39.

Preisendanz, Karl, ed.

- 1974 *Papyri Graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. Vol. 2. 2nd ed. Sammlung wissenschaftlicher Commentare. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

- 2006 “Fragmente des Mundöffnungsrituals aus Tebtynis.” In *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, edited by Kim Ryholt, pp. 69–150. *The Carlsberg Papyri* 7. CNI Publications 30. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2015 “Rohrfedertorheiten? Bemerkungen zum römerzeitlichen Hieratisch.” In *Ägyptologische “Binsen”-Weisheiten I–II: Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik; Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013*, edited by Ursula Verhoeven, pp. 435–68. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Einzelveröffentlichung* 14. Mainz / Stuttgart: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur / Steiner.
- 2019 “‘Löschte seinen Namen aus!’: Zur Vernichtung von personenreferenzierter Schrift und Bild im Alten Ägypten.” In *Zerstörung von Geschriebenem: Historische und transkulturelle Perspektiven*, edited by Carina Kühne-Wespi, Klaus Peter Oschema, and Joachim Friedrich Quack, pp. 43–102. *Materiale Textkulturen* 22. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 1976 “Egyptians in Ireland: A Question of Coptic Peregrinations.” *Rice University Studies* 62: 65–87.
- 1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute. Reprinted with minor corrections in 1995, 1997, and 2008.
- 2002 “Third Intermediate Period Antecedents of Demotic Legal Terminology.” In *Acts of the Seventh International Conference of Demotic Studies, Copenhagen, 23–27 August 1999*, edited by Kim Ryholt, pp. 343–59. CNI Publications 27. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2003 “The Romance of Setna Khaemuas and the Mummies (Setna I).” In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, pp. 453–69. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. *Writings from the Ancient World* 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2011 *The Joseph Smith Egyptian Papyri: A Complete Edition (P. JS 1–4 and the Hypocephalus of Sheshonq)*. Salt Lake City: Smith-Pettit Foundation.

Ryholt, Kim

- 2012 “The Contendings of Horus and Seth (P. Carlsberg 676 verso).” In *Narrative Literature from the Tebtunis Temple Library*, pp. 171–80. The Carlsberg Papyri 10. CNI Publications 35. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.



Schlick-Nolte, Birgit

- 1977 “Fayence.” In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 2, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 138–42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Smith, Mark

- 1987 *The Mortuary Texts of Papyrus BM 10507*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 3. London: British Museum Publications.
- 2008 “Osiris and the Deceased.” In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, and Elizabeth Froid. Los Angeles. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/29r70244>.
- 2010 “The Reign of Seth: Egyptian Perspectives from the First Millennium BCE.” In *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE; Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1–4, 2009*, edited by Ladislav Bareš, Filip Coppens, and Květa Smoláriková, pp. 396–430. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

Spalinger, Anthony

- 2008 “Colors and Directions.” In  *Diener des Horus: Festschrift für Dieter Kurth zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Wolfgang Waitkus, pp. 239–45. Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia  1. Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm

- 1902 *Demotische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient.

Stadler, Martin Andreas

- 2012 *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 7. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

te Velde, Herman

- 1977 *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. 2nd ed. Probleme der Ägyptologie 6. Leiden: Brill.

Vernus, Pascal

- 1978 *Athribis: Textes et documents relatifs à la géographie, aux cultes, et à l'histoire d'une ville du delta égyptien à l'époque pharaonique*. Bibliothèque d'étude 74. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

von Lieven, Alexandra

- 2006 “Seth ist im Recht, Osiris ist im Unrecht! Sethkultorte und ihre Version des Osiris-Mythos.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 133: 141–50.

Yoyotte, Jean

- 1970 “Religion de l'Égypte ancienne.” *Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses* 79: 157–95.

5

“DESTRUCTIVE FLAME,” “DAZZLING BEAUTY,”
AND “SOURCE OF ENLIGHTENMENT”—
ROYAL LIGHT TERMINOLOGY AND METAPHOR
FROM THE NEW KINGDOM TO THE LATE PERIOD

Katja Goebis
University of Toronto

LIGHT SYMBOLISM IS AN IMPORTANT component of the Egyptian royal dogma. The luminous appearance of the king is thought to resemble that of the gods and thus throws into relief the ancient question of the relationship between king and god, and more specifically of the divinity of the king. This essay presents some of the results of a research project titled “Divine Light in Egypt and Mesopotamia,”¹ which aimed to produce an exhaustive collection of evidence for the use of light terminology and iconography pertaining to gods in these two cultures. Because of the cited godlikeness of the Egyptian pharaoh, many of the materials collected also provide evidence for the luminous king, however. Robert Ritner’s work on Third Intermediate Period texts was used extensively to delineate developments in conceptions between the New Kingdom and later periods, and it thus seemed opportune to dedicate this synthesis of results on luminous kings to him on the occasion of his sixty-eighth birthday. He sadly passed away before this essay could be published. All that remains for me to wish him is an eternal, Egyptian-style existence as a luminous $\text{ʒ}h-mj s\text{ʒ}h r tr=f n\text{h}(w) mj Spdt$ —just as desired by the kings whose texts are discussed below.

INTRODUCTION: FACETS OF EGYPTIAN KINGSHIP IDEOLOGY

It is well known that, at the latest from the Fourth Dynasty onward, the Egyptian king was thought to have descended from the solar creator—as evinced by the “Son of Ra” title that was first adopted by Radjedef. Accordingly, he was believed to share in the sun god’s divine nature.² Finds by the Czech Institute at Old Kingdom Abusir, of fragments of the so-called Myth of the Divine Birth,³ further underline that, already by the time of Djedkara-Isesi, this association went far beyond the metaphorical and rather extended to a perceived “genetic” similarity—to apply a modern scientific term to a mythical concept here—which is also borne out by the fact that the king is often called the “bodily son” ($s\text{ʒ} n(j) ht$) of the god.⁴ This epithet continues to be used into the latest periods, although, in the Amarna period, Akhenaten places his own,

1 Held by the author at the University of Toronto between 2008 and 2013 and funded by a Standard Research Grant of the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC). The collection of materials presented here was in part undertaken with the help of University of Toronto students Clara Mak, Carla Mesa-Guzzo, Dawn Power, and Silvia Zago.

2 See Leprohon 2013, pp. 35–36 with n. 35; Blumenthal 1970, pp. 65, 106 with n. 6 for earlier literature. As a descendant of the god(s) he is also their heir; see Blumenthal 1970, pp. 31–33 for examples from the Middle Kingdom, pp. 41–43 for $h\text{ʒ}$. General treatment also in Baines 1998.

3 Standard edition still Brunner 1986; Old Kingdom Abusir fragment: Megahed 2016, cat. no. 40 (with pls. 63–64) and discussion and references to earlier literature on pp. 131–39; also Megahed and Vymazalová 2011.

4 N.B.: s and z are not normally distinguished in this essay. $s\text{ʒ} nj ht$ of Geb already in PT 2 §1; Senwosret I is the “beloved bodily son of Amun” ($s\text{ʒ} n(j) ht mry$) in his White Chapel at Karnak (e.g., Hirsch 2004, p. 251); further Middle Kingdom examples in Blumenthal 1970, pp. 29, 64–66, to which may be added some blocks from the Satet temple at Elephantine with $s\text{ʒ} ntr pr\text{ʿ} jm=f$ (Hirsch 2004, pp. 187–88, lines 14–15). Several New Kingdom examples are discussed below. On the divine sonship of the king, see also the classic study by Barta 1975, pp. 21–22, 32, 42–43; metaphorical expressions surrounding this concept are discussed by Hsu 2017, pp. 165–69; for Ramesside examples, see Grimal 1986, pp. 152ff.

luminous twist on the old concept by having himself referred to as $p^3 \text{ } \dot{s}rj \text{ } w\dot{b}h \text{ } n \text{ } p^3 \text{ } \dot{j}tn$ “the luminous child of the Aten”⁵ or $(p^3y=k) \text{ } \dot{s}rj \text{ } pr(w) \text{ } m \text{ } stwt=k$ “(your) child that emerged from your (the Aten’s) rays.”⁶ It is of note that use of the term $\dot{s}rj$ to denote the royal offspring of the god(s) seems otherwise to be attested only from the Ramesside period onward, highlighting the lasting influence of Amarna developments beyond the Eighteenth Dynasty. Such developments will be illustrated further at a number of junctures in the ensuing discussion.⁷

In keeping with the perceived genetic relatedness of king and god, there are a myriad of references to their physical likeness. Some explicit examples can be found already in the Middle Kingdom, as when Senwosret I is called the *mjt*w-image of Ra in the *Tale of Sinuhe* (version B 216).⁸ This godlikeness entails a cosmic, luminous physique. The *Loyalist Instruction* of Kairsu, as preserved on the stela of Sehetepibra, is explicit in this regard when describing Amenemhat III:

| | |
|---|--|
| $R^c w \text{ } pw \text{ } m^3 \dot{z} w \text{ } m \text{ } stwt=f$ | He is Ra, who is beheld (or “perceptible”) through his rays, |
| $sh\dot{d}w(j) \text{ } sw \text{ } bwy \text{ } r \text{ } jtn$ | one (who is) illuminating the Two Lands more than the sun disk. ⁹ |

I will return to royal luminosity/godlikeness and its many facets after reviewing some important aspects of the Egyptian god-king that have been the focus of previous studies.

THE DIVINE STATUS OF THE KING

The divine nature of the king can be expressed iconographically, by showing him to be of the same size as deities and “endorsed” by them: he is touched, embraced, and crowned by or seated with gods and goddesses.¹⁰ He may also appear theriomorphic—especially as a lion, bull, falcon, sphinx, or griffin. Thutmose IV’s chariot shows him as a human-headed griffin,¹¹ accompanied by a pair of fans. These objects are common in representations of the royal exit from and entry into the palace or temple, of royal progress, or of the king on the battlefield in his chariot. They replicate, both in shape and often (where preserved) in their coloring, the h^c -hieroglyph symbolizing the primeval mound from which the sun shines forth every morning and thus underline the solar equivalence of royal “appearances”—be they from the palace or temple or on the

5 In the tomb of Parennefer (TA 7; Sandman 1938, p. 70/1). The light verb $w\dot{b}h$ “to shine, to be bright; to brighten” is first attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty and sees much use in the Amarna period—possibly in an effort to augment the vocabulary of light and luminosity used to express the many aspects of the Aten; see *Wb.* I, p. 295/12–20; TLA 45270.

6 Thus, for example, in the entrance area of the tomb of Aya (TA 25; Sandman 1938, p. 91/1); the outer door of the tomb of Tutu (TA 8; Sandman 1938, p. 75/7); also, although fragmentary, in the northernmost of Aya’s three prayers to the Aten as found on the ceiling of the entrance area (Sandman 1938, p. 90/9), as well as the hymn to the Aten. Physical descent from the god is stressed by the epithet “your (the Aten’s) child that came forth from your body” $(p^3y=k) \text{ } \dot{s}rj \text{ } pr \text{ } m \text{ } h^c w=k$, e.g., in the tomb of Merira (TA 4; Davies 1903, p. 49, pl. 41, line 9), or by references to his divine conception, e.g., in the tomb of Ahmose (TA 3; Sandman 1938, p. 8/8–10): $p^3y=k) \text{ } \dot{s}rj \text{ } wtt.n=k) \text{ } \dot{d}s=k$ “your child, whom you have conceived yourself.” The “Son of Ra” name continues to be used also, of course; see also Silverman 1995, pp. 74–79.

7 Such continuity was also noted by Nicholas Grimal for other aspects of royal phraseology and holds, despite an intentional Ramesside break with the Amarna tradition, in a number of areas; Grimal 1986, e.g., pp. 434–35. See Hsu 2017, p. 387 for examples of $\dot{s}rj$ expressing the king’s divine sonship in the Ramesside period; Murnane 1995a for Ramesside kingship in general. See, e.g., Assmann 1996, pp. 302–10 for both a conscious break with earlier tradition and a “renaissance” in the Ramesside period; also Baines 1991, pp. 193–98 for a summary of social and religious developments at that time.

8 Edition Koch 1990.

9 Stela Cairo 20538, line 12, dating to the late Twelfth Dynasty; Lange and Schäfer 1908, pp. 145–50; Lange and Schäfer 1902, pl. XL; this passage is discussed further below. The alternative reading as $sh\dot{d}.wj$ follows O. DeM 1056 and O. Gardiner 347, in which case a translation as “O how he illuminates the Two Lands . . .” would be closer to the mark; see Blumenthal 1970, p. 98 for further statements that equate the king with gods in the Middle Kingdom. $sh\dot{d}$ “to make bright, to illuminate, to shine,” *Wb.* IV, pp. 224/16–226/6; TLA 141250; $stwt$ “light, rays,” *Wb.* IV, p. 331/2–18; TLA 147910; examples specifically used as part of Ramesside royal visual language in Grimal 1986, pp. 276–77.

10 For a brief summary, see, e.g., Goebis 2007, pp. 279–81.

11 After Carter and Newberry 1904, pls. IX.1, XII. For royal griffin associations, see Hsu 2011.

battlefield. These events are termed *h'w*—just like descriptions of the sun or other celestial bodies emerging from the horizon.¹²

The same animal associations are expressed in visual and metaphorical language that draws on these iconographical features. Shih-Wei Hsu has done some very helpful work in this area and has collected many examples. Significantly, she notes that theriomorphic representations of the king decrease as the use of visual language in royal texts increases,¹³ showcasing the immediate relationship and equivalency between such visuals and their verbal expression.

A further, oft-cited element in discussions of the divine status of the Egyptian king is the explicit use of the term *ntr* “god” for the ruler,¹⁴ including in the combinations *ntr ʒ*, *ntr pn*, or *ntr nfr*. Use of *ntr nfr* and *ntr pn* is originally restricted to the reigning king, while *ntr ʒ* can be used for both gods and the king.¹⁵ In the Middle Kingdom, Senwosret I is both *ntr ʒ* and *ntr pn* or simply *ntr* in the *Tale of Sinuhe*;¹⁶ in the Eighteenth Dynasty, Ahmose is said to be “(a) god on earth” (*ntr pw m tʒ*).¹⁷ The early Ramesside period sees other explicit expressions, such as Seti I’s statement that “a lord (or ‘leader’) is counted among the Ennead (of gods).”¹⁸ Already well developed by the Middle Kingdom is the practice of asserting that the ruler “is,” meaning is identical with, particular deities in order to underline his status and power. When used in this way, the different deities symbolize specific characteristics commonly associated with them in their myths and so operate as divine metaphors that serve to highlight specific functions of the king as ruler.¹⁹ An admittedly fragmentary eulogy on Senwosret I in the Satet temple at Elephantine calls him—apart from, likely, “Ra”—also “Shu who lifts up Nut” (*Šw pw wʒs Nwt*), “Hapi,” “Tatj’enen . . . who begot the gods” (*Tʒt’nn . . . ms ntrw*), “Khenty-irty,” and, in a luminous twist, “the flame” or “torch” (*tkʒ(w)*).²⁰ As several scholars have noted,²¹ New Kingdom kingship ideology was heavily indebted to Middle Kingdom, especially Twelfth

12 See Goebis 2015, pp. 155–61. Lanny Bell has interpreted the fan as signifying the god’s “shade,” and thus protection as extended over the king, and in this way also as a symbol of his divine status (Bell 1985a, pp. 32ff. with nn. 21–31 for attestations). I cannot discuss the full implications of his arguments in this context, but it is safe to say that the Egyptian is unlikely to have perceived a contradiction in these varying interpretations. For examples of Middle Kingdom kings appearing (*hʒ*) like gods, see, e.g., Blumenthal 1970, pp. 41–44.

13 Hsu 2017, p. 187; also pp. 173–87 and a collection of examples on pp. 438–42 (falcon), 442 (griffin), 445–49 (lion), and 451–57 (bull).

14 The king can be associated with the term *ntr* from the time of Djer in the First Dynasty; see Windus-Staginsky 2006, p. 250. Such references have normally been understood to express a belief in the king as belonging to the sphere of the gods, as being one of them; see, e.g., Blumenthal 2002, p. 61; review and nuancing of earlier approaches by Winnerman 2018 (supervisor Robert K. Ritner), esp. chapter 1.3.

15 Collection of materials for *ntr*, *ntr ʒ*, *ntr pn*, and *ntr nfr* in the Old Kingdom, see Windus-Staginsky 2006, pp. 81–124; pp. 106–8 for *ntr ʒ* and *ntr nfr* specifically. *Ntr ʒ* likely referred to gods in origin and was then transferred to the king; as such it is more often found for the deceased ruler (namely, in the Pyramid Texts) than for the reigning king; see Windus-Staginsky 2006, with summary on p. 124. In the Middle Kingdom, use of *ntr ʒ* is restricted to gods according to Blumenthal 1970, p. 24, A 1.14–1.15, and p. 57 nn. 14–17 with older literature, although the exception to that rule is found in Sinuhe’s letter to Senwosret I from Syria (version B 216, dating to the Twelfth Dynasty; Koch 1990, p. 66); cf. Winnerman 2018, chapter 1.3.

16 Version B 253; Koch 1990, p. 73; a eulogy on Senwosret I from the Satet temple at Elephantine further refers to him as *ntr=tn pw*, “he is your god”; see Hirsch 2004, p. 188, line 20.

17 Karnak stela of Ahmose (Cairo CG 34001), lines 22–23; easily accessible version in Klug 2002, p. 29 (N.B.: line count here mistakenly stated to be line 13; the book also contains a few other mistakes).

18 *hsb.tw nb m psdt (ntrw)*; Kanais inscription C, 2; KRI I, p. 67/15–16.

19 For such a use of deities, see, e.g., Goebis and Baines 2018, pp. 667–68; also Goebis 2019, pp. 94–98 for use of such metaphors in religious texts; for the Ramesside period, see Grimal 1986, e.g., pp. 142–51, 370–72, 430–33.

20 Hirsch 2004, p. 187, line 9; further divine identifications are too fragmentary to report here (lines 17–20); see also Hirsch 2008, p. 182 for the association of Senwosret I with various gods, with a view to affording him legitimacy, which the author asserts is an innovation in this king’s time (Hirsch 2008, pp. 233–35 for a consecutive translation of the same text); *tkʒw* “torch, candle, flame,” *Wb.* V, p. 331/5–15; TLA 173620; for *tkʒ* as a metaphorical expression in solar descriptions, see Assmann 1983, p. 217 n. 2.

21 Redford 1995, p. 181; see also Blumenthal 1970, pp. 199ff.; Assmann 1980, p. 17; Grimal 1986, p. 57 for specific aspects of this principle.

Dynasty, precursors. This continuity extends to the use of divine terminology, and I have found it to hold true also for the luminous aspects of New Kingdom and later kings, as we shall see below.

BEING IMBUED WITH THE “ROYAL *KA*” (*K3 NJSWT*)

The ruling monarch’s being imbued with the royal *ka*, thought to be of divine origin and essence, is a further fundamental factor discussed in studies on the Egyptian god-king. Lanny Bell in particular analyzed in detail the role of, and processes leading to, the royal *ka* rendering the king divine or godlike, arguing that, at least in the New Kingdom, it was bestowed on the king by Amun-Ra during the Opet Festival in the temple of Luxor, when the royal claim to rule was renewed in an annual merging of king and god (viz. his *ka*).²² This model, of a mortal/human king merging with an immortal/divine *ka*, has been highly influential in studies of the divinity of the Egyptian king and has many merits. Recently, a reinvestigation by Jonathan Winnerman has collected new materials and, in reevaluating the evidence, concluded that the relationship between the Opet Festival and the divinity of the living king is not as straightforward as previously assumed.²³ Even earlier, scholars such as Eva Windus-Staginsky had pointed to the fact that the earliest associations between a royal *ka* and a god, albeit in funerary contexts, involve Horus²⁴ and interpreted this as evidence that the original relationship between king and divine (and by extension royal) *ka* is mediated by means of the mythical relationship between Osiris as father and Horus as son,²⁵ thus rendering the connection with Ra secondary. This observation affords the opportunity to add to the iconographic arguments that were offered above in support of the godlikeness of the king the remark that representations and metaphors presenting the ruler as a hawk or falcon are particularly widespread, and that both Ra and Horus take this avian form. Thus, Thutmose III is stated to have been created by the sun god as a *bjk n nbw* “falcon of gold” in some texts (e.g., *Urk.* IV, p. 161/2), and at the latest from this period onward occur hybrid forms of the king as half man, half falcon.²⁶ The Thutmoside reference to the falcon’s color as golden further underlines the luminous appearance of the ruler, and we will return to golden features of kings below.

THE PHYSICAL LIKENESS OF KING AND GOD—PART I

The semi-theriomorphic form of the falcon-king offers a pertinent angle from which to approach the issue of the physical resemblance of gods and king in a little more detail. Already the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom provide good evidence that it is the ruler’s outer appearance in particular that commands respect and awe and sets him apart from normal mortals. Thus, in one of the instances of Sinuhe experiencing and describing Senwosret I as *ntr*, the setting is an audience at court, and one has to surmise that it is the king’s dazzling appearance that forms the basis for Sinuhe’s choice of terminology: Senwosret appears on his throne in a canopy (or similar; *wmt*) of shiny electrum (B 252).²⁷ In the same text, he is also referred to as “Great God” (*ntr 3*) and as being “(in) the likeness of Ra” (*mjt w R’w*; B 216).²⁸ This is, to date, the earliest attestation of the latter royal epithet, which becomes widespread in the New Kingdom and later and is

22 Bell 1985b.

23 Winnerman 2018, e.g., chapters 3.1.1.5, 3.2.3.5 for evidence from the reign of Hatshepsut suggesting that other festivals, such as the Valley Festival, had similar functions and uses of the royal *ka*; chapter 6 for a summary of issues and arguments.

24 From the Pyramid Texts onward, the deceased king as Osiris NN appears as the *ka* of Horus—e.g., PT 589 §§1609a–b (Merenra): *Wsjr NN . . . nd.n kw Hr w hpr.tj m k3=f* “Osiris NN . . . Horus has protected you, who have appeared as his *ka*” (similar PT 649); see Windus-Staginsky 2006, p. 215.

25 Thus already Schweitzer 1956, p. 36. The concept of Atum transferring his *ka* onto his offspring, Shu and Tefnut, when he set into motion the creative process, is equally attested from the Pyramid Texts of Merenra onward (in PT 600); see also Popielska-Grzybowska 2013.

26 E.g., statuette Louvre 5351; see Goebis 1995b, esp. pp. 159–62 with pls. III–IV; for earlier visualizations of this divine relationship, see Blumenthal 2003.

27 Papyrus Berlin 3022 from the Twelfth Dynasty; Koch 1990, p. 73.

28 Koch 1990, p. 66; see also Blumenthal 1970, p. 98, B 6.15.

used especially often next to the above-cited *ntr nfr*.²⁹ Such descriptions also frequently contain references to the ruler’s radiant appearance, as in the stela of the Second Intermediate Period king Khaneferria-Sobekhotep IV from Karnak:³⁰

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ntr nfr mjtj R^cw . . .</i> | The perfect god, likeness of Ra . . . |
| <i>nbw(j) hr t³wy mj Pth-Skr . . .</i> | Gold(en One) above the Two Lands like Ptah-Sokar . . . |
| <i>nb stwt m hr mj jtn</i> | lord of rays in the face like the sun disk, |
| <i>psd mj Tmw^r</i> | who shines ³¹ like Atum ^r |

In the Eighteenth Dynasty, Hatshepsut presents a particularly explicit description of her godlike appearance in a fictionalized account of her youth presented in her funerary monument at Deir el-Bahari.³²

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>nfr m³³ n=s r ht nb(t)</i> | Looking at her was more beautiful than anything: |
| <i>jm=s m ntr</i> | Her form was as (that of) a god, |
| <i>qd=s m ntr</i> | her character/shape was as (that of) a god, |
| <i>jrr=s ht nbt m ntr</i> | that she did anything was as a god, |
| <i>3h=s m ntr</i> | her 3h/efficacy was as (that of) a god. |
| <i>hpr hmt=s m hwnt nfrt rnp.tj</i> | When her majesty appeared as a beautiful youthful woman, |
| <i>W3dyt jmj^t 3t=s</i> | “Wadjet in her rage” |
| <i>sw3š.n=s jr^w=s n ntr</i> | made her divine form majestic |
| <i>m^r qm³=s</i> | while her shape was flourishing. |

Scholars such as Boyo Ockinga have devoted studies to the *Gottebenbildlichkeit*—the “godlikeness”—of man, examining terms such as *mjtj/mjtw*, *tjt/twt*, *hntj*, and *šsp* where they are used to relate king and god.³³ Ockinga asserts, on the basis of earlier studies by Siegfried Morenz³⁴ and Jan Assmann,³⁵ that an evolution in the relationship between god and king can be observed:³⁶ whereas the Old Kingdom relationship was entirely based in the divine descent and sonship of the king, the Middle Kingdom, while retaining the sonship dogma, stresses the king’s dependence on his divine father by making him the recipient of divine command.³⁷ The concepts of divine “likeness” and “image of the god” emerge only in the Second Intermediate Period—the above-cited designation of Senwosret I as *mjtj R^cw/ntr* in the *Tale of Sinuhe* is considered the exception to the rule.³⁸ Ockinga then interprets this ostensibly new likeness terminology as conveying a rather more loosely knit relationship between god and king, one that lacks the connotations of legitimacy inherent in the sonship model. This changed kingship dogma is also said to explain why further likeness terms, *twt* and *hntj ntr*, are introduced at this time—namely, in an effort to fill a notable ideological void.³⁹

29 Also as *mjtj R^cw*; see *Wb.* II, p. 39/6–9, where the epithet is falsely stated to be attested only as of the Eighteenth Dynasty, however; a further early attestation is the Karnak stela of Khaneferria Sobekhotep IV (Cairo JE 51811), line 2, for which see the following footnote; see also TLA 67930, 68220, and 400015.

30 Stela Cairo JE 51811, line 2; see Helck 1969, with pl. XVII; Helck 1975, p. 31, lines 2, 7, 8.

31 *psd* “to shine,” *Wb.* I, pp. 556/14–558/3; TLA 62420.

32 *Urk.* IV, 246/1–9.

33 Ockinga 1984, pp. 6–7, 20–22 (*mjtj/mjtw*, *tjt/twt*); pp. 7–8, 20–22 (*hntj*); pp. 37, 45ff. (*šsp*); see also Redford 1995, p. 172 for some Eighteenth Dynasty examples.

34 Morenz 1964; also Morenz 1965, pp. 56ff.

35 Assmann 1979, e.g., pp. 18–21; Ockinga’s results revise those of earlier studies, such as Kischkewitz 1977.

36 Ockinga 1984, pp. 134–39.

37 Ockinga 1984, p. 135, with reference to Morenz 1964, pp. 26–27; also Assmann 1979, pp. 21–22.

38 It is of note that already texts such as the Instruction for King Merikara, which is traditionally seen as a Middle Kingdom composition, convey the idea of mankind being in the likeness of the creator god (here *snnw*; P. St. Petersburg 1116A, line 132). See Parkinson 2002, p. 215 for discussion and further literature; for arguments in favor of dating Merikara later, see Stauder 2013, pp. 198–99, 510–11.

39 See Blumenthal 1970, p. 99, B 6.16: at Koptos, Ra himself makes Rahotep into his *hntj*, for example: *rdj.n tw R^cw [m] hntj=f*.

Only Akhenaten reintroduces the sonship focus, according to Ockinga,⁴⁰ while Tutankhamun, in turn, returns to the divine image ideology—as explicit, among other things, in his birth name.

Besides the fact that the child-king's name, Tutankhaten, was obviously selected in the reign of his father Akhenaten, I have been unable to confirm the proposed schema in my review of the pertinent sources relating to royal luminosity. Instead, references to sonship and to divine image and likeness occur side-by-side in many early Eighteenth Dynasty sources. Thus, Ahmose is *mjtj R'w . . . mstjw R'w* “the likeness of Ra . . . offspring of Ra” when he “illuminates the kingship” (*shd nsyt*);⁴¹ Hatshepsut is the daughter of Amun-Ra and “the effective *tjt*-image of the Lord of All,” as well as the “female Horus,” who was both begotten by Ra and at the same time is his living *hntj*-image and the “electrum of the kingship”;⁴² and Thutmose III is *mjtj R'w*, as well as “the excellent egg of Amun, who came from the womb with his face directed toward the [king]ship.”⁴³ Amenhotep II on his Small Sphinx Stela is the *hntj* of Atum once he has been crowned with all his crowns by Amun, but in the same text he is also referred to as *ntr nfr*, *mjtj R'w*, *s3 Jmn*, and *mstjw Hr-w-3hty*.⁴⁴ Amenhotep III, besides adopting the element *tjt R'w* into his titulary,⁴⁵ is moreover described by Amun as his *hntj*-image and *twt*-image, as his “bodily son,” and as having been born to the god by his consort Mut.⁴⁶ Akhenaten, finally, can be said to have been “formed (*qd*) like the Aten” despite the consistently nonanthropomorphic representations of the god. The hymnic texts from the tomb of Aya are particularly explicit:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>msy=k sw dw3w</i> | May you (the Aten) fashion him in the morning |
| <i>mj hprw=k</i> | like (you do) (or “resembling”?) your (own) manifestations, |
| <i>qd=k sw m tjt=k mj Jtn</i> | may you build him in your image, like the Aten. ⁴⁷ |

THE PHYSICAL LIKENESS OF KING AND GOD—PART II: ROYAL DRESS AND PARAPHERNALIA

A passage from the Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II, which emphasizes the divine descent of the prince and later king in the context of describing his plans for the Giza Plateau, illustrates the importance of regalia and their luminous sheen in projecting the godlike royal image. The kingship is granted to Amenhotep by “his father Ra” (*wd.n n=fjtj=f R'w*; *Urk.* IV, p. 1283/4), and he is crowned king. In this context, the epithet *tjt R'w* refers to the uraeus as Crown Goddess:

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| <i>Wrt htp=s st=s</i> | The Great One (i.e., the uraeus)—she settled in her place |
| <i>m wpt=f</i> | on his parting, |
| <i>tjt R'w mn.tj r h'c=s</i> | the image of Ra being established in her station. ⁴⁸ |

40 Also Redford 1995, p. 181, emphasizes the “father-son axis involving king and sun-god” in Akhenaten's program.

41 Or “shining of kingship”; Karnak stela (Cairo CG 34001); *Urk.* IV, pp. 14/13–16, 15/1; earlier in the text, Ahmose is also called *s3 Jmn n ht=f mry=f* (*Urk.* IV, p. 14/8). Also Thutmose I is the “son of Amun, divine seed of Imenrenef, offspring of the Bull of the Ennead, and excellent image of god's body” (*s3 Jmn wttw ntr Jmn-rn=f mstjw k3 psdt tjt sbqt nt h'w ntr*) (Tombo's stela, lines 9–10; *Urk.* IV, p. 84/14–17; Klug 2002, p. 73, with a few transcription errors).

42 *s3t Jmn-R'w . . . tjt 3ht nt Nb-r-dr . . . Hrt ndtt jtj=s . . . wtt.n R'w . . . hntj=f nh . . . d'm n nsyt*; obelisk inscription of Hatshepsut, *Urk.* IV, pp. 361/6–362/8.

43 *swht jqrt nt Jmn pr m ht jw hr=f r [ns]yt*; *Urk.* IV, p. 811/13–17.

44 *Urk.* IV, p. 1284/3; similar also on his Memphis stela (Cairo JE 86763) and western Karnak stela; *Urk.* IV, pp. 1319/17–18, 1320/2: *ntr nfr mjtj R'w tjt dsr n nb ntrw . . . qm3.n sw jtj=f R'w*.

45 *Nb-m3't-R'w tjt R'w*; e.g., on his southern mortuary temple stela; Leprohon 2013, p. 104; see Klug 2002, p. 378 with n. 2964 on earlier miswritings.

46 *s3=j n ht=j . . . twt=j nh qm3 h'w=j ms.n n=j Mwt nb(t) Tsrw* “my beloved bodily son, . . . my living *twt*-image, form(ed one) of my body, whom Mut, the Mistress of Isheru, birthed for me”; building program stela from his mortuary temple (Cairo CG 34025), lines 19, 26–27; *Urk.* IV, p. 1655/16–18. On another stela from his mortuary temple: *ntk s3=[j mry] pr(w) m h'w=j hnty=j rdj.n=j tp t3* (*Urk.* IV, p. 1676/1–2).

47 Sandman 1938, p. 91/3; Aya, TA 25.

48 *Urk.* IV, p. 1283/6–7; cf. Klug 2002, p. 231, who believes that *tjt R'w* refers to the king here.

A relatively early text illustrating the underlying image theology connecting the sun god and his disk and uraeus can be found in Coffin Text spell 335. In a passage describing the birth of the sun god from the hindquarters of the celestial cow Mehetweret, the gloss asks how this particular morning form of Ra should be understood (*sy pw R^cw pw msy m sfr hpdw Mht-wrt*; CT IV, 246b/247b; following Sq1C, but with several attestations). The response states that this solar form is to be perceived in “the image (or ‘reflection’) of the Eye of Ra in the morning, until he (himself) is born every day” (*tw t pw n jrt R^cw dw³w r mst=f r^c-nb*; CT IV, 248a/249a).⁴⁹ Such statements prove that the eye goddesses embodying the solar disk are in fact to be understood as manifestations of the sun god himself (and vice versa) and, by extension, that beholding one of them in the context of a particular cosmic scenario, such as sunrise, amounts to experiencing a vision of the god. Since the eye goddesses, especially Wadjet and Nekhbet but also others, are embodied in the royal crowns and uraeus, these and other royal regalia play an important role in likening the king’s outer appearance to that of the god(s). The crowns are formally bestowed upon the officeholder at his or her coronation, in a rite of passage that is represented, in both text and image, as a mythical event elevating the incumbent to the throne to the divine sphere.⁵⁰ The coronation scenes preserved on Hatshepsut’s Red Chapel present the most extensive surviving account of the coronation ritual attested to date. They bear eloquent witness to the following mythical conceptions and derived royal ideology:

- a. The bestowing entity is normally the sun god, Ra or Amun-Ra.⁵¹
- b. The crowns are understood as the “crown(s) of Ra” (*h^cw R^cw*); in some cases they are specifically identified as pertaining to the moment of creation, the “first occasion” (*n(j) sp-tpj*).⁵² They may further be specified as forming part of (Amun-)Ra’s own appearance and paraphernalia, as when this god describes

49 There are a few small variants across different manuscripts, but the sense remains relatively intact in all cases.

50 Details and considerations in, e.g., Goebis 2008, pp. 359–78.

51 Thus already in the Middle Kingdom, when Senwosret I is both installed and crowned by Amun-Ra in his White Chapel; recent edition by Arnaudière, Beaux, and Chéné 2015, pl. 17, e.g., scene 12, where Amun-Ra addresses the king:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>dj.n(=j) n=k nsyt t³wy</i> | I have granted you the kingship of the Two Lands, |
| <i>h^t m Hrw jtt wrt</i> | the arising/coronation as Horus, and the seizing of the <i>wrrt</i> -crown. |

And scene 11:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>smn(=j) gnwt=k m njswt-bjtj</i> | I establish your annals as Dual King, |
| <i>w[tz=j] nb.[ty=k]</i> | I lif[t up] your [two] crown god[desse]s, |
| <i>h^j=k jm=sn</i> | that you may shine forth/be crowned with them, |
| <i>nh dt</i> | living forever. |

New Kingdom text examples attesting to this religious underpinning are plentiful; see, e.g., the Karnak stela of Ahmose (Cairo CG 34001, lines 11–12): *njswt pw shq³.n R^cw s³.n Jmn*, “He is the king whom Ra has installed and Amun has made great”; specifically for the bestowal of the crowns, see, e.g., the Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II, lines 2–3, where this king is said to have been both begotten and enthroned by Amun (here as *p³wj Bwy*—the Primeval One of the Two Lands; *Urk.* IV, pp. 1276/17, 20; 1277/2):

| | |
|---|--|
| <i>sh^j.n=f sw m njswt ds=f</i> | He himself caused him to shine forth/arise as king |
| <i>hr nst=f nt nhw . . .</i> | on his throne of the living . . . |
| <i>rdj.n=f n=f nst Gbb j³wt mnht nt Jtmw . . .</i> | He gave him the throne of Geb and the excellent office of Atum . . . |
| <i>smn.n=f j³ht=f m tp=f . . .</i> | and he fixed his uraeus (i.e., crown) on his head. . . . |

52 Compare, for example, in Hatshepsut’s coronation sequence, the *nemes*, *ibes*-wig, and *atef* bestowed by Amun-Ra: *nemes* (block 261 S, 186 N): *nms sp tpy n h^t* “the *nemes* of the first occasion of arising/coronation” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977–79, pp. 237–40; Burgos and Larché 2006–8, pp. 79, 127; also Goebis 2011, p. 29); *ibes* (block 114 S, 117 N): *jbs hkr h^c hsbdy jmj tp n jty=t R^cw* “the *ibes*-wig, the ornament that arose/shone forth lapis lazuli-colored on the head of your father Ra” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977–79, pp. 242–43; Burgos and Larché 2006–8, pp. 81, 126; Goebis 2011, p. 31; see n. 129 below for lapis lazuli as a dark-shining material evoking the night sky); *atef* (block 95): *3tfw h^cw R^cw nj sp tpy* “the *atef*, the crown(s) of Ra of the first occasion” (Lacau and Chevrier 1977–79, pp. 246–47; Burgos and Larché 2006–8, p. 83; Goebis 2011, p. 32; note that the *atef* is frequently seen as a composite and can hence be referred to as a plural noun; Goebis 2008, pp. 62–64, 112–13). The crowns may also be attributed to other solar forms, such as Atum (e.g., Great Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II, line 7; *Urk.* IV, p. 1278/2: *shwj.n h^cw Tmw sjp(w) n hntj=f hft wd jrj-ntrw Jmn* “The crowns of Atum have gathered, having been allocated to his *hntj*-image, according to the command of the creator of gods, Amun”) or Harakhty (e.g., Buhen stela of Thutmose III, Khartoum Museum, line 15; *Urk.* IV, p. 809/13, where the king is *nb h^cw mj Hrw-³hty*, “Lord of Crowns like Harakhty”); later kings continue to present their coronation in line with this tradition, e.g., Piye on his Gebel Barkal Stela, lines 6–7: *šsp n=k wrty sh^c R^cw m sp-tpy nfr* “Receive for yourself the double diadem, which Ra caused to shine forth on the beautiful first

the blue *kheperesh* he is bestowing on Hatshepsut as the “ornament shining forth on my (own) head, on whose parting (the uraeus) Werethekau likes to coil” (*hkr h^c jmj tp=j mrrw Wrt-hk³w mhn hr wpt=f*).⁵³

- c. In line with the above, and with the cited theology of the crown goddesses as *twt*-images of certain solar manifestations, the royal crowns and headdresses render the king visible or perceptible as godlike. This is explicit, for example, in the text accompanying Hatshepsut’s coronation with the *atef*, where the queen is said to “appear” or “shine forth” with it to the *rekhyt*-population, while the Nine Bows worship her in it (*h^cj=tm=fn rhyt dw³ tn pdwt psd*).⁵⁴ In some cases, the iconography of a headdress can in itself serve to underscore such a conception, as is the case for the *henu*-crown, composed of horns, feathers, solar disk, and several luminous uraei. This composite can be “read” to evoke representations of sunrise—as presented, for example, by the vignettes accompanying Book of the Dead chapter 17. These commonly identify the solar god emerging from the horizon enclosed in the sun disk as Harakhty or Akhty, and Hatshepsut’s coronation text indeed states that the *henu* permits her to “shine forth (*h^cj*) like Akhty.”⁵⁵

THE LUMINOUS EGYPTIAN KING

With these preliminaries on the conspicuously divine and often explicitly solar king in mind, we can turn our attention to the associated light terminology. While luminosity is a feature already of the Old Kingdom king, the ensuing discussion focuses on the Eighteenth Dynasty and in particular on the changes brought about by Akhenaten’s new theology and kingship dogma. I also present an outlook on how some of these changes are reflected in ensuing periods.

Light terms can be found in both the royal titulary and epithets, as well as in manifold metaphorical expressions designed to paint a colorful mental image of the radiant and hence godlike king. Solar imagery is something of a given considering the king’s descent from the sun god and is discussed in the second half of this essay. But I will begin my discussion at the other end of the cosmic cycle, with references to the king’s association with nighttime celestial phenomena that reveal him or her to be a truly “cosmic” ruler.

LUNAR ATTRIBUTES OF THE KING

Lunar associations are especially befitting for the kings of the Seventeenth Dynasty and early Eighteenth Dynasty, who proudly showcase a particular affinity to the moon in their choice of royal birth names—the then-popular *J^ch-ms* “Ahmose” and *D^chwtj-ms* “Thutmose.”

Ahmose:

pr=f pdt=f hr gswy=fy
mj j^ch m hrj-jb sb³w

He comes forth, his troops at his sides,
like the moon amid the stars. (*Urk. IV*, p. 18/10)

Thutmose III:

nn pw . . . shd j^ch

He is that . . . which the moon illuminates. (*Urk. IV*, p. 813/4–5)

But these associations continue into later periods also.

occasion”; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 351; Ritner 2009, p. 462, who notes that Piye is actively drawing on the royal examples of Thutmose III and Ramesses II in this text.

⁵³ Block 23; Lacau and Chevrier 1977–79, pp. 240–42; Burgos and Larché 2006–8, p. 80; for commentary, see also Goebis 2011, p. 30; materials on Ra/the sun god as source of both kingship and paraphernalia in the Ramesside period presented in Grimal 1986, pp. 358ff.

⁵⁴ Block 95; cf. n. 52 above.

⁵⁵ Thus on block 141 of the Red Chapel; Lacau and Chevrier 1977–79, pp. 247–48, pl. XI; see Goebis 2015, esp. pp. 165–66, for the various vignettes accompanying Book of the Dead chapter 17 and how they relate to the symbolism of this crown.

Horemhab:

tw=j r wḥm mswt mjtt jḥ I will repeat births like the moon. (*Urk.* IV, p. 2161/6)

Seti I:

jḥ n t3w nbw Moon of all the lands (*KRI* I, p. 6/15)

Ramesses III:

tḥnn ḥḥw mj jḥ Shimmering of manifestations⁵⁶ like the moon (*KRI* V, p. 21/1)

References to the rejuvenating faculties of the moon, as in Horemhab’s example, are expressed by the verbs *rnpi*, *hrd*, or *nḥḥ* and are particularly important in the Nineteenth Dynasty and later.⁵⁷ The cited examples of Thutmose III and Ramesses III illustrate that the light emitted by the moon is an important royal association also.

STARS IN CONCEPTUAL METAPHORS AND SIMILES FOR THE KING

Stars, which we saw effectively cast as the metaphorical troops surrounding lunar Ahmose, also play an important role in portraying the luminous king.⁵⁸

Hatshepsut appears:

hr ḥ3 mj jr sb3w shining⁵⁹ like the stars do
m ḥnw wshṯ ḥbt ḥft-ḥr n t3 r dr=f in the festival hall before the entire land. (*Urk.* IV, p. 340/1–2)⁶⁰

Thutmose IV, when traveling upstream, is more specifically:

mj sḥw stḥn=f šmḥw m nfr=f like Orion when he illuminates Upper Egypt with his beauty.⁶¹
 (*Urk.* IV, p. 1546/13)

56 For the semantic link between the verb *tḥn* (*Wb.* V, pp. 391–393/22; TLA 854580) and the material *tḥnt*, commonly rendered “faience, glass” (*Wb.* V, pp. 390/11–391/15; TLA 176620), with the luminous appearance of the sky, see Goebis 1998, pp. 63–64; for faience as a luminous material, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 521ff., esp. pp. 531–33 for use in divine epithets. Aufrère observes that the verb *tḥn* does not appear as a component of royal names or epithets before the Ramesside period (Aufrère 1991, p. 536 n. 131), but compare the Horus name of Aya: *tḥn ḥḥw* (e.g., Leprohon 2013, p. 106). We saw above that *tḥn* can occur in descriptions of royal actions emulating the behavior of gods and astral bodies somewhat earlier. For *tḥny* “Shining One” as a well-attested designation of celestial deities, see *LGG* VII, p. 479.

57 *rnpi*, *Wb.* II, pp. 432/11–434/8; TLA 95000; *hrd*, *Wb.* III, p. 398/13–17; TLA 124510; *nḥḥ*, *Wb.* II, p. 313/4–5; TLA 87440; see also Hsu 2017, p. 397; Grimal 1986, e.g., p. 543 with n. 469 for further examples. Especially common from the Third Intermediate Period onward, the moon can be explicitly addressed as a nocturnal form of the sun god, Amun-Ra. Thus, e.g., on the Twenty-First Dynasty Banishment Stela (Louvre C 256, line 13): *šw n hrw j(ḥ)ḥ mšr(w)* “the sunlight of the day, the moon at evening”; Jansen-Winkel 2007a, p. 73; Ritner 2009, pp. 125, 127.

58 See Winkler 2013 for a collection of stellar associations of the king in the New Kingdom. Already Senwosret I’s inscription on the facade of the Montu temple at Tod describes the king as appearing “as an Imperishable Star,” an *ḥḥ m(w)-sk*, although a Ptolemaic reworking of the text means that the authenticity of the imagery cannot be ascertained; a dating of the text to the Middle Kingdom was also questioned by Buchberger 2006, p. 21, who suggests that it may date to the time of Seti I in its current form. For the text and discussion of its presumed significance within Senwosret I’s royal dogma, see Hirsch 2004, p. 202, doc. 71b, line 6; Hirsch 2008, pp. 98–120.

59 *ḥ3* “to shine, glitter, illuminate,” *Wb.* I, p. 177/11–13; TLA 36550.

60 In *Urk.* IV, p. 366/11, she is moreover a *nj skj=f*, written with a star determinative and thus likely referring to an *ḥḥm-sk*, an Imperishable Star.

61 *stḥn* “to make bright, to make dazzling,” *Wb.* IV, pp. 359/14–360/14; TLA 149370. A specific stellar luminary is also envisaged by Amenhotep III when he is the *sb3 n t3 ḥr jmnt nt pt* “the Star of the Land on the western side of the sky” (*Urk.* IV, p. 1701/2).

This simile in the context of royal progress would have evoked the popular association of the constellation Orion with a “wide stride” (*wsh nmtt* or *pd nmtt*),⁶² and thus the king’s swiftness as much as his radiance and visibility. This example illustrates that, besides the luminosity and sheen of a constellation, its particular shape, behavior, and myth informed metaphorical expressions also.

While not altogether surprising, it is of note that the Amarna kings do not make use of conceptual metaphors involving nighttime luminaries, thus throwing into relief how royal ideology and imagery were adapted to evolving religious conceptions. Much of the cited stellar and lunar imagery is, however, picked up again by the Ramessides and later dynasties. Ramesses II appears, for example, as *sb3 t3wy* “star of the Two Lands” (*KRI* II, p. 480/4). Particularly exquisite in its multilayeredness is Seti I’s metaphorical description of himself as crown prince under Ramesses I in terms of a star beside his solarized father:

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>tj.sw m R'w dj.n=f stwt</i> | He was Ra, (when) he emitted rays, |
| <i>jw=j m-ε=f mj sb3 r-gs=f</i> | while I was with him like a star at his side. (<i>KRI</i> I, pp. 110–111/x+5) |

This coupling of stellar and solar imagery, in what has been interpreted as evidence for a coregency between the two royals,⁶³ may also serve to illustrate a pervasive relativity in the meaning of Egyptian symbols. Had Seti appeared alone in this context, he likely would have opted to describe himself in terms of solar images—as he does later in the same text when speaking of his accession to the throne after his father’s death.⁶⁴ Next to his father, however, a cosmic symbol had to be found that allowed him to express a hierarchy and contingent gradation in celestial radiance. It is tempting to assume that the star in question is Venus the morning star, for which a connection with certain forms of Horus has been proposed.⁶⁵

Seti I,⁶⁶ too, is associated with Orion, in a text that refers to the cyclical reappearance, after a period of invisibility, of this constellation and the ensuing asterism Canis Major, which comprises Sothis-Sirius:

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>h'j=k m t3 mj S3hw r tr=f</i> | You appear in the land like Orion in his season, |
| <i>'nh.tj mj Spdt</i> | being alive like Sothis. (<i>KRI</i> I, p. 187/14) |

The image evoked here is that of a royal figure dazzling the onlooker, just as these constellations would have done when their luminous shape reappeared in the night sky following their cyclical “death.” References to royal stellar and lunar equivalency continue to be found in the Third Intermediate Period and later, as in the following example from the Chronicle of Prince Osorkon. There, too, a stellar simile is employed to present the image of a prince who is leading an army on behalf of his royal father, King Takelot II. In order to make their relationship even clearer, a mythical precedent is adduced: Osorkon is “like Shu at the side of

62 From the Pyramid Texts onward, where Orion is a form of Osiris; see Goebis 2008, pp. 19–20 for a collection of examples and literature on the various roles of Orion; e.g., PT 477 §959e for the constellation’s “wide stride.”

63 Zivie 1972, pp. 113–14.

64 “I was like Ra at dawn since I received my father’s paraphernalia” (*tw=j mj R'w tp-dw3yt dr šsp=j hkrw jtj=j*); *KRI* I, pp. 111/15–112/1.

65 The Egyptians mostly do not seem to have distinguished planets from stars more broadly, although some authors have suggested that the collective term *shdw (pt)* may denote the latter group in some contexts; see Krauss 1997, pp. 254–60 with discussion of earlier literature; for the identification of Venus with Horus, see Krauss 1997, pp. 216–34, 248–53, 261–74; for a survey of arguments, see also Krauss 2002, 2008; see Goebis 2008, pp. 372–73 for a brief summary of the implications for the reigning king in the role of Horus. The fact that all of the then-known outer planets, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, were more-over conceptualized as forms of Horus—*Hrw dšr*, *Hrw wpš pt*, and *Hrw k3 pt*, respectively, in the earliest attested astronomical texts (their names varying slightly in different sources)—moreover implies that other possible identifications of forms of Horus (or gods more broadly) with planets and stars may have existed that have not, to date, been recognized by scholars; for a potential early identification of Harakhty and Mars, for example, see von Lieven 2007, p. 127; for Jupiter manifesting as an unusual form of Horus in later periods, see Goebis 1995a. With Mercury conceived as a form of Seth, the planets moreover seem to have been mythologized more readily than other stars and constellations, although, as indicated, Orion and Sirius were seen as manifestations of Osiris and Isis, respectively (see n. 62 above). On the names of planets, see Neugebauer and Parker 1960–69, vol. 3, pp. 175–81 with pls. 58–62; for a cogent summary of newer research, see Quack 2019.

66 See also Grimal 1986, pp. 424ff., for further royal associations with Orion in the Ramesside period.

Ra” (*mj Šw r-gs R'w*).⁶⁷ As the seed of the Horus of Gold (i.e., Takelot), Prince Osorkon is perceived (*m3.t(w)*) on his chariot like:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>sb3 hr sšd</i> ⁶⁸ | a star shooting (up), |
| <i>Hrw dw3t(j) m h3b(3)s</i> | the morning Horus in the firmament |
| | (Chronicle of Prince Osorkon Text B, lines 2–3) ⁶⁹ |

The star in question, the “morning Horus” or “Horus of the Duat,” is most likely to be understood as a divine embodiment of the morning star, Venus.⁷⁰ The imagery of its “darting up” (*sšd*) is, however, also conveyed in other metaphors that are particularly commonly evoked in military contexts and are associated with sudden flashes of light, such as lightning. Such figurative language is clearly intended to convey both the radiance of the king and his swift and destructive charge toward the enemies. Thus, Amenhotep III, “wide of stride,” races around the battlefield on his horse-drawn chariot like:⁷¹

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| <i>sb3 n d'mw sšd=f hr htr</i> | a star of electrum as he darts about on the chariot. |
| | (<i>Urk.</i> IV, pp. 1685/1, 1723/14) |

Similar imagery is employed by Akhenaten, albeit without any stellar references.⁷² The same root, *sšd*, which can have the meaning “to shoot” but also “to flash” when used as a verb, underlies the word for what is most appropriately rendered as “shooting star”:⁷³ Thutmose III on his Poetical Stela—followed by Ramesses II and III⁷⁴—is rendered impressive to behold by Amun-Ra:⁷⁵

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>dj=j m33=s' n' hm=k</i> | I cause them to see your majesty |
| <i>mj sšd'6 stj bs=f m ht</i> | like a shooting star who strews forth his flame of fire. |
| | (<i>Urk.</i> IV, p. 615/14–15) |

67 Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 21, line 1; Caminos 1958, p. 319; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 187; Ritner 2009, p. 359; Grimal 1986, p. 424 n. 1450 with discussion of earlier literature.

68 *sšd* here determined with the crocodile (Gardiner sign list I3); discussion of the term also in Caminos 1958, §119.

69 Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 21, lines 2–3; Caminos 1958, p. 319; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 187; Ritner 2009, pp. 359–60.

70 For this Horus form, see, e.g., *LGG* V, pp. 295–96; Goebis 2008, p. 39 with n. 51 for further references and pointing to PT 519 §1207a, which explicitly equates *Hrw d3tj* and *ntr dw3w*—the morning star. Further confirmation may be found in PT 467 §889a–b, which presents the king as a member of the solar barque rowing Ra through the sky; as such he is the “*šhd*-star/planet of gold, the *sšd*-star of the Bull of Light, the golden companion (or harpoon?) belonging to Him who Traverses the Sky” (*šhd n nbw sšd k3-j3hw sn n nbw jrj nmt(j) pt*). For *šhd*-stars, see n. 65 above; for the Bull of Light as solar epithet, see *LGG* VII, pp. 249ff. See Goebis 2008, pp. 92–93, 128–29 for the morning or evening star as heading the crew of stellar beings rowing or towing the sun god in the Book of the Night, for example. Quack 2019 summarizes the evidence for Venus as morning star in various periods.

71 Such swiftness is expressed by means of a stellar simile also for Amenhotep II, whose horses and chariot “are flying like a star” (*htrw=f hr 'h mj sb3*) on his Memphis stela (*Urk.* IV, p. 1306/3–4).

72 In a text from the Aten temple at Karnak (block TS 8793, line 9), which is unfortunately badly destroyed: *h' . . . htr mj sšd' . . .*. See Redford 1982, pp. 125ff., pls. III–IV.

73 *Wb.* IV, p. 300/8–9; TLA 145830; also referring to “lightning” or in many contexts more appropriately translated as “a flash.” *sšd* additionally designates both a “window” and a “headband” or “diadem” of the king. Where preserved, the fillet is the most common determinative for the term, thus evoking a luminous, golden band “flashing” as it flaps in the wind; see Goebis 2008, pp. 103–4 for examples of star gods and the sun god wearing such fillets; p. 151 for a *sšd*-band of the moon god Thoth. The range of meanings covered by this root hence clearly reveals an underlying semantic field of flashing radiance and luminosity (*Wb.* IV, pp. 301/3–10, 301/14–302/5). See also Winkler 2013, pp. 240–41 for further attestations of the king as star and for the lemma *sšd* as used in particular in military contexts; p. 238 with n. 51 for a Demotic attestation of a different kind of “shooting star” in the Myth of the Sun’s Eye (col. IX, 24), where the enraged goddess is fiery and terrible to behold “in the manner of a shooting star” (*sjw r.jw=f stj*), with Demotic *sjw* replacing earlier *sb3* here.

74 A Ramesside example, e.g., on the Beit-Shan stela of Ramesses II (*KRI* II, p. 151/9): *jw=f mj sb3 sšd m hr-jb '33t m nht* “in that he is like a star powerfully shooting/flashing about in the midst of the crowd.”

75 For the figurative language employed on this stela, see also Liesegang 2008.

76 Klug 2002, p. 115, reads the determinative as a separate word: *mj sšd sb3 stj bs=f m sdt* “wie das Niedersausen/Aufleuchten eines Sterns (= Sternschnuppe), der sein Feuer als Flamme sprüht”; *bs* “fire, flame, burning,” *Wb.* I, p. 476/1–5; TLA 57190; *sdt* “fire, flame,” *Wb.* IV, pp. 375/12–377/7; TLA 150140.

DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AND FLAME

In line with the military context in which the cited passages appear, and with their connotations of enemy destruction, we will briefly shift our attention to the use of metaphorical expressions describing fire and flame, which are widespread in the same contexts.⁷⁷ Thus, Kamose's army is described in terms of the devastating effects of the sun god's uraeus:

| | |
|--|---|
| . . . <i>mš^c=j qn r ḥ3t=j</i> | . . . my valiant army before me |
| <i>mj hh nj sdt</i> | like a fiery breath of fire. (Carnavon Tablet, lines 10–11) ⁷⁸ |

The image evoked here is clearly that of a destructive force that physically precedes the king, just as the uraeus is “at the front” of the sun god. The king himself may share these fiery features, albeit in the earlier New Kingdom it is also in his case normally the uraeus at his forehead that performs the task of burning and thus defeating his enemies.⁷⁹

Thutmose III:

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>jn 3ḥt=f šḥr(t) n=f st</i> | It is his uraeus that fells them for him, |
| <i>nsrt=f drt ḥftjw=f</i> | his Flaming One that defeats his enemies. (<i>Urk.</i> IV, p. 1230/3–4) |

In other words, the fiery qualities pertain to the solar Eye and Uraeus Goddess adorning the forehead of both sun god and king or, in the case of the solar disk, encircling it and representing its outer surface.⁸⁰ We are reminded of the imagery conveyed by the above-cited Coffin Text spell 335, which holds that the solar disk/Eye Goddess represents a manifestation of the sun god in his rising; as such, she can easily be conceptualized as “preceding” the appearance of the god himself.

Akhenaten continues to employ the visual image of the “fiery blast”; however, he attributes its destructive qualities to his battle cry:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| <i>hmhmwt=k mj</i> | Your battle cries are like |
| <i>hh nsrt</i> | a fiery breath of a flame |
| <i>m-s3 ḥ3st nbt</i> | in pursuit of every foreign land. |
| | (Buhen Stela of Akhenaten, line 16) ⁸¹ |

It is of note that Akhenaten's *nsrt* simply takes the lamp determinative (Q7a) and thus does not, per se, refer to the Uraeus Goddess. It is tempting to interpret this as an attempt to avoid references to solar deities other than the Aten, but at least in visual representations the Aten sports a uraeus, of course. What is more, later examples of the same metaphor can be equally vague, and it is unclear if they are simply borrowing the imagery from the Amarna precursors. A few examples of fiery metaphors from the Ramesside period and later suggest, however, that a subtle development occurred following the Amarna intermezzo. It is no longer entirely clear in these later texts whether the destructive fire pertains to the uraeus (or other external and distinct aspects) of the king or, rather, to his very own person and physique. While several examples from these later periods demonstrate that a fiery *hh*-blast, or the *nsrt*-flame, are still considered weapons of the solar Eye and uraeus goddesses,⁸² others attribute them to the king himself.

77 Already Senwosret I is presented as a “torch” (*tk3* [*pw* . . .]); see n. 20 above; also Hsu 2017, pp. 422–26.

78 Helck 1975, p. 88, lines 10–11; repeated verbatim by Thutmose III: *njswt ds=f šsp=f w3t mš^c=f qn r ḥ3t=j mj hh n sdt* (*Urk.* IV, p. 808/15–17).

79 See also Hsu 2017, p. 424 for a collection of fiery metaphors associated with New Kingdom kings.

80 This conception is attested from the Pyramid Texts onward, e.g., in PT 256 §302a (T/A/W 15 = 251).

81 Helck 1995, p. 65, line 16; see Murnane 1995b, p. 102 for a translation; *nsrt* “fire, flame,” *Wb.* II, p. 336/1–6; TLA 88300.

82 One example from the Qadesh texts of Ramesses II may suffice (*KRI* II, pp. 86/7–87/1):

| | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>ḥrt-tp=j ḥr šḥr n=j ḥftj' w=j'</i> | The uraeus on my head felled my enemy[es] for me, |
| <i>[dj=s] hh=s m nsrt</i> | [she placed] her fiery breath as a flame |
| <i>m ḥr n ḥrw=j</i> | in the faces of my foes. |

Seti I, when battling Asiatics and Hittites:

... ‘q m-jm=sn mj nsrt n sdt ... who enters into them like the flame of fire,⁸³
jrr sn m tm(w)-wn so that they are made into ones that never existed. (KRI I, p. 18/2)

Sheshonq I, in his Palestine campaign:

nšnj.n hh=k Your fiery blast raged
m sdt r phwy=w as a flame against their (the Bedouin’s) rear.
(Karnak, Bubastite Portal, Victory Relief, lines 19–20)⁸⁴

Also Piye, on his Victory Stela, seems to emit the fiery blast himself—it is here associated with šf(šf)yt “awesomeness” or “grandeur,”⁸⁵ an important concept in the context of royal self-presentation. Tefnakhte, in an attempt to explain his fleeing in order to avoid confrontation with Piye, has a messenger describe the awe and fear felt at beholding the Nubian king as follows:

nj m33.n=j hr=k I cannot look upon your face
m hrww nw šp(t) in days of shame;
nj ‘h.(n)=j hft hh=k I cannot stand before your fiery blast
nr=j n šfyt=k for I am terrified of your awesomeness. (Victory Stela, line 128)⁸⁶

This development in royal metaphorical expressions coincides with examples of fiery attributes being ascribed to the person of the sun god himself, rather than to his Eye. What is more, they are now frequently understood as reflecting the god’s positive and creative (rather than destructive) faculties.⁸⁷ Examples such as these suggest that, while the terminology of light and fire remains relatively stable in later periods—although new terms may be introduced—its usage could evolve.

RADIANT SOLAR APPEARANCE AND PHYSIQUE

Solar fire is, of course, not just destructive but also luminous, and the solar radiance of kings plays an important role in all reigns of the New Kingdom and beyond.⁸⁸ This involves looking or being like the sun god.

For further Ramesside examples of the fiery *hh*-blast, especially of Sakhmet, see Grimal 1986, pp. 399–401 with notes.

83 Ramesses III combines the flashing qualities of a star with destructive fire in the account of his second Libyan campaign: he is “the shooting star, who is wild/grim in pursuit” of his enemies and “a mighty torch projecting fire from the sky” (*p3 sb3 šsd nh3 m-s3=sn . . . tk3 nht h3 sdt m pt*; KRI V, p. 62/13–15).

84 Epigraphic Survey 1954, pl. 3, lines 19–20; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 13; Ritner 2009, pp. 203–4.

85 *Wb.* IV, pp. 460/6–461/5; it might be worth mentioning that this royal and divine trait is specifically associated with the *atef*-crown in Hatshepsut’s coronation sequence, where its original solar owner and source is said to be a *nb šfšfyt*; see n. 52 above for references. It is often specifically associated with a royal role of the sun god, thus, e.g., in the hymn from TT 57 (time of Amenhotep III): *jtj.n=k r-3w m šfyt=k h’j=k m njswt h’j=k m [bjtj]* “You have seized all due to your awe(someness) when you arise as *njswt*-king and (arise as) *[bjtj]*-king” (Assmann 1983, p. 110); also in TT 296: *3 hprw=k r ntrw nb šfyt . . . njswt pt* “Your manifestations are greater than those of the other gods, (you) lord of awe . . . and king of the sky” (Ramesside hymn; Assmann 1983, pp. 328–29). Also the Aten in its day-form is “great of awe(someness)” in the Great Hymn to the Aten (Sandman 1938, p. 95/4).

86 Cairo JE 48862, 47086–47089; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 349; Ritner 2009, pp. 476, 489. Later in the text (line 130), Tefnakhte uses a further fiery metaphor to convey that same awe—also here the fieriness appears to be attributed to Piye himself rather than to his uraeus: *mw=j snd.kw n b3w=k hr mdt p(3y)=f nbj jrj hft-r=j* “I am fearful of your might, saying: ‘His flame is opposing/hostile to me.’”

87 E.g., in a solar hymn addressed by Prince Iuvelot to Ra: *R’w dj=f s(w) m sdt* “O Ra, when he manifests as fire” (stela BM EA 1224, line 3; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 80; Ritner 2009, p. 119); in a Luxor graffito describing a flood at Thebes in the time of Osorkon III, a hymn to Amun-Ra included with the text describes the god as one: *pr nsrt m stjw=f hr smnh jr.n=f nb* “from whose rays the flame goes forth perfecting all that he has made” (Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 299, line 15; Ritner 2009, pp. 416, 418).

88 With New Kingdom kings drawing heavily on Middle Kingdom (and even older) precursors; see above, e.g., n. 21.

Ahmose:

... *dgg.tw=f mj R'w wbn=f* ... he is beheld like Ra when he rises. (*Urk. IV*, p. 19/6–8)

Hatshepsut:

R't The female Ra (*Urk. IV*, p. 332/10)

Thutmose III:

R'w pw tmw He is Ra of all (mankind). (*Urk. IV*, p. 533/16)

The Amarna period changes these conceptions in accordance with the new theology. Thus, Akhenaten may be described as:

... *h'w hr st R'w n(t) 'nhw* ... (having) arisen on the throne of Ra of the living⁸⁹
mj jtj=f jtn r'-nb like his father the Aten, every day.
 (Sandman 1938, p. 104/1; *Urk. IV*, p. 1965/17; Boundary Stela K)

or:

šrj n p3 jtn R'w 'nh . . . Child of the Aten, living Ra . . .
jnm [. . .] h'w=k mj n3w stwt the [. . .] colors of your limbs being like the rays
jtj=k jw=f hr wbn of your father when he rises,
 . . . *p3 jtn 'nh . . .* . . . namely, the living Aten . . .
 [*qd=k*] *mj qd=f . . .* [Your nature/form] is like his nature/form . . .
jw=k mj wd=f (for) you are (your nature is) like his nature.⁹⁰
 (Sandman 1938, p. 84/5–12; Tutu, TA 8)

The Ramessides continue the ideology of solar equivalency and often employ references to both solar forms, albeit favoring formulations in which the Aten has morphed back into the plain solar disk—references to the personified Aten, as “father” of the king or similar, cease to appear.⁹¹ Such associations occur already in the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty, and it is of note in this context that also pre-Amarna descriptions of royal solar radiance tend to attribute it to the sun disk⁹² rather than to the sun god himself or to his physique. Terms commonly employed include the verbs *psd* “to shine,” *shd* “to illuminate,” and *thn* “to glitter,”⁹³ as well as the nouns *j3h(w)* “light,”⁹⁴ *šw* “sunlight,” and *hdd(wt)* “light, brightness,”⁹⁵ but also specifically the *stwt* “rays” emitted by a luminous entity.

89 The traditional owner of the throne, Horus, of the standard formula *st Hr w n(t) 'nhw*, has been replaced to reflect Akhenaten’s theological reforms here. For one among many earlier Eighteenth Dynasty examples of the earlier version, see, e.g., Thutmose I’s royal decree: *h'(w) hr st Hr w n(t) 'nhw mj R'w r'-nb* (*Urk. IV*, p. 79/2; stela Cairo CG 34006 from Wadi Halfa).

90 See also Murnane 1995b, pp. 196–97, with some slightly different renderings. It is worth noting that the Ramesside *Contendings of Horus and Seth* accords to Horus the faculty of illuminating (*shd*) the Two Lands by means of his color (or character; *j(w)n*) after he has won the battle for the throne of Osiris (P. Chester-Beatty I, recto lines 16.2–3).

91 E.g., Seti I is “like Ra when he shone in the horizon” (*mj R'w m wbn.n=f m 3ht*; KRI I, p. 207/5) or “regarded like your father Ra” (*m33.tw mj jtj=k R'w*; KRI I, p. 14/5), yet he also “illuminates like the sun disk, all the people marvelling” (*hr shd mj jtn hr-nb g3w*; KRI I, p. 414/7) or is simply “the glittering sun disk above his army” (*jtn thn hr-tp mš'f*; KRI I, p. 39/11); similar expressions can be found throughout the Ramesside period. A noteworthy and to my knowledge unique phrase is attested for Ramesses III, who is described as “the second Ra who comes forth and shines above the earth” (*p3 R'w snw pr wbn hr t3*; KRI V, p. 21/15); see Hsu 2017, pp. 398–406; Grimal 1986, pp. 358ff. for more examples.

92 Or uraeus, as discussed above.

93 See n. 56 above for discussion of *thn* and its introduction into royal epithets in the Ramesside period.

94 *j3hw*, *Wb. I*, p. 33/3–5; TLA 20880.

95 *Wb. III*, pp. 214/15–215/17; TLA 112900, 112940. An early Eighteenth Dynasty instance can be found for Ahmose: *shpr j3mw=f hddwt* “whose sunlight creates brightness” (*Urk. IV*, p. 15/14); *j3mw* “light of the sun,” *Wb. I*, p. 80/9; TLA 24990.

Ahmose (similarly Hatshepsut):⁹⁶

mj psd jtn . . . like the sun disk shines. (*Urk.* IV, p. 19/7)

Thutmose III:

ḥ^c m ḥr . . . (who) appears to the face/perception
mj wbn jtn like the sun disk rises. (*Urk.* IV, p. 806/13)

or simply:

jtn n t3w nb(w) The sun disk of all lands (*Urk.* IV, p. 887/16)

Amenhotep III:

nb stwt mj jtn m pt A lord of rays like the sun disk in the sky (*Urk.* IV, p. 1670/8)⁹⁷

In line with the texts cited so far, Akhenaten’s luminous appearance is, not surprisingly, equal to that of the solar disk that now embodies his god, the Aten:

ḥ^cyt ḥm=f ḥr ḥtrj His majesty appeared on a team of horses
ḥr wrryt ʔt nt ḏ^cmw and the great chariot of electrum
mj jtn wbn=f m ʔḥt like the Aten when he rises from the horizon.
 (*Urk.* IV, p. 1982/13–15; also *Urk.* IV, p. 1966/14–15)

Similarly, in a eulogy of adoring courtiers:

p3 šrj wbḥ n p3 jtn . . . The shining child of the Aten . . .
jw=k psd.tj m p3 wbḥyw (for) you shine as the gleaming one
n p3 jtn ḥḥ of the living Aten. (Sandman 1938, p. 70/1–2; Parennefer, TA 7)

The association with the luminous disk extends into the Ramesside period and later. Notably, it appears that the late Eighteenth Dynasty shift to equating the disk, which was formerly understood as a luminous attribute of the sun god only, with the god himself led to another subtle development, on par with that outlined above for solar fire: the solar light is, from now on, explicitly and pervasively described as emitted by the divine or royal person himself and/or pertaining to his or her physique. Thus, a description of Horemhab, while still evoking the disk as a luminous simile, ascribes its effects to the king’s very own body:

shd.n ḥ^cw=f ḏ^crw t3 His body illuminated the ends of the earth
mj jtn n R^cw like the sun disk of Ra. (*Urk.* IV, p. 2161/10)

and this king’s light is as intense as the god’s—not his disk’s:

. . . *ʔḥw=f wsr(w) mj R^cw* . . . with his radiance⁹⁸ strong like (that of) Ra. (*Urk.* IV, p. 2161/11)

This conception is then carried into the Ramesside period and beyond.

Seti I:

jtn ṯḥn ḥr tp mš^c=f The glittering disk at the head of his army (*KRI* I, p. 39/11)

⁹⁶ E.g., Hatshepsut as *psdt mj jtn* “she who shines like the sun disk” (*Urk.* IV, p. 332/10).

⁹⁷ Again, the same construction already for Sobekhotep IV (Karnak Stela, Cairo JE 51811, line 2; Helck 1975, p. 31, line 7) and then repeated by Ramesses II (*KRI* II, p. 242/11–18).

⁹⁸ *ʔḥw*, *Wb.* I, p. 33/3–5; TLA 20880.

Ramesses II:

jtn t̄hn n rhyt

The shimmering disk for the *rekhyt*-population (KRI II, p. 256/14)

Ramesses IX:⁹⁹

t̄hnw h̄'w mj R'w

Glittering of appearances like Ra (KRI VI, p. 460/9)

The last example affords an opportunity to return, briefly, to the role of royal paraphernalia in endowing the king with radiance. Since his kingship is equal to that of the head of the pantheon, the king shares, as indicated, in the sun god's royal paraphernalia and is shown crowned by him. The chosen terminology underlines the intended alignment of divine and royal appearance and activities. It includes the verbs *h̄'j* "to arise, shine forth" and its causative *sh̄'j* "to cause to arise (as king), to crown," as well as the noun *h̄'w*, which can equally describe the act of the sun or other celestial bodies "rising" from the horizon and the royal "appearance" or "procession" from the palace, as well as the physical "crowns" of gods and kings and the various forms or manifestations that the king assumes when wearing them.¹⁰⁰ The cited conceptualization of the crown goddesses as *twt*-images of some solar manifestations further results in the royal crowns' and headdresses' rendering the king visible or perceptible as representative of the sun god on earth.¹⁰¹ And just like the disk worn by the sun god, which texts describe as the source of his luminosity, and like his uraeus, which conveys his fiery attributes, so the royal crowns are important markers of the king's luminosity. Particularly evocative is the Horus name of Aya, *t̄hn h̄'w* "glittering of manifestations/crowns."¹⁰² These conceptions pervade all periods—with examples extending into the Roman period.¹⁰³

Hatshepsut (addressed by Hathor of Iunet):

šsp n=t h̄nw n pr-dwʔt

Receive for yourself the *henu*-crown of the Morning House,

h̄'j=t jm=f mj ʔhty

that you may shine forth in it like Akhty.¹⁰⁴

(Lacau and Chevrier 1977–79, pp. 247–48, pl. XI)

Notably, the Amarna kings appear to refrain from verbal imagery that refers to the crowns of the Aten, at least in the sources that I have been able to consult. It is tempting to consider that the Aten, once shown as a nonanthropomorphic disk, never sports a crown in iconographic representations and thus did not provide an appropriate divine model for Akhenaten to emulate; yet the god is of course given royal titles and has anthropomorphic hands that may extend to touch the crowns and headdresses of the king or queen in representations. However, these ray-hands are not, to the best of my knowledge, ever explicitly associated with crowning the king, although several representations seem to be designed to emphasize that at least one of these hands extends to the uraeus worn by the king and queen, and—in some cases—to their crowns, by showing it in a special arrangement.¹⁰⁵

Even in the Amarna period, however, the important divine and royal feature of luminosity and the (mythical) act of emitting light may still be associated with solar avatars other than the Aten. A "compromise"

99 Even later examples, e.g., on the Dream Stela of Tanutamun, where this king appears from his Memphite palace before the chiefs of Lower Egypt: *pr(t) pw jr.n hm=f m 'h=f' . . . h'd(?) mj psd R'w m ʔht* "(resplendent?) as Ra shines in the horizon" (Cairo JE 48863, recto, lines 31–32); Jansen-Winkel 2009, p. 239; Ritner 2009, pp. 569, 572.

100 *h̄'j*, *Wb.* III, pp. 239/4–241/2; TLA 114740; *sh̄'j*, *Wb.* IV, pp. 236/12–237/20; TLA 141830 (also *sh̄'* "appearance of gods (in procession)," *Wb.* IV, p. 237/21; Lesko 1982–90, vol. 3, p. 84; TLA 141800); *h̄'w*, *Wb.* III, p. 241/7–16; TLA 114840; *h̄'w* "crowns," *Wb.* III, pp. 241/17–242/2; TLA 114850; also *sbn* (= *s-wbn*) "to crown," *Wb.* IV, p. 89/14; TLA 131780; see also nn. 12, 50 above.

101 Cf., e.g., nn. 49, 51 above.

102 Leprohon 2013, p. 106; reused as a royal epithet by several Ramessides, e.g., Ramesses IX, as cited above; see Grimal 1986, p. 275 with n. 861 for further examples.

103 E.g., Goebis 2008, pp. 363ff., esp. nn. 817–18; Goebis 2011, p. 34.

104 See Goebis 2015; also nn. 49, 51–52, and 54 above.

105 Thus, e.g., in a royal banqueting scene from the tomb of Huya, where the ray-hands extending toward the uraeus and *šwty*-crown of Queen Tiye are shown at slightly different angles from the rest of the rays; see Davies 1905, pp. iv–v; also reproduced in Murnane 1995b, p. 132.

combination can be found in a hymn to the rising sun god Ra attributed to the time of Tutankhamun, where the god is addressed:

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| <i>jy.tj m Jtn</i> | Welcome as the Aten, |
| <i>h' m 3hty</i> | (who) appear(s) as Akhty! (relief Bologna 1891) ¹⁰⁶ |

In earlier periods, it is indeed predominantly Akhty or Harakhty who is the most common solar form used to express the luminous divine likeness of kings. We saw above that Hatshepsut's appearance with the *henu*-crown likened her to Akhty; she is also:

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| <i>h't h'w</i> | shining/risen of manifestations/crowns |
| <i>mj Hr w-3hty</i> | like Harakhty. (<i>Urk.</i> IV, p. 361/13) |

Other New Kingdom and later kings follow suit.

Thutmose III:

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| <i>stwt=f m jrty p't</i> | His rays are in the eyes of the <i>pat</i> -nobility |
| <i>mj prt Hr w-3hty</i> | like (in) the coming forth of Harakhty. (<i>Urk.</i> IV, pp. 157/17–158/1) |

Amenhotep III:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>shd Bwy mj 3hty</i> | He who illuminates the Two Lands like Akhty, |
| <i>nb stwt m hr mj jtn</i> | lord of rays in the face like the sun disk. (<i>Urk.</i> IV, p. 1670/7–8) |

Ramesses III:

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| <i>mjtj R'w shd Bwy</i> | Likeness of Ra, who illuminates the Two Lands |
| <i>m j3mw=f mj 3hty</i> | with his brilliance like Akhty, |
| <i>nb stwt mj jtn m pt</i> | lord of rays like the sun disk in the sky. (<i>KRI V</i> , p. 274/11–12) ¹⁰⁷ |

Piye (as eulogized by Peftjauawybast of Herakleopolis):

| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>twt js Hr w-3htj</i> | You are indeed Harakhty |
| <i>hr(j)-tp jhmw-sk</i> | chief of the Imperishable Stars! (Victory Stela, main text, line 75) ¹⁰⁸ |

Other solar avatars, such as Shu, Atum, and Khepri, may also be invoked to convey royal sheen, but they are far less common in the earlier periods.¹⁰⁹ Such references begin to multiply only in the Ramesside period, which sees a religious process of refocusing the kingship ideology in older, Heliopolitan models¹¹⁰ and moreover introduces a number of new light terms. Once again, the Ramesside and later examples ascribe luminosity to the very person and physique of the king much more consistently—independent of solar disk, uraeus, or other paraphernalia such as crowns.

106 From the tomb of Ptahemwia; Curto 1961 n. 55. This hymnic invocation heralds later, Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period hymns to the rising sun, which address the god in his various morning forms. For the standard, synthesized version, see Assmann 1995, p. 15, Text F.

107 This passage is strikingly reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom *Loyalist Instruction* of Kairsu, for which see above with n. 9; *j3mw*, *Wb.* I, p. 80/9; TLA 24990. For more Ramesside examples associating the king and Akhty or Harakhty, see Grimal 1986, pp. 373–74.

108 Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 343; Ritner 2009, pp. 472, 483. Piye's radiance is implicit in the metaphor of the Imperishable Stars, which are likely intended to express celestial bodies in general in this context rather than a specific group of northern constellations; for the *jhmw-skw*, see, e.g., Krauss 1997, pp. 86–126.

109 E.g., Ahmose: *stwt=f m hrw mj Tmw m j3bt pt* “whose rays are in the faces/perception like (that of) Atum in the east of the sky” (*Urk.* IV, p. 19/9); for further examples, see Hsu 2017, e.g., pp. 353–54 (Atum), pp. 357–58 (Khepri); for Shu, see Assmann 1980, p. 17 with nn. 81–82 for musings and literature on whether *šw* “light” or *Šw* “(Heliopolitan) Shu” is meant.

110 See, e.g., Assmann 1995, pp. 141 with n. 38, 159–61; collection of associations with Khepri in Grimal 1986, p. 375; with Atum, pp. 379–84.

Merenptah:

šw kf šn^c wn hr kmtThe sunlight that dispelled the storm cloud that was over Egypt
(KRI IV, p. 13/10–11)¹¹¹

Ramesses III:

p3 šw 'nh ntj psd hr kmt

The living Shu, who shines over Egypt (KRI V, p. 82/1)

Tanutamun:

ntr nfr hrw m pr(w)=f
Tmw pw n rhytThe perfect god on the day of his coming forth—
he is Atum for the *rekhyt*-subjects. (Dream Stela, recto, line 1)¹¹²

A number of texts make the status as solar deputy¹¹³ by the grace of the creator or Amun explicit. Thus, Amun, King of Gods, addresses Amenhotep III:

rdj.n=j tw m R^cw n jdbwyI have installed you as Ra of the Two Shores. (*Urk.* IV, p. 1655/17)

while Akhenaten's kingship is, of course, granted by the Aten:

s3=f qnj=f sw m stwt=f
dj=f n=f nhh m njswt mj p3 jtnHis (the Aten's) son—he embraces him with his rays
and gives him continuity as king like the Aten.
(Sandman 1938, p. 91/10–11; Aya, TA 25)¹¹⁴

He is moreover the Aten's royal successor (*hrj-nst jtj=f*):

... h^cw hr st R^cw n 'nh^cw
mj jtj=f jtn r^c-nb... who shines forth on the throne of Ra of the living
like his father the Aten, every day.
(*Urk.* IV, p. 1965/17; Boundary Stela K)

Donald Redford, in discussing the royal aspect of divine descent, postulates three principal roles of the king in the Eighteenth Dynasty: (a) the mythical, Horian one, which however also entailed the sonship of Ra; (b) that of officeholder, as which he was the human surrogate and deputy of the sun god and as such “elected” by the god; and (c) that of valiant hero, which Redford attributes to changed conceptions resulting from the experiences of the First Intermediate Period. Like earlier authors, he perceives a certain tension between these three aspects of the kingship.¹¹⁵ This alleged incongruity seems somewhat artificially constructed, however, since different royal roles—based on their respective mythical precedents—would have served distinct purposes in varying contexts and thus represented different facets of the king, complementing rather than contradicting each other.¹¹⁶ By way of example, the simile “rising like Ra” may convey

111 On his Israel Stela; Lichtheim 1976, p. 74, translates as “Shu”; the translation as “sunlight” is chosen here since no divine determinative is recorded.

112 Cairo JE 48863; Jansen-Winkel 2009, p. 237/3; Ritner 2009, pp. 568, 570.

113 This entails the idea that also the sun god is, and rules as, king—in most cases as *njswt*. It is explicit, besides in the many attestations of Amun-Ra's epithet *njswt ntrw* (as in the current text), in statements such as the one found in the later *nbty*-name of Thutmose III, *w3h nsyt mj R^cw m pt* “Enduring of kingship like Ra in the sky” (see Leprohon 2013, p. 99), or in texts like the endorsing address by Amun-Ra-Kamutef to Amenhotep III from the Montu temple at Karnak: *njswj=k sw mj wn=j m njswt-bjtj* “You should rule it (the land) like when I was Dual King” (*Urk.* IV, p. 1675/18); see also Redford 1995, pp. 160–63.

114 Akhenaten also occupies the throne of the Aten (*h^c(w) hr 'st' jtj=f p3 jtn*; Buhen and Amada stelae; Helck 1995, p. 63, line 3.

115 Redford 1995, esp. pp. 160–61.

116 For the importance of mythical roles of the king, deceased, or cultic performer depending on context, see, e.g., Goebis 2002, esp. pp. 44–58.

the protective and life-giving faculties of the solarized king in some contexts, while it expresses an awe-inspiring and potentially destructive aspect in texts describing the king’s effect on his enemies. Already the Twelfth Dynasty *Loyalist Instruction* of Kairsu refers to the king in terms of a solar bringer and guarantor of life:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>R^cw pw m33w m stwt=f</i> | He is Ra, by whose rays one sees, |
| <i>shd(w) sw t3wy r jtn</i> | he is one who illuminates the Two Lands more than the sun disk, |
| <i>sw3d(w) sw r h'pj 3</i> | he is one who rejuvenates more than the great flood |
| <i>mh.n=f t3wy m nht 'nh</i> | when it has filled the Two Lands with strength and life (or “life force”). |

(stela Cairo CG 20538, lines 12–13)¹¹⁷

Such faculties continue to be widely associated with the king also in the Eighteenth Dynasty, with Akhenaten replacing the solar simile with the Aten, as one might expect.¹¹⁸ Thus, Akhenaten’s boundary stelae present the sunlike life- and love-giving powers of the king on his chariot:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>h'yt hm=f hr htr</i> | His majesty arose atop a team of horses |
| <i>hr wrryt 3t n d'mw</i> | and a great chariot of electrum |
| <i>mj jtn wbn=f m 3ht</i> | like the Aten rising in the horizon, |
| <i>mh.n=f t3wy m mrwt=f</i> | when he has filled the Two Lands with his love. |

(*Urk.* IV, p. 1982/13–15)¹¹⁹

The association of light and life continues to be used in royal descriptions into the Late Period and beyond—one example will suffice.

Amasis:

| | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| <i>'nh hr-nb m m33=f</i> | Everybody lives on seeing him |
| <i>mj R^cw wbn m 3ht</i> | like Ra shining forth from the horizon. (Elephantine Stela, line 2) ¹²⁰ |

The very same solarized appearance of the king is terrifying for his adversaries, however. We may recall the term *hh* “breath” or “whiff of air,” which we saw described, on the one hand, as emanating from the fiery uraeus and destroying both the sun god’s and the king’s enemies, and on the other hand, as associated with life-giving and reviving faculties when pertaining to the rising sun god himself.¹²¹ Exploiting a similar ambivalence, Amenhotep III draws on the image of the sun’s unwavering rising from the horizon as a simile for the dreadful effect he has when suddenly appearing on the battlefield—in a variation of the above-cited shooting-star imagery used to express the swiftness of the king’s progress on the horse-drawn chariot:

117 Lange and Schäfer 1908, pp. 148–49; Lange and Schäfer 1902, pl. 40; see Blumenthal 1970, p. 100, B 6.19 for commentary on the cited passage; also Leprohon 2009, 281, with some slightly different renderings. Reviving faculties of the sun god in his rising are also found in some Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, e.g., spell 335 (CT IV, 297b–c): *dd(w) t3w m hh n r3=f shd(w) t3 m j3hw=f* “who provides air with the breath of his mouth, who illuminates the earth with his light.” For the sun’s daily recreation and reviving of the world, see, e.g., Assmann 1999, pp. 60–63; the same author has also postulated a direct influence of this text on later, Amarna-era eulogies of the king; Assmann 1980, e.g., pp. 18–19.

118 The Amarna period’s particular focus on the life-giving powers of the Aten has been much discussed and is comprehensively presented in Assmann 1995, pp. 80–92. The Great Hymn to the Aten is particularly explicit, e.g., line 10: *stwt=k 'hr' mn' š3 nb wbn=k 'nh=sn rd=sn n=k* “Your rays [are] nursing all vegetation; when you rise they live and grow for you”; or lines 12–13 (Aya) *wbn.n=k 'nh=sn htp=k mwt=sn ntk 'h'w r-h'w=k 'nh=tw jm=k wnn rrw t hr nfrw[=k] r htp=k*, “When you rise they (the people) live, when you set they die. You are (life-)time itself, (for) one lives through you. Eyes are (fixed) on your beauty until you set” (Sandman 1938, p. 95/9, 16–18).

119 Following Amarna Boundary Stela S, lines 5–6, but with parallels (with slight variations) on the other stelae; see Sandman 1938, pp. 122–23; see also p. 101 above.

120 Nubian Museum Aswan, formerly Cairo TN 13/6/24/1; Jansen-Winkel 2014a, p. 450; Jansen-Winkel 2014b, pp. 134–35.

121 See n. 117 above.

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| ... <i>ḥ'(w) hr ḥtr</i> | ... who arises atop the chariot |
| <i>mj wbn R'w</i> | like Ra rising, ¹²² |
| ᶓ <i>pḥty wr šfyt</i> | with great strength and immense awesomeness. |
| | (<i>Urk.</i> IV, p. 1658/13–14) |

Such descriptions of the awe and terror inspired by the royal solarized appearance continue to be used by the Ramessides and beyond¹²³ and are underpinned by visual representations on surviving physical examples of royal chariots, such as the above-cited one of Thutmose IV.¹²⁴

Ramesses II (at Qadesh):

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>ṯw=j mj R'w m ḥ'f tp dwᶓyt . . .</i> | I was like Ra when he rises at dawn . . . |
| <i>stwt=j wbd=s(n) ḥ'w n sbjw</i> | my rays burning ¹²⁵ the rebels' bodies. (<i>KRI</i> II, pp. 86/10–87/3) |

Ramesses III:

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| <i>nḥt mj R'w wbn=f m dwᶓyt</i> | Victorious like Ra when he rises in the morning (<i>KRI</i> V, p. 192/5) |
|---------------------------------|---|

As scholars have noted, the intended effect of having the king appear sunlike on his chariot was at least in part achieved by gilding or silver-plating these and other royal vehicles. The solar barque of Ra was imagined as golden from the Pyramid Texts onward,¹²⁶ just as the sun god himself was associated with this metal.¹²⁷ Beyond such glittering means of transport, there are plentiful examples of texts associating kings with luminous precious materials that underpin such a symbolism. Already Sobekhotep IV, as *mjtj R'w*, is

122 The exact same phrase is later reused by Tutankhamun (*Urk.* IV, p. 2050/3). Amenhotep III's sunlike swiftness is also stressed in *Urk.* IV, p. 1684/16: *ḥptj mj jtn ḥᶓḥ pᶓd=f* "a sprinter like the sun disk, fast when he runs"; this king is moreover referred to as *R'w n pḏwt pᶓdt* "Ra of the Nine Bows" (*Urk.* IV, p. 1652/8)—an expression reused verbatim by Horemhab (*Urk.* IV, p. 2138/20).

123 Ramesses III is also *mj qj n R'w nšnw* "identical in form to angry Ra" (*KRI* V, p. 50/11); Grimal 1986, pp. 396–99, discusses a whole range of violent divine associations of the king, including with Sakhmet and other fiery solar eye goddesses (see esp. n. 1371); see also Hsu 2017, pp. 398–406 for more examples; see above with n. 86 for a further example on Piye's Victory Stela.

124 See also Calvert 2013, pp. 45–71 for further illustrations and discussion of the many solar symbols adorning such royal vehicles.

125 *wbd* "to burn, heat up, scorch," *Wb.* I, p. 297/1–6; TLA 45410.

126 E.g., PT 359 §602b (= T/F-A/N 16), and thus royal boats can be golden also. Kamose, in his campaign against the Hyksos and their supporters, heads his army in a golden boat (*jmw=j n nbw r ḥᶓt jry*) and, in it, is as swift as a falcon (Kamose Stela II, Luxor Museum J 43, line 6; Helck 1995, p. 92, lines 3–5); Thutmose IV at Konosso travels (most likely; part of the sign is destroyed) in a *wjᶓ n 'nbw' mj R'w dj=f sw m msktt* "boat of 'gold' like Ra boarding the evening barque" (*Urk.* IV, p. 1546/7). For further solar symbols adorning royal chariots and their interpretation as an earthly counterpart of the solar barque, see Calvert 2013, pp. 46–47 (with further literature), 58–59.

127 E.g., PT 485 §1029a (= P/A/W 55) and PT 467 §889c–e (= P/A/W 5) name gold as the color of what is likely Venus morning or evening star accompanying the sun god in his journey; Ra's flesh is of gold in the Myth of the Celestial Cow (Hornung 1983, p. 1, line 2), while his form (*jrw*) is golden (*m nbw*) in solar hymns such as that in TT 53 (time of Thutmose III; Assmann 1983, p. 98). Already Sobekhotep IV characterizes Amun as *njswt pt nbw ntrw* "king of the sky, gold of the gods" (stela Cairo JE 51811, line 6; Helck 1975, p. 32, line 2), while this god's skin (or color; *jnm*) is said to be of electrum in Seti I's Kanais inscription (*KRI* I, p. 68/2–3; Text C, line 3). Khepri, as one of the forms of Amun-Ra-Harakhty "arises in gold" (*wbn m nbw*) in the solar hymn of TT 67 (time of Hatshepsut; Assmann 1983, pp. 131, 299 n. a for more attestations). Ra himself appears as a "great and beautiful falcon of gold" (*bjk ᶓ nfr n nbw*) in the Ramesside solar hymn of TT 218 (Assmann 1983, pp. 294–95); as the "king of the sky . . . gold of the gods" (*njswt pt . . . nbw n ntrw*) in that of TT 296 (Assmann 1983, pp. 328–29); and as "gold of the gods/people" (*nbw ntrw/n rmtw*) also in solar hymns accompanying the hour ritual, such as those of hours 5 and 7, as attested in tombs of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties; see, e.g., Assmann 1983, pp. 52–53, 56–57. The Twentieth Dynasty hymn of TT 158, finally, has a solar avatar (destroyed) appear as both a "golden youth" (*ḥwn n nbw*) and a "beautiful disk of turquoise" (*jtn nfr n mfkᶓt*; Assmann 1983, p. 218). See also Assmann 1969, pp. 129–30 for discussion of the luminous aspects of gold; Aufrère 1991, pp. 353ff. for general discussion of the religious and broader significance of gold and electrum; pp. 368–73 for examples of divine and celestial associations with these metals, of which most relate to the sun god or his Eye; and pp. 496–503 for the luminous aspects of turquoise, especially of the day sky and in the context of matutinal rebirth.

“the Gold(en One) above the Two Lands like Ptah-Sokar” and, as such, shines (*psd*) like Atum;¹²⁸ the three future kings born by the priest’s wife Rudedet in Papyrus Westcar have gold-colored limbs (*nhbt* ‘*wt=f*. . . *m nbw*).¹²⁹ New Kingdom kings continue in this tradition.

Ahmose:

nbw ḥs(w) m¹ nbw¹ sšmw pn . . . the Gold meeting the ‘gold’ of this (Amun’s) cultic image.¹³⁰

Thutmose III:

qd.n=f wj m bjk n nbw He (Ra) fashioned me as a falcon of gold (*Urk. IV*, p. 161/2)¹³¹

In evoking the first sunrise, kings may appear as golden primeval mounds, images of Ta-tenen, on which the first sunrise occurred.

Amenhotep III:

ḏw nbw A mountain of gold (*Urk. IV*, 1961/9–11)¹³²

Hatshepsut’s above-cited starlike radiance is in fact due to the electrum color of her skin:

jnm=s nbj(w) m ḏ¹mw Her skin (is) gilt with electrum
ḥr¹ b³ mj jr sb³w and shining like the stars do. (*Urk. IV*, 339/17–340/2)

In other contexts, she is also called the *ḏ¹mw n nsyt* “electrum of the kingship” in her role as image (*hntj*) of Ra (*Urk. IV*, 362/6–8).¹³³

Ramesses II combines the radiant associations of gold and electrum and makes their divine origin particularly explicit:

R^cw¹ ḥ¹ nfr n nbw Living perfect Ra of gold,
ḏ¹mw n ntrw the electrum of the gods (*KRI II*, p. 239/17)¹³⁴

128 See above, pp. 103–4 with n. 109.

129 Papyrus Berlin 3033, lines 10/11, 10/18, 10/25; they moreover sport hair of lapis lazuli, which is inherently associated with the night sky and rebirth in most texts; see Aufrère 1991, pp. 463ff., esp. pp. 465–66 for divine hair, eyes, and heads of this material or color; pp. 477–82 for the combination of gold and lapis blue; see also Goebis 1995b for the symbolism of solar rebirth inherent in the *nemes*-headdress, which combines gold and lapis lazuli color.

130 Helck 1975, p. 108, line 2. For this passage, see Klug 2002, 40 n. 322 with further literature.

131 For the notion of the falcon of gold, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 370–71; in later periods, royal and divine imagery involving a falcon of silver (*bjk n ḥd*) becomes more frequent and is often paired with designations as a falcon of gold (Aufrère 1991, p. 421); for silver as the symbolic nighttime counterpart to gold, see Aufrère 1991, e.g., pp. 411–12.

132 See Klug 2002, p. 410 n. 3205, with further examples for this metaphor for this and other kings; Grimal 1986, pp. 127–28 for Ramesside examples and references to earlier discussions of this particular expression, which have centered on the “mountain of gold” as a reference to the sun rising from the horizon. In Hatshepsut’s obelisk inscription, *mst ḏw m nbw* is used to describe the production of her gilt obelisks—and thus of stylized replicas of the primeval mound (*Urk. IV*, p. 365/12); clearly, the symbolism of primeval mound and partially visible solar disk rising overlap—as expressed in the radiating *ḥ^c*-hieroglyph writing the verb *ḥ^cj* and related expressions. For discussion, especially as this shape relates to royal actions and symbols such as fans, see Goebis 2015 (see n. 12 above).


133 For the Ramesside period, see, e.g., *KRI II*, p. 433/11: Ramesses II as *ḏ¹mw n njswt nb*. Electrum, too, is associated with the light emanating from solar avatars such as Ra-Harakhty, e.g., in the hymn to that god in TT 59 (reign of Thutmose III), *shd b³wy m ḏ¹mw*; similarly Harakhty in TT 52 (reign of Thutmose IV; verb destroyed), [. . .] *b³wy m ḏ¹mw*; Assmann 1983, p. 97; later sources for the hour ritual may simply name the sun god “electrum” (e.g., *ḏ¹mw ntrw* in the hymn accompanying the seventh hour of the day in TT 34 (Twenty-Fifth Dynasty); Assmann 1983, pp. 56–57.

134 See Grimal 1986, pp. 126–28 for more examples of Ramesside kings associated with aspects of gold and other precious materials.

Specifically, the components of his body are made from these metals, just like those of the gods:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>h'w=f m nbw qsw=f m ḥd</i> | His body is of gold, his bones of silver, |
| <i>'wt=f m bj' n pt</i> | and his limbs of celestial ore. (KRI II, p. 237/14–15) ¹³⁵ |

LIGHT = BEAUTY

To the Egyptians, like to most other peoples around the world,¹³⁶ light (in most of its manifestations) was inherently beautiful. As early as the Pyramid Texts, solar and other luminous deities are perceived as beautiful.¹³⁷ Some texts, like the above-cited description of Thutmose IV on his Konosso Stela as “radiant like Orion when he illuminates Upper Egypt with his beauty” (*Urk.* IV, p. 1546/13–14), throw into relief that this association went deeper, however. Beauty not only was seen to *inhere* in radiance and luminosity—that is, represented one of its aspects—but *constituted* it in some contexts.¹³⁸ It is Orion’s *nfr(w)*-beauty that illuminates, demonstrating the conceptual equation of celestial light and beauty. Solar light and beauty are shown as equivalent already in the Middle Kingdom, when Coffin Text spell 1130 (CT VII, 469e–f) speaks of the (deceased as) horizontal sun god as the one “illuminating the sky with his own beauty” (*shd pt m nfr=f ds=f*).¹³⁹ By the Amarna period, the noun *nfrw* is regularly used in contexts that allow for an immediate translation as “light,” “shine,” or “radiance.”¹⁴⁰ Slightly later text examples reveal that attributing such a meaning is not just a translator’s choice—the term had by then gained the determinative of the radiant solar disk () and should accordingly be seen as a new light term.¹⁴¹ Good examples illustrating this understanding can be found in prayers and hymns to the Aten:¹⁴²

135 For the mineral composition of divine bodies, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 412–13; for the various possible meanings of *bj*, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 431–45; for the divine associations of silver, see Aufrère 1991, pp. 411ff., where the author points to the role of this metal as a nocturnal counterpart to solar/daytime gold and shows that it is often associated with nighttime luminaries.

136 Lakoff and Johnson 2003, pp. 48ff.

137 E.g., PT 406 § 706b (= T/A/E 47 = 338): *j(n)d hr=k R'w m nfr=k m nfrw=k m swt=k*, “Greetings to you, Ra, in your perfection, in your beauty, in your places.” Assmann 1995, pp. 45ff., 74–79 presents numerous examples of the sun god’s associations with the concept, who in his rising is beheld in his beauty, beautifies the sky, or resides in his beautiful seat, among other things. A text describing the fashioning of a harp made of precious materials, to be used in the cult of Amun of Karnak, underscores the many facets of divine beauty. The harp is to be used *r dw' nfrw hm=f m h'w=f m rnw=f* “to praise the beauty of his (Amun’s) majesty in his (various) manifestations and in his names” (*Urk.* IV, p. 174/12–16). See also Betrò 2016 for an outline of the Egyptian concept of beauty and for some of the changes it underwent over time. Among other things, the author shows that it is in particular the female king Hatshepsut who introduces a new type of adolescent, androgynous beauty that becomes the ideal for both men and women, kings and gods alike, for a considerable time; Betrò 2016, p. 90.

138 See also Assmann 1995, pp. 74–75, who associates the term *nfrw* with the Greek term and conception of *parousia*, the “physical presence of the god,” in that the sun god’s luminosity renders him both hidden, concealed by the light, and present, in the sense that he can be perceived through it.

139 Var. B1L has *m hprw=f*; also of note is perhaps that Coffin Text spell 335, a fundamental text for understanding important aspects of earlier Egyptian solar religion, describes Ra as shining “beautifully and unique(ly)” in the sky (*psd nfr jwty snw=f*; CT IV, 294c, var. B9Ca; reign of Amenemhat II). In the reign of Thutmose IV, Book of the Dead chapter 170 of Neferubenef invokes the deceased as luminous, and thus alive, like the beautiful sun god: *j'h=k mj R'w m 'ht shd.n=f t'wy m nfrw=f* (P. Paris Louvre 3092 + Frgm. Montpellier, line 584).

140 As such also found in the dictionaries (e.g., *Wb.* II, p. 262/2; TLA 83600), but there still thought to be a Late Period development. Assmann 1995, pp. 74–75 with n. 59 observed that the Amarna texts in particular may use *nfrw* as synonymous with *stwt* “light” or “rays,” thus perceiving the light as a form of the physical presence of the god. Other luminous aspects are also associated with the god’s beauty, such as the golden sheen and color that spread in the sky when he rises; e.g., the Ramesside hymn from TT 364 (Nineteenth Dynasty; Assmann 1983, p. 347 n. 251): *pt m nbw n nfr(w) hr=k* “the sky is golden because of your face’s beauty.”

141 Thus the Twenty-First Dynasty decree for Princess Neskhons (P. Cairo CG 58032, line 18; Jansen-Winkel 2007a, p. 132; Ritner 2009, pp. 147, 152); also a hymn to Amun on the Twenty-Second Dynasty stelaphorous statue of Nakhtefmut A from Karnak (Cairo CG 42208; Legrain 1925, p. 21, line 3 and pl. 15; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 142).

142 Also in Aya’s prayers (TA 25; e.g., Sandman 1938, p. 93/14).

| | |
|--|---|
| [<i>ʃtn</i> ‘ <i>nḥ</i>] <i>nb pt tʃ</i> <i>ʃḥd tʃwy m nfrw=f</i> | [Living Aten], lord of sky and earth, who illuminates the Two Lands with his beauty (Sandman 1938, p. 63/3; Maya, TA 14) ¹⁴³ |
| <i>wbn=k m pt</i> <i>r ʃḥd tʃ nb m nfrw=k</i> | You shine forth in the sky in order to illuminate every land with your beauty. (Sandman 1938, p. 90/17–18; Aya, TA 25) |
| <i>mḥ.n=k tʃ nb m nfrw=k</i> <i>jw=k ‘n.tj wr.tj tḥn.tj qʃ.tj</i> | You have filled every land with your beauty, being beauteous, great, dazzling, and high. (Sandman 1938, p. 93/13–14; Aya, TA 25) |

Not surprisingly, Akhenaten, as the offspring and image of the Aten, also emits luminosity through his “beauty.”¹⁴⁴ The chamberlain Tutu is particularly explicit:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>ʃrj n pʃ ʃtn R‘w ‘nḥ . . .</i> <i>ḥqʃ . . . twt nfrw=k</i> <i>jnm ‘. . .’ ḥ‘w=k mj nʃw stwt</i> <i>jtj=k jw=f ḥr wbn</i> <i>pʃ ʃtn ‘nḥ . . .</i> <i>‘qd=k’ mj qd=f . . .</i> <i>. . . ‘n=f m jwf=f . . .</i> <i>jw=k mj qd=f</i> | Child of the Aten, living Ra . . . Ruler . . . perfect in your beauty, the ‘. . .’ colors of your limbs being like the rays of your father when he rises, namely, the living Aten . . . [Your nature/form] is like his nature/form he is beautiful ¹⁴⁵ in his flesh . . . (for) you are (or “your nature is”) like his nature. ¹⁴⁶ (Sandman 1938, p. 84/5–12; Tutu, TA 8) |
|--|---|

By the ensuing Ramesside period, the equation of light and beauty—as evident in the use of the new light noun *nfrw*—is commonplace,¹⁴⁷ although the writing does not always include the radiant-sun determinative.

143 Entrance jamb; similar in the tombs of Parennefer (TA 7; Sandman 1938, p. 69/3) and Merira I (TA 4; Sandman 1938, p. 5/9, 14 [partially restored]). Similar ideas are expressed in statements such as that the Aten’s “bright hue revives the hearts” (*jnm=k wḥḥ ḥr s‘nḥ ḥʃtjw*; thus in the Great Hymn to the Aten; see Sandman 1938, pp. 11/11–12/2 for the various versions in different Amarna tombs) and in further similar expressions.

144 Earlier kings are also “beautiful” in sharing the nature of the gods; compare the cited description of the youthful Hatshepsut and the materials cited in n. 137; Hsu 2017, pp. 220–21 has collected some more examples.

145 The widespread use of ‘*n*’ to underline the divine royal appearance and nature in the Ramesside period, and the term’s connection with the concept of eternity, are discussed by Grimal 1986, p. 361, esp. n. 1204.

146 See also Murnane 1995b, pp. 196–97, with some slightly different renderings. When talking of having been instructed by Akhenaten (*ntf sbʃ wj*), Tutu states that it is important to listen to the king’s teaching, for he is “the light” (*ntf šw*; the rest of the clause is unfortunately destroyed; Sandman 1938, p. 86/12), while Aya observes the king’s beauty in the palace as *mʃʃ nfrw=f ḥʃj=f m ‘ḥ=f* “one who sees his beauty when he shines forth in the palace” (Sandman 1938, p. 91/17). Also Maya, who prides himself on having implemented Akhenaten’s teachings, comments on his master’s beauty, albeit without reference to its luminous qualities: *jrty=j ḥr mʃʃ nfrw=k . . . wʃd.wy pʃ sdm sbʃyt=k n ‘nḥ=k sʃy=f m ptr=k* “My eyes are seeing your beauty . . . how fortunate is he who listens to your teaching of life—he shall be satiated with seeing you . . .” (Sandman 1938, p. 60/5–6); similarly Meryra: *dwʃ=j nfrw=k sqʃy=j ḥr w=k nfrw* “I worship your beauty, I extol your beautiful plans . . .” (Sandman 1938, p. 16/13–14).

147 That also the sheen of the moon in the night sky was perceived as beautiful is expressed by the (possibly late Eighteenth Dynasty) scribe Amenemhat, who, when visiting the mortuary temple of Sahura, uses a lunar simile to express his sentiments: he “found it beautiful . . . like the sky illuminated (by) the moon” (*gm.n=f sj nfr . . . mj tʃ pt sšp ‘. . .’ j‘ḥ*); see Navratilova 2007, pp. 51–52 (M.1.5.P.18.2); lunar light is associated with beauty also in the Myth of the Heavenly Cow, when the sun god announces to Thoth that he is to function as his nocturnal deputy and as such will trace, or surround, the two skies “with his beauty and light” (*jnh=k pty m nfrw=k m ḥdwt=k*; Hornung 1983, p. 23, verses 44–45 (version Seti I, lines 72–73), translation p. 45). In a lunar hymn on Nineteenth Dynasty P. Anastasi III, it is explicitly the moon’s beauty itself that illuminates (*stwt=*) *stj=f tʃ m nfrw=f*; P. BM EA 10246, recto line 5.1; Gardiner 1937, p. 25, line 11).

Seti I:

shd.n=f bwy m nfrw=f
mj 3hty

He illuminated the Two Lands with his beauty
like Akhty. (KRI I, p. 80/7–8)¹⁴⁸

FROM “ILLUMINATING” TO “ENLIGHTENING”—THE LIGHT VERB *SHD*

Throughout this discussion, we have seen many examples of the verb *shd* as a common term used to describe illuminating effects—it appears from the Pyramid Texts on.¹⁴⁹ A good example is the cited *Loyalist Instruction* of Kairsu, which equates the king with the sun god as one “illuminating the Two Lands more than the sun disk” (*shdw sw bwy r jtn*). It appears once again to be around the Amarna period that *shd* gains a further royal aspect, found in particular in the context of Akhenaten’s new religion and philosophy. There, *shd* is used to explain the effect that Akhenaten’s instruction has on his followers, permitting no other translation than to “elucidate” or “enlighten.”

Already by the Middle Kingdom, Sia, “perception” or “wisdom,” is one of the king’s godlike characteristics.¹⁵⁰ In the Elephantine inscription of Senwosret I and the *Loyalist Instruction* as preserved on the stela of Sehetepibra, the king’s divine associations and equivalencies include that with the personified creative principle Sia.¹⁵¹ In the New Kingdom, texts such as *The King as Sun-Priest* demonstrate the importance of royal knowledge for exercising the cultic roles of the kingship,¹⁵² while royal inscriptions include many different terms that reveal wisdom to be a foundational part of the royal dogma. Among these are adjectives such as *hmww-jb* “skillful, inventive” and *sbq* “knowledgeable, wise,” as well as verbs like *s33* “to be wise, to be prudent, to understand.”¹⁵³ Also Akhenaten follows suit: Aya describes him as “knowledgeable (*rhw*) like the Aten and truly perceptive (*sj3*).”¹⁵⁴ In what can only be described as befitting the Atenist agenda, however, the Amarna period also introduces a light term—the cited verb *shd*—into the repertoire of terms used to accord superior intelligence to the king, in particular where it is required to explain his new theology.¹⁵⁵

148 Slightly earlier, Horemhab’s beauty is described as “intensely glittering”: *nfrw=f sthn wrt* (*Urk.* IV, p. 2161/13).

149 The uraei of the king *shd* “illuminate” Weni’s face in PT 43; in PT 364 + 369 Horus causes the gods to ascend to the king to “illuminate his face”; similar PT 600 N, PT 1017 P; in PT 691 A, the king, after having ascended to the sky, “illuminates his throne” or “seat” (N, Nt).

150 Grimal 1986, p. 116.

151 Hirsch 2004, p. 187, doc. 47a, line 9; stela Cairo CG 20538, line 11; see also Blumenthal 1970, pp. 101–2, B 6.23 for discussion and references to New Kingdom attestations. For attestations and forms of the personified creative principle, see, e.g., *LGG* VI, pp. 163–68, where the term is translated as “Einsicht (insight, understanding).”

152 See, e.g., Assmann 1995, pp. 17–21; Assmann 1970 for edition of the text.

153 *hmww-jb*, *Wb.* III, p. 83/4, TLA 105510; *sbq*, *Wb.* IV, p. 94/2–12, TLA 132120; *s33*, *Wb.* IV, p. 16/2–6, TLA 126160; see Hsu 2017, pp. 224–25 for more examples. For the role of divine knowledge of god and king, see Blumenthal 1970, pp. 101–2, B 6.23; earlier already Otto 1964, p. 19.

154 This context suggests that *rhw* is not to be understood as passive “known” here; similar also in the tomb of Ahmose (TA 3; Sandman 1938, p. 8/10): *rh(w) [mj] [jtn]*. Also Tutankhamun is knowledgeable like Ra (*rh(w) mj R'w*; *Urk.* IV, p. 2032/5). Aya, besides describing Akhenaten as knowledgeable like the Aten and truly wise/perceptive, adds the assertion that he was personally instructed by the king (*sb3.n wj nb=j jry=j sb3yt=f*; Sandman 1938, pp. 91/19–92/3).

155 It may be of note here that the earlier attestations of *shd* known to me from contexts that might potentially permit a translation as “to enlighten someone” are ambivalent. Thus Hirsch 2004, p. 188, doc. 47A, line 19, emends a passage in the Elephantine inscription of Senwosret I as [*shd n*] *ndww*, “[who enlightens those] seeking counsel” (also Hirsch 2008, p. 233)—the restoration is conjectural. *shd* in the sense of “clarifying” something is used by Khakheperresenb (recto line 8), who says that, had he the right words, he would “explain”(?) his suffering to his heart (*shd=j n=f r mnt=j*), but the early dating of the text (alongside that of several other Middle Kingdom “classics”) has been called into question by Andréas Stauder. The author concludes that a date of composition anytime between the Thirteenth and the Eighteenth Dynasty is feasible (Stauder 2013, pp. 156–75 for all the criteria pro and con a dating to the Middle Kingdom; pp. 174–75 for the author’s final assessment). At the time of this writing, the earliest attested copy of the text dates to the later Second Intermediate Period; see Hagen 2019,

Interestingly, the use of light terminology to express metaphorically the processes of understanding and clarifying ideas is found in many cultures.¹⁵⁶

A eulogy by the chamberlain Tutu is particularly explicit. The Aten rises to give birth to Akhenaten, who is:

| | |
|--|---|
| <i>ʿrq mj jtj</i> | wise like the (divine) father, |
| <i>sjḅ mty . . .</i> | perceptive and precise . . . |
| [<i>ʿwy?</i>]= <i>k mj stwt Jtn</i> | Your [hands?] are like the rays of the Aten, |
| <i>r qd=k rmtw hr bjḅwt</i> | so that you may build people according to (their) characters. |
| . . . | . . . |
| <i>ntk pḅy=f šrj . . .</i> | You are his child . . . |
| <i>W^c-nj-R^cw tyt nhḥ . . .</i> | O Waenra, eternal solar/luminous image, ¹⁵⁷ |
| <i>wts R^cw šhtp Jtn</i> | who elevates Ra and satisfies the Aten, |
| <i>dj ʿm B m pḅ jrr st</i> | who caused the land to understand the one who makes it: |
| <i>shḏ=k rn=f n rhyt</i> | may you elucidate his name for the <i>rekhyt</i> -subjects. |
| | (Sandman 1938, p. 81/8–10; Tutu, TA 8) ¹⁵⁸ |



The Ramessides appear to extend the use of *shḏ* to encompass the understanding of other deities.¹⁵⁹ Thus, Ramesses I, in his report on his expedition to the Sinai, describes how his divine father Atum wished him to:¹⁶⁰

| | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| <i>shḏ rn mwt=f Hwt-Hrw</i> | elucidate the name of his mother Hathor, |
| <i>nbt mfkḅt</i> | Mistress of Turquoise, |
| <i>jr wḅt r=s nn m ḥḅtjw=sn</i> | and create a path to her that was not known (literally “in their hearts”). (KRI I, p. 1/10–11) |

The act, or faculty, of enlightening in a religious context is also associated with the Nubian Piye, albeit in a passage that is too fragmentary to understand fully. On his stela from the Gebel Barkal temple of Amun (B 500), which outlines his path to the kingship, Piye is said to “elucidate” what may be a secret, or hidden, aspect of the gods. Whatever the exact original meaning, the king’s supreme knowledge is addressed in terms of enlightenment:

e.g., p. 191. A further early attestation, on Middle Kingdom autobiographical stela BM EA 572, line 5, which describes the owner, Antef son of Senet, as a *shḏ n šntw*, seems to me to reflect the idea of “clearing up,” and thus calming, the anger of an enraged opponent (“one who would clear (the mind of)/calm the quarrelsome one”); *hḏ* “white/bright” is often used as counterpart to *dšr* when denoting anger.

156 See the examples in Lakoff and Johnson 2003, p. 48.

157 The  group is traditionally translated as “image of Ra”—thus, e.g., Murnane 1995b, p. 194. I suggest reading the solar disk as a determinative here, highlighting the solar nature of the king; the names of both Ra and the Aten are elsewhere in the text written with either the determinative of the seated deity (A40 ) or an ideogram stroke (Z1), or the name of the Aten is spelled out.

158 Similar also Sandman 1938, p. 201; also *Urk.* IV, p. 2013/6–9.

159 A somewhat fragmentary and hence ambiguous text, on a stela of Hui, Viceroy of Kush under Tutankhamun, credits this king, too, with the power to “elucidate” concepts:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>nb=j Nb-hprw-R^cw . . .</i> | My lord, Nebkheperura . . . |
| <i>. . . shḏ n=j mḅ.tw</i> | . . . elucidate for me what should be seen, |
| <i>sḏḏ=j bḅw=k . . .</i> | so that I may tell of your might . . . (<i>Urk.</i> IV, p. 2075/2–5). |

Assmann 1980, p. 32 wishes to understand this text as an early attestation of a personal piety that begins to flourish in the ensuing Ramesside period.

160 Sinai stela Brussels E. 2171, lines 4–5.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| ‘ . . . ’ jrty shd’ . . . ’ | . . . (whose?) eyes illuminate . . . |
| dʿr=sn št[ʒ](w) | their secret thoughts |
| [hr] mʒʒ hr dh[w] ‘ . . . ’ | [when] looking upon the hid[den] things . . . |
| rh jmn | that Amun knows. (Gebel Barkal Stela 26, lines 28–29) ¹⁶¹ |

The most striking late text discussing this metaphysical aspect of royal light can be found on the same king’s Victory Stela, however. In a royal eulogy by Peftjauawybast of Herakleopolis, the Nubian king’s luminosity (here *hdd*) saves the defeated local ruler from darkness (*kkw*)—in a text that is strikingly reminiscent of important tenets found in Amarna religion:

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>jnd-hr=k Hrw njswt nht</i> | Hail to you, Horus, mighty king |
| . . . <i>šd wj dwʒt</i> | . . . The netherworld has seized me |
| <i>md.kw m kk(w)</i> | and I am deep in darkness. |
| <i>dd n=j hdd hr=f</i> | O you who give me the (en)light(enment) of your face! |
| . . . | . . . |
| <i>kʒ.n=k kkw hr=j</i> | you have stripped away the darkness from me. |
| | (Victory Stela, lines 72–74) ¹⁶² |

One may wonder if the Amarna dogma of kings as enlighteners of their people may have played a role in choosing this formulation. It is, to the best of my knowledge to date, singular in royal contexts, although it is evocative of certain Ramesside prayers and hymns to the sun god. In these, the petitioner typically asks the god to save him from “darkness.”¹⁶³ It may be worth considering in this context that some Nubian temples were originally founded in the Amarna period. The modern name of the temple site at Kawa is derived from the original Egyptian Gem-pa-Aten, for example, a fact that is commonly accepted to point to a foundation of this structure under Akhenaten, although the earliest architectural evidence found so far dates to the reign of Tutankhamun. The cult of the Aten as established there at that time—and perhaps in other parts of Nubia, such as at Kerma and possibly even Gebel Barkal—may well have influenced later local solar/Amun cults.¹⁶⁴ Thus, Temple T at Kawa, in its current form a foundation of Taharqo’s, is dedicated to “Amun of Gematon” and incorporates earlier parts dating to the late Eighteenth Dynasty.¹⁶⁵ It stands to reason that aspects of the Atenist philosophy of light and its contingent royal dogma may therefore have survived in Nubian local traditions.¹⁶⁶ Even if more Ramesside texts expressing the cited principles were to be

161 Stela Khartoum 1851; Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 351; Ritner 2009, p. 464; see also Grimal 1986, pp. 217–19 and, recently, Lohwasser and Sörgel 2020, esp. pp. 98–107, for the language and date of the stela, which displays large sections, especially the royal speech, in the Late Egyptian dialect.

162 Jansen-Winkel 2007b, p. 343; Ritner 2009, pp. 472, 483; see also Grimal 1986, p. 283; Goedicke 1998, p. 166 for a somewhat different rendering of this passage.

163 E.g., in the hymn to Amun on ostrakon BM EA 29559 (formerly EA 5656a); Assmann 1999, p. 421, text 190: “He who attacks you is in the dark; but whoever places you in his heart, Amun—see, his sun has risen!” A singular Ramesside royal example from Abydos has the goddess Seshat address Seti I as follows: *dj=k hḏwt n ntjw m kkw* “(May) you give light to those who are in darkness”; see Grimal 1986, pp. 282–83 with n. 889.

164 See Rocheleau 2008, p. 76 for the similarities between parts of the Ramesside chapel at the temple of Gebel Barkal (B 500) and the small western chapel at the west temple of Doukki Gel/Kerma, which was erected in the reign of Akhenaten, and also for similarities between Piye’s “throne room” at Gebel Barkal and a further part of Doukki Gel’s west temple; see also Ahmed 2004, p. 212; Bonnet 2000, pp. 1103ff.

165 The derived site name “Kawa” was retained into the fourth century CE. On materials for the temples of Kawa, see Rocheleau 2008, pp. 28–29 with further literature; for the late Eighteenth Dynasty parts of the temple reused—unchanged(!)—in Taharqo’s temple, see Török 2002, pp. 142ff.; this reuse, or incorporation, suggests that the theology and kingship ideology expressed in these materials was perceived as aligning with those of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. Török moreover postulates “some sort of (popular?) cult community” associated specifically with Tutankhamun’s and other New Kingdom chapels at the site (Török 2002, p. 147). I am grateful to Krzys Grzymiski for recommending Török’s volume to me.

166 In terms of the texts composed for Piye, several scholars have noted the New Kingdom models he actively drew on in both his choice of terminology and his titulary. Some of these precursor texts have of course been found in the vicinity of Piye’s own monuments, such as the Gebel Barkal stela of Thutmose III (likely the founder of the temple at Gebel Barkal);

found in the future, unambiguous usage of terms such as *shd* with the meaning “to enlighten, to elucidate,” specifically when referring to religious concepts, could potentially be considered an additional criterion for dating such texts to the post-Amarna period, although more evidence is needed.

CONCLUSION

Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom and later claimed a divine status that was primarily derived from a mythical father–son relationship with the head of the pantheon, Amun-Ra, or the Aten during the Amarna Period. This familial relationship entailed a physical likeness with the god that included celestial radiance and was encoded iconographically in royal dress and paraphernalia, as well as verbally in visual, metaphorical language.

Before and after Akhenaten, kings took recourse to both daytime/solar and nighttime/lunar or stellar luminaries as models, while the Amarna period exclusively used metaphors and similes referring to phenomena associated with the daytime sun. Further, while Akhenaten refocused his ideological language in the light and rays of the sun disk/Aten, the terminology of light that he employed, and most of its associations, predate his reforms, although he seems to have expanded the lexicon of light considerably, with several new terms coming to the fore. Conceptual innovation is visible above all in the usage of light terminology, however, as when *nfrw* becomes a commonly used light noun, or *shd* is used as a verb expressing cognitive processes pertaining to Akhenaten’s philosophy, its teaching, and the effect it had on those instructed.

After the Amarna period, kings returned to a somewhat more traditional approach, including an extensive use of nighttime celestial metaphors. Certain developments could not be undone, however. *Nfrw* “beauty” gained a luminous determinative, thus identifying it as a light term in the true sense; some light terminology appears to have been used less specifically from then on—for example, when solar attributes such as light and heat are no longer primarily attached to external aspects of the sun god, such as the disk, uraeus, or crown, but are now regularly said to pertain to Ra (or Amun-Ra) and by extension also to the king himself. At the same time, and arguably at least in part as a result of the Amarna period’s solar focus and precedent, use of solar metaphorical language practically exploded.¹⁶⁷ Ramesside kings presented themselves as, and with the appearance and powers of, solar and other luminary deities in essentially all contexts. When Ramesses III is called “the living Shu, who shines over Egypt” (*pʿ šw ʿnh ntj psd hr kmt*),¹⁶⁸ one is struck by the similarity with Akhenaten’s ubiquitous profession to be “the living Aten” (*pʿ jtn ʿnh*).¹⁶⁹ Rulers of ensuing periods, even if originally from different cultural backgrounds, adopted this luminous idiom—all the way to the Roman caesars, as illustrated by Caesarion–Ptolemy XV’s Horus name, *βῆω στωτ ρῶ jῆ*—“Light and rays of sun and moon.”¹⁷⁰

Ramesside influence has been noted also; see, e.g., Ritner 2009, pp. 462, 466–67 for summary and further references; also Török 2002, pp. 299–300. This author also discusses (pp. 48–49 with literature) the debate surrounding the continuity of New Kingdom cults, e.g., at Napata/Gebel Barkal, into the Third Intermediate Period, as opposed to a supposed revival of New Kingdom cults under Alara and/or Piye following a 300-year hiatus that was initiated by the withdrawal of the Egyptian administration in the later Ramesside period. According to the first excavator, George Reisner, the temple moreover saw destruction under Akhenaten and was then rebuilt by Tutankhamun/Horemhab, with further work and enlargement done by Seti I and then Ramesses II. Török also speaks of a conscious “re-Egyptianization” of the early Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, however, indebted in particular to the Theban cult of Amun, although most Nubian Amun temples seem to have contained chapels to Ra-Harakhty (or other deities embodying the rising morning sun)—potentially emulating the earlier solar courts of New Kingdom temples; see Török 2002, e.g., pp. 51ff., esp. p. 55 with n. 56 for earlier literature.

167 As already noted by authors such as Hsu 2017, pp. 398–405.

168 *KRI V*, p. 82/1.

169 *Urk. IV*, pp. 1965/21, 1981/10, and many more examples.

170 Leprohon 2013, p. 188.

ABBREVIATIONS

- BD Book of the Dead
 CT I–VII Adriaan de Buck. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 7 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–61
 KRI Kenneth A. Kitchen. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1975–90
 LGG Christian Leitz, ed. *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16, 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–3
 PT Kurt Sethe. *Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte*. 4 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–12
 TA Amarna Tomb
 TLA Tonio Sebastian Richter, Daniel A. Werning, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, and Peter Dils, eds. *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>
 Urk. IV Kurt Sethe, ed. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums* 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–58
 Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ahmed, Salah ed-Din M.
 2004 “A Meroitic Temple at the Site of Doukki Gel (Kerma): A Preliminary Report (Seasons 96–97, 97–98 and 98–99).” In *Nubian Studies 1998: Proceedings of the Ninth Conference of the International Society of Nubian Studies, August 21–26, 1998, Boston, Massachusetts*, edited by Timothy Kendall, pp. 205–13. Boston: Department of African-American Studies, Northeastern University.
- Arnaudès, Alain, Nathalie Beaux, and Antoine Chéné
 2015 *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*. *Études d’Égyptologie* 13. Paris: Soleb.
- Assmann, Jan
 1969 *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik, I*. *Münchener Ägyptologische Studien* 19. Berlin: Bruno Hessling.
 1970 *Der König als Sonnenpriester: Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern*. *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo: Ägyptologische Reihe* 7. Glückstadt: Augustin.
 1979 “Primat und Transzendenz: Struktur und Genese der ägyptischen Vorstellung eines ‘Höchsten Wesens.’” In *Aspekte der spätägyptischen Religion*, edited by Wolfhart Westendorf, pp. 7–42. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1980 “Die ‘Loyalistische Lehre’ Echnatons.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 8: 1–32.
 1983 *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern*. Theben 1. Mainz: von Zabern.
 1995 *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crises of Polytheism*. London: Kegan Paul International.
 1996 *Ägypten: Eine Sinngeschichte*. Munich: Carl Hanser.
 1999 *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*. 2nd ed. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Aufrère, Sidney
 1991 *L’univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne*. *Bibliothèque d’étude* 105. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Baines, John
 1991 “Society, Morality, and Religious Practice.” In *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myths, and Personal Practice*, edited by Byron E. Shafer, pp. 123–200. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
 1998 “Ancient Egyptian Kingship: Official Forms, Rhetoric, Context.” In *King and Messiah in Israel and the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the Oxford Old Testament Seminar*, edited by John Day, pp. 16–53. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

Barta, Winfried

- 1975 *Untersuchungen zur Göttlichkeit des regierenden Königs: Ritus und Sakralkönigtum in Altägypten nach Zeugnissen der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 32. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.

Bell, Lanny

- 1985a “Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun.” In *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, edited by Paule Posener-Kriéger, vol. 1, pp. 31–61. Bibliothèque d’étude 97. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- 1985b “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44: 251–94.

Betrò, M.

- 2016 “Bello come il cielo: Il senso del bello nell’antico Egitto.” *Storia delle Donne* 12: 81–93.

Blumenthal, Elke

- 1970 *Untersuchungen zum ägyptischen Königtum des Mittleren Reiches I: Die Phraseologie*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 61/1. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- 2002 “Die Göttlichkeit des Pharaos: Sakralität von Herrschaft und Herrschaftslegitimierung im Alten Ägypten.” In *Die Sakralität von Herrschaft—Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume: Fünfzehn interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einem weltweiten und epochenübergreifenden Phänomen*, edited by Franz-Reiner Erkens, pp. 53–61. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- 2003 “Den Falken im Nacken: Statuentypen und göttliches Königtum zur Pyramidenzeit.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 130: 1–30.

Bonnet, Charles

- 2000 *Édifices et rites funéraires à Kerma*. Paris: Errance.

Brunner, Hellmut

- 1986 *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs: Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos*. 2nd ed. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Buchberger, Hannes

- 2006 “Sesostris und die Inschrift von Et-Tôd? Eine philologische Anfrage.” In “Von reichlich ägyptischem Verstande”: *Festschrift für Waltraud Guglielmi zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert and Karola Zibelius-Chen, pp. 15–21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Burgos, Franck, and François Larché

- 2006–8 *La chapelle rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d’Hatshepsout*. Paris: CulturesFrance.

Calvert, Amy M.

- 2013 “Vehicle of the Sun: The Royal Chariot in the New Kingdom.” In *Chasing Chariots: Proceedings of the First International Chariot Conference (Cairo 2012)*, edited by Salima Ikram and André J. Veldmeijer, pp. 45–71. Leiden: Sidestone.

Caminos, Ricardo A.

- 1958 *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. Analecta Orientalia 37. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

Carter, Howard, and Percy E. Newberry

- 1904 *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*. Westminster: Constable.

Curto, Silvio

- 1961 *L’Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell’Italia settentrionale*. Bologna: Museo Civico.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1903 *The Rock Cut Tombs of El Amarna: Part I—The Tomb of Meryra*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 13. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- 1905 *The Rock Cut Tombs of El Amarna: Part III—The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 15. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Epigraphic Survey

- 1954 *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*. Vol. 3, *The Bubastite Portal*. Oriental Institute Publications 74. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gardiner, Alan H.

1937 *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7. Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Goebs, Katja

1995a “Horus der Kaufmann’ als Name des Planeten Jupiter.” *Enchoria* 22: 218–21.

1995b “Untersuchungen zu Funktion und Symbolgehalt des Nms.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 122: 154–81.

1998 “Expressing Luminosity in Iconography: Features of the Solar Bark in the Tomb of Ramesses VI.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 165: 57–73.

2002 “A Functional Approach to Egyptian Myth and Mythemes.” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 2: 27–60.

2007 “Kingship.” In *The Egyptian World*, edited by Toby A. H. Wilkinson, pp. 275–95. London: Routledge.

2008 *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature—Royalty, Rebirth, Destruction*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

2011 “King as God and God as King: Colour, Light, and Transformation in Egyptian Ritual.” In *Palace and Temple: Architecture—Decoration—Ritual; Cambridge, July 16th–17th, 2007*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Kate Spence, pp. 57–101. 5th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2015 “Receive the Henu—That You May Shine Forth in It like Akhty’—Feathers, Horns, and the Cosmic Symbolism of Composite Crowns.” In *Royal versus Divine Authority: Acquisition, Legitimization and Renewal of Power; Prague, June 26–28 2013*, edited by Filip Coppens, Jirí Janák, and Hana Vymazalová, pp. 145–75. 7th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4/4. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

2019 “How ‘Royal’ (and ‘Mythical’) Are the Coffin Texts? Reflections on the Definition and Function of Some Eitic Concepts in a Middle Kingdom Funerary Text Corpus.” In *Concepts in Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture: Proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge Anniversary Symposium Held at Christ’s College, Cambridge, 22 January 2016*, edited by Rune Nyord, pp. 63–99. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 102. Leiden: Brill.

Goebs, Katja, and John Baines

2018 “Functions and Uses of Egyptian Myth.” *Revue de l’histoire des religions* 235: 645–81.

Goedicke, Hans

1998 *Pi(ankh)y in Egypt: A Study of the Pi(ankh)y Stela*. Baltimore: Halgo.

Grimal, Nicholas-Christophe

1986 *Les termes de la propagande royale de la XIX^e dynastie à la conquête d’Alexandre*. Mémoires de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres N.S. 6. Paris: de Boccard.

Hagen, Fredrik

2019 “New Copies of Old Classics: Early Manuscripts of *Khakheperreseneb* and *The Instruction of a Man for His Son*.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 105: 177–208.

Helck, Wolfgang

1969 “Eine Stele Sebekhoteps IV. aus Karnak.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 24: 194–200.

1975 *Historisch-biographische Texte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*. Kleine ägyptische Texte. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

1995 *Historisch-biographische Texte der Zweiten Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie—Nachträge*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hirsch, Eileen N.

2004 *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme der 12. Dynastie: Untersuchungen zu den Göttertempeln im alten Ägypten*. Berlin: Achet.

2008 *Die sakrale Legitimation Sesostris’ I.: Kontaktphänomene in königsideologischen Texten*. Königstum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hornung, Erik

1983 *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 46. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Hsu, Shih-Wei

- 2011 “The ‘Griffin’ as a Visual and Written Image for the King.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 231: 45–56.
 2017 *Bilder für den Pharaon: Untersuchungen zu den bildlichen Ausdrücken des Ägyptischen in den Königsinschriften und anderen Textgattungen*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 36. Leiden: Brill.

Jansen-Winkel, Karl

- 2007a *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Part 1, *Die 21. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2007b *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Part 2, *Die 22.–24. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2009 *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Part 3, *Die 25. Dynastie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2014a *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Part 4, *Die 26. Dynastie*. Vol. 1, *Psametik I.–Psametik III*; vol. 2, *Gottesgemahlinnen/26. Dynastie insgesamt*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2014b “Die Siegesstele des Amasis.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 141: 134–35.

Kischkewitz, Hannelore

- 1977 “Zur temporären Einwohnung des Gottes im König.” In *Ägypten und Kusch: Fritz Hintze zum 60. Geburtstag*, edited by Erika Endesfelder, Karl-Heinz Priese, Walter-Friedrich Reineke, and Steffen Wenig, pp. 207–12. Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

Klug, Andrea

- 2002 *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca 8. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Koch, Roland

- 1990 *Die Erzählung des Sinuhe*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 17. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Krauss, Rolf

- 1997 *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 59. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden.
 2002 “The Eye of Horus and the Planet Venus: Astronomical and Mythological References.” In *Under One Sky: Astronomy and Mathematics in the Ancient Near East*, edited by John M. Steele and Annette Imhausen, pp. 193–208. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
 2008 “Über Horus und die Horus-Augen sowie andere Elemente der altägyptischen Astronomie.” *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 40: 205–19.

Lacau, Pierre, and Henri Chevrier

- 1977–79 *Une chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak*. Cairo: Service des antiquités de l’Égypte.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson

- 2003 *Metaphors We Live By*. 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lange, Hans O., and Heinrich Schäfer

- 1902 *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo: No. 20001–20780*. Part IV, *Tafeln*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.
 1908 *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo: No. 20001–20780*. Part II, *Text zu No. 20400–20780*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Legrain, Georges

- 1925 *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*. Part 3, Nos. 42192–42250. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 71. Cairo: Imprimerie de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Leprohon, Ronald

- 2009 “The Stela of Sehetepibre (CG 20538): Borrowings and Innovation.” In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner, pp. 277–92. New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University and Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.
 2013 *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Lesko, Leonard

- 1982–90 *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. Berkeley: B.C. Scribe Publications.

- Lichtheim, Miriam
1976 *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. Vol. 2, *The New Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Liesegang, Diana
2008 “Visual Images’—Ein königliches Ritual in versprachlichten Bildern.” In *Mythos und Ritual: Festschrift für Jan Assmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, edited by Benedikt Rothöhler and Alexander Manisali, pp. 77–82. Tübingen: LIT Verlag.
- Lohwasser, Angelika, and Ane Sörgel
2020 *Ein Zeugnis des frühen kuschitischen Königtums: Die Stele SNM 1851 vom Jebel Barkal*. Meroitica 28. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Megahed, Mohamed
2016 “The Pyramid Complex of Djedkare-Isesi at South Saqqara and Its Decorative Program.” PhD diss., Charles University.
- Megahed, Mohamad, and Hana Vymazalová
2011 “Ancient Egyptian Royal Circumcision from the Pyramid Complex of Djedkare.” *Anthropologie* 49: 155–64.
- Morenz, Siegfried
1964 *Die Heraufkunft des transzendenten Gottes in Ägypten*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
1965 *Gott und Mensch im alten Ägypten*. Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider.
- Murnane, William J.
1995a “The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution.” In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by David O’Connor and David P. Silverman, pp. 185–217. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 9. Leiden: Brill.
1995b *Texts from the Amarna Period in Egypt*. Writings from the Ancient World 5. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Navratilova, H.
2007 *The Visitors’ Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara*. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology.
- Neugebauer, Otto, and Richard A. Parker
1960–69 *Egyptian Astronomical Texts*. Providence, RI: Lund Humphries for Brown University Press.
- Ockinga, Boya
1984 *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit des Menschen im Alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Otto, Eberhard
1964 *Gott und Mensch nach den ägyptischen Tempelinschriften der griechisch-römischen Zeit: Eine Untersuchung zur Phraseologie der Tempelinschriften*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Parkinson, Richard B.
2002 *Poetry and Culture in Middle Kingdom Egypt: A Dark Side to Perfection*. Athlone Publications in Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies. London: Continuum.
- Popielska-Grzybowska, Joanna
2013 “Atum and Son: Some Remarks on Egyptian Concept of Eternity.” *Études et travaux* 26: 537–46.
- Quack, Joachim
2019 “The Planets in Ancient Egypt.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Planetary Science*. Published online May 23, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190647926.013.61>.
- Redford, Donald B.
1982 “An Offering Inscription from the 2nd Pylon at Karnak.” In *Studies in Philology in Honour of Ronald James Williams—A Festschrift*, edited by Gerald E. Kadish and Geoffrey E. Freeman, pp. 125–32. Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Publications 3. Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.
1995 “The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty.” In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by David O’Connor and David P. Silverman, pp. 157–84. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 9. Leiden: Brill.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Rocheleau, Caroline M.

- 2008 *Amun Temples in Nubia: A Typological Study of New Kingdom, Napatan and Meroitic Temples*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1850. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Sandman, Maj

- 1938 *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 8. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Schweitzer, Ursula

- 1956 *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 19. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Silverman, David P.

- 1995 “The Nature of Egyptian Kingship.” In *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, edited by David O’Connor and David P. Silverman, pp. 49–92. Probleme der Ägyptologie 9. Leiden: Brill.

Stauder, Andréas

- 2013 *Linguistic Dating of Middle Egyptian Literary Texts*. Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica 12. Hamburg: Widmaier.

Török, László

- 2002 *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art: The Construction of the Kushite Mind, 800 BC–300 AD*. Leiden: Brill.

von Lieven, Alexandra

- 2007 *Grundriss des Laufes der Sterne: Das sogenannte Nutbuch*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 31. Carlsberg Papyri 8. Copenhagen: Tusculanum Press.

Windus-Staginsky, Elka

- 2006 *Der ägyptische König im Alten Reich: Terminologie und Phraseologie*. Philippika 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Winkler, Andreas

- 2013 “A Royal Star: On the ‘Miracle of the Star’ in Thutmose’s III’s Gebel Barkal Stela and a Note on the King as a Star in Personal Names.” *Revue d’égyptologie* 64: 231–47.

Winnerman, Jonathan

- 2018 “Rethinking the Royal Ka.” PhD diss., University of Chicago.

Zivie, Alain-Pierre

- 1972 “Un monument associant les noms de Ramsès I et de Séthi I.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 72: 99–114.

6

THE “LIBYAN FAMILY” AT KAWA:
FASHION AS A POLITICAL STATEMENT OF TAHARQO*

Aleksandra Hallmann

Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences

THE TEMPLE OF AMUN-RA AT Gem-aten (Temple T at the modern site of Kawa in the Dongola Reach of modern northern Sudan), built by King Taharqo, displays a scene in traditional Egyptian iconography of the subjugation of Egypt’s enemies.¹ It represents the king as a sphinx trampling the three fallen foes of Egypt, identified in Old Kingdom sources as coming from the west, east, and south.² The first subject is identified as the “westerner,” the archetype of Libyan royalty, whose family watches the larger scene. The scene of an enemy being trampled with his family as onlookers is referred to in modern historiography as the “Libyan family” scene and belongs to the larger category of scenes of smiting and trampling the enemies of Egypt.³ These scenes constitute one of the most distinctive motifs of pharaonic art, the iconography of which evolves during the course of history and reflects the development of kingship ideology.⁴

Temple T at Kawa has two examples of the Libyan family scene, neither of them fully preserved. Both are depicted on the west wall of the first court, one on the southern side and the other on the northern side.⁵ For clarity, they will be referred to here as “Scene W-S” (fig. 6.1) and “Scene W-N” (fig. 6.2).⁶ Both scenes represent King Taharqo as a sphinx trampling the three foes of Egypt.

The prototype of the Kawa scenes comes from Old Kingdom mortuary temples, with the earliest identified example at the mortuary temple of Sahura in Abusir.⁷ The motif appears in later Old Kingdom temples, where it survived in various states and varies in certain details—for example, the representation of the king in human form instead of as a sphinx/griffin.⁸ The surviving examples of the Libyan family scene consist of the king as sphinx or griffin smiting or trampling enemies, rows of prisoners, rows of cattle, the goddess

*The observations in this essay draw on the iconographic study of Taharqo’s reign that was conducted as part of the grant “Iconographic program of the chapels of Osiris in Karnak: Kushite chapel of Osiris Neb-ankh” (Harmonia 8: 2016/22/M/HS3/00354) awarded by the National Science Centre of Poland to the author, and in partnership with Laurent Coulon (Institut français d’archéologie orientale / École pratique des hautes études).

1 Macadam 1955, pp. 61–65, pls. IX, XLVIII–XLIX.

2 The three enemies of Egypt are traditionally identified as Libyans, Nubians, and Asiatics; the last group represents a very broad category. These “generic” groups were supplemented by other foreigners depending on the time and circumstances. It is noteworthy that the triad of foreign people pointed to multiplicity in the Egyptians’ beliefs. For discussion, see Roth 2015, p. 160.

3 Stockfisch 1996.

4 For discussion of the motif of subjugation of foreigners, see, e.g., Śliwa 1974; Roth 2015.

5 It is noteworthy that the scene at Kawa is situated on the west wall, the traditional Old Kingdom location of the representation of Libyans as enemies. On the location of the enemy in the axial, symbolic geographical order, see Belova 1998; Ćwiek 2003, p. 202. See also the discussion of internal divisions among foreigners in Roth 2015, pp. 159–60.

6 For Scene W-N, see Macadam 1955, pl. IXa; for Scene W-S, see Macadam 1955, pl. IXb.

7 Borchardt 1913, pls. 1, 8.

8 It has been identified in the mortuary temples of Kings Sahura, Niuserra, Unis, Pepi I, and Pepi II. For a summary of the discussion, see Stockfisch 1996; Ritner 2008, pp. 305–6. See also Ćwiek 2003, pp. 199–210. For discussion about the scenes

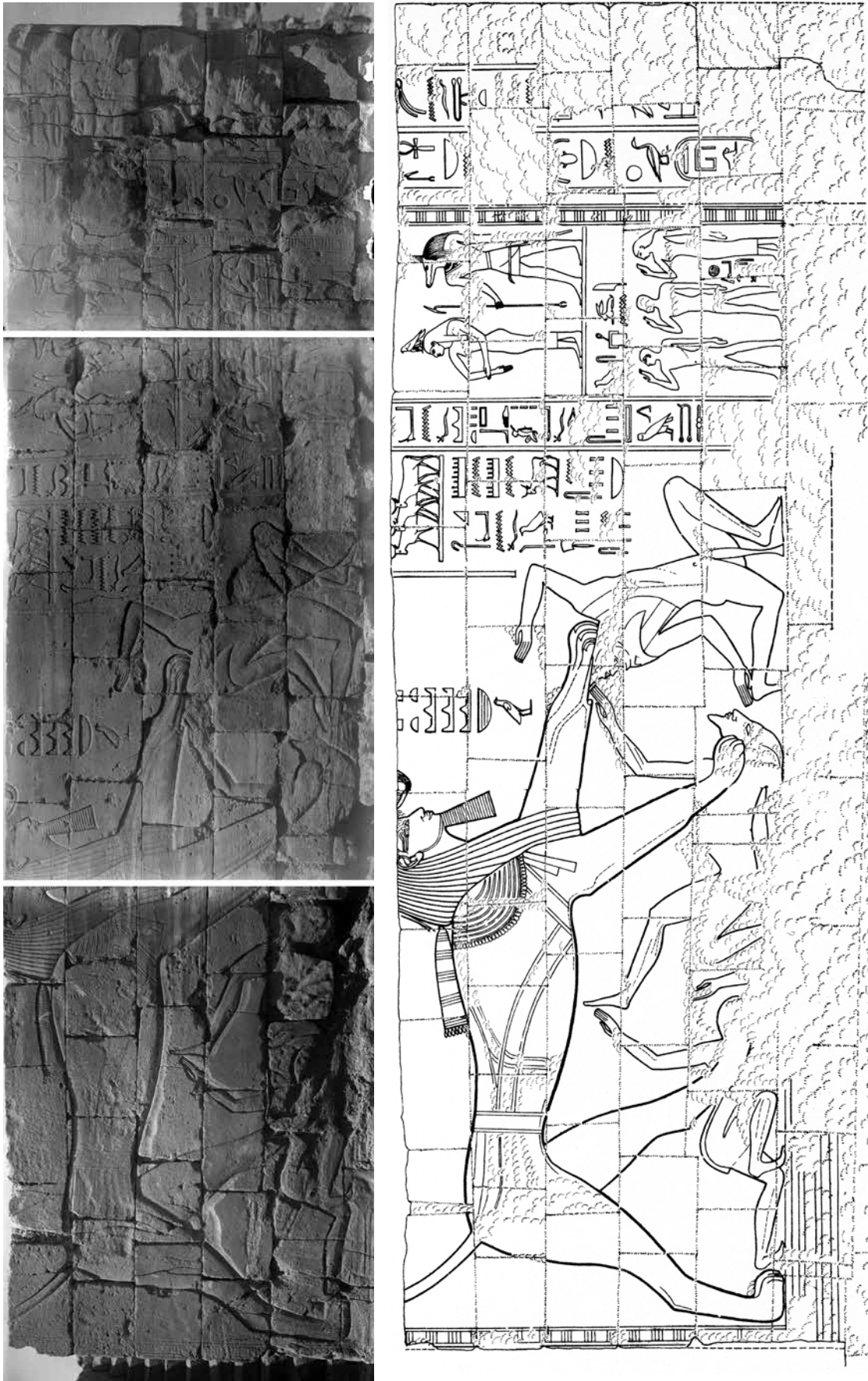


Figure 6.1. Scene W-S from Kawa. Photos and drawing courtesy of the Griffith Institute.

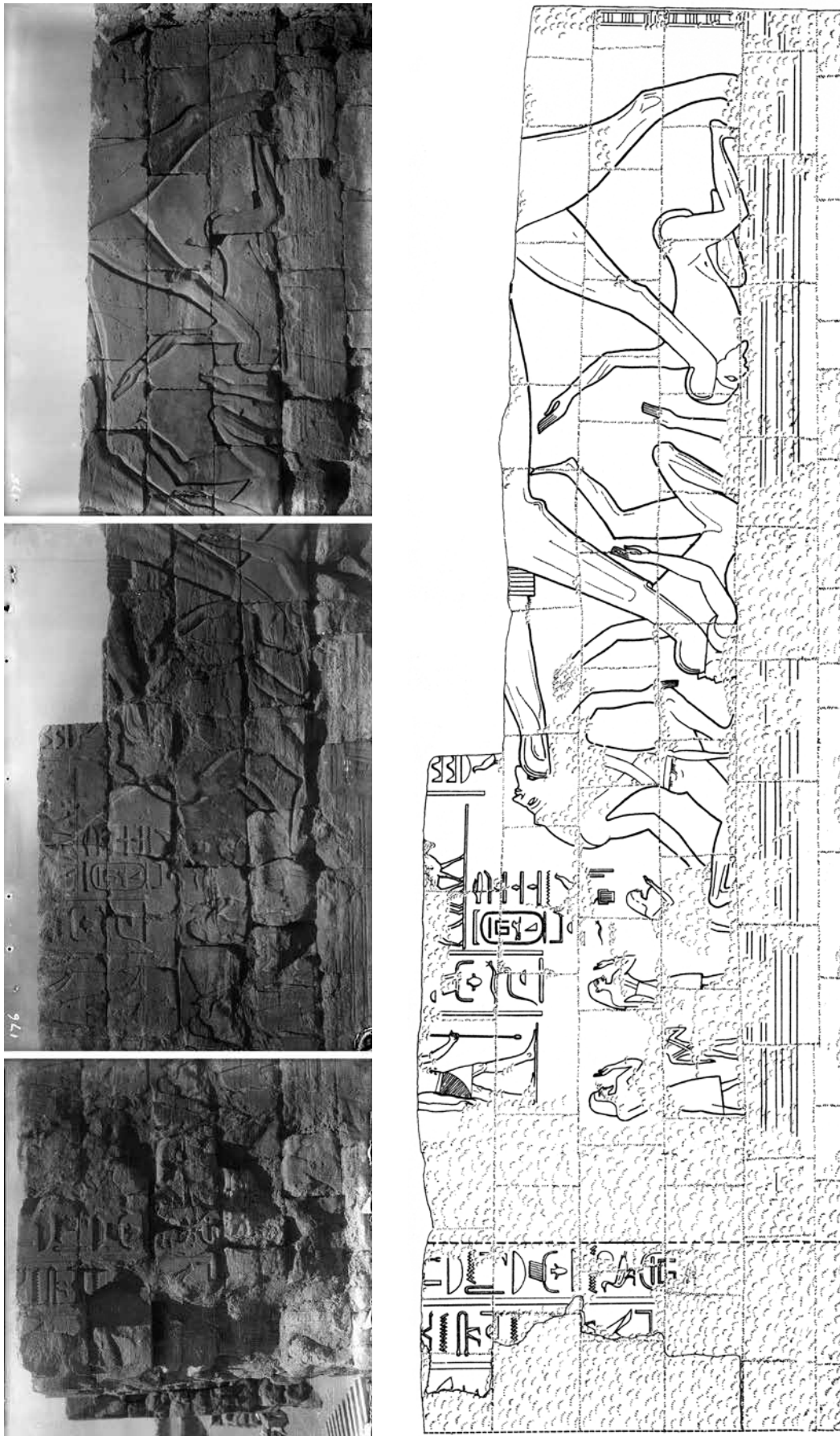


Figure 6.2. Scene W-N from Kawa. Photos and drawing courtesy of the Griffith Institute.

Seshat recording captives and booty, the Libyan family, and two deities—Ash, lord of Tjehenu, and the goddess of the West. The Libyan family is represented by the wife of the smitten chief and his two sons. They are all depicted with a hand raised and their names written above them: the woman is Khuities (*Hw-it=s*), and the sons are Wesa (*Wsʒ*) and Weni (*Wni*).⁹ These names are one of the consistent elements of the scene and are present in other known examples of the relief, including the ones at Kawa.

The two Libyan family scenes at Kawa differ from their Old Kingdom prototypes in many details, including the way the Libyan family is represented. These alterations, which focus on the family's depiction and especially their dress, are discussed extensively here. It is questioned whether clothing, as an identity marker, plays any role in understanding historic events and the ideology that shapes them. It is proposed that the representation of the Libyan family at Kawa was based on contemporary observation and that fashion was used by Taharqo to make a strong political statement. This study is inspired by Robert Ritner's interpretation of the Kawa reliefs as "witness to the 'culture wars' of the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1100–650 BC)."¹⁰ I am deeply honored to dedicate this essay to Robert Ritner, my first hieroglyphs teacher, and a colleague with whom I shared similar academic interests and whose unique and profound knowledge was a constant inspiration.

THE LIBYAN FAMILY SCENES AT KAWA

SCENE W-S (FIG. 6.1)

The discussion of the portrayals of the Libyan family starts with a short analysis of both scenes (W-S and W-N) to help contextualize them. Both Libyan family scenes at the temple of Amun-Ra at Kawa are only partially preserved, allowing only their lower registers to be recorded in the temple's publication.¹¹ Scene W-S depicts the king as a sphinx with a human head who tramples three fallen foes of Egypt. The depiction of the fallen men is not fully preserved. The king's portrayal as a human-headed sphinx is almost completely intact; missing are the upper part of the king's head, including his forehead, and the end of the sphinx's tail. The human-headed sphinx wears a *nemes*, uraeus (this part of the relief is unfortunately missing, so we are unable to determine whether he has one or two uraei), beard, and rounded earring. He also sports the wide necklace with a *menkhet*, a counterpoise that hangs on his back and serves to balance the necklace.¹² The body of the sphinx, the lion, wears a crossband that, curiously enough, recalls the body sash worn by Libyans.¹³ The caption of the scene, *ptpt hʒsw.t nb.w(t)* "Trampling all foreign countries," is positioned in front of the sphinx's face.¹⁴ The first two columns of text describe the king's action: *h(ʒ)q.n=f ʿw.t=sn mnmn.(t)=sn nb.(t)* "He captured all their flocks and herds." Above this text are three oxen, probably all that

of defeated foreigners, including the contextualization of prisoners' statues in Old Kingdom temples, see Prakash 2017, pp. 455–64; 2022, 128–43.

⁹ The summary is based on Stockfisch 1996, pp. 316–17.

¹⁰ Ritner 2008, p. 306.

¹¹ Macadam 1955, pp. 61–65, pls. IX, XLVIII–XLIX. This record is the only known documentation of the Kawa reliefs, which is stored in the Griffith Institute and was produced by Macadam and Kirwan before they left the site in the 1930s. I would like to thank Derek Welsby, who kindly confirmed this information and who conducted further excavations in the town and cemeteries in Kawa in 1997–2018. See regular reports by Welsby in *Sudan & Nubia*, as well as <http://www.sudarchrs.org.uk/fieldwork/kawa-excavation-project/> with bibliography.

¹² For a discussion and examples of *menkhet*, see Aldred 1978, pp. 37–38. It is noteworthy that this piece of jewelry resembles a type of *devanteau* (apron) identified in the *frise d'objets* in Jéquier 1921, p. 23, fig. 57.

¹³ The crossband, one of the markers of the Libyan dress, is also seen in Egyptian representations. See Romion 2011. It is logical to assume that there were many variants of the crossband, whose identification may not always be possible because of the incomplete preservation of visual sources. Panaite, for example, has proposed that crossbands and the choker necklace worn by Tjehenu were made of the same fabric, most probably strings of beads. See Panaite 2018, p. 262.

¹⁴ The translation of the surviving text of both Libyan family scenes at Kawa follows Ritner 2009b, p. 526. See also Macadam 1955, pp. 63–65.

remain of a larger herd now lost but seen, for example, in the Sahura temple relief.¹⁵ The text is followed by another line that continues the description of the king’s action: [. . . *h3q*].*n=f h3s.wt bšd.w di=f ir=sn šm.(t) ts[m.w]* “[. . .] He [captured] the foreign lands that had revolted, causing them to do the dog-walk.”¹⁶

Then two registers with figures follow. The lower register is occupied by the Libyan family with the same names and hand gestures as in Old Kingdom examples. Here two sons, Wesa (*Ws3*) and Weni (*Wni*), are represented before their mother, Khuities (*Hw-it=s*). Both sons are the same size as their mother. Above the family, in the upper register, are two gods, the human goddess of the West and the crocodile-headed god Ash.¹⁷

SCENE W-N (FIG. 6.2)

Scene W-N is labeled like Scene W-S, but the text survives only partially: [*ptpt h*]*3s.wt nb.w(t)* “[Trampling] all foreign lands.” It again represents the king in the form of a sphinx, but here only the legs of the sphinx have survived, and it is not possible to infer what the head of the sphinx looked like. If one agrees that Scenes W-S and W-N depict similar images of the same scene, with some parts even mirrored, then one would expect here the same head as in Scene W-S, the human head of the king.¹⁸ The foes of Egypt are more intact here than in Scene W-S. The position of the Libyan family differs from that depicted in Scene W-S, since they are not separated by a column of hieroglyphs but stand in front of the trampled Libyan chief. Moreover, this scene represents the expanded family: instead of only the mother and two sons, another male figure is also depicted. The order of the figures varies. From right to left, the first is a boy, followed by a woman, then a small boy, and finally a man. The names of the first boy, Wesa (*Ws3*), and his mother, Khuities (*Hw-it=s*), are still visible. The two other figures—the small boy, presumably Weni (*Wni*), and the father, as Macadam proposed¹⁹—are not labeled, or at least their names are not preserved. Above the family is the text: *dbh htp.w n p.t Thrq* [. . .].*t 3w.t-ib=f d.t* “Requirements of the altar of heaven of Taharqo, [. . .] so that his heart be elated forever.” The text differs from that of Scene W-S even though cattle and probably the god Ash are above it.

COPY OR NOT? THE OLD KINGDOM VERSION VERSUS THE KUSHITE VERSION OF THE LIBYAN FAMILY SCENE

The resemblance of the Kawa scene to its Old Kingdom prototype was already noted in the publication of the Kawa temple, where its inspiration was recognized among scenes from the Sahura and Niuserra temples at Abusir as well as those from the Pepi II temple at Saqqara.²⁰ Macadam proposed that Scene W-N corresponds most closely to the scenes from Niuserra’s temple, whereas Scene W-S most resembles those from Sahura’s temple. The scenes from Niuserra’s temple and Taharqo’s Scene W-N are similar in the lack of division between the trampling part of the scene and the depiction of the family. Unfortunately, the remains of the Libyan family scene from Niuserra’s temple are limited to its lowest part, where no more than the legs of the represented figures can be observed. Sahura’s scene is preserved in the most complete

15 Borchardt 1913, pls. 1, 8.

16 This passage is discussed by Macadam (1955, pp. 64–65). See also Ritner 2009b, pp. 526–27 and n. 1.

17 About these gods, see Stockfisch 1996, pp. 318–19.

18 The scenes are not fully mirrored, as observed, for example, in the different poses of the fallen bodies of enemies, not to mention the differences in representing the Libyan family. However, it is highly probable that the king was represented identically in both scenes, as appears to be proposed by Török, who writes, “The two halves of the west wall are decorated similarly with identical scenes depicting Taharqo as royal sphinx trampling his foes.” See Török 2002, p. 93.

19 Macadam 1955, p. 65.

20 Macadam 1955, p. 63. The similarity has subsequently been discussed by other authors who studied this scene, e.g., Stockfisch 1996. The likeness between the Old Kingdom and Kushite examples has at least been mentioned by almost every author who has studied archaism, especially in the Late Period; e.g., Morkot 2003, pp. 81–83; Kahl 2010, pp. 3–4; Perdu 2018, pp. 214–15.

state and thus provides more room for comparisons with Scene W-S. The main difference is that the body of the Sahura sphinx is a combination of a lion and a falcon (griffin?), whereas Taharqo's sphinx has a lion's body wearing a crossband. The head of the Sahura sphinx has not survived, so we are unable to determine whether it had a human or an animal head.

The Sahura scenes differ from Taharqo's Scene W-S in ways other than merely the different gestures of the the trampled foes' bodies and limbs. The Sahura sphinx tramples the three traditional enemies of Egypt: Libyan, Nubian, and Asiatic. At Kawa, instead of these three traditional enemies, only Libyans, or alternatively Libyans and Asiatics, are depicted. Unfortunately, the three fallen foes have not survived sufficiently to identify them with certainty. No visual features point to a Nubian as one of the three traditional enemies, and considering the circumstances—the Nubian king tramples enemies of the state on the wall of a temple in Nubia—this possibility can be excluded. On the other hand, the identification of all the foes as Libyans, as some authors have proposed, is highly plausible.²¹ It is unfortunate that this identification cannot be fully verified based on published material, especially since from the New Kingdom onward the Asiatic foes in the scene of the subjugation of enemies are frequently represented with some identity markers of Libyans.²² Regardless, if only Libyans, or Libyans and Asiatics, are being trampled by Taharqo, this alteration is one of the most important differences between the Old Kingdom scene and the Kushite variants of it.

Moreover, the deities were moved to the upper register in the Kawa scene, and the god Ash has a crocodile face, whereas in Sahura's temple his form is fully human. The position of the hieroglyphs has been modified, as has the height of the two sons depicted with their mother. In Scene W-S at Kawa they are not represented as small children but are the same height as their mother. Another striking difference between Scene W-S and its counterpart from Sahura's temple is the attire of the Libyan family. The same holds true for the clothing of Libyans represented in Scene W-N. Here, however, the entire family appears to be newly composed. Not only is there a difference in height between the two boys, but the third male figure is a completely new addition not seen in any of the Old Kingdom examples. Thus we can conclude that the main changes in Taharqo's variants of the Libyan family scene center on the depiction of the Libyans themselves—the trampled foes—and both versions of the family.

THE DRESS OF THE LIBYAN FAMILY

A comparative study of the dress of the Libyan family from Old Kingdom sources is possible mainly thanks to the well-preserved example from Sahura's temple at Abusir, but also that from the temple of Pepi II at Saqqara.²³ Two sons are also seen in the partially preserved scene at the Pepi I temple.²⁴ The most detailed representation comes from Sahura's temple, where the mother and two sons of the Libyan family wear items characteristic of early Tjehenu representations, such as a crossband on the chest, a choker, and a long necklace with a pendant reaching to the navel (also called a Y-shaped necklace).²⁵ The mother also wears a

²¹ The identification of all three foes of Egypt as Libyans at Kawa is considered by O'Connor (2003, p. 177). Kahn does not seem to hesitate in concluding that the trampled foes are only Libyans, since he writes: "At the temple of Kawa the massacrings of Libyans by Taharqa in the form of a sphinx is depicted, while a Libyan family is surrendering to him." See Kahn 2009, p. 146. See also the discussion in Prakash 2017, p. 460, about the special place of the motif of defeated Libyans in a royal myth of unification.

²² Panaite 2018, p. 270.

²³ Borchardt 1913, pp. 10–11, pl. 8; Jéquier 1938, pp. 36–38, pls. 8–10.

²⁴ Leclant 1980, pl. II.

²⁵ For discussion of the Libyan costume in general, see Bates 1914, pp. 118–41. The Libyan costume, with a special emphasis on the Libyan family scene, is also analyzed in Ritner 2009a, pp. 44–45; Roth 2015, pp. 164–65. For more recent discussion about Tjehenu costume in general, see Panaite 2018. The subject was also discussed by Ritner during the conference "Outward Appearance vs. Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World," held at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago on March 1–2, 2018. Ritner's discussion will be published in the conference proceedings; see Ritner, forthcoming.

belt around her waist onto which another marker of the Tjehenu dress is attached, a phallus sheath.²⁶ This item, together with the animal tail often attached at the back of the belt, is a characteristic feature of the male Tjehenu representation and can be immediately compared with the male Tjehenu representation from the same temple.²⁷ It was not worn by children, as seen in the previously discussed scene of the Libyan family.²⁸ The Libyan woman from Sahura’s temple does not have an animal tail either, but she has another item of male Tjehenu attire, a sort of rope loop attached to her belt.²⁹

Such a distinctive dress, which became the archetypal attire of Libyans and was used to make a political point,³⁰ would be immediately recognized in the Kushite version of the Libyan family scene, and various commentators have noted that the Libyan family from Kawa is dressed differently. Many have remarked on the similarity or differences between Old Kingdom and Kushite scenes of the Libyan family, but no one appears to have analyzed the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty attire of Libyans from Kawa in detail, including Macadam in the publication of the temple.³¹ For example, Dagmar Stockfisch writes: “Einmal werden Frau und Kinder gleich groß dargestellt, die typische westländische Tracht ist nicht zu erkennen.”³² And indeed only the small boy is wearing the crossband. Robert Morkot, when comparing Kawa’s Scene W-S with the scene from Sahura’s temple, writes that “the clothing has been modified,” without further comment.³³ Curiously, Jacques Clère, when analyzing the representation of the world on the sarcophagus of Wereshnefer (Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 14.7.1a, b) and on a similar piece from a dealer’s shop in Cairo, noticed the resemblance between the two Libyan women and two boys depicted on the sarcophagus and the Libyan family from Kawa. He remarked about the women’s dress that “les femmes portent une longue robe à l’égyptienne” but did not make any further comments.³⁴

To the extent one can judge from copies of the Kawa scene and photos kept in the Griffith Institute,³⁵ the clothing of the entire family resembles the fashion seen in Egypt during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, fashion contemporary to the reliefs’ execution. The mother’s wraparound dress, visible in both scenes and also called a sheath dress in the literature, was a popular dress at this time.³⁶ It was the dress worn by women

26 The name of the garment obviously refers to the male counterpart. Even if usage of the term regarding female attire may be confusing, it can be justified by the fact that the woman in this scene (preserved in Sahura’s and Pepi II’s temples) is the only known example of a female dressed in it. For discussion, see Panaite 2018, p. 263 and n. 17. It is noteworthy that Bates observed such a sheath in “exaggerated size” on Zulu women; see Bates 1914, p. 126. The phallus sheath was not limited to Libyan representations and was used widely by Egyptians from the predynastic period onward. For its symbolic meaning in ancient Egypt, see Baines 1975.

27 The male Tjehenu is the first in a line of three captives, followed by a Nubian and an Asiatic; see Borchardt 1913, pl. 6. See also the drawing in Roth 2015, p. 164, fig. 9.3.

28 Bates 1914, p. 125.

29 This part of the belt is well depicted on some two-dimensional representations of male Libyans, e.g., in the temple of Sahura and in the Niuserra relief. For detailed drawings from Sahura’s and Niuserra’s temples, see Bates 1914, p. 123, figs. 17, 19; p. 124, figs. 20, 23. Some detailed depictions of the loop reveal that it was made from a cord. A meticulously depicted example of the loop worn by a Libyan with the rope pattern well visible occurs in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Puymre in Thebes (TT 39); for a color photo, see https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Four_Foreign_Chieftains,_Tomb_of_Puyemre_MET_DT10871.jpg. A three-dimensional example of the loop on a bronze statue representing a Libyan (Louvre E 10874) indicates that it was worn on only one side; for photos, see <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010006214> (accessed July 1, 2021).

30 See, e.g., the discussion of the archetypal representation of Tjehenu in battle scenes in O’Connor 1990, pp. 68–73. See also the discussion about the portrayals of “generic Libyans” in Panaite 2018, p. 267.

31 Macadam 1955, pp. 63–65.

32 Stockfisch 1996, p. 317.

33 Morkot 2003, p. 82.

34 Clère 1958, p. 43.

35 I warmly thank Elizabeth Fleming and Francisco Bosch-Puche from the Griffith Institute, Oxford University, for identifying and scanning the original glass plate negatives of the two Libyan family scenes from Kawa, as well as preparing them for publication.

36 One of the first to observe that the so-called sheath dress could be a wraparound was Riefstahl (1970, p. 246). For discussion that this dress was a wraparound arrangement without shoulder straps, which were independent elements of the dress,

in ancient Egypt until the New Kingdom, when the first examples of “complex women’s dresses” started to appear.³⁷ The wraparound dress disappeared from private fashion after the reign of Tuthmose III—probably during the reigns of Amenhotep II and Tuthmose IV, as this time period ushered in important changes in female apparel. Vandier, for example, considers that the latest appearance of the wraparound dress in three dimensions occurred during the reign of Amenhotep III.³⁸ This type of dress came back into fashion in the eighth century BCE. It is widely attested during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, as worn by nonroyal women in depictions on their stelae and coffins, for example.³⁹ The same dress is worn by the God’s Wives of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and is especially favored by Shepenwepet II.⁴⁰ The wraparound dress and the tunic, worn alone or with a shawl, were the two most common types of female attire and were favored by women from the Kushite and Saite dynasties. Both forms of attire are, for example, well represented on the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty coffin of Tashepenkhonsu (Louvre E 3913).⁴¹

It is noteworthy that the wraparound dress is already observed toward the end of the Twenty-Second Dynasty on some Theban women’s coffins.⁴² This return to a sartorial practice from the time before the Ramesside period—or more precisely, from the time before Amenhotep III, when the wraparound dress ceased to be worn by nonroyal women—is a part of archaism, a cultural feature of this time.⁴³ Even though the Memphite archaizing influence is observed in early Kushite works, including the depiction of female figures,⁴⁴ it is impossible to infer whether it was the source of inspiration for the Late Period version of the dress. The wraparound dress is not an innovation of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; it was a popular form of female attire from the Old Kingdom until the Eighteenth Dynasty, when it gradually disappeared from the repertoire of nonroyal dresses.⁴⁵ But it never ceased to be worn by goddesses. The return to older traditions in sartorial practice also aligned with the rejection by Osorkon III and Sheshonq V of the Ramesside cultural model that inspired the Libyan era.⁴⁶

The wraparound dress was rendered in both two and three dimensions, but two-dimensional depictions show it with one or two straps, or without them altogether—apparently a result of the conventions for

see Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993, p. 98; Hallmann 2018, p. 12. See also the extended discussion about the wraparound dress during the Late Period in Hallmann 2023, pp. 436–60.

37 Bonnet 1917, p. 61.

38 Robins 1993, p. 183; Vandier 1958, p. 499.

39 See, e.g., stelae Cairo A 9915, Berlin 893, and Edinburgh 1885.139, with photos in Munro 1973, pl. 5, fig. 20; pl. 9, fig. 35; pl. 10, fig. 39. For coffins, see, e.g., the coffin of Shepenbastet in the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam (APM no. 8898) in van Haarlem 1998, p. 52, or the coffin of Tashepenkhonsu (Louvre E 3913): <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010076168>.

40 See, e.g., the portrayal of Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis I in the chapel of Osiris Neb-anh/Pa-wesheb-*iad* in Karnak, in Leclant 1965, pp. 23–36, esp. pls. IX, XI. See also the chapel of Amenirdis I built by Shepenwepet II and Shepenwepet II’s own chapel at Medinet Habu, in Hölscher 1954, pp. 17–22, pls. 12–18. It is noteworthy that all representations of Amenirdis from the time of Shepenwepet II follow the fashion favored by the latter.

41 For color photos of Tashepenkhonsu’s coffin (Louvre E 3913), where she is shown clad in both forms of attire, see <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010076168>. For discussion, see Hallmann 2023, pp. 65, 459, 488.

42 Taylor 2003, p. 100, fig. 1, no. 9.

43 Archaism is a constantly present feature of Egyptian culture observed in other places in art, architecture, literature, and official inscriptions as early as the Middle Kingdom; see, e.g., Kahl 2010. For various aspects of archaism in the Middle Kingdom, see Silverman, Simpson, and Wegner 2009. Traditionally in scholarship, archaism is discussed as a phenomenon of the Late Period. For the present discussion, an important observation is that some of the archaizing features characteristic of the Kushite and Saite Dynasties are already observed in the Third Intermediate Period. The archaizing tendencies that started before the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty were, for example, observed by Fazzini (1972). For an overview of archaism in sculpture and relief, see Russmann 2001, pp. 40–45. For a larger study that makes this observation, see Morkot 2003.

44 Memphite archaizing influence was already observed on early Kushite works, including the depiction of female figures. See Morkot 2003, p. 89. See also Ritner 2008, pp. 308–9.

45 Bonnet 1917, p. 62. Vandier considers the latest appearance of this dress in three dimensions to appear during the reign of Amenhotep III; see Vandier 1958, p. 499, pls. CXLIII/3, CLXVIII/5.

46 Ritner 2009b, p. 7.

rendering the human figure in two-dimensional Egyptian art.⁴⁷ Showing the shoulders and chest in frontal view but the breast and navel in profile surely caused some distortions when representing the upper parts of garments. This holds especially true for garments such as dresses, which cover the upper and lower parts of the silhouette. Thus the depiction of a dress with one, two, or no straps most likely refers to the same dress that was always worn with two straps in three-dimensional representations. And at Kawa, the Libyan woman is represented in a dress with one strap in Scene W-N, whereas the published photo and drawing of Scene W-S do not show this detail. Nevertheless, the rest of the dress’s outline, such as its lower hem, allows the conclusion that the Libyan woman in Scene W-S wears the wraparound dress as well.

The clothes of the male figure in Scene W-N can also be considered contemporary. His mid-calf kilt with a slightly rounded edge was a popular style during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. There are ample examples of such a kilt, but among the well-dated ones may be cited, for example, the kilt worn by Nimlot represented in the lunette of the victory stela of Piankhy (Cairo JE 48862, 47086–47089).⁴⁸ Another well-dated example is a kilt worn by Namenkhamen (*N3-mnh-ʿImn*), the *wab*-priest of Shabataqo and the God’s Wife Shepenwepet I, represented on his stela stored in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (Inv. 1956.150).⁴⁹

Unfortunately, not much can be said about the attire of the two boys represented in Scene W-S. No kilt lines are visible, as though they are supposed to be naked. But their height, which is the same as their mother’s and indicates that they are not children, rather excludes their nudity. Thus it is highly probable that they wore short kilts and that the lower hems of the kilts were no longer visible when the facsimile drawings were prepared, or they were simply not recorded. Their torsos are also without any clothes, and the Libyan crossband worn by their Old Kingdom prototypes is absent in Scene W-S. The figure of the taller boy in Scene W-N is unfortunately destroyed in the area where his attire would be represented. Curiously enough, the crossband is present on the chest of the small boy in Scene W-N. This and the goatee of the “father” are the only markers of their Libyan heritage. One may expect that they were added for the purpose of stressing that the family is Libyan even though they all are represented in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty style and the contemporary Egyptian clothes of the period.

PORTRAYALS OF LIBYANS IN EGYPTIAN VISUAL SOURCES

There are several reasons why Libyans are represented in different dress in the Kawa reliefs as compared with their Old Kingdom prototypes. First, a significant time difference between the Old Kingdom representations and those at Kawa leaves ample room for the evolution of their iconography. But at the same time, so many similarities, especially the same names assigned to the family members, leave no doubt that the execution of the Kawa scenes relied on old models, perhaps pattern books, which will be discussed later.

It is also possible that the gap in time between representations of the scene was not that great, as the scene may have been present in the decorative program of Egyptian temples built between the Old Kingdom and the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. If so, this could result in the evolution of the iconography of the Libyan royal family and make room for the existence of pattern books with variations of the same scene. As it stands, the scene was identified by Robert Ritner on material from the Middle Kingdom but not later.⁵⁰ And the next known example of the Libyan family scene comes from Taharqo’s Temple T at Kawa. Thus a comparative study of the dress worn by both families can be based only on those examples.

New Kingdom representations of Libyans display changes in their iconography, but what we have at our disposal are mostly depictions of male Libyans.⁵¹ It is important to stress here that the dress of Libyans

47 Hallmann 2018, pp. 11–12; 2023, pp. 448–50.

48 For the stela, see Grimal 1981 (with photo). See also Ritner 2009b, pp. 465–92.

49 Munro 1973, p. 197, fig. 15; Graefe 1981, pp. 102–3; Jansen-Winkel 2009, p. 335, no. 135; Pope 2014, p. 228. For a color photo, see <https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/stela/300334>.

50 Ritner 2008, p. 305 n. 4; 2009b, p. 525; 2009a, p. 45 nn. 12, 16, presented at the annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt in 1996 (see book of abstracts).

51 For a recent study of the Tjehenu costume with a large section devoted to New Kingdom Libyan representations, see Panaite 2018. The development of the Libyan clothing is discussed in Ritner, forthcoming.

represented in New Kingdom visual sources was still an important marker of their identity and was always significantly different from Egyptian clothing. They are still represented in the Old Kingdom tradition, wearing a belt with a penis sheath and a loop, but sometimes these elements are replaced by the patterned kilt. They are also occasionally depicted in the old crossbands and necklaces.⁵² However, the element of attire that is the most striking identifier of Libyans in the New Kingdom visual sources is the long, patterned cloak tied at the shoulder. The Libyan cloak is well attested in the scene from the fifth hour of the Book of Gates showing “the four races of mankind,” the most detailed example of which comes from the tomb of Seti I in the Valley of the Kings.⁵³ Other examples of the cloak come from tiles discovered in the palace at Medinet Habu.⁵⁴

Whether the Libyans were dressed in this version of the attire in New Kingdom representations of the Libyan family scene, if such ever existed, is obviously not known. The “father” of the Libyan family in Scene W-N at Kawa, the most likely to wear a Libyan cloak, is not clad in one. Instead, as already mentioned above, he wears the mid-calf-length kilt, a typical male garment from the time of the relief’s execution. Thus his costume does not distinguish him from Egyptians rendered in Twenty-Fifth Dynasty Egyptian art. However, there is a detail—a pointed beard (goatee)—that catches the viewer’s attention and identifies him as Libyan. The same type of pointed beard is found on the trampled Libyan ruler in Scene W-N, as well as on other trampled enemies whose faces survive well enough to discern it. The pointed beard is consistently listed in the literature as the identity marker of Libyans,⁵⁵ but it is noteworthy that Asiatics also have long beards similar in shape to those of Libyans in Old and New Kingdom visual sources.⁵⁶

To summarize the analysis of the Libyan family attire from Kawa so far, Scenes W-S and W-N are not copies of their Old Kingdom prototypes, and neither scene displays any references to dress worn by Libyans in the New Kingdom. That leaves us with the Third Intermediate Period, the time when Libyans gained a new position in the Egyptian realm and became the founders of the Twenty-First Dynasty. Libyans of the Third Intermediate Period have traditionally been recognized in scholarship as Egyptianized and acculturated, especially in comparison with the Kushite Dynasty, and this was also observed in their attire.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, scholars have also recognized indigenous features of the Libyan elite, such as Libyan names and titles, kinship-based hierarchy and organization, attachment to genealogy, political fragmentation, burials, and certain tribal attributes in their attire—namely, feathers.⁵⁸ The impact of those customs on Egyptian society is undeniable, but here is not the place to discuss the Libyan period, still not fully understood, and only some remarks will be made regarding the dress of the era of the “Libyan anarchy.”

Despite maintaining so many Libyan customs in their newly created culture, the Libyan ruling elite did not continue to be represented in the Libyan dress known from previous periods. Instead, they adapted themselves to the contemporary Egyptian fashion of their day, which was a natural development of Egyptian fashion from the Ramesside tradition. However, they accentuated their Libyan identity by frequently adding a powerful symbol of their heritage: the feather in their hair. It is believed that in the Third Intermediate Period, the horizontally placed feather was the tribal insignia of the Meshwesh/Ma, whereas

52 Roth 2015, pp. 168–69. Two types of Libyan portrayals, one based on Old Kingdom and the second on New Kingdom visual sources, are proposed by Panaite (2018, p. 267).

53 The characteristic cloak of Libyans was already discussed in 1914 by Bates, who calls it “a long robe.” He reproduces a high-quality photo of the scene from the tomb of Seti I; see Bates 1914, pp. 119–22, pl. III. For other versions of the scene, see Hornung 1980, pp. 134–37.

54 Hölscher and Anthes 1951, pp. 42–44, pls. 30–34.

55 It was already observed as a characteristic feature of Libyans by Petrie (1901). See also Roth 2015, pp. 168–69; Panaite 2018, p. 265.

56 Roth 2015, p. 164, fig. 9.3; p. 169, fig. 9.4. See also the discussion above about the possibility of identifying all trampled foes as Libyans.

57 Pope stresses that in comparison to Libyans, who long dwelled in Egypt, Kushite royals were all raised outside Egypt and were thus separated from nonroyals “by social distance”; see Pope 2019, p. 194. The misconception of Egyptianization and acculturation of Libyans is widely discussed in Ritner 2008.

58 Ritner 2008, pp. 309–11.

that placed vertically was the tribal insignia of the Libu/Rebu.⁵⁹ The horizontally placed feather is seen, for example, in the portrayal of Padiese on two of his stelae from the Serapeum (Louvre Inv. IM 3697, Inv. IM 3736) dated to the second year of Pamiu.⁶⁰ On both stelae, Padiese is dressed in a short kilt and long tunic, tied by a sash belt, and the pelt vestment (the so-called leopard skin).⁶¹ He has a long hairdo, over which is the horizontally placed feather. The Libu tribal affiliation is seen in the portrayal of Titaru on his stela currently in the Brooklyn Museum (Inv. 67.119).⁶² Titaru wears the same items of clothing as Padiese except for the pelt vestment. The attire of both men is contemporary to the time and place in which they were living. It is a response to the *Zeitgeist* or “spirit of the times.”

It can be concluded, then, that dress, from a visual point of view, did not serve as the identifier of Libyans in the first millennium BCE. It was the feather that was the crucial identifier of Libyan heritage during this time. The feather was a sign of tribal affiliation but also an insignia worn by the chief of a tribe, and thus not an inseparable element of every Libyan portrayal. Feathers are the attribute of the dynasts from the Delta represented as bowing before Piankhy on his victory stela from Gebel Barkal in Sudan. Not only are feathers depicted on their heads, but Libyans also are called “the wearers of feathers.”⁶³ It is noteworthy that feathers appear to be absent in the south of the country. Heidi Saleh’s study of wooden stelae from the Libyan period in Thebes concludes: “The individuals were all shown as having Egyptian ethnicity even though the stelae dated from the so-called Libyan Period. There are no visual non-Egyptian ethnic markers manifested on these stelae.”⁶⁴

One can theorize that if the person were represented without the feather and the dressed figure were deprived of context, such as a name and title, it would leave the observer without any clue as to the represented person’s heritage. All this can lead to the conclusion that Libyan dress in the first millennium BCE was deliberately associated with the dress of Egyptians; it simply followed the fashion trends of the time. Libyans have been represented as new ruling elites in Egypt, and the contemporary attire was an obvious choice for being perceived as such. Moreover, living so long on Egyptian soil naturally led them to adopt Egyptian fashion—or to put it differently, the fashion that was currently in vogue and in whose creation they also participated. The subtle addition of the feather was enough to stress their heritage, and more importantly their tribal affiliation.

This fashion is adopted to represent the Libyan family at Kawa, where they are depicted in contemporary attire, in the style popular in Egypt during the lifetime of Taharqo. The question arises: what was the motivation for representing them in a manner that departed from the Old Kingdom prototype of the copied scene? And what was the reason for representing them in contemporary fashion?

OLD MOTIVE—NEW MEANING

Whether the so-called Libyan family scene from the Old Kingdom refers to a historical event or is a *topos* is not of concern here, and it has been widely discussed in the literature.⁶⁵ The concern here is the possible “historicity” of the scene rendered in the Amun-Ra temple at Kawa and the message it conveys. There is no doubt that during Taharqo’s time the scene of the subjugation of enemies, with the Libyan family as observers, was deliberately incorporated into the decoration program of his temple and that it was based on scenes from the Memphite area. This choice to draw on the Memphite tradition when building the

59 Morkot 2007, p. 147; Ritner 2009b, pp. 394–98.

60 For color photos, see <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010020345>; <https://collections.louvre.fr/ark:/53355/cl010020346> (accessed June 15, 2021). For stelae, see Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968, pp. 21–23, pls. VIII–IX. For a recent translation of the stelae, see Ritner 2009b, pp. 394–98, nos. 94–95.

61 For the garment’s name (“pelt vestment”) and its iconography, see Hallmann 2016; 2023, pp. 343–98.

62 For a color photo, see <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/91706> (accessed June 15, 2021). For a recent translation and bibliography, see Ritner 2009b, pp. 407–8, no. 104.

63 Grimal 1981. See also Ritner 2009b, pp. 465–90; Lohwasser 2019, esp. pp. 66–67.

64 Saleh 2007, p. 26.

65 For a summary of discussion about the “historicity” of the scene, see Stockfisch 1996, pp. 321–23.

temple of Amun-Ra at Kawa makes even more sense when one recalls Angelika Lohwasser's theory about Taharqo's creation of the sacred landscape in Nubia by developing or constructing temples according to the following scheme: Gebel Barkal as "Southern Karnak/Heliopolis," Sanam as "Southern Medinet Habu," Nuri as "Southern Abydos," and Kawa as "Southern Memphis."⁶⁶ This projection of royal ideology was tailored to appeal to the people of Napata, to the Kushite part of his double kingdom, and so was the choice of represented scenes, including the scene with the Libyan family.

PATTERNS AND COPIES

Thus, to create the temple of Amun-Ra at Kawa as the Southern Memphis, Taharqo drew on the Memphite tradition, referring to the glorious time of the region, the Old Kingdom.⁶⁷ The Memphite artistic tradition is confirmed by the king himself on one of the five stelae that were discovered at the temple. It provides information about the building and equipping of the temple by the king. On stela Kawa IV (Khartoum SNM 2678 = Merowe Museum 52) Taharqo states that he sent, together with his army, "numerous work crews and good craftsmen in countless numbers, and an architect [*imy-rʿ k3.t*, translated also as 'overseer of construction'] being there with them to direct the work in this temple, while his Majesty was still in Memphis" (lines 21–22).⁶⁸ This statement is usually understood to mean that Kawa was built and decorated by artists sent by the king from Memphis.⁶⁹

There is no reason to doubt that the Memphite artists who came to Kawa drew on the Old Kingdom tradition either by using old copy books or by making new copies directly from available sources—or using both approaches. This practice seems highly probable if we recall the observation that the Third Dynasty reliefs in Djoser's step pyramid complex were covered by copyists' grids. The twenty-one-square grids, instead of the traditional eighteen-square grids, were of a size recognizable as a feature already in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.⁷⁰ This appears to be undeniable proof that direct copies were made during the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty that could serve as Late Period patterns and potentially be added to so-called pattern books (*Musterbücher*), assuming they existed.⁷¹ Moreover, the Memphite Old Kingdom tradition is also recognized in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty monuments at Thebes.⁷²

It seems highly probable that Memphite artists came to Kawa with such copies and/or *Musterbücher* and that they incorporated into these copies the style characteristics of their time. Among those copies was the Libyan family scene. There is no reason to believe they did not know what the original Old Kingdom Libyan family looked like. And yet their portrayal was completely changed—the result of what had to be a deliberate choice made by the king himself and/or his consultants.

POLITICAL MEANING OF THE SCENE AT KAWA

The decision to include these scenes in the decoration of Temple T at Kawa seems to have had a powerful political meaning that goes beyond the traditional message conveyed by scenes of smiting and trampling the enemies of Egypt. Taharqo is represented not only as the legitimate king who defeats the traditional

⁶⁶ Lohwasser 2019.

⁶⁷ For discussion about Taharqo's works and presence at Kawa, see, e.g., Pope 2014, pp. 52–58.

⁶⁸ Macadam 1949, pls. 7–8. All five stelae (Kawa nos. III–VII) were published in 1949. The newer translation by Ritner (2009b, pp. 527–55) is followed here.

⁶⁹ Macadam 1949, p. 15; Ritner 2008, p. 305. Cf. Lohwasser 2019, p. 73.

⁷⁰ Morkot 2003, pp. 80, 85–86. For the scenes covered by the twenty-one-square grids at Djoser's step pyramid complex, see Firth and Quibell 1935, pls. 15–16. For the possible Late Period restoration of the complex, see the discussion in Baines and Riggs 2001, pp. 111–13. For an example of the twenty-one-square grid system present in a Twenty-Fifth Dynasty tomb in the South Asasif, see Blakeney 2021. For a recent discussion about the Late Period grid system in general, see Yasuoka 2021.

⁷¹ For discussion regarding the existence of *Musterbücher* and/or libraries connected with the "houses of life" and the practice of using "direct copies," see, e.g., Der Manuelian 1994, pp. 3–59; Kahl 1999, esp. pp. 284–355; Munro 2010.

⁷² See, e.g., Russmann 1983, p. 139; 1997, p. 29.

foes of Egypt (or rather his double kingdom) and brings *Maat*, but also as the one who defeats the current enemies of the Kushite Dynasty, the Libyans. These scenes based on an Old Kingdom prototype combine the iconography of the Old Kingdom with alteration deliberately made by the king’s artists. The archetypal representation of Libyans at this time is embedded into the trampled westerner by a king-sphinx, traditionally interpreted as the Libyan ruler, and possibly accompanied by Libyans only.⁷³ But his traditionally represented family is altered—the portrayals of its members differ significantly from their Old Kingdom prototypes. Thus, here the new representation of the Libyan family has a powerful message to convey. Their contemporary clothing was meant to stress the fact that they are contemporaries of Taharqo, not mere copies of figures from the Old Kingdom Libyan family scene. Their apparel, as well as the inclusion of the male figure as the “father of the family” in Scene W-N, was a deliberate change that reveals Taharqo’s political statement as the victor in the Libyan–Kushite contest for the Egyptian throne. This visual proof of the subjugation of contemporary Libyans is also stressed by him on Kawa Stela III, discovered in the first court of Temple T (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AIN 1707). The stela lists gifts offered by Taharqo to the temple, and among them are “male and female servants from among the children of the rulers (*ḥqʒ.w*) of the Libyans (*Thn.w*)” (line 22).⁷⁴ It should be mentioned, however, that Libyans were not the only people donated to the temple at Kawa by Taharqo and who are recorded on his stelae.⁷⁵

In sum, the Libyan family scene at Kawa should be read on two levels. The Libyans at Kawa are intended not only to represent the old *topos* of traditional Libyans (the trampled Libyan ruler) but also to create a new *topos* of contemporary Libyans (the family of three in Scene W-S and the family of four in Scene W-N), with attire used in both instances as the identity factor. This scene should be considered the masterpiece of Taharqo’s political statement, since it simultaneously represents him as a guarantor of *Maat*—the mighty king who is protecting his people from *Isfet* and the traditional enemies of Egypt—and as the winner of the Kushites’ and Libyans’ contemporary race to the throne. There is no doubt that Taharqo used fashion to make a strong political statement. The role of dress as an identity marker, easily recognized by the contemporary viewer, was enhanced by the placement of these scenes in an area of the temple that was accessible to the people and immediately spotted by those who entered it.⁷⁶ Recognition of the contemporary attire of the Libyan family supports Robert Ritner’s observation that the scene should be understood “as a manifestation of contemporary political propaganda.”⁷⁷ Whoever the audience of these scenes was—whether humans, gods, or both—they were supposed to notice that here were contemporary Libyans subdued by the mighty Kushite king Taharqo.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aldred, Cyril

1978 *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period*. New York: Ballantine.

Baines, John

1975 “Ankh-Sign, Belt and Penis Sheath.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 3: 1–24.

Baines, John, and Christina Riggs

2001 “Archaism and Kingship: A Late Royal Statue and Its Early Dynastic Model.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 87: 103–18.

Bates, Oric

1914 *The Eastern Libyans: An Essay*. London: Macmillan.

⁷³ See discussion above and n. 21.

⁷⁴ Macadam 1949, pp. 4–14, pls. 5–6. For a newer translation, see Ritner 2009b, pp. 527–35.

⁷⁵ For discussion, see Pope 2014, p. 53 and n. 152.

⁷⁶ Török 2002, pp. 92–93.

⁷⁷ Ritner 2008, p. 306.

Belova, Galina

- 1998 "The Egyptians' Ideas of Hostile Encirclement." In *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, edited by C. J. Eyre, pp. 143–48. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82. Leuven: Peeters.

Blakeney, Katherine

- 2021 "Grid System in the Tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223)." In *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Art and Archaeology 2015–18*, edited by Elena Pischikova, pp. 155–68. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Bonnet, Hans

- 1917 *Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 7/2. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Borchardt, Ludwig

- 1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'as̄hu-Re^c*. Vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Clère, Jacques J.

- 1958 "Fragments d'une nouvelle représentation égyptienne du monde." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16: 30–46.

Ćwiek, Andrzej

- 2003 "Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom: Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography." PhD diss., University of Warsaw. https://gizamedia.rc.fas.harvard.edu/images/MFA-images/Giza/GizaImage/full/library/cwiek_royal_relief_dec.pdf.

Der Manuelian, Peter

- 1994 *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*. London: Kegan Paul International.

Fazzini, Richard

- 1972 "Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn." *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1: 33–70.

Firth, Cecil M., and James Edward Quibell

- 1935 *The Step Pyramid*. Excavations at Saqqara. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Graefe, Erhart

- 1981 *Untersuchungen zur Verwaltung und Geschichte der Institution der Gottesgemahlin des Amun vom Beginn des Neuen Reiches bis zur Spätzeit*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 37. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Grimal, Nicolas-Christophe

- 1981 *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire, JE 48862 et 47086–47089*. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 105. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Hallmann, Aleksandra

- 2016 "A Change or a Continuation of Style? Observations on the Pelt Vestment in the Late Period Karnak Cachette Sculptures." In *La cachette de Karnak: Nouvelles perspectives sur les découvertes de Georges Legrain*, edited by Laurent Coulon, pp. 365–82. Bibliothèque d'étude 161. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities / Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- 2018 "Unwrapping Ancient Egyptian Fashion." *Oriental Institute News & Notes* 239: 6–15.
- 2023 *Ancient Egyptian Clothing: Studies in Late Period Private Representations*. 2 vols. Harvard Egyptological Studies 20. Leiden: Brill.

Hölscher, Uvo

- 1954 *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*. Vol. 5, *Post-Ramessid Remains*. Translated by Elizabeth B. Hauser. Oriental Institute Publications 66. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hölscher, Uvo, with contributions by Rudolf Anthes

- 1951 *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*. Vol. 4, *The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Part II*. Translated by Elizabeth B. Hauser. Oriental Institute Publications 55. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hornung, Erik

- 1980 *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*. *Ægyptiaca Helvetica* 7–8. Basel: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel.

Jansen-Winkel, Karl

2009 *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Part 3, Die 25. Dynastie.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jéquier, Gustave

1921 *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen-Empire.* Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 47. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1938 *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II. Vol. 2, Le temple.* Fouilles à Saqqarah. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Kahl, Jochem

1999 *Siut—Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten.* Probleme der Ägyptologie 13. Leiden: Brill.

2010 “Archaism.” In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, Elizabeth Froid, and John Baines. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles. <https://escholarship.org/content/qt3tn7q1pf/qt3tn7q1pf.pdf>.

Kahn, Dan'el

2009 “The Transition from the Libyan to the Nubian Rule in Egypt: Revisiting the Reign of Tefnakht.” In *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties. Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, edited by Gerard P. F. Broekman, Robert J. Demarée, and Olaf E. Kaper, pp. 139–48. Egyptologische Uitgaven 23. Leuven: Peeters.

Leclant, Jean

1965 *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXV^e dynastie dite éthiopienne.* Bibliothèque d'étude 36. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

1980 “‘La famille libyenne’ au temple haut de Pépi I^{er}.” In *Livre du centenaire 1880–1990*, edited by Jean Vercoutter, pp. 49–54. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 104. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Lohwasser, Angelika

2019 “Doubling the Double Kingdom: Taharqo's Creation of a Religio-Political Landscape.” In *Egyptian Royal Ideology and Kingship under Periods of Foreign Rulers: Case Studies from the First Millennium BC. Munich, May 31–June 2, 2018*, edited by Julia Budka, pp. 65–79. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4/6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Macadam, M. F. Laming

1949 *The Temples of Kawa. Vol. 1, The Inscriptions.* Oxford University Excavations in Nubia. London: Griffith Institute.

1955 *The Temples of Kawa. Vol. 2, History and Archaeology of the Site.* Oxford University Excavations in Nubia. London: Griffith Institute.

Malinine, Michel, Georges Posener, and Jean Vercoutter

1968 *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis.* Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.

Morkot, Robert G.

2003 “Archaism and Innovation in Art from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.” In *‘Never Had the Like Occurred’: Egypt's View of Its Past*, edited by John Tait, pp. 79–100. London: UCL Press.

2007 “Tradition, Innovation, and Researching the Past in Libyan, Kushite, and Saïte Egypt.” In *Regime Change in the Ancient Near East and Egypt from Sargon of Agade to Saddam Hussein*, edited by Harriet Crawford, pp. 141–64. Proceedings of the British Academy 136. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Munro, Irmtraut

2010 “Evidence of a Master Copy Transferred from Thebes to the Memphis Area in Dynasty 26.” *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 15: 201–24.

Munro, Peter

1973 *Die spätägyptischen Totenstelen.* Ägyptologische Forschungen 25. Glückstadt: Augustin.

O'Connor, David D.

1990 “The Nature of Tjemhu (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom.” In *Libya and Egypt c1300–750 BC*, edited by Anthony Leahy, pp. 29–113. London: Centre of Near and Middle Eastern Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

- 2003 “Egypt’s Views of ‘Others.’” In *‘Never Had the Like Occurred’: Egypt’s View of Its Past*, edited by John Tait, pp. 156–85. London: UCL Press.
- Panaite, Elena
- 2018 “The Evolution of Libyans’ Identity Markers in Egyptian Iconography: The Tjehenu Example.” In *Tradition and Transformation: Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress for Young Egyptologists 15–19 September, 2015, Vienna*, edited by Andrea Kahlbacher and Elisa Priglinger, pp. 261–74. Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant 6. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press.
- Perdu, Olivier
- 2018 “La tendance archaïsante en Égypte aux époques tardives: Art de la copie ou de l’imitation?” In *Imitations, copies et faux dans les domaines pharaonique et de l’Orient ancien: Actes du colloque Collège de France—Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris, 14–15 janvier 2016*, edited by Hanane Gaber, Nicolas Grimal, and Olivier Perdu, pp. 198–273. Paris: Soleb.
- Petrie, Flinders
- 1901 “The Races of Early Egypt.” *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 31: 248–55.
- Pope, Jeremy W.
- 2014 *The Double Kingdom under Taharqo: Studies in the History of Kush and Egypt, c. 690–664 BC*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 69. Leiden: Brill.
- 2019 “Self-Presentation in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.” In *Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Hussein Bassir, pp. 191–206. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- Prakash, Tara C.
- 2017 “Depictions of Defeated Foreigners in the Late Old Kingdom Pyramid Complex: A Mythological Interpretation.” *Egyptian and Egyptological Documents, Archives and Libraries* 6: 454–77.
- 2022 *Ancient Egyptian Prisoner Statues: Fragments of the Late Old Kingdom*. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 8. Atlanta: Lockwood.
- Riefstahl, Elisabeth
- 1970 “A Note on Ancient Fashions: Four Early Egyptian Dresses in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.” *Boston Museum Bulletin* 68, no. 354: 244–59.
- Ritner, Robert K.
- 2008 “Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian.” In *Egypt and Beyond: Studies Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, edited by Steven E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian, pp. 305–14. Providence: Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University.
- 2009a “Egypt and the Vanishing Libyan: Institutional Responses to a Nomadic People.” In *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Approaches*, edited by Jeffrey Szuchman, pp. 43–56. Oriental Institute Seminars 5. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2009b *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Leiden: Brill.
- Forthcoming “Clothing as a Marker of Ethnic Identity: The Case of the Libyans.” In *Outward Appearance versus Inward Significance: Addressing Identities through Attire in the Ancient World*, edited by Aleksandra Hallmann. ISAC Seminars 15. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.
- Robins, Gay
- 1993 *Women in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Romion, Jennifer
- 2011 “Des égyptiens portant un baudrier libyen?” *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 4: 91–102.
- Roth, Ann Macy
- 2015 “Representing the Other: Non-Egyptians in Pharaonic Iconography.” In *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, edited by Melinda K. Hartwig, pp. 155–74. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Russmann, Edna R.
- 1983 “Harwa as Precursor of Mentuemhat.” In *Artibus Aegypti: Studia in Honorem Bernardi V. Bothmer a Collegis, Amicis, Discipulis Conscripta*, edited by H. De Meulenaere and L. Limme, pp. 137–46. Brussels: Musées royaux d’art et d’histoire.

- 1997 “Mentuemhat’s Kushite Wife (Further Remarks on the Decoration of the Tomb of Mentuemhat, 2).” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 34: 21–39.
- 2001 *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Saleh, Heidi
- 2007 *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069–715 B.C.E.) in Egypt*. BAR International Series 1734. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Silverman, David P., William Kelly Simpson, and Josef W. Wegner, eds.
- 2009 *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*. New Haven: Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, Yale University.
- Śliwa, Joachim
- 1974 “Some Remarks Concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art.” *Forschungen und Berichte* 16: 97–117.
- Stockfisch, Dagmar
- 1996 “Bemerkungen zur sog. ‘libyschen Familie.’” In *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Mechthild Schade-Busch, pp. 315–25. Ägypten und Altes Testament 35. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Taylor, John H.
- 2003 “Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development.” In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, pp. 95–121. London: British Museum.
- Török, László
- 2002 *The Image of the Ordered World in Ancient Nubian Art: The Construction of the Kushite Mind, 800 BC–300 AD*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 18. Leiden: Brill.
- van Haarlem, Willem M.
- 1998 *Sarcophagi and Related Objects: Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum*. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam IV. Amsterdam: Allard Pierson Museum.
- Vandier, Jacques
- 1958 *Manuel d’archéologie égyptienne*. Vol. 3, *Les grandes époques : La statuaire*. Paris: Picard.
- Vogelsang-Eastwood, Gillian
- 1993 *Pharaonic Egyptian Clothing*. Leiden: Brill.
- Yasuoka, Yoshifumi
- 2021 “A New Interpretation of the Grid System Reform in the Late Period.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 107: 265–80.

7 A VERSION OF BOOK OF THE DEAD SPELL 99 IN DEMOTIC (P. DEM. MAIL 1)

Richard Jasnow
Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT RITNER WAS ONE OF the very first Egyptology graduate students whom I met when I entered the program at the Oriental Institute (now the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures) in 1977. He was “ahead of me,” as we say, but I was fortunate enough to be with him in the same Demotic classes taught by Jan Johnson and George Hughes. I very quickly recognized Robert to be a superb scholar, one who had an innate gift for Demotic. He was also at that time immersing himself in Egyptian religion and “magic,” in which subjects he became, of course, world renowned. I am eternally grateful (both *nḥḥ* and *d.t*) to the gods of Egyptology that I was in those Demotic classes with Robert and that I could later work on the Demotic Dictionary with him. I am thankful for all I learned from him and all that I will learn from him—in our common language, *tw=y tw3-ntr n=f r-db3 n3y-ti=f rh=y hn3 n3 nt iw=f r ti.t rh=y!*

In the course of excavations at the funerary complex of Harwa (TT 37) and Akhimenru (TT 404), the Italian Archaeological Mission to Luxor recovered numerous fragments of demotica. Most of them are portions of contracts, accounts, or letters.¹ I publish here one of the few Demotic texts of a religious character, P. Dem. MAIL 1, which, although fragmentary, is nevertheless of considerable interest.² The pieces comprising P. Dem. MAIL 1 were discovered on November 30 during the 2008 season in the courtyard of the cenotaph of Harwa (Layer 928).³ It was probably deposited along with other papyri in the courtyard by wind action.

The somewhat idiosyncratic but legible script of P. Dem. MAIL 1 is Middle Ptolemaic; I would propose an approximate date of 100 BCE. The difficulties of deciphering the text are due chiefly to the poor condition of the papyrus. I estimate that about half of the lower portion of a column is preserved.

Obviously it is not easy, especially on the basis of a rather low-resolution image,⁴ to discern the nature of such a fragment. Nevertheless, I believe enough of it remains to demonstrate that it is from a Demotic “version” of Book of the Dead (BD) spell 99: “Fetching a ferry in the sky.”⁵

1 The demotica will be published together in a comprehensive volume on the excavation. For recent discussions of the cenotaph of Harwa, see Tiradritti 2020 and Tiradritti 2023. I thank Christina Di Cerbo for discussing the fragment with me and for her help in producing the digital facsimiles published in this essay. I am also indebted to Brian Muhs, Foy Scalf, and the anonymous reviewer for comments on this text. Scalf’s expertise on the Book of the Dead has been especially helpful.

2 The abbreviation stands for “Missione Archeologica Italiana a Luxor.” I am deeply grateful to Dr. Francesco Tiradritti for permission to publish this papyrus here.

3 There is only one substantial fragment; the other five pieces (labeled a–e) belong to the same composition but are too small to contribute to the interpretation of the document. I thank Dr. Tiradritti for information about the circumstances of the find.

4 Given the COVID-19 crisis, it seemed doubtful that I would have the opportunity to study the papyrus in person in Luxor, as was intended. I therefore used a study photograph of middling resolution. Still, using Photoshop and DStretch, I believe the basic sense of the text could be recovered.

5 Quirke 2013, p. 218.

P. DEM. MAIL 1 (FIGS. 7.1 AND 7.2)

Height: ca. 10.5 cm

Width: ca. 11.0 cm

Writing on the recto; verso uninscribed

TRANSLITERATION

1. [. . .] \underline{d} [$n=f$] $f\bar{t}3 n'y.t(?) r'[\underline{d}]y-s rn=y$
2. [. . .] $r'[\underline{d} n=f]$ $\bar{t}3 hrp.t r-\underline{d} n=y rn=y \underline{d}=f$
3. [. . .] $\underline{d} n=f$. . . $r-\underline{d}y n=y rn'=y' \underline{d}=f hl.t$
4. [$rn=t(?)$] . . . $r'[\underline{d}y n=y rn' \underline{d}=f \bar{t}3$. . .
5. [. . .] . . . $rn=k \underline{d} n=f p\bar{3} wsr'$
6. [$r-\underline{d}y n=y rn=y$. . . $\underline{d} n=f$] . . . $ht-\bar{t}3w(?) r-\underline{d}y n=y rn=y \underline{d}=f$
7. [. . .] $rn=k \underline{d} n=f$] $p\bar{3} h'y r-\underline{d}y rn=y$
8. [$\underline{d}=f$. . . $rn=k \underline{d} n=f$] . . . $r-\underline{d}y n=y rn=y \underline{d} n=f \bar{t}3 šbb.t$
9. [$rn=k \underline{d} n=f$. . .] $r'[\underline{d}y n=y rn=y' \underline{d}=f \bar{t}3 p.t rn=k \underline{d} n=f p\bar{3} wnte$
10. [. . .] . . . $n pr-\bar{3} rn=k \underline{d} n=f \bar{t}3 myq\bar{3}.t r-\underline{d}y n=y$
11. [$rn=y \underline{d}=f$] . . . $t iw=s h'r.w rn<=t> \underline{d} n=f p\bar{3} wte r-\underline{d}y n=y$
12. [$rn=y \underline{d}=f$. . .] . . . $P\bar{3}-R^c p\bar{3} šy rn=k \underline{d} n=f \bar{t}3 mhn r-\underline{d}y n=y$
13. [$rn=y \underline{d}=f$. . .] . . . $rn=tn \underline{d} n=f \bar{t}3 \bar{3}sp.t r-\underline{d}y n=y rn=y$

TRANSLATION

1. [. . .] Said [to] 'him the la'nding-stake(?): "[Sa]y my name!"
2. [. . .] 'Said to him' the *hrp.t*: "Say to me my name!" He said:
3. [. . . Said to him the . . .] . . . : "Say to me 'my' name!" He said: "Young Female One'
4. [is your name! (?)] Said . . . "S[ay to me (my) name!]" He said: "The . . .
5. [. . .] . . . ' is your name." Said to him 'the oar:'
6. ["Say to me my name!" . . . Said to him the] mast(?): "Say to me my name!" He said:
7. [" . . . is your name!" Said to him] the gunwales(?): "Say to me my name!"
8. [He said: " . . . is your name!" Said to him the] . . . : "Say to me my name!" Said to him (sic): "The Throat'
9. [is your name!" Said to him . . . :] "Say to me my name!" He said: "The Sky' is your name!" Said to him the hold:
10. [" . . .] ' . . . of Pharaoh' is your name!" Said to him the ladder: "Say to me
11. [my name!" He said:] " . . . 'She Who Is Enraged' is <your (fem.)> name." Said to him the steering-oar post: "Say to me
12. [my name!" He said: " . . .] ' . . . of Pre, the Nose' is your name." Said to him the ferry: "Say to me
13. [my name!" He said: " . . .] is your (pl.) name." Said to him the mast-step: "Say to me my name!"

COMMENTARY

Line 1

- (a) The restoration $n=f$ is based on the formula repeated throughout the text (lines 2, 5, 8–13).
- (b) $\bar{t}3$ overlaps the horizontal stroke of \underline{d} ; compare line 8.
- (c) I tentatively propose $n'y.t$ "Pflock, Landungsplatz," *Glossar*, p. 208; *Wb.* II, p. 207/17: "ein Pflock oder Pfahl am Vorderteil des Schiffes, mit dem es am Land festgemacht wird"; Jones 1988, p. 199; Düring 1995, p. 86; $n'y.t$ "landing place, stake," CDD N, p. 26. In Demotic, $n'y.t$ "mooring post" is found in P. Spiegelberg 1/15; Spiegelberg 1910, p. 30*. Traces of the bottom of an n may be preserved. The concluding sign is the wood determinative, as found often in the text (*hrp.t* [line 2], *h'y* [line 7], *myq\bar{3}.t*

[line 10], *wte* [line 11], *ʒsp.t* [line 13]). As Foy Scalf reminds me (personal communication), *n'y.t* is “a perfect translation of old *mni.t*, ‘mooring post,’ which is found in the ‘standard’ BD text.”

- (d) [*r-d*]y-s, the imperative form (literally “say it!”), is the most probable transliteration. It is curious that elsewhere the scribe employs the imperative *r-dy* “say!” followed by the first-person dative *n=y*, as is clearly preserved in line 8. Could the scribe have been confused by the graphic similarity of *s* and *n=y*? Indeed, it may be preferable simply to read *n=y* here as well, a suggestion of Scalf (comparing the writing read *n=y* in line 12 of this text). I would also quote Scalf’s apt remarks: “If this interpretation of the text is correct, it is worth noting in the commentary that this Demotic translation reverses the order of the syntax. Where the hieratic and cursive hieroglyphs texts use ‘Say to me my name, so said X’ using *in*, the Demotic translation reverses this, fronting the speech with *d n=f X r-dy n=y rn=y*.”

Line 2

- (a) *Hrp.t* is almost certainly to be identified with *hrp.w* “mallet,” *Wb.* III, 326/7 (suggestion Scalf). That word, found in BD, has not been otherwise attested in Demotic, insofar as I know. I had first considered *hrp.t*, *Glossar*, p. 392, “ein Schiffsteil”; see Jones 1988, p. 291; CDD H, p. 69, *hrpe.t* “part of a ship.” *hrp.t* is mentioned as a ship’s part in P. Spiegelberg 1/11; Spiegelberg 1910, p. 47*. The top of the wood determinative is damaged. However, the interpretation of Scalf is superior, since it yields precisely the same order (mooring post, mallet) as found in the “standard” BD spell.
- (b) The scribe writes only *d* here, and not *dy*.
- (c) The deceased would have supplied the “secret” name of the ship’s part in the beginning of the now-lost next line.

Line 3

- (a) The ship’s part is evidently feminine. One expects *hʒt.t* “prow rope,” CDD H, pp. 291–92 (Scalf).
- (b) Despite the damage, the reading *hlt*, the feminine counterpart of *hl* “Junge,” *Glossar*, pp. 393–94, is secure. However, I can offer no parallel to such a “secret” name of a ship’s part.

Line 4

- (a) It is difficult to interpret the traces at the beginning of this line; they are presumably *r-dy n=y rn(=y)*. Perhaps it is best to read *rn=t* as a mistake for *rn=y* (suggestion Scalf). Scalf also proposes that the evil determinative precedes *rn*, possibly part of *qys* “embalm,” “which is expected as a translation of *wt* from the ‘standard’ BD spell.”
- (b) Here the deceased provides the “secret” name of the ship’s part. Only the feminine definite article *tʒ* is clear. For the following group, one might propose *wʒb*, *ʒn*, or *tny.t*. The concluding traces are too vague to interpret. The tail of the *f* from line 3 ends just above the initial tall, vertical stroke of this unread name.

Line 5

- (a) I cannot read the “secret” name of the ship’s part at the beginning of this line.
- (b) The traces appear to suit *wʒr* “oar,” CDD W, pp. 162–63; *wʒr* “das Ruder,” *Wb.* I, p. 364/1–4; Wilson 1997, p. 257; Jones 1988, p. 197; Düring 1995, p. 81. The scribe writes the *pʒ* above the horizontal tail of the *d*; compare line 11.

Line 6

- (a) The traces are again difficult; I tentatively suggest *hʒt-tʒw* “Mastbaum,” *Glossar*, p. 370; CDD H, p. 166, “mast”; Jones 1988, pp. 182–83; Düring 1995, p. 69. Compare these traces with those found in the secure writing of the *tʒw* group in *ʒy* “nose” in line 12.

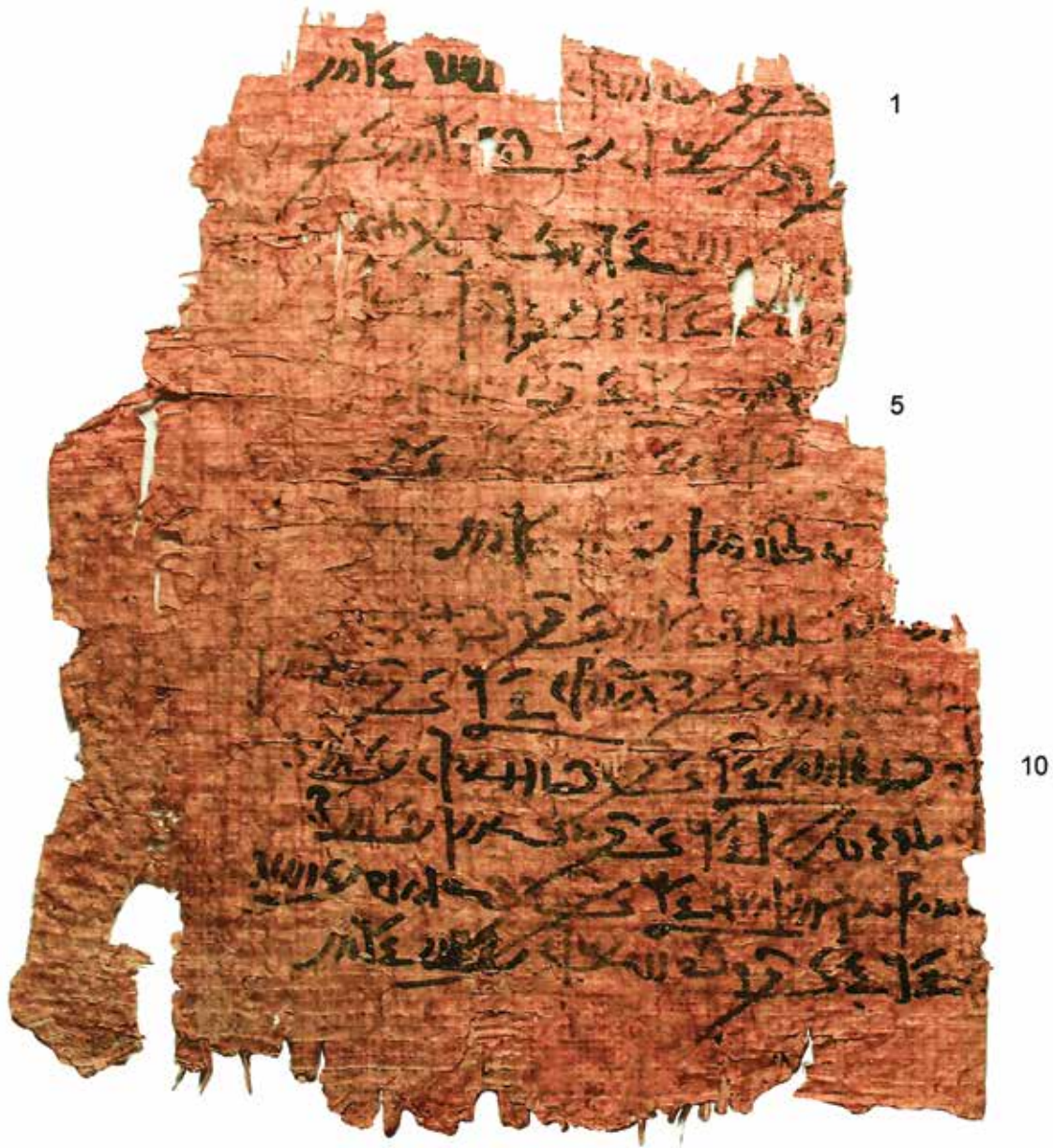


Figure 7.1. P. Dem. MAIL 1.

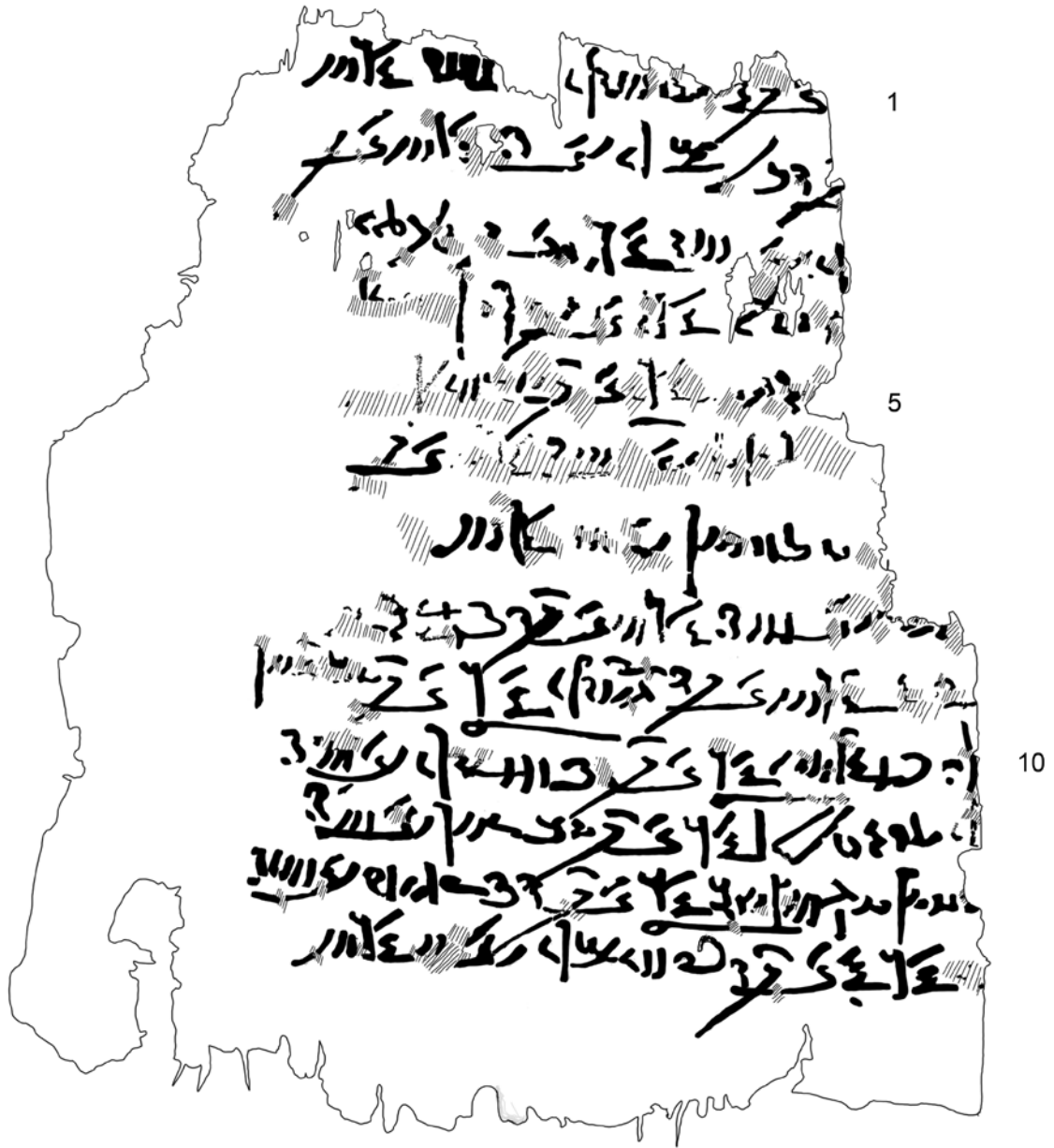


Figure 7.2. P. Dem. MAIL 1 facsimile.

Line 7

- (a) *h'y* may be *h3y* “gunwales(?)” Jones 1988, p. 179; Düring 1995, p. 65. The wood determinative argues against interpreting the word as *hy* “Licht, Glanz,” *Glossar*, p. 348 (with the divine determinative). I quote here the comments of Scalf: “*hr* occurs in the BD spell as part of ‘lower rope’ and it is then followed in the next secret name by *šbb*. The sequence and phonetics here seem more than coincidental. It suggests that the object at the beginning of line 8 might be some form of the *bedjaw*-pot from the BD spell.”

Line 8

- (a) *šbb* is a plausible transliteration, although the second *b* is less secure than the first. I cannot interpret the traces at the end of the word. For *šbb.t* “throat,” see *Wb.* IV, p. 439/5–7 (“die Luftröhre”); Wilson 1997, p. 998. This must stand for *šbb imst* “throat of Imsety,” as found in the standard BD spell (suggestion Scalf).
- (b) *d n=f* may be the Demotic scribe’s rendering of the old *sdm.n=f* form, that is, *d.n=f* (Scalf).
- (c) Nothing may be lost after the proposed *šbb.t*.

Line 10

- (a) The horizontal stroke of *q* bisects the last two vertical lines of *y*. *Mky* “ladder(?)” is mentioned as a ship’s part in P. Spiegelberg 1/6; Spiegelberg 1910, p. 25*; *Wb.* II, p. 33/6–7; CDD M, p. 258, *mky* “ladder.” Compare perhaps Düring 1995, p. 89, *mkr.t?* Is there a connection with *mk3.t* “stützender Unterbau,” *Wb.* II, p. 162/13, or is this a variant of *mkwt.t* “bier, catafalque, chariot,” CDD M, p. 260?

Line 11

- (a) As Brian Muhs has observed (personal communication), *iw=s* may be “a virtual relative clause following an undefined feminine noun.”

Line 12

- (a) *šr.t* “Nase” is employed to designate the prow of a ship; Düring 1995, p. 58. The syntax of the translation of the name is unclear.
- (b) *mhn* “Fähre, Fährschiff,” “bes. auch im Jenseits,” *Wb.* II, p. 133/12–13; Düring 1995, p. 142.

Line 13

- (a) *isp.t* “mast-step” or “ox-skin,” Jones 1988, p. 156; Düring 1995, pp. 71, 84. However, Scalf remarks that this should be *ibs.t*-wood (also written *isb.t*), as found in the standard BD spell.

THE FRAGMENTS (FIG. 7.3)

P. DEM. MAIL 1A

Height: ca. 2.5 cm

Width: ca. 2.7 cm

1. [...]...
2. [...]...
3. [...]...

Comment: I can suggest only that there may be a series of man-with-hand-to-mouth determinatives.

P. DEM. MAIL 1B

Height: ca. 6.0 cm

Width: ca. 2.2 cm

I can see no legible signs on this fragment, which may in fact be shown here upside down.

P. DEM. MAIL 1C

Height: ca. 3.5 cm

Width: ca. 2.5 cm

1. [...]... $rn=t \ d \ n=f$ [...]
 2. [...]... [...]
 3. [...]... [...]
 4. [...]... [...]
1. [...]... your name (fem). Said to him [...]

P. DEM. MAIL 1D

Height: ca. 2.8 cm

Width: ca. 1.4 cm

1. [...]... [...]
 2. [...]... $rn=k$ [...]
 3. [...] $rn=k$ [...]
 4. [...]... [...]
1. [...]... [...]
 2. [...]... your name [...]
 3. [...] your name [...]
 4. [...]... [...]

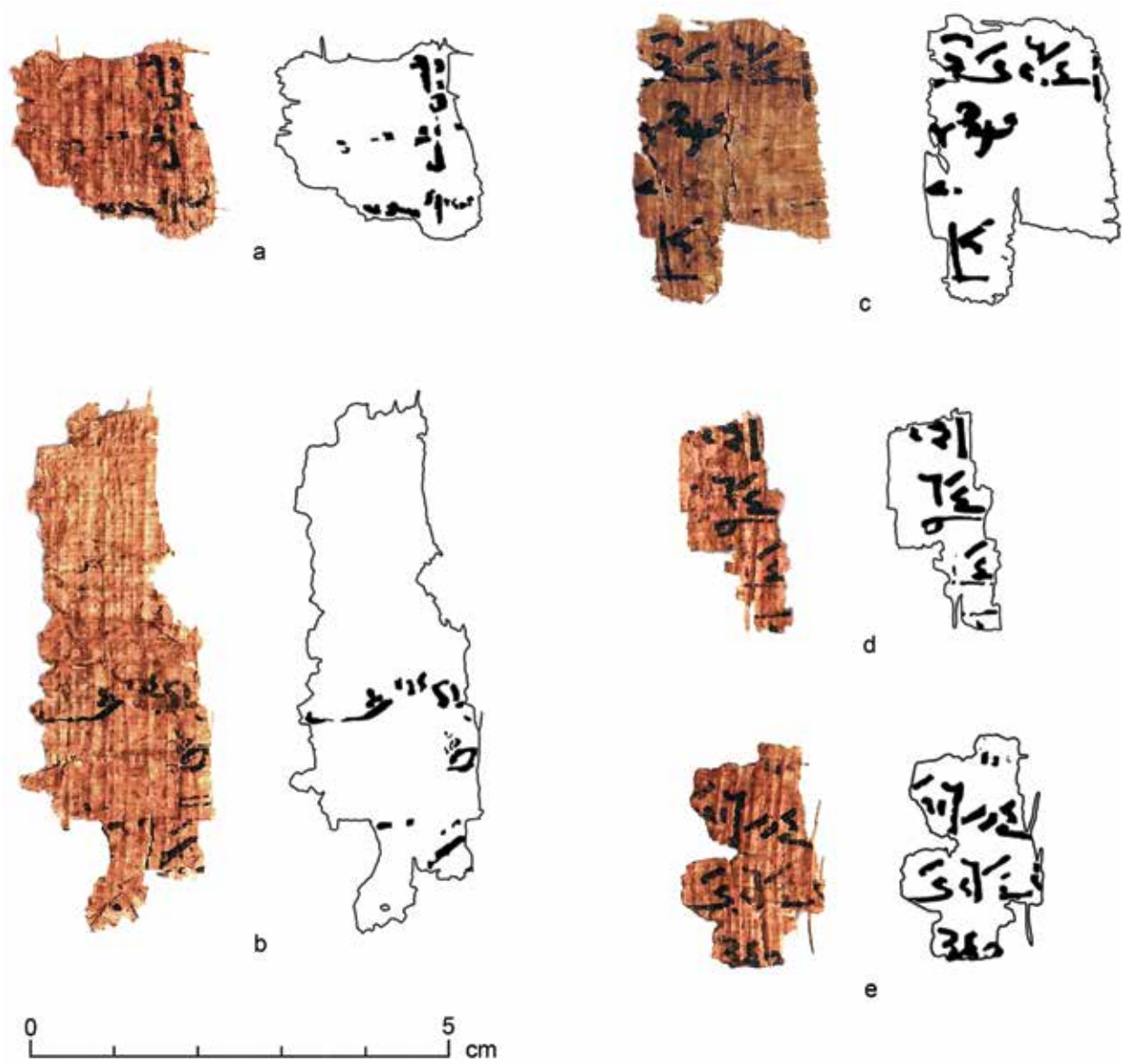


Figure 7.3. P. Dem. MAIL 1 fragments a–e with facsimiles.

P. DEM. MAIL 1E

Height: ca. 2.9 cm

Width: ca. 1.8 cm

1. [...]...[...]
2. [...]... *tn(?)* ... [...]
3. [...]... *rn=t d* [...]
4. [...]...[...]

1. [...]...[...]
2. [...]...[...]
3. [...]... your name." Said [...]
4. [...]...[...]

DISCUSSION

If I have understood the fragment correctly, P. Dem. MAIL 1 is a Ptolemaic Demotic version of BD spell 99, the spell for “Fetching a ferry in the sky.”⁶ While this spell is well attested into the Ptolemaic period,⁷ it has not been found elsewhere in Demotic. To be sure, the text of P. Dem. MAIL 1 does not closely parallel the standard BD versions.⁸ Neither the terms of the ship’s parts nor the “sacred” or “secret” names applied to them in the BD versions are found in P. Dem. MAIL 1. Nevertheless, the structure of the Demotic text so closely aligns with that of the standard BD spell that it seems to me certain that P. Dem. MAIL 1 is in fact a true version of spell 99.

Here are two typical passages in BD spell 99 in the translation of Stephen Quirke:⁹

dd n=i rn=i in hrpw

“Tell me my name, says the mallet.”

hnd hpwy rn=k

“Your name is haunch of the Apis.”

dd n=i rn=i in h3tt

“Tell me my name, says the prow rope.”

hnskt mnit inpw m k3t wtw rn=t

“Your name is tress of the mooring-post of Anubis,
in the labour of the embalmer.”

As can be seen, while the text in P. Dem. MAIL 1 does not parallel the attested BD versions, the basic pattern is virtually identical. A ship’s part addresses the deceased, asking him to declare its “sacred” or “secret” name. The deceased answers with a name imbued with theological significance. There is an interplay between the mundane designation of the ship’s part and the deeper name, the knowledge of which would be restricted, as it were, to a select group.

While BD spell 99 has not been hitherto found in Demotic, the well-known and still rather obscure passages toward the beginning of the Petubastis story clearly demonstrate an interest on the part of Demotic scribes in the theological character of the parts of the sacred bark and their identification with specific

⁶ Quirke 2013, p. 218.

⁷ Mosher 2018, pp. 109–59.

⁸ I would encourage BD specialists to attempt to identify the manuscript tradition on which the Demotic scribe based his text.

⁹ Quirke 2013, pp. 218–19.

deities.¹⁰ The Ptolemaic period is a famously complicated transitional time for Egyptian funerary tradition. Since relatively few BD spells are found in Demotic,¹¹ this example of BD spell 99, despite its sad state of preservation, certainly deserves the attention of scholars who, like my most distinguished late friend and colleague Robert Ritner, specialize in Late Period religion.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|---|
| BD | Book of the Dead |
| CDD | Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary |
| fem. | feminine |
| <i>Glossar</i> | Wolja Erichsen. <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954 |
| MAIL | Missione Archeologica Italiana a Luxor |
| P. Dem. | Demotic Papyrus |
| pl. | plural |
| <i>Wb.</i> | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Düring, Norbert
 1995 *Materialien zum Schiffbau im alten Ägypten*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 11. Berlin: Achet.
- Hoffmann, Friedhelm
 1995 “Der Anfang des Papyrus Spiegelberg: Ein Versuch zur Wiederherstellung.” In *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, edited by Sven Vleeming, pp. 43–60. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27. Leiden: Brill.
- Jones, Dilwyn
 1988 *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Mosher, Malcolm
 2018 *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods: A Study of Traditions Evident in Versions of Texts and Vignettes (BD Spells 93–109)*. SPBD Studies 6. North Charleston: CreateSpace.
- Munro, Irmtraut
 2010 “The Evolution of the Book of the Dead.” In *Journey through the Afterlife: Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*, edited by John H. Taylor, pp. 54–79. London: British Museum Press.
- Quack, Joachim
 2014 “A New Demotic Translation of (Excerpts of) a Chapter of the *Book of the Dead*.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 100: 381–93.
- Quirke, Stephen
 2013 *Going Out in Daylight—prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead—Translation, Sources, Meanings*. GHP Egyptology 20. London: Golden House.
- Scalf, Foy
 2017 “The Death of the Book of the Dead.” In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 139–47. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

¹⁰ Traunecker 1995, pp. 186–88; Hoffmann 1995, p. 46.

¹¹ See, e.g., Scalf 2017, esp. p. 145 for remarks on the relationship between a Demotic funerary text containing passages “reminiscent of the transformation spells from the Book of the Dead.” In Demotic are found versions of BD spells 15A, 125, 128, 148, and 171; Stadler 2012, p. 131; Smith 2019, pp. 33, 37; Munro 2010, p. 59; Smith 2009 (a Demotic version of BD spell 171, p. 348); Quack 2014.

Smith, Mark

- 2009 “New Extracts from the Book of the Dead in Demotic.” In *Actes du IX^e Congrès international des études démotiques: Paris, 31 août–3 septembre 2005*, edited by G. Widmer and D. Devauchelle, pp. 347–59. Bibliothèque d'étude 147. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- 2019 *Between Temple and Tomb: The Demotic Ritual Texts of Bodl. MS Egypt. A. 3(P)*. Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 30. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm

- 1910 *Der Sagenkreis des Königs Petubastis nach dem Strassburger demotischen Papyrus sowie den Wiener und Pariser Bruchstücken*. Demotische Studien 3. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Stadler, Martin Andreas

- 2012 *Einführung in die ägyptische Religion ptolemäisch-römischer Zeit nach den demotischen religiösen Texten*. Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie 7. Berlin: Lit Verlag.

Tiradritti, Francesco

- 2020 “Le rôle d’Haroua, grand majordome de la divine adoratrice, dans la gestion du pouvoir à Thèbes entre la fin du VIII^e et le début du VII^e siècle av. J.-C.” *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 203: 114–36.
- 2023 “The Journey of Harwa: An Initiatory Path in a Funerary Monument of the Seventh Century BC.” In *Mural Decoration in the Theban Necropolis: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2016*, edited by Betsy M. Bryan and Peter F. Dorman, pp. 237–52. Studies in Ancient Cultures 2. Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.

Traunecker, Claude

- 1995 “Le papyrus Spiegelberg et l'évolution des liturgies thébaines.” In *Hundred-Gated Thebes: Acts of a Colloquium on Thebes and the Theban Area in the Graeco-Roman Period*, edited by Sven Vleeming, pp. 183–201. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 27. Leiden: Brill.

Wilson, Penelope

- 1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters.

8

THREE DEMOTIC SILVER ACCOUNTS
FROM THE ISAC MUSEUM COLLECTION

Jacqueline E. Jay, *Eastern Kentucky University*
Foy D. Scalf, *University of Chicago*

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE to offer this piece in tribute to Robert's many and wide-ranging contributions to the field of Egyptology. The publication of these ostraca editions follows in the footsteps of his own contribution to the *Festschrift* for Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "A Selection of Demotic Ostraca in the Detroit Institute of Arts."¹ Moreover, the Demotic accounts published here reside in Chicago's Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC),² where Robert spent the bulk of his career—and whose collection he encouraged his students and colleagues to study and publish.³

Over 900 Demotic ostraca are currently in the ISAC Museum of the University of Chicago.⁴ Of these, 581 have been identified as deriving from the excavations of Uvo Hölscher at Medinet Habu, the contents of which are well known through the publications of Miriam Lichtheim and Ursula Kaplony-Heckel.⁵ Work continues on the still-unpublished Medinet Habu material, which includes many interesting receipts, letters, oaths, school texts, and accounts. The remaining approximately 400 Demotic ostraca in the ISAC Museum are mostly unpublished and have only begun to appear in print over the past two decades.⁶

The unpublished Demotic ostraca in the ISAC Museum were acquired through seven separate accessions, all of which unfortunately represent purchases with little information about their original provenance or further provenance prior to acquisition. The three Demotic ostraca edited below derive from two of these seven accessions. The first two ostraca were given to the ISAC Museum as part of accession 63, a gift from Edward E. Ayer, who also gave an important collection of ostraca to the Field Museum of Natural

1 Ritner 2004. In 2020, the Detroit Institute of Arts deaccessioned a collection of Egyptian antiquities acquired prior to 1907 by Frederick Stearns. This collection was gifted to the ISAC Museum in 2021 as accession 3856. Several dozen hieratic, Demotic, and Coptic ostraca were included among more than 500 other objects. Of the five Demotic ostraca published in Ritner 2004, three are now in the ISAC Museum: ISACM E52140 (= DIA 79.124), ISACM E52128 (= DIA 79.128), and ISACM E52131 (= DIA 79.128). The other two, DIA 79.135 and DIA 79.249, remain in the collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

2 The authors would like to collectively thank all the participants of the 2012 Demotic Summer School in Chicago for their helpful comments and interpretations of various difficult passages. Particular appreciation is due to Andrew Monson, Brian Muhs, and Joachim Friedrich Quack. We thank Gil Stein, Geoff Emberling, Jack Green, and the ISAC Museum for permission to publish these ostraca, and Helen McDonald and Susan Allison for all their help in facilitating many on-site visits for collation and photography. We also thank Anna Ressman for the high-quality photographs of the objects, as well as Miller Prosser and the Persepolis Fortification Archive Project for high-resolution imagery used in the preparation of this essay. Additional thanks are due particularly to Brian Muhs for his careful reading and many helpful suggestions that greatly improved the resulting essay. The authors are responsible for any remaining errors or misinterpretations.

3 See Ritner 2008; Ritner 2016; and Scalf 2022 for a revival of studies on ISAC Museum objects.

4 Scalf and Jay 2014 provides an overview of the Demotic ostraca and their accessions. For an update on accession 3447, see Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, pp. 3–12.

5 Lichtheim 1957. Many of the articles of Ursula Kaplony-Heckel are now conveniently gathered in Kaplony-Heckel 2009, and the index lists ISAC Museum and Medinet Habu ostraca discussed throughout the text (see under "Chicago, Haskell Oriental Institute").

6 Muhs 2005; Scalf and Jay 2014; Scalf 2012, fig. 2.8; Scalf 2015; Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021.

History in Chicago, many of which are clearly related to the ISAC Museum collection.⁷ The third ostrakon came into the ISAC Museum as part of accession 3447, consisting of a group of objects said to be purchased by members of the Chicago Epigraphic Survey and registered by the museum in September 1959.⁸

Of the published Demotic ostraca from the ISAC Museum, the vast majority consist of receipts for various types of payments.⁹ Among the unpublished ISAC Museum pieces, further receipts form major and important groups, clustered in the mid-Ptolemaic period and extending into the early Roman period. The least published (although well-represented) genre is the seemingly “humble” account. It should be no surprise to Demotists that earlier scholars picked around the accounts in their study of the material.¹⁰ Often because of their laconic context, cursory contents, and scribbled hands, many accounts pose difficulties to both understanding and decipherment. Nevertheless, large numbers of Demotic accounts are now available to scholars for comparison and study. Ultimately, the hope is that the publication and collection of similar documents will aid in their elucidation and that identification of disparate elements and individuals will help reconstruct the scattered archives and dossiers to which these objects once probably belonged.

The ostraca below are presented in order of museum inventory number, as their textual contents are only marginally related through the shared topic of accounts, with silver being prominently mentioned. Identification of the ostraca occurred during the authors’ examination of ISAC Museum Demotic texts as part of the ISAC Museum Demotic Ostraca Online (ISACM DO) project.¹¹ Approximately 700 texts have been collated, photographed, and cataloged, while roughly 200 further texts remain. It is the aim of the project to make all these texts available through an online database. Initial versions of the database had been originally designed in FileMaker Pro and launched on the web in 2009. This database has now migrated to the Online Cultural Heritage Research Environment (OCHRE).¹² In addition, photos and data about the ostraca are being distributed through the ISAC Museum’s collection database.¹³ As texts are deciphered and edited, the authors also intend to place them in print, and roughly 50 texts are currently in press or in preparation for press in addition to several dozen unpublished texts already accessible in the ISACM DO database. Texts eluding our abilities of decipherment will be made available online through photos and accompanying metadata for the benefit of colleagues interested in this material.

All three ostraca published here record very large sums of money, a phenomenon that suggests a date during the mid- to late Ptolemaic period (210–30 BCE), which witnessed an inflation of copper currency. All three texts also show a complete absence of fractions of *kite* or *obols*, both of which were common in both the early Ptolemaic and Roman periods but not the mid- to late Ptolemaic period (a trend also related to inflation, for the smallest denomination was $\frac{1}{2}$ “copper” *kite* or 1 “copper” drachma).¹⁴

7 Brian Muhs and Foy Scalf examined and photographed the entire Ayer collection of ostraca at the Field Museum in June 2018 for further study and comparison with the ISAC Museum collection. A good example of the relationships between the two collections is the archive of Chemtsneus (TM Arch 118), son of Pelilis, to be published by Willy Clarysse, Todd Hickey, and Paul Heilporn. See also Clarysse 1993.

8 Also registered under this accession number was the discrete archive of Thotsutmis, son of Panouphis (TM Arch 678; O. Edgerton). For the complex provenance of this group of sherds, discovered in the 1916–17 excavations at Deir el-Bahri by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and now residing in the ISAC Museum, see Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021.

9 In addition to the O. Edgerton archive published by Muhs, Scalf, and Jay (2021), Kaplony-Heckel has devoted a number of articles to the archive of Padjeme (TM Arch 612), son of Pamontu, from the Medinet Habu excavations. See Scalf and Jay 2014, pp. 248–49; Kaplony-Heckel 2019.

10 Note that even the accounts on the remarkable jar MH 4038, the “Late Demotic Gardening Agreement,” were ignored in the *editio princeps* of that object. See Parker 1941, p. 84.

11 Formerly Oriental Institute Demotic Ostraca Online (OIDOO).

12 Further information can be found on the project webpage: <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/projects/isac-museum-demotic-ostraca-online>.

13 Accessible on the web: <https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/>.

14 We owe these observations to Brian Muhs. See Muhs 2005, pp. 23–25. For an account of the discussions related to these economic changes with additional bibliography, see von Reden 2007, pp. 75–78; Lorber 2017, pp. 22–24; Hayden 2018, pp. 284–402.

ISACM E6951

In ISACM E6951, an unnamed lender records a series of loans given to various individuals, among whom Nesnaukhemenu, son of Patem,¹⁵ figures most prominently. Although the account begins with the heading “the account of the silver,” silver is not the only commodity distributed.¹⁶ The person who made this account also gave out measures of wine, valued by the *deben*, and *artabas* of wheat. When taken collectively, the account implies an individual of some means with the ability to lend out a significant amount of wealth, if we assume that the amounts represent privately owned capital and goods. Lack of any indication of dates in the text, however, prevents us from knowing whether all the transactions are contemporaneous or the account was recorded as a tally of loans over time.

The Ptolemaic period offered individuals a wide array of options when it came to recording personal loans. Most formal were official papyrus contracts, which spell out the transaction in full detail. Pestman translates a characteristic excerpt of a Demotic loan contract written on papyrus as follows: “You have with me (i.e., I owe you) 7 *artabas* of wheat, which makes 10½ (*artabas* of wheat)—whilst their addition (i.e., the interest) is included in them—I shall give (back) the above 10½ *artabas* of wheat to you.”¹⁷ Here, the interest is spelled out as the standard 50 percent charged for grain loans; also attested are contracts in which just the final full sum to be given to the lender is given, with no distinction made between the original sum of the loan and its interest.¹⁸ Lippert discusses in detail a subset of the loan document type, the “mortgage loan,” in which the borrower establishes some kind of collateral from which the amount of the loan might be repaid if the borrower should default. According to Lippert, “the last known notarial Demotic money loan dates to the last quarter of the 2nd century BCE.”¹⁹ After that, such contracts were either bilingual or exclusively in Greek.

Until the late Ptolemaic period, Demotic contracts were drawn up by temple notaries. From the reign of Ptolemy II onward, they also had to be registered at the *agoranomion* to facilitate the collection of the 2 percent state sales tax on loans.²⁰ Thus, while formal notarization and registration added a level of official security deemed worthwhile particularly for larger loans, it came at a cost: the fee to the temple notary and the sales tax to the state.²¹ To avoid these fees and taxes, other, cheaper means of recording a loan could be used; with this choice, however, the lender gave up all chances of official intervention should the borrower default. As we shall see, in the case of such private loans the lender could reduce the risk by requiring securities in the form of a third-party guarantor offering his or her own property as collateral.

15 Robert himself had a decided preference for more “Egyptian” renderings of personal names rather than versions based on Greek transcriptions. As a result, we have opted here to follow the very conventional and arbitrary “Egyptological” renderings into an anglicized form of personal names. For an alternative view and further bibliography, see Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, pp. xxi–xxii.

16 “The account of the silver” (*pʿ ip n nʿ ḥd.w*) is the standard heading label for Demotic accounts (Eid 2018, p. 49). But, as Eid notes, this ancient designation is used quite loosely. In modern terms, accounts proper should involve some kind of “account balancing” or “calculation process,” while a “list” would simply give the amounts of various items, sometimes with personal names but without any kind of summation (Eid 2018, p. 50). In our examples, ISACM E30029 is clearly an account (though lacking that label), while ISACM E6951 and ISACM E7008 are technically lists even though ISACM E6951 is labeled an “account.”

17 P. Dem. Turin Botti 13, dated to 114–113 BCE. See Pestman 1971, p. 9.

18 For full discussion of the variants, see Pestman 1971; Vandorpe 2019.

19 Lippert 2019, p. 133.

20 The regular sales tax was 5 percent, but 2 percent for loan mortgages (Lippert 2019, p. 127). Registration was certainly required for Greek contracts and was likely required for Demotic contracts as well (Muhs 2010, p. 587). In the late Ptolemaic period, secular *grapheion* offices replaced the traditional temple notaries and merged the functions of notarization and registration.

21 In some cases, the lender kept the contract; in others, it was given to a third-party trustee until the loan was repaid or defaulted; see Muhs 2014/15, p. 92. See Lippert 2019 for a detailed description of two regionally specific formats used to establish mortgage securities for loans by means of a variation of the traditional sale document.

One less formal option was to engage a private scribe to write a letter-style contract.²² The scribe would still take his fee, but the lender could then presumably avoid the government tax. Alternatively, the lender could simply make his own informal record. Brian Muhs has suggested that P. BM EA 10556, P. BM EA 10557, and P. BM EA 10670 represent such personal lists of loans.²³ These documents belonged to the Theban money lender and mortuary priest Panas, son of Espemetis, who is attested in the first half of the second century BCE.²⁴ Each papyrus records summaries of a large number of loans (186 in P. BM EA 10556; 72 in P. BM EA 10557; P. BM EA 10670 is too damaged to give an estimate). Muhs gives as a characteristic example from P. BM EA 10557, column 2, lines 24–25: “Harsiesis son of Kerkeris, Year 7 Phaophi, 120 *deben*, his guarantor; Pagonis, (son of) Psenhotos, in whose hand are his securities.”²⁵ Here a guarantor is named whose securities could be claimed for repayment if the borrower defaulted. Such guarantors appear frequently in Panas’s loan lists, although there are also quite a few loans without them (“presumably because the loan was small, or the borrower was trustworthy, or both”).²⁶ But, while guarantors and securities are quite common in these documents, there are only a few cases in which it is stated that an official contract was drawn up for the loan. Significantly, this occurred only for the largest of the loans given by Panas.

Ostraca recording loans fall into this same category of informal accounts made for purely personal use and are even more abbreviated. ISACM E6951 is characteristic of the type as a whole, since it makes no mention of guarantees or securities but simply lists amounts of commodities and the individuals to whom they are given. The average loan amounts recorded by Panas on the BM papyri are significantly larger than those listed on our ostrakon (104.31 *deben* or 13.16 *artabas* in P. BM EA 10557, for example).²⁷ It is possible that the now-anonymous moneylender of ISACM E6951 was a relatively small-scale operator; alternatively, he/she may have chosen an ostrakon as the recording medium precisely because these loans were so small.

A somewhat more complicated parallel to ISACM E6951 is UC 32050 (TM 51100):²⁸

| | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | <i>p3 wn n p3 d3d3 nty mtw P3-šr-Dḥwty</i> | The list of the capital which belongs to Pasherdjehuty: |
| 2 | <i>(n)-dr.t Dḥwty-iw krkr 5 ḥd 225</i> | In the possession of Djehutyu: 5 talents, 225 <i>deben</i> . |
| 3 | <i>p3 ḥw ḥd 425</i> | The profit: 425 <i>deben</i> . |
| 4 | <i>ky ip ḥr Wsr-m3' ḥsb.t(?) 18</i> | Another account for Usirmaa, year(?) 18, |
| 5 | <i>r krkr 7 ḥt 65 wp.t</i> | (their total) equals 7 talents, 65 <i>deben</i> . Its specification: |
| 6 | <i>r-ti=w n P3-nḥt-nṯr ḥn=w ḥd 400</i> | What has been given to Panakhtnetjer from them: 400 <i>deben</i> . |
| 7 | <i>r-ti=w n P3-šr-Dḥwty-ḥ3.t(?) ḥd 55 qt 5 r ḥd 455 ḥd 5</i> | What has been given to Pasherdjehutyhat: 55 <i>deben</i> and 5 <i>kite</i> , (their total) equals 455 <i>deben</i> and 5 <i>kite</i> . |
| 8 | <i>m-s3=w krkr 5 ḥd 209 qt 5 'n</i> | Apart from them: 5 talents, 209 <i>deben</i> , and 5 <i>kite</i> also. |
| 9 | <i>ḥr p3 sp n ḥmt n p3y=f 3 ḥd 25</i> | For the rest of the freight of his donkey: 25 silver pieces. |
| 10 | <i>r krkr 5 ḥd 234 qt 5</i> | (Their total) equals 5 talents, 234 <i>deben</i> , and 5 <i>kite</i> . |
| 11 | <i>nty mtw=f(n)-dr.t Dḥwty-iw</i> | What belongs to him from Djehutyu. |
| 12 | <i>ky ḥd 80 nty mtw=f(n)-dr.t P3-Dm3</i> | Another (account): 80 <i>deben</i> which belongs to him from Padjema. |

22 Depauw 1997, pp. 123–25. Private Demotic “letter style” money loans are attested into the first century BCE; so Lippert 2019, p. 133.

23 Muhs 2014/15.

24 P. BM EA 10556 and P. BM EA 10557 begin with the label “the account of Panas” (this section of P. BM EA 10670 is damaged), and both P. BM 10556 and P. BM EA 10670 repeat the label with the addition of the patronym later in the document: “the account of Panas, son of Espemetis.”

25 Muhs 2014/15, p. 94.

26 The securities on such small loans tend to be equally small items of movable property (jewelry, jars, metal implements, cloth). See Muhs 2014/15, p. 95.

27 Muhs 2014/15, p. 96.

28 *Editio princeps* Nur el-Din 1987, pp. 42–43, no. 5, and pl. 5.

In line 3, UC 32050 records “the profit” (i.e., the interest) of the loan as 425 *deben*, which indicates an interest rate of 24.6 percent (calculated by dividing 425 by 1,725 and assuming a duration of one year, suggested by the possible reference to year 18 in line 4).²⁹ In general, accumulated monthly interest tends to be used for money loans, so that is likely the case here. It is true that the term *hw* is more commonly found in grain loans where the interest is usually a 50 percent lump sum,³⁰ but there it appears in the phrase *iw p3y=w hw hn=w* (“while their profit/interest is in them”) to indicate that the total includes both the principal and the lump-sum interest without the two being distinguished and listed separately. Here, *hw* is used differently, in this case to identify the exact amount of interest to be paid.

In contrast, ISACM E6951 makes no mention of interest, presumably implying that the standard rates were assumed for its loans of silver, wine, and grain. According to Pestman, interest rates calculated monthly were usually 2.5 percent per month or 30 percent per year until late in the reign of Ptolemy II or early in the reign of Ptolemy III, when they were reduced to 2 percent per month or 24 percent per year.³¹ Those rates remained standard until the beginning of the Roman period, when (according to the Gnomon of the Idios Logos) they were fixed at 1 percent per month or 12 percent per year. These monthly rates were most typical for money loans and were used for loans of wine as well, where the value is given in money. As a result, the money and wine loans recorded on ISACM E6951 were probably charged at a monthly rate, while the standard lump-sum interest of 50 percent was in all likelihood applied to the grain loans.

Lines 6 and 7 of UC 32050 provide the complicating “specification” of smaller sums paid to two new individuals, Panakhtnetjer and Pasherdjehutyhat. Are these debts owed by Pasherdjehuty, now being paid by Djehutyu to expunge part of the latter’s debt? And who is Usirmaa? A superior of some sort? Regardless of the exact details, the math alone strongly suggests that the amounts recorded in lines 6 and 7 represent (re)payments or deductions from the initial loan of 7 talents 65 *deben* (7 talents 65 *deben* minus 455 *deben* and 5 *kite* equals 5 talents, 209 *deben*, and 5 *kite*). Lines 9 and 10 then suggest that the amount paid by Djehutyu increases again when 25 *deben* are paid for “the freight of his donkey,” bringing the new sum total of his repayment to 5 talents, 234 *deben*, and 5 *kite*.

As we attempt to untangle and identify the standard phraseology used in these loan records, it seems significant that UC 32050 and ISACM E6951 contain the similar phrases “What has been given” (UC 32050) and “What I gave” (ISACM E6951). But although these phrases are on the surface very similar, they seem to be quite different in reference. “What has been given” represents additional transactions related to the basic loan, whereas “What I gave” describes the initial loan itself. Therefore, it is “In the hand of” (UC 32050) that parallels our ostrakon’s “What I gave” (ISACM E6951) in referring to the basic loan.

The phrase “in the hand of” has the important Ramesside precedent of *nty m-di* (“which are with”), identified by Janssen as the diagnostic element of a type of informal private loan record attested at Deir el-Medina.³² This connection would make the Demotic informal (unregistered, unnotarized) loans discussed above the descendants of a practice known at least as early as the Ramesside period. Janssen’s first example of a loan record from Ramesside-period Deir el-Medina is O. Petrie 51, which begins “Objects (*3h.wt*) of Amenemone which are with (*nty m-di*) the chief policeman Amenemope: 5 *deben* of copper; 2 *rwqdw*-garments of smooth cloth, makes 15 (*deben*)” (recto, lines 1–3).³³ The account goes on to list a series of other “objects” of Amenemone “with” five other individuals (in one case a wooden bed and in others items of agricultural produce/animal husbandry). Janssen interprets this account as a record of goods loaned out by Amenemone.

²⁹ 5 talents, 225 *deben* = 1,725 *deben*. There were 6,000 drachmas to the talent, and 20 drachmas to the *deben*, with a talent being 300 *deben*. Perhaps this was a loan that was repaid after a year with interest calculated at 2 percent per month. For a rate of 2 percent per month, see Pestman 1971.

³⁰ See Vandorpe 2019.

³¹ Pestman 1971.

³² Janssen 1994.

³³ Černý and Gardiner 1957, pls. XXVIII and XXVIIIa.

Although this example is unusual in that several borrowers are listed, Janssen notes that “ostraca recording that the objects of one person are ‘with’ another are quite common.”³⁴ The identification of such documents as loan accounts is supported by cases in which the initial list of goods is accompanied by later notes made to record repayments. O. Gardiner 204, for example, records a list of ten items loaned by the workman Penniu to the chantress of Amun Shedemduwa, worth 76 *deben* in total.³⁵ According to Janssen, “noted, somewhat irregularly written, to the left of the main text, below the sum total” is a list of goods brought in repayment. On the verso, the debt is noted as “75 (*sic*) *deben*, of which 54 have been paid back, so that a debt of 22 (!) *deben* remains. In the final lines 6–7 this is repeated (but now, correctly, as 76 *deben*) in a slightly shorter form.”³⁶

Janssen interprets the situation at the root of these Ramesside loan records as an “open credit system” in which everybody in the community owes something to somebody else. He also describes the system as “‘generalized reciprocity’: exchange relationships which were only balanced in the long run, and in which the maintenance of good relations was more important than any short-term gain.”³⁷ Within this system, he sees Amenemone’s list of loans as the result of a need felt at a particular moment to “draw up a list of all the goods he had given to various people.” Unfortunately, Amenemone’s profession is not stated. However, it seems significant that the majority of his borrowers are “local dignitaries: two chief policemen, two scribes of the workmen,” along with a granary scribe.³⁸ Perhaps Amenemone was himself a relatively wealthy man who had, over time, developed a series of reciprocal lending relationships with individuals of his own status. It also seems possible, however, that, like the much later Panas, son of Espemetis, Amenemone somehow possessed enough capital to become a kind of professional commodity-lender, using goods repaid from earlier loans to subsidize new ones.

The reference to “1 (measure) of wine worth 8 silver *deben*” in lines 2 and 4 of ISACM E6951 provides a dating criterion that allows us to suggest a narrower range for this text than the broad mid- to late Ptolemaic period noted above.³⁹ The measure of wine intended here is left unspecified. If it is the *keramion*, we can suggest a date range between 210 BCE, which witnessed a jump in prices due to the introduction of the “copper” *deben*, and 183 BCE, when prices jumped again.⁴⁰

This possibility is the most likely, given that the phraseology *irp* + amount (with the measure unspecified) usually refers to the *keramion*. In contrast, *chous* measures are usually specified as such (*irp kws/qws* X). But if the *chous* is meant here (of which there were eight to the *keramion*), the price would then be 1,280 drachmas per *keramion*, which would fit a date after 171 BCE and before 130 BCE. Clarysse and Lanciers give no wine prices for this period. Based on prices in the preceding and succeeding periods, however, it is reasonable to expect the price of a *keramion* to fall between 600 and 2,000 drachmas. In fact, the loan accounts of Panas, son of Espemetis, fall nicely within this range, giving prices of 50 or 52 *deben* (or 1,000 or 1,040 drachmas) for a *keramion* of wine around year 23 of Ptolemy VI (159/8 BCE).⁴¹

34 Janssen 1994, p. 130.

35 Černý and Gardiner 1957, pls. L and La.

36 Janssen 1994, pp. 130–31.

37 Janssen 1994, p. 136.

38 Janssen 1994, p. 130.

39 Again, we owe these suggestions to Brian Muhs.

40 These dates are based on the work of Clarysse and Lanciers 1989. Building on the work of Reekmans and Johnson, they give a price range of 220–300 drachmas for a *keramion* of wine in the period 210–183 BCE (Clarysse and Lanciers 1989, table 1, p. 117; see nn. 1 and 2 for specific references to Reekmans and Johnson). Our 8 silver *deben* equal 160 drachmas at 20 drachmas per *deben*. However, Hayden 2018, pp. 706–9, shows that there was more variation in prices than Clarysse and Lanciers suggest. The reliability of these values as a dating criterion is based on the assumption that the inflation represents periodic revaluations of money as Clarysse and Lanciers, following Reekmans, suggest. The possibility remains that it actually represents “real” inflation, which would make the prices more variable and less reliable for dating.

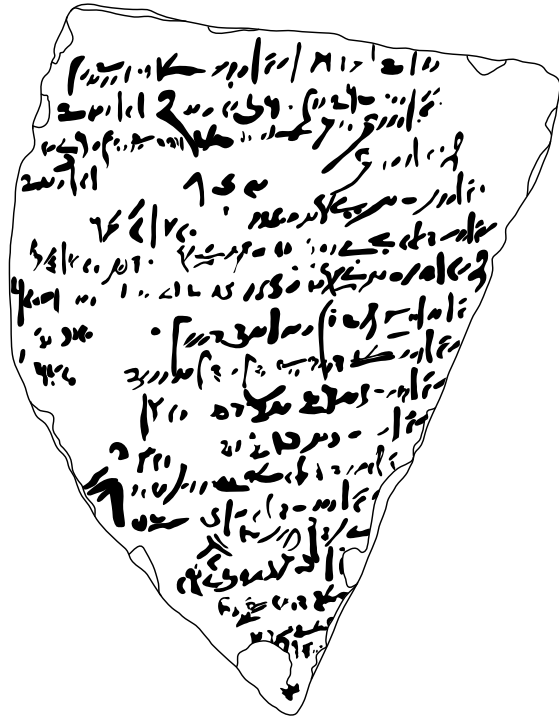
41 Brian Muhs, personal communication.

ISACM E6951

Account of silver, wine, and wheat
18.7 × 14.3 cm



Accession 63 (Ayer collection)
Mid- to late Ptolemaic (210–130 BCE)
Previously unpublished



- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1 | <i>p3 ip n n3 hq.w</i> <i>r-ti=y n Ns-n3y=w-hmnw</i> [. . .] | The account of the silver: What I gave to Nesnaukhemenu [. . .]; |
| 2 | <i>r-ti=y n Pa-Mnt s3 Pa-hy hq 9 irp 1.t r hq 8</i> | What I gave to Pamontu, son of Pachy: 9 silver <i>deben</i> , 1 (measure) of wine worth 8 silver <i>deben</i> ; |
| 3 | <i>r-ti=y n=f T3y=f-nht(?) Ns-n3y=w-hmnw s3 Pa-tm</i> <i>↓irp 1.t r hq 8↓</i> | What I gave to him, Tayefnakht(?) (and) Nesnaukhemenu, son of Patem: 1 (measure) of wine worth 8 silver <i>deben</i> ; |
| 4 | <i>'n r-ti=y n=f . . . hq 25</i> | Also what I gave to him . . . : 25 silver <i>deben</i> ; |
| 5 | <i>r-ti=y n P3y-k3 s3 Hr sw 1 1/2 1/2</i> | What I gave to Payka, son of Hor: 1 1/2 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat; |
| 6 | <i>r-ti=y (n) T3-sr.t-gbyr(?) n P3y-k3 nty hry sw 1 1/2 1/4</i> | What I gave to Tasheretgebyr(?) (and) to Payka, who is above: 1 1/4 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat; |
| 7 | <i>'n r-ti=y n P3y-k3 s3 Hr Hr-wd3 (s3) P3-sr- . . . (?)</i> <i>sw 2</i> | Also what I gave to Payka, son of Hor, (and) Horudja, (son of) Pasher. . . (?): 2 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat; |
| 8 | <i>r-ti P3-ti-nfr-htp s3 P3-ti-p3-s3y sw 3 1/2 1/4</i> | What Peteneferhotep, son of Petepashay, gave: 3 1/4 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat; |
| 9 | <i>r-ti=y n Ns-n3y=w-hmnw s3 'Imn-p3-ym sw 2 1/4</i> | What I gave to Nesnaukhemenu, son of Amunpayom: 2 1/4 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat; |
| 10 | <i>r-ti=y n P3-ti-Hr-pa-3.s.t (s3) Hr-pa-3.s.t sw 1</i> | What I gave to Peteharsiese, (son of) Harsiese: 1 (<i>artaba</i> of) wheat; |
| 11 | <i>r-ti=y n Hr-pa-3.s.t(?) sw 5</i> | What I gave to Harsiese: 5 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat. |
| 12 | <i>r-ti=y n T3-sr.t-gbyr sw 1 1/2 1/4</i> | What I gave to Tasheretgebyr: 1 1/4 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat; |
| 13 | <i>r-ti=y n T3-sr.t-p3-ti-Hr-p3-bik</i> | What I gave to Tasheretpetehorpabik |

| | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 14 | <i>br̄</i> . . . 10. <i>t</i> | boat(?) . . . 10; |
| 15 | <i>r-ti=y (n) Sṯ.t(=w-t̄)-wt.t</i> | What I gave to Setjawetet, |
| 16 | <i>Ns-n̄y=w-ḥmnw</i> | Nesnaukhemenu, |
| 17 | <i>Ḥr-wḏ</i> | (and) Horudja: |
| 18 | <i>sw 2</i> | 2 (<i>artabas</i> of) wheat. |

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES TO ISACM E6951

Line 1

One would expect commodities and numbers at the end of this line. Traces at the edge suggest these have been lost.

Line 3

The commodities and amounts have been written below the line.

Line 6

For *T̄-šr.t-gbyr(?)*, compare *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1020 (s.v. *Gbr*); TM Nam 9709; TM Nam 607 (s.v. *P̄-gbr*).

Line 8

For *P̄-ti-p̄-šy*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 308; TM Nam 882.

Line 9

For *ʾImn-p̄-ym*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 63; TM Nam 44.

Line 13

For *T̄-šr.t-p̄-ti-Ḥr-p̄-bik*, compare *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 325, 802. As an alternative, compare *T̄-šr.t-p̄-ti-Ḥr-sm̄-t̄.wy*; see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1105; TM Nam 13652.

Line 14

Perhaps read *r ḥd(?) 100(?)* or *nty . . .* in the ellipsis.

Line 15

For *Sṯ.t(=w-t̄)-wt.t*, see *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 945–46; TM Nam 1147; compare CDD W (7 August 2009): 09.1, p. 199, and EG, p. 474, citation of P. Elephantine 13554, 1 (*Pr-ʿ.ṯ Brng t̄ st̄ w̄ḏ*).

ISACM E7008

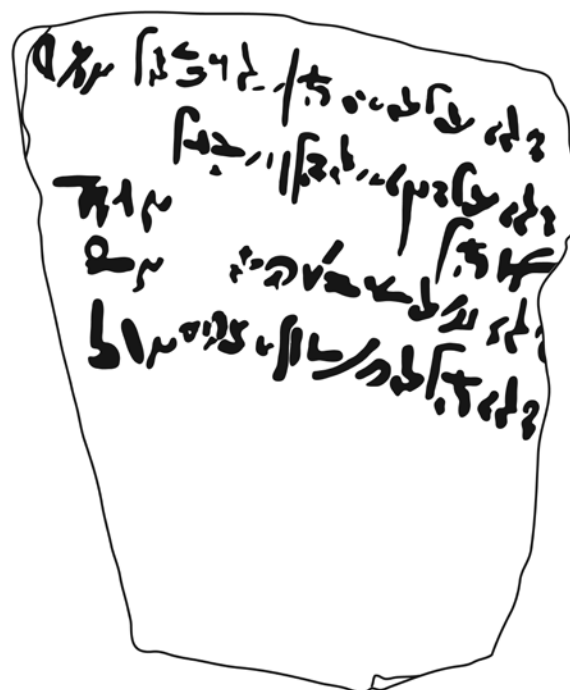
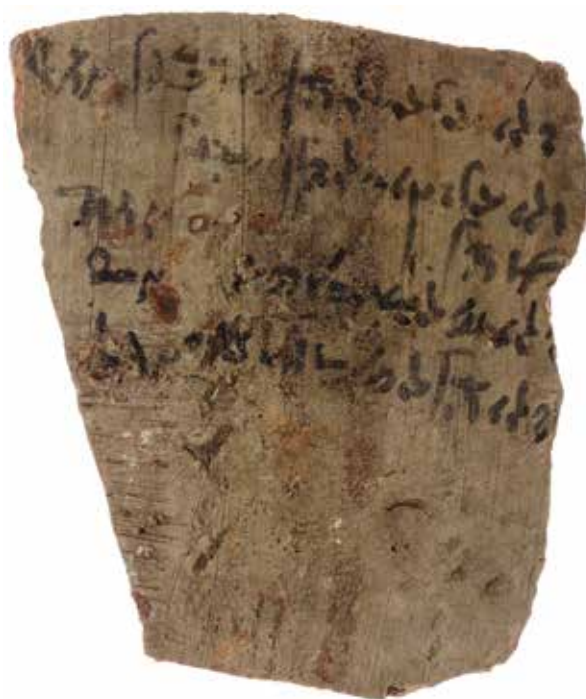
ISACM E7008 consists solely of the names of specific individuals accompanied by a column listing varying amounts of silver *deben*. Given that all the individuals named are women, it is tempting to link this ostrakon to the well-attested activities of the Theban choachytes, a group that included many women, or to another group of female temple staff. The archive of Thotsutmis (himself a choachyte) in the ISAC Museum collection contains a similar account (ISACM E19487) that names at least five women, although the associated

numbers on that sherd are quite low (1, 2, and 3, with no indication of what is being counted).⁴² In contrast, the amounts on ISACM E7008 are significantly higher (8, 11, 17, and 35, respectively) and are explicitly identified as *deben*.

Documentation produced by priestly associations has been studied by Andrew Monson, who describes these associations as such: “Priests or ordinary men and even women had opportunities to join various local associations, collecting and allocating resources for their own welfare outside of the temple’s administration.”⁴³ The amounts listed on ISACM E7008 could conceivably be the monthly dues owed by each individual (which differed based on one’s title within the association).⁴⁴ At Tebtunis in the second century BCE, 5 *deben* was the contribution fee paid at each meeting by a nontitled member (Demotic *mnḥ* “novice, youth”). An association account from Ghoran places a column containing the names of men alongside a column containing the names of women, with the female officeholders bearing the typical titles with the feminine “.t” added. Monson suggests that these two associations “were segregated by sex but closely connected so as to keep their accounts together.”⁴⁵ Admittedly, the fact that more than one individual seems to be named in the first and second lines of our ostrakon makes an identification as an association list less likely, unless each line represents groups of individuals holding the same office.

ISACM E7008
Account of silver
10.1 × 8.7 cm

Accession 63 (Ayer collection)
Mid- to late Ptolemaic (210–30 BCE)
Previously unpublished



42 See Muhs, Scalf, and Jay 2021, cat. no. 40, where it is noted, “That this account would contain such a high proportion of women is suggestive of a specific purpose—perhaps money lending between women (cf. the Coptic archive of Kolodje in Wilfong 1990; Wilfong 2002) or even an association of priestesses (cf. de Cenival 1977, pp. 6–12). Cf. NAVZ [North Abydos Votive Zone] ostrakon no. 12 (for women) and NAVZ Ostrakon no. 20 (for men with priestly titles, e.g., *ḥm-nṯr* and *mr-šn*) published in Jasnow and Pouls Wegner 2006–2007.”

43 Monson 2007, p. 181, and p. 182 for the Saite roots of the association of funerary workers at Djeme. See also the contribution by Moyer in this volume.

44 See Monson 2007, p. 189 table 4.

45 Monson 2007, p. 193.


| | | |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | <i>T3-šr.t-Dḥwty ta P3-šr-Mn P3-šr-pa-tm ḥd</i> 35 | Tasheretdjehuty, daughter of Pashermin, (and) Pasherpatem: 35 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| 2 | <i>T3-šr.t-Dḥwty t3 rmt.t P3-šr-ʿImn P3-mnh(?)</i> | Tasheretdjehuty, the wife of Pasheramun, Pamenekh(?), |
| 3 | <i>Ns-Mn ḥd</i> 17 | (and) Nesmin: 17 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| 4 | <i>ʿT3-šr.t-Ḥr ta Gpln ḥd</i> 8 | Tasherethor, daughter of Kephalon: 8 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| 5 | <i>T3-šr.t-Mn ta Hry=w p3 whē(?) ḥd</i> 11 | Tasheretmin, daughter of Heryu the fisherman: 11 silver <i>deben</i> . |

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES TO ISACM E7008

Line 2

If the correct reading here is indeed *P3-mnh*, this writing has only the two phonetic signs for *mnḥ* and not the *nfr* determinative and strokes found in the attestations of the name given by *Demot. Nb.*, p. 188.

Line 4

For the name  *Gpln* κερφάλων, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1021; TM Nam 3584.

Line 5

For  *whē* “fisherman,” cf. EG, p. 98. An alternative reading for the badly mutilated group following *Hry=w* could be *p3 ḥm* “the younger.”

ISACM E30029

ISACM E30029 records a series of amounts of silver paid by or to specific individuals. It takes the form of a “running” or “daybook” account listing specific transactions made on a number of dates, although the right edge of the sherd (where the dates themselves would have been recorded) has been lost. In such accounts, a running subtotal identified by the preposition *r* is provided at the end of each day, with the amount for a particular day being added to the subtotal given in the previous section. The ultimate intent for these running calculations would seem to be to make it easy to identify at the end of the record the total amount disbursed or taken in over a certain period of time.⁴⁶

The sherd preserves no concrete details that could be used to identify its original context or the reason for the transactions recorded here. It is most likely some kind of internal institutional record stemming from a temple, a bank, or a tax collector. Its running-account nature and the fact that it was written in Demotic on an ostrakon suggest that it was drawn up by an Egyptian employee of an institution as a kind of unofficial, intermediary, internal record.⁴⁷ As Brian Muhs has noted to us, the payments cluster around 20 *deben* (or 100 bronze drachmas) and 60 *deben* (or 300 bronze drachmas), amounts that fall in the range of payments for the late Ptolemaic capitation tax (required monthly from adult males; Andrew Monson has studied accounts from Karanis showing that in many cases numerous small installments of irregular amounts were paid throughout the month).⁴⁸ Near the end of the preserved section of this account, an individual named

46 P. Leiden RMO Inv. No. F 1974/7.52 preserves a fuller example of the “running” or “daybook” account form. Its Document B is an account of household expenses for the month of Hathyr with (nonrunning) subtotals at the end of each column and the total for the whole month at the end of the last column. See Muhs and Dieleman 2006.

47 See Eid 2018, p. 49.

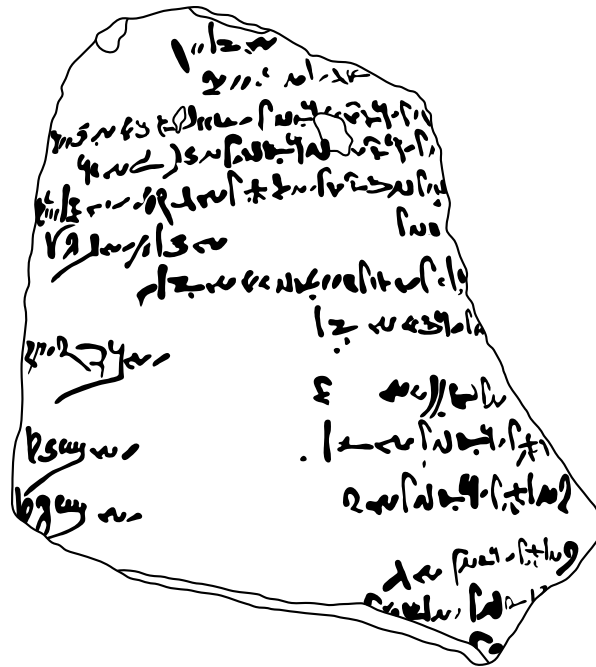
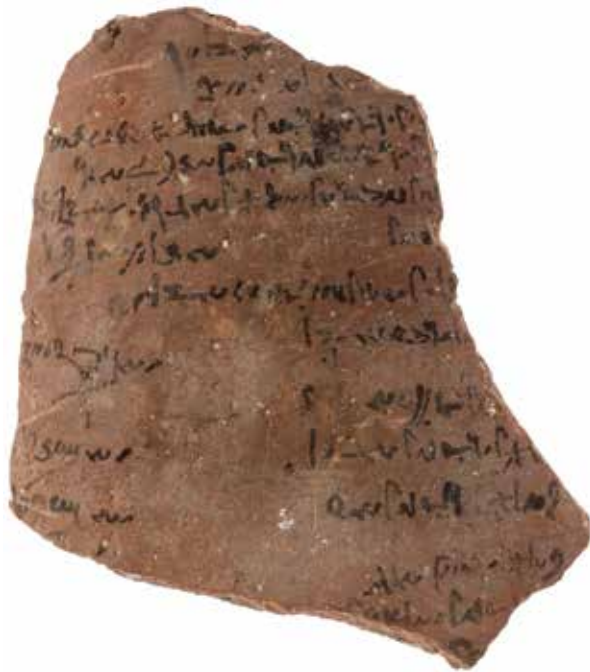
48 Monson 2014a, pp. 138–40; “according to one receipt [from Karanis] for the *syntaxis* of regnal year 11, the taxpayer paid 100 bronze drachmas on Hathyr 14, 80 bronze drachmas on Hathyr 23, and 120 bronze drachmas on Hathyr 27” (p. 139).

Petemin, son of Pamontu, makes or receives payments on three days (of 61, 50, and 10 *deben*, respectively). These could represent small installments paid for the same tax.

Alternatively, the transactions recorded here might be temple rations or loans given out by a bank or a temple acting as a bank.⁴⁹

ISACM E30029
Account of silver
17.0 × 16.5 cm

Accession 3447 (Epigraphic Survey)
Mid- to late Ptolemaic (210–30 BCE)
Previously unpublished



| | | |
|-----|---|---|
| x+1 | [...] <i>ḥd</i> 61 <i>qt</i> 1 | [...] 61.1 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+2 | [...] <i>ḥn</i> =w(?) <i>ḥd</i> 20 <i>qt</i> 5.t | [...] in them(?): 20.5 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+3 | [...] . . . <i>s3 Pa-nfr Pa-Mnt3 s3 G-d3d3 ḥd</i> 20 <i>qt</i> 2 | [...] . . . son of Panefer, (and) Pamontu, son of Gedjadja: 20.2 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+4 | [...] . . . <i>s3 Pa-nfr ḥn</i> (?) <i>Pa-Mnt3 p3 ḥm ḥd</i> 22 | [...] son of Panefer, together with(?) Pamontu, the younger: 22 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+5 | [...] . . . <i>ḥn</i> (?) <i>Wn-nfr s3 P3-šr-Mn ḥd</i> 19 <i>qt</i> (1?) <i>r ḥd</i> . . . [...] | [...] together with(?) Wennefer, son of Pashermin: 19.1 silver <i>deben</i> . (Sub)total: . . . silver <i>deben</i> |
| x+6 | [...] <i>M]nt3 [spatium] ḥd</i> 21 <i>qt</i> (1?) <i>r ḥd</i> 174 | [...] <i>Mo]ntu [spatium]:</i> 21.1 silver <i>deben</i> . (Sub)total: 174 silver <i>deben</i> . |

Moreover, among the receipts from Karanis, the “median installment was 100 [bronze] dr. and the median total per ostracon is 250 dr., ranging from 40 to 4000 dr.” See Monson 2014b, p. 210 (for this calculation, receipts for several different types of tax were lumped together). It was the reign of Augustus that witnessed the widespread shift from bronze decimal units to the silver standard.

49 One example of this kind of temple activity is provided by the wine accounts of the temple of Edfu on P. Carlsberg 409, in which some outpayments of wine reflect loans and some reflect salary payments to temple employees. See Schentuleit 2006. Another is an early Ptolemaic account of wheat from Nag’ El-Mashaykh published by Akeel, in which 40 *artabas* of wheat are distributed to a group of priests, likely as priestly rations. See Akeel 2019, pp. 8–12, no. 2, fig. 2.

| | | |
|------|--|--|
| x+7 | [. . . ?]y-m-htp(?) s3 Hnsw-t3y=f-nht hd 61 qt 4(?) [. . .] | [. . . I]mhotep(?), son of Khonsutayefnakht: 61.4(?) silver <i>deben</i> . . . |
| x+8 | [. . . Mn]f(?) s3 Pa-wn hd 61 r hd 289 qt (?) . . . | [. . . Mon]tu'(?), son of Pawen: 61 silver <i>deben</i> . (Sub)total: 289 . . . silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+9 | [. . . Mn]t (s3) Grr hd . . . (?) | [. . . Mon]tu, (son of) Gerer: . . . (?) silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+10 | [. . . P3]-ti-Mn s3 Pa-Mnt hd 61 r hd 423 [. . .] | [. . . Pe]temin, son of Pamontu: 61 silver <i>deben</i> . (Sub)total: 423 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+11 | [. . .] n P3-ti-Mn s3 Pa-Mnt hd 50 r hd 473 [. . .] | [. . .] Also for Petemin, son of Pamontu: 50 silver <i>deben</i> . (Sub)total: 473 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+12 | [. . .] n P3-ti-Mn s3 Pa-Mnt hd 10 | [. . .] Also for Petemin, son of Pamontu: 10 silver <i>deben</i> . |
| x+13 | [. . . P3]-ti-Mnt s3 P3-ti-Wsir [. . .] | [. . . Pe]te'montu, son of Petosiris [. . .] |
| x+14 | [. . .] . . . [. . .] | [. . .] . . . [. . .] |

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES TO ISACM E30029

Line x+5

The existing entries in lines x+1 to x+5 add up to 142.9 silver *deben*, and based on the following entry, the subtotal here should be 152.9. One possibility is to assume that the missing 10 *deben* amount was listed at the beginning of the account. However, we have found it difficult to interpret the preserved Demotic signs at the end of line x+5 as the expected 152 *deben*, 9 *kite*.

Line x+7

Where *kite* elsewhere on the sherd is written quite clearly with a dot/slash combination, the sign following the number “61” is a significantly thicker diagonal slash without the dot. The sign we have tentatively read “4(?)” is quite smudged.

Line x+8

The math seems to be off here. Even with the *kite* number in question in line x+7, the reading of the number “61” in both x+7 and x+8 is certain. Without the *kite*, the expected total is 296 rather than 289.

Line x+9

The variant writings of the name *Grr* attested in *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 995 and 1031 (cf. TM Nam 207), are *Qll* and *Grrw*. Based on the subtotals in lines x+8 and x+10, the number we expect in x+9 is 73. What we find, however, is a gap after the *hd* sign and then what looks like 5.t, but with the top hook of the 5 curving in the wrong direction.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| CDD | Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary . |
| <i>Demot. Nb.</i> | Erich Lüdeckens. <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980–2000. |
| EG | Wolja Erichsen. <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954. |
| ISAC | Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures |
| ISACM | Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures Museum (registration number) |
| ISACM DO | ISAC Museum Demotic Ostraca Online |
| O. | Ostrakon/Ostraca |
| P. (Dem.) | (Demotic) Papyrus |
| TM Arch | Trismegistos Archive |
| TM Nam | Trismegistos People Name identification number, https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/ |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Akeel, Maha
2019 “A Glimpse on the Site of Nag’ El-Mashaykh through Two Demotic Texts.” In *New Approaches in Demotic Studies: Acts of the 13th International Conference of Demotic Studies*, edited by Franziska Naether, pp. 1–13. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Černý, Jaroslav, and Alan H. Gardiner
1957 *Hieratic Ostraca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Clarysse, Willy
1993 “Some Egyptian Tax-Payers in Early Roman Thebes.” *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 23: 33–41.
- Clarysse, Willy, and Eddy Lanciers
1989 “Currency and the Dating of Demotic and Greek Papyri from the Ptolemaic Period.” *Ancient Society* 20: 117–32.
- de Cenival, Françoise
1977 “Deux papyrus inédits de Lille avec une révision du P. dém. Lille 31.” *Enchoria* 7: 1–49.
- Depauw, Mark
1997 *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. Papyrologica Bruxellensia 28. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth.
- Eid, Eid Nagy
2018 “Demotic Accounts: Some Notes on the Form and Content.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 54: 45–70.
- Hayden, Brittany
2018 “Price Formation and Fluctuation in Ptolemaic Egypt.” PhD diss., University of Chicago.
- Janssen, Jac. J.
1994 “Debts and Credit in the New Kingdom.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 80: 129–36.
- Jasnow, Richard, and Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner
2006–7 “Demotic Ostraca from North Abydos.” *Enchoria* 30: 21–52.
- Kaplony-Heckel, Ursula
2009 *Land und Leute am Nil nach demotischen Inschriften, Papyri und Ostraka*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 71. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
2019 “Der Acker-Ausweis des Pasemis und sein früh römisches Archiv. Anhang: *hn n3 rmt.w n NN s3 NN*.” In *Akten der 8. Internationalen Konferenz für Demotische Studien, Würzburg 27.–30. August 2002*, edited by Karl-Theodor Zauzich, pp. 64–91. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lichtheim, Miriam

1957 *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. Oriental Institute Publications 80. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Lippert, Sandra

2019 "Demotic Loans with Mortgage in Their Legal-Historical Context: From the Ptolemaic Period 'Kaufpfand-urkunde' to the Roman Period Bilingual Loan with Mortgage." In *Debt in Ancient Mediterranean Societies—a Documentary Approach: Legal Documents in Ancient Societies VII, Paris, August 27–29, 2015*, edited by Sophie Démare-Lafont, pp. 123–52. Hautes études orientales 56. Moyen et Proche-Orient 8. Geneva: Droz.

Lorber, Catharine

2017 "The Price (*Timē*) of the Silver State in Ptolemaic Egypt." *Ancient Society* 47: 19–61.

Monson, Andrew

2007 "Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts." In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum: Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology, Lecce, June 8th–10th 2005*, edited by Mario Capasso and Paola Davoli, pp. 181–96. Papyrologica Lupiensia 14. Galatina: Congedo.

2014a "Late Ptolemaic Capitation Taxes and the Poll Tax in Roman Egypt." *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 51: 127–60.

2014b "Receipts for *sitōnion*, *syntaxis*, and *epistatikon* from Karanis: Evidence for Fiscal Reform in Augustan Egypt?" *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 191: 207–30.

Muhs, Brian P.

2005 *Tax Receipts, Taxpayers, and Taxes in Early Ptolemaic Thebes*. Oriental Institute Publications 126. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

2010 "A Late Ptolemaic *Grapheion* Archive in Berkeley." In *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007*, edited by Traianos Gagos, pp. 581–88. American Studies in Papyrology. Ann Arbor: Scholarly Publishing Office, University of Michigan Library.

2014/15 "More Papyri from the Archive of Panas Son of Espemetis." *Enchoria* 34: 89–103.

Muhs, Brian P., and Jacco Dieleman

2006 "A Bilingual Account from Late Ptolemaic Tebtunis (P. Leiden RMO Inv. No. F 1974/7.52)." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 133: 56–65.

Muhs, Brian P., Foy D. Scalf, and Jacqueline E. Jay

2021 *The Archive of Thotsutmis, Son of Panouphis: Early Ptolemaic Ostraca from Deir el Bahari (O. Edgerton)*. Oriental Institute Publications 146. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Nur el-Din, M. A.

1987 "Some Demotic Ostraca from the Petrie Museum, University College London." *Enchoria* 15: 39–45.

Parker, Richard A.

1941 "A Late Demotic Gardening Agreement: Medinet Habu Ostrakon 4038." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26: 84–113.

Pestman, Pieter Willem

1971 "Loans Bearing No Interest?" *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 16–17: 7–29.

Ritner, Robert K.

2004 "A Selection of Demotic Ostraca in the Detroit Institute of Arts." In *Res Severa Verum Gaudium: Festschrift für Karl-Theodor Zauzich zum 65. Geburtstag am 8. Juni 2004*, edited by Friedhelm Hoffmann and Heinz Josef Thissen, pp. 487–508, pls. XL–XLI. Leuven: Peeters.

2008 "Oriental Institute Museum Notes No. 15: A Coptic Lintel from Qustul." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67: 107–15.

2016 "Oriental Institute Museum Notes 16: Two Egyptian Clepsydrae (OIM E16875 and A7125)." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 75: 361–89.

Scalf, Foy D.

2012 "The Role of Birds within the Religious Landscape of Ancient Egypt." In *Between Heaven and Earth: Birds in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Rozenn Bailleul-LeSuer, pp. 36–39. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 35. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

- 2015 “Resurrecting an Ibis Cult: Demotic Votive Texts from the Oriental Institute Museum of the University of Chicago.” In *Mélanges Ola el-Aguizy*, edited by Faiza Haykal, pp. 361–88. Bibliothèque d’étude 164. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- 2022 “Oriental Institute Museum Notes No. 17: An Abydos Setting for a Stela of Osiris Sety I.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 81: 85–98.
- Scalf, Foy D., and Jacqueline E. Jay
- 2014 “Oriental Institute Demotic Ostraca Online (OIDOO): Merging Text Publication and Research Tools.” In *Acts of the Tenth International Congress of Demotic Studies, Leuven, 26–30 August 2008*, edited by M. Depauw, Y. Broux, and W. Clarysse, pp. 239–57. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 231. Leuven: Peeters.
- Schentuleit, Maren
- 2006 *Aus der Buchhaltung des Weinmagazins im Edfu-Tempel: Der demotische P. Carlsberg 409*. The Carlsberg Papyri 9. CNI Publications 32. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Vandorpe, Katelijn
- 2019 “Commodity Loans Bearing 50% Interest? Local Variations in Ptolemaic Contracts.” In *Debt in Ancient Mediterranean Societies: A Documentary Approach. Legal Documents in Ancient Societies VII, Paris, August 27–29, 2015*, edited by Sophie Démare-Lafont, pp. 111–22. *Hautes études orientales* 56. *Moyen et Proche-Orient* 8. Geneva: Droz.
- von Reden, Sitta
- 2007 *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt: From the Macedonian Conquest to the End of the Third Century BC*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wilfong, Terry G.
- 1990 “The Archive of a Family of Moneylenders from Jême.” *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 27: 169–81.
- 2002 *Women of Jeme: Lives in a Coptic Town in Late Antique Egypt*. New Texts from Ancient Cultures. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

9 ASSORTED OBSERVATIONS ON INHERITANCE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Janet H. Johnson
University of Chicago

I AM HAPPY TO OFFER this token of my esteem for Robert Ritner as a colleague and for Robert's many and wide contributions to our understanding of this complex ancient civilization. I wish I could provide an interesting observation on Egyptian religion or publish a small Egyptian religious text in his honor, reflecting his special interest and expertise in explicating Egyptian religion. But that being beyond my power, instead I hope the following incomplete set of observations on inheritance in ancient Egypt will be of some interest.¹

We tend to think of inheritance as a simple, rather "fixed" distribution of property from one generation to the next when, after the death of (one member of) the older generation, his/her property is divided among his/her heirs, following his/her wishes. These wishes may have been spelled out before his/her death, orally or in writing. For example, in year 5 of Darius (517 BCE), a Theban choachyte of the valley wrote a document² naming his (apparently newborn) daughter Ruru (equal) coheir of all his property³ with any and all other children of his, born or to be born. At the same time, his wife Tsenhor⁴ wrote transfer documents to her son, apparently an older son by a previous marriage, and this same (newborn) daughter (P. Bib Nat 216 and 217⁵), giving each of them half of her property,⁶ including what she had inherited from her father and mother, while entailing an equal share for future children "who will live." Almost twenty years later, in year 24 of Darius (498 BCE), the father wrote a new document⁷ naming this daughter Ruru and his son Iretuerow, who was born subsequent to the document of year 5, as equal co-heirs of all his property.

1 I wish to thank and acknowledge Brian Muhs for several stimulating comments that have improved this essay.

2 P. BM 10120B; Pestman 1994, pp. 50–52, no. 4.

3 "All structures, land, servants, silver, copper, cloth(ing), barley, emmer, cattle, donkeys, small cattle, every legal document, every kind of property at all, . . . together with my commissions as choachyte and as shrine-opener of the mountain."

4 Type B marriage contract P. BM 10120A; Pestman 1994, pp. 46–49, no. 3. Note that the marriage contract and the husband's donation to the daughter are written on the same piece of papyrus, with the marriage contract dated two months prior to the donation document.

5 Pestman 1994, pp. 53–56, no. 5; pp. 57–59, no. 6. Both of these documents are dated to the same month as the property transfer from father to daughter.

6 "In field, temple, town, houses, land, servants, silver, copper, cloth, wheat, emmer, cattle, donkey(s), tombs (literally 'place(s) of the mountain'), any property at all."

7 P. Turin 2126; Pestman 1994, pp. 80–81, no. 13.

Although ancient Egyptians do not seem to have written wills as such,⁸ from our earliest preserved texts⁹ we have evidence of concern for inheritance, from the point of view of both taking care of one's children and keeping wealth in the family. It has been suggested that, as with other aspects of Egyptian law,¹⁰ there was a "normal" way of doing things, for which no legal documents needed to be executed. But if an individual or family wanted to do something other than the norm, that is, to go against convention, the appropriate legal document was prepared. In the case of inheritance, a "transfer document," the form of which changed through time, was composed to achieve what was desired.

Even if the older generation had not put its intentions in writing, there may have been an unwritten, even unspoken, understanding between parents and children that the former would leave (most of) their estate to the latter. In ancient Egypt, there were two common scenarios for this division of the parental estate. Residual primogeniture often led to the eldest son getting all the estate¹¹ or, far more frequently, receiving an extra share of the estate, frequently said to reimburse him for his expenses in carrying out his responsibility to provide a suitable funeral and ongoing funerary offerings for his parents.¹² In other cases, a generally equitable division of the parental estate(s) among all the children seems to have occurred, and all the children were felt to have responsibility toward the proper funerary memorialization of the parents.¹³

It should be noted that, in some cases, part of a person's inheritance might be distributed before his/her death. This is frequently true with the portion of her parents' estate(s) that a woman got for her dowry. And once the dowry was given to the daughter and she gave it to her new husband, the original donor(s)—the parent(s)—were not able to ensure it was always used as they would have preferred. For example, in a Ptolemaic document,¹⁴ two children claimed their mother had died and their father had kept her dowry (which should have been returned to her family¹⁵ or, at least, used to support her children), and they were now outcasts from his home, where he had a new wife and family. The very interesting example in P. Rylands 9¹⁶ reflects a situation where the new young family's fortunes remained intertwined with those

8 For examples of Ptolemaic-period wills written in Greek, see those of Dryton (mid-second century BCE), a cavalryman from the polis of Ptolemais who later was stationed in the city of Pathyris. While living in Ptolemais, he married a fellow Greek citizen and wrote a will in her name that is, unfortunately, badly preserved. They subsequently divorced or she died, and he took his son by her with him when he was stationed in Pathyris. There he married a woman from an Egyptianized Cyrenaean family whose father was in the same military detachment as Dryton. At that time, he wrote a second will leaving half his estate (and his military equipment) to his son by his first marriage and the other half to any children of the new marriage. About twenty-five years later, apparently as he neared death, Dryton wrote a third will leaving half his estate to his son by his first marriage and the other half to his five daughters by his second marriage (in addition to dowries paid at least for the three older girls), while imposing on the children the maintenance of his second wife for four years (if she remained in his home, i.e., did not take up with a new man) and on the two youngest daughters her maintenance for as many as eleven years. Dryton also acknowledged his wife's ownership of various properties acquired while married to him, indicating she had independent wealth, further attested in various loan documents she made in the course of her "career" as a businesswoman. See Vandorpe 2002, esp. pp. 26–44.

9 See, e.g., the early Fourth Dynasty tomb inscription of Metjen (*Urk. I*, pp. 1–7), whose mother transferred land to him using an *imy.t-pr* document (*Urk. I*, p. 2/9–10). See Philip-Stéphan 2005, p. 274, quoting Menu and Harari 1974, esp. p. 140.

10 See Muhs 2017.

11 Although sometimes with the responsibility of transferring individual parcels to his siblings, as described in the so-called Hermopolis Legal Code (Mattha and Hughes 1975, cols. VIII/30–IX/26), providing rules for dealing with inheritance if a person died intestate, and as is found, e.g., in P. Turin 2125, 2127 (Pestman 1994, pp. 77–79, no. 12; pp. 88–89, no. 16), in which Tsenhor's eldest brother sorted the inheritance from the siblings' parents.

12 See, e.g., Pestman 1993, p. 117. See also Baines and Lacovara 2002, p. 11.

13 Of course, individual variations on distribution of possessions and responsibilities to parents show up; see, e.g., P. Amherst 60A; Pestman 1993, pp. 116–17, no. 29.

14 P. BM 10845; Hughes 1969.

15 So argued by Kaplony-Heckel 1963, pp. 63–65, no. 23, concerning O. BM 32012 (Ptolemy VIII, year 29), where the family of a deceased bride apparently wanted her dowry to be returned to them.

16 Griffith 1909; Vittmann 1998.

of the wife's parents, thereby allowing modification of the dowry while the parent(s) were still alive.¹⁷ In this text, a priest, originally connected to the religious center of Thebes, identified a good potential son-in-law (with the right connections), invited him home to meet his wife and daughter, and encouraged the young couple to get to know each other; when, a year later, the priest deemed the daughter old enough to wed, the couple married. The daughter was given the family home in the rather provincial town where the family had been living, as well as a portion of the income from the local temple, where the new husband assumed cult responsibilities. The rest of the family, parents and siblings, then moved to the important urban center of Thebes. But when the young couple's sons were murdered by the locals, who were jealous of their receipt of income from the local temple, the father/patriarch used his clout to smooth over relations between the family and the locals, and then, since his grandsons had been killed and were no longer available to inherit the temple office and income, the patriarch sent one of his sons, with his family, to take over the temple position and the larger family interests in the provincial town. The daughter and her husband and family could help carry out the "family business" as long as the grandsons were available to inherit the temple position and income, but the daughter lost that part of her dowry with their murder. Although the temple position and income did not return to the parents' estate, it remained within the family and reflected a modified inheritance plan.

Predeath transfer of property also happened when a man retired and transferred his job to his son. During the Middle Kingdom, in year 39 of Amenemhat III, a man named Mery, called Kebi, wrote an *imy.t-pr* transfer document¹⁸ immediately giving his son Intef, called Iuseneb, his job as phylarch and naming him his "staff of old age," while revoking an earlier transfer document made to the son's mother.¹⁹ In the document of year 39 he also transferred (ownership of) his house and everything in it to his children by Nebet-Nenninysut, the daughter of the attendant of the magistrate of the district Sobekemhat. Since the name of the mother of Intef, called Iuseneb, is not given, two scenarios seem possible. In the first scenario, the man making the *imy.t-pr* (Mery, called Kebi) was married only once. Before his son was born or while he was young, the father wrote an *imy.t-pr* document for his wife transferring his property, or at least his job, to this wife, for her support, if he were to die. When his son had (been born and) grown up, the father revoked the future transfer to support the wife in favor of an immediate transfer to the son, who would carry out the job (and be responsible to support his mother). The father then specified that all his children, including all younger siblings of Intef, called Iuseneb, would share in the inheritance of his house and movables. In a second scenario, the man's first, unnamed wife died or the man and this first (unnamed) wife divorced; the man remarried, this time to the daughter of a local official; and after they had children, he formalized the distribution of his property to the children of the two marriages. The eldest son got his job; his younger children got his house and property. It can be assumed that every child retained the responsibility to support his/her mother. It is possible that those who assume the second scenario—death or divorce of the first wife, remarriage, and two separate families—do so specifically because the name of the mother of Intef, called Iuseneb, is avoided.

By the Late Period, so-called donation documents could be used to transfer property before death. For example, in P. Louvre N 3263, dated to year 7 of Ptolemy IV (215 BCE), a man gives his daughter real property (part of a house actually purchased by her mother, who signs off on the transfer of ownership, as well as burial places to be serviced), saying, "I give to you (fem.) . . . [A and B]. I give them to you; they belong to you."²⁰

17 This example may also provide an at least partial explanation for the "negotiations" within a family exposed in O. Berlin 10629, discussed below.

18 P. UC 32037 (lot VII.1), published by Griffith 1898, vol. 1, pp. 29–31; vol. 2, p. 11; Collier and Quirke 2004, pp. 100–101; see also Quirke 2007.

19 Which Eyre 2007, p. 232, identified as a standard settlement associated with marriage and the production of an heir, not a will in the modern sense.

20 Muhs 2010, lines 3 and 9.

But in most cases, inheritance did not take effect until the parent died. Thus, in theory, as long as parents were alive, changes could be made to the distribution of their property, heirs could be changed,²¹ the items distributed could be changed, percentages could be changed, and so forth. Thus, interpersonal dynamics could lead to changes through time in the terms of distribution of a person's estate. For instance, in a Ramesside period case²² from the workmen's village of Deir el-Medina²³ on the Theban west bank, a man promised his daughter that, if her husband kicked her out of his house, he, her father, would give her his storeroom, which he himself had built (and which thus did not belong to the state), to live in. Thus he envisioned the possibility of giving her a specific element of his estate, his storeroom, if, as a result of unfortunate interpersonal interactions/dynamics, she needed a place to live. By contrast, it is frequently assumed that when a father or mother subscribed to his/her son's marriage document,²⁴ whereby the son promised to support his new wife and, in his turn, provide for and pass along his wealth to his own children, the father/mother was formally accepting this son's marriage and would not use it as an excuse to disinherit him (and thereby his wife).

Another New Kingdom example from Deir el-Medina may reflect ongoing "negotiations" (so Skumsnes²⁵) about an inheritance. Ostrakon Berlin 10629²⁶ records the text of an oracle submitted to Amenhotep, the patron deity of Deir el-Medina, in which a woman complained that her mother was causing her to quarrel with her siblings (literally, her "brothers") about copper and sacks of grain. The details are unclear, but apparently a woman gave some copper to her daughter²⁷ but then took it back to buy a (more valuable) mirror. The daughter went to the oracle and asked for an evaluation in *dbn* of all the metal (perhaps to know how much extra she should get from her mother's estate to make up for the copper that was repossessed). The daughter then mentioned an incomplete payment of grain that the daughter's father²⁸ had given to her husband; the copper may originally have been intended to make up the difference in the amount of grain paid. If, indeed, the daughter was asking the oracle for this evaluation as a claim against her mother's estate, it would be this fighting over the estate that precipitated the quarrel with her siblings.

In one scenario, the petitioner's brothers/siblings persuaded their mother to take back the copper objects and exchange them for something of higher value that, by implication, belonged to the family, not one particular child. The purpose of the oracle request would, then, be to get affirmation of the amount of money the petitioner felt was owed to her—that is, the petitioner was staking her claim to the "extra" inheritance by calling on the god to support her, and as a bonus she would get an impartial evaluation of the worth of the goods. An alternative scenario would take the statement that the petitioner got the objects from a scribe named Pentawere²⁹ to indicate that they did not come originally from the mother, so the petitioner should not have to share their value with her brothers/siblings.³⁰ Following discussion of the text, Skumsnes³¹ concluded that "inheritance/sharing of property was not straightforward but was subject to constant negotiation. Parents might have favourites among their children, and parents might be open to

21 See, e.g., Pestman 1987, pp. 60–61.

22 O. Petrie 61; Černý and Gardiner 1957, p. 7, pl. 23/4; Wentz 1990, no. 199.

23 Where the men were employed by the state to work on the tombs of the kings and members of the royal family and where the state provided housing for its employees.

24 E.g., P. BM 10593; Thompson 1934, pp. 67–70.

25 Skumsnes 2018, pp. 221–24, case study no. 11.

26 Černý 1927, pp. 177–78; see, *inter alia*, studies cited by Allam 1973, pp. 27–29, no. 7; Skumsnes 2018, pp. 221–24, case study no. 11; and Sweeney 2008, pp. 161–64.

27 Because of a confusion of pronouns, it is unclear whether the copper objects the woman gave to her daughter had been given by the daughter's father (through the mother) or by the mother's father and passed along to the daughter.

28 Sweeney 2008, p. 162, suggests that since the father was not involved in the discussions, he may have died.

29 Assumed to be the woman's father in scenario 1.

30 See discussion by Sweeney 2008, pp. 162–64.

31 Skumsnes 2018, p. 223. After considering various scenarios to explain the gift of grain from the father to the woman's husband, Skumsnes suggests (p. 223) "that the division of family property was not just a matter of keeping property within the family, but also about sharing the right amount of property, in order to attract new and favorable family members—family

manipulation. Prior agreements could be changed in an instant by the remaining parties. . . . It is also clear that parties that lacked support within the family household could seek and possibly find support for their claim elsewhere, the oracle being one such outside possibility.”

Perhaps the most famous case of someone clearly changing his/her mind about which of his/her children should inherit, and/or how much said children should inherit, is that of Naunakht,³² who also lived in Deir el-Medina. She had married twice. As a young woman she married a much older important man in the village, the scribe Qenherkhepeshef, one of the three “captains” of the work gang. It may be that he adopted her at some point during their marriage, because at his death she inherited some of his valuable property, including his archive of literary papyri.³³ After his death, she married a regular workman on the royal tombs. They had eight children, the eldest son named after her first husband (and the heir, through Naunakht, of some of that husband’s papyrus collection). When she reached old age, she decided that some of the children were not supporting her as they should, and so she decided to disinherit them from what she had inherited from her father and her first husband,³⁴ although they would continue to inherit from their own father. She wrote up a document, and she, her husband, and their children went to court to make her inheritance decisions a public record.

In addition to negotiations among family members, we also have examples of documents used to establish otherwise unconventional heirs. The so-called Adoption Papyrus, a New Kingdom document from Middle Egypt,³⁵ specifically records a man in a childless marriage adopting his wife so that she could inherit from him. In the first portion of this text, dated to the accession of Ramesses XI, the man legally adopted his wife and bequeathed to her all his property.³⁶ Almost twenty years later, the wife/widow/daughter recorded having bought a slave woman together with her husband and raising the three children born to that slave woman (plausibly fathered by the husband) “like her children.”³⁷ She set the three slave children free and adopted her (much) younger brother, who married the older of the two (former slave) girls. She designated these four to inherit all her property and handed over all matters to her younger brother/son, who thereby became the new “head of household” taking care of his sister/mother, his new wife, and her younger siblings.

Papyrus Turin 2021³⁸ also involves a man adopting his wife, but in this case it was his second wife whom he adopted, to guarantee that she inherited alongside his children from his first marriage. The man, the second wife, and the children by the first wife appeared in court before the vizier and agreed to the arrangements the man had made for distribution of his property.³⁹ Two precedents for distribution of one’s property through inheritance were cited: “Pharaoh, l.p.h., says, (1) ‘Let every man do his desire/what he wants with his property!’⁴⁰ and (2) ‘Give the *sfr*⁴¹ of every woman to her!’” The vizier questioned the chil-

members who came from wealthy backgrounds and were already property owners. As such, the ultimate aim of sharing property with a son-in-law could actually be to expand on existing family property.”

32 P. Ashmolean 1945.95 and 97; Černý 1945.

33 Qenherkhepeshef had no children, Naunakht was young enough to be his child, and she took care of him as though she were his child. See Eyre 1992, p. 219 with n. 8, and the discussion of the Adoption Papyrus below.

34 P. Ashmolean 1945.95 and 97, A 4/9–12: “As for all the property of the scribe Qenherkhepeshef, my (first) husband, and likewise his structures and this storeroom of my father, and likewise this *oipe* of emmer which I collected with my husband, they will not divide it.”

35 P. Ashmolean 1945.96, from Spermeru, was published by Gardiner (1941). Among the extensive secondary literature discussing this text, see especially Eyre 1992 and Donker van Heel 2016–17, as well as literature cited therein.

36 The man’s sister served as one of the witnesses of the document.

37 “I having no son or daughter except them” (lines 19–20).

38 Černý and Peet 1927; see also Allam 1973, vol. 1, pp. 320–27; vol. 2, pp. 113–19, no. 280; Eyre 2007; Skumsnes 2018, pp. 262–68, case study no. 19; and bibliography cited therein.

39 He had already given his two-thirds of the joint property from his first marriage to the children of that marriage.

40 Presumably his private property, not the joint property owned with a wife.

41 For the meaning of this term, see the extensive discussions cited by Allam 1973, vol. 1, p. 324 n. 28. By context it seems to refer to a woman’s interest in a couple’s joint property, since it is used to explain why a man cannot share with the children

dren of the first wife, pressing them so hard that it almost seems he was trying to find antagonism to the second wife rather than their simple acceptance of/satisfaction with the arrangements, and he then had a copy of the decree recorded in the office of the great court of the city (of Thebes).⁴²

By the Late Period it became somewhat common for a man to use the form of a normal sale document (*sh db3 hd* “document concerning money”) to transfer his job (including the position of choachyte and its related job responsibilities and income) or wealth (both movables and immovables such as land and structures) to his wife or to his children, frequently with the proviso that they must take care of him in his old age, provide a proper funeral for him, and so on. See, for example, the archive of the woman Neskhonsu, who received her husband’s property via a sale document in return for caring for him in his old age and ensuring his proper embalming and burial (P. Louvre 2429 bis⁴³) and who subsequently, after her husband’s death, wrote sale documents transferring the property to their two sons (P. BM 10026⁴⁴ to the elder son; P. Louvre 2424⁴⁵ to the younger son). She retained control of one-tenth of the “choachytal” income as long as she lived, even after transferring the work to her sons; likewise, she required of them provision of a proper funeral after her death.

But in the Late Period, a distinction was made between usufruct (use) of property (carrying out the responsibilities of a job and receiving payment for doing so) and ownership of the property. A so-called “sale” document had to be accompanied by a “cession” (*sh n wy* “document of being far”) to transfer legal ownership.⁴⁶ In a simple sale, the two documents were made at the same time,⁴⁷ even on the same sheet of papyrus.⁴⁸ But a “document concerning money” (a sale document) could also be made, for instance, when the owner of a piece of property used it as collateral to take out a mortgage on the property; in this case, no cession was made at the time of taking out the mortgage. When the borrower repaid the loan, the sale document was canceled (by crossing it out) and returned to the borrower.⁴⁹ But if the borrower did not repay the loan—that is, defaulted—he then had to write a cession document to the lender.⁵⁰ Thus, only if the borrower lost ownership of the property due to failure to repay the loan was a cession made, thereby transferring legal title from the borrower to the lender. The documents transferring property to a person’s family, in return for care in old age and proper burial, were not accompanied by such a cession, indicating that the original owner remained the legal owner even though he/she had transferred “use,” including responsibility for carrying out a job or paying taxes on land, to his/her relative.⁵¹ And so the original owner of the property could, in theory, change his/her mind (if the inheritor did not act according to the owner’s will) and cancel the transfer or replace it with a new one with new terms or a new heir.

of his first wife any of his property owned jointly with his second wife.

42 There are numerous problems involved in understanding the full significance of this text and extensive bibliography discussing this case; for further discussion both of this particular text and of the whole question of “wife adoption” in the New Kingdom, see Donker van Heel 2016–17.

43 Zauzich 1968, pp. 14–15, no. 5.

44 Andrews 1990, pp. 16–22, no. 1.

45 Zauzich 1968, pp. 17–21, no. 11.

46 See Pestman 1961, p. 123. For discussion of sales, cessions, and other “instruments of transfer,” see Manning 1995; Manning also notes the use of “cession documents” to clarify title to property after a court decision, when the loser in court had to provide the winner with such a document.

47 E.g., P. Mainz 7 (ε) + P. Mainz 6 (δ) (P. Erbstreit 2+3), sale and cession of 35 arouras of “high” agricultural land; Vandorpe and Vleeming 2017, pp. 50–62.

48 P. Hauswaldt 3, sale and cession of land growing sycamore trees and palm trees; Manning 1997, pp. 45–52.

49 For an example of such a crossed-out loan document, see P. Louvre E 3228 etiq. B carton E (Donker van Heel 2021, pp. 93–101, photo on p. 94).

50 E.g., P. Louvre 2438, cession by a man who failed to repay his mortgage on his half of a house; Zauzich 1968, pp. 81–84, no. 109.

51 But in earlier periods, when the exact same (types of) documents seem to have been used for immediate transfer of ownership as for inheritance, when did transfer of ownership actually take place? Can one assume transfer took place only after death?

The New Kingdom example from P. Turin 2021 mentioned above calls attention to a general situation that would regularly have prompted reconsideration of the distribution of one's estate: entrance into a second marriage. Most of our evidence concerns men who married for a second time, either after the death of their first wife or after a divorce. In either case, the man had now to reorganize his inheritance plans to (convince the children by his first wife to) include children born to the new marriage (as well as any provisions made for the second wife herself). In P. Turin 2021, the parties involved went to court to have their plans confirmed. By the Late Period, many marriage documents reflected second, or successive, marriages because the support guaranteed the woman was said to be one-third (or some other share) of the man's property—the rest already entailed for children of the preceding marriage(s).

A well-known example is the Family Archive from Siut,⁵² a collection of documents from the reign of Ptolemy VI—both individual legal documents and the long record (P. BM 10591, dated to year 11 of Ptolemy VI, or 170 BCE) of the court case brought by the wife of the son of the first marriage against the son of the second marriage, claiming her father-in-law had no legal right to give one-third of his property to the children of the second marriage because everything had been promised by her husband to her and to their children. After the two parties made their presentations and rebuttals, the younger son was told to bring the marriage document his father had made for his mother, secured by the one-third of his property, and the division document his older brother had made to him. They were read into the court record, including the older son's formal acceptance of the marriage contract for the second wife and the daughter-in-law's formal acceptance of the division document. The court found in favor of the son/children of the second marriage because the father had gotten the son of the first marriage and his wife to sign off on the documents giving property to the son of the second marriage.

Thus, one should think of inheritance not as “fixed” but flexible; indeed, in at least some cases it can even be seen as negotiation,⁵³ with the generations working together (or, when things did not go so well, manipulating each other) to get what they wanted. The members of the older generation got someone to carry out their job and keep it in the family, as well as someone to take care of them in their old age and after death; the younger generation got the family wealth in a way that helped preserve the family, its fortune, its position, and so on. In many or perhaps most cases the decisions were public knowledge, recorded in public court documents or detailed in assorted legal documents recorded with the state. All knew where they stood and, apparently, frequently had a chance to influence the final decisions.⁵⁴ This is quite unlike the classic modern drama of reading the final will and testament of the recently deceased (American) patriarch/matriarch who has kept his/her children in ignorance of “who gets what” in order to keep them all under his/her thumb and hoping to get some/more of the patriarch's/matriarch's wealth after his/her death.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---------------|---|
| fem. | feminine |
| O. | Ostrakon |
| P. | Papyrus |
| <i>Urk. I</i> | Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> . <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903 |

⁵² Thompson 1934.

⁵³ See O. Berlin 10629; Skumsnes 2018.

⁵⁴ It can also be noted that the younger generation seems to have retained the right to re-sort inheritance, there being numerous papyri by which relatives, including siblings, “switched” property they had inherited, sometimes using a “division document” (e.g., P. Hauswaldt 5 [Manning 1997, pp. 56–62], between uncle and niece; P. Rendell [Hughes and Jasnow 1997, pp. 63–70], between brothers; P. BM 10227 [Andrews 1990, pp. 50–52, no. 15], between nephew and uncle), while in other cases using a variety of document types (e.g., donations, P. BM 10827, 10829 [Andrews 1990, pp. 48–50, no. 14; pp. 55–57, no. 18]; cessions, P. Louvre E 3266 [de Cenival 1972], between siblings).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allam, Schafik
1973 *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Tübingen: Selbstverlag.
- Andrews, Carol A. R.
1990 *Ptolemaic Legal Texts from the Theban Area*. Catalogue of Demotic Papyri in the British Museum 4. London: British Museum.
- Baines, John, and Peter Lacovara
2002 "Burial and the Dead in Ancient Egyptian Society: Respect, Formalism, Neglect." *Journal of Social Archaeology* 2: 5–36.
- Černý, Jaroslav
1927 "Le culte d'Amenophis I^{er} chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 27: 159–203.
1945 "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 31: 29–53.
- Černý, Jaroslav, and Alan H. Gardiner
1957 *Hieratic Ostraca*. Vol. 1. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Černý, Jaroslav, and T. Eric Peet
1927 "A Marriage Settlement of the Twentieth Dynasty: An Unpublished Document from Turin." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 13: 30–39.
- Collier, Mark, and Stephen Quirke
2004 *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*. BAR International Series 1209. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- de Cenival, Françoise
1972 "Un acte de renonciation consécutif à un partage de revenus liturgiques memphites (P. Louvre E 3266)." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 71: 11–65.
- Donker van Heel, Koen
2016–17 "When Your Wife Becomes Your Daughter: Adoption in New Kingdom Egypt." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society "Ex Oriente Lux"* 46: 75–86.
2021 *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste Son of Peteamunip (Floruit 7th Century BCE)*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 38. Leiden: Brill.
- Eyre, Christopher
1992 "The Adoption Papyrus in Social Context." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78: 207–21.
2007 "The Evil Stepmother and the Rights of the Second Wife." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 93: 223–43.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
1941 "Adoption Extraordinary." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 26: 23–29.
- Griffith, F. Ll.
1909 *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Griffith, F. Ll., ed.
1898 *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom)*. 2 vols. London: Bernard Quaritch.
- Hughes, George
1969 "The Cruel Father." In *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson, September 12, 1969*, edited by Gerald E. Kadish, pp. 43–54. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 35. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Hughes, George, and Richard Jasnow
1997 *Oriental Institute Hawara Papyri*. Oriental Institute Publications 113. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Kaplony-Heckel, Ursula
1963 *Die demotischen Tempelide*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Manning, Joseph Gilbert
- 1995 "Demotic Egyptian Instruments of Transfer as Evidence for Private Ownership of Real Property." *Chicago-Kent Law Review* 71: 237–68.
- 1997 *The Hauswaldt Papyri*. Demotische Studien 12. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich Verlag.
- Mattha, Girgis, and George R. Hughes
- 1975 *The Demotic Legal Code of Hermopolis West*. Bibliothèque d'étude 45. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Menu, B., and I. Harari
- 1974 "La notion de propriété privée dans l'Ancien Empire égyptien." *Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et d'égyptologie de Lille* 2: 125–54.
- Muhs, Brian
- 2010 "A Demotic Donation Contract from Early Ptolemaic Thebes (P. Louvre N. 3263)." In *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner, pp. 439–55. Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte 39. Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities.
- 2017 "Gender Relations and Inheritance in Legal Codes and Legal Practice in Ancient Egypt." In *Structures of Power, Law and Gender across the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, edited by Ilan Peled, pp. 15–25. Oriental Institute Seminars 12. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Pestman, P. W.
- 1961 *Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt*. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 9. Leiden: Brill.
- 1987 "'Inheriting' in the Archive of the Theban Choachytes (2nd cent. BC)." In *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Congress for Demotic Studies, Leiden, 19–21 September 1984*, edited by S. P. Vleeming, pp. 57–75. Studia Demotica 1. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1993 *The Archive of the Theban Choachytes (Second Century B.C.)*. Studia Demotica 2. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1994 *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor*. Studia Demotica 4. Leuven: Peeters.
- Philip-Stéphan, Alexandra
- 2005 "Deux actes de disposition inédits découverts dans l'oasis égyptienne de Dakhla." *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 83: 273–81.
- Quirke, Stephen
- 2007 "Women of Lahun (Egypt 1800 BC)." In *Archaeology and Women: Ancient and Modern Issues*, edited by Sue Hamilton, Ruth D. Whitehouse, and Katherine I. Wright, pp. 246–62. Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.
- Skumsnes, Reinert
- 2018 "Patterns of Change and Disclosures of Difference." PhD diss., University of Oslo.
- Sweeney, Deborah
- 2008 "Gender and Oracular Practice in Deir el-Medina." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 135: 154–64.
- Thompson, Herbert
- 1934 *A Family Archive from Siut from Papyri in the British Museum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Vandorpe, Katelijn
- 2002 *The Bilingual Family Archive of Dryton, His Wife Apollonia and Their Daughter Senmouthis (P. Dryton)*. Collectanea Hellenistica 4. Brussels: Comité Klassieke Studies, Subcomité Hellenisme, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten.
- Vandorpe, Katelijn, and S. P. Vleeming
- 2017 *The Erbstreit Papyri*. Studia Demotica 13. Leuven: Peeters.
- Vittmann, Günter
- 1998 *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Wente, Edward
- 1990 *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. SBL Writings from the Ancient World 1. Atlanta: SBL Press.
- Zauzich, Karl-Theodor
- 1968 *Die ägyptische Schreibertradition in Aufbau*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 19. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

10 AKHENATEN AND THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH RITUAL? AN ENIGMATIC KARNAK *TALATAT* BLOCK FOUND AT LUXOR TEMPLE

W. Raymond Johnson
University of Chicago

NO ONE KNEW ANCIENT EGYPTIAN magic and ritual from all periods of Egyptian history better than Robert Ritner, and it would be presumptuous of this humble art historian to attempt to write anything on those topics for this volume celebrating Robert's formidable achievements in the realm of *Heka*. Therefore, instead, I am going to offer up to Robert's *ka* a conundrum, a ritual scene associated with a king better known for his rejection of such rituals. While I understand that Robert had no great love for Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten, I believe that this unusual puzzle would have been of some interest to him.¹

During the Epigraphic Survey's 2005–6 field season in Luxor, two stone-lined tunnels running under the cornice at the northern and southern ends of the Luxor Temple precinct were examined by the Luxor Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA) inspectorate. These tunnels were part of the construction of the raised Nile cornice boulevard sometime around 1907 and pierced the road to allow Nile floodwaters to drain back into the river at the conclusion of the inundation each autumn. Both were blocked up sometime after the last Nile inundation in 1964. USAID Egypt–sponsored groundwater-lowering initiative engineers in cooperation with the SCA cleared the southern tunnel for use as a conduit to the Nile for drainage water from the pumping station immediately to the east of the Luxor Temple sanctuary. We noted that the arched and paved tunnel leading to the Nile was lined with reused pharaonic building stone,² and staff photographer Yarko Kobylecky photographed twenty-eight inscribed blocks and fragments in situ (fig. 10.1).³ The tunnel is now inaccessible due to the placement of the permanent exit pipe for groundwater intercepted by the dewatering system, collected in a holding tank, and pumped into the Nile. The northern tunnel remains blocked.⁴

The southern tunnel was filled with debris and additional inscribed blocks and fragments. These were recovered and placed on protected *mastaba* platforms in the eastern blockyard storage area of Luxor Temple. Included in the material were a number of small Akhenaten sandstone *talatat* blocks from his Aten complex at Karnak. This material is frequently found in medieval foundation constructions throughout Luxor, quarried from Horemheb's pylons at Karnak and brought to Luxor for reuse.⁵ Inscriptions on the *talatat*

1 Many thanks to the editors of this volume, Foy Scalf and Brian Muhs, and to the anonymous peer reviewer for their invaluable comments and assistance with this manuscript. Although Amenhotep IV did not change his name to Akhenaten until his regnal year 5, after this block was inscribed, from this point on I will refer to Amenhotep IV as Akhenaten.

2 Starting with Georges Daressy in the late 1880s, inscribed blocks and block fragments were utilized by the antiquities service in its restoration work throughout the site. This material was considered to be too small or fragmentary to be of any worth—in contrast to today, when everything is kept and documented.

3 The inscribed blocks and fragments range in date from Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, and Tutankhamun to Ramesses II.

4 Johnson 2006, pp. 42–43. The Luxor Temple dewatering system was activated in 2007 and has proven to be a great success; it has lowered the groundwater passing beneath the temple by ten to fifteen feet, thereby stabilizing the temple's structure and its foundations.

5 From his regnal year 3, Akhenaten favored small, easily portable building blocks of 52 × 26 × 24 cm in dimension that could be carried by a single strong worker and allowed quick construction. Today these blocks are referred to as *talatat*, Arabic for “three,” a reference to the small blocks being three hand lengths long. Horemheb dismantled the Karnak Aten complex and reused the building stone as stuffing in the second, ninth, and tenth pylons and adjacent court walls. Roughly 6,000 of these

blocks found at Luxor Temple all refer to known structures in the Karnak Aten complex.⁶ Most of the *talatat* displayed daily-life scenes and parts of the usual repetitive offering scenes to the Aten in a variety of scales, from diminutive to colossal, but one block that was quite different caught my eye.

AN EXTRAORDINARY TALATAT

DESCRIPTION

Luxor Temple fragment 003181 (fig. 10.2) is a sandstone Akhenaten Karnak *talatat* broken away on the left side and inscribed in the sunken-relief, mannered style that was favored from Akhenaten's regnal year 3 until his year 11; the scale is approximately half life-size.⁷ The distinctive profile of the king is partly preserved on the right edge of the block—just the nose and partial lips. Along the top edge of the block can be seen four upside-down hands holding alternating upside-down *w3*s and *ankh* signs, indicating that the rayed disk of the Aten was suspended above and in front of the king, presenting life and dominion to his nose. The king extends his arm leftward and holds a large *dw3-wr* or *mshtyw* adze as well as a long, slim shaft tilted toward the left at a



Figure 10.1. Yarko Kobylecky photographing reused pharaonic blocks and fragments in the southern tunnel. Photo by W. Raymond Johnson.



Figure 10.2. Luxor Temple fragment 003181. Photo by W. Raymond Johnson.

talatat blocks were quarried from Horemheb's broken pylons in the Middle Ages and transported to the medieval settlement at Luxor Temple for the construction of stone foundations for mudbrick buildings. There is no evidence that Akhenaten ever built any Aten structures at Luxor Temple. Karnak Aten temple blocks, identifiable by their texts, have been found in the medieval levels as far north as Medamud and as far south as Tod. See Smith and Redford 1976, pp. 3–4.

⁶ For the names of the individual structures of the Karnak Aten complex, see Smith and Redford 1976, pp. 61–63.

⁷ Height, 20 cm; preserved width, 41 cm; depth, 24 cm. The preserved width of the inscribed surface is 34.5 cm. The block has been knocked around during at least three periods of reuse, and no paint on it survives.

diagonal. The shaft flares above the adze and bifurcates into two elements, broken at the top. Two small depressions, one on each side of the divided shaft, may belong to the missing upper part of this implement. The very tip of the thumb of the king's other hand, visible along the bottom edge of the block, indicates that he held the adze and other implement with both hands (fig. 10.3).

The focus of the king on the left side of the block, over which the Aten is suspended, is a partially preserved vertical element in sunken relief that is not immediately recognizable. The right side is vertical, while the left side curves down and away to the left. There is some pecking within the element, but it appears to be damage. Above the curve is an architectural element, a doorway or shrine topped with a cavetto cornice. Above and to the left of the cornice the block is broken away, but the carved elements that survive could perhaps be the upper right section of a double shrine, partly veiled.

INTERPRETATION

There are two possible explanations for Akhenaten holding an adze in this scene. On several sandstone *talatat* from the Karnak Aten complex, Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten is depicted ritually participating in the construction of the Karnak Aten temple complex. In one group of blocks, a life-size figure of the king is depicted bent over and using a bell-shaped wooden hammer and chisel to shape something below him, perhaps a stone block.⁸ In another, smaller-scaled group, the king is shown laying *talatat* blocks in a wall.⁹ In our scene, the king might be depicted crafting a wooden shrine or structure of some sort, and the scene may simply be an episode in Akhenaten's ritual construction activities at Karnak. However, in scenes from private tombs depicting carpentry activities, the carpenter's *nwt* adze is considerably smaller than what Akhenaten is holding on our block, is structurally different and more compact, and is used with one hand, not two (figs. 10.4 and 10.5). There is also the matter of the additional bifurcated, staff-like element that the king is holding with the adze, an element that has no parallel in carpentry scenes.

THE OPENING OF THE MOUTH RITUAL

There is a marked difference in shape and size between the small *nwt* adze used by carpenters and the large, ceremonial *dw3-wr* or *mshtyw* adzes found in Opening of the Mouth rituals.¹⁰ The overlarge adze that Akhenaten is holding here is the same implement used in the Opening of the Mouth ritual when it is

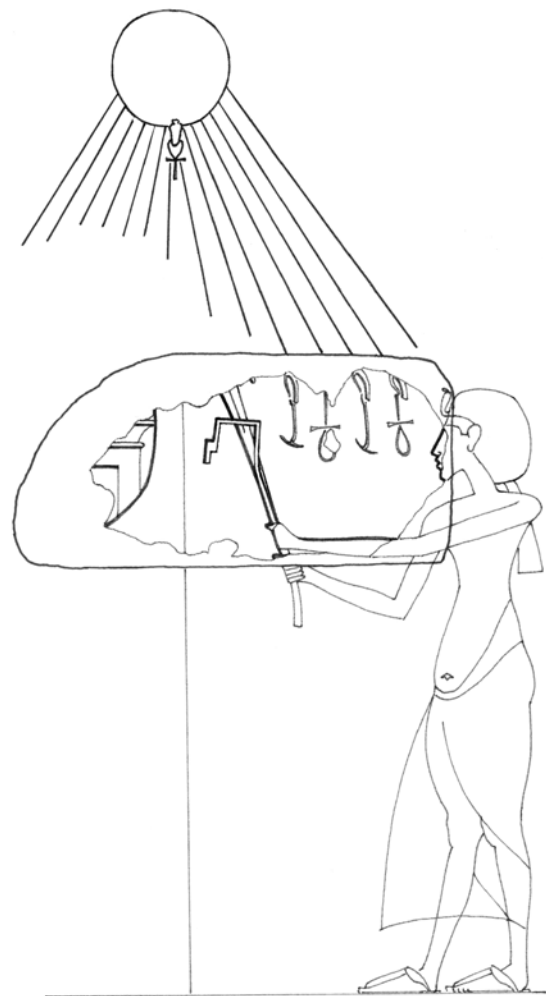


Figure 10.3. Hypothetical reconstruction of Luxor Temple fragment 003181. Drawing by W. Raymond Johnson.

8 Smith and Redford 1976, pl. 18.

9 Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, p. 99, bottom photograph.

10 Should we be referring to these as overlarge model or ceremonial adzes? Roth (1993, p. 70) remarks that the *mshtyw* adze was associated with the constellation of the Big Dipper, Great Bear, or Ursa Major, which bore the same name, *mshtyw*. Might that explain the un-adze-like open shape of the implement? My thanks to Jay Heidel for thoughtful discussions on the nature of this Opening of the Mouth implement.



Figure 10.4. Carpenter trimming wood with an adze. Theban Tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100). Copy by Nina de Garis Davies. Image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 31.6.28).

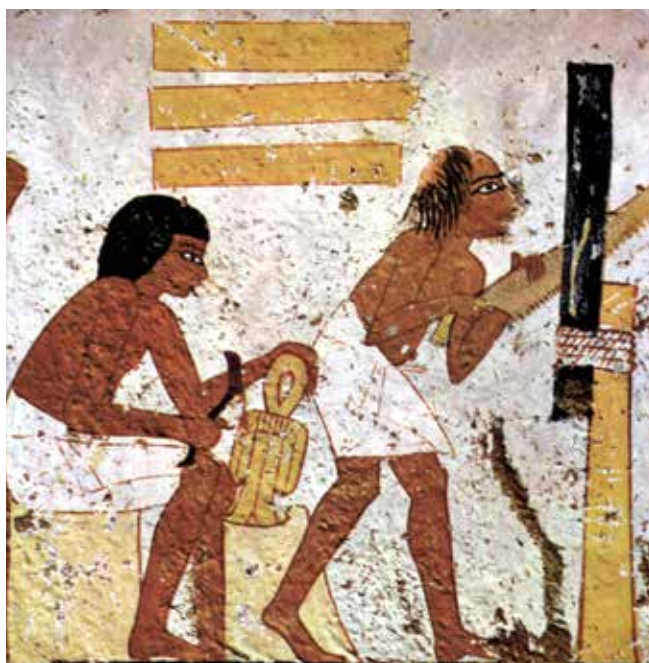


Figure 10.5. Carpenters with adze. Theban Tomb of Nebamun and Ipuki (TT 181). Image courtesy of Wikimedia Commons/The Yorck Project.

depicted, and it is probable that he is performing that rite here.¹¹ Other implements in the ritual that are often found on a table in front of the officiant include the *psš-*kf** implement, a chisel, two *ntrwy* blades, an ostrich feather, a finger of gold, a *hps* haunch, and various cups of incense, food, and drink, and some of these elements might have been depicted on a small table in front of the king.¹²

Two small depressions, one on each side of the divided shaft, may belong to the missing upper part of the implement and suggest the form of Gardiner sign list U31. This sign is found as the determinative for the word *ssnt* “to breathe” but is also the determinative for the word *psš-*kf**, an implement that by the New Kingdom is usually depicted as two joined feathers and had become a major component of the Opening of the Mouth ritual.¹³ There is no parallel to my knowledge for such an implement being used in this ritual, or any ritual frankly, but it is interesting and perhaps significant that, if it is indeed used here, the device would also be associated with “breath” and “rebirth.”

Regarding the focus of the king on the left side of the block, the mostly destroyed vertical element with the curved line on the left, a couple of possibilities come to mind. A double shrine, the same height as the king, is one possibility. The curved element could be a veil, possibly partially concealing an inner shrine, and therefore could indicate a shrine within a shrouded shrine. What form the outermost shrine might have taken, if that is what it is, is a question (arched? Upper Egyptian *pr-wr* shrine?). There is no discernable trace of a cobra frieze on the cornice.

Another possibility is that we are dealing with a small section of architecture within a desert landscape. The pecking within the sunken, curved element could be intentional and representative of the desert, although one would expect more even and regular pecking if desert areas are depicted.

11 For another figure holding the large adze with both hands, left hand extended, as part of the Opening of the Mouth funerary ritual, see the El Kab tomb of Renni (https://www.osirisnet.net/tombes/el_kab/renni/e_renni_02.htm).

12 For studies of the rite and its development over time, see Otto 1960; Roth 1992, 1993; Forshaw 2014; and Quack 2022.

13 See Roth 1992 for an exhaustive study of the implement. A bronze, bifurcated *psš-*kf** was found in Tutankhamun’s tomb mounted between two model shrines in which were four faience cups containing natron and resin. See Carter and Mace 1927, pl. 53b. For a drawing, see Roth 1992, p. 135, fig. 6.

CONTEXT OF THE RITUAL

There are several possible contexts for the Opening of the Mouth ritual inscribed on this block: (1) the reanimation of a deceased individual, (2) the animation of a statue, (3) the reanimation of a god, or (4) the animation of a temple complex. No detail on this block conclusively points to one or another, so they all will be briefly discussed here.

FUNERARY RITES?

The height of the probable “shrine” in this case—as tall as the king—might indicate that the king is standing on a large riverine funerary barge and performing the Opening of the Mouth ritual on a deceased individual within a partly veiled double shrine. We know that members of Akhenaten’s family started to die around Akhenaten’s regnal year 11, but by that time all wall decoration at Karnak had stopped; nor would Akhenaten be performing a traditional funerary ritual at that late date, having rejected such rituals years before. The date of the death of Akhenaten’s father, Amenhotep III, is still debated, but if he died early in Akhenaten’s reign, he is the most likely candidate for being the deceased individual in question. If this is a funerary scene, it would be unique in Egyptian art; no scenes survive that depict a royal riverine funeral procession from any other period.

ANIMATION OF A CULT STATUE?

In the back central sanctuary of Luxor Temple (Room XIX), Amenhotep III was depicted holding two adzes and performing an Opening of the Mouth ritual before a statue of Amun.¹⁴ Before Akhenaten’s regnal year 3, the Living Re-Horakhty/Aten took the form of an anthropomorphic, hawk-headed, sun-disk-crowned male god. Akhenaten is depicted worshipping this figure in multiple scenes in his first temple at Karnak, the Re-Horakhty chapel, and on *talatat* that depicted that temple. This structure, built with large blocks and decorated in the raised-relief style of Amenhotep III, appears to have been open to the sky and built around the great Lateran obelisk of Thutmose III and Thutmose IV in eastern Karnak.¹⁵ There was a moment in the cult between Akhenaten’s regnal years 2 and 3 when the Aten’s form changed to the rayed disk with human hands. Our scene could perhaps commemorate that transformation, with the Aten’s transformed image as the disk with rayed hands hovering above the double shrine, brought into being by Akhenaten performing the Opening of the Mouth animation ritual below.

ANIMATION OF A GOD?

The Aten had his own divine barge in the early years of the cult, and it is possible that the rite on our block is taking place before the cabin/shrine of that barge, over which the Aten hovers as the principal focus. *Talatat* blocks with representations of the great barge of the Aten inform us that the prow and stern were graced with hawk heads crowned with a large sun disk or sun disk and double plumes. One of the blocks preserves a hawk-headed prow section with towropes angling up to the barge of the king, which was towing it.¹⁶ Additional *talatat* blocks preserve sections of the royal barge of Akhenaten and the multiple towboats that towed it; the fore and aft openwork kiosks depict Akhenaten offering to images of the hawk-headed Re-Horakhty Aten.¹⁷ These divine riverine procession scenes of the Aten appear to have been very similar to the Opet Festival reliefs of Tutankhamun at Luxor Temple, where several sets of small towboats towed the

¹⁴ Murnane 1986, p. 57.

¹⁵ Reused by Horemheb as fill in the tenth pylon. See Vergnienx and Gondran 1997, pp. 81–87, 90–92; Chappaz 1983.

¹⁶ Gohary 1992, pl. LXXXIX; Redford 1980, pl. VIII, no. 1.

¹⁷ Gohary 1992, pl. LXXXIX; Redford 1976, pl. VIII, nos. 4 and 5; Smith and Redford 1976, pl. 23, no. 2.

royal barge of the king, which in turn towed the divine barge of Amun.¹⁸ It is not known where the divine Aten riverine procession was heading, but riverine procession scenes appear to have been standard in all Aten temples. That said, the divine barge of the Aten itself is nowhere attested in any reliefs or fragments from Amarna, or anywhere else outside the Karnak Aten complex.¹⁹

TEMPLE DEDICATION?

The last possibility is that Akhenaten is performing the Opening of the Mouth ritual on part of the completed Karnak Aten temple complex. The pecking in the sunken area could indicate the desert environs, and the portal or shrine could be a small part of a larger architectural representation. Temples could be activated by the Opening of the Mouth ritual when they were inaugurated—and possibly reanimated during certain annual festivals.²⁰ It is an exciting possibility that an Aten temple dedication might have been depicted here. It is a pity that more of the focus of the rite does not survive, but considering the wanderings of this block, from Akhenaten's Karnak Aten temple to Horemheb's pylon, then to medieval Luxor, and then on to the inundation tunnel below the cornice, we are lucky to have anything left at all.²¹

CONCLUSIONS

This scene of Akhenaten performing the Opening of the Mouth ritual is unique among the known representations of this king. One assumes that Akhenaten rejected all traditional temple ritual, but the truth is more complex. Sayed Tawfik determined years ago that Akhenaten modified traditional temple ritual to suit the new Aten cult, even keeping a version of the traditional daily offering ritual.²² Clearly, early in his reign Akhenaten performed other traditional rituals—such as worshipping statues of his new god in anthropomorphic, hawk-headed form and celebrating the ritual of the Opening of the Mouth preserved here—that were completely rejected later in his reign. This is one of the great challenges facing anyone trying to understand Akhenaten's program. He didn't have one—instead, he had a whole series of programs, one after the other, that changed and evolved as his reign progressed. This block preserves a ritual from early in his reign that he probably never celebrated again.

But what Akhenaten was doing, and to what purpose, are still open questions. Also, what is the slender, bifurcated staff that the king is holding with the ceremonial adze?

I had hoped to discuss this scene with Robert and to benefit from his insights, but alas, that was not to be. His untimely passing is a terrible loss. It is with the deepest regard that I now dedicate this small study to the memory of my late friend and colleague in celebration of his remarkable achievements and career. May *Heka* and the Aten bless him, forever and ever.

ABBREVIATIONS

SCA Supreme Council of Antiquities
USAID United States Agency for International Development

¹⁸ Epigraphic Survey 1994.

¹⁹ Riverine barge processions are a standard part of the repertory in Amarna stone monuments, but only blocks and fragments with royal barges, royal baggage barges, and towboats survive. See Cooney 1965, pp. 80–85. If the divine barge of the Aten was ever depicted at Amarna, evidence of it has not been preserved.

²⁰ Cruz-Uribe 1999, p. 72; Blackman and Fairman 1946.

²¹ So far, the Epigraphic Survey has identified no other blocks that obviously relate to this one, but we will continue to look carefully through the Luxor Temple blockyards as we document and catalog all 50,000 blocks and fragments stored there.

²² Tawfik 1988.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andreu-Lanoë, Guillemette, ed.
2013 *L'art du contour: Le dessin dans l'Égypte ancienne*. Paris: Musée du Louvre.
- Blackman, A. M., and H. W. Fairman
1946 "The Consecration of an Egyptian Temple according to the Use of Edfu." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 32: 75–91.
- Carter, Howard, and A. C. Mace
1927 *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter*. London: Cassell.
- Chappaz, Jean-Luc
1983 "Le premier édifice d'Aménophis IV à Karnak." *Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie, Genève* 8: 13–45.
- Cooney, John D.
1965 *Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections*. New York: Brooklyn Museum.
- Cruz-Uribe, Eugene
1999 "Opening of the Mouth as Temple Ritual." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 69–73. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Epigraphic Survey
1994 *The Festival Procession of Opet in the Colonnade Hall*. Reliefs and Inscriptions at Luxor Temple 1. Oriental Institute Publications 112. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Forshaw, Roger
2014 *The Role of the Lector in Ancient Egyptian Society*. *Archaeopress Egyptology* 5. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Gohary, Jocelyn
1992 *Akhenaten's Sed-Festival at Karnak*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Johnson, W. Raymond
2006 "Epigraphic Survey." In *Oriental Institute 2005–2006 Annual Report*, edited by Gil J. Stein, pp. 42–43. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Murnane, William
1986 "Le mystère de la naissance divine du roi." *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 101: 56–57.
- Otto, Eberhard
1960 *Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. *Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 3. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Quack, Joachim Friedrich
2022 "Establishing Communication Channels: Remarks on the Transmission of the Ritual of Opening the Mouth as (Not Only) a Funerary Text." In *Perspectives on Lived Religion II: The Making of a Cultural Geography*, edited by Lara Weiss, Nico Staring, and Twiston Davies, pp. 71–80. *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities* 27. Leiden: Sidestone.
- Redford, Donald B.
1976 "The Sun-Disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents I." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 47–61.
1980 "The Sun-Disc in Akhenaten's Program: Its Worship and Antecedents II." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 17: 21–38.
- Roth, Ann Macy
1992 "The *psš-kf* and the 'Opening of the Mouth' Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 78: 113–47.
1993 "Fingers, Stars, and the 'Opening of the Mouth': The Nature and Function of the *Nṯrwj*-Blades." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79: 57–79.
- Smith, Ray Winfield, and Donald B. Redford
1976 *The Akhenaten Temple Project*. Vol. 1, *Initial Discoveries*. Warminster: Aris and Phillips.

Tawfik, Sayed

1988 "Aton Studies 7: Did Any Daily Cult Ritual Exist in Aton Temples at Thebes? An Attempt to Trace It." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 44: 275–81, pls. 83–86.

Vergniew, Robert, and Michel Gondran

1997 *Aménophis IV et les pierres du soleil: Akhénaton retrouvé*. Paris: Artaud.

11

A PORTAL FOR ISIS OF DJEME

J. Brett McClain
University of Chicago

Oh! man, thou knowest not!—thou in thy strength and beauty that is without compare, in the power of thy learning and the sweetness of thy tongue—thou knowest not! The world where thou must mix is not a sanctuary as that of the Divine Isis. But there—it may be so! Pray that thy heart's ice may never melt, so thou shalt be great and happy and Egypt shall be delivered.

—H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra*

To the memory of Robert Ritner, whose enlightened instruction opened to my understanding the mythological and religious texts of the last dynasties, I respectfully dedicate these observations on a curious monument of the Isis cult in Thebes.

INTRODUCTION

The sandstone doorjambs presented here are currently displayed on a platform in the open-air museum of the east blockyard at Luxor Temple (fig. 11.1).¹ Prior to their installation,² they were stored for many years within the temple proper, in the eastern chapel of Khonsu (Room I),³ along with a large quantity of other decorated stone fragments, ceramic material, and miscellaneous objects (fig. 11.2). Their history prior to being deposited in this chamber and their archaeological provenience are unknown.⁴ Although they have been cited briefly in recent publications,⁵ the doorjambs themselves have remained unpublished, notwithstanding the considerable interest of the scenes and inscriptions preserved thereon. It is the aim of this essay to describe these fragments in detail and to consider the significance of the monument, now lost, whose existence they attest.

1 I am grateful to W. Raymond Johnson, field director of the Epigraphic Survey, for permission to publish these doorjambs, which form part of the Luxor Temple fragment (LTF) corpus; they bear the registration numbers LTF 03609 (left) and LTF 03611 (right). I am also greatly indebted to Epigraphic Survey photographer Hilary McDonald, who, in the chaotic days prior to our team's evacuation from Luxor in March 2020, made time to take high-quality digital images of these fragments and thereafter to generate the fine orthophotographs of the decorated surfaces. Gina Salama, the Survey's data engineer, also provided assistance with the photographic documentation. I thank the editors of this volume, Prof. Muhs and Dr. Scalf, for their insightful comments on this essay and helpful suggestions for its improvement.

2 During the Epigraphic Survey's 2005–2006 field season (Johnson 2006, pp. 39–40).

3 PM II², p. 319, plan XXXII.

4 It is unclear exactly when and how this heterogeneous material came to be stored in Room I. Some of the fragments and objects may have been recovered during excavations carried out by the Service des antiquités de l'Égypte in the winter of 1934 and again during the years 1958–60, but the doorjambs are not mentioned in the reports on those operations published in the *Annales du Service* (Fakhry 1934; Muhammad 1968). Additional material may have been deposited in this chamber during the 1970s and 1980s, when restrictions on the private ownership of antiquities in Egypt were tightened and many private collections were confiscated by the authorities, but no records of these seizures are available. I thank W. Raymond Johnson for communicating this information to me.

5 In his catalog of the monuments of Roman Thebes, D. Klotz mentions these doorjambs in connection with the cult of Isis of Deir Shelwit (Klotz 2012, p. 126), with a brief description of their inscribed content (n. 692). Klotz's observations are cited by E. Lanciers in the second of a pair of articles on the Isis cult in western Thebes in the Greco-Roman period (Lanciers 2015b, p. 391 nn. 79–80), without further remarks.



Figure 11.1. LTF 03609 and LTF 03611 as currently displayed in the Luxor Temple open-air museum. Photograph by H. McDonald.



Figure 11.2. LTF 03609 and LTF 03611 as stored in the chapel of Khonsu (Room I) in Luxor Temple prior to 2006. Photograph by Y. Kobylecky.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DOORJAMBS

Both doorjambs (fig. 11.3) were carved from a fine, light-colored sandstone lacking significant inclusions or irregularities. Although the recycling of stone from older monuments was common in Ptolemaic and Roman Thebes, neither of these blocks shows evidence of prior use. Each constitutes the upper section of a doorjamb; the half-preserved figures of Horus (left) and Thoth (right) at their bottom edges show that the base of each jamb consisted of a separate block of stone. Neither these lower blocks, nor the lintel and cornice that would have formed the top of the portal, have so far been located. The block from the left doorjamb is whole and intact. It measures approximately 209 cm high, 41 cm wide, and 41 cm deep at the base, with the depth tapering to 30 cm at the top. The surface of the top, on which the lintel would have rested, is flat and smooth. The right doorjamb would have been the same height as the left one, but it is broken approximately three-quarters of the way up, with a maximum preserved height of 164 cm; its width and depth match those of its counterpart. A small section of the lower left corner of the front face of this jamb is also broken away.



Figure 11.3. Outer faces and reveals of LTF 03609, the left doorjamb (a), and LTF 03611, the right doorjamb (b). Orthophotographs by H. McDonald.

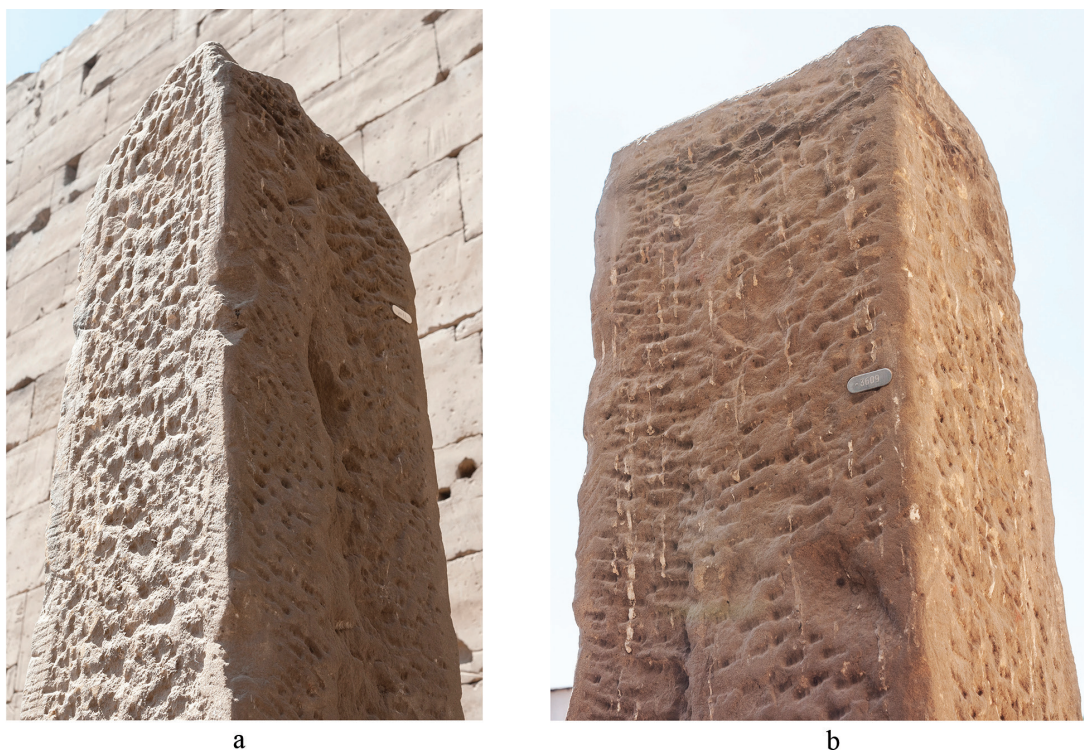


Figure 11.4. Chiseled surfaces on the back and side of LTF 03611 (a) and LTF 03609 (b). Photographs by H. McDonald.

The front surfaces of the doorjambs show a distinct batter from top to bottom, which would have matched the batter of the adjoining mudbrick wall, while the inner faces of the passage are vertical. The outer sides of the blocks were roughly chiseled to form a join with the brick wall, and the back of each block shows chiseling of the same pattern (fig. 11.4), suggesting that the passage of the doorway was also of mudbrick rather than being lined in stone. Further evidence for this type of construction is the slanted incision at the inner corner of each reveal, worked with the same rough chisel pattern, which appears to cut a steep diagonal across the inside edge of the inscribed sandstone but was likely intended to key the stone doorjamb smoothly into the thickness of the mudbrick wall. The continuation of the decorated surface from the stone to the brick section was therefore continuous rather than inset. It cannot be said whether this portal was equipped with a door in its original configuration; if it was, the recesses and doorpost emplacement would have been situated farther within the brick structure of the passage.

DECORATION OF THE DOORJAMBS

The front of each jamb is decorated in incised relief with three small ritual scenes, each framed by a sky-sign $\overline{\text{N1}}$ and the ground line below; on both jambs the trio of scenes is flanked by a pair of tall, inward-facing w^3s -scepters \uparrow (S40). Below the scenes, and separated from them by a double band, appear stylized representations of marshland plants, a device ubiquitous in monuments of this period but here shown emerging from a canal-sign N36 . Beneath this is another sky-sign atop the representations of Horus (left jamb) and Thoth (right jamb), each pouring a libation of water from the $\text{h}^s.t$ -vessel $\overline{\text{W14}}$. As noted above, the lower halves of these divine images would have occupied the stone base blocks of the doorjambs and would presumably have stood atop ground lines, forming the lowest decorative element on each side.

Careful examination reveals faint vestiges of red, blue, and green paint preserved here and there within the incised relief on both jambs. Since these traces of polychrome pigment are found in the small ritual scenes, in the marsh plants below them, and in a few of the hieroglyphic signs on the reveals, they demonstrate that the decoration of the portal was completed, at least in terms of the usual processes of carving and painting. This fact must be kept in mind when considering the apparently missing hieroglyphic elements

in the ritual scenes and in the inscription on the right reveal. For the most part, however, the painted finish has weathered away, exposing the bare stone underneath.

Each of the ritual scenes preserved on the upper parts of the jambs is composed according to the same pattern. Beneath the $\overleftarrow{\text{—}}$ -sign, the king, standing and facing toward the doorway, performs an offering ritual before a male and a female deity, facing outward and also shown in standing pose. Vertical column dividers inscribed above and before the king and the deities frame the text columns where their names, epithets, speeches, and the scene caption would have been carved, but no trace of any inscribed hieroglyphic sign is to be found within them. Above the king in each scene are cartouches for the prenomen and the nomen, preceded by the common abbreviated writings of *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy* “the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands,” and *s3 R^c nb h^c.w* “the son of Re, lord of diadems,” respectively, but the cartouches themselves were also left blank.⁶ In contrast to this apparent omission of the textual elements, the figures in each scene were sculpted with fine internal details, executed with care and precision despite the miniature scale of the relief. The content of the individual scenes (fig. 11.5) is as follows:⁷

- Upper left: the king, wearing the Upper Egyptian crown, offers incense and performs a libation before Osiris, in the *3tf*-diadem, and Isis, wearing the vulture headdress and crowned with her hieroglyphic emblem atop a sun disk and cow’s horns.⁸
- Middle left: the king, wearing the double plumes with ram’s horns, sun disk, and uraei atop the close-fitting headdress with fillet, raises a loaf of bread⁹ before Thoth, in the *3tf*-diadem with uraei, and Nephthys, wearing the vulture headdress and crowned with her shrine emblem.
- Lower left: the king, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, offers the symbol of a field to Montu, adorned with the sun disk, uraeus, and double plumes, and Raet-tawy, wearing the vulture headdress and crowned with the cow’s horns and sun disk.¹⁰
- Upper right: lost.
- Middle right: top half lost; the king, in unknown regalia, performs an unidentified ritual before ithyphallic Amun-Re, who stands in front of his emblematic shrine, and a female deity, perhaps Amunet.¹¹
- Lower right: the king, wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, offers the symbol of a field to Montu, crowned with the sun disk, uraeus, and double plumes, and Tjenenet, who wears the double crown atop the vulture headdress.¹²

6 The empty text columns and cartouches in each of these scenes were carefully examined, both in situ and using high-resolution digital photographs modified with the DStretch plug-in for the ImageJ photographic processing software. None of the filters revealed the slightest hint of any painted signs or details within the blank text fields.

7 Useful parallels for the arrangement and content of these scenes, complete with their hieroglyphic texts, are found on the exterior jambs of the monumental gateway in the enclosure wall of the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, dating to the reign of Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos (du Bourguet 2002, pp. 178–93), and at various other locations within the same temple.

8 Cf. du Bourguet 2002, pp. 184–85, §193; also pp. 8–9, §4, and pp. 54–55, §56. The ritual act here is *hnk/ir.t sntr qbḥ* “Presenting/making incense and a libation”; occurrences are listed in Hallof 2008, pp. 177–82, and Beinlich 2008a, pp. 509–12, with graphic variants given at Beinlich 2008b, pp. 60–61.

9 This ritual is probably *sqr t ḥd* “Kneading a white loaf,” as at du Bourguet 2002, pp. 184–85, §194, where Montu and Raet-tawy replace Thoth and Nephthys; although the loaf and the gesture there are represented differently, note that the king wears precisely the same crown and headdress in both examples. This scene appears in a similar position at Tòd (Thiers 2003, p. 292, §313). For occurrences, see Hallof 2008, pp. 206–7, and Beinlich 2008a, pp. 528–30, with graphic variants at Beinlich 2008b, pp. 60–61.

10 Cf. du Bourguet 2002, pp. 182–83, §192, a nearly exact match for this scene; the ritual act is *hnk sh.t* “Giving a field” (Hallof 2008, pp. 182–87; Beinlich 2008a, pp. 101–5; Beinlich 2008b, pp. 46–47). In Ptolemaic and Roman temples, this act is often depicted in the lowest scene on either exterior jamb of a doorway, above the decorative band of marsh vegetation, e.g., in the temple of Shanhûr (Willems, Coppens, and De Meyer 2003, pp. 136–39, pls. 118–19, no. 83, and pls. 122–23, no. 86) or (on a grander scale) on the pylon of Amun-Re-Montu at North Karnak (Aufrère 2000, pp. 121–36, figs. 14–16, nos. 6a and 6b); on the significance of this scene at Edfu, see Wilson’s remarks (*Lexikon*, p. 911).

11 As at du Bourguet 2002, pp. 28–29, §23.

12 In the presence of Montu, these regalia distinguish Tjenenet from Raet-tawy; cf. du Bourguet 2002, pp. 186–87, §195. Though with a different pair of deities, here we have another representation of *hnk sh.t* “Presenting a field,” as in the corresponding location at du Bourguet 2002, pp. 188–89, §196.



Figure 11.5. Ritual scenes on the left doorjamb (*a*) and the right doorjamb (*b*). Orthophotographs by H. McDonald.

The reveal of each jamb is incised with two vertical columns of hieroglyphic text, the width of each column being approximately 11 cm (fig. 11.6). Curiously, the inscription on the left jamb is shorter, ending about 38 cm above the bottom of the block, while the text columns on the right jamb extend to within 18 cm of the block line. Slightly less than halfway from the base of each block, a hole about 10 cm deep was cut into the surface of the reveal. On the right jamb, the hole is rectangular and oriented horizontally, while the one on the left jamb has an irregular shape; to the right of the latter appears a shallow groove where a wooden feature could be slid into position and then slotted into the hole. These holes appear to be later modifications to the doorway, since they cut through the hieroglyphic inscription on each side. They are somewhat mismatched in distance from the bottom of the jamb blocks, however, so it is unlikely that they were intended for the insertion of a horizontal beam across the middle of the doorframe, and indeed their purpose remains unclear. Nevertheless, this type of modification would be consistent with the medieval-era

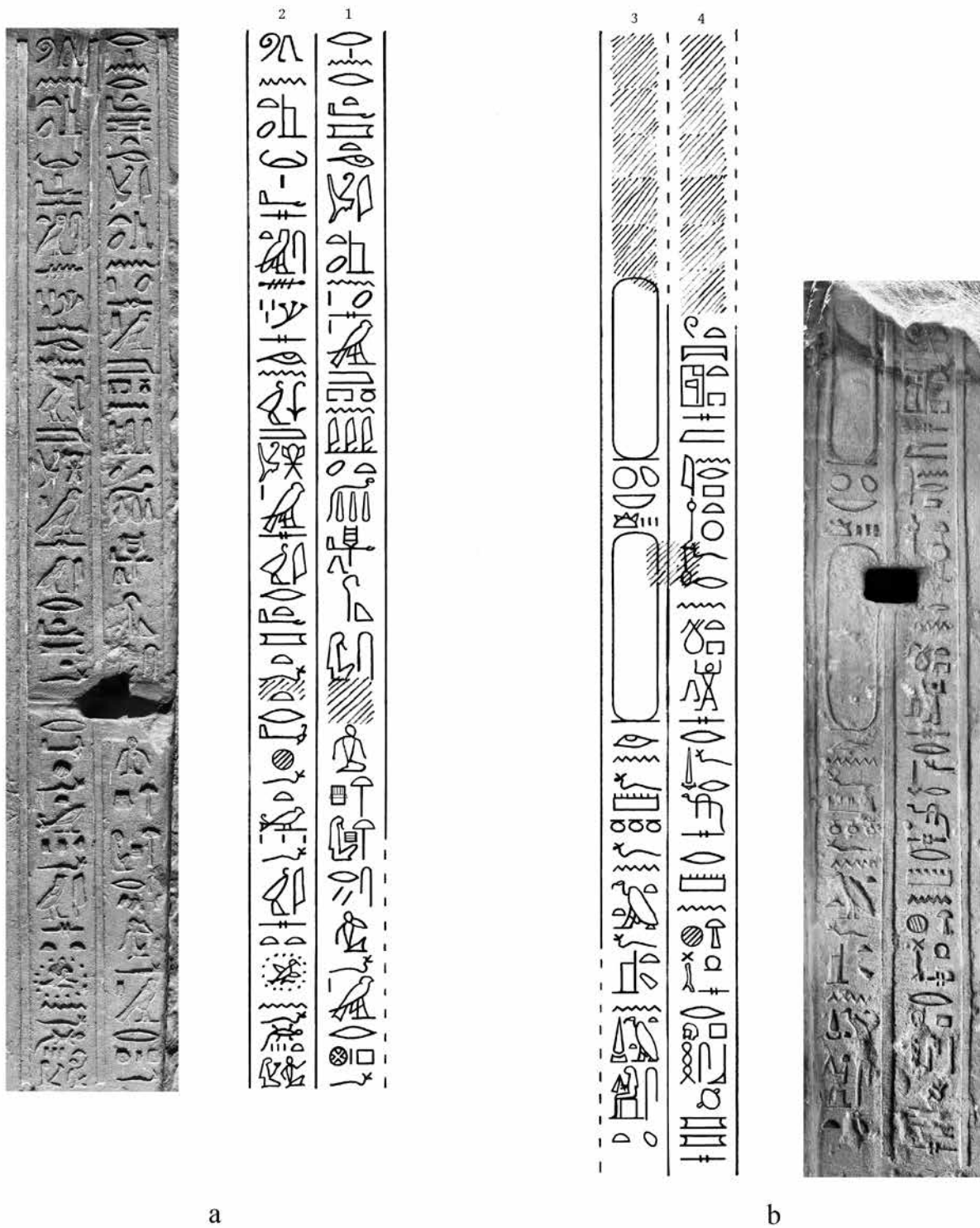


Figure 11.6. Inscriptions on the left reveal (a) and the right reveal (b).
 Photographs by H. McDonald. Hand copies by J. B. McClain.

repurposing of temple buildings for domestic use, as is commonly in evidence throughout the monuments of Thebes. Aside from these two holes, this gateway shows no evidence of deliberate damage or iconoclastic hacking, such as was frequently inflicted on the temples' decoration by their medieval inhabitants. The carved figures of the king and the gods, as well as the hieroglyphic signs, are essentially intact, with only incidental damage and weathering to the stone surface.

INSCRIPTION ON THE LEFT REVEAL (FIG. 11.6A)

¹*r n rđit mr.t in 3s.t n s3=s Hr m-hnw n sh.t*

dd mdw

^h*3 Bqs [hms] Hpwy sry=f Hr r p=f² iw.n 3s.t wh^c=s smw=s ir.n=<s>(?) sw m s3 n Hr=s iw rđi(w) mr.t=f dr(w)*
hftj.w=f iw sdd n=f 33.wt

¹Spell for giving the *mr.t*-eye^a by Isis^b to her son Horus within the marshland.

Words spoken:

“Let Iaques^c stand up; let Hepwy [sit down],^d that he may foretell Horus unto his throne!^e ²Isis has come^f so that she may unbind her vegetation,^g (she?) having made it^h as protection for her Horus.ⁱ There is given what he desires;^j that his enemies^k be expelled;^l the multitude tremble^m because of him.”

INSCRIPTION ON THE RIGHT REVEAL (FIG. 11.6B)

³[. *ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t3.wy*] (____) *s3 R^c nb h^c.w* (____) *ir.n=f(m) mnw=f n mw.t=f 3s.t n.(t) D3mw.t šps.t*

⁴[.] *wt hr hw.t=s m inr hđ nfr n rwd.t q3i=s r-nfr(?) mđ=s r- mnh whm šn=s r tp-ħsb m(?) mr=s*

³[. the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the two lands,]ⁿ (____), the son of Re, the lord of diadems, (____);^o (as) his monument for his mother^p Isis of Djeme,^q the noble one, he made ⁴[.]^r up-on^s her temple from [go]od^t white sandstone, it being perfectly(?) high,^u it being superbly deep,^v its circuit being repeated^w exactly,^x as(?) she desires.^y

NOTES TO TRANSLATION

^a *Wb.* II, p. 107/10–15; *mr.t* here refers to the eye of Horus, as at *Edfou* I, 25, line 11, though it occurs more frequently in the dual (references at Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 446). The spelling with $\overline{\text{m}}$ (N36) is unusual but was perhaps intended to reinforce the homophony with *mr.t=f* “what he desires” in line 2. Tangentially, one may also consider the remarks of L. Žabkar (1983, p. 131 n. 109) on the symbolic link between the *mr.t*-chest and the eye of Horus.

^b Or read *in 3s.t* “which Isis said”; either is plausible.

^c The gods *Bqs* and *Hpwy* are examined by H. Kees (1941, pp. 24–27, with the reading of the name *Hqs/Bqs* discussed on p. 25). The lower part of this name, including the $\overline{\text{h}}$ -determinative (A40), was damaged when the beam emplacement was cut into the reveal. The first *p*-sign (Q3) has a small, angular protrusion on each side, perhaps by confusion with M36/M37. Additional references to this deity are listed at *LGG* I, pp. 112c–113c.

^d One group is lost after *Bqs*; restore [*hms*], as the determinative suggests. References to *Hpwy* are given at *LGG* V, pp. 123b–124a.

^e Compare Coffin Text spell 36 (CT I 140g): *iw rđi.n=f rh Bqs hn^c Hpwy wnt=s sr.t(i) n=k r=s* “He has caused that Iaques and Hepwy may know what is foretold to you concerning it.” For *p* “throne” written with the $\overline{\text{p}}$ -determinative, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 341.

^f Understanding *iw.n 3s.t* as a second-tense *sdm.n=f*, with emphasis on the following prospective *wh^c=s*.

^g On *smw* “plants, vegetation,” here written with an (extraneous?) Δ , see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 838. The possible significance of *wh^c=s smw* is discussed below.

^h Supposing *ir.n=<s> sw*, with $\overline{\text{f}}$ (M22) for $\overline{\text{f}}$ (M23), but since the suffix =s is written in all other instances, this is not entirely convincing. The referent of *sw* is *smw=s*.

ⁱSo inscribed; the expression is unusual, but not unparalleled (see below). One could also read $s^? = s$ (Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 661).

^j $rdi(w)$, the passive $sdm=f$, though also with the common Ptolemaic spelling $\overline{\text{rdi}}$, as with the infinitive in line 1. As noted above (n. a), the homophony is intentional, equating the “eye” of Horus with what he desires, namely, triumph over his enemies.

^k $hfty.w$ has a variant of hft (G36) for hft (G4), perhaps a sculptor’s error. Alternatively, the sculptor may have substituted G36 for an intended G37, though $hfty.w$ with the latter determinative is not listed in the *Wb.* (III, pp. 276–77) or by Wilson (*Lexikon*, pp. 725–26).

^lThe top of this group is damaged because of the slot for the beam emplacement, but the bottom of \triangle is visible above the \ominus ; for this spelling of dr , see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1202.

^mOn $sd^? > sdd$, see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 974. The iw denotes a second main clause, in parallel with $iw rdi(w) mr.t=f$.

ⁿAbout five groups from the beginning of the text column are lost; two of them would have contained the standard $ny-sw.t-bi.ty nb t^3.wy$ before the cartouche of the prenomens, leaving three groups for the Horus name (if it was included) or other introductory components of the royal titulary.

^oLike the text columns and cartouches on the exterior scenes, both of these cartouches were left uninscribed. Neither examination in situ nor the application of photographic enhancement software to the high-resolution digital images has revealed the slightest trace of painted hieroglyphic signs within, leading to the conclusion that the names were never written. In examining the cosmogonical inscriptions in the temple of Khonsu, Mendel (2003, pp. 9–11) has observed that certain blank cartouches therein can plausibly be assigned to the period 51–30 BC. Since the cartouches on this portal are likewise sufficiently elongated to have contained the compound royal names typical of the late Ptolemaic dynasty, one may conjecture that they were intended for a king of that era.

^p $mw.t$ is written with an extra \triangle .

^qOn the cult of Isis $n.(t) D^3mw.t < \beta.t t^3.w-mw.wt$, in the vicinity of Medinet Habu, see the references given at *LGG* I, p. 78c, with further discussion below.

^rApproximately six groups are lost from the top of the column, which contained the first part of the description of the king’s building/restoration activity. Below the break is $\text{e} \triangle . . . wt$, the ending of an unidentifiable word.

^sReading hr (N1) as hr . One could also restore $[h^3]y.t$ “roof/ceiling/portico” (Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 598–99), though a spelling with $-wt$ is unattested.

^tThe f -sign (F35) was destroyed when the beam emplacement was cut, and the f (I9) was partly damaged as well.

^uThe reading of this group is uncertain. The phonetic complements suggest that the tall sign is a graphic substitution for F35, yielding $r-nfr$ (Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 514). Alternatively, one could understand the sign as a variant of U28 and read $r-d^3r$ (Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 1220), with a superfluous f (I9) incorporated from the more common rendition of this phrase, $r-d^3r=f$.

^v md “to be deep” (*Wb.* II, p. 184, and for the architectural connotation compare Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 485); the small, round sign at the left corner of the group was apparently an error made by the sculptor, for it was later filled in with plaster, some of which is still intact. Syntactically, $md=s r-mnh$ parallels $q^3i=s r-nfr/r-d^3r$.

^wOn the significance of $w^3m sn$ “to repeat the circuit, to renew,” see Wilson, *Lexikon*, p. 253.


* *r tp-hsb* (Wilson, *Lexikon*, pp. 677, 1137), implying precision of reckoning or measurement.

‡ Read *m mr=s*, the repetition of the sign being rather unusual for this expression.

DISCUSSION

The entryway represented by these two doorjambs incorporated a number of features that, despite the lack of archaeological provenience, permit consideration of the nature and significance of the building to which it gave ingress. Most notable at first glance is its size. Assuming that the base blocks on either side, allowing the necessary space for the lower bodies of the divine images thereon, would have measured approximately 40 cm high, and that the width of the passage was at most three times the width of the jambs, the doorway would have measured about 2.5 m high and up to 1.2 m wide. Even with the addition of a stone lintel and cornice above, these dimensions suggest either that it formed the main entrance to a shrine of modest size or that it was a secondary entrance to a larger structure.

No internal evidence permits the latter possibility to be confirmed or dismissed. If one considers the former, however, a potential architectural parallel may be found close at hand. At the northwest corner of the forecourt in front of Luxor Temple are the remains (now restored) of a Serapeum constructed during the reign of the emperor Hadrian. This small temple consists of a brick-built cella, about 4 m wide by 5 m long, surrounded by a peripteros and elevated upon a platform made of brick combined with stone fragments reused from older structures.¹³ The shrine's main entrance consists of sandstone doorjambs topped by a lintel and cavetto cornice of the same material, fronting a passage whose recessed inner sections are lined in brick. Though slightly larger than LTF 03609 and LTF 03611 and lacking hieroglyphic inscriptions, the jambs of the Serapeum's entrance are similar enough in scale and configuration to hypothesize an analogous context for our portal.¹⁴ Further, Golvin and his coauthors draw attention to the stylistic and architectural features that the Luxor Serapeum shares with a number of other temples of Serapis and/or Isis in various locations in Egypt and throughout the Roman world, noting in particular the distinctively small scale at which the Isea were usually constructed.¹⁵ The consideration of architectural scale gives weight to the suggestion that the monument whose entrance was flanked by LTF 03609 and LTF 03611 may have been a shrine of similar type, for, as their decoration shows, this monument was a temple of Isis.

This decorative program, purely Egyptian in form, combined some canonical elements with some unusual ones. The iconographic content of the small ritual scenes, though missing their texts, and their arrangement on the upper parts of the jambs correspond to a pattern that can be observed on a number of other doorways and gate structures of Ptolemaic or Roman date.¹⁶ The band of marshland plants below the scenes is also ubiquitous in temples of this era, though here is added the graphic element, not always included, of the -sign (N36) depicting the body of water from which the vegetation emerges. The dedicatory inscription on the right reveal, composed according to the ancient formula *ir.n=f(m) mnw=f*, is of a type frequently encountered in late monuments, particularly in the Theban region. Its grandiose concluding phrases, extolling the excellence of the work, are also attested in contemporary building inscriptions at other sites.¹⁷ The most significant feature of this text is that it names the beneficiary of the king's pious acts, Isis of Djeme (line 3) and designates the structure as her temple, *hw.t=s* (line 4). These are the critical identifiers on which previous speculation about this monument has been focused.¹⁸

¹³ For a description and analysis of this structure, see Golvin et al. 1981.

¹⁴ Photos in Golvin et al. 1981, pls. XXVII–XXVIII. The doorjambs of the Luxor Serapeum lack the distinct batter of the front surface found on our blocks, and the inner edges of their reveals show insets for a door emplacement rather than the angular cutout for joining the decorated surface directly to the mudbrick surface of the passage, as described above. The chiseled surface of the sides and back of the blocks is, however, similar for both sets of jambs.

¹⁵ Golvin et al. 1981, pp. 120–28.

¹⁶ Examples given above, nn. 7–12.

¹⁷ References above in notes u–x to the translation.

¹⁸ I.e., the remarks of Klotz and Lanciers cited above (n. 5).

At a glance to the left, the inscription on the opposite reveal brings the initiate into the realm of ritualized myth. The placement of a spell (*r*) in this position is a most unusual departure from the canonical decoration of gates of this era, and its content, presumably drawn from the temple's liturgy, dramatically proclaims the mythological role of this shrine's divine occupant. Said to take place "within the marshland" (*m-hnw sh.t*), the ritual offering of the *mr.t*-eye by Isis to Horus associates the following action more specifically with the cult center of *Pr-Hr-mr.ty*, Φαρβαῖθος in the eastern Nile Delta.¹⁹ The specific point of narrative evoked here is the moment when Isis has returned from her wanderings (*iw.n 3s.t*) to the place where she has concealed the infant Horus in a thicket of reeds. The time has come for her son's divine kingship over Egypt to be proclaimed, so she unbinds the vegetation (*wh^c=s smw=s*) that she had tied or woven together to protect him (*ir.n=(s) sw m s3(w) n Hr=s*). In preparation for this moment, the spell calls to their places the Lower Egyptian deities Iaqes and Hepwy, who are personifications of the royal insignia²⁰ and act as guardians of Horus,²¹ so that Hepwy may foretell the young god's enthronement (*sry=f Hr r p=f*). The outcome, of course, is that Horus is granted his desire (*iw rdi(w) mr.t=f*) that his enemies be expelled (*dr hfty.w=f*), causing the multitude to tremble because of him (*iw sdd n=f 's3.wt*). This episode from the story of Isis and Horus is also evoked in Book of the Dead chapter 157, a spell attested primarily in late manuscripts:²²

Isis has returned after alighting at the cities and seeking places of concealment (for) Horus at (his) going forth <from> the swamps, his heart 'perturbed,' his mind 'troubled.' <Proclaimed> for him is protection. The Ruler of the shores decrees for him that there may be made for him a record (of) the great conflict, (for) he remembers what was being done against him. He causes fear of him; he has created respect for him. (His) <mother>, the great one, provides his magical protection, (so that) a comer against her Horus trembles.²³

The phrasing of the concluding statement in particular, *mw.t=(f) wr.t ir=s s3w=f sdd iw r Hr=s*, recalls that of the spell on the left reveal. These allusions to a narrative episode that presaged the enthronement of the child Horus clarify the purpose of the other unusual element of this portal's decoration: the images of Horus and Thoth on the face of each jamb, below the representations of the marshes. The two gods are shown facing each other and pouring out water from *hs.t*-vessels toward the doorway between them, a ritual act associated with the king's coronation.²⁴ Since the dedicatory text on the right reveal designates the king as the son of Isis (*mw.t=f*), we may conclude that the identification of the unnamed ruler with the divine monarch par excellence in the context of the Isis myth and his elevation to the throne as recompense for building/restoring the temple constituted a central theme of the monument's textual-iconographic composition.

From the foregoing considerations about the nature of this *hw.t 3s.t*, based on the architecture, iconography, and texts of its portal, we may proceed to the question of its original location. To state the matter briefly, this question cannot be answered with confidence, for the doorjamb's lack of archaeological provenience makes any attempt to do so purely speculative. Possible clues found in other documents concerning the monuments and worship of Isis in Thebes are, however, worth considering. That this structure was situated east of the Nile is not entirely out of the question. Although *3s.t n.t D3mw.t* is not specifically attested among the various avatars of the goddess known from Karnak, the significant role of Isis in the temple of Opet and the theological links between that temple and *3.t B.w-mw.wt*²⁵ could have justified the construction of a shrine of this type somewhere within the great temple complex. Moreover, the majority of the stone fragments that were brought to the area around Luxor Temple for reuse in the medieval town originated

19 Eggebrecht 1977, col. 1276, gives a summary of the textual sources for this toponym; Kafr Hurbayt is the name of the modern town.

20 Kees 1941, pp. 26–27; Gardiner 1944, pp. 28–30.

21 *Edfou Mam.*, p. 100/16.

22 According to Allen (1960, p. 282), the most complete versions are preserved in P. Ryerson (Allen 1960, pl. XLIX) and the Turin *Todtenbuch* papyrus (Lepsius 1842, pl. LXXVI). This protection spell was recited to accompany the fastening of a vulture necklace on the mummy in preparation for its interment (*sm3-t3*).

23 As translated by Allen (1974, p. 155).

24 See Gardiner's remarks (1950, pp. 3–12), with a list of the pre-Ptolemaic occurrences.

25 The role of Isis at Karnak and the various forms of the goddess attested there during the Ptolemaic era have been examined in depth by Coulon (2010).

from Karnak, including a number of monuments that were entirely dismantled and whose existence is known only from the fragment corpus, while the number of fragments transported to Luxor from the west bank of the Nile in the medieval era was much more limited. The archaeological landscape of ancient Thebes is still too poorly known to dismiss the possibility that a shrine to Isis may even have been erected in the area of Luxor Temple itself under the last kings of the house of Ptolemy.

Nevertheless, in the majority of instances where the locus of a cult can be demonstrated, the toponym *D3mw.t* < *ḳ.t ḳ.w-mw.wt*, when used in the epithet of a deity (with *n*, *ḥry-ib*, etc.), indicates the place of worship of that deity to be in or adjoining the district of Djeme, that is, in the vicinity of Medinet Habu.²⁶ Moreover, abundant documentary evidence from western Thebes records the existence of a temple or temples of Isis specifically situated in this district. Many of these documents, including groups of Demotic and Greek administrative ostraca recovered at Deir el-Medina and other sites, were analyzed by D. Klotz, who concluded broadly that the attestations of Isis of/within Djeme contained in them referred to the cult of Isis at Deir Shelwit.²⁷ Subsequently, E. Lanciers has reexamined all the relevant material in detail and has convincingly demonstrated that, while certain groups of documents, including some that mention an Ἴσιεῖον/Ἴσιδεῖον, must indeed refer to the Isis temple of Deir Shelwit,²⁸ others contain references to a shrine of Isis within Djeme, *t3 ʿb.t ʒs.t ḥr-ib Dm3*, which cannot, based on the internal evidence, be identified with Deir Shelwit and which was located in close proximity to Medinet Habu, on the north side of the settlement surrounding the temple of Amun.²⁹

In noting the existence of our two doorjambs and pointing out their relevance as epigraphic evidence for the worship of Isis in western Thebes, Klotz implies, though he does not state explicitly, that these blocks are related to a conjectured building phase of the temple of Deir Shelwit that preceded the reign of Augustus Caesar.³⁰ Indeed, a doorjamb from a ruined gate inscribed with the cartouches of Augustus was removed from the site by Lepsius's expedition; this block included a scene depicting the king before Osiris *Wnn-nfr* and Isis *ḥry(t)-ib ʿTwnw šmʿ nb.t Tm3.t*, "who dwells at Armant, the lady of Djeme."³¹ For this reason, the possibility that LTF 03609 and LTF 03611 may have come from the entrance to an earlier shrine at Deir Shelwit cannot be dismissed. There is no archaeological evidence, however, to show what the configuration of an earlier phase of the Roman-era temple may have been, and, architectural indications notwithstanding,³² no other inscriptions of the Ptolemaic period are known from Deir Shelwit.

Likewise, no archaeological evidence has yet demonstrated the existence of a temple to Isis near Medinet Habu. Yet a possible identification of the *ḥw.t* of *ʒs.t n.(t) D3mw.t* represented by our doorjambs with the "Isis chapel in Djeme" whose existence Lanciers has adduced from references in O. Zürich 10 and the Totoes papyri merits consideration.³³ If we accept Lanciers's reconstruction of the placement of this chapel next to an agricultural area north of the "canal of Djeme" leading to Medinet Habu, south of the Ptolemaic tombs near the mortuary temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu, and east of the "road of Amun to Djeme" approaching Medinet Habu from the north,³⁴ then *t3 ʿb.t ʒs.t ḥr-ib Dm3* would have been situated to the northeast of the dromos of the temple of Amun *Dsr-s.t*. In the era of Cleopatra VII and her siblings, this approach was dominated by the great pylon and gate constructed during the reigns of Ptolemy IX Soter II and Ptolemy XII Neos Dionysos.³⁵ In juxtaposition to these imposing structures, we may conjecture that the *ʿb.t* represented

26 Otto 1952, p. 75.

27 Klotz 2009; Klotz 2012, pp. 126–28.

28 Lanciers 2015a, pp. 129–32.

29 Lanciers 2015b, pp. 392–400.

30 Klotz 2012, p. 126.

31 Zivie et al. 1992, pp. 11–12.

32 References at Klotz 2012, p. 126 n. 688.

33 Lanciers 2015b, pp. 391–93.

34 Lanciers 2015b, pp. 394–96. This processional road led through a small sandstone gate inscribed for Nectanebo I (unpublished), located outside the northeast corner of the Ramesside enclosure wall, in a position corresponding to that of the later gate of Claudius that marked the southern approach. I am grateful to Dr. Omar Abu-Zeid for this information.

35 For an architectural description and illustrations of this pylon, see Hölscher 1939, pp. 29–30, 56–59, and pls. 7, 36–40.

in the documents was a shrine of modest dimensions, built primarily of brick and comparable in design to a Roman-era Iseum, located at the edge of cultivated land in the area now occupied by the old Habu Hotel and the nearby village. Perhaps somewhere in this area, which has never yet been excavated, lie buried the architectural vestiges of a little temple to Isis of Djeme, whose priests daily approached her sacred image through the sandstone portal here described.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| CT | Adriaan de Buck. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> . 7 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, and 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–1961 |
| <i>Edfou I</i> | Le Marquis de Rochemonteix. <i>Le temple d'Edfou. Première partie</i> . Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 10. Paris: Leroux, 1892 |
| <i>Edfou Mam.</i> | Émile Chassinat. <i>Le mammisi d'Edfou</i> . Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire 16. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1939 |
| LGG | Christian Leitz. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . 8 vols. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16, 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–3 |
| LTF | Luxor Temple fragment |
| O. | Ostrakon |
| PM II ² | Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Vol. 2, <i>Theban Temples</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1972 |
| <i>Wb.</i> | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Reprint, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982 |
| Wilson, <i>Lexikon</i> | Penelope Wilson. <i>A Ptolemaic Lexikon</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters, 1997 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allen, Thomas George

- 1960 *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*. Oriental Institute Publication 82. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 1974 *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in Their Own Terms*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Aufrère, Sydney H.

- 2000 *Le propylône d'Amon-Rê-Montou à Karnak-Nord*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 117. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Beinlich, Horst

- 2008a *Handbuch der Szenentitel in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens: Die Titel der Ritualszenen, ihre korrespondierenden Szenen und ihre Darstellungen*. Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel 3/1. Dettelbach, Germany: Röhl.
- 2008b *Handbuch der Szenentitel in den Tempeln der griechisch-römischen Zeit Ägyptens: Die Titel der Ritualszenen, ihre korrespondierenden Szenen und ihre Darstellungen*. Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel 3/2. Dettelbach, Germany: Röhl.

Coulon, Laurent

- 2010 “Les formes d'Isis à Karnak à travers la prosopographie sacerdotale de l'époque ptolémaïque.” In *Isis on the Nile: Egyptian Gods in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. Proceedings of the IVth International Congress of Isis Studies, Liège, November 27–29 2008*, edited by L. Bricault and M. J. Versluys, pp. 121–47. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 171. Leiden: Brill.

du Bourguet, Pierre

- 2002 *Le temple de Deir al-Médîna*. Texts edited and indexed by Luc Gabolde. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 121. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Eggebrecht, Arne

- 1977 “Horbeit.” In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, vol. 2, p. 1276. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Fakhry, Ahmed
 1934 "Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 34: 87–93, pls. I–II.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
 1944 "Horus the Behdetite." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 30: 23–60.
 1950 "The Baptism of Pharaoh." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36: 3–12.
- Golvin, Jean-Claude, Sayed Abd el-Hamid, Guy Wagner, and Françoise Dunand
 1981 "Le petit Sarapeion romain de Louqsor." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 81: 115–48.
- Hallof, Jochen
 2008 *Verzeichnis der hieroglyphischen Schreibungen der Szenentitel in den griechisch-römischen Tempeln Ägyptens. Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel 2.* Dettelbach, Germany: Röhl.
- Hölscher, Uvo
 1939 *The Excavation of Medinet Habu. Vol. 2, The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty.* Oriental Institute Publications 41. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Johnson, W. Raymond
 2006 "Epigraphic Survey." In *Oriental Institute 2005–2006 Annual Report*, edited by Gil J. Stein, pp. 35–45. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Kees, Hermann
 1941 "Kulttopographische und mythologische Beiträge. 7. *Ḳks* und *Ḳpj*, zwei Königsinsignien als Gottheiten." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 77: 24–27.
- Klotz, David
 2009 "Λογεία-Receipts and the Construction of Deir Shelwit." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 168: 252–56.
 2012 *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes.* Monographies Reine Élisabeth 15. Brepols: Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Lanciers, Eddy
 2015a "The Isis Cult in Western Thebes in the Graeco-Roman Period (Part I)." *Chronique d'Égypte* 90: 121–33.
 2015b "The Isis Cult in Western Thebes in the Graeco-Roman Period (Part II)." *Chronique d'Égypte* 90: 379–405.
- Lepsius, R.
 1842 *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin.* Leipzig: Wigand.
- Mendel, Daniela
 2003 *Die kosmogonischen Inschriften in der Barkenkapelle des Chonstempels von Karnak.* Monographies Reine Élisabeth 9. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Muhammad, Muhammad Abdul-Qader
 1968 "Preliminary Report on the Excavations Carried Out in the Temple of Luxor, Seasons 1958–1959 & 1959–1960." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 60: 227–79, pls. I–CVI.
- Otto, Eberhard
 1952 *Topographie des thebanischen Gaués.* Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens 15. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- Thiers, Christophe
 2003 *Tôd: Les inscriptions du temple ptolémaïque et romain. Vol. 2, Textes et scènes nos 173–329.* Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 18/2. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Willems, Harco, Filip Coppens, and Marleen De Meyer
 2003 *The Temple of Shanḥûr. Vol. 1, The Sanctuary, the Wabet, and the Gates of the Central Hall and the Great Vestibule (1–98).* Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 124. Leuven: Peeters.
- Žabkar, L. V.
 1983 "Six Hymns to Isis in the Sanctuary of Her Temple at Philae and Their Theological Significance: Part I." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 69: 115–37.
- Zivie, Christiane, Michel Azim, Patrick Deleuze, and Jean-Claude Golvin
 1992 *Le temple de Deir Chelouit IV: Étude architecturale.* Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

12 SUR QUELQUES PASSAGES DE LA STÈLE DE LA TEMPÊTE D'AHMOSIS

Pierre Meyrat
University of Geneva

C'EST À PARIS EN MAI 2009 que j'ai rencontré le regretté Prof. Robert Ritner, à l'occasion de ses captivantes conférences sur la magie égyptienne. Quelques années plus tard, il a fait partie de mon jury de thèse, me permettant d'améliorer bien des lectures. C'est donc avec gratitude et émotion que je lui dédie ces quelques considérations sur un texte passablement lacunaire qui avait retenu son attention. En effet, si la fameuse stèle dite "de la tempête" d'Ahmosis a déjà fait couler beaucoup d'encre en raison de son caractère unique et de ses nombreuses difficultés,¹ l'interprétation de certains passages peut, à notre avis, encore être améliorée.

QU'EST-CE QUI DÉRIVE À LA SURFACE DES EAUX?

Vers la moitié du texte est mentionnée la colère des dieux, qui déclenchent la tempête. Un passage lacunaire, mieux conservé sur le recto de la stèle, décrit le puissant vacarme des éléments. Vient ensuite ce qui suit:



wn.in pr nb iwyt nbt sprt=sn [. . .]

Alors chaque foyer, chaque quartier qu'ils atteignaient [. . .]

On peut se demander ici quel est l'antécédent du suffixe *=sn*; il est peu probable qu'il s'agisse du roi et de sa suite, qui ne se sont pas encore mis en mouvement.² La plupart des auteurs considèrent que ce suffixe se réfère aux masses d'eau engendrées par l'orage, mais on pourrait également imaginer qu'il se réfère aux dieux mentionnés un peu plus haut, et considérer ici *spr* comme un verbe transitif: "frapper, atteindre (en parlant d'un mal)" (*Wb.* IV, p. 103/9), également envisageable dans le contexte.³ S'il est difficile de trancher, notre traduction "qu'ils atteignaient" permet de préserver cette ambiguïté.

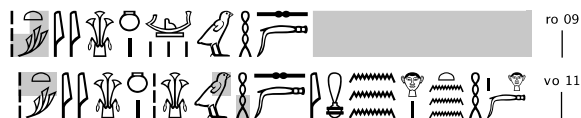
Ce passage est suivi d'une assez longue lacune (environ 9 cadrats) de chaque côté de la stèle, mais en y restituant les portions de texte conservés, on peut estimer que la partie de texte perdue devait occuper

1 *Editio princeps*: Vandersleyen 1967 et 1968, et nouveau fragment publié dans Biston-Moulin 2015, pp. 46–49, avec les meilleures photos du monument publiées à ce jour, sur lesquelles sont fondées nos transcriptions; la stèle est également bien visible dans le film documentaire *La Stèle de la Tempête* réalisé par Olivier Vandersleyen (Wide Screen, 2017), que nous remercions pour ses photos de détails (voir *infra*). Pour d'autres traductions et commentaires, voir notamment Polinger Foster et Ritner 1996; Redford 1997, p. 16; Ryholt 1997, pp. 143–48; Wiener et Allen 1998; Beylage 2002, pp. 77–85 et 607–13; Klug 2002, pp. 35–46; Polz 2007, pp. 9–10; Schneider 2010; Quack 2012, pp. 355–58; 2013; Ritner et Moeller 2014.

2 Contra Beylage 2002, p. 83: "der König und sein Gefolge."

3 Sur ce passage, voir aussi Vandersleyen 1967, p. 137 (19 *in fine*); Wiener et Allen 1998, p. 11.

quelque 5 cadrats au recto et 7 cadrats au verso, du fait de la différence de disposition du texte sur les deux faces de la stèle. Le passage continue comme suit:



[. . .] *hr mḥt hr mw mī smḥw nw mḥyt*

[. . .] en train de dériver⁴ sur l'eau comme des esquifs⁵ de papyrus⁶

Si Vandersleyen n'a pas spécifiquement commenté l'élément en lacune qui précède ce passage, Helck a cru bon d'y rétablir $\overline{\text{h3wt3sn}}$ (*h3wt3sn*), faisant ainsi de "leurs cadavres" le sujet de cette phrase: une restitution à notre avis totalement infondée et bien téméraire, mais qui a fait son chemin dans la littérature.⁷ Certains auteurs plus prudents ont toutefois proposé de voir dans ce passage une possible allusion aux débris résultant de la destruction des maisons par la tempête.⁸

Nous souhaitons toutefois proposer une troisième possibilité, qui ne semble pas avoir été évoquée jusqu'ici: ce passage évoque très probablement la prolifération de crocodiles dans les zones affectées par la tempête. Plusieurs indices convergent vers cette solution.

ALLITÉRATION

Le passage en question: *hr mḥt hr mw mī smḥw nw mḥyt* est manifestement composé de manière à souligner une allitération très prononcée des lettres *m* et *h*, un type de répétition bien attesté dans la littérature historique égyptienne,⁹ formant ici une suite de sons vraisemblablement destinés à renforcer le mot *msh(w)* "crocodile(s)" (*Wb. II*, p. 136/10). Notons ici que le verbe *mḥi* (*Wb. II*, pp. 121–22), signifiant en premier lieu "baigner, être immergé," puis "s'immerger, dériver," est bien attesté pour le saurien.¹⁰ En l'occurrence, l'animal n'est pas véritablement à la dérive, mais plutôt en train de "glisser" sur l'eau. Pour augmenter encore l'allitération, le passage en lacune pourrait également inclure la forme pseudo-verbale du verbe *mḥ* avec la préposition *m* (*Wb. II*, p. 116/14): "être rempli, infesté de crocodiles," expression que l'on rencontre notamment dans le *Conte des Deux Frères*, où Rê fait apparaître un plan d'eau décrit comme suit: *iw3f mḥ(w) <m> mshw* "rempli de crocodiles."¹¹

4 Théoriquement, *mḥt* pourrait également être une graphie du mot *mḥyt* "fleuve" (*Wb. II*, p. 122/15) utilisé ici dans une expression désignant la totalité des eaux, soit le fleuve et les eaux stagnantes (mares et lacs artificiels résultant de la pluie torrentielle, voir par ex. Leblanc 1995), sur le modèle *hr mw hr t3* "sur l'eau et sur la terre, partout" (*Wb. II*, p. 50/12–13); dans le contexte, l'infinitif semble toutefois bien plus probable.

5 Sur la barque de papyrus *smḥ*, voir Vandersleyen 1967, p. 137 (20); Guglielmi 1982; Düring 1995, p. 40; Servajean 2018, pp. 201–7.

6 Pour *mḥyt* (*Wb. II*, p. 124/8–9), voir Vandersleyen 1967, p. 137 (20). Si $\overline{\text{mḥyt}}$ (*Urk. IV*, p. 1245/4) et $\overline{\text{mḥyt}}$ (*Urk. IV*, p. 1321/17) peuvent apparaître dans la même expression, ce sont des synonymes et non des variantes d'écriture du même mot, sauf à considérer que la plante $\overline{\text{mḥyt}}$ (M15) peut avoir la valeur *d*, ce qui n'est attesté nulle part ailleurs, contra Edel 1979, p. 32 n. 8, suivi par Wiener et Allen 1998, p. 11. La lecture *mḥyt* est donc préférable, voir aussi Gilula 1977, p. 295 n. 2, et Klug 2002, 153 n. 1211. La lecture *h3yt* proposée par Goedicke 1992, p. 60 n. 52 doit résulter d'une inattention.

7 Helck 1975, répété dans la 2^e éd. (1983), p. 107; Wiener et Allen 1998, p. 11; Beylage 2002, pp. 82–83.

8 Références réunies dans Klug 2002, p. 39 n. 314; voir aussi Quack 2012, p. 357.

9 Voir notamment Guglielmi 1986 et plus spécifiquement Eyre 1996, pp. 420–21.

10 Vernus 1991, p. 26. Une désignation tardive des crocodiles fait d'eux des *mḥw* "immergés," voir *Wb. II*, p. 122/20, et également *LGG IV*, p. 426a pour le soleil vu comme un *ntr-mḥw* "dieu des immergés."

11 Papyrus d'Orbiney (British Museum EA 10183), 6, 6–7; voir à ce propos Aufrère 2011, pp. 75–76, et Guglielmi 2017, p. 342, o–p. Pour les représentations de plans d'eau infestés de sauriens, voir Menu 2013, pp. 192–96, et dernièrement El Aguizy 2018.

COMPARAISON

La comparaison de crocodiles avec les barques *smḥw* faites de papyrus est également compréhensible: avec sa morphologie fuselée et hydrodynamique¹² et sa livrée vert olive,¹³ l'animal évoque naturellement ce type d'embarcation. Au Prédynastique déjà, des modèles de barques funéraires empruntent la forme du saurien.¹⁴ La littérature égyptienne évoque parfois les capacités du crocodile à "naviguer": dans les hymnes à Sobek du papyrus Ramesseum VI, le dieu est capable de descendre ou remonter le fleuve.¹⁵ Le crocodile est également comparé à une embarcation dans certains textes magiques, où la queue du saurien est comparée à un gouvernail, et ses pattes à des rames.¹⁶ Plus précisément, la structure d'une barque de papyrus, avec ses longs joncs attachés par des liens perpendiculaires, n'est pas sans évoquer le motif quadrillé de l'armure du crocodile, et la comparaison avec cette embarcation légère et très maniable vise sans doute à souligner la multitude de crocodiles observés à la suite de la tempête.

ÉCOLOGIE ET COMPORTEMENT

En temps normal, le crocodile du Nil évitait de s'approcher trop près des villes.¹⁷ Mais en cas de fortes pluies, les rives sablonneuses du fleuve où il aime se reposer et prendre le soleil pendant la journée¹⁸ sont alors immergées, l'obligeant à s'enfoncer plus avant dans les zones habituellement sèches pour sortir de l'eau: de nos jours encore, dans la plupart des pays où vivent des crocodiliens à l'état sauvage, les inondations peuvent perturber leur environnement et provoquer leur arrivée fortuite dans les zones habitées, avec tous les risques que cela implique pour l'homme. En Afrique, ce phénomène a pu être observé en 2005 dans le sud-est de l'Éthiopie,¹⁹ ou en 2020 dans la région de Khartoum, capitale du Soudan,²⁰ pour ne citer que deux exemples. Ces bouleversements météorologiques devaient également avoir un impact sur le comportement des crocodiles, ce que les Égyptiens n'ont pas pu ignorer, comme le suggère, à l'époque ramesside,²¹ un passage de l'*Enseignement d'Aménémopé*:



p3 qriw hy n3 mshw bin

L'orage est puissant, les crocodiles sont méchants²²

12 "Crocodilians swim with their front legs tucked under and their hind legs dragging along in a relaxed position while the tail executes strong sideways movements. The torpedo-shaped body, in combination with the extremely strong movements of the tail, allows the animal to glide through the water at lightning speed, and to shoot out of the water to grab prey" (Trutnau et Sommerlad 2006, p. 89).

13 "Young Nile crocodiles are olive green colored with dark spots and banding. Adults are dark or olive colored on the upper side of the body. The porcelain white belly has no markings." (Trutnau et Sommerlad 2006, p. 499).

14 Voir notamment la pièce München ÄS 6759; il convient toutefois de rester prudent quant à l'authenticité de certains objets de ce type, comme le souligne Vanhulle 2018, pp. 306–7.

15 British Museum EA 10759; voir Gardiner 1957b, p. 45 et pl. 2 (col. 5).

16 Quack 2018, pp. 37–38 et n. 77.

17 Botta et Vinson 1996; sur le crocodile en Égypte, voir Kockelmann 2017, pp. 1–10 avec bibliographie.

18 Sur le repos et la thermorégulation du crocodile, voir Trutnau et Sommerlad 2006, pp. 235–37 et 242–43.

19 "Crocodiles menace Ethiopian flood survivors as death toll climbs to 88," article du *Sudan Tribune* en ligne (27 avril 2005): <https://sudantribune.com/article9956/> (consulté le 26 juillet 2023).

20 "Record floods inundate Sudanese capital," article du site *Africanews* en ligne (10 septembre 2020): <https://www.africanews.com/2020/09/10/record-floods-inundate-sudanese-capital/> (consulté le 26 juillet 2023).

21 Pour plus de précisions sur la datation de ce texte, voir Laisney 2007, pp. 6–7.

22 British Museum EA 10474, 4, 16; sur ce passage, voir Laisney 2007, pp. 55, 61–62 et 330; pour le terme *bin* appliqué ici au crocodile, voir Rizzo 2005, p. 317. Sur le danger omniprésent que représentait le crocodile dans l'Égypte ancienne, voir la bibliographie réunie dans Quack 2018, p. 33 n. 55.

Plus tardivement, une stèle magique présente un texte évoquant l'attaque d'une déesse par des crocodiles, où un élément en lacune est comparé à l'avancée d'une tempête (*d'*), mais ce passage est assez mal conservé.²³ Enfin, une épithète de Sobek à Kom Ombo le décrit comme *shpr-d'* "celui qui provoque la tempête."²⁴

Ces arguments à la fois linguistiques, littéraires et zoologiques nous semblent suffisamment probants pour supposer que la courte lacune devait comporter les mots suivants, ou du moins s'en approcher considérablement au niveau du sens:

wn.in pr nb iwyt nbt sprt-sn [mh.ti²⁵ m mshw] hr mht hr mw mi smhw nw mhyt

Alors chaque foyer, chaque quartier qu'ils atteignaient

[fut infesté de crocodiles] glissant sur l'eau comme des esquifs de papyrus.

Le passage qui suit: *[. . .] hr hnwty hntyr hrw [. . .]* "[. . .] sur/à propos de (?) la salle d'audience pendant [. . .] jours" présente vraisemblablement une nouvelle phrase à prédicat adverbial. La lacune initiale représente une difficulté majeure du texte, et ce passage est malheureusement endommagé sur les deux côtés de la stèle: au recto (l. 9), l'espace correspond à deux cadrats et se termine apparemment par le signe \beth (M17); la partie conservée du premier signe ne correspond ni au visage 𓆎 (D2), ni à une tête d'oiseau, mais évoque plutôt un signe arrondi et fermé dans sa partie supérieure, comme la mèche 𓆏 (V28).²⁶ Au verso (l. 11), la lacune occupe 2½ cadrats et comporte un 𓆏 (D21). Ce passage du texte reste pour nous énigmatique: on peut imaginer que le mot ou groupe en lacune présentait une image décrivant le chaos dans lequel se trouve



Figure 12.1. Recto, ligne 9: lacune avec partie conservée d'un signe arrondi (en haut à droite). Photo: O. Vandersleyen.

²³ Field Museum of Natural History de Chicago, cat. no. 31737; voir Ritner 1989, pp. 109–13.

²⁴ KO, p. 59, 5; voir LGG VI, p. 517a; Leitz 2010, pp. 314 (col. 5 *in fine*), 315 (51); voir aussi p. 323 n. 87 pour la correction d'une traduction antérieure proposée par Derchain.

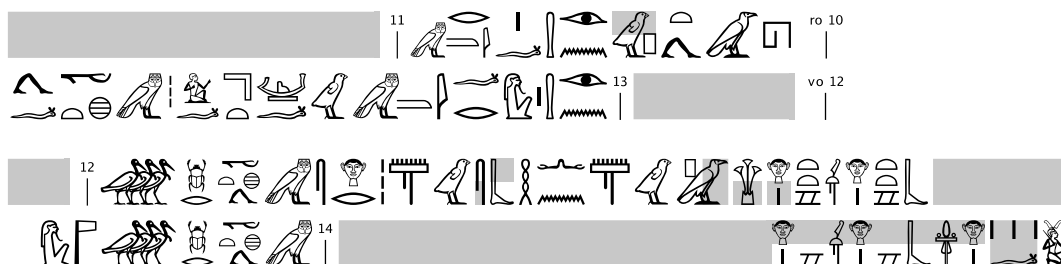
²⁵ Ou peut-être *mh.w*, selon l'antécédent considéré; voir aussi Gardiner 1957a, §309, qui mentionne un passage relativement similaire: *ist mniwt nbt sspd.w* "lo, all ports were supplied" (*Urk.* IV, p. 719/7). Je remercie les éditeurs d'avoir attiré mon attention sur ce point.

²⁶ Dans l'intérêt de futures discussions, nous reproduisons ici une photo de cette section de la ligne 9 du recto, voir notre figure 12.1; je remercie vivement Olivier Vandersleyen pour cette photo et son autorisation de reproduction.

l'Égypte, comme dans la littérature pessimiste du Moyen Empire,²⁷ ou une description de l'inquiétude du peuple pour son souverain.

IDENTIFICATION DES *ḤBSW* EMPORTÉS PAR LA TEMPÊTE

Après l'énoncé de la situation, Ahmosis réagit et décide de rejoindre Thèbes par bateau. Ce départ est décrit dans un passage bien conservé, les deux côtés de la stèle étant ici parfaitement complémentaires (ro, l. 10–12 et vo, l. 12–14):



Si le début de ce passage ne pose pas de problème, sa deuxième partie est sujette à interprétation: en effet, les mots $\overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{Z}} \overline{\text{Y}}$ (*h3pw*) et $\overline{\text{T}} \overline{\text{A}} \overline{\text{L}} \overline{\text{L}}$ (*ḥbsw*) ont donné lieu à des traductions assez variées, certaines décrivant une situation plutôt invraisemblable dans le contexte.²⁸

Helck a proposé de considérer le mot *h3pw*, dérivé du verbe *h3p* “recouvrir, cacher” (*Wb.* III, p. 30/6–8 et 9–14), comme un terme désignant une couverture ou un abri protecteur,²⁹ la préposition *ḥr* exprimant la cause (Gardiner 1957a, §165.7): “en couverture,” ce qui nous semble pertinent dans le contexte. Toutefois, il considère *ḥbsw* comme un quasi-synonyme de *h3pw*, ce qui rend sa traduction du passage passablement redondante, et son hypothèse selon laquelle les soldats escortent le bateau depuis les rives nous semble





Figure 12.2. Recto, ligne 11: côtés en partie conservés d'un *p* (Q3), surlignés sur l'image de droite. Photo: O. Vandersleyen.

27 Voir par exemple la *Complainte de Khâkhéperré-séneb*: *rdi.tw m3't rwty isft m-ḥnw sh* “on pousse l'ordre dehors, on introduit le chaos dans la salle du conseil” (British Museum EA 5645, ro 11).

28 Pour un aperçu des variantes, voir Klug 2002, p. 40 n. 321, et dernièrement Huyeng 2014. L'existence du $\overline{\text{Q}}$ (Q3) dans le mot *h3pw* a aussi été mise en doute (Quack 2012, p. 356 n. 135), mais s'il est fragmentaire, ce signe est bien présent, voir notre figure 12.2. Je remercie vivement Sébastien Biston-Moulin pour m'avoir fait profiter de sa documentation photographique, ainsi qu'Olivier Vandersleyen pour sa photo. Notons ici que sur le recto de la stèle, le signe Q3 est parfois inscrit de manière très peu prononcée, comme dans le mot *pw* en fin de l. 10.

29 Helck 1987.

La première partie est assez claire: *wn.in hm=f hr smnt t3wy* “Alors Sa Majesté se mit à raffermir les Deux Terres.” Dans la seconde partie, le nisbé féminin pluriel *mhywt* utilisé comme un nom (Gardiner 1957a, §§79 et 81), formé sur le verbe *mhi* “être immergé,” doit désigner les zones ou régions inondées par la tempête.³⁵ Ce sont surtout les deux signes qui suivent qui ont prêté à confusion.

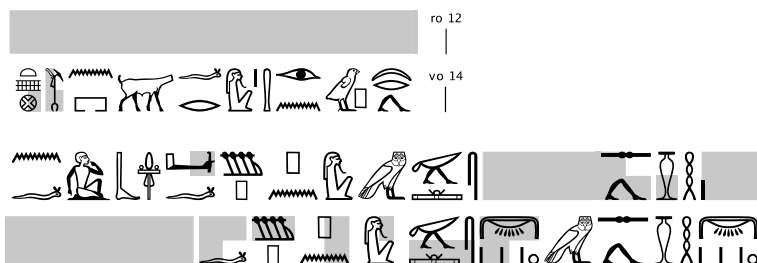
Si le signe  (D35) a été généralement interprété comme la négation, il s’agit en réalité ici d’une variante d’écriture assez fréquente pour la préposition  (N35) (Gardiner 1957a, §164), variante clairement attestée à la dernière ligne du recto, dans l’expression *q3b qw n i3wt* “augmenter les rations pour le personnel.”³⁶

En l’absence d’une bonne photographie, les traces du signe placé en dessous ont parfois posé problème,³⁷ mais Vandersleyen avait raison d’y voir un personnage.³⁸ Il s’agit en fait d’une variante du soldat A12, dont la partie supérieure de l’arc est bien reconnaissable, et comparable à celui visible deux lignes plus haut.³⁹ Celui-ci est toutefois représenté sans plume d’autruche sur la tête, sans doute pour des raisons d’espace. Associé aux signes qui suivent, il s’agit d’une nouvelle mention de la troupe: *n mš=f*.


L’expression *sšm w3t n* est utilisée pour indiquer une direction à quelqu’un, diriger quelqu’un quelque part (*Wb.* IV, p. 286/12); on la trouve notamment à Deir el-Bahari, où les dieux viennent en aide à Hatshepsout: *sšm=sn n=s w3wt nfrwt* “ils lui indiquent les bons chemins” (*Urk.* IV, p. 247/6). Dans le contexte de la stèle, le passage *hr sšmt mhywt n mš=f* doit rendre l’idée de “confier les zones inondées à son armée”: le roi envoie son armée dans les régions les plus touchées pour participer aux distributions des biens mentionnés juste après, entre autres tâches de protection et de reconstruction.

UNE ÉNIGMATIQUE CONFRONTATION


Comme le souligne Ryholt, certains passages de la stèle sont passablement hermétiques, sans doute à dessein.⁴⁰ En l’état actuel, le passage le plus allusif est sans conteste le suivant, mieux conservé au verso (ro, l. 12 et vo, l. 14):



La première partie semble relativement claire: *spr pw ir(w).n hm=f r hn W3st* “Sa Majesté arriva alors à [l’intérieur/la résidence] de Thèbes.” La phrase qui suit peut littéralement se traduire ainsi: *nbw hs(w) m nbw sšm pn šsp=f3b(t).n=f* “L’or s’étant tourné vers l’or de cette statue de culte, il obtient ce qu’il désirait.” La première occurrence du mot *nbw* est généralement comprise comme une métaphore pour le roi, ce qui semble tout à fait plausible; mais la nature “dorée” du roi découle avant tout de son association avec le soleil,⁴¹ on peut dès

35 Voir aussi Wiener et Allen 1998, p. 14. Le terme est peut-être apparenté aux  (*mhw*) du papyrus Reisner I, qui désignent certainement des lopins de terre; voir Berlev 1965, pp. 264–65.

36 Voir Vandersleyen 1967, pl. 10; le signe D35 est bien visible sur la photo dans Biston-Moulin 2015, p. 48. Voir aussi Klug 2002, p. 40 n. 325, qui note d’autres exemples contemporains.

37 Ce signe a été lu  (T5) (Helck 1983, p. 108) ou  (R15) (Wiener et Allen 1998, p. 14); de tels signes auraient toutefois occupé toute la hauteur du cadrat, comme c’est le cas aux lignes 7, 10, 12 et 16 du verso.

38 Vandersleyen 1967, p. 144 (38); voir aussi Klug 2002, p. 40 n. 325.

39 Voir Vandersleyen 1967, p. 144 (38) et photo dans Biston-Moulin 2015, p. 49.

40 “The texts poses (sic) some difficulties lexicographically, and there is reason to believe that it is deliberately kept ambiguous” (Ryholt 1997, p. 144).








41 Grapow 1924, pp. 57–58. Voir également la contribution de Katja Goebis dans le présent volume.

lors se demander si ce n'est pas plutôt l'astre lui-même qui est concerné ici: on aurait alors le signe évident que la tempête est bel et bien terminée, ainsi qu'une allusion au fait que les rayons solaires font briller l'or de la statue. Cela reste bien entendu très hypothétique, mais une telle "théophanie" n'est pas à exclure,⁴² et encore une fois le texte est sans doute volontairement ambigu.

Par ailleurs, le verbe *spr*, la mention d'une statue *sšm*, ainsi qu'une allusion à un vœu exaucé, évoquent très fortement le contexte d'un décret oraculaire: en effet, en plus du sens courant "arriver quelque part," le verbe *spr* peut aussi vouloir dire "présenter une requête," notamment auprès d'une divinité;⁴³ celle-ci est alors représentée par une statue de culte *sšm(w)*, susceptible d'être placée sur une barque processionnelle et de délivrer des oracles.⁴⁴ On imagine que celui qui obtient ce qu'il désire est le roi, mais le dieu Amon n'est peut-être pas à exclure,⁴⁵ car tous les protagonistes semblent à présent satisfaits de la situation et la colère divine semble apaisée.

S'il est difficile d'être très affirmatif sur un passage aussi allusif, le vocabulaire utilisé et la résolution heureuse de la situation vont très clairement dans le sens d'un décret oraculaire rendu par Amon en faveur d'Ahmosis.⁴⁶ À n'en pas douter, l'explication se trouvait au début du texte, dans les parties encore manquantes.

LE VERBE DÉSIGNANT L'ÉTAT DES PYRAMIDES

Différentes solutions ont été proposées pour expliquer le hapax  désignant l'état des pyramides, écrit de manière identique sur les deux côtés de la stèle (ro, l. 15 et vo, l. 17): la plupart des auteurs tentent de relier cette forme à d'autres verbes dont la graphie et les déterminatifs sont parfois assez éloignés.⁴⁷ Il nous semble plus probable d'y voir une écriture du verbe *wʿf*:  ou  (*Wb. I*, p. 285/1–4): "être courbé, replié, contracté," dont le *f* aurait été omis. Cette omission pourrait être due à une confusion, durant l'une des étapes de la rédaction, avec le suffixe masculin *ʿf*. En effet, certaines graphies de ce verbe ne présentent aucun déterminatif, ce qui a pu engendrer une incertitude sur la fonction du *f* final.⁴⁸ Dans ce passage de la stèle qui évoque l'état délabré des pyramides, ce verbe doit impliquer que les monuments ont perdu de leur masse (pyramidion et/ou pierres de revêtement) et sont par conséquent plus tassés et affaissés qu'avant la tempête, que ce soit un effet direct (pluies) ou indirect (action humaine) de celle-ci.⁴⁹ Nous proposons donc de traduire     *wʿ(f) mḥrw* par "l'affaissement des pyramides."⁵⁰

TRADUCTION SUIVIE

Sur la base de ce qui précède, et à titre provisionnel, nous proposons ici une nouvelle traduction suivie de l'ensemble du texte:

42 La "torche" mentionnée plus haut dans le texte est peut-être une image pour le soleil; voir Schneider 2010.




43 Voir Shupak 1992, p. 11 n. 39 avec bibliographie antérieure; Ritner 1993, p. 214 n. 992; Winand 2003, pp. 620–23.

44 Voir notamment Ockinga 1984, pp. 40–51; Eaton 2007, pp. 18–19.

45 Voir Cabrol 2001, p. 395 n. 720; *LGG I*, p. 9a–b.

46 Pour une autre mention possible d'oracle sous Ahmosis, voir Gitton 1976, p. 79 (am), et Trapani 2002, p. 158 n. 42. Pour le rôle oraculaire d'Ahmosis lui-même, notamment à l'époque ramesside, voir Kákosy 1982, col. 603 n. 57, et dernièrement Coulon 2017, pp. 71–72.

47 Voir Vandersleyen 1967, p. 147 (50); Redford 1997, p. 31 (180); Wiener et Allen 1998, p. 16; Klug 2002, p. 41 n. 331; Ritner et Moeller 2014, p. 9 n. 76.

48 C'est le cas sur l'obélisque de Théodose, où le verbe apparaît dans son sens transitif de "faire plier, vaincre" (*Wb. I*, p. 285/5–14):    (Urk. IV, p. 587/1); sur ce monument de Thoutmosis III, voir en dernier lieu Biston-Moulin 2020, pp. 66–67.

49 Voir à ce sujet Polz 2007, p. 10.

50 Pour la translittération du mot "pyramide," voir Collombert 2010.

[. . .] les Deux Maîtresses *Celui à la naissance parfaite*, l'Horus d'Or *Celui qui attache les Deux Terres*, le Roi de Haute et Basse Egypte *Neb-péhéty-Rê*, le fils de Rê *Iâhmès*, doué de vie éternellement. Lors de la venue de Sa Majesté [. . .] Rê l'a [intrônisé] roi véritable. Alors que Sa Majesté s'était installée au quai de Sédjéfa-Tawy [. . .] du sud d'Iounet. Or [. . .] à Héliopolis du sud. Sa Majesté remonta vers le sud pour [. . .] pure. Après que cette grande offrande [. . .] alors on se préoccupa de [. . .] ce [. . .].

Quant à la statue de culte [. . .] son corps étant installé dans ce temple, ses membres étant emplis de joie [. . .] ce grand dieu désirant [. . .] Sa Majesté [. . .] les dieux manifestèrent leur désapprobation [. . .] les dieux [firent] tourner le ciel en tempête de [pluie] ainsi qu'en [ténèbres], l'ouest du ciel étant empli de nuages, sans [. . .] plus que [la clameur] de la foule, puissant était [. . .] sur les montagnes, plus que le vacarme de la cataracte qui est à Éléphantine. Alors chaque foyer, chaque quartier qu'ils atteignaient [fut infesté de crocodiles] glissant sur l'eau comme des esquifs de papyrus. [. . .] au sujet de/sur (?) la résidence royale pendant [. . .] jours, sans que la torche n'éclaire la face des Deux Terres. Sa Majesté s'exclama alors: "Comme cela surpasse la puissance du grand dieu et la volonté des dieux!"

Sa Majesté monta alors à bord de son bateau, son conseil à sa suite, sa troupe à (sa) gauche et à (sa) droite en couverture, (car) il n'y avait plus de parties couvertes dessus après la manifestation de la puissance du dieu. Sa Majesté arriva alors à [l'intérieur/la résidence] de Thèbes. L'or s'étant tourné vers l'or de cette statue de culte, il obtient ce qu'il désirait. Alors Sa Majesté se mit à raffermir les Deux Terres en confiant les zones inondées à son armée, en leur fournissant argent, or, cuivre, huile, vêtements de toutes sortes, à volonté. Sa Majesté se reposa alors dans la Grande Maison v.f.s.

On rapporta alors à Sa Majesté l'infiltration des concessions funéraires, l'effondrement des sépultures, la destruction des chapelles, l'affaissement des pyramides: tout ce qui existait avait cessé d'exister. Sa Majesté ordonna alors de restaurer les temples qui tombaient en ruine dans le pays tout entier, de reconstruire les monuments des dieux, de relever leurs enceintes, de replacer les objets sacrés dans la salle d'apparat, de recouvrir le lieu secret, de réintroduire dans leurs naos les statues qui tombaient au sol, de redresser les autels à feu, de relever les tables d'offrande et d'assurer leur approvisionnement en pain, d'augmenter les rations pour le personnel, afin de remettre le pays comme il était auparavant. On agit conformément à tout ce qu'avait ordonné Sa Majesté.

CONCLUSION

Quel que soit le degré de réalité ou de fiction de l'épisode météorologique au cœur du récit, ce dernier présente toutes les caractéristiques d'une *Königsnovelle*⁵¹ et semble avant tout destiné à souligner la capacité du roi, dans une situation de chaos provoquée par les éléments déchaînés, à rétablir la Maât grâce à son accès privilégié aux divinités. Cette approbation divine est soulignée par un passage évoquant de manière allusive un décret oraculaire rendu par le grand dieu de Thèbes.

Cette volonté d'Ahmosis de se présenter en souverain juste et bon pour son peuple est par ailleurs confirmée par le dernier fragment publié du cintre de la stèle, qui présentait le roi en gardien de troupeau occupé à "conduire les veaux," un rituel attesté dès l'Ancien Empire et étroitement lié au monde agraire et pastoral.⁵²

ABRÉVIATIONS

| | |
|------------|--|
| KO | J. de Morgan. <i>Kom Ombos: Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique</i> . Vienne: Holzhausen, 1895–1909 |
| LGG I–VIII | C. Leitz, ed. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 110–16, 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–3 |
| Urk. I | K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden des Alten Reichs</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903 |
| Urk. IV | K. Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> . Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 4. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906–9 |
| Wb. | Adolf Erman et Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Réimpression, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982 |

51 Sur ce type de texte, voir notamment Osing 1980; Jansen-Winkeln 1993; Hofmann 2004.

52 Voir Biston-Moulin 2015, pp. 46–47; Egberts 1995, pp. 335–74.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Aufrère, S.

- 2011 “Dans les marécages et sur les buttes: Le crocodile du Nil, la peur, le destin et le châtement dans l’Égypte ancienne.” *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 4: 51–79.

Berlev, O. D.

- 1965 “Boekbesprekingen—Egyptologie: William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I: The Records of a Building Project in the Reign of Sesostris I*, Boston, 1963.” *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 22: 263–68.

Beylage, P.

- 2002 *Aufbau der königlichen Stelentexte vom Beginn der 18. Dynastie bis zur Amarnazeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 54. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Biston-Moulin, S.

- 2015 “À propos de deux documents d’Ahmosis à Karnak. *Karnak Varia* (§1–2).” *Cahiers de Karnak* 15: 39–49.
 2020 “À propos de la datation du VII^e pylône du temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 120: 61–76.

Botta, A., et S. Vinson

- 1996 “The Cowardly Crocodile in ‘Onchsheshonqy 22/15 and Merikarē’ P. 97–98.” *Enchoria* 23: 177–78.

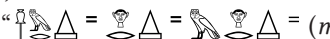


Brovarski, E.

- 2012 “Studies in Egyptian Lexicography III: CG 20506 and the Word for ‘Bed Canopy.’” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 112: 77–95.

Cabrol, A.

- 2001 *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 97. Leuven: Peeters.

Collombert, P.

- 2010 “ =  =  = (m)hr, ‘pyramide?’” *Göttinger Miszellen* 227: 17–22.

Coulon, L.

- 2017 “Religion de l’Égypte ancienne.” *Annuaire de l’école pratique des hautes études, Section des sciences religieuses* 124: 69–79. <https://journals.openedition.org/asr/1583>.

Düring, N.

- 1995 *Materialien zum Schiffbau im Alten Ägypten*. *Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe* 11. Berlin: Achet Verlag.

Eaton, K.

- 2007 “Types of Cult-Image Carried in Divine Barques and the Logistics of Performing Temple Ritual in the New Kingdom.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 134: 15–25.

Edel, E.

- 1979 “Bemerkungen zu den Schiessporttexten der Könige der 18. Dynastie.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 7: 23–39.

Egberts, A.

- 1995 *In Quest of Meaning: A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves*. *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 8. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

El Aguizy, O.

- 2018 “The *Khetem* of Tjaru: New Evidence.” *Nehet* 6: 1–7.

Eyre, C. J.

- 1996 “Is Egyptian Historical Literature ‘Historical’ or ‘Literary’?” In *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, édité par Antonio Loprieno, pp. 415–33. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 10. Leiden: Brill.

Gardiner, A. H.

- 1957a *Egyptian Grammar*. 3^e éd. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.
 1957b “Hymns to Sobk in a Ramesseum Papyrus.” *Revue d’égyptologie* 11: 43–56.

- Gilula, M.
1977 "Egyptian *NHT* = Coptic *NAḤTE* 'to believe.'" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 36: 295–96.
- Gitton, M.
1976 "La résiliation d'une fonction religieuse: Nouvelle interprétation de la stèle de donation d'Ahmès Néfertary." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 76: 65–89.
- Glanville, S. R. K.
1931 "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056. Part I." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 66: 105–21.
1932 "Records of a Royal Dockyard of the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056. Part II." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 68: 7–41.
- Goedicke, H.
1992 "The Chronology of the Thera/Santorini Explosion." *Ägypten und Levante* 3: 57–62.
- Grapow, H.
1924 *Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen: Vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Guglielmi, W.
1982 "Papyrusboot." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, édité par Wolfgang Helck et Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 4:670–71. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1986 "Wortspiel." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, édité par Wolfgang Helck et Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 6:1287–91. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
2017 "Die 'Ich-bin'-Prädikationen der Hatschepsut auf dem Block 146 der Chapelle Rouge." In *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience: Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga*, édité par Camilla Di Biase-Dyson et Leonie Donovan, pp. 339–54. Ägypten und Altes Testament 85. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Gundacker, R.
2017 "Papyrus British Museum 10056: Ergebnisse einer Neukollationierung und Anmerkungen zur inhaltlichen Auswertung im Rahmen der militärischen Ausbildung Amenophis' II." *Ägypten und Levante* 27: 281–334.
- Helck, W.
1975 *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*. Kleine ägyptische Texte 6/1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1983 *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie*. 2^e éd. Kleine ägyptische Texte 6/1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1987 "Ein militärischer Terminus der frühen 18. Dynastie." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14: 125–27.
- Hofmann, B.
2004 *Die Königsnovelle: "Strukturanalyse am Einzelwerk"*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 62. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Huyeng, C.
2014 "Göttlich selbst beim schlechtem Wetter: Zu zwei schwierigen Begriffen in der Unwetterstele des Ahmose-*ḥ3p* und *ḥbs*." *Kleine Berliner Schriften zum Alten Ägypten Online* 1: 4–10.
- Jansen-Winkeln, K.
1993 "Die ägyptische 'Königsnovelle' als Texttyp." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 83: 101–16.
- Jenkins, N.
1980 *The Boat Beneath the Pyramid: King Cheops' Royal Ship*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Jones, D.
1988 *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*. London: Kegan Paul.
- Kákosy, L.
1982 "Orakel." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, édité par Wolfgang Helck et Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 4:600–606. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

- Klug, A.
2002 *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III.* Monumenta Aegyptiaca 8. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Kockelmann, H.
2017 *Der Herr der Seen, Sümpfe und Flußläufe: Untersuchungen zum Gott Sobek und den ägyptischen Krokodilgötter-Kulten von den Anfängen bis zur Römerzeit.* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 74. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Laisney, V. P.-M.
2007 *L'enseignement d'Aménémopé.* Studia Pohl: Series Maior 19. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Leblanc, C.
1995 "Thèbes et les pluies torrentielles: À propos de *mw n pt.*" *Memnonia* 6: 197–214.
- Leitz, C.
2010 "Der Lobpreis des Krokodils: Drei Sobekhymnen aus Kom Ombo." In *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, édité par Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz et Daniel von Recklinghausen, pp. 291–355. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters.
- Menu, B.
2013 "Maât au cœur des justices de l'Invisible et la question de l'ordalie par le crocodile." In *Les Justices de l'Invisible: Actes du colloque Puissances de la Nature, Justices de l'Invisible: Du maléfice à l'ordalie, de la magie à sa sanction*, édité par Raymond Verdier, Nathalie Kálnoky et Soazick Kerneis, pp. 181–96. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Ockinga, B.
1984 *Die Gottebenbildlichkeit im alten Ägypten und im Alten Testament.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Osing, J.
1980 "Königsnovelle." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, édité par Wolfgang Helck et Wolfhart Westendorf, cols. 3:556–57. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Polinger Foster, K., et R. K. Ritner
1996 "Texts, Storms, and the Thera Eruption." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 55: 1–14.
- Polz, D.
2007 *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches: Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende.* Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 31. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Quack, J. F.
2012 "Danaergeschenk des Nil? Zu viel oder zu wenig Wasser im Alten Ägypten." In *Disaster and Relief Management / Katastrophen und ihre Bewältigung*, édité par Angelika Berlejung, pp. 333–81. *Forschungen zum Alten Testament* 81. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
2013 "Gibt es in Ägypten schriftliche Quellen zum Thera-Ausbruch?" In *1600—Kultureller Umbruch im Schatten des Thera-Ausbruchs? 4. Mitteldeutscher Archäologentag vom 14. bis 16. Oktober 2011 in Halle (Saale)*, édité par Harald Meller, François Bertemes, Hans-Rudolf Bork, et Roberto Risch, pp. 221–33. *Tagungen des Landesmuseums für Vorgeschichte Halle* 9. Halle: Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte.
2018 *Eine magische Stele aus dem Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Inv. H 1049).* *Schriften der philologisch-historischen Klasse der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* 58. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- Redford, D. B.
1997 "Textual Sources for the Hyksos Period." In *The Hyksos: New Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, édité par Eliezer D. Oren, pp. 1–44. *University Museum Monograph* 96. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Ritner, R. K.
1989 "Horus on the Crocodiles: A Juncture of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic Egypt." In *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, édité par W. K. Simpson, pp. 103–16. *Yale Egyptological Studies* 3. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice.* *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

- Ritner, R. K., et N. Moeller
 2014 "The Ahmose 'Tempest Stela,' Thera and Comparative Chronology." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73: 1–19.
- Rizzo, J.
 2005 "Bjn: de mal en pis." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 105: 295–320.
- Ryholt, K. S. B.
 1997 *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800–1550 B.C.* Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- Schneider, T.
 2010 "A Theophany of Seth-Baal in the Tempest Stele." *Ägypten und Levante* 20: 405–9.
- Servajean, F.
 2018 "Construire un bateau à l'orée des grands fourrés de papyrus: À propos du verbe 𓂏𓂏𓂏 *spj*, 'assembler (une embarcation).'" *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 11: 197–224.
- Shupak, N.
 1992 "A New Source for the Study of the Judiciary and Law of Ancient Egypt: 'The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant.'" *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 51: 1–18.
- Tallet, P.
 2017 *Les papyrus de la mer Rouge I: Le "journal de Merer" (Papyrus Jarf A et B)*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 136. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Trapani, M.
 2002 "Une nouvelle enquête sur la stèle d'Ahmès-Néfertari." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 129: 152–65.
- Trutnau, L., et R. Sommerlad
 2006 *Crocodilians: Their Natural History and Captive Husbandry*. Traduit par Valerie Haecky. Frankfurt: Chimaira.
- Vandersleyen, C.
 1967 "Une tempête sous le règne d'Amosis." *Revue d'égyptologie* 19: 123–59.
 1968 "Deux nouveaux fragments de la stèle d'Amosis relatant une tempête." *Revue d'égyptologie* 20: 127–34.
- Vanhulle, D.
 2018 "Faux et usage de faux: Discussion autour d'un modèle de bateau des Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire de Bruxelles." In *Sur le chemin du Mouseion d'Alexandrie: Études offertes à Marie-Cécile Bruwier*, édité par Florence Doyen, René Preys, et Arnaud Quertinmont, pp. 301–26. Cahiers de l'Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne 19. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry—Montpellier 3.
- Vernus, P.
 1991 "Le Mythe d'un mythe: La prétendue noyade d'Osiris. De la dérive d'un corps à la dérive du sens." *Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche* 9: 19–34.
- Wiener, M. H., et J. P. Allen
 1998 "Separate Lives: The Ahmose Tempest Stela and the Theran Eruption." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 57: 1–28.
- Winand, J.
 2003 "Les décrets oraculaires pris en l'honneur d'Henouttaouy et de Maâtkarê (X^e et VII^e pylônes)." *Cahiers de Karnak* 11: 603–710.

13 A GROUP OF THREE HUMAN FIGURINES FROM TELL EDFU

Nadine Moeller
Yale University

THIS SHORT ESSAY FOCUSES ON a group of three human figurines discovered during the recent fieldwork at Tell Edfu.¹ This assemblage had been deposited on the final occupation layer in the corner of a large, columned hall belonging to a late Middle Kingdom administrative building (fig. 13.1).² The three figurines form a distinct group representing a man, a woman, and a child(?), the latter being found inside a small, irregularly shaped mud container. With regard to their function, these figurines belong to the sphere of private religious practice and household religion.³ I dedicate this contribution to the memory of Robert Ritner, who was my close colleague and friend during my twelve years at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures.

THE FIGURINES

THE STRIDING MALE FIGURINE WITH *WEDJAT* EYES (2079.S.148)

During the excavations of the floor level of the southern columned hall in Zone 1 at Tell Edfu located along the eastern side of the tell, three unusual mud figurines were discovered. The first figurine is made of dried mud, was modeled by hand, and measures 13.0 cm high, 5.0 cm wide, and 3.8 cm deep (fig. 13.2). It shows a striding, ithyphallic male with a large, square head and thick neck. Its eyes, incised into the wet clay, are made in the form of *wedjat* eyes, typically associated with the falcon god Horus. The nose, which is slightly damaged, resembles the beak of a falcon and protrudes prominently from the face. A short, incised line marks the mouth. The figurine has wide shoulders, and the torso is shown in frontal perspective, with the two arms hanging down straight on each side. Two small breasts or nipples have been attached separately with pieces of mud on its chest. No traces of clothing are shown; the figurine is naked and has a prominently erect penis that was also attached with a separate piece of mud. The legs are straight, in striding position, with one in front and the other behind it. No trace of color was found, nor was any other kind of decoration. Noteworthy are the various breaks of the figurine that seem to have been deliberately made: the head was broken off just below the neck, both arms were snapped off at the shoulders, and another break was inflicted above the hands. In addition, both legs were broken off just below the torso. No trace of any feet was found. Except for the front leg and the hands, all other pieces were found during excavation. These breaks were most likely made intentionally, perhaps as part of a ritual associated with the figurine, to judge from the fact that the thick neck and all the limbs were broken but not the penis, which is one of its most fragile parts.

1 I would like to thank Emilie Sarrazin for reading a draft of this essay and making many helpful suggestions.

2 For further details on this complex, see Moeller 2016, pp. 317–20.

3 For an excellent overview and general introduction to the topic of household religion focusing on “practical religion” including “magical” images, see Ritner 2008.

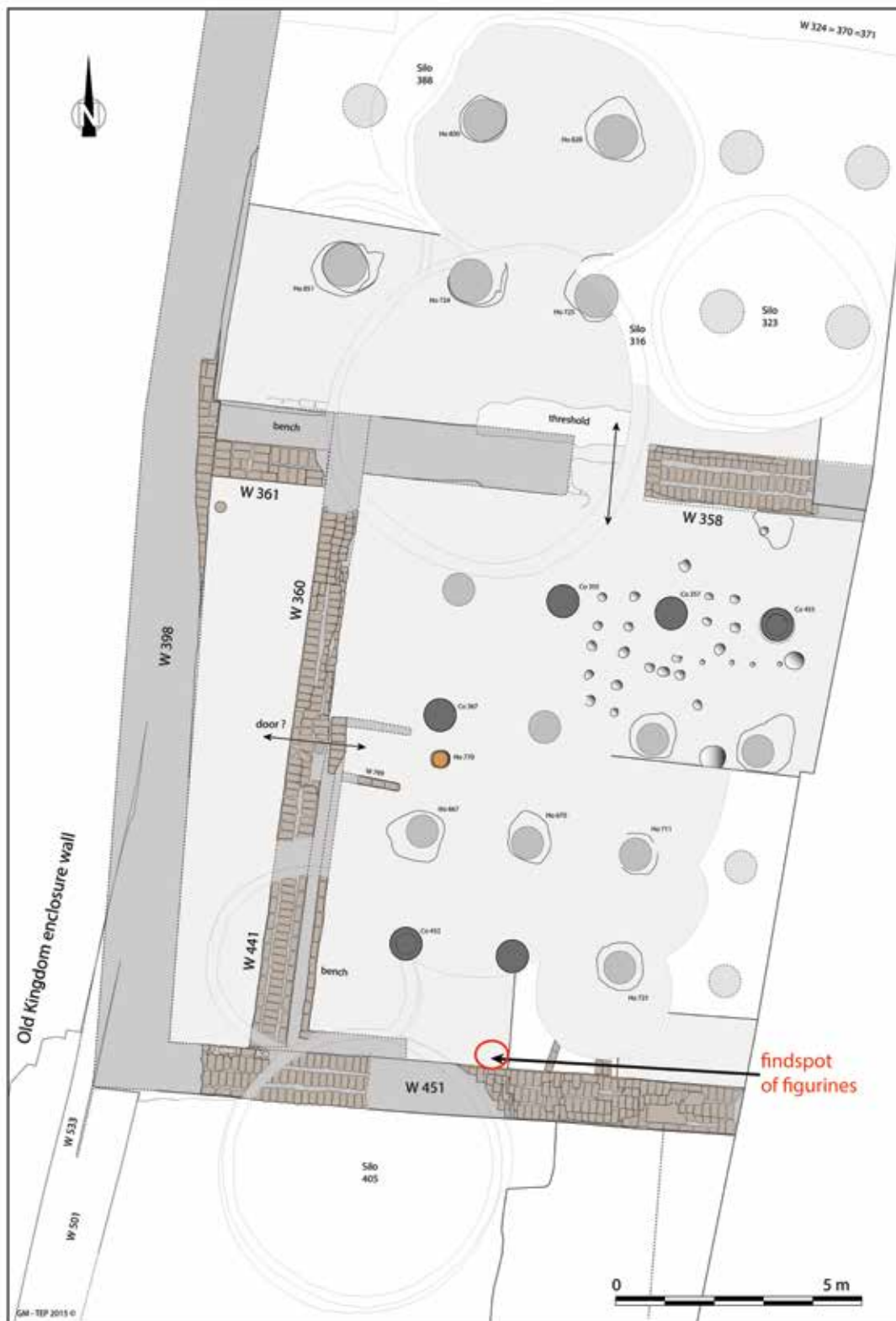


Figure 13.1. Plan of the southern columned hall of the late Middle Kingdom administrative complex. Plan by G. Marouard, Tell Edfu Project.

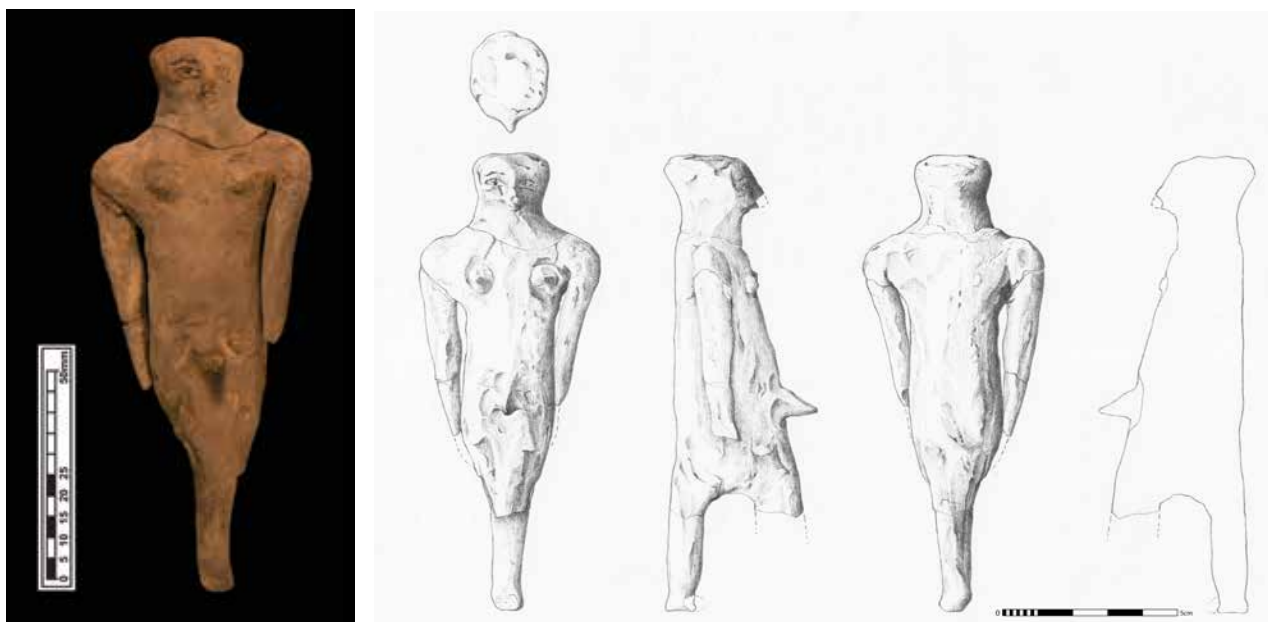


Figure 13.2. Male figurine with *wedjat* eyes (2079.s.148). Photo by Julia Schmied, Tell Edfu Project. Drawings by Christiane Hochstrasser-Petit, Tell Edfu Project.

THE FEMALE FIGURINE (2079.S.149)

The second object, found in the same archaeological context, is a small figurine depicting a woman (fig. 13.3). It measures 8.00 cm in height, 2.75 cm in width, and 1.45 cm in depth and is therefore smaller than the male figurine with the Horus eyes. It was also made of mud and modeled by hand. The female figurine is shown wearing a tripartite wig. Each of the three partitions was added separately to the head and ends in an inward curl. On her forehead, small, incised vertical lines indicate a hairline. The eyebrows are marked by simple incised lines, and the eyes are indicated as small holes beneath the eyebrows. The nose is rather large and of rudimentary form. The mouth is marked by a single, horizontal incised line below the nose. The torso is also shown from the front, with two tiny breasts applied separately with small pieces of mud. Its arms extend downward on each side. In the middle of the torso, the navel is indicated by a small, round hole. Below, the pubic triangle is clearly marked; it is represented by the upper portion of a downward-pointing triangle, incised and filled by a small protuberance at its center. No trace of any paint suggesting clothing has been observed; this female figurine was meant to be shown naked.⁴ The rather short legs are simply part of the torso and were not separately attached; a vertical, incised line separates the two legs, which are extended and next to each other. They end in small feet. Like the male figurine, the head and lower arms of the female counterpart were deliberately broken off in addition to her torso, which was broken along her waist.

A MUD CONTAINER WITH A HUMAN FIGURINE INSIDE (2079.S.147)

The third piece of this group is the most unusual one. It consists of a round, irregularly shaped mud container or box with a small lid. When opened, a small, headless human figurine was found inside it (fig. 13.4). Both pieces were made of dried mud and shaped by hand, in the same fashion as the two figurines described above. The small container measures 15.3 cm long, 7.8 cm wide, and 7.0 cm deep. Its exterior is quite rough, showing finger marks and fingerprints. Traces of a white coating or wash have been noticed on the exterior

⁴ In some cases, female figurines have been found with pieces of linen cloths they were wrapped in; for examples at the site of Gebel Zeit, see Castel, Gout, and Soukiassian 1985, p. 104; Castel and Soukiassian 1988, p. 164; Andreu-Lanoë, Quiles, and Moreau 2011, p. 24. That during the excavation of the Edfu figurine no traces of any fabric were noted suggests it was buried without any additional textile wrappings.

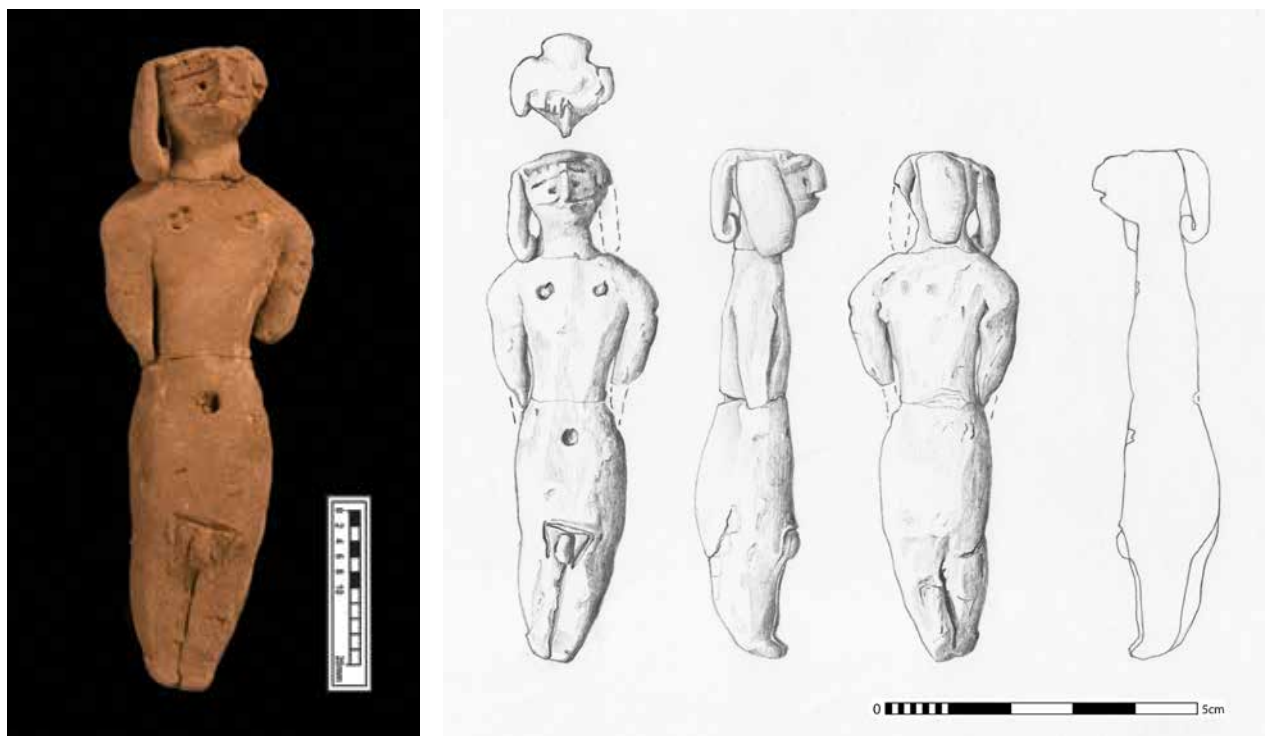


Figure 13.3. Female figurine (2079.s.149). Photo by Julia Schmied, Tell Edfu Project.
Drawings by Christiane Hochstrasser-Petit, Tell Edfu Project.

and interior of this small box, which, according to our conservator, Hiroko Kariya, was deliberately applied and is not related to residue or salt from its deposition. The box was found intact during the excavation but already exhibited some cracks (fig. 13.4 top). The small human figurine inside, which can be taken out of the container, measures 9.79 cm in length, 3.15 cm in width, and 2.50 cm in depth. It also shows traces of the same white coating. Strangely, it has no head or arms, but similar to the female figurine, it has a long torso that ends in two legs and small feet. The upper part of the torso where the neck would have started is crudely finished, with the mud simply being folded over. The torso is made of one single piece, with slightly formed waist and buttocks, but no other attributes (navel, pubic triangle, breasts, etc.) are marked. There are no signs of any deliberate damage to this figurine, and its headless and armless form was a deliberate choice. Given its unusual shape, this human figurine could be interpreted as a child or fetus within a womb; the group of figurines could then represent a family, as will be discussed in more detail below.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The three human figurines were found together in a sealed archaeological context, which provides some new insights into the deposition of such figurines. They were excavated lying next to the southern wall (W 451) of the southern columned hall of the late Middle Kingdom administrative complex, which may have functioned as the governor's residence during this time (fig. 13.5 top).⁵ They were found on top of the final layer of occupation (US 2079), covered by several fine layers of aeolian sand deposits marking the final abandonment of this structure (fig. 13.5 bottom). These fine aeolian sand deposits predate the dismantling of the columns and the removal of some column bases that signal the complete abandonment of this building complex, which happened before large silos of the Second Intermediate Period were built above.⁶ US 2079 is

⁵ See Moeller and Marouard 2011, 2018 for further details.

⁶ For the full stratigraphic sequence of the southern columned hall, see Moeller and Marouard 2011, p. 94, fig. 5.

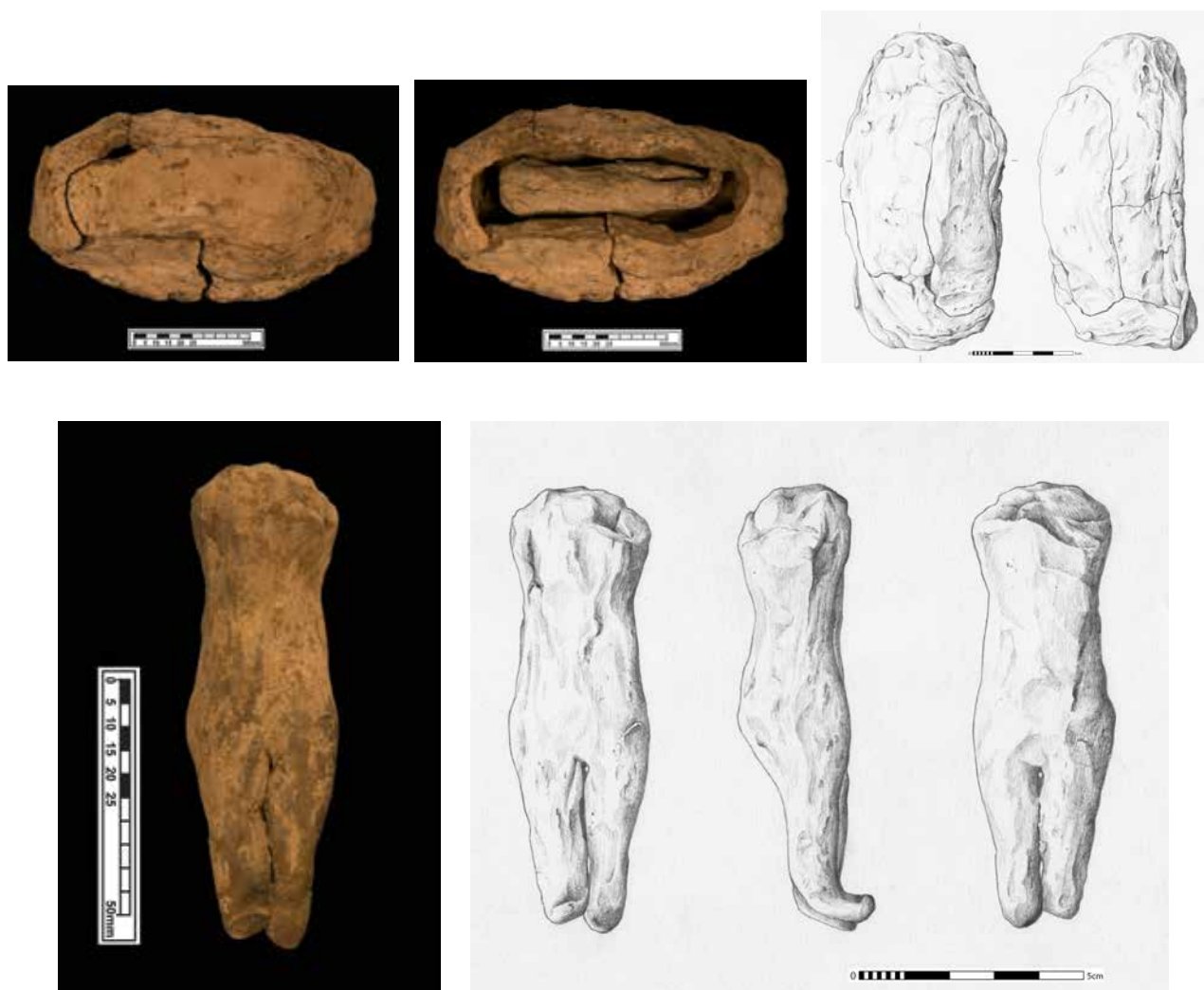


Figure 13.4. Mud container with lid in place and lid removed, and the headless figurine (2079.s.147) found inside. Photos by Julia Schmied, Tell Edfu Project. Drawings by Christiane Hochstrasser-Petit, Tell Edfu Project.

also the layer in which most of the clay sealings were found, in addition to numerous objects and leftover materials from a variety of activities that had been carried out inside this structure and that were simply discarded and left there when this hall fell out of use. This final occupation layer (US 2079) lies directly on top of the last mud floor level, which had seen multiple phases of renewal over time. In conclusion, the context tells us that the figurines were deposited or discarded next to the wall when the actual structure had probably just fallen out of use and was in the process of being abandoned. Based on the stratigraphic evidence, this part of the building was clearly no longer actively functioning, while the adjacent northern columned hall remained in use slightly longer, until the early Second Intermediate Period.⁷ In terms of chronology, a late Middle Kingdom date (mid- to late Thirteenth Dynasty) can be assigned to these figurines.

DISCUSSION AND FURTHER ANALYSIS

Human figurines, mostly female, have been found throughout Egypt in many different contexts, including settlements, temples, and cemeteries.⁸ They occurred during most of the pharaonic period, with the

⁷ See Moeller and Marouard 2018, p. 181.

⁸ For the most recent studies, see Waraksa 2008, 2009; Doyen 2013–15; Stevens 2006, 2017.

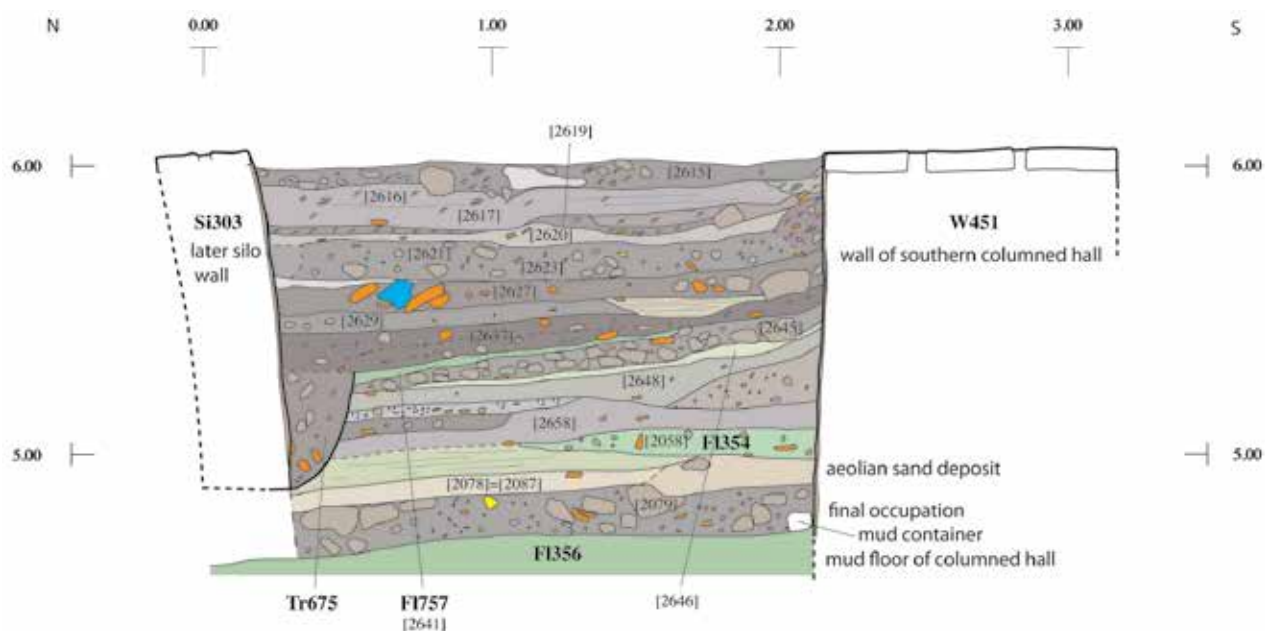


Figure 13.5. Findspot of the mud container in situ and profile drawing of the figurines' archaeological context. Photograph and drawing by Aurélie Schenk, Tell Edfu Project.

majority dating to the Middle Kingdom, Second Intermediate Period, and New Kingdom. Different typologies and categories can be established for these small figurines based on the material employed (clay, faience, wood, or stone), in addition to their physiognomic features, probable functions, and archaeological contexts. Some groups, such as the truncated female figurines made of faience or the fired-clay ones with disk-shaped heads, show relatively consistent features when compared across different sites, while others are more informal and their characteristics more site specific, with much variation reflecting limited local production and traditions. The handmade mud figurines found at Tell Edfu belong to this latter category.

Although small mud figurines of humans and animals have been found at various sites in Egypt and Nubia, their precise contexts are often not well documented, particularly in older excavation reports, and their actual function is still debated. Interpretations range from children's toys—a now relatively outdated interpretation—to fertility figurines or figurines used for personal magic related to health and other family concerns.⁹ However, private religious practices are difficult to understand and reconstruct, since they can rarely be supplemented by written records and often leave informal traces, particularly considering that the materials involved, such as dried mud formed by hand, were rather simple and not made to last.¹⁰

So far the most comprehensive typologies and studies of small and predominantly female figurines have been published by Geraldine Pinch, who included them within the context of her study of votive offerings to Hathor, and by Elizabeth Waraksa, who focused on female clay figurines from the Mut temple complex at Karnak.¹¹ In Pinch's study, the types of figurines analyzed are mostly made of faience, fired clay, stone, or wood, and they were selected based on their link to the goddess Hathor. Simpler mud figurines like the ones from Edfu do not really feature in these two publications. With regard to figurines from Nubia, the recent work by Anna Stevens on pieces recovered during the excavations at Amara West is an important contribution since it presents the archaeological contexts in much detail.¹² Similarly, the study by Florence Doyen on figurines from Sai Island further adds to the corpus from Nubia.¹³ In her book on private religion at Amarna, Stevens includes anthropomorphic and animal figurines as well as models made of different materials, which were found primarily in domestic contexts. She investigates their roles from different angles, including secular purposes—for example, the possibility that some were used as toys—but also their use in magical and votive practices.¹⁴ In addition, handmade mud figurines of humans or animals have frequently been published on the object plates of excavation reports, further demonstrating the widespread occurrence of these figurines in Egypt and Nubia.¹⁵ Numerous examples from domestic contexts, but without any particular details about findspots, come from the Middle Kingdom settlement at Lahun and were published in Petrie's report of the site.¹⁶ A certain number dating to the Middle Kingdom have also been found during the more recent excavations east of the sacred lake at Karnak.¹⁷ Mud figurines are better documented at the Nubian forts, such as Buhen, where they have been found throughout the fortress, both within the various structures of the fort and in trash deposits of the inner ditch and inner ramparts. The biggest problem in these cases is the extensive reuse of rooms and general reoccupation of the fortresses, with little of the stratigraphy being documented. This also makes it difficult to assign a particular date to them, as in principle they could range from the Middle Kingdom to the early New Kingdom. At Uronarti, the date of the mud figurines seems to be more closely linked to the Middle Kingdom, and at Askut, a mud figurine of Nubian style was found near a small domestic shrine in a stratigraphic context dating to the New Kingdom.¹⁸

Most of the recorded archaeological contexts for figurines found in settlements are trash deposits and abandonment fills located within and around houses and rooms. These objects have been found relatively rarely in direct association with existing floor levels or the actual occupation phase of a room or house. In this respect, the figurines from the Ramesside settlement at Amara West present a good case study, since particular attention has been paid to their archaeological contexts.¹⁹ The majority come from trash deposits within houses, sometimes after rooms had been abandoned and debris started to accumulate, or in secondary

9 Waraksa 2009, pp. 168–69; Stevens 2017, p. 416.

10 For an identification of female clay figurines in textual records and magical spells, see Waraksa 2009, pp. 124–65.

11 Pinch 1993, pp. 197–234, pls. 46–51. Waraksa 2009 mainly focuses on the baked-clay figurines.

12 Stevens 2017.

13 Doyen 2013–15.

14 Stevens 2006, pp. 79–97.

15 See, e.g., Petrie 1890, 1927; Dunham 1967; Emery, Smith, and Millard 1979; and Millet 2007, to name just a few.

16 Petrie 1890, p. 30, pl. VIII.

17 Millet 2007.

18 Smith 1995, pp. 104–5, fig. 4.11; p. 141, fig. 6.30.

19 Stevens 2017, pp. 414–15, fig. 6.

fill and waste layers that were deposited on the exterior of the walled town. This information is significant and fits the context of the anthropomorphic figurines from Edfu. In addition, at Amara the female figurines modeled in the round were all broken. Some of them, like the male and female figurines presented here, were deliberately broken; others may show accidental breakage.²⁰ This indicates that the figurines had a temporary function and were possibly used in a ritual that ended with breaking them, perhaps comparable to the “Breaking of the Red Pots” ritual.²¹ Once they had fulfilled their purpose, they were discarded in the nearest possible location together with other settlement debris.²² The use of simple, easily obtainable materials, in particular mud, which had no particular value and did not preserve very well, further indicates that these figurines were not meant to last and to be kept. Stevens adds another dimension to the study of these figurines by emphasizing the importance of the actual manufacturing process, which could have been part of the magical ritual involved and, for the most part, did not require any specific skills but did include some spontaneity by the person making them and providing a “canvas for absorbing very current aspects of personal lives.”²³ Also important to keep in mind is the notion that the figurines may have served a variety of purposes and were meant to help not only with fertility and reproduction but also with other aspects of personal health and family problems.²⁴ Magical spells involving human figurines are another important avenue to explore with regard to their function.²⁵

The peculiarity concerning the three anthropomorphic figurines from Edfu is that they were found together and represent a distinctive group of man, woman, and child(?). They differ from the more common, mainly female, figurines that are found alone or as a group. In rare cases, female figurines are shown carrying a child on their back; one example from Edfu was found in a trash layer filling a silo from the late Second Intermediate Period context.²⁶ Another good example of a female figurine carrying a child that closely resembles the one from Edfu has been found at the Hathor sanctuary at Gebel Zeit.²⁷ Male figurines are usually rare in the archaeological record, with the exception of execration figures and shabtis.²⁸ The archaeological context in which the three Edfu figurines were found—next to the wall of the southern columned hall, on top of the final occupation layer—does not allow for distinguishing between their being simply discarded together, potentially once a ritual had been performed, and being deliberately deposited during the final occupation. Since the late Middle Kingdom administrative building was no longer functioning and was in the process of being abandoned at this moment in time, it seems more likely that this group of figurines was part of the trash deposits that started accumulating as the building was being abandoned. This would mean that after the figurines played a role in a particular ritual, they were broken and discarded—perhaps simply placed on the surface of the abandoned building.²⁹

The fact that we have a kind of family group suggests that these objects were linked to some ritual related to reproduction, fecundity, and childbirth, possibly asking for help in conceiving a child or perhaps related to protection during childbirth. In this regard, two female figurines made of limestone and carrying a child are worth mentioning, since they include in both cases an inscription that clearly links them to a

20 In the study of female figurines from the Mut temple complex, the evidence for deliberate breakage has been discussed in further detail; see Waraksa 2009, pp. 67–72.

21 Ritner 1993, pp. 144–47.

22 Kemp (1995, p. 30) comments on the “temporary utility” of these figurines. See also Waraksa 2009, pp. 150–74.

23 Stevens 2017, p. 408.

24 Stevens 2017, p. 416. Waraksa (2008, 2009) also questions their sole purpose as being related to fertility.

25 Waraksa 2008, p. 2; 2009, pp. 124–65.

26 Moeller 2010, p. 100, fig. 8.

27 Castel, Gout, and Soukiassian 1985, pl. IV, no. 10.

28 For comments by Anna Stevens in this regard, see Stevens 2006, p. 97, and also fig. II.3.18, which resembles the head of the male figurine from the Edfu group.

29 The fact that all three of them were found together and the broken limbs were mostly recovered during the excavation indicates that they were discarded together.

prayer for conceiving a child.³⁰ The male figurine with its Horus face likely represents the local god Horus of Edfu, who was the principal deity of the town. The attributes of this deity (*wedjat* eyes, beak) are evoked in combination with a male human body, which is somewhat reminiscent of the divine-birth myth in which the god takes the form of the king in order to impregnate the queen with the heir to the throne.³¹ More enigmatic is the hand-formed, oval-shaped mud container that included the headless human figurine, which is missing any gender-specific characteristics.³² Could it stand for the womb and an unborn child?

The entire group is so far unique with regard to certain features, such as the *wedjat* eyes of the male figurine and the handmade box with the headless figurine inside. However, groups of three human figurines including a male, female, and child have been found elsewhere. A possible parallel comes from a Middle Kingdom tomb in Cemetery A near the site of Riqqeh in Middle Egypt.³³ Here, three small, handmade mud figurines showing similar characteristics were found.³⁴ The largest one is a male, distinguished by its erect penis in the shape of a cone. Armless, it has short stubby legs, a round head, big eyes, and a large nose pinched out of the clay. It is about 10 cm long and 4 cm wide.³⁵ Its head had been broken off, and there are no signs that it ever had any arms. The female figurine is a bit smaller, about 8 cm long and 3 cm wide, but the face shows the same characteristics as the male figurine, and the head had been detached from the torso as well.³⁶ The legs are short, and small breasts are applied separately onto the torso. The navel is marked by a small hole, but there is no specific marking around the genital area. The arms are extended along each side; they break off at the height of the waist. The third figurine is slightly smaller than the female figurine, again with a similarly shaped head, which is also detached from the torso, and modeled facial features. It has short legs and no arms. The body does not show any genitalia, but small breasts can be discerned.³⁷ Although the individual style of these three figurines is different from that of the Edfu group, and although the third figurine, probably a child, was not found in any separate container, this family(?) grouping is noteworthy. Since most of the dried-mud figurines are locally made and can be considered of low-effort manufacture, it is not surprising that regional styles and traditions prevail. Nevertheless, the three Riqqeh figurines form a distinct group, like the one from Edfu. Since the Riqqeh figurines were found in a tomb, the link to any fertility or childbirth ritual is more difficult to make, and it is entirely possible that the magical ritual performed, as evidenced by their broken heads, could be related to wishes for health or protection in the afterlife.

This short study demonstrates the need for further, in-depth studies of these simplest forms of anthropomorphic figurines on a broader regional and chronological level, and with particular attention to find-spots and archaeological contexts. Hopefully, this essay will also encourage further publications of these small, informal figurines in the future.

30 Desroches-Noblecourt 1953, pp. 34–40. The two female figurines have been dated to the Middle Kingdom but are without provenience. They belong to the truncated type of female figurines; see Tooley 2017, p. 422, no. 4. One is currently in the Louvre (E 8000), the other in Berlin (ÄM 14517).

31 For a recent attestation of the divine-birth myth related to Senwosret III, see Oppenheim 2011. However, there is no evidence for any private, nonroyal individual having been involved in a “divine” birth.

32 John Darnell has kindly pointed out in conversation that headless figures in oval “sarcophagus”-like boxes, identified as *djebat*-enclosures, are also represented in the Netherworld Books of the New Kingdom. For a depiction of a headless, ithyphallic figure in an oval enclosure and two females standing on each side of him, see Darnell and Manassa Darnell 2018, p. 617, fig. 45. This might be a further avenue to pursue with regard to interpreting the purpose of the headless figurine in the box, although in my opinion the date and context make this possibility less likely; but future research might prove the contrary.

33 Engelbach 1915, p. 19, pl. XXII, no. 7.

34 A fourth piece of a female mud figurine was found in this context, but the fact that its shape is quite different from the other three suggests it does not belong to this group; see Petrie 1927, pl. LIII, no. 478.

35 It is currently held by the Petrie Museum, University College London, accession number UC 59338.

36 Accession number UC 59339.

37 Accession number UC 59340.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andreu-Lanoë, Guillemette, Anita Quiles, and Christophe Moreau
 2011 “Datations par le radiocarbon des tissus votifs du Gebel el-Zeit conservés au musée du Louvre.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 111: 23–34.
- Castel, Georges, Jean-François Gout, and Georges Soukiassian
 1985 “Fouilles de Gebel Zeit (mer Rouge), première et deuxième campagnes (1982–83).” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 70: 99–105.
- Castel, Georges, and Georges Soukiassian
 1988 “Les mines de galène du Gebel Zeit.” In *Akten des vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses*, edited by Sylvia Schoske, 161–70. Beihefte Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur 2. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Darnell, John C., and Colleen Manassa Darnell
 2018 *The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books*. Writings from the Ancient World 39. Atlanta: SBL Press.
- Desroches-Noblecourt, Christiane
 1953 “‘Concubines du mort’ et mères de famille au Moyen Empire: À propos d’une supplique pour une naissance.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 53: 7–47.
- Doyen, Florence
 2013–15 “Du trait élémentaire à la perception vitale: Quelques figurines féminines de la ville pharaonique de Saï.” *Cahiers de recherches de l’Institut de papyrologie et d’égyptologie de Lille* 30: 133–57.
- Dunham, Dows
 1967 *Second Cataract Forts*. Vol. 2, *Uronarti, Shalfak, Mirgissa*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Emery, Walter B., Harry S. Smith, and Alan Millard
 1979 *The Fortress of Buhen: The Archaeological Report*. Excavations at Buhen 1. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Engelbach, Reginald
 1915 *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt 26. London: Quaritch.
- Kemp, Barry J.
 1995 “How Religious Were the Ancient Egyptians?” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5: 25–54.
- Millet, Marie
 2007 “Architecture civile antérieure au Nouvel Empire: Rapport préliminaire des fouilles archéologiques à l’est du lac sacré.” *Cahiers de Karnak* 12: 681–743.
- Moeller, Nadine
 2010 “Tell Edfu.” In *Oriental Institute 2009–2010 Annual Report*, edited by Gil J. Stein, pp. 94–104. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 2016 *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moeller, Nadine, and Gregory Marouard
 2011 “Discussion of Late Middle Kingdom and Early Second Intermediate Period History and Chronology in Relation to the Khayan Sealings from Tell Edfu.” *Ägypten und Levante* 21: 87–121.
 2018 “The Context of the Khayan Sealings from Tell Edfu and Further Implications for the Second Intermediate Period in Upper Egypt.” In *The Hyksos Ruler Khyan and the Early Second Intermediate Period in Egypt: Problems and Priorities*, edited by Nadine Moeller and Irene Forstner-Müller, pp. 173–98. *Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts* 17. Vienna: Holzhausen.
- Oppenheim, Adela
 2011 “The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur.” In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010/1*, edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, pp. 171–88. Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

Petrie, William M. Flinders

1890 *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.

1927 *Objects of Daily Use*. London: Quaritch.

Pinch, Geraldine

1993 *Votive Offerings to Hathor*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

Ritner, Robert K.

1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

2008 "Household Religion in Egypt." In *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*, edited by John Brodel and Saul M. Olyan, pp. 171–96. Oxford: Blackwell.

Smith, Stuart T.

1995 *Askut in Nubia: The Economics and Ideology of Egyptian Imperialism in the Second Millennium B.C.* London: Kegan Paul.

Stevens, Anna

2006 *Private Religion at Amarna: The Material Evidence*. BAR International Series 1587. Oxford: Archaeopress.

2017 "Female Figurines and Folk Culture at Amara West." In *Nubia in the New Kingdom: Lived Experience, Pharaonic Control and Indigenous Traditions*, edited by Neal Spencer, Anna Stevens, and Michaela Binder, pp. 407–27. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 3. Leuven: Peeters.

Tooley, Angela M.

2017 "Notes on Type 1 Truncated Figurines: The Ramesseum Ladies." In *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC)*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Marilence Betró, and Stephen Quirke, pp. 421–56. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 262. Leuven: Peeters.

Waraksa, Elizabeth A.

2008 "Female Figurines (Pharaonic Period)." *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Accessed August 27, 2021. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4dg0d57b>.

2009 *Female Figurines from the Mut Precinct: Context and Ritual Function*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 240. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

14

A NOTE ON THE MEETING PLACES
OF EGYPTIAN ASSOCIATIONS*

Ian S. Moyer
University of Michigan

THE PAST DECADES HAVE SEEN considerable interest in exploring various kinds of associations in the cultures and societies of the ancient Mediterranean, Near East, and Egypt from a range of interrelated perspectives. Scholars have explored their crucial roles in social and economic life, and as constituent units in the political structures of ancient states, but there has also been renewed investigation of voluntary associations as social contexts of religion in the Hellenistic and Roman *oikoumene*, even if the roles that associations played in the religious lives of their members can, of course, be difficult to disentangle from other aspects. An earlier tradition of this scholarly work was driven by a teleological interest in determining the background and context for the rise of early Christian churches, but the category has persisted as a durable framework for the comparison of religious traditions.¹ The more recent wave of scholarship on voluntary associations has included a renewed attention to the physical places and spaces of these groups in the urban fabric of ancient societies. And while papyrological and inscriptional evidence from Egypt has long played a significant role in comparative discussions of associations, the physical sites where these groups met have not been addressed as fully, especially in broader comparative discussions.² In the context of my current exploration of public spaces at the gates of Egyptian temples in the Ptolemaic period, and their connected histories in the wider Mediterranean world, I have been investigating the contribution that associations made to producing and shaping the physical and social topography of towns and villages throughout Egypt. I could not have undertaken this investigation without the instruction and support that Robert Ritner provided me long ago when I was a graduate student at the University of Chicago, and it is a pleasure to offer to him on the occasion of his birthday a brief initial note that attempts to illuminate the deep history of associations in the urban landscape of Egyptian towns. My eventual hope is to bring this

*This essay is offered in gratitude to Prof. Ritner, but I would also like to thank the editors, Foy Scalf and Brian Muhs, not only for bringing this celebration of Prof. Ritner's life and work to fruition but also for the many helpful comments and suggestions they provided to me. Any errors that remain are, of course, my own.

1 The literature in this field is enormous, and in the present context, I can point to only a few recent studies and overviews. An extremely helpful annotated bibliography is available in Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012, pp. 277–359, and this group of scholars has guided a long-term research project on associations. See also Kloppenborg and Wilson 1996 and Gabrielsen and Thomsen 2015. In the latter, there are contributions by M. Gibbs, T. Kruse, D. Thompson, and P. Venticinque that bring Egypt into the recent comparative discussions. There has also been a series of other studies on Egyptian associations in other contexts, including Monson 2006, 2007a, and 2007b and Muhs 2001. The work of earlier scholars that considered voluntary associations as a possible origin for the structure of early Christian churches was summed up and dismissed by Meeks (1983, pp. 77–80), for example, who strove to present the early Christian churches as *sui generis*.

2 Perhaps hampered by the inaccessibility of information on the meeting places of Egyptian associations, the treatment offered in Nielsen 2014, pp. 10–12, is cursory and misses a lot of the evidence, including much of the material discussed below. No examples of meeting places of Egyptian associations are included in Ascough, Harland, and Kloppenborg 2012 or on the Associations in the Greco-Roman World website (<http://philipharland.com/greco-roman-associations/>). More recently, Paganini's discussion of the epigraphy of Ptolemaic associations has demonstrated the visual impact of associations on the topography of cities and villages, but this study considers only the Greek inscriptions and does not include the Demotic or pre-Ptolemaic evidence (Paganini 2020).

information into dialogue with data elsewhere in the ancient world. As a first step, I would like to make a few comments on our earliest source for Egyptian “sixth-day” associations and the physical sites where they met.

BM 1427³ has long been known as a significant document for the history and topography of Saïs in the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, and it is perhaps even more important for the history of the sixth-day association in Egypt, but there has been some confusion around this point. The text, dated to the eighth year of Amasis, is engraved on a small (41 × 24 cm), round-topped stela bearing a scene of the king making an offering of wine to Neith and to the two Horuses of Saïs (Horus Res-Net and Horus Meh-Net). It records the following royal act (lines 3–4):

wt hm=f hnk.t ihy.t r t̄ swn.t m-b̄ḥ Hr-rs-Nt Hr-mḥ-Nt (r-)h̄ḥty.t h̄ḥty-ꜥ m N.t hrp ḥw.wt W̄ḥ-ib-R̄ ḥ̄ḥ dt . . .
 His majesty decreed the grant of an enclosure to the sixth-day association of (literally “in the presence of”) Horus Res-Net and Horus Meh-Net, under the supervision of (?—literally “in front of”) the governor of the Saïte nome, the administrator of temple domains, Wahibre, for ever and ever. . . .⁴

The subsequent description of the location of the donated enclosure lists the adjacent features in each direction and mentions another enclosure immediately to the north granted to a second association, this one devoted to Neith (see below).⁵ To my knowledge, D. Meeks was the first to interpret the term *swn.t* in this inscription as referring to associations rather than festivals, and some scholars have followed his lead,⁶ while others have interpreted this word as referring to the sixth-day festival after which these associations were named.⁷ R. El-Sayed, for example, translated the donation text as follows:⁸

Sa Majesté a ordonné d’offrir une étable pour (la célébration) de la fête du 6^e jour, pour l’Horus de Rs-Nt et l’Horus de Mḥ-Nt, sous le contrôle (ou sous la surveillance du) gouverneur dans Saïs, le directeur des Châteaux (de Neith), Ouahibre pour toujours et à jamais. . . .

Subsequently, P. Wilson has followed this interpretation of the decree as the royal grant of a stable or pen for holding animals involved in the celebration of the sixth-day festival in the temple complex of Neith at Saïs.⁹ In the face of this uncertainty, I would like to argue that the translation of *swn.t* as “association” rather than “sixth-day festival” is more likely correct, and that this text provides not only our earliest surviving testimony for these associations,¹⁰ which were so prominent in the social landscape of towns and villages in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, but also our earliest evidence for the creation of permanent meeting places devoted to these groups.

In the first case, the phrase *swn.t m-b̄ḥ Hr-rs-Nt Hr-mḥ-Nt* “association before Horus-Resnet and Horus-Mehnet” has parallels in the names of associations attested elsewhere. Although it was common simply to

3 For the text, see Jansen-Winkel 2014, p. 489 (no. 57.187); El-Sayed 1975, pp. 61–72, pl. IX; Budge 1909, p. 224, pl. 29.

4 On this important official, see Chevereau 1985, pp. 96–97, doc. 122.

5 Lines 5–6: *p̄ḥy=s mḥt.t (t)̄ (ih)yt nt.t di.t̄ r t̄ swn.t m-b̄ḥ Nt* “its north, the enclosure which was given to the association of [literally ‘in the presence of’] Neith.”

6 Meeks 1972, p. 72; this identification was followed by Muszynski (1977, pp. 146 n. 5, 163). Monson (2006, p. 222; 2007a, p. 182) cites the sixth-century BCE association from Djeme attested in P. Dem. Louvre E 7840 bis (de Cenival 1986) as the earliest attestation of *swn.t* “association” because he does not note the occurrence in BM 1427.

7 On the name, see Hughes 1958.

8 El-Sayed 1975, p. 65.

9 Wilson (2006, pp. 20–22) uses this text and its important topographical references for her lucid reconstruction of the area around the temple of Saïs at Neith, but follows El-Sayed in translating the decree as follows: “His majesty decreed the giving of a *ihyt* for the Festival of the Sixth Day before Horus Res-Net and Horus Mes-Net, under the control of (?) the Mayor of Saïs, the Administrator of the Temple Wahibre, for ever and ever.” She subsequently suggests that “*ihyt* is usually translated as ‘stable’ or ‘animal pen’ and perhaps refers to the place in a temple where the sacred animals were kept.” Leclère (2008, pp. 173–74) also follows El-Sayed’s interpretation. There is a brief mention of this stela in Spalinger 1996, p. 82, and there, too, the author follows El-Sayed’s interpretation.

10 There is one other association attested in Thebes later in the reign of Amasis (years 29–33), and it is entirely possible that it existed just as early as the associations at Saïs (see further below).

refer to an association “of” a divinity,¹¹ some sixth-day associations were connected to divinities with the term *m-b3h*.¹² In the Saïte-period accounts of the choachyte association from Djeme, the group is at one point referred to as “the choachytes who serve before Amenhotep” (*n3 w3h-mw nty šms m-b3h ʿImn-ḥtp*).¹³ In the rules of the Demotic cult association of Tebtunis in the middle of the second century BCE, there is a similar expression: “the members of the association and the head of the troop of the crocodile, which holds session before Sobek and the gods of Sobek” (*n3y.w swn.t r-r=f p3 mr mš3 p3 msh nty ḥms m-b3h Sbk n3 ntr.w Sbk*).¹⁴ Abbreviated appellations such as in BM 1427 may therefore refer to the cultic context of association meetings: procession festivals in which the god emerged from the temple to be greeted by the people.

On the other hand, this term could also be a reference to the place where an association met, rather than the occasion of its meeting. In some contexts, such as in temple oaths, the phrase *m-b3h* + divine name refers to the public area in front of the gates of the temple or on the dromos.¹⁵ This usage appears in the name of an association mentioned in the Edfu donation text. Although inscribed under Ptolemy X Alexander I (107–88 BCE), the cadastral survey that provided the information on land boundaries was probably created in the early third century BCE under Ptolemy I or II, and the donations may go back even earlier. This association, like those attested in Saïs and Djeme, has been argued to antedate the Ptolemaic period in Egypt.¹⁶ The donation text, in describing a parcel of land in the Pathyrite nome, mentions an adjacent property belonging to “the association before Pre on the roof of the temple of Amun” (*t3 swn.t m-b3h P(3)-R^c-n-tp-ḥt-n-ʿImn*). This early association from Pathyris, therefore, appears to have been defined by the temple where its members gathered for meetings. In other cases, location is likewise an identifying feature of an association. A group from the village of Pisais in the Fayyum, for example, is called the “association of the temple of Horus of Behdet” (*swn.t n p3 irpy n Hr-Bḥdt*).¹⁷ In some cases, there are more specific references to associations meeting on a temple dromos. The rules of an association from the village of Arsinoe in the Fayyum, dated to 179 BCE, stipulate that members will meet on the dromos of the temple.¹⁸ A stela inscribed in Demotic and dated to 10/9 BCE records the dedication of “the great association of Harsomteus the great god, lord of Chadai, which is established in the dromos of Osiris Onnophris the great god.”¹⁹ And a related stela, also dated to the reign of Augustus, uses similar expressions to describe another group: the “great cult association of Hathor, which is established in the dromos of Horus the Behdetite.”²⁰ These examples are all part of a fairly common and widely recognized pattern in the meeting places of associations in Egypt.²¹

The location of the enclosures granted to the associations in the stela from Saïs also matches this pattern. The careful topographical reconstruction of R. El-Sayed and P. Wilson has shown that these two

11 See the examples collected in CDD s.v. *swn.t*.

12 See Muszynski 1977, p. 155.

13 See P. Dem. Louvre E 7840 bis, text B, col. 2, lines 4–5 (in de Cenival 1986).

14 E.g., P. Hamburg I, line 3 (151 BCE); P. Dem. Cairo 31179, line 4 (147 BCE); P. Dem. Cairo 30605, line 4 (145 BCE); de Cenival 1972, pp. 59, 63, 73.

15 Cabrol 2001, p. 94.

16 Meeks 1972, p. 72 (8.17 in the text). For discussions of the chronology, see Meeks 1972, pp. 131–35, and Manning 2003, pp. 74–77. Since the text refers to earlier donations under Darius I and II, Nectanebo I, and even Amasis, it may be possible to push the date of this association back as early as the sixth century BCE. Muszynski (1977, p. 164) suggests a date before Nectanebo II.

17 P. Dem. Lille 29, line 2; de Cenival 1972, p. 3, dated 223 BCE.

18 P. Dem. Cairo 31178, line 3; de Cenival 1972, p. 39: *p3 ḥftyḥ n p3 irpy n* [. . .].

19 Cairo 10/5/50/1, published in Bresciani 1960, p. 122: *t3 swn.t 3.t n Hr-sm3-t3.wy ntr 3 nb Ḥdi nty smn n ḥfḥ n Wsir Wn-nfr p3 ntr 3*. For the text, see Vleeming 2001, pp. 156–57, no. 165. Vleeming translates *ḥfḥ* as “in the sight of,” although Bresciani (1960) translated it as “dromos.” The latter seems to me correct, and the writing includes the building determinative. See also CDD s.v. *ḥfḥ*, which reads this example as “dromos.”

20 Cairo 31130, first published in Spiegelberg 1904, p. 51, pl. 13; discussed in Sottas 1921, pp. 34–36. See now the text in Vleeming 2001, pp. 158–59, no. 167, although, as in the above example, the reading of *ḥfḥ* must be corrected to “dromos.” See CDD s.v. *swn.t* for translation of this text.

21 See, e.g., de Cenival 1972, pp. 177–78; Nielsen 2014, p. 12.

enclosures were adjacent to each other and directly to the west of the dromos of the temple of Neith at Saïs.²² The relevant text describing the boundaries of the enclosure of the association of Horus Res-Net and Horus Meh-Net is as follows (BM 1427, lines 4–7):

. . . *ihw p3y=s rsyt t3 ihy(.t) n p3 hry n S3*
p3y=s mhty.t (t)3 (ih)y.t nt.t di.t r t3 swnt m-b3h N.t
p3y=s imnty.t htp 3hy(.t)
p3y=s 3bty.t hft-hr N.t . . .

. . . its southern boundary: the enclosure of the Chief of Saïs

its northern boundary: the enclosure that was given to the association of/before Neith

its western boundary: the resting place of the Akhyet cow

its eastern boundary: the dromos of Neith . . .

Although El-Sayed, Wilson, and others have interpreted these enclosures as stables or animal pens, the term *ihy(.t)* or *ihw* can also apply to enclosures other than stables. In a brief description of the festival of the “Happy Reunion” in the colonnaded forecourt at Edfu, for example, Hathor visits the “place of the people” (*ihw n p3 mšc*) during her journey from Dendera to Edfu.²³ Long before this, in New Kingdom texts, the term could also be used for military encampments.²⁴ If one accepts that the term *swnt* in this case refers to an association of a type that commonly met on or near the dromos area of a temple, the grants of land in stela BM 1427 can best be understood as permanent enclosures designated for the meetings of those associations.

Such permanent meeting places are, of course, known from later periods. The most elaborate of these are the seven “dining rooms” (*deipneteria*) arranged along both sides of the dromos at Tebtunis and dated to the early second century CE.²⁵ There are also parallels to these structures at Karanis that date from the same period.²⁶ The excavation of these facilities has shown that, although furnished with walls and even doors that could be closed, these dining rooms did not have solid roofs and were probably covered with cloth canopies to shade the occupants. They could also, therefore, have operated as open-air dining facilities, weather permitting. For our purposes, it is perhaps worth comparing this feature of the Fayyum *deipneteria* to the use of the term for camp or enclosure (*ihy(.t)/ihw*) in BM 1427 to describe the installations along the dromos at Saïs. There are also indications that there was a *deipneterion* to the west of the dromos at Medinet Madi (Narmouthis), probably dating to the end of the Ptolemaic period.²⁷ The Fayyum enclosures are rather elaborate, but there are also other versions of facilities for cult associations known from less imposing evidence at other sites around Egypt. At Elephantine, for example, the southeast corner of the terrace of the temple

22 See Wilson 2006, pp. 20–22, 32–33, fig. 5; El-Sayed 1975, p. 177, fig. 1.

23 *Edfou V*, p. 357, 3–4. This phrase is translated “Platz der Volksmenge” in Kurth and Behrmann 2019; Wilson (1997, p. 101) translates it as “camp of the army.” The *Wörterbuch* (*Wb. I*, p. 118/9) cites *ihy* (fem.) as a separate entry and describes it as a word attested in the Saïte period for a “kind of building” (“Art Gebäude”), but the *Belegstellung* does not give a reference. Perhaps our present reference or the stela of Paderepas, discussed below, was what the authors of the *Wörterbuch* had in mind. Another tantalizing clue to the sense of the term *ihy.t* is found in the biographical inscription on the statue of Hor, governor of Herakleopolis (Louvre A.88), tentatively dated from the Thirtieth Dynasty to the beginning of the Ptolemaic period. In recounting Hor’s services to the people of his town, the inscription states that he “protects the one who carries/celebrates(?) in its street just like (the one) in the enclosure” (*mki d3yt-hr m mrr(.t)=s mit.t ihy.t*). This may refer to people who have the privilege of belonging to an association and celebrating a festival in an enclosure, as opposed to the masses who simply celebrate in the street. See Vercoutter 1950, pp. 87–88, 92–93; Gorre 2009, p. 199.

24 Hoffmeier 1976–77, pp. 15–16, 18.

25 The activity of associations at this site was most likely earlier than the actual formal constructions, as attested by altars that are associated with the *deipneteria* but date to the reign of Augustus. There are also references to associations at Tebtunis in the first century CE in P. Mich. II, 127; P. Mich. V, 243–48; and P. Lips. 2, 131. On the *deipneteria*, see Rondot 2004, pp. xi, 3–5, 145–59, 197–202; Gallazi 2004, pp. 116–17, 120–21; Gallazi 2006, pp. 182, 184, 189. Ostraca excavated in the area include several receipts for contributions of beer that appear to be contemporary with the period of the *deipneteria* (see Reiter 2005).

26 Boak 1933, pp. 35–42, noted by Rondot (2004, p. 200).

27 Bresciani et al. 2007, p. 239; Bresciani and Giammarusti 2012, p. 25.

of Khnum was developed as a meeting place for at least one, and perhaps several, cult associations in the early Roman period.²⁸ The parapet of the terrace was furnished with naoi, altars, and small obelisks where associations could meet after procession festivals, make offerings to the gods, and drink and dine together. This use of the public area in front of the Khnum temple is confirmed by a Demotic graffito:

n3 swr.w ḥnq(.t) (m-)b3ḥ Ḥnm p3 m3' b3 swn.t Ḥnm n3 swr.w ḥnq(.t)

The drinkers of beer before Khnum, the place of the association of Khnum, the drinkers of beer²⁹

To this example can be added several similar clues that various associations marked out their designated meeting places, even if they did not, so far as one can tell from archaeological evidence, invest to the same degree in developing the sites.³⁰ At Soknopaiou Nesos, for example, the association (σύνοδος) of Esenchebis dedicated a place (τόπος) next to the dromos of the temple in the first century BCE. This is one of many such τόπος inscriptions from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt.³¹ A similar reference to the “place” (*m3'*) of an association is attested at Philae in the early Roman period.³² These pieces of evidence for designated places, perhaps even “enclosures,” of associations are all, of course, much later than the Saïte example, but they suggest a plausible alternative to interpreting *ihy(.t)* as a stable or animal pen. The grants from Amasis could very well have designated fixed meeting places for cult associations situated along the dromos, as they often were in later periods.

The association as a feature of the public topography of towns and villages in Egypt had a deep history of its own that later became entangled with broader, interconnected patterns of sociability as well as religious, economic, and political life in the Mediterranean, the Near East, and Egypt. These connections remain to be more fully explored, but anchoring the Egyptian contribution to such dialogues in the sources and material culture of pre-Hellenistic Egypt is a critical starting point, as Prof. Ritner taught me. On the occasion of a birthday celebration, it is also pleasant to recall that the pharaoh Amasis—who granted these enclosures to the associations of Horus Res-Net and Horus Meh-Net, and of Neith at Saïs, so their members could enjoy dining, drink, and conviviality on the occasion of temple festivals—was himself known as a pharaoh who enjoyed a good party. Herodotus (*Histories* 2.173) famously commented on his habit of working very hard but also being able to relax and enjoy joking and drinking with his friends, and this side of Amasis is also attested in the Demotic tale on the reverse side of the *Demotic Chronicle* (Paris Bibl. Nat. 215).³³ Amasis would presumably have approved if the associations that met on the dromos of the temple of Neith at Saïs took part in the kind of festive activities that associations clearly enjoyed in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. And it also seems worth remembering that Amasis was known to Herodotus as a cheerful, philhellenic pharaoh who welcomed the Greeks to Egypt (2.178), just as Prof. Ritner once helped welcome a young classicist to the world of Egyptology more than twenty years ago.

28 Jaritz 1980, pp. 61–65.

29 For the text, see Zauzich, Jaritz, and Maehler 1979, pp. 150–51, and Jaritz 1980, text D2, pp. 78–79, with the corrections offered in Vittmann 1994, pp. 165–66; see also CDD ' (23 July 2003): 03.1, p. 160. The text has been republished in Vleeming 2015, pp. 66–67, no. 1343.

30 Another example of a building connected with an association may be the *lychnaption* beside the dromos of the Serapeum at Saqqara. See Nielsen 2014, p. 12; for a brief description, see Thompson 2012, pp. 20–21, 25, 197.

31 *I. Fayoum* 3.204; Muszynski 1977, p. 169, no. 40. See also the dedication of a place by another association (σύνοδος) in the Fayyum (*I. Fayoum* 3.205). For further examples, see Bernand 1993, pp. 106–7, and the discussion in Paganini 2020, pp. 191–202.

32 Muszynski 1977, p. 151 and doc. 29, p. 168 = Graffito Philae 36 (Griffith 1937, p. 48). See also the graffito from the courtyard pavement of the Kom Ombo temple (Vleeming 2015, pp. 69–70, no. 1351), which, like the Elephantine graffito discussed above, designates “the place of drinking” (*p3 m3' n swr*), in this case of two “crews of bearers of the gods,” perhaps also an association.

33 See Prof. Ritner’s translation, “The Tale of Amasis and the Skipper,” and his comments in Simpson et al. 2003, pp. 450–52.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CDD Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>
- Edfou V* Émile Chassinat. *Le temple d'Edfou: Tome cinquième*. Mémoires de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 22. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1930
- I. Fayoum* Etienne Bernard. *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum*. Leiden: Brill, 1975–81
- P. Dem. Demotic Papyrus
- P. Lips. 2 Ruth Duttonhöffer, ed. *Griechische Urkunden der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete Beiheft 10. Leipzig: Saur, 2002
- P. Mich. II Arthur E. R. Boak, ed. *Papyri from Tebtunis: Part I*. University of Michigan Studies Humanistic Series 28. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933
- P. Mich. V E. M. Husselman, Arthur E. R. Boak, and W. F. Edgerton, eds. *Papyri from Tebtunis: Part II*. University of Michigan Studies Humanistic Series 29. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1933
- Wb.* Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ascough, Richard S., Philip A. Harland, and John S. Kloppenborg
2012 *Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook*. Waco, TX: Baylor University Press.
- Bernand, Étienne
1993 “Τόπος dans les inscriptions grecques d'Égypte.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 98: 103–10.
- Boak, Arthur E. R.
1933 *Karanis: The Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoological Reports, Seasons 1924–31*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bresciani, Edda
1960 “Due stele demotiche del Museo del Cairo.” *Studi classici e orientali* 9: 119–26.
- Bresciani, Edda, and Antonio Giammarusti
2012 *I templi di Medinet Madi nel Fayum*. Progetti documenti per l'archeologia egiziana. Pisa: Edizioni Plus—Pisa University Press.
- Bresciani, Edda, Antonio Giammarusti, Rosario Pintaudi, and Flora Silvano
2007 *Medinet Madi: Venti anni di esplorazione archeologica (1984–2005)*. Pisa: Università di Pisa.
- Budge, E. A. W.
1909 *A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*. London: British Museum.
- Cabrol, Agnès
2001 *Les voies processionnelles de Thèbes*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 97. Leuven: Peeters.
- Chevereau, Pierre-Marie
1985 *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens de la Basse Époque: Carrières militaires et carrières sacerdotales en Égypte du XI^e au II^e siècle avant J.C.* Antony: Chevereau.
- de Cenival, Françoise
1972 *Les associations religieuses en Égypte d'après les documents démotiques*. Bibliothèque d'étude 46. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
1986 “Comptes d'une association religieuse thébaine datant des années 29 à 33 du rois Amasis (P. démot. Louvre E 7840 bis).” *Revue d'égyptologie* 37: 13–29.
- El-Sayed, Ramadan
1975 *Documents relatifs à Saïs et ses divinités*. Bibliothèque d'étude 69. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Gabrielsen, Vincent, and Christian A. Thomsen, eds.

- 2015 *Private Associations and the Public Sphere: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at the Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 9–11 September 2010*. Scientia Danica. Series H, Humanistica 8/9. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.

Gallazi, Claudio

- 2004 “Umm-el-Breigât.” *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 1: 115–27.
2006 “Tebtynis (Umm el-Breigât–Fayûm).” *Ricerche italiane e scavi in Egitto* 2: 177–96.

Gorre, Gilles

- 2009 *Les relations du clergé égyptien et des lagides d’après les sources privées*. Studia Hellenistica 45. Leuven: Peeters.

Griffith, F. Ll.

- 1937 *Catalogue of the Demotic Graffiti of the Dodecaschoenus*. Les temples immergés de la Nubie 19. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoffmeier, James Karl

- 1976–77 “Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East.” *Newsletter of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 7: 13–28.

Hughes, George R.

- 1958 “The Sixth Day of the Lunar Month and the Demotic Word for ‘Cult Guild.’” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16: 147–60.

Jansen-Winkeln, Karl

- 2014 *Inschriften der Spätzeit*. Part 4, *Die 26. Dynastie*. Vol. 1, *Psametik I.–Psametik III*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jaritz, Horst

- 1980 *Elephantine III: Die Terrassen vor den Tempeln des Chnum und der Satet*. Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 32. Mainz: von Zabern.

Kloppenborg, John S., and Stephen G. Wilson

- 1996 *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World*. London: Routledge.

Kurth, Dieter, and Almuth Behrmann

- 2019 *Edfou V: Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu*. Part 1, *Übersetzungen*. Vol. 4/1. Hützel: Backe.

Leclère, François

- 2008 *Les villes de basse Égypte au I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C.: Analyse archéologique et historique de la topographie urbaine*. Bibliothèque d’étude 144. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Manning, Joseph Gilbert

- 2003 *Land and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt: The Structure of Land Tenure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meeks, Dimitri

- 1972 *Le grand texte des donations au temple d’Edfou*. Bibliothèque d’étude 59. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Meeks, Wayne A.

- 1983 *The First Urban Christians: The Social World of the Apostle Paul*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Monson, Andrew

- 2006 “The Ethics and Economics of Ptolemaic Religious Associations.” *Ancient Society* 36: 221–38.
2007a “Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Fayyum: The Evidence of Demotic Accounts.” In *New Archaeological and Papyrological Researches on the Fayyum: Proceedings of the International Meeting of Egyptology and Papyrology, Lecce, June 8th–10th, 2005*, edited by Maria Capasso and Paola Davoli, pp. 180–96. Galatina (Lecce): Congedo.
2007b “Religious Associations and Temples in Ptolemaic Tebtunis.” In *Proceedings of the 24th International Congress of Papyrology, Helsinki, 1–7 August, 2004*, edited by Jaakko Frösén, Tiina Puroola, and Erja Salmenkivi, pp. 769–79. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica.

Muhs, Brian

- 2001 "Membership in Private Associations in Ptolemaic Tebtunis." *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 44: 1–21.

Muszynski, Michel

- 1977 "Les 'associations religieuses' en Égypte d'après les sources hiéroglyphiques, démotiques et grecques." *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 8: 145–74.

Nielsen, Inge

- 2014 *Housing the Chosen*. Contextualizing the Sacred 2. Turnhout: Brepols.

Paganini, Mario C. D.

- 2020 "Epigraphic Habits of Private Associations in the Ptolemaic Chora." In *The Epigraphy of Ptolemaic Egypt*, edited by Alan Bowman and Charles Crowther, pp. 179–207. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Reiter, Fabian

- 2005 "Symposia in Tebtynis—zu den griechischen Ostraka aus den neuen Grabungen." In *Tebtynis und Soknopaiou Nesos: Leben im römerzeitlichen Fajum. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums vom 11. bis 13. Dezember 2003 in Sommerhausen bei Würzburg*, edited by Sandra Luise Lippert and Maren Schentuleit, pp. 131–40. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rondot, Vincent

- 2004 *Tebtynis II: Le temple de Soknebtynis et son dromos*. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 50. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Simpson, William Kelly, Robert K. Ritner, Edward F. Wente, and Vincent A. Tobin

- 2003 *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Sottas, Henri

- 1921 "Le thiase d'Ombos." *Revue archéologique* 13: 24–36.

Spalinger, Anthony J.

- 1996 *The Private Feast Lists of Ancient Egypt*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 57. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm

- 1904 *Die demotischen Denkmäler: 30601–31166*. Vol. 1, *Die demotischen Inschriften*. Leipzig: Drugulin.

Thompson, Dorothy J.

- 2012 *Memphis under the Ptolemies*. 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Vercoutter, Jean

- 1950 "Les statues du général Hor, gouverneur d'Hérakléopolis, de Busiris et d'Héliopolis (Louvre A. 88, Alexandrie, s.n.)." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 49: 85–114.

Vittmann, Günter

- 1994 Review of *Life in a Multi-cultural Society: Egypt from Cambyses to Constantine and Beyond*, edited by Janet H. Johnson. *Enchoria* 21: 160–72.

Vleeming, Sven P.

- 2001 *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects Gathered from Many Publications*. Studia Demotica 5. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2015 *Demotic Graffiti and Other Short Texts Gathered from Many Publications*. Studia Demotica 12. Leuven: Peeters.

Wilson, Penelope

- 1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2006 *The Survey of Saïs (Sa el-Hagar) 1997–2002*. Excavation Memoir 77. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

Zauzich, Karl-Theodor, Horst Jaritz, and Herwig Maehler

- 1979 "Inschriften und Graffiti von der Brüstung der Chnumtempel-Terrasse in Elephantine." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 35: 125–54.

15

ALTERITY, AMALGAMATION, AND ROYAL IDENTITY
IN EARLY EGYPT

Hratch Papazian
University of Cambridge

*Dedicated to the memory of Robert Ritner, whose expertise and limitless interest
in the identity of ancient Libyans have inspired the ideas presented here*

UNTIL RECENTLY, EGYPTOLOGY HAD OFTEN been conditioned to view geographical peripheries and certain chronological spans as inconsequential to understanding the identity of the culture(s) that inhabited the Nile Valley proper, often arguing that a given feature would be disqualified as being “Egyptian” unless it was first attested in a familiar form (whatever that may be), for example, in the Old Kingdom *and* at a well-known site. Such an approach, which is oversimplified here for the sake of argument, overlooks the hundreds of years that precede the historical era and the several hundred square miles of geographical expanse that would display variations, or in some cases even the origins, of what became the accepted cultural forms and identity within the conventionally defined geographical and chronological boundaries. Moreover, the undeniable role of prehistoric cultures in contributing to the development of that identity can no longer be marginalized.¹ There has been a long line of specialists working on prehistoric sites in modern Egypt and Sudan, their deserts and oases, for many decades, with a list of academic outputs too long to cite in these lines. Their contributions to historical Egyptology cannot be overlooked because of the mere fact that written sources are absent from Neolithic assemblages, for instance, or that migratory patterns from Farafrā to the Nile Valley in the Late Holocene² may be of no consequence for contributing admittedly intangible features and ideas to the cultures already inhabiting the Nile Valley at that time. After all, it was disparate prehistoric influences on a variety of features (including writing) that would eventually amalgamate into what became the advertised cultural forms of the unified state. Fortunately, the insightful research conducted over the past several decades within the realm of oasis and desert-road archaeology is being acknowledged for its impactful contributions to our understanding of additional folds of “Egyptian” culture, which have been increasingly integrated into the wider debates about the development of cultural forms and identities.³

The development of cultural identity is a more deeply complex, fluid, and dynamic process than has been commonly understood in traditional Egyptology, which is often based on an adulterated conception of an idealized ancient Egypt that is prevalent in Western thought. Multiple dimensions of such views regarding imposed identities are deservedly and thankfully being challenged in various fora, most with a focus on Nubia, though some of the theoretical approaches adopted there have wider applications.⁴ In the

1 Many scholars have highlighted and attempted to redress the lack of interdisciplinarity in Egyptology—not relating to prehistory exclusively but to anthropological perspectives as a whole. Among them may be listed the following individual contributions and compendia: Weeks 1979; Lustig 1997; Baines 2011; and more recently, Howley and Nyord 2018.

2 Barich 1993; Barich, Hassan, and Stoppiello 1996; Barich and Lucarini 2014, with references therein.

3 In addition to the innumerable individual studies covering those areas, cumulative contributions represent valuable resources for their range of topical coverage, such as Förster and Riemer 2013; Raue, Seidlmayer, and Speiser 2013; and Warfe et al. 2020.

4 There are now an increasing number of studies relating to decolonizing Egyptology and nuancing our approach to ethnicity, identity, foreignness, and similar social constructs. See, e.g., the contributions in Carruthers 2013; Emberling and Williams 2020; Howley and Nyord 2018; Smith 2014; Smith 2020.

same vein, the label “Egypt” in most non-Semitic modern languages has been a convenient descriptor for the vast land and the cultures therein, but its expedient and uncritical academic use for so long divulges the bias inherent in imposing a term on the entirety of the cultural horizons and geographical span involved, because “Egypt” itself cannot possibly be representative (and perhaps never was) for the totality of the state and its society, given that it stems from the name of a single Memphite temple. The motivations for the wider application of that term to the entire land, and the obvious hazards associated with it, form the topic of an entirely separate study of mine and cannot be debated here. Suffice it to say that “Egypt” as a construct initially may not have been intended to be all-encompassing beyond a certain perimeter for those who coined the name Αἴγυπτος,⁵ which should either disqualify it as a designation for the entire land or be permissible with appropriate caveats attached.⁶

In the fortunate absence of a cultural pattern book for evaluating what qualifies as originally “Egyptian,” the parameters of such a definition need to be calibrated carefully, with preconceived notions torn down.⁷ Therefore, what is often referred to as “foreign”⁸ would easily qualify as “Egyptian,” because the latter cannot and should not be submitted to a purity test. Nor was it likely that one was consciously administered in the later prehistoric and earliest historical periods in the forging of identities, which were much more subtle and eclectic than assumed. It is of consequence for the discipline to account for, or at least address the origin(s) of, features that are often taken for granted in Egyptology and classified securely as “Egyptian,” especially pertaining to those that may in turn offer insights into early society and its mindset, even if those features may be discernible only in prehistoric or very Early Dynastic evidence.

The premise of this essay aims, at a micro level and through a case study, to contribute to the nascent discussion about identity and Egyptianness mentioned above. I seek to analyze whether modern interpretations of tolerance (or a lack thereof) toward elements deemed foreign are compatible with reality in the very early periods of Egyptian history, and also to deliberate whether alterity was a transient characteristic or whether a given “foreign” feature was intellectually and culturally segregated on a permanent basis; alternatively, addressing the thesis through such prisms may be entirely untenable.⁹ A lot of consequential studies about foreignness and Egyptianness have maintained a focus on later periods, where the parameters of a discernible Egyptian identity can be more readily highlighted, analyzed, and simultaneously contrasted to forms that do not adhere to it. But the gestative phases (whenever the division between those and the beginnings of what is defined as culturally “Egyptian” may be), which are admittedly more difficult to gauge and define, may not adhere to such dichotomies. Those inquiries necessitate a much heavier reliance on Early Dynastic and very early Old Kingdom evidence for analyzing and understanding those dynamics, because, on the whole, most of the Old Kingdom should be considered already too established in its cultural norms for nearly all the arguments formulated here. By the end of the Old Kingdom the original attributes of many forms may have already undergone successive stages of reinterpretation of their properties and, as such, may provide a distorted view of the formative dynamics.

5 The term *Km.t* is equally problematic, especially in the earlier periods, as a name for the entire land or as a label denoting identity and cultural affiliation.

6 The selection of terminology is as important for the required precision and nuance as the presentation of the arguments, though the difficulty of finding an exact equivalent between an ancient concept and a modern expression to convey the required meaning remains. For the sake of convenience, I have, perhaps grudgingly, adhered to conventional terminology and have used “Egypt” and “Egyptian,” in addition to “foreigner,” in quotation marks in most instances throughout the essay. I will, however, highlight discrepancies and inconsistencies relating to those terms when they arise.

7 See, in this regard, the insightful comments offered by Schneider (2003, pp. 155–58).

8 Schneider 2010, p. 144.

9 It may well be that foreignness is an entirely modern construct imposed on features that we deem divergent from our preconceptions of that ancient culture—with its propagandistic royal bluster—that often cloud the social dynamics present within the state.

EARLY DIVINITIES AND ROYAL FORMS: THE CURIOUS CASE OF ASH

The fragmentary reliefs of Sahura's funerary complex¹⁰ include displays of the so-called Libyan family groups that appear regularly in the Old Kingdom.¹¹ Among them appear ostensibly non-“Egyptian” gods whose inclusion may be viewed, perhaps without much afterthought, as stock motifs that make up the expected repertoire of the admittedly limited royal temple decoration in the Old Kingdom.

A closer examination of “foreign” deities among the Sahura reliefs reveals that such artistic themes had antecedents in earlier royal iconography, and they constitute a link in a longer chain of traditions that may extend beyond the Old Kingdom, but with characteristics that may have acquired additional strata. This again rests within the larger inquiry relating to the nature of foreign elements and whether the inclusion of their features in various spheres of “Egyptian” society was deemed desirable or appropriate, or whether such a query is itself contentious if the ancients themselves considered such a premise as incongruous and irrelevant because they did not categorize the features that we interpret as “foreign” to have been as such.¹²

The god ʒš (hereafter Ash)¹³ is among those deities assumed to have connections with deserts and oases (i.e., geographical fringes of the Nile Valley), such as the early forms of the Seth animal,¹⁴ Igai,¹⁵ Inheret (Onuris),¹⁶ and even Neith, whose origins may lie away from the Nile Valley.¹⁷ Ash is represented in the reliefs of Sahura's temple as a human male, sporting the curved divine beard and holding a wʒs-scepter in his right hand and very likely an ankh in the other,¹⁸ with the epithet *nb Tḥnw* “lord of Tjehenu”¹⁹ above his head.²⁰ Also appearing among these reliefs, though in the decoration of the causeway, is an anthropomorphic deity with the head of the archetypal Seth animal, identified as *Nbwty* “He of Nubt (Naqada).”²¹ He

10 Borchardt 1913, pl. 1. See also Ćwiek 2003 for a comprehensive treatment of Old Kingdom royal reliefs.

11 For a discussion of those scenes, see principally Stockfisch 1996 and Ritner 2008, as well as Ritner 2009 and Hallmann in this volume. Aspects of the Libyan as an enemy have also been discussed by Spalinger (2017).

12 Insightful studies about early deities in Egypt, whether or not related to those considered to be geographically peripheral, have often adopted the construct of “foreignness” as a premise in their analyses (e.g., Turriziani 2013; Turriziani 2014; Regulski 2021).

13 In some instances, the name is written as Šš through metathesis (Meeks and Meeks 1986, p. 36 n. 25). Citing a Middle Kingdom example, Quirke (1992, p. 62) has proposed that Šš may be the word denoting “countryside” or “the disorderly fringe of the country.” For a more complete set of references to Ash, which are not abundant, see Leitz 2002, p. 81. There are concise though perceptive comments about the god dispersed among the works of several commentators, including Stock 1949, pp. 141–42; Morenz 1977, pp. 245–46; Bonnet 2000, p. 55.

14 The oft-cited work by te Velde (1967) remains a standard reference, despite some shortcomings, but recent studies are more relevant to the arguments presented here, in particular Kaper 2020 and Tallet 2020, without neglecting Osing 1985; Polkowski 2019; and Morris 2019. Some earlier works may also be of relevance, particularly Wainwright 1963.

15 See more recently Abruña Marti 2018, pp. 41–48, for the pre-Middle Kingdom discussion; Hubschmann 2010.

16 Junker 1961, pp. 83–84; Wildung 1972, p. 156.

17 Some of the comments offered by Morenz (1954, pp. 86–87) in his review of von Bissing's *Der Tote vor dem Opfertisch* are relevant in this regard, specifically about Neith's nomadic character and her lack of connection to Saïs originally. It is worth adding that Neith had an important position in the royal domain as early as the First Dynasty, both in the inscribed material (e.g., a chapel complex of the goddess on a tablet of Aha [Petrie 1901, pl. X, no. 2], among many other examples) and in personal names (e.g., Queen Meret-Neith).

18 The lower right part of the scene is missing and the god's left arm survives only down to his elbow. Other divine figures are clearly shown with both symbols elsewhere in the same temple (e.g., Borchardt 1913, pl. 5).

19 For more recent studies of some Libyan matters during the Old Kingdom, see Moreno García 2015; Moreno García 2018.

20 West end of the south wall of the colonnade hall (Borchardt 1913, pl. 1). Ash is preceded by *ʾImnt.t*, the goddess of the West, also in full human form. In later periods she appears to have been syncretized with Hathor or been “no more than a manifestation of Hathor or Isis” (Wilkinson 2003, pp. 145–46; see Leitz 2002, p. 362, for a fuller listing of her functions diachronically). As a goddess of the West, she may be classified as a desert deity as well.

21 Borchardt 1913, pl. 5. Much has been written for over a century about the exact zoological identification of the so-called Seth animal, but the creature is a composite one, as explained by McDonald (2000). For the phenomenon of composite gods, see Hornung 2000.

is followed in the procession by another fully human male deity assigned the label *Nb h³s.wt* “Lord of the desert lands.”

The full human form of Ash is significant in this particular representation because a few centuries earlier, in the Second Dynasty reigns of Peribsen and Khasekhemwy, he is depicted anthropomorphically on several seal impressions. His head displays what may be described as the snout characteristic of the Seth quadruped, and is topped by the white crown, on a seal impression of King Peribsen (fig. 15.1).²² Holding the *w³s*-scepter in one hand and an ankh in the other, he faces the serekh of Peribsen, which is topped by the so-called Seth animal (fig. 15.1). He has a similar posture on a seal impression of King Khasekhemwy, who combined the falcon and the Seth quadruped atop his serekh (fig. 15.2). In the latter example, Ash’s head looks more avian and has been likened to a falcon’s.²³

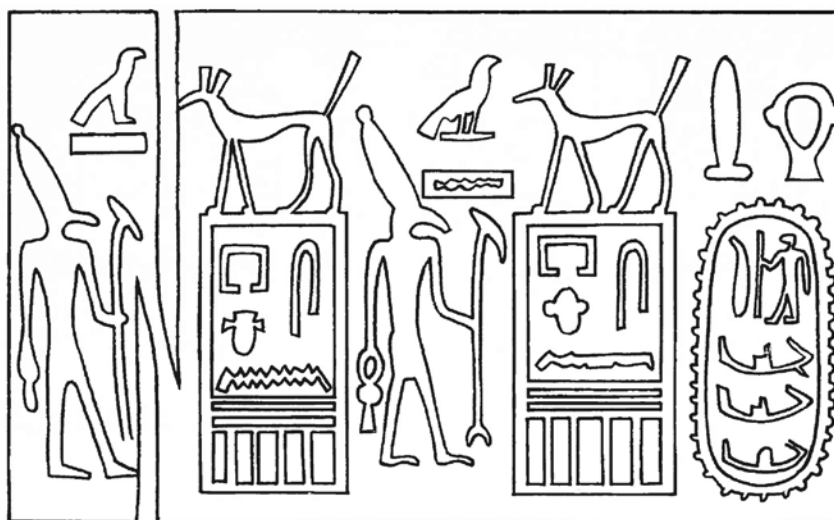


Figure 15.1. Ash facing the serekh of King Peribsen. Adapted from Kaplony 1963, pl. 77, no. 286.

Interestingly, another, more elaborate seal impression of Khasekhemwy depicts Ash (whose name is written as *Š* through metathesis, as mentioned in n. 13 above) with a Libyan feather on his head, which, once again, appears more falcon-like (fig. 15.3).²⁴ A further attestation of Ash in an identical stance, with similar regalia (but again without the white crown), can be found on a seal impression of Netjerikhet of the Third Dynasty.²⁵ The figures of Ash on these Second and Third Dynasty inscribed objects foreshadow the one depicted in Sahura’s reliefs in the Fifth Dynasty, the latter clearly adhering to, and perpetuating, a long-established pattern but choosing to represent the deity in full human form.

These examples prompt the need for an assessment of the status of Ash and the so-called Seth animal as they relate to early Egyptian kingship. The Seth animal is quite prevalent in prehistoric and early historic iconography, often in lapidary form²⁶ but also on labels, as in the examples found in Tomb U-j in Abydos.²⁷

²² Kaplony 1963, pl. 76, no. 283; pl. 77, no. 286; pl. 78, no. 291; pl. 80, no. 303 (no. 302 may also depict Ash, though not convincingly).

²³ te Velde 1967, p. 114.

²⁴ It is regrettable that the original objects could not be consulted for proper collation and a definitive rendering of the image of Ash.

²⁵ Kaplony 1963, pl. 80, no. 304, which has reproduced the name of *šš* as *Hr-šhty*. For a collated and corrected version of this piece with the name of the god rendered as *šš*, see Kahl, Kloth, and Zimmermann 1995, p. 18, Ne/Be/12. Scharff (1926, p. 24) already suspected this to have been the case in discussing Weill’s earlier publication of the piece.

²⁶ Polkowski 2019; Darnell and Darnell 2002, p. 19.

²⁷ Kahl 2001.

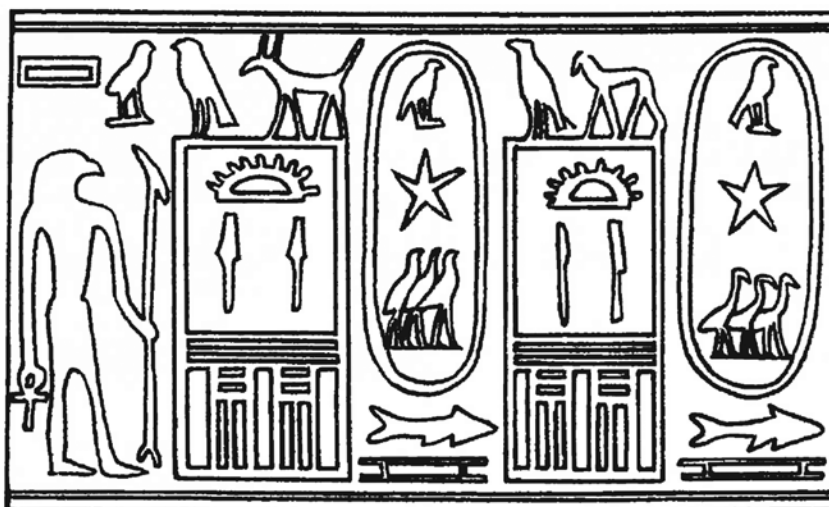


Figure 15.2. Ash facing the serekh of King Khasekhemwy. Adapted from Kaplony 1963, pl. 78, no. 291.

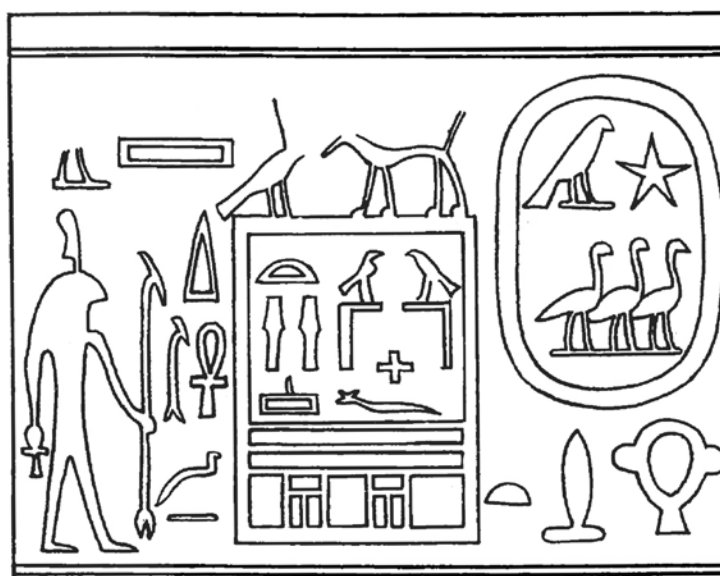


Figure 15.3. Ash with a Libyan feather, facing the serekh of King Khasekhemwy. Adapted from Kaplony 1963, pl. 80, no. 303.

Unlike the anthropomorphic Ash,²⁸ the earliest evidence does not include a blended human-animal version of Seth, who always appears as a quadruped.²⁹ It is only much later (in the abovementioned Sahura reliefs, in reliefs of Djedkare-Isesi, and in coronation scenes of Unis and Pepy II)³⁰ that an anthropomorphic deity³¹ with the Sethian head appears with the label *Nbwtj* “He of Nubt (Naqada).” The Seth quadruped alone is

28 On two First Dynasty (reign of Den) seal impressions, there are mentions of Ash, though without an accompanying figure of the god (Kaplony 1963, pls. 52–53, nos. 195, 196). It is worth noting that on both of those objects the occurrences of the goddess *Imtyt* (Leitz 2002, pp. 298–99) are also exclusively textual.

29 An anthropomorphic Seth, with *w3s*-scepter and ankh, is found on the so-called Seth Hill in Dakhla (Kaper 2020, pp. 372–76, fig. 1; Tallet 2020, p. 706, fig. 1, with references in both studies to the original discovery), though it is difficult to assign an exact date to this figure. Tallet is tempted by a Middle Kingdom date, though inconclusively, while Kaper opts to assign the totality of the hill, of which that particular Seth figure is part, to the Old Kingdom on the basis of the analysis of a range of material at that site.

30 Ćwiek 2003, figs. 29, 50, 51.

31 Regarding the human form of deities in the earliest dynastic times, see Baines 1991, pp. 97–98.

also identified as such (*Nbwty*) earlier in the First Dynasty, on a seal impression of Den,³² and in the Third Dynasty, on a relief fragment from Netjerikhet's shrine in Heliopolis.³³ These mentions would appear to underscore the relevance of the role of *Nbwty* in the royal realm and to make it difficult to reconcile them with the suggestion by Baines that “the ‘decline’ of Seth may have been contemporary with the decline of Naqada” in the early First Dynasty³⁴—unless, that is, we do not equate Seth with *Nbwty*.

Although the Seth quadruped is verifiably attested in the Nile Valley as *Nbwty* by the First Dynasty, it remains unclear whether its original manifestation can be confirmed to be at Naqada. The preeminence of the motif of that composite creature in Dakhla, for example, in contexts that may predate the First Dynasty, together with the persistence of the worship of Seth there, in official and private spheres³⁵ for many millennia,³⁶ is not an insignificant aspect for determining the origin of the deity. This, in turn, informs us about the cultural influence and contributions of cultures residing on the peripheries of the Nile Valley, or nomadically interacting with prehistoric and early historic cultures therein, in the formulation of certain “Egyptian” identity traits. Such traits become more manifest, unsurprisingly, in the royal sphere, which monopolizes the expression of cultural features in the earliest centuries of the state, and on and off in the succeeding millennia.

According to the Berlin *Wörterbuch* (*Wb.* IV, p. 345/3), the earliest mention of the name “Seth”—*Stš/Sth*—dates to the Pyramid Texts, though negative evidence from earlier periods does not constitute definitive proof to discount the existence of that name before the Fifth Dynasty.³⁷ It must be noted that a phonetic writing of “Seth” is absent from the Unis compendium, which includes only the seated or recumbent Seth animal. In the later pyramids of Teti, Merenra, and Neith, a phonetic writing is preferred that omits the quadruped altogether, even as a determinative, for the equivalent utterances of Unis (e.g., *PT* 88c [spell 143]; *PT* 480b [spell 306]).³⁸ The earlier occurrences of that composite creature should probably be correctly assumed to be *the* Seth, despite the lack of an explicit textual identification, which is contrary to the practice of the frequent labeling of Ash. The implicit equivalence of the composite quadruped with Seth is engrained in Egyptology, and although not necessarily incorrect per se for the earliest available dynastic evidence, it may simultaneously not be entirely correct either. Such associations are generally retrospective and apply a secure reading from later times to seemingly equivalent features in the earliest phases of the historic period. In this case, no doubt whatsoever exists about the correspondence between Seth and his animal throughout most of Egyptian history, resulting in an automatic and/or uncritical correlation of the two in the analysis of the earliest decades of the state, or late prehistory, based entirely on its familiar iconography, which alone may not be warranted as a criterion for the equivalence. Some, though, have adopted a more cautious approach to the reading of the Seth quadruped. Regarding the figures of Ash facing the serekhs on the Second Dynasty seal impression of Peribsen cited above (fig. 15.1), Pätznick prefers to read the name of the king as “Ash-Peribsen,” instead of the more common “Seth-Peribsen,” because there is no clear evidence for Seth in that period.³⁹ This approach conforms to the admittedly limited evidentiary picture, though the First Dynasty mention of *Nbwty* on the Den seal impression would seem to indicate that the Seth quadruped did indeed have a designation, albeit not explicitly “Seth,” and did not assume a partial human form until much later in the Old Kingdom. Ash, on the other hand, has confirmed textual-iconographic mentions, is depicted

32 See Büma and Morenz 2019, p. 27, fig. 2, for a close-up, with the Seth quadruped holding up a bow and arrows with one of its front legs.

33 Smith 1946, p. 136, fig. 51.

34 Baines 1991, p. 98.

35 Polkowski 2019; also Gobeil 2010.

36 Vittmann 2019.

37 Similar arguments about the manner in which evidence is used in proposals about the origins of a deity are presented in the penetrating study of Osiris by Smith (2017, *passim*, but esp. pp. 107–65).

38 The phenomenon of omission or suppression of certain hieroglyphs has been discussed recently by Roth (2017, esp. pp. 294–95).

39 Pätznick 2005, p. 64 and n. 72.

wearing or holding various elements of royal and divine regalia, and, with two exceptions,⁴⁰ always appears as a composite figure of a human and what appears to be the head of the Seth animal or a falcon.

Regardless, there clearly was an affinity between Ash and the deity represented by the Seth animal (*Nbwtj*) and even the falcon, whether or not already Horus, from the First Dynasty onward. This bond may qualify in some contexts as an implicit syncretism—the acquisition by one deity of several names and identities of the other⁴¹—though it would be futile and unwise to try to pinpoint the exact time period when such impermanent associations first took hold.⁴² That same bond extends to the relationship of those deities with the royal sphere, with a visual balance created between god and serekh on the seal impressions. Ash, with a Sethian head, faces the serekh of Peribsen topped with the Seth animal, and an avian (falcon?)-headed Ash is oriented toward Khasekhemwy and Netjerikhet. The versatility of Ash’s iconography—which appears to be adapted to suit the context of each scene, with the god’s head being modified to reflect the chosen identity preferred by the king—is noteworthy and may lead to the tentative conclusion that Ash should not be exclusively identified with Seth, as the ultimate stage of the evolution of their relationship appears to suggest at Edfu or as has long been assumed by various commentators. The type of balance exposed in the early documents is akin to similar examples where Horus and *Nbwtj* jointly crown the king, as in the Old Kingdom royal reliefs cited in footnote 30 (though Horus and Seth perform such rites in later periods as well), or accompany him, one on each side, with hands held.⁴³ Incidentally, among the titularies of First Dynasty queens is a range that includes “Horus” and “Seth” in their formulation (e.g., *m33[.t] Hr Sth* “She who sees Horus and Seth,” if we opt to read the Seth quadruped as such),⁴⁴ an explicit indication of the oneness of those two deities embodied by the person of the king,⁴⁵ which may also be apparent in the iconography of Ash in the Second and Third Dynasties. It is worth adding here, with caution, that the appearance of Ash separately with the head of a Seth animal and of a falcon is reminiscent of the double-headed or double-faced god (with a composite Seth-Horus head) who appears in the Amduat in the New Kingdom.⁴⁶

(UN)ALTERED IDENTITIES

The affinities and bonds just discussed may have been present in the very early conceptions of kingship, ones that were an amalgam of traditions of rulership among different cultural groups that coalesced in late prehistoric times in the lead-up to the formation of the state. Whether or not myths (e.g., earlier versions of the Horus and Seth saga) also played a part in the selection of royal patrons of very early kingship, and to what degree, are difficult questions to answer.⁴⁷ But by the First Dynasty, and perhaps even by Dynasty 0,⁴⁸ we can discern a well-established and distinct iconography for the pharaonic office that foreshadows the manifestation of most of the forms that became archetypal in the succeeding centuries and millennia. That iconography was multilayered and integrated elements from a variety of sources and traditions,⁴⁹ with a

40 Those exceptions being mentions of Ash, whose name is written phonetically and without an accompanying figure, on two nearly identical seal impressions of Den (Kaplony 1963, pls. 52–53, nos. 195–96).

41 Several millennia later, Ash appears as one of the several names by which Seth is known at Edfu (Chassinat 2009, pp. 167/15 and 274/7). Mentions of Ash between the late Old Kingdom and the Ptolemaic-Roman era are extremely negligible in number.

42 Baines 1999; Baines notes (p. 204 and n. 22) that third-millennium examples of the “fusion of deities” is not widespread.

43 Kaplony 1981, pl. 26, no. 1151 (Khafra); pl. 122, no. 47 (the fragmentary royal name here could belong to a number of Fifth Dynasty kings).

44 For a discussion of this and associated elements, see Sabbahy 1993.

45 Stock 1949, p. 142.

46 Hornung 2000, pp. 4–5, fig. 5 (referring to te Velde 1967). That image is also discussed in Grumach 1970, pp. 170, 177, pl. 3. Borghouts 1970, pp. 138–39, outlines the features of this god and some of the difficulties associated with their interpretation.

47 For more on such deliberations, see Baines 1991.

48 Logan 1999.

49 For instance, the late prehistoric palettes and painted pottery contain a range of themes and symbols that were adopted and adapted to suit the emerging iconography of kingship in the development of the state.

certain proportion that may have been rooted in cultures of the deserts of Nubia and Libya. The fact that those cultures were predominantly nomadic⁵⁰ makes it more difficult for their contributions to be highlighted. Nevertheless, it is to a degree inescapable that interactions between cultures in the western desert and its oases⁵¹ had an influence on, and implanted elements into, what became Egyptian identity. It is not a case of borrowing and appropriation *per se*⁵² but a case of *accumulation of forms* that led to the creation of a new paradigm, one that has become familiar in the discipline and that Egyptologists interpret and acknowledge as “Egyptian.” Morenz, for example,⁵³ accepts as a given the influence of Libyan forms on early Egyptian cultures, forms he does not deem as foreign or borrowed but as integral and familiar parts of the formation of early Egyptian identity. Such forms then were considered innate and did not require any alteration to make them compatible with “Egyptian” patterns. Therefore, the idea of “foreignness” should not be taken into account in such a setting because the resulting identity (the one we call “Egyptian”) had not matured enough to institute a segregation in its selection of forms. Thus, Libyan or Nubian elements, through the movement of population groups across the western desert, coalesced with others in the Nile Valley as part of the process of amalgamation of cultures that engendered the political state in Naqada III. Perhaps hints of that identity (be it Libyan or otherwise) are covertly present in elements that became integral to the office of kingship in the earlier historical phases in a case of “hiding-in-plain-sight”-ism.

Often the (mutual)⁵⁴ influence among groups is so implicit and invisible that the distinctiveness of each does not come across in very pronounced fashion and therefore is glossed over. Egypto-Libyan relations have always been examined on the basis of Egyptian sources, but it is specifically those sources that are enlightening about forms that have become embedded and fossilized within the cultures that coalesced in the decades and centuries leading up to the inception of the state. Those forms may have persisted well beyond that pivotal stage into the early Old Kingdom, as may be discernible in elements found in divine sculptures possibly from the Third Dynasty.⁵⁵ Unsurprisingly, they are more apparent in the royal sphere in the Early Dynastic period and Old Kingdom, given the monopoly on written forms, among a range of other cultural spheres, that the early kings retained.

The endorsement of deities such as Ash as patrons of kingship and their fusion with their peers—whether permanently, ultimately subsuming one of the deities (e.g., Osiris and Khentymentyw), or in transitory fashion, highlighting affinities without necessarily merging them (e.g., Ash-Seth and Ash-Horus)—may be reflective of a more complex social, cultural, and religious landscape in which practices of that sort flourished. Gradually, the sum of those various contributing parts, including those from peripheral traditions, is displayed in the royal sphere as fully formed components of *Egyptian* royal repertoire and identity. As such, it is plausible that deities like Ash (*ʒš*), Seth (*Stš/Stḥ*), Igai (*Igʒi*), and Neith (*Nt*) may have their origins elsewhere. Thus it has been suggested that the name *Igʒi*, for example, may derive from a Libyan language or from the language of one of the western desert/oasis cultures;⁵⁶ the same difficulty with etymology arises with *ʒš*, *Stš/Stḥ*, and *Nt*, and a similar explanation for their linguistic origins may be sought. Ultimately, this would make it difficult to refute the extreme likelihood that a group of desert gods in the

50 Ritner 2009, pp. 43–45. See also some brief comments to that effect in Kees 1941, pp. 21–24.

51 See some of the ideas presented by Le Quellec (1996).

52 What is proposed here differs from Schneider’s fitting case studies of appropriation, one of which related to Baal (Schneider 2003, pp. 160–61).

53 Morenz 1977, p. 245. Likewise, see the comments to that effect in Hölscher 1955.

54 It is difficult to speak of mutuality in this instance because the evidence from the other side of the spectrum (i.e., the western Egyptian deserts/Libyan sphere) is sparse. However, the apparent congruence that exists among each region’s cultural forms is an additional point in favor of allowing the existence of early cultural contacts. Thus, it may be cautiously argued that the formation of a distinct Egyptian identity did not necessarily reject the “other” forms, despite official propaganda several centuries later about dominating the western deserts and its inhabitants.

55 Wildung 1972, pp. 154–55.

56 Abruña Marti (2018, p. 43) is noncommittal about the suggestion that the name Igai derived from a Libyan language, but does not reject it outright.

constellation of early deities of the state traced their origins to the western desert cultures,⁵⁷ which appear to have evolved almost seamlessly alongside their Nile Valley counterparts, being mutually compatible, especially with respect to the conception of kingship but in other, less conspicuous areas as well.

The resilience of the identity of the deities discussed here as desert gods in later traditions may have been rooted in the acknowledgment of and deference to their origins, rather than in the expedient compartmentalization or classification of a group of divinities as “foreign.” Stemming from this notion, a further aspect may have developed in the centuries following the Early Dynastic period, one that would recognize those deities as representing geographical liminality in the same manner that some were liminal in other ways.⁵⁸ In such an arrangement, deities would remain in flux, moving through different geographical dimensions familiar to them. Ash, for instance, would become the “Lord of *Tḥnw*,” not a “foreign” deity incompatible with “Egyptian” forms but a familial deity, though a liminal one, suitable to be included in the relief decoration repertoire of royal temples; Seth would maintain a prominence in the desert regions and oases, as would Igai, and Neith would have dominion over the fringe areas of cultivation leading into the desert as a patroness of hunting. This type of arrangement would allow the ever-growing mechanisms of royal propaganda to exert influence over the liminal peripheries of Egypt by using divine allies who were never foreign to it. It is perhaps ironic (or perhaps not) that it is information from that same royal sphere that affords us a glimpse into the multicultural amalgam that was the incipient Egyptian identity, with all its complexity and inclusiveness, extending well beyond the Nile Valley to encompass cultures of the western desert, some of which may have been Libyan.

It would appear, then, that the Third Intermediate Period was not first in witnessing Libyan royal traditions at the head of the Egyptian state, because numerous Libyan and western desert features were already adopted and displayed by early Egyptian kings. Those royal patrons, be it Ash, the Seth animal, or Neith, should underscore the enormous and undeniable contribution of cultures west of the Nile Valley to the formulation of cultural forms (of which royal iconography is part) in the developing stages of the state and in its earliest dynasties. By the later Old Kingdom, those forms had evolved to become engrained in royal iconography, perhaps coexisting with a more aggressive view of the liminality of boundaries, which tended to accentuate the exclusion and domination of those who lived beyond them (cf. the parade of Libyan prisoners in Sahura’s reliefs), and not one that rejected an inherent identity of the “Egyptian,” which maintained a kinship with the “Libyan” for long centuries prior.

ABBREVIATIONS

- PT* Kurt Sethe. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–12
Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Reprint, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abruña Marti, Heri
 2018 “Igai ‘the Lord of the Oasis.’” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 104: 41–58.
- Baines, John
 1991 “Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods, and the Early Written and Iconographic Record.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 50: 81–105.
 1999 “Egyptian Syncretism: Hans Bonnet’s Contribution.” *Orientalia* 68: 199–214.

⁵⁷ Among these may be added Onuris (Wildung 1972, p. 156) and perhaps even Ha (Bonnet 2000, p. 55; Bonnet even associates Ash with Ha). See Wildung’s discussion about some iconographic elements of the two divine statuettes, such as the penis sheath, and their connections with Libyan traditions.

⁵⁸ Bornemann and Smith 2020.

- 2011 “Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Thirty Years On.” In *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie: Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften*, edited by Burkhard Backes, Alexandra Verbovsek, and Catherine Jones, pp. 573–97. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.
- Barich, Barbara E.
 1993 “Culture and Environment between the Sahara and the Nile in the Early and Mid-Holocene.” In *Environmental Change and Human Culture in the Nile Basin and Northern Africa until the Second Millennium B.C.*, edited by John Alexander, Michał Kobusiewicz, and Lech Krzyżaniak, pp. 171–83. Poznań: Poznań Archaeological Museum.
- Barich, Barbara E., Fekri A. Hassan, and Alessandra A. Stoppiello
 1996 “Farafrā Oasis between the Sahara and the Nile.” In *Interregional Contacts in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa*, edited by Lech Krzyżaniak, Karla Kroeper, and Michał Kobusiewicz, pp. 71–79. Poznań: Poznań Archaeological Museum.
- Barich, Barbara E., and Giulio Lucarini
 2014 “Social Dynamics in Northern Farafrā from the Middle to Late Holocene: Changing Life under Uncertainty.” In *From Lake to Sand: The Archaeology of Farafrā Oasis, Western Desert, Egypt*, edited by Barbara E. Barich, Fekri A. Hassan, Giulio Lucarini, and Mohamed A. Hamdan, translated by Erika Louisa Milburn and Sarah Court, pp. 467–84. Florence: All’Insegna del Giglio.
- Bonnet, Hans
 2000 *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*. 3rd ed. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Borchardt, Ludwig
 1913 *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šaḥu-Reʿ*. Vol. 2, *Die Wandbilder*. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir 1902–1908 7/2. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Borghouts, Joris F.
 1970 “The Magical Texts of Papyrus Leiden I 348.” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 51: 1–249.
- Bornemann, Erin E., and Stuart Tyson Smith
 2020 “Liminal Deities in the Borderlands: Bes and Pataikos in Ancient Nubia.” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 25: 46–61.
- Büma, Beryl, and Ludwig D. Morenz
 2019 “Der Gott Seth als Königsmacher—zu Krönungsritualen aus der frühdynastischen Zeit Ägyptens.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 258: 33–43.
- Carruthers, William, ed.
 2013 *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*. London: Routledge.
- Chassinat, Émile
 2009 *Le temple d’Edfou VII*. 2nd ed. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 24. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Ćwiek, Andrzej
 2003 “Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom.” PhD diss., Warsaw University.
- Darnell, John Coleman, and Deborah Darnell
 2002 *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert*. Oriental Institute Publications 119. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Emberling, Geoff, and Bruce B. Williams, eds.
 2020 *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Nubia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Förster, Frank, and Heiko Riemer, eds.
 2013 *Desert Road Archaeology in Ancient Egypt and Beyond*. Africa Praehistorica 27. Cologne: Heinrich-Barth-Institut.
- Gobeil, Cedric
 2010 “Une plaque céramique à l’effigie du dieu Seth à Ayn Asil.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 110: 103–14.

Grumach, Irene

- 1970 "On the History of a Coptic *Figura Magica*." In *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology*, edited by Deborah H. Samuel, pp. 169–81. Toronto: Hakkert.

Hölscher, Wilhelm

- 1955 *Libyer und Ägypter: Beiträge zur Ethnologie und Geschichte libyscher Völkerschaften nach den altägyptischen Quellen*. Ägyptologische Forschungen 4. Gluckstadt: Augustin.

Hornung, Erik

- 2000 "Komposite Gottheiten in der ägyptischen Ikonographie." In *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (1st Millennium BCE)*, edited by Christoph Uehlinger, pp. 1–20. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 175. Fribourg: University Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Howley, Kathryn, and Rune Nyord, eds.

- 2018 *Egyptology and Anthropology: Historiography, Theoretical Exchange, and Conceptual Development. Proceedings of the Lady Wallis Budge Symposium Held at the University of Cambridge, 25–26 July 2017. Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17. Tucson: University of Arizona.

Hubschmann, Caroline

- 2010 "Igai: A Little-Known Deity of Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt." *Rosetta* 8: 42–61.

Junker, Hermann

- 1961 *Die Geisteshaltung der Ägypter in der Frühzeit*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte 237. Vienna: Böhlau.

Kahl, Jochem

- 2001 "Die ältesten schriftlichen Belege für den Gott Seth." *Göttinger Miszellen* 181: 51–57.

Kahl, Jochem, Nicole Kloth, and Ursula Zimmermann

- 1995 *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie: Eine Bestandsaufnahme*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 56. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Kaper, Olaf E.

- 2020 "The God Seth in Dakhleh Oasis before the New Kingdom." In *Dust, Demons and Pots: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope*, edited by Ashten R. Warfe, James C. Gill, Caleb R. Hamilton, Amy J. Pettman, and David A. Stewart, pp. 369–84. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 289. Leuven: Peeters.

Kaplony, Peter

- 1963 *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
1981 *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs*. Vol. 2, *Katalog der Rollsiegel*. 2 parts. *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 3. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Kees, Hermann

- 1941 *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Leitz, Christian, ed.

- 2002 *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Vol. 1. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 110. Leuven: Peeters.

Le Quellec, Jean-Loïc

- 1996 "Cultural Areas and Interregional Relations: The Case of the Egyptian and Libyan Theriomorphs." In *Interregional Contacts in the Later Prehistory of Northeastern Africa*, edited by Lech Krzyżaniak, Karla Kroeper, and Michał Kobusiewicz, pp. 51–59. Poznań: Poznań Archaeological Museum.

Logan, Thomas J.

- 1999 "Royal Iconography of Dynasty 0." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 261–76. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Lustig, Judith

- 1997 *Anthropology and Egyptology: A Developing Dialogue*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.

McDonald, Angela

- 2000 "Tall Tails: The Seth Animal Reconsidered." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2000*, edited by Angela McDonald and Christina Riggs, pp. 75–81. BAR International Series 909. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Meeks, Christine, and Dimitri Meeks

- 1986 *Les dieux et démons zoomorphes de l'ancienne Égypte et leurs territoires: Rapport final*. Carnoules: D. Meeks.

Moreno García, Juan Carlos

- 2015 "Hwt jh(w)t, the Administration of the Western Delta and the 'Libyan Question' in the Third Millennium BC." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 101: 69–105.
- 2018 "Elusive 'Libyans': Identities, Lifestyles and Mobile Populations in NE Africa (Late 4th–Early 2nd Millennium BCE)." *Journal of Egyptian History* 11: 147–84.

Morenz, Siegfried

- 1954 Review of *Der Tote vor dem Opfertisch*, by Friedrich W. von Bissing. *Orientalia* 23: 85–88.
- 1977 *Ägyptische Religion*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer.

Morris, Ellen

- 2019 "Ancient Egyptian Exceptionalism: Fragility, Flexibility and the Art of Not Collapsing." In *The Evolution of Fragility: Setting the Terms*, edited by Norman Yoffee, pp. 61–87. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Osing, Jürgen

- 1985 "Seth in Dachla und Charga." *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 41: 229–34.

Pätznick, Jean-Pierre

- 2005 *Die Siegelabrollungen und Rollsiegel der Stadt Elephantine im 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr.: Spurensicherung eines archäologischen Artefaktes*. BAR International Series 1339. Oxford: Archaeopress.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders

- 1901 *The Royal Tombs of the Earliest Dynasties: Part II*. Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 21. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

Polkowski, Paweł L.

- 2019 "Seth on Rocks: Rock Art Imagery in Dakhleh Oasis of the Pharaonic Period." In *The Oasis Papers 9: A Tribute to Anthony J. Mills after Forty Years of Research in Dakhleh Oasis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, edited by Gillian E. Bowen, Colin A. Hope, and Bruce E. Parr, pp. 143–70. Oxford: Oxbow.

Quirke, Stephen

- 1992 *Ancient Egyptian Religion*. London: British Museum Press.

Raue, Dietrich, Stephan J. Seidlmayer, and Philipp Speiser, eds.

- 2013 *The First Cataract of the Nile: One Region—Diverse Perspectives*. Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 36. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Regulski, Ilona

- 2021 "Divine Depictions: First Representations of Gods in Egypt." In *Remove That Pyramid! Studies on the Archaeology and History of Predynastic and Pharaonic Egypt in Honour of Stan Hendrickx*, edited by Wouter Claes, Marleen De Meyer, Merel Eyckerman, and Dirk Huyge, pp. 911–29. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 305. Leuven: Peeters.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 2008 "Libyan vs. Nubian as the Ideal Egyptian." In *Egypt and Beyond: Essays Presented to Leonard H. Lesko upon His Retirement from the Wilbour Chair of Egyptology at Brown University, June 2005*, edited by Stephen E. Thompson and Peter Der Manuelian, pp. 305–14. Providence: Department of Egyptology and Ancient Western Asian Studies, Brown University.
- 2009 "Egypt and the Vanishing Libyan: Institutional Responses to a Nomadic People." In *Nomads, Tribes and the State in the Ancient Near East: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives*, edited by Jeffrey Szuchman, pp. 43–56. *Oriental Institute Seminars* 5. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Roth, Ann Macy

- 2017 "Fear of Hieroglyphs: Patterns of Suppression and Mutilation in Old Kingdom Burial Chambers." In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 291–310. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Sabbahy, Lisa K.

- 1993 "Evidence for the Titulary of the Queen from Dynasty One." *Göttinger Miszellen* 135: 81–87.

Scharff, Alexander

- 1926 "Vorgeschichtliches zur Libyerfrage." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 61: 16–30.

Schneider, Thomas

- 2003 "Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the Concept of Cultural Appropriation." *Ägypten und Levante* 13: 155–61.
2010 "Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context." In *Egyptian Archaeology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, pp. 143–63. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Smith, Mark

- 2017 *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Smith, Stuart Tyson

- 2014 "Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity." In *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Jeremy McInerney, pp. 194–212. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
2020 "Colonial Entanglements: Imperial Dictate, Individual Action, and Intercultural Interaction in Nubia." In *Archaeologies of Empire: Local Participants and Imperial Trajectories*, edited by Anna L. Boozer, Bradley J. Parker, and Bleda S. Düring, pp. 21–55. Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press and Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

Smith, William S.

- 1946 *A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*. London: Oxford University Press.

Spalinger, Anthony J.

- 2017 "The Trope Issue of Old Kingdom War Reliefs." In *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, edited by Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí, pp. 401–17. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

Stock, Hanns

- 1949 "Das Ostdelta Ägyptens in seiner entscheidenden Rolle für die politische und religiöse Entwicklung des Alten Reiches." *Welt des Orients* 1: 135–45.

Stockfisch, Dagmar

- 1996 "Bemerkungen zur sog. 'libyschen Familie.'" In *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Mechthild Schade-Busch, pp. 315–25. Ägypten und Altes Testament 35. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Tallet, Pierre

- 2020 "Glimpses on the Early Cult of Seth in Dakhleh Oasis." In *Dust, Demons and Pots: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope*, edited by Ashten R. Warfe, James C. Gill, Caleb R. Hamilton, Amy J. Pettman, and David A. Stewart, pp. 705–14. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 289. Leuven: Peeters.

te Velde, Herman

- 1967 *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion*. Translated by G. E. van Baaren-Pape. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 6. Leiden: Brill.

Turriziani, Valeria

- 2013 "Divinità ai margini: Confini geografici, frontiere e mondo divino nell'Egitto dell'Antico Regno." *Aegyptus* 93: 147–67.
2014 "Foreign Deities, Frontier Deities: Evidence from the Old Kingdom." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2013: Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Symposium, University of Cambridge, United Kingdom, March 19–22, 2013*, edited by W. Paul van Pelt, Renate Fellingner, Kelly Accetta, Sarah Musselwhite, and Pedro Lourenço Conçalves, pp. 168–83. *Current Research in Egyptology* 14. Oxford: Oxbow.

Vittmann, Günther

- 2019 "Seth in Hieratic and Demotic Sources from Dakhleh Oasis." In *The Oasis Papers 9: A Tribute to Anthony J. Mills after Forty Years of Research in Dakhleh Oasis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, edited by Gillian E. Bowen, Colin A. Hope, and Bruce E. Parr, pp. 135–42. Oxford: Oxbow.

Wainwright, G. A.

- 1963 "The Origin of Storm-Gods in Egypt." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 49: 13–20.

Warfe, Ashten R., James C. Gill, Caleb R. Hamilton, Amy J. Pettman, and David A. Stewart, eds.

- 2020 *Dust, Demons and Pots: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 289. Leuven: Peeters, 2020.

Weeks, Kent R., ed.

- 1979 *Egyptology and the Social Sciences: Five Studies*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Wildung, Dietrich

- 1972 "Two Representations of Gods from the Early Old Kingdom." *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1: 145–60.

Wilkinson, Richard H.

- 2003 *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Thames and Hudson.

16

ONCE AGAIN THE BOATMEN'S JOUST:
A STUDY IN RITUAL AND SYMBOLIC ACTION

Peter A. Piccione
University of Charleston

I AM VERY PLEASED TO offer this contribution to a volume honoring my esteemed colleague and friend, Prof. Robert K. Ritner Jr. Robert had always successfully and brilliantly maintained the role of the ideal scholar-teacher, to which many of us aspire but few can attain. Outside teaching and research and in his administrative duties, his frankness and honesty, tempered by his gentlemanly demeanor, were always greatly appreciated. Discussions with Robert helped me crystallize my ideas about the unity of the sacred and the profane—the secular and the religious realms in Egyptian intellectual thought—and understand that there is not always a clear demarcation between the two. This notion has driven much of my study in the religious connections of games, sports, and medical practice, and it was certainly fundamental to Robert's own research. *Salve vir illustris!*

SYMBOLISM OF SPORTS AND GAMES

The topic of sports and games in ancient Egypt is a popular one in Egyptology, and over the years, many studies have appeared on a wide variety of Egyptian athletics and sporting activities, board games, gaming, and play. Many of these studies were oriented primarily toward cataloging, as well as the secular aspects of play (varieties, forms, rules, manipulation, etc.).¹ Others focused on the interrelations of games and sports with Egyptian religious beliefs and ritualistic practices, that is, the intersection of cult and play,² and even as early as 1931, John A. Wilson had already explored the symbolic meanings of ceremonial wrestling and fencing depicted in New Kingdom tombs.³ Egyptian games and sports and their cultic connections have also been a steady interest of mine, including various board games such as *senet* and twenty squares, bat-and-ball games, fencing, and other activities.⁴

THE CASE FOR SYMBOLISM

All studies in the ritual display of games and sports are based on the premise that Egyptian representational art should not always be construed at face value, especially when it occurs on the walls of tombs and temples or on funerary stelae, where scenes and texts ultimately have spiritual meaning and, more often, a ritualistic purpose. Egyptologists have long recognized the symbology that attached to depictions of royal activities—for example, the king hunting animals in the desert, defeating enemies in battle, or bashing the heads of prisoners—to portray and enact the monarch's primary cosmic role of defeating chaos, defending

1 E.g., Crist, Dunn-Vaturi, and de Voogt 2016; Tyldesley 2007; Piccione 1999, 1985, 1984; Decker and Herb 1993; Decker 1992, 1984; Pusch 1979, 1977; Kendall 1978a, 1978b; Touny and Wenig 1969; DeVries 1960.

2 E.g., Borghouts 1995, 1973; Piccione 1990a, 1990b, 1980; Milde 1988; Kendall 1978a; DeVries 1969; Altenmüller 1964.

3 Wilson 1931.

4 E.g., in addition to references cited above: Piccione 2012a, 2012b, 2010a, 2010b, 2007, 2000, 1994.

Egypt, and preserving divine order. The exceptional athleticism of early New Kingdom pharaohs such as Thutmose III and Amenhotep II certainly fell within this program. In related fashion and for religious purposes, the Egyptians were able to contextualize the recreational body movement of kings and nonroyalty since at least the Early Dynastic period. It was not enough merely to understand and recite prayers or to reenact myths in ritual dramas (e.g., the Memphite Theology, Ramesseum papyri rituals, “victory of Horus” performances); it was also necessary to symbolize mythical beliefs and truths through the medium of sportive competitions and athletic activities.⁵

The Egyptians, who were well steeped in the unspoken aspects of their culture, understood their artistic representations on more than one level. Symbolism ran deeply in Egyptian intellectual thought, and representational art could contain multiple layers of meaning. Scholars such as Philippe Derchain, John Baines, Jaromir Malek, and others have shown that in art, certain small household items (e.g., mirrors, cosmetic spoons, ladies’ wigs), as well as certain flowers, plants, and fruits, had far-reaching connotations for passion, fecundity, and spiritual regeneration.⁶ However, the Egyptians attached symbolic meaning not only to objects but also to movements of the human body, such as dance and physical activity, especially in their funerary art and religious ritual. So depictions of spearing fish, fowling and shooting ducks, primping wigs, and using mirrors in public could connote sexual activity that conduces to the renewal of life after death in a funerary context.⁷ Even the presentation of mandrakes and water lilies (traditionally termed “lotuses”) among loving couples could denote sexual attraction and intimacy. Here one is reminded of the Egyptian love song that reads: “The mouth of my girl is a lotus bud. Her breasts are mandrakes” (P. Harris 500, no. 3).⁸

Another, more evocative of the symbolism, reads: “Would that I were her Nubian servant. Certainly, she would make me bring to her [. . .] mandrake fruit. [. . .] when it is in her hand, and she smells it, this means she offers to me the flesh of her entire body” (Cairo Vase 1266).⁹ The symbolism in this love song is fairly erotic in nature. However, the same symbology in a funerary setting would denote spiritual regeneration in the next life. This specific symbolism is manifested in the presentation of lilies and mandrakes portrayed on the ornate chest of Tutankhamun (Carter cat. no. 540), where Ankhesenamun presents lily bouquets and mandrake fruit to the king. She acts similarly on panels of the small golden statue shrine of Tutankhamun.¹⁰ On another panel, Tutankhamun holds lilies and mandrake fruit in one hand as he pours liquid into Ankhesenamun’s open hand.¹¹ In one regard, the king’s pose evokes the sentiment in the love song: “Love is mandrakes in the hands of a man” (Cairo Vase 1266).¹² In another regard, as Eaton-Krauss and Graefe show, the depiction of pouring into the queen’s open hand is surprisingly atypical.¹³ I argue that we should see in it a symbolic play on the word *sti* “to pour” (also “shoot, throw, harpoon,” as well as “impregnate”)—meaning: he has love in his hands, and he “pours out” his liquid. Many of the other panels on the same golden shrine depict the king as engaged in these same sexually symbolic hunting activities (archery, fowling, and fishing), with the queen alongside.¹⁴ Hence they signify this queen’s role beside her husband and as co-regeneratrix in the next world.

5 So, e.g., Piccione 2010b, 2000; Borghouts 1973; Wilson 1931.

6 E.g., Derchain 1976, 1975.

7 Baines and Malek 1980, p. 206; Derchain 1976, 1975.

8 Cf. Simpson 2003, p. 309.

9 Transcription from Posener 1972, as cited by Derchain 1975, p. 77 and n. 2. A more recent English translation of the text by A. Tobin in Simpson 2003, p. 319, omits the reference to mandrakes, despite the fact that the transcription of the word *rrm.t* is clear (see also Foster 1992, p. 29).

10 Respectively, Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985, pp. 12–13, pl. 9, and p. 19, pl. 16; Edwards 1976, p. 166 (cat. no. 51), pl. 33.

11 Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985, pp. 19–20, pl. 17.

12 Posener 1972, p. 5, as cited by Derchain 1975, p. 77 n. 4.

13 Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985, p. 20.

14 Similarly, see Derchain 1976, pp. 8–10, for the sexually symbolic nature of such scenes.

SYMBOL, SPORT, AND FESTIVAL

By these meager examples we show that the movement of the human body, whether represented or real, could have deep symbolic meaning. Given the nature of Egyptian symbolism, it would not be unusual for the actions of board gaming, playing, competing in athletics, or fighting and engaging in mock battles to have spiritual meaning when they are incorporated into festival celebrations or portrayed on the walls of tombs and temples.

For the Egyptians, games and sports often had inherent religious significance, and sacred festivals included public sporting events staged in and around the courtyards of temples.¹⁵ Indicating how closely religious festivals were associated with athletic events is the fact that in the Egyptian language, the word *hb* meant both “religious festival” and “sport.” Even though *hb* “sport” derived from the root meaning “to catch” (fish, fowl, etc.),¹⁶ its usual spelling with the *hb*-festival determinative and the association of the term *s n hb* “man of festival, festival celebrant”¹⁷ with “man of sport, sportsman”¹⁸ show that the two notions could be conflated, especially regarding those who engaged in sports as part of festival celebrations.

Spectators also played an important role in this process. Norman Davies argued that the purpose of athletics (specifically wrestling) at festivals was to excite the spectators, heighten their emotions, and put them into a joyous state conducive to communal worship.¹⁹ At the same time, these athletic competitions were framed in ritualizing contexts, so that in the victory of one player over another, the participants were enacting serious religious and cosmic truths—for example, acting out religious myths and demonstrating Egypt's superiority over other nations.²⁰ All of these the spectators witnessed and shared.

Sports and recreational activities—already commonly enjoyed as secular pastimes—were fitting vehicles for relating mythologies and social and religious lessons to an illiterate and uninitiated public, as well as for actively drawing people into celebrations and re-creations of mythical events on a communal level. Public reenactments of such events as mythical sea battles (i.e., Abydos mysteries), boatmen's jousting, stick fighting (Papremis, Esna), wrestling (Beni Hasan, Medinet Habu), fencing, ball playing, and boxing (Sed festivals, royal feasts) indicate that the community united in common celebration and shared understanding, both as active participants and as involved and invested spectators.²¹ While most scholars are probably aware of these issues and the effects of religious symbolism and symbolic action on Egyptian thinking, it is important to reiterate them in the context of the boatmen's joust.

THE BOATMEN'S JOUST (*FISCHERSTECHEN*)

Boatmen's jousting, also called “fishermen's jousting,” was a sporadic theme portrayed on the walls of decorated tombs and temples from the Old Kingdom through the Middle Kingdom, and rarely in the New Kingdom. It appears to be a fighting game practiced by the boatmen and fishermen of the Egyptian marshlands. German scholars traditionally employ the term *Fischerstechen* for this activity,²² and many are not slow to compare it with the modern boating and dunking game also called *Fischerstechen* or “water

15 So, e.g., Piccione 2010b, p. 76; 2000, pp. 345–48; Borghouts 1995; Decker 1992, pp. 27–29; Helck 1984, p. 280; Lloyd 1976, p. 285; Altenmüller 1964.

16 DeVries 1960, pp. 157–69 passim.

17 *Wb.* III, p. 58/12; *Belegst.* III, p. 11/12.

18 DeVries 1960, p. 160; cf. Piccione 2010b, p. 1.

19 Davies 1928, p. 62.

20 Cf. Piccione 2000, pp. 344, 346; van de Walle 1965; Wilson 1931, pp. 212–13.

21 In the modern world, perhaps the closest parallel to the sense of communal elation, joy, solidarity, and national identity among spectators and participants might be a world-class football championship. Here, too, rugged competition is rewarded with huge bursts of shared emotion and national pride simultaneously felt and magnified by thousands of spectators, forming a *Gestalt* of common intent and celebration, for some even burgeoning on the religious.

22 Also *Schiffstechen* and *Schifferspiel*; Guglielmi 1977, p. 243 n. 1.

jousting,²³ which goes back to the European Middle Ages and is still popular today in localized parts of Germany, Switzerland, and France.²⁴ The two activities do seem to be alike in certain ways, and this similarity can be a cause of confusion.

DISTRIBUTION AND PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP

The jousting motif centered primarily in Lower Egypt of the Old Kingdom, where the depicted action occurs on canals and in the papyrus stands of the Delta, and the boatmen are understood as marsh workers who hunt, fish, and gather the natural resources of the region. A survey of the catalog of scenes by Decker and Herb reveals a total of forty-eight scenes of boatmen's jousting.²⁵ Thirty-two occur in Lower Egypt and sixteen in Upper Egypt according to the following distribution (see table 16.1 at the end of this chapter for a more detailed breakdown of geography and chronology of the jousting scenes):

| | |
|-------------------|----|
| Lower Egypt (32): | |
| Giza | 8 |
| Abu Ghurab | 1 |
| Saqqara | 23 |
| Upper Egypt (16): | |
| Zawiet el-Meitin | 2 |
| Beni Hasan | 4 |
| Bersheh | 1 |
| Meir | 2 |
| Deir el-Gebrawi | 3 |
| el-Hawawish | 2 |
| West Thebes | 2 |

The largest number of scenes (thirty-two) appear in the necropoli of Memphis, with two originally occurring in royal temples—the sun-temple of Neuserre at Abu Ghurab and the funerary temple of Unas at Saqqara. Forty-one scenes—the preponderance—date to the Old Kingdom (Fourth to Sixth Dynasties); six date to the Middle Kingdom (Eleventh to Twelfth Dynasties); and one is of the early New Kingdom (Eighteenth Dynasty, Thebes).

All the scenes are fairly consistent with one another, especially those of the Old Kingdom, which are remarkably alike. They depict a number of small papyrus skiffs floating in the marshes and propelled by crews who use oars and punting poles.²⁶ These skiffs—as few as two or as many as five—come together and engage one another in vigorous and dramatic fights. Each skiff contains two to four crewmen and is heavily laden with crates of fruit, water lilies, bouquets, game fowl, and calves. Where descriptive texts above the scenes occur, they usually indicate that the boatmen are returning from the marshes with water lilies when they are assailed by the other skiffs.²⁷ Frequently the boatmen are heavily adorned with water lilies, as garlands tied around their heads and necks, and the entire melee is often observed by the tomb owner. Some boats get through the fights, and their crews offload their cargoes before the owner.

23 Or called *Stocherrennen*; Guglielmi 1977, p. 243 n. 7.

24 Iacampo 2015.

25 Decker and Herb 1993, pp. 540ff. (category O), pls. 314–37, folding pls. C, H.

26 E.g., Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 324–37, folding pls. C, H; Decker 1992, pp. 99–103; Guglielmi 1977; Touny and Wenig 1969, pp. 63–64, pls. 47–48; Vandier 1969, pp. 510–31; Klebs 1922, pp. 153–54; 1915, p. 115.

27 E.g., caption from tomb of Meresankh (Fourth Dynasty, Giza): *pr.t m mhꜣy(t) hnꜥ nhb(w).t* “coming from the marshes with water lilies”; Decker and Herb 1993, pl. 324 (O 1).

Previously, most scholars had interpreted these representations as a mock combat or a profane jousting game among the marsh boatmen (similar to modern *Fischerstechen* tournaments), and they usually did not provide much explanation of how they fit into the larger funerary context on the walls. In 1902, Norman Davies described the motif of these scenes as “a quarrel between crews of passing boats” or as showing “occupants of a canoe practicing with the quarter-staff(?)”.²⁸ Later, Luise Klebs recognized two separate types or contexts for the scenes: (1) those of secular playful jousting, and (2) those forming ritualized performance or religious spectacle (*Schauspiel*). However, she tended to overanalyze the individual scenes by forcing them into a single chronological narrative or storyline, as though they represented one dramatic performance. Still, she did appreciate that these performances ultimately had a funerary character, based on the depictions in the tomb chapel of Ukhhotep at Meir, where Ukhhotep is deceased while observing the jousting, thus placing the jousting motif within a mortuary context.²⁹

More recent scholarship has tended to minimize or even overlook the funerary nature of the boatmen's joust. In his analysis of the motif, Guglielmi apparently ignored any funerary meaning, except to note obviously that the scenes do appear in tombs.³⁰ While admitting that the battles were violent and the action could be wild and not without danger, for him the motif was mostly one of humor and jocularly, a pastime devoid of serious religious thought, and more or less of joking competitions (*scherzhaften Wettkämpfe*) to amuse the watchful tomb owner.³¹ For him, the activity was mostly a race among the skiffs returning from the marshes laden with supplies, in which the boatmen sought to surpass each other by fighting to arrive first before their lord. Guglielmi commented that the coarse and rude character of the boatmen's speeches reflected the overall humor of the scenes and that their crude jokes were probably the scenes' main attraction³²—a blatant reductionism. All the while he ignored the funerary context, including the symbolic nature of the water lilies and the presentation of funerary offerings to the owner as deceased.

Thereafter, Wolfgang Decker assessed the boatmen's jousting scenes in his studies and in his catalog of Egyptian sports,³³ and while he recognized their funerary context, he never made much of it. Seemingly seduced by their apparently charming elements, he still tended to take the jousting scenes at face value. He concluded by assuming that they represented nothing more than the idyllic life of the marsh boatmen, who cavorted and played at a particular sport while gathering the local produce. In general, Decker is not always sensitive to the religious symbolism of the sports that he otherwise so masterfully catalogs, and he often seems uninterested in their spiritual subtexts.

In 1993, Andrey O. Bolshakov argued that the jousts did not represent mock fights or games but were real. They represented the actions of serious and overly ardent crews of the deceased who zealously fought and competed among themselves to collect and deliver to the tomb owner the products and food offerings that were necessary to maintain his *ka* in the afterlife.³⁴ So, while Bolshakov understood the underlying funerary context of the scenes, he still seemed neither to recognize nor to accept their sportful *mise-en-scène* or the rudimental nature of play transposed into the funerary realm.

Even where previous scholars have recognized a funerary component in this activity, they still have been hard-pressed to reconcile its secular and religious frames of reference and to distill an essential meaning for a seemingly secular sporting activity ritualized and performed in a funerary setting.

28 Davies 1902a, pp. 13–14, pls. 4–5.

29 Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 336–37 (O 44); Klebs 1922, p. 153.

30 Guglielmi 1977.

31 Guglielmi 1977, p. 242: “Die mehr oder weniger scherzhaften Wettkämpfe wurden wohl meistens als Schaukampf veranstaltet und dienten zur Belustigung und Unterhaltung des zusehenden Grabherrn.”

32 Guglielmi 1977, p. 243.

33 Decker and Herb 1993, pp. 540–42, pls. 314–37; Decker 1992, pp. 99–103.

34 Bolshakov 1993, *passim*.

UNDERSTANDING PLAY IN A FUNERARY CONTEXT

It is likely that this genre of water jousting, as depicted on the walls of tombs and temples, does represent a waterborne ritual battle probably adapted as a funerary version of a preexisting secular game among the marsh boatmen. If it was not founded on an earlier secular pastime, then it originally emerged as an intrinsically religious ritual and funerary activity. However, the jousting fits the pattern of other secular recreational games of the Old Kingdom that were played during public festivals. Then, by the Middle Kingdom, some of these games became theologized and evolved new inherent religious meanings and uses. So, for example, boys' games and play were commonly represented in mastabas of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties,³⁵ and girls' games were also included.³⁶ Importantly, these children's games were regularly depicted as activities in public funeral celebrations, funerary commemorations, and rites of the goddess Hathor, most of which were viewed by the tomb owners (*m33 shmh-ib*), who stood over and observed them all.³⁷ Therefore, what we have here are purely secular games and play that were performed in a religious context.

Depictions of playing the secular board game *senet* were also included among these festivities.³⁸ However, in some depictions of the Sixth Dynasty, *senet* apparently began to evolve its own intrinsic religious meaning apart from any iconographic context, and it was no longer merely a secular game played on religious occasions. Rather, it became imbued with its own religious significance as a means of communication between the living and the dead, and it enabled the free movement of the deceased's *ba* through the necropolis.³⁹ A similar process is observed with the coiled-serpent game, *mehen*. It appeared in Old Kingdom wall scenes along with *senet* as a festival activity, apparently as a secular entertainment (although this interpretation is uncertain). What is certain is that it was mentioned in the Pyramid Texts at the same time as a mechanism by which the deceased king was reborn in the afterlife. Then, in the Middle Kingdom, the *mehen* board was transposed into the Coffin Texts as a series of concentric roads in the hereafter.⁴⁰ However, because of the preponderant mentions of *mehen* in the Pyramid Texts as a game and game board (unlike *senet*, which is never mentioned there), it may be that *mehen* always had a rudimental religious basis, despite the fact that the *mehen*-game scenes and captions appeared only as secular and without religious content. Therefore, *mehen* may well be an early example of a sacred game also played for secular enjoyment (similar to *senet*, ultimately, in the New Kingdom and later). Those uninitiated and not-in-the-know would play it only for fun, while those initiated and aware would play it with a higher religious understanding.⁴¹ Given the fluidities of the secular and religious contexts, we may conclude that modern Western dichotomies of the sacred and profane are not entirely relevant to Egyptian thinking, and the dividing line between the two concepts appears to be thin and flexible. Boatmen's jousting should be understood in this more encompassing context.

35 They include tug-of-war, hurdling, wrestling, stick-throwing, yoga games, body-lifting, piggyback riding, spinning, and other games of stamina and skill; Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 302–15, 340, 341–42, 343–44, 346–47, 350–51; Touny and Wenig 1969, pl. 34.

36 E.g., acrobatics and tumbling, juggling, dancing, and spinning; Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 347, 350–51, 387–402.

37 Piccione 2012b, p. 1; 2007, pp. 58–59.

38 Piccione 2007, pp. 58–59; Decker and Herb 1993, Q 3.1–Q 3.17; Piccione 1990a, pp. 49–65, 81–82, 464–68; Pusch 1979.

39 In three scenes of the Sixth Dynasty, the deceased was shown atypically playing *senet* with the living among Hathoric celebrations, and in two scenes (Merynetjer-Izezi and Kaemankh) the *senet* board was oddly rendered as bridging the space between the living and the dead. Thereafter, CT 405 described the deceased playing *senet* with the living and interacting with his family on earth. In CT 1019, the *senet* board was described as enabling the deceased to pass freely through the necropolis; Piccione 2007, p. 59; 1994, pp. 197–98; 1990a, pp. 79–80, 82–88.

40 So PT 332, 626, 659, 758; CT 758–60, 1103; Piccione 1990b.

41 By the New Kingdom, *senet* had also completely bifurcated into a popular secular version and a recondite ritualized adaptation. The contexts of the two versions—public and secret—combined with interesting effect in the Demotic tale of Setne Khamwas I; Piccione 1994, passim (esp. p. 203).

A RELIGIOUS CONTEXT FOR THE BOATMEN'S JOUST

The scenes of boatmen's jousting represented an informal ceremonial activity that functioned as an offering ritual for the deceased tomb owner. So, the boatmen are shown collecting the plant and animal products of fields and marsh. When they return laden with their stuff, they are overtaken and attacked by other boatmen, who have been collecting their own produce and who seek to overpower the first boats and capture their goods. A violent fight ensues, but ultimately boats are shown as coming through and delivering their goods to the watching tomb owner.

What suggests these ritualizing activities were adapted from actual secular boatmen's fights is that, unlike the surrounding wall decorations, the scenes are depicted with an immediacy and enlivened character. The artistic style shows great energy and verve. The motion is dynamic with obvious outbursts of violence, and the action appears almost animated, yet often comical. The subject matter, detailing the beatings and assaults, the sheer aggression displayed, the attention to mundane details, and the speeches of the antagonists, which are violent, humorous, and even vulgar, are all persuasive of an original fighting game. Thus it was probably their dynamism and immediacy that led some early scholars to minimize or disregard their funerary context. And yet, the Egyptians considered the jousting motif serious enough to warrant inclusion on the walls of tomb and temple.

The overall funerary context coupled with the successful delivery of food offerings to the dead man signify that this activity is happening in the next world as an eternally occurring funerary version of the real, ephemeral, and recreational pastime of the living boatmen. Within this religious context, the attacking boatmen symbolize spiritual forces that are antithetical to the survival of the deceased and that seek to obstruct the delivery of offerings necessary for his cult. The successful delivery of produce to the dead man guarantees him the presentation of life-sustaining food offerings in the same way that peasants of his estates supplied his storehouses when he was alive.

In most cases in the Old Kingdom, the papyrus skiffs travel in the same direction, signifying a chase. However, in the tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir (Twelfth Dynasty), two skiffs attack each other from opposite directions, meaning a head-on confrontation.⁴² Here is the great melee in which the boatmen assault and beat each other with their oars and punting poles, or use their poles to stab. They also grapple and wrestle with the intent of knocking each other into the water and boarding the opposing boats. It is not unusual to see boatmen floating in the water (e.g., in the tomb of Seshemnefer) or hanging precariously from the prow of a skiff with a crocodile lurking nearby (e.g., in the tomb of Ukhhotep). Hieroglyphic captions with the speeches of the boatmen are not common, but where they exist they are always colorful and sometimes vulgar, as the boatmen threaten their antagonists and rescue their fallen fellows. For example:

Mastaba of Tiy (Saqqara, Fifth Dynasty)⁴³

Four boats—two on the left overtake and attack two on the right:

(left) *mi rk r.(i) imi.f sqrw*

"Come on (literally 'come to me'), he will not strike!"

(right) *pr(y) 'k irf hr r.i*

"Be brave (literally 'may your arm come forth'), which is pleasing to me."

(left) *'q3 sw m h3ty.f*

"Get him right in his heart!"

(right) *mi rk r.(i) nk pw*

"Come on (literally 'come to me'), or fornicate!"

(left) *sw3.(i) sbq.k*

"I will break your leg!"

(right) *šd.(i) sw wd.(i) sw m smḥ*

"I will rescue him and put him into the skiff!"

(left) *nd.(i) tw m-'f*

"I will save you from him!"

42 Klebs 1922, pp. 153–54, regarding tomb chapel B2 (Ukhhotep II, son of Senbi).

43 Decker and Herb 1993, pl. 331 (O 17).

Despite the dark humor and humorous situations in the scenes, they could even appear to be of murderous intent:

Tomb of unknown (Cairo Museum, Saqqara, Fifth to Sixth Dynasty)⁴⁴

Three boats—two on the right overtake and attack one on the left:

(right) *wꜣ sw m hn(w).f*

“Break his skull open! (literally ‘open it, his box!’)”

(right) *swꜣ.tw psꜣ.f*

“His back will be broken!”

As noted previously, the fighting is usually placed within an overall context of gathering the products of the land, river, and marsh. So, for example, in the tombs of Djau, Nefer, and Seshemnefer, marsh workers are shown plucking and collecting fronds of water lilies and papyrus from the marshlands, while the fights occur nearby, and presentations are made to the lord.⁴⁵ In certain mastabas (e.g., those of Niankhnesut, Niankhkhnum, and Ptahhotep II), a boat has escaped the melee with its goods intact, and they are off-loaded or presented to the deceased as funerary offerings.⁴⁶ As described earlier, in the tomb of Ukhhotep at Meir the fight is staged specifically for the deceased, who is seated comfortably in a chair at water’s edge watching the event.⁴⁷ In other portrayals, the deceased owner is often depicted as standing alongside, in large hierarchical proportion, *mꜣꜣ kꜣ.t sh.t* “viewing the work of the field” (e.g., in the tombs of Seshemnefer and Ptahhotep II). All these elements add to the ritualistic quality of the jousts.

While the jousters were ordinary boatmen and marsh dwellers in the real-life version of the jousting game, the same cannot be assumed for the portrayals in the funerary context. Although the participants are rarely identified, they should not be understood as ordinary boatmen or fishermen but as ritualists, no matter how mundanely they are depicted. So, in the mastaba of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep, nearly all the jousters are specifically named and identified as *ka*-priests, including one who is an inspector of *ka*-priests (*shꜣꜣ hmw-kꜣ*).⁴⁸ Moreover, several of the other so-called boatmen are titled *hm-kꜣ iry-‘n.t* “*ka*-priest and manicurist.” Shafik Allam asserts that the *hm-kꜣ* may not always function as a funerary priest but as the “servant of the *ka*” of his master, both living and dead. Hence, he could also engage in secular professional activities.⁴⁹ However, in the funerary context of the gaming scenes, in which the deceased lord is depicted observing and benefiting from all the activities, the games, jousting, and actions of the *hmw-kꜣ* can have only a funerary meaning. Similarly, E. A. Romanova shows that in wall scenes of the contemporary Giza necropolis, *ka*-priests are specifically named as actual people, and it is they who convey the offerings to the deceased tomb owner, regardless of the functions of other priests present (*hryw-hb*, *wtyw*, etc.), who often remain unnamed.⁵⁰ Such is the ritualistic context in the tomb of Niankhkhnum and Khnumhotep.

The funerary version of the boatmen’s jousting scenes should also be understood in the context of Egyptian fighting rituals, especially those fought on boats or on the water. As I noted in an earlier study on stick fighting and sport fencing, combats with clubs, cudgels, and sticks as part of religious observance were prevalent through most of Egyptian history.⁵¹ Staged ritual battles are well documented in Egyptian religious practice, and the best known of these are documented in the Pyramid Texts,⁵² the royal Sed festival,⁵³

44 Reassembled wall blocks; Decker and Herb 1993, pl. 333 (O 24); cf. Guglielmi 1977, p. 243. Only a selection of the captions is translated here.

45 Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 325–26 (O 6), pl. 334 (O 34), pl. 335 (O 39); Touny and Wenig 1969, pl. 47; Davies 1902b, pl. 5, reg. IV.

46 Decker and Herb 1993, pl. 208 (O 7), pl. 333 (O 31), folding pl. H, pl. 332 (O 22), folding pl. C.

47 Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 336–37 (O 44); Klebs 1922, p. 153.

48 Decker and Herb 1993, pl. 208 (O 7), folding pl. H; Decker 1992, p. 102, fig. 73.

49 Allam 1985.

50 Romanova 2007, *passim*.

51 Piccione 2000, pp. 337–41.

52 E.g., PT 324, 469, 482.

53 Piccione 2000, pp. 341–44.

the cults of Horus of Letopolis and Min of Buto,⁵⁴ the “Seizing the Club” festival at Esna, and the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus.⁵⁵ Then, too, battles with a nautical theme are also well represented, for example, in the cult of Osiris at Abydos,⁵⁶ the festival of Montu,⁵⁷ and the feast of Ares at Papremis.⁵⁸ Such fighting rituals could entail a dynamic and furious character. Thus, Herodotus described the stick-fighting melee and ritual of the festival at Papremis as intense and violent, with people being hurt.⁵⁹ Therefore, we should not minimize the fierceness of the boatmen's jousts despite their ritualized funerary context. They actually appear as a combination of ritual and play for distinct funerary purposes.

The presence of the water lilies (i.e., lotuses) is highly significant in the jousting scenes, where they are collected and boxed or lie bundled on the decks. Also, they are regularly worn as garlands around the boatmen's heads and necks or held in their hands. It has long been recognized in Egyptian funerary thought that the water-lily motif symbolized the resurrection and renewal of spiritual life of the deceased.⁶⁰ In this context, the meaning of the lilies is consonant with the life-sustaining funerary offerings that are brought to the deceased and that the boatmen/*ka*-priests defend. The product of the boatmen is new life itself.

CONCLUSIONS

The boatmen's joust was similar to the staged ritual battles of Letopolis, Buto, and Abydos, which enacted specific mythologies. However, the boatmen's joust has no known associated myths. This fact may indicate that jousting was originally a secular pastime that was ultimately adapted to a cultic context, where it evolved a spiritual meaning for the deceased. *Ka*-priests were depicted in the jousts as impersonating boatmen, whose intent was certainly religious and funereal (unless we are to understand, unrealistically, that simple marsh boatmen actually were educated *ḥmw-k3* initiated into the priesthood). In the funerary context of the gaming scenes in which the deceased lord is depicted as observing and benefiting from all the activities, the games, jousting, and actions of the *ḥmw-k3* can have only a funerary meaning.

Was the funerary version of the boatmen's joust actually performed in real life? Maybe so. Religious versions of the *senet* and *mehen* games were actually performed or played. Stick-fighting rituals were actually fought at Esna and Letopolis. Kings actually performed bat-and-ball rituals.⁶¹ However, it was not necessary for the funerary melee to have been actually performed. It may have existed only as a funerary motif in the inscriptions on the decorated wall surfaces, where its presence alone would have been as real and efficacious as the actual performance.

In ancient Egypt, where symbolism functioned, the symbol did not merely stand for reality, nor was it a mere reminder of a truth—it *was* the truth. As scholars such as Assmann, Hornung, te Velde, Wentz, Ritner, and many others have argued in so many studies, in the minds of the ancient Egyptians, *the symbol was the reality*, with all the potency, impact, and meaning of the real. The decorated wall surfaces of a tomb

54 Lloyd 1976, p. 285.

55 Geisen 2018; Borghouts 1995, pp. 49–50.

56 At the annual procession and ritual battle at Abydos, the followers of Osiris defended the *neshmet*-bark from the assaults of his enemies; see the Neferhotep stela (Simpson 2003, pp. 339–44) and the autobiography of Iykhernefret (Simpson 2003, pp. 425–27; Sethe 1928, p. 71/12–18).

57 Depicted in the tomb of Khonsu (TT 31); Decker and Herb 1993, pls. 317–18 (M 6); Decker 1992, p. 87, fig. 57. Two pairs of fencers fight in mock combat, standing on top of the cabins of the ships towing the bark of Montu between the temples of Tod and Armant.

58 Herodotus, Book II, 63, where the two stick-fighting factions represented the defenders and attackers of the bark of Ares (Horus) that was brought out of the temple on a wheeled cart.

59 Herodotus, Book II, 63; Altenmüller 1964. The priests told Herodotus no one was actually hurt, but he was still very dubious.

60 For the blue and white water lily (*Nymphaea caerulea*, *Nymphaea lotus*) as a symbol of regeneration and eternal life after death, see Brunner-Traut 1980; Strauss 1974, pp. 72–76; Posener 1959, pp. 154–55; cf. Derchain 1976, p. 8; 1975, pp. 71–72.

61 Especially as the kings were said to enjoy the rite “as a boy, a youngster, a child”; Piccione 2010b; Borghouts 1973, pp. 129, 132, 137).

or temple, with their depictions of so-called daily-life activities, ritual actions, and the behavior of human, divine, or cosmic forces, function in two realms simultaneously. Previously, I remarked on this idea when I discussed the scenes and contexts of ritual fencing and ball games.⁶² As I argued, two planes of thought function here: the practical, ephemeral plane of playing, winning, and losing, and the higher plane of religion that is eternal and overshadows the former. Thus the actual games and real-life boatmen's jousts, with their effective winners and losers, represent the temporal, sportive plane versus the timeless, ritualized, funerary version of the jousts that functions on the cosmic, ritualistic plane. The religious significance of the boatmen's jousts does not depend on how the players actually performed but on the fact that the fights are recorded on the walls as timelessly successful in delivering their offerings to the deceased.

The Egyptian boatmen's joust must be understood according to the same symbolism applied to other ritualized sports, athletics, and games in ancient Egypt. The boatmen's joust was not merely a tournament of *Fischerstechen*. It was more than a mere romp through the marshes by two teams of gatherers competing to please their earthly lord or his *ka* with bundles of lilies and papyrus. It was more than just a happy boating game, such as that played on Lake Konstanz or the Rhone River. It was the very story of the renewal of life after life.

Table 16.1. Geographical distribution of boatmen's jousting scenes.

| Location | Decker and Herb cat. no., plate | Fourth to Sixth Dynasties | Eleventh to Twelfth Dynasties | Eighteenth Dynasty |
|------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Giza | O 1, 324 | Meresankh | | |
| Giza | O 3, 324 | Rawer | | |
| Giza | O 4, 324 | Iymery | | |
| Giza | O 8, 208 | Kaiemnefret | | |
| Giza | O 9, 208 | Itisen | | |
| Giza | O 13, 328 | Sennedjemib-Inti | | |
| Giza | O 19, 331 | Sekhemkai | | |
| Giza | O 20, 331 | Nimaatre | | |
| Abu Ghurab | O 5, 325 | Neuserre sun temple | | |
| Saqqara | O 2, 324 | Persen | | |
| Saqqara | O 6, 325–26 | Nefer and Kaha | | |
| Saqqara | O 7, 208 | Niankkhnum and Khnunhotep | | |
| Saqqara | O 10, 327 | Akhhotep | | |
| Saqqara | O 11, 328 | Hetepherakhty | | |
| Saqqara | O 12, 328 | Fetekta | | |
| Saqqara | O 14, 328–29 | Sekhemankhptah | | |
| Saqqara | O 15, 330 | Kaemnefret | | |
| Saqqara | O 16, 330 | Akhhotep and Ptahhotep | | |
| Saqqara | O 17, 331 | Tiy | | |
| Saqqara | O 21, 331 | Unas pyramid temple | | |

(continued)

62 Piccione 2000, pp. 346–47.

Table 16.1. Geographical distribution of boatmen's jousting scenes (*continued*).

| Location | Decker and Herb cat. no., plate | Fourth to Sixth Dynasties | Eleventh to Twelfth Dynasties | Eighteenth Dynasty |
|------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Saqqara | O 22, 332–33 | Akhethotep and Ptahhotep II | | |
| Saqqara | O 23, 333 | Ptahhotep Iniankh | | |
| Saqqara | O 24, 333 | unknown | | |
| Saqqara | O 25, 333 | unknown | | |
| Saqqara | O 26, 333 | unknown | | |
| Saqqara | O 27, 333 | unknown | | |
| Saqqara | O 28, 333 | unknown | | |
| Saqqara | O 29, 333 | Mereruka | | |
| Saqqara | O 30, 333 | Akhethotep Hemi | | |
| Saqqara | O 31, 333 | Niankhnesut | | |
| Saqqara | O 38, 335 | Irukaptah | | |
| Saqqara | O 39, 335 | Seshemnefer Iwfy | | |
| Zawiet el-Meitin | O 18, 331 | Khunes | | |
| Zawiet el-Meitin | O 32, 334 | Niankhpepi | | |
| Beni Hasan | O 37, 335 | Ipy | | |
| Beni Hasan | O 40, 335 | | Baqet I | |
| Beni Hasan | O 41, 336 | | Baqet III | |
| Beni Hasan | O 45, 337 | | Khnumhotep III | |
| Bersheh | O 46, 337 | | Djehutyhotep | |
| Meir | O 43, 336 | | Senbi | |
| Meir | O 44, 336–37 | | Ukhhotep | |
| Deir el-Gebrawi | O 33, 334 | Iby | | |
| Deir el-Gebrawi | O 34, 334 | Djau | | |
| Deir el-Gebrawi | O 48, 227 | Iby | | |
| el-Hawawish | O 35, 334 | Kaihep | | |
| el-Hawawish | O 36, 335 | Shepsipumenu* | | |
| West Thebes | O 42, 336 | | Intef (TT 386) | |
| West Thebes | O 47, 337 | | | Intef (TT 155) |

*The tomb of Shepsipumenu dates to either the Sixth or the Seventh Dynasty.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Belegst.* Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache: Die Belegstellen*. 5 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971
- CT Adriaan de Buck. *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*. 7 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, and 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–61
- PT Kurt Sethe. *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–12
- TT Theban Tomb
- Wb.* Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Reprint, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allam, Schafik

- 1985 "Le *hm-k3* était-il exclusivement prêtre funéraire?" *Revue d'égyptologie* 36: 1–15.

Altenmüller, Hartwig

- 1964 "Letopolis und der Bericht des Herodot über Papremis." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society "Ex Oriente Lux"* 18: 271–79.

Baines, John, and Jaromir Malek

- 1980 *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*. New York: Facts on File.

Bolshakov, Andrey O.

- 1993 "The Scene of the Boatmen Jousting in Old Kingdom Tomb Representations." *Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie, Genève* 17: 29–39.

Borghouts, Joris F.

- 1973 "The Evil Eye of Apophis." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59: 114–50.
 1995 "Rethinking the Papremis Ritual (Herodotus II 63)." In *Hermes Aegyptiacus: Egyptological Studies for B. H. Stricker on His 85th Birthday*, edited by Terence DuQuesne, pp. 43–52. Discussions in Egyptology Special Number 2. Oxford: DE Publications.

Brunner-Traut, Emma

- 1980 "Lotos." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, vol. 3, pp. 1091–96. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Crist, Walter, Anne-Elizabeth Dunn-Vaturi, and Alex de Voogt

- 2016 *Ancient Egyptians at Play: Board Games across Borders*. Bloomsbury Egyptology. London: Bloomsbury.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1902a *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*. Vol. 1, *Tomb of Aba and Smaller Tombs of the Southern Group*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 11. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
 1902b *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi*. Vol. 2, *Tomb of Zau and Tombs of the Northern Group*. Archaeological Survey of Egypt 12. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
 1928 "The Graphic Work of the Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 23: 59–72.

Decker, Wolfgang

- 1984 "Sport." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, vol. 5, pp. 1161–69. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1992 *Sports and Games of Ancient Egypt*. Translated by A. Guttmann. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Decker, Wolfgang, and Michael Herb

- 1993 *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abteilung 1. Der Nahe und der Mittlere Osten 14. Leiden: Brill.

Derchain, Philippe

- 1975 "Le lotus, la mandragore, et le perséa." *Chronique d'Égypte* 50: 65–86.
 1976 "Symbols and Metaphor in Literature and Representations of Private Life." *Royal Anthropological Institute News* 15: 7–10.

DeVries, Carl E.

- 1960 "Attitudes of the Ancient Egyptians toward Physical Recreative Activities." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
 1969 "A Ritual Ball Game?" In *Studies in Honor of John A. Wilson: September 12, 1969*, edited by Gerald E. Kadish, pp. 25–35. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 35. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Eaton-Krauss, M., and E. Graefe

- 1985 *The Small Golden Shrine from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

- Edwards, I. E. S.
 1976 "Catalogue." In *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, edited by Katharine Stoddert Gilbert, with Joan K. Holt and Sara Hudson. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Foster, John L.
 1992 *Love Songs of the New Kingdom*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Geisen, Christina
 2018 *A Commemoration Ritual for Senwosret I: P. BM EA 10610.1–5/P. Ramesseum B (Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus)*. Yale Egyptological Studies 11. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Institute.
- Guglielmi, Waltraud
 1977 "Fischerstechen." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, vol. 2, pp. 242–43. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Helck, Wolfgang
 1984 "Rituale." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, vol. 5, pp. 271–86. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Iacampo, Mark
 2015 "Fischerstechen Makes a Splash across Southern Germany." U.S. Army. Last modified May 5, 2015. Accessed March 1, 2021. https://www.army.mil/article/147888/fischerstechen_makes_a_splash_across_southern_germany.
- Kendall, Timothy
 1978a *Passing through the Netherworld: The Meaning and Play of Senet, an Ancient Egyptian Funerary Game*. Boston: Kirk Game Company.
 1978b "Senet, an Ancient Egyptian Game of Passing through the Netherworld." *Games* (May/June): 10–15.
- Klebs, Luise
 1915 *Die Reliefs des alten Reiches (2980–2475 v. Chr.): Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 3. Heidelberg: Winter.
 1922 *Die Reliefs und Malereien des mittleren Reiches (VII.–XVII. Dynastie, ca. 2475–1580 v. Chr.): Material zur ägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*. Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 6. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Lloyd, Alan B.
 1976 *Herodotus Book II*. Vol. 1, *Commentary 1–98*. Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 43. Leiden: Brill.
- Milde, Henk
 1988 "It's All in the Game." In *Funerary Symbols and Religion: Essays Dedicated to Professor M. S. H. G. Heerma van Voss on the Occasion of His Retirement from the Chair of the History of Ancient Religions at the University of Amsterdam*, edited by J. H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk, pp. 89–95. Kampen: Kok.
- Piccione, Peter A.
 1980 "In Search of the Meaning of Senet." *Archaeology* 33: 55–58.
 1984 Review of *Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten*, by E. Pusch. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 70: 172–80.
 1985 "Further Considerations on *Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten*." *Serapis* 8: 47–52.
 1990a "The Historical Development of the Game of Senet and Its Significance for Ancient Egyptian Religion." PhD diss., University of Chicago.
 1990b "Mehen, Mysteries and Resurrection from the Coiled Serpent." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27: 43–52.
 1994 "The Gaming Episode in the Tale of Setne Khamwas as Religious Metaphor." In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by D. Silverman, pp. 197–204. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 55. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 1999 Review of *Bildatlas zum Sport im alten Ägypten: Corpus der bildlichen Quellen zu Leibesübungen, Spiel, Jagd, Tanz und verwandten Themen*, Teil 1, *Text*, Teil 2, *Abbildungen*, by Wolfgang Decker and Michael Herb. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 58: 117–25.

- 2000 "Sportive Fencing as a Ritual for Destroying the Enemies of Horus." In *Gold of Praise: Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 335–49. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2007 "The Egyptian Game of Senet and the Migration of the Soul." In *Board Games in Perspective: Proceedings of the Colloquium on Board Games of the Ancient World*, edited by I. Finkel, pp. 54–63. London: British Museum Publications.
- 2010a "sqr hm3.t: A Ritual Bat-and-Ball Game in Ancient Egypt." Paper abstract in *The 61st Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 23–25, 2010, Oakland, California*, p. 76. San Antonio: American Research Center in Egypt. https://arce.org/wp-content/uploads/files-imported/documents/2010_1.pdf.
- 2010b Review of *Egyptian Games and Sports*, by Joyce Tyldesley. *American Journal of Archaeology* 114: 1–3.
- 2012a "Games, Pharaonic, Egypt." In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by R. S. Bagnall et al., pp. 2844–46. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- 2012b "Sports and Games, Pharaonic Egypt." In *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, edited by R. S. Bagnall et al., pp. 5365–67. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Posener, Georges
- 1959 *Dictionnaire de la civilisation égyptienne*. Paris: Fernand Hazan.
- 1972 *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. Vol. 2, Nos. 1227–1266. Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 18/3. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Pusch, Edgar B.
- 1977 "Ein unbeachtete Brettspielart." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 5: 199–212.
- 1979 *Das Senet-Brettspiel im alten Ägypten*. 2 vols. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 38. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Romanova, E. A.
- 2007 "Слуги ка и изображения исполнения ритуалов в гробницах некрополя Гиза периода Древнего царства [Servants of the Ka and Images of the Performance of Rituals in the Tombs of the Giza Necropolis of the Old Kingdom]." In Петербургские египтологические чтения 2006: к 150-летию со дня рождения Владимира Семеновича Голенищева. Доклады [St. Petersburg Egyptological Readings, 2006: In Commemoration of Wladimir Golenischeff on the Occasion of His 150th Birthday: Conference Papers], edited by A. O. Bolshakov, pp. 117–31. St. Petersburg: State Hermitage Publishers.
- Sethe, Kurt
- 1928 *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- Simpson, William Kelly, ed.
- 2003 *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Strauss, Elisabeth-Christine
- 1974 *Die Nunschale: Eine Gefäßgruppe des Neuen Reiches*. Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 30. Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag.
- Touny, A. D., and Steffen Wenig
- 1969 *Der Sport im alten Ägypten*. Leipzig: Edition Leipzig.
- Tyldesley, Joyce
- 2007 *Egyptian Games and Sports*. Shire Egyptology Series 29. Princes Risborough, England: Shire.
- van de Walle, Baudouin
- 1965 "Spectacle et religion dans l'Égypte ancienne." In *Histoire des spectacles*, edited by G. Dumur, pp. 102–34. Encyclopédie de la Pléiade 19. Tours: Gallimard.
- Vandier, J.
- 1969 *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*. Vol. 5, *Bas-reliefs et peintures: Scènes de la vie quotidienne*. Paris: Picard.
- Wilson, John A.
- 1931 "Ceremonial Games of the New Kingdom." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 17: 211–20.

17 SYNTACTIC AND MODAL MARKERS (“PARTICLES”) IN THE TEXTS OF THE SHABAQO STONE*

Joshua A. Roberson
University of Memphis

I FIRST ENCOUNTERED ROBERT RITNER’S *Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* in 2001 at the University of Pennsylvania while conducting research on Greco-Egyptian magic for a graduate seminar on the Ptolemies. Here was a scholar whose research dovetailed precisely with the very reasons that I had chosen to pursue Egyptology in the first place: the “weird stuff,” as I tend to think of it, dissected with rigorous scholarship and grounded in a thorough familiarity with the language and grammar of the primary sources. In fact, looking back over the intervening twenty years, the influence of Robert’s *Mechanics* (plus dozens of shorter works) on my graduate and professional career cannot be overstated. My own work on Egyptian religion, vis-à-vis cosmological texts and cosmographic representations, has been shaped at every turn by the model of his scholarship, evident perhaps most clearly in his invaluable contributions as external reader for my PhD dissertation on the Books of the Earth and its subsequent publication in monograph form.¹ It is my hope that the present study might be received as a humble offering of thanks for his work and mentorship, which continue to resonate within my own research.

BACKGROUND TO THE PRESENT RESEARCH

The Shabaqo Stone, housed presently in the British Museum (BM EA 498), was engraved for its eponymous king (ca. 705–690 BCE), the third pharaoh of the Twenty-Fifth (Kushite) Dynasty, following Piye and Shabataqo.² The stone includes two visually distinct sections of text. The first section includes the royal titulary and a frame story at lines 1–2, executed in large-format horizontal rows, wherein Shabaqo claims

*The present short essay has been extracted from a forthcoming translation and grammatical commentary on the Shabaqo Stone (Roberson, forthcoming), discussed below. This work was initiated as part of a larger research project, undertaken originally in collaboration with Kathryn E. Piquette (University College London, Centre for Digital Humanities), to whom I extend my thanks. I extend my thanks also to the staff of the British Museum, especially Neal Spencer (keeper of Nile Valley and Mediterranean collections) and Evan York (collection manager), whose assistance in securing permission to document the Shabaqo Stone and assistance throughout the process of image capture, respectively, have been invaluable; to Andréas Stauder (École Pratique des Hautes Études) for providing insightful feedback on some of the material under consideration; and to Robert and Olivia Temple (Ancient Egypt Foundation) for supporting Dr. Piquette’s work in the project’s early phases. Finally, I extend my thanks also to this volume’s editors, Brian Muhs and Foy Scalf, for their kind invitation to contribute to Robert Ritner’s memorial Festschrift, and especially for their insightful comments and suggestions during the essay’s preparation.

1 Roberson 2007, pp. iii–iv; 2012, p. xix.

2 Regnal date range following Payraudeau 2014, p. 127. The earlier identification of Shabaqo as the second Kushite ruler of Egypt (ca. 722–707 BCE), preceding Shabataqo/Shebitku (thus, e.g., Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton 2006, p. 494) has been systematically dismantled in a series of recent studies that strongly support the revised sequence Piye–Shabataqo–Shabaqo (Bányai 2013; Payraudeau 2014; Broekman 2015, 2017; Jurman 2017; with thanks to Brian Muhs). Note that the king’s name has been romanized in various ways, most commonly in English: Shabaka, Shabako, and Shabaqo. For the Meroitic demonstrative *-qo*, reflected in the spelling preferred here, see Rilly and de Voogt 2012, pp. 165–67.

to have personally discovered an ancient, “worm-eaten”³ papyrus in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, which he then dutifully copied onto the stone that now bears his name. The second, much longer section at lines 3–64, executed in smaller-format vertical columns, includes two discrete mythological compositions deriving supposedly from the more ancient papyrus: the so-called Dramatic Text (lines 3–47), which includes an account of the division of the Two Lands under Horus and Seth, as well as an extended section of “recitations” spoken by Geb and other members of the Heliopolitan ennead (or actors portraying them); and the so-called Memphite Theological Treatise (lines 48–64),⁴ which begins with a detailed exegesis on the god Ptah as primordial creator and concludes with a brief description of Osiris’s death and Horus’s emergence as the rightful heir to his father.⁵

Scholarly study of the Shabaqo Stone rests on the seminal translations of Breasted (1901) and Sethe (1928), with more recent translations by, for example, Peust and Sternberg-el Hotabi (2001), Lichtheim (2006), and El Hawary (2010), alongside translations of the Memphite Theological Treatise alone (e.g., Allen 1988). Modern discussion of the texts on the Shabaqo Stone may be divided broadly into theoretical questions regarding meaning and function versus pragmatic questions of content, composition, and dating, as well as syntheses of both approaches.⁶

In the summer of 2019, I embarked on a collaboration with Kathryn E. Piquette (University College London, Centre for Digital Humanities) for the purpose of conducting the first comprehensive documentation of the Shabaqo Stone by means of high-resolution digital photography, reflectance transformation imaging, and photogrammetry. These newly applied imaging techniques were undertaken as the first steps toward a comprehensive reappraisal of the monument, including its manufacture, life history, and texts. My primary contribution to that project has been the production of a new, continuous translation of all of the monument’s texts, a line-by-line philological commentary, and an analytic concordance of grammatical forms and features.⁷ I have extracted the present short essay from that study, with slight modifications necessary to function as a stand-alone work.

MARKERS OF SYNTAX AND MOOD

The present study employs the umbrella term “markers” for all discrete words and constructions that indicate explicit syntactic (§§1–6) or modal (§§7–8) function.⁸ I include under this heading those words designated conventionally as “particles,” that is, uninflected words that alter the sense of a clause but lack an inherent lexical definition of their own (e.g., *ḵw*, §8; *sk*, §3),⁹ as well as uninflected words that possess a clear lexical definition (e.g., *sw* “then, so,” §2) and inflected, albeit lexicalized, markers such as *ḥ.n* “then” (§1) and *wn.t* “that” (§5).

3 Discussed below, at example 1, n. 19.

4 Some works, following Breasted 1901, refer to this text and the Dramatic Text collectively as the “Philosophy of a Memphite Priest,” “Memphite Theology,” or similar. I prefer to employ the term “Memphite Theological Treatise” in reference only to the text at lines 48–64, insofar as the two halves of the stone’s columnar inscription exhibit very clear differences in terms of both content and grammar. Regarding content, the Dramatic Text concerns primarily the succession dispute of Horus and Seth and mentions Ptah and Memphis only incidentally; the Memphite Theological Treatise concerns primarily Ptah as the creator god of Memphis and mentions Horus and Seth only incidentally. Concerning grammar, the Dramatic Text includes extensive sections of first-person call and response; the Memphite Theological Treatise does not.

5 The Memphite Theological Treatise is undoubtedly best known to scholarship for its description of Ptah’s act of primordial creation through the power of thought and speech as a notable precursor to the divine *logos* mentioned in the Christian Gospel of John (John 1:1). This parallel has been mentioned frequently since the early 1900s, so I shall not dwell further on it here.

6 For a convenient overview of these issues and the scholarship surrounding them, see El Hawary 2010, pp. 67, 88–111; more recently, see also the discussion of the Shabaqo Stone as part of a “program of cultural renewal” in Sousa 2017.

7 Roberson, forthcoming.

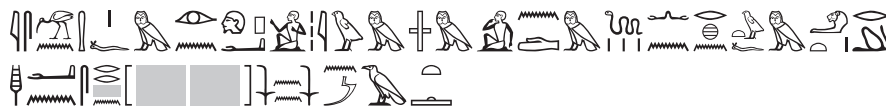
8 For modality as a “wide array of speaker attitudes and opinions” in Earlier Egyptian, see Uljas 2007, pp. 1–13 *passim*.

9 For a comprehensive discussion of particles in Earlier Egyptian, see Oréal 2011, noting especially the diversity of function and scholarly opinion concerning the nature of these “petit mots invariables” (p. 5).

1. THE NARRATIVE MARKER $\text{ḥ}^c.n$

The narrative marker $\text{ḥ}^c.n$ does not occur in the Old Kingdom, being an innovation of the early First Intermediate Period.¹⁰ This marker also occurs later in “higher register” (i.e., archaizing) Late Egyptian documents, where it introduces a following sdm.n=f or preterite sdm=f construction.¹¹ $\text{ḥ}^c.n$ occurs numerous times in the Libyan and Kushite eras of the Third Intermediate Period¹²—for example, on the “Victory Stela” of Piye, just a few decades before Shabaqo’s reign¹³—while the following Twenty-Sixth Dynasty/Saite period yields only two examples, from a royal inscription of Psamtek II.¹⁴ The word’s morphology reflects a lexicalized inflection of the verb ḥ^c in a perfect (sdm.n=f) construction, meaning originally “SUBJECT stood.”¹⁵ However, as a syntactic marker, $\text{ḥ}^c.n$ has lost its original meaning and conveys only the notion of the next event in a narrative sequence: “Then.” As such, $\text{ḥ}^c.n$ is followed always by a main clause that arises as a direct result of, or otherwise continues, the events that immediately precede it. The marker occurs only once on the Shabaqo Stone, introducing a partially damaged sdm.n=f construction, as part of the king’s frame story:

Example 1 (row 2)



$js(w) gm.n hm=f m jr.n tpj.w^c jw m wnm.n dm.w nn rh.n.tw=f m h3.tr ph \text{ḥ}^c.n sphr.n^{16} [Hm=f zh3 pn] nn n-m3w.t$
Observe!¹⁷ What His Incarnation found¹⁸ was in (the condition of something) that the ancestors had made, as something worm-eaten,¹⁹ which no one would have been able to understand²⁰ from beginning to end. **Then**, [His Incarnation] copied [this document] herein²¹ anew.

2. THE NARRATIVE MARKER sw

The narrative marker sw “then, so” occurs in archaizing Middle Egyptian texts²² but does not appear in genuine Old Egyptian texts.²³ The marker occurs also in archaizing texts of the New Kingdom and later,²⁴

10 Doret 1986, p. 126 n. 1487.

11 Junge 2001, pp. 276–77, noting the word’s use in only narrative and legal texts.

12 Priese 1974, pp. 100–105.

13 Grimal 1981, pp. 309–10; Arnaud 2012.

14 Der Manuelian 1994, p. 279 and n. 694.

15 For the etymology and use of the narrative marker, see Malaise and Winand 1999, §§820–21, 872; Allen 2010, §15.16.

16 The spelling of $sphr$ as srr is a characteristically late phenomenon (*Wb.* IV, p. 106/11–23).

17 Understanding the evidential marker $js(w)$ here, for which see §7 below.

18 Perfect (sdm.n=f) in a noun clause, serving as subject to the following adverbial predicate; the position of object following is filled likewise by a noun clause with the perfect.

19 Literally “(it) being in (the condition of something) that worms had eaten.” For the omitted situational subject following jw , with the adverbial predicate m , see discussion at §8, example 17, below.

20 Perfect in an adjective clause (masculine/unmarked for gender), modifying the preceding perfect noun clause, as a negation of ability.

21 For use of the neutral demonstrative pronoun nn “this” as an adverb of place, as found occasionally in Old Egyptian, see Edel 1955/60, pp. 385–86, §754, with additional examples at §963.

22 Gardiner 1957, §240.

23 Edel (1955/60, p. 616) cites only the similarly written dependent pronoun; Oréal (2011) likewise omits sw from her treatments of particles in Old and Middle Egyptian. Sethe (1928, pp. 4–5) had originally cited the use of proclitic sw as evidence for the genuine antiquity of the Dramatic Text and the Memphite Theological Treatise. This view was first questioned by Grapow (1935, p. 48), who noted the circular nature of the argument (i.e., the Shabaqo texts are old because they contain the particle, but the particle is old because it is in the Shabaqo texts), which objections were later taken up by Junge (1973, p. 197, 2.2) as sufficient evidence to eliminate proclitic sw as a diagnostic feature for the Old Kingdom/genuine Old Egyptian.

24 E.g., Priese 1974, p. 121, §1.84, example 133 (reign of Thutmose III), with some brief examples from the Shabaqo Stone.

but it does not appear to be a feature of the contemporary spoken language. Narrative *sw* occurs seven times on the Shabako Stone, including four examples from the Dramatic Text and three from the Memphite Theological Treatise. Its use in these sections, corresponding to the supposedly “worm-eaten” urtext, stands in obvious contrast to the syntactically equivalent narrative marker *ḥ̄.n*, which appears only in Shabako’s frame story, as discussed above (§1). However, unlike *ḥ̄.n*, which could be followed by the stative and the perfect in standard Middle Egyptian (see example 1),²⁵ predicate constructions that follow the narrative marker *sw* on the Shabako Stone include the subject–stative, subject–*sḏm=f*, and bare *sḏm=f*. Use of the latter construction after *sw* is noteworthy insofar as it is the bare *sḏm=f* that occurs with past indicative sense in genuine Old Egyptian texts, which function was later taken over by *ḥ̄.n* + perfect in Middle Egyptian.²⁶ Thus the (archaizing!) marker *sw* + *sḏm=f* with past indicative sense in a marked narrative construction should certainly be regarded as an artificial construct of a later age.

The chief difficulty in identifying the narrative marker lies in its formal similarity to the 3m.s. dependent pronoun *sw* “he” employed proclitically, that is, in sentence-initial position.²⁷ Nevertheless, in two of these cases the proclitic pronoun can be ruled out definitively, insofar as the following subject is plural:²⁸

Example 2 (column 60)



sw ḥ̄ *ntr.w m d.t=sn*

Then, the gods entered into their cult image (literally, body).

Example 3 (column 63)



sw spr=sn sw r ḥ̄

Then, they brought him to land.

Three other occurrences of *sw* introduce noun-fronted constructions (subject–*sḏm=f* or subject–stative). In other texts that also employ proclitic pronouns from the dependent series, sentences with a “double-marked” subject in initial position follow the pattern NOUN + *sw* + predicate.²⁹ Thus the Shabako Stone examples of *sw* + NOUN + predicate should probably be identified as examples of the narrative marker, as opposed to the proclitic pronoun:

Example 4 (column 14C)



sw Hr.w pw ḥ̄.w m Nj-sw.t Bj.tj

Then, that³⁰ Horus appeared as the Dual King.

25 Doret 1986, p. 125 nn. 1480ff., with additional references, examples, and discussion.

26 Doret 1986, p. 126 n. 1482. For the perfective/old indicative in Old Egyptian, see Edel 1955/60, §§468–70; Doret 1986, pp. 24–27, with additional references.

27 For the forms, history, and use of the dependent pronoun series in initial position (including *wj*, *sw*, *sj*, *tw*, *n*, *tn*, and *sn*), see Roberson 2010, with additional references. The Shabako Stone employs only the 3m.s. *sw* in this way, with at least five certain occurrences (columns 56–57), where the pronoun stands as the A-member in an AB nominal sentence, in which B is always a participle; these constructions serve as nonemphasizing counterparts to a preceding participial statement (*jn* + A + participle). We may be relatively certain that these instances do not represent archaizing or defective variants of the Old Egyptian 3m.s. independent pronoun *swt*, insofar as the same section of text employs the usual Middle Egyptian independent form *ntf* (column 56).

28 Roberson 2010, p. 189 n. 55.

29 Roberson 2010, p. 189 nn. 60–63, with additional references and examples.

30 Note that *pw* in this case is certainly not the copula (i.e., “Horus is the one who appeared”), insofar as nonverbal predicates are incompatible with marked narrative constructions (for attested constructions, see Doret 1986, pp. 125–28). The

Examples 5–6 (columns 8–9)



j^b.n=f Psd.t wp.n=f Hrw hn^c Sth hw.n=f sn.t=sn dj=f Sth m Nj-sw.t . . . sw Gb dj=f Hrw m Bj.tj . . . sw Hrw h^(.w) Sth h^(.w) hr(j)3.t . . . htp=sn

Having united the Group of Nine, he (= Geb) judged Horus and Seth, and he prevented their quarrelling, so that he might appoint Seth as Upper Egyptian King. **Then, Geb was appointing** Horus as Lower Egyptian King. . . . **Then, both Horus and Seth stood** upon the site . . . so that they might be at peace.

Regarding the identification of the marker versus the pronoun, we note also from example 6 that *sw* governs two obviously parallel clauses, *Hrw h^(.w)* and *Sth h^(.w)*. If the proclitic pronoun were intended there, then such use would be unique within the greater corpus,³¹ and it might also be construed as violating the expected number agreement between pronoun and subject(s).³²

In one case, context suggests that *sw* + subject–stative indicates more than just the next event in the sequence. Rather, the next event arises clearly as a consequence of the preceding main clause, prompting the marker’s translation as “so” instead of “then”:

Example 7 (column 11C)



dw hr(j)-jb n Gb twt pzs Hrw n pzs Sth sw Gb rdj(.w) jw^c.t=f n Hrw

Geb was troubled at his core,³³ when Horus’s portion was the same as Seth’s portion. **So, Geb gave**³⁴ his inheritance to Horus.

The two remaining examples of the narrative marker include masculine singular noun subjects in *sdm=f* constructions fronted by *sw*. In these cases, *sw* may represent either the narrative marker or the 3ms proclitic pronoun. However, in both examples, the *sw*-fronted clauses follow very clear narrative sequences, progressing logically from the main clauses that precede them.³⁵ Clauses fronted by the proclitic pronoun can probably function continuatively.³⁶ However, that syntactic role is the sole function of the narrative marker *sw*. Thus the latter analysis offers the path of least resistance in both cases:

translation as “that” in this case is supported both by the temporal distance of the mythological events described (i.e., the Horus of primordial times, as opposed to the living Horus-king) and by the regular use of *pn* “this” for the nearer demonstrative elsewhere in the text. Thus we see here the crowning of “that” primordial Horus, as opposed to the living Horus who commissioned the text’s inscription, as described at lines 1–2.

31 There are 174 examples, from a wide range of texts and genres, dating from the Eighteenth Dynasty and later (Roberson 2010, p. 188).

32 I.e., we might expect *sn* “they” in such a case, although the use of two separate stative predicates and the fact that the construction would be otherwise unique complicate our speculation. In short, the least-problematic route is to interpret *sw* here as the narrative marker rather than the proclitic pronoun.

33 Literally “The innermost part of Geb was bad” (for *hrj-jb* with the sense of innermost heart/mind of a person, see *Wb.* III, p. 136/9; for *dw*, said of thought, see *Wb.* V, p. 546/6).

34 The use of *rdj* (older *rdj*) with transitive active sense is typical of Old Egyptian but atypical in its use with a third-person antecedent (genuine Old Egyptian texts employ the 1c.s. stative ending *.kj* in all cases; see Edel 1955/60, §590; Doret 1986, p. 65 n. 688). Alternatively, understand *Gb* perhaps as a topicalized possessor with a following passive: “Then, (as for) Geb, his inheritance was given” (with thanks to Foy Scaff).

35 A second tense in example 8; a *sw*-fronted narrative clause in example 9. For an example of a *sw*-fronted clause with 3m.s. subject in a manifestly nonnarrative sequence, suggesting the presence of the proclitic pronoun, cf. column 59 (*sw htp Pth* “He, namely Ptah, rested,” discussed below at example 11, n. 41).

36 Roberson 2010, pp. 186 n. 8, 189, with additional references.

In one case, an adverb clause fronted by proclitic *sk* is double marked with the enclitic subordinate marker *js* (§4):

Example 12 (columns 56–57)



sw ms ntr.w nb.w Tm Psd.t=f sk hpr.n js mdw-ntr nb m k33.t h3.tj wd.t ns

He (= Ptah) is the one who birthed every god, Atum as well as his Group of Nine, every divine word having indeed developed from that which the heart conceives and that which the tongue commands.

According to Allen, such double marking does not alter the meaning of an adverb clause.⁴² However, the fact that double marking should occur virtually side-by-side with an identical predicate construction marked only with *sk* (example 11) suggests rather strongly that the ancient author(s) must have intended some additional nuance, however subtle. For this reason, I have signaled the double-marked construction in English through the addition of the adverb “indeed.”⁴³

4. THE SUBORDINATE MARKER *JS*

The subordinate marker *js* is an enclitic particle that signals noun and adverb clauses.⁴⁴ As an enclitic, subordinate *js* may be distinguished easily from the identically written proclitic marker *js(w)*, discussed further below (§7). Subordinate *js* occurs twice on the Shabaqo Stone, in each case governing a following adverb clause. The first occurrence, cited above (example 12), subordinates a *sdm.n=f* construction in an adverb clause, which is also double marked with proclitic *sk*. The second occurrence employs *js* alone, with the subject–stative:

Example 13 (column 61)



sw j^b.n=f ntr.w nb.w k3.w=sn js htp.jj⁴⁵ hnm.jj m Nb T3.wy

He had united all the gods, their life-forces having been satisfied and combined in the Lord of the Two Lands.

5. THE NOUN CLAUSE MARKER *WN.T*

The noun clause marker *wn.t* is a lexicalized form of the verb *wn(n)* “to exist” that exercises the same syntactic function, with the same meaning, as the more common Earlier (Old/Middle) Egyptian noun clause marker *n.tt* “that, which.”⁴⁶ The use of *wn.t* in place of *n.tt* on the Shabaqo Stone may be regarded as an either archaic or archaizing element, insofar as the former marker is less common in Middle Egyptian and

present example cannot be the narrative particle. For the analysis of *sw* as a proclitic use of the dependent pronoun, rather than independent *sw(t)*, see discussion at n. 27.

42 Allen 2010, pp. 144–45.

43 The translation is conventional only; the particle’s function appears otherwise purely syntactic (see §4). For the sense of the particle as lending “a certain impressiveness or emphasis” to its clause, see Gardiner 1957, §247.

44 Allen 2010, §16.7.3; see also Oréal 2011, p. 104, with a helpful summary of divergent scholarly opinions on the particle’s function in prior scholarship.

45 For the Old Egyptian 3m.p. stative ending *.jj* in this example, see Allen 1988, p. 93 n. 51 (contra an earlier analysis by Sethe [1928, p. 71, c], who understood this and the following word as participles); see also generally Edel 1955/60, pp. 572, 574 (bb); Doret 1986, p. 65.

46 Allen 2010, §16.6.6; 2017, pp. 76–77, D–E; Edel 1955/60, §1019. The form *wn.t* represents presumably a perfective participle with feminine gender, in reference to a generic “it,” i.e., the state of affairs relative to the speech act—literally “that (feminine) which exists”; see discussion in Oréal 2011, p. 263, §4.3.

later texts.⁴⁷ *Wn.t* occurs once in an undamaged context, where it marks a noun clause as the object of the preposition *n* “for,” yielding the sense of a purpose clause:

Example 14 (column 62)



... *n wn.t Wsjr mh=f hr mw=f*

... because of the fact that Osiris drowns upon his water.⁴⁸

The marker *wn.t* occurs one additional time in the Memphite Theological Treatise, with an adverbial predicate and following a short lacuna that presumably conceals another preposition at the head of a purpose clause:






Example 15 (column 54)



... *hpr.n shm-jb ns m-c [...] n / hr (?)*⁴⁹ *wn.t=f m hnt h.t nb(.t) hnt r nb*

... the one-who-is-powerful-of-heart-and-tongue having developed from [...] [because of (?)] the fact that he is prior to every belly and prior to every mouth.



6. THE CONJUNCTION MARKER *hm*

The enclitic conjunction marker *hm* “and, moreover” indicates that its clause supplies additional information to an immediately preceding statement.⁵⁰ Insofar as *hm* occurs always with main clauses, it may be considered a syntactic marker. It occurs twice on the Shabaqo Stone, each time with the distinctive orthography , in which the biliteral *hm* sign (N41) appears tucked behind its phonetic complement.⁵¹ This spelling may be contrasted with other examples from roughly contemporary (i.e., Third Intermediate Period) inscriptions composed in the archaizing “Late Middle Egyptian” dialect, where the same word appears as  or . At the same time, the distinctive placement of the N41 biliteral on the Shabaqo Stone may be contrasted also with genuinely ancient examples from the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms, which prefer the grouping . Thus the present spelling as  should be regarded, I believe, as an attempt to evoke the older orthography in an innovative way. That innovation has the effect—whether intentional or not—of rendering the archaism transparent.⁵⁴

The first instance of *hm* in the present corpus occurs in the Dramatic Text in a badly damaged context, the grammar of which cannot be reconstructed with any certainty.⁵⁵ The second example occurs in the Memphite Theological Treatise in an A *pw* B nominal sentence:

47 Malaise and Winand 1999, §912; for uses in Old Egyptian, see Edel 1955/60, §§1018–27, 1043, with additional citations at p. 615.

48 The purpose clause is governed by the preceding main clause cited in the preceding example 13. Also compare from the Dramatic Text (column 19): *n mh.n Wsjr hr mw=f* “because Osiris had drowned upon his water.”

49 The size of the lacuna is more consistent with a narrow sign or group, suggesting  *hr*; but, given the numerous instances of split columns with signs at reduced scale, it is equally possible that  *n* was present originally (for *hr* and *n* introducing noun clauses with the sense of “because,” see Allen 2010, p. 142).

50 Allen 2010, §16.7.8; see also Oréal 2011, pp. 351–52, where it is suggested that the word’s basic sense is assertion and confirmation (“truly,” etc.).

51 For the graphical transposition of small signs relative to larger signs, especially tall birds, see Gardiner 1957, §56.

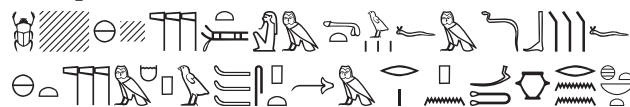
52 Jansen-Winkel 1996, p. 216 (g), citing two examples.

53 See examples at *Wb.* III, p. 78/17–19; Allen 2017, p. 81, G (Old Egyptian); Gardiner 1957, §253 (Middle Egyptian); Malaise and Winand 1999, §320 (Middle Egyptian); Lesko and Lesko 2002, p. 310 (Late Egyptian).

54 Cf. the use of quaintly false archaisms in modern advertising: “Ye Olde Shoppe” and the like.

55 Column 37: [...] *hm ns jr* [...] “Moreover, [...] tongue that creates(?) [...]”

Example 16 (column 55)



hpr[.n] Psd.t Tm m mtw.t=f m db3.w=f

Psd.t hm pw jbh.w sp.t(j) m r pn m3t rn n h.t nb.t

It is from his semen and from his fingers that Atum's Group of Nine developed.

The Nine, moreover, are the teeth and lip(s) in this mouth that proclaims the name of everything.

In this sentence, the enclitic marker precedes the copula (i.e., A *hm pw* B), demonstrating its relatively high position in the syntactic hierarchy—comparable to that of the enclitic particle *js*, which likewise precedes the copula in negations of the same sentence pattern: *nj A js pw* B.⁵⁶ The syntactic position of *hm* on the Shabaqo Stone contrasts with that of contemporary texts written in the archaizing Late Middle Egyptian dialect, where the marker instead follows the copula.⁵⁷

7. THE EVIDENTIAL MARKER *js(w)*

The evidential marker *js(w)* (originally *jwsw* in the Pyramid Texts, *jsw* in Middle Egyptian) occurs in direct speech as an invitation for the audience to verify for themselves the truth or certainty of a following main clause.⁵⁸ As such, its syntax and semantic range are similar to *m=k* “look.”⁵⁹ As a proclitic (sentence-initial) marker, evidential *js(w)* may be distinguished easily from the identically written enclitic marker of subordination, *js* (§4). The evidential marker *js(w)* occurs once in Shabaqo's frame story (example 1), where it introduces a perfect (*sdm.n=f*) relative form that serves as subject to a following adverbial predicate.⁶⁰ The marker's reduced spelling as *js*, omitting the final semivowel *w*, anticipates the pronunciation of the Coptic reflex *εc*. This reduced spelling is attested in other texts dating to the Third Intermediate Period.⁶¹

8. THE INDICATIVE MARKER *jw*

The status of *jw* as a proclitic particle, as opposed to a defective verb, was established in Edel's seminal study of the grammar of Old Egyptian.⁶² Following Polotsky, philologists adhering to the so-called Standard Theory have long viewed *jw* as a syntactic marker that permits adverbial forms to exercise predicative function, as main clauses.⁶³ Against that view, Allen has argued convincingly that *jw* exercises a semantic, rather than syntactic, function, which he suggests is to “mark the context of a statement as specifically relevant to the context in which it is made.”⁶⁴ Collier has reached similar conclusions, describing the function of *jw*

56 For the comparable status of *hm*, *js*, etc. in the hierarchy of enclitic particles relative also to verbs and adjectives, see Edel 1955/60, §818, 1.

57 Jansen-Winkeln 1996, p. 216 (g): *jt=j pw hm hrj-^c* “My father is, moreover, a *hrj-^c*” Cf. the position of the copula relative to another conjunction marker, *grt* “moreover,” in Book of the Dead chapter 17: *ntr pw grt nn snw=f* “He is, moreover, a god without equal.”

58 For the evidential modality, in which a speaker indicates the evidence held for a proposition, see generally Palmer 2001, pp. 35–39.

59 Allen 2012, p. 188; 2010, §16.6.4; Edel 1955/60, §858 (b); Gardiner 1957, §232.

60 Alternatively, we might read the same group as proclitic *js(t)*, as found in other religious texts from the Third Intermediate Period and later (see, e.g., Quack 2022, pp. 94–95, with thanks to Foy Scalf). However, the fact that the Shabaqo Stone otherwise employs the Old Egyptian spelling *sk* for that marker (see §3 above, with three examples) argues against reading *js(t)* in this lone instance.

61 Priese 1974, pp. 119–21, §§1.93.1–4; Allen 2012, p. 188; Jansen-Winkeln 1996, §349, citing two examples.

62 Edel 1955/60, §880, contra Gardiner 1957, §29. See Doret 1986, p. 98 nn. 1218–19, for additional references.

63 Polotsky 1965, §15; 1976, §3.8.3.1.

64 Allen 1991, p. 31 n. 97, citing already similar conclusions from Doret 1986; thus also Allen 2010, §10.3: “*jw* generally marks a statement that is only temporarily true or one that is true in specific circumstances”; and, for Old Egyptian, Allen

as that of establishing a “proximal” mental contact with the situation (as opposed to the “distal” contact of *h^c.n*) to “relate a scene to the interests of the ground participants,” which frequently (albeit incidentally) has the syntactic effect of interrupting the narrative, that is, signaling a main clause.⁶⁵ All these semantic features—linking the content of an affirmative statement to the perspective of the speaker, who necessarily views the statement as true—fall under the broad linguistic heading of the *realis* modality.⁶⁶ More specifically, however, the strict incompatibility of *jw*-fronted statements with both the subjunctive (possibility, desire) and imperative moods suggests that *jw* marks the indicative mood.⁶⁷ We can visualize this function of *jw* and other modal markers along a “spectrum of possibility and desire,” as table 17.1 illustrates (gray elements are not attested on the Shabaqo Stone):

Table 17.1. Modal markers on the spectrum of possibility and desire.

| Total impossibility | → | | Absolute certainty |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| | | | |
| <i>nn</i> | <i>h³</i> | <i>jw</i> | <i>m=k / js(w)</i> |
| “not” | “would that” | “∅” | “look/observe” |
| NEGATIVE | SUBJUNCTIVE | INDICATIVE | EVIDENTIAL |
| (not possible) | (desirable but counterfactual) | (simple fact; fact as circumstance) | (factual and easily verifiable, or self-evident) |

As is well known, *jw* undergoes a significant lexical shift in Late(r) Egyptian, where it exercises a primarily syntactic rather than modal function. In this regard, at least three distinct functions⁶⁸ may be observed in texts from the Amarna period and later: a “circumstantial” or “adverbial” *jw*, employed freely with most sorts of predicates to signal a following adverb clause; a lexicalized form of the earlier indicative marker, employed only with third future constructions (*jw=f r stp*), which were also capable of adverb clause conversion (*jw jw=f r stp*); and a “sequential” or “successive” *jw*, employed with only so-called noninitial main sentences of the type *jw=f hr stp*, which were incompatible with adverb clause conversion.

On the Shabaqo Stone, the particle *jw* occurs only two times. Both examples feature nonverbal predicates in environments that are broadly consistent with usage in Earlier Egyptian. The first of these appears in Shabaqo’s frame story as a simple, factual description of the fragmentary state in which the stone’s ur-document was supposedly discovered:

2017, p. 74. Note that the view of *jw* as essentially a grounding particle was anticipated already by Gunn (1924, p. 98 n. 1), whose interpretation was also endorsed by Polotsky 1965, §35 (with thanks to Foy Scalf). It is therefore only with regard to the supposed syntactic function of Earlier Egyptian *jw* that Standard and post-Standard theory disagree at base.

65 Collier 1994, pp. 82–85.

66 For the *realis* (as opposed to *irrealis*) modality, see generally Palmer 2001, pp. 1–5, 145–84.

67 For a discussion of *jw* as a marker of the indicative mood, see Winand 2006, pp. 374–75, with additional references. For the indicative/subjunctive distinction, see generally Palmer 2001, pp. 107–44; for the partial overlap with the *realis* modality, see also the previous note.

68 Černý and Groll (1975, pp. 420–22) enumerate four functions of *jw*, but two of them—the so-called successive of the past and successive of the future—are formally identical constructions with identical negatives, and are differentiated primarily by their time reference. It is this contextually driven reference to past or future that accounts presumably for the different syntactic environments in which the two supposedly distinct constructions occur as apodosis, protasis, and so forth.

Example 17 (row 2)



js(w) gm.n Hm=f m jr.n tpj.w-ꜣ jw m wnm.n dm.w

Observe! What His Incarnation found was in (the condition of something) that the ancestors had made, **(it) being in (the condition of something)** that worms had eaten.

In the first sentence, fronted by *js(w)* (see example 1), we observe the so-called *m* of equivalence⁶⁹ describing the current position or condition in which a specific subject (in this case, the noun clause *gm.n Hm=f*) exists.⁷⁰ *Jw*-fronted sentences with adverbial predicate occur regularly as adverb clauses in Earlier Egyptian. However, there is no objective criterion that would allow us to identify this instance of *jw* conclusively as the old marker of the indicative mood rather than the syntactic adverb clause marker from Late(r) Egyptian. That said, given that the second example, discussed below, features an *jw*-fronted main clause with adjectival predicate—an indisputable Earlier Egyptian construction—it seems reasonable to suppose that the scribe employed the same word with similar sense, that is, as the old indicative marker, in this case as well.

Our second *jw*-fronted clause is an example of what Collier has described as an “adverbial sentence where non-specific situational subjects readily occur and can be omitted under relevance.”⁷¹ Thus the omitted subject “it” in this case refers probably to the condition in which the papyrus was discovered,⁷² as opposed to the papyrus itself. With regard to that condition, it is worth noting that the adverbial predicate *m* in both clauses implies equivalence but not necessarily identity. In other words, the text suggests that the document was *like* an ancient object, insofar as it was riddled with lacunae upon discovery, but does not state unambiguously that it was actually ancient. By the same token, however, the text does not frame the condition unambiguously as a simile, for example, using *mj* “like” or even *m tj.t* “in the likeness of,” as in the following example 18. Presumably, the document’s appearance of antiquity, with the king’s imprimatur, was all that one needed to know.

The second occurrence of *jw* on the Shabaqo Stone appears near the beginning of the Memphite Theological Treatise, at the head of a sentence with two parallel adjectival predicates:

Example 18 (column 53)



hpr m h3.t hpr m ns m tj.t Tm jw wr 3 Pth

That which developed from the heart and that which developed from the tongue is in the likeness of Atum, **but Ptah is great(er) and old(er still).**

The use of *jw* with adjectival predicates, while attested, is not particularly common.⁷³ If *jw* is actually an indicative marker, as suggested above, then its use with a fundamentally indicative predicate of the pattern **nfr sw* “He is good” requires further explanation. In this regard, Allen has observed that *jw* appears to ground the possession of the adjectival quality to a particular time or circumstance,⁷⁴ exactly as with other

69 Also known as the “*m* of predication” and “*m* of identity”; see Humphrey 2019, §3.1 n. 7, with additional references.

70 Note that this semantic function is purely situational and not dictated by the adverbial predicate itself; for a cogent rebuttal of the older, and now untenable, understanding of acquired versus inherent identity expressed by the *m* of equivalence versus the AB nominal sentence, see Scalf 2008; for detailed discussion of this construction and its use in Earlier (specifically Old) Egyptian, see Humphrey 2019, chapter 3, with many examples and additional references.

71 Collier 1994, p. 64 (5–6), with additional comments at pp. 71–72; see also Doret 1986, p. 64 n. 672.

72 Cf. the common Egyptian idiom *hpr.n* “(It) happened.” English employs a similar idiom, which, however, must include the situational subject: “It’s raining,” “It’s hot outside,” “It’s unfortunate you said that,” and so forth.

73 Examples derive primarily from Middle Egyptian texts, for which see Gardiner 1957, §142; Allen 2010, §10.3. Examples from genuine Old Egyptian texts are exceptionally uncommon (no examples are cited in, e.g., Edel 1955/60, §§361–68), though Allen (2017, pp. 75, 95) does single out one occurrence from the Pyramid Texts of Unas.

74 Allen 2010, §10.3, citing an example rendered unambiguous through the further addition of an adverb of time and a comparative adverbial adjunct: *jw nfr sw m p3 hrw r sf* “He is better today than yesterday”; see also the preceding note.

sorts of predicates. Thus the (unmarked) indicative quality becomes a (marked) indicative quality relative to a particular circumstance. The relevant circumstance in example 18 is the description of the world as the likeness of the creator god of Heliopolis, Atum, expressed by means of the adverbial predicate *m* “in.” Had the following adjectival predicates been unmarked, we would have translated as a simple statement of fact, **wr 3 Pth* “Ptah is great and old.” The addition of *jw* relates Ptah’s possession of those qualities to the primordial creation described in the preceding clause: Ptah is great (relative to Atum’s creation) and old (relative to Atum’s creation). In pragmatic terms, this relationship is effectively, albeit implicitly, comparative.⁷⁵

9. CLOSING THOUGHTS

The most contentious aspect of the Shabaqo Stone is surely its date(s) of composition. In fact, I can think of no other ancient Egyptian text that has yielded such a wildly divergent range of scholarly opinion.⁷⁶ Thus, on various bases of content, grammar, orthography, and textual layout, the texts of the Shabaqo Stone have been dated to the Old Kingdom or even earlier,⁷⁷ the New Kingdom,⁷⁸ and the Third Intermediate/Late Period⁷⁹—in other words, nearly the entire span of Egyptian written history up to the reign of Shabaqo himself. One scholar has even dated the text to *after* Shabaqo’s reign, to the Ptolemaic era, as an archaism hearkening back to the earlier period of foreign-born kings.⁸⁰

At various points in the present essay, I have touched on diachronic features of the syntactic and modal markers employed in the three texts of the Shabaqo Stone. However, most of these features are not particularly diagnostic in terms of establishing dates of composition. The distribution of the various markers, their earliest periods of use, and other noteworthy features are summarized in table 17.2.

Table 17.2. Summary of the syntactic and modal markers discussed in this essay.

| Marker (§) | Earliest use | Text(s) | Peculiarities |
|-------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| <i>hʿn</i> (§1) | First Intermediate Period | Frame story | — |
| <i>sw</i> (§2) | Post-Old Kingdom | Dramatic, Theological | — |
| <i>sk</i> (§3) | Old Kingdom | Theological | Archaic or archaizing spelling |
| <i>js</i> (§4) | Old Kingdom | Theological | — |
| <i>wn.t</i> (§5) | Old Kingdom | Theological | Archaic or archaizing noun clause marker |
| <i>hm</i> (§6) | Old Kingdom | Dramatic, Theological | Archaizing spelling |
| <i>js(w)</i> (§7) | Old Kingdom | Frame story | Late spelling |
| <i>jw</i> (§8) | Old Kingdom | Frame story, Theological | Uncommon usage with adjectival predicate |

75 This sentence offers a semantic parallel to the more usual comparative construction with ADJECTIVE + *r* “with respect to, more than.”





76 For a detailed summary of scholarship, with many additional references, on the problem of dating the texts, see El Hawary 2010, pp. 92–111.

77 E.g., Sethe 1928, pp. 2–5, with the additional suggestion that some content could date to or before the Second Dynasty (pp. 5, 70, i). Sethe’s analysis, which appears to me—with ample hindsight—as fanciful if not naive, has nevertheless held a powerful attraction for many scholars (thus, e.g., Lichtheim 2006, p. 51, describes the text as “a work of the Old Kingdom,” as though this antiquity was beyond question); see discussion at El Hawary 2010, pp. 94–97, for additional references.

78 Breasted 1901, p. 462 (Eighteenth Dynasty as the latest possible date); Schlögl 1980, p. 113 (Nineteenth Dynasty, Ramesses II, as the earliest possible date). Allen (1988, p. 43), noting the similarity of layout and composition to the Ramesseum Dramatic Papyrus (Middle Kingdom), suggests that lacunae at columns 3–7 of the Dramatic Text indicate damage to the outermost edge of a papyrus scroll rolled from right to left.

79 Junge 1973, p. 198 (“Archaismus der Spätzeit, wie er seit der 25. Dynastie zu beobachten ist”).

80 Krauss 1999. Krauss’s analysis has not, to my knowledge, gained traction elsewhere in the scholarly literature.

With regard to the original period(s) of composition, it is self-evident that Shabaqo’s frame story can date no earlier than the reign of Shabaqo himself (Twenty-Fifth Dynasty). His use of *hʿ.n* establishes the Middle Egyptian bona fides that are typical of archaizing monuments from the New Kingdom and later, while the characteristically late spelling of proclitic *js* (earlier *jsw*) evokes the pronunciation of contemporary, spoken Egyptian. The Dramatic Text and Memphite Theological Treatise, on the other hand, both include markers that lend them the appearance of a more ancient document—notably, the archaic spelling of proclitic *sk* and the archaic noun clause marker *wn.t*. However, both of those features are also attested in archaizing texts dating to after the Old Kingdom.⁸¹ Thus their presence cannot be regarded in and of themselves as diagnostic criteria for dating. Other features, however, do provide *termini post quem*. The frequently occurring narrative marker *sw*, for instance, does not occur in genuine Old Egyptian texts; thus we may exclude the Old Kingdom from consideration. The characteristic orthography of *hm* as  is also noteworthy, insofar as it does not match earlier examples from the Old to New Kingdoms () or contemporary examples from the Third Intermediate Period (), although it is much more similar to the former than to the latter. Thus I have suggested that  represents an ancient-looking orthography, which nevertheless betrays its ersatz character as a later imitation.

Syntactic and modal markers tell only a tiny fraction of the Shabaqo Stone’s grammar, content, and history as a monument. Nevertheless, the few observations presented above support Junge’s argument that the texts of the Shabaqo Stone cannot possibly represent genuinely archaic relics of the Old Kingdom. Rather, some of the telltale orthographic features are more suggestive of an archaizing composition from a later age. Considered together with other elements of the syntax and grammar, which lie beyond the scope of the present discussion,⁸² it is fair to say that the balance of evidence continues to support those sober analyses that date the texts of the Shabaqo Stone to the New Kingdom or Third Intermediate Period.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------------|--|
| 1c.s. | first-person common singular |
| 3m.p. | third-person masculine plural |
| 3m.s. | third-person masculine singular |
| <i>Wb.</i> | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Reprint, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, James P.
- 1988 *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*. Yale Egyptological Studies 2. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- 1991 “Form, Function, and Meaning in the Early Egyptian Verb.” In *Proceedings of the Second International Conference on Egyptian Grammar (Crossroads II): Los Angeles, October 17–20, 1990*, edited by Antonio Loprieno, pp. 1–32. Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, Universität Göttingen.
- 2010 *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2012 *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2017 *A Grammar of the Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*. Vol. 1, *Unis*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Arnaud, Delhove
- 2012 “Les formes auxiliées en *hʿ.n* dans la Stèle de la victoire de Piânky.” In *Regards sur l’orientalisme belge suivis d’études égyptologiques et orientales: Mélanges offerts à Claude Vandersleyen*, edited by Christian Cannuyer, Daniel De Smet, and René Lebrun, pp. 217–35. Brussels: Société belge d’études orientales.

⁸¹ Allen 2010, §16.6.5–6.

⁸² See, e.g., brief comments on the proclitic use of the dependent pronouns at nn. 27–28 above.

Bányai, Michael

2013 "Ein Vorschlag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie in Ägypten." *Journal of Egyptian History* 6: 46–129.

Breasted, James Henry

1901 "The Philosophy of a Memphite Priest." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 39: 40–54.

Broekman, Gerard P. F.

2015 "The Order of Succession between Shabaka and Shabataka: A Different View on the Chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty." *Göttinger Miszellen* 245: 17–31.

2017 "Genealogical Considerations Regarding the Kings of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty in Egypt." *Göttinger Miszellen* 251: 13–20.

Černý, Jaroslav, and Sarah Israelit Groll

1975 *Late Egyptian Grammar*. Studia Pohl Series Maior 4. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.

Collier, Mark

1994 "Grounding, Cognition and Metaphor in the Grammar of Middle Egyptian: The Role of Human Experience in Grammar as an Alternative to the Standard Theory Notion of Paradigmatic Substitution." *Lingua Aegyptia* 4: 57–87.

Der Manuelian, Peter

1994 *Living in the Past: Studies in Archaism of the Egyptian Twenty-Sixth Dynasty*. London: Kegan Paul.

Doret, Éric

1986 *The Narrative Verbal System of Old and Middle Egyptian*. Cahiers d'Orientalisme 12. Geneva: Cramer.

Edel, Elmar

1955/60 *Altägyptische Grammatik*. 2 vols. Analecta Orientalia 34, 39. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.

El Hawary, Amr

2010 *Wortschöpfung: Die Memphitische Theologie und die Siegesstele des Pije—zwei Zeugen kultureller Repräsentation in der 25. Dynastie*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 243. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Gardiner, Alan H.

1957 *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Grapow, Hermann

1935 "Zum Gebrauch der alten Pronomina absoluta." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 71: 48–55.

Grimal, Nicholas

1981 *La stèle triomphale de Pi(ankh)y au Musée du Caire: JE 48862 et 47086–47089*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 105. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Gunn, Battiscombe

1924 *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*. Paris: Geuthner.

Hainline, Brendan H.

2020 "Linguistic Variation in the Pyramid Texts." PhD diss., University of Chicago.

Hornung, Erik, Rolf Krauss, and David A. Warburton, eds.

2006 *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*. Handbook of Oriental Studies 1/83. Leiden: Brill.

Humphrey, Leah R.

2019 "Constructing Royal Identity in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.

Jansen-Winkel, Karl

1996 *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 34. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Jay, Jaqueline

2017 "The Syntax and Semantics of the Particle *ist* in the Middle Egyptian Tales." In *Essays for the Library of Sesat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 63–74. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Junge, Friedrich

- 1973 “Zur Fehlдатierung des sog. Denkmals memphitischer Theologie, oder Der Beitrag der ägyptischen Theologie zur Geistesgeschichte der Spätzeit.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 29: 195–204.
- 2001 *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction*. Translated by David Warburton. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Jurman, Claus

- 2017 “The Order of the Kushite Kings According to Sources from the Eastern Desert and Thebes. Or: *Shabataka was here first!*” *Journal of Egyptian History* 10: 124–51.

Krauss, Rolf

- 1999 “Wie jung ist die memphitische Philosophie auf dem Shabaqo-Stein?” In *Gold of Praise: Studies in Honor of Edward F. Wente*, edited by Emily Teeter and John A. Larson, pp. 239–46. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Lesko, Leonard H., and Barbara S. Lesko

- 2002 *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Providence: Scribe.

Lichtheim, Miriam

- 2006 *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. Vol. 1, *The Old and Middle Kingdoms*. Berkeley: University of California Press. First published 1973.

Malaise, Michel, and Jean Winand

- 1999 *Grammaire raisonnée de l'égyptien classique*. *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 6. Liège: Centre Informatique de Philosophie et Lettres, Université de Liège.

Oréal, Elsa

- 2011 *Les particules en égyptien ancien: De l'ancien égyptien à l'égyptien classique*. Bibliothèque d'étude 152. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Palmer, F. R.

- 2001 *Mood and Modality*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Papazian, Hratch

- 2017 “Converters in Old Egyptian.” In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 233–54. *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Payraudeau, Frédéric

- 2014 “Retour sur la succession Shabaqo-Shabataqo.” *NeHeT* 1: 115–27. <https://www.nehet.fr/NEHET1/NEHET%201-05-Payraudeau.pdf>.

Peust, Carsten, and Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi

- 2001 “Das ‘Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie.’” In *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments: Ergänzungslieferung*, edited by O. Kaiser, pp. 166–75. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

Polotsky, Hans J.

- 1965 *Egyptian Tenses*. Publications of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Section of Humanities 2. Jerusalem: Central Press.
- 1976 “Les transpositions du verbe en égyptien classique.” *Israel Oriental Studies* 6: 1–50.

Priese, Karl-Heinz

- 1974 “Zur Sprache der ägyptischen Inschriften der Könige von Kusch.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 98: 99–124.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

- 2022 “Klassisch-ägyptische Texte in späthieratischem Gewande.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 149: 91–105.

Rilly, Claude, and Alex de Voogt

- 2012 *The Meroitic Language and Writing System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberson, Joshua A.

- 2007 "The Book of the Earth: A Study of Ancient Egyptian Symbol-Systems and the Evolution of New Kingdom Cosmographic Models." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- 2010 "Observations on the So-Called 'sw sdm=f' or Middle Egyptian Proclitic Pronoun Construction." *Millions of Jubilees: Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, edited by Zahi Hawass and Jennifer Houser Wegner, vol. 2, pp. 185–205. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités.
- 2012 *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*. Wilbour Studies 1. Atlanta: Lockwood.
- Forthcoming *The Shabako Stone: Text, Translation, and Grammar*.

Scalf, Foy D.

- 2008 "Statements of Identity and the *m* of Predication." *Lingua Aegyptia* 16: 135–51.

Schlögl, Hermann Alexander

- 1980 *Der Gott Tatenen: Nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 29. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Sethe, Kurt

- 1928 *Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen*. Vol. 1, *Das "Denkmal Memphitischer Theologie" der Schabakosteine des Britischen Museums*. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens 10. Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Sousa, Rogério

- 2017 "The Shabaka Stone and the Monumentalization of the Memphite Tradition." In *Imaging and Imagining the Memphite Necropolis: Liber amicorum René van Walsem*, edited by Vincent Verschoor, Arnold Jan Stuart, and Cocky Demarée, pp. 155–66. Leuven: Peeters and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Uljas, Sami

- 2007 *The Modal System of Earlier Egyptian Complement Clauses: A Study in Pragmatics in a Dead Language*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 26. Leiden: Brill.

Winand, Jean

- 2006 *Temps et aspect en égyptien: Une approche sémantique*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 25. Leiden: Brill.

18

THE TRANSMISSION OF MAGICAL TEXTS
AT DEIR EL-MEDINA: A HIERATIC COPY OF A
HORUS CIPPI TEXT ON OSTRACON ISACM E17008

Foy D. Scalf and Brian P. Muhs
University of Chicago

TO THE AUTHORS, ROBERT RITNER served variously as professor, advisor, colleague, collaborator, and friend. Robert had been a fixture in Chicago Egyptology since 1975, apart from his brief sojourn at Yale in 1991–96. He imbued the halls of our institution with *hk3* “magic” that can be tapped by future generations.¹ Such *hk3* “magic” is likely to influence the course of Chicago Egyptology for some time to come. We offer the following study in his honor as a small token of gratitude, as it builds on scholarship that he published throughout his long and storied career—elaborating on themes that occupied him from his days as a graduate student up to his most recent monograph. Robert always placed a high value on close studies of objects from the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC) collection and particularly rigorous philological analysis of inscriptions.² In this regard, we make an offering to him of a previously unpublished hieratic ostrakon inscribed with an example of what is known as “Text A” from the “Horus on the Crocodiles” stela.

INTRODUCTION

The ISAC Museum houses a substantial collection of ostraca inscribed with hieratic texts.³ A number of these texts were published by the late Jack Foster, who had worked on all the literary material.⁴ For many years, Edward Wente worked on the administrative documents, and his copious notes are a rich resource for the future study of this material. Subsequently it has been Rob Demarée, a specialist in material from Deir el-Medina at Leiden University, who has worked on the administrative corpus. In recent years, University of Chicago PhD students have also been studying the material as potential dissertation topics.

A selection of this material was surveyed in 2016–17 while planning the ISAC Museum’s special exhibition *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*,⁵ specifically to look for ostraca inscribed with funerary texts that were produced during scribal training or as templates.⁶ An examination of these ostraca led

1 See the anecdote related in Scalf 2019, pp. 134–35.

2 See, e.g., Robert’s revival of the “Oriental Institute Museum Notes” series in the pages of the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* and his comments therein: Ritner 2008 and 2016, continued by Scalf 2022.

3 For an overview of the collection, see Muhs and Scalf, in press.

4 Foster 1973, 1984, 1986, and 1994.

5 The catalog for the exhibit was published in Scalf 2017.

6 Many examples have been published, e.g., O. Beekmans in Heerma van Voss 1968, p. 166, fig. 54; DeM 1608 in Posener 1980, pls. 58, 58a; BM EA 29511 in Demarée 2002, p. 25, pls. 74–75 (no. 29511); IFAO 1608, IFAO inv. OL 315, IFAO inv. 3016, and IFAO inv. OL 423 in Gasse 2009, p. 69; E.56.1946 (+ O. TT87) in Hagen 2011, pp. 5–6; ISACM E16014 in Kockelmann 2017, p. 68, fig. 5.2. Many of these and other examples were reedited together in Lüscher 2013, with updates in Lüscher 2015. For an appraisal of how such funerary texts on ostraca were used in scribal training and preparation, see Goelet 2010, pp. 124–26, together with the comments in Haring 2015. Many of the ostraca in the ISAC Museum with cursive hieratic texts organized in columns belong to copies of the Book of Kemyt (e.g., ISACM E25332, E25348, E25353, and E25378, mentioned in Wilson 1935–38).

to the identification of the text on the obverse of O. ISACM E17008 as a magical text by one of the authors (F.S.), and a collaboration between both authors ensued after further discussion about using the hieratic material in the ISAC Museum's collection for graduate student training. It was later determined from the registration records that the wishes on the ostrakon's reverse had been cited by Georges Posener, through the communication of Jan Assmann, as a parallel to the text on O. IFAO 1441, which is a fragment of a large, inscribed jar that includes so-called verse points.⁷

Ostrakon ISACM E17008 was purchased by members of the Epigraphic Survey team and entered the ISAC Museum's collection as part of accession 2112 in 1936 along with nearly three dozen other ostraca bearing registration numbers E16973–E17009. Nothing more is known about its acquisition. Its ductus and typology secure its derivation from the large Deir el-Medina corpus of “over ten thousand documentary ostraca.”⁸ As typical for the Deir el-Medina community, the text was written on a piece of limestone. Less typical is its size; this one measures 35.0 × 30.2 × 5.5 cm and weighs 10.69 lbs.⁹ Although some very large stone fragments were used as ostraca,¹⁰ this limestone slab is larger and heavier than the more common handheld ostraca. The text is written in late New Kingdom hieratic, with ten lines on the obverse and four lines on the reverse.

THE TEXT OF OSTRACON ISACM E17008

The following transcription arranges the text in traditional lines oriented from right to left, as on the ostrakon, but the lines are arranged here as right-justified so that they are easier for Egyptological colleagues to read. New photographs of both sides of the ostrakon are provided (figs. 18.1–18.2). A hand copy of the hieratic texts, as well as a transcription of the relationship between the signs on the surface of the limestone, can be found in the accompanying figures (figs. 18.3–18.6). Additional archival images show the ostrakon in the mid-twentieth century (figs. 18.7–18.8);¹¹ and a transcription made by Jaroslav Černý of this ostrakon in his notebooks, now held by the Griffith Institute, has also been included (figs. 18.9–18.10).¹² The text on the obverse is a copy of a composition otherwise known as cippus “Text A,”¹³ a label applied since the fundamental publication of Georges Daressy of the Horus stela collection in the *Catalogue générale* of the Cairo Museum.¹⁴ The text on the reverse contains a series of purification pronouncements that have been described as *sḥ.w* “transfigurations” based on a longer, parallel version on O. IFAO 1441.¹⁵ Their context and relationship are discussed in the commentary after the text edition.

7 Posener 1978, p. 40, pls. 26–26a. According to IFAO's ostraca database, O. IFAO 1441 is currently being prepared for publication by Annie Gasse. Photos NU_2012_17564–70 and NU_2012_17767–74 are available through the database (<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ostraca/?id=19891>). It is clear that the jar was inscribed when it was still whole and therefore the designation “ostrakon” may give a misleading impression. This text was briefly discussed in Willems 2020, pp. 136–37.

8 Haring 2018, p. 43.

9 We would like to thank Helen McDonald, Susan Allison, and Laura D'Alessandro for their help in examining and weighing this ostrakon. We would like to thank Chris Woods, Theo van den Hout, Jean Evans, Marc Maillot, and the ISAC Museum for permission to publish the ostrakon in this essay.

10 E.g., Royal Ontario Museum A. 11; for bibliography, see Raedler 2004, p. 379 (Q.6.11).

11 We would like to thank Anne Flannery and the ISAC Museum for high-resolution scans of the archival images and permission to publish them. Additional images of the ostrakon include P. 28730 and P. 28733.

12 We would like to thank Cat Warsi and the Griffith Institute for high-resolution scans of the Černý notebook pages and permission to publish them.

13 More than a year after Robert Ritner's passing, a note was found in his files showing that at some unidentified point in the past, Robert had identified this text in a list of ostraca in the ISAC Museum that he had examined. His note read, “17008 → Horus Cippus, *ind-ḥrk* . . . Text A Daressy.”

14 Daressy 1903.

15 Fischer-Elfert 1986, pp. 74–86 (“Verklärung eines ‘Osiris NN’”); Quack 1994, p. 182; 2016b, p. 287 (“Verklärungstext”); Willems 2020, p. 136.

Obverse

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7
 8
 9
 10

Reverse

1
 2
 3
 4

Obverse

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1 [. . .] ' r s 3 h w h k 3 . w = f h r š d w . (t) h r m w [. . .]</p> | <p>[. . .] ' to effectuate his magic (powers), reciting over water [. . .]</p> |
| <p>2 [. . . h r] ' b ' d d - m d w i . n d - h r = k n ṯ r s 3 n ṯ r i . n d - h r = k i w ^c</p> | <p>[. . . on] ' earth . ' Recitation: Hail to you, god son of a god! Hail to you, heir</p> |
| <p>3 s 3 i w ^c i . n d - h r = k k 3 s 3 k 3 m s i . n i d . t</p> | <p>son of an heir! Hail to you, bull son of a bull, whom the divine womb bore.</p> |
| <p>4 n ṯ r . t i . n d - h r = k H r p r i m 3 s i r m s i 3 s . t n ṯ r . t š d i</p> | <p>Hail to you, Horus who went forth from Osiris, whom Isis, the goddess, bore.</p> |



| | | |
|----|--|---|
| 5 | <i>n=i hk3.w=k i.dd n=i m 3h.w=k šni n=i m šn.w qm3.w(=k) hm.t=k</i> | Recite for me your magic. Speak for me with your spells. Enchant for me with the incantations which (you) created. |
| 6 | <i>pw imi r3=k wđ n=k it=k 3sir mw.t=k 3s.t sb3 n=k hm=k hnty Hm</i> | It is your craft which is in your mouth, which your father Osiris and your mother Isis ordained for you, which your majesty, the foremost of Letopolis, taught to you |
| 7 | <i>[. . .] 'iri' s3=k r wħm mk.t=k r htm r3 n ddf nb imi p.t imi t3 imy mw</i> | [. . .] 'to make' your protection, to renew your safety, to seal the mouth of every serpent which is in the sky, which is in the earth, which is in the water, |
| 8 | <i>r s'nh rmt r šhtp ntr.w r s3h R' sns.w=k 'mi n=i'</i> | to enliven people, to satisfy the gods, to transfigure Re (through) your praises. 'Come to me,' |
| 9 | <i>3s sp-sn mi iri.n=k hmy=k m dp.t ntr hsf=k n=i m3y ħr mry.t</i> | hurry, just as you have performed your steering in the boat of the god. May you repel for me the lion on the desert, |
| 10 | <i>msh ħr itrw [. . .]</i> | the crocodile on the river [. . .] |








Reverse

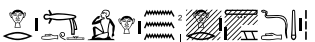


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | <i>n3y=k 3h.w hsl.tw n3y=k tnr.w d{d}y.tw bq3 [. . .]</i> | your effectiveness. May your powers be praised. May olive oil be placed [. . .] |
| 2 | <i>p3 g3b wnm 3'c.tw p3y=k smh</i> | (on) your right arm. May your left (arm) be coated. |
| 3 | <i>tsy.tw (w)sh n R' r hh=k w3h.tw 'ntyw</i> | May the collar of Re be tied to your throat. May myrrh be placed |
| 4 | <i>ħr tp=k</i> | on your head. |

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES TO THE OBVERSE

LINE 1




















1. The initial traces in this line  can be confidently restored as 'r s3hw based on the repetition of r s3h.w  in line 8. Notice that the ground line for the folded cloth s (S29) and mouth r (D21) is higher than the ground line of the crested ibis 3h (G25). Such a restoration parallels the other two known attestations of this introductory passage (see also Appendix: Selected Parallels to Ostrakon ISACM E17008):

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 | ^{x1} []  |
| Metternich Stela |  |
| O. ISACM E17008 | ¹ [] |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 | *  |
| Metternich Stela | ¹⁰¹  |

| | |
|-------------------|---|
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  |

2. It is possible that $r s^3 h w h k^3 . w = f$ should be understood as $r s^3 h w (m) h k^3 . w = f$, as the repetition of $h k^3 . w$ in line 5 also lacks the preceding m that is common in other versions (e.g., $r . \check{s} d i n = i m h k^3 . w = k$ “Recite for me from your magic (spells)” in P. Vienna KM 3925, x+3; $\check{s} d i n = i m h k^3 . w = k$ “Recite for me from your magic (spells)” on the Metternich Stela (see Appendix: Selected Parallels to Ostrakon ISACM E17008). Such an interpretation would well represent the meaning that James Allen (2005, p. 59) imparted to the text of the Metternich Stela by translating $t w^3 H r r s^3 h . t = f$ as “Worshipping Horus to cure him by effective magic.”

LINE 3

1. For the first reference to k^3 “bull” in $k^3 s^3 k^3$ “bull, son of a bull,” the scribe had at first written the long diagonal stroke at the top. Taking this as the back and tail of the bull sign (E1) , they added the common hieratic sign for the body and legs. However, they then corrected this second group by adding the D28 k^3 sign over the top of the legs , thereby reinterpreting the first sign as the phallus (D52) , as is common in parallel manuscripts. The scribe then repeated this group for the second attestation of the word k^3 “bull” in this passage.
2. The signs following the  group in both examples of the word k^3 “bull” present some difficulties for interpretation. Černý did not transcribe them in his notebook (see fig. 18.9). At first glance, these final signs in  and  do not conform to the typical appearance of hieratic signs for  (E1), which is what is expected in the context (cf. Möller 1909a, p. 13, no. 142; 1909b, p. 12, no. 142; 1912, p. 12, no. 142; Wimmer 1995, vol. 2, p. 96; Verhoeven 2001, pp. 124–25, E1/142). However, the signs do look like those used for other four-footed mammals, such as $i b$   or $\check{w} t$, but without the upturned tail (i.e., , which was emphasized by the long curve in hieratic (cf. Möller 1909a, p. 13, nos. 138–39; 1909b, p. 12, nos. 138–39; 1912, p. 12, nos. 138–39; Wimmer 1995, vol. 2, p. 112; Verhoeven 2001, pp. 124–25, E8/138bis and E8a/139). Such signs appear to be ligatures of the more commonly found hieratic groups used for bovine signs () (Möller 1909b, p. 12, no. 142), with the diagonal stroke of the back of the animal connected to the sign for the body and legs. Therefore, it seems likely that the scribe used a generic hieratic sign for a four-footed mammal without an upturned tail, with the intended meaning k^3 “bull” as expected in this context.
3. There is variation in the texts on the designation of the “divine womb.” Some exemplars¹⁶ have a variant of  $h . t n t r . t$ “divine womb,” while others¹⁷ have  $i d . t n t r . t$ “divine womb.” The hieroglyphic version from Cairo 9402 shows the exchange of  (Aa56) for  (F46) in the typical spelling of this word.¹⁸ There has been some debate, however, in the reading, since both  (F46) and  (V37) were thought to indicate a reading of $i d . t$ “womb, cow” or $h m . t$ “womb, cow.”¹⁹ Convincing arguments have been made to reject the reading $h m . t$.²⁰ The sign at the end of O. ISACM E17008, line 3, appears more likely to be  (V37) rather than  (N42), which can appear very similarly in hieratic, and in fact Möller suggested the reading $k^3 . t$ for V37.²¹ That the word indicates a cow, and by extension the female reproductive organs, seems clear from the appearance in the Turin Magical Papyrus (P. CGT 54051), 4.7: $i n k i r i m w$

16 Cairo 9401, Daressy 1903, p. 2, pl. I.



17 Cairo 9402, Daressy 1903, p. 7, pl. III; Cairo 9407, Daressy 1903, p. 18, pl. VII.

18 *Wb.* III, p. 76.






19 Observed already in Gardiner 1957, pp. 466 (s.v. F45) and 492 (s.v. N41), where he noted the probability of reading $i d . t$. For discussion, see Gardiner 1947, pp. 258–62. F46 appears only with the readings $w r$ and $h m . t$ in Daumas 1988, p. 288, no. 663.

20 Collombert 1995; Müller 2002, p. 430. We thank Joachim Quack for these references.

21 Cf. Möller 1909b, nos. 98, 602.

hpr mh.t wr.t iri k3 n id.t “I am the one who made the water which became the great flood, who made the bull for the cow.”²² In P. Turin CGT 54051, 4.7, the word appears as  and in P. Ramesseum IX as .²³ As a reference to “womb,” *id.t* appears in the circumlocution *mn r-ms t3 id.t* “PN whom the uterus bore” in P. PSI Inv. I 89.²⁴



LINE 4

1. The first half of line 4 was erased and then rewritten slightly lower on the ostrakon than the original beginning of line 4. Traces of the original beginning of line 4 survive as a faint palimpsest. The palimpsest is most visible in the tails of cobras and/or horned vipers that project below the current beginning of line 4 and that were not completely erased.
2. The writing of “Osiris” here  is somewhat unusual in not having the standard throne sign (Q1) at the beginning and for incorporating the decorated eye. A similar writing of the initial sign was transcribed by Posener and Fischer-Elfert as  (U40) on O. IFAO 1441,²⁵ which has texts parallel with the text on the verso of O. ISACM E17008. However, the hieratic version of U40 is often distinguished by a diagonal stroke that curves in the opposite direction. The hieratic sign found on O. ISACM E17008 is more representative of U30 (i.e., ). This is quite distinct from line 6, where  is used. However, these features likely reflect the variety of hieratic signs and individual scribal predilections (such as the artistic flourishes found in the introductory lines on O. ISACM E17008) rather than specific equivalences between individual hieratic and individual hieroglyphic signs, which do not have a one-to-one relationship (see, e.g., van der Moezel 2018). Therefore, the group has been transcribed here as .

LINE 5

1. For a discussion of the standard version of this passage from Daressy’s Text A, *šdi.n=i (m) hk3.w=k i.dd.n=i m 3h.w=k šni.n=i m šn.w* “I have recited by means of your magic. I have spoken by means of your spells. I have conjured by means of your conjurations,” see Ritner 1993, pp. 32, 41; 2009, p. 70; Rouffet 2009, p. 7; Dieleman 2019, p. 90.
2. Of the three forms in this line, only *dd* has the prothetic *i-* marking the imperative form. This must reflect the fact that both *šdi* and *šni* are third weak verbal roots.²⁶ The biliteral root *dd* may have required a prothetic element for the sake of prosody to produce a valid syllable sequence in the Egyptian language. Ritner (1993, p. 41 n. 184) recognized these imperative forms in P. Vienna KM 3925, where both *šdi* (*r.šdi*) and *dd* (*i.dd*) included a prefix. For an argument in favor of reading these forms consistently as imperatives, see Quack 2002, p. 718 (we thank Peter Dils for this reference).

LINE 7

1. The determinative in the writing of *ddf.t* is worth noting. Unlike many other signs for snakes, this one, , has what appears to be the tail pulled back under the body of the snake, comparable to  (JSesh

22 Roccati 2011, pp. 70 (transcription), 141–42 (transcription of parallels), 166 (translation), 246 (hieratic sign V37a). For discussion of this passage, see Quack 2023. We thank Joachim Quack for this reference.

23 Roccati 2011, p. 142.

24 Discussed by Joachim Quack in a lecture titled “New Demotic Egyptian Magical Papyri from the Florence Collection.” A German translation appears in Quack 2011, p. 129 (we thank Joachim Quack for this reference). The typical Demotic writing of the word is *3ty.t* (EG, p. 13; CDD 3 [August 23, 2002]: 02.1, p. 105), which appears in a similar circumlocution *T3-3t.t-ir-ms.t=f* “The womb that bore him” in P. Louvre N 3375, 4, and P. Louvre N 3165, 5–6 (Scalf 2014, pp. 134–35). These examples may be influenced by the Greek $\delta\nu/\eta\nu \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu \eta \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\alpha$ “whom the womb bore”; see Scalf 2014, pp. 105–6, 189, and bibliography cited in n. 10.

25 Posener 1978, pl. 27 (lines 3.8, 3.16); Fischer-Elfert 1986, pp. 80 (line 3.26), 81 (line 3.31).

26 *Wb.* IV, pp. 495 (*šni*), 563 (*šdi*).

I86B). A similar sign occurs on *ddf.t* in P. Vienna KM 3925, 5. In each case, however, nothing in the hieratic articulates the actual head of the snake, and it raises the possibility that these orthographies represent a headless snake, transcribed here as $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$. Černý (1978, pls. 10, 14) suggests such an interpretation by transcribing similar signs as a headless snake, once as a determinative for *ḥḥw* “snake” and once as a determinative for *ʒpp* “Apep” in papyri from Deir el-Medina. Following Černý, we have thus opted for the transcription $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}\overline{\text{S}}$, using a snake’s headless body with tail pulled underneath. Such orthographies may represent heretofore unrecognized examples of so-called mutilated signs in hieratic, supplementing the more common examples in hieroglyphic script.²⁷ Such “mutilation” would be akin to signs such as $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (JSesh I86C), $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (JSesh I86D), $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (JSesh I10A), and $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (JSesh I108). A previously unrecognized version of such a sign can be found in Theban Tomb 335, the tomb of Nakhtamun. In the famous scene in the burial chamber showing the *mīw ʒ ḥpr R* “great cat, manifestation of Re” slaying *ʒpp ḥft(y) n R* “Apep, the enemy of Re,” the writing of the word *ḥft(y)* “enemy” has an unusual determinative not found in the standard sign lists: $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ *ḥft(y)* “enemy.” Bruyère had identified the sign as “un soleil mort” (Bruyère 1926, p. 170). Rather than a “dead sun,” it seems more likely that we are looking here at a cross-section of the body of a decapitated or bisected serpent (cf. the same determinative on *mhn* in *Wb.* II, p. 128). The outside line represents the scales and skin, the internal dark circle represents the internal organs such as the trachea, and the space in between represents the area of the snake’s musculature. Nevertheless, other interpretive options are available for the sign on O. ISACM E17008. One possibility is that the front of the sign represents the dangling head of a dead snake, as in $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (JSesh I86D without the knives). An alternative would be to reverse the interpretation of the sign and take the horizontal stroke as the head of the snake $\overline{\text{Q}}\overline{\text{M}}$ (JSesh I87 without the knives).

PHILOLOGICAL NOTES TO THE REVERSE

LINE 1

1. The structure of the text on the reverse suggests three couplets, and the individual lines have been demarcated by raised red points on O. IFAO 1441, added here:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>[ndm ib=k ḥr] nʒy=k ʒḥ.w</i> ◦ | [May your heart be pleased with] your effectiveness. |
| <i>ḥsi.tw nʒy=k tnr.w</i> ◦ | May your powers be praised. |
| <i>dy.tw bqʒ [. . .] pʒ gʒb wnm</i> ◦ | May olive oil be placed (on) your right arm. |
| <i>ʒ^c.tw pʒy=k smḥ</i> ◦ | May your left (arm) be coated. |
| <i>tsy.tw (w)sh n R^c r ḥḥ=k</i> ◦ | May the collar of Re be tied to your throat. |
| <i>wʒḥ.tw ntyw ḥr tp=k</i> | May myrrh be placed on your head. |

If this suggested structure is correct, it implies missing text before line 1 on the reverse. There are faint traces on the left edge of the obverse in the final line (line 10) following a blank space after *msḥ ytrw*, and there are a few traces above line 1 on the reverse of a palimpsest text that may have been washed off (see the diagonal stroke over the plural strokes in *tnr.w*). It is now uncertain whether either of these sets of traces may have provided the requisite text to complete the three-couplet structure or the additional text preceding this section as found on O. IFAO 1441. The restoration at the beginning of the couplets above is based on the parallel on O. IFAO 1441: *ndm ib=k ḥr nʒy=k ʒḥ.[w]* “May your heart be pleased with your effectiveness.”

2. Although direct indication that the text on the reverse belongs with cippus Text A on the obverse is lacking, the association of ritual texts related to the cippus spells in parallel exemplars such as P. Vienna

²⁷ The classic treatment is Lacau 1914, supplemented with Lacau 1926; see also Ritner 1993, pp. 155–57, 163–67 with fig. 14; Forman and Quirke 1996, pp. 100–104; Miniaci 2010 (but note his technical distinction between “mutilated” and “incomplete” hieroglyphs); Russo 2010; Ritner 2012; Roth 2017; Iannarilli 2018; Thuault 2020; Pitkin 2023, pp. 68–86.

KM 3925 suggests that the two texts are likely connected in some way. One such connection is the focus on the topic of *s3h* “transfiguration, effectuation” in both texts. However, the composition on the reverse clearly has a much more pronounced influence from the vocabulary, orthography, and constructions of Late Egyptian (cf. Quack 2016b, p. 287). Such influence is most evident in the repeated use of the article *p3*, the possessive article *p3y=k/n3y=k*, and the group writing found in *tnr*; similar features are not present in the obverse text. In general, we know that Daressy Text A had a relatively conservative transmission over 500 years, from the late New Kingdom through the Ptolemaic period (even if that transmission was dynamic and multidimensional in many respects, as implied by the Late Egyptian features of P. Vienna KM 3925 [see Quack, in press; we thank Joachim Quack for this reference]). Perhaps the scribe’s source material, combined with the solemn nature of the hymn of Text A itself, helps partially explain the inconsistencies between obverse and reverse texts.

3. For the identification of *b3q* as “olive oil,” see Quack 2016a. We thank Joachim Quack for this reference.
4. For *h3i.tw n3y=k tnr.w* “May your power be praised,” compare [sw] *h3=i m n3y=k tnr iw=i hr h3s.t tw=i hr w3h n=k ht ʿ=i hr htp.w n rn=k n k3=k m s.t=k nb.t* “I praised your strength when I was in a foreign land. I was setting down for you things while my hand bears offerings for your name (and) for your *ka*-spirit in all of your places” in the address of Ramses II to Sety I in the temple of Abydos (Kitchen 1979, p. 334). For *tnr < tnr*, see TLA 176070; *Wb.* V, pp. 383–84; Lesko 1982–90, p. 91; Wilson 1997, p. 1167.
5. The parallel in O. IFAO 1441, 18, shows *dy.tw* where O. ISACM E17008, rev. 1, had *ddy.tw*. All the verb forms here appear to be prospective forms. For the form *ddy.tw* and a discussion of gemination here, see Erman 1933, pp. 121–22; Černý and Groll 1984, pp. 243–44, 462; Winand 1992, pp. 319–20; and Quack 1994, pp. 30, 46. Winand interpreted the form as the “forme emphatique prospective” characteristic of the time period between Ramses IV and the Twenty-First Dynasty. We would like to thank Peter Dils for these references.

LINE 2

1. The vocabulary in this line discussing the anointment of the left and right arms (*dy.tw bq3* [. . .] *p3 g3b wnm 3ʿ.tw p3y=k smh* “May olive oil be placed [. . . on] your right arm. May your left arm be coated”) recalls the rubric from P. Vienna KM 3925 (*h3 m 3b=f* “with a snake in his left” and *msh hr rd=f wnm 3nr hr rd=f 3b* “a crocodile under his right foot, a scorpion under his left foot”), where the Horus cippus imagery is described and instructions are given for how to employ the text.
2. The verb *3ʿ* is mostly associated with building (*Wb.* I, p. 2; TLA 16). Gardiner (1948, pp. 16 and 18) suggested a meaning “to coat with plaster, to patch up, to smear.” See also the discussion in Fischer-Elfert 1986, p. 79, note c. When comparing other roots with similar consonantal structures, such as *i3* “to interpret,” which is often written *3ʿ*; it seems possible that *3ʿ* “to smear, to coat” could be a variant of *i3* “to wash, to anoint” (*Wb.* I, p. 39). The determinative on *3ʿ* here is the same as that found on (*w*)*sh* “collar” in line 3 below (see table 18.1). Traces in the parallel text on O. IFAO 1441, where this sign is largely lost in a lacuna, also suggest that the determinatives on these two words had been similar. Rather than \square (S25), the garment as found on *3ʿ/i3* “to interpret,” this sign is likely the broad collar based on its usage in (*w*)*sh* “collar,” perhaps substituting one type of item put over the body (i.e., *3ʿ* “to coat,” and note the similarity of the English idiom) for another.
3. 𓏏 *smhy* “left hand,” *Wb.* IV, p. 140; Lesko 1982–90, vol. 3, p. 53. For the reading of *smh* in Demotic texts and further discussion, see Quack 2009, pp. 75–76; 2010–11, pp. 73–80.

LINE 3

1. The group written 𓏏 has been interpreted as a form of *wsh* “broad collar” (see *Wb.* I, p. 365; cf. *Wb.* IV, p. 228, s.v. *sh.w*), likewise read independently by Fischer-Elfert 1986, p. 79, note d. The hieratic determinative is the same as that found on the verb *3ʿ* in line 2 (see table 18.1). This reading is further supported by the combination of the terms *ts* and *wsh* in temple scenes, such as a scene from the Abydos temple of

- Seti I, nearly contemporary with O. ISACM E17008: *r3 n ts wsh hdr:t n 'Imn-R^c* “Spell of tying the collar and the bracelet to Amun-Re” (Calverley and Gardiner 1935, pl. 12; cited in Handoussa 1981, p. 146). In the Ptolemaic period, there are further examples of *ts wsh* “tying on the collar” (see Wilson 1997, p. 1172; also p. 260, s.v. *wsh*). In addition to the archaeological record attesting to such collars and their depiction in art, references to attaching them at the throat appear in various texts, including Book of the Dead spell 158: *r3 n wsh n nbw di.w n h3 n 3h* “Spell of the gold collar, placed at the throat of the spirit.”
2. The reference to the throat in *tsy.tw (w)sh n R^c r h3=k* “May the collar of Re be raised to your throat” has an intriguing parallel in the reference to “placed at the throat” in line 13 of P. Vienna KM 3925 in the rubric:

(11) . . . *dd.tw r3 pn hr twt Hr hf3 m 3b=f* [. . . *wnm*]²⁸ (12) [. . .] *tp.w=sn msh hr rd=f wnm d3nr hr rd=f 3b ht* [. . .]
 (13) *3sr wdn n=f t hnq.t sntr hr ht wp r3=f iri.tw 3bw=f di.tw h[h . . .]* (14) [*3di*].*tw r3 pn r hsf r3 [hf3 nb psh]* . . .

May this spell be said over a statue of Horus with a snake in his left [hand . . . and right . . .] their heads, a crocodile under his right foot and a scorpion under his left foot [. . .] tamarisk wood. Offer²⁹ to it (i.e., the cippus) bread, beer, and incense on the fire. Open its mouth. May its purification be made. May (it) be placed (at) the throat. May this spell be recited to oppose the mouth of any snake that bites.³⁰


There is a parallel for this passage in a rubric from P. Turin CGT 54051, 2.7–8 that provides the missing context for the use of tamarisk in the lacuna of P. Vienna KM 3925:

(7) *dd md.w hr bik ntr 3w.ty hr tp=f iri.(w) m 3sr s3.(w) m qd.w(t) wp r3=f wdn n=f t hnq.t sntr hr ht rdi.w r* (8) *hft hr n hry dm.t n r3 hf3 nb m dd n=k m h3.t ph hsf wmt.t s3 m3^c*

Recitation over a divine falcon, with plumes on its head, made from tamarisk wood; drawn as an image;³¹ open its mouth; provide for it bread, beer, and incense on the fire; placed before the one suffering from the bite of any snake’s mouth as a recitation for you in front and behind; opposes venom; very true.³²


PALEOGRAPHY AND DATING

Ostrakon ISACM E17008 is especially interesting because it provides one of the only manuscript witnesses in hieratic to the text known since Daressy as “Text A,” most often associated with what are traditionally called Horus on the Crocodiles stelae or cippi.³³ Unlike the healing statues and cippi, only the text is inscribed on O. ISACM E17008; there are no accompanying images or figures, a feature that will be discussed below. In addition to being a rare hieratic exemplar, it is also among the earlier attestations of this composition. Known hieratic parallels include P. Vienna KM 3925,³⁴ a short selection of passages in P. BM EA 10042,³⁵ and the only other attestation on an ostrakon, O. DeM 1680.³⁶ Papyrus Vienna KM 3925 has been

28 Perhaps restore .

29 The imperative for *wdn* and *wp* is suggested by the indefinite pronoun *.tw* in *dd.tw*, *iri.tw*, and *3di.tw* and by the forms (*wp*, *wdn*) in the parallel from P. Turin CGT 54051 cited below.

30 Bergmann 1886, p. vii, pl. V; Scott 1951, p. 204; translated in Borghouts 1978, pp. 83–85 (no. 123) and Ritner 1989, p. 108; discussed in Kákosy 1999, p. 30; reedited in Satzinger 2002, p. 86; discussed in Quack 2022, p. 148.

31  *qdw.t*, *Wb.* V, p. 81; Lesko 1982–90, vol. 4, p. 25.

32 Roccati 2011, pp. 68 (transcription), 133 (transcription of parallels), 165 (translation); for discussion, see Quack 2022, pp. 148–50.

33 Daressy 1903, pp. 7–8.



























34 Bergmann 1886, pp. vi–viii, pl. V; el-Kholi 2006, pp. 1–14, pls. I–IA, no. I (note the error on p. 35 that refers to this text incorrectly as “Nr. III”); Quack 2008. El-Kholi 2006 (pp. 35–42, pls. IV, IVA) treats the administrative texts on the verso. The text on the verso is transcribed in Kitchen 1989, pp. 348–49. Images are available through an online collection search of the Kunsthistorisches Museum’s Ägyptische Sammlung (www.khm.at/de/object/319462/).

35 P. BM EA 10042, 4.6–8, published in Leitz 1999, p. 36, pl. 15; Lange 1927, pp. 32–38. For the identification, see Quack 1998, pp. 79, 88 with n. 75.

36 Gasse 1990, no. 1680 (= O. DeM 1680).

dated to the Twentieth Dynasty, in the reign of either Ramses III or Ramses IV.³⁷ This coincides well with some of the earliest evidence for the “healing statues,” such as the statue of Ramses III.³⁸ The paleography of O. ISACM E17008 largely fits with a Twentieth Dynasty date (see table 18.1), with some signs showing similarities to Möller’s selections from P. Harris (e.g., D6) and other signs (e.g., Aa1, F31) conforming to the expected ductus based on contemporary nonliterary manuscripts.³⁹ Likewise, the appearance of *ddy.tw* in the text on the reverse can be assigned to the period between Ramses IV and the Twenty-First Dynasty.⁴⁰ A few signs suggesting a slightly earlier date may possibly be the result of the conservative trends often found in more formal style and religious vocabulary maintained during transmission,⁴¹ particularly in the text on the obverse.

Table 18.1. Table of selected hieratic signs.

| | Obverse | | Reverse | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  |  |  |  | |
| A2 | obv. 1 | obv. 4 | rev. 1 | |
|  |  |  |  | |
| A24 | obv. 6 | obv. 9 | rev. 1 | |
|  |  | | | |
| D20 | obv. 6 | | | |
|  |  | | | |
| D6 | obv. 4 | | | |
|  |  |  | | |
| E1 | obv. 3 | obv. 3 | | |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| G1 | obv. 5 | obv. 9 | rev. 1 | rev. 2 |
|  |  | | | |
| G17 | obv. 5 | | | |
|  |  |  |  | |
| G25 | obv. 1 | obv. 5 | rev. 1 | |








37 Trismegistos lists the date only as “New Kingdom” (TM 139518). Borghouts 1978, p. 124, notes only “Ramesside date.” Kitchen 1989, pp. 348–49, places this papyrus in the reign of Ramses IV.

38 Kákosy 1987, p. 177; Klasens 1952, p. 2; Drioton 1939. Klassens (1952, p. 2) followed Lacau (1921, p. 200 n. 1) in dating the earliest examples of the cippus stelaes to the Nineteenth Dynasty (CG 9403 and CG 9413 bis, published in Daressy 1903).

39 For Aa1, see Wimmer 1995, vol. 2, p. 396; Dorn 2022, pp. 170–77.

40 Winand 1992, pp. 319–20. We thank Peter Dils for this reference.

41 For the use of the form of D4 as found here throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, see Wimmer 1995, vol. 2, pp. 28–31; Dorn 2022, pp. 162–65.

| Obverse | | Reverse | |
|---|---|---|---|
|  G39 |  obv. 2 | | |
|  G41 |  obv. 5 | | |
|  I3 |  obv. 10 | | |
|  I12 |  obv. 4 |  obv. 6 | |
|  I86B |  obv. 7 | | |
|  N41 |  obv. 9 | | |
|  O50 |  obv. 9 | | |
|  S91A | |  rev. 2 |  rev. 3 |
|  V29 |  rev. 3 | | |
|  V37 |  obv. 3 | | |

OSTRACON ISACM E17008 IN ITS SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS

The composition on the obverse of this ostrakon is immediately identifiable by the invocations near the beginning of the text: “Hail to you, god son of a god! Hail to you, heir son of an heir!” These passages appear in the well-known corpus of Horus cippi texts,⁴² otherwise characterized as “healing statues” or “Horus on the

42 Kákósy 1999, pp. 23–24; Ritner 2009, pp. 70–71. The secondary literature on what has been variously described as healing statues, Horus cippi, or Horus on the Crocodiles is quite extensive. Only a select bibliography can be presented here. In general, see, in chronological order: Pierret 1868; Chabas 1868; Daressy 1903; Seele 1947; Jacquet-Gordon 1965–66; Hall 1977; McDonald 1981; Kákósy 1982–85, 1987; Sternberg el-Hotabi 1987; Ritner 1989; Gasse 1992; Gutekunst 1995; Bresciani 1998; Frankfurter 1998, pp. 47–49; Kákósy and Moussa 1998; Kákósy 1998a, 1998b, 1999; Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999; Abdi 2002; Kákósy 2002; Satzinger 2002; Gasse 2004a, 2004b; Saura Zorrilla 2009; Draycott 2011; Gasse 2012; Aufrière 2013; First 2013;

Crocodiles” after the most commonly associated imagery of Horus the child grasping and trampling various animals, including snakes, scorpions, lions, gazelles, and crocodiles.⁴³ This text was categorized as “Text A” by Daressy in 1903⁴⁴ and most famously appears at the bottom of the proper left side of the Metternich Stela.⁴⁵ On the latter stela, this section of the text is introduced by a short heading: “Praise of Horus to transfigure him, which is recited over water and earth. Recitation by Thoth, the savior⁴⁶ of this god” (*tw3 Hr r s3h.t=f dd hr mw hr t3 dd mdw in Dhwtwy šdi n ntr pn*).⁴⁷ A partial version of this introduction is also preserved on P. Vienna KM 3925, where it is preceded by a slightly elaborated formula, unfortunately in a lacunose state, that may have listed the snakes against which the spells would have been directed.⁴⁸ Additional parallels for select sections have also been identified in the Harris magical papyrus by Joachim Friedrich Quack.⁴⁹




The appearance of this text is well attested on the cippi stela,⁵⁰ along with a host of associated texts, including those categorized by Daressy as Texts B and C. Ostrakon ISACM E17008 is exceedingly interesting because of its likely date and provenience. Summarizing the discussion above, the ostrakon certainly derives from Deir el-Medina and must have been prepared in the late New Kingdom. Only a single other hieratic witness of this text on an ostrakon from this period is attested—O. DeM 1680, published by Annie Gasse in 1990.⁵¹ Unfortunately, it preserves only a small selection of the composition’s opening lines. A hieratic copy of the text appears on P. Vienna KM 3925.⁵² O. ISACM E17008 thus joins these two manuscripts as the earliest witnesses for this composition.⁵³ This section of the Vienna papyrus concludes with offering formulae and the opening of the mouth performed on the cippus itself. Perhaps the association of Daressy’s Text A with offering texts on P. Vienna KM 3925 and *s3h.w* “transfigurations” on O. ISACM E17008 had a common origin in how such a text could be employed.⁵⁴

Gasse 2014; Larcher 2014; Price 2016; Pietri 2020. Cf. the passage from Book of the Dead spell 43: *ink wr s3 wr nsr.t s3 nsr.t* “I am a great one, son of a great one, a flame, son of a flame.”

43 Because Horus the child is often shown surmounted by the head of Bes in the corpus of cippi, the stela have been incorporated into the discussion of “polymorphic” and “pantheistic” divine imagery. Note, e.g., the comments of Pietri 2020, p. 189: “the Horus cippi and the ‘pantheistic’ gods have much in common, especially the presence of the dwarf-god Bes which frequently gives his mask to the ‘paniconic’ divinities, hence known also as ‘Bes-Pantheos.’” See Kákósy 1987, pp. 181–82; Gyóry 2001; Quack 2006a, 2006b; West 2011, pp. 148–53; First 2014, 2017a, 2017b; Ritner 2017; Morenz 2019; Pietri 2020, pp. 189–90; Theis 2020, pp. 15–18; Quack 2022, pp. 113, 205–11, 257.

44 Daressy 1903, p. 2 n. 1.

45 Golenišev 1877, pp. 103–25; Sander-Hansen 1956, pp. 51–54 (text 10); Kákósy 1999, pp. 22–24; Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999, pp. 129–37; Allen 2005, pp. 59–61. The text continues to appear in popular reprints of Budge 1912, pp. 170–73.

46 The lack of determinative in the word  *šdi* as it appears on the Metternich Stela may introduce an intentional ambiguity between the meaning  “reciter” and  “savior.” For discussion, see Ritner 1989, p. 109; Kákósy 1999, p. 12.

47 See photo in Allen 2005, p. 61.

48 P. Vienna KM 3925 in Bergmann 1886, pl. V, col. 1, line 1; el-Kholi 2006, p. 1, pls. I–IA, the traces of which suggest [. . .] . . . *my*[. . .] *nb dw3.w Hr s3h* [. . .] “. . . any [snake(?)], the praises of Horus which transfigure. . .” One might expect something from the common list of *hf3 nb hf3.t nb.t ddf nb ddf.t nb.t*, but the traces do not seem to fit. Based on the current traces, it is tempting to see *w3mmty*, one of the names of Apep in both P. Bremner Rhind and the Book of the Dead. Alternatively, this could potentially be the end of a previous text.

49 See Quack 1998, pp. 79, 88, with n. 75. For the sections of the Harris magical papyrus, P. BM EA 10042, 4.6–8, see Leitz 1999, p. 36, pl. 15; Lange 1927, pp. 32–38. The sections that parallel the Harris magical papyrus are not preserved on ISACM E17008.

50 E.g., Museo Gregoriana Collezione Grassi 144 in Bosticco 1955. For the presence of a Horus cippus in the National Museum of Iran, see Abdi 2002.

51 Gasse 1990, no. 1680 (= O. DeM 1680).

52 Bergmann 1886, pp. vi–viii, pl. V; Kákósy 1999, p. 21; el-Kholi 2006, pp. 1–14, pls. I–IA, no. I. See the online collection search of the Kunsthistorisches Museum’s Ägyptische Sammlung (www.khm.at/de/object/319462/).

53 Dieleman 2019, p. 90 n. 8. Like the Vienna papyrus, O. ISACM E17008 includes an attestation of the Late Egyptian prothetic imperative *šdd*, a form that is edited out of later versions of the text. We thank Peter Dils for this observation.

54 Cf. Ritner 1989, p. 108: “These directions detail the preparation and consecration of a cippus with recited spell, offerings, purifications and the ceremonial opening of the mouth of the figure.”

It seems unlikely that O. ISACM E17008 was itself used in a manner directly similar to the healing statues and Horus cippi,⁵⁵ which are generally thought to have been used with liquids as health remedies to prevent or treat ailments such as stings and bites, a subject with which the honoree of this volume was long engaged.⁵⁶

Despite the standard presence of spells upon these stelae, the primary method of using them did not involve reading the texts. . . . Rather, the efficacy of the spells and images was transferred to a more practical medium by pouring water over the stela or statue, and perhaps by immersing the smaller stelae in bowls.⁵⁷

While narrative episodes of washing off ink into a consumable liquid are well attested, both in ancient Egypt and the ancient Near East more generally,⁵⁸ whether such a function was intended for this ostrakon is now impossible to determine, although it seems rather unlikely based on what is known about ostraca usage at Deir el-Medina, not to mention the fact that the text is preserved intact (although with palimpsest). However, a focus on the text may obscure ancient relationships with these objects, especially between individuals with varying levels of literacy. Outside the three attested hieratic examples (O. ISACM E17008, P. Vienna KM 3925, and O. DeM 1680), these texts generally occur intimately related to figures and images.⁵⁹ Jane Draycott has further pointed out the importance of the iconography of Horus cippi, particularly uninscribed examples, noting that the text on the back of an amulet worn around the neck would not normally be visible, “assuming that an individual in possession of one was even capable of reading in the first place.”⁶⁰ She further suggests interpreting each example individually, since “Horus *cippi* were available for purchase in a whole range of sizes, and each *cippus*—particularly if in the form of an amulet—had a form and function entirely its own, specific to the needs of its wearer or bearer.”⁶¹ Of course, O. ISACM E17008 lacks the related imagery of the cippi corpus and clearly formed a component of scribal practice and study.

Questions about usage are raised by material aspects of O. ISACM E17008. As a physical object, the ostrakon is large, with a rather unwieldy weight of nearly 11 lbs.⁶² These features raise questions about how the ostrakon was used. Its weight and awkward shape would not have been convenient for personal transport over long distances, although packing it in a sack or basket or on a cart or donkey would alleviate the burden. What was it used for? The most obvious answer is that O. ISACM E17008 had been produced as part of the training and education for scribes, priests, and ritual practitioners in Deir el-Medina, training that included, among other things, the production of *Vorlagen* and text layouts for tomb and object designs. Remains of an erased palimpsest at the beginning of several lines where the scribe began to write, attempted to erase the signs, and then rewrote them at least document a careful process of drafting. Documentation of this process is an important correction to the often-implied idea that ancient texts were produced through

55 For a discussion of the portability of cippi and their use, see Draycott 2011.

56 In 1989, Robert Ritner published a now frequently quoted article (Ritner 1989) arguing against “derogatory” attitudes toward Egyptian religious practices long considered “magical,” such as the healing practices associated with the Horus cippi. He constructed this argument around the cultural context of the Horus cippi. Ritner furthered this line of argumentation by correcting Drioton’s interpretation of the inscriptions from two healing statues, showing that they did not offer competing ideas of “magic” and “religion” (Ritner 1992). Ritner revisited the Horus cippi inscriptions again in his collection of sources from the Third Intermediate Period (Ritner 2009, pp. 68–74). In both publications, Ritner frequently cites the statue Field Museum 31737, having announced a forthcoming publication of the statue in Ritner 1989, pp. 109–10: “This stela, no. 31737 of the Field Museum, Chicago, presents a number of distinctive features, and as I am in the process of publishing the piece I would like to present an overview of its more interesting aspects which are of significance for the corpus of cippi, the nature of Shed and the general question of magic.” This forthcoming edition was cited again in Ritner 1990.

57 Ritner 1989, p. 106. See further Meyer and Smith 1994, p. 15; Kákósy 1999, p. 15; Moyer 2003, p. 221; Stevens 2009, p. 3.

58 E.g., Numbers 5:11–31; Ezekiel 2:9–3:3; Revelation 10:8–10; Setna I, 4.3–4.4 (Ritner 2003, p. 459); PGM XIII, 434–41 (Betz 1986, p. 184).

59 See Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999.

60 Draycott 2011, p. 129.

61 Draycott 2011, p. 130.

62 There have been many recent studies on the materiality of ostraca, although these studies have somewhat focused on ceramic fragments rather than chunks of limestone (e.g., Lougovaya 2018; Caputo 2019; Caputo and Lougovaya 2021).

a single act. The drafting process reveals the dynamicity and multidimensionality when what appears as a single “text” went through multiple stages and copies during composing and copying.⁶³

Text written on the obverse would have needed to dry prior to flipping the stone over to write the text on the reverse, if that was indeed the order in which they were written, as seems likely from the length of the text on the obverse as compared with the brevity of the text on the reverse. Furthermore, the paleography of several hieratic signs and sign groups reflects artistic flourishes or experimental forms not commonly found elsewhere. It may be tempting to suggest that this ostrakon was a *Vorlage* for the production of a stela, statue, or relief—as has been argued for the parallel on O. IFAO 1441.⁶⁴ However, it should be pointed out that the texts on O. IFAO 1441 were written while the jar was still intact; therefore, its fragments do not resemble ostraca in a strict sense. Rather, taking their materiality into account, the compositions inscribed on that jar (O. IFAO 1441) find semblance to the corpus of *Krugtexte*. Despite the cogent arguments made about this jar’s serving as a template for tomb decoration based on instructions in the text for the “right” and “left” sides, employing such a *Krugtext* in that scenario would have posed some practical problems. Ben Haring has recently pointed out the difficulties of such hypotheses, particularly as they apply to master copies and exemplars in different scripts.⁶⁵ The complexities of transforming a hieratic *Vorlage* into hieroglyphic, or vice versa, on the fly and in darkened tomb chambers suggests it may have been less common than previously supposed. Haring suggests that many of the ostraca previously considered as “drafts” or “templates” may be more profitably and accurately conceptualized as studies or reflections.⁶⁶ In that regard, it is interesting to consider the role of the compositions on O. ISACM E17008—united by an interest in *šḥ* “transformation”—as part of a study on ritual and religious literature. As but one part of the massive corpus of the village’s “book” culture, such texts reflect the literary taste, scholarly interests, and creative expression of Deir el-Medina scribes.⁶⁷

CONCLUSION

Ostrakon ISACM E17008 attests to the scribal traditions present at Deir el-Medina in the late New Kingdom. On the one hand, Text A of Daressy retained a remarkably conservative history of transmission, with many elements present on O. ISACM E17008 showing up again and again throughout the centuries on cippi and healing statues such as the Metternich Stela. This relatively close adherence to the “stream of tradition” reveals patterns of so-called reproduction. Yet, on the other hand, each of the early attestations of Text A demonstrates conclusively that transmission is never static but is instead dynamic, as these texts were interwoven with various other texts into longer papyri (P. Vienna KM 3925), shorter ostraca (O. DeM 1680, O. ISACM E17008, O. IFAO 1441), and three-dimensional stelae, figures, and statues, all of which were created, used, and reused in a diverse array of contexts. These facts suggest that scholars should resist one-dimensional categorization of artifacts under the guise of slippery concepts such as “magic,” “religion,” “scribal,” and the like. Rather, as comparisons with nearly any historical and social parallel readily imply, it is likely to the benefit of our understanding if expectations are shifted toward grappling with multifaceted modalities, meanings, and circumstances that reflect the complicated reality of how humans interacted with and manipulated the world around them. In this regard, the “magical” text on O. ISACM E17008 may have fulfilled multiple intentions, such as scribal exercise, creative literary expression, scholarly study, template for stela and statue production, handbook for itinerant “magician”/doctor, and healing spell for a patient, among many other possibilities.

63 Therefore, ideas of so-called urtexts, even if they are completely conceptual, should account for such a drafting process. For further discussion, see Scalf 2015, pp. 203–12, with bibliography cited there, esp. p. 204 n. 6.

64 See Fischer-Elfert 1986, pp. 83–86.

65 Haring 2015, pp. 67–84.

66 Haring 2015, pp. 79–80, citing Vassilika 1989.

67 Note the approach of Geoga 2021 to the ostraca inscribed with the Teaching of Amenemhat.

APPENDIX: SELECTED PARALLELS TO OSTRACON ISACM E17008

In the following, a score transcription is provided of selected texts that contain parallels to O. ISACM E17008.⁶⁸ The transcription has been standardized in left-to-right orientation, regardless of the orientation of the original, for the convenience of the reader to compare across exemplars. The exemplars have been chosen based on the following criteria: Ostrakon DeM 1680 and P. Vienna KM 3925 were both written in hieratic and were near contemporaries to O. ISACM E17008; the Metternich Stela offers an extensive and well-known version of this composition with which many readers will already be familiar, although it has condensed orthographies to conform to the space available on the edge of the stela; and O. IFAO 1441 is currently the only known parallel for the texts on the reverse.

Obverse

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| O. ISACM E17008 | |
| O. DeM 1680 | |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 | ^{x+1} []] |
| Metternich Stela | |
| O. ISACM E17008 | ¹ [] |
| O. DeM 1680 | |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 | *] |
| Metternich Stela | ¹⁰¹] |
| O. ISACM E17008 |] |
| O. DeM 1680 | |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 | [^{x+2} []] |
| Metternich Stela | ¹⁰²] |

68 For a score transcription of Text A, see Altenmüller 1965, pp. 23–29; for a score transcription based on a different set of objects that date to the Persian period, see the “Werkstattgruppe 2” in Sternberg el-Hotabi 1999, pp. 178–83 (for the dating criteria, see pp. 100–104).

O. ISACM E17008 

O. DeM 1680 

P. Vienna KM 3925 

Metternich Stela ¹⁰³ 


O. ISACM E17008 

O. DeM 1680 


P. Vienna KM 3925 

Metternich Stela 

O. ISACM E17008 

O. DeM 1680 

P. Vienna KM 3925 













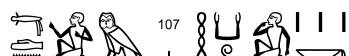


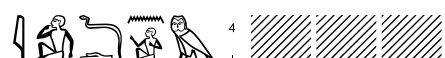


Metternich Stela ¹⁰⁴ 


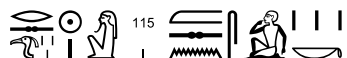
O. ISACM E17008 








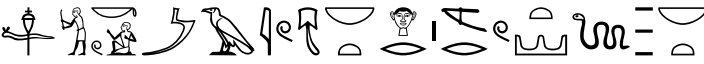



O. DeM 1680 

P. Vienna KM 3925 ^{x+3} 


Metternich Stela ¹⁰⁵ 


| | |
|-------------------|--|
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [] |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | []  |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  ¹⁰⁶ |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 |  |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  ¹⁰⁷ |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 |  [] |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  ⁴  |
| Metternich Stela |  |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| O. ISACM E17008 |  7 1 |
| O. DeM 1680 | [. . .] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  112 |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [. . .] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  113  114 |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [. . .] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [. . .] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  115 |

| | |
|-------------------|--|
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [...] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [...] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [...] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 |  |
| Metternich Stela |  |
| O. ISACM E17008 |  |
| O. DeM 1680 | [...] (no further lines are preserved) |
| P. Vienna KM 3925 | → |
| Metternich Stela |  |

Reverse

O. ISACM E17008 

O. IFAO 1441 

O. ISACM E17008 

O. IFAO 1441 


O. ISACM E17008 


O. IFAO 1441 

O. ISACM E17008 

O. IFAO 1441 

O. ISACM E17008 

O. IFAO 1441 

O. ISACM E17008 

O. IFAO 1441 

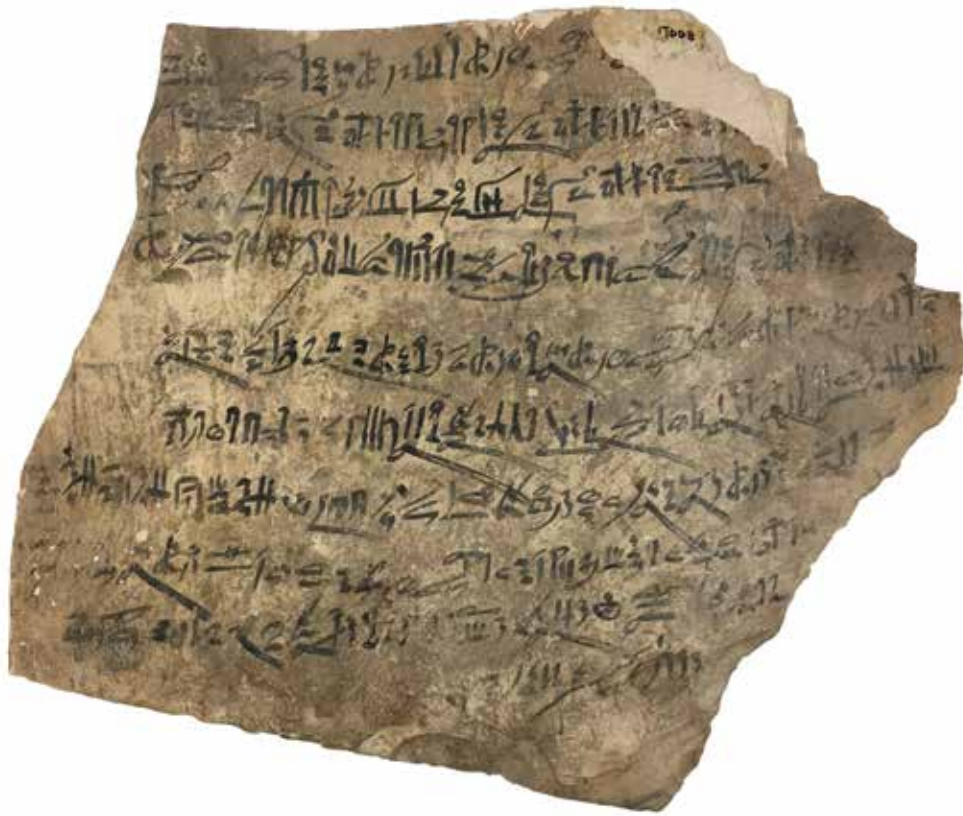


Figure 18.1. O. ISACM E17008 obverse.



Figure 18.2. O. ISACM E17008 reverse.

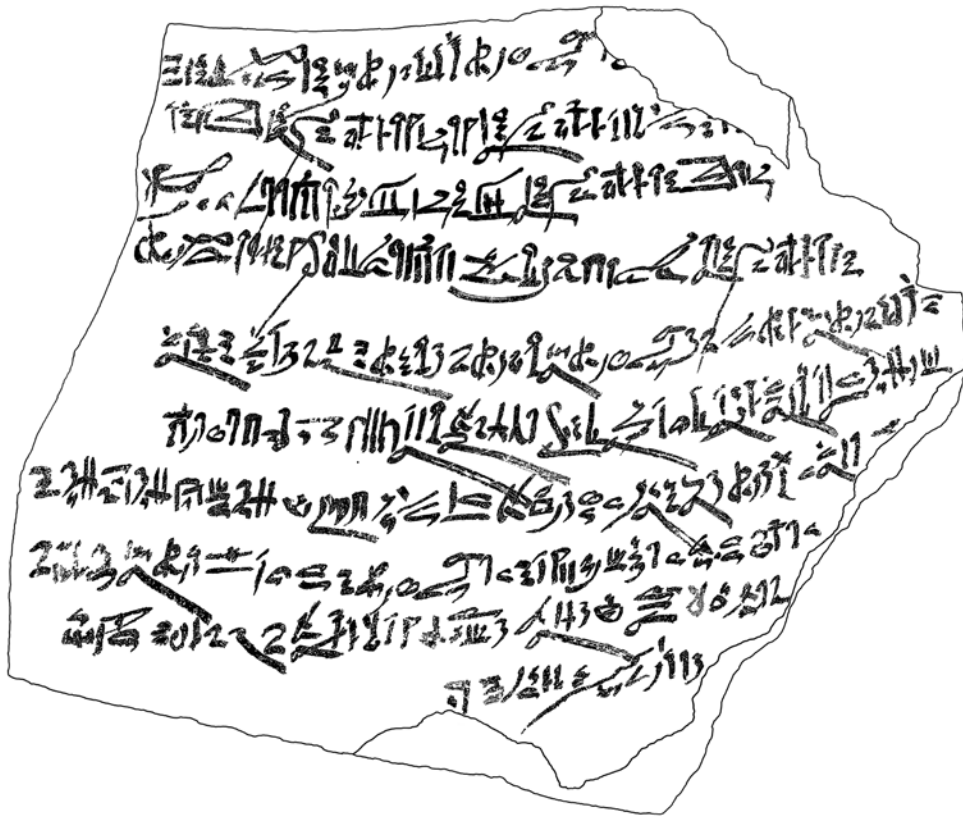


Figure 18.3. O. ISACM E17008 obverse hand copy.

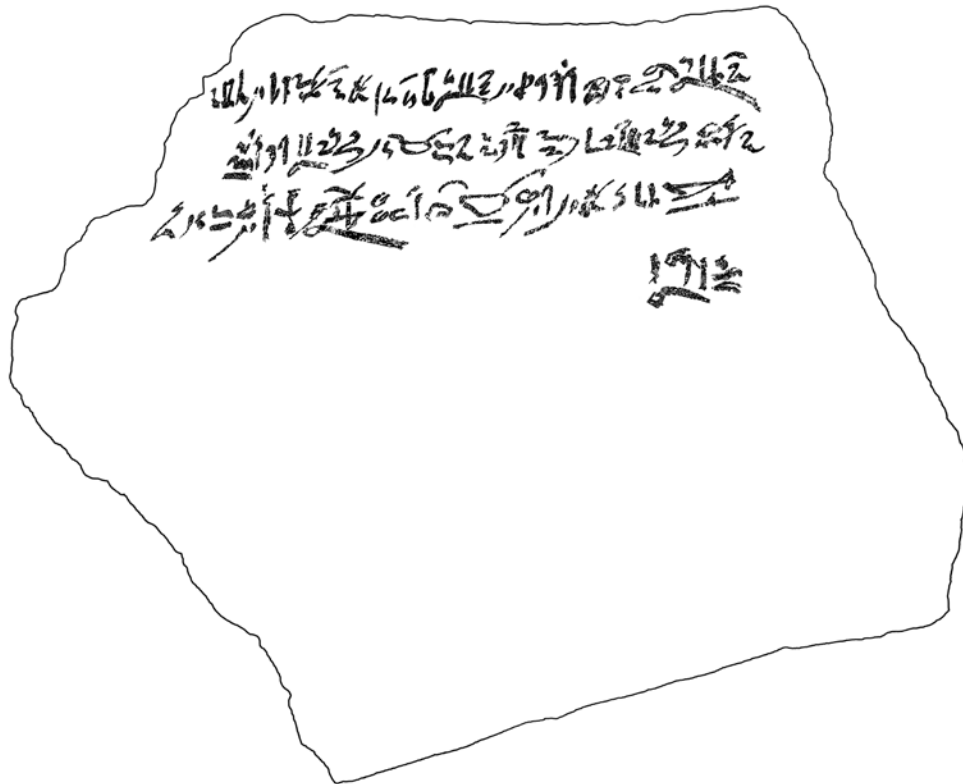


Figure 18.4. O. ISACM E17008 reverse hand copy.

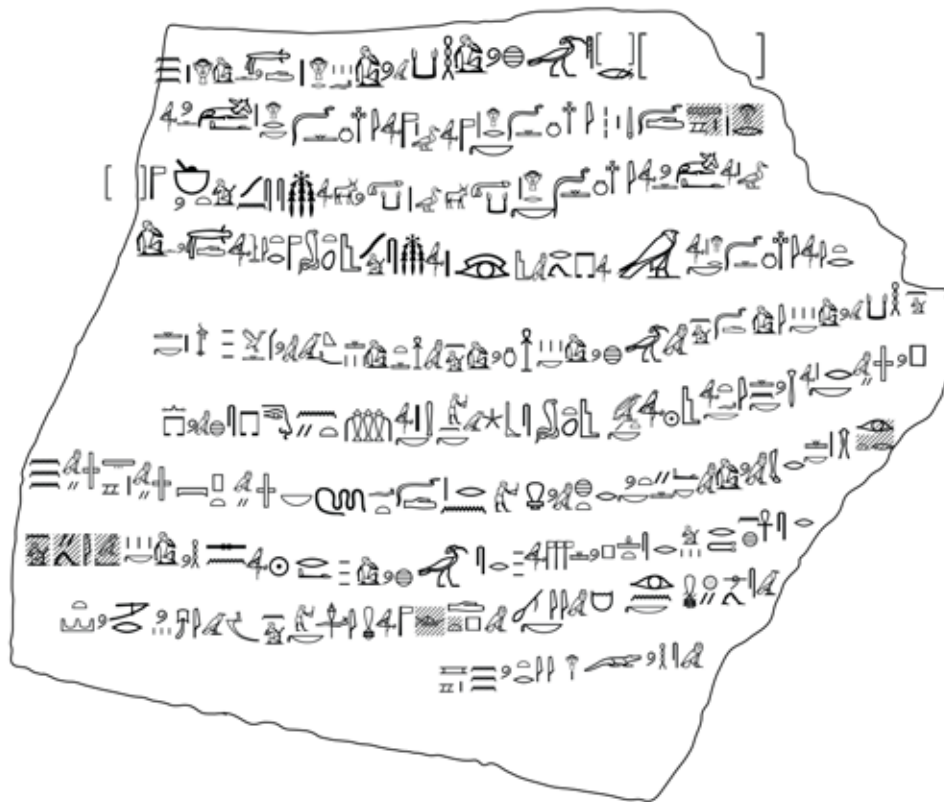


Figure 18.5. O. ISACM E17008 obverse transcription.

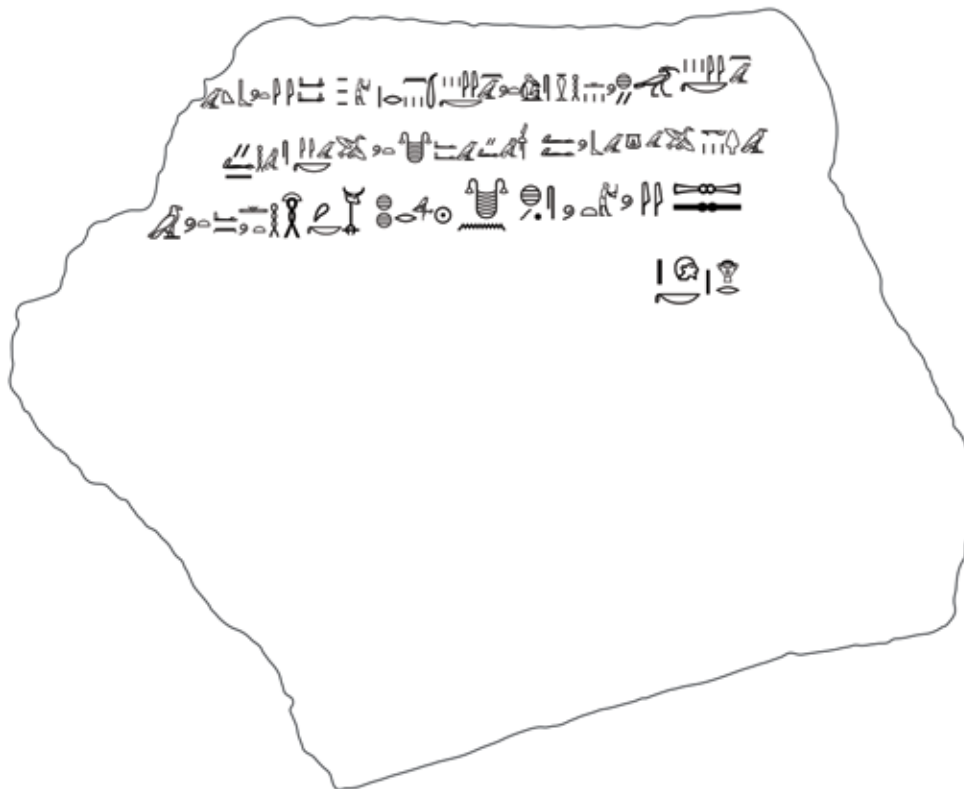


Figure 18.6. O. ISACM E17008 reverse transcription.

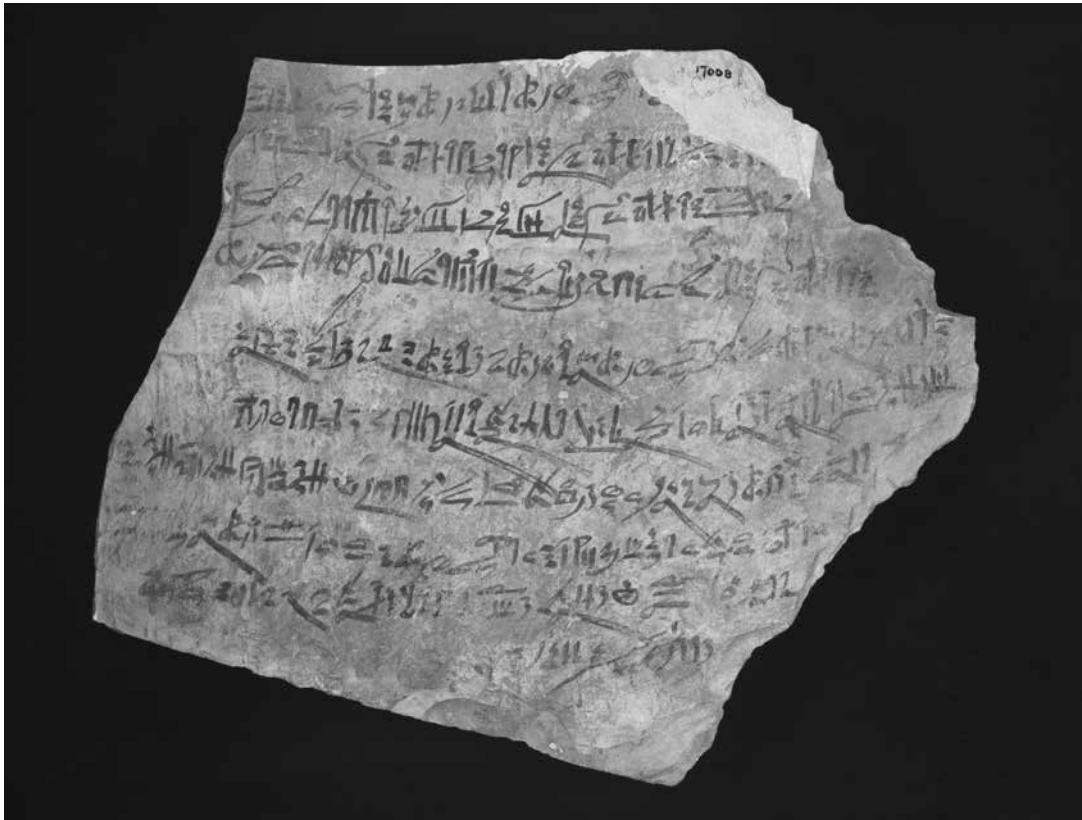


Figure 18.7. O. ISACM E17008 obverse, mid-twentieth century. ISACM P. 43539 / N. 28578.

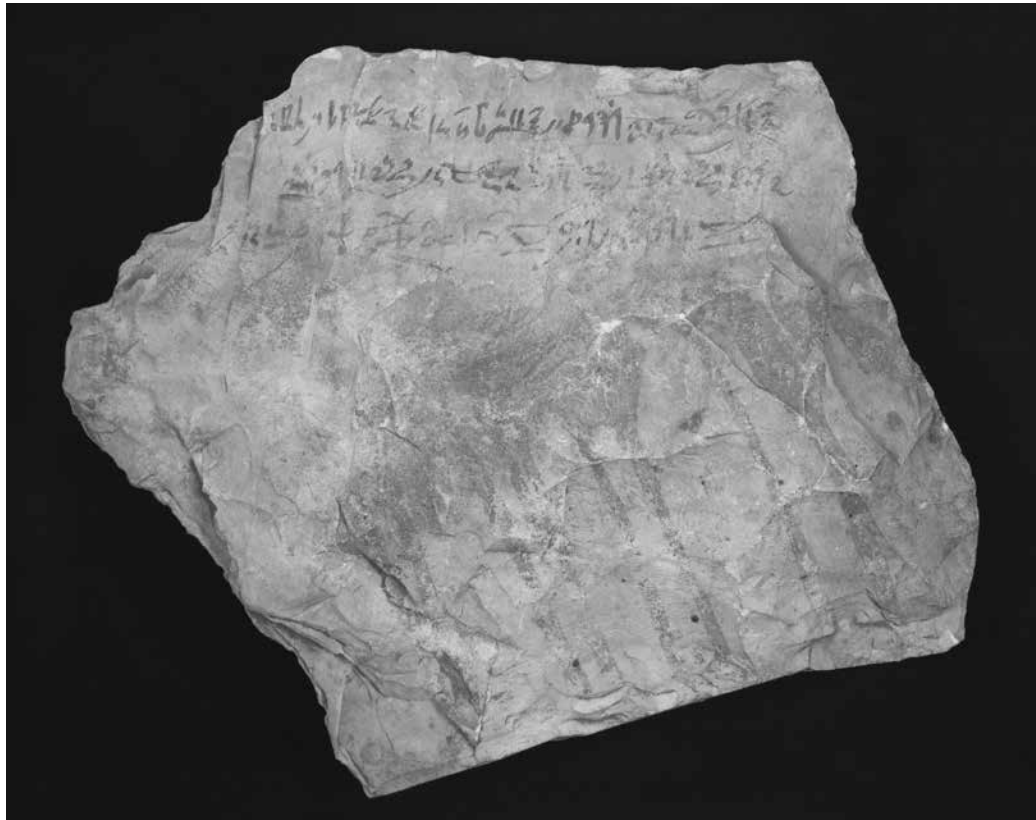


Figure 18.8. O. ISACM E17008 reverse, mid-twentieth century. ISACM P. 43540 / N. 28579.

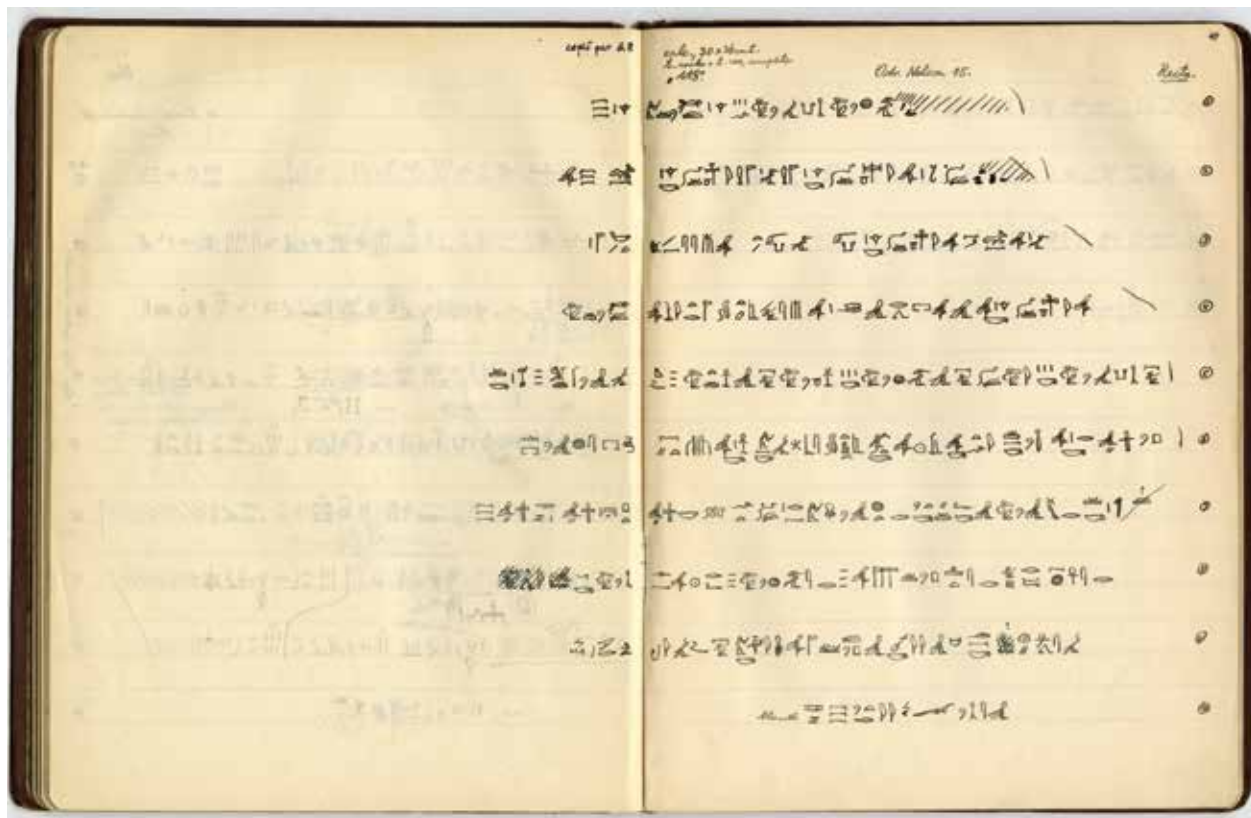


Figure 18.9. Obverse transcription from Jaroslav Černý notebook (107-40). © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

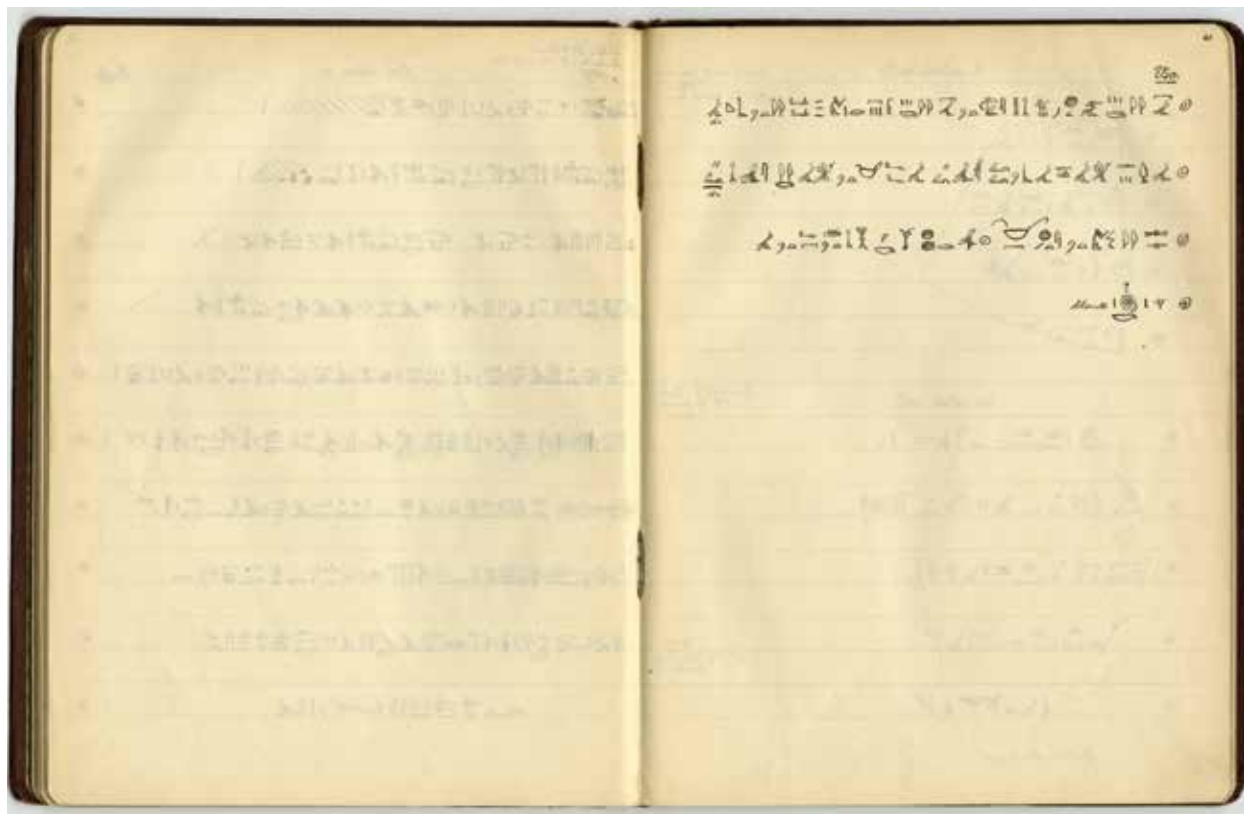


Figure 18.10. Reverse transcription from Jaroslav Černý notebook (107-41). © Griffith Institute, University of Oxford.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--|
| CDD | Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001. https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary |
| EG | Wolja Erichsen. <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954 |
| ISAC | Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures |
| O. | Ostrakon |
| obv. | obverse |
| P. | Papyrus |
| rev. | reverse |
| TLA | Tonio Sebastian Richter, Daniel A. Werning, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, and Peter Dils, eds. <i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> . https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de |
| Wb. | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdi, Kamyar
 2002 “An Egyptian Cippus of Horus in the Iran National Museum, Tehran.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 61: 203–10.
- Allen, James P.
 2005 *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Altenmüller, Hartwig
 1965 “Der ‘Socle Béhague’ und ein Statuentorso in Wien.” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 46: 10–33.
- Aufrère, Sydney H.
 2013 “Serpents, magie et hiéroglyphes: Études sur les noms d’ophidiens d’un ensemble de cippes d’Horus de Thèbes et d’ailleurs (époque libyenne).” *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 6: 93–122.
- Bergmann, E.
 1886 *Hieratische und hieratisch-demotische Texte der Sammlung aegyptischer Alterthümer des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*. Vienna: Holzhausen.
- Betz, Hans Dieter, ed.
 1986 *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Borghouts, J. F.
 1978 *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*. Leiden: Brill.
- Bosticco, S.
 1955 “Un cippo di Horus sui coccodrilli inedito.” *Rivista degli studi orientali* 30: 189–206.
- Bresciani, Edda
 1998 “Isis lactans et Horus sur les crocodiles.” In *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, edited by Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems, pp. 57–60. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 84. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bruyère, Bernard
 1926 *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1924–1925)*. Fouilles de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire 3. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Budge, Ernest Alfred Wallace
 1912 *Legends of the Gods: The Egyptian Texts*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
- Calverley, Amice M., and Alan H. Gardiner
 1935 *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos. Vol. 2, The Chapels of Amen-Rē, Rē-Ḥarakhti, Ptaḥ, and King Sethos*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.

- Caputo, Clementina
 2019 "Looking at the Material: One Hundred Years of Studying Ostraca from Egypt." In *Ancient Texts and Their Materiality: Presence, Media Semantics, and Literary Reflection in Daily Life*, edited by Cornelia Ritter-Schmalz and Raphael Schwitter, pp. 93–117. *Materiale Textkulturen* 27. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Caputo, Clementina, and Julia Lougovaya
 2021 *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World: New Discoveries and Methodologies*. *Materiale Textkulturen* 32. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Černý, Jaroslav
 1978 *Papyrus hiératiques de Deir el-Médineh*. Vol. 1, Nos. I–XVII. Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 8. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Černý, Jaroslav, and Sarah Israelit Groll
 1984 *A Late Egyptian Grammar*. 3rd ed. *Studia Pohl: Series Maior* 4. Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
- Chabas, F.
 1868 "Horus sur les crocodiles." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 6: 99–106.
- Collombert, Philippe
 1995 "Quelques précisions sur la lecture et la signification du mot $\text{ḥ}^{\text{r}}\text{ḥ}$." *Revue d'égyptologie* 46: 205–8.
- Daressy, G.
 1903 *Textes et dessins magiques*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire nos. 9401–9449. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Daumas, François
 1988 *Valeurs phonétiques des signes hiéroglyphiques d'époque gréco-romaine*. Montpellier: Université de Montpellier.
- Demarée, Rob J.
 2002 *Ramesside Ostraca*. London: British Museum Press.
- Dieleman, Jacco
 2019 "Egypt." In *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, edited by David Frankfurter, pp. 87–114. *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 189. Leiden: Brill.
- Dorn, Andreas
 2022 "Dating of Literary Ostraca with the *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie* by Stefan Wimmer—an Experiment." In *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten IV: Hieratisch des Neuen Reiches: Akteure, Formen und Funktionen*, edited by Svenja A. Gülden, Tobias Konrad, and Ursula Verhoeven, pp. 155–82. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Einzelveröffentlichung* 17. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.
- Draycott, Jane
 2011 "Size Matters: Reconsidering Horus on the Crocodiles in Miniature." *Pallas* 86: 123–33.
- Drioton, Étienne
 1939 "Une statue prophylactique de Ramsès III." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 39: 57–89.
- el-Kholi, Mohamed Salah
 2006 *Papyri und Ostraka aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Siracusa: Istituto Internazionale del Papiro.
- Erman, Adolf
 1933 *Neuaegyptische Grammatik*. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann.
- First, Grzegorz
 2013 "The *Horus Cippus* from National Museum in Paznán." *Folia Orientalia* 50: 323–34.
 2014 "Polycephaly: Some Remarks on the Multi-headed Nature of Late Egyptian Polymorphic Deities." *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 18: 205–21.
 2017a "Multiheaded Protector of the Living or the Dead?" In *Burial and Mortuary Practices in Late Period and Graeco-Roman Egypt: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 17–19 July 2014*, edited by Katalin Anna Kóthay, pp. 345–56. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts.

- 2017b “The ‘Pantheistic’ Deities: Report from Research on Iconography and Role of Polymorphic Deities.” In *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence, Italy 23–30 August 2015, Florence Egyptian Museum*, edited by Gloria Rosati and Maria Cristina Guidotti, pp. 198–202. Archaeopress Egyptology 19. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner
 1986 *Literarische Ostraka der Ramessidenzeit in Übersetzung*. Kleine ägyptische Texte 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Forman, Werner, and Stephen Quirke
 1996 *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Foster, John L.
 1973 “Hymn to the Inundation: Four Hieratic Ostraca.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 32: 301–10.
 1984 “Oriental Institute Ostrakon #12074: ‘Menna’s Lament’ or ‘Letter to a Wayward Son.’” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 14: 88–99.
 1986 “Texts of the Egyptian Composition ‘The Instruction of a Man for His Son’ in the Oriental Institute Museum.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 45: 197–211.
 1994 “Oriental Institute Ostrakon 25346 (Ostrakon Wilson 100).” In *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, edited by David P. Silverman, pp. 87–97. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 55. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Frankfurter, David
 1998 *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
 1947 *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. London: Oxford University Press.
 1948 “The First Two Pages of the ‘Wörterbuch.’” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 34: 12–18.
 1957 *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. London: Griffith Institute.
- Gasse, Annie
 1990 *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el-Médina*. Vol. 4, fasc. 1, Nos. 1676–1774. Fouilles de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 25. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
 1992 “Une nouvelle stèle d’Horus sur les crocodiles.” *Revue d’égyptologie* 43: 217–10.
 2004a “Une stèle d’Horus sur les crocodiles: À propos du ‘Texte C.’” *Revue d’égyptologie* 55: 23–37.
 2004b *Les stèles d’Horus sur les crocodiles*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.
 2009 “Le chapitre 137B du *Livre des morts* à la lumière de quelques ostraca de Deir el-Medina.” In *Ausgestattet mit den Schriften des Thot: Festschrift für Irmtraut Munro zu ihrem 65. Geburtstag*, edited by Burkhard Backes, Marcus Müller-Roth, and Simone Stöhr, pp. 69–78. Studien zu altägyptischen Totentexten 14. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 2012 “L’enfant et les sortilèges: Remarques sur la diffusion tardive des ‘stèles d’Horus sur les crocodiles.’” In *Et in Aegypto et ad Aegyptum: Recueil d’études dédiées à Jean-Claude Grenier*, edited by Anne Gasse, Frédéric Servajean, and Christophe Thiers, pp. 345–58. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry.
 2014 “La stèle Brügger, une stèle d’Isis sur les crocodiles.” *Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne* 7: 125–43.
- Geoga, Margaret
 2021 “‘Senwosret, my son!’: Transmission and Reception of ‘The Teaching of Amenemhat’ in Ramesside Deir el-Medina.” Paper presented at the 72nd annual meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, April 22.
- Goelet, Ogden, Jr.
 2010 “Observations on Copying and the Hieroglyphic Tradition in the Production of the Book of the Dead.” In *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, edited by Sue H. D’Auria, pp. 119–33. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 38. Leiden: Brill.
- Golenišev, Vladimir Semenovič
 1877 *Die Metternichstele in der Originalgröße*. Leipzig: Engelmann.
- Gutekunst, Wilfried
 1995 *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen*. PhD diss., Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen.

Győry, Hedvig

- 2001 "To the Interpretation of Pataikos Standing on Crocodiles." *Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts* 94: 27–40, 129–40.

Hagen, Fredrik

- 2011 *New Kingdom Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 46. Leiden: Brill.

Hall, Emma Swan

- 1977 "Harpocrates and Other Child Deities in Ancient Egyptian Sculpture." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 14: 55–58.

Handoussa, Tohfa

- 1981 "Le collier ousekh." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 9: 143–50.

Haring, Ben

- 2015 "Hieratic Drafts for Hieroglyphic Texts?" In *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten*, vols. 1–2, *Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013*, edited by Ursula Verhoeven, pp. 67–84. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Einzelveröffentlichung 14*. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.
- 2018 "Material Matters: Documentary Papyri and Ostraca in Late Ramesside Thebes." In *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt: New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period*, edited by Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk and Steffie M. T. van Gompel, pp. 43–51. *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 35. Leiden: Brill.

Heerma van Voss, M.

- 1968 "Een scherf uit het Dodenboek." *Phoenix* 14: 165–71.

Iannarilli, Francesca

- 2018 "Write to Dominate Reality: Graphic Alteration of Anthropomorphic Signs in the Pyramid Texts." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 17: 37–46.

Jacquet-Gordon, Helen

- 1965–66 "Two Stelae of Horus-on-the-Crocodiles." *Brooklyn Museum Annual* 7: 53–64.

Kákósy, László

- 1982–85 "New Studies on Magical Healing Statues." *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis, Sectio Classica* 9–10: 57–62.
- 1987 "Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues." In *La magia en Egitto ai tempi dei faranoi: Atti Convegno Internazionale di Studi Milano 29–31 Ottobre 1985*, edited by Alessandro Roccati and Alberto Siliotti, pp. 171–86. Milan: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica: Arte e natura libri.
- 1998a "A Horus Cippus with Royal Cartouches." In *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years. Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, edited by Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems, pp. 125–38. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 84. Leuven: Peeters.
- 1998b "A Horus Stela with Meret Goddesses." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 25: 143–59.
- 1999 *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy (Turin, Florence, Naples)*. Catalogo del Museo Egizio del Torino. Serie prima—Monumenti e testi 9. Turin: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali—Soprintendenza al Museo della antichità egizie.
- 2002 "A Late Horus Cippus." In *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga: "Le lotus qui sort de terre,"* edited by Hedvig Gyory, pp. 217–20. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts.

Kákósy, László, and Ahmed M. Moussa

- 1998 "A Horus Stela with Meret Goddesses." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 25: 143–59.

Kitchen, Kenneth A.

- 1979 *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. 2, *Ramesses II: Royal Inscriptions*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 1989 *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. 7, *Addenda and Indexes*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Klasens, Adolf

- 1952 *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*. *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden, Nieuwe Reeks* 33. Leiden: Brill.

Kockelmann, Holger

- 2017 "How a Book of the Dead Manuscript Was Produced." In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 67–74. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Lacau, Pierre

- 1914 "Suppressions et modifications de signes dans les textes funéraires." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 51: 1–64.
- 1921 "Les statues 'guérisseuses' dans l'ancienne Égypte." *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 25: 189–210.
- 1926 "Suppression des noms divins dans les textes de la chambre funéraire." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 26: 69–81.

Lange, H. O.

- 1927 *Der magische Papyrus Harris*. Copenhagen: Høst & Søn.

Larcher, Cédric

- 2014 "Une stèle inédite d'Horus sur les crocodiles de la collection Cartier." *Revue d'égyptologie* 65: 193–201.

Leitz, Christian

- 1999 *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*. Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 7. London: British Museum.

Lesko, Leonard

- 1982–90 *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*. 5 vols. Berkeley: B.C. Scribe.

Lougovaya, Julia

- 2018 "Writing on Ostraca: Considerations of Material Aspects." In *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt: New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period*, edited by Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk and Steffie M. T. van Gompel, pp. 52–61. *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 35. Leiden: Brill.

Lüscher, Barbara

- 2013 *Die Vorlagen-Ostraka aus dem Grab des Nachtmin (TT87)*. Beiträge zum Alten Ägypten 4. Basel: Orientverlag.
- 2015 "Kursivhieroglyphische Ostraka als Textvorlagen: Der (Glücks-)Fall TT 87." In *Ägyptologische "Binsen"-Weisheiten*, vols. 1–2, *Neue Forschungen und Methoden der Hieratistik. Akten zweier Tagungen in Mainz im April 2011 und März 2013*, edited by Ursula Verhoeven, pp. 85–117. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Einzelveröffentlichung 14*. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur.

McDonald, J.

- 1981 "Round-Topped Cippus of Horus." In *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum: Geschichte, Ziele, Richtlinien und Arbeitsbeispiele für das Erfassen ägyptischer Altertümer in Form eines Lose-Blatt-Kataloges*, edited by Arne Eggebrecht, pp. 80–82. *Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge* 12. Hildesheim: Gebr. Gerstenberg.

Meyer, Marvin, and Richard Smith, eds.

- 1994 *Ancient Christian Magic: Coptic Texts of Ritual Power*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Miniaci, Gianluca

- 2010 "The Incomplete Hieroglyphs System at the End of the Middle Kingdom." *Revue d'égyptologie* 61: 113–34.

Möller, Georg

- 1909a *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 1, *Bis zum Beginn der achtzehnten Dynastie*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- 1909b *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 2, *Von der Zeit Thutmosis' III bis zum Ende der einundzwanzigsten Dynastie*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- 1912 *Hieratische Paläographie: Die aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit*. Vol. 3, *Von der zweiundzwanzigsten Dynastie bis zum dritten Jahrhundert nach Chr.* Leipzig: Hinrichs.

Morenz, Ludwig D.

- 2019 *Performative Superglyphen als eine graphisch inszenierte Göttersprache: Solare Patäken mit dem machtgeladenen Namen des Sonnengottes*. Berlin: EB-Verlag.

Moyer, Ian

- 2003 "The Initiation of the Magician: Transition and Power in Graeco-Egyptian Ritual." In *Initiation in Ancient Greek Rituals and Narratives: New Critical Perspectives*, edited by David B. Dodd and Christopher A. Farone, pp. 219–38. New York: Routledge.

Muhs, Brian P., and Foy D. Scalf

- In press "New Kingdom Hieratic Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute Museum (Chicago)." In *New Kingdom Hieratic Collections around the World*. Aegyptiaca Leodiensia. Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège.

Müller, Matthias

- 2002 Review of *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom*, by Christian Leitz. *Lingua Aegyptia* 10: 425–35.

Pierret, P.

- 1868 "Horus sur les crocodiles." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 6: 135–36.

Pietri, Renaud

- 2020 "'Horus-Shed Hunting in His Chariot': Two Forgotten Monuments." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 49: 179–90.

Pitkin, Melanie

- 2023 *Egypt in the First Intermediate Period: The History and Chronology of Its False Doors and Stelae*. Middle Kingdom Studies 13. London: Golden House.

Posener, Georges

- 1978 *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. Vol. 3, fasc. 2, Nos. 1410–1606. Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 20/3. Cairo: Institute français d'archéologie orientale.
- 1980 *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques littéraires de Deir el Médineh*. Vol. 3, fasc. 3, Nos. 1607–1675. Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 20/3. Cairo: Institute français d'archéologie orientale.

Price, Campbell

- 2016 "On the Function of 'Healing' Statues." In *Mummies, Magic and Medicine in Ancient Egypt: Multidisciplinary Essays for Rosalie David*, edited by Campbell Price, Roger Forshaw, Andrew Chamberlain, and Paul T. Nicholson, pp. 169–82. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

- 1994 *Die Lehren des Ani: Ein neuägyptischer Weisheitstext in seinem kulturellen Umfeld*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 141. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- 1998 "Kontinuität und Wandel in der spätägyptischen Magie." *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 15: 77–94.
- 2002 Review of *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, by Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi. *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 97: 713–29.
- 2006a "Ein neuer Zeuge für den Text zum neunköpfigen Bes." In *The Carlsberg Papyri*, vol. 7, *Hieratic Texts from the Collection*, edited by Kim Ryholt, pp. 53–64. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2006b "The So-Called Pantheos: On Polymorphic Deities in Late Egyptian Religion." In *Aegyptus et Panonia III: Acta Symposii anno 2004*, edited by Hedvid Gyory, pp. 175–90. Budapest: MEBT-ÓEB.
- 2008 Review of *Papyri und Ostraka aus der Ramessidenzeit mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*, by M. Salah el-Kholi. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 65: 614–18.
- 2009 "Der Schlußparagraph des Buches vom Atmen, das Isis machte." *Welt des Orients* 39: 73–76.
- 2010–11 "Zur Lesung der demotischen Gruppe für 'links.'" *Enchoria* 32: 73–80.
- 2011 "Zauberhaftes aus der Florentiner Papyrussammlung." *Jahrbuch der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften für 2010*: 128–30.
- 2016a "Zur Frage der botanischen Natur des *b3k*-Baumes und des von ihm gewonnenen Öls mit einem Anhang: pBM 10085 '2–3' rekt. Ein schnippischer Dialog zwischen Mann und Frau?" In *Rich and Great: Studies in Honour of Anthony J. Spalinger on the Occasion of His 70th Feast of Thoth*, edited by Renata Landgráfová and Jana Mynářová, pp. 275–90. Prague: Charles University.

- 2016b “Zur Situierung von TB 166 Pleyte.” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 45: 283–93.
- 2022 *Altägyptische Amulette und ihre Handhabung*. Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 31. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
- 2023 “Eine (Selbst-)Präsentation des Schöpfer- und Weltgottes durch die Zeiten.” In *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven*, edited by Simone Gerhards, Nadine Gräßler, Svenja A. Gülden, Alexander Ilin-Tomich, Jessica Kertmann, Andrea Kilian, Tobias Konrad, Kyra van der Moesel, and Monika Zöller-Engelhardt, pp. 557–71. Heidelberg: Propylaeum.
- In press “La transmission des textes religieux en écriture hiéroglyphique au fil des âges: Un aperçu global et quelques études des cas.” In *2ème Académie Hiéroglyphique*, edited by Annie Gasse.
- Raedler, Christine
- 2004 “Die Wesire Ramses’ II.—Netzwerke der Macht.” In *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, edited by Rolf Gundlach and Andrea Klug, pp. 277–416. Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Ritner, Robert K.
- 1989 “Horus on the Crocodiles: A Juncture of Religion and Magic in Late Dynastic Egypt.” In *Religions and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 103–16. Yale Egyptological Studies 3. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- 1990 “Horus Cippus ‘Text C’ and the ‘Business of Sepa.’” *Varia Aegyptiaca* 6: 167–68.
- 1992 “Religion vs. Magic: The Evidence of the Magical Statue Bases.” In *The Intellectual Heritage of Egypt: Studies Presented to László Kákosy by Friends and Colleagues on the Occasion of His 60th Birthday*, edited by Ulrich H. Luft, pp. 495–501. *Studia Aegyptiaca* 14. Budapest: Chaire d’Égyptologie de l’Université Eötvös Lorand.
- 1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2003 “The Romance of Setna Khaemuas and the Mummies (Setna I).” In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, and Poetry*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, pp. 453–69. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 2008 “Oriental Institute Museum Notes No. 15: A Coptic Lintel from Qustul.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 67: 107–15.
- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- 2012 “Killing the Image, Killing the Essence: The Destruction of Text and Figures in Ancient Egyptian Thought, Ritual, and ‘Ritualized History.’” In *Iconoclasm and Text Destruction in the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, edited by Natalie Naomi May, pp. 395–405. Oriental Institute Seminars 8. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- 2016 “Oriental Institute Museum Notes 16: Two Egyptian Clepsydrae (OIM E16875 and A7125).” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 75: 361–89.
- 2017 “Pantheistic Figures in Ancient Egypt.” In *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer, pp. 319–24. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 2. Atlanta: Lockwood.
- Roccati, Alessandro
- 2011 *Magica Taurinensia: Il grande papiro magico di Torino e i suoi duplicate*. *Analecta Orientalia* 56. Rome: Gregorian and Biblical Press.
- Roth, Ann Macy
- 2017 “Fear of Hieroglyphs: Patterns of Suppression and Mutilation in Old Kingdom Burial Chambers.” In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 291–310. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Rouffet, Frédéric
- 2009 “Le ‘venin éconduit’ ou les dangers de son expulsion (O. DeM 1046).” *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 2: 1–8.
- Russo, Barbara
- 2010 “La vipère à cornes sans tête: Étude paléographique et considerations historiques.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 110: 251–74.

Sander-Hansen, C. E.

1956 *Die Texte der Metternichstele*. *Analecta Aegyptiaca* 7. Copenhagen: Munksgaard.

Satzinger, Helmut

2002 “Horus auf den Krokodilen’: Stele oder Statue?” In *Festschrift Arne Eggebrecht zum 64. Geburtstag am 12. März 2000*, edited by Bettina Schmitz, pp. 85–88. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 48. Hildesheim: Gebr. Gerstenberg.

Saura Zorrilla, Domingo

2009 *Las estelas mágicas de “Horus sobre los cocodrilos”: Formación, evolución y sentido de un tipo iconográfico*. Colección Thema Mundi 2. Madrid: Signifer Libros.

Scalf, Foy

2014 “Passports to Eternity: Formulaic Demotic Funerary Texts and the Final Phase of Egyptian Funerary Literature in Roman Egypt.” PhD diss., University of Chicago.

2015 “From the Beginning to the End: How to Generate and Transmit Funerary Texts in Ancient Egypt.” *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 15: 202–23.

2019 “A Kind of Paradise: The Research Archives of the OI.” In *Discovering New Pasts: The OI at 100*, edited by Theo van den Hout, pp. 133–58. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

2022 “Oriental Institute Museum Notes No. 17: An Abydos Setting for a Stela of Osiris Sety I.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 81: 85–98.

Scalf, Foy, ed.

2017 *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Scott, Nora

1951 “The Metternich Stela.” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 9: 201–17.

Seele, Keith

1947 “Horus on the Crocodiles.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 6: 43–52.

Sternberg el-Hotabi, Heike

1987 “Die Götterdarstellungen der Metternichstele: Ein Neuansatz zu ihrer Interpretation als Elemente eines Kontinuitätsmodells.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 97: 25–70.

1999 *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen: Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 62. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Stevens, Anna

2009 “Domestic Religious Practices.” In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich and Jacobo Dieleman, pp. 1–31. Los Angeles: University of California, Los Angeles. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7s07628w>.

Theis, Christoffer

2020 “Material Aspects of Rituals beyond Their Instructions.” In *Material Aspects of Reading in Ancient and Medieval Cultures: Materiality, Presence and Performance*, edited by Anna Krauß, Jonas Leipziger, and Friederike Schücking-Jungblut, pp. 9–22. *Materiale Textkulturen* 26. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Thuault, Simon

2020 “L’iconicité des hiéroglyphes égyptiens: La question de la mutilation.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 147: 106–14.

van der Moezel, Kyra

2018 “On Signs, Lists and Standardisation.” In *Ägyptologische “Binsen”-Weisheiten*, vol. 3, *Formen und Funktionen von Zeichenliste und Paläographie*, edited by Svenja A. Gülden, Kyra van der Moezel, and Ursula Verhoeven, pp. 51–81. *Abhandlungen der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Einzelveröffentlichung* 15. Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur.

Vassilika, Eleni

1989 *Ptolemaic Philae*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 34. Leuven: Peeters.

Verhoeven, Ursula

2001 *Untersuchungen zur späthieratischen Buchschrift*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 99. Leuven: Peeters.

West, Nick

2011 “Gods on Small Things: Egyptian Monumental Iconography on Late Antique Magical Gems and the Greek and Demotic Magical Papyri.” *Pallas* 86: 135–66.

Willems, Harco

2020 “From Thebes to Piramesse—and Back: On the Text History of Supplementary Chapter 166 of the Book of the Dead.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 106: 133–43.

Wilson, John A.

1935–38 “School Writings of the Middle Kingdom and Empire.” In *Mélanges Maspero*, vol. 1, *Orient Ancien*, fasc. 2, pp. 901–5. *Memoires de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 66/2. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Wilson, Penelope

1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters.

Wimmer, Stefan

1995 *Hieratische Paläographie der nicht-literarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie*. 2 vols. Ägypten und Altes Testament 28. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Winand, Jean

1992 *Études de néo-égyptien*. Vol. 1, *La morphologie verbale*. *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 2. Liège: Centre informatique de philosophie et lettres.

19 SPELLS ON THE INTERIOR OF THE HEADBOARD OF THE COFFIN OF AHANAKHT AND CONNECTIONS WITH CHAPTERS FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD

David P. Silverman
University of Pennsylvania

ROBERT RITNER, FORMERLY ROWE PROFESSOR of Egyptology at the Oriental Institute (now Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures) of the University of Chicago, was one of the most recognized scholars, lecturers, and teachers in our field. His superb publications are numerous and erudite, and they include many areas of interest over a long period of time. Robert and I first met shortly after he began his graduate studies at the Oriental Institute and as I was completing mine. Not long after, I joined the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and over the years, Robert and I remained friends and colleagues. Later in his career, he accepted an invitation to be a visiting professor at Penn when I was on sabbatical. I dedicate to him this modest study of a rare Coffin Text spell and its apparent later connection to a brief chapter of the Book of the Dead.¹

The Coffin Text spells on which this study focuses first are those carved and painted in twenty-nine lines on the interior wall of the head end of the coffin of Ahanakht. Originally from Deir el Bersheh, the coffin is now in the collection of the Penn Museum. While I was working on the identification and translation of these inscriptions, it became apparent that some of them had links to later funerary texts, and a few seemed to cover similar ground as some chapters of the Book of the Dead.²

Over the years, the Penn Museum has had relatively few connections with the site of Deir el Bersheh in Middle Egypt. The earliest of these occurred late in 1901, when W. Max Müller, a researcher based in Egypt, contacted Sara Yorke Stevenson, then the curator of Penn's Egyptian collection. Occasionally, Müller served as the museum's agent and purchased an Egyptian antiquity that had become available. Earlier that year, he had in fact written to her and recommended that the museum consider adding to its collection the inscribed and decorated inner and outer coffins made for the nobleman Ahanakht. Müller had suggested that these two items might have originally come from the site of Bersheh. After further correspondence and discussions, the Penn Museum finally made the decision to acquire both cedar coffins (PM E16218, outer coffin; PM E16217, inner coffin). Not long after receiving the two, the larger outer coffin with its lid in place was displayed briefly in the main part of the building (fig. 19.1).

Time passed, during which the museum began construction of the Eckley B. Coxe Jr. Wing that was designed to highlight the Egyptian collection; it opened in 1926. Ahanakht's coffin, however, was not exhibited again for any length of time until 1980, when it became a part of a special exhibition, *The Egyptian Mummy: Secrets and Science*.³ Only two sections of Ahanakht's outer coffin were displayed at the time: the small panel at the head end and the upper section of the long board of the front side. Both have Coffin Texts on their inner sides.⁴ The complete inner coffin of Ahanakht was also displayed there for a time. However, while its outer walls are carved and painted (fig. 19.2), it has no traces of any type of text or decoration on

1 I express my gratitude to Ardeth Anderson for the excellent drawings she provided and to Stephen Phillips for preparing the typescript and bibliography.

2 Egyptologists have been pointing out such connections for many years. See notes below for further information.

3 Fleming et al. 1980, p. 15.

4 Fleming et al. 1980, p. 15.

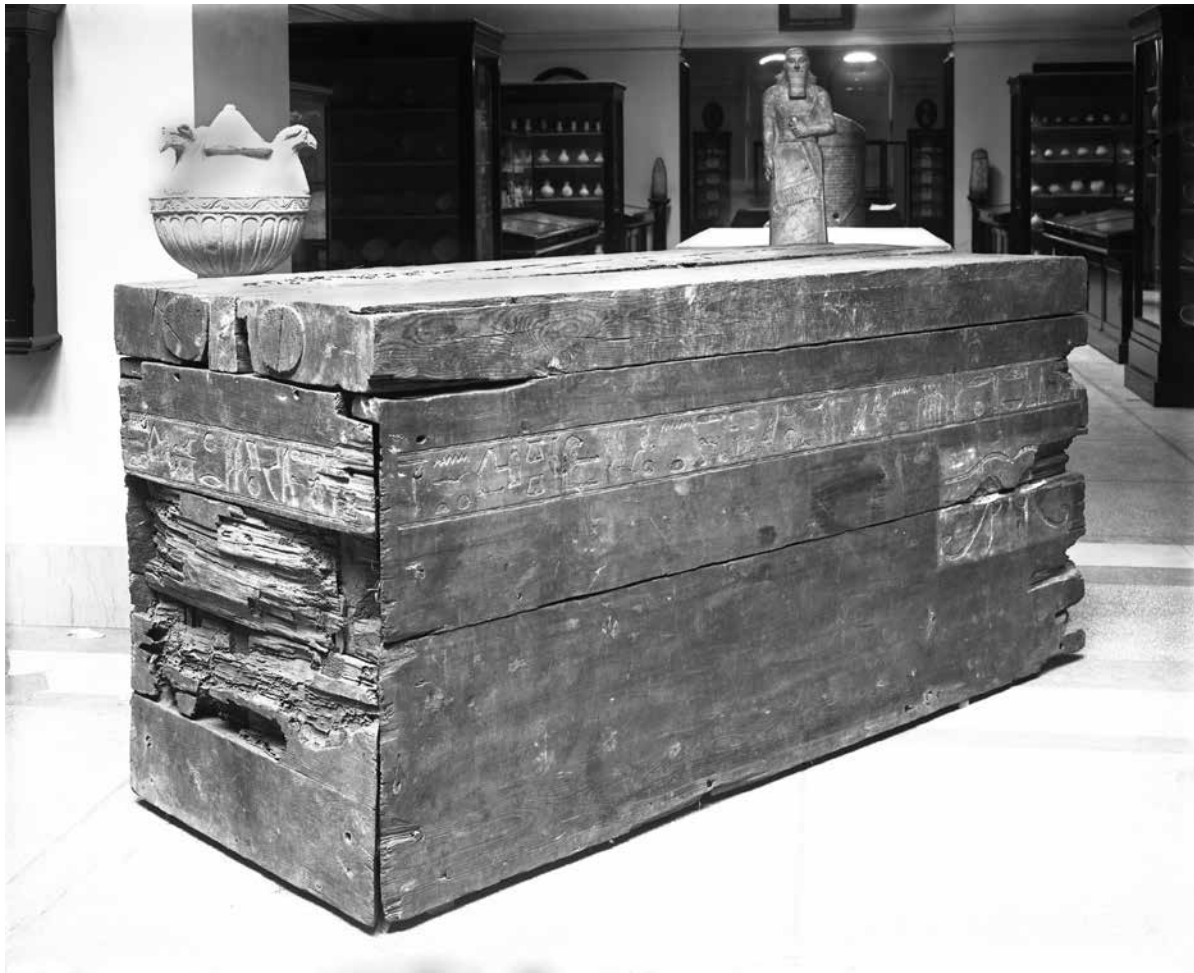


Figure 19.1. Ahanakht outer coffin, PM E16218. Courtesy Penn Museum Archives, neg. no. 31395.



Figure 19.2. Ahanakht inner coffin, PM E16217. Courtesy Penn Museum Egyptian Section.

the interior walls. On the outer surface of this coffin, the original large, carved and painted hieroglyphic text is still intact.

Then, in 1990, the Penn Museum furthered its connection with Ahanakht and Bersheh when it joined the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and Leiden University in sponsoring a primarily epigraphic expedition to the site of Bersheh. The team focused on copying the texts and analyzing the reliefs and paintings in the tombs there dating to the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom,⁵ including the one belonging to the nomarch Ahanakht I, who may have been the owner of our coffins.⁶

Much remains of the colors, texts, and images on both the exterior and interior walls of other sections of Ahanakht's outer coffin in the Penn Museum. The hieroglyphic texts on the outer walls and lid still retain some of their original color. The state of preservation on the coffin's interior walls, however, has not fared as well, since most of the original thin layer of white paint and plaster, and most of the remnants of the original ink outlines that had delineated each sign as well as the line dividers, have not survived. The carved lines of each sign, however, are still quite clear (fig. 19.3). Not long ago, H. Willems commented on a similar situation regarding the carving and painting of the texts on the inner surface of a coffin recently excavated at Bersheh. He also noted that this process of inscribing texts was common at Bersheh in the early Middle Kingdom. According to him, these texts represent the earliest attestation of the Book of Two Ways.⁷

What survives today of Ahanakht's headboard, however, comprises only the lower two sections of this part of the coffin (fig. 19.3; PM E16218M, length 80 cm, width 26 cm, thickness 10 cm). Unfortunately, the uppermost area has not survived. That more of the text was on an upper section that is now missing is clear from the fact that the preserved signs now appear exceedingly close to the upper edge of the board (fig. 19.3).⁸ In most lines, the uppermost text that we have represents the lower part of a word, phrase, or

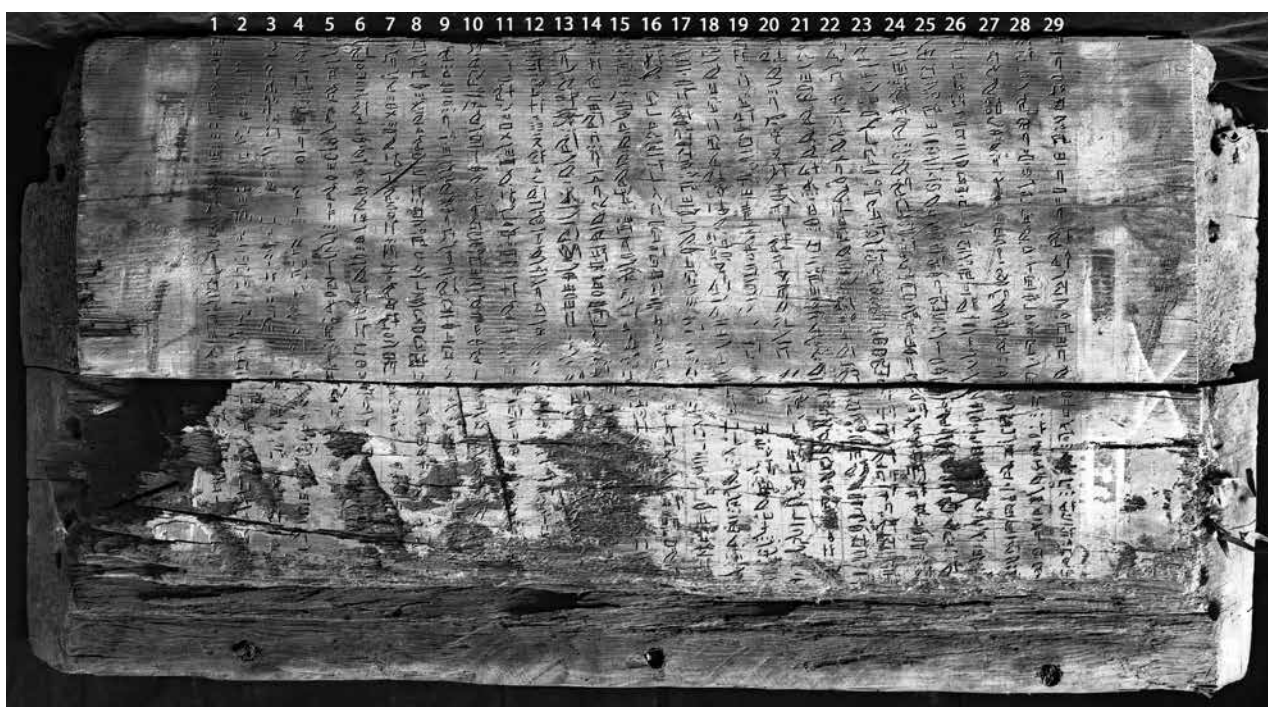


Figure 19.3. Ahanakht outer coffin, headboard, interior side, PM E16218M.
Courtesy Penn Museum Archives, neg. no. 31398.

5 See information on the 1990 season in Brovarski et al. 1992.

6 See, among others, the studies of Brovarski 1981; Willems 1988, pp. 72–74; Willems 2014, pp. 81–82, 83–84, 87–98, 88 n. 99. Cf. also Freed et al. 2009, pp. 25, 85, 101, 102, 187, 188; also Brovarski 2016.

7 Willems 2018, p. 148.

8 Berman also noted that the signs in the Coffin Texts carved on the interior walls of the coffins of Djehutynakht were incised and outlined in black (Berman 2009, p. 107).

sentence. However, sometimes only a single sign is preserved. In addition, *dd mdw*, the phrase that often appears at the top of a line of text, is absent here.⁹ The surface of the headboard has also suffered damage toward the bottom of its lower half, resulting in the loss of some text in this area as well. The combination of these factors sometimes makes it unclear exactly where a spell begins and ends.¹⁰ To the right and left of the central inscription are anepigraphic sections that still retain some traces of their original color. There is no evidence to suggest these areas ever had texts.

The footboard at the opposite end of Ahanakht's coffin also has survived, and fortunately, a good portion of its interior wall surface remains. It has two parts, an upper and a lower, that fit together well so that the text reads smoothly. There are undecorated areas at the sides, top, and bottom that border the central inscribed area. Fewer traces of paint, plaster, and interlinear marker lines have survived on this board, however. It also differs in that it has more lines of text (thirty-six), and, interestingly, each line on this panel had the expected phrase, *dd mdw*, at the top. The length of each line, therefore, was essentially uniform.

On the headboard, the preserved twenty-nine lines of text¹¹ record the funerary spells in carved/painted cursive hieroglyphic and/or hieratic signs. They are arranged in columns and face to the right, but the text reads from left to right in retrograde (figs. 19.3 and 19.4).¹² The first fifteen lines of our text are part of CT spell 75, one of the longer spells in the collection that appears in several coffins from many different areas. The version that we see in the coffin of Ahanakht in the Penn Museum covers a good portion of this spell, which de Buck recorded in CT I, pp. 314a through 376c.¹³ What is clear in our text is that it begins with CT I, p. 314b, in the now-lost area. It continues in our line 1 with the lower part of CT I, p. 316a, and what remains is a considerable portion of the original spell. In addition, some passages contain variants that appear to be the result of conscious editing in ancient times.¹⁴ For each spell, de Buck included many other coffins with the same text, and a few of these also came from the site of Bersheh; one of them was the outer coffin of Djehutynakht (B1Bo), now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (20.1822–27).¹⁵ The coffin of Ahanakht at the Penn Museum, unknown to de Buck when he compiled his edition, is another source. Overall, the version of this spell in each coffin, while often similar, occasionally has some differences. For example, the first line in all but one of the versions (S1C, and probably also S2C) begins this spell with a title preceding the text; the text then continues with a nominal sentence pattern indicating that the tomb owner was the *ba* of the god Shu. Version S1C (and probably S2C) begins with the traditional term *r* “spell” indicating that the title was “A spell of the *b3* of Shu and for coming into being as Shu.”¹⁶

Even though the end of line 15 of our text is not preserved, it seems likely that CT spell 75 continued down to its bottom and then on to the missing top of line 16. The first phrase that has survived at the top of Ahanakht's line 16 is one that occurs at the beginning of CT spell 228 in another Bersheh coffin (the inner one that belonged to Djehutynakht, B2Bo). As was the case with CT spell 75 above, neither of these two spells appears to have had any introductory text, and the first phrase in CT III, p. 268a, and our line 16 begin a new spell, CT spell 228.¹⁷ Our version of CT spell 228 continues for a few lines and has a bit of damage in some places, but it seems to follow through until line 20 (CT III, pp. 288a–290c). At the top of line 21,

9 For example, in the coffins of Djehutynakht, the phrase *dd mdw* regularly appears at the top of each line in a Coffin Text spell. See, e.g., Freed et al. 2009, figs. 68–70, 73–74, 81, 84.

10 I wish to thank Foy Scalf for his suggested readings of specific signs.

11 See the inscribed interior of the headboard in fig. 19.3, with the accompanying modern column numbers above reading left to right.

12 See, e.g., Parkinson et al. 1995, p. 24; Davies 1987, pp. 21–22; Niwinski 1989, pp. 13ff.; also Munro 1987, pp. 200ff. More recently, see Angenot 2010; Goelet 2013; Simpson 2017.

13 Note that only one coffin, S1C, has CT I, p. 314a, while the rest begin with CT I, p. 314b.

14 See, among others, Silverman 1989; Gestermann 2017; also Jürgens 1995; Goelet 2015.

15 His inner coffin, B2Bo (BMFA 21.962–63), also has some texts in other spells that parallel those of Ahanakht. See Berman 2009; also Terrace 1969.

16 For a discussion of the spell, see, e.g., Willems 1996, esp. pp. 270–86 for an in-depth treatment of Shu and the spells. See also Allen 1988, pp. 14–18.

17 Djehutynakht's outer coffin (B1Bo) does not include this spell.

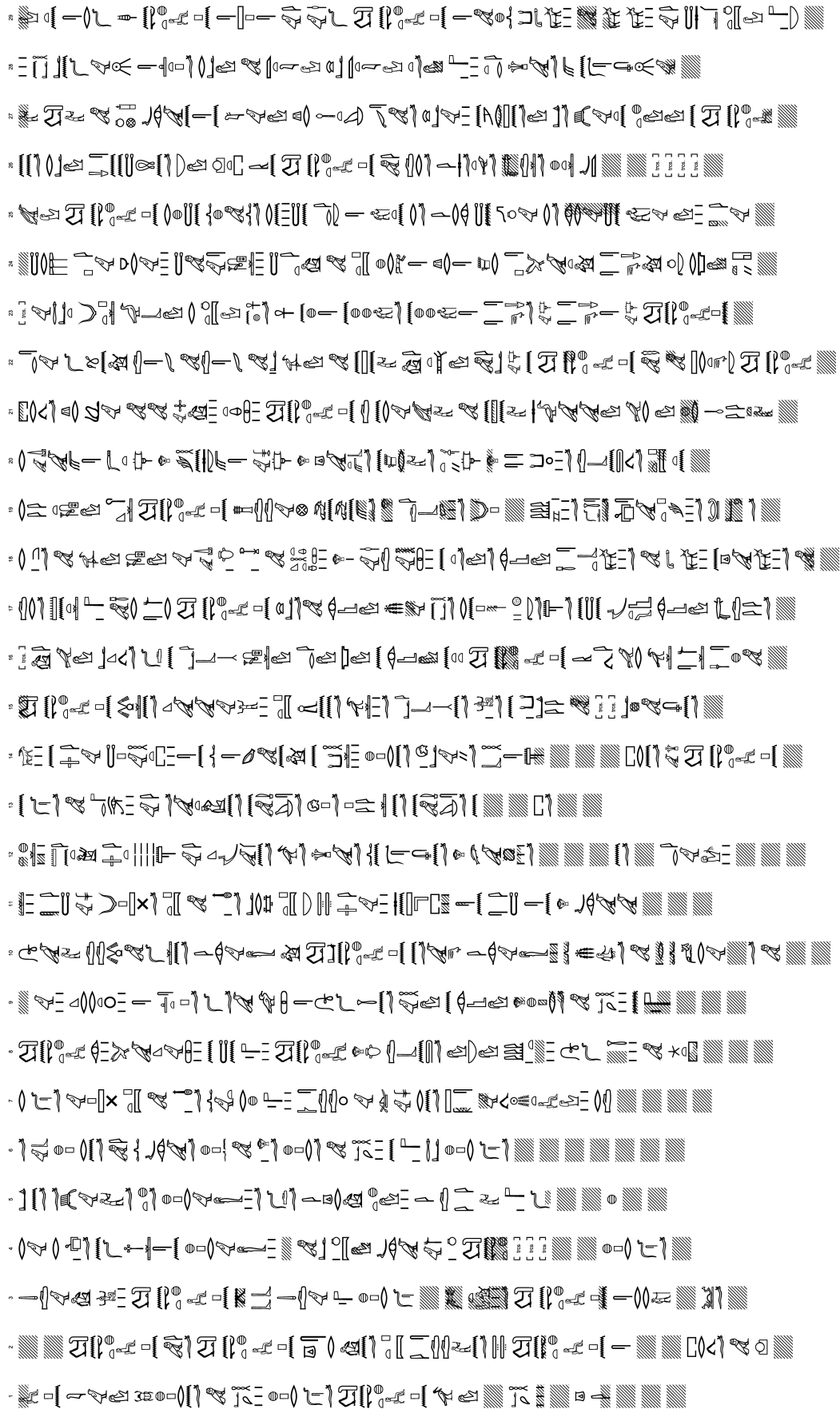


Figure 19.4. Ahanakht outer coffin, headboard, PM E16218M, lines 1–29.

CT spell 228 picks up again with CT III, p. 292a, and continues down this line slightly less than halfway; it ends at CT III, p. 292b, with the name of the deceased.¹⁸

The next few signs that follow in line 21 are not particularly clear, but it seems likely that the scribe began another text at this point, most likely the relatively short CT spell 555, CT VI, p. 155h or 155i. This conclusion is supported by the clear presence of the latter part of this spell in the text that begins at the top of our line 22 (CT VI, p. 156a–c). However, the spell likely began halfway through the preceding line, our line 21, and traces of several signs belonging to CT VI, p. 155l–m, are apparent. For this spell, de Buck listed only two parallels, B1Bo and B2Bo. B2Bo began with a title (CT VI, p. 155h), while B1Bo placed a slightly different version at the end (CT VI, p. 156d) and used a different writing of *wnn*. The scribe also added *pj* “this” after the name of the deity. Ahanakht’s version, however, does not appear to have included a title in either location. It, like B1Bo, began with CT VI, p. 155i. Ahanakht’s scribe then ended line 21 with CT VI, p. 155j. The now-missing section (CT VI, p. 155k–m) was likely at the top of our line 22. Ahanakht’s text then continues CT spell 555 with CT VI, 156a–c. While this spell has not been pointed out in the literature as a precursor of a funerary text in a later collection of spells, it does seem close to chapter 95 of the Book of the Dead,¹⁹ and this suggestion is discussed later in this study.

At this point in line 22, the scribe introduced a new text, CT spell 223, which was slightly longer than the preceding one. Interestingly, this spell also occurred in coffins B1Bo and B2Bo, and both it and CT spell 555 were placed close to each other in their respective coffins.²⁰ In the Ahanakht version, CT spell 223 continued down line 22 with CT III, pp. 208c–d (and possibly the beginning of CT III, p. 208e). The now-missing upper part of the headboard likely had the remainder of the text of CT III, p. 208e, and the first part of CT III, p. 209a, carved on it. In all likelihood, the top of our line 23 began with the lower part of CT III, p. 209a (starting with *ʒt wpt* and then continuing on through CT III, p. 210b). The last section of this spell, the lower part of CT III, p. 210b, as well as CT III, p. 210c–d, probably occupied the now-missing area on the upper part of the headboard, above the top of our line 24. While both B1Bo and B2Bo include this spell, the latter seems closer to the Ahanakht text.

The text that follows is even shorter than its predecessor. It likely began in the uppermost part of the next line, line 25, no longer complete. At first glance, what remains of the text did not appear immediately familiar. It did not seem to relate to the preceding CT spells 223 or 555, nor did it seem to relate to CT spells 553 and 554, which follow it. In addition, checking specific words that occur in this line in van der Molen’s dictionary of Coffin Texts did not reveal any terms that occur in similar contexts in other Coffin Text spells.²¹

The other funerary spells that appear on Ahanakht’s headboard frequently had close parallels with those spells that appeared before, after, and close to CT spells 223, 553, and 555 in the Coffin Texts.²² During my investigation, it became clear that CT spell 664 (B1Bo) seemed to have a context similar to that in Ahanakht’s line 24. It might have begun in the now-missing upper part of line 25.²³

What is now visible in line 25 of Ahanakht’s coffin clearly represents the midpoint of CT spell 553 (CT VI, p. 152g–j), which then continues to the bottom of the line with CT VI, p. 153a. Some of the earlier parts of this spell originally were in the now-missing upper part of the panel (perhaps CT VI, p. 152e–f), but there does not appear to be enough room at the beginning of the text here or at the bottom of line 24 for the

18 Djehutynakht’s inner coffin (B2Bo) does not include the name of the deceased at this point in the spell, as is the case with all but one of the sources.

19 Note its absence from the works quoted of de Buck in CT I–VII and Allen 1974. For recent articles on editing and reusing earlier spells, see Bickel and Díaz-Iglesias 2017, esp. pp. 513–52. In that volume, see, e.g., Hussein 2017; Végh 2017.

20 See Lesko 1979, pp. 16, 19. Note that in both coffins, CT spells 223 and 553 were located close to CT spell 555.

21 See, e.g., the entries for *spʒ* in van der Molen 2000, pp. 480–82, where the author notes its occurrence in CT spell 667 (CT VI, p. 296b, g). Unfortunately, the remainder of that text differs markedly from what we have in Ahanakht’s line 24. A search for examples of *spʒ* in both van der Molen and the Pyramid Texts also failed to result in any clear parallel to the text in Ahanakht.

22 See the spells in these two coffins, listed in order, in Lesko 1979, pp. 16–17, 18–19. See also the translations of CT spell 664 in Barguet 1986, p. 290; Faulkner 1977, p. 166.

23 For a further study of this text, see the paragraph below, and also Silverman, forthcoming.

rest of this part of the spell. In any case, CT spell 553 continues in our line 26 and ends with CT VI, p. 153f, just before the bottom. Interestingly, this spell appears in all three of these Bersheh coffins, and then all three follow it with the slightly longer CT spell 554 (CT VI, pp. 153h–154o). The latter text began at the bottom of our line 26 and continued into line 27, where we can see part of CT spell 554 (CT VI, pp. 153k–154c). After the missing section of line 28 (which likely had CT VI, p. 154d), CT spell 554 resumes at the top of our line 28 with the end of CT VI, p. 154e. It continues down this line, but it seems closer to the B2Bo version of CT VI, p. 154h, toward the bottom of the line. It then seems to follow more closely the text of B1Bo in the following line. After accounting for the missing section at the top of line 29, the text resumes with the lower part of CT VI, p. 154k. It continues with CT VI, p. 154l, and most of CT VI, p. 154m. This spell marks the end of the Coffin Texts carved and painted on the inner side of the head end of the coffin of Ahanakht.

Thus, a sequence of seven Coffin Text spells appears in the surviving lower part of the twenty-nine lines of text on the head end of Ahanakht's coffin. It is thus far the longest sequence of this series of seven spells: CT 75 > CT 228 > CT 555 > CT 223 > CT 664 > CT 553 > CT 554. A related series also appears on two other Bersheh coffins, B1Bo and B2Bo, both of which belong to Djehutynakht. The spells on those two coffins differ somewhat from each other, as well as from those on Ahanakht's coffin. For example, B1Bo is shorter and has only six spells in its series, each of which appears on the footboard:²⁴ CT 555 > CT 670 > CT 223 > CT 664 > CT 553 > CT 554. Neither CT spell 75 nor CT spell 228 appears here; CT spell 555 now begins the series. A new spell, CT spell 670, then follows in second position, and the remainder of the spells follow the pattern on Ahanakht's coffin. This series of texts was placed on the bottom of the coffin.²⁵ Coffin B2Bo has a third sequence. The shortest of the group, it has only four spells, CT 555 > CT 223 > CT 553 > CT 554, and each also occurs in both of the other two Bersheh coffins noted above. The series in B2Bo also appeared on the bottom of the coffin.²⁶ Notably, only the series that occurs on the coffin of Ahanakht and B1Bo (Djehutynakht) possesses CT spell 664.

When de Buck published his series of volumes that list the large number of Coffin Text spells in order, he included any parallel versions of the spells that he had found. After reading the twenty-nine lines that appear on the head end of Ahanakht's coffin, it was possible to identify a parallel in de Buck's collection for all but one. The first of these was CT spell 75, and de Buck listed several coffins from Bersheh and elsewhere, including Djehutynakht's B1Bo but not B2Bo. The next to occur, CT spell 228, has many parallels, including B2Bo but not B1Bo.²⁷ CT spell 555 also appears in these other two Bersheh coffins and, in addition, coffin B4c. Three Bersheh coffins, B1Bo, B2Bo, and B3Bo, include CT spell 223, along with two other coffins from Saqqara and Thebes. CT spell 553 comes next, and it appears in coffins B1Bo, B2Bo, and B4c. The following spell, CT spell 554, appears in only B1Bo and B2Bo. To all of these we can now add the coffin of Ahanakht.

In addition to providing an invaluable collection of nonroyal funerary texts that cover much of the time span between the royal Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom and the more inclusive Book of the Dead of the New Kingdom and beyond, de Buck also listed those Coffin Text spells that had a parallel with an earlier or later source.²⁸ Among his many examples are two of the Coffin Text spells that also appear on Bersheh coffins B1Bo and B2Bo: CT spells 228 and 223. These two spells also occur on the inner wall of Ahanakht's headboard. CT spell 228 has similarities to BD chapters 69b–70, and CT spell 223 resembles BD chapter 54a. In the ensuing years, scholars have noted other examples, sometimes on coffins from newly discovered sites or because of recent studies in museums.²⁹

In fact, our recent examination of Ahanakht's coffin has revealed a likely connection between a spell from the Coffin Texts (CT spell 555) and a chapter from the Book of the Dead (chapter 95). Discussed above,

24 Lesko 1979, p. 16.

25 Lesko 1979, p. 16.

26 Lesko 1979, p. 19.

27 For dating information on Ahanakht and Djehutynakht, see, e.g., Willems 2018, p. 145; also Freed et al. 2009.

28 See CT III, pp. xii–xiv. Also note a similar list that Allen (1974, pp. 225–41) published a few years after the de Buck Coffin Text volumes had appeared.

29 See, e.g., Lapp 1997, p. 56, §93; also Bickel and Díaz-Iglesias 2017.

our version of CT spell 555 begins near the midpoint of line 21 and then continues into line 22; it ends about midway through that line. No title occurs in the extant text in Ahanakht's coffin. However, both the outer and inner coffins of Djehutynakht, B1Bo and B2Bo, have a version of CT spell 555 (CT VI, pp. 155h–156d) (fig. 19.5), and each differs slightly from the other. B1Bo has no introductory text, but a version of the title appears at the end (CT VI, p. 156d). Interestingly, the demonstrative pronoun *pj* “this” appears after *Dḥwtj* at the end (“this Thoth”).³⁰ In B2Bo, a slightly different and shorter title stands at the front of the spell, the more usual location for such information. However, both have the same focus: *wnn r-gs Dḥwtj* “Being beside Thoth.” Although some differences exist in the two versions of this spell, the main message of each is quite close. At the beginning of CT VI, p. 155i, the introductory phrase differs. B1Bo begins with a *sdm.f*, whereas B2Bo has a participial statement. In CT VI, pp. 155j and 155l, B1Bo uses a causative form, but B2Bo does not. Sometimes B1Bo has the personal name of the deceased, whereas B2Bo seems to prefer using the first-person pronoun. In the latter part of the spell (CT VI, p. 156a), only B2Bo includes the *w* in *srwd*; and in CT VI, p. 156b, B1Bo uses *jmj-ᶜ Dḥwtj*, while B2Bo has a shortened form, *(j)m(j)-ᶜ Dḥwtj*, with Thoth on a standard. At the end, only B1Bo has a text similar to the B2Bo version of the title in CT V, p. 155h (but omitted in B1Bo).

Thus far, we have found only three contemporaneous versions of this short Coffin Text spell, all of which came from Bersheh. This single spell appears on an interior wall of each of the two coffins that belonged to Djehutynakht. An additional version has been identified on the coffin of Ahanakht, another member of the same family. In total, the Coffin Texts recorded by de Buck included almost 1,200 spells that represent centuries of work by those composing and editing such texts. Both de Buck and the many scholars before and after him have pointed out roots in the Pyramid Texts and successors in the Book of the Dead.³¹

As was the case with several other Coffin Texts, CT spell 555 must have survived in some form for several centuries, because we see in the Eighteenth Dynasty a spell that seems quite close to it. It is likely that it was reused at some point when formulating a chapter for the Book of the Dead. In comparing CT spell 555 to BD chapter 95, much of the text of the former appears in the latter. Although chapter 95 did not become one of the most popular texts, it does appear in Books of the Dead from the Eighteenth Dynasty and later, and it was used as well on the walls of several tombs.³² In these later versions the title is similar, and much of the text is very close to the versions that had appeared in the earlier Bersheh coffins of Djehutynakht and Ahanakht.³³ Book of the Dead chapter 95, however, continued in use throughout most of the New Kingdom.³⁴ It then continued in use even in later periods and well into the Ptolemaic period.³⁵

In the collection of Coffin Texts, some spells appear in many different coffins, while others have only a few sources. Some of these spells, however, are “unique”; they occur in only one coffin.³⁶ It seems natural to assume that texts attested in only a single copy or in very few sources in the Middle Kingdom would have a smaller chance of surviving a long passage of time. However, a few unique spells from the collection of

30 See van der Molen 2000, p. 129, which includes our passage. The geminating infinitive *wnn* introduces the title of the spell.

31 See, e.g., Dorman 2017.

32 See many references in Munro 1987, p. 343, for Books of the Dead of the Eighteenth Dynasty that include this spell.

33 See, however, the conclusions of Quirke (2013, p. 214), who noted “no earlier sources,” and earlier, Allen (1974, p. 231), who lists no “earlier relatives” for BD chapter 95. For a few others, see the references in Lapp 1997, p. 90, §93.

34 See Munro 1987, pp. 274–96 for examples from the Eighteenth Dynasty, pp. 296–308 for examples from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. See also the Fitzwilliam Museum website for a chapter 95 vignette from the Book of the Dead of Ramose: <https://book-of-the-dead.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explore/the-book-of-the-dead/spell-95>. In addition, the Totenbuch Project lists close to a hundred other sources for chapter 95: <http://totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/spruch/95>.

35 See, e.g., Carrier 2011, pp. xxv, 321–22, 812. Quirke (2013, p. 214) points out the many examples of chapter 95 from the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic period as well. See also Mosher 2018, pp. 56–58.

36 For information on this last group, “unique” spells, I am indebted to Foy Scalf, who referred me to an article by Zamacona (2021). This source led me in turn to an earlier work by Billson (2010). Note also Willems 2017; Morales 2017, pp. 9–10, 12–14, 18, 20–23, 136–39, 142–46, 164. For sequencing Pyramid Texts, see Hays 2012, pp. 453–68, 469–86.

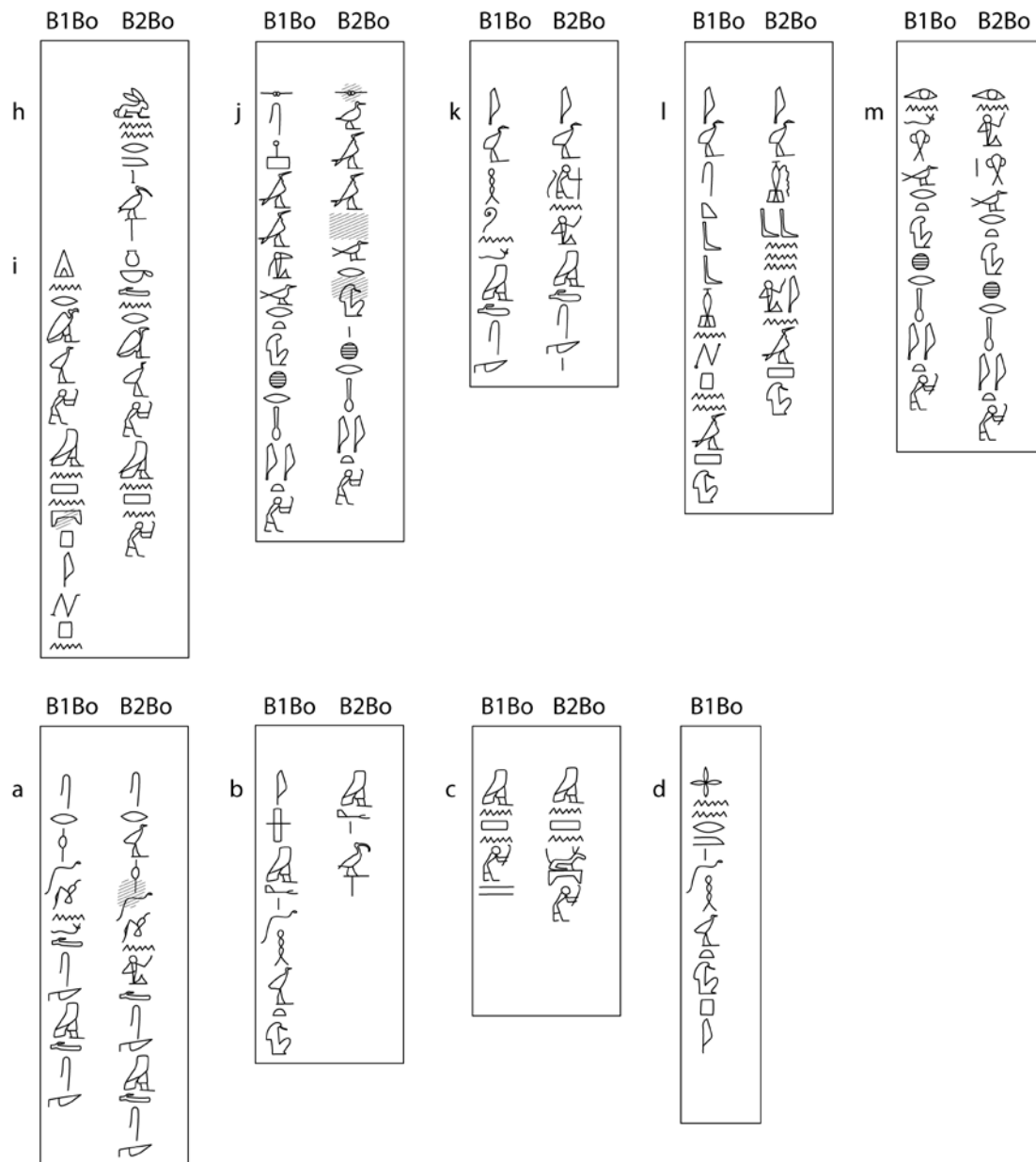


Figure 19.5. Coffin Text spell 555 (after CT VI, pp. 155–56). Drawing by Ardeth Anderson.

Coffin Texts, as well as a few with a low number of surviving copies, in fact appear to be early sources of some chapters of the Book of the Dead.

For example, a few unique spells in Billson's table 2³⁷ appear also in de Buck's lists of Coffin Text spells relating to the Book of the Dead. Quirke has also noted "earlier sources" for some, but not all, of the Book of the Dead chapters.³⁸ The list of such spells is rather short (see table 19.1) in comparison with the overall number of Coffin Text spells. It is interesting to see, however, that they likely were important enough to be preserved and recorded in some form and then archived so that they could be used in creating later

37 Billson 2010, pp. 14–18 and table 2.

38 See Quirke 2013, p. 6 for BD chapter 1 (CT spell 314); p. 31 for BD chapter 14 (CT spell 719); p. 69 for BD chapters 18–19 (CT spells 337–339); p. 182 for BD chapter 77 (CT spell 205); p. 293 for BD chapter 131, second part (CT spell 759); and p. 380 for BD chapter 153 (CT spell 478). Quirke does not, however, include CT spell 311 for BD chapter 83 or CT spell 336 for BD chapter 17. Also note Allen 1960, p. 228 for a rare occasion of a brief or single Coffin Text spell as a source for a Book of the Dead chapter: CT spell 228 for BD chapters 69b–70 and CT spell 223 for BD chapter 54a.

Table 19.1. Coffin Text spells relating to Book of the Dead spells.

| | CT spell | BD chapter | Quirke reference ³⁹ |
|----|----------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | 305 | 77 | p. 182 |
| 2 | 311 | 83 | |
| 3 | 314 | 1 | p. 6 |
| 4 | 336 | 17 | |
| 5 | 339 | 18–19 | p. 69 |
| 6 | 474 | cf. 153 | |
| 7 | 477 | cf. 153 | |
| 8 | 478 | cf. 153 | |
| 9 | 719 | 14 | p. 131 |
| 10 | 754 | 34 | |
| 11 | 759 | 131 (second part) | p. 293 |

funerary texts. In recent times, more scholars have been looking in depth at the whole process of the transference of religious texts from one period to another.⁴⁰

CT spell 555 is not unique, since it appears in the three coffins of Djehutynakht and Ahanakht. Its text is extremely brief, and although the spell's likelihood of survival might seem very low, the many similarities it shares with BD chapter 95 suggests that the two are clearly connected and that sources of the spell survived:

CT spell 555: Coffins of Djehutynakht and Ahanakht (CT VI, pp. 155–56; fig. 19.5)⁴¹

155h. Being Beside Thoth.⁴²

155i. I am the one who puts fear into this one who rages,⁴³

155j. who triumphs over one (fem.) great of war;⁴⁴

155k. I am the one who triumphs over . . .⁴⁵

155l. I have calmed down the condemned one.⁴⁶

155m. I have made an amulet of the great one (fem.) of hostility.⁴⁷

156a. I have strengthened the knife by means of flint⁴⁸

156b. which is in the hand of Thoth⁴⁹

156c. as the enraged one/in the storm.

156d. Being beside this Thoth.

³⁹ Quirke 2013.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., the sources listed in n. 14 above. See also Rößler-Köhler 1998; Gestermann 2017, pp. 267–69; Hussein 2017; the chapters of several authors in Bickel and Díaz-Iglesias 2017; Silverman 2015; and Silverman 2016.

⁴¹ For translations of this spell, see also Faulkner 1977, p. 166; Barguet 1986, p. 291.

⁴² B1Bo omits this phrase here but adds it later.

⁴³ See B1Bo in CT spell 555 (CT VI, p. 155i), which uses *pn*. While B2Bo has a participial statement, B1Bo and Djehutynakht use passive *sdmw.f* constructions.

⁴⁴ It appears that the coffins of both Djehutynakht and Ahanakht use a participle here.

⁴⁵ B1Bo uses the third person; B2Bo uses the first person.

⁴⁶ B1Bo uses the owner's name, Djehutynakht, as subject. See also van der Molen 2000, p. 200.

⁴⁷ The context suggests that some type of protection was made. See also Barguet 1986, p. 291.

⁴⁸ B1Bo uses the third person.

⁴⁹ B1Bo omits the god's name, while B2Bo uses his image on a standard.

Book of the Dead chapter 95: Papyrus of Nu, BM EA 10477 (fig. 19.6)⁵⁰

a. Spell for being beside Thoth: Words said by the steward of the Treasury . . .

b. I am the terror in the storm, the one who guards the great one (fem.) [goddess] in war; I have strengthened the knife in sharpness . . .

c. The one who is beside Thoth in the storm.

It is clear from comparing the two texts that they are quite similar, despite the passage of time. In the Books of the Dead of the New Kingdom and later, however, chapter 95 can show some differences in the orthography. For example, *wrt* has a seated-goddess determinative in CT VI, p. 555j (see fig. 19.5).⁵¹ In some papyri of the New Kingdom and later, however, a coiled snake can complement the goddess, making the term more specific: “the one who guards the great cobra” (fig. 19.6 left and center). The Book of the Dead



Figure 19.6. Book of the Dead chapter 95. *Left*, from P. Nu, BM EA 10477 (after Lapp 1997, pl. 20).

Center, from P. Ramose, FW E.22.1922 (after Fitzwilliam Museum n.d.). *Right*, from P. Userhat, BM EA 10009,3 (after British Museum). Drawings by Ardeth Anderson.

⁵⁰ See also the translation in Quirke 2013, p. 214. Note that the beginning of Userhat’s version differs from that of the others. It begins with the expression *jrt hprw m smn jn Wsjr-h3t*. The first part of this passage, however, has parallels in the Coffin Texts—e.g., CT spell 278 (CT IV, p. 25c); CT spell 286 (CT IV, p. 38e); CT spell 287 (CT IV, p. 38f); CT spell 581 (CT IV, p. 38e).

⁵¹ See above, CT spell 555 (CT VI, p. 155), coffins of Djehutynakht and Ahanakht, for the translation “one (fem.) great of war.”

of Userhat in the British Museum (BM EA 10009,3; fig. 19.6 right), however, follows the earlier model and retains the deity but omits the cobra.⁵² In addition, the title in P. Userhat differs from those used in both the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead. Others, such as the papyrus of Nu (fig. 19.6 left),⁵³ as well as the Book of the Dead of Ramose in the Fitzwilliam Museum (E.22.1922; fig. 19.6 center), use the enhanced writing with the cobra.⁵⁴ In some cases, for example, the late Book of the Dead of Iouefankh,⁵⁵ chapter 95 has *wrt* followed by a cobra and *wrr* followed by a white crown.⁵⁶ Both sources of CT spell 555, CT VI, p. 156c, use the phrase *jmj-ᶜ Dḥwtj*, as do the Books of the Dead of Nu and Userhat. In the Book of the Dead of Ramose, however, the deity listed is Khepri.⁵⁷ It is interesting that the introductions (titles) to the spell in most of the Coffin Text and Book of the Dead examples included here have a similar expression, *r n wnn r-gs Dḥwtj*, “Spell for being beside Thoth.”

The text of BD chapter 95 in the papyrus of Userhat begins in the second line with the expression *jnḳ pw*. The same phrase appears a bit later in the text of both P. Nu and P. Ramose, as well as in CT spell 555, CT VI, p. 155i (B2Bo), without *pw*. In the beginning of these latter three texts, the actual introductory phrase is *(r n) wnn r-gs Dḥwtj*. Only at the end of the P. Userhat text is there a somewhat similar phrase. There is, however, another column of the P. Userhat text that appears to the left and does not relate to either of the other two versions of BD chapter 95 or to CT spell 555. It is an expression used to introduce a chapter relating to the transformation of the deceased in the afterlife.⁵⁸ Of the examples Quirke illustrates, the introductory phrase, *jrt ḥprw*, is shorter and one of the less common ones. In P. Userhat it is abbreviated to this single line: *jrt ḥprw m smn jn Wsr-ḥ3t m3ᶜ -ḥrw* “making a transformation into a *smn*-goose by Userhat, one true of voice.”⁵⁹ This particular expression usually appears early in the text, and in most examples more text follows. It is possible that the impressive image of the colorful *smn*-goose above the text (not shown in fig. 19.6) may have had some effect. Its large size and generous width, spanning all five lines of text below, made its own statement.⁶⁰

Given all these details linking CT spell 555 and BD chapter 95, it is likely that the former was the inspiration and model for the latter.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------|---|
| BD | Book of the Dead |
| CT | Coffin Text |
| CT I–VII | Adriaan de Buck. <i>The Egyptian Coffin Texts</i> . 7 vols. Oriental Institute Publications 34, 49, 64, 67, 73, 81, 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935–61 |
| fem. | feminine |
| P. | Papyrus |

52 See P. BM EA 10009,3: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10009-3 (accessed June 1, 2021).

53 Lapp 1997, pl. 20.

54 Fitzwilliam Museum FW E.22.1922: <https://book-of-the-dead.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explore/the-book-of-the-dead/spell-95>.

55 Carrier 2011, pp. 321–22.

56 See also Allen 1960, p. 32, where a section of BD chapter 95 is translated: *wn m z3w Wrr(t)* “who was a guardian of the Coil (of the northern crown)” and *s33 wrt* “who guards the royal ureaus.” See also p. 169 for other examples.

57 See also Allen 1960, p. 169 n. d (in reference to his translation, “I steadied the sharp knife in the hand of Khepri”), where he comments that Thoth was used in the New Kingdom (“Empire”). See also Goebis 2008, pp. 35, 38, 57, 58, 114, 120, 150, 155 for *wr* and *wrrt* indicating crowns.

58 See Quirke 2013, pp. 179–204, for extensive discussion of the chapters of the Book of the Dead that deal with transformations.

59 Quirke, 2013, pp. 179–204, does not include this example.

60 Munro 2017.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, James P.
 1988 *Genesis in Egypt: The Philosophy of Ancient Egyptian Creation Accounts*. Yale Egyptological Studies 2. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- Allen, Thomas G.
 1960 *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago*. Oriental Institute Publications 82. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1974 *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 37. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Angenot, Valérie
 2010 “Le texte en écriture rétrograde de la tombe de Sénnefer et les scribes ‘montrant du doigt’: Étude sur les vectorialités.” In *Thèbes aux 101 portes: Mélanges à la mémoire de Roland Tefnin*, edited by Eugène Warmenbol and Valérie Angenot, pp. 11–25. Turnhout: Brepols / Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Barguet, Paul
 1986 *Les textes des sarcophages égyptiens du Moyen Empire*. Éditions du Cerf 29. Paris: Latour-Maubourg.
- Berman, Lawrence M.
 2009 “The Coffins and Canopic Chests of Tomb 10A.” In *The Secrets of Tomb 10A: Egypt 2000 BC*, edited by Rita E. Freed, Lawrence M. Berman, Denise M. Doxey, and Nicholas S. Picardo, pp. 105–35. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Bickel, Susanne, and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, eds.
 2017 *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 257. Leuven: Peeters.
- Billson, Björn
 2010 “Two Aspects of Middle Kingdom Funerary Culture from Two Different Middle Egyptian Nomes.” Master’s thesis, University of Birmingham. https://etheses.bham.ac.uk/id/eprint/3304/11/Billson_12_MPhil.pdf.
- Brovarski, Edward
 1981 “Ahanakht of Bersheh and the Hare Nome in the First Intermediate Period.” In *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday, June 1, 1980*, edited by William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis, pp. 14–30. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
 2016 “Pace Harco Willems.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 249: 31–38.
- Brovarski, Edward, Rita E. Freed, Olaf Kaper, Jean-Louis Lechevre, Melissa Robinson, David P. Silverman, René van Walsem, and Harco Willems
 1992 *Bersheh Reports I: Report of the 1990 Field Season of the Joint Expedition of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; University Museum, University of Pennsylvania; Leiden University*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Carrier, Claude
 2011 *Le papyrus de Iouefânkḥ (Turin, cat. n° 1791)*. Série des papyrus du Livre des morts de l’Égypte ancienne 4. Moyen Égyptien, le langage et la culture des hiéroglyphes: analyse et traduction 6. Paris: Cybèle.
- Davies, W. Vivian
 1987 *Egyptian Hieroglyphs*. Reading the Past 6. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Dorman, Peter
 2017 “The Origins and Early Development of the Book of the Dead.” In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 29–40. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Faulkner, Raymond O.
 1977 *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. Vol. 2, *Spells 355–787*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Fitzwilliam Museum
 n.d. *Spell 95: For Being in the Presence of Thoth*. Accessed June 1, 2021. <https://book-of-the-dead.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/explore/the-book-of-the-dead/spell-95>.

- Fleming, Stuart, Bernard Fishman, David O'Connor, and David P. Silverman
1980 *The Egyptian Mummy: Secrets and Science*. Philadelphia: University Museum.
- Freed, Rita E., Lawrence M. Berman, Denise M. Doxey, and Nicholas S. Picardo
2009 *The Secrets of Tomb 10A: Egypt 2000 BC*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts.
- Gestermann, Louise
2017 "Möglichkeiten und Grenzen textkritischen Arbeitens am Beispiel altägyptischer funerärer Texten." In *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, edited by Susanne Bickel and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, pp. 263–93. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 257. Leuven: Peeters.
- Goebs, Katja
2008 *Crowns in Egyptian Funerary Literature: Royalty, Rebirth, and Destruction*. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Goelet, Ogden
2013 "Reflections on the Format and Paleography of the Kemyt: Implications for the *Sitz im Leben* of Middle Egyptian Literature in the Ramesside Period." In *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, edited by Gerald Moers, Kai Widmaier, Antonia Giewekemeyer, Arndt Lümers, and Ralf Ernst, pp. 111–21. Hamburg: Widmaier.
2015 "Elements of Format in Middle Kingdom Papyri." In *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy Bryan*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Kathlyn M. Cooney, pp. 197–210. Atlanta: Lockwood.
- Hays, Harold M.
2012 *The Organization of the Pyramid Texts: Typology and Disposition*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 31. Leiden: Brill.
- Hussein, Ramadan
2017 "Text Transmission? The Shifting Materiality of Pyramid Text Spell 267." In *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, edited by Susanne Bickel and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, pp. 295–330. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 257. Leuven: Peeters.
- Jürgens, Peter
1995 *Grundlinien einer Überlieferungsgeschichte der altägyptischen Sargtexte: Stemmata und Archetypen der Spruchgruppen 30–32 + 33–37, 75(–83), 162 + 164, 225 + 226 und 343 + 345*. *Göttinger Orientforschungen* 4. Reihe Ägypten 31. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Lapp, Günther
1997 *The Papyrus of Nu (BM EA10477)*. *Catalogue of Books of the Dead in the British Museum* 1. London: British Museum Press.
- Lesko, Leonard
1979 *Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins and Other Related Documents*. Berkeley: Scribe.
- Morales, Antonio J.
2017 *The Transmission of the Pyramid Texts of Nut*. *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte* 19. Hamburg: Buske.
- Mosher, Malcolm, Jr.
2018 *The Book of the Dead, Saite through Ptolemaic Periods: A Study of Traditions Evident in Version of Texts and Vignettes*. Vol. 6, *BD Spells 93–109*. Seattle: CreateSpace.
- Munro, Irmtraut
1987 *Untersuchungen zu den Totenbuch-Papyri der 18. Dynastie: Kriterien ihrer Datierung*. New York: Kegan Paul.
2017 "The Significance of the Book of the Dead Vignettes." In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 50–52. *Oriental Institute Museum Publications* 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Niwinski, Andrzej
1989 *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 86. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Parkinson, Richard, Stephen Quirke, Ute Wartenburg, and Bridget Leach
1995 *Papyrus*. *Egyptian Bookshelf*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Quirke, Stephen
2013 *Going Out in Daylight: prt m hrw*. *Golden House Publications Egyptology* 20. London: Golden House.

Rößler-Köhler, Ursula

- 1998 “Sargtextspruch 335 und seine Tradierung.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 163: 71–94.

Silverman, David P.

- 1989 “Textual Criticism in the Coffin Texts.” In *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, edited by James P. Allen, pp. 29–53. Yale Egyptological Studies 3. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Seminar.
- 2015 “The *w3ḏ* Amulet of Feldspar and Its Implicit and Explicit Wish.” In *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honor of Paul John Frandsen*, edited by Rune Nyord and Kim Ryholt, pp. 373–90. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 39. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.
- 2016 “The Origin of the Book of the Dead Spell 159.” In *Aere perennius: Mélanges égyptologiques en l’honneur de Pascal Vernus*, edited by Philippe Collombert, Dominique Lefèvre, Stephanie Polis, and Jean Winand, pp. 741–62. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 242. Leuven: Peeters.
- Forthcoming “CT Spell 664.”

Simpson, Robert S.

- 2017 “Retrograde Writing in Ancient Egyptian Inscriptions.” In *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widner, pp. 337–45. Atlanta: Lockwood.

Terrace, Edward L. B.

- 1969 *Egyptian Paintings in the Middle Kingdom: The Tomb of Djehuty-nekht*. New York: Braziller.

van der Molen, Rami

- 2000 *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*. *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 15. Leiden: Brill.

Végh, Zsuzsanna

- 2017 “The Transition from the Coffin Texts to the Book of the Dead: The Origin of the Glosses in Book of the Dead Spell 18.” In *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, edited by Susanne Bickel and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, pp. 513–52. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 257. Leuven: Peeters.

Willems, Harco

- 1988 *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*. *Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”* 25. Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux.
- 1996 *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 70. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2014 *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*. *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 73. Leiden: Brill.
- 2017 “The Method of Sequencing in Analyzing Egyptian Funerary Texts: The Example of Coffin Text Spells 283 and 296.” In *Studies in Ancient Egyptian Funerary Literature*, edited by Susanne Bickel and Lucía Díaz-Iglesias, pp. 599–619. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 257. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2018 “A Fragment of an Early Book of Two Ways on the Coffin of Ankh from Dayr al-Barsha.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 104: 145–60.

Zamacona, Carlos Garcia

- 2021 “Some Remarks on a Multidisciplinary Approach to the Unique Spells in the Coffin Texts.” In *Middle Kingdom Palace Culture and Its Echoes in the Provinces*, edited by Alejandro Jiménez-Serrano and Antonio J. Morales, pp. 171–222. *Harvard Egyptological Studies* 12. Leiden: Brill.

20 MERENPTAH'S ISRAEL, HIS SHASU MILITIAMEN, HIS COPPER CARAVAN ROUTE, AND THE WATERING STATIONS BEARING HIS NAME AT KADESH-BARNEA AND ME-NEPHTOAH: PART ONE¹

Richard C. Steiner
Yeshiva University

INTRODUCTION²

The 327-year-old theory that identified King Merenptah of Egypt, the son and immediate successor of Ramesses II, with the biblical “pharaoh of the Exodus”³ was very widely accepted in 1896, when Flinders Petrie made the most sensational of his many archaeological discoveries. In the ruins of Merenptah’s funerary temple in Thebes, Petrie found a stela bearing an inscription from year 5 of Merenptah’s reign “specifically naming ‘the people of Israel’”—a socioethnic group, with no fixed address, mentioned together with seven city states or lands in or near Canaan—“and recording their defeat by King Merenptah.” Petrie began immediately “to consider the historical setting” of the allusion to Israel.

For Petrie, it appears, the *ideal* historical interpretation of Merenptah’s victory ode would have been consistent with six basic premises: (1) Merenptah’s clash with Israel, before year 5 of his reign, took place *in or near Canaan*; (2) *Ramesses II* was the pharaoh of the Oppression, who conscripted the Israelites to (make bricks to) build the vast Delta capital bearing his name (Exod. 1:11, 13–14); and (3) *Merenptah* was the pharaoh of the Exodus, who succeeded the pharaoh of the Oppression immediately after the latter’s death (Exod. 2:23, 4:19) and during whose reign (4) Israel, more or less *in its entirety*, left Egypt, after which (5) it spent *forty* (2 + 38) years in the desert before (6) it crossed the Jordan into Canaan *after year 8 of Ramesses III*, the year of the last Ramesside military expedition to Asia. However, Petrie was unable to find a hypothesis consistent with *all* of these premises. He was not alone. James Henry Breasted, for example, believed it was “certain” that premise (1) had made premises (3) and (5) mutually exclusive.

I am grateful to Zvi Erenyi and S. Rebekah Shoemake for their unceasing research assistance and to the editors of this volume, Brian P. Muhs and Foy D. Scaf, for their comments on this essay and for their very generous help in preparing it for publication. I am also indebted to Jennifer Drummond for her patient help in obtaining permission to publish figure 20.2 and to Hendrik Bruins for supplying figure 20.3 and for clarifying and updating some of his publications. Finally, I would like to thank Joshua Berman, Owen L. Cyrulnik, Albert D. Friedberg, James K. Hoffmeier, Shalom E. Holtz, Aaron J. Koller, S. Z. Leiman, Alan R. Millard, Adina M. Moshavi, and Sara K. Steiner for their very helpful comments on earlier drafts of the essay. None of them bears any responsibility for the errors in this final version. Robert K. Ritner, an extraordinary scholar who improved so many of my publications over the years, contributed to this one, too, through his publications cited below and through his comments on an idea that I sent him in 2016 (see n. 392 below). Robert wrote those comments at a difficult time for both of us. He had been robbed and beaten at gunpoint a few days earlier, and I was about to undergo major surgery. Despite his own trauma, he added that he was deeply concerned about my condition, ending his email with words that I sadly echo here: “Thank you for being my friend and colleague for so many years.”

1 Due to space restrictions, part two of this essay will be published in another venue in the future.

2 This introduction is intended to be a roadmap for the reader.

3 In this essay, it will often be necessary to speak of various events (e.g., the Exodus) and persons (e.g., the pharaoh of the Exodus) mentioned in the Pentateuch whose historicity is linked to the historicity of the (subsequent) events that I hope to establish in the discussions below. This will inevitably create the appearance of circularity, i.e., the appearance of assuming what I am attempting to prove. I therefore ask the reader to consider expressions such as “the Exodus” and “the pharaoh of the Exodus” as elliptical for “the putative Exodus” and “the putative pharaoh of the Exodus.”

A few months after his discovery, in response to this conundrum, Petrie published a nonexhaustive list of five hypotheses, each of them discarding at least one of the six basic premises. In 1905, he revisited the question. This time he selected two favorites from among the five hypotheses—the ones that jettisoned premise (4)—and presented them as one hypothesis: “The only likely conclusion is that there were others of the tribe left behind, or immediately returning, at the time of the famine.” This conclusion, which Breasted called “the improbable hypothesis of a divided Israel,” was quickly adopted by Bible scholars, despite being burdened by decidedly ad hoc assumptions.

The existence of a hypothesis consistent with all six premises was pointed out in 1916 by Harold Wiener. Wiener conjectured that, in boasting of his annihilation of Israel in or near Canaan, Merenptah was taking credit for an Israelite defeat reported in the Pentateuch. According to Numbers 14:44–45, the defeat was inflicted by Amalekites and Canaanites (lumped together in Deut. 1:43–44 under the rubric “Amorites,” a general term for the non-Israelites in Canaan), who, Wiener suggested, were “vassals of the Pharaoh.” In other words, Merenptah’s victory ode alludes to the vanquishing of a band of Israelite interlopers, at the hands of a militia established by Merenptah’s vassals, on the Negev trail from Kadesh-barnea to Hormah, around sixteen months after the Exodus. This theory was subsequently paraphrased and republished several times, by Wiener and others, but, despite its perfect—and unique—consistency with all six basic premises, it was slow to attract attention. It was not until 1934 that Petrie finally made an attempt to correct his oversight, substituting Wiener’s theory for his own earlier hypothesis.

Petrie’s correction came too late; by 1934, many scholars no longer accepted a number of his basic premises. The most prominent and influential of these scholars was W. F. Albright. Already in 1920–21, Albright published “A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology.” In it, he abandoned premises (3) and (6), enthroning Ramesses II not only as the pharaoh of the Oppression but also as the pharaoh of the Exodus and even as the pharaoh of the Conquest (of Canaan by Israel). His treatments of the subject published from 1937 to 1973 were only slightly different. In them, premises (3) and (6) were still abandoned, but Merenptah was back in the picture, this time as the pharaoh of the Conquest.

Albright may have believed that, in adopting this chronology, he was reducing the number of contradictions between the Pentateuch and the findings of archaeology and epigraphy. He did not live to see that the eventual result was, in fact, just the opposite. With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that his new hypothesis actually *increased* the number of contradictions between the Pentateuch and the findings of archaeology and epigraphy—beginning with the victory ode (see sections 12 and 13 in part two). The ultimate collapse of Albright’s theory—under the weight of these contradictions—set off the latest wave of minimalism in biblical scholarship, bolstered by fallacious arguments from silence (see section 11 in part two). In the 1980s, even the term “biblical archaeology” was forced into retirement, at the urging of William Dever and at tragic cost to Yigael Yadin.⁴

It is, therefore, perfectly understandable that many scholars today—with some noteworthy exceptions—are extremely reluctant to revisit the possibility that the Pentateuch might contain reliable historical information about the Ramesside period. Nevertheless, I shall argue in this essay that a number of apparent contradictions between the Pentateuch and the findings of archaeology and epigraphy—in Ramesside Egypt, Sinai, and Canaan—turn out to be quite manageable or even nonexistent when examined through the lens of Wiener’s theory (see sections 12 and 13 in part two).

Wiener’s theory has two aspects, one chronological and the other geopolitical. Its chronological aspect boils down to two key premises: (3) and (6). Premise (3) is supported by a wealth of evidence—more than Wiener could have imagined. Premise (6) has enjoyed something of a renaissance in recent decades, thanks to archaeological surveys in the hill country of Canaan. Gary Rendsburg, for example, embraced premise (6) in 1992; however, he did so at the expense of premises (1) and (3). He embraced it again in 2021, this time at the expense of premises (3) and (4). An awareness of Wiener’s theory would have obviated the need for such compromising concessions.

⁴ For the discussion up to this point, with footnotes, see sections 1 and 2 below.

The prospects for the geopolitical aspect of Wiener's theory look good as well. Today it is possible to flesh out this aspect of the theory by presenting (a) evidence that the Ramessides had a policy, in areas ruled by their vassals, of recruiting warriors and other personnel from the local population (see section 7 below); (b) evidence of ties between Merenptah and the Amalekites (see section 8 below and section 9 in part two); (c) evidence of links between Merenptah and the Israelites in addition to the victory ode and Exodus 1:11 (see sections 2, 3, and 5 below); (d) evidence that the Ramessides were interested in Kadesh-barnea (see sections 5 and 6 below and sections 10 and 14 in part two); and (e) evidence that they had a motive for having a guard tower and an indigenous militia in that isolated location (see section 4 below).

In short, now that history appears to have vindicated Petrie's belated attempt to correct the flaw in his initial publication of Merenptah's victory ode—a flaw that has led many astray during the past 128 years—the time has come to revisit Wiener's theory. In this essay, I shall present the abundant evidence for both the chronological aspect and the geopolitical aspect of the theory.

1. ISRAEL IN MERENPTAH'S VICTORY ODE

Early in 1896, Flinders Petrie, “the most successful of all explorers on Egyptian soil,”⁵ discovered a long, perfectly preserved inscription of King Merenptah of Egypt. It had been carved on a stela of black syenite toward the end of the thirteenth century BCE, in year 5 of his reign.⁶ The publication of the inscription—a poetic commemoration of his victory over the invading Libyans and Sea Peoples—caused a sensation thanks to a final section (coda) mentioning some prior victories as well:

163. All the rulers are prostrate, saying “Peace!” . . . [*š-r-m* = *Shalom*],
 164. not one among the Nine Bows dare raise his head.
 165. Plundered is Libya (Tehenu), Hatti is at peace,
 166. Carried off is Canaan with every evil.
 167. Brought away is Ascalon, taken is Gezer,
 168. Yeno'am is reduced to non-existence.
 169. Israel[?] is spoiled, *his* seed is not,
 170. Khurru has become widowed because of Nile-land.
 171. All lands together are (now) at peace,
 172. and everyone who roamed about has been subdued,
 173. - by the King of S & N Egypt, **Baieren Meriamun**,
 174. Son of Re, **Merenptah**,
 175. given life like Re daily.⁸

When Petrie first laid eyes on what would soon become known as the “Israel Stela,” it was lying—with Merenptah's inscription face down—in the ruins of that king's funerary temple at Thebes. To expedite the decipherment of the inscription, Petrie mounted the stela on stones and had the ground cut away beneath it.⁹

5 Müller 1896.

6 Petrie 1896a, 1896b. For July 1209–July 1208 BCE (rather than 1207, as often asserted) as the date of Merenptah's regnal year 5, see Kitchen 1998, p. 86; 2003, p. 159; cf. Weippert 2010, pp. 152, 155; Weinstein 2012, p. 161.

7 Written *Y-s-r-ì-r* (or *Y-si-r-ì-r*). The *ì* in this name—appearing already in the original copy made by Spiegelberg the first time he laid eyes on it (1896a, pp. 594–95; see below) and discussed by Kitchen (2004, p. 271)—is clearly visible in photographs online. I am unable to explain why Fecht (1983, p. 113), Yurco (apud Stager 1985, p. 61*), Higginbotham (2000, p. 46), Grabbe (2022, p. 150), and other scholars omit it, transliterating the name as *Ysr̄r*.

8 Kitchen 1993–2014, vol. 4, p. 15, with minor revisions. I have added two words in brackets, as well as verse numbers (from Fecht 1983 and Hornung 1983). For the sake of comparison with NRSV's rendering of Jer. 49:10 below, I have departed from Kitchen's rendering of Merenptah's verse 169, substituting the original rendering of F. L. Griffith (apud Petrie 1896a, p. 622) in the first clause, and the literal rendering of Breasted (1906a, p. 264), Wilson (1969a, p. 378), Yurco (apud Stager 1985, p. 61*), and Rainey (2001, p. 57) in the second. For orthographic details, see Kitchen 1997a; for commentary, see Kitchen 2004; for historical discussion, see Yurco 1986.

9 Petrie 1932a, p. 172.

Wilhelm Spiegelberg, the Egyptologist to whom Robert Ritner traced his academic lineage as a Demotist,¹⁰ was in Thebes at the time. In February 1896, around fourteen days after the discovery, Spiegelberg spent an afternoon lying on his back, a few inches below the stela, copying the text.¹¹ After crawling back out, he gave his report: “There are names of various Syrian towns, and one which I do not know, Isirar [*Y-si-r-ḥ-r*].” Petrie exclaimed that he recognized the name: “Why, that is Israel.” Spiegelberg concurred: “So it is, and won’t the reverends be pleased.”¹²

From that day onward, it has been recognized almost universally that verse 169 contains (1) the name Israel and (2) the only occurrence of that name in any Egyptian inscription. As demonstrated by Kenneth Kitchen for (1) and by Robert Ritner for (2), those scholars who have attempted to claim otherwise have played fast and loose with the comparative phonology of Egyptian and Semitic, among other things.¹³ In fact, Kitchen was by no means the first one to prove that *Y-s-r-i-r* could not possibly be identified with ⲓⲣⲉⲗ “Jezreel.” His phonological proof was anticipated already in 1896–97 by Spiegelberg, Petrie, W. M. Müller, Ernst Sellin, and Breasted.¹⁴

The name *Y-s-r-i-r* is an ethnonym, not a toponym. That assertion, although occasionally challenged, is supported by more evidence than generally recognized. To the best of my knowledge, the only argument offered for the assertion during the past 128 years has been based on the semantic classifiers (determinatives) appended to the name. According to Kitchen, they show that its referent is a foreign people or socioethnic group with “no fixed address.”¹⁵ In this respect, Israel stands in sharp contrast to all seven of the other foreign entities, including Libya,¹⁶ mentioned in the coda.¹⁷ In other words, Israel is singled out in a way that looks deliberate, “set apart by the scribe as unique and distinct.”¹⁸ It has not been noted that the determinative used to classify Merenptah’s Israel as a people with no fixed location is reinforced by the concluding clause of the coda in verse 172, three verses after the reference to Israel: “everyone who roamed about (*šmʒ*) has been subdued.”¹⁹ Additional neglected evidence for the classification of Merenptah’s Israel comes from the suffixed pronoun of *prt.f* “his (= Israel’s) seed” in verse 169. In the forgotten words of

10 The Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures was kind enough to send me part of Spiegelberg’s *Nachlass* when I was working on P. Amherst 63, with groundbreaking assistance from Robert in identifying multiconsonantal Demotic signs.

11 Spiegelberg 1896b, p. 11.

12 Petrie 1932a, p. 172.

13 Kitchen 1966, pp. 59–60 n. 12; 2004, pp. 270–71; Ritner 2020. For (1), see also Stager 1985, p. 60*; Bimson 1991, p. 13; Hasel 1994, pp. 46–47; 1998, p. 197; Dever 2009; Nestor 2015, pp. 297–98; and others. For (2), see also Hoffmeier 2007, pp. 241–42; Weippert 2010, p. 169 n. 149.

14 Spiegelberg 1896a, pp. 594, 595 with n. 2; Petrie 1896a, pp. 624, 626; Müller 1896: “no shadow of a doubt”; Sellin 1896, pp. 503–4; Breasted 1897, p. 66 with n. 1.

15 Kitchen 1997a, p. 75; cf. Brown 1917, p. 18: “without any fixed and recognised habitation of their own”; Redmount 1998, p. 97: “nomadic groups or peoples without a fixed city-state home.” *Y-s-r-i-r* is written with the throw-stick determinative and the man-woman-plural-strokes determinative. For the care with which the latter determinative is used, see Yurco apud Stager 1985, pp. 60*–61*; Rendsburg 1992, p. 517–18; Kitchen 1997a, pp. 74–75; Hasel 1998, pp. 198–99; Weippert 2010, p. 170 n. 160. Like most semantic distinctions in natural language, this one has “fuzzy” boundaries produced by indeterminate borderline cases—e.g., a foreign people that *does* have a fixed address. In such cases, I believe, variation in the use of determinatives is not evidence of scribal insouciance. The ancient Egyptian scribes, with a long list of semantic classifiers at their disposal, must have struggled with “semantic vagueness” no less than the countless modern scholars—linguists, philosophers, and jurists—who have explored the subject.

16 The roaming of Libyans onto Egyptian soil is the subject of the main portion of Merenptah’s victory ode; see, e.g., Hoffmeier 2000, p. 41: “In all the stela has 28 lines, 23 of which deal with the battle with the Libyans, while the closing paean in which Israel occurs, begins towards the end of line 26 and runs to the very end of line 27.” However, the roaming of Libyans does not imply that Libya had no fixed address. Yurco (apud Stager 1985, p. 61*) notes that “the distinction between Libya, the country, and the Libyans, its people, is clearly maintained” in the ode, by means of semantic classifiers.

17 Spiegelberg 1896a, p. 595; Hasel 1998, pp. 198–99. All these other foreign entities are written with the throw-stick and the three-hills-foreign-land signs, which together classify them as a foreign country or city-state.

18 Hasel 1998, p. 199; cf. Wilson 1969a, p. 378 n. 18: “a contrast between determinatives in the same context should be significant.”

19 Kitchen’s English rendering of *šmʒ* matches the German rendering, *umherschweifte*, in Spiegelberg 1896a, p. 594.

Breasted, “the writer has the collective people in mind, for had he meant the land, the pronoun would have been feminine.”²⁰

Frank Yurco, too, stressed the importance of the phrase “*his* (= Israel’s) seed” and the gender of its pronoun:

The phrase in the stela: *ysrʾl fkt(i) bn prt.f*, “Israel is devastated, *his* seed is not,” shows clearly that “Israel” is understood to be a collective, a distinct group of people, not named after any particular territory or city. In Egyptian, the names of foreign countries, cities, and provinces are treated syntactically as feminine. But with Israel the masculine pronoun is used. “Israel (the people)” is a masculine entity, possibly indicating identity with a male deity or eponymous ancestor.²¹

The use of the masculine pronoun *f* to refer back to the collective noun Israel may indicate keen observation by the Egyptian annalist, denoting an awareness that Israel traced its origins to an eponymous ancestor.²²

Merenptah’s use of a masculine singular pronoun to refer to Israel has counterparts in the Bible—for example, “Edom came out against *him* (= Israel) with a great host and a mighty arm” (Num. 20:20); “he (= the King of Arad) fought against Israel, and took captives from *him*” (Num. 21:1); and “I remember that which Amalek did to Israel, that which (= the ambush) he set for *him* on the road, during *his* coming up out of Egypt” (1 Sam. 15:2).²³ In these martial texts, as in Merenptah’s victory ode, Israel is the antecedent of suffixed masculine singular pronouns, alluding to the people as though it were essentially an extension or reflection of its eponymous ancestor, Israel-Jacob.

A remarkably close parallel to “Israel is spoiled, his seed is not” is found in a prophecy of doom against Edom: “But I have made Esau bare, . . . : *his seed is spoiled*, and his brethren, and his neighbours, and *he is not*” (Jer. 49:10; NRSV, verbatim, emphasis added). The similarity is seen more clearly when we make the subjects of the two italicized clauses trade places: “he (= Esau) is spoiled . . . his seed is not.” Since “his seed” is conjoined with “his brethren and his neighbours,” it is clear beyond a reasonable doubt that זרעו refers to Esau’s progeny, not his seed grain (also known as “seed corn”).²⁴ The idea in Jeremiah 49:10 may be that, when the eponymous ancestor loses his descendants and others close to him, his memory is lost as well.

The idea in verse 169 of Merenptah’s ode may be similar. Given the likelihood that the pronoun in *prt.f* “his seed” refers to Israel’s eponymous ancestor and that the noun in that phrase denotes progeny, it is reasonable to conclude that the whole phrase denotes the progeny of Israel-Jacob. In other words, *prt.f* may be compared to the biblical expression זרע ישראל “Israel’s seed,” whose meaning is made reasonably clear by its

²⁰ Breasted 1897, p. 67.

²¹ Yurco apud Stager 1985, p. 61*. See also Yurco 1986, pp. 190 n. 3, 211; Bimson 1991, p. 14; Hoffmeier 1996, p. 45 n. 24; Yurco 1997, p. 44; Stager 1998, p. 91; not to mention Breasted 1897, p. 67, cited above. In view of these many discussions, including one by Hoffmeier, it is rather surprising that Frendo (2004, pp. 52–53 with n. 23) criticizes Hoffmeier and other scholars for ignoring “the fact that a masculine singular suffix with the word ‘seed’ does not fit the context,” a fact presented as evidence for emending the text in an allegedly unrebutted article by Spiegelberg (1908). For Yurco’s transcription of Israel’s name, see n. 7 above.

²² Yurco 1986, p. 211; see also p. 190 n. 3; Yurco 1997, p. 44.

²³ One is tempted to cite the series of masculine singular pronouns referring to the Israelites in Exod. 1:10–11, but their antecedent is the collective noun עם “people” in 1:9.

²⁴ Some scholars still adopt the view that *prt* in verse 169 is a botanical term referring to seed grain and/or fruit; see, e.g., Hasel 1994, pp. 49, 52–54; 2008, p. 53; and the literature by Spiegelberg, Steindorff, and Breasted cited there. For cogent arguments against Hasel’s view, see Rainey 2001, pp. 57–66, quoted in n. 137 below. An additional argument against that view is that the loss of seed grain and/or fruit would hardly be portrayed as a devastating blow to pastoralists “who roamed about” (verse 172) with no fixed address. Biblical parallels such as Jer. 31:35/36 and 49:10 are further evidence that *prt* does not refer here to seed grain and/or fruit. Wagner (2012, p. 4) suggests that the ambiguity is deliberate: “Since *prt* ‘seed’ is written (here) with neither three grains of corn nor a phallus as a determinative, it seems to have been the author’s intention to leave the interpretation open. A lack of food would inevitably lead to famine in the coming years, and a lack of descendants would permanently reduce military clout.” The meanings of Egyptian *prt* (*pr* + the feminine ending *-t*) are similar to those of West Semitic *pry*; cf. פְּרִי־בִטְנָה וּפְרִי אֲרָמְתָהּ “the fruit of your womb and the fruit of your soil” (Deut. 28:18).

use in poetic parallelism with *יָרַע יַעֲקֹב* “Jacob’s seed” (in Ps. 22:24) and with *בְּנֵי יַעֲקֹב* “Jacob’s children” (in 1 Chron. 16:13). In commenting on “Israel is spoiled, his seed is not,” Hanbury Brown compares an analogous biblical attestation of “Israel’s seed,” used in speaking of annihilation: “Israel’s seed would cease being a nation” (Jer. 31:35/36).²⁵ It seems clear, then, that verse 169 speaks of Israel-Jacob losing his progeny, while verse 170 speaks of Khurru’s losing her husband. These twin disasters occur in parallelism in the Bible as well, and there, too, the bereaved party is a nation: “I shall not sit as a widow, and I shall not know loss of children” (Isa. 47:8; cf. verse 9).

All these biblical parallels buttress Yurco’s suggestion that “the use of the masculine pronoun *f* to refer back to the collective noun Israel may indicate . . . an awareness that Israel traced its origins to an eponymous ancestor.”²⁶ If so, it is difficult to avoid wondering about the reason for the difference between (1) the singular pronoun used by Merenptah to refer to Israel in his victory ode and (2) the plural pronouns used by Ramesses III to refer to a people and even a land in the two most relevant occurrences of “X’s seed is not” at Medinet Habu:

Merenptah (verse 169): Israel is spoiled, *his* seed (*prt.f*) is not.

Ramesses III: I have overthrown the land of Temeh, *their* seed (*prt.sn*) is not.²⁷

Ramesses III: He had attacked the Teḥenu who were reduced to ashes, devastated and desolated were their towns, *their* seed (*prt.sn*) was not.²⁸

Is this a real contrast, connected in some way with Yurco’s suggestion? Or is this similar to the variation that is found in Egyptian with suffixed pronouns referring to *feminine* collectives?²⁹

Yurco’s suggestion has been criticized on the grounds that “Merneptah’s scribe . . . could hardly know a bit about tribal eponyms.”³⁰ However, the annalist could have acquired something like the kind of awareness mentioned by Yurco merely by encountering the Hebrew expression *בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* “the children of Israel.”³¹ Besides, it is abundantly clear, from the Satirical Letter³² in P. Anastasi I, that Egyptian military scribes in the time of Merenptah’s father were expected to know a great deal about Egypt’s Semitic-speaking foes, including their language. Indeed, in commenting on Merenptah’s victory ode, Dever asserts that “the archaeological ‘facts on the ground’ . . . confirm that Egyptian intelligence was remarkably precise.”³³

Even government officials could have had knowledge of Israel, especially if they spoke a Canaanite dialect. Take, for example, Ramessesesemperre, whose Abydos stela Ritner translated.³⁴ This native of Transjordan

25 Brown 1917, p. 19. Cf. Petrie (1896a, pp. 623–24), who notes that *prt* can be “poetically used for posterity, as we say ‘the seed of Abraham’” and briefly entertains the possibility that “as Merenptah is usually thought to be the Pharaoh of the Exodus, whose father commanded the destruction of the male children, Israel being spoiled so that it has no seed might be taken as a reference to this edict.”

26 It appears that Yurco’s eponym hypothesis takes the name Israel as denoting two foreign entities simultaneously: (1) the people of Israel (based on the man-woman-plural-strokes determinative) and (2) its eponymous ancestor (based on the masculine pronoun referring to Israel). For the attempt of some minimalists to use Yurco’s hypothesis (without attribution) to transmogrify Merenptah’s Israel into a “personification of the people of Palestine” (without Israelites), based on the baffling claim that the Israel of Genesis is “the patriarch of all Palestine’s peoples,” see Grabbe 2022, p. 151.

27 Rainey 2001, p. 60 (emphasis and parenthetical Egyptian added).

28 Rainey 2001, p. 60 (emphasis and parenthetical Egyptian added).

29 Gardiner 1957, p. 415 §510.2.

30 Frolov 1995, p. 206 n. 20.

31 This expression may well have been common in the East Delta. It certainly is common enough in the Bible, appearing 595 times. It occurs, e.g., at the very beginning of Exodus (1:5, 9), first in the narration, resuming the phrase “the souls that came out of the loins of Jacob,” and then in the mouth of the pharaoh of the Oppression.

32 See most recently Allen 2002a; TLA, pAnastasi I = P. BM EA 10247, Satirischer Brief des Hori; and the literature cited in both.

33 Dever 2009, p. 90.

34 Ritner 2003; cf. Janssen 1951; Schulman 1976; Avner 2014, p. 140.

(Bashan), an important official already in the time of Merenptah, was around seventy years of age when he led an expedition to the copper mines in Atika (modern Timna) during the reign of Ramesses III.³⁵ It has been suggested that he undertook this arduous journey, despite his relatively advanced age, in part because of his ability to communicate directly with the Semitic-speaking miners there, without a translator, in negotiating a deal with them.³⁶

It is a remarkable—but heretofore unremarked—fact that the author of our coda knew enough about Hebrew, Israel's distinctive dialect of Canaanite, to distinguish the sibilant /š/—perhaps still realized as the voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ]—in its name (*Y-s-r-ỉ-r* = לְיִשְׂרָאֵל) from the sibilant /š/ in *shalom* (*š-r-m* = שָׁלוֹם). This fact is significant because those two phonemes were already merged in other Canaanite dialects—probably including the dialect of southern Canaan—in his time.³⁷ An author who had such detailed knowledge of the *phonology* of Israel's name might also have had detailed knowledge of its *syntax* and *semantics*. All this suggests that Yurco was right when he claimed that “the Egyptian account, although couched in poetic and rhetorical forms, preserves some interesting and very specific details about Merenptah's enemies.”³⁸

We come now to the thorny issue of location. Where did Merenptah's victory over Israel take place? Despite Israel's lack of a fixed address, many scholars have attempted to provide at least a snapshot of its location at the time of its defeat. A good number of the suggested locations have been based, in part, on the location and order of the three city-states (verses 167–68) mentioned right before Israel (verse 169) in the coda.³⁹ However, many other scholars reject such suggestions, and it is important, for the purposes of this study, to note that there are many good reasons for doing so. I shall, therefore, briefly survey their arguments.

The location of Merenptah's Israel is discussed already in Spiegelberg's initial notice of the discovery. After asserting that “we may well venture the conclusion that Israel . . . stopped in Palestine,” he continues:

But we cannot learn more from this poetic passage. The place of residence of Israel cannot be determined more precisely, since the names appear to be randomly placed next to each other. Even if, in the *Ashkelon-Gezer-Yenoam* series, there seems to be a geographical arrangement from south to north, one nevertheless has to ask oneself, in view of the first unconnected group *Libya-Kheta-Canaan*, whether one has a right to seek the following entity, Israel, north of Yenoam.⁴⁰

S. Frolov points out another sign of random ordering in the coda: “In the very beginning of the coda ‘princes’ are saying ‘Peace!’ in one of [the] Western Semitic languages . . . , but it certainly doesn't mean that Libyans and Hittites, mentioned a little lower among these princes, were Semitic peoples.”⁴¹

Other scholars note correctly that, even if the three city-states belong to a list that was deliberately arranged in geographical order, it cannot be assumed that Israel, too, belongs to that list. Nadav Na'aman, for example, writes:

The location of Merneptah's “Israel” is disputed among scholars. It is mentioned after Yenoam, a Transjordanian city, and if we follow the order of toponyms in the passage, it should be sought in the same area. It is equally possible, however, that the author mentioned the cities first and the people next, and that there is no

35 Schulman 1976; Avner 2014, p. 140.

36 Avner 2014, p. 140. Cf. Morris 2005, p. 391: “it seems that foreign officers were not infrequently drawn from the ranks of Egyptianized Canaanites, presumably because a fluency in both Egyptian and West Semitic was desirable.” Cf. also the comment of Goedicke (1987, p. 88) about the meaning of an expression used by the border control officer in P. Anastasi VI: “*Rnw n hrww* lit. ‘name of days,’ should be understood here as ‘dates.’” The other attestations of the phrase *rn (n) hrw* that I have found are also from the Nineteenth Dynasty (TLA, *Magische Papyri Neues Reich*, P. Leiden I 346). Could this expression be a calque on Northwest Semitic רְנֵי הַיּוֹם “the date” (literally “the name of the day”) attested in Ezekiel 24:2?

37 Steiner 2016a, p. 108*.

38 Yurco apud Stager 1985, p. 61*.

39 For a survey of the literature, see Hasel 1998, pp. 203–4.

40 Spiegelberg 1896a, p. 595.

41 Frolov 1995, p. 205; see, however, Breasted 1906a, p. 263 n. f.

sequential order of listing. This may be supported by the assumption that in the course of the campaign the main force was led by the king, whereas various task forces were sent to different parts of Canaan. Such an assumption opens the way for identifying Israel according to each scholar's historical reconstruction, but makes the conjectured location highly speculative.⁴²

Na'aman's rationale for detaching Israel from the city-state list in the coda is reminiscent of a forgotten theory from a century ago that will be discussed in the next section. That theory, however, attributes Israel's defeat not to a task force but to a local militia established by Merenptah's foreign vassals. As we shall see, subsequent research has made that theory quite attractive, especially in conjunction with Na'aman's explanation.

It goes without saying that Na'aman's important but brief discussion does not exhaust all the factors that may have dictated the placement of Israel in the poem. As hinted already in Spiegelberg's initial notice, quoted above, there may have been literary factors as well. Georg Steindorff discusses this more fully: "The determination of Israel's location is made difficult by the poetic character of the text, since the arrangement and probably also the selection of the names have undoubtedly been influenced by poetic purposes (meter and perhaps also alliteration)."⁴³

Other scholars make this claim more specific, discerning literary devices involving verse 170. One of those devices, pointed out already in Spiegelberg's initial notice, is the wordplay in verse 170: "Khurru (*ḤBrw*) has become a widow (*ḥʾrt*) because of Nile-land."⁴⁴ A literary device more relevant to the location of Merenptah's Israel is the extended metaphor linking the annihilation of Israel's progeny in verse 169 to the death of Khurru's husband in verse 170, discussed above. One version of this extended metaphor, alongside the wordplay, was pointed out by Édouard Naville in 1898:

There is in this last phrase a word-play on *ḤBrw*, something that the Egyptians liked very much, even in religious texts. With that there is a sort of parallelism in the metaphor. If Israel is a dead man without posterity, Syria [Khurru] is a widow—a widow perhaps on account of Israel's death, for I am disposed to believe that, for the Egyptians, Israel must have been a *ḤBry*.⁴⁵

Albright supplies an additional reason for linking Israel in verse 169 to Khurru in verse 170 instead of to the three city-states in verses 167–68:

Arranged correctly in its original strophic form, the connection is much clearer than it is in the usual translation. In the second distich Libya, the land of the Hittites . . . and the land of the Canaanites . . . are put on a par, which is eminently reasonable. In the third distich three Canaanite cities are similarly correlated. In the fourth distich Israel is correlated with Palestine [Khurru], as is shown both by the strophic arrangement and by the parallelism. In other words, Israel . . . was then much more than a petty tribe; it had already become a strong and dangerous people, though not yet settled.⁴⁶

Similar views have been expressed by more recent scholars, beginning with the late lamented Lawrence Stager:

42 Na'aman 1994, p. 248.

43 Steindorff 1896, p. 332. Cf. Ahlström and Edelman 1985.

44 Spiegelberg 1896a, p. 594 n. 1: "there is a play on words (*ḤBr* and *ḥʾrt*) in this poetic turn of phrase." This wordplay, mentioned also by Hommel (1896, p. 16), is a well-crafted example of a type that is aptly dubbed "paronomastic punishment" (Hurowitz 2000). Wordplays linking misfortunes to names are a well-attested feature of prophecies of doom in the Bible (Doron 1979–80)—e.g., גַּם־מִדְּמֵן תִּדְּמִי, . . . גַּם־מִדְּמֵן תִּדְּמִי רָעָה . . . גַּם־מִדְּמֵן תִּדְּמִי רָעָה (Jer. 48:2); וְהִכְרַתִּי אֶת־כְּרָתִים (Ezek. 25:16); הַגִּלְגָּל גְּלָהּ יְגִלָּהּ (Amos 5:5); וְעָקְרוֹן תִּעְקָר . . . עֲזָה עֲזוּבָה תִּהְיֶה (Zeph. 2:4). In each of these examples, the prophet uses a pun to transform the principle of "let the punishment fit the crime" (מִדָּה בְּמִדָּה "measure for measure") into "let the punishment fit the name" (*nomen est omen*).

45 Naville 1898, p. 36.

46 Albright 1939, p. 22; cf. his translation on pp. 21–22 and his n. 41: "Each hemistich has certainly or probably two accental beats and each line has four beats, in accord with the prevailing metrical system in Egypt."

The south to north order of the three city-states in the Merenptah stela does not provide decisive direction for locating Israel in this period. Hurru and Israel form a distinct complementary pair in the ode; viz. husband (Israel) and wife/widow (Hurru).⁴⁷

It seems clear, then, that Merenptah's Israel cannot be located on the basis of its position in the ode. Nor, in my view, can its location be identified with the location of the settlements attributed by archaeologists to the Israelites. As we shall see at the end of the next section, all (or almost all) of those settlements are now dated after 1200 BCE or even, by some, after 1175 BCE. Moreover, as we have already seen, (1) the determinative appended to *Y-s-r-î-r* in the coda implies that Israel did not yet have a fixed location⁴⁸ in Merenptah's year 5 (July 1209–July 1208 BCE)⁴⁹ and (2) that implication is reinforced by verse 172: “everyone who roamed about (*šm3*) has been subdued.”⁵⁰ Roaming about is antithetical to peace because it leads to trespassing the king's boundary, which, as we shall see in section 7 below, is an offense that Merenptah seems to attribute to Israel, as well as Libya.⁵¹

All these considerations suggest that John Bimson makes a valid point when he writes:

The reference to Israel in Merenptah's stela predates (possibly by as much as three decades) the beginning of Iron I settlement in the central hill country. Attempts to reconstruct Israel's origins on the basis of that shift in settlement patterns are therefore misguided. Not only do those attempts misdate Israel's emergence, but they also focus on processes which were actually irrelevant to it. The archaeology of the Iron I settlements can only provide information about Israel's *sedentarization*.⁵²

In short, Merenptah's Israel cannot be located using literary analysis or archaeology, and we are seemingly back to square one. In the words of Amihai Mazar:

Israel is the only ‘people’ mentioned in this royal inscription, and its mention in this context is puzzling. Was Israel at the end of the thirteenth century B.C.E. a sizeable confederation of tribes posing a threat to an Egyptian empire that had ruled Canaan for almost three hundred years? And if so, where did this Israel live?⁵³

As we saw above, the first of these questions was addressed by Albright, based on literary evidence: “Israel . . . was then much more than a petty tribe; it had already become a strong and dangerous people, though not yet settled.”⁵⁴ Dever's answer to that question is similar: “These people were sufficiently numerous and well established that they were perceived as a threat to Egyptian hegemony in the region.”⁵⁵ These answers are consistent with the fact that Israel receives a full verse in the brief coda of the ode, more than Ashkelon, Gezer, and even Hatti, the Hittite Empire; however, there is more to say. In this essay, I shall provide a single answer to Mazar's two questions, identifying *the precise nature of the threat* to Egypt's strategic interests and assets *posed by Israel's location* early in Merenptah's reign.

In responding to Mazar's questions, I shall argue that, in the study of Merenptah's Israel, *dirt* archaeology needs to be supplemented by what is sometimes called *linguistic* archaeology. Thus, I shall be

47 Stager 1985, p. 61*. Cf. Bimson 1991, pp. 20–22; Halpern 1993, p. 93*; Frolov 1995, pp. 205–6; Ahituv 1998, p. 137. Kitchen (2004, p. 272), by contrast, identifies the husband of Khurru-land with its armed males.

48 The significance of that determinative, discussed above, is accepted in the most recent treatments I have found: Abbas 2020, pp. 134–35, 138; Spalinger 2021, p. 227.

49 See n. 6 above.

50 Kitchen's English rendering of *šm3* matches the German rendering, *umherschweifte*, in Spiegelberg 1896a, p. 594.

51 Hoffmeier (2000, p. 41) notes that the coda “must be regarded as celebrating all the king's victories, from his first campaign into the Levant up to the most recent victory against the Libyans.” He adds that “it was not the writer's intent to give a full report on the events in Asia. It could well be that earlier annals or victory stelae, which have not survived or await discovery, documented this campaign.”

52 Bimson 1991, p. 24. See also Na'aman 1994, p. 248; and the end of the next section.

53 Mazar 2007, p. 93.

54 Albright 1939, p. 22.

55 Dever 2009, p. 92.

examining the history of places, peoples, and the like through the lens of *etymology*, as well as the lens of *excavation*. I hope to demonstrate that biblical names such as Raamses, Me-nephteah, Kadesh-barnea, and Amalek are linguistic artifacts of great historical significance for students of Merenptah's Israel. I shall, likewise, raise the possibility that even the Hebrew hapax legomenon *mšʿb* "watering place" (Judg. 5:11), attested in two Egyptian lexical lists ("onomastica"), may have historical significance as a linguistic relic of the Ramesside period.

2. ISRAEL'S RAAMSES AND MERENPTAH'S ISRAEL

The debate over the historical significance of Petrie's discovery began immediately. It revolved around the venerable theory that (1) the biblical city of Raamses, where the Israelites were subjected to crushing forced labor (Exod. 1:11–14), was Pi-Ramesses, the vast Delta capital built by Ramesses II; and (2) the Israelites left Egypt during the reign of Merenptah, the son and immediate successor of Ramesses II. This theory was very widely accepted at the time of the stela's discovery in 1896,⁵⁶ after having been proposed in 1569 by Gerardus Mercator,⁵⁷ the great Flemish cartographer; accepted in 1650 by James Ussher;⁵⁸ and buttressed in 1849 by Richard Lepsius.⁵⁹ Given this theory linking Israel and Merenptah, Petrie's discovery of a second link between them struck Adolf Erman as "a strange coincidence."⁶⁰ Erman's characterization, appended to Spiegelberg's initial notice of the discovery at the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences, has proven to be remarkably prescient. As we shall see in the rest of this section, in section 5 below, and in section 14 (see part two), it is now clear that this is only one of a remarkable number of strange coincidences involving Israel and Merenptah.

The main evidence presented by Lepsius for his dating was, of course, the obvious similarity between the Hebrew place-name *Rʿmss* "Raamses" and the Egyptian royal name *Rʿ-ms-sw*, together with the place-name derived from it, namely, *Pr-Rʿ-ms-sw* "Pi-Ramesses" (literally "the house of Ramesses").⁶¹ Additional evidence for the identification of the two place-names was supplied in 1918 by Alan Gardiner.⁶²

Recent Egyptologists have shed more light on this identification. Kitchen has demonstrated that the toponym "Raamses" could not have entered Hebrew after the Ramesside period:

Pi-Ramesse was abandoned as a royal residence circa 1130. . . . The only survival of gods-of-Ramesses cults in the fourth century B.C. was preserved as "religious archaeology" (i) at Bubastis, within the "pantheon"

56 See Naville 1885, p. 11; Petrie 1896a, p. 626; 1896b, pp. 501–2; Steindorff 1896, pp. 332–33; Müller 1896; Hommel 1896, p. 17; Maspero 1896.

57 According to Mercator 1569 (ca. p. 24 of the unpaginated introduction in the section titled "Aegypti regis"), the successor of Armesesmianum (sic; < Manetho's Ἀρμέσσης Μιαμιῶν = Ramesses II), is the king who "drowned in the Red Sea." Fuller discussions of Armesesmianum (sic) and his son are found on pp. 23, 25, and 26 in the paginated body of the work. For Mercator's identification of Armesesmianum as the pharaoh of Exodus 1:8–11, see n. 96 below. Contra Steiner (2016b, p. 80), Raleigh (1614, p. 206) states explicitly that he does not accept Mercator's view.

58 Ussher 1650, pp. 17–18.

59 Lepsius 1849, pp. 356–58; 1853, pp. 449–50. Lepsius (1849, pp. 360; 1853, p. 451) adds that the traditional Jewish date of the Exodus, 2448 after Creation, "corresponds with the year 1314[–1313] B.C., and therefore, according to the Manethonic chronology, occurs in the time of King Menephtes" (= Merenptah).

60 Erman 1896, p. 596.

61 Lepsius 1849, pp. 336–37; 1853, p. 426: "The Hebrew name of the latter town is רעמסס, and is therefore exactly the same as that of King Ramses in hieroglyphics, *Rʿmss*. Now it is difficult to believe that this king's name was given to a town before any King Ramses had reigned." See also Mercator in n. 96 below.

62 Gardiner 1918, pp. 127–38, 242–71, esp. 266. Despite occasional challenges, the identification has always been very widely accepted; see, e.g., Montet 1932; Albright 1940, p. 194; Bright 1952, p. 111; Montet 1952, pp. 101–2; Noth 1958, p. 113 with n. 1; Montet 1959, pp. 54–55; Helck 1965, pp. 40–47; Mazar 1971, p. 71; Faulkner 1975, p. 225; de Vaux 1978, p. 325; Aharoni 1979, p. 195; Uphill 1984, p. 3; Bietak 1987, pp. 167–68; Dijkstra 1989, pp. 96–104; Wentz 1992, p. 617; Halpern 1993, p. 92*; Hoffmeier 1996, pp. 117–19; Yurco 1997, pp. 44–47; Groll 1998, pp. 189–90; Kitchen 1998, pp. 67–72, 79–84, and passim; Kitchen 2003, p. 256; Davies 2004, p. 28; Bietak 2015, pp. 24–26, 28–30 (including n. 53); Steiner 2016b, p. 82 n. 13; Hoffmeier and Rendsburg 2022; and Rendsburg and Hoffmeier 2022.

sanctuary of Nectanebo II, deeply hidden away from the gaze of everyone except the local Egyptian priests, and (ii) at Tanis on private statues from the temple, again not accessible (or comprehensible!) to foreigners. These abstruse “sources” could not possibly be known to Jewish priests or any other foreigners, at any date. . . . If Raamses (as opposed to Zoan, Tanis) had never previously been part of *early* Hebrew tradition, there would have been no cause to look for it or incorporate it *later*, as with the Iron Age Ps. 78:12, the phrase “field of Zoan” (Egyp. *Sekhet-Djanet*) would have sufficed. Thus, the occurrence of Raamses is an early (thirteenth/twelfth century) marker in the exodus tradition.⁶³

Sarah Groll has pointed to another coincidence involving Israel and Merenptah, namely, the occurrence of the toponym “Pi-Ramesses” and two others associated with the Exodus in P. Anastasi III, from year 3 of Merenptah’s reign:

One should note . . . that although such toponyms also appear in later texts, it is to the best of my knowledge only in texts from the time of Ramesses II and Merenptah that several appear together in the same context. In particular, papyrus Anastasi III mentions *Pr-R^c-mss-mry-Imn* (1.12), *p³-t^wf* (2.11) and *p³-h-r³* (3.4, Hebrew *pi-hahîrôt* . . .) in the same model letter. It would indeed be a coincidence that a post-Exilic Judaeen scribe, in a story purported to have taken place in Ramesside Egypt, independently associated these same toponyms.⁶⁴

Manfred Bietak has taken Groll’s observation a step further:

Groll (1998: 189) has . . . pointed out that it is the combination of the toponyms Pi-Ramesse, Pi-Atum, Tjeku, and Pa-Tjuf that occurs in Ramesside texts alone and not later. And it is important to stress that it is this very medley of toponyms that also appears in the Pentateuch. Moreover, Pi-Ramesse is absent from texts after the 20th Dynasty and resurfaces only after a lengthy absence, not until the third century BC^[65]. . . . This shows that the presence of the toponym Raamses in the Books of Genesis and Exodus must have been adopted from a tradition older than the Third Intermediate and Saïte Periods. The . . . changes in the physical and political landscape of the Eastern Delta, including new major centers and toponyms, were incorporated only later into the Bible (e.g., Psalm 78:12, 43), while the start of the itinerary in Exodus (13:17–18, 14:2) reflects the topographical conditions of the Ramesside Period.⁶⁶

Wolfgang Helck has discussed the Hebrew rendering of “Pi-Ramesses” as “Raamses,” with the word *pi* < *pr* “house” omitted. In his view, the shortened form of the place-name “was certainly the living language usage, which was not used in the few texts that are preserved and authentic,” and, thus, “the rarity of occurrence is understandable.”⁶⁷ In other words, *the Hebrew transcription of the Egyptian toponym reflects its colloquial form in the Ramesside period more faithfully than the standard Egyptian orthography does*. In this respect, the transcription/borrowing of “Pi-Ramesses” into Hebrew is not all that different from the dozens of other transcriptions/borrowings of Egyptian into Northwest Semitic, Akkadian, and Greek—not to mention the stage of Egyptian known as Coptic. All these renderings of Egyptian in foreign writing systems tell us more about the pronunciation of ancient Egyptian than the standard orthography does.⁶⁸ That this phenomenon is by no means unique to Egyptian is shown by the Aramaic text in Demotic script (P. Amherst 63) and other renderings of Aramaic in foreign writing systems (cuneiform, Greek):

63 Kitchen 2003, p. 256; cf. Kitchen 1998, pp. 80–84; Hoffmeier and Rendsburg 2022, pp. 3–4.

64 Groll 1998, p. 189. For a detailed discussion of *p³-t^wf* = Suph and *p³-h-r³* = Pi-hahiroth, see Hoffmeier 2005, pp. 105–9.

65 Contrast Schipper (2015, p. 271), who ignores the dating of P. Rainer 53 given in TLA, P. Wien Erzherzog Rainer 53, Loblied auf Piramesse; cf. Kahl 2010, p. 323 with n. 16. He relies, instead, on a lecture that was never published and that he knows only secondhand, from a brief summary in Quack 2010, pp. 26–27. Furthermore, his mistranslation of the term *Rückseite* (Quack 2010, p. 27) as *recto*, may have blinded him to the possibility that the lecturer decided not to publish his lecture when he found himself unable to prove that the text on the back of the papyrus was not a much later addition; cf. Salmenkivi 2020, p. 94: “Reusing the unwritten backs of papyrus rolls or sheets for writing was simple. . . . There are thousands of examples of this manner of reusing papyri”; and p. 101: “The reuse of papyrus as writing material for later texts is attested from the Pharaonic period onwards.”

66 Bietak 2015, pp. 29–30.

67 Helck 1965, p. 42. For stylistic register in Ramesside Egyptian, see Goldwasser 1999.

68 See Peust 1999, pp. 66–72 and *passim*.

Transcriptions and loanwords are extremely effective in piercing the veil which our well-trained scribes have placed over the vernacular. . . . It appears that well-trained scribes succeeded in suppressing a colloquial form for a millennium until the old norms broke down in Late Aramaic. We know this now thanks to a cuneiform scribe whose career did not depend upon mastering the correct, historical spelling of this word.⁶⁹

Helck, followed by Kitchen, notes that there is another example of the elliptical form of “Pi-Ramesses” in a graffito found at Abu Simbel.⁷⁰ The tendency of graffiti writers to be less careful about avoiding colloquialisms⁷¹ gives this example special weight as evidence for Helck’s explanation. There may be examples of the elliptical form of “Pi-Ramesses” in letters of the Ramesside period as well, but that is uncertain.⁷² The register of ancient Egyptian graffiti and letters has been described as “informal” and “everyday, quotidian,” respectively.⁷³

In a footnote, Bietak compares the shortening of “Pi-Ramesses” with “the transition of the toponym Pi-Saptu (house/domain of Soped/Sopdu) to modern Saft el-Henneh.”⁷⁴ This comparison deserves consideration because place-names were transmitted orally to the languages of conquerors (e.g., Aramaic, Greek, and Arabic) by bilinguals who lived in or near the place denoted by the name. It is conceivable that the elliptical Arabic form *Saft* derives from the colloquial speech of the ancient inhabitants of Pi-Saptu.

The toponym “Pi-Ramesses” is composed of a common noun (*Pi* “house”) modified by a proper noun. It is well known that such toponyms tend to be shortened in informal speech through omission of the common noun, especially by speakers who live in or near the place denoted by them.⁷⁵ This phenomenon is known as “colloquial abbreviation” or, more narrowly, “toponymic ellipsis.” It is important to note that colloquial abbreviation was not limited to toponyms in the Ramesside period. In discussing “typical ‘colloquial’

69 Steiner 1995, pp. 202–3.

70 Helck 1965, p. 42; Kitchen 1998, pp. 71–72 n. 20. Schipper (2015, p. 272) argues there was a principle that “the Egyptian syllable *pr* has to be used when referring to a city, whether in Egyptian or in Hebrew,” ignoring the exceptions discussed by Gardiner (1918, pp. 137–38), Helck, Kitchen, and others. He adds that “given that the name Pithom (פִּתּוֹם) in Ex 1,11 follows this principle, the assumption is highly unlikely that in one and the same verse this principle was respected with one toponym but not with the other” (Schipper 2015, p. 273). However, Pithom and Raamses entered Hebrew separately. They were borrowed not from Egyptian written texts and by a single scribe but rather from Egyptian speech and by different speakers of Hebrew, who knew nothing of this alleged principle. The only principle that applies here is the well-known principle of dialectologists that “every word has its own history.”

71 See Baldi 2002, p. 236: “The Pompeian graffiti contain many colloquialisms which are found in the later Romance languages, testimony to their presence in the popular speech of the time.” The simple, short form of Merenptah’s throne name (prenomen), *B3-n-Rʿ*, seems to be attested only in graffiti (Yurco 1986, p. 213 n. 55). If so, could that form also be viewed as an example of colloquial abbreviation? One might ask the same question about the place-name *Pr-Rʿ-ms-sw*; after all, as noted by Schipper (2015, p. 272), “this is already an abbreviated version of the full title *pr-Rʿ-mš-šw-mrj-ʿjmn-ʿ3-nḥtw* (‘House of Ramesses, beloved of Amun, great in victorious strength’).”

72 In three letters, the name of Ramesses II is taken by some Egyptologists to be a scribal error for Pi-Ramesses. See, for example, P. Vienna 3936, from the time of Ramesses II or Merenptah, as translated and discussed by El-Kholi (2006, pp. 51–57, esp. 55), who compares P. Leiden 366. See also TLA, Brief, P. Wien 3936, Brief wegen eines Begräbnisses (one occurrence of <pr>); TLA, Brief, P. Leiden I.360, Brief von Mersu-itief an die Tel (four occurrences of <pr>); and TLA, Brief, P. Leiden I.366, Brief des Mery-itief an die Rennut (two occurrences of <pr>). It is the standard—but misleading—practice of epigraphers in every field to treat colloquialisms as scribal errors. However, a different interpretation of the omission was given by Montet (1932; 1959, pp. 54–55), and even the assumption that *pr* “Pi” is omitted in these three letters is controversial.

73 Jansen-Winkel 1995, pp. 92–93; cf. p. 103 n. 78.

74 Bietak 2015, p. 26 n. 40.

75 The association of this tendency with speakers who use the toponym frequently is, arguably, a special case of “Zipf’s law of abbreviation,” which states that the more often a word is used, the shorter that word tends to be. In any event, such elliptical place-names are common in American vernacular speech. For example, many visitors to New York land at Laguardia Airport or Kennedy Airport (named after a mayor and a president, respectively); from the latter, they may take the Van Wyck Expressway (named after another mayor) to their destination. Unlike those visitors, native New Yorkers drop the common nouns *expressway* and *airport* from those names in everyday speech. Thus, to locals, the names Van Wyck, Kennedy, and Laguardia are *place-names* as well as *personal names*.

grammatical forms” in the “golden tablet” prayer from the time of Ramesses III, Orly Goldwasser cites an example exhibiting “omission of preposition.”⁷⁶

It is worth adding that *R'mss* “Raamses” is not the only Pentateuchal toponym that exhibits ellipsis of a noun meaning “house” modified by a proper noun. A seemingly revealing example of this kind is found in Numbers 32, which deals with the origin of the Israelite settlement in Transjordan. In verse 36, we find a town built or rebuilt by the Gadites called *Byt-nmrh* “Beth-nimrah” in narration. The town has that name in Joshua 13:27 and in Rabbinic literature (Tosefta Sheviit 7:11) as well. However, in verse 3, that same town appears as *Nmrh* “Nimrah,” with *byt* “house of” omitted, when the speech of the Gadites (together with the Reubenites) is quoted. This, too, appears to be a case of colloquial shortening of the name of a town by its inhabitants, intended perhaps to hint that the speakers already felt at home in Beth-nimrah and had no intention of leaving.

It seems obvious that Jews living in Egypt in the fourth century BCE—eight centuries after the city of Raamses was abandoned—could not possibly have come into contact with the long-obsolete colloquial form of its name.⁷⁷ Only people alive during the Ramesside period—especially those residing or working in or near the Delta capital—would have used the colloquial form of the toponym. Thus, the small difference between the Egyptian and Hebrew names of the Delta capital of the Ramessides, which has been cited as evidence *against* the historicity of Exodus 1:11, is actually evidence *for* it.

In short, linguistic archaeology supports (1) Kitchen’s conclusion that “the occurrence of Raamses is an early (thirteenth/twelfth century) marker in the exodus tradition,” as well as (2) Bietak’s virtually identical conclusion that “the presence of the toponym Raamses in the Books of Genesis and Exodus must have been adopted from a tradition older than the Third Intermediate and Saïte Periods.” Linguistic archaeology further suggests that the speakers of Hebrew who borrowed the name Raamses in its shortened form did so in or near the city during the Ramesside period. Further evidence for these conclusions is presented below—in this section and the ones that follow.⁷⁸

The evidence for identifying Merenptah as the pharaoh of the Exodus is not limited to toponyms. Papyrus Anastasi III, discussed immediately above for its links between Merenptah and the Pentateuch in the area of *toponymy* (see also section 3 below), also happens to be a source of links between Merenptah and the Pentateuch in the area of *realia*: the *foods* eaten in the city of Raamses and the *bricks* manufactured there. We begin with the Israelites’ fond memories of “free” food:

And the mixed multitude that was among them fell a lusting; and the children of Israel also wept on their part, and said: “*Would that* we were given flesh to eat! We remember the *fish*, which we were wont to eat in Egypt for nought; the cucumbers, and the *melons*, and the *leeks*, and the *onions*, and the garlic.” . . . ye shall eat flesh; for ye have wept in the ears of the LORD, saying: *Would that* we were given flesh to eat! (Num. 11:4–5, 18; *JPS Tanakh* 1917, verbatim, emphasis added)

These memories of a time of oppression, which at first glance seem tendentious, may have originated with a privileged group, such as the Israelite foremen of the corvée gangs conscripted by the government of Ramesses II. Be that as it may, at Deir el-Medina, a village inhabited by workers preparing the tombs of the New Kingdom pharaohs (including Ramesses II and Merenptah), the rations of *all* the workers—not just the foremen—matched the rations listed by the Israelites: “It is interesting to note . . . that the pay rations for the tomb workers, though adequate, were not as lavish as those for the troops, who received meat; the tomb workers generally received only fish along with their grain and vegetables.”⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Goldwasser 1992, p. 459 with n. 23.

⁷⁷ Indeed, Kitchen (2003, p. 256) argues persuasively that even the *standard* form of this toponym could not possibly have been learned by them in the fourth century BCE; see at n. 63 above.

⁷⁸ See also Steiner 2016b.

⁷⁹ Lesko 1994, p. 20; cf. p. 23. My comparisons of the Israelite corvée laborers with the contemporary tomb workers at Deir el-Medina are inspired by Lesko and Lesko 1999, pp. 38–39: “The Israelites, together with other immigrants and native Egyptians, were probably liable to the corvée—a sort of national service, but one involving much that we would consider slave labor. . . . The corvée system no doubt varied over time in intensity and cruelty. . . . Although we have very little

The italicized words in the biblical passage cited above (including “would that”)⁸⁰ are found also in a composition from P. Anastasi III commonly known as “In Praise of the City of Ramses”:

I have reached Per-Ramses and have found it in [very very] good condition. . . . The residence is sweet of life. Its field is full of everything good. It is in food and sustenance every day, its fish-ponds in *fish*, its pools in birds, its gardens flooded with vegetation, the plants of 1½ cubits, the sweet *melons* like the taste of honey. . . . Its granaries are full of barley and emmer; they reach to the sky. There are hills of *onions* and *leeks*. . . . Joy dwells within it, and there is no one who says to it, “*Would that!*”⁸¹

The Israelite complaint “Would that we were given flesh to eat!” takes on an extra layer of meaning when we juxtapose it with “There is no one who says to it, ‘Would that!’” The former then reads like a sarcastic allusion to the latter—a taunt designed to wound. It seems to hint that, in the good old days back in Raamses, it was never necessary to say, “Would that we had flesh to eat”—because fish was always available. (Compare the taunt in Numbers 16:13: “Is it not enough that you have brought us *from* a land flowing with milk and honey to kill us in the wilderness?” There the sarcastic allusion is to the oft-repeated promise to bring the Israelites *to* a land flowing with milk and honey.) If so, at least some of the Israelites must have been familiar with “In Praise of the City of Ramses” or, at least, with the sentiments expressed in it. We shall return to this point below.

The similarity between the food list in Numbers 11:4–5 and the one in P. Anastasi III⁸² makes perfect sense once we realize that corvée laborers, such as the Israelites, received rations from the government. As noted above, this was also true of the contemporary workers at Deir el-Medina, who were issued fish and vegetables, along with grain. Indeed, already in the eighteenth century BCE, at Alalakh, the men of the corvée (*massu* = מַסּוּ) “were provisioned from the royal stores.”⁸³ In other words, the “hills of onions and leeks” in Pi-Ramesses were government stockpiles, used to provision the army and the corvée gangs. Pithom, located in a military zone at the border,⁸⁴ would have also needed such stockpiles. This brings us to the statement in Exodus 1:11 that the Israelites “built store cities, Pithom and Raamses, for Pharaoh.” At first glance, it seems odd that this statement describes Raamses not as אַחַת עָרֵי הַמְּמֻלְכָה “one of the royal cities” (Josh. 10:2) of Egypt but rather as one of its עָרֵי מִסְכָּנוֹת, a term whose rendering as בֵּית אוֹצָרִי “store cities” in Targum Onqelos is confirmed by 2 Chronicles 32:28 and, indirectly, by Genesis 41: 35, 48–49. However, Pi-Ramesses was a vast city. Perhaps the term “store city” refers to the “warehouse district” of Pi-Ramesses, hinting that the Israelites made bricks used in the construction of government storehouses for fish, fruits, and vegetables—the foods that they would later remember so fondly.

As noted above, the forced labor of the Israelite corvée gangs in the city of Raamses involved brickmaking, with a daily quota, called מִתְכַּנֶּת הַלְּבִינִים “the (specified) quantity of bricks” (Exod. 5:8) and לְבִנֵּיכֶם דְּבַר־יָיוֹם

evidence about the working population of the northeast Delta during the Ramesside period, a contemporary site in Upper Egypt has yielded a treasure trove of information about the daily life of workers in ancient Egypt.”

80 For the Hebrew interrogative pronoun מִי “who” (followed by an imperfect) expressing counterfactual wishes and rendered with “would that,” see BDB, p. 566b, s.v. Modern translations render it with “oh that” or, best of all, “if only.”

81 The translation is from Allen 2002b (emphasis added), except for the first sentence and the final quotation, which are from Wilson 1969b, p. 471 (emphasis added); and from TLA, pAnastasi III = P. BM EA 10246 (Miscellanies). The final quote—*h3* “Would that!”—is presumably elliptical for a counterfactual wish, such as *h3 n.n wnm{t}{n}.n* “Would that we had something we might eat!” in *Admonitions of Ipuwer* 3.3. For the latter, see Gardiner 1909, p. 31; Enmarch 2008, p. 224; TLA, P. Leiden I 344 Recto, *Admonitions* = Ipuwer. The idea is that no one in Pi-Ramesses ever feels the need to utter a counterfactual wish beginning with “Would that [= If only]!” Is it possible that “there is no one who says to it, ‘*Would that!*’” originated as a pithy popular expression of civic pride?

82 It is significant that the food list in Numbers 11:4–5 is a bit closer to the copy of the food list in P. Anastasi III quoted above than it is to the later copy of the food list in P. Rainer 53. The latter omits onions and leeks (and perhaps “would that” as well); on the other hand, it adds cucumbers—another food mentioned in the biblical list. For P. Rainer 53, see TLA, P. Wien Erzherzog Rainer 53, Loblied auf Piramesse. For the date of its copy of the food list, see n. 65 above.

83 Rainey 1970, p. 193.

84 Bleiberg 1983, p. 24.

בְּיָמָיו “your bricks, what belongs to a (given) day in its day” (Exod. 5:19; cf. Exod. 16:4, Lev. 23:37, 2 Kings 25:30, etc.). Once again, we find a parallel text from year 3 of Merenptah in P. Anastasi III:

Papyrus Anastasi III, Verso 1:7–9, 3:1–3 (time of Merenptah, c. 1220 BC) refers repeatedly to building jobs and goes on (vs. 3:1–3): “Total, 12 building jobs. Likewise, the men are making (‘striking’) bricks in their spells-of-duty (?), bringing them for work in the house. They are making their quota of bricks daily”—a phrase strongly reminiscent of Exodus 5:8, 13–14, 18–19.⁸⁵

Petrie was struck by such parallels, noting “the strong Egypticity of the early narratives, which fit the Egyptian and Hyksos habits and outlook at every turn” and concluding that “the organisation of the Hebrews, the Hebrew officials who ganged the workers, and who must have kept regular lists and accounts, . . . show that there was a business-like record kept up.”⁸⁶ Nahum Sarna provided additional details about the Egyptian corvée system and its depiction in chapters 1 and 5 of Exodus:

In the Egyptian corvée system the workers were organized into manageable gangs, each headed by a foreman from among their own. He, in turn, was directly responsible to his superior, the ‘taskmaster.’ As verses 14 and 20–21 show, the foremen were Israelites, the taskmasters, Egyptian.⁸⁷

Here, again, we learn more from the finds at Deir el-Medina. The foremen there appear to have been treated far better than their Israelite counterparts in Raamses. Nevertheless, one aspect of the foremen’s work was the same in both places, namely, protecting their workers from governmental malfeasance. It was the foremen who dealt with complaints from the workers and who attempted to redress their grievances. The foremen at Deir el-Medina have been described by Barbara Lesko: “Normally . . . the foreman was their leader, representing their interests to the authorities and hearing their complaints. At the time of highest tensions, when the artisans did not receive their wages, one foreman of the time sided with his men against the administration.”⁸⁸

This description agrees with the portrayal of the foremen in the Pentateuch, who are punished by the authorities for protecting their men from cruel demands:

Then the foremen of the Israelites came to Pharaoh and cried, “Why are you acting this way towards your servants? No straw is given to your servants, yet they say to us, ‘Make bricks!’ Behold, your servants are being beaten, when (it is) your people (who) have sinned![⁸⁹]” (Exod. 5:15–16)

85 Kitchen 1976, pp. 140–41; cf. Halpern 1993, pp. 92*, 95* n. 21; Hoffmeier 1996, pp. 114–15. See already Chabas 1873, pp. 149, 150: “The matter at hand is the construction of a residence, and, in all likelihood, of a building in the city of Ramses, of which the remainder of the papyrus gives a brilliant description.” For slaves assigned to brickmaking in Egypt, see, most recently, Falk 2020.

86 Petrie 1932b, p. 25.

87 Sarna 1991, p. 28. One of the terms for the taskmasters is שְׂרֵי מַסִּים (Exod. 1:11). Contra Schipper (2015, pp. 278–79, 281–82), the Semitic term *mass-* “corvée, corvée gang(s)” was very much at home in the New Kingdom, as shown by an Amarna letter from Megiddo; see Rainey 1970; 1978, pp. 28–31; Steiner 2016b, p. 82 n. 13.

88 Lesko 1994, p. 18; cf. pp. 19–20, describing the supply-chain issues that delayed the payday rations of workers in Deir el-Medina: “It was . . . the scribe who actually issued the payday rations to the staff. With such a responsibility, it is not surprising that sometimes he would have to collect foodstuffs from the producers of the countryside to make up for what the government had failed to deliver on time (paydays were supposed to be the twenty-eighth of each month, but often deliveries were late).” If the Israelites worked in the warehouse district of Pi-Ramesses (see above), they may well have been immune from such problems.

89 The phrase וְהָטְאוּ עַמָּךְ (Exod. 5:16) has challenged translators and exegetes since ancient times. In my opinion, (1) its literal meaning is “and your people have sinned”; (2) the verb הָטְאוּ exhibits two unexpected features (see Ibn Ezra’s commentaries on Exod. 5:16 and Propp 1999, pp. 256–57); and (3) both of those features call for a sociolinguistic explanation. The use of the (third-person feminine singular perfect) form הָטְאוּ (< **ḥaṭa’at*), instead of Standard Biblical Hebrew הָטְאוּ, appears to signal foreignness; cf. Canaanite *a-ba-da-at* (rather than **a-ba-da*) from the root *’b-d* “perish” in Amarna letter 288 (Jerusalem), line 52. Like the parallel forms הִבְיֵאתָ (Gen. 33:11) and וְקָרַאתָ (Deut. 31:29), it seems to be used when speaking or alluding to a foreign oppressor. But why should the verbal predicate of הָטְאוּ be feminine here in the first place? Why isn’t masculine הָטָא used instead of הָטְאוּ or הָטְאוּ? After all, the noun עַם “people” is otherwise masculine throughout Exodus 5 (verses 4, 6, 10, 12, 22, and 23), as well as throughout the rest of the story, the rest of the Pentateuch, and, with only one or

In other respects, the work of the foremen is less clear. Like Petrie, Sarna believed that the corvée foremen kept records: “The foremen kept careful logs of their wards and the activities of each. Several such logs are extant, some from the time of Ramses II. Hebrew *shoter*, ‘foreman,’ in fact derives from a stem meaning ‘to write,’ a denotation reflected in the Septuagint rendering *grammateus*, ‘scribe, keeper of records.’”⁹⁰

Barbara Lesko, by contrast, has concluded that the foremen of the workers at Deir el-Medina were not the primary recordkeepers.⁹¹ Even so, she has argued that they were probably literate:

It would seem likely that foremen needed to be literate in order to oversee the draftsmen, who definitely were literate. Thus schooling in reading and writing as well as in painting and drafting must have been available to more than just the sons of scribes, and such proficiency could overcome earlier limitations. In the large body of letters surviving from the very end of the community’s history, there is reference to the little boys being at school, and numerous student texts have been found at Deir el Medina, but it cannot be known what proportion of the community’s youth was actually enrolled in classes.⁹²

Taken together, these discussions make it likely that the שְׂטָרִים, the Israelite foremen of the Israelite corvée gangs in Raamses, had been educated in an Egyptian scribal school—presumably in Raamses, where they lived. Indeed, that is probably why the Egyptians chose them for the job (Exod. 5:14). And since “In Praise of the City of Ramses” was used in the training of scribes⁹³ and was undoubtedly popular in that city, the foremen may well have read it—and even copied it—in school. Such familiarity could explain the similarity between that composition and Numbers 11:4–5, 18—especially the conspicuous use of “would that” in both of them.

Papyrus Anastasi III appears to be unique both in the number of Exodus parallels that it contains and in its chronological proximity to the Exodus, as dated by Mercator, Lepsius, and especially Wiener. As we shall see in the next section, Wiener dated the Exodus to Merenptah’s year 2;⁹⁴ P. Anastasi III, as noted often above, is from his year 3. The coinciding of these two seemingly unique connections to the Exodus in P. Anastasi III is strong evidence that Mercator and Lepsius were on the right track.

Last but not least is the chronological link between Merenptah and Moses. The Pentateuch’s synchronisms between Moses and Egyptian rulers are remarkably consistent with the regnal years of Ramesses II and Merenptah. According to Kitchen, Ramesses II spent “66 years and 2 months as sole Pharaoh on the Egyptian throne, and in fact some 75 years altogether from the early beginnings of his prince-regency.”⁹⁵ This exceptionally long period of rulership is roughly in agreement with reports in the Pentateuch that Moses was born during the reign of the pharaoh of the Oppression (Exod. 2:2) and that he was close to eighty, בְּגִוְלַת שְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה, when he first confronted the pharaoh of the Exodus (Exod. 7:7).⁹⁶ Although the phrase

two exceptions, the rest of the Bible. In answering this question, it is crucial to keep in mind that the story of the Exodus is about two peoples, each called an עַם. In the story, all but one of the occurrences of עַם that are modified by an adjective or verb are masculine and refer to the *Israelite* people—including the one spoken by Pharaoh (Exod. 1:9). The single exception is הַקְּטָאֵת עַמָּהּ, where the foremen are speaking to Pharaoh about the *Egyptian* people. I suggest that the feminine is used there because the Egyptian counterparts of the Hebrew collective noun עַם are—like Egyptian collective nouns in general—feminine, e.g., *p’t*, *rhyt*, *hnmmt* (Gardiner 1957, pp. 61, 415; Serrano 1999, p. 364). In short, the phrase הַקְּטָאֵת עַמָּהּ must be viewed as a literary Egyptianism serving to distinguish the two peoples in the story. For other Egyptianisms in dialogue involving the pharaohs of the Oppression and Exodus, see Rendsburg 1988, p. 355 with literature; Steiner 2021a, p. 2 n. 1. For the widely accepted view that the Bible, especially the Pentateuch, “has a tendency to use Aramaisms in stories about Laban and other Arameans and in dialogue involving them,” see Steiner 1997, p. 137 and the literature cited there.

⁹⁰ Sarna 1991, p. 28.

⁹¹ Lesko 1994, p. 19.

⁹² Lesko 1994, p. 24.

⁹³ Allen 2002b.

⁹⁴ See n. 142 below.

⁹⁵ Kitchen 1982, p. 207; cf. Lepsius (1849, p. 331; 1853, p. 420), who states on the authority of Josephus that Ramesses II reigned for “66 years 2 months.”

⁹⁶ Cf. Mercator 1569, p. 23: “Armesesmiamum [Ramesses Miamun], king of Egypt 66 years and 2 months. This is, without a doubt, the one who was zealous in oppressing the Children of Israel (Exod. 1:8–11), because he is said to have died a long time after Moses’s flight from this same persecutor (Exod. 2:23), which agrees with the great number of years in his reign;

בְּגִן־שְׁמֹנִים שָׁנָה is usually taken to mean “eighty years old,” there is good reason to believe that it really means “in his eightieth year,” making him seventy-nine years old at the time.⁹⁷ This leaves only a four-year gap, a gap that might be reduced even further since it is far from clear that such a confrontation could have taken place in the first few months of Merenptah’s year 1.⁹⁸ In section 10 (see part two), I shall point out additional intriguing links between the Pentateuch and Egyptian texts from the reigns of Ramesses II and Merenptah.

The evidence presented above—supplemented by the evidence presented in the rest of this essay—does more than support the Mercator-Lepsius dating of the Exodus. It also supports the historicity of the Pentateuchal account set forth in the last four books of the Pentateuch. It is now clear, for example, that there are numerous parallels between that account and texts from Merenptah’s year 3 in P. Anastasi III. Taken together—and in some cases even individually—they constitute strong evidence for the historicity of verses (Exod. 1:11; 2:5–8; 12:31, 37; Num. 33:3, 5) that portray Israelites as working and residing in the city of Raamses before they left Egypt. In my view, those who claim that the Pentateuch’s account of Israel’s history from Exodus 1 onward is a late fabrication from beginning to end have many more facts to explain away than formerly realized.

We turn now from Israel’s Raamses to Merenptah’s Israel. With the discovery of the Israel Stela, the Mercator-Lepsius theory suddenly became controversial. Unlike the reverends that Spiegelberg predicted would “be pleased,” Müller was troubled: “We may now expect a great deal of controversy on the date of the Exodus, etc. It is a certain feeling of dissatisfaction with which we see Petrie’s wonderful discovery destroy some conclusions which we considered indubitable, give rise to a flood of doubts and difficulties and open a wide field of dispute.”⁹⁹ Steindorff, too, concluded that the stela had toppled Merenptah from his throne as the pharaoh of the Exodus:

While earlier it was often assumed on the basis of Ex. 1.[11] that the oppression of the Israelites in Egypt—the building of the store cities Pithom and Ramses—took place under Ramses II, and that the Exodus (according to Ex. 2.23) took place under Ramses II’s son *Merneptah*, we now learn that by the time of *Merneptah*, i.e., towards the end of the 13th century BC, the Israelites had already invaded Palestine, coming into hostile contact with the Egyptians.¹⁰⁰

Breasted was more emphatic: “One thing is certain, that Merneptah can no longer be called the Pharaoh of the exodus, unless the wilderness wandering be given up.”¹⁰¹ James Orr went even further: “Yet the newly discovered inscription would seem to deal a death-blow to this theory, for the ‘spoiling of Israel’ to which it relates took place, not in Egypt, *but in Palestine*. . . . In two ways, the inscription brought to light by Prof. Flinders Petrie seems absolutely to exclude the hypothesis that the Exodus took place . . . in the reign of Merenptah.”¹⁰² Steindorff and Claude Conder took Petrie’s discovery as evidence for the Habiru hypothesis, proposed a few years earlier.¹⁰³ According to that hypothesis, the Hebrews were identical to the Habiru,

and also because the Children of Israel were forced to build Pithom and Ramesses (Exod. 1:11), one of which takes the name of the king, the founder”; Chabas 1873, p. 147–48; Rowley 1950, p. 132: “The length of the reign of Rameses would better accord with the biblical tradition.”

97 The paschal lamb or kid was offered when it was בְּגִן־שָׁנָה (Exod. 12:5), a phrase that is usually rendered “a year old.” However, Rashi (in his commentary on Exod. 12:5) and other medieval Jewish exegetes emphasize that the phrase בְּגִן־שָׁנָה has the same meaning as the phrase בְּגִן־שָׁנָתוֹ, namely, “in its (birth) year.” Abraham Ibn Ezra (in his second commentary on Exod. 12:5) and others prove this by pointing to the alternation between the singular noun phrase בְּגִן־שָׁנָתוֹ referring to the offering of each tribal leader (Num. 7:15, 21, 27, etc.) and the plural noun phrase בְּגִן־שָׁנָה שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר referring to the sum total of the offerings of the twelve tribal leaders (Num. 7:87). For בן שלש in Mishnaic Hebrew (Sifra to Lev. 4:3) meaning “in its/his third year,” see Hirsch 1899, p. 76; Hoffmann 1905, p. 177.

98 See, e.g., at n. 142 below.

99 Müller 1896.

100 Steindorff 1896, pp. 332–33 (emphasis original).

101 Breasted 1897, p. 68.

102 Orr 1897, pp. 162, 163–64.

103 Steindorff 1896, p. 333; Conder 1896, pp. 256, 258. For additional literature, see Hasel 2008, pp. 55–56.

whose assaults on the cities of Canaan were recorded in the Amarna letters more than a century before Merenptah's reign.

The reaction of other scholars was quite different. In the view of Fritz Hommel, the discovery provided evidence *for* the dating of the Exodus advocated by Mercator and Lepsius: "This is extremely important, because it lends new support to the old conjecture that Merenptah was the Pharaoh of the Exodus."¹⁰⁴ For other scholars, it made the Mercator-Lepsius dating more precise. A. H. Sayce thought that "when the poem was written, the Israelites were probably already lost in the wilderness—in other words, the Exodus would already have taken place. In that case we shall have in this inscription the Pharaoh's version of the Exodus."¹⁰⁵ Similarly, Gaston Maspero asserted that "we would have in this five-word passage an allusion to the Egyptian version of the Exodus, as recounted at Menephtah's court."¹⁰⁶ Naville expanded on this idea:

It seems to me . . . that we have there a very short allusion to the fact that the Exodus had taken place, and the Egyptian version, or rather the name that the Egyptians gave to this event: the annihilation of the Israelites. I see nothing there that would go against the old idea that placed the Exodus at the beginning of Menephtah's reign, i.e., a little before the moment when the stele was engraved. The Israelites were in the desert, marching towards the Promised Land. Even admitting that they did not remain en route for forty years, their trip was not quick. For the Egyptians, they no longer existed; they had disappeared in the desert and they had not left any posterity behind. This explanation seems to me to be in accordance with the habitual language of the pharaohs. In the mouth of the Egyptian king or his official scribes, the fate of the Israelites could not have been anything other than their destruction.¹⁰⁷

For Petrie, it appears, the *ideal* historical interpretation of Merenptah's victory ode would have been consistent with six basic premises: (1) Merenptah's clash with Israel, before year 5 of his reign, took place *in or near Canaan*; (2) Ramesses II was the *pharaoh of the Oppression*, who conscripted the Israelites to (make bricks to) build the vast Delta capital bearing his name (Exod. 1:11, 13–14); and (3) Merenptah was the *pharaoh of the Exodus*, who succeeded the pharaoh of the Oppression immediately after the latter's death (Exod. 2:23; 4:19) and during whose reign (4) Israel, more or less *in its entirety*, left Egypt, after which (5) it spent *forty* (2 + 38) years in the desert before (6) it crossed the Jordan into Canaan *after year 8 of Ramesses III*, the year of the last Ramesside military expedition to Asia. However, like Müller, Steindorff, Breasted, and Orr, Petrie was unable to find a hypothesis consistent with *all* of these premises.

In response to this conundrum, Petrie drew up a nonexhaustive list of five hypotheses,¹⁰⁸ each of them discarding at least one of the six basic premises. Unfortunately, as we shall see, Petrie overlooked a sixth possibility—a theory similar to his fifth hypothesis¹⁰⁹ but consistent with all six of the premises.

Appended to the list of hypotheses was a brief discussion, based in part on insights of Lepsius, explaining the chronology implicit in premises (3), (5), and (6):

In considering these different views, the date of the Exodus and its relation to Egyptian history is a main factor. The principal consideration about this is the total absence of any reference to any Egyptian invasions after the Israelite invasion. Had the Exodus taken place in the eighteenth dynasty, as some suppose, there should be some mention in the Old Testament of the invasion of Rameses II., which extended over Moab, Judea, and Galilee; of the invasion of Merenptah which crushed "the people of Israel"; of the invasion of Rameses III., which went through Judea as well as the north.^[110] The silence about these striking wars makes

¹⁰⁴ Hommel 1896, p. 17.

¹⁰⁵ Sayce 1896, p. 199.

¹⁰⁶ Maspero 1896. For a more easily accessible English translation of the article, see Maspero 1908, p. 96.

¹⁰⁷ Naville 1898, p. 37; cf. Brown 1917.

¹⁰⁸ Petrie 1896a, pp. 624–25; cf. Petrie 1897, p. 30.

¹⁰⁹ See at n. 150 below.

¹¹⁰ See also Petrie 1934, p. 55: "the entire absence of any allusion in Joshua or Judges to the conquest of Palestine . . . by Sety I . . . passing through the whole of the most distinctively Israelite land."

it extremely difficult to suppose that the invasion of Canaan occurred until after the last raid of Rameses III.^[111] But the brief period thus left for the age of the Judges is generally supposed to be a difficulty in placing the Exodus so late.^[112] It is impossible here to enter on the details; suffice it to say . . . that the genealogies of the Levites agree also within a few years of the same interval; and that the history of Judges, when carefully separated into its triple strands of north, west, and east, shows a complete history of each division of the country, covering just about the same period as indicated by each of the other methods. We are thus led to see that there is nothing inconsistent with history in placing the Exodus under Merenptah, as is usually supposed; and that so there remains no difficulty in accepting the obvious conclusion that the last Egyptian raid was over before the twelve Tribes entered Palestine in a body.¹¹³

Two of Petrie's five hypotheses were based on the assumption that "such a 'stiff-necked and rebellious' people could scarcely hold together for many centuries, and migrate to and fro as one body, without some split being likely to occur."¹¹⁴ That Petrie favored this idea is clear from another article of his, also published in 1896, which presented only *one* historical interpretation: "That quarrelsome and obstinate race . . . had split up in the dim ages."¹¹⁵ Breasted referred to this idea as "the improbable hypothesis of a divided Israel,"¹¹⁶ but Petrie ignored this assessment. In 1905, he repeated his divided-Israel hypothesis—omitting only its racial underpinning—and gave it his stamp of approval:

The name of the people of Israel here is very surprising in every way: . . . it is clearly outside of our literary information, which has led to the belief that there were no Israelites in Palestine between the going into Egypt and the entry at Jericho; whereas here are Israelites mentioned with Ynuamu in North Palestine, at a time which must be while the historic Israel was outside of Palestine. *The only likely conclusion* is that there were others of the tribe left behind, or immediately returning, at the time of the famine; and that these kept up the family traditions about sites which were known in later times.¹¹⁷

This hypothesis is far from ideal. It posits a previously unknown "Israel" in the Levant engaged in a previously unknown battle against the Egyptian army. It further assumes that that "Israel" and that battle were important enough to merit a full verse in Merenptah's brief coda—a verse paired with a verse boasting of a victory over Khurru (the entire Levant or a significant piece of it), no less—but *not* important enough to "historic Israel" to deserve even the slightest mention in its own accounts of Egyptian oppression in the Ramesside period.

Despite these problems, Petrie's divided-Israel hypothesis spread quickly. Its success was due, in large part, to a suggestion of Müller, which I shall call the "Asher hypothesis." Müller suggested that the Egyptian toponym *Ī-s-r*—attested in lists of Seti I and Ramesses II, and (as it later turned out) in the Satirical Letter (23.6) from the time of Ramesses II—designated (one part of) the territory of the tribe of Asher. To him, this was evidence that the tribe of Asher was already in Canaan well before the time of Merenptah.¹¹⁸

111 Cf. Lepsius 1849, p. 359; 1853, p. 450: "That they [= the campaigns of Seti I and Ramesses II in Canaan] are nowhere mentioned in the books of Joshua and Judges, while the numerous far more transitory subjugations of the Israelites by the nations bordering upon them are so fully recorded, appears, in fact, to be a fresh proof that these warlike expeditions happened before the Exodus of the Israelites." For more detail, see Hoffmeier 2007, pp. 242–43.

112 Cf. Lepsius 1849, pp. 315–16; 1853, pp. 402–4.

113 Petrie 1896a, pp. 625–26. Only three months after their initial publication (May 1896), the list and the discussion were reprinted verbatim in *Scientific American* (August 1896). Although Petrie published revisions of his views about the Exodus throughout his life, he never wavered in his conviction that only five of the six basic premises can be true, until he finally learned there was a way of accepting all six of them.

114 Petrie 1896a, p. 625.

115 Petrie 1896b, p. 501.

116 Breasted 1897, p. 68.

117 Petrie 1905, p. 114 (emphasis added). See also Petrie 1911, pp. 34–35. Cf. also 1 Chronicles 7:21 as interpreted by the Talmud (Sanhedrin 92b).

118 Müller 1893, pp. 236–39; 1896.

Now, Müller's Asher hypothesis was originally unconnected with Petrie's divided-Israel hypothesis; indeed, it was first proposed in 1893, before Petrie's hypothesis was even in existence.¹¹⁹ In 1896, Müller did mention his Asher hypothesis in discussing Petrie's discovery; however, he did so not to bolster the divided-Israel hypothesis in *defense* of premise (3) but rather as a reason for his very reluctant *abandonment* of premise (3).¹²⁰ Petrie, for his part, appears to have had no interest in the Asher hypothesis, maintaining that "the twelve Tribes entered Palestine in a body."¹²¹ Subsequent scholars, however, had other ideas. Already in 1897, Hommel arranged a shotgun wedding between the two hypotheses as a way of saving Merenptah's honor.¹²² However, so far as I know, it was not until C. F. Burney blessed the union in 1908 (followed by additional blessings in 1918 and 1919) that it became respectable:

Evidence is good for the commonly received view that Ramses II, Merenptah's predecessor, was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and either Merenptah himself or his successor[,] the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The supposition, in face of this, that the Exodus and the entry into Canaan had already taken place some generations previous to the date of the stele-inscription has nothing to commend it; nor, on the other hand, is it likely that Merenptah's allusion represents his own version of the Exodus or describes his oppression of Israel in Egypt prior to the Exodus.

There remains the hypothesis that, already before the entry into Canaan of the Israelite tribes who came out of Egypt with Moses, there were tribes settled in Canaan who bore the name Israel.

Sety I . . . mentions a state in West Galilee called Asaru or Aseru. The same name is cited by Sety's son and successor, Ramses II. It corresponds in form with the name of the Israelite tribe Asher.¹²³

A careful reading of Burney's discussion reveals a number of problems. The first of them lies in his identification of Merenptah's Israel with both (1) "tribes settled in Canaan who bore the name Israel" and (2) "a state in West Galilee called Asaru or Aseru." These identifications contradict not only each other but also Merenptah's depiction of Israel, discussed in section 1 above, as a people that roamed about, with no fixed location. The second problem resides in Burney's assumption that Merenptah would, for no obvious reason, use the name Israel for a tribe that both his father and his grandfather called "Asher." That assumption, difficult in itself, also seems inconsistent with Burney's belief that Asher was one of the tribes that "were regarded in later times as holding an inferior position in the Israelite confederacy, perhaps because they were not purely Israelite by race."¹²⁴

In retrospect, it is unfortunate that the Asher hypothesis has proven so difficult to uproot. It is still accepted by many Bible scholars,¹²⁵ despite (1) the refutation published by René Dussaud in 1938;¹²⁶ (2) the conclusive evidence against it added by Albright in 1954 (see below); (3) the increasingly negative views of Egyptologists;¹²⁷ and (4) the assertion of the leading authority on Northwest Semitic personal names that "there are no ascertained Egyptian transcriptions of 'Āšēr."¹²⁸

119 Müller 1893, pp. 236–39.

120 Müller 1896.

121 Petrie 1896a, p. 626; see at n. 113 above.

122 Hommel 1897, pp. 265–66.

123 Burney 1908, p. 334; cf. Burney 1918, pp. civ–cv; 1919, pp. 83–84. Note, however, that Driver (1911, p. xl) makes no mention of the Asher hypothesis in accepting the divided-Israel hypothesis.

124 Burney 1918, p. cvi.

125 See, most recently, Rendsburg 2021, pp. 78, 81, and *passim*.

126 Dussaud 1938, p. 177.

127 See the literature cited by Ritner (2020, p. 44*–47*), esp. Kitchen 1994–2013, vol. 1, p. 41 ("So, on all grounds, the attempted equation between Asru and Hebrew Asher should be given up, along with any theories based upon so unreliable a datum"), and Görg 1999, p. 17 ("Overall, a picture emerges that allows one to distance oneself from the thesis that Asher is attested in extra-biblical sources. Rather, in all cases of recognizable naming, an identification of the spellings with Ashur/Assyria deserves preference"). See also Eerdmans 1908, pp. 65–67; Kitchen 1966, pp. 70–71; and the rendering of *l̄-s-r* with "Asuru" by Allen (2002a, p. 13a) and "Asiru" (rather than "Ascher," "Asser," or the like) in TLA, s.v. *jsr*.

128 Zadok 1988, p. 103.

The evidence presented by Albright comes from an Egyptian list of slaves dating to Sebekhotep III's years 1–2 (ca. 1749–1747 BCE).¹²⁹ The slaves identified in the list as Asiatic have Northwest Semitic names. Among the female slave names, we find *Ī-š-ra* “happy, fortunate” (fem.).¹³⁰ This name is a *description of the baby girl*, much like at least one other name on the list, namely, *Š-p-ra* “beautiful” (fem.) (cf. Shiphra, the midwife of the Hebrew slaves in Exod. 1:15). Concerning *Ī-š-ra*, Albright writes:

š-ra (fem.) is evidently a feminine hypocoristic of the same type as the masculine *ʾAšer*, name of one of the twelve tribes of Israel and their ancestor. This occurrence of the corresponding feminine is important for the interpretation of the biblical name, whose sibilant has been etymologically obscure. It is now certain that both names are derived from the stem which appears in Hebrew *ʾošer*, “good fortune,” *ʾašrê* . . . , “happy, blessed.”¹³¹

It was until now possible to derive *ʾĀšēr* from the stem *ʾTR*, with a *T* which would appear in Middle and Late Egyptian transcription as *S*.¹³²

According to Albright, then, the name Asher is derived from an adjective (or stative participle) meaning “happy, fortunate” (as implied by Gen. 30:13),¹³³ an adjective related to the Ugaritic abstract noun *išryt* “happiness.”¹³⁴ As shown by the Ugaritic cognate, the sibilant of Asher is the reflex of Proto-Semitic *š rather than *t, and its rendering in the toponym lists of Seti I and Ramesses II and in the Satirical Letter would, therefore, have been *Ī-š-r*, as in the Egyptian slave list, rather than the attested *Ī-s-r*.¹³⁵ In short, Albright's comparative analysis of the names *Ī-s-r* and *Ī-š-ra* demolished the best evidence for the divided-Israel solution to the problems raised by Merenptah's inscription.

A less problematic and more parsimonious solution was proposed by Wiener in a series of publications beginning in 1916.¹³⁶ He summarized the facts of Merenptah's inscription as follows:

At a time not later than April in the fifth year of King Merneptah, the immediate successor of the Pharaoh of the oppression, a non-territorial people of Israel is defeated so crushingly that the Egyptian peace in Palestine is securely established and the Israelitish menace removed. It may have been an Israelitish invasion, for the

129 Hayes 1955.

130 Albright 1954, pp. 229–31.

131 Albright 1954, pp. 229–31.

132 Albright 1954, pp. 229–31 n. 51. To my knowledge, the only Egyptologist to recognize the critical importance of Albright's discussion for the identification of *Ī-s-r* is Kitchen (1966, pp. 70–71; 1994–2013, vol. 1, pp. 40–41); contrast Görg 1999, p. 13 at n. 14.

133 So, too, Zadok 1988, p. 101. Edelman (1992, p. 482), too, gives this etymological meaning, seemingly unaware that it contradicts the Egyptian renderings that she cites on the same page.

134 del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 2015, p. 115.

135 *Ī-s-r* could be a rendering of Semitic *ʾtr > ʾšr “Assyria,” as many Egyptologists believe; see the literature cited in n. 127 above. Yeivin (1957, pp. 98–99) argues that it could also be a masculine counterpart of the goddess Asherah = Ugaritic ʾrt. Moreover, he claims, “there is every likelihood that the name ʾAšer must be connected with a masculine form of deity, which is known in the Old Testament only in its feminine form ʾašêrâ; all the more so, since Asher's only full brother in Hebrew genealogical tradition (both are sons of Lea's slave-girl Zilpa) bears also the name of a pagan deity, namely the Canaanite god of luck or good fortune.” However, Yeivin cites no evidence for the existence of a deity named Asher, nor have I found any. Even the *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, which is sufficiently inclusive to have an entry for Amalek based on a suggestion that it itself rejects (Becking 1999), has no entry for Asher and only a brief, parenthetical mention of that name in its long, detailed Asherah entry (Wyatt 1999, p. 99): “(cf. the tribal name Asher, which may be a divine name in origin).” Moreover, it seems obvious that the most striking characteristic that the names of Zilpah's sons have in common is not their resemblance to the names of pagan deities but rather their resemblance to virtually synonymous lexical items. Asher resembles (and appears to be derived from) an adjective meaning “fortunate, lucky,” and Gad resembles (and appears to be derived from) a common noun meaning “fortune, luck.” And, as pointed out by Kitchen (1966, pp. 70–71 n. 53) in his rebuttal of Yeivin's etymology of the name Asher, the name of the goddess Asherah is not derived from the word for “fortunate.” In other words, Asherah (< *ʾrt-) and Asher (< *ʾšr-) are a pair of etymologically unrelated forms that became near homonyms in Hebrew as a result of the merger of *t with *š; cf., for example, הַנְּשִׁים (< *tmn-) “eight” and הַנְּשִׁים (< *šmn-) “fat.”

136 The main publications are Wiener 1916a (also published separately as 1916b); 1926; and 1932 (after Wiener's murder in 1929).

phrase “his seed is not” is elsewhere applied to invaders.^[137] Indeed, it is difficult to see how it can have been anything but an invasion, since Israel is not established in its known territory.¹³⁸

Credit is taken for a defeat of Israel . . . , whether inflicted by his people (with or without his personal presence) or his allies or his vassals is not stated. That defeat was inflicted on a non-territorial Israel, and it was inflicted in or near Palestine.¹³⁹

Wiener went on to argue that the statement “Israel is spoiled” in the stela refers to the defeat suffered by a band of Israelites who went up into the Negev highlands after their arrival at Kadesh-barnea (Num. 14:44–45; Deut. 1:43–44):

Now observe how precisely all this fits in with the Egyptian account. We learn of a defeat in the south of Palestine of an invading non-territorial Israel . . . under a successor of the Pharaoh of the oppression by vassals of the Pharaoh, so crushing that the Egyptian peace in Palestine is securely established and the Israelitish menace removed for thirty-eight years. . . . There cannot possibly have been two defeats of a non-territorial Israel in Palestine during the early years of the successor of the Pharaoh of the oppression, each leading to the complete establishment of the *pax Aegyptia* in Canaan. . . . Nor is the narrative of a defeat which never took place invented by any nation.¹⁴⁰

According to Wiener’s interpretation of Merenptah’s victory ode, the number of possible dates for the Exodus is more or less limited to the first few years of Merenptah’s reign. Two facts must be kept in mind: (1) Merenptah’s year 1 ran from July 1213 to July 1212 BCE;¹⁴¹ and (2) according to the Pentateuch (Num. 33:3 and passim), the Israelites left Egypt on the fifteenth day of the first month, early in the spring. Thus, a departure in Merenptah’s year 1 would have fallen in the spring of 1212 BCE, a departure in Merenptah’s year 2 would have fallen in the spring of 1211 BCE, and so on. A departure in Merenptah’s year 1 would leave around nine months (July to April) for the events described in Exodus 4:19–12:37 to unfold, which seems about right.¹⁴² If the Israelites left Egypt early in the spring of 1212 BCE,¹⁴³ in the second half of Merenptah’s year 1, they could have sent scouts from Kadesh-barnea late in the spring (Num. 13:20)¹⁴⁴ of 1211 BCE, in the second half of Merenptah’s year 2. And if so, a defeat on the trail to Hormah around seven weeks later (cf. Num. 13:25) would have taken place in the summer of 1211, around the end of Merenptah’s year 2. Finally, a crossing of the Jordan into Canaan after forty years in the desert would have taken place early in the spring (Josh. 4:19, 5:10–11) of 1172 BCE.

Wiener’s dating of the Exodus had much in common with Petrie’s. He accepted Petrie’s oft-stated axiom that the Israelite invasion of Canaan could not have occurred until after the last raid of Ramesses III, in year 8 of his reign. He also agreed that the Exodus took place during the reign of Merenptah. However, Wiener’s theory forced him to date the Exodus *near the beginning* of the king’s ten-year reign, rejecting Petrie’s dating “at the end of the reign of Merenptah.”¹⁴⁵ Wiener seems to have been elated to learn that this deviation from Petrie’s dating did not violate Petrie’s axiom:

137 For this usage, see the examples cited in Breasted 1906a, pp. 257–58, and the examples in Rainey 2001, esp. the one on pp. 57–58 describing the defeat of the Sea People invaders by Ramesses III: “The ones who reached my border, *their seed is not*, their heart and their soul are finished for ever more; as for the ones who came and assembled in front of them on the sea, the complete flame was before them before the harbor mouths and a stockade of spears on the shore hemmed them in.”

138 Wiener 1916a, p. 463.

139 Wiener 1916a, p. 463 (emphasis original).

140 Wiener 1916a, p. 465.

141 See n. 6 above.

142 According to Wiener himself (1916a, p. 466), they left Egypt in the spring of Merenptah’s year 2, which is also possible.

143 Coincidentally, in one of his attempts to date the Exodus, Petrie (1905, p. 115) gives almost exactly the same date: 1213 BCE.

144 According to *Seder Olam Rabba* 1897 (chap. 8, pp. 36–37), citing that verse, the date was the twenty-ninth of Sivan, the third month. For reports from various travelers about the beginning of the grape season, see Goor and Nurock 1968, pp. 39, 40, 42, 43.

145 Petrie 1905, p. 115.

Even this is not the end of the exact coincidences. Petrie in his most recent utterance on the subject says: "The historical limit is that the Egyptians were incessantly raiding Palestine down to 1194 B.C., and then abandoned it till the invasion of Shishak." . . . That is precisely forty years from the accession of Merneptah in Petrie's date, and the expiration of the period of the wanderings exactly clears it. There is no record whatever of contact with Egyptian troops in Palestine during the period of Joshua or the Judges. That is because none took place.¹⁴⁶

We have learned a great deal about Egyptian history since Petrie's day, and our new knowledge only strengthens Wiener's claim that his dating of the Exodus accounts for the absence of any "record . . . of contact with Egyptian troops in Palestine during the period of Joshua or the Judges." The major campaign of Ramesses III in the Levant was against the invading Sea Peoples, including the Philistines (Egyptian *P-r-s-t*), in year 8 of his reign, dated by Kitchen to "ca. 1177 BC, minimum; 1180 BC, maximum." The minor "campaign against the Seirites amid the clans of Shosu . . . may have been a direct follow-up of the year 8 battle, in that year or just afterward."¹⁴⁷ These military expeditions are believed to have been the last Ramesside campaigns in Asia before the collapse of the Egyptian empire there, since "none of the king's three immediate successors—Ramesses IV, V, and VI—are known to have waged campaigns in Palestine."¹⁴⁸

Kitchen's chronology is more favorable to Wiener's theory than Petrie's was. According to Kitchen, the period between year 1 of Merneptah and year 8 of Ramesses III was *shorter* than forty years. If the Israelites crossed the Jordan in about 1172 BCE, they would have entered Canaan approximately five to eight years after the last Ramesside campaigns in Asia mentioned above. In other words, Wiener's theory has a safety margin these days; it is no longer just barely capable of explaining why there is no allusion to these campaigns in Joshua or Judges.

Wiener's theory bears some similarity to two conjectures from the time of the Israel Stela's discovery. One is the suggestion of Maspero that Merneptah's Israel was "all or part of the children of Israel settled beside Kadesh-barnea after leaving Egypt."¹⁴⁹ The other is the last of Petrie's five original hypotheses from 1896:

There is yet another possibility of Israelites in Canaan. After the Exodus they prospected in the land, they wished to go up and occupy it, and they defeated the Canaanites in the south (Num. xxi. 3); the latter fact is just at the end of the wanderings, but it appears from Hormah being named then to be another version of the conflict soon after the Exodus (Num. xiv. 45). That a portion may have succeeded in entering Palestine directly seems not at all impossible; and Merneptah may have chased after them in revenge for the escape of the main body.¹⁵⁰

Wiener's theory has an important advantage over Petrie's divided-Israel hypothesis. The assumptions made by the former are, with the benefit of hindsight, almost self-evident, namely, that (1) the Amalekite and Canaanite warriors in the vicinity of Kadesh-barnea belonged to a militia established by Merneptah's vassals, and (2) Merneptah would not have hesitated to take credit for the defeat of interlopers at the hands of his vassals. Because these two assumptions are so natural that they were later made independently by others,¹⁵¹ the theory must be viewed as conforming to the principle of parsimony, that is, the rule attributed

146 Wiener 1916a, p. 467. Cf. the two Palestinian targumim that take Exodus 14:13 to be a promise that Israel will never again experience subjugation by Egypt. Weippert (2010, p. 154 with n. 45), by contrast, rejects Petrie's axiom. According to him, the absence of any mention of an Egyptian administrative presence in Canaan in Joshua and Judges stems from an effort to avoid giving the impression that their liberation from Egypt was incomplete.

147 Kitchen 2012, p. 11. Weinstein (2012, p. 161) gives the date of year 8 as 1177; Weippert (2010, p. 153) gives it as 1179. The date is often rounded to 1175; see, e.g., the literature cited in Finkelstein et al. 2017, p. 261.

148 Weinstein 2012, p. 172.

149 Maspero 1896.

150 Petrie 1896a, p. 625; cf. 1897, p. 30.

151 See, e.g., Boling 1982, p. 369 (citing Priebatsch 1975, p. 29): "It is equally possible that the stele assimilates various local actions of Egyptian vassals and officials stationed in Canaan to the overriding suzerainty of the court back home."

to William of Ockham that “entities should not be multiplied beyond necessity.” Perhaps that is why it was, for the most part, well received, garnering positive reviews from Heinrich Holzinger and Sayce.¹⁵²

Unfortunately, Wiener rarely got credit for his idea. J. S. Griffiths published a book in which he praised Wiener’s creativity but forgot to credit him when paraphrasing his most important contributions.¹⁵³ From Griffiths, the theory reached J. W. Jack, who likewise presented it without attribution, not mentioning Griffiths until two pages later: “So far as we know, Israel’s ‘defeat’ may have been inflicted by . . . native vassals of the Pharaoh, or even—which is not at all unlikely—by outside allies or other people incited by Egypt to the attack.”¹⁵⁴

Wiener’s most important convert was Petrie himself. In 1926, Petrie published Wiener’s second article on Merenptah’s stela¹⁵⁵ in *Ancient Egypt*, the journal that he edited. In 1932, Petrie cited his theory in reviewing A. T. Olmstead’s *History of Palestine and Syria*:

A very different view would result from more acquaintance with the Egyptian influences and connections. No mention is made of the excellent studies of the late Harold Wiener, and his interpretation of the Israel stele as referring to the advance of Israel at the Exodus, and its repulse by Egyptian troops and allies of South Palestine.¹⁵⁶

In 1934, Petrie abandoned his own earlier historical interpretation of Merenptah’s allusion to Israel in favor of Wiener’s interpretation:

A defeat of the “people of Israel” is named on the great stele of Merneptah which was found in my excavation at Thebes. This seems to refer to the defeat at Hormah . . . , after the spies had returned. The Canaanite subjects of Merneptah repelled the attack in the second year after the Exodus, or fourth year of Merneptah, and this was therefore prominently in view when this monument was inscribed a year later.¹⁵⁷

This version of Wiener’s theory appears to date the Exodus to year 3 of Merenptah, making it contemporaneous with the origin of P. Anastasi III, which, as noted above, contains a remarkable number of parallels to the Pentateuch’s Exodus narrative.

Petrie’s change of heart, which obviated the need for his divided-Israel hypothesis, went largely unnoticed. One critique of Wiener’s theory that I have found does mention Petrie’s 1934 book but only in a different context.¹⁵⁸ In that critique, Alfred Lucas argues that “there is no evidence whatever that the defeat referred to in the Bible (Num. xiv, 44, 45; Deut. i, 44) was by the Egyptians, or that the Egyptians were in any manner connected with, or responsible for it, and the Bible states explicitly that it was by the Amalekites, the Canaanites and the Amorites from the mountainous district adjacent to Kadesh.”¹⁵⁹ He adds that there is no evidence that the defeat mentioned in the stela was near Kadesh(-barnea), although he then goes on to say that it “may well have been south-east of Gezer, somewhere in the territory in which the tribe of Judah eventually settled.”¹⁶⁰

Petrie’s correction came too late to rescue Wiener’s theory from oblivion; by 1934, many scholars no longer accepted a number of Petrie’s basic premises. The erosion of support for those premises was already underway in 1896, when, as we have seen, Steindorff and Conder took Petrie’s discovery as evidence for the identification of the Hebrews with the Habiru, thereby discarding premises (2), (3), and (6). In 1920–21,

152 Holzinger 1918, p. 76; Sayce 1933, p. 149.

153 Griffiths 1923, esp. pp. 52–53. Cf. the review of Griffiths 1923 by Lods (1925, p. 284): “On no point does he appear to have made an original contribution to the debate. He does little more than reproduce, with a little amplification, Mr. Harold Wiener’s pamphlet, *The Date of the Exodus* (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1916, pp. 454–480 and offprint).”

154 Jack 1925, p. 227; Jack cites Griffiths 1923 on p. 229.

155 Wiener 1926, part of a friendly exchange with Gardiner.

156 Petrie 1932b, pp. 25–26; cf. Petrie’s autobiography, where he calls Wiener a “good friend” (Petrie 1932a, p. 283).

157 Petrie 1934, pp. 66–67. This publication lacks footnotes; thus, Wiener’s name does not appear.

158 Lucas 1941, pp. 115, 116 n. 1.

159 Lucas 1941, p. 115.

160 Lucas 1941, p. 115.

Albright published “A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology.”¹⁶¹ In that article, Albright made the assumption, which had been refuted four to five years earlier by Wiener, that the latest date for the Conquest (of Canaan by Israel) was “established at 1225 by the famous stela of Meyneptah.”¹⁶² Accordingly, he enthroned Ramesses II not only as the pharaoh of the Oppression but also as the pharaoh of the Exodus and even as the pharaoh of the Conquest. In so doing, he abandoned premises (3) and (6), and he shortened the forty years of premise (5).¹⁶³ The result was quite similar to a suggestion rejected already in 1896 by Müller.¹⁶⁴ In 1935, he revised the dates somewhat, but his general approach remained the same.¹⁶⁵ His treatments of the subject published from 1937 to 1973 were only slightly different. In them, premises (3) and (6) were still abandoned, but Merenptah was back in the picture, this time as the pharaoh of the Conquest.¹⁶⁶

Albright's new chronology revolutionized biblical scholarship. Its general outlines were accepted by John Bright, Kitchen, Benjamin Mazar (Maisler), Yohanan Aharoni, Abraham Malamat, and many others.¹⁶⁷ Albright may have believed that, in adopting this chronology, he was reducing the number of contradictions between the Pentateuch and the findings of archaeology and epigraphy. He certainly gave that impression in 1935, when he wrote that “with the discovery of these facts, all Gardiner's objections to the historicity of the Exodus vanish” and that “nothing has been discovered to throw doubt on the essential historicity of the Wilderness Wandering.”¹⁶⁸ However, already at that time it was recognized that Albright's archaeological defense of the Bible's historicity, if that is what it was, came at a steep cost. In 1938, H. H. Rowley argued persuasively that Albright's 1935 article “not only enlarges the measure of the untrustworthiness of the Old Testament, but makes it particularly difficult to see how traditions so perverse can have arisen.”¹⁶⁹ Rowley's critique turned out to be more accurate than he could have foreseen. With the benefit of hindsight, it is clear that Albright's new chronology significantly *increased* the number of contradictions between the Pentateuch and the findings of archaeology and epigraphy—beginning with the victory ode (see sections 12 and 13 in part two). Ultimately, the chronology collapsed under the weight of these contradictions. In the words of Dever:

Finally, we must ask what is of lasting value in Albright's Biblical and historical syntheses. The answer is, very little. His central theses have all been overturned, partly by further advances in Biblical criticism, but mostly by the continuing archaeological research of younger Americans and Israelis to whom he himself gave encouragement and momentum. The negative side of all this is that the “revolution” that Albright confidently predicted has indeed come about at last, but hardly in the way that he anticipated—quite the opposite. . . . The house collapsed rather quickly, so much so that many did not notice.¹⁷⁰

The collapse set off the latest wave of minimalism in biblical scholarship,¹⁷¹ bolstered by fallacious—and subsequently refuted—arguments from silence (see section 11 in part two). In the 1980s, even the term “biblical archaeology” was forced into retirement, at the urging of Dever and at tragic cost to Yigael Yadin.¹⁷²

161 Albright 1920–21.

162 Albright 1920–21, p. 63; cf. Albright 1935, p. 17; 1940, p. 194.

163 Albright 1920–21, pp. 63, 66, 79. In this article, Merenptah's stela is dated to ca. 1220 BCE (late in year 5 of his reign), Merenptah's defeat of Israel is dated to ca. 1225 BCE (early in year 1 of his reign), the crossing of the Jordan is dated to ca. 1230 BCE, and the Exodus is dated to ca. 1260 BCE. Thus, the desert period is only thirty years long.

164 Müller 1896: “Nor would a small sacrifice, such as shortening the forty years in the wilderness, enable us to squeeze the Exodus and the conquest of Canaan into the reign of Rameses II.”

165 Albright 1935, pp. 10, 16 with n. 20, 17, and 18.

166 Albright 1937b, pp. 23–24; 1940, p. 194; 1963, p. 27; 1973, p. 65.

167 Bright 1952, p. 113; Kitchen 1966, pp. 57–75, esp. 60; Mazar 1971, p. 81; Aharoni 1979, p. 195; Kitchen 1982, p. 71; Malamat 1997, p. 17.

168 Albright 1935, pp. 16–17.

169 Rowley 1938, p. 275.

170 Dever 1993, p. 34.

171 See Halpern 1995; Dever 2009.

172 See the 1985 lecture published as chapter 1 in Dever 1990 (esp. p. 30); Yadin 1985, pp. 21–22; Meyers 2016.

None of this is surprising, because scholars at the time were unaware that a theory more parsimonious than the theories of Petrie (prior to 1934) and Albright had been available since 1916.

Today, Wiener's theory is still virtually unknown. I have been unable to find any mention of it during the past seventy years.¹⁷³ There is no reference to it in surveys of the literature dealing with the location of Merenptah's Israel.¹⁷⁴ In recent research, the effects of this oblivion have occasionally become apparent in the work of scholars who, in investigating the historical background of a given Pentateuchal account, might possibly have benefited from an awareness of Wiener's theory. A brief consideration of two examples is instructive.

Baruch Halpern, while making a powerful case for the general authenticity of the Pentateuchal account of the Exodus and for dating it to the reign of Merenptah,¹⁷⁵ raises a problem noted earlier by Breasted:

Israel cannot have left in the first year of Merneptah and then wandered in the wilderness for 40 years before turning up in Canaan in his fifth year. So either one must divorce the Exodus from the conquest, as I shall try to do a bit later on, or one must remove the reference to the store-cities. . . . In short, one or another aspect of the biblical account will have to be jettisoned.¹⁷⁶

Wiener's interpretation of Merenptah's victory ode—which solved Breasted's problem and thereby eliminated the need for “one or another aspect of the biblical account . . . to be jettisoned”—would have made Halpern's case for authenticity even stronger.

Like Halpern, Malamat presents a number of “significant *indirect* sources—a sort of circumstantial evidence that lends greater authority to the biblical account.”¹⁷⁷ In his view, the “Moses movement,” that is, the “peak period for a stream of Israelites coming out of Egypt,” is to be dated “toward the end of the XIXth Dynasty (the late 13th century B.C.E. and the early years of the 12th century).”¹⁷⁸ Here again, Wiener's interpretation of Merenptah's victory ode would have strengthened Malamat's argument and greatly simplified it. Without that interpretation, Malamat is compelled to assert—despite the evidence that Merenptah was the pharaoh of the Exodus—that Merenptah's stela “has little or nothing to do with the Exodus.”¹⁷⁹ Wiener's theory would have made it unnecessary for Malamat to abandon the principle of parsimony in “postulating two or more exoduses, or even a steady flow of Israelites coming out of Egypt during a lengthy period, perhaps encompassing hundreds of years.”¹⁸⁰

In the remainder of this essay, I shall argue that the general neglect of Wiener's theory, although perhaps understandable during Albright's lifetime, can no longer be justified. I shall attempt to demonstrate that (1) Wiener's assumptions have been confirmed by subsequent research, and (2) Wiener's theory eliminates a number of apparent contradictions between the Pentateuch and the findings of archaeologists and epigraphers in Ramesside Egypt, Sinai, and Canaan, while at the same time solving exegetical problems in the relevant Pentateuchal passages.

I should add that, on the biblical side, this essay deals mainly with passages from the Pentateuch; I have not systematically examined the ramifications of Wiener's theory in Joshua and Judges. Nevertheless, since Wiener's theory implies a date of about 1172 BCE for Israel's crossing of the Jordan, I would be remiss if I did not mention the increasing popularity of a twelfth-century (early Iron Age) dating for the beginning of

173 The latest mention I have found is by Rowley (1950, p. 31 n. 1), who attributes the theory to Griffiths (1923).

174 See, e.g., Hasel 1998, pp. 203–4. I found Wiener's article in 2014 only after I myself got the idea of connecting Merenptah's Israel with Numbers 14:45 and Deuteronomy 1:44 (and with Oren 1987, p. 95) and searched for previous discussions of this idea.

175 Halpern 1992, 1993.

176 Halpern 1992, p. 90; cf. Breasted's comment at n. 101 above. For additional literature, see Hasel 2008, pp. 54–56.

177 Malamat 1997, here p. 17.

178 Malamat 1997, pp. 16–17.

179 Malamat 1997, p. 19.

180 Malamat 1997, p. 16.

Israelite settlement in Canaan. In 1984, Yadin lent his prestige to this dating in his keynote address to the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology:

The earliest Israelite settlements discovered date from the beginning of the Iron Age. Credit for revealing this stage, which is becoming more and more clear, is due to Albright, followed by the important survey work of Aharoni and, more recently, Kochavi, A. Mazar, Finkelstein, Zertal and others. All efforts to fix the date of these settlements within the accepted chronological framework of the Late Bronze Age so as to conform with certain theories, have failed. So far, not even one such site has been found with proper Late Bronze Age pottery, let alone the associated imported wares.¹⁸¹

Another endorsement of this dating at that conference came from A. Mazar:

A close study of the pottery from the Settlement sites points to the conclusion that in fact none of these sites existed prior to Iron Age I. A number of them were founded during the twelfth century B.C.E., whilst most of them flourished during the eleventh century B.C.E.¹⁸²

In a separate essay, published in 1985, Mazar offered details of his dating:

The phase generally termed Iron Age IA, which is dated from the time of Tausert or, *at the latest, from the eighth year of Ramesses III* up to the reign of Ramesses VI, is defined by the maintenance of Egyptian rule in Canaan, the continuation of Canaanite culture in some centres (such as Megiddo VII A), the destruction and abandonment of some major Canaanite cities and the appearance of new ethnic groups in all parts of Palestine, including the Israelites and the peoples of Transjordan.¹⁸³

Mazar's latest *terminus post quem* for Iron Age IA, namely, year 8 of Ramesses III, brings us close to the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁸⁴

Three years later, Israel Finkelstein argued that "the data for assigning the beginning of Israelite Settlement to the 13th century are . . . few and inconclusive."¹⁸⁵ Like Yadin and Mazar, he attempted to free himself from "the various historical interpretations"—presumably including Albright's historical interpretation of Merenptah's victory ode—by basing his dating purely on pottery.¹⁸⁶ In 1991, Bimson accepted Mazar's twelfth-century dating but attempted to make it more precise:

It would appear, then, that no "Settlement sites" can be dated with confidence before the early twelfth century BCE. Can we be no more precise than this?¹⁸⁷

We can be confident . . . that the beginning of Iron I settlement in the hill country was not a thirteenth-century phenomenon but a twelfth-century one (in agreement with Mazar . . .). Indeed, it is quite probable that *it did not begin until the second quarter of that century*.¹⁸⁸

The last sentence just quoted implies that 1175 BCE is a probable *terminus post quem* for the beginning of Israel's settlement in Canaan. In 2005, Miller gave the same date for one of the destructions of Bethel—the destruction that, in his view, ushered in the settlement period:

In ca. 1175, Beitin Phase 1 was destroyed (Albright and Kelso 1968:33). It was immediately replaced by a poorer, cruder town in Beitin 2: buildings had no foundations and were made of mixtures of stones and bricks

181 Yadin 1985, p. 23.

182 Mazar 1985b, p. 64. Mazar's dating can itself be dated, thanks to an article he published just a few years before the conference: "We should perhaps define a certain period, starting in the late thirteenth century (the time of Merneptah?) and lasting until the mid-twelfth century, as the period of conquest and settlement" (A. Mazar 1981, p. 36).

183 Mazar 1985a, p. 107 (emphasis added).

184 As noted above, year 8 of Ramesses III is dated by Kitchen (2012, p. 11) to "ca. 1177 BC, minimum; 1180 BC, maximum."

185 Finkelstein 1988, p. 321.

186 Finkelstein 1988, p. 316 (emphasis added).

187 Bimson 1991, p. 8.

188 Bimson 1991, p. 13 (emphasis added). Cf. Frolov 1995, p. 205 n. 19.

(Albright 1934:11; H. Weippert 1988:399). . . . The first regional change, however, occurred in ca. 1150. Tell el-Ful Level I was destroyed and abandoned (Albright 1933:7; Sinclair 1960:6; P. Lapp 1965:4; Stager 1968:9; Graham 1981:30; A. Mazar 1994b:76; N. Lapp 1997:346). So was et-Tell (Callaway 1976:30).¹⁸⁹

Most recently, Gary Rendsburg has accepted that date for the beginning of the period in which Israel emerged in Canaan:

Early Israel emerged in the central hill country of Canaan during the Iron Age I period (1175–1000), when a core group of formerly pastoral (semi-)nomads underwent the process of sedentarization. They lived in simple elliptical sites reminiscent of Bedouin encampments;[¹⁹⁰] eventually they concentrated themselves in villages; and their lifestyle was characterized by simple homes, simple pottery, simple burials, and an egalitarian ethos.¹⁹¹

In short, the date 1175 BCE is given as a *terminus post quem* for the beginning of Israel's settlement in the hill country of Canaan by Bimson, Miller, and Rendsburg. That date agrees to a startling extent with the date 1172 BCE for the crossing of the Jordan implied by Wiener's theory, providing powerful confirmation of it. It is also worth noting that, according to Carol Redmount, one of the many advantages of dating "the Israelite conquest and settlement . . . at the beginning of the twelfth century BCE" is that "this date accords better with the archaeological evidence for increased settlement east of the Jordan River in the region of Ammon, Moab, and Edom."¹⁹² This evidence dovetails nicely with Wiener's theory, which implies that the Israelites encountered these Transjordanian nations not long before the crossing of the Jordan.

3. MERENPTAH'S ISRAEL AND ISRAEL'S ME-NEPHTOAH

Not long after Petrie learned that Merenptah had deigned to recognize Israel's existence in his inscription, another scholar suggested that Israel had returned the compliment in its own writings. In 1903, Franz von Calice suggested, in a modest note only four sentences long, that Merenptah's name appears in the Bible.¹⁹³ I shall argue in this section and in section 14 (see part two) that Calice's brilliant conjecture—taken together with other evidence from linguistic archaeology, dirt archaeology, and epigraphy—provides strong evidence for Wiener's interpretation of Merenptah's victory ode.

Calice pointed to the phrase מַעַיִן מִי נְפֹתוֹחַ, which designates a spring that served as a natural landmark of the northern boundary of Judah (Josh. 15:9) and the southern boundary of Benjamin (Josh. 18:15). He argued that the traditional interpretation of the phrase—"the fountain of the Waters of Nephtoa" (LXX, πηγή ὕδατος Ναφθῶ; Vulgate, *fons aquarum Nepthoa*)—was problematic, and he proposed emending מַעַיִן מִי נְפֹתוֹחַ to עַיִן מִינְפֹתַח "the fountain of Mineptah." Almost immediately, Eduard Meyer hailed "the beautiful discovery of Calice."¹⁹⁴ Ignoring the emendations, he explained that what Calice had discovered was an early

189 Miller 2005, p. 66.

190 As Leviticus 25:31 makes clear, the Hebrew term for an unwallled hamlet is חֲצֵר. It is attested with that meaning in Genesis 25:16, Deuteronomy 2:23, and thirty-seven times in Joshua. For this and similar terms, see B. Mazar 1981, p. 81.

191 Rendsburg 2021, p. 73 (emphasis added). Rendsburg (1992) argued for a dating of the Exodus during the reign of Ramesses III. As he himself recognized, the major obstacle to that view was Merenptah's ode, which seems to allude to a victory over Israel in or near Canaan at the end of the thirteenth century. In his quest to overcome this obstacle, he was "led to a new interpretation of the Merneptah Stele . . . understand[ing] the line about Israel as a reference to the slavery period" (Rendsburg 1992, p. 517). This interpretation was actually not new; indeed, it was the first one to be mentioned—and rejected—by Petrie in his discussion of the Merenptah stela immediately after he discovered it (Petrie 1896a, p. 624, quoted in n. 25 above; cf. Burney 1908, p. 334, quoted at n. 123 above). In Rendsburg 2021, this interpretation is abandoned in favor of the divided-Israel hypothesis discussed above. For a slightly earlier twelfth-century dating of the Exodus, during the reign of Setnakht, see de Moor 1996; Malamat 1997, p. 26. For Seti II as the pharaoh of the Exodus, see Bietak 2015, pp. 20–21, and the literature cited there.

192 Redmount 1998, p. 106 with p. 119.

193 Calice 1903.

194 Meyer 1906, p. 222 n. 1.

folk-etymological reinterpretation of Merenptah's name, which "already in his lifetime was pronounced *Meineptah*, with loss of the *r*."¹⁹⁵

The proposal has achieved remarkably broad acceptance,¹⁹⁶ thanks in part to evidence that Calice overlooked. Before I present that evidence, a few linguistic notes are in order. Yurco characterized מַי נְפִתוֹחַ as "garbled," using that term three times and even drawing historical conclusions from it.¹⁹⁷ In my view, that characterization is quite misleading.

According to the traditional view, Merenptah's name is composed of three Egyptian words: *mry* "beloved," *n* "of," and *Pth* "Ptah."¹⁹⁸ The first word, originally pronounced with an intervocalic [r], was pronounced [maj] in Late Egyptian, with a diphthong at the end. The absence of [r] is the product of a well-documented *Egyptian* sound change.¹⁹⁹ In fact, many Egyptologists used to call this king *Meneptah* or the like, following Manetho in omitting the quiescent *r*.²⁰⁰ And, in Merenptah's time, מַי "water(s) of" was also pronounced [maj], with the original diphthong, in Hebrew (unlike, say, Amarna Canaanite).²⁰¹ Indeed, the Septuagint still preserves that diphthong in Μαυζοοβ = מַי זְהָב (Gen. 36:39).

195 Meyer 1906, p. 222 n. 1.

196 E.g., Lieblein 1907, p. 217; Gressmann 1913, p. 404; Albright 1924, pp. 106–7 n. 15; Alt 1925, p. 21; 1926, pp. 24–25; Hölscher 1931; Wolf 1933, p. 42; Alt 1936, p. 29 n. 1; Stricker 1937, p. 14 n. 1; Noth 1953, pp. 86, 88; Caminos 1954, pp. 108, 111; Aharoni 1962, p. 163; Giveon 1971, pp. 44, 115; Helck 1971, p. 232; Engel 1979, p. 381 n. 26; Priebatsch 1975, pp. 21–22; Aharoni 1979, pp. 184, 255, 440; Rendsburg 1981 (with literature in n. 9); Yurco 1986, pp. 211–14 (with literature in n. 49); Singer 1988, pp. 4, 7 n. 10; Rendsburg 1992, pp. 519–20; Singer 1994, pp. 288–89; Kitchen 1998, p. 103; Muchiki 1999, pp. 230–31; Higginbotham 2000, p. 50; Morris 2005, p. 483; Dijkstra 2011, p. 58 n. 59; Knauf 2016, pp. 129, 132; Rendsburg 2021, p. 87. The only dissenting views I know of are those in Montgomery 1923; Vycichl 1940, pp. 88–89; Krauss 1982, col. 74 n. 13; Weippert 2010, p. 165 n. 114. Montgomery, aware that he is "oppos[ing] a position which has become almost axiomatic," points to "the (almost?) entire absence of Egyptian place-names in ancient Palestine." Vycichl's dissent assumes that the *holam* in the final syllable מַי נְפִתוֹחַ is a product of the Canaanite shift. Krauss argues that "this designation was probably limited to the reign of Merenptah and possibly remained unknown outside of Egyptian official usage." Weippert cites the cuneiform transcription ¹*Mar-ni-ip-tah* at Boghazköy as evidence that /r/ was not elided in this name. As we shall see below, none of these arguments is a valid reason to reject Calice's etymology.

197 Yurco 1986, pp. 211–12.

198 For the traditional rendering, "beloved of Ptah," see, e.g., Friedrich 1924, p. 706; Faulkner 1975, p. 218; Weippert 2010, p. 171 n. 68; Gilmour and Kitchen 2012, p. 12; Leprohon 2013, p. 120 (cf. pp. 114, 123). For *mry n it.f* rendered "the beloved of his father" and "beloved by his father," see Gardiner 1957, pp. 279 §361, 296 §379. This rendering was challenged by Albright (1937a, p. 192 n. 3): "the first element of *Mri.n-Pth*, cuneiform *Marniptah* of the Boğazköy documents, is the perfective relative (so also Gunn) and not the perfect passive participle . . . ; it means 'He whom [Ptah] loves', not 'Beloved of [Ptah].'" Albright's rendering of the name was accepted by Krauss 1982, cols. 71–72; Edel 1994, vol. 2, pp. 318, 359; and others. In any event, for the purposes of this essay, the morphology and syntax of the name are less important than its phonological shape, discussed in the next footnote.

199 For the loss of intervocalic [r] in Late Egyptian, see Peust 1999, p. 152. For that loss in the perfect passive participle *mry* "beloved," see Albright 1937a, p. 192 (*Ma-i-re-ya* = *Mry-r* "beloved of Re" at Amarna; *Ma-a-i-dA-ma-na* = *Mry-Imn* "beloved of Amon" at Boghazköy); Edel 1994, vol. 2, pp. 362, 363 (*Ma-a-i-ri-a* = *Mry-r* "beloved of Re"); Muchiki 1999, pp. 213–14 (מַי נְפִתוֹחַ = *Mry-Imn* "beloved of Amon"), 293. The Greek transcriptions of Manetho also reflect this sound change; see Waddell 1940, pp. 102 (Μιαμουβ = *Mry-Imn* "beloved of Amon"), 150 (Αμμενεφθις = Merenptah). The relevance of the Egyptian sound change to Hebrew *Me-nephtoah* < **May-niptōh* (see below) is noted by Meyer (see at n. 195 above); Vycichl 1940, p. 88; Rendsburg 1981, p. 171; Higginbotham 2000, p. 50; Rendsburg 2021, p. 87. Other biblical toponyms that reflect the loss of an Egyptian *r* (presumably intervocalic at the time) are פִּי הַחַיִּירָה, פָּתֹם, and פִּי בְּקָה. The cuneiform transcription ¹*Mar-ni-ip-tah* at Boghazköy (Edel 1994, vol. 1, p. 210 [no. 102 recto 7]) suggests that there may have been two forms of the name, one with [r] and one without it. In the latter, [r] was elided in intervocalic position (perhaps something like **Marinptah* > **Mainptah*), an elision reflected in the Hebrew and Greek transcriptions. In the former, one might suggest, [r] was preserved because it was immediately followed by a consonant, namely [n], rather than a vowel (**Marniptah* or the like, reflected in the Boghazköy transcription). For the possibility that the two forms—one with [r] and one without it—belonged to different dialects (geographical or social), see Vycichl 1940, p. 88; Fecht 1983, p. 125.

200 For Manetho's transcription of the name, see the preceding footnote. For *Meneptah* used by Maspero and Naville, see at nn. 106–7 above. Seti I is called *Maneptah* in Gunn and Gardiner 1917 (p. 241) and *Meneptah* in Gardiner 1920 (passim).

201 Garr 1985, p. 39; cf. Hoch 1994, pp. 422–23.

There is no obvious garbling in נְפֹתוֹחַ (Ναφθῶ, *Nepthoa*) either. The *holam* in the final syllable conforms perfectly to what we know of Egyptian historical phonology. It is simply another example of “the great vowel shift of c. 1200 B.C., in which, generally, $\tilde{a} > \tilde{o}$, $\tilde{u} > \tilde{e}$, and $\tilde{i} > \tilde{a}$ in closed accented syllables.”²⁰²

Although the division of Merenptah’s name into מִי and נְפֹתוֹחַ is consistent with its syntax (at least according to the view that the name is composed of *mry* > *my* “beloved” and the attributive modifier *n Pth* “of Ptah”), it was probably not long before the Israelites reinterpreted the second word of נְפֹתוֹחַ מִי מַעְיָן as the Hebrew word for “water(s) of” following the word for “fountain of.” The third word may also have been reinterpreted—either as a *nif'al* infinitive absolute with the meaning “being opened” (cf. נָגַח in Judg. 20:39, נִשְׁאַל in 1 Sam. 20:6, נִשְׁלַח in Esth. 3:13, etc.) or as a phonetic variant of מִפְתָּח “(place of) opening” (with /m/ > /n/ before a bilabial).²⁰³ It must be stressed, however, that folk etymology is not the same as garbling.

Evidence that we are, in fact, dealing with folk etymology, as asserted by Meyer, can be discerned in “Neptho,” the Roman-Byzantine name of the place, and in “Lifta,” the modern name of the village.²⁰⁴ Both of these place-names reflect a very early reanalysis of the initial component *Mai* (from the Egyptian word for “beloved” to the Hebrew word for “water[s] of”) that led to its omission. Similar examples of the omission of the initial syllable of a foreign name resulting from folk-etymological reanalysis are (1) the Egyptian Arabic name of Alexandria, *Eskendereyya* < Greek Ἀλεξάνδρεια, with the first syllable of the Greek name taken to be the Arabic definite article and omitted,²⁰⁵ and (2) the modern Hebrew name of the eighth month, *Cheshvan* < *Marcheshvan* < Akkadian *Warahsamna* “eighth month,” with the first syllable of *Marcheshvan* taken to be the Hebrew word for “bitter” and omitted.

The folk etymology of נְפֹתוֹחַ מִי מַעְיָן involved reanalysis of its syntactic structure, from [מִי נְפֹתוֹחַ] [מַעְיָן] to [נְפֹתוֹחַ] [מִי מַעְיָן]. In the new bracketing, we have the phrase מִי מַעְיָן, which has been characterized as “difficult” in a major reference work.²⁰⁶ This characterization overlooks the fact that מִי מַעְיָן is merely the construct form of the phrase מַיִם מַעְיָן, attested with the meaning “water fountain” in 1 Kings 18:5, 2 Kings 3:19, and Psalm 114:8.

Calice bolstered his proposal by citing a few examples of places named after Merenptah from the Anastasi papyri (I, III, and V). However, he cited all these from a secondary source.²⁰⁷ Had he cited P. Anastasi III from Erman’s edition of the “Journal of a Border Official” (dated to year 3 of Merenptah’s reign),²⁰⁸ he would have found much better support for his proposal: “the Chief of Bowmen of the Wells of Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat . . . which is (on) the mountain range [*tzt*], arrived for a (judicial) investigation in the fortress which is in Sile.”²⁰⁹ Many scholars believe that the toponym in this passage, *N3 hnmt Mry-n-Pth htp-hr-M3't*,²¹⁰ refers to the same place as נְפֹתוֹחַ מִי מַעְיָן, but even those who reject this identification agree—with few exceptions—that it confirms Calice’s proposal.

Further light was shed on this subject by Breasted, Gardiner, and Spiegelberg, who recognized that the structures shown lining the military road between Egypt and Canaan in the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak were

202 Lambdin 1953, p. 145; cf. Peust 1999, pp. 222–26. For an attempt to attribute the *holam* in the final syllable to the Canaanite shift, see Vycichl 1940, p. 88.

203 For the latter possibility, see Montgomery 1923.

204 In the nineteenth century, the nearby spring was called *Ain Lifta* عين ليفتا, presumably derived from **Ain Nifta* by dissimilation. For this transliteration (and a vivid description), see Barclay 1857, pp. 544–47; for the Arabic spelling and discussion, see Guérin 1868, pp. 252–56.

205 Cf. the many derivatives of the personal name *Alexander* (Ἀλέξανδρος), used throughout the Muslim world from medieval to modern times: *Iskandar*, *Iskander*, *Eskandar*, *Skandar*, and so on.

206 Kallai 1968, p. 904.

207 Müller 1893, pp. 134, 222, 272.

208 Erman 1879.

209 Wilson 1969c, p. 258b. Note the apparent lack of agreement in “the Wells . . . which is.” The *Wells of Mer-ne-Ptah Hotep-hir-Maat* is the name of a single watering place/station; cf. TLA, s.v. *Xmn.t* (lemma no. 123550). One might compare the use of the Semitic term *‘yn* “spring” for a cluster of springs and/or water holes; see the descriptions of Ein el-Muweileh and Ein Qadeis in section 4 below. For the referent of *tzt*, see n. 297 below.

210 Caminos 1954, pp. 108, 111, 558.

actually fortified watering stations.²¹¹ The reference to “the Chief of Bowmen of the Wells of Merenptah” in the aforementioned “Journal” suggests that this watering station, too, was fortified, with guards stationed there to control access to the water.²¹² Itamar Singer has taken it a step further:

Even if there is no proof of the identification proposed many years ago with the “Waters of Nephtoah” . . . , the designation of the place in the “Border Journal” accords well with locating it in the hills around Jerusalem. The practice of fortifying water sources along caravan routes is well known from the reliefs of Seti I, which describe the “Ways of Horus,” and from the new archaeological research in northern Sinai and at Deir el-Balah. It is difficult to determine whether the fortification of the water source near Jerusalem was meant as preparation for Merneptah’s expedition, or was perhaps one of its results. The Egyptian attempt to assure a certain amount of control in the central hill country, in the vicinity of Jerusalem, has far-reaching significance for the following stages of the “Israelite Settlement” process and the crystallization of the tribes of Israel: it may be assumed that this was the beginning of the non-Israelite wedge between Jerusalem/Jebus and Gezer, which separated the tribes in the central highlands from those in the south.²¹³

This is an important discussion, but it is problematic in one respect. It makes the assumption, rejected by Egyptologists, that structures bearing Merenptah’s name were probably built by him.²¹⁴ Since the time of Gardiner, Egyptologists have recognized that “it was a not uncommon habit . . . for later kings to substitute their own cartouche for that of the original founder in place-names compounded with a royal name.”²¹⁵ At least three scholars have applied that principle to מַעְיָן מִי נְפִתוֹחַ. The first of them, Helmut Engel, simply remarks that “after Merenptah this fountain was not renamed anymore!”²¹⁶ Rolf Krauss, rejecting the view of almost all other scholars, cites Gardiner’s principle as evidence against Calice’s etymology.²¹⁷ Yurco, by contrast, uses Gardiner’s principle to derive an important historical linguistic conclusion from Calice’s etymology:

It was standard practice in the Ramesside period to name prominent places where Egyptian garrisons were posted for the then current pharaoh. . . . Whether or not these two places, in *P. Anastasi III* and in *Joshua*, are one and the same, the importance of von Calice’s reading is that *the placename passed into Hebrew while Merenptah (1212–1202) was ruling Egypt.*²¹⁸

The wells would hold the name of the currently ruling pharaoh from his accession, or from the date of conquest of the area. . . . So it seems highly unlikely that the Wells of Merenptah were so named as the result of a campaign of conquest, but rather were named at the change of reign from Ramesses II to Merenptah.²¹⁹

According to Yurco, then, the spring marking Judah’s northern boundary had a series of *Egyptian* names—each one containing the name of a different Ramesside ruler—but only one *Hebrew* name, which it must have gotten during Merenptah’s reign. I know of no finer example of linguistic archaeology than this Calice-Yurco insight.

All this makes good sense according to Wiener’s theory. The spies/scouts sent from Kadesh-barnea were instructed to report back on whether the settlements in Canaan were fortified or not (Num. 13:19), and

211 Breasted 1906a, p. 43: “fortified water stations”; Gardiner 1920, p. 101: “fortified wells”; Spiegelberg 1930: “befestigte Brunnenanlagen.”

212 Cf. Morris 2005, pp. 482–83.

213 Singer 1994, p. 288.

214 The same problematic assumption appears in Knauf 2016, pp. 129, 132.

215 Gardiner 1918, p. 134; cf. p. 136 with n. 1. Cf. also Kitchen 1998, p. 82: “In fact, we *do* have a well-known mention of a place Pi-(A)tum in the district of Tjeku/Succoth, in Papyrus Anastasi VI: 56, near which were pools. This Pi-(A)tum of Merenptah is simply a renaming of a prior Pi-(A)tum under Ramesses II”; Morris 2005, p. 435: “as P. Anastasi I vividly demonstrates, buildings of any importance whatsoever were routinely renamed at a change of reign to flatter the new pharaoh.”

216 Engel 1979, p. 381 n. 26 (exclamation point original).

217 See n. 196 above.

218 Yurco 1986, p. 212 (emphasis added).

219 Yurco 1986, p. 213 n. 57. Contrast Rendsburg 1981, p. 171; 1992, pp. 519–20; 2021, p. 87.

their report mentions the Jebusites as one of the peoples of the land (verse 29). It stands to reason that their report would also have included the current name—supplied by a local informant—of the fortified watering station situated only about 3 km from Jebus.

4. KADESH-BARNEA: A LANDMARK AND A STRATEGIC ASSET

In one patriarchal narrative, an old, short version of the name Kadesh-barnea appears as a landmark in the phrase “between Kadesh and Shur” (Gen. 20:1).²²⁰ The phrase seems to have been the conventional designation of a latitudinal strip of the Sinai desert, bounded by the Negev plateau on the east and by Wādī Ṭumilāt (وادي طميلات; henceforth, Wadi Tumilat) on the west (see fig. 20.1)—an area favored by nomads because of the springs near the Negev plateau and the “pools/lakes of Pithom” inside Wadi Tumilat.

The name Kadesh-barnea designates a spring that served as a natural landmark of the southern boundary of Canaan (Num. 34:4) and (later) Judah (Josh. 15:3). Another one of the springs marking the boundaries of Judah is the Spring of Me-nephtoah at Lifta, discussed in the previous section. I shall argue below that the two springs have something even more important in common.

Much has been written since the nineteenth century about the importance of Kadesh-barnea. Believing that the Israelites spent many years there, Julius Wellhausen, Meyer, and many other early scholars viewed Kadesh-barnea—rather than Sinai—as the place where the people of Israel and its religion were born.²²¹ However, its importance from an economic and strategic perspective was not grasped until Beno Rothenberg’s excavations at Timna in the southern Aravah Valley. Rothenberg found an Egyptian shrine there with inscriptions indicating that Timna’s ancient copper mines were already in use during the Ramesside period.²²²

During the reigns of Ramesses II and Merenptah, at least some of the copper ingots produced at Timna were transported part of the way to Egypt in caravans from Elat on the Red Sea through the Sinai desert to the area of el-ʿArīsh (العريش; henceforth, el-Arish; known later as Rhinocolura or Rhinocorura) on the Mediterranean coast.²²³ These caravans followed an ancient road known to the Arabs as Darb Ghazza (درب غزة) “the Gaza trail.”²²⁴ A century ago, the southern section of Darb Ghazza, between el-Quseima and Elat (“from Kossaima . . . towards Aqaba”), was described as “the great road, running straight over the low country, and twisting cunningly among the hills; a road of from ten to forty single tracks, all of which are worn down an inch or two into the flint-covered limestone, and polished by the pads of camels till they glitter white in the sun.”²²⁵ Two millennia ago, the ancestor of that road “linked the port of Aila [Elat] (the Red

220 For Kadesh = Kadesh-barnea in Genesis 20:1, see Rainey 1984, p. 96. In my view, it is necessary to equate Kadesh with Kadesh-barnea whenever it is associated with any or all of the following: (1) the spies/scouts, (2) the Amalekites, (3) the Sinai desert. Thus, I posit this equivalence in Genesis 14:7 (cf. already Ramban ad loc.), 16:14, 20:1; Numbers 13:26; and Deuteronomy 1:46. See also the next footnote, n. 227, and at n. 321 below.

221 For a survey of the literature, see Fritz, Görg, and Fuhs 1979, pp. 55–59; Ben-Gad HaCohen 2010, pp. 1–2. Concerning the total amount of time the Israelites spent at Kadesh-barnea, there are three major opinions: (1) thirty-eight years; (2) around two months (not long enough for Israel and its religion to be born); and (3) nineteen years. Opinion (1), based on Deut. 1:46, is held by Finkelstein and Silberman (2001, p. 63) and Dever (2003, p. 19). Opinion (2) is based on Num. 14:25 and Deut. 2:14, which suggest the Israelites left Kadesh-barnea soon after the return of the scouts; it is held by Tigay (1996, pp. 28, 426) and, seemingly, Kitchen (1998, p. 108). Opinion (3), midway between (1) and (2), is the traditional Jewish view, found in *Seder Olam Rabba* 1897 (chap. 8, p. 38) and Rashi’s commentary on the Pentateuch (Deut. 1:46). The sources for (3) cite only Deuteronomy 1:46 as a proof text, but I suspect that the very next verse, Deuteronomy 2:1, and Deuteronomy 2:14 were equally influential. I shall argue that both (2) and (3) are correct. The number of times the Israelites came to Kadesh-barnea is also controversial. In my opinion, they came twice to Kadesh-barnea and once to a different Kadesh, identified with Petra by some of the ancient and medieval Jewish exegetes and, most recently, by Ben-Gad HaCohen (2010, pp. 14–19).

222 Rothenberg 1988; Kitchen 1997b, pp. 130–31. For later copper production in the Timna Valley, see Avner 2014; Kleiman, Kleiman, and Ben-Yosef 2017.

223 For the land and sea routes used by Ramesses III to transport copper ingots to Egypt, see Avner 2014, pp. 139–40.

224 This road is often erroneously called “Darb al/el-Ghazza.” Here and below, I give Arabic names in Arabic script as they appear in Arabic web pages.

225 Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 29.

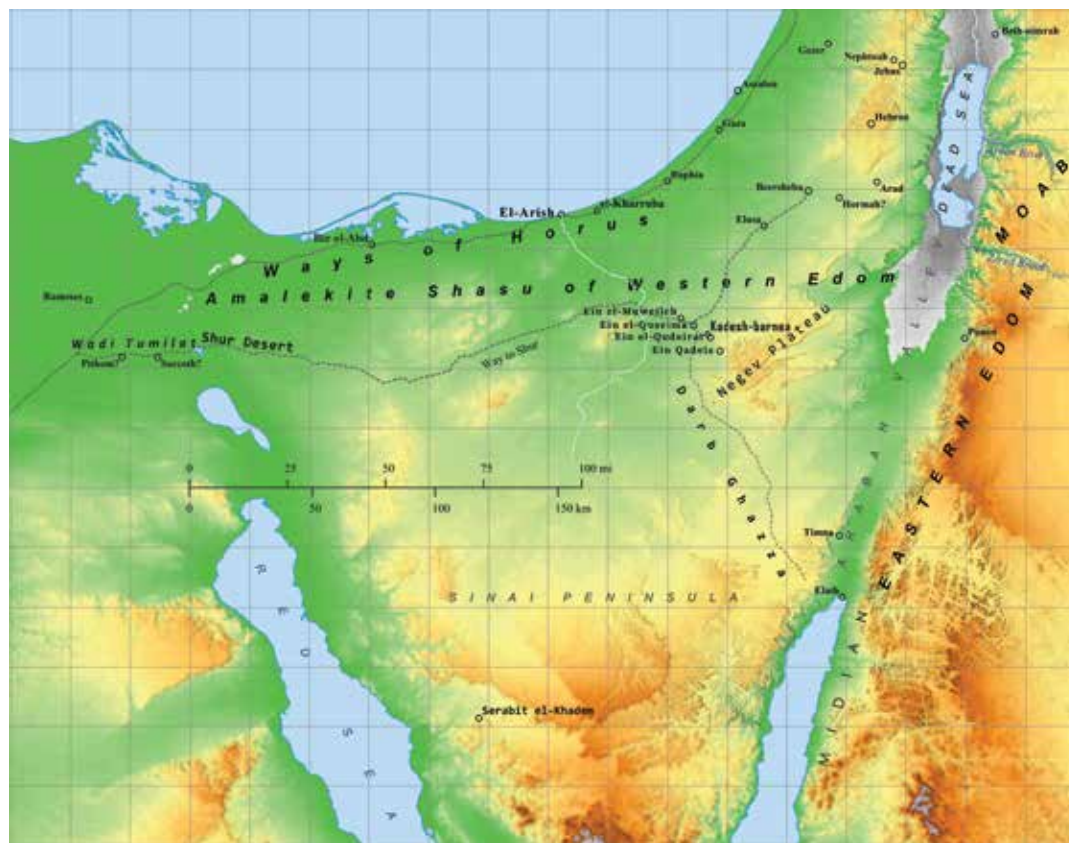


Figure 20.1. Geographical and topographical entities discussed in the text. Map created with Bible Mapper.

Sea/Gulf of Aqaba) to harbours at Gaza, Raphia, and Rhinocolura, paralleling the Gaza–Petra road and the modern Egypt–Israel border. . . . [Its] northern section (Rafa/al-Arish → Khirbet Abu Shaqafa → Quseima) was certainly active in the Nabataean and Roman periods; its southern section (Quseima → Wadi Lussan → Kuntillet Girafi) requires further surveys.²²⁶ Allusions to the road seem to be found in Genesis 14:6–7,²²⁷ Numbers 33:36 and 14:25, and Deuteronomy 1:2, 40 and 2:1.

The name Kadesh-barnea appears to exhibit a type of lexical ambiguity that is sometimes called *automeronymy* or *autoholonymy*,²²⁸ which is to say that the name designates two geographical/topographical entities with a part-whole relationship.²²⁹ In some contexts, Kadesh-barnea is used in a restricted sense (par excellence) to denote the spring known to ancient Canaanites and/or Amalekites as En-mishpat (Gen. 14:7)

226 Paprocki 2019, p. 97; cf. pp. 121–23 and passim, with maps 5 (p. 114) and 6 (p. 116). For earlier discussions and/or maps of this road, see Dothan 1965, p. 134; Meshel 1981; Greenwood 1997, p. ix; Meshel 2000, pp. 99–117. Note that fig. 20.1 in this essay shows only the southern section of the road, the part between el-Quseima and Elat. Of the three Mediterranean termini of the road listed by Paprocki, the one at or near el-Arish would seem to make the most sense for caravans continuing to Egypt by land. On the other hand, Gaza would be a logical junction for caravans traveling to and from the north. If the copper continued to Egypt by sea (cf. Goldwasser and Oren 2015), the selection of the best terminus would depend on a complex combination of factors, including safety.

227 Amraphel is described as taking this route from El-paran and Kadesh (Gen. 14:7), toponyms that are almost certainly equivalent to Elat and Kadesh-barnea, respectively (Aharoni 1963, p. 32; Astour 1992; Kallai 2001, p. 12). Four counterarguments have been presented (Ben-Gad HaCohen 2010, p. 109), but they are far from compelling. They overlook the strategic importance of Kadesh-barnea and of the road linking it to Elat (shown on HaCohen's map on p. 269). The first verb in וַיִּשְׁבוּ וַיִּשְׁבּוּ presumably refers to a change of direction from the route running south toward Elat to the route running northwest toward Kadesh-barnea.

228 Some distinguish these two terms based on whether the original referent of the word is the whole or the part.

229 Cf. Hayman 1863, vol. 2, p. 1: "It is probable that the term 'Kadesh,' though applied to signify a 'city,' yet had also a wider application to a region, in which Kadesh-Meribah certainly, and Kadesh-Barnea probably, indicates a precise spot."

and to modern Arabs as ʿĒn el-Qudērāt (عين القديرات; henceforth, Ein el-Qudeirat).²³⁰ That fountain, “apparently the richest spring of the entire Sinai and Negev desert region,”²³¹ is “situated on the southern edge of the Negev plateau.”²³² It breaks out “under a high cliff,”²³³ “bursting straight from the rock” and falling with a great din “from deep, narrow fissures” in it.²³⁴ The stream runs through Wādī ʿĒn el-Qudērāt (henceforth, Wadi el-Qudeirat), between hills (see figs. 20.2 and 20.3; cf. Ps. 104:10), creating the oasis in which Tell el-Qudeirat (also known as “Tell Kadesh-barnea”) is situated. The oasis and the tell (which have remains from around the time of the Exodus; see section 11 in part two) are probably included in what I shall call “Kadesh-barnea proper.”

It is in that restricted sense that Kadesh-barnea is listed as a natural landmark of the southern boundary of Canaan and Judah, just as three springs and their oases—the “waters of En-shemesh,” En-rogel, and the Spring of Me-nephtoah—are listed as natural landmarks of the northern boundary of Judah (Josh. 15:7, 9; cf. 18:15–17). In other contexts, the name designates a larger area—which I shall call “Greater Kadesh-barnea”—containing Kadesh-barnea proper plus some or all of the three other springs in the area.²³⁵ The most important of those other springs was ʿĒn el-Qusēma (عين لقسيمة; henceforth, Ein el-Quseima), also known as ʿĒn el-Quṣēma (عين القصيمة). That spring, located 7 km northwest of Ein el-Qudeirat, is almost as rich as the latter and is seemingly “of even better quality.”²³⁶ A third spring, 5 km northwest of Ein el-Quseima, is ʿĒn el-Muwēleḥ (عين المويلح; henceforth, Ein el-Muweileh).²³⁷ Olmstead describes this spring, whose name derives from Arabic *māliḥ* “salty,” as “a group of rudely stoned water holes or mere pits with a tiny stream flowing a short distance through the reeds.”²³⁸ Following F. W. Holland, he identifies it with the well called Beer-lahai-roi in Genesis (16:14, 24:62, and 25:11).²³⁹ A fourth spring, ʿĒn Qadēs/Quḏēs (عين قديس; henceforth, Ein Qadeis), is located 9 km south-southeast of Ein el-Qudeirat. At the time of Holland’s visit, Ein Qadeis was a group of “four springs, about 40 yards apart from each other, three on the mountain side and one in the bed of the wady,” yielding “a good stream of water down the wady for about 100 yards.”²⁴⁰ All these springs will be discussed further in section 6 below.

As noted already in the nineteenth century, Ein el-Quseima preserves the ancient name Qesem (קסם, קס'ק), a name that appears in the Palestinian targumim (e.g., Neofiti) to Numbers 34:4–5 as a rendering of biblical Azmon.²⁴¹ What has not been noted is that the name of the spring is derived from a Semitic word for divination,²⁴² suggesting that it was an oracular spring, sacred to the Amalekites and/or other nomadic tribes of the area. We shall return to this topic in the next section, where I discuss the names Kadesh and En-mishpat.

230 See Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 88, as interpreted by Bruins 1986, p. 111.

231 Bruins 1986, p. 105; cf. pp. 108–9. Cf. also Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 84: “the finest water-supply in all the desert”; Dothan 1965, p. 134: “the richest spring in Sinai.”

232 de Geus 1977, p. 63. Ein el-Qudeirat is better described as being situated on the western edge of the Negev plateau and on the southern boundary of Canaan/Judah.

233 Olmstead 1931, p. 246 (based on a visit in 1905, before the spring was altered by the British).

234 Woolley and Lawrence 1936, pp. 75, 79.

235 For Woolley and Lawrence (1936, pp. 87–88), the larger area was the Kossaima (el-Quseima) district. For a similar ambiguity involving the place-name Medeba and its hot springs, see Steiner 2021b, p. 286. Residents of New York City, which is part of both New York State and Greater New York, are especially familiar with this type of ambiguity.

236 Bruins 1986, p. 108.

237 Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 75.

238 Olmstead 1931, p. 246.

239 Holland 1879, p. 67; Olmstead 1931, p. 248.

240 Holland 1879, p. 69. For a different description several decades later, see Schmidt 1910, p. 71.

241 Trumbull 1884, p. 289; cf. McNamara 2010, p. 301. For descriptions of el-Quseima and its surroundings, see Wiegand 1920, pp. 121–35; Woolley and Lawrence 1936, passim; de Geus 1977, pp. 59–60; Bruins 1986, pp. 108–9 and passim; Meshel 1994.

242 Cf. English “kismet,” a borrowing of Arabic *qismatun* through Turkish.



Figure 20.2. Wadi el-Qudeirat, Tell el-Qudeirat (with excavation squares), and the escarpment of Jebel el-Qudeirat from the northeast. Image courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority.

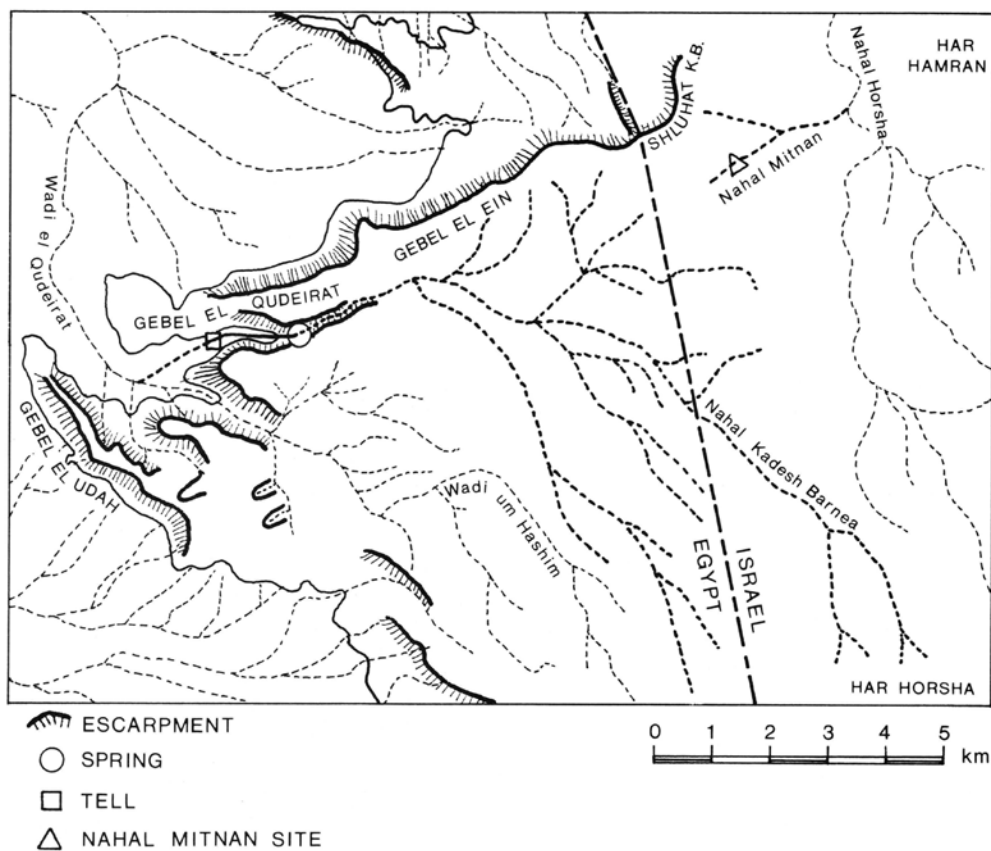


Figure 20.3. The valley oasis of Ein el-Qudeirat and the ascent to the Negev plateau. Courtesy of Hendrik Bruins. Originally published in Bruins 1986, p. 106.

The modern village of el-Quseima is situated near the junction of two ancient roads, Darb Ghazza and the Way of (= to) Shur (שׁוּר; Gen. 16:7). The latter road is now thought to have run southwestward from Beersheba to el-Quseima²⁴³ and then westward across the Sinai to Tjeku-Succoth in Wadi Tumilat (see fig. 20.1).²⁴⁴ And, of course, anyone who departed Egypt via Succoth (Exod. 12:37, 13:20) would have taken that same road in the opposite direction, traveling eastward, through the Shur Desert (Exod. 15:22). Assuming that they made no detours, they would have reached the major crossroads at el-Quseima, where they would have had several options. The Israelite tribes, for example, could have turned south onto Darb Ghazza and traveled to Elat (see fig. 20.1), continuing from there to Mount Sinai. On the way back, they could have taken Darb Ghazza from Elat back to el-Quseima. Once there, they would have been faced with a critical decision: go east into Wadi el-Qudeirat and enter Canaan from the south²⁴⁵ on a trail that ran from Kadesh-barnea to Hebron and beyond,²⁴⁶ or go west and follow the Way of Shur back to Egypt.²⁴⁷ Elijah's journey from the northern kingdom to "the mountain of God at Horeb" (1 Kings 19:8) may belong here too, because he went first to Beersheba (1 Kings 19:3). From Beersheba, he would presumably have taken Darb Ghazza to Elat and then made his way to Mount Sinai. Several scholars have raised the possibility that Elijah made a stop at the oasis of Kuntillet 'Ajrud (كونتيلة عجرود), where, not long after his time, a wayside shrine for travelers from the northern kingdom was established.²⁴⁸

In my view, the existence of two major routes linking Greater Kadesh-barnea with Egypt has not received enough attention in debates over the historicity of the Exodus. The same goes for the accounts of an abortive attempt to invade the highlands of Canaan from Kadesh-barnea, to be analyzed in section 10 (see part two). It seems likely that people who passed through that area were, more often than not, on their way to or from Egypt. Thus, if it is true that the Israelite tribes spent time in Kadesh-barnea, the odds are good that they also spent time in Egypt.

In any event, the oasis in Wadi el-Qudeirat is believed to have served as a way station for the caravans on Darb Ghazza, including the aforementioned caravans that transported copper ingots to Egypt from the Ramesside mines in the Aravah Valley.²⁴⁹ I shall argue below that the Egyptians set up a fortified watering station there—something like the ones along the coastal road to Asia, which are depicted and labeled in the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak.

The fortified watering stations had an important strategic purpose:

By securing each well or spring along a major thoroughfare, the Egyptians assured their own armies, messengers, functionaries, and traders of access to water and supplies on their journeys to foreign lands. Further, control of the water sources along these well-traveled routes allowed the Egyptian government to dictate just who could or could not pass through their territory.²⁵⁰

243 This section of the road, together with the surrounding district, was studied in considerable detail by Woolley and Lawrence (1936, pp. 57–62 and *passim*). (Their name for the road, Darb el Shur, appears to have been created by them or some other European.) For Beersheba as "a logical way station on the road to Egypt . . . the 'Way of Shur,'" see Rainey 1984, p. 96. For further details about the road, see Aharoni 1979, pp. 57–58; Dorsey 1991, p. 120; Paprocki 2019, pp. 104 (map 4), 108–9.

244 See Hoffmeier 2012, p. 108; Stewart, Lemmens, and Sala 2015; Paprocki 2019, p. 108.

245 See Eliezer of Beaugency (twelfth century CE), in Rashbam's commentary on Deuteronomy 1:2: "(Upon reaching Kadesh-barnea), they were prepared immediately to enter the Land of Israel by the route of the spies"; cf. Abarbanel's commentary on Num. 13:1–2; also Watson 1914, p. 21: "It is clear that, on leaving Sinai, Moses led the people in a north-westerly direction, with the intention of reaching the high road, the way of Shur, . . . and entering the land of Canaan from the south. But the plan was changed, when, after the return of the spies to the camp at Kadesh, the Israelites refused to follow Moses."

246 For this lesser-known trail, see Aharoni 1979, p. 58; also the map in Kempinski 1990, p. 301.

247 Cf. Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 88: "The Darb el Shur, the road of their forefathers, stretching westwards before the eyes of the mutinous Israelites, suggested an easy return to Egypt (Numbers xiv, 4)."

248 See, e.g., Meshel 1978, p. 54; Hurn 2021, p. 2. The oasis of Kuntillet 'Ajrud, about 50 km south of Kadesh-barnea in Sinai, is believed to have been one of the way stations along Darb Ghazza (Meshel 1992, p. 103).

249 Singer-Avitz 2008, pp. 73, 79. Cf. Mazar 1947, p. 37: "the oasis of *Kadesh* . . . , according to biblical references, particularly Gen. 14, 7, seems to have played a certain part as a station for the caravan traffic along the *King's Way*."

250 Morris 2005, p. 626.

Considering the increasingly restless and bold behavior of Shasu bedouin in the late Eighteenth and early Nineteenth Dynasties, the construction of these complexes to safeguard personnel, foodstuffs, and water sources may have been a particularly wise precaution.²⁵¹

In short, the presence of the Israelite camp in Greater Kadesh-barnea would have been viewed by the Ramessides as a threat to their control over the vital copper caravan route from Elat and its watering station. Indeed, Kitchen speaks of Ramesses III's "strike into Seir/Edom, against its restless tribesfolk, who were too near the copper-mining area of Atika (now Timna) for the king's comfort."²⁵² And Hasel writes that "the protection of the mining interests in the Wadi Arabah and Sinai would have been the very reason for Egyptian military action against [the Shasu]."²⁵³

Efforts to protect mining expeditions and their caravans from bedouin raiders have a long history in Egypt. Already in the Old Kingdom, numerous scenes that have been interpreted as depicting such efforts were engraved on the flat faces of the cliffs near the turquoise mines of Magharah in Sinai. One of those scenes shows Kheops (Fourth Dynasty) smiting a chief of the *Īwnwt*, a tribe of Asiatic nomads.²⁵⁴ According to Jaroslav Černý, this tribe and another tribe of nomads posed a threat to the caravans that transported turquoise to Egypt from those mines.²⁵⁵ In discussing the meaning of the smiting scenes, Černý writes:

It is doubtless as exhibiting a particularly glorious aspect of kingship that the scene of the Pharaoh clubbing a foreign foe has been chosen for depiction at Sinai; but it would hardly have been chosen unless there had been some possibility of this aspect being called into play in the course of the expeditions thither. It must be assumed that the caravans were, in the earlier times, apt to be attacked by marauding Beduins, in which case the leader of the expedition would naturally have an opportunity of displaying the victorious might of Pharaoh.²⁵⁶

From the reign of Ramesses IX, we have a letter about the protection of Ramesside *gold* caravans from the depredations of another tribe, the Akuy(a)ta, "a semi-nomadic Nubian group best known for raiding Pharaonic expeditions in the Eastern Desert."²⁵⁷ Unlike Kheops, this weak king was forced to pay the tribe "to escort and protect teams of gold workers."²⁵⁸

The evidence presented above, which came to light after Wiener's time, supplies at least part of the historical context for Merenptah's allusion to Israel in his victory ode, as interpreted by Wiener.

5. BAENRE'S ISRAEL AND ISRAEL'S BARNEA

The place-name Kadesh-barnea (*Qdš-brnʿ*) is an important but unrecognized source for the linguistic archaeologist and, ultimately, the historian. Genesis 14:7 seems to suggest that the original Canaanite names of Kadesh-barnea were Kadesh (*Qdš*) and En-mishpat (*ʿyn-mšpt*). The name Kadesh, derived from a stative participle or adjective meaning "holy," probably indicates that the spring was sacred to the Amalekites and/or other nomadic tribes of the area.²⁵⁹ The name En-mishpat, literally "spring of judgment"—like the name Ein el-Quseima < *Qesem* < *qesem* "divination" discussed in the previous section—suggests that oracular judgment was sought from the deity of the spring.²⁶⁰ (That the deity of both springs was probably Baalat

251 Morris 2005, p. 385.

252 Kitchen 2004, p. 265.

253 Hasel 1998, p. 234.

254 Černý 1955, pp. 57–58 no. 7.

255 Černý 1955, p. 27.

256 Černý 1955, p. 27. I am indebted to Aaron Koller for sending me this passage and pointing out its relevance.

257 Morris 2017, p. 145. For the gold of Akuy(a)ta, see n. 292 below.

258 Morris 2017, p. 145. For other examples of the hiring of desert dwellers, see Morris 2017, pp. 145–46.

259 Cf. Rothenberg 1962, p. 46; B. Mazar 1981, p. 81.

260 Wood 1916, p. 19; Olmstead 1931, p. 246: "En Mishpat, the 'Fount of Judgment,' to which the men of the desert resorted for . . . oracular decisions." For a study of sacred oracular springs (e.g., those of the Greeks at Delphi and Didymus), see

is suggested by the toponym Baalath-beer in Joshua 19:8, which seems to allude to the goddess of a בְּאֵר “well” not very far from En-misphat.) In support of this suggestion, one might point to the Arabic name of En-misphat, namely, Ein el-Qudeirat. The Arabic noun *quḍērāt* < *quḍayrāt* means “small cooking-pots.”²⁶¹ I suggest, however, that the original Arabic name of the spring, reflecting its pre-Islamic history as a pagan oracular site, may have been something like *Ēn el-Qadar.²⁶² The Arabic noun *qadar* “signifies a particular decree of God, as that a certain man shall die at a particular time and place &c.”²⁶³ Now, Muslims are “forbidden to seek knowledge of [their] fate (نَسْتَقْسِمُوا) by divining arrows” (Quran 5:3), and this verse is understood as prohibiting divination in general.²⁶⁴ If so, the current name of the spring would appear to be the product of a folk-etymological reshaping of the name, which was intended to erase the spring’s association with hydromancy.²⁶⁵

These etymologies make sense as far as they go, but what is the origin of the qualifier “Barnea” (בְּרִנֵּעַ *Brn*’)? Many scholars from the sixteenth to the early twentieth century, inspired perhaps by Jerome’s rendering *filius mutationis* “son of change,” suggested fanciful etymologies.²⁶⁶ Since then, almost all scholars have pleaded ignorance, with a few suggesting that it might be some unknown place-name or personal name.²⁶⁷ In my opinion, those who made the latter suggestion were on the right track, but they missed some important linguistic clues. The presence of the sound [ʕ]²⁶⁸ in a biblical place-name would normally point to a Semitic origin, but בְּרִנֵּעַ looks non-Semitic because of its length.²⁶⁹ Now, the only non-Semitic language that has the voiced pharyngeal sound [ʕ] in the Sinai region is Egyptian. This fact leads me to suggest that *Barnea* (*Brn*’) is a metathesized form of *Merenptah*’s throne name (prenomen), *Baenre* (B3-n-Rʕ “Soul of Re”).²⁷⁰

Consonants are frequently transposed when speakers of one language attempt to pronounce or write names from another language; for an example involving *r* in an Egyptian royal name, note Biblical Hebrew

Nissinen 2014. For En-shemesh as a sacred spring, see Wood 1916, pp. 17 n. 2, 74. For a sacred spring of the Canaanites in Lebanon, see Steiner 2009b, pp. 512–16.

261 Hava 1951, p. 591. Cf. Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 79 n. 1: “Ain el Guderat means the spring of the earthenware kettles, or small spouted pots. Whether it refers to the rush of water, in contrast to the slow welling up of Ain Kadeis, or to actual pottery, we know not.” This etymology shows that Woolley and Lawrence believed the Guderat (*Quḍērāt*) tribesmen, with whom they actually spoke, took the name of their tribe/clan from the name of their dwelling place. Schmidt (1910, p. 72), who spent only an hour at Ein el-Qudeirat, was told the exact opposite by the guide he hired at Ein Qadeis.

262 This suggestion could perhaps be supported by transcriptions of the name as (1) *Kaderat*, with a short medial *e* < *a*, alongside *Kuseime*, with a long medial *ē* (Wiegand 1920, p. 124 n. 115); and (2) *Qaderat* alongside *Qaseema*, with the same length contrast in the medial vowel (<https://www.eeaa.gov.eg/Uploads/Reports/Files/20221128135726379.pdf>).

263 Lane 1863–93, p. 2495c s.v. (emphasis original).

264 <https://www.islamicstudies.info/tafheem.php>. The Arabic root used here is the same as the one in Ein el-Quseima.

265 As in the case of el-Quseima and many other modern Arabic place-names, the reshaping involved a change to the pattern CuCayC-.

266 See, e.g., Bunting 1587, p. 99; Simonis 1741, pp. 461–62; Fürst 1840, pp. 1272, 1290; Hayman 1863, vol. 2, p. 4 n. i; Trumbull 1884, pp. 24–25; Schmidt 1910, p. 62.

267 According to Albright (1961, p. 37 n. 4), Barnea was a *place*-name; those who believe it to be a *personal* name include Cohen (1962b, p. 1); Aharoni (1976, p. 39); Manor (1992, p. 1); Houtman (1993, p. 120); Levin (1993, p. 63); Rainey and Notley (2006, p. 120); and Schipper (2008, p. 1). Rainey and Notley follow Jerome in taking the first syllable of “Barnea” as the Aramaic word for “son of”; however, this interpretation leaves them unable to explain either the remainder of the name or the appearance of *bar* in this geographical and chronological context (cf. already Hayman 1863, vol. 2, p. 4 n. i).

268 Since the Greek transcription of the toponym in the Septuagint to Numbers 32:8 is Καδης Βαρνη, rather than *Καδης Βαρνηγ, the final polyphonic ‘ayin must have represented /ʕ/ rather than /g/; see Blau 1982; Steiner 2005. Note also that the Greek transcription Βαρνη, rather than *Βαρνηα, matches the vocalization בְּרִנֵּעַ, with no “furtive *pataḥ*,” in the Masoretic reading tradition of Babylonia (Yeivin 1985, p. 1082). The standard vocalization, בְּרִנֵּעַ, is from the Tiberian tradition. Its furtive *pataḥ* represents a subphonemic *a*-glide to the final ‘ayin (Steiner 2009a).

269 Overly long names containing ‘ayin in Northwest Semitic frequently turn out to be Egyptian, e.g., Phoenician, ענחפמס, עפתח; Aramaic ענחפמי; עשחר; and Hebrew פוטפרע, to mention just a few of the certain examples; see Muchiki 1999, pp. 32, 33, 102, 103, 221.

270 I have not found this suggestion in Vycichl 1940 or anywhere else.

תִּרְהַקָּה < Egyptian *Thrq*.²⁷¹ Such metathesis was almost inevitable here if B^3-n-R^c was pronounced [baenre^c], [banre^c], [bajenre^c], [bajnre^c], or [baj̄nre^c],²⁷² with no vowel separating [n] and [r],²⁷³ because the sequence [nr] (with no intervening morpheme boundary) is unattested in ancient Hebrew, while [rn] is reasonably common there, as in אֲרֵנוֹן, אֲרֵנָה, קָרְנִי, קָרְנֵי, and תִּרְנָם.

It is important to note that a similar metathesis, involving Egyptian *n* and *r* in a royal name, is found in an Assyrian inscription that records Ashurbanipal's receipt of tribute from Bukurninip, king of Paḥnutu. As recognized already in the nineteenth century, *Bu-kur-ni-ni-ip* is a rendering of Egyptian *Bʒk-n-rn-f*, whose literal meaning is "servant of his name."²⁷⁴ Here, too, the Semitic metathesis (of the expected **Bukunrinip*) involves Egyptian *n* "of" preceding a word-initial [r]. The metathesis appears to have the same explanation in Akkadian as in Hebrew:

The consonant sequence *nr*, which does not occur in Babylonian-Assyrian words, was clearly difficult to pronounce for the scribe of the Annals or his informant. Hence the transposition of *n* and *r*.²⁷⁵

It is not difficult to explain how a royal name (B^3-n-R^c > בְּרַנֵּט) came to be attached to the Canaanite name of a sacred spring. Ancient Near Eastern rulers often boasted of their construction projects, and the kings of Egypt were no exception. The Ramesside pharaohs put their names on important structures and even cities. The throne name of Seti I, *Mn-mʒ't-R^c*, appears at Karnak in the names of a castle, a fortress, two wells, and a tower (*mktr*)—all of them along the coastal road leading to Canaan.²⁷⁶ Ramesses II's name is a component of the names of a series of settlements and temples.²⁷⁷ Merenptah continued this practice. His throne name B^3-n-R^c appears in the name of the royal stable²⁷⁸ and in the name of a Memphite temple.²⁷⁹ Merenptah's birth name (nomen), *Mry-n-Pth ḥtp-ḥr-Mʒ't*, is attested as the name of a town,²⁸⁰ and it appears in the name of a fortress in Tjeku (*Pʒ ḥtm n Mry-n-Pth ḥtp-ḥr-Mʒ't*),²⁸¹ in the name of a castle in Syria

271 Muchiki 1999, p. 229. For additional metathesized renderings of foreign words and names, see Hoch 1994, passim. An example involving *l* in an Assyrian royal name is Hebrew תְּלִגְתָּ (פלנאסר) alongside תְּגִלְתָּ (פלנאסר). For the metathesis [ks] > [sk] in *Iskandar* (and the like), the Arabic rendering of the Macedonian royal name Alexander (Ἀλέξανδρος), see also n. 205 above.

272 *Ba* is the conventional scholarly pronunciation of *bʒ* "soul," but Coptic *bai* "soul, spirit" (Crum 1939, p. 28a) and Demotic *bj* "soul, spirit" (Erichsen 1954, p. 111) suggest that the first component of the name may have ended in a diphthong already in the New Kingdom (Osing 1976, pp. 403, 695; Fecht 1983, pp. 119, 125). It should be noted, however, that "for <*j*>/<*j*> there are several cases of loss which remain unexplained," e.g., *sbʒ* "door" > Coptic *sbe* and *B* "land" > Coptic *to/tho* (Peust 1999, p. 145). Note also the Demotic personal names *Pʒ-b(j)-iw* and *Tʒ-b(j)-ij.t* (Erichsen 1954, p. 111), in which *bj* is written *b*. It should also be noted that there is evidence for an early monophthongization (contraction of diphthongs) *-ayn* > *-ān* in Hebrew, e.g., *ʿān* ~ *ʿay(i)n* "where" and *Dōtān* ~ *Dōtay(i)n*, a monophthongization that is very similar to a late Babylonian Aramaic sound change, *-ayn* > *-an*, posited by a number of scholars (Garr 1991, p. 715 n. 30). Thus, [baj̄nre^c] could well have been shifted within Hebrew to [bānre^c], then to [banre^c] (with the first vowel losing its length in a closed, unstressed syllable), and finally to [barnē^c].

273 Although the conventional vocalization of the Egyptian preposition *n* "of" is *en* (Peust 1999, p. 55) and there is good evidence for the form *Merenptah*, there is also evidence for the form *Merneptah*; cf. n. 199 above. Perhaps we are dealing with a syllabic (vocalic) nasal, [n̥], as suggested by Friedrich (1924, p. 706). Cf. the Coptic phrase *bai nkhōōkh* "spirit of darkness" (Crum 1939, pp. 28a s.v. *bai*, 101b s.v. *kake*), assuming that the first syllable of this phrase is *bai* rather than *bain*. For syllabic *n* in Coptic, see Peust 1999, pp. 265–66; Allen 2013, pp. 13, 203 n. 13. For syllabic *n* in Late Egyptian, see Allen 2013, p. 70.

274 Steindorff 1890, p. 353; Ranke 1910, p. 27; Tallqvist 1914, p. 65; Peust 1999, p. 224; Allen 2013, p. 205.

275 Ranke 1910, p. 27 n. 3.

276 Gardiner 1920, p. 113; Morris 2005, pp. 384–442; Rainey and Notley 2006, pp. 94–95.

277 Gardiner 1918; Redford 1987, p. 139; Kitchen 1998, pp. 70–71. The best-known example is, of course, *Pr-R^c-ms-sw*, the biblical *R^cmss*; see section 2 above.

278 Caminos 1954, pp. 11–12, 113, 544.

279 Caminos 1954, pp. 4–5, 547.

280 Caminos 1954, pp. 112, 554.

281 Caminos 1954, pp. 293–94, 545; Wilson 1969d; Kitchen 1998, p. 74.

(*P3 bḥn n Mry-n-Pth ḥtp-ḥr-M3't*),²⁸² and in the name of a watering station in Canaan (*N3 ḥnmt Mry-n-Pth ḥtp-ḥr-M3't*) discussed above.²⁸³

In light of these and many other parallels, it seems likely that the name “Kadesh” was lengthened to “Kadesh-barnea” under the influence of the Egyptian name of a structure located in the oasis of the sacred spring.²⁸⁴ In theory, the original structure could have been a modest Shasu shrine taken over by the Ramessides.²⁸⁵ However, the position of the tell in Wadi el-Qudeirat, blocking the road to the spring,²⁸⁶ suggests that already in the Ramesside period there was a guard tower there. Its purpose was to control access to the spring, ensuring that caravans transporting copper ingots along Darb Ghazza would be able to obtain water. As we shall see in section 11 (see part two), this suggestion fits the archaeology of the tell at Kadesh-barnea, a mound of ruined forts whose early phases are now known to contain remains from the Ramesside period. If so, its Egyptian name during Merenptah’s reign might have been something like **N3 ḥnmt n B3-n-R' m Qdš* “The Wells of Baenre in Kadesh.”

Our suggestion takes Kadesh-barnea as a bilingual name, compounded from a Semitic topographical name and an Egyptian royal name (belonging to Merenptah) in slightly modified form. This compound bilingualism fits perfectly in Merenptah’s reign. It could easily have evolved in the time of Merenptah’s grandfather and father, Seti I and Ramesses II, respectively, when at least some of the watering stations on the road to Canaan had two separate names—a formal Egyptian one and an informal Semitic one:

Like the *ḥtm* border-fortresses, each fort along the Ways of Horus apparently had both a formal name, which incorporated the throne name of the reigning king, and an informal name. The latter, often Semitic in origin, was frequently also the locally employed toponym by which the well and later the fort itself came to be known.²⁸⁷

It now appears that the Bible knows of two—and only two—places in Canaan named after an Egyptian king, and in both of them the king happens to be Merenptah. As it happens, Merenptah is the very same king whose victory ode contains the only occurrence of the name “Israel” in Egyptian, as well as the very same king who was identified as the pharaoh of the Exodus for centuries. We have already seen a number of other links between Merenptah and the Israelites—including three such links in a single papyrus dated two years before the victory ode—in section 2 above. It seems unlikely that all these links between Merenptah and the Israelites are products of chance, because this king ruled for barely a decade and left “only a small number of objects inscribed with [his] name” in Canaan compared with his father and grandfather.²⁸⁸ As posited by Wiener’s theory, there must have been a special connection between this king and early Israel. I shall expand upon this point in section 14 (see part two).

282 Caminos 1954, pp. 109, 112, 544; Wilson 1969c, p. 258.

283 See at nn. 209–10 above; also Caminos 1954, pp. 108, 111, 558.

284 The simple, short form of Merenptah’s prenomen, *B3-n-R'*, seems to be attested only until year 4 of his reign (Yurco 1986, p. 213 n. 55). If the absence of that form after year 4 could be shown to be more than happenstance, it would suggest that the lengthened *place*-name, Kadesh-barnea, was already in existence when the Israelites arrived there.

285 Such a shrine, like the ones at Serābīt el-Khādem (سرابيط الخادم; henceforth, Serabit el-Khadem) and Timna, could have been dedicated to Hathor, the “lady of foreign lands,” who was associated with precious materials from remote places (Wimmer 1990, p. 1068). Indeed, even the toponym Kadesh could point in that direction. The Canaanite god by that name was identified with the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Stadelmann 1967, pp. 115–16 s.v. Qadesh). Unfortunately, we do not know the name of the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadem or that of the Hathor shrine at Timna, but we do know that the name Baenre is attested in inscriptions found at both places (Kitchen 1993–2014, vol. 4, pp. 30–31).

286 Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 78: “East of them the valley draws in suddenly; and in the very throat of it lies a small tell, or mound of ruins, blocking up the road.”

287 Morris 2005, pp. 385–86.

288 Weinstein 1981, p. 20. Cf. Kahn 2012, pp. 258–59.

6. KADESH-BARNEA AND MERENPTAH'S GRANDFATHER

As noted in section 3 above, the fact that a watering station bears Merenptah's name does not imply that he was responsible for its construction. We may now add that there are reasons to suspect that such a station already existed at Kadesh-barnea in the time of Merenptah's grandfather, Seti I. Seti seems to have taken an interest in mitigating the dangers of travel on vital desert roads. The most important of such roads was arguably the one that the Egyptians called the "Ways of Horus"—the great road to Asia along the Mediterranean coast of Sinai, which was lined with military installations in the Ramesside period. Already in year 1 of his reign, Seti I led his forces along that road, "clearing the wells and minor settlements on the way of any local resistance."²⁸⁹ This pharaoh, who "evidently reorganized Egypt's administration in the 'Ways of Horus'" and restored Egypt's military system there,²⁹⁰ commemorated the campaign on the exterior north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall in the temple of Amun-Re at Karnak. It is striking that Seti's reliefs and the accompanying inscriptions (scene labels) there make a special point of depicting and naming not just the forts along the road but also their sources of water. Indeed, the water sources are depicted separately, below the forts, even though, as argued by Spiegelberg, they must have lain *within* the walls of the latter.²⁹¹ In addition, we know from at least two inscriptions that this king took pains to ensure that his *gold* caravan routes had an adequate supply of water.²⁹² It is reasonable to wonder whether he did the same for his *copper* caravan route (from Timna via Elat), because we have clear attestations of Seti's cartouche at the Egyptian copper mines of Timna.²⁹³ Seti must have realized that the simplest means of ensuring a steady supply of water for his copper caravans would be by wresting control of Kadesh-barnea from the Shasu tribesmen in its vicinity and posting guards there.²⁹⁴

From the aforementioned inscriptions and reliefs, we learn that Seti began the campaign of year 1 with attacks on the Shasu in northern Sinai, one on the way to Gaza and another near Gaza. Most scholars assume that both skirmishes took place along the coastal road; however, some have suggested that the Negev may have been involved as well. Breasted wrote that they describe "a minor campaign against the Bedwin of Sinai and the Negeb," and Anson Rainey held that they relate to a "clash with the Shosu in northern Sinai and/or the western Negeb."²⁹⁵ More recently, Manfred Weippert, too, has mentioned the Negev as a possible site for one of Seti's skirmishes with the Shasu.²⁹⁶

There are, in fact, reasons to suspect that at least one of the clashes took place farther inland. First of all, the inscription that presents the reason for the campaign speaks of rebellious Shasu chieftains standing

289 Kitchen 1982, p. 21.

290 Oren 1987, pp. 87, 110. For more on this road and its history, see Gardiner 1920; Giveon 1971, pp. 39–46; Bietak 1980; Hasel 1998, pp. 96–99; Morris 2005, pp. 384–443 and passim; Oren 2006; Hoffmeier and Moshier 2014; Goldwasser and Oren 2015.

291 Spiegelberg 1930; cf. Morris 2005, p. 418 n. 207. Papyrus Harris I contains a detailed description of the fortification surrounding a deep well excavated by Ramesses III (Breasted 1906b, pp. 202–3). At Kadesh-barnea, by contrast, the water source is not a well or cistern but a very copious spring (Dothan 1965, p. 134; Bruins 1986, p. 105), whose winter floodwaters can be very destructive (Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 79). Thus, it is not surprising that the mound of fortresses at Kadesh-barnea was *near* Ein el-Qudeirat (Dothan 1965, p. 134), not *around* it.

292 See the Kanais inscription of Seti I, which deals with digging a well near a "waterless road" in the arid mountains east of the Nile to facilitate the transporting of gold (Kitchen 1993–2014, vol. 1, pp. 56–57). See also the Quban Stela of Ramesses II, which mentions an unsuccessful attempt of Seti I to dig a well in the Akuy(a)ta region of Nubia for the very same purpose (Kitchen 1993–2014, vol. 2, p. 192).

293 For Seti I at Timna, see Avner 1984; Wimmer 1990, p. 1069 with n. 9; Kitchen 1997b, pp. 130–31; Avner 2014, pp. 108, 113, 116. Contrast Schulman (1988, p. 145) and Hasel (1998, p. 100 n. 7), who appear to have been unaware of Avner's discovery of two clear attestations of the cartouche of Seti I at Timna.

294 See also n. 320 below.

295 Breasted 1906a, p. 59; Rainey 1995, p. 491. Cf. Ward 1992, p. 1165: "Short lists of place-names in Nubian temples of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II record six toponyms located in 'the land of Shasu'. . . . Those that can be identified are in the Negeb or Edom." See further in section 8 below.

296 Weippert 2010, p. 186 n. 50.

on the ridges (*tzt*) of Khurru.²⁹⁷ Moreover, another inscription, above the relevant battle scene, mentions the ridges (*tzt*) of the rebels.²⁹⁸ The fighting takes place in “a modest oasis,” and “some of the Shasu appear to have attempted escape from the slaughter by scrambling atop a steep embankment . . . toward the formidable cliffs that sometimes border desert wadis.”²⁹⁹ These details are not a good fit with the “220 km stretch of desolate coastal land known as the Ways of Horus,”³⁰⁰ but they are a perfect match to the features of the wadi oasis at Kadesh-barnea. It is located next to (a spur or ridge of) the Negev plateau,³⁰¹ which, like the rest of the Negev, was home to the Amalekite Shasu during the Ramesside period (see section 8 below and Num. 13:29; 14:25, 45).³⁰²

At first glance, it is difficult to see how such a location is compatible with the Karnak “map” of Seti’s campaign. However, closer reading of Gardiner’s classic study of the map reveals a detail that is commonly overlooked. The map appears to indicate that, at some point on his way to Gaza to punish the Shasu there, Seti made a detour, turning off the coastal road and heading south:

At P and R we obtain for the first time names referring to places not immediately on the Syrian road. If any conclusion can be drawn from their position on the wall, they lay to the south of N and S.³⁰³

I suggest that Seti turned south because he had business to take care of at Kadesh-barnea. There is, of course, no way to prove it from the map at Karnak.³⁰⁴ Fortunately, however, Seti’s list of military installations along the Ways of Horus has a counterpart in the Satirical Letter. In it, we find a name not attested at Karnak: *ʿy-n-n* (or *ʿi-y-ni-ni*). It has long been recognized that this name contains the Semitic noun *ʿyn* “spring.” It is either a dual form derived from **ʿaynayn*-³⁰⁵ or a plural form derived from **ʿaynān*- or **ʿayanān*-.³⁰⁶

Scholars have struggled mightily to locate *ʿy-n-n* on the coastal road.³⁰⁷ Although there were *wells* of very brackish water along the road a century ago,³⁰⁸ the existence there of two or more *springs* would be surprising given Gardiner’s assertion that “in the main, the region of northern Sinai between Qanṭareh and Rifa may be described as an inhospitable, almost waterless desert.”³⁰⁹

297 See Kitchen 1993–2014, vol. 1, pp. 7–8; 2000, p. 24. If “Khurru” refers to the entire Levant, the “ridges of Khurru” may refer to a landform region stretching all the way from the Negev to Syria, such as the Levant Mountain Belt or the Syrian Arc Fold Belt. Cf. Wilson’s rendering of *tzt* as “mountain range” at n. 209 above. Contrast Givon 1971, p. 49; Vassiliev 2006.

298 Epigraphic Survey 1986, pp. 13, 14. The authors render *tzt* as “hills” rather than “ridges.”

299 Morris 2005, p. 346 with n. 14.

300 Morris 2005, p. 402.

301 For the hills surrounding the oasis in Wadi el-Qudeirat, see Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 77; also figs. 20.2 and 20.3 in this essay. The hills to the north of the tell, located in modern Israel, belong to the Negev plateau.

302 See Rothenberg 1972, p. 181; Herzog 1984, p. 72; Rainey 1984, p. 99; Herzog 1994, p. 146 and the literature cited there. For the Amalekites as prototypical Shasu, see section 8 below.

303 Gardiner 1920, p. 112; cf. Givon (1971, p. 45), who writes that P, Q, R, and U are “represented off the main road upon which all the other forts and wells are situated.”

304 The register containing Seti’s map is at the bottom of (the east wing of) the exterior north wall of the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (Gardiner 1920, pl. XI; Epigraphic Survey 1986, pls. 1, 2, 4). It is possible that the southern detour from the coastal road went beyond P and R, engraved above N and S at the top of the register; however, if it did, there was no way to show it. To depict the spring(s) *south* of P and R (not to mention south of N and S) at Kadesh-barnea, the draftsman and sculptors would have needed to leave room *above* P and R, since Egyptian maps show south on top.

305 This analysis is the one commonly assumed; however, the expected Egyptian rendering for the dual would be something like **ʿ3-y-nʿ-y-ni* or, with monophthongization, something like **ʿi-ni-ni*.

306 In the Egyptian transcriptions of Semitic assembled by Hoch (1994, p. 446), the plural ending **-in* is more common than **-im*. For plural **ʿaynān*-, without infix **a* (despite being a segolate), cf. Hebrew מְלִיכִים “kings.” For plural **ʿayanān*-, with infix **a*, cf. Hebrew מְיַיִטִּים “springs.”

307 Gardiner 1920, pp. 112, 113; Kitchen 1994–2013, vol. 1, p. 16 (top and bottom); Morris 2005, p. 436.

308 Gardiner 1920, p. 114. As noted by Morris (2005, p. 418 n. 206), Esarhaddon’s army made good use of the wells along the coastal road between Aphek and Raphia.

309 Gardiner 1920, p. 114.

I suggest that $\text{'}y-n-n$ may have been the name of an area of northern Sinai that included Ein el-Qudeirat and one or two other springs. If it is a dual, it could designate the area that Albright called the “double oasis of Kadesh-barnea,”³¹⁰ an area containing two springs that, for a time, vied for the honor of being identified with Kadesh-barnea:

Two year-round bubbling springs make the oasis the most water-rich area in the tableland of the northern Sinai Peninsula, which is intersected by numerous wadis. 'Ēn el-Qudērāt . . . is by far the more productive source. It enables more intensive farming; to this day, the surrounding area is used by Bedouins for growing crops and grazing cattle. 'Ēn Qudēs . . . is separated by a ridge about 9 km south-southeast of 'Ēn el-Qudērāt. This smaller spring serves to this day primarily as a cattle watering place.³¹¹

The pairing of these two springs would perhaps have made sense for residents of the Negev plateau, because, of the four springs in the area, only Ein el-Qudeirat and Ein Qadeis are located at or near the base of (the spur that juts out from) the western edge of Canaan's Negev plateau.³¹² For Egyptians, however, Ein Qadeis would have been virtually invisible, since it was not near either of the main roads used by them in the area and, in any event, was too small to supply water for an army.³¹³ Thus, if $\text{'}y-n-n$ is a dual, it must refer to Ein el-Quseima and Ein el-Qudeirat. These were the two springs that Seti I would have been most likely to encounter on a detour from the coastal road. They were also the two springs that he would have been most likely to covet, since, as noted in section 4 above, Ein el-Qudeirat “is apparently the richest spring of the entire Sinai and Negev desert region”³¹⁴ and Ein el-Quseima is almost as rich and seemingly “of even better quality.”³¹⁵ If $\text{'}y-n-n$ is a plural, as I suspect, it probably refers also to the third spring aligned with the other two, Ein el-Muweileh, especially if it is true that the latter “anciently . . . must have been the most thronged spring.”³¹⁶ These three springs are viewed by Leonard Woolley and Thomas Lawrence as part of a coherent district, north of the watershed, boasting “exceptional advantages, which make this plain the only readily habitable spot in the desert,” advantages that “seem from the remains in it to have been as obvious to its old-time rulers as to the British administrators of Sinai to-day.”³¹⁷ This “northern plain is a great contrast to its neighbor” south of the watershed, where “for the whole district there is only the petty spring of Ain Qadeis, remote in a difficult valley.”³¹⁸

Either way, $\text{'}y-n-n$ appears to overlap, at least partially, what I have called “Greater Kadesh-barnea.” From the coastal road, Seti would have reached this area by traveling south on Darb Ghazza. Near the intersection of the latter with the Way of Shur, he would have found Ein el-Quseima, with Ein el-Muweileh about 5 km to the northwest and Ein el-Qudeirat about 7 km to the southeast.

Three questions remain. If one of the springs of $\text{'}y-n-n$ is Ein el-Quseima, located near the intersection of Darb Ghazza with the Way of Shur, why did Seti fail to mention that one of his two clashes with the Shasu took place far from the Ways of Horus? Why does the author of the Satirical Letter include $\text{'}y-n-n$ in his quiz dealing with the Ways of Horus? And why does the name of the coastal road usually begin with “Ways,” in the plural? A possible answer to these questions emerges from Moshe Dothan's description of Darb Ghazza as “a branch of the *via maris* originating from el- ' Arish or Rafiah and continuing through

310 Albright 1973, p. 64.

311 Schipper 2008, p. 2.

312 Cf. de Geus 1977, p. 63; also the maps of Ramat Barnea in Haiman 1989, pp. 13, 25.

313 Cf. Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 71: “Ain Kadeis is too small to water the flocks of other than the few poor families who live near it, and, as we found, too remote from all roads to come to the notice of such Arab guides as live at any distance”; de Geus 1977, p. 58: “often no more than a wet spot in the desert.” See also Holland 1879, p. 69.

314 Bruins 1986, p. 105; cf. pp. 108–9; also Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 84; Dothan 1965, p. 134.

315 Bruins 1986, p. 108.

316 Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 75.

317 Cf. Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 75.

318 Cf. Woolley and Lawrence 1936, p. 75.

Quseima and Kuntilla down to the Gulf of Aqaba.³¹⁹ I suggest that the Ramessides, like Dothan, may have viewed the road from el-Arish to Elat as *one* of the Ways of Horus. This suggestion, I believe, suffices to answer the questions posed above.

If my suggestion is correct, it is reasonable to conclude that one objective of Seti's campaign against the Shasu in year 1 of his reign was to seize the district of *'y-n-n*, with its springs, in order to facilitate the transportation of copper ingots from the Timna mines to Egypt. He would not have been the first New Kingdom pharaoh to take control of a spring claimed by Shasu tribesmen. In this respect, as in others, he seems to have been following in the footsteps of Thutmose III.³²⁰

In section 14 (see part two), I shall argue that, since it was common practice to change the names of fortified watering stations with the accession of each new Ramesside ruler, the fact that the Israelites knew Ein el-Qudeirat and the surrounding area as Kadesh-barnea (*Qdš-brn'*), rather than *Kadesh-seti (**Qdš-sthy < sthy*) or *Kadesh-raamses (**Qdš-r'mss*), suggests they arrived there during Merenptah's reign—not before and not after. Moreover, the fact that the lengthened name Kadesh-barnea could not have existed before Merenptah's reign goes hand in hand with a gap in its distribution in the Bible. That long form of the name appears only in books dealing with post-Exodus matters (Num. 32:8; 34:4; Deut. 1:2, 19; 2:14; 9:23; Josh. 10:41; 14:6, 7; 15:3). In the patriarchal narratives, we find only the short, original form of the name, Kadesh (Gen. 14:7; 16:14; 20:1).³²¹

7. INDIGENOUS MILITIAS TO GUARD STRATEGIC ASSETS

As noted in section 2 above, Wiener's theory was criticized on the grounds that "there is no evidence whatever that the defeat referred to in the Bible (Num. xiv, 44, 45; Deut. i, 44) was by the Egyptians, or that the Egyptians were in any manner connected with, or responsible for it." Now, Wiener had already anticipated that objection by positing that Merenptah was taking credit for a victory of his vassals. Even so, it is obvious that this assumption seemed ad hoc to some in those days. Nowadays, the assumption looks far better, thanks to the research presented below.

A good place to begin this presentation is with Eliezer Oren's investigation of the "Ways of Horus." Oren studied a number of New Kingdom forts along that road, including A-289 (Nineteenth–Twentieth Dynasty) in the area of el-Kharrūba (الخروبة; henceforth, el-Kharruba),³²² approximately 12 km east of el-Arish and roughly 75 km from Kadesh-barnea in a straight line. The findings at A-289 led him to an important conclusion:

It appears now that during the New Kingdom the population of North Sinai, the Shasu of the Egyptian record, was incorporated into the Egyptian military and civil administration on the "Ways of Horus." The burials we found of women, children, and infants in both major phases of A-298 [sic, for A-289] bear witness to the fact that the forts in northern Sinai had not been manned by units of the Egyptian standing army, but rather by

319 Dothan 1965, p. 134. For more on this road, see at and in nn. 224–26 above.

320 In the topographical lists of Thutmose III and Amenhotep III and in two Amarna letters (as well as in other texts), a place called "Spring [*'n/3-y-n/ E-ni*] of the Shasu" appears, a place that Weippert (1970, pp. 261–63; 1974, p. 273) and Rainey (1975) argue was in the Beqaa Valley of Lebanon; cf. Ward 1992, p. 1165 and the literature cited there. Simons (1937, p. 14) writes that "Thutmose III's famous Karnak lists . . . are universally considered as being directly based on actual campaigns in Western Asia and, on the whole, as historically reliable documents." It appears, then, that this pharaoh conquered an area of the Beqaa Valley inhabited by Shasu, seizing their spring in the process. Did he do something similar to the Shasu of the Negev plateau and their spring(s)? Weippert (2010, p. 182) suggests that Thutmose III's "clash with the Ššw probably took place on the approach around the coastal road or, if one may link a passage in the autobiography of Amenemhab, . . . in the 'Negeb' (*N-g-b-3*)."

321 The old form "Kadesh" also alternates with "Kadesh-barnea" in Numbers 13:26 and Deuteronomy 1:46; see nn. 220, 221, and 227 above. Elsewhere in the Bible, "Kadesh" seems to refer to other places. Contrast Levine 2000, p. 533.

322 The initial consonant of this modern Arabic place-name (commonly mistranscribed with *H* or *H*) differs from that of *Hbrt* in P. Anastasi I, the Egyptian fort with which Kitchen (1994–2013, vol. 1, p. 16) is tempted to link it. A link might still be possible if the Arabic name turns out to be an *indirect* (and metathesized) rendering of the Egyptian via Greek; for indirect renderings, see Steiner 1982, p. 9.

paramilitary or militia units recruited from the local population, whose families lived in the forts or in the nearby encampments. We must conclude therefore that in the New Kingdom, as later in the Assyrian and Persian periods, Egypt wove the local population into the fabric of her administration in North Sinai.³²³

This finding dovetails nicely with the evidence of P. Anastasi III. As noted in section 3 above, that papyrus, from Merenptah's year 3, contains the journal of an official in an eastern frontier post of the Egyptian Delta.³²⁴ Carolyn Higginbotham writes:

The couriers are in many ways the most interesting feature of the text. . . . Although the orthography of the city name is somewhat defective, four of the couriers were from Gaza. Some have good Egyptian names, Thoht (vs. 6:6) and Setmose (vs. 6:8), but all of their fathers have clearly non-Egyptian names: Zippor (vs. 6:1 . . .), Zakarem (vs. 6:6), Shema-baal (vs. 6:7 . . .), and 'Aper-degel (vs. 6:8 . . .). . . . The presence of four Palestinians among the couriers testifies to the integration of young men from the provinces into the Egyptian bureaucracy during this period.³²⁵

Celia Bergoffen discusses the economic incentives for joining such a militia:

It is likely that the economy of northern Sinai depended heavily on the support of the Egyptian administration. The goods and "salaries" provided to the soldiers and service personnel stationed there may have been the principal source of revenue.³²⁶

As Oren notes, his conclusion fits what we know of the area in later times. In the words of Israel Eph'al:

The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon clarify the method used to acquire control over the southwestern border region of Palestine. We have already seen that Idibi'ilu was assigned to the border region of Egypt by Tiglath-Pileser. . . . Supervision seems to have been undertaken by Idibi'ilu's tribesmen, whose leader meanwhile acquired an official position under the king of Assyria and doubtless enjoyed the benefits of supervising the traffic through the important border area with Egypt. Another notable in the region was the sheikh of the city of Laban (¹⁰*nasiku ša* ¹¹*La-ba-an*), whom Sargon put in charge of the deportees settled on the "border of the City of the Brook-of-Egypt." His title indicates that he was a nomad leader who . . . dwelt in the area between Raphia and el-Arish. His appointment over the new inhabitants was made in the context of the Sargon-initiated administrative-economic activity in southern Palestine, and probably gave him status in the Assyrian governmental system. If it is not an isolated case, it is possible that, under both Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon, control of the Egyptian border was entrusted to local nomad chiefs, who were absorbed into the Assyrian administrative system.³²⁷

This policy was not limited to the Sinai region. It has also been posited for the Egyptian fort at Tel Mor (strata VIII–VII), dated to the thirteenth century BCE:

Clearly, daily life in the strata VIII–VII fort at Tel Mor mostly corresponds to overwhelmingly Canaanite tastes. . . . It is quite possible that some of the soldiers in the Tel Mor garrison may have been of local Canaanite/Shasu, rather than Egyptian, origin. Shasu mercenaries are seen as bodyguards of Ramses II at the battle of Qadesh, and their presence in the Tel Mor fort would certainly account for some of the Canaanite food preparation and serving practices at the site. In fact, at least one burial (no. 152) at Tel Mor is distinctively Canaanite. . . . In our opinion, the burial could be dated to stratum VIII—and the period of the Egyptian fort. . . . If so, the burial could belong to an ethnically local member of the garrison. This is by no means the only Canaanite-style burial found near an Egyptian fort; as Barako notes, similar Canaanite burials appear in the cemetery of the Egyptian garrison at Deir el Balah.³²⁸

323 Oren 1987, p. 95; contrast the somewhat different interpretation in Morris 2005, p. 743. For the Ramesside dating of A-289, see also Oren 1987, p. 96. For local militias within Egypt itself during the Old Kingdom, see Faulkner 1953, pp. 32–33, 35.

324 Caminos 1954, pp. 108–13; Wilson 1969c; Weippert 2010, pp. 165–68.

325 Higginbotham 2000, p. 49. Cf. n. 36 above.

326 Bergoffen 1991, p. 64.

327 Eph'al 1982, pp. 93–94. See also Na'aman 1979.

328 Cline and Yasur-Landau 2009, p. 3.

All this supports Wiener's theory that Merenptah did not send his army to engage the Israelites at Kadesh-barnea. His army with its chariotry continued up along the coastal military road to subdue at least one of the three fortified cities mentioned in his victory ode. This does not mean that Merenptah did not take seriously the Israelite threat to his strategic assets. The threat may well have materialized before the Gezer campaign. And it may have been neutralized so quickly by the local militia that there was no need for the Egyptian army to become involved. Indeed, that is the impression one gets from the biblical account, as we shall see in section 10 (see part two).

Wiener's theory is well situated to reconcile the opposing views of scholars concerning the historicity of the boasts in the coda of Merenptah's victory ode. Some Egyptologists have accepted the evidence of the coda at face value, while others have doubted that Merenptah's expedition went beyond subduing Gezer.³²⁹ If Merenptah took credit for the victories of his vassals, as suggested by Wiener, both positions have an element of truth.

Wiener's theory may even shed light on the Shasu depicted in Merenptah's reliefs at Karnak, about whom Yurco writes:

In the Karnak reliefs Merenptah is not depicted battling the Shasu, but rather binding them (Scene 5, . . .) and further leading Shasu prisoners back to Egypt (Scenes 7–8, . . .). Accordingly, he may not have personally defeated the Shasu, yet there was some sort of operation against them.³³⁰

This detail seems to be elucidated by Wiener's theory, at least according to the view that the Israelites, like other roaming tribal pastoralists, were classified as Shasu by the Egyptians. That view, accepted by many scholars,³³¹ makes excellent sense. The use of the term "Shasu" in P. Anastasi VI (year 8 of Merenptah) to refer to Edomites bringing their distressed flocks to the Nile Delta³³² makes it seem likely that the term could also be used of Israelites, a related people whose ancestors also brought their distressed flocks to the Nile Delta (Gen. 46:32–47:6), especially since the meaning of the Demotic and Coptic reflexes of this term, šs and šōs, is simply "shepherd."³³³ If so, Wiener's theory is quite consistent with Yurco's suggestion that the reliefs depict "some sort of operation" against the Shasu in which Merenptah was not directly involved—especially since Yurco believes that the operation in question took place in southern Canaan.³³⁴

According to Yurco, Merenptah's reliefs at Karnak depict (in scene 4) the Israel mentioned in his victory ode, just as they depict (in scenes 1–3) the three Canaanite city-states mentioned there. Most of this suggestion has been widely accepted; however, as argued by Rainey against Yurco, it appears that the scenes depicting Israelites are 5, 7, and 8—the ones showing Shasu prisoners being bound and led back to Egypt.³³⁵ According to Rainey's modified version of Yurco's theory, Merenptah's boast that "Israel is spoiled, his seed is not" is, as one might have suspected, hyperbolic. The implication that there were Israelite survivors, who were taken prisoner and brought to Egypt, calls to mind a bold claim of Ernst Knauf, in a different context,

329 See the literature cited by Engel 1979, pp. 377–83; by Yurco 1986, pp. 190–91 n. 7; by Singer 1994, pp. 286–87; and by Hasel 1998, pp. 179–80; add now Lurson 2003; Ortiz and Wolff 2022. I am indebted to Glenn Corbett for the last reference.

330 Yurco 1986, p. 210. For confirmation of Yurco's claim that the reliefs in question belong to Merenptah, see Brand 2009.

331 See Giveon 1965, pp. 195–96; 1971, pp. 267–71; Weippert 1974, p. 280; Redford 1986, pp. 199–200; Bietak 1987, p. 169; Kempinski 1990, p. 327; Redford 1992, p. 275; Rainey 1995, pp. 494–95; Ahituv 1998, p. 137; Rainey 2001, pp. 74–75; Levy and Holl 2002, pp. 96–97; Finkelstein 2007, pp. 81–82; Mazar 2007, pp. 94–95; Bietak 2015, p. 21; Faust 2015, pp. 473–75; Rendsburg 2020, p. 336; 2021, pp. 64, 72. Contrast Yurco 1986, p. 210; Kitchen 1991, p. 205; Stager 1998, p. 92; Hasel 1998, pp. 199–201. It is possible that the Egyptians themselves used the term "Shasu" in both a broad sense (e.g., "roaming tribal pastoralist," with the typical Shasu garb not a necessary condition) and a narrow sense (in which "clothes make the man"). This would then be a case of the extremely common type of lexical ambiguity known to semanticists as "autohyponymy." In section 8 below, I shall argue that the prototypical Shasu were Edomites, including Amalekites.

332 Caminos 1954, pp. 293–96; Wilson 1969d; Giveon 1971, pp. 131–34; Allen 2002c; Weippert 2010, pp. 171–73; TLA, pAnastasi VI = P. BM EA 10245 (Miscellanies). In section 8 below, I shall argue that these particular Edomites were Amalekites.

333 Rainey 1995, pp. 491, 494–95; cf. CDD 19 [š], pp. 208–9 s.v.; Crum 1939, p. 589b s.v. Cf. also "all shepherds are abhorrent to the Egyptians" in Genesis 46:34; however, this verse refers to an earlier period.

334 Yurco 1986, p. 210; cf. p. 209.

335 Rainey 1995, pp. 494–95; 2001, pp. 68–75; Rainey and Notley 2006, pp. 99–100.

that “it is probable that in the first half of the 12th century . . . descendants from Israelite prisoners of war, which Pharaoh Mer-en-Ptah had deported before 1208 B.C.E., . . . found their way back” to Canaan.³³⁶

Yurco never abandoned his belief that “Merneptah did not view [his Shasu prisoners] as Israel, despite the claims of many,” but he did concede that “Deborah’s text (Judg. 5:15–16) depicts some Israelites as pastoralists, and these might have originated among the Shasu, especially as other Egyptian documents do show certain Shasu as pastoralists.”³³⁷ Yurco could have added that “the archaeological work in the highlands in the 1980s and 1990s produced some striking indications that most of the settlers there in Iron Age I came from a pastoral—rather than sedentary—background.”³³⁸

The label accompanying scene 7 identifies the prisoners as “rebels who had fallen to trespassing his boundary,”³³⁹ an apt description of those Israelites who, after trespassing on a fortified watering station bearing the king’s name, proceeded to trespass the boundary between Kadesh-barnea and the Negev plateau, thereby intruding upon territory belonging to the king’s vassals. It is obvious that Rainey’s modified version of Yurco’s theory lends considerable support to Wiener’s theory of Merenptah’s Israel. That theory, when taken together with work by Weippert and Rainey on a place called “Spring of the Shasu,”³⁴⁰ makes it possible to view Merenptah’s clash with Israel in the context of other Egyptian–Shasu spring-fed hostilities in the New Kingdom.

Uzi Avner has asserted that, for the Egyptians, “securing the main international roads” was a major component of “their general policy in Canaan.”³⁴¹ If so, it is possible that Merenptah viewed the Israelites, included in “everyone who roamed about,” as trespassing at the moment they set foot on his copper caravan route, on their way to Kadesh-barnea. Support for the idea that at least some of the military activities of Merenptah and his vassals were triggered by trespasses on his roads and/or watering stations comes from a lesser-known passage in his victory ode. The following verses appear at the beginning of an idyllic portrait of the peace that Merenptah established by subduing roamers from Libya:

135. They tell of the victories
 136. that Merenptah has achieved in Libya
 . . .
 140. Ah, to sit chattering is (so) pleasant.
 141. Free-striding, one can now walk the roads,
 142. for now no fear (grips) the people’s hearts.
 143. The forts are left to themselves,
 144. the wells (lie) open, accessible (?) to messengers. . . .³⁴²

336 Knauf 2010, p. 242. One may compare the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch at Numbers 14:45, which “add at the end of the v[erse], *and they returned to the camp*” (Gray 1903, p. 167). This gloss seems to imply that at least some of the Israelite interlopers escaped. The Samaritan version of the verse also inserts phrases from the parallel account in Deuteronomy; see Tal and Florentin 2010, p. 451.

337 Yurco 1997, pp. 41, 43. According to Yurco (p. 41), Rainey’s theory is problematic because “the fact that they are named Shasu in the inscriptions accompanying the scenes in which they are represented makes it certain that Merenptah did not view them as Israel.” However, those inscriptions, having been formulated right after the Gezer campaign, are presumably a year or two older than the victory ode commemorating the victory over the invading Libyans and Sea Peoples in year 5. The annalist responsible for those inscriptions may have been using the term “Shasu” in a general sense (e.g., “roaming tribal pastoralist”; see n. 331 above); or else he may not have had time to inquire about the precise ethnicity of a band of Semitic nomads, especially if they were held captive by Amalekite Shasu for a year or two and forgotten until after the Gezer campaign. Indeed, it is possible that favored Israelite prisoners were eventually given locally made garments by their captors, much like an earlier Israelite prisoner who “changed his clothes and came in to Pharaoh” (Gen. 41:14). If so, the earlier annalist could easily have been deceived. Thus, even if Yurco is right in asserting that the Egyptians did not normally classify the Israelites as Shasu (e.g., because their garb was different), Rainey’s identification of scenes 5, 7, and 8 may still be correct.

338 Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, pp. 338–39; for details, see Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, pp. 111–13; Finkelstein 2007, pp. 81–82.

339 Yurco 1986, p. 207. The Egyptian phrase, which Yurco does not supply, is presumably *thi Bš*. It is used also in Merenptah’s Ashkelon scene (Yurco 1986, pp. 207–8), in verse 77 of his stela (Fecht 1983, p. 110), in his Karnak inscription (Manassa 2003, p. 154 line 4), in the second Beth-Shan stela of Seti I (TLA), and in a speech of Ramesses III (Rainey 2001, p. 60).

340 See section 6 with n. 320 above.

341 Avner 2014, p. 138.

342 Kitchen 1993–2014, vol. 4, p. 15.

This description of *pax Aegyptiaca* appears in the conclusion of the main portion of Merenptah's ode, the "triumphant song of deliverance"³⁴³ from the Libyan roamers that immediately precedes the much-quoted coda. In speaking first about the safety of roads, fortresses, and watering places (*hnmwt*),³⁴⁴ the description seems to be highlighting precisely those strategic assets that were threatened by "everyone who roamed about," including the Israelites.

In the following century, descendants of the Israelite roamers, too, would sing of making roads and watering places secure, in an ode celebrating their own military victory (Judg. 5:1–31). Thus, the portraits of peace included in the two victory odes, that of Merenptah and that of Deborah and Barak, are strikingly similar.³⁴⁵ This similarity could be viewed as constituting a literary connection between Merenptah and the Israelites of a later generation, a connection whose significance is not yet clear. Even the Hebrew term *mš'b* "watering place" (Judg. 5:11) may hint at a Ramesside connection.³⁴⁶ Although derived from a common Semitic verb meaning "draw (water)," it is not attested elsewhere in the Bible, in Rabbinic literature (apart from allusions to the verse), or (to the best of my knowledge) in other Semitic literatures. However, oddly enough, the term *mš'b* does occur, among words denoting bodies of water, in two Egyptian lexical lists (onomastica), one of which is dated only slightly later than the Song of Deborah.³⁴⁷ Such lexical lists are major Egyptian sources of Semitic lexical items and toponyms,³⁴⁸ including some that are known also from earlier texts, dated to the Ramesside period. I suspect, therefore, that *mš'b* was a Canaanite technical term referring specifically to the Ramesside fortified watering stations in Canaan, a term adopted by Israelite settlers—and perhaps also by Egyptian soldiers stationed in Canaan—for a limited time, until those watering stations fell into ruin.

In the next section, we shall return to the policy, adopted by the Ramessides in many areas ruled by their vassals, of recruiting warriors and other personnel from the local population. I shall argue that Merenptah recruited Amalekites—including, perhaps, descendants of the Shasu warriors subdued by Seti I—and Canaanites to protect his watering station at Kadesh-barnea from trespassers, thereby setting the stage for a clash with the Israelites.

8. AMALEKITES AND ISRAELITES AT PITHOM

I argued in section 6 above that *ʿy-n-n* was an area that overlapped, at least partially, the district that I have called "Greater Kadesh-barnea." I further argued that Seti I, in his first campaign, fought the Shasu for control of it because its springs were vital to his copper caravan route.

If my arguments are correct, it seems likely that the Shasu chieftains Seti encountered there were Amalekites, who considered Kadesh-barnea to be part of their tribal lands (Gen. 14:7).³⁴⁹ This idea is not new. More than a century ago, Sayce suggested that (1) "the Amalekites . . . were the Shasu or 'Plunderers'

343 Spalinger 2021, p. 220.

344 Egyptian *hnmwt*, conventionally translated "well(s)," also has the more general meaning "watering place"; see TLA, s.v. *Xmn.t* (lemma no. 123550) and sections 3 and 5 above.

345 To the best of my knowledge, scholars have not noted these similarities. Cf. Merenptah's "they tell of the victories . . . one can now walk the roads . . . the wells (lie) open" with Deborah's "and you who walk on the road, tell (of his wonders); . . . at the watering places [מְשָׁבִים], there they recount the victories of the Lord" (Judg. 5:10–11). For the rendering "tell (of his wonders)," see Psalms 105:2 and 1 Chronicles 16:9. For the rendering "victories of the Lord," see Andersen and Freedman 2000, p. 523: "His victories in the holy wars of Israel's beginnings (Judg. 5:10)" [5:11]. For the composition of Deborah's ode "about a century later than Merenptah," see Freedman and Miano 2006, p. 296.

346 For another link between Israel and the Ramessides during the period of the Judges, namely, a possible diplomatic marriage, see Steiner 1998, 1999.

347 Hoch 1994, p. 156 no. 205.

348 Hoch 1994, p. 475: "The single largest source of Semitic words is the body of school texts (38.7%), which include the collection of short texts known as 'miscellanies' and the thematic lexical lists known as the 'onomastica.'"

349 It has been suggested that they viewed the caravan routes as theirs as well (Landes 1962, p. 101b).

of the Egyptian inscriptions³⁵⁰ and (2) “in the hieroglyphic texts . . . we read how Seti I. destroyed the Shasu or Amalekites from the eastern frontier of Egypt to ‘the land of Kana’an.’”³⁵¹ Meyer’s suggestion about the term “Shasu” is similar:

The Bedouins referred to by the Egyptians with this word may very well have been the Ishmaelites and above all the ‘Amaleqites . . . ; it is interesting that, in the brief historical note on Saul’s campaign against ‘Amaleq (1 Sam 14:48), the latter is referred to—with the word used by the Egyptians—as ‘Israel’s plunderers’ שַׁשׁוּ.³⁵²

Rainey, too, was an advocate of this view:

It would be a logical inference that the tribal-pastoral elements met in the biblical tradition were in some way the equivalent of the Shasu known to have been in the Negeb and northern Sinai from Rameside times (Helck 1968). The Amalekites were mentioned above. The presence of other groups is affirmed by several biblical sources.³⁵³

Unfortunately, the force of Meyer’s seductive parallel, although cited approvingly by Burney,³⁵⁴ is somewhat diminished by occurrences of the Hebrew roots *š-s-y/š-s-s* “plunder, despoil” in the Bible³⁵⁵ with a variety of subjects other than the Amalekites. Nevertheless, there is quite a bit of other evidence suggesting that the Amalekites were viewed as Shasu by the Egyptians. I shall begin by presenting that evidence in three subsections and then discuss its ramifications for Wiener’s theory.

1. *Way of life.* The Amalekites of the Pentateuch are cruel marauders, who, “with no fear of God, came at you on the road, when you were faint and weary, and cut down all the stragglers in your rear” (Deut. 25:18)—quite unlike their Edomite kinsmen (see below), with whom the Israelites originally felt a certain degree of kinship (Num. 20:14; Deut. 23:8). A similar way of life is ascribed to the Shasu in Ramesside sources:

The Shosou portrayed in Pap. Anastasi I . . . are brigands, enemies of the Egyptian traveler. The movements of these Bedouins had to be controlled when passing through the important Wadi Toumilât. There had certainly already been Bedouin raids and infiltrations in this region—the numerous local inscriptions that praise the pharaoh for his victories over the Shosou testify to this.³⁵⁶

Similarly, Seti I portrays the first group of Shasu chieftains that he subdued in year 1 as “rebellious, quarrelsome, and unfriendly highwaymen.”³⁵⁷

2. *Religion.* There is evidence from linguistic archaeology that the goddess known as “Baalat” (*B^ʿlt*) in standard Canaanite and “Baalah” (*B^ʿlh*) in Hebrew was worshipped in the Negev, the ancient home of the Amalekites (Num. 13:29; 14:25, 45).³⁵⁸ This goddess makes her appearance in the names of Negev

350 Sayce 1895, p. 40.

351 Sayce 1895, p. 41.

352 Meyer 1906, p. 324.

353 Rainey 1984, p. 99. For the view that “Shasu” was a general term for nomadic populations, including—but not limited to—the Amalekites, see Givon 1971, p. 157. For the Amalekites included among the “pastoral social groups during the Bronze and Iron Ages,” see Levy, Adams, and Muniz 2004, p. 67 with n. 24; cf. Rainey 1995, p. 491. For the possible ambiguity of the term “Shasu,” see n. 331 above.

354 Burney 1918, p. lxxix n. **.

355 For the former root in Amarna Canaanite (*š-u-zu-me a-bi-ia* “the despoilers of my father”) and its relation to the Egyptian term, see Albright 1943, p. 32 with n. 27.

356 Givon 1971, p. 133. Cf. Morris 2005, p. 33: “Throughout the New Kingdom, the Shasu were mainly attacked in order to eradicate the threat that these groups posed to the safety of caravans and travelers.”

357 Ward 1992, p. 1166a.

358 For Amalekites in the Negev, see Rothenberg 1972, p. 181; Herzog 1984, p. 72; Rainey 1984, p. 99; Herzog 1994, p. 146 and the literature cited there.

towns: Bealoth (Josh. 15:24), Baalah (Josh. 15:29), and Baalath-beer (= *Baalah?*; Josh. 19:8).³⁵⁹ The name of the last town seems to hint that, like Qesem and En-mishpat, it grew up around a watering place sacred to the local nomads. According to some, it should perhaps be identified with Tell Masos,³⁶⁰ a large Negev site where nomads settled toward the end of the thirteenth century (see section 13 in part two). It has also been suggested that Baal toponyms are “attached to the highlands,” whereas their feminine counterparts usually “appear in the lowlands . . . and the Negev.”³⁶¹

According to Raphael Giveon, there is evidence that Baalat was worshipped by Shasu warriors settled in Egypt as well. It comes from P. Wilbour, believed to be from the reign of Ramesses V:

Papyrus Wilbour mentions allotment of land in a region not far from Oxyrhynchos, on a road connecting the Southern Oasis with the Nile Valley. A “Hathor of the Shosu” is among the gods and goddesses who profit from these taxes. It seems that the Shosu, along with other foreigners, were established in the region by the Egyptian administration at the end of the XIXth or the beginning of the XXth Dynasty. The colonization of the region with Shosu, Nubians, and others, aimed at military security against inroads into the Nile Valley from the West. The sanctuary of Hathor associated with the Shosu may have something to do with their Asiatic origins; she may be identical with the goddess of another temple mentioned in Papyrus Wilbour: Baalat of Per-Baalat.³⁶²

As we shall see below, Giveon also argues that Merenptah had better relations with the Shasu than did other Ramessides. Morris largely agrees with Giveon’s discussion:

P. Wilbour provides the information that military colonies of Shasu existed in Middle Egypt. The presence of these enclaves, however, was again more likely a remnant of Egypt’s martial past than a testament to its current state.³⁶³

A discussion by William Ward completes the picture:

The Shasu appear as mercenaries in both Asiatic and Egyptian armies and, following Egyptian practice, we find them resident in Egypt, undoubtedly as retired mercenaries allowed to settle there when their military service was over.³⁶⁴

Taken together, these discussions suggest that the Shasu worshippers of Baalat in P. Wilbour may have been retired Amalekite warriors, first recruited by the Egyptians during the reign of Merenptah.

3. *Ethnicity and territory.* The Pentateuch portrays the Amalekites as a clan of Edomites descended from a concubine (Gen. 36:12, 15–16). As such, they would, perhaps, have had no right of inheritance (cf. Gen. 21:10; 25:5–6) and, hence, no reason to stay near the Transjordanian heartland of Edom. Like the Shasu discussed above by Rainey, the Amalekites roamed in the Negev and Sinai deserts. The Bible twice locates them at Shur, near Egypt (1 Sam. 15:7; 27:8),³⁶⁵ just across the border from Pithom (see fig. 20.1),³⁶⁶ once at Rephidim in the Sinai Peninsula (Exod. 17:8), and at least twice near Kadesh-barnea (Gen. 14:7; Num. 14:45)—to mention only the places closest to Egypt.

359 At least the first two towns were among those located “at the far end of the tribe of Judah, toward the border of Edom, in the Negeb” (Josh. 15:21). Edom here is the western hinterland of Edom, inhabited by Amalekites; see below.

360 Na’aman 1980, p. 146; Finkelstein 1995, p. 123.

361 Na’aman 1999, p. 140.

362 Giveon 1969–70, p. 51.

363 Morris 2005, p. 708.

364 Ward 1992, p. 1166b; cf. the military camp in Lower Egypt named *Scenae Veteranorum* “Tents of the Old Soldiers,” which is listed in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, dating from the end of the fourth century CE (Worp 1991, pp. 291–94).

365 Mattingly 1992, pp. 169–70; Hoffmeier 2012, p. 108; Stewart, Lemmens, and Sala 2015; Paprocki 2019, p. 108. Cf. Burney’s assertion (1918, p. lxxix n. **) that 1 Samuel 14:48 “relates Saul’s conquest of the Amalekite Bedawin on the border of Egypt.”

366 For Pithom, see now Hoffmeier and Rendsburg 2022; Rendsburg and Hoffmeier 2022; and at n. 84 above.

It has long been noted that biblical descriptions of southern Canaan (Num. 34:3) and southern Judah (Josh. 15:1) imply that at least part of Edom was located west of the Aravah.³⁶⁷ The first two examples below are medieval; the rest are modern:

“Amalekites dwell in the Negev region” (Num. 13:29)—next to the land of Edom (cf. Num. 34:3), down below, on the west side, for that is what is written about Saul: “He (sic) smote the Amalekites, from Havilah as far as Shur, which is close to Egypt” (1 Sam. 15:7).³⁶⁸

“From the wilderness of Zin, next to Edom” (Num. 34:3)—The southern end of it (= the land of Canaan) will begin from the wilderness of Zin, which is in the territory of Edom, and so it is said in Joshua (15:1): “(The portion that fell by lot to the tribe of the Judahites . . . reached southward to the boundary of Edom,) to the wilderness of Zin, at the farthest south.” Hence, the land of Edom is at the southern end of the land (of Canaan) and extends beyond it to the east along the entire (length of the) land of Moab.³⁶⁹

. . . the western part of Edom, roughly where the desert of Shur and the territory of the Amalekites is usually placed.³⁷⁰

The hinterland [of Edom] . . . was a stretch W of the Arabah which was never settled or even effectively controlled by the Edomites but was occupied by nomadic tribes which owed a nominal allegiance to Edom, and in some cases, such as those of the Kenizzites and Amalekites, were reckoned to be of Edomite origin (Gen 36:11–12).³⁷¹

Actually “Edom” seems to have been a rather loose geographical designation, and in some biblical texts clearly refers to territory southwest of the Dead Sea (Num. 34:3; Josh. 15:1–4). A similar situation is reflected in the Edomite genealogies of Genesis 36 which include certain tribes that frequented this area—Kenizzites, Korahites, and Amalekites.³⁷²

The biblical data describe the N border of Edom as extending from the Dead Sea southward to the ascent of Akrabbim to Zin and Kadesh-barnea (Num 34:3–4; cf. Josh 15:1–3).³⁷³

In the view of biblical writers, the Negev was an Edomite territory (Joshua 15:1, 21), as far west as Qadesh Barnea’ (Numbers 20:16 . . .).³⁷⁴

In short, the area where the Amalekite tribes roamed in the Negev and Sinai deserts was the Cisjordanian hinterland of what we may call “Greater Edom.”

It is odd that tribes living in such close proximity to Egypt seem to be ignored in Egyptian sources, at best lumped together with other Shasu tribes. I, therefore, suggest that Amalekite tribesmen may be hiding in plain sight in one of the best known of all the Ramesside texts. In P. Anastasi VI, we find “the Shasu tribes of Edom (*mhiwt Ššw n ĩ-dw-m*)” being allowed to cross the border into Egypt to revive themselves and their herds at “the pools/lakes (*b-r-k-{b-}w-t*) of Pithom” in year 8 of Merenptah.³⁷⁵ As

367 Indeed, in the eleventh century CE, Rashi deduced from those descriptions that *all* of Edom was located west of the Aravah; see his commentary on Numbers 34:3 and the map he drew to accompany it. Copies of the latter are preserved in some early manuscripts. The first of the two maps shown in <https://mg.alhatorah.org/Dual/Rashi/Bemidbar/34.3#m7e0n6>, unlike the one in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. hebr. 5 [I], fol. 139v, matches Rashi’s detailed description. See also his commentary on Joshua 15:1 and Jeremiah 49:7.

368 Rashi MS Leipzig 1 on Numbers 13:29; https://alhatorah.org/Commentators:Rashi_Leipzig_1/Bemidbar_13.

369 Meyuhas b. Elijah [ca. thirteenth century CE] 1977, p. 209.

370 Hommel 1897, p. 237.

371 Cohen 1962a, p. 25b (emphasis original).

372 Miller and Hayes 1986, p. 182. For Seir (like Edom) denoting territory west of the Aravah, see Bartlett 1989, pp. 43–44; Avner 2021, at nn. 48–49 (n.p.).

373 MacDonald 1992, p. 295.

374 Avner 2021, at n. 50 (n.p.). I have corrected “Qadesh Barne’a” to “Qadesh Barnea’.”

375 Caminos 1954, pp. 293–96; Wilson 1969d; Givon 1971, pp. 131–34; Allen 2002c; Weippert 2010, pp. 171–73; TLA, pAnastasi VI = P. BM EA 10245 (Miscellanies). For the dating of the original report to year 8 of Merenptah, as opposed to the

noted above, Pithom, named after the temple of Atum (Pi-Atum, written *Pr-Ītm*) in Wadi Tumilat, appears in the Pentateuch (Exod. 1:11) as one of two places where the Israelites were subjected to forced labor.

The ethnicity and territory of the Amalekites, as summarized above, appears to be the same as that of the Shasu tribes of Edom, especially in light of Hans Goedicke's comments on the latter phrase:

If one locates Edom in the Arabah, i.e. between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba,^[376] it implies that those nomads had to move through, in part, extremely difficult terrains more than 300 kms. as the crow flies, or approximately 500 kms. actual distance. To cover it as routine migration seems difficult to imagine, considering the fact that there are practically no water supplies in northern Sinai. The prospects of overcoming the hazards of such a journey are such that no herdsman would face them as a routine exercise for changing pastures. The improbability increases further when considering that those nomads were certainly not welcomed with open arms once they reached Pharaonic territory.³⁷⁷

The great difficulty of the trek suggests that the Shasu tribes of Edom in P. Anastasi VI were not *eastern* Edomites, living in the Transjordanian *heartland* of Edom. They were, rather, *western* Edomites of the Negev and Sinai, the Cisjordanian *hinterland* of Edom. Unlike the Israelites, the Egyptians do not seem to have distinguished between the inhabitants of these two areas of Greater Edom, if we may judge from the following conclusions of Ward and Helck:

Short lists of place-names in Nubian temples of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II record six toponyms located in "the land of Shasu." . . . Those that can be identified are in the Negeb or Edom. . . . From the Egyptian point of view . . . , the Shasu were a prominent part of the Edomite population.³⁷⁸

The *šš*u lead a nomadic existence in the south of Palestine, as in the realms south of a line from Raphia to the south end of the Dead Sea and on its east shore.³⁷⁹

Helck appears to have been unaware that his description of the northern boundary of the Shasu territory west of the Dead Sea was remarkably similar to the biblical descriptions of the southern boundary of Canaan (Num. 34:3–5) and the southern boundary of the tribe of Judah (Josh. 15:1–4), both of which served also as the northern boundary of the western hinterland of Greater Edom:

Your southern sector shall extend from the wilderness of Zin alongside Edom. Your southern boundary shall begin (literally "be") on the east from the tip of the Dead Sea. . . . The boundary shall turn from Azmon to the Wadi of Egypt, and its terminus shall be at the sea. (Num. 34:3–5)

The portion that fell by lot to the tribe of the Judahites, according to their clans, reached southward to the boundary of Edom, to the wilderness of Zin, at the farthest south. And their southern boundary ran from the tip of the Dead Sea, from the tongue that points southward. . . . It went out to the Wadi of Egypt, and the terminus of the boundary was at the sea. (Josh. 15:1–4)

It will be noted that both the biblical boundary and Helck's boundary run from the southern tip of the Dead Sea to a terminus on the Mediterranean coast. According to the traditional identification of the Wadi of Egypt with Wadi el-Arish, the biblical terminus is about 45 km in a straight line from Helck's

slightly later date of the copy in P. Anastasi VI, see Grdseloff 1947, p. 86; Giveon 1971, p. 131; Goedicke 1987, pp. 84–85, 92; Allen 2002c, p. 16; Morris 2005, p. 486–87; Weippert 2010, p. 171—esp. the two last references. For discussion of the Semitic word for pools/lakes and/or some of the other Semitic words in Egyptian documents from this border region, see Groll 1998, p. 189; Bietak 2015, pp. 21–22; Bietak and Rendsburg 2021, pp. 23–24, 51.

376 Most scholars locate the heartland of Edom farther to the east, potentially making the trek even longer; cf. Mekhilta of R. Ishmael on Exodus 17:8: "Amalek actually came from the mountains of Seir, marching four hundred parasangs to wage war against Israel."

377 Goedicke 1987, p. 89–90; cf. Morris 2005, p. 486.

378 Ward 1992, p. 1165.

379 Helck 1968, p. 480. The Shasu of Punon, identified by Görg (1982), were also south of Helck's line.

terminus at Raphia. If the Wadi of Egypt is Wadi Besor, as some believe,³⁸⁰ the biblical terminus is about 25 km in a straight line from Raphia. Either way, the similarity strongly supports my hypothesis that (1) both the Ramessides and the Israelites viewed at least the southern part of the Negev desert as the western hinterland of Greater Edom; (2) the biblical Amalekites are more or less identical to the Shasu of that western hinterland; (3) “the land of Shasu” is more or less identical to Greater Edom; and (4) the nomads of Greater Edom were viewed by the Ramessides as the prototypical Shasu.

Surprisingly, despite a great deal of searching, I have found only one previous scholar who went a short step further and wondered aloud whether there was a connection between the Amalekites in the Bible and the Shasu tribes of Edom in P. Anastasi VI. In commenting on the latter, Müller seems to raise the possibility with reservations:

From here, we can see the great age and spread of the Edomite tribe. If, at that time, this tribe grazed its herds as far as the Egyptian border, then their tribal territory must have extended just as far. . . . If ‘Amalek already existed, then this tribe could be believed to dwell from the middle of the Egyptian border to Mount Se‘ir. . . . However, we have no evidence for the name ‘Amalek from Egyptian monuments, so this tribe may not yet have inhabited the peninsula at that time, or may not have existed at all.³⁸¹

In order to understand the ramifications of the findings presented above, we must first turn to the question of motives. Why did the Egyptian authorities allow the Shasu tribes of Edom, the biblical Amalekites, to enter Egypt with their flocks? Some scholars have expressed doubt about the altruism of the border-control officer:

Such a humanitarian attitude the Egyptian official is credited with is surprising when compared with the usual disdain the Egyptians display for foreigners, especially for nomads.³⁸²

Almost without a doubt, the Egyptian government would have profited in some manner from allowing the bedouin to utilize the water pools.³⁸³

The very fact that a border-control officer felt the need to send his superior the report copied in P. Anastasi VI seems to suggest that the Shasu tribes of Edom were not the beneficiaries of a spontaneous act of kindness. Indeed, some students of the text believe that the officer inserted a hint that his action needed Pharaoh's personal approval.³⁸⁴

Some scholars have gone further, pointing out that the favorable treatment received by the Shasu of Edom during the reign of Merenptah contrasts with the treatment received by them under other Ramessides.³⁸⁵ This contrast provides significant support to Wiener's theory if, as I have argued, the Shasu tribesmen from Edom favored by Merenptah were Amalekites. The same can be said of Petrie's insight:

Had a great trouble with a Semitic race in that region just passed over, it would not be at all likely that a fresh tribe from the east would be welcomed. It seems rather as if *they were welcomed as useful allies*.³⁸⁶

According to Wiener's theory, it would make perfect sense for western Edomite nomads to be welcomed as useful allies in year 8—and probably already in year 1—of Merenptah's reign, given that they or their fellow tribesmen had been serving Merenptah's interests, in a militia of his vassals, since year 1 of his reign. Thus,

380 Na'aman 1979, followed by others.

381 Müller 1893, p. 135.

382 Goedicke 1987, p. 87.

383 Morris 2005, p. 489.

384 Grdseloff 1947, p. 87; Caminos 1954, p. 293; Herrmann 1981, p. 59. Their view rests on one of several possible interpretations of *k3* in this text; see Weippert 2010, p. 173 n. 178.

385 Grdseloff 1947, p. 87; Giveon 1971, p. 133: “The relations between Edom and Egypt depicted here are peaceful, in contrast to Document 25 (Ramses II) and Document 38 (Ramses III).”

386 Petrie 1896b, p. 506 (emphasis added).

there is no longer any reason to accept the common assumption that the event reported in P. Anastasi VI was a frequent, random occurrence during the Ramesside period.

Further evidence for Wiener's theory may come from the name Amalek (עַמְלֵק *'mlq*) itself. Almost all modern scholars have pleaded ignorance concerning the origin of the name Amalek.³⁸⁷ There is, however, a clue—the same as the one discussed in section 5 above in the case of Barnea (בְּרִנֵּעַ *Brn'*). The presence of the sound [ʕ]³⁸⁸ in a biblical place-name would normally point to a Semitic origin, but עַמְלֵק looks non-Semitic because of its length. The only non-Semitic language that has the voiced pharyngeal phone /ʕ/ in the Sinai region is Egyptian.³⁸⁹

I suggest that *'mlq* (or its adjectival form, *'mlqy* "Amalekite") is derived from an Egyptian *ʕm rqi "hostile Asiatic."³⁹⁰ This etymology dovetails nicely with the assertion in the *Anchor Bible Dictionary* that "every encounter between Amalek and Israel in the OT is marked by hostility."³⁹¹ And, most important in my eyes, it received support from no less an authority than Robert Ritner.³⁹²

When would this pejorative Egyptian epithet have been adopted by the Israelites? In attempting to answer this question, we must take into account several facts: (1) this precise Egyptian expression does not appear in official Ramesside records, where the usual pejorative epithet for Egypt's northeastern neighbors is ʕm hz(i) "miserable Asiatic";³⁹³ (2) the earliest and most numerous attestations of rqi as an attributive adjective are, to the best of my knowledge, found in the *Instruction of Any*,³⁹⁴ a work that "comes from the

387 See Becking 1999 and Tanner 2008, p. 1, each mentioning one unsuccessful attempt to provide an etymology; also Sarna 1991, p. 95. Jews of the Roman and Byzantine periods were on the right track when they derived *'mlq* from two words, *'m lq*. Not surprisingly, they took the two words to be Hebrew: *'m* "people" and *lq* "lap up, lick" (Philo, *Allegorical Interpretation* III. lxvi [186]; *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* 1868, p. 26b; cf. perhaps the Septuagint to Judges 1:16, where a variant reading has the doublet μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ Ἀμαληκ for אֶת־הָעָם; Burney 1918, p. 17). If that interpretation were intended to be the plain sense, it would, of course, require a different pointing: עַמְלֵק*, with *dagesh* representing a geminated *mem*.

388 Since the Greek transcription of the name in the Septuagint to Genesis 14:7 is Ἀμαληκ rather than *Ταμαληκ, the initial polyphonic *'ayin* must have represented /ʕ/ rather than /g/; see Blau 1982; Steiner 2005.

389 As noted in section 5 above, overly long names containing *'ayin* in Northwest Semitic frequently turn out to be Egyptian, e.g., Phoenician עִנְחַפְמִס, עִנְחַפְתַח, עִנְחַפְתַח; Aramaic עִנְחַפְתַח, עִנְחַפְתַח; and Hebrew פּוֹטִיפְרַע, to mention just a few of the certain examples; see Muchiki 1999, pp. 32, 33, 102, 103, 221. A previously suggested Egyptian etymon of *'mlq* (Görg 1987), refuted by Becking (1999), has /h/ rather than /ʕ/.

390 For *ʕm rqi "hostile Asiatic," cf. r(m)t rqiʕt "a hostile man" and r(m)t rqiʕy "hostile people" in the *Instruction of Any*; and z rqiʕ "a hostile man" in the *Instruction of Amenemope* (all three in TLA, s.v. rqi; and in Lichtheim 1976, pp. 138, 142, 155); not to mention the common ʕm hz(i) "miserable Asiatic." This etymology of Amalek presupposes that (1) ʕm had a final vowel—cf. Coptic *ame* "herdsman" (Crum 1939, p. 7a), with the same meaning as Demotic ʕm (CDD 4 [ʕ], p. 35 s.v.); (2) the /ʕ/ of ʕm had no consonantal value at the time of the borrowing (Peust 1999, p. 142; Allen 2013, pp. xi, 31, 32), as in פִּרְעָה "Pharaoh" < *pr-ʕ* and every other Egyptian loanword and name in the Bible (Muchiki 1999, p. 262); and (3) rqi "hostile" began with /l/ (Peust 1999, pp. 128–29) and may have ended with /q/ at the time of the borrowing—cf. Demotic lg(y) "obstacle, hindrance" (CDD 13 [L], p. 21 s.v.) and Coptic *louklak* "bad, wicked" (Crum 1939, p. 139a); (4) Egyptian /q/ would be rendered by Hebrew /q/, as in שִׁשְׁנָה < ṣṣnq, תְּרִיחַ < Thrq, and so forth (Muchiki 1999, p. 262).

391 Mattingly 1992, p. 170.

392 In 2016, I sent an earlier version of my proposed etymology to Robert. The following is his response, copied from an email dated July 22, 2016: "I have looked at the material on Amaleq that you sent, and I believe that you are correct. The term ʕm fits perfectly for the initial element and rqi does appear as an attributive element as you note. . . . Rqi is particularly common of enemies in the compound rqi.w-ib, usually translated 'disaffected of heart' but more properly 'hostile-minded.' 'Hostile' seems to fit most of the contexts, except where the term is applied to the king and so having the nuance 'fierce.' The link that you note between Coptic *louklak* 'bad/wicked' in Crum 139a and older rqi of *Wb.* II, 456 is made by W. Vycichl in his 1983 *Dictionnaire étymologique* of Coptic on p. 96a. The Demotic and *Wb.* link is implied in Erichsen, by a cross-reference on p. 265 (I think that it goes back to rqi 'enemy,' but I'm at home away from my volume). The [phrase] 'hostile people' is the closest parallel to a proposed '*hostile Asiatic/tribesman,' and I wish that the term survived in Egyptian to clinch the identification." Based on the wish in this last clause, I have modified my original suggestion to account for the failure of the term to survive in Egyptian records; see immediately below.

393 The latter phrase, used already by Kamose (Second Intermediate Period), is applied to the inhabitants of Canaan by Seti I in his smaller Beth-Shan stela (Albright 1952, p. 29 with n. 18a; TLA, s.v. *aAm*).

394 See n. 390 above.

sphere of the middle class and is meant for the average man";³⁹⁵ and (3) all occurrences of the Semitic name *'mlq* are either in the Bible or derived from the Bible.

These facts suggest an intriguing possibility. Perhaps this derogatory expression was originally nothing more than a local epithet for the Shasu tribesmen from Edom—a disparaging name given to these western Edomite bedouins by residents of Pithom who had suffered some abuse from them at the pools/lakes there. If so, it is possible that this ethnic epithet was ephemeral in Egyptian, preserved for posterity only in Hebrew. The Israelites could have encountered the Shasu tribesmen from Edom—and the deprecatory Egyptian epithet applied to them—while laboring in Pithom, that is, *before* the clash at Rephidim in the Sinai Peninsula. Such an encounter early in Merenptah's reign is, of course, purely speculative; however, if proved to be correct, it would shed new light on the relations of Israel and Amalek with each other and with Merenptah. It would also provide powerful support for Wiener's theory.

POSTSCRIPT

After the completion of this essay, I came across an article, labeled "tentative" by its author, that has apparently never been quoted before now.³⁹⁶ On page 18, Walter William Moore offers a suggestion that is quite similar to part of Wiener's theory:

To us, however, it seems more likely that the Israelites . . . had arrived at Kadesh-Barnea, on the southern frontier of Canaan, and suffered the repulse described in Deuteronomy i. 44, at the hands of the Pharaoh's (sic) subject-allies, the Amorites, just about the same time that Merneptah succeeded in repelling the Libyan invasion at home. . . . This delivers us from the necessity of supposing that Merneptah himself was ever in Canaan, and that his own troops inflicted these defeats upon the Canaanitish peoples.

On page 19, Moore grapples with a serious problem, arising from his assumption that *prt.f* "his seed" refers to Israel's grain rather than Israel's progeny: "If the Israelites were still in the wilderness, with their headquarters at or near Kadesh-Barnea, where they suffered this defeat, how could they have lost a crop of grain?" Moore's lengthy answer shows that his question was about the possibility of nomads cultivating grain in the desert. It appears that he overlooked the real problem: How could they have lost a crop of grain only weeks after reaching Kadesh-barnea?

ABBREVIATIONS

- BDB Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1906
- CDD Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. *The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. <https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary>
- NRSV New Revised Standard Version
- P. Papyrus
- TLA Tonio Sebastian Richter, Daniel A. Werning, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, and Peter Dils, eds. *Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*. <https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de>
- Wb.* Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63

³⁹⁵ Lichtheim 1976, p. 135.

³⁹⁶ Moore 1898.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbas, Mohamed R.

- 2020 "The Canaanite and Nubian Wars of Merenptah: Some Historical Notes." *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne* 13: 133–49.

Aharoni, Yohanan

- 1962 גיאוגרפיה היסטורית: גיאוגרפיה המקראית בתקופת המנדט [The land of Israel in the biblical period: A historical geography]. Jerusalem: Bialik.
- 1963 "Tamar and the Roads to Elath." *Israel Exploration Journal* 13: 30–42.
- 1976 "קַדֶּשׁ בְּרִנְעָה, קַדֶּשׁ" [Kadesh, Kadesh-barnea]. In *Encyclopaedia Miqrāit*, vol. 7, pp. 39–42. Jerusalem: Bialik.
- 1979 *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Westminster.

Ahituv, Shmuel

- 1998 "The Origins of Ancient Israel—the Documentary Evidence." In *The Origin of Early Israel—Current Debate: Biblical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Shmuel Ahituv and Eliezer D. Oren, pp. 127–37. Beersheba: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Ahlström, G. W., and D. Edelman

- 1985 "Merneptah's Israel." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44: 59–61.

Albright, William F.

- 1920–21 "A Revision of Early Hebrew Chronology." *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1: 49–79.
- 1924 *Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fûl (Gibeah of Saul)*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 4. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- 1933 "A New Campaign of Excavations at Gibeah of Saul." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 52: 6–12.
- 1934 "The Kyle Memorial Excavation at Bethel." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 56: 1–15.
- 1935 "Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 58: 10–18.
- 1937a "The Egyptian Correspondence of Abimilki, Prince of Tyre." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 23: 190–203.
- 1937b "Further Light on the History of Israel from Lachish and Megiddo." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 68: 22–26.
- 1939 "The Israelite Conquest of Canaan in the Light of Archaeology." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 74: 11–23.
- 1940 *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- 1943 "An Archaic Hebrew Proverb in an Amarna Letter from Central Palestine." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 89: 29–32.
- 1952 "The Smaller Beth-Shan Stele of Sethos I (1309–1290 B.C.)." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 125: 24–32.
- 1954 "Northwest-Semitic Names in a List of Egyptian Slaves from the Eighteenth Century B.C." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 74: 222–33.
- 1961 "Abram the Hebrew: A New Archaeological Interpretation." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 163: 36–54.
- 1963 *The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra*. New York: Harper & Row.
- 1973 "From the Patriarchs to Moses: II. Moses Out of Egypt." *Biblical Archaeologist* 36: 48–76.

Albright, William F., and James L. Kelso

- 1968 *The Excavations at Bethel (1934–1960)*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 39. Cambridge: American Schools of Oriental Research.

Allen, James P.

- 2002a "The Craft of the Scribe (3.2)." In *The Context of Scripture*, edited by William H. Hallo, vol. 3, *Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, pp. 9–14. Leiden: Brill.

- 2002b "Praise of Pi-Ramessu (3.3) (Papyrus Anastasi III)." In *The Context of Scripture*, edited by William H. Hallo, vol. 3, *Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, p. 15. Leiden: Brill.
- 2002c "A Report of Bedouin (3.5)." In *The Context of Scripture*, edited by William H. Hallo, vol. 3, *Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, pp. 16–17. Leiden: Brill.
- 2013 *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alt, Albrecht
- 1925 *Die Landnahme der Israeliten in Palästina: Territorialgeschichtliche Studien*. Leipzig: Werkgemeinschaft.
- 1926 "Das Institut im Jahre 1925." *Palästinajahrbuch* 26: 5–80.
- 1936 "Neues aus der Pharaonenzeit Palästinas." *Palästinajahrbuch* 32: 8–33.
- Andersen, Francis I., and David N. Freedman
- 2000 *Micah*. New York: Doubleday.
- Astour, Michael C.
- 1992 "El-Paran." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 2, D–G, p. 423. New York: Doubleday.
- Avner, Uzi
- 1984 "Timna, Restoration of a Temple." *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 3: 103–4.
- 2014 "Egyptian Timna—Reconsidered." In *Unearthing the Wilderness: Studies on the History and Archaeology of the Negev and Edom in the Iron Age*, edited by Juan Manuel Tebes, pp. 103–62. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 45. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2021 "The Desert's Role in the Formation of Early Israel." *Entangled Religions* 12, no. 2: n.p.
- Baldi, Philip
- 2002 *The Foundations of Latin*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Barclay, J. T.
- 1857 *The City of the Great King*. Philadelphia: Challen.
- Bartlett, John R.
- 1989 *Edom and the Edomites*. Sheffield: JSOT Press.
- Becking, Bob
- 1999 "Amalek עמלק." In *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, p. 26. Leiden: Brill.
- Ben-Gad HaCohen, David
- 2010 "קַדֶּשׁ בְּסִיפּוּרֵי הַתּוֹרָה" [Kadesh in the narratives of the Pentateuch]. PhD diss., Hebrew University.
- Bergoffen, Celia J.
- 1991 "Overland Trade in Northern Sinai: The Evidence of the Late Cypriot Pottery." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 284: 59–76.
- Bietak, Manfred
- 1980 "Horuswege." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, vol. 3, pp. 62–64. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 1987 "Comments on the 'Exodus.'" In *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, edited by Anson F. Rainey, pp. 163–71. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.
- 2015 "On the Historicity of the Exodus: What Egyptology Today Can Contribute to Assessing the Biblical Account of the Sojourn in Egypt." In *Israel's Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture and Geoscience*, edited by Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp, pp. 17–37. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.
- Bietak, Manfred, and Gary A. Rendsburg
- 2021 "Egypt and the Exodus." In *Ancient Israel: From Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple*, 4th ed., edited by John Merrill and Hershel Shanks, pp. 17–58, 342–51. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.

- Bimson, John J.
1991 "Merenptah's Israel and Recent Theories of Israelite Origins." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 49: 3–29.
- Blau, Joshua
1982 *On Polyphony in Biblical Hebrew*. Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities.
- Bleiberg, Edward L.
1983 "The Location of Pithom and Succoth." In *Egyptological Miscellanies: A Tribute to Professor Ronald J. Williams*, edited by James K. Hoffmeier and E. S. Meltzer = *Ancient World* 6: 21–27.
- Boling, Robert G.
1982 *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Brand, Peter J.
2009 "Usurped Cartouches of Merenptah at Karnak and Luxor." In *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, edited by Peter J. Brand and Louise Cooper, pp. 29–48. Leiden: Brill.
- Breasted, James H.
1897 "The Israel Tablet." *Biblical World* 9: 62–68.
1906a *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. Vol. 3, *The Nineteenth Dynasty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
1906b *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. Vol. 4, *The Twentieth to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bright, John
1952 *A History of Israel*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Brown, Hanbury
1917 "The Exodus Recorded on the Stele of Menephtah." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4: 16–20.
- Bruins, Hendrik J.
1986 *Desert Environment and Agriculture in the Central Negev and Kadesh-Barnea during Historical Times*. Nijkerk: Midbar Foundation.
- Bünting, Heinrich
1587 *Itinerarium sacrae scripturae*. Wittemberg: Krafft.
- Burney, C. F.
1908 "A Theory of the Development of Israelite Religion in Early Times." *Journal of Theological Studies* 9: 321–52.
1918 *The Book of Judges: With Introduction and Notes*. London: Rivingtons.
1919 *Israel's Settlement in Canaan: The Biblical Tradition and Its Historical Background*. London: British Academy.
- Calice, Franz Frh. von
1903 "König Menephtes im Buche Josua?" *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 6: 224.
- Callaway, Joseph
1976 "Excavating Ai (et-Tell): 1964–1972." *Biblical Archaeologist* 39: 18–30.
- Caminos, Ricardo A.
1954 *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Černý, Jaroslav
1955 *The Inscriptions of Sinai, from Manuscripts of Alan H. Gardiner and T. Eric Peet*. Vol. 2, *Translations and Commentary*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Chabas, François J.
1873 *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la XIX^{me} dynastie et spécialement à celle des temps de l'Exode*. Paris: Maisonneuve.

- Cline, Eric H., and Assaf Yasur-Landau
 2009 "Domination and (In)visibility: Reading Power Relations at Tel Mor." *American Journal of Archaeology* 113, no. 1: n.p. <https://www.ajaonline.org/online-review-article/589>.
- Cohen, S.
 1962a "Edom." In *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, edited by George A. Buttrick, vol. 2, E–J, pp. 24–26. Nashville: Abingdon.
 1962b "Kadesh, Kadesh-Barnea." In *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, edited by George A. Buttrick, vol. 3, K–Q, pp. 1–2. Nashville: Abingdon.
- Conder, Claude Reignier
 1896 "The Date of the Exodus." *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* 28: 245–58.
- Crum, Walter
 1939 *Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davies, Graham
 2004 "Was There an Exodus?" In *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, edited by John Day, pp. 23–40. London: T & T Clark.
- de Geus, Cornelius H. J.
 1977 "Kadesh Barnea: Some Geographical and Historical Remarks." In *Instruction and Interpretation: Studies in Hebrew Language, Palestinian Archaeology and Biblical Exegesis*, edited by A. S. van der Woude, pp. 56–66. Old Testament Studies 20. Leiden: Brill.
- del Olmo Lete, Gregorio, and Joaquín Sanmartín
 2015 *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. 3rd ed. Translated and edited by Wilfred G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill.
- de Moor, Johannes C.
 1996 "Egypt, Ugarit and Exodus." In *Ugarit, Religion and Culture: Essays Presented in Honour of Professor John C. L. Gibson*, edited by N. Wyatt, W. G. E. Watson, and J. B. Lloyd, pp. 213–47. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- de Vaux, Roland
 1978 *The Early History of Israel*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Dever, William G.
 1990 *Recent Archaeological Discoveries and Biblical Research*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
 1993 "What Remains of the House That Albright Built?" *Biblical Archaeologist* 5: 25–35.
 2003 *Who Were the Early Israelites and Where Did They Come From?* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
 2009 "Merenptah's 'Israel,' The Bible's and Ours." In *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, edited by J. David Schloen, pp. 89–96. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Dijkstra, Meindert
 1989 "Pithom en Raämses." *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 43: 89–105.
 2011 "Origins of Israel between History and Ideology." In *Between Evidence and Ideology: Essays on the History of Ancient Israel Read at the Joint Meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study and the Oud Testamentisch Werkgezelschap Lincoln, July 2009*, edited by Bob Becking and Lester L. Grabbe, pp. 41–82. Old Testament Studies 59. Leiden: Brill.
- Doron, Pinchas
 1979–80 "Paronomasia in the Prophecies to the Nations." *Hebrew Studies* 20–21: 36–43.
- Dorsey, David A.
 1991 *The Roads and Highways of Ancient Israel*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dothan, Moshe
 1965 "The Fortress at Kadesh-Barnea." *Israel Exploration Journal* 15: 134–51.
- Driver, Samuel R.
 1911 *The Book of Exodus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dussaud, René

- 1938 Review of *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*, by Jan J. Simons. *Syria* 19: 176–77.

Edel, Elmar

- 1994 *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

Edelman, Diana V.

- 1992 “Asher (Person).” In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 1, A–C, pp. 482–83. New York: Doubleday.

Eerdmans, Bernardus D.

- 1908 *Alttestamentliche Studien*. Vol. 2, *Die Vorgeschichte Israels*. Gießen: Töpelmann.

El-Kholi, Mohamed Salah

- 2006 *Papyri und Ostraka aus der Ramessidenzeit*. Syracuse, Italy: Museo del Papiro.

Engel, Helmut

- 1979 “Die Siegesstele des Merenptah: Kritischer Überblick über die verschiedenen Versuche historischer Auswertung des Schlussabschnitts.” *Biblica* 60: 373–99.

Enmarch, Roland

- 2008 *A World Upturned: Commentary on and Analysis of the Ancient Egyptian Dialogue of Ipuwer and the Lord of All*. London: British Academy.

Eph'al, Israel

- 1982 *The Ancient Arabs: Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9th–5th Centuries B.C.* Jerusalem: Magnes.

Epigraphic Survey

- 1986 *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Erichsen, Wolja

- 1954 *Demotisches Glossar*. Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard.

Erman, Adolf

- 1879 “Tagebuch eines Grenzbeamten.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 17: 29–32.
- 1896 Remarks appended to “Die erste Erwähnung Israels in einem ägyptischen Texte,” by Wilhelm Spiegelberg (= Spiegelberg 1896a), in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (Jan–Juni), pp. 596–97.

Falk, David A.

- 2020 “Brick by Brick: What Did the Israelites Build in Egypt?” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 46: 54–57.

Faulkner, Raymond O.

- 1953 “Egyptian Military Organization.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39: 32–47.
- 1975 “Egypt: From the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III.” In *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. 2, part 2, *History of the Middle East and the Aegean Region c. 1380–1000*, edited by I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger, pp. 217–51. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Faust, Avraham

- 2015 “The Emergence of Iron Age Israel: On Origins and Habitus.” In *Israel’s Exodus in Transdisciplinary Perspective: Text, Archaeology, Culture, and Geoscience*, edited by Thomas E. Levy, Thomas Schneider, and William H. C. Propp, pp. 467–82. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

Fecht, Gerhard

- 1983 “Die Israelstele, Gestalt und Aussage.” In *Fontes atque Pontes: Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, edited by Manfred Görg, pp. 106–38. Ägypten und Altes Testament 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Finkelstein, Israel

- 1988 *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

- 1995 *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighboring Regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- 2007 "When and How Did the Israelites Emerge?" In *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, edited by Brian B. Schmidt, pp. 73–84. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Finkelstein, Israel, Eran Arie, Mario A. S. Martin, and Eli Piasetzky
2017 "New Evidence on the Late Bronze/Iron I Transition at Megiddo: Implications for the End of the Egyptian Rule and the Appearance of Philistine Pottery." *Ägypten und Levante* 27: 261–80.
- Finkelstein, Israel, and Neil A. Silberman
2001 *The Bible Unearthed: Archaeology's New Vision of Ancient Israel and the Origin of Its Sacred Texts*. New York: Free Press.
- Freedman, David N., and David Miano
2006 "His Seed Is Not': 13th-Century Israel." In *Confronting the Past: Archaeological and Historical Essays on Ancient Israel in Honor of William G. Dever*, edited by Seymour Gitin, J. Edward Wright, and J. P. Dessel, pp. 295–302. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Frendo, Anthony J.
2004 "Back to Basics: A Holistic Approach to the Problem of the Emergence of Ancient Israel." In *In Search of Pre-exilic Israel*, edited by John Day, pp. 41–64. London: T & T Clark.
- Friedrich, Johannes
1924 "Zu den keilschriftlichen ägyptischen Wörtern aus Boghazköi." *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 27: 704–7.
- Fritz, I. V., M. Görg, and H. F. Fuhs
1979 "Kadesch in Geschichte und Überlieferung." *Biblische Notizen* 9: 45–70.
- Frolov, S.
1995 "Merneptah's Israel and the Horite Genealogy in Gen 36:20–30." *Aula Orientalis* 13: 203–9.
- Fürst, Julius
1840 *לשון הקודש אוצר* *Librorum Sacrorum Veteris Testamenti concordantiae hebraicae atque chaldaicae*. Lipsiae: Sumtibus et typis Caroli Tauchnitii.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
1909 *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage from a Hieratic Papyrus in Leiden (Pap. Leiden 344 recto)*. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
1918 "The Delta Residence of the Ramessides." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5: 127–38, 179–200, 242–71.
1920 "The Ancient Military Road between Egypt and Palestine." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6: 99–116.
1957 *Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Garr, W. Randall
1985 *Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine 1000–586 B.C.E.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
1991 "ay > a in Targum Onqelos." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 111: 712–19.
- Gilmour, Garth, and Kenneth A. Kitchen
2012 "Pharaoh Sety II and Egyptian Political Relations with Canaan at the End of the Late Bronze Age." *Israel Exploration Journal* 62: 1–21.
- Giveon, Raphael
1965 "The Shosu of Egyptian Sources and the Exodus." *Proceedings of the World Congress of Jewish Studies* 1: 193–96.
1969–70 "The Shosu of the Late XXth Dynasty." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 8: 51–53.
1971 *Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiens*. Leiden: Brill.
- Goedicke, Hans
1987 "Papyrus Anastasi VI 51–61." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14: 83–98.
- Goldwasser, Orly
1992 "Literary Late Egyptian as a Polysystem." *Poetics Today* 13: 447–62.

- 1999 "‘Low’ and ‘High’ Dialects in Ramesside Egyptian." In *Textcorpus und Wörterbuch: Aspekte zur ägyptischen Lexikographie*, edited by Stefan Grunert and Ingelore Hafemann, pp. 311–328. Leiden: Brill.
- Goldwasser, Orly, and Eliezer Oren
2015 "Marine Units on the ‘Ways of Horus’ in the Days of Seti I." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7: 25–38.
- Goor, Asaph, and Max Nurock
1968 *The Fruits of the Holy Land*. Jerusalem: Israeli Universities Press.
- Görg, Manfred
1982 "Punon: Ein weiterer Distrikt der ʕšw-Beduinen?" *Biblische Notizen* 19: 15–21.
1987 "Ein Gott Amalek?" *Biblische Notizen* 40: 14–15.
1999 "Ascher außerbiblich? Zum Problem der Nebenüberlieferungen des israelitischen Stammesnamens." *Biblische Notizen* 100: 11–17.
- Grabbe, Lester L.
2022 *The Dawn of Israel: A History of Canaan in the Second Millennium BCE*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Graham, John A.
1981 "New Light on the Fortress: Periods I and II" and "Iron I at Tell el-Fül: Some Historical Considerations." In *The Third Campaign at Tell el-Fül: The Excavations of 1964*, edited by Nancy L. Lapp, pp. 23–38. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 45. Cambridge, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Gray, George B.
1903 *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers*. New York: Scribner.
- Grdseloff, Bernhard
1947 "Edôm d’après les sources égyptiennes." *Revue de l’histoire juive en Égypte* 1: 69–99.
- Greenwood, Ned H.
1997 *The Sinai: A Physical Geography*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Gressmann, Hugo
1913 *Mose und seine Zeit: Ein Kommentar zu den Mose-Sagen*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Griffiths, J. S.
1923 *The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology*. London: Robert Scott Roxburghe House.
- Groll, Sarah I.
1998 "The Egyptian Background of the Exodus and the Crossing of the Reed Sea: A New Reading of Papyrus Anastasi VIII." In *Jerusalem Studies in Egyptology*, edited by Irene Shirun-Grumach, pp. 173–92. *Ägypten und Altes Testament* 40. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Guérin, Honoré Victor
1868 *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine*. Vol. 1, *Judée*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.
- Gunn, Battiscombe, and Alan H. Gardiner
1917 "New Renderings of Egyptian Texts." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4: 241–51.
- Haiman, Mordechai
1989 רועים וחקלאים במרחב קדש ברנע [Shepherds and farmers in the Kadesh-barnea region]. Jerusalem: Ministry of Education and Culture.
- Halpern, Baruch
1992 "The Exodus from Egypt: Myth or Reality?" In *The Rise of Ancient Israel*, edited by Hershel Shanks, William G. Dever, Baruch Halpern, and P. Kyle McCarter Jr., pp. 86–117. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.
1993 "The Exodus and the Israelite Historians." *Eretz-Israel* 24: 89*–96*.
1995 "Erasing History: The Minimalist Assault on Ancient Israel." *Bible Review* 11: 26–35, 47.
- Hasel, Michael G.
1994 "Israel in the Merneptah Stela." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 296: 45–61.

- 1998 *Domination and Resistance: Egyptian Military Activity in the Southern Levant, ca. 1300–1185 B.C.* Leiden: Brill.
- 2008 “Merenptah’s Reference to Israel: Critical Issues for the Origin of Israel.” In *Critical Issues in Early Israelite History*, edited by Richard S. Hess, Gerald A. Klingbeil, and Paul J. Ray Jr., pp. 47–59. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Hava, J. G.
1951 *Arabic–English Dictionary*. Beirut: Catholic Press.
- Hayes, William C.
1955 *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*. New York: Brooklyn Museum.
- Hayman, Henry
1863 “Kadesh, Kadesh Barnea.” In *A Dictionary of the Bible Comprising Its Antiquities, Biography, Geography, and Natural History*, edited by William Smith, vol. 2, pp. 1–5. London: Murray.
- Helck, Wolfgang
1965 “*Ṭkw* und die Ramses-Stadt.” *Vetus Testamentum* 15: 35–48.
1968 “Die Bedrohung Palaestinas durch einwandernde Gruppen am Ende der 18. und am Anfang der 19. Dynastie.” *Vetus Testamentum* 18: 472–80.
1971 *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Herrmann, Siegfried
1981 *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*. 2nd ed. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Herzog, Ze’ev
1984 *Beer-Sheba II: The Early Iron Age Settlements*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.
1994 “The Beer-Sheba Valley: From Nomadism to Monarchy.” In *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, edited by Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na’aman, pp. 122–49. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi.
- Higginbotham, Carolyn R.
2000 *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine: Governance and Accommodation on the Imperial Periphery*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hirsch, Samson Raphael
1899 *Der Pentateuch*. Vol. 3, *Leviticus*. Frankfurt: Kaufmann.
- Hoch, James E.
1994 *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hoffmann, David
1905 *Das Buch Leviticus*. Vol. 1, *Lev. I–XVII*. Berlin: Poppelauer.
- Hoffmeier, James K.
1996 *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2000 “The Israel (Stela) of Merneptah.” In *The Context of Scripture*, edited by William H. Hallo, vol. 2, *Monumental Documents from the Biblical World*, pp. 40–41. Leiden: Brill.
2005 *Ancient Israel in Sinai: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2007 “What Is the Biblical Date for the Exodus? A Response to Bryant Wood.” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 50: 225–47.
2012 “Sinai in Egyptian, Levantine and Hebrew (Biblical) Perspectives.” In *The History of the Peoples of the Eastern Desert*, edited by Hans Barnard and Kim Duistermaat, pp. 105–31. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Hoffmeier, James K., and Stephen O. Moshier
2014 “The Ways of Horus’: Reconstructing Egypt’s East Frontier Defense Network and the Military Road to Canaan in New Kingdom Times.” In *Tell El-Borg I: The “Dwelling of the Lion” on the Ways of Horus*, edited by James K. Hoffmeier, pp. 34–61. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns.

- Hoffmeier, James K., and Gary A. Rendsburg
 2022 "Pithom and Rameses (Exodus 1:11): Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Issues (Part I)." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 33: 1–19.
- Holland, F. W.
 1879 "A Journey on Foot through Arabia Petræa." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 11: 59–72.
- Hölscher, Gustav
 1931 "Me Nephthoah." In *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, vol. 29, *Mazaios–Mesyros*, edited by Georg Wissowa, pp. 845–46. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Holzinger, Heinrich
 1918 Review of *The Date of the Exodus*, by Harold M. Wiener. *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 43: 76.
- Hommel, Fritz
 1896 "Merenptah and the Israelites: I." *Expository Times* 8: 15–17.
 1897 *Die altisraelitische Überlieferung in inschriftlicher Beleuchtung: Ein Einspruch gegen die Aufstellungen der modernen Pentateuchkritik*. Munich: Lukaschik.
- Hornung, Erik
 1983 "Die Israelstele des Merenptahs." In *Fontes atque Pontes: Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, edited by Manfred Görg, pp. 224–33. Ägypten und Altes Testament 5. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Houtman, Cornelius
 1993 *Exodus*. Kampen: Kok.
- Hurn, Deborah
 2021 "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: Pilgrim's Roadhouse to Mount Sinai (Har Karkom)." *Academia Letters*, article 427. <https://doi.org/10.20935/AL427>.
- Hurowitz, Victor Avigdor
 2000 "Alliterative Allusions, Rebus Writing, and Paronomastic Punishment: Some Aspects of Word Play in Akkadian Literature." In *Puns and Pundits: Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature*, edited by Scott B. Noegel, pp. 63–88. Bethesda: CDL Press.
- Jack, J. W.
 1925 *The Date of the Exodus in the Light of External Evidence*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Jansen-Winkel, Karl
 1995 "Diglossie und Zweisprachigkeit im alten Ägypten." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 85: 85–115.
- Janssen, Jozef M. A.
 1951 "Fonctionnaires sémites au service de l'Égypte." *Chronique d'Égypte* 26: 50–62.
- Kahl, Jochem
 2010 "Frauen aus Nilschlamm—ein Beitrag zur Anthropologie der Stadt." In *Cities and Urbanism in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Manfred Bietak, Ernst Czerny, and Irene Forstner-Müller, pp. 321–28. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Kahn, Dan'el
 2012 "A Geo-Political and Historical Perspective of Merneptah's Policy in Canaan." In *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History*, edited by Gershon Galil, Ayelet Gilboa, Aren M. Maeir, and Dan'el Kahn, pp. 255–68. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Kallai, Zecharia
 1968 "Nephtoah, Mei Nephtoah." In *Encyclopaedia Miqrail*, vol. 5, pp. 904–5. Jerusalem: Bialik (Hebrew).
 2001 "EA 288 and Biblical Historiography." *Revue Biblique* 108: 5–20.
- Kempinski, Aharon
 1990 "L'installation des clans et des tribus dans le bassin de Beersheba." In *La protohistoire d'Israël*, edited by J. Briand, A. Caquot, H. Cazelles, A. Kempinski, E.-M. Laperrousaz, A. Lemaire, D. Valbelle, and J. Yoyotte, pp. 299–337. Paris: Cerf.

Kitchen, Kenneth A.

- 1966 *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*. Chicago: InterVarsity Press.
- 1976 "From the Brickfields of Egypt." *Tyndale Bulletin* 27: 137–47.
- 1982 *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- 1991 Review of *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, edited by Anson F. Rainey. *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 77: 204–6.
- 1993–2014 *Ramesseid Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations*. 7 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 1994–2013 *Ramesseid Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. 4 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
- 1997a "The Physical Text of Merenptah's Victory Hymn (The 'Israel' Stela)." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 24: 71–76.
- 1997b "Sheba and Arabia." In *The Age of Solomon: Scholarship at the Turn of the Millennium*, edited by L. K. Handy, pp. 127–53. Leiden: Brill.
- 1998 "Egyptians and Hebrews, from Ra'amses to Jericho." In *The Origin of Early Israel—Current Debate: Biblical, Historical and Archaeological Perspectives*, edited by Shmuel Ahituv and Eliezer D. Oren, pp. 65–131. Beer-sheba: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.
- 2000 "Karnak, Campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan, Year 1." In *The Context of Scripture*, edited by William H. Hallo, vol. 2, *Monumental Documents from the Biblical World*, pp. 23–25. Leiden: Brill.
- 2003 *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- 2004 "The Victories of Merenptah, and the Nature of Their Record." *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 28: 259–72.
- 2012 "Ramesses III and the Ramesseid Period." In *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, pp. 1–26. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kleiman, Sabine, Assaf Kleiman, and Erez Ben-Yosef

- 2017 "Metalworkers' Material Culture in the Early Iron Age Levant: The Ceramic Assemblage from Site 34 (Slaves' Hill) in the Timna Valley." *Tel Aviv* 44: 232–64.

Knauf, Ernst Axel

- 2010 "Exodus and Settlement." In *Israel in Transition: From Late Bronze II to Iron IIA (c. 1250–850 B.C.E.)*, vol. 2, *The Texts*, edited by Lester L. Grabbe, pp. 241–50. New York: T & T Clark.
- 2016 "The Impact of the Late Bronze III Period on the Origins of Israel." In *The Land of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age*, edited by Lester L. Grabbe, pp. 125–32. London: T & T Clark.

Krauss, Rolf

- 1982 "Merenptah." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, *Megiddo–Pyramiden*, edited by Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, pp. 71–76. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Lambdin, Thomas O.

- 1953 "Egyptian Loan Words in the Old Testament." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 73: 145–55.

Landes, G. M.

- 1962 "Amalek." In *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, edited by George A. Buttrick, vol. 1, A–D, pp. 101–2. Nashville: Abingdon.

Lane, Edward W.

- 1863–93 *Arabic–English Lexicon*. London: Williams & Norgate.

Lapp, Nancy L.

- 1997 "Fûl, Tell el-." In *Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by Eric M. Meyers, vol. 2, pp. 346–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lapp, Paul W.

- 1965 "Tell el-Fûl." *Biblical Archaeologist* 28: 2–10.

Leprohon, Ronald J.

- 2013 *The Great Name: Ancient Egyptian Royal Titulary*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Lepsius, Richard

- 1849 *Die Chronologie der Aegypter: Einleitung und erster Theil*. Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung.

- 1853 *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Peninsula of Sinai: With Extracts from His Chronology of the Egyptians, with Reference to the Exodus of the Israelites.* Translated by Leonora and Joanna B. Horner. London: Bohn.
- Lesko, Barbara S.
1994 "Rank, Roles, and Rights." In *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina*, edited by Leonard H. Lesko, pp. 15–39. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Lesko, Leonard, and Barbara Lesko
1999 "Pharaoh's Workers: How the Israelites Lived in Egypt." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 25: 36–41, 43–45.
- Levin, Yigal
1993 "Numbers 34:2–12, the Boundaries of the Land of Canaan, and the Empire of Necho." *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 30: 55–76.
- Levine, Baruch A.
2000 *Numbers 21–36*. New York: Doubleday.
- Levy, Thomas E., Russell B. Adams, and Adolfo Muniz
2004 "Archaeology and the Shasu Nomads: Recent Excavations in the Jabal Hamrat Fidan, Jordan." In *Le-David Maskil: A Birthday Tribute for David N. Freedman*, edited by Richard Elliot Friedman and William H. C. Propp, pp. 63–89. University Park: Penn State University Press.
- Levy, Thomas E., and Augustin F.-C. Holl
2002 "Migrations, Ethnogenesis, and Settlement Dynamics: Israelites in Iron Age Canaan and Shuwa-Arabs in the Chad Basin." *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 21: 83–118.
- Lichtheim, Miriam
1976 *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings*. Vol. 2, *The New Kingdom*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lieblein, J.
1907 "The Exodus of the Hebrews." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (London, England)* 29: 214–18.
- Lods, Adolphe F. P.
1925 Review of *The Exodus in the Light of Archaeology*, by James S. Griffiths. *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 5: 283–84.
- Lucas, Alfred
1941 "The Date of the Exodus." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 73: 110–21.
- Lurson, Benoît
2003 "Israël sous Merenptah ou le sort de l'ennemi dans l'Égypte Ancienne." In *Étrangers et exclus dans le monde biblique*, pp. 45–62. Angers, France: Université catholique de l'Ouest.
- MacDonald, Burton
1992 "Edom: Archaeology of Edom." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 2, D–G, pp. 295–301. New York: Doubleday.
- Malamat, Abraham
1997 "The Exodus: Egyptian Analogies." In *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, edited by Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko, pp. 15–26. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- Manassa, Colleen
2003 *The Great Karnak Inscription of Merneptah: Grand Strategy in the 13th Century BC*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Manor, Dale
1992 "Kadesh-Barnea." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 4, K–N, pp. 1–3. New York: Doubleday.
- Maspero, Gaston
1896 "Sur un monument égyptien portant le nom des Israélites." *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires* 14: 1 (bottom).

- 1908 *New Light on Ancient Egypt*. Translated by Elizabeth Lee. London: Unwin.
- Mattingly, Gerald L.
- 1992 "Amalek." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 1, A–C, pp. 169–71. New York: Doubleday.
- Mazar, Amihai
- 1981 "Giloh: An Early Israelite Settlement Site near Jerusalem." *Israel Exploration Journal* 31: 1–36.
- 1985a "The Emergence of the Philistine Material Culture." *Israel Exploration Journal* 35: 95–107.
- 1985b "Israelite Settlement in the Light of Excavations." In *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*, edited by Janet Amitai, pp. 61–71. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- 1994 "Jerusalem and Its Vicinity in Iron Age I." In Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman, *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, pp. 70–91. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.
- 2007 "The Israelite Settlement." In *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*, edited by Brian B. Schmidt, pp. 85–98. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Mazar (Maisler), Benjamin
- 1947 "Palestine at the Time of the Middle Kingdom in Egypt." *Revue de l'histoire juive en Égypte* 1: 33–68.
- 1971 "The Exodus and the Conquest." In *The World History of the Jewish People*, vol. 3, *Judges*, edited by Benjamin Mazar, pp. 69–93. Tel-Aviv: Massada.
- 1981 "The Early Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241: 75–85.
- McNamara, Martin
- 2010 *Targum and Testament Revisited—Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament*. 2nd ed. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.
- Mercator, Gerardus
- 1569 *Chronologia: Hoc est, temporvm demonstratio exactissima, ab initio mvndi, vsqve ad annvm Domini M. D. LXVIII*. Cologne: Birckmann.
- Meshel, Ze'ev
- 1978 "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: An Israelite Religious Center in Northern Sinai." *Expedition Magazine* 20: 50–54.
- 1981 "The History of 'Darb el-Ghazza'—the Ancient Road to Eilat and Southern Sinai." *Eretz-Israel* 15: 358–71 (Hebrew).
- 1992 "Kuntillet 'Ajrud." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 4, K–N, pp. 103–9. New York: Doubleday.
- 1994 "The 'Aharoni Fortress' near Quseima and the 'Israelite Fortresses' in the Negev." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 294: 39–67.
- 2000 *Sinai: Excavations and Studies*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Meyer, Eduard
- 1906 *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*. Halle: Max Niemeyer.
- Meyers, Eric M.
- 2016 "Yigael Yadin's Last Night in America: ASOR and the Biblical Archaeology Movement." *The Ancient Near East Today* 4, no. 3. <https://www.asor.org/anetoday/2016/03/>.
- Meyuḥas b. Elijah
- 1977 פירוש על ספר במדבר [Commentary on the Book of Numbers]. Edited by S. Freilich. Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook.
- Miller, J. Maxwell, and John H. Hayes
- 1986 *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*. Philadelphia: Westminster.
- Miller, Robert D.
- 2005 *Chieftains of the Highland Clans: A History of Israel in the Twelfth and Eleventh Centuries B.C.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans.

Montet, Pierre

- 1932 "Les dieux de Ramsès-aimé-d'amon à Tanis." In *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith*, edited by S. R. K. Glanville, pp. 406–11. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- 1952 *Les énigmes de Tanis*. Paris: Payot.
- 1959 *L'Égypte et la Bible*. Neuchâtel: Delachaux et Niestlé.

Montgomery, James A.

- 1923 "The Nominal Prefix *n* in Some Hebrew Names." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 43: 50–51.

Moore, Walter William

- 1898 "The Israel Tablet of Merneptah." *Presbyterian Quarterly* 12: 1–23.

Morris, Ellen F.

- 2005 *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*. Leiden: Brill.
- 2017 "Prevention through Deterrence along Egypt's Northeastern Border: Or the Politics of a Weaponized Desert." *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 5: 133–47.

Muchiki, Yoshiyuki

- 1999 *Egyptian Proper Names and Loanwords in North-West Semitic*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Müller, W. Max

- 1893 *Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern*. Leipzig: Engelmann.
- 1896 "Israel in a Hieroglyphic Text." *The Independent* 48: 940. https://archive.org/stream/sim_independent_1896-07-09_48_2484/sim_independent_1896-07-09_48_2484_djvu.txt.

Na'aman, Nadav

- 1979 "The Brook of Egypt and Assyrian Policy on the Border of Egypt." *Tel Aviv* 6: 68–90.
- 1980 "The Inheritance of the Sons of Simeon." *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 96: 136–52.
- 1994 "The 'Conquest of Canaan' in the Book of Joshua and in History." In *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, edited by Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman, pp. 284–347. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi.
- 1999 "Baal Toponyms." In *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, pp. 140–41. Leiden: Brill.

Naville, Édouard

- 1885 *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus*. London: Trübner.
- 1898 "Les dernières lignes de la stèle mentionnant les Israélites." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 20: 32–36.

Nestor, Dermot

- 2015 "Merneptah's 'Israel' and the Absence of Origins in Biblical Scholarship." *Currents in Biblical Research* 13: 293–329.

Nissinen, Martti

- 2014 "Sacred Springs and Liminal Rivers: Water and Prophecy in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean." In *Thinking of Water in the Early Second Temple Period*, edited by Ehud Ben Zvi and Christoph Levin, pp. 29–48. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 461. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Noth, Martin

- 1953 *Das Buch Josua*. 2nd ed. Tübingen: Mohr.
- 1958 *The History of Israel*. New York: Harper.

Olmstead, Albert T.

- 1931 *History of Palestine and Syria*. New York: Scribner.

Oren, Eliezer D.

- 1987 "The 'Ways of Horus' in North Sinai." In *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, edited by Anson F. Rainey, pp. 69–120. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.
- 2006 "The Establishment of Egyptian Imperial Administration on the 'Ways of Horus': An Archaeological Perspective from North Sinai." In *Timelines: Studies in Honour of Manfred Bietak*, vol. 2, edited by Ernst Czerny,

Irmgard Hein, Hermann Hunger, Dagmar Melman, and Angela Schwab, pp. 279–92. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 149. Leuven: Peeters.

Orr, James

1897 “Israel in Egypt and the Exodus: With Reference to Prof. Flinders Petrie’s Recent Discovery.” *Expositor* 5: 161–77.

Ortiz, Steven, and Samuel Wolff

2022 “Pharaoh’s Fury: Merneptah’s Destruction of Gezer.” *Biblical Archaeology Review* 48: 48–54.

Osing, Jürgen

1976 *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*. Mainz: von Zabern.

Paprocki, Maciej

2019 *Roads in the Deserts of Roman Egypt: Analysis, Atlas, Commentary*. Oxford: Oxbow.

Pesikta de-Rab Kahana

1868 *Pesikta, die älteste Hagada, redigirt in Palästina, von Rab Kahana*. Edited by Salomon Buber. Lyck: Mekize Nirdamim.

Petrie, W. M. Flinders

1896a “Egypt and Israel.” *Contemporary Review* 69 (May): 617–27.

1896b “Pharaoh of the Hard Heart.” *Century Magazine* 52 n.s. 30 (August): 500–506.

1897 *Six Temples at Thebes*. London: Quaritch.

1905 *A History of Egypt: From the XIXth to the XXXth Dynasties*. London: Methuen.

1911 *Egypt and Israel*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

1932a *Seventy Years in Archaeology*. New York: Holt.

1932b Review of *History of Palestine and Syria*, by Albert T. Olmstead. *Ancient Egypt* 17: 25–27.

1934 *Palestine and Israel: Historical Notes*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

Peust, Carsten

1999 *Egyptian Phonology*. Göttingen: Peust & Gutschmidt.

Priebatsch, Hans Y.

1975 “Jerusalem und die Brunnenstrasse Merneptahs.” *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 91: 18–29.

Propp, William H. C.

1999 *Exodus 1–18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. New York: Doubleday.

Quack, Joachim F.

2010 “Sehnsucht nach der Heimat und Lob des Erbauers: Ägyptische Städtepreisungen in ramessidischen Papyri und Ostraka.” In *Ort und Bedeutung*, edited by Jan C. Gertz und Detlef Jericke, pp. 19–48. Kamen, Germany: Spenner.

Rainey, Anson F.

1970 “Compulsory Labour Gangs in Ancient Israel.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 20: 191–202.

1975 “Toponymic Problems.” *Tel Aviv* 2: 13–16.

1978 *El Amarna Tablets 359–379*. 2nd ed. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker.

1984 “Early Historical Geography of the Negeb.” In *Beer-Sheba II: The Early Iron Age Settlements*, by Ze’ev Herzog, pp. 88–104.

1995 “Unruly Elements in Late Bronze Canaanite Society.” In *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*, edited by David P. Wright, David N. Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz, pp. 481–96. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

2001 “Israel in Merneptah’s Inscription and Reliefs.” *Israel Exploration Journal* 51: 57–75.

Rainey, Anson F., and R. Steven Notley

2006 *The Sacred Bridge: Carta’s Atlas of the Biblical World*. Jerusalem: Carta.

Raleigh, Walter

1614 *The History of the World*. London: Bvrrre.

Ranke, Hermann

1910 *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation*. Berlin: Reimer.

Redford, Donald B.

1986 "The Ashkelon Relief at Karnak and the Israel Stela." *Israel Exploration Journal* 36: 188–200.

1987 "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative." In *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, edited by Anson F. Rainey, pp. 137–61. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.

1992 *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Redmount, Carol A.

1998 "Bitter Lives: Israel In and Out of Egypt." In *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, edited by Michael D. Coogan, pp. 79–122. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rendsburg, Gary A.

1981 "Merneptah in Canaan." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 11: 171–72.

1988 "Bilingual Wordplay in the Bible." *Vetus Testamentum* 38: 354–57.

1992 "The Date of the Exodus and the Conquest/Settlement: The Case for the 1100s." *Vetus Testamentum* 42: 510–27.

2020 "Israelite Origins." In "An Excellent Fortress for His Armies, A Refuge for the People": *Egyptological, Archaeological, and Biblical Studies in Honor of James K. Hoffmeier*, edited by Richard E. Averbeck and K. Lawson Younger, pp. 327–39. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

2021 "The Emergence of Israel in the Land of Canaan." In *Ancient Israel: From Abraham to the Roman Destruction of the Temple*, 4th ed., edited by John Merrill and Hershel Shanks, pp. 59–91, 351–55. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society.

Rendsburg, Gary A., and James K. Hoffmeier

2022 "Pithom and Rameses (Exodus 1:11): Historical, Archaeological and Linguistic Issues (Part II)." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 34: 36–52.

Ritner, Robert K.

2003 "Semitic Functionaries in Egypt (3.12) (KRI 4:104–106)." In *The Context of Scripture*, edited by William W. Hallo, vol. 3, *Archival Documents from the Biblical World*, p. 37. Leiden: Brill.

2020 "The Supposed Earliest Hieroglyphic Mention of Israel (Berlin ÄM 21687): A Refutation." In *Semitic, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Richard C. Steiner*, edited by Aaron Koller, Mordechai Cohen, and Adina Moshavi, pp. 36*–51*. Jerusalem: Bialik.

Rothenberg, Beno

1962 *God's Wilderness: Discoveries in Sinai*. New York: Nelson.

1972 *Timna: Valley of the Biblical Copper Mines*. London: Thames & Hudson.

1988 *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna*. London: Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies.

Rowley, H. H.

1938 "Israel's Sojourn in Egypt." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 22: 243–90.

1950 *From Joseph to Joshua: Biblical Traditions in the Light of Archaeology*. London: British Academy.

Salmenkivi, Erja

2020 "Reuse and Recycling of Papyrus." In *Recycling and Reuse in the Roman Economy*, edited by Chloë N. Duckworth and Andrew Wilson, pp. 89–104. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sarna, Nahum M.

1991 *Exodus*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.

Sayce, A. H.

1895 *Patriarchal Palestine*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

1896 "Light on the Pentateuch from Egyptology." *Homiletic Review* 32: 195–200.

1933 Review of *Posthumous Essays by Harold M. Wiener*, edited by Herbert Loewe. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1933: 149–51.

- Schipper, Bernd U.
 2015 "Raamses, Pithom, and the Exodus: A Critical Evaluation of Ex 1:11." *Vetus Testamentum* 65: 265–88.
- Schipper, Friedrich
 2008 "Kadesch-Barnea." In *Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet (WiBiLex)*. <http://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/23004/>.
- Schmidt, Nathaniel
 1910 "Kadesh Barnea." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 29: 61–76.
- Schulman, Alan R.
 1976 "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperre." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 117–30.
 1988 "Catalogue of the Egyptian Finds." In *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna*, edited by Beno Rothenberg, pp. 114–47. London: Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies.
- Seder Olam Rabba*
 1897 *Seder Olam Rabba: Die grosse Weltchronik*. Edited by B. Ratner. Vilnius: Romm.
- Sellin, Ernst
 1896 "Ein für Israels Geschichte nicht unwichtiger Fund auf ägyptischem Boden." *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 7: 502–14.
- Serrano, Jose M.
 1999 "Origin and Basic Meaning of the Word *hnmmt* (the So-Called 'Sun-Folk')." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 27: 353–68.
- Simonis, Iohannes
 1741 *Onomasticum Veteris Testamenti*. Halae Magdeburgicae: Impensis Orphanotropei.
- Simons, Jan J.
 1937 *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia*. Leiden: Brill.
- Sinclair, Lawrence A.
 1960 *An Archaeological Study of Gibeah*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 34. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Singer, Itamar
 1988 "Merneptah's Campaign to Canaan and the Egyptian Occupation of the Southern Coastal Plain of Palestine in the Ramesside Period." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 269: 1–10.
 1994 "Egyptians, Canaanites, and Philistines in the Period of the Emergence of Israel." In *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, edited by Israel Finkelstein and Nadav Na'aman, pp. 282–338. Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi.
- Singer-Avitz, Lily
 2008 "The Earliest Settlement at Kadesh Barnea." *Tel Aviv* 35: 73–81.
- Spalinger, Anthony J.
 2021 *The Books behind the Masks: Sources of Warfare Leadership in Ancient Egypt*. Leiden: Brill.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm
 1896a "Die erste Erwähnung Israels in einem aegyptischen Texte." In *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Januar–Juni)*, edited by Ferdinand Georg Frobenius, pp. 593–96. Berlin: Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
 1896b "Der Siegeshymnus des Merneptah auf der Flinders Petrie-Stele." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 34: 1–25.
 1908 "Zu der Erwähnung Israels in dem Merneptah-Hymnus." *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 11: 403–5.
 1930 "Befestigte Brunnenanlagen in Palästina." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 65: 57–58.
- Stadelmann, Rainer
 1967 *Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten*. Leiden: Brill.
- Stager, Lawrence E.
 1968 "The Archaeology of Palestine in the 11th Century." Unpublished "Hebrew 200" paper.

- 1985 “Merenptah, Israel, and Sea Peoples: New Light on an Old Relief.” *Eretz-Israel* 18: 56*–64*.
- 1998 “Forging an Identity: The Emergence of Ancient Israel.” In *The Oxford History of the Biblical World*, edited by Michael D. Coogan, pp. 123–76. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Steindorff, Georg
- 1890 “Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe ägyptischer Eigennamen.” *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* 1: 330–61, 593–612.
- 1896 “Israel in einer altägyptischen Inschrift.” *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 16: 330–33.
- Steiner, Richard
- 1982 *Affricated Šade in the Semitic Languages*. American Academy for Jewish Research Monograph Series 3. New York: American Academy for Jewish Research.
- 1995 “Papyrus Amherst 63: A New Source for the Language, Literature, Religion, and History of the Aramaeans.” In *Studia Aramaica: New Sources and New Approaches*, edited by M. J. Geller, J. C. Greenfield, and M. P. Weitzman, pp. 199–207. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 1997 “The ‘Aramean’ of Deuteronomy 26:5: *Peshat* and *Derash*.” In *Tehillah le-Moshe: Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Moshe Greenberg*, edited by Mordechai Cogan, Barry L. Eichler, and Jeffrey H. Tigay, pp. 127–38. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 1998 “*Bittē-Yâ*, Daughter of Pharaoh (1 Chr 4,18), and *Bint(i)-‘Anat*, Daughter of Ramesses II.” *Biblica* 79: 394–408.
- 1999 “Corrigenda: *Bittē-Yâ*, Daughter of Pharaoh (1 Chr 4,18), and *Bint(i)-‘Anat*, Daughter of Ramesses II.” *Biblica* 80: 152.
- 2005 “On the Dating of Hebrew Sound Changes (**H* > *H* and **Ġ* > *Ġ*) and Greek Translations (2 Esdras and Judith).” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 124: 229–67.
- 2009a “A-coloring Consonants and Furtive *Pataḥ* in Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic According to the Tiberian Masorah.” In *Zaphenath–Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, edited by Daniel Sivan, David Talshir, and Chaim Cohen, pp. *143–*55. Beersheba: Ben-Gurion University, 2009.
- 2009b “On the Rise and Fall of Canaanite Religion at Baalbek: A Tale of Five Toponyms.” *Journal of Biblical Literature* 128: 507–25.
- 2016a “The Lachish Ewer: An Offering and a Tribute.” *Eretz-Israel* 32 (Naveh Memorial Volume): 103*–12*.
- 2016b “The Practices of the Land of Egypt (Leviticus 18:3): Incest, ‘Anat, and Israel in the Egypt of Ramesses the Great.” In “*Did I Not Bring Israel Out of Egypt?*” *Biblical, Archaeological, and Egyptological Perspectives on the Exodus Narratives*, edited by James K. Hoffmeier, Alan R. Millard, and Gary A. Rendsburg, pp. 79–91. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
- 2021a “דִּמְוִן (Isa 15:9) and לְהַמְנוֹת (Qoh 1:15): On Dialectal Wordplay and Nasal Spreading in the Bible.” *Vetus Testamentum* 71: 1–24.
- 2021b “Hydrogen Sulfide: New Light on Ancient Malodors, Biblical Toponyms, and Comparative Semitic from a Medieval Scroll.” *Orientalia* 90: 274–88.
- Stewart, Christopher, Kris Lemmens, and Maura Sala
- 2015 “Satellite Radar in Support to Archaeological Research in Egypt: Tracing Ancient Tracks between Egypt and Southern Levant across North Sinai.” In *Egyptian Curses 2: A Research of Ancient Catastrophes*, edited by Giuseppina C. Vittozzi, pp. 199–221. Rome: Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico.
- Stricker, B. H.
- 1937 “Trois études de phonétique et de morphologie coptes.” *Acta Orientalia*: 15: 1–20.
- Tal, Abraham, and Moshe Florentin
- 2010 *The Pentateuch: The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press.
- Tallqvist, Knut L.
- 1914 *Assyrian Personal Names*. Helsingfors: Pries.
- Tanner, Hans A.
- 2008 “Amalek/Amalekiter.” In *Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet (WiBiLex)*. <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/13085/>.

- Tigay, Jeffrey H.
1996 *Deuteronomy*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society.
- Trumbull, Henry Clay
1884 *Kadesh-Barnea: Its Importance and Probable Site*. New York: Scribner.
- Uphill, Eric P.
1984 *The Temples of Per Ramesses*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Ussher, James
1650 *Veteris Testamenti, a prima mundi origine deducti*. London: Flesher.
- Vassiliev, Alexandre
2006 "The Localization of the Shasu-Land of Ramses II's Rhetorical Texts." In *Current Research in Egyptology 2006*, edited by Maria Cannata, pp. 162–68. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Vycichl, Werner
1940 "Ägyptische Ortsnamen in der Bibel." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 76: 79–93.
- Waddell, W. G., trans.
1940 *Manetho*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Wagner, Thomas
2012 "Israel (AT)." In *Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikon im Internet (WiBiLex)*. <https://www.bibelwissenschaft.de/stichwort/21934/>.
- Ward, William A.
1992 "Shasu." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 5, *O–Sh*, pp. 1165–67. New York: Doubleday.
- Watson, Charles M.
1914 "The Desert of the Wanderings." *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 46: 18–23.
- Weinstein, James M.
1981 "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment." *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241: 1–28.
2012 "Egypt and the Levant in the Reign of Ramesses III." In *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero*, edited by Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor, pp. 160–80. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Weippert, Helga
1988 *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Handbuch der Archäologie: Vorderasien 2.1. Munich: Beck.
- Weippert, Manfred
1970 "Die Nomadenquelle: Ein Beitrag zur Topographie der Biqē' im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr." In *Archäologie und Altes Testament: Festschrift für K. Galling*, edited by Arnulf Kuschke and Ernst Kutsch, pp. 259–72. Tübingen: Mohr.
1974 "Semitische Nomaden des zweiten Jahrtausends: Über die Ššw der ägyptischen Quellen." *Biblica* 55: 265–80, 427–33.
2010 *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Wente, Edward F.
1992 "Rameses (Place)." In *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, edited by David N. Freedman, vol. 5, *O–Sh*, pp. 617–18. New York: Doubleday.
- Wiegand, Theodor
1920 *Sinai*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Wiener, Harold M.
1916a "The Date of the Exodus." *Bibliotheca Sacra* 73: 454–80.
1916b *The Date of the Exodus*. Oberlin: Bibliotheca Sacra.
1926 "The Historical Character of the Exodus." *Ancient Egypt* 11: 104–15.
1932 "The Exodus and the Southern Invasion." In *Posthumous Essays by Harold M. Wiener*, edited by Herbert Loewe, pp. 37–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wilson, John A.

- 1969a "Hymn of Victory of Mer-ne-Ptah ('The Israel Stela')." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement, edited by James B. Pritchard, pp. 376–78. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1969b "In Praise of the City of Ramses." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement, edited by James B. Pritchard, pp. 470–71. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1969c "The Journal of a Frontier Official." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement, edited by James B. Pritchard, pp. 258–59. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 1969d "The Report of a Frontier Official." In *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement, edited by James B. Pritchard, p. 259. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wimmer, Stefan

- 1990 "Egyptian Temples in Canaan and Sinai." In *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim*, edited by Sarah Israelit-Groll, pp. 1065–106. Jerusalem: Magnes.

Wolf, Walther

- 1933 "Neue Beiträge zum 'Tagebuch eines Grenzbeamten.'" *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 69: 39–45.

Wood, W. Carleton

- 1916 "The Religion of Canaan: From the Earliest Times to the Hebrew Conquest." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 35: 1–133.

Woolley, C. Leonard, and Thomas E. Lawrence

- 1936 *The Wilderness of Zin*. London: Cape. Originally published in *Palestine Exploration Fund Annual 1914–1915*, with different pagination.

Worp, K. A.

- 1991 "Observations on Some Military Camps and Place Names in Lower Egypt." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 87: 291–95.

Wyatt, Nicholas

- 1999 "Asherah אֲשֵׁרָה." In *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd ed., edited by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W. van der Horst, pp. 99–105. Leiden: Brill.

Yadin, Yigael

- 1985 "Biblical Archaeology Today: The Archaeological Aspect." In *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*, edited by Janet Amitai, pp. 21–27. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.

Yeivin, Israel

- 1985 מִסֹּרֶת הַלְשׁוֹן הָעִבְרִית הַמְשֻׁקֶפֶת בְּנִיקוּד הַבְּבִלִי [The tradition of the Hebrew language reflected in the Babylonian vocalization]. Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language.

Yeivin, Shmuel

- 1957 "The Israelite Settlement in Galilee and the Wars with Jabin of Hazor." In *Mélanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert*, pp. 95–153. Paris: Bloud & Gay.

Yurco, Frank J.

- 1986 "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 23: 189–215.
- 1997 "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins." In *Exodus: The Egyptian Evidence*, edited by Ernest S. Frerichs and Leonard H. Lesko, pp. 27–55. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Zadok, Ran

- 1988 *The Pre-Hellenistic Israelite Anthroponymy and Prosopography*. Leuven: Peeters.

21 THE INSCRIBED CLAY COBRA FIGURINES OF ABYDOS: PROTECTING THE REAWAKENING OF OSIRIS

Kasia Szpakowska
Swansea University

I AM DELIGHTED TO OFFER this essay for Professor Robert Ritner. It is no exaggeration to say that his work *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* absolutely rocked my world. My preexisting view of Egyptian religion, as theoretical and removed, transformed into one filled with real people busily making, breaking, and burying objects and spitting, licking, swallowing, and blowing to activate *heka*. My respect for him as a scholar was such that I was extremely nervous when I invited him to be the keynote speaker for the first Egyptological conference to be held in Wales, in 2003. Much to my relief, he not only appreciated the rather quirky conference venue of legendary Baskerville Hall but was also happy to engage in perhaps not-so-serious discussions on Dr. Smith's transformation into a celery stalk in *Lost in Space*. This essay itself, and the topic of my research for the past decade, began with Ritner's publication of a ritual to prevent nightmares that likely included a clay cobra figurine. It has taken far too long to publish since I first presented it at the 2014 meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, where I benefited from his helpful comments and suggestions concerning the inscriptions.

INTRODUCTION

This essay focuses on the hieroglyphic inscriptions on four snake figurines of unfired clay (figs. 21.1–21.4 below) that were found near the portal of the Osiris temple at Abydos.¹ Originally, they were part of an assemblage that included unbaked-clay figurines of vulture and ram heads, crocodiles, humans, and Osiris.² Of the animal forms, the snakes were the only figurines to be inscribed. In addition, they are the only inscribed clay cobra figurines currently known. The inscriptions offer insights into not only the maintenance of iconographic traditions but also the changing context of ritual use, from private to public, over time. Humble and broken, they are nevertheless surviving relics of the otherwise secret rituals performed for the protection of Osiris at Abydos, likely during the Saite period.

The practice of creating freestanding clay cobra figurines goes back at least to the Amarna period. So far, 723 fragments have been found in Late Bronze Age settlements in Egypt and along the Mediterranean coast.³ The earliest ones come from Amarna, and later ones were distributed north and into the Levant within the forts and administrative complexes established during the reign of Ramesses II. Two subgroups of figurines are stylistically and temporally distinct from the rest—those found at Akoris (Third Intermediate Period)⁴ and those known from Abydos. These Abydene figurines differ markedly from all the others in that

1 PM V, 44.

2 O'Connor 2009, pp. 122–25; Raven 2012, pp. 116–17.

3 Szpakowska 2015.

4 Hanasaka 2011.

they are unfired, generally smaller, and more uniform in shape.⁵ They likely date to the Saite period or later, whereas most of the fired examples, except for those from Akoris, date from the Amarna⁶ to late Ramesside periods.

The Abydos cobras come from at least three separate contexts within the general site, and each corpus differs stylistically from the others. The earliest ones known from excavations were discovered by Randall-MacIver between 1899 and 1901 in Tomb 8 of Cemetery D, within a section that, to judge from the style of the tomb and associated finds (including a scarab with the cartouche of Thutmose IV), dates from the New Kingdom.⁷ Two clay cobras were found in a tomb before being sent to Liverpool Museum in England, where they were registered by Newberry and Peet on September 24, 1900. However, both objects were destroyed during the 1940–42 air raids on Liverpool in World War II, and nothing remains of them but a single publication photograph and the museum's record cards.⁸ The surviving black-and-white photograph, taken from above one of the cobras, is of poor quality, making the details of the cobra difficult to discern. However, the figurine is unmistakably in the shape of a rearing cobra with a widely flaring hood. The tail seems to begin about halfway down the hood, sloping down to form a somewhat extended triangular shape. The faded image shows a characteristic unique to this cobra: a row of small holes running across the front of the pedestal, and a row of similar holes extending down the back of the tail. No photograph was published of the other cobra—all that remains is the registration card, which reads “terracotta model of uraeus . . . Reddish clay, necklace painted in red.”

German Archaeological Institute excavators recently discovered four small cobras in landfill just to the west of the “tomb of Osiris” at Umm el-Qa‘ab. They were found to the sides of, and just below, three much larger polychrome Osiris figures made of the same unfired clay. While no two cobras are identical in size, all four are similarly shaped as uraei with hoods and heads raised, tails laid out horizontally behind them, and each on its own distinct platform. Enough paint remains to show that they were brightly painted in blue, white, and yellow. They have been tentatively dated to the New Kingdom or Late Period based on their associated artifacts, which are datable to the Nineteenth and Twenty-Fifth Dynasties.⁹

The third context for sixteen cobras is southern Abydos, near the “Portal Temple” of Ramesses II. Four cobras were discovered nearly complete, and fragments of six others were found in the debris area of the Portal Temple during the 1967 Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Abydos, led by David O'Connor, and thus have a known findspot.¹⁰ However, because they were discovered in the debris, their use context has not been more firmly dated than Ramesside to Late Period. Today, they are housed in Philadelphia at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum).¹¹ It is possible that additional ones lie hidden in the stores of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo or in other collections, since the site showed signs of previous excavation and likely looting. For example, a further two figurines are in the British Museum (EA 2002, EA 2003), while four others are in the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden (AT 103a–d).¹² These six were donated by the collector Giovanni Anastasi (1780–1860), and although their provenience has been lost, their substantial and formal characteristics are, aside from slight variations in size, exactly the same as those found in the controlled excavations of the site in 1967.

5 The average height of complete cobras from Abydos is 8.35 cm (varying from 7.0 to 10.0 cm). The average height of complete cobras other than those from Abydos is 12.61 cm (varying from 5.0 to 17.2 cm).

6 Szpakowska 2020.

7 Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902, p. 91, pl. 51, bottom left.

8 Liverpool, World Museum 24.9.00.69 and 24.9.00.70. I am grateful to Ashley Cooke, head of antiquities and curator of Egyptology, for the documentation and subsequent discussions.

9 Effland 2013, p. 20; Effland, Budka, and Effland 2012, pp. 4–5, figs. 6–7.

10 O'Connor 1967, 1969.

11 Penn Museum 69-29-875 to 69-29-884.

12 Raven 2012, pp. 116–17.

The sixteen Portal Temple cobras have generally the same shape despite being weathered and worn, fragmentary, and exhibiting the individuality expected of handmade figurines.¹³ Each stands on its own rectangular platform. The form is that of a rearing cobra, with the front of the flaring hood near the front of the platform. Where the head is still intact, it is slightly upturned. The figures have a small, deep hole at the center of the mouth. On each side of the head is an incised line running from the hole back across the head, almost in the shape of a smile, likely representing the mouth. On those with a surviving head, an inverted V is incised just under the “chin” or throat, perhaps representing the base of a triangular jaw. The eyes were formed by using a tool first to press a wedge into the clay and then to incise a groove toward the back of the head, thus creating a rounded shape for the eye as well as an emphasized line reminiscent of the eye of Horus. Aside from the shape of the head, the specific traits used to indicate the mouth and eyes on these cobras are not generally found on the other known freestanding clay cobra figurines and thus seem to be unique to the Portal Temple cobras.¹⁴ In contrast, aside from the mouth hole, the other features related to the head are commonly found in images of uraei on amulets, architectural elements, reliefs, paintings, furniture, funerary equipment, and statues.¹⁵ Clear examples of these features can be seen on an inlaid bronze cobra element preserved at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (LACMA 45.23.127).

On each of the cobras with a surviving head, the hood flares strongly from the join with the head. Apparently, the neck area is a weak spot, as six of the sixteen cobras have lost their heads, while one fragment is a head only, with no body extant. The vertically raised hood joins with the platform just at the front edge. The hood markings of one of the uninscribed cobras include a wide, vertical line representing the ventral (belly or front) column, with V-shaped lines dividing the hood and scalloped lines at the top of the hood—all characteristics commonly seen in royal uraei.¹⁶ Otherwise, the hood is either undecorated or inscribed. The body consists of a single compressed, vertical curve tapering into a gracefully curved tail that is attached to the back of the platform—a three-dimensional model of the *ntr.t* sign for “goddess” (JSesh I64).

Not only are all the Portal Temple cobras similar in terms of their form and fabric (dark mud silt with obvious temper), but their associated artifacts are also identical. These artifacts include objects representing ram heads,¹⁷ vultures, turtles, Horus (hawk-headed anthropomorphic) figurines, crocodiles, and crocodile hybrids (some with ram horns or hawk heads), all made from the same unfired clay as the cobras.¹⁸ Some of the ram heads even feature the same holes for mouths as the cobras, while one larger hawk-headed figure has similar holes in both of his fists.¹⁹ Thus, we can be certain that all these unfired-clay creatures were initially part of the same assemblage at the Portal Temple. The large number of figurines and their stylistic homogeneity suggest that they were all created in one workshop and then supplied to the users, rather than randomly created by different individuals. The Pennsylvania-Yale excavations also revealed approximately fifty sherds of red- or brown-ware pottery, some with ingredients for incense, cursively written names, or

13 Petrik 2012, p. 9.

14 While Early Dynastic ivory cobras at Tell el-Farkha feature the same type of hole, unlike those from Abydos they also have a hole pierced horizontally in the body, indicating they were meant to be mounted on a larger object, perhaps a royal headdress or sculpture (Chłodnicki and Ciałowicz 2008, p. 146).

15 The terminology used in this essay is that employed in Johnson 1990, pp. 29–30.

16 See numerous examples in Johnson 1990.

17 E.g., Penn Museum 69-29-855.

18 Raven 2012, pp. 116–17.

19 It is tempting to imagine that a forked tongue may have been placed inside, as has been suggested regarding four rearing cobras made from hippopotamus tusk in a Dynasty 0–1 votive deposit at Tell el-Farkha (Ciałowicz 2009, p. 95, fig. 33; 2011; Chłodnicki and Ciałowicz 2008, pp. 138–39). However, the fact that the same hole appears on the clay ram heads at Abydos makes this suggestion less likely, as rams would not be expected to be showing their tongues. Another possibility is that objects were sacralized and infused with divine power by opening their mouths and thus their senses, similarly to the ritual performance on coffins and larger statues (Meskell 2004, pp. 109–15). The most plausible interpretation is that the holes were made to hold wicks that could be set aflame. Comparable holes are found in some magic bricks, such as ISAC Museum E6777 (I am grateful to the volume editors for drawing my attention to these artifacts), their use as bearers of protective flames being made explicit in Book of the Dead spell 151 (Régen 2017, 103–6).

sketches of gods, particularly Osiris and other gods of the Ennead, inscribed in black or white ink.²⁰ The same white ink that was used on the pottery sherds referred to by O'Connor was also used for inscribing ten of the unfired cobra figurines on the front of their upright torsos.²¹ The sherds, and especially the drawings of Osiris, are reminiscent of the Umm el-Qa'ab corpus, indicating that both sites were sacred zones heavily used for ritual practices.²² O'Connor suggests that the mud figurines and the sherds of bowls were probably used for votive rituals, with the figures acting as representations of deities such as Atum, Mut, Nekhbet, or Wadjet.²³ Effland proposes a link with the rituals described in P. Salt 825,²⁴ while Raven proposes a connection with rituals such as that of throwing four clay balls.²⁵

INSCRIPTIONS

On at least six cobras²⁶ the ink is so faded that only traces of it can be seen, along with the vestiges of hieroglyphs sharply etched into the clay. These six might benefit from augmentation with new technology, such as reflective transformation imaging.²⁷ Nevertheless, four others have hieroglyphic texts that are readily legible (referred to hereafter as cobras A–D, for ease of reference; see table 21.1 and figs. 21.1–21.4).²⁸

While the four inscriptions are similar, no two are wholly identical: they vary in terms of sign arrangement, orthography, and word choice. Between cobras A (fig. 21.1) and B (fig. 21.2), the single difference is in the writing of the *s* (— O34 and ¶ S29), but otherwise the texts are the same. The striking similarity of the palaeography and orthography on the cobra from the Anastasi collection (cobra A) to those on the cobras from the Pennsylvania-Yale excavations (cobras B–D) confirms that their original context was the same and that they were probably created by the same artist or workshop.

On cobras A and B the first word is evidently *ts*, while on cobra D (fig. 21.4) it is *rs*; this is clear from the different phonetic complements. However, on cobra C (fig. 21.3) the only phonogram in the word is ¶ U40, which is a variant of ¶ U39. This sign had the value of both *rs* and *ts* and was commonly used from the Nineteenth Dynasty onward.²⁹ The eye determinative ☉ D4 at the end of the word on both cobras C and D leaves no doubt that the intended reading is *rs*. The eye determinative was used in lexemes related to being awake, watchful, and alert. Here it is used to emphasize that the cobra not only raises (*ts*) her head but is also alert (*rs*), focusing her gaze upon the enemy, whoever that may be.

COMMENTARY

TS-HR AND *RS-HR*

The four inscriptions thus provide a clear label for the clay figurines. While the expression *ts hr* appears occasionally in the Pyramid Texts with the meaning “put together/compose the face,”³⁰ this usage is unlikely to be intended for our cobras. In addition, the Book of Amduat and the Book of the Night attest a

20 O'Connor 1967.

21 White ink also was used on clay magic bricks, as seen on ISAC Museum E10544.

22 O'Connor 2009, pp. 122–26; Effland, Budka, and Effland 2012.

23 Budka 2019; O'Connor 1969, p. 38; 2009, p. 125.

24 Effland, Budka, and Effland 2012, p. 5 n. 6.

25 Raven 2012, p. 117.

26 Penn Museum 69-29-882, 69-29-876, 69-29-877, 69-29-880, 69-29-878, and Leiden AT 103d (personal communication from Maarten Raven, January 20, 2010, and from Robert Demarée, November 10, 2010).




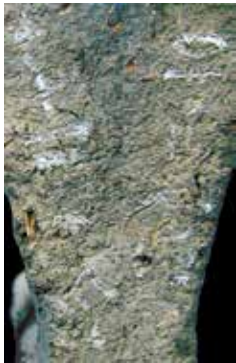



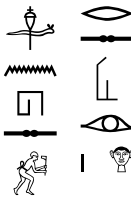
27 For an overview of this process, see Piquette 2011.

28 Photos of the inscriptions have been enhanced here to improve legibility.

29 *Wb.* II, p. 449.

30 E.g., PT 674 (Pyr. §1995a): “I will find you and affix your face as a jackal.”

Table 21.1. Abydos clay cobras with legible inscriptions.

| Cobra A | Cobra B | Cobra C | Cobra D |
|--|--|---|--|
| British Museum EA 2002 height 9.18 cm; head lost | Penn Museum 69-29-881 height 7.37 cm; complete | Penn Museum 69-29-879 height 7.7 cm; head lost | Penn Museum 69-29-884 height 8 cm; complete |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
| <i>ts-hr hsf nhs</i> | <i>ts-hr hsf nhs</i> | <i>rs-hr hsf nhs</i> | <i>rs-hr hsf nhs</i> |

creature named *ts-hrw*, literally “He Who Combines Faces.”³¹ In the tomb of Thutmose III (Amduat, tenth hour, middle register, sixth scene), this being is represented as a four-legged snake with a head at each end of its body, one wearing the White Crown, the other the Red Crown.³² The phrase also appears on an image in the tomb of an artist applying a tool to the face of a statue.³³ The accompanying text reads *ts hr twt* “affixing the face of the statue,” or perhaps “shaping” or “composing”—again, a phrase that does not fit our cobras semantically.

A few other texts, however, attest the phrase *ts hr* with the meaning “raise the face,” as well as the phrase *rs hr*. One of them is Book of the Dead spell 144, and another is the closely related spell 147. The spells feature the deceased going through various portals to reach the domain of Osiris. Each portal is guarded by a doorkeeper, a guardian, and a reporter. Their names vary and show little consistency between versions and portals.³⁴ In some New Kingdom papyri the guardian of the third or fourth portal is called (*s*)*rs-hr* “Alert of Face” or *rs-tpw* “Alert of Heads,”³⁵ again revealing the close connection between the verbs *ts* and

31 LGG VII, p. 495.

32 Hornung 2005, p. 95, no. 730; Hornung and Abt 2007, p. 298.

33 Fischer 1976, p. 14, fig. 7.

34 Weber 2017, vol. 2, pp. 241–64.

35 E.g., *rs-hr* in BD 144, portal 3, in the papyrus of Nu, British Museum EA 10477 = TM 134299. Also *srs-hr* in BD 147, portal 3, and *rs-tpw* in portal 4, in the papyrus of Any, British Museum EA 10470 = TM 134357 (Weber 2017, vol. 2, pp. 241–64; vol. 3, nos. 144 III–IV, 147 III–IV). For an alternative transliteration and translation of BD 147, see Quirke 2013, pp. 350–52.

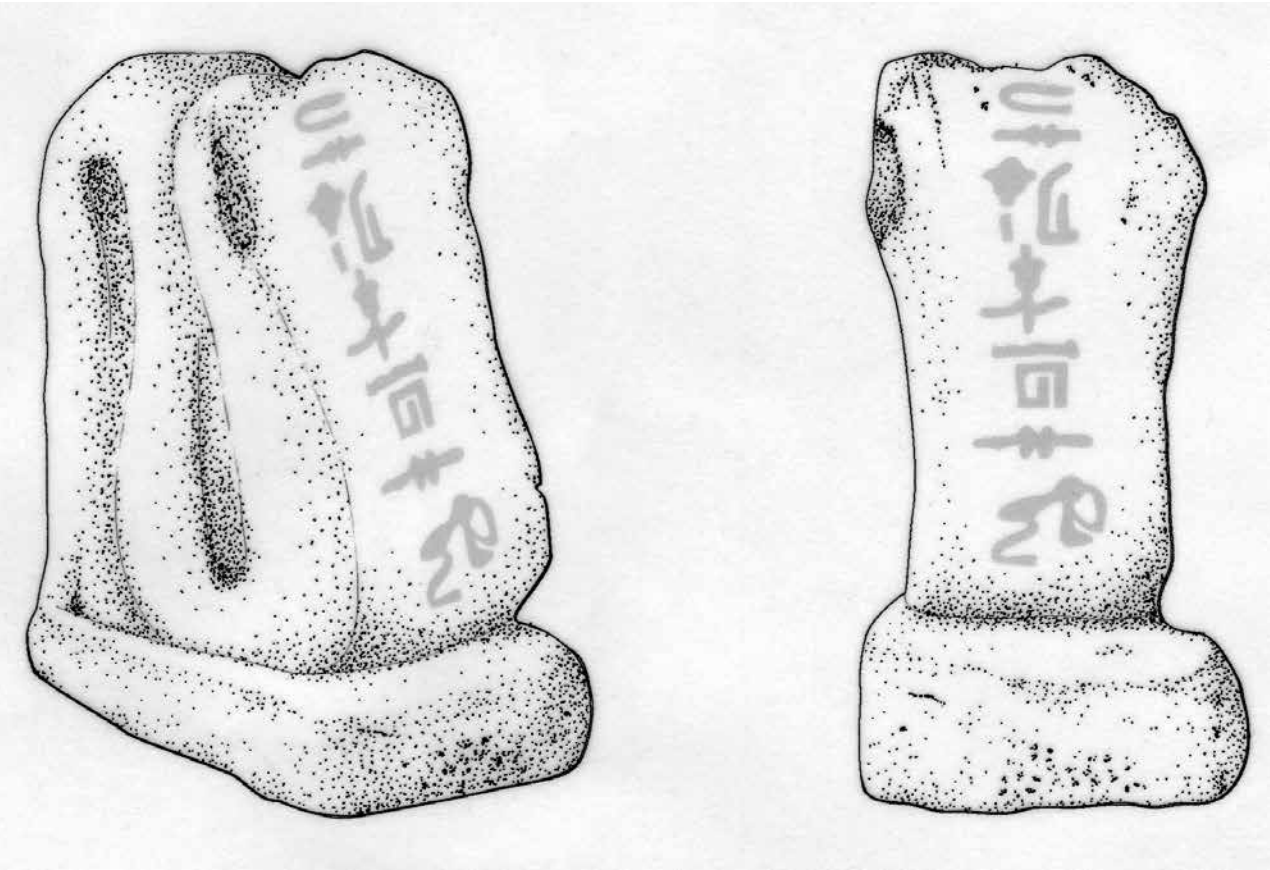


Figure 21.1. Cobra A. British Museum EA 2002. Inked drawing courtesy of Julia Jarrett.



Figure 21.2. Cobra B. *Left*, three-quarters view; *right*, frontal view. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 69-29-881. Photographs courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.



Figure 21.3. Cobra C. *Left*, three-quarters view; *right*, frontal view. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 69-29-879. Photographs courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.




Figure 21.4. Cobra D. *Left*, three-quarters view; *right*, frontal view. University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 69-29-884. Photographs courtesy of University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

rs. In the Book of the Dead papyri of Yuya and Kha, the name “Alert of Face” is associated with fire where they identify the guardian of the third portal as *rs-hr-ht(j)* “Alert of Face and Fiery.”³⁶ In the cobra figurines, the notion of being alert, with head raised, and being equipped with fire is implicit in the placement of our inscriptions on images of a rearing cobra, since the uraeus was associated with the eye of Ra, and uraei could be depicted as spitting fire.

Another spell featuring the expression *ts hr* is Book of the Dead spell 39, aimed against the *rerek*-snake, which in the text is identified with *nbd* or *nqn* (probably Apophis). The passage of interest reads *j.jn jtm tsw hrw=tn mšc r' hsf nbd*³⁷ *m d3d3t* “Atum says: ‘Raise your faces, army of Ra, repel the Twisted One from the Council!’” In this spell, it is the army of Ra, *mšc r'*, that is called upon to “raise their heads” against the enemy. Borghouts³⁸ translates this as an imperative: “Compose/Lift up your faces.” He suggests that this *ts-hr* is related to the examples in the Pyramid Texts³⁹ and interprets *ts* as meaning “knitted,”⁴⁰ perhaps a colloquialism like “putting on your game face.”⁴¹ However, in the context of the cobras, it seems more likely that *ts hr* refers to the threatening gesture of raising the head. In fact, Quirke has captured the idea by translating Atum’s words as “Raise your sights, army of Ra, repel the crooked god from the tribunal,” as though a weapon were being brought to the ready.⁴² This interpretation fits with our clay cobras, which were found at the temple of Osiris, thus acting like the “army of Ra” by defending the king and Osiris against his enemies.⁴³

THE ENEMY

As mentioned previously, in Book of the Dead spell 39, the army of Ra raise their heads and repel either *nqn* (translated by Quirke as “crooked god”) or *nbd* (translated by Borghouts as “stormy/twisted/criminal one”). Notably, in the version of P. Turin 1791, the same determinative,  A14, is used as for *nhs* on our cobra figurines. Interestingly, Book of the Dead spell 39 mentions a divine council or tribunal, thus associating the repelled creature with Seth, the enemy of Osiris, as well as with the *rerek*-snake and Apophis. In both cases, this is a creature whose antithesis to *maat* “order” is emphasized by the abnormal (twisted or crooked) quality of its physical form.

The term for the enemy used on our clay cobras is *nhs*, which in reference to a divine being has been identified as either meaning “He Who Is Awake/Watchful”⁴⁴ or referring to the Seth animal.⁴⁵ The determinatives used for the former include an eye, a star, and a sitting divinity. The context and role in these cases are usually positive from the point of view of the deceased. For example, a *nhs* “Watcher” is found among the retinue of the bark of Ra in the fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and twelfth hours of the Amduat.⁴⁶ Two more ambiguous examples of *nhs* occur in the Coffin Texts. The first is in Coffin Text spell 1181,⁴⁷ “an utterance

36 Papyrus of Yuya, Cairo CG 51189 = TM 134267; papyrus of Kha, Turin 8438 = TM 134315.

37 It also appears as *nqn*.

38 Borghouts 2007, p. 16.

39 PT 364 (Pyr. §610b), PT 369 (Pyr. §642c), PT 638 (Pyr. §1805a).

40 Borghouts (2007, p. 16) translates the entire passage as “Says Atum: ‘Compose/Lift up your faces, soldiers of Re! Repel for me the stormy/twisted/criminal one from the council!’” He notes that the “twisted one” must refer to Apophis. He further explains (pp. 42–43) that, earlier in the text, “twisted of heart” (*nbd jb*) referred to Seth and was a positive identification by the deceased to emphasize his own power. Thus this invocation works through similarity by pitting like against like.

41 Borghouts (2007, p. 16 n. 84) provides several examples and suggests it may mean “to put up a face” or “to take courage.”

42 Quirke 2013, pp. 113–15.




43 Adding to the complexity of interpreting the meaning of the abbreviated inscriptions of the cobras is the detailed discussion by Ritner (1993, pp. 185–89) on the relationship between **ts.t* and *rs.t* in relation to the use of images and intermediaries in magical rituals. The seemingly simple signs encapsulate the ideas of guarding, awakening, raising, and destruction, as well as generic enemy figures and execration figurines.

44 TLA 85770; LGG IV, pp. 267–68; Wilson 1997, p. 530.







45 TLA 85780; LGG IV, p. 269.

46 TLA 85770.

47 de Buck 1961, p. 518d–h.

for causing to pass by it [a portal]: ‘Exalted of Equipment, Possessor of Dual Striking Power. This NN is loud of voice in the horizon, its Great One. On your faces, O Watchers!’⁴⁸ Here the deceased first names the portal, then commands *nhs* “the Watchers” to prostrate themselves. The second case is in Coffin Text spell 1170,⁴⁹ where we find the epithet *db* *hr* *nhs* *ꜥ.t* “Hippopotamus Faced, Wakeful of Striking Power” applied to another guardian demon. The determinatives in these contexts include the sitting divinity  A40, the arm with stick  D40, and the beating man  A24. The predominantly positive, defensive connotation of *nhs* in the sense of “Watcher” makes it doubtful that it is against such beings that the clay cobra figurines are to direct their attention. The *nhs* featuring in the compositions of the afterlife are guardians who ensure that *maat* is maintained. The *nhs* of the clay figurines refers to an enemy against whom the cobras must act.

The other use of *nhs*, as a designation for the Seth animal, seems therefore a more appropriate interpretation for the inscriptions on the clay cobras.⁵⁰ For example, in the Saite-period “Book of Protection” (P. Brooklyn 47.218.49),⁵¹ *nhs* appears in a spell set within the mythical struggle of Horus and Seth where the Eye of Horus becomes damaged: “Fire comes forth upon the left side of Isis and again upon that of Nephthys. Drive away the fiend as the Seth animal (*nhs*) and vice versa.”⁵²

Clearly, *nhs* appears here with a negative connotation, and the determinative  Z6 employed in the Brooklyn papyrus is indeed the hieratic equivalent of hieroglyphic  A14 found on the clay cobras. Most of the other attestations date to the Greco-Roman period, where the word *nhs* refers to the recipient of some form of punishment.⁵³ The verbs in those cases reflect actions stronger than *hsf* and are more specifically related to hurting or killing rather than repelling. In ritual scenes *nhs* is used as a designation of Seth being ritually killed by the king in various ways, as Seth being stabbed or slaughtered, or as a god of chaos. Mostly the determinative is that of an ass or the Seth animal bound or pierced in some way (particularly  E148,  E150, and their variants), but sometimes the determinative of the man with an axe in his head  A14 is used instead, as on our cobras. Writings with A14 can be found in Osirian ritual and execration texts, such as the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus (British Museum EA 10188) and P. Louvre 3129 from the Ptolemaic period.⁵⁴ In other contexts, the  A14 determinative is usually used in reference to enemies, such as *mwt* “the dead,” *hftjw* “enemies,” and *sbjw* “rebels.”

REPULSION

The concept of someone *hsf* “repelling” an enemy is well attested. Zandee notes that “this verb is used of what Anubis does to the gang of Seth, which has sinned against Osiris.”⁵⁵ The connection between vigilance, repulsion of enemies, Anubis, and the protection of Osiris is clarified in Book of the Dead spell 151g, inscribed on clay magic bricks. The previously mentioned magic brick ISAC Museum E10544 even has the remains of a recumbent jackal figure still attached to the top.⁵⁶ The specific combination *hsf* + *nhs* appears often from the Late Period onward, in those cases where *nhs* is used as a word for Seth in his animal form, as discussed above. The phrase *hsf* + *nbd* is used in Book of the Dead spells 15BIII⁵⁷ and 39. *Hsf* + *sbj* occurs

48 See also Carrier 2004, pp. 2386–87; Lesko 1972, p. 78.

49 de Buck 1961, p. 512g.

50 See Goyon 1969, p. 41, where the term is interpreted as a surname of Seth; and Wilson 1997, pp. 530–31, for more examples.

51 O’Rourke (2015, pp. 6–16) now dates this source specifically to the reign of Psamtek I. For *nhs*, see O’Rourke 2002, p. 167; 2015, p. 133 n. L.

52 Translation of section of P. Brooklyn 47.218.49, spell J (col. VIII, 13–14); O’Rourke 2015, p. 130. Note the connection here with fire coming from goddesses.


53 *Wb.* II, 287/14–16.

54 TLA, Digitized Slip Archive, 25.186.030 and 25.186.040.


55 Zandee 1977, p. 284.

56 Scalf 2009.

57 *Wb.* II, p. 247/7.

often with the  A14 determinative⁵⁸ in texts such as the Bremner-Rhind Papyrus (British Museum EA 10188) and P. British Museum EA 10578, as well as throughout the temples of Dendera and Edfu. As far back as the Middle Kingdom, on the stelae of Ikhnofret (Berlin ÄM 1204)⁵⁹ and Neferhotep I (Cairo JE 6307),⁶⁰ both of which were erected at Abydos, the phrase is used where the texts speak of repelling the enemies of Osiris who attack his *neshmet*-bark. Although the lexeme in these cases is usually *sbj*, not *nhs*, it still conveys the idea of repelling the enemies of Osiris.

VIGILANT OF FACE

The related divine being *rs-hr* “Alert of Face” is attested as early as the Old Kingdom and is listed by Leitz.⁶¹ But it is in Saite documents concerning rituals for the protection of Osiris that we first meet a uraeus with the same name and epithet as on our clay cobras C and D: *rs-hr hsf nhs*. Coulon discusses a series of reliefs that feature a range of guardian beings and four protective uraei surrounding Osiris Wennefer, Lord of Nourishment (*wsjr wn-nfr nb-df3w*), in his form of the Abydene fetish.⁶² Sites include the chapel of Osiris Wennefer, Lord of Nourishment, built during the reign of Amasis in Karnak, and the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty chapel of Osiris at the temple of Hibis at Kharga Oasis. Another source is the stela British Museum EA 808, also likely from Late Period Abydos.⁶³ The guardian beings exemplify the same animals that are found in the clay figurines at Abydos, sometimes shown as complete animals but often reduced to the heads of composite beings: rams, lionesses, crocodiles, birds possibly to be identified as vultures, hawk-headed beings, and rearing cobras on pedestals. For the most part, the image captions confirm that the role of all these beings is to protect the god. Each of the uraei is named, and its stated role is to attack and repel enemies, usually by shooting flames. Unsurprisingly, whether called *hfty sbj* or, as with our cobras, *nhs*, the word for the enemy is usually determined by the kneeling or prone man with an axe in his head (variations of  A14). Coulon explains that all the cobras represent the same tradition but show variation in terms of both their names and their iconography, with some uraei having the head of a lioness rather than that of a cobra. He offers a synopsis of the names and utterances associated with each of the four uraei reflecting their individual features and roles. Each uraeus promises Osiris Wennefer, Lord of Nourishment, that she will be his protection by means of the power of her flame:⁶⁴

1. *spd(t)-hr nb(t) jkbw . . . spd=j nb=j r sbj hr=k*

Sharp of Face, lady of mourning: “. . . I project my flames against those who rebel against you.”

2. *tk3(t)-hr wbd sdt . . . sdt jmy r3=j m dr=k hftyw=k nbw*

Flaming of Face, burning of fire: “. . . The fire that is in my mouth is your barricade against all your enemies.”

3. *rs(t)-hr hsf [nh]s . . . wd=j hh r hftyw=k nbw*

Vigilant of Face, who repels the enemy: “. . . I shoot a blast of fire against all your enemies.”

58 *Wb.* IV, p. 87/14.

59 Lichtheim 1988, p. 99.

60 Simpson 2003, pp. 339–44.

61 *LGG* IV, pp. 711–12. A *rs hr=j* appears in the Ptolemaic coffin of Khaf as the name of a deity, literally “My Face Is Vigilant,” in the context of the awakening of Osiris (Roberson 2013, p. 38).

62 Coulon 2011.

63 Coulon (2011, p. 93 n. 29) states that although the stela was purchased in 1854 from an antiquities dealer, based on the iconography and prosopographical information it is likely from Late Period Abydos.

64 For details and variants, see Coulon 2011, p. 92, whose numbering is followed here. The transliterations and translations given here are my synoptic versions based on the variants.

4. $\text{'nh}t\text{-hr dr sbj(w) . . . wnm=j ntyw n sbj r=k}$

Living of Face, who drives away rebels: “. . . I devour⁶⁵ those who rebel against you.”

According to Coulon’s reconstruction, the full passage for the third uraeus reads: “Said by Vigilant of Face, who repels the enemy: ‘I will be your protection, Osiris Wennefer, Lord of Nourishment! I shoot a blast of fire against all your enemies.’” The passage for this uraeus contains an inconvenient lacuna, but Coulon’s reconstruction of the word as $[nh]s$ is virtually certain, given that the same full designation $rs(t) hr hsf nhs$ is fully written on our clay cobras C and D.

The name also appears on the stela of Wennefer (British Museum EA 808),⁶⁶ a priest of the House of Life, from the mid- to late sixth century BCE. The priest is shown burning incense before a naos, within which stands the fetish of Osiris. On both sides of the fetish stand sacred standards surmounted by figures of rams, which call to mind the ram heads found in the Portal Temple assemblage of clay figures. Two pairs of uraei flank the fetish as well. Coulon⁶⁷ has read the inscriptions for these four cobras as follows:

1. $shmt \text{'nh}(t)\text{-hr}$ “Sekhmet, living of face”
2. $w\text{3}dt rs(t)\text{-hr}$ “Wadjet, vigilant of face”
3. $b\text{3}stt spd(t)\text{-hr}$ “Bastet, sharp of face”
4. $\text{ssmtt}^{68} tk\text{3}(t)\text{-hr}$ “Shesmet, flaming of face”

Here again we have $rs\text{-hr}$ protecting the fetish of Abydos in the context of a ritual known from many sources to have been carried out at least from the New Kingdom onward. On this stela, “vigilant of face” is an epithet ascribed to Wadjet, but this does not mean that the mud figurines are necessarily to be identified with this specific goddess. The ancient Egyptians are well known for mutability and flexibility in their use of names and epithets. A single named individual could have different epithets and appearances depending on the context, and the same epithet or appearance could be held by a variety of beings. One of the key features of this stela, of the depiction in P. Salt 825, and in many other protective rituals associated with fiery beings is that they are placed in groups of four, whether they are represented as torches, lioness-headed beings, individual divinities, the “Four Noble Ladies,” or uraei.⁶⁹ The situation conveyed in all these cases is that of active protection on all sides by means of the fiery projections of the four goddesses.⁷⁰

Along with the many examples given by Coulon, this connection between the clay cobras and the protection of Osiris, specifically at Abydos, is affirmed by the excavations at Umm el-Qa‘ab at Abydos, which have unveiled four small, painted clay cobra figurines literally surrounding three figurines of Osiris. While the assemblage at the Portal Temple did not include Osiris figurines, it did contain clay bowls, some of which were decorated with divine figures, especially of Atum and Osiris,⁷¹ including one bowl with a depiction of Osiris standing on a pair of cobras.⁷² Other representations of Osiris flanked by or in proximity to cobras are known in other Ramesside monuments.⁷³ What is intriguing is finding that the representations have survived as a three-dimensional enactment in the sands of Abydos.

65 The emphasis here is likely not on the act of swallowing and devouring, but rather the ability of fire to completely engulf and consume whatever is in its path.

66 TM 58873, published by Coulon (2011, pp. 93–98).

67 Coulon 2011, p. 98.

68 Coulon (2011, p. 98) notes that this sign could also be read as the sign for Neith.

69 Goyon 1987; Lucarelli 2006.

70 Szpakowska 2012, pp. 38–42.

71 Effland, Budka, and Effland 2012, p. 6, fig. 6; O’Connor 1979.

72 Penn Museum 69-29-568.

73 See, e.g., the stela of Kenro, British Museum EA 74847, where the two cobras flanking the representation of Osiris bear the crowns of Isis and Nephthys.

THE PROTECTION OF OSIRIS AT ABYDOS

Their context and their inscriptions paralleled in ritual texts indicate that the Portal Temple cobras were placed to invoke the goddesses as protectors of Osiris, defending the entire precinct and its contents, including probably the statues of Osiris and the Abydene fetish, while keeping all attacking enemies at bay. Several contemporary sources provide glimpses of rituals that either possibly or unquestionably took place specifically at Abydos. As well as the rituals described by Coulon,⁷⁴ one of the best known is recorded on P. British Museum EA 10051 (Salt 825) + EA 10090.⁷⁵

Now thought to date to the Saite period,⁷⁶ the papyrus describes rituals that are believed to have been performed after the mummification of Osiris during festivals, probably at Abydos. A number of these rituals feature representations of cobras that aid the Great God against his enemies.⁷⁷ One section of the papyrus shows Osiris within the House of Life. In front of it are four enclosed spaces, each guarded by a different group of four protective entities: torches, cobras, worshipping baboons, and *ph̄ty* signs.⁷⁸ Within each enclosure kneel two male prisoners back-to-back, their arms tied behind them at the elbows. The man on the left always has the beard and hairstyle of an Asiatic; the other has the head of Seth. The cage on the far right, moreover, contains the figure of a hippopotamus, which also represents Seth. The caption written in red within each enclosure specifies that it contains *h̄ftj h̄ftj m ds h̄sj h̄ftj h̄ftj stš h̄sj hn̄ s̄myw<=f>* “Enemy, enemy, in the vile jar. Enemy, enemy, the vile Seth and his helpers.” This reminds us again that, like the great gods themselves, the concept of the archenemy opposing Osiris and Ra can be specific (as in the named Seth) or generic (enemies and the anonymous helpers of Seth).

The text above the enclosure, which is guarded by four uraei, identifies them respectively as:⁷⁹

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>nb.t nm.t</i> | Lady of the slaughterhouse. |
| <i>ky ḏd</i> | Another one. |
| <i>nb.t nbj.t</i> | Lady of the flame: |
| <i>sh̄m hr=s</i> | her face is powerful, |
| <i>ʒ nrjw=s m nšnj</i> | her fearsomeness is immense with fury. |
| <i>nb.t rm ḥnh̄=s jm=f</i> | Lady of weeping, on which she lives: |
| <i>mr tkʒ=s</i> | her torch is painful. |
| | |
| <i>jw=w šntj n nʒ mdʒwt n</i> | They recite the books of |
| <i>sh̄r h̄ftj ḥnh̄</i> | “Overthrowing the Enemy of the Living One,” |
| <i>pʒ di h̄ftj r sdt</i> | “Chucking the Enemy into the Fire,” |
| <i>dr sh̄dyw</i> | “Driving off the Reversed Ones,” and |
| <i>pʒ sf h̄ftjw</i> | “Incinerating the Enemies.” |

The uraei here are charged with vigorously protecting the Great God from his enemies by reciting the incantations, thus calling into reality counterattacks by driving off, overthrowing, and destroying through fire. This idea again parallels the rituals of the clay magic bricks detailed in Book of the Dead chapter 151, designed to protect the burial chamber.⁸⁰

74 Coulon 2011.

75 Derchain 1965; Herbin 1988.

76 O’Rourke 2015.

77 Derchain 1965, p. 188 n. 209; Cauville 1982, p. 110.

78 Ritner 1993, pp. 176–77.

79 Derchain 1965, pp. 13*–14* (XII, 1–6). The translation is mine and is intended to capture the sense of the passage.

80 Régén 2017; Scalf 2009.

An earlier part of the papyrus shows the image of the Great God with various otherworldly beings facing him in worshipping poses, while power comes forth from their mouths on his behalf. The first is a seated lioness with lines drawn before her mouth indicating the spitting of fire. Next is a standing woman, followed by a human figure with a strangely large head that resembles a close-up of the eye of a cobra wearing a wig and a two-feathered crown; each of these three figures has the arms raised in adoration. Behind them is a series of rearing cobras on pedestals, each with a different headdress: White Crown, Red Crown, sun disk, and moon disk with crescent. Above lies a recumbent lion with dotted lines representing fire extending from its mouth. The text above the four cobras states that their role is “to ignite for him (Osiris) the blaze through the darkness.”⁸¹

It is clear that all these cobras act in the same way, launching their flames and lighting up the darkness via the lit wicks in their mouths, thereby igniting and torching the enemies of Osiris. In order to do so, they must raise their heads and vigilantly gaze upon the enemies, as explicitly stated on the clay cobra figurines.⁸² The threatening gesture of a snake raising its head and expanding its hood is both unmistakable and instantly understood by anyone unlucky enough to encounter the threat, giving rise to a visceral fear.⁸³ Even without texts, the image of the defensively rearing cobra had already been a part of Egyptian iconography from Predynastic times⁸⁴ and in itself was enough to convey the meaning.

As noted, the Portal Temple cobras were part of an assemblage that also included clay ram heads, crocodiles, vultures, hawk-headed figures of Horus, and bowls. All the animals selected are manifestations of powerful deities: Amun, Horus, Sobek, Nekhbet/Mut and, of course, the uraeus. It is probably because of their value as instantly recognizable icons of power that all these animals, except for the vulture, also appear on the head of the polycephalic Bes in Late Period figurines and drawings.⁸⁵

Cobras represent the fiery power of the sun, annihilating enemies. In the Book of the Earth, ram-headed anthropomorphic beings act as attendants behind hybrid beings with flames on their heads. Roberson notes the connection between these flame beings and goddesses of punishment, who themselves often take the form of cobras.⁸⁶ In the Abydos assemblage, some of the deities represented by these animals, in particular Osiris and Amun-Ra, appear depicted on bowls in their anthropomorphic form as well.⁸⁷ At least two of the fragments feature a drawing of a pair of rearing cobras, one of which has “Abydos” written above,⁸⁸ thus providing a decisive link between Osiris, Abydos, and the cobras.

Whether or not the clay cobras were originally placed just outside the Portal Temple or in the surrounding area, they all seem to have been part of a cohesive assemblage and were likely all created by the same workshop, probably locally. They were made of the same material and share common idiosyncratic features, such as holes in their mouths and incised mouths and eyes.⁸⁹ As Abydos was the location of the mythical burial place and subsequent reawakening of Osiris, they may have been either deposited by visitors, pilgrims, or worshippers or perhaps left available for people to use for their devotions. The protocol of

81 Derchain 1965, p. 145; Ritner 1993, p. 224.

82 Interestingly, in this vignette it is the lioness in front that creates the most violence with fire, for she is “Sekhmet, lady of the execution place, who throws fire against your enemies.” Instead of snakes, lionesses often spit fire, and in fact Derchain notes that the four uraei seen here are depicted as four lionesses in the throne chamber of Edfu—thus he identifies them with Tefnut, Mehyt, Sekhmet, and Nephthys. He further notes that the ritual in British Museum EA 10051 (P. Salt 825) + 10090 = TM 57505 is known to have been performed at Edfu in that chapel as well. Many of the examples given in Coulon 2011 feature lioness-headed uraei, confirming that the association among lionesses, cobras, and fire was deeply rooted.

83 The primordial nature of the fear has even been hypothesized to have been pivotal in the evolution over millennia of both primates, which evolved enhanced vision to recognize snakes more quickly, and snakes, which evolved the spitting of venom as a mechanism to reach their primate targets from a longer distance (Isbell 2011).

84 Johnson 1990, pp. 19–20, 39–45, 209.

85 First 2014; Quack 2006; Ritner 2017, 2022. See the example in the Brooklyn Magical Papyrus 47.218.156a–d = TM 58499.

86 Roberson 2012, p. 221, fig. 5.35, with n. 601.

87 See, e.g., Penn Museum 69-29-558, 69-29-559, and 69-29-563.

88 Penn Museum 69-29-615.

89 Raven 2012, fig. 95.

depositing clay animal figures in the sand at a sacred location is known from other rituals, such as that of “Confirming the power of the Pharaoh in the New Year.” There, seven “deities of the House of Life, a flame in their mouths” were placed inside an enclosure(?) of sand,⁹⁰ taking from west to east the forms of a falcon, a crocodile, an ibis, a baboon, a vulture, a heron, and a goat.⁹¹ The larger assemblage found at the Portal Temple at Abydos includes some of the same animals, such as vultures, crocodiles, horned animals (in this case rams), and falcon-headed humans.

The most likely scenario is that the four clay cobras are the remains of Osirian rituals, such as those described in P. Salt 825, developed to protect the Great God. During recent excavations at the same Saite chapel of Osiris Wennefer in Karnak, which included the reliefs of rearing cobras and inscriptions of protective uraei discussed above, a large clay jar was found in situ near the inscriptions.⁹² Within the jar were found a seal and a clay figurine of Khonsu. Coulon has linked the presence of this jar to the P. Salt 825 rituals, wherein a similarly shaped large jar is described and depicted as being used to contain the vile enemies of Osiris, on the one hand, and to serve as a protective reliquary for the mummy of Osiris himself, on the other.⁹³ While the uraei are shown in relief on the outside of the Karnak chapel itself, it is possible that at Abydos the uraei were placed as discreet clay figures outside the Portal Temple area. In each case the figures functioned as active guardians, creating a fiery protective barrier around the sacred space and actively defending the god within.

CONCLUSION

While clay cobra figurines maintained their longstanding iconographic associations from the New Kingdom through the Late Period, there were also fundamental changes in their use. As first noted by Robert Ritner, during the New Kingdom one of the functions of fired-clay uraei in private rituals was to prevent hostile demonic beings from penetrating the home and from causing nightmares and other anxieties to its vulnerable inhabitants.⁹⁴ Centuries later, their role was perhaps not all that different. The fetish of Osiris itself was also able to drive away wandering demons (*šmꜣyꜣw*),⁹⁵ and whether as representation or object, a rearing cobra would assist in that apotropaic role in rituals. The inscriptions on the Portal Temple cobra figurines, albeit brief, reveal at least two of them to be *ts-hr* “Raised of Face” and two to be *rs-hr* “Vigilant of Face,” and all of them serve to *hsf nhs* “repel the villain.”⁹⁶ The connection with the imagery of a cobra rearing and raising its face to spit burning venom at its enemies seems clear. In Saite ritual texts, *rs-hr hsf nhs* also appears as one of four goddesses surrounding the fetish of Osiris and the House of Life, protecting him while he is at his most vulnerable just before awakening. The forms of associated artifacts in the Abydos assemblage, such as ram heads, crocodiles, and hawks, also are documented in these state rituals, suggesting they all played a role in the rituals. One of the distinctive features of the Abydos figurines is that they were made of unfired clay or mud, rather than of any precious material or even fired clay—hardly a material intended for long-term use. Documents such as P. Salt 825 prescribe that the details of the rituals they describe remain secret, never to be revealed in writing or speaking.⁹⁷ Perhaps the choice of medium for these objects was partly due to their very transience—they were not intended to last but rather to keep the rituals secret. The objects’

90 Goyon (1972, p. 113 n. 269) explains that the word is mostly illegible. He suggests that the figures may have been put inside a sort of ouroboros in the sand, creating an enclosure within which the figures were placed. See Ritner 1993, pp. 57–67, for the role of encircling in magic.

91 Goyon 1972, pp. 24–26, 72 (XVI, 10).

92 Coulon 2016, pp. 30–35, figs. 9–12; Boulet 2015, pp. 68–69, 75 (975/5.1382), 79.

93 Coulon 2016, pp. 32–35; Ritner 1993, pp. 176–77.

94 Ritner 1990; Szpakowska 2012.

95 Klotz 2010, pp. 147–49, esp. nn. f and g.

96 It is possible that the now-faded inscriptions on the other ten extant cobras from the Portal Temple provided two additional names, as we would expect to have a total of four different names, paralleling the groups of entities named in the other ritual texts, such as those listed by Coulon. For example, the other names may have been “Sharp of Face” and “Living of Face.”

97 Herbin 1988.

value for the Egyptians lay not in their material but in their effectiveness as actors in the rituals in that moment.⁹⁸ However, the ancient Egyptian reluctance to recycle and dematerialize sacred objects⁹⁹ resulted in their survival as rare relics of Osirian “mysteries.”

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to David O’Connor for permission to publish these finds from his excavation, and to Ashley Cooke, Neal Spencer, and Jennifer Wegner for photographs and documentation. Richard Parkinson, Robert Demarée, and Ken Griffin provided helpful advice on the inscriptions. Julia Jarrett provided the illustration. This essay benefited from feedback during a presentation at the 2014 annual conference of the American Research Center in Egypt in Portland, Oregon, as well as from valuable comments by reviewers and editors, particularly Foy Scalf. Any errors are my own. I am grateful to Swansea University for supporting a semester-long sabbatical and give special thanks to the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, for hosting me as a visiting associate researcher in 2016.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|---|
| BD | Book of the Dead (spell) |
| LGG | Christian Leitz. <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen</i> . 8 vols. <i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> 110–16, 129. Leuven: Peeters, 2002–3 |
| P. | Papyrus |
| PM | Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss. <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1960– |
| PT | Pyramid Text (spell) |
| Pyr. | Kurt Sethe. <i>Die altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte</i> . 4 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908–12 |
| TLA | Tonio Sebastian Richter, Daniel A. Werning, Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, and Peter Dils, eds. <i>Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae</i> . https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de |
| TM | <i>Trismegistos</i> . http://www.trismegistos.org |
| Wb. | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63. Reprint, Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1982 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Borghouts, Joris F.
 2007 *Book of the Dead (39): From Shouting to Structure*. *Studien zum altägyptischen Totenbuch* 10. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Boulet, Stéphanie
 2015 “Étude céramologique préliminaire des campagnes de fouilles de la chapelle d’Osiris Ounnefer Neb-Djefau 2013–2014.” *Cahiers de Karnak* 15: 63–79.
- Budka, Julia
 2019 “Re-awakening Osiris at Umm el-Qaab (Abydos): New Evidence for Votive Offerings and Other Religious Practices.” In *Perspectives on Lived Religion: Practices—Transmission—Landscape*, edited by Nico Staring, Huw Twiston Davies, and Lara Weiss, pp. 15–25. *Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities* 21. Leiden: Sidestone.
- Carrier, Claude
 2004 *Textes des sarcophages du Moyen Empire égyptien*. Champollion. Monaco: Éditions du Rocher.

⁹⁸ For a discussion of baked-clay figures and their value in rituals, see Teeter 2010, p. 18.

⁹⁹ Meskell 2004, p. 108.

Cauville, Sylvie

- 1982 "L'hymne à Mehyt d'Edfou." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 82: 105–25.

Chłodnicki, Marek, and Krzysztof M. Ciałowicz

- 2008 "Tell el-Farkha: Preliminary Report, 2006." *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 18: 127–53.

Ciałowicz, Krzysztof M.

- 2009 "The Early Dynastic Administrative-Cultic Centre at Tell el-Farkha." *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* 13: 82–123.
- 2011 "The Predynastic/Early Dynastic Period at Tell el-Farkha." In *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization*, edited by Emily Teeter, pp. 55–64. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 33. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Coulon, Laurent

- 2011 "Les uraei gardiens du fétiche abydénien: Un motif osirien et sa diffusion à l'époque saïte." In *La XXVI^e dynastie, continuités et rupture: Promenade saïte avec Jean Yoyotte*, edited by Didier Devauchelle, pp. 85–108. Paris: Cybele.
- 2016 "Les chapelles osiriennes de Karnak: Aperçu des travaux récents." *Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie* 195–96: 16–35.

de Buck, Adriaan

- 1961 *The Egyptian Coffin Texts. Vol. 7, Texts of Spells 797–1185*. Oriental Institute Publications 87. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Derchain, Philippe

- 1965 *Le papyrus Salt 825 (B.M. 10051): Rituel pour la conservation de la vie en Égypte*. Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique, classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques 58. Brussels: Palais des Académies.

Effland, Andreas

- 2013 "Der Osiriskult in Umm el-Qaab." *DAI Kairo Magazin* 2012: 20.

Effland, Ute, Julia Budka, and Andreas Effland

- 2012 "The Cult of Osiris in Abydos (Research Cluster 4): Annual Report 2012." Berlin: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

First, Grzegorz

- 2014 "Polycephaly—Some Remarks on the Multiheaded Nature of Late Egyptian Polymorphic Deities." *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 18: 205–21.

Fischer, Henry G.

- 1976 "Notes, Mostly Textual, on Davies' Deir el Gebrâwi." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13: 9–20.

Goyon, Jean-Claude

- 1969 "Textes mythologiques: I. Le livre de protéger la barque du dieu." *Kêmi* 19: 23–64.
- 1972 *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au nouvel an (Brooklyn Museum papyrus 47.218.50)*. Bibliothèque d'étude 52. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- 1987 "Nombre et univers: Réflexions sur quelques données numériques de l'arsenal magique de l'Égypte pharaonique." In *La magia in Egitto ai tempi dei faraoni: Atti Convegno internazionale di studi, Milano, 29–31 ottobre 1985*, edited by Alessandro Roccati and Alberto Siliotti, 57–76. Verona: Arte e natura libri.

Hanasaka, Tetsu

- 2011 "Archaeological Interpretation of Clay Cobra Figurines: Based on the Study of Objects from Akoris." *Journal of West Asian Archaeology* 12: 57–78.

Herbin, François-René

- 1988 "Les premières pages du papyrus Salt 825." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 88: 95–112.

Hornung, Erik

- 2005 *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld*. London: Karnak House.

Hornung, Erik, and Theodor Abt

2007 *The Egyptian Amduat: The Book of the Hidden Chamber*. Translated by David Warburton. Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications.

Isbell, Lynne A.

2011 *The Fruit, the Tree, and the Serpent: Why We See So Well*. Harvard: Harvard University Press.

Johnson, Sally B.

1990 *The Cobra Goddess of Ancient Egypt: Predynastic, Early Dynastic, and Old Kingdom Periods*. Studies in Egyptology. London: Kegan Paul International.

Klotz, David

2010 "Two Studies on the Late Period Temples at Abydos." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 110: 127–63.

Lesko, Leonard H.

1972 *The Ancient Egyptian Book of Two Ways*. University of California Publications—Near Eastern Studies 17. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Lichtheim, Miriam

1988 *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies Chiefly of the Middle Kingdom*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 84. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Lucarelli, Rita

2006 "La protezione del territorio e la simbologia del numero 4 nell'universo magico-religioso dell'uomo egizio." In *La terra, gli uomini e gli dèi: Il paesaggio agricolo nell'antico Egitto; atti del secondo colloquio, Bologna—22/23 maggio 2006*, edited by Sergio Pernigotti and Marco Zecchi, pp. 151–57. *Materiali e studi* 11. Imola: La Mandragora.

Meskeel, Lynn

2004 *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present*. Materializing Culture. Oxford: Berg.

O'Connor, David B.

1967 "Abydos: A Preliminary Report of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition, 1967." *Expedition* 10, no. 1: 10–23.

1969 "Abydos and the University Museum: 1898–1969." *Expedition* 12, no. 1: 28–39.

1979 "Abydos: The University Museum–Yale University Expedition." *Expedition* 21, no. 2: 46–49.

2009 *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*. New Aspects of Antiquity. London: Thames & Hudson.

O'Rourke, Paul F.

2002 "An Egyptian Royal Book of Protection of the Late Period (P. Brooklyn 47.218.49)." PhD diss., New York University.

2015 *A Royal Book of Protection of the Saite Period (pBrooklyn 47.218.49)*. Yale Egyptological Studies 9. New Haven: Yale Egyptological Institute.

Petrik, Máté

2012 "Handmade Terracotta Figurines with Hands Secured behind the Backs: The Potential Use of an Art Historical Method in the Research of Egyptian Minor Arts." In *Art and Society: Ancient and Modern Contexts of Egyptian Art. Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, 13–15 May 2010*, edited by Katalin Anna Kóthay, pp. 57–72. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts.

Piquette, Kathryn E.

2011 "Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI) and Ancient Egyptian Material Culture." *Damqatum—The CEHAO Newsletter* 7: 16–20.

Quack, Joachim Friedrich

2006 "The So-Called Pantheos: On Polymorphic Deities in Late Egyptian Religion." *Aegyptus et Pannonia* 3: 175–90.

Quirke, Stephen

2013 *Going Out in Daylight—prt m hrw: The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead—Translation, Sources, Meanings*. GHP Egyptology 20. London: Golden House Publications.

- Randall-MacIver, David, and Arthur C. Mace
 1902 *El Amrah and Abydos 1899–1901*. Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund 23. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Raven, Maarten J.
 2012 *Egyptian Magic: The Quest for Thoth's Book of Secrets*. Cairo: American University of Cairo Press.
- Régen, Isabelle
 2017 "The Archaeology of the Book of the Dead." In *Book of the Dead: Becoming God in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Foy Scalf, pp. 96–106. Oriental Institute Museum Publications 39. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Ritner, Robert K.
 1990 "O. Gardiner 363: A Spell against Night Terrors." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27: 25–41.
 1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
 2017 "Pantheistic Figures in Ancient Egypt." In *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer, pp. 319–24. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 2. Atlanta: Lockwood.
 2022 "Jubilating Baboons and the Bes Pantheos." In *One Who Loves Knowledge: Studies in Honor of Richard Jasnow*, edited by Betsy Bryan, Christina Di Cerbo, Mark Smith, Marina Escolano-Poveda, and Jill S. Waller, pp. 335–44. Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt 6. Columbus, GA: Lockwood.
- Roberson, Joshua Aaron
 2012 *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*. Wilbour Studies in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia 1. Atlanta: Lockwood.
 2013 *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 262. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Scalf, Foy
 2009 "The Magical Bricks of the Oriental Institute Museum." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 38: 275–95.
- Simpson, William Kelly
 2003 "The Neferhotep Stela." In *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, edited by William Kelly Simpson, Robert K. Ritner, Vincent A. Tobin, and Edward F. Wente, pp. 330–44. 3rd ed. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Szpakowska, Kasia
 2012 "Striking Cobra Spitting Fire." *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 14: 27–46.
 2015 "Snake Cults and Military Life in New Kingdom Egypt." In *Walls of the Prince: Egyptian Interactions with Southwest Asia in Antiquity. Essays in Honour of John S. Holladay, Jr.*, edited by Edward B. Banning, Timothy P. Harrison, and Stanley Klassen, pp. 274–91. Leiden: Brill.
 2020 "Fear and Loathing at Amarna: A Case Study of the Development of Sacred Objects in Response to Communal Anxiety." In *Demon Things: Ancient Egyptian Manifestations of Liminal Entities*, edited by Kasia Szpakowska, pp. 213–26. Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections 25. Tucson: Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections.
- Teeter, Emily
 2010 *Baked Clay Figurines and Votive Beds from Medinet Habu*. Oriental Institute Publications 133. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Weber, S. Felicitas
 2017 "Diegetic Lists in the Early Egyptian 'Book of the Dead': A Contextual Analysis of Demonic Entities in Private Second Millennium Manuscripts." 3 vols. PhD diss., Swansea University.
- Wilson, Penelope
 1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters.
- Zandee, Jan
 1977 *Death as an Enemy according to Ancient Egyptian Conceptions: The Literature of Death and Dying*. New York: Arno.

22 THREE DEMOTIC OSTRACA FROM DAKHLA OASIS (MUT 30/2, 30/15, AND 42/12)

Günter Vittmann
Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg

MOST OF THE DOCUMENTS IN late Egyptian cursive scripts that have so far been discovered by the mission of Monash University (Melbourne) under the direction of Colin Hope in the precinct of the temple of Seth at Mut (Dakhla Oasis) belong to either of two groups: a large group of Demotic ostraca from the second half of the Ptolemaic period, or a less numerous group of vessel inscriptions from the Third Intermediate Period and perhaps the beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty written in late cursive (“abnormal”) hieratic.¹ Only very few ostraca, however, can for paleographic reasons be dated to the centuries between 600 and 300 BCE. In other words, there is a lack of documents at Mut written by an “early Demotic” or even an “early Ptolemaic” hand.

Among the rare exceptions are the three ostraca² presented here in honor of the celebrated scholar Robert K. Ritner. I had wished to include two more ostraca that must belong roughly to the same period (O. Mut 42/14 and 42/15), but unfortunately they contain passages even more obscure than those published below. Thus, for the time being, I have restricted myself to quoting them in the appropriate places.

DOCUMENT 1 (FIGS. 22.1 AND 22.2)

Ostrakon Mut 30/2, blackish color, width 6.5 cm, height 6.7 cm, thickness 8–10 mm. Four lines in relatively large characters on the concave side; convex side uninscribed. Probably fifth century BCE (see note a). A receipt concerning sesame.

- 1 *ḥsb.t 29^a ibd 2 šmw (sw) 2 iw (m-)dr.t^b*
- 2 *Sḥ-i.ir.dj-s^c s3 Ír.t-ḥr-r.r=w^d iqe^e*
- 3 *133 m-sh^f P3-whr^g s3 Nḥt-*
- 4 *t3j=f-mw.t^h Sḥ-i.ir.dj-s s3 P3-dj- . . .ⁱ*

- 1 Year 29,^a second month of the shemu season, day 2. Entered from the hand of^b
- 2 Sethirdis^c son of Inaros,^d sesame(?),^e
- 3 133. In writing^f of Paweher^g son of Nakht-
- 4 tefmut,^h Sethirdis son of Padi. . .ⁱ

1 For a first preliminary report, see Vittmann 2012a. Two interesting pieces were published in Vittmann 2017 (Ptolemaic) and 2020 (late “cursive” hieratic).

2 I am obliged to Cary Martin for kindly revising my English. He and Sven Vleeming had already read an earlier version of my transcriptions of documents 1 and 2 and made several useful suggestions.

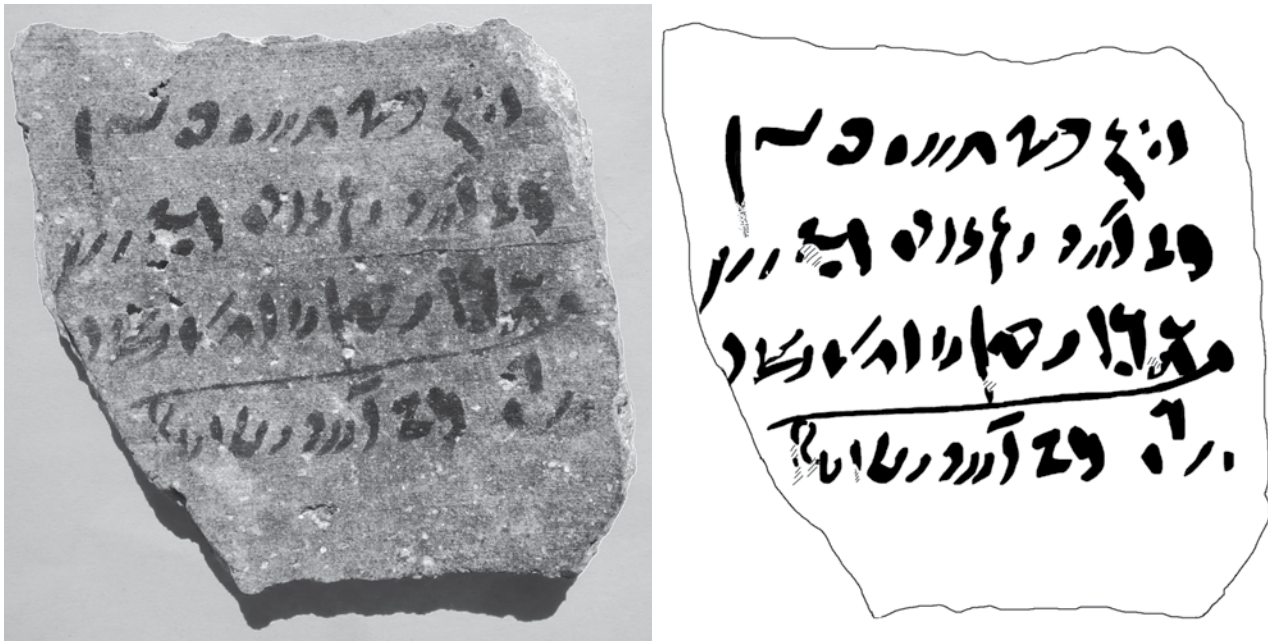


Figure 22.1. Ostrakon Mut 30/2. Photograph by G. Vittmann, © Dakhleh Oasis Project. Facsimile by G. Vittmann.

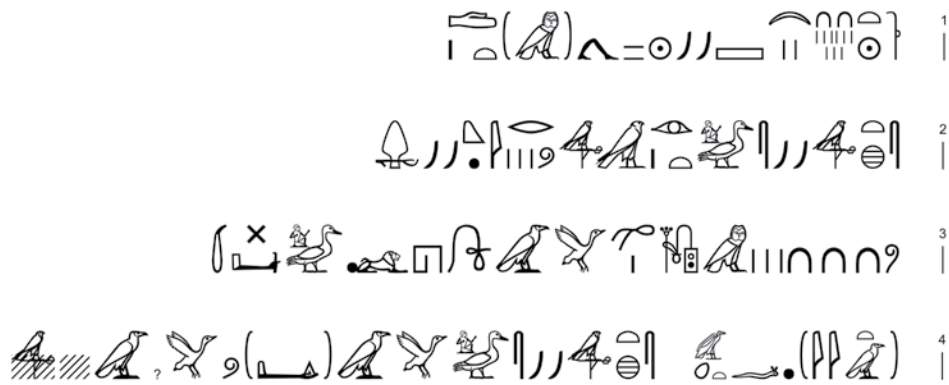



Figure 22.2. Hieroglyphic transcription of Ostrakon Mut 30/2.

COMMENTS

^a For  as a previously unrecognized early Demotic spelling of “29,” see Chauveau 1999. The examples identified by Chauveau are from year 29 of Amasis (P. Louvre E 7840), year 29 of Darius I (P. Berlin P 13539), and year 29 of Artaxerxes I (O. Manawir³ 4164 [no. 997] and 4980 [no. 1722]).

If applied to one of these three kings, there are the following three possibilities for converting the date “year 29, Payni 2” of O. Mut 30/2:

- October 4, 542 BCE (Amasis);
- September 21, 493 BCE (Darius I); or
- September 7, 436 BCE (Artaxerxes I).

³ For the ostraca from Ain Manawir, see the database established by Michel Chauveau and Damien Agut-Labordère at <http://www.achemenet.com/fr/tree/?/sources-textuelles/textes-par-regions/egypte/ayn-manawir/ostraca-d-ayn-manawir#set> with small images, transcriptions, and translations. I am obliged to Jannik Korte (Heidelberg) for putting at my disposal a very useful searchable compilation of those transcriptions.

The next theoretical possibility (July 24, 256 BCE, Ptolemy II) must be excluded; the way the numeral “3” is written in line 3 is typical for early Demotic and is no longer found in later periods. The right choice is difficult, but a date in the Persian period would help reduce the distance to certain Mut ostraca of obviously later date, such as document 3 (O. Mut 42/12), not to mention the ostraca from Ain Manawir. Continuity of activities in the Seth temple of Mut el-Kharab during the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty is also archaeologically attested (Hope et al. 2006, p. 40).

^b For the meaning of *iw(m)-dr.t*, see Malinine 1968, pp. 190–91 (a–b). The strongly simplified writing 𓆏 is not registered in *Demot. Glossar*, p. 645, but it has been identified in several Demotic documents; see Thissen and Zauzich 2018, p. 153 ad II.13. It is also frequently found, in the same formula as here in O. Mut 30/2, in the early Demotic ostraca from Ain Manawir.⁴ An additional Ptolemaic example from Dakhleh Oasis is O. Muzawwaqa 12; see Nur el-Din 1982, p. 108,⁵ pls. 47 and 73.

^c For personal names with “Seth” in hieratic and Demotic documents from Dakhleh, see Vittmann 2019b, especially p. 136, table 1 on the frequent attestations of *Sth-ı̄.ır-dj-s*.⁶ *Sth-ı̄.ır-dj-s* (PN II, p. 317/12) is occasionally also found in the ostraca from Ain Manawir in Kharga Oasis (nos. 3389, ext. 2; 5540, vso. 1), where other “Seth” names are not known. A previously unknown proper name *ı̄h-Sth-r=w* occurs on a statue published by Leahy (2020), probably from Mut el-Kharab, and in the Demotic O. Mut 42/6, 3 (in the form *ı̄h-Sth-r=w*, not yet in Vittmann 2019b).

^d For *ı̄r.t-hr-r=r=w* in early Demotic, cf. *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 72–73; Pestman 1994, pp. 140–41.

^e It is not immediately evident whether 𓆏 *ı̄qe* (with tree determinative⁷) is a spelling for *ı̄qj*, *ı̄kj*⁸ (Coptic ⲟⲕⲉ , ⲁⲕⲉ ;⁹ Greek $\sigma\acute{\eta}\sigma\alpha\mu\omicron\nu$) “sesame” (*Sesamum indicum* L.) or is to be equated with *ı̄kj* (example 9 in table 22.1) and identified with older *ı̄jq.t*¹⁰ (Coptic ⲛⲟⲉ^{11}) “leek” or vegetables in general. I have collected in table 22.1 the Demotic examples that have to be taken into consideration (dates are implicitly BCE unless stated otherwise).¹²

Examples 1–5, 7, 9, and perhaps also 11 and 12 have the tree determinative,¹³ whereas examples 6, 8, 10, and 13 are written with the plant determinative. With the exception of example 1 (i.e., O. Mut 30/2) and examples 6 and 10, the word is always written with the *k*³-sign (transcribed *k* by me), which often was used instead of *q* and unlike “alphabetic” *k/g* (> σ) regularly developed into κ in Coptic (Vittmann 1996). It can

4 O. Manawir 5747, 5793, 5808, 5809, 6000, 6002A, 6015, 6019, 6020, 6023B, 6040, 6054A, 6812, 6857, and 7002.

5 Nur el-Din misunderstood the vertical stroke as a part of *ı̄w*.

6 There, in the reference to O. Mut 30/15 (see document 2 below), the reading of the father’s name *Hr* should be corrected to *ı̄nh-hr*.

7 For the tree determinative in late hieratic and early Demotic, see Vleeming 1991, pp. 221–22, §56.

8 For the hieroglyphic/hieratic and Demotic evidence, see below.

9 Crum 1939, p. 254b; Westendorf 1965–77, pp. 140, 528; Černý 1976, p. 121. P. Kellis Copt. 65, 27 (Gardner, Alcock, and Funk 2014, p. 48) has the variant spelling ⲁⲕⲁ .


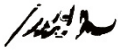
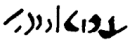
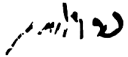
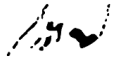


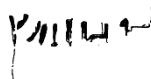

10 *Wb.* I, p. 34/1–2 (“Lauch”; “Grünzeug, Gemüse”); Caminos 1964, p. 74, translation of line 10 (“vegetables”); Charpentier 1981, pp. 50–51, §74 (“poireau”; “légumes verts en général”); Ritner 2009, p. 579 (“leeks”).

11 Crum 1939, p. 67b; Westendorf 1965–77, p. 47; Černý 1976, p. 42.

12 Of the four examples offered in *Demot. Glossar*, p. 12 (right column, without references), the second one (from Mattha 1945, p. 75, no. 5, 2) is to be deleted as it is in reality part of the group *hmt* *ı̄p(e)*; see the edition of that source in Devauchelle 1983, part 1, p. 240 no. 147; part 2, pl. XXXI. CDD 3, p. 88 s.v. *ı̄qy* “sesame,” provides only a general reference to Erichsen and various dictionaries, including Charpentier 1981, pp. 38–41 (§§50, 55).

13 Nur el-Din (1987, p. 143) erroneously considered the determinative in the examples from the Muzawwaqa ostraca (see examples 4–5 in table 22.1 and n. 17) to be a simplification of the plant determinative.

Table 22.1. Examples of *iqe/3qj/3kj*.

| | Demotic | Source | Date; provenience | Contents |
|----|---|--|---|---|
| 1. |  | O. Mut 30/2, 2 | Fifth century; Mut (Dakhla) | Concerns registration of 133 measures of <i>iqe</i> |
| 2. |  | P. Loeb 17, 16 and 21 ¹⁴ | 314; Tehne/Hakoris? | Half of a field of 10 arouras is cultivated with <i>3kj</i> , the other half with barley (lines 15–17); note <i>p3 3h 3kj</i> “the sesame field” in lines 20–21 |
| 3. |  | P. BM 10225, III 19 ¹⁵ | “Year 22,” probably 184 or 160; provenience unknown | Mentions 1 <i>kapithe</i> ¹⁶ of <i>ikj</i> worth 3 <i>deben</i> , along with herbs and onions |
| 4. |  | O. Muzawwaqa 2, 3 ¹⁷ | “Year 30,” probably 141; Dakhla | Receipt of payment of $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{15}$ (<i>artabas</i> ¹⁸ of) <i>3kj</i> for the <i>htp-ntr</i> due |
| 5. |  | O. Muzawwaqa 1, 3 | “Year 8,” probably late second century | Payment of $\frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{15}$ (<i>artabas</i> of) <i>3ke</i> for the same purpose |
| 6. |  | P. Heidelberg 46, vso. II 10 ¹⁹ | Third or second century; Fayum | In an area of ca. 7,800 arouras, 56 were cultivated with <i>3ge</i> |
| 7. |  | O. Cairo, 5 ²⁰ | Ptolemaic, provenience unknown | <i>swn 3kj</i> “price of sesame” followed by a damaged numeral |
| 8. |  | P. Carlsberg 874, 7 ²¹ | Ca. 99; Pathyris/Gebelen | Temple oath mentioning cultivation of a field with <i>3kj</i> |
| 9. |  | Bronze tablet BM 57371, 46 ²² | Late Ptolemaic to early Roman; Dendera | 200 <i>artabas</i> of <i>3kj</i> and 100 measures of castor oil are among the many donations made by the nome strategos to the temple of Hathor |

(continued)

14 Spiegelberg 1931, p. 44, pl. 11. My facsimile is taken from line 21.

15 Andrews 1994, pp. 27, 28, 32 (42).

16 For this measure, see most recently Chauveau 2018.

17 For O. Muzawwaqa 1–5, which all concern payments of *3kj* made by the same person and in the same amount in the course of several years, see Nur el-Din 1982, pp. 103–6, 115 (facsimiles), and pl. 46.



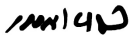
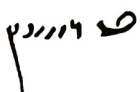
18 So according to the editor.

19 Monson 2014, pp. 233, 234, 237 (11), 240.

20 This piece belongs to a larger group of Demotic ostraca of various proveniences with the common registration number Cairo SR 18953 (the publication of this group, together with Cairo SR 18952, is currently being prepared by Eid Nagy Abbas/Würzburg-Cairo in his thesis).

21 Formerly P. Adler 28, see Griffith 1939, pp. 107–8, no. 28, 7; Kaplony-Heckel 1963, vol. 1, pp. 74–75, no. 30; vol. 2, p. 28 (copy). This example is the first of the four offered in *Demot. Glossar*, p. 12 s.v. *3kj* (I do not take into account Erichsen’s “gewöhnliche Orthographie des Wortes in Normalschrift” [cf. the first page of his preface], as it is most probably just his personal reconstruction).

22 Vleeming 2001, p. 28, no. 39.

| | Demotic | Source | Date; provenience | Contents |
|-----|---|--|--|--|
| 10. |  | P. Cairo CG 31173, 5 ²³ | Ptolemaic; provenience unknown | Someone spent one day working with <i>ḥ ḥkj</i> |
| 11. |  | O. Medinet Habu 480, 6 ²⁴ (twice) | “Year 6” | Temple oath concerning a debt of <i>ḥke</i> |
| 12. |  | O. Cairo JE 51019, 3 and 4 ²⁵ | “Year 10,” 20 (if Augustus); Medinet Habu? ²⁶ | Receipt concerning payment of 3½ measures of <i>ḥkj</i> |
| 13. |  | O. Zürich 1883, 4 ²⁷ | “Year 33,” 3 CE (if Augustus); Thebes | 1 <i>hin</i> of <i>ḥkj</i> is to be given as the “surplus of cultivator” |

therefore be safely concluded that examples 5, 7–9, and 11–13 are the predecessors of Coptic ⲟⲕⲉ , whereas examples 6 and 10 are obviously the hitherto unrecognized link between older $\text{ⲓⲃⲓⲧ} \text{ } j\beta q.t$ ²⁸ and Coptic ⲟⲕⲉ . In Demotic writing, *q* as a spelling for what in Coptic would become σ is exceedingly rare;²⁹ therefore it is most probable that *iqe* corresponds to *ḥkj* “sesame.” On the other hand, the puzzling similarity between $\text{ⲓⲃⲓⲧ} \text{ } \sim j\beta q.t$ in the adoption stela of Nitocris (Cairo JE 36327), line 10,³⁰ and $\text{ⲓⲃⲓⲧ} \text{ } \sim j\beta kj$ in the Nastasen stela (see example 5 in table 22.2) shows that we cannot be absolutely sure about the interpretation of *iqe*.

In contrast to $j\beta q.t$, $j\beta kj > \text{ⲟⲕⲉ}$, hieroglyphic and hieratic examples for what is nowadays mostly acknowledged as the predecessor of ⲟⲕⲉ are less numerous but show more graphical variation (see table 22.2).³¹

There are also a few examples with ideographic ⲓⲃⲓⲧ with appropriate determinatives that some have read *jkw* (table 22.3). The reading *jkw* is most dubious. The occasional use of ⲓⲃⲓⲧ and ⲓⲃⲓⲧ as a word sign for *jkj*, *jkw* “quarryman” (*Wb.* I, p. 139/10–11) is known from the Middle Kingdom (Simpson 1959, p. 32), but usually it is written alphabetically with either of the two signs as a determinative. For the New Kingdom, such a spelling for a perhaps similarly pronounced *jkw* is unexpected. Reading *smsw*, *jt* “barley” or *bd.t* “spelt” as recently suggested for examples 3 and 4 respectively (see n. 44) does not seem convincing to me. Example 1 is probably to be read *jβw* and to be equated with ⲓⲃⲓⲧ in pEbers 56, 9 (*Wb.* I, p. 28/7; Charpentier 1981, pp. 63–64, §67).³²

Apart from textual sources in Egyptian language(s) and in Greek (Sandy 1989), sesame is also mentioned in two Aramaic papyri from Saqqara (presumably fifth century)³³ and in a Phoenician papyrus, also from Saqqara (fourth to third century).³⁴

23 Spiegelberg 1908, pp. 282–83 and pl. XCIII. This is Erichsen’s fourth example (see n. 21 above).

24 Lichtheim 1957, p. 70, no. 157, and pl. 52; Kaplony-Heckel 1963, vol. 1, pp. 154–55, no. 76; vol. 2, p. 72, no. 76 (copy).

25 Mattha 1945, p. 74, no. 3, and pl. I. This is Erichsen’s third example (see n. 21 above).

26 This provenience is probable because the $P\beta j-b\hat{h}$ son of $H\hat{l}bwn$ (Mattha: *Mltwn*; reading corrected by Nur el-Din 1979, p. 46) of line 1 is obviously identical with $[P\beta]j-b\hat{h}$ son of $H\hat{l}bn$ mentioned in the unpublished O. Medinet Habu 4186, 7, which belongs to the group Cairo SR 18952 (I owe this information to Eid Nagy Abbas; see n. 20 above). Mattha’s assumption that the ostrakon might have come from Hermonthis was probably simply due to the Buchis name.

27 Wängstedt 1965, pp. 48–50, no. 44, and pl. VII.

28 See n. 10 above.

29 A rare example is $qr^{\text{c}}\text{-}\dot{s}r$ “little shield-bearer, kalasiris” > ⲕⲁⲗⲁⲛⲓⲣⲉ ; see Vittmann 2019a, pp. 1196–98 (f).

30 Caminos 1964, pl. VIII; *JWIS* IV, p. 17. See also the next note.

31 Cf. Charpentier 1981, pp. 126–28, §§201, 204. *Wb.* I, p. 139/8–9, gives two separate entries, *jkw* and *jk* (see nn. 38 and 39 below).

32 Rob Demarée kindly informed me that he does not know of any other attestations of ⲓⲃⲓⲧ from ostraca or papyri, and he suggested reading and identifying it with *jβw* in P. Ebers.

33 Segal 1983, pp. 58–59, no. 42, b 1, and pl. 9 ($\dot{s}m\dot{s}^{\text{c}}m$); 60–61, no. 43, b I 3, and pl. 10 ($\dot{s}^{\text{c}}m^{\text{c}}\dot{s}mn$, plural).

34 Aimé-Giron 1939, pp. 3 ($\dot{s}\dot{s}mn$, line 7), 7, and pl. I; Donner and Röllig 1973, p. 69, no. 51; 2002, p. 14, no. 51.

Table 22.2. Examples of *jkw/iqyt*.

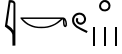



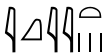


| Hieroglyphic transcription | Source | Date; provenience | Notes |
|--|--|----------------------------|---|
| 1.  | P. Boulaq 18, XI 17 ³⁵ | Thirteenth Dynasty; Thebes | |
| 2.  (sic) | P. Boulaq 18, vso. XV, Thirteenth Dynasty; col. 2, 8; ³⁶ P. Boulaq 18, vso. IV, col. 1, 9 ³⁷ | Thebes | Always in <i>ḏ jkw</i> “sesame oil” ³⁸ |
| 3.  | P. Anastasi 4, XV 10–11 ³⁹ | Ramesside; Thebes | <i>jkw</i> in an enumeration of oils, fats, fruits, etc. |
| 4.  | P. Mayer A, II 4 ⁴⁰ | Twentieth Dynasty; Thebes | Someone is caused to guard grain and fills a sack with <i>jk{k}w</i> |
| 5.  | Stela Berlin 2268, 48 and 49 ⁴¹ | 350–300; Dongola (Sudan) | King Nastasen carries off 322 measures of <i>jqyt</i> of a seized city and donates 12 lamps with sesame (oil) to the temple of Amun in Napata |

Table 22.3. Examples with ideographic  previously read as *jkw*.

| Hieroglyphic transcription | Source | Date; provenience | Notes |
|--|--|-------------------------------|---|
| 1.  | O. Deir el-Medineh 115, 9–10 ⁴² | Ramesside; Deir el-Medineh | The addressee of the letter is requested to send 2 <i>hin</i> |
| 2.  | Chronicle of Osorkon, C 22 ⁴³ | Twenty-Second Dynasty; Thebes | Osorkon consecrates 1 <i>heqat</i> together with 1 <i>heqat</i> of <i>ḥḏw</i> -bread daily to Amun-Re |

(continued)


35 Allam 2019, pls. 11/11a. For previous publications of this document, see the references given in Hannig 2006, p. 421.

36 Allam 2019, pls. 20/20a.

37 Allam 2019, pls. 31/31a.

38 The earlier reading *qn.t jkw* (e.g., *Wb.* I, p. 139/8: “Art Speise (oder Getränk) in Krügen”) was corrected by Posener (1976, p. 147); cf. Koura 1999, p. 208 (“Sesamöl”); Allam 2019, vol. A, p. 14 (“huile de sésame”); vol. B, p. 24 (j).



39 *Wb.* I, p. 139/9: “eine Frucht”; Gardiner 1937, p. 52, 8; Caminos 1954, p. 200 (which does not translate the term but refers on p. 212 to Jéquier [1919, p. 251], who was apparently the first to connect it with *oke* “sesame”); see also Caminos 1958, p. 150.

40 *KRI* VI, p. 806/11. Kitchen, like Peet (1920) and Caminos (1958, p. 150), erroneously omitted the “man with hand to mouth,” but it is clearly present in Peet’s facsimile of “page 2,” . Priese (1969, p. 42 n. 9, with correct hieroglyphic transcription) doubts the identification of this example with *jkw*, but the awkward spelling *j-k3-k* can hardly be interpreted as evidence for a different and otherwise unattested word.

41 See, for the respective passages, Peust 1999, pp. 41 (text), 59 (transcription), 64 (translation), 179 (discussion, referring to Priese [1969, pp. 40–42], who established the meaning of *jqyt* as “sesame”). The most recent edition of the stela is Panov 2020, pp. 224–62, 400–411.





42 Černý 1937, p. 1 (description), pl. 2/2 A; *KRI* VI, p. 448/9; Caminos 1958, p. 149 (d) (quoted as a parallel to the following example). Kitchen (2012, p. 344) translates “beans (?)” apparently assuming a variant of *ḵwry.t, ḵry* “bean” (*Wb.* I, p. 56/14–15), which, however, is unlikely; see n. 32 above.







43 *JWIS* II, p. 196 (21), last line; Caminos 1958, pp. 149, 171 (translates “ike-grain”), 149–50 (d) (commentary); Ritner 2009, p. 375 (accepts the reading *jkw*, which is translated as “sesame”); Moje 2020, p. 303 (“Sesam,” following Ritner).

| Hieroglyphic transcription | Source | Date; provenience | Notes |
|--|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------|
| 3.  | P. BM 9961, 49 ⁴⁴ | Late Period; provenience unknown | |
| 4.  | P. BM 9961, 51 | | |

The relative rarity of mentions of sesame⁴⁵ over the centuries is not too surprising. Archaeobotanic evidence for sesame seeds from Egypt is extremely rare (Serpico and White 2000, pp. 397–98; de Vartavan, Arakelyan, and Amorós 2010, p. 217), and cultivation of sesame in the pre-Hellenistic period is debated (for a positive assessment, cf. Germer 1985, p. 172); presumably, much of the needed quantities were imported. In any case, the example from O. Mut 30/2 is, to date, the earliest one in Demotic, the next one from P. Loeb 17 (late fourth century BCE) being considerably more recent,⁴⁶ and the large quantity—133 units!—is remarkable.

^f For the reading *m-sh*, see Vleeming 1991, pp. 211–12, §48, though in many cases, such as in the present instance, *r.sh* is also possible.

^g The only meaningful possibilities for  are *P3-whr* and *P3-išr*, but they are both difficult; the problem with *P3-whr* is the shape of the *w*, which should be curved at the top (as is the case in O. Mut 30/15, 3; see document 2 below, with note f) and not straight, whereas *išr* “Syrian” is usually written with a different *shin* sign (< š3) and the foreign country determinative; cf. for *P3-išr* *Demot. Nb.*, p. 158, and  in O. Manawir 3972, 2, and *T3-išr* in O. Manawir 4265, 1. Fortunately, however, the question can be decided in favor of *P3-whr*: *p3 mw P3-whr* () in O. Manawir 3387, 4, and *p3 mw P3-ihr*⁴⁷ or rather *P3-whr* () in O. Manawir 4338A, 9, apparently refer to the same individual.

^h  *Nht-t3j=f-mw.t*. This name is common in hieroglyphic (and hieratic) texts from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty and, probably on the basis of hieroglyphic spellings such as ⁴⁸ and ⁴⁹, is usually understood as *Nht=f-mw.t* “Nakhtefmut,” “His strength/protection is Mut” (*PN I*, p. 212/17). Ranke (*PN II*, p. 372 ad 212/17) later changed his reading and interpretation to *Nht-t3j=f-mw.t* “His mother is strong” or “May his mother be strong”; see Anthes 1943, p. 45 and n. 3; Vittmann 2000, p. 142 (x). Indeed, full spellings such as  and  as variants of  on the same


44 Vandenbeusch 2018, pp. 189 and n. 50; 179, fig. 4; and 190, fig. 11. The author was apparently unaware of the interpretation of these examples proposed by Caminos (1958, p. 150).


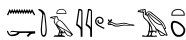
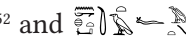




45 Lippert and Schentuleit (2022) convincingly argue that *sm-sp-2* and *sjmsjm* (CDD S, pp. 240–41, with references and literature) is not “sesame” but “radish.” I am much obliged to Sandra Lippert for making accessible to me this important contribution prior to publication.

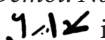
46 For Sandy (1989, p. 31), this is “the earliest known reference to sesame in Egypt,” which “antedates by half a century the earliest Greek papyrus to mention sesame (*P.Tebt.* III 845 [264a]).”


47 This is the transcription offered in the preliminary edition quoted in n. 3 above.

48 See *JWIS II*, pp. 69 (49) (here without the complementary *t* of *mw.t*), 144 (79a), 146 (80d), 148 (82), 238 (41), 391 [Berlin 20134], and 147–48 (81) (without the initial *n*); *JWIS III*, pp. 531 (329), 411 (138), and 464, “untere Reihe, 3”; *JWIS IV*, pp. 128 (251), 208 (344).

49 *JWIS II*, p. 237 (38) [1825]. Note, however, that this spelling with a suffix *f* placed behind the determinative of the “striking arm” is unique, as is  (*JWIS III*, p. 527 [321]) with the suffix before the determinative.


two monuments,⁵⁰ ,⁵¹ ,⁵² and  but also ,⁵⁴ ,⁵⁵ ,⁵⁶ and similar, seem to suggest that *Nht-t3j=f-mwt* should be regarded as the authentic form of the name. In assessing this issue, one should also take into consideration that the name *Nht=f-mwt* / *Nht-t3j=f-mwt* appears only from the Twenty-Second Dynasty onward, so one can hardly argue that the latter form was a reinterpretation of a misunderstood older construction. To convey the meaning “God X is his/her protection,” a different pattern evolved in the Late Period—namely, “God X-t3j=f/s-nht.t,”⁵⁷ a rare precursor of which is *ḥ-n-t3j=f-nht* in the Twenty-Second Dynasty.⁵⁸ For *Nht=f/s-God X*,” Ranke (*PN I*, p. 212/16) lists only a single instance of a female name, *Nht=f(!)-b3st.t*, but this is a ghost name, the correct reading being *Nhm-sj-b3st.t*.⁵⁹ Although a formation *Nht=f-mwt* cannot be supported by any good parallel, I would still hesitate to reject the existence of such a singular construction altogether, since it cannot be denied that unequivocal spellings as *Nht-t3j=f-mwt* are much rarer than the widespread spellings  and similar, which could be read *Nht-t(3j)=f-mwt* but also *Nht=f-mwt* or *Nhṯt=f-mwt*. On the other hand, for a proper name emerging as late as the Twenty-Second Dynasty, one would expect the Late Egyptian possessive construction *p3j=f/t3j=f*, not the simple pronominal suffix.

Nht-t3j=f-mwt is not recorded in *Demot. Nb.*, but in addition to document 1 (O. Mut 30/2) at least two examples occur in the Manawir ostraca:  in no. 4128, 4, and no. 4121, 3 (damaged). The resulting meaning “his mother is strong” or similar may seem awkward also because of the apparent lack of a religious association otherwise characteristic for most personal names of this period; possibly the name simply refers to the mother’s recovery, as a fact or a wish, after a serious disease. Regarding the structure of the name, one may compare *Nht-p3j=f-ḥb* “His branding stamp is strong(?)” (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 648; Vittmann 2011, p. 496).⁶⁰

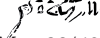
ⁱ Could  be a very awkward way of writing *P3-dj-dḥwtj* (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 343)?




DOCUMENT 2 (FIGS. 22.3–22.6)

Ostrakon Mut 30/15, width ca. 13–14 cm, height ca. 10 cm. Seven lines on the convex side, four lines on the concave side. Pre-Ptolemaic. A request to send wine.

50 JWIS II, pp. 147 (80), e 8, f 1 [Cairo CG 42207], and 391 [Berlin 20134]. The first of the full spellings listed above is also attested on the unpublished canopic jar Moscow I.1.a.6852 (personal communication, Maxim Panov, Novosibirsk). Jansen-Winkel (1996, p. 38, §59 [fourth line]) apparently understands the  in *Nht-t3j=f-mwt*, which he reads *Nht=f-mwt*, as a functional equivalent of *tw* to denote preserved /t/ (comparable to the use of Demotic *t*–G.V.). However, such a use of *t3j* would be unparalleled.

51 JWIS II, p. 298, line 9 (the flood graffito in Luxor; collated with photographs). Despite the clear spelling, the name of this otherwise unknown individual was read *Nht=f-mwt* by Payraudeau (2014, vol. 2, p. 504 [140]). Ritner (2009, p. 416) reads *Nht-t3j=f-mwt*, which according to his translation (“Nakhtefmut,” p. 417) he implicitly interprets as a variant of *Nht=f-mwt*.

52  P. Berlin 3048 E (text 17), 6 (Vittmann 2023, pp. 584, 586–87, 602–03); cf. also  O. Mut 38/69, 6, and basically identical O. Mut 38/80, I 9 (unpublished).

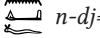
53 JWIS III, p. 216 (156) [P. Cairo CG 30884 (. . .), 10 ]; JWIS IV, p. 252 [P. Turin 2120, 64 ];  O. Amheida 16325, 2 (unpublished).

54 JWIS II, pp. 106 (42), 469 (142), 8; JWIS III, pp. 417 (144), 441 (171), 508 (286); JWIS IV, p. 163 (291).


55 JWIS II, p. 237 (38) [1826].

56 JWIS II, pp. 105 (33), 238 (39), 310 (24c), 323, k 3, 391 [“ÄIB, II, 544”].

57 E.g., *ḥ-n-t3j=f-nht* (*PN*, p. 13/9; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 59); *ḥk3-t3j=f-nht* (*PN*, p. 256/25; *Demot. Nb.*, corrections and additions to p. 847); *ḥnsw-t3j=f-nht* (*PN*, p. 271/16; *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 880–81); *Sm3-t3.wj-t3j=f-nht* (*PN*, p. 296/13; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 926); and the abbreviation *T3j=f-nht* (*PN*, p. 375/21; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1232).

58 JWIS II, pp. 226–27 (13), 1–2. *n-t3j=f* is written  *n-dj=f*.

59 Ranke took this alleged example from Quibell, Paget, and Pirie 1898, pl. V, a list of “names on ushabtiu, etc.” from the Ramesseum. In that list no references are provided, but the object in question is illustrated on pl. XXVII (7) and described on p. 20 (7) with the correct reading; cf. JWIS II, p. 406 (51).

60 Cf. also  (*PN I*, p. 211/20 *Nht-t(3j)=f-mdt* “stark ist seine Rede”), which looks very strange. The source in question, a “funeral chest,” cannot be checked; according to Cecil 1905, p. 275, “the characters are much defaced.”

CONVEX SIDE

1 *hrw-b3k*^a *nh-hr*^b *s3 St3-i.ir-dj-s*^c *m-b3h*^c *p3j(=f)*^c *hrj*^d *Ns-imn-i*^e *p3*^e *s3 P3-whr*^f
 2 *i dj p3-R*^c *qj p3j=f*^c *h*^g *dj(=j)*^c *iw P3j-h3*^c *=s(?)*^h *s3 Hr*
 3 *mj wh3=w*^c *n=j*^c *irp*ⁱ 1 *mj in=w*^c *s n=j*^c *tw=k*ⁱ *r3*ⁱ [*p3*]ⁱ *hpr*^k
 4 *dd wn-mtw=w*^c *irp*ⁱ 1 *n ibd-1*^c *3h.t*^c *sw*^c 6 *<i.>ir(=j)*^l *sm*^m [*r-*]^c *bnr*
 5 *p3j t3*^c *n p3j(=j)*^c *ibd*ⁿ *i.ir(=j)*^c *ph*^c . . .^o
 6 *p3j hjp*^c *mj w[h3(?)=w*^c]
 7 *p3 mte*^q [.]

1 “Voice of the servant”^a Ankhhor^b son of Sethirdis^c before his master^d Nesamenope^e son of Paweher.^f
 2 O may Re cause his life to be long!^g I caused Paikhaas(?)^h son of Hor to come.
 3 May they seek for me 1 (measure of) wineⁱ; may they bring it to me. Youⁱ know [the fa]ct^k
 4 that they have 1 (measure of) wine in month 1 of the akhet season, day 6. I^l went^m out of
 5 this district in my month.ⁿ I reached(?)^o . . .
 6 this expense(?).^p May [they] s[seek(?)] . . .
 7 the . . .^q [

CONCAVE SIDE (TURNED 180 DEGREES)

1 *iw=f*^c *hpr*^c *iw mn*^c *nkt(?)*^r [---
 2 *mj wh3=w*^c *n=j*^c *p3j*^c *irp*^c *p3 nkt*^c *ntj-iw*^c . . .^s
 3 *r wh3={w}*^c *f n.im=f(?)*^c . . .^t *it*^u 1½
 4 *sh b3k*^c *nh-hr*^c *n hsb.t*^c 10^v *ibd*^c 4^w *smw*^x *sw*^c 8

1 If there is no possession(?)^r [---
 2 may they seek for me this wine. The possession which . . .^s
 3 will seek in it(?) . . .^t barley, 1½ (measures).^u
 4 Written by the servant Ankhhor in year 10,^v month 4^w of the shemu season,^x day 8.

COMMENTS

^a For *hrw-b3k*, see Depauw 2006, pp. 118–19. In the Mut ostraca, the term is otherwise preserved only in 42/15, 1 (*hrw-b3k St3-i.ir-dj-s s3 Dd-hr*, from “year 21”), whereas in the ostraca from Ain Manawir it is very common.⁶¹

^b In the Mut ostraca, this common name (*PNI*, p. 66/1; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 104) is repeatedly attested in the earlier group mentioned above, but thus far never in the more recent one.

^c See above, note c on document 1 (O. Mut 30/2). The roles of Ankhhor and the addressee—a temple official?—remain unclear.

^d Very little can be seen of what should be *p3j=f*^c *hrj*. For *m-b3h p3j=f hrj* (and variants) in the address formula, see Depauw 2006, pp. 208–12; further examples are O. Manawir 3558 (restored), 4019, 4031, 4043, 4045, 4095, 5599, and 6887.

61 Numbers that combine, as is the case in O. Mut 30/15, introductory *hrw-b3k* with the wish “may God X cause that his lifetime be long” (see n. g below), are indicated in bold: 3445, 3447, 3558 [restored], 3986, 4019 [restored], 4030, 4031, 4032, 4040, 4043, 4044, 4045, 4095, 4346, 4353 [restored], 4984, 5434, 5497 [restored], 5508, 5543, 5558, 5566, 5597+5598B, 5599, 5760, 6005, 6016A, 6035, 6038, 6042, 6046B, 6389, 6873, 6887, and 7189.

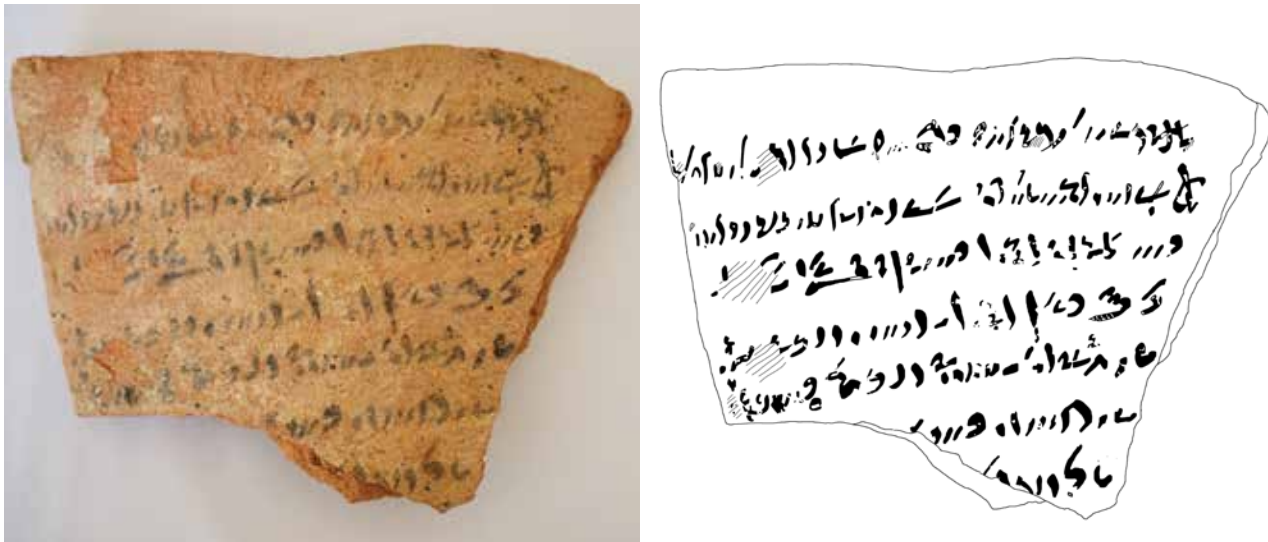


Figure 22.3. Ostrakon Mut 30/15, convex side. Photograph by Carlo Rindi,
© Dakhleh Oasis Project. Facsimile by G. Vittmann.

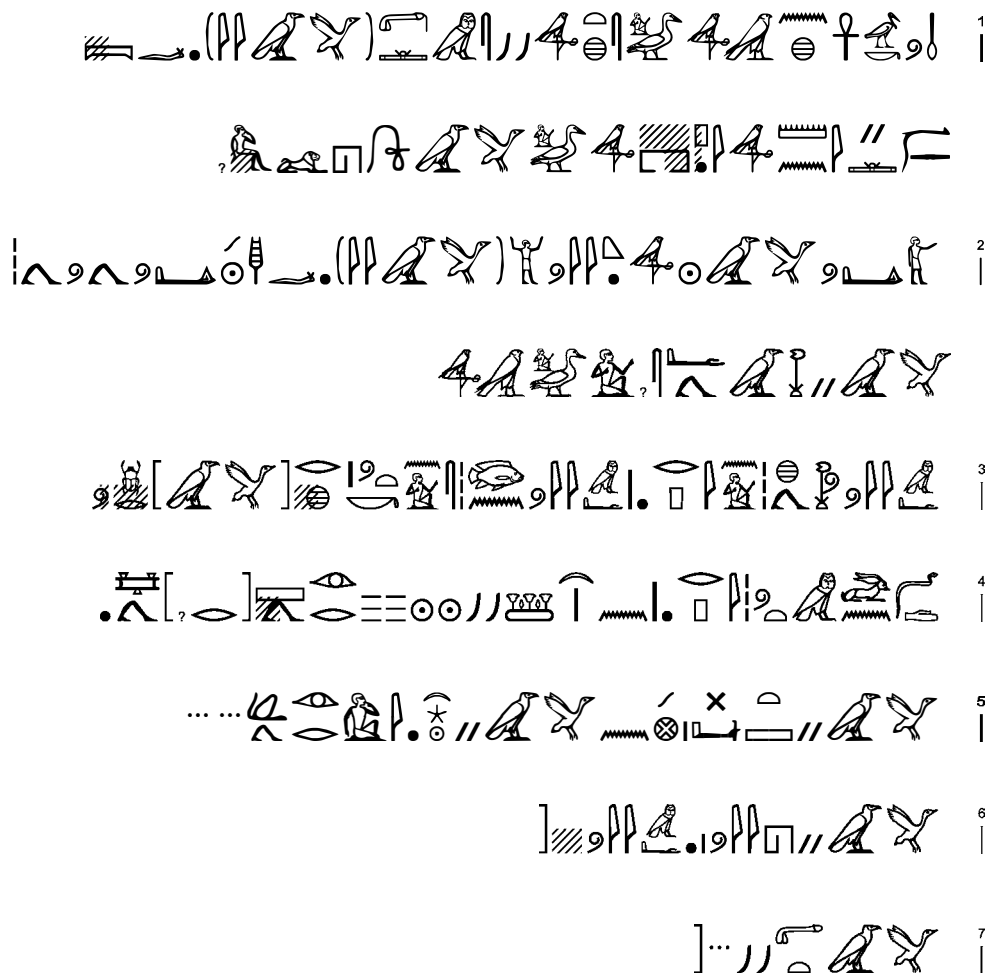


Figure 22.4. Hieroglyphic transcription of Ostrakon Mut 30/15, convex side.

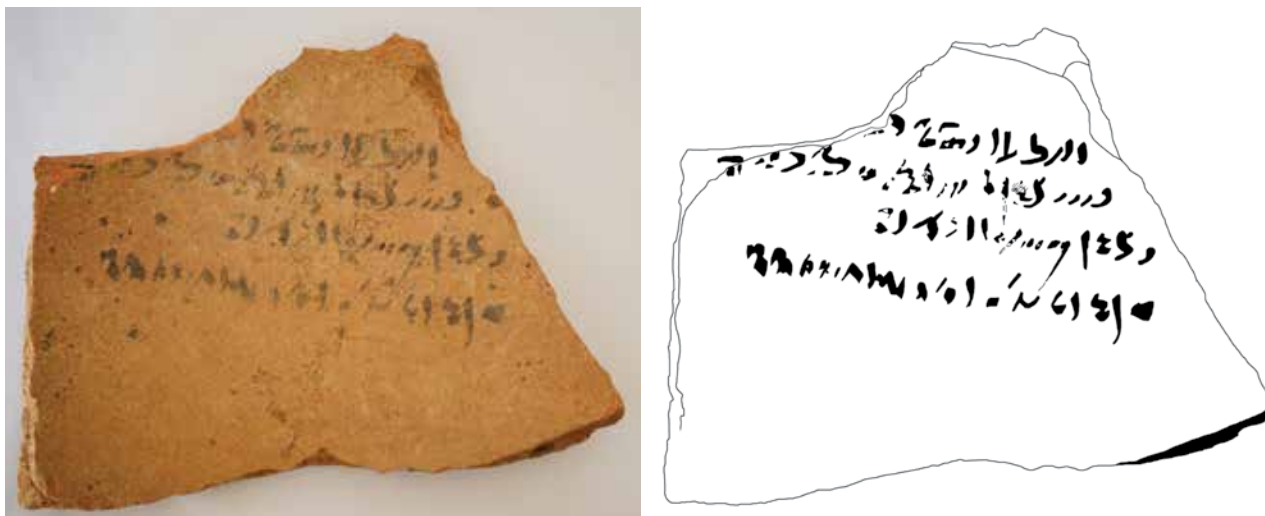


Figure 22.5. Ostrakon Mut 30/15, concave side. Photograph by Carlo Rindi,
© Dakhleh Oasis Project. Facsimile by G. Vittmann.

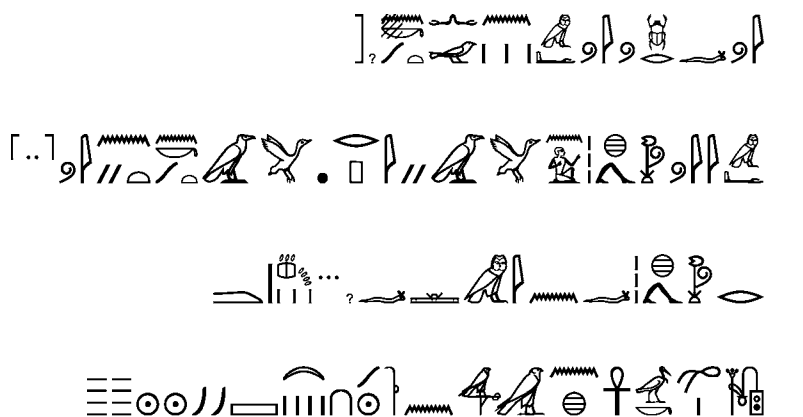
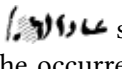
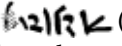
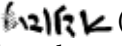

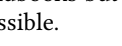
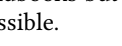


Figure 22.6. Hieroglyphic transcription of Ostrakon Mut 30/15, concave side.

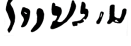

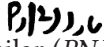



^e At first sight, the reading of  seems uncertain, as the first sign could be *dj*,⁶² *nht*, or *ns*. However, *Ns-ïmn-ï'p'* is supported by the occurrence of this name on O. Hibis 1:  (line 2) and  (line 4; Kaplony-Heckel 2000, 65, pl. 3). This name is not yet registered in the *Demot. Nb.*, but it is also known from hieroglyphic texts (see *PN* I, p. 173/20; *JWIS* I, p. 280; II, p. 518; III, p. 604).

^f  (with a damaged child determinative⁶³): for *P3-whr*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 181; P. Mallawi 486D, 1 (Abdelaal 2020); O. Manawir 3387, 4; 3388, 7; 3389, ext. 7; 3927, vso. II 4; 3990, 12; 5544; 5599, 4; 5797, 3; and 7181, 5; toponym *T3-m3j-p3-whr* (= Alexandrou Nesos in the Fayum) P. Trinity College 354/1, 1–2, and 354/2, 1–2 (Clarysse and Depauw 2010). For the female counterpart *T3-whr*, see *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1059; O. Manawir 5567, 2, and 5573, 4. See also above, note g on document 1 (O. Mut 30/2).

^g For this common formula, see Depauw 2006, pp. 191–95, and for additional examples Martin and Smith 2010, passim; Martin, Smith, and Davies 2018, passim. The wish is very frequent in the ostraca from Manawir; see n. 61 above (numbers printed in bold). In the Mut ostraca, given the limited number of early Demotic ostraca, apart from 30/15 it is so far only found in 23/42, 40/10, 42/12 (= document 3 below), and 42/14.

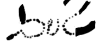
⁶² *Dj-ïmn-ïri*, a name not recorded by the onomastic handbooks but frequently attested in the Manawir ostraca (e.g., nos. 4164, 5 , and 6857, 2 , is not possible.


⁶³ This conclusion seemed clear from the inspection of the original.



^h I no longer think  can be $P3j\text{-}hr\text{-}hns\text{-}w$,  not being an acceptable way to write $Hns\text{-}w$. With a view to $P3j\text{-}h3^c=w$  in O. Mut 23/42, 2, $P3(j)\text{-}h3^c=s$ (PNI, p. 282/24–25; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 207), $T3(j)\text{-}h3^c=w$, $T3j\text{-}h3^c=s$, and similar (PNI, pp. 366/12, 370/16 [corrected]; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 1238), it is more plausible to read the first part of the name as $P3j\text{-}h3^c$ followed by a somewhat distorted pronoun s . The final group , though resembling the writing of Imn in line 1 (see note e), is rather a bipartite variant of the early Demotic personal determinative  (and similar) and is comparable with  Tbj in jar Berlin 5/66, 7 (*Demot. Nb.*, p. 61, example 1). In this way, we avoid postulating a new name $*P3j\text{-}h3^c=s\text{-}(n)\text{-}imn$ “He whom she (the mother) laid down to Amun,” reading simply $P3j\text{-}h3^c=s$ instead. Compare $H3^c=w\text{-}s$ (PNI, p. 262/15 [corrected]; *Demot. Nb.*, p. 868), which is also attested at Mut⁶⁴ and Amheida⁶⁵ and is extremely common in the ostraca from Ain Manawir.⁶⁶

ⁱ Wine plays an important role in the ostraca from Dakhleh, especially those from Mut dealing with the use of wine offerings for the gods (cf. Vittmann 2019b, 2020; for wine of the western oases, see, e.g., Poo 1995, pp. 19–21). Mentions of wine from Kharga Oasis include O. Manawir 3414, 9; 4160, vso. 1; 4333, 5; 5469, 4; 5495, 3. vso. 1; 5576, 3; 6873, 3, 7; and 7002, 2. In the present case, it is totally unclear for what purpose the wine was requested.

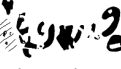
^j  : The spelling of the conjugation base of the Present I as tw is already well attested in early Demotic (cf. Vittmann 2012b, p. 1081 [n]).

^k $rh\ p3\ hpr$ (; the reconstructed parts are dotted) “to know the fact/circumstance (that)” is a variant of the more common phrase $gm\ p3\ hpr$ (see Vittmann 1998, pp. 268–69). It is mostly followed by a circumstantial clause, the continuation with dd as in the present instance being very rare.⁶⁷

^l The augment i of $i.ir$ has been haplographically omitted because of its strong similarity with the day number in the immediately preceding  $sw\ 6$. See also note m.

^m It would seem tempting to read  as $<i.>ir^c\text{-}n=k^c$ (for the haplographic omission of i , see note l) and to interpret the resulting sentence $wn\text{-}mtw=w\ ir\ p\ 1\ n\ ibd\text{-}1\ 3h.t\ sw\ 6\ <i.>ir^c\text{-}n=k^c\ n\text{-}bnr\ p3j\ tš$ as “one (measure of) wine is due to them from you in the first month of the akhet season, day 6, outside this district.” In this case, however, $i.ir^c\text{-}n=k^c$ should have been placed before the temporal adjunct $n\ ibd\text{-}1$ etc., not after it. This difficulty can be avoided by analyzing the group as the beginning of a new sentence, $<i.>ir(=j)^c\ šm^c\ n\text{-}bnr\ p3j\ tš$; the traces after ir can easily be reconstructed as . The reason for the second tense instead of the past tense $šm(=j)$ is apparently the wish to stress the adverbial adjunct $n\ p3j(=j)\ ibd$: “it is in my month that I went (or that I go?) outside this district.”⁶⁸

ⁿ “My month” could refer to cultic service according to the phyle system.

^o The group  seems to begin with h . Given the preceding ph “to reach,” one expects the name of some locality, but the passage is too smudged and damaged to make a feasible proposal.

64 O. Mut 23/34, 1; 23/42, 1; 29/14, 2.

65 O. Amheida 16341, 1.

66 O. Manawir 3386, II 12; 3391, vso. 7; 3422, vso. 5; 3972, vso. 8; 3978, I 1, 2; 3979 passim; 4041, 2; 4104, 2; 4159, 2; 4160, vso. 7, 8; 4164 passim; 4338A, vso. 6; 4980, 2, vso. 2; 5464, 2; 5476, 5; 5486, 9, 11; 5491, vso. 10, 13; 5493, vso. II 2; 5504, vso. 9; 5538, 2; 5555, 8; 5562, vso. 7; 5567, 1, 5; 5572, vso. 7; 5573, vso. 8; 5752, vso. 2; 6004A, 2; 6056, 8; 6855, 2; 6863, 2. Cf. also $T3\text{-}h3^c=w$ in O. Manawir 6855, 2, and $T3\text{-}h3^c=w\text{-}s$ in O. Manawir 3386, III 7; 3391, 5, 10; 5463, 2; 5562, 2, 5.

67 Compare P. Petese Tebt. A, III 15 [$gm\ Hr\text{-}iw\ p3\ mr\text{-}šnj\ p3\ hpr\ r (= iw)\ šm\ n=f$] [NN] as against [$gm\ Hr\text{-}iw\ p3\ mr\text{-}šnj\ p3\ hpr\ dd\ [šm\ n]^c=f$] [NN] in the parallel version P. Petese Tebt. B, 4; see Ryholt 1999, p. 15, pls. 3 and 9.

68 Reading $ir(=j)^c\ šm^c$ as a periphrastic perfect is not possible.

^p The meaning of *hj* is unknown; “expense” or “repair work” would require a different determinative.

^q The damaged group points to a reading *mte* (or conventionally *mtre*), but it is impossible to define it more exactly.

^r Compare the clear example of *nkt* in line 2.

^s The traces do not fit a personal pronoun such as =w.

^t I have no reading to offer for .

^u I tentatively propose to analyze as a variant for *it* “barley.”

^v Despite its strange appearance, no other reading for is possible. There is no way to determine the ruler who is referred to by “year 10.”⁶⁹

^w is rather *ibd 4* than *ibd 3*.

^x For *šmw* and *pṛt* in early Demotic, compare Vleeming 1991, p. 228, §64.

DOCUMENT 3 (FIGS. 22.7 AND 22.8)

Ostrakon Mut 42/12, width ca. 6.5 cm, height ca. 5 cm. Five lines on the convex side, concave side un-inscribed. An order to issue wine to a servant.

- 1 ...]-^rh³^c(?)=w^a . . .]
- 2 ...-i]w=f-^cn^h^b i dj p³-R^c [qj p³j=f^ch^c]^c
- 3 mj dj=w iṛp (n) h^j^d r-dṛ.t^e
- 4 p³ h^r^f n P³-dj-hṛ-p³-hṛd^g s³
- 5 P³-šr-t³-iḥ.t^h . . .

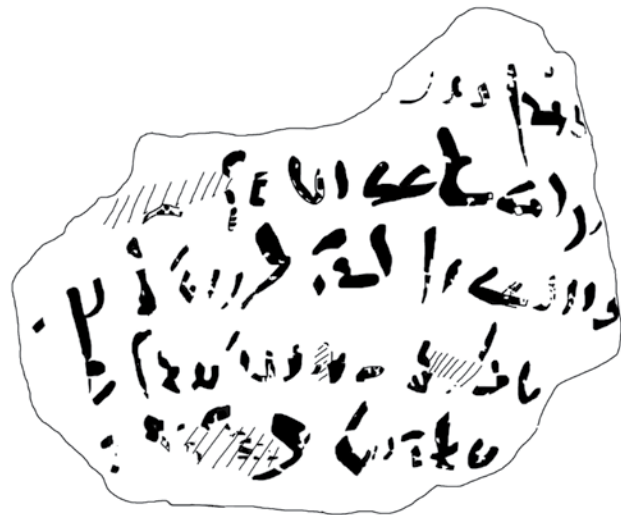


Figure 22.7. Ostrakon Mut 42/12. Photograph and facsimile by G. Vittmann. © Dakhleh Oasis Project.

⁶⁹ This reading seemed certain to me from the inspection of the original.

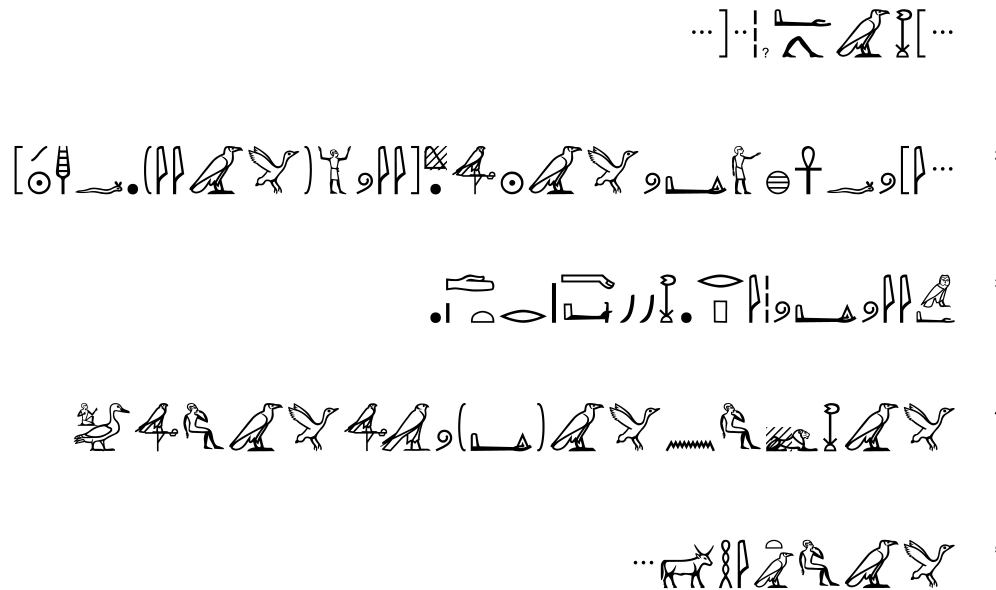


Figure 22.8. Hieroglyphic transcription of Ostrakon Mut 42/12.

- 1 . . .]’khaau’(?)^a . . .]
 2 . . .i]ufankh.^b O may Re let [his (i.e., the addressee’s) lifetime] be long!^c
 3 Let measured wine^d be given into the hand^e of
 4 the boy/servant(?)^f of Peteharpokrates^g son of
 5 Psentaesh^h . . .

COMMENTS

^a Perhaps [P3-j-] h3^c=w; for this and similar names, see note h on document 2. If the following hook is to be read s3 preceding the lost father’s name, the sender’s name is written without a personal determinative.

^b The addressee’s name was either Dd-deity-*iw=f-nh* or simply *’Iw=f-nh*. For reasons of space, the latter solution is to be preferred.

^c For this formula, see note g on document 2 above.

^d Literally “wine (of) measurement,” an expression otherwise unknown to me that can, however, be directly compared with *bd.t n hj* “measured (i.e., allotted) emmer” and plural *n3 bd.t.w n hj* “the allotted quantities of emmer,” both in P. Berlin P 15515, x+2, x+3 (Zauzich 1993).

^e A “filler point” rather than *n*.

^f The “boy” of Peteharpokrates remains anonymous. Reading *P3-hr s3 P3-dj-hr-p3-hrd* is not to be recommended, as *s3* appears in a fuller bipartite shape afterward, and a sequence A *s3* B *s3* C in this context would be improbable.

^g *Demot. Nb.*, pp. 328–29.

^h *Demot. Nb.*, p. 262.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| CDD | Janet H. Johnson and Brian P. Muhs, eds. <i>The Demotic Dictionary of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago: Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, 2001–. https://isac.uchicago.edu/research/publications/chicago-demotic-dictionary |
| <i>Demot. Glossar</i> | Wolja Erichsen. <i>Demotisches Glossar</i> . Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954 |
| <i>Demot. Nb.</i> | Erich Lüddeckens. <i>Demotisches Namenbuch</i> . Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1980–2000 |
| JWIS | Karl Jansen-Winkeln. <i>Inschriften der Spätzeit</i> . Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2007–23 |
| KRI | Kenneth A. Kitchen. <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical</i> . Oxford: Blackwell, 1975–90 |
| O. | Ostrakon/Ostraca |
| P. | Papyrus/Papyri |
| PN | Hermann Ranke. <i>Die ägyptischen Personennamen</i> . Glückstadt: Augustin, 1935–52 |
| <i>P.Tebt.</i> III | Arthur S. Hunt, J. Gilbert Smyly, and C. C. Edgar. <i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i> , vol. 3, part II. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1938 |
| <i>Wb.</i> | Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> . 5 vols. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdelaal, Soad S.
2020 “An Early Demotic Letter from Tuna el-Gebel.” In *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, edited by Janice Kamrin, Miroslav Barta, Salima Ikram, Mark Lehner, and Mohamed Megahed, vol. 2, pp. 73–86. Prague: Charles University.
- Aimé-Giron, Noël
1939 “Adversaria Semitica.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 38: 1–63.
- Allam, Schafik
2019 *Hieratischer Papyrus Bulaq 18*. Vol. A, *Tafeln + Index*. Vol. B, *Kommentar + Übersetzungen*. Urkunden zum Rechtsleben im Alten Ägypten 2. Tübingen: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers.
- Andrews, Carol A. R.
1994 “Some Temple Accounts (P. BM 10225).” In *The Unbroken Reed: Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Egypt in Honour of A. F. Shore*, edited by Christopher Eyre, Anthony Leahy, and Lisa Montagnò Leahy, pp. 25–34. Occasional Publications 11. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Anthes, Rudolf
1943 “Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 12: 1–68.
- Camino, Ricardo A.
1954 *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. London: Oxford University Press.
1958 *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. *Analecta Orientalia* 37. Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum.
1964 “The Nitocris Adoption Stela.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 50: 71–101.
- Cecil, Lady William
1905 “Report of Work Done at Aswan during the First Months of 1904.” *Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte* 6: 273–83.
- Černý, Jaroslav
1937 *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el Médineh (Nos 114–189)*. Documents de fouilles de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale 4. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
1976 *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Charpentier, Gérard
1981 *Recueil de matériaux épigraphiques relatifs à la botanique de l’Égypte antique*. Paris: Trismégiste.
- Chauveau, Michel
1999 “La chronologie de la correspondance dite ‘de Phérendates.’” *Revue d’égyptologie* 50: 269–71.

- 2018 “La plus ancienne attestation démotique de l’artabe?” In *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions: Of Making Many Books There Is No End. Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*, edited by Koenraad Donker van Heel, Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk, and Cary J. Martin, pp. 3–5. Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava 34. Leiden: Brill.
- Clarysse, Willy, and Mark Depauw
- 2010 “Two Demotic Letters from a Village Scribe of Alexandrou Nesos.” In *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, edited by Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen, pp. 147–52. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters.
- Crum, W. E.
- 1939 *Coptic Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Depauw, Mark
- 2006 *The Demotic Letter: A Study of Epistolographic Scribal Traditions against Their Intra- and Intercultural Background*. Demotische Studien 14. Sommerhausen: Gisela Zauzich.
- de Vartavan, Christian, Arminee Arakelyan, and Victoria Asensi Amorós
- 2010 *Codex of Ancient Egyptian Plant Remains/Codex des restes végétaux de l’Égypte ancienne*. 2nd ed. London: Sais.
- Devauchelle, Didier
- 1983 *Ostraca démotiques du Musée du Louvre*. Vol. 1, *Reçus*. 2 parts. Bibliothèque d’étude 92. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Donner, Herbert, and Wolfgang Röllig
- 1973 *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Vol. 2, *Kommentar*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2002 *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Vol. 1, *Texte*. 5th ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Gardiner, Alan H.
- 1937 *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 7. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Gardner, Iain, Anthony Alcock, and Wolf-Peter Funk
- 2014 *Coptic Documentary Texts from Kellis*. Vol. 2, *P. Kellis VII (P. Kellis Copt. 57–131)*. Dakhleh Oasis Project Monograph 16. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Germer, Renate
- 1985 *Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Griffith, Francis Llewellyn, Elkan Nathan Adler, John Gavin Tait, and Fritz Moritz Heichelheim
- 1939 *The Adler Papyri*. London: Humphrey Milford.
- Hannig, Rainer
- 2006 *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 2, *Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*. 2 parts. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Hope, Colin, Gillian Elizabeth Bowen, Wendy Dolling, Caroline Hubschmann, Paul Nicholas Kucera, Richard James Long, and Anna Katherine Stevens
- 2006 “Report on the Excavations at Ismant el-Kharab and Mut el-Kharab in 2006.” *Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 17: 23–67.
- Jansen-Winkeln, Karl
- 1996 *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 34. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Jéquier, Gustave
- 1919 “Matériaux pour servir à l’établissement d’un dictionnaire d’archéologie égyptienne.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 19: 1–271.
- Kaplony-Heckel, Ursula
- 1963 *Die demotischen Tempeleide*. Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 6. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2000 “Die 28 demotischen Hibis-Ostraka in New York.” *Enchoria* 26: 59–83.

Kitchen, Kenneth A.

2012 *Ramesseide Inscriptions: Translations*. Vol. 6, *Ramesses IV to XI and Contemporaries*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Koura, Basma

1999 *Die "7-Heiligen Öle" und andere Öl- und Fettnamen*. *Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia* 2. Aachen: Shaker.

Leahy, Anthony

2020 "A Twenty-Sixth Dynasty High Priest of Seth at Mut al-Kharab(?)." In *Dust, Demons and Pots: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope*, edited by Ashten R. Warfe, James C. R. Gill, Caleb R. Hamilton, Amy J. Pettman, and David A. Stewart, pp. 445–56. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 289. Leuven: Peeters.

Lichtheim, Miriam

1957 *Demotic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. *Oriental Institute Publications* 80. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lippert, Sandra, and Maren Schentuleit

2022 "Papyrus Berlin P. 7056: Division of a Kleros between Members of a Priestly Family from Roman Soknopaiou Nesos." In *One Who Loves Knowledge: Festschrift in Honor of Richard Jasnow*, edited by Betsy Bryan, Mark Smith, Christina Di Cerbo, Marina Escolano-Poveda, and Jill S. Waller, pp. 235–61. *Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt* 6. Atlanta: Lockwood.

Malinine, Michel

1968 "Une livraison d'oies au domaine d'Amon (pap. dém. Strasbourg N° 2)." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 54: 188–92.

Martin, Cary J., and Harry S. Smith

2010 "Demotic Letters from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqara." In *Honi soit qui mal y pense: Studien zum pharaonischen, griechisch-römischen und spätantiken Ägypten zu Ehren von Heinz-Josef Thissen*, edited by Hermann Knuf, Christian Leitz, and Daniel von Recklinghausen, pp. 85–97. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 194. Leuven: Peeters.

Martin, Cary J., Harry S. Smith, and Sue Davies

2018 "Demotic Letters from the Sacred Animal Necropolis of North Saqqara: The Final Instalment." In *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions: Of Making Many Books There Is No End. Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*, edited by Koenraad Donker van Heel, Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk, and Cary Martin, pp. 123–47. *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 34. Leiden: Brill.

Mattha, Girgis

1945 *Demotic Ostraca from the Collections at Oxford, Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Cairo*. *Publications de la Société Fouad I de Papyrologie: Textes et Documents* 6. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Moje, Jan

2020 "Annalistische und historische Texte der Dritten Zwischenzeit (1079–664 v. Chr.)." In *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*, n.s., Vol. 9, *Texte zur Wissenskultur*, edited by Bernd Janowski and Daniel Schwemer, pp. 288–317. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

Monson, Andrew

2014 "Landholders, Rents, and Crops in a Ptolemaic Village: P. Heid. Dem. inv. 46." In *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man: Studies in Honour of W. J. Tait*, edited by A. M. Dodson, J. J. Johnston, and W. Monkhouse, pp. 229–40. *GHP Egyptology* 21. London: Golden House Publications.

Nur el-Din, Mohammed Abd el-Halim

1979 "The Proper Names in Mattha's Demotic Ostraka: A Reconsideration." *Enchoria* 9: 45–48.

1982 "The Demotic Ostraca from Qāret el-Muzawwaqa." In *Denkmäler der Oase Dakhla aus dem Nachlaß von Ahmed Fakhry*, edited by Jürgen Osing, pp. 103–17. *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 28. Mainz: von Zabern.

1987 "Notes on Some Words in the Demotic Ostraca of Qāret el-Muzawwaqa (Dakhla Oasis)." In *Aspects of Demotic Lexicography: Acts of the Second International Conference for Demotic Studies Leiden, 19–21 September 1984*, edited by Sven P. Vleeming, pp. 141–43. *Studia Demotica* 1. Leuven: Peeters.

- Panov, Maxim V.
2020 *Исторические надписи из Куша и Кемета (I тыс. до н.э.)* [Egyptian Inscriptions from Kush and Kemet (1st Millennium BCE)]. Египетские тексты 14. Novosibirsk: Maxim V. Panov.
- Payraudeau, Frédéric
2014 *Administration, société et pouvoir à Thèbes sous la XXII^e dynastie bubastite*. 2 vols. Bibliothèque d'étude 160. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Peet, T. Eric
1920 *The Mayer Papyri A & B: Nos. M. 11162 and M. 11186 of the Free Public Museums, Liverpool*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Pestman, Pieter Willem
1994 *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor): Les archives privées d'une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}*. Studia Demotica 4. Leuven: Peeters.
- Peust, Carsten
1999 *Das Napatanische: Ein ägyptischer Dialekt aus dem Nubien des späten ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends. Texte, Glossar, Grammatik*. Göttingen: Peust & Gutschmidt.
- Poo, Mu-Chou
1995 *Wine and Wine Offering in the Religion of Ancient Egypt*. London: Kegan Paul International.
- Posener, Georges
1976 "Notes de transcription." *Revue d'égyptologie* 28: 146–48.
- Priese, Karl-Heinz
1969 "Zwei Wörter in den 'spätäthiopischen' Inschriften." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 95: 40–47.
- Quibell, James Edward, Rosalind F. E. Paget, and Annie A. Pirie
1898 *The Ramesseum*. With translations and comments by W. Spiegelberg. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 2. London: Quaritch.
- Ritner, Robert K.
2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Ryholt, Kim
1999 *The Story of Petese Son of Petetum and Seventy Other Good and Bad Stories*. CNI Publications 23. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- Sandy, D. Brent
1989 *The Production and Use of Vegetable Oils in Ptolemaic Egypt*. Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists Supplement 6. Atlanta: Scholars Press.
- Segal, J. B.
1983 *Aramaic Texts from North Saqqâra with Some Fragments in Phoenician*. Texts from Excavations 6. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Serpico, Margarete, and Raymond White
2000 "Oil, Fat and Wax." In *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology*, edited by Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, pp. 390–429. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Simpson, William Kelly
1959 "Historical and Lexical Notes on the New Series of Hammamat Inscriptions." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18: 20–37.
- Spiegelberg, Wilhelm
1908 *Die demotischen Denkmäler*. Vol. 2, *Die demotischen Papyrus 30601–31270, 50001–50022*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Strassburg: M. Dumont Schauberg.
1931 *Die demotischen Papyri Loeb*. Munich: Beck.

Thissen, Heinz-Josef, and Karl-Theodor Zauzich

- 2018 “Ein thebanisches Grab und seine Restaurierung.” In *Hieratic, Demotic and Greek Studies and Text Editions: Of Making Many Books There Is No End. Festschrift in Honour of Sven P. Vleeming*, edited by Koenraad Donker van Heel, Francisca A. J. Hoogendijk, and Cary Martin, pp. 148–56. *Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 34. Leiden: Brill.

Vandenbeusch, Marie

- 2018 “Evidence of an Ancient Archive? The Papyrus British Museum EA 9961.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 104: 177–94.

Vittmann, Günter

- 1996 “Zum Gebrauch des *k3*-Zeichens im Demotischen.” *Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche* 15: 1–12.
- 1998 *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 38. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- 2000 “Zwei kursivhieratische Urkunden in Kairo.” *Enchoria* 26: 125–50.
- 2011 Review of *Drei Totenpapyri aus einer thebanischen Werkstatt der Spätzeit*, by B. Backes. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 101: 495–97.
- 2012a “Demotische und kursivhieratische Ostraka aus Mut al-Kharab.” In *The Oasis Papers 6: Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, edited by Roger S. Bagnall, Paola Davoli, and Colin A. Hope, pp. 19–31. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2012b “Two Early Demotic Letters (P. Cairo CG 50068 and 50067+50087).” In “*Parcourir l'éternité*”: *Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, edited by Christiane Zivie-Coche and Ivan Guermeur, vol. 2, pp. 1075–95. Turnhout: Brepols.
- 2017 “Grain for Seth and His Divine Companions in Dakhleh: Ostrakon Mut 21/4.” In *Illuminating Osiris: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, edited by Richard Jasnow and Ghislaine Widmer, pp. 363–74. *Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt* 2. Atlanta: Lockwood.
- 2019a “Ein frühdemotisches Schultäfelchen (Louvre E 9846).” In *En détail—Philologie und Archäologie im Diskurs: Festschrift für Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert*, edited by Marc Brose, Peter Dils, Franziska Naether, Lutz Popko, and Dietrich Raue, vol. 2, pp. 1191–210. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beiheft* 7. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- 2019b “Seth in Hieratic and Demotic Sources from Dakhleh Oasis.” In *The Oasis Papers 9: A Tribute to Anthony J. Mills after Forty Years of Research in Dakhleh Oasis. Proceedings of the Ninth International Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, edited by Gillian E. Bowen and Colin A. Hope, pp. 51–58. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2020 “Wine for the Gods of Dakhleh (Ostrakon Mut 38/70).” In *Dust, Demons and Pots: Studies in Honour of Colin A. Hope*, edited by A. Warfe, James C. R. Gill, Caleb R. Hamilton, Amy J. Pettman, and David A. Stewart, pp. 715–37. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 289. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2023 “Altes und Neues zu pBerlin P 3048 *Verso* und den Zahlen 10 und 20 im Späthieratischen.” In *Schöne Denkmäler sind entstanden: Studien zu Ehren von Ursula Verhoeven*, edited by Simone Gerhards, Nadine Gräßler, Svenja A. Gulden, Alexander Ilin-Tomich, Jessica Kertmann, Andrea Kilian, Tobias Konrad, Kyra van der Moezel, and Monika Zöller-Engelhardt, pp. 583–610. Heidelberg: Propylaeum.

Vleeming, Sven P.

- 1991 *The Gooseherds of Hou (Pap. Hou): A Dossier Relating to Various Agricultural Affairs from Provincial Egypt of the Early Fifth Century B.C.* *Studia Demotica* 3. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2001 *Some Coins of Artaxerxes and Other Short Texts in the Demotic Script Found on Various Objects and Gathered from Many Publications.* *Studia Demotica* 5. Leuven: Peeters.

Wängstedt, Sten V.

- 1965 *Die demotischen Ostraka der Universität zu Zürich*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.

Westendorf, Wolfhart

- 1965–77 *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.

Zauzich, Karl-Theodor

- 1993 *Demotische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Part 3, Papyri von der Insel Elephantine*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.

23 THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY COFFIN OF A CHANTRESS IN THE PURE FOUNDATION OF PTAH: A GLIMPSE INTO PRIESTLY SOCIETY IN LIBYAN-PERIOD MEMPHIS

Jennifer Houser Wegner
University of Pennsylvania

DURING HIS LONG AND PRODUCTIVE scholarly career, Professor Robert Ritner was known for his insightful contributions to the study of Egypt's Libyan period. In recognition of Robert's interest in the Libyan period, I dedicate to him the present study of the intriguing coffin of a woman named Taperet. Taperet served as chantress in the Pure Foundation of Ptah, likely during the late Twenty-Second Dynasty, and her coffin provides a small glimpse into funerary culture of this complex era. First as my professor at Yale, then *Doktorvater* of my dissertation, and in time a very dear friend, I have relied on and benefited from his consummate knowledge of all aspects of Egyptology over more than thirty years.¹ This contribution concerning a coffin in Philadelphia was written in the hope that it would call to mind fond memories of the times he spent visiting the City of Brotherly Love.

HISTORY OF THE COFFIN IN PHILADELPHIA

In the summer of 2017, the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum) received a gift of several coffins and mummies that had long been in the collection of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Drexel University (formerly the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; hereafter "the Academy").² These two Philadelphia institutions have an extensive history of shared collections management regarding their Egyptian artifacts. The Penn Museum had housed the bulk of the Academy's roughly 200 ancient Egyptian objects for almost a century, first as a long-term loan beginning in 1936, which then led to the museum's receiving legal ownership of those materials in 1997. This recent gift marked the transfer of the Academy's last-remaining ancient Egyptian material to the Penn Museum.

According to the records of the Academy, the coffin and skeletal remains of a chantress named Taperet were collected in Egypt by Dr. Charles Huffnagle (1808–60), who was trained as a physician at the University of Pennsylvania (fig. 23.1).³ Early in his career, Huffnagle traveled to India and treated British soldiers suffering from cholera. His career then turned toward banking, and he was employed as a banker and agent

1 I would like to thank Kevin Cahail, Joe Wegner, and Valentina Anselmi for their thoughts on this essay. I have profited greatly from these discussions. I am also grateful to Foy Scalf for providing me with some much-needed bibliographic assistance and to Joe Wegner for his assistance with the figures in this essay.

2 This gift consisted of the following: a set of disarticulated human remains with traces of linen wrappings (2017-20-1.1) and an associated decorated coffin (2017-20-1.2 and 2017-20-1.3), which is the focus of the present essay; a shrouded, Roman-period child mummy (2017-20-2); an adult male mummy (2017-20-3); a decorated coffin and lid belonging to a man named Pediese (2017-20-4.1 and 2017-20-4.2); and an anonymous female mummy (2017-20-5.1) and her associated decorated coffin and lid (2017-20-5.2 and 2017-20-5.3). I am grateful to Jennifer Sontchi, senior director of exhibits and public spaces at the Academy, for facilitating the transfer of this material to the Penn Museum in 2017. I am also thankful to Anne Brancati, Celina Candrella, Chrisso Boulis, and Xiuqin Zhou of the Penn Museum's registrar's office for their assistance in the processing of this gift to the Penn Museum.

3 The human remains have not yet been examined and are not discussed in this essay.

for the East India Company.⁴ In 1847, President James K. Polk appointed Huffnagle as the first US Consul in Kolkata (Calcutta), followed by an appointment in 1855 as US Consul General to British India. During Dr. Huffnagle's tenure in the East, he amassed a "very large collection of rare and valuable curios from India, China, Japan, Egypt, and other countries."⁵ The collection was displayed in the Huffnagle family home, Springdale, located in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where it was open to public visitors on a once-per-week basis (fig. 23.2). After Huffnagle's death, the collection was dispersed and much of it later sold at a three-day auction in 1885. Charles Huffnagle's brother, George W. Huffnagle, deposited the coffin and remains of Taperet at the Academy, where they remained off display.⁶

A rather fanciful account by local antiquarian Colonel Henry D. Paxson (1862–1933) describes how Dr. Huffnagle came to be in possession of Taperet's coffin. Paxson himself remembered visiting Springdale as a child and viewing Huffnagle's collection, which greatly impressed him. Paxson describes seeing "Egyptian antiquities in great numbers, at that early day almost unknown in this country," and makes special note of viewing the mummy of a "daughter of a high priest of Horus" and its wooden coffin. According to Paxson's account, Charles Huffnagle was at the site of Saqqara in 1847 and spent two weeks there with the express purpose of acquiring a mummy. The undertaking sounds like quite an adventurous exploit:

In the center of the chamber he discovered a large stone sarcophagus, surmounted with a heavy marble slab, having upon it a tablet of white Egyptian marble, which is highly ornamented with ancient hieroglyphical characters.⁷ After considerable labor, he succeeded, by means of gunpowder and implements, in removing the above huge marble slab. Within the sarcophagus he found a wooden box which enclosed an elegantly preserved encasement of composition, highly ornamented with hieroglyphics, in brilliant colors, descriptive of the history of the personage contained therein. Upon opening the encasement, the tissue of the body for contact with the atmosphere, immediately crumbled to dust, leaving a portion of the skeleton in a good state of preservation [fig. 23.3].⁸

Risking his life, Huffnagle removed the coffin from the burial chamber and barely escaped capture by local guards. Using his governmental connections, he then demanded a meeting with the sultan and was able to convince him to allow the coffin to be sent to the United States "for the purpose of exhibiting to his American friends the rare treasures of Egypt." An early translation of the text on the coffin's lid was done

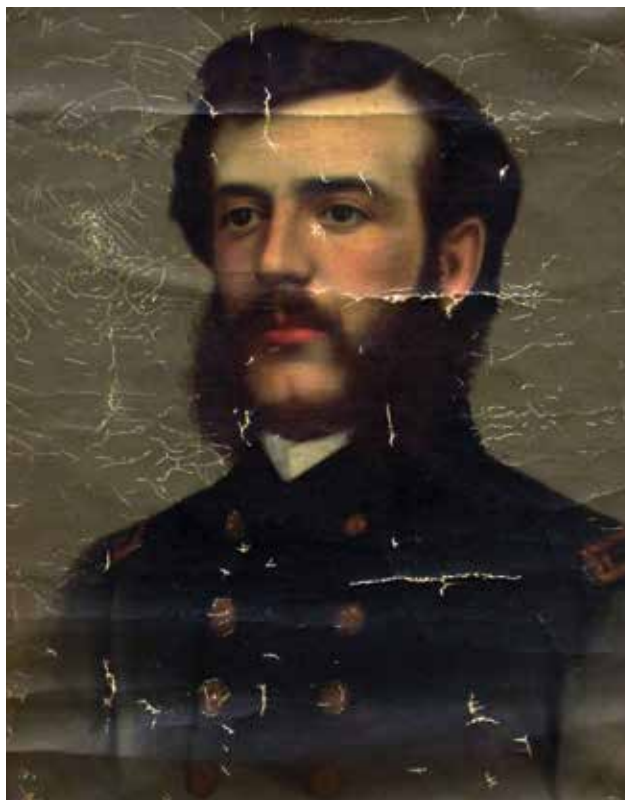


Figure 23.1. Oil painting of Dr. Charles Huffnagle. Mercer Museum Library of the Bucks County Historical Society 85.00.013.

4 Anderson 1916, p. 2.

5 Anderson 1916, p. 4.

6 Anderson 1916, pp. 6–8.

7 The "slab" purportedly found with the coffin of Taperet and pictured in the publication (Anderson 1916, p. 7) is now in the Penn Museum: the Old Kingdom limestone relief of Senebes and Merankhef (29-209-1). For this relief, see Fleming 1980, p. 13, fig. 9; also Fischer 1959, p. 272 n. 80; 2000, p. 56 n. 14.

8 Anderson 1916, p. 3.



Figure 23.2. Postcard of Springdale—the Huffnagle mansion, New Hope, Pennsylvania. Mercer Museum Library of the Bucks County Historical Society 27-007.



Figure 23.3. Disarticulated remains inside the coffin of Taperet as they appeared before transfer to the Penn Museum.

by Admiral E. Y. Macauley (1827–94),⁹ reading: “A royal oblation to Patah [sic] Sokaris, the Osiris, the great god, the lord of the entrance of the grave. There was given him for the ceremonial of the dead, dead ducks, meats, strong wine to the spirits of As--tati, and wheat to the mother of the house, ———, the daughter of the superior high priest of Horus.”¹⁰

Such is the extant information on the acquisition and provenience of the coffin of the chantress Taperet. Clearly this mid-nineteenth-century account is heavily embellished, even if the record of the coffin’s origin at Saqqara contains an element of truth. In the following discussion we shall examine the coffin and its

⁹ Edward Yorke Macauley was a Union naval officer during the Civil War. He is described in his obituary as having a passion for archaeology and had “a youth spent at the foot of the pyramids, and a young manhood passed in opening to the world the most advanced if hitherto unknown Oriental culture,” so perhaps some training in reading hieroglyphs was a part of his early education. See Frazer 1895, p. 373.

¹⁰ While Macauley’s translation is not correct, it clearly reflects the general content of the text on Taperet’s coffin lid. For this translation, see Anderson 1916, p. 4. No translation of the text on the coffin case appears in this account.



Figure 23.4. The front and back of the coffin. Penn Museum 2017-20-1.

iconography in detail in an attempt to understand this historically significant object and to try to address the identity, date, and cultic role of the chantress Taperet.

DESCRIPTION OF THE COFFIN

The coffin of Taperet is an inner, anthropoid, bivalve wooden coffin, richly decorated with unusual iconography on the exterior of the lid and case.¹¹ The relatively shallow lid and case are almost equal in depth, and the case is not flat on the exterior bottom but rather is shaped to conform to the profile of a mummy.¹² Of note is the contrasting decorative scheme of the lid and case. Much of the decoration of the lid is executed with a dark color on a light background. Interestingly, the reverse color scheme is employed on the case, where the decoration is largely light on a dark background.¹³

11 Note that, throughout, the term “case” refers to the trough of the coffin.

12 Coffins of this type usually have a dorsal pillar, but Taperet’s coffin does not. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 228.

13 I have been unable to identify any parallels for this contrasting decorative scheme, which suggests a solar and Osirian significance. For a discussion of color in Egyptian coffin decoration, see Taylor 2001. Regarding the color scheme on the

The interior of both the lid and the case bears no decoration but is coated with white gesso. According to its conservation treatment, the coffin is constructed of a variety of materials.¹⁴ The wood has been covered with a dark resin, followed by a textile layer, and in some areas a deposit of a matted organic material.¹⁵ The surface was then coated with gesso, painted,¹⁶ and then covered with a yellow-colored, resinous coating.¹⁷ The coffin is finely made and relatively well preserved, with some losses of decoration to the surface of both the lid and case (fig. 23.4). The measurements of the coffin are given in table 23.1.¹⁸

Table 23.1. Measurements for the coffin of Taperet.

| Lid (Penn Museum 2017-20-1.3) | Measurement (in cm) |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Maximum length | 178.0 |
| Maximum width | 47.0 |
| Width at head–shoulder junctions | 36.0 |
| Maximum width at elbow narrowing | 44.0 ¹⁹ |
| Minimum width at feet | 25.5 |
| Height of lid at nose | 21.0 |
| Minimum height of lid at ankles | 8.5 |
| Maximum height of lid at feet | 23.5 |
| Maximum thickness of walls | 2.5 ²⁰ |
| Minimum thickness of walls | 1.3 ²¹ |
| Case (Penn Museum 2017-20-1.2) | Measurement (in cm) |
| Maximum length | 178.0 |
| Maximum width | 46.0 |
| Width of box at knees | 30.0 |
| Minimum depth of box at feet | (currently inaccessible for measuring) |
| Maximum depth of box at head | (currently inaccessible for measuring) |
| Thickness of walls | approximately 2.7 |

coffin's case, Taylor (2001, pp. 167, 173) mentions that this combination of yellow (gold) and blue was popular during the Libyan period, and it is perhaps best exemplified by the cartonnage of King Heqakheperre Sheshonq from the royal tombs at Tanis.

14 I am grateful to Tessa de Alarcon, Alexis North, and Molly Gleeson for undertaking this conservation work. I am especially indebted to Ms. de Alarcon for answering countless queries about the coffin while I was working on this essay and for providing most of the photographs herein.

15 The most likely type of wood is that of the sycamore fig tree. Not only was this tree common in Egypt, but it also had associations with the goddess Hathor. However, it should be noted that this identification has not been confirmed. See Taylor 2006, p. 264. For a discussion of wood used in the construction of Third Intermediate Period coffins, see Asensi Amorós 2017.

16 The color of the coating also makes it difficult to see the various colors originally used in the composition. Distinguishing areas of black from blue is challenging and may further be complicated by the fact that Egyptian blue can alter over time to black (Daniels, Stacey, and Middleton 2004). I am grateful to Tessa de Alarcon for this observation.

17 Tessa de Alarcon, personal communication. This resinous coating does not cover the wig.

18 Thanks to Tessa de Alarcon for making these measurements while the coffin was under treatment in the Penn Museum's conservation labs. At the time of writing, the case was not entirely accessible for measurement.

19 Measured just below the elbows.

20 The thickness measurements were taken at the lip of the lid. The coffin is thicker higher up along the walls in the head area.

21 This measurement was taken at the bottom of the foot.

DECORATION OF THE LID

The uppermost section of the lid is composed of the facial mask, wig, and collar found on all anthropoid coffins.²² The face is yellow in color. The eyebrows and cosmetic lines are painted dark blue/black, and the inlaid eyes²³ are set within faience rims (fig. 23.5). The ears are exposed and do not bear any indication of piercing. The tripartite wig is plain, lacking any attempt to depict stripes or other features. Unlike the rest of the coffin, the surface of the wig was not coated with a layer of lacquer, resulting in a matte appearance. There is no band or fillet around the head, nor is there any decoration on the top of the head. The lappets of the wig are capped at the bottom with yellow bands (fig. 23.6). A multicolored block border frames the lappets.²⁴ This multicolored border continues over the shoulders and onto the back of the wig. The same style of multicolored border frames the text and the compartments containing deities on the front of the coffin, as well as appearing at the level of the hips on the coffin's case.

The collar is moderately sized and decorates the chest and shoulders of the front of the coffin (fig. 23.7). Consisting of bands of floral and geometric elements, the lowest row is decorated with lotus blossoms. There are no visible terminals for the collar, which overlaps slightly onto the case of the coffin.²⁵ The two separately carved, closed-fisted hands protrude through the lower rows of the collar. Both hands have a slot-like feature indicating that they may have originally been carved to grasp a now-lost object.²⁶ Each hand is attached to the coffin lid by means of two wooden dowels visible on the interior of the lid. A notable feature in the treatment of the backs of the hands is that they are painted with a net-like pattern (fig. 23.6).²⁷

Below the collar is an image of a composite ram-headed, winged scarab beetle with sun disk atop its head (fig. 23.8). The ram's head has the horizontal horns of the type associated with images of the sun god.²⁸



Figure 23.5. Close-up of the proper left eye.

22 The coffin lacks the red stola (mummy braces) frequently found on coffins of the Third Intermediate Period. For a discussion of this feature, see Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 275–81.

23 The portable X-ray fluorescence results on the eyes were inconclusive and did not indicate the light elements expected for glass; however, the coating over the inlays may have caused interference. The elements that were detected are present in both stone and glass. Tessa de Alarcon, personal communication.

24 The color pattern for this border is red–blue–green–blue–red with alternating yellow blocks. Taylor (1985, vol. 1, pp. 343–51) discusses the variety of decorative borders found on Third Intermediate Period coffins.

25 For a discussion of collar terminals, see Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 271–73. The lack of terminals on this coffin does not help determine a date, as the appearance of terminals on Theban coffins seems to decline at the end of the Twenty-First Dynasty before reappearing at the beginning of the seventh century BCE.

26 For a discussion of the types of objects, or “emblems,” often held in the hands, see Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 321–22.

27 Such decoration has been observed on other Twenty-Second Dynasty coffins. This treatment, which has been described as resembling “fingerless gloves,” is most typical of coffins from northern sites, although at least one example of a Theban coffin bears ornamentation of this type (the coffin of Horaawesheb from Thebes; British Museum EA 6666). See Taylor 2009, pp. 388–89, pls. II–III, V–VI, IX–XII; Raven 2017, p. 422 and fig. 5. Also note the decoration of the cartonnage of Ankhpephor in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (72.4837a), which is “stylistically Theban” yet has this type of decoration on the hands; see Taylor 1985, vol. 2, p. 204.

28 For similar ram-headed winged scarabs, see, e.g., Toledo 1906.4 in Peck, Knudsen, and Reich 2011, pp. 69, 72–73, 105; and British Museum EA 29577. Liptay (2017, p. 264) notes that a figure of a ram-headed falcon representing the sun god replaced the previously used image of a winged Nut. Further, Taylor (1984, p. 53) observes, “The ram-bird was originally balanced by a falcon with outspread wings on the central zone of the coffin but, as styles developed, the falcon was omitted, leaving the ram-bird as the dominant figure on the breast. This phase covers the period c 750–700 B.C.” See also Taylor 2006, pp. 266–86.



Figure 23.6. Close-up of the lappet ends and hands.

The scarab has outstretched human arms and grasps an ostrich feather in each hand. The scarab bears a *shen*-sign in its lower appendages, and this symbol tops the single column of text that runs down the center of the lower part of the coffin lid. The central scarab is flanked on each side by a uraeus, also bearing a sun disk on its head. A recumbent jackal on a shrine appears behind each ostrich plume. Each jackal wears a red ribbon collar and holds a *kheryp*-scepter, while a flail is situated above its back. Neither jackal is identified with a hieroglyphic label.

On each side of the outstretched wings is an *imiut*-fetish (fig. 23.9).²⁹ On the proper left, Nephthys stands with her arms raised. She is identified as *Nb.t-ḥwt ḥnw.t nb(.t) p.t* “Nephthys, mistress (of the gods),³⁰ lady of the sky”³¹ in the short text before her. On the proper right, a similar figure of Isis³² stands in the same pose (fig. 23.9). The position of the goddesses’ bent arms and hands resembles the gesture more usually associated with clapping than adoration.³³ The fact that this position is deliberate is underscored by the goddesses’



Figure 23.7. The upper part of the lid of the coffin.

For the meaning of this ram-headed scarab, see Niwiński 1987–88, p. 104, where it is noted: “In the most compact form the idea of the Supreme Being was iconographically expressed in the figure of a ram-headed scarab sometimes supplemented with additional elements like wings, phallus, solar disc or crown. Such a picture can easily be regarded as a cryptographic form of the name Re-Horakhty-Atum-Khepry. . . . Moreover, the presence of the head of a ram affords associations with Amun’s iconography.”

²⁹ The most thorough study of the *imiut*-fetish is Rößler-Köhler 1975.

³⁰ A word appears to be missing after *ḥnw.t*. Perhaps it should be understood as *ḥnw.t ntr.w*, an epithet typical for Nephthys; see Leitz 2002c, p. 188.

³¹ For this epithet of Nephthys, see Leitz 2002b, p. 49.

³² There is no label adjacent to this figure.

³³ For this gesture and its association with the goddess Meret and the act of clapping, see Dominicus 1994, pp. 53, 177. Berlandini (1982, col. 81) notes that the position of the goddess’s hands resembles that of the determinative for the words *ḥn*, *ḥsi*, and *rwi*.



Figure 23.8. Close-up of the winged, ram-headed scarab on the chest.

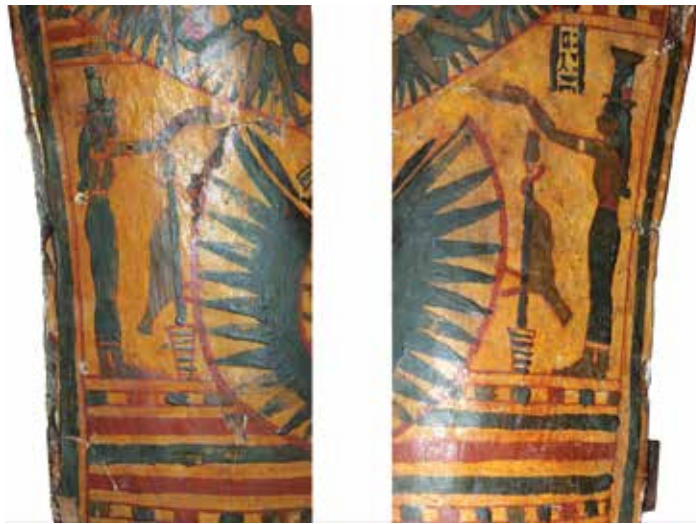


Figure 23.9. *Imiut*-fetish and Isis and Nephthys in the guise of the goddess Meret on the coffin lid.

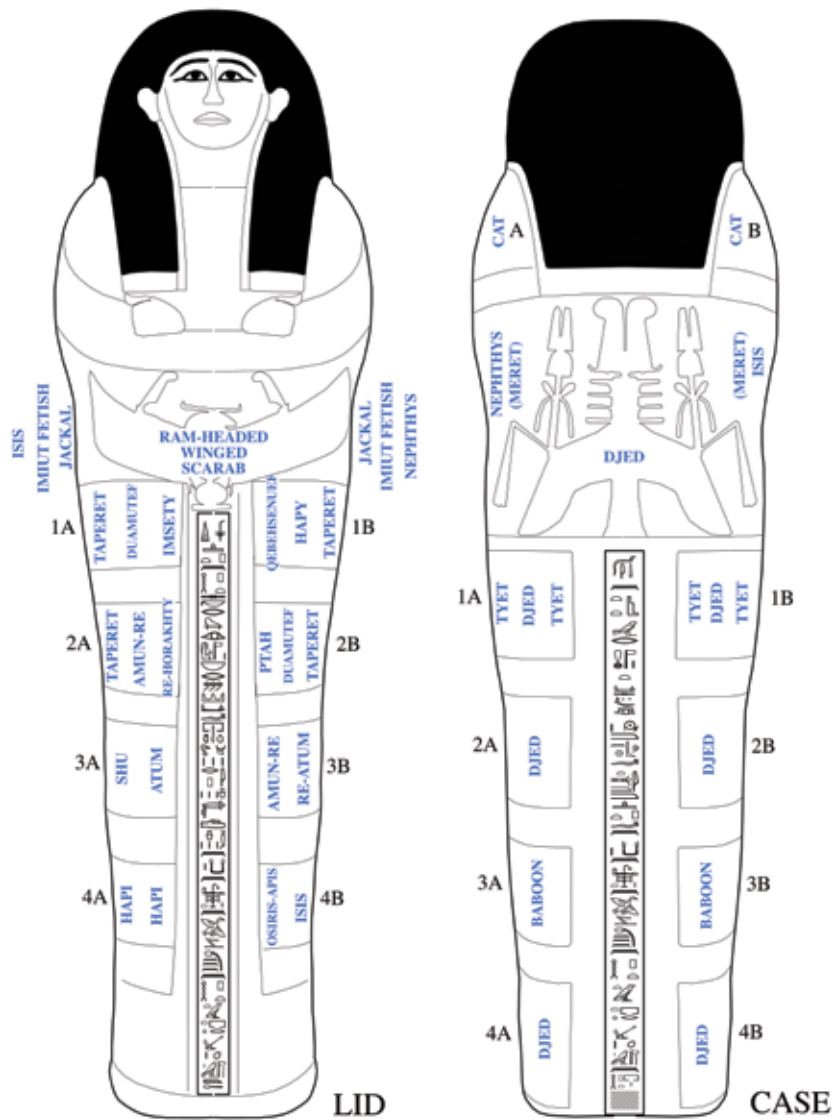


Figure 23.10. Schematic of the layout of the decoration on the coffin lid and case.

unusual coiffures, which are worn long with a single lock curling upward. This hairstyle is most often worn by Meret, a goddess associated with music, rhythm, and keeping time.³⁴ The decoration of the lower frontal body field comprises a pair of four symmetrical registers containing deities bounded by a multicolored block border (fig. 23.10).

The uppermost register (fig. 23.11) is decorated with representations of the four sons of Horus and the deceased. None of the figures in this register are identified with hieroglyphic labels. On the proper right, the decoration consists of an offering stand with spouted *nemset* libation vessel topped with a large lotus flower. A representation of a standing mummiform, human-headed deity faces the stand. He has an unguent cone atop his head. Behind him, another offering stand is seen with a jackal-headed god facing it.³⁵ A figure of the deceased with hands raised in adoration appears behind. Following the approach to all the figures in this register, she is not identified with a hieroglyphic label but clearly depicts Taperet. She wears an unguent cone topped by a lotus blossom and a long, full dress with dark bands of painted decoration outlining parts of the garment.³⁶ On the proper left, an offering stand with *nemset*-vessel topped with a large lotus flower appears. A representation of a standing mummiform, falcon-headed god faces the stand. Behind him is another offering stand with an ape-headed deity facing it. Both deities have simplified unguent cones on their heads. A figure of the deceased woman with her hands raised in adoration appears behind. Again, she is not identified with a label, but her appearance is identical to the corresponding figure on the opposite side.

In the next register, on the proper right, a falcon-headed male deity wearing a sun disk atop his head stands facing the central column of hieroglyphs (fig. 23.12). The hieroglyphic label identifies him as *R^c-Hr-3h.ty ntr 3 nb p.t* “Re-Horakhty, great god, lord of the sky.” He is followed by a ram-headed male deity with a sun disk who is identified as *Imn-R^c nb p.t* “Amun-Re, lord of the sky.” Both deities hold a *was*-scepter in their left hand and an *ankh* in their right hand. A bull’s tail appears on each of their kilts. The deceased stands behind Amun-Re with both arms raised in adoration. Her long dress appears sheer, and dark bands decorate the sleeve and edge of the garment, as well as the hem of her dress. As in the first register, her pubic area is darkened. A lotus-topped funerary cone is atop her head. The short column of text in front



Figure 23.11. Register 1A (proper right) and register 1B (proper left) on the lid.

34 Meret can appear in a twinned form. As a pair, the two Meret goddesses are sometimes associated with other paired goddesses such as Isis and Nephthys. For the most complete study on this goddess, see Guglielmi 1991. See also Berlandini 1982, cols. 80–88.

35 While Duamutef is usually depicted as a jackal, note the labeling of a falcon-headed deity as Duamutef in register 2B below.

36 Compare no. 5 in Taylor 2003, p. 100, fig. 1, for the type of garment typical of the Twenty-Second Dynasty.



Figure 23.12. Register 2A (proper right) and register 2B (proper left) on the lid.

of her identifies her as *T3-(n.t)-pr.t* “Taperet.” On the proper left, a human-headed deity wearing a long wig and an *atef*-crown stands facing the central column of inscription. He is labeled *Pth nb m3'.t* “Ptah, lord of Maat.”³⁷ Ptah is followed by a falcon-headed male deity with sun disk and uraeus. The hieroglyphic label identifies him as *Dw3.t-mw.t.f(sic)* “Duamutef.”³⁸ As on the other side of this register, the deceased stands in a posture of veneration. Her sheer long dress has dark banding along the sleeves and front of the dress, and her pubic triangle is darkened. A lotus-topped funerary cone is on her head. As on the other side, the text identifies her as *T3-(n.t)-pr.t* “Taperet.”

In the third register, on the proper right, there are two figures in this compartment (fig. 23.13). The figure in front is a standing male deity wearing the double crown facing the central column of text. The label in front of him identifies him as *'Itm nb 'Twnw* “Atum, lord of Heliopolis.” He is followed by a second male deity wearing an ostrich plume on his head. The short label in front of him reads *S'w s3 R' nb p.t* “Shu, son of Re, lord of the sky.” Both of these gods hold a *was*-scepter in their left hand and an *ankh* in their right hand, and both deities have a bull’s tail appended to their short kilt. Two deities likewise appear on the proper left, each holding a *was*-scepter and an *ankh* and wearing a short kilt with a bull’s tail. First, a male deity wearing a crown with a sun disk and two tall plumes is identified as *'Imn-R' nswt ntr.w* “Amun-Re, king of the gods.” Behind him, another male deity is crowned with a uraeus and sun disk. The short hieroglyphic text in front of him states that he is *R'-Itm ntr 3 nb p.t* “Re-Atum, great god, lord of the sky.”

On the proper right of the lowest register are two gods (fig. 23.14). As with the other male deities, each holds a *was*-scepter and an *ankh* and wears a bull-tailed kilt. The first deity has the head of a bull and wears a sun disk on his head. The text identifies him as *Hpi ntr 3 nb p.t* “Hapi (Apis), great god, lord of the sky.” Behind him, an ape-headed deity appears. He has a uraeus at his brow and an unguent cone atop his head. The text column in front of him reads *Hpi nb p.t* “Hapi, lord of the sky.” On the proper left, two deities stand facing the center. The first is a bull-headed male god who has a sun disk atop his head. He holds a *was*-scepter in his proper right hand and an *ankh* in his left. He wears a kilt with a bull’s tail. In the hieroglyphic label before him, he is called *Wsir-Hp ntr 3* “Osiris-Apis, great god.” A female deity stands behind him wearing a long, fitted sheath dress and holding a *wadj*-scepter in her right hand and an *ankh* in her left. The Isis-throne symbol is on her head. The goddess is identified in the text as *3s.t nb.[t] 'Imnt.t* “Isis, lady of the West.”

The decoration at the foot of the Taperet’s coffin consists of a compartment on each side with almost mirrored decoration. On the proper right, a recumbent jackal with a red ribbon around its neck faces the

37 Ptah is not shown in his typical mummiform style. Here is perhaps a representation of Ptah-Tatenen wearing a short kilt and a crown with ram’s horns and a sun disk topped by two feathers. See Schlögl 1986, col. 239; 1980, p. 54.

38 Note the misspelling. Duamutef is typically not shown with a falcon’s head. However, Taylor (2006, p. 286 n. 38) notes that this variant is common in the Third Intermediate Period.



Figure 23.13. Register 3A (proper right) and register 3B (proper left) on the lid.



Figure 23.14. Register 4A (proper right) and register 4B (proper left) on the lid.

center. A uraeus with a sun disk hovers above. Behind the jackal is a *wedjat*-eye with a human arm raised in adoration. The decoration on the proper left side is almost identical to that on the right; however, on this side the *wedjat*-eye lacks any arms (fig. 23.15).³⁹ The coffin base ends with a small pedestal measuring approximately 7 cm in height and decorated with a thick red band between two yellow stripes.⁴⁰ There is no painted decoration on the bottom of the foot of the coffin lid. It is simply coated in white gesso.

A single column of hieroglyphic text runs down the center of the lower part of the coffin lid (fig. 23.16). The signs are executed in yellow on a blue field. The inscription is a *hṯp-dī-nsw.t* formula invoking Ptah-Sokar-Osiris and identifying the deceased. It reads: *hṯp-dī-nsw.t n Pth-Skr-Wsīr nb r-stʒw dī.f pr.t-ḥrw (m) t ḥnq.t kʒ.w ʒpd.w ṛp šdh⁴¹ n kʒ n šm'y.t n pʒ grg w'b n Pth Tʒ-(n.t)-pr.t sʒ(.t) n ḥm-nṯr Hr mʒ'-ḥrw* “An offering which the king gives to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, lord [of Rosetau], that he may give invocation offerings of bread, beer, meat, fowl, wine, and sweet wine to the ka of the chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Taperet, the daughter of the prophet,⁴² Hor, true of voice.”

DECORATION OF THE CASE

While the front of the coffin contains a just a few unusual iconographic details, much of the decoration of the case appears to be largely unparalleled. As noted above, the back of the wig is a plain blue/black color. The bottom of the wig is banded in gold, and the edges of the wig over the shoulders are edged with the same multicolored block border seen on the front. In contrast to the front of the coffin, where the color scheme incorporates multicolored images on a yellow background, a reversal of coloration appears here.⁴³ The background color is dark (blue/black), and the figures are rendered in yellow with red outlines. Apart from the border around the wig, the greenish color seen on the lid does not appear on the back. The symmetrical arrangement of the decoration on the back is on a vertical axis and can be divided into three sections: the shoulders, the upper back, and the lower back of the legs (see fig. 23.10 above).

On the coffin case, the back of each shoulder is decorated with a large image of a cat seated upright on its haunches (fig. 23.17). The pose of each feline is identical, sitting with its body oriented outward while its head turns back to face the center of the coffin. Each cat's body is decorated with red stripes, and the animal has an alert appearance with high, pointed ears.⁴⁴ A single short column labels each figure, and the texts vary slightly. The inscription associated with cat “A” on the proper left shoulder is partially damaged. It reads *nb [imn].t.t⁴⁵ nb n tʒ⁴⁶* “lord of the [West], lord of the earth.” The surface near the head of cat “B” has

39 See Taylor 2006, p. 274, for a discussion of this iconography.

40 The use of a pedestal helped stabilize the coffin when it was placed in an upright position during funeral rites. Taylor notes that pedestals are frequently found on Theban coffins during his phase Thebes III and become standard on those of Thebes IV. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 322.

41 Thanks to Foy Scalf for this suggestion.

42 Her father's title is expanded upon in the inscription on the coffin's case. Jurman (2020, pp. 648, 1081) identifies a man, Hor C, who has the simple title *ḥm-nṯr*. The monument on which this man appears (Cairo stela JE 45327) has been dated to the reign of Osorkon II (r. 872–837 BCE) and is therefore unlikely to be the father of Taperet.

43 The lighter color on the coffin lid may be a reference to its predominantly solar decoration, while the darker color on the case may emphasize the Osirian nature of the decoration on the case.

44 I am unaware of any other coffin bearing such feline imagery. While figures of cat deities do appear on other Third Intermediate Period coffins, none are as large or as prominent as these two figures. A single large, catlike creature appears on the back of the coffin of Ameneminet (Louvre E5534), but this animal is not identified with a hieroglyphic label, and some have identified it as a hyena rather than a cat. See Ziegler, Barbotin, and Rutschowscaya 1990, pp. 72–73. The curious pose of Taperet's felines may result in part from the geometry of the available space on the coffin's shoulders. While the cats' posture is unusual, it is not completely without parallels; see, e.g., the cats depicted on the fragmentary bowl in the Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn 16.41) and on the fragmentary clapper in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 26.7.1449).

45 For this epithet, see Leitz 2002a, pp. 583–84.

46 For this epithet, see Leitz 2002a, pp. 768–69. A feminine version of this epithet, *nb.t tʒ*, is known and can be associated with the goddess Hathor; see Leitz 2002b, p. 154.



Figure 23.15. *Wedjat*-eyes on the foot of the coffin.



Figure 23.16. Vertical columns of text on the lid and on the case.



Figure 23.17. View of cat A (proper left) and cat B (proper right) on the shoulders of the coffin case.

suffered losses, but from what remains it appears that the head of this cat was originally rendered the same as cat A. The label adjacent to cat B reads *nb ḏw imnt.t* “lord of the western mountain.”⁴⁷

Cats are not unusual creatures in Egyptian iconography, and one can immediately enumerate many deities that can be represented in feline form, including but not limited to Bastet, Hathor, Mut, Shu, and Tefnut. The sun god could also take the form of a cat, most notably in the vignettes accompanying chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, where he appears in the form of a large, knife-wielding tomcat who slaughters the serpent of Apophis.⁴⁸ Since these two feline figures are captioned slightly differently, it is likely that two distinct beings are represented. As such, what are we to make of this pair? As noted, the sun god can appear as a tomcat, and it is interesting to consider that his daughter—his eye—can also appear in feline or leonine form.⁴⁹ In the *Destruction of Mankind*, the eye of Re is sent to destroy humanity in the form of Sekhmet. Her murderous spree is stopped only when Re has a change of heart and causes her to become inebriated on beer dyed to look like blood. She is then pacified and ceases her rampage. In the *Story of the Distant Goddess*, the eye of Re flees Egypt for the deserts of Nubia. Re commands Shu and the god Thoth to

47 Given the parallelism in the decoration, one may have expected to see one cat labeled “lord of the eastern mountain” and the other “lord of the western mountain.” As such, these cats would recall the *rwtj*-lions or the god Aker who appear as the horizon; however, the traces of text remaining do not support that reconstruction. Nevertheless, the placement of these two felines near the head of the deceased may have been meant to evoke the appearance of the sun disk in the horizon at dawn. One might turn to the well-known headrest from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Cairo JE 62020) and the various interpretations put forth over its symbolism. It has been posited that the headrest was designed to illustrate the raising of the sun from the netherworld by Shu. The lions on the headrest represent either the lions of the horizon at the eastern and western mountains, where the sun rose and set, or the double lions of the earth god Aker, who can likewise be connected to the sunrise. In either case, by placing these feline images on the shoulders of the coffin’s case, near the head of the deceased, these cats could be understood to be acting as a type of horizon supporting the head of the deceased as she is reborn like the sun from the netherworld. For a discussion of the headrest and its meaning, see Hellinckx 2001, pp. 62–68, and the references therein. For a discussion of the *rwtj* scene in chapter 17 of the Book of the Dead, see Tarasenko 2007 and the references therein.

48 Malek 2006, p. 84.

49 See Troy 1986, pp. 21–25, for a discussion of the relationship between Re and his eye, the goddess Hathor.

bring her back. They placate her by means of music and dancing, and she returns to Egypt and transforms into the peaceful goddess Hathor.⁵⁰ Perhaps these two cats are meant to represent the sun god and his eye.

The distinctive pose of the cats on this coffin can be seen on two earlier objects with connections to Hathor, as well as to another deity who can take a feline form—the goddess Mut (fig. 23.18). A fragmentary wooden clapper in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 26.7.1449) features a large image of a Hathor head surmounted by two pairs of cats. The lower pair sit in a pose very similar to those on Taperet’s coffin.⁵¹ A calcite bowl fragment inscribed for Amenhotep III and Queen Tiye in the Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn 16.41) is decorated with a Hathor head flanked by a seated cat with turned-back head.⁵²

It is also possible that we should consider another feline pair, that of Pre (Re) and Atum. On an anonymous stela from Deir el-Medina, two cats appear in the lunette. One is called the “young cat” (*mit nfr*) of Pre, and the other is the “great cat” (*mit 3*) of Atum.⁵³ While Taperet’s cats do not have these epithets, reference to Re and Atum is made in the single column of text that runs below the scene of the cats along the lower back of the coffin case. Perhaps these two cats could simultaneously be understood to represent different paired deities: Re and his eye, or Re and Atum, among others, all of whom share solar associations.

The second section of decoration on the coffin case presents another exceptional scene (fig. 23.19). Here, a large *djed*-pillar with human arms and outstretched wings appears in the center, attended to by the



Figure 23.18. Similar feline poses on a fragmentary wooden clapper, MMA 26.7.1449 (image courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art), and on a calcite bowl, Brooklyn 16.41 (image courtesy of Brooklyn Museum, Creative Commons-BY).

50 For the *Destruction of Mankind*, see Hornung 1982; for the *Story of the Distant Goddess*, see de Cenival 1988; Spiegelberg 1917. A discussion of the cat as an animal related to the sun god can be found in Quack 2007.

51 <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/551039>. The catalog record also notes that pairs of cats are “closely associated with Mut, probably representing Re and his daughter who do battle with the serpent Apopy in the afterworld.”

52 Brooklyn Museum 16.41: <https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3130>. The catalog notes: “When complete, this bowl had several frontal cow-eared female faces flanked by cats. Although in this case both faces and cats were probably intended as symbols of the goddess Hathor, these motifs later came to be related to other goddesses as well.”

53 See Ashmolean Museum stela 1961.232 as discussed in Malek 2006, pp. 88–89 and fig. 56.

figures of Isis and Nephthys.⁵⁴ The *djed*-pillar is topped with an *atef*-crown consisting of horns, two tall plumes, and a sun disk. Each hand holds a *nekhakha*-flail⁵⁵ and supports an Abydos fetish.⁵⁶ Here the anthropomorphic form of the pillar may represent Osiris in his resurrected state. This scene recalls the vignette of chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead, which depicts the sun god within the arms of the *djed*-pillar upon his entrance into the underworld, where he will be reborn at dawn.⁵⁷

On each side of this central image, a goddess stands with her arms raised in adoration of the pillar (fig. 23.20). Nephthys appears on the proper left, and a short label identifies her as *Nb.t-ḥwt ḥnwt t3.wy*⁵⁸ (*ḥnwt*) *imnt.t*⁵⁹ “Nephthys, mistress of the two lands, (mistress) of the West.” Isis is depicted on the proper right, labeled *3s.t nb(.t) imnt.t*⁶⁰ *n p.t*⁶¹ “Isis, lady of the west of the sky.” Both goddesses wear long, close-fitting gowns and bear the hieroglyphic symbols for their names atop their heads. A red fillet binds their hair, which is worn long and swept back in the style characteristic of the goddess Meret, also seen on the smaller representations of these goddesses on the coffin lid.⁶² Although these goddesses are identified as the sisters Isis and Nephthys, at the same time they mimic the appearance of the paired Meret goddesses who call out in celebration at the rebirth of the sun god.⁶³



Figure 23.19. Central image of the *djed*-pillar on the case.

54 The inclusion of a *djed*-pillar on the bottom of the case is not unusual. This motif appears often in this location on both cartonnage cases and coffins. It is the form of Taperet’s *djed*-pillar that is of note. Amann (1983) studied the chronological development of the various forms of anthropomorphic *djed*-pillars. She devised a typology of five distinct types of *djed*-pillar: (1) the *djed*-pillar with different crowns, without any hint of a human figure; (2) the *djed*-pillar partially humanized with eyes and crown; (3) the *djed*-pillar partially humanized with eyes, arms, crown, and insignia; (4) the *djed*-pillar in human form; and (5) unique pieces. The *djed*-pillar on this coffin clearly does not fit Amann’s first two categories, nor does it fit the fourth grouping. It lacks the eyes that are characteristic of the third category, but perhaps this type would be the closest to our example. Amann’s third type is typical of the Twenty-Second to Twenty-Fifth Dynasties (figs. 23.22 and 23.23, right side). For earlier representations of winged *djed*-pillars, see El-Sawi 1987.

55 For another example of a pillar holding flails, see the *djed*-pillar on the back of the inner coffin of Tameramun. The pillar has human hands, which grasp *nekhakha*-flails, while the top is crowned with the *tjeni*-crown. For this coffin, see Musso and Petacchi 2014.

56 The fetish is viewed from the front. The plumes are vertical and symmetrical, and the streamers from the top are not visible. Sashes are often attached symmetrically to the sides of the pole. For this form, see Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 52–53.

57 The chapter 16 vignette usually accompanies hymns to Re and Osiris found in chapter 15 of the Book of the Dead. Van Dijk (1986, pp. 7–8) notes that this imagery presents a fusion of solar and Osirian concepts. When Re enters the underworld, he unites there with Osiris and becomes one god, Re-Osiris or Osiris-Re, who illuminates the underworld as a nocturnal sun god.

58 Leitz 2002c, p. 212.

59 Leitz 2002c, p. 166.

60 Leitz 2002c, p. 17.

61 Perhaps to be understood as *nb.t pt* “lady of the sky”? See Leitz 2002c, pp. 49–50.

62 For this hairstyle as a characteristic of Meret and similarities between her curled locks and those of the goddess Hathor, see Fletcher 1995, p. 68. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Isis and Nephthys appear here in the guise of this goddess, as Meret has associations with music and singing and the owner of this coffin was herself a chantress.

63 For a discussion of Meret’s connection to Isis and Nephthys, see Guglielmi 1991, pp. 230–52. For Meret’s role in greeting the newly born sun god, see Berlandini 1982, cols. 83–84.



Figure 23.20. Isis and Nephthys on the coffin case. Their hairstyles are comparable with that of the goddess Meret on the relief Brooklyn Museum 86.226.15 (image courtesy of Brooklyn Museum, Creative Commons-BY).



Figure 23.21. Close-up of illegible hieroglyphs at the end of the vertical inscription on the coffin case, in natural light and under incandescent light.

The lowest section of the case consists of a vertical inscription flanked on each side by four compartments. The vertical column of inscription below the *djed*-pillar scene (see fig. 23.16) reads: *dd mdw in 3s.t wr.t mw.t ntr di.s m33 R' m wbn.f 'Itm m htp.f n k3 n sm'y.t n p3 grg w'b n Pth T3-(n.t)-prt s3(.t) n hm-ntr Hr n pr Pth* [. . .] “Recitation by Isis the great, the divine mother, so that she (Isis) may give sight of⁶⁴ Re at his rising and Atum at his setting for the ka of the chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah, Taperet, daughter of the prophet, Hor, of the estate of Ptah [illegible]” (fig. 23.21).⁶⁵

On each side of the central text column are four compartments containing protective imagery (see figs. 23.10 and 23.22). The decoration in compartments 1A (proper right) and 1B (proper left) consists of alternating *tjet*–*djed*–*tjet* symbols. Compartment 2A contains a *djed*-pillar with arms grasping two *renpet* symbols. At the base of each *renpet* symbol are a tadpole and a *shen*-sign, symbolizing endless years. The *djed*-pillar is topped with a sun disk. The decoration of compartment 2B is identical. Compartment 3A features a baboon seated atop a shrine facing a large symbol of the West.⁶⁶ The baboon wears a shrine-shaped pectoral and faces away from the central inscription. The same image appears in compartment 3B. Slight differences in iconography can be seen in the decoration of the lowest compartment. Compartment 4A on

64 I am grateful to Foy Scalf for this suggestion.

65 While the signs in this area appear to be relatively clear, I am unable to suggest a translation. One might expect the father’s name and title to be followed by *m3' hrw*, as on the coffin’s lid, but the signs do not support this translation. The horizontal sign most closely resembles Gardiner sign list F30 (*šd*). It is also possible that the sign could be Gardiner F20 (*ns, imy-r*) or V22 (*mḥ*). This horizontal sign is followed by two signs resembling Gardiner Z20 (*w*) or Gardiner V1 (100, *šnt, št*). References to localities incorporating the term *pr Pth* at Memphis include the *pr Pth m b'h* and the *pr Pth hnti tnn.t*. However, neither can the remaining signs be transliterated as *m b'h ntr hnti tnn.t*. For these establishments, see Jurman 2020, p. 1393. Kevin Cahail (personal communication) has suggested this sign may be a horizontal version of Gardiner U24 for *hmw.w* “craftsmen.” As such, the sign might be an abbreviated writing for *Pth-mr-hmw.w=f*, “Ptah, who loves his craftsmen.” For this epithet, see Leitz 2002a, p. 173. Andrew Baumann (personal communication) suggests that the signs read *š mhwy* “(of) the northern lake.” He notes that there may be not one but two horizontal signs adjacent to each other (*š* and *mḥ*), with shorter signs below them (perhaps the signs for *-wy*). He cites Thompson (2012, 8 n. 17), who details later Ptolemaic documents that mention a Memphite canal called the “northern lake,” including the Anemhor stela (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/jankunst/48048498623>), which refers to a *pr Pth nb š mhwy* “domain of Ptah, lord of the northern lake.” This reading would support a provenience of Saqqara for Taperet’s coffin. I am grateful to him for this suggestion.

66 The baboon is most often identified with the god Thoth, but baboons also have solar associations when seen heralding the sunrise. Baboons also greet the sun god as he enters the west, as seen in the first hour of the Amduat, and they accompany him with music and dancing. See Schweizer 1994, p. 39; Warburton 2007, pp. 19, 30, for a discussion of the baboons that are “the ones who make music for the sun god.”



Figure 23.22. Details of protective imagery in the compartments on the lower part of the case.

the proper right features a *djed*-pillar tied with ribbon topped by a sun disk with two uraei. Compartment 4B likewise features a beribboned *djed*-pillar, but this pillar lacks a sun disk and uraei.

DATE AND GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF THE COFFIN

As we have seen in the preceding section, Taperet's coffin displays a mixture of standard and rather unusual iconographic elements. What can the decoration of this coffin tell us about its date and possible provenience? While some coffins can be dated on the basis of independent or external means, such as the name of a king (or other known figure), genealogical data, or other archaeological evidence,⁶⁷ the coffin of Taperet cannot rely on these criteria.⁶⁸ Iconographic details such as the proportion of the human figures, their costumes, and features such as the shape of the unguent cone indicate a Twenty-Second Dynasty date for this coffin.⁶⁹ The proportions of the human figures on this coffin correspond to Taylor's "Post-New Kingdom style," which was in use until the late eighth century BCE.⁷⁰ Taperet's costume resembles the typical female dress of the Twenty-Second Dynasty, shown as a flowing pleated garment with dark banding.⁷¹ The unguent cones atop the head of the deceased are somewhat summarily executed on Taperet's coffin and resemble indistinct red, circular daubs, but they include a lotus flower whose stem projects behind the head of the deceased. Taylor notes that this type of cone was depicted on coffins from the reign of Amenhotep III through the Twenty-Second Dynasty.⁷² Another iconographic detail that may be used for dating is the form

⁶⁷ Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 20–24; 2003, p. 96.

⁶⁸ Any information that might be gleaned from the mummy and the methods of mummification is not available, as the remains were heavily disturbed and have yet to be studied.

⁶⁹ Taylor 2003, p. 99.

⁷⁰ Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 45–46 (Taylor's style 1); see also Taylor 2003, p. 99.

⁷¹ This style does not seem to survive beyond about 730 BCE. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 33–38 and fig. 3.3; also Taylor 2003, pp. 99–100 and fig. 1.5.

⁷² Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 41–44. Taylor refers to this form as Type 1 and says that the latest dated examples come from the late ninth century BCE; it was obsolete by the Kushite period. See also Taylor 2003, p. 101. He notes as well that post-Twenty-First Dynasty coffins show the sons of Horus wearing the unguent cone, as is the case on this coffin.

of the Abydos fetish. In the two depictions of the fetish on the coffin's case, each appears in full-frontal view. Taylor notes that this form was in use by the last quarter of the eighth century BCE.⁷³

Further information regarding a date for the coffin may be gleaned by comparison with established coffin typologies that consider features such as shape, layout of the design field, and coloration of the decoration, as well as the appearance of the wig, face, collar, hands, and other attributes.⁷⁴ The largest corpus of Third Intermediate Period coffins comes from Thebes; hundreds of these coffins have been carefully studied, and a typology has been established.⁷⁵ Work has focused on these Theban coffins because of the sheer number of examples, their well-established sequencing, and the fact that many of them are marked by "unsurpassed quality" and "sophisticated iconography."⁷⁶ While considerably fewer in number, so-called northern coffins have also been analyzed and certain characteristic features of these coffins have been established.⁷⁷

The coffin of Taperet does not conform to the typical appearance of the northern types. These coffins are usually decorated only on the exterior, and while this is true for the coffin of Taperet, the decoration on northern coffins is usually limited to the lid and includes the face, wig, collar, hands, and a central inscription, sometimes with decorative borders and often with a recumbent jackal above.⁷⁸ Further, the design of the northern coffins is usually simple and the craftsmanship quite crude. This is certainly not the case with the coffin of Taperet. The decoration on her well-constructed coffin is extensive and superbly executed. As for the texts on northern coffins, Taylor notes that the inscriptions are often garbled. This cannot be said of the texts on the coffin of Taperet, which are, except for a few signs, quite legible (fig. 23.21).⁷⁹ One additional feature of northern coffins not shared by the coffin of Taperet is that their lids were fastened to their cases by means of four to six mortise-and-tenon joints.⁸⁰

While the purported provenience of Taperet's coffin is Saqqara,⁸¹ the extremely high quality of its production puts it on a par with many Theban coffins. Although, based on all other indications, this coffin is not of Theban origin, it does appear to be of "Theban style," and as such it may be useful to evaluate it according to Taylor's Theban-coffin typology to ascertain a more specific date for its production. We must acknowledge that stylistic and iconographic features may well have changed differently in varying production centers. Nevertheless, the full suite of features as compared with the relatively well-anchored Theban corpus provides the best comparative basis for assessing the date of Taperet's coffin.

Taylor observes that the Third Intermediate Period falls into three phases: (1) Twenty-First Dynasty, marked by divided rule between Tanis and Thebes; (2) Twenty-Second to Twenty-Fourth Dynasties, marked by an initial return to central control, followed by divided rule again; and (3) Twenty-Fifth (Kushite) Dynasty. In his study of Theban-coffin development, Taylor divides the Theban coffins broadly into four phases of development, Thebes I–IV.⁸² The first group, Thebes I, consists of Twenty-First Dynasty coffins and is clearly earlier than the coffin of Taperet. As for Thebes II (also marked by the use of the one-piece cartonnage), it is suggested that the style appeared around 945–890 BCE and may have continued in use, although in scarcer numbers, until the latter part of the eighth century.⁸³ Taylor calls Thebes III a transitional phase, with many

73 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 53.

74 Taylor (1985, vol. 1, pp. 141–42) does note that because of the large number of attributes and the variety of possible combinations, this kind of typology is not a simple matter. See also Taylor 2003, p. 102.

75 See, e.g., Taylor 1985; Niwiński 1988.

76 Taylor 2003, p. 95.

77 Taylor 2009.

78 The one feature of Taperet's coffin that is more typical of northern coffins is the "fingerless gloves" on the hands. See above, n. 27.

79 Taylor 2009, p. 379.

80 Taylor 2009, p. 386. Theban coffins tend to have eight of these joints. Taperet's coffin appears to be fastened by means of ten mortise-and-tenon joints. See fig. 23.3 above, which seems to show ten sockets.

81 Anderson 1916, p. 3.

82 He summarizes the provisional dates as follows: Thebes I ca. 1150/1100–900 BCE, Thebes II ca. 945/890–700 BCE, Thebes III ca. 775/750–700/675 BCE, and Thebes IV ca. 720–585 BCE or later. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 129–37.

83 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 133.

examples dating after 750–740 BCE.⁸⁴ His final group, Thebes IV, was fully established by the early seventh century BCE and thereafter remained the standard for more than a century.⁸⁵ By examining the coffin of Taperet vis-à-vis this typology, we may come away with a better sense of when the coffin was produced.

The shape of Taperet's coffin most closely conforms with Taylor's Form 4 type, the earliest examples of which date to 742/30–722/10 BCE.⁸⁶ Coffins with cases "fully modelled in the form of the mummy" do not seem to have appeared until after about 750 BCE.⁸⁷ The format of the coffin lid's decoration most closely aligns with Lid Layout type J1.⁸⁸ Taylor states that all examples of this form belong to Thebes III, dating to about 775/750–700/675 BCE. The layout of the coffin case's exterior is unusual and would therefore be placed in Taylor's "miscellaneous" Case Exterior category. Of the coffins he groups into this category, the closest parallel to the coffin of Taperet is a Thebes III coffin.⁸⁹ Taperet's finely carved face is painted the same yellow color as her hands. This would place her mask in Taylor's Face Mask category 2, which he notes is more typical for Thebes I; however, there are three known examples dating to Thebes III and IV.⁹⁰ Taperet's ears⁹¹ are visible, and her eyes are inlaid.⁹² On Taperet's coffin, the elbow curve is indicated but not represented. Her closed-fisted hands protrude through the collar and may have grasped emblems of some kind.⁹³ The small pedestal seen on this coffin is akin to Taylor's Pedestals type 1 and is decorated simply with stripes. Examples of such pedestals belong largely to groups Thebes III and IV.⁹⁴

Considering the distinguishing characteristics of its form and decoration, this coffin displays features commonly found on Thebes III coffins and should therefore date to about 775/750–700/675 BCE, with a date closer to 740 BCE. Having narrowed down the probable date of Taperet's coffin to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and defined the probability that it is an example of a high-quality, elite Memphite coffin of the early Libyan period, we now turn to examine the issue of Taperet's identity and her possible social background.

WHO WAS TAPERET?

Ranke's *Personennamen* lists the name *T3-n.t-pr.t* with two variant spellings that do not write the genitive *n.t*, as is seen with the writing of the name of the deceased on this coffin (fig. 23.23).⁹⁵ Among the datable

84 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 134.

85 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 136.

86 Taylor notes that the earliest dated coffin of the Form 4 type is Thebes III.5, ca. 742/30–722/10 BCE. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 145.

87 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 228.

88 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 183–84. Taperet's coffin most closely resembles Taylor's J1 category with a ram-headed winged scarab appearing below the collar. Below, a central vertical inscription appears. Four compartments on each side of the central inscription contain standing deities, facing inward, and inscriptions. All the specimens belong to Taylor's Thebes III category. His examples Thebes III.4, 5, and 11 are very closely related and may well have been made by the same workshop. See Taylor 1985, vol. 2, pp. 265–66, 271, for these coffins in his corpus.

89 See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 235, for coffin Thebes III.4.

90 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 297–98.

91 Taylor observes that ears become a common feature of women's coffins in Thebes III. He notes that coffin Thebes III.5 has them, indicating that ears had appeared by about 742/30–722/10 BCE. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 305.

92 The use of inlaid eyes here is uncommon; Taylor states that their use is quite rare after Thebes II. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 307–8.

93 In appearance, this feature seems to correlate best with Taylor's Hands and Arms category 5, wherein elbows can be indicated but the arms are not represented. Often the hands in this category hold "scroll" emblems, but since the objects associated with the hands on this coffin no longer exist, we cannot be certain of the type of emblem they originally held. Taylor notes that after Thebes I, hands are rarely shown on coffins, but there are a few examples of later coffins that have hands represented on the coffin lid. See Taylor 1985, vol. 1, p. 317.

94 Taylor 1985, vol. 1, pp. 323–24.

95 For the name Taperet and its variant, Tanetperet, see Ranke 1935, p. 360/6; TM Nam 15631.

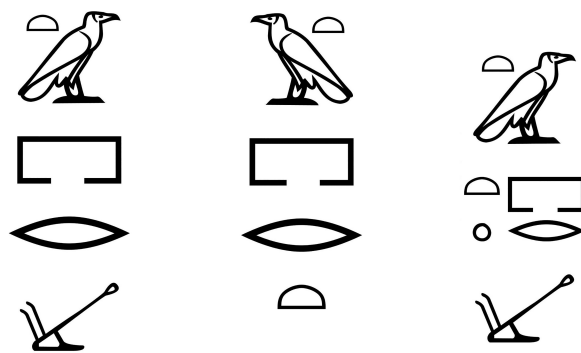


Figure 23.23. Variations in the spelling of Taperet's name on the coffin. Left to right, the name as spelled in lid register 2A, in lid register 2B, and in the vertical inscriptions on the lid and case.

examples, the name is common from the Twenty-Second Dynasty onward.⁹⁶ Taperet's title "chantress" is well attested for elite women from the New Kingdom on.⁹⁷ However, this variation (*šm'y.t n p3 grg w'b n Pth*) is somewhat rare. There are only eleven other known attestations of this title,⁹⁸ and with only one exception they derive from the Memphite area (table 23.2).⁹⁹

Let us now turn to examine the key issue of the religious institution in which Taperet served as chantress. The earliest mention of a *grg w'b n Pth* "Pure Foundation of Ptah" occurs on a fragmentary, Twentieth Dynasty stela from Memphis excavated in 1915 but now lost.¹⁰⁰ This stela dates to the twenty-fourth regnal year of Ramesses III and records the cultic staff of a statue of Ramesses III: "the great statue of Ramesses-Hikaon." The text further records one woman who held the position of chantress in this institution (and possibly the installation of her daughter into the same position): "[. . .]t-eribet, her mother being Sahnefer, a chantress of the 'Pure Foundation of Ptah,' she is (to be?) a chantress of this god."¹⁰¹ Schulman notes that the Pure Foundation of Ptah is also mentioned in the Memphite section of P. Harris I, 47, 8–9: "I made for you great decrees with secret words fixed in the hall of writings of Tomeri, they being made as stelae of stone, engraved with the chisel, for the administering of your august estate forever. Your 'Pure Foundation' of women was administered (thus). I brought back their children who had been scattered, being people of the work-crews (in?) the hands of others, and on your behalf I appointed them to offices in the estate of Ptah, and decrees were made for them forever." He posits that the Pure Foundation of Ptah was a type of priestly

96 The best-known possessor of this name is the owner of the brilliantly decorated, double-sided funerary stela depicting a *nb.t pr* named Taperet in adoration before the god Re-Horakhty and Amun. The stela, now in the Department of Egyptian Antiquities, Musée du Louvre (E52), has been dated to the Twenty-Second Dynasty and may have originally come from Thebes. The writing of her name varies on both faces of this double-sided stela, and neither writing includes the genitive *n.t*, as also seen on the coffin under discussion. Another monument of note belonging to a woman named Taperet is the massive Twenty-Sixth Dynasty stone sarcophagus likely from Memphis and now in the collection of the Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm (NME 001). See Dodson 2015, pp. 40–41.

97 The standard work on the Egyptian title *šm'y.t* is that of Onstine 2005. Her study includes 252 women of the Third Intermediate Period who bore the title *šm'y.t*. Twenty-eight chantresses were dated to the Twenty-Second Dynasty. Of these women, only five did not serve Amun, and only two served Amun and another deity, including Tawedjatre, who served Amun and "the Pure Foundation of Ptah" (Onstine notes this unusual title on p. 31). For a discussion of women in the Third Intermediate Period, see Li 2017; Swart 2008.

98 It is interesting to note that there seems to be a *sm*-priest of the *gr<g> w'b [. . .] Pth(?)* named *'Ir.t-Hr-r=w*; see Jurman 2020, p. 1178.

99 The woman Tawedjatre (*T3-wd3.t-R'*) is known from her Twenty-First Dynasty Theban burial with its associated coffin and funerary goods. This individual also holds the title of chantress of Re and Mut. See Niwiński 1988, pp. 295, 297; 1989, no. 143. See also Stevens 2018, p. 179.

100 This stela was found in an area of the South Portal of the Merenptah palace complex together with many ex-voto stelae dedicated to Ptah. See Schulman 1963.

101 Line (x+10); see Schulman 1963, p. 178. See also Helck 1966, pp. 32–41, for a discussion of this stela.

Table 23.2. Individuals attested with the title “chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah.”

| | Name | Comment | Date |
|----|--------------------------------------|--|------------------|
| 1 | [. . .]-r-ib-t ¹⁰² | Her mother’s name was Sahnefer. | Dynasty 20 |
| 2 | [. . .] ¹⁰³ | Name is not preserved. | Dynasties 20–21? |
| 3 | T3-ḥn.t- <i>w</i> ¹⁰⁴ | Probably the wife of Pth-t3y=f-nḥt ¹⁰⁵ or Ns-Pth E. ¹⁰⁶ | Dynasty 21 |
| 4 | [. . .] ¹⁰⁷ | Name is not preserved. | Dynasties 21–22 |
| 5 | T3-dni.t-n.t-B3st.t A ¹⁰⁸ | Daughter of the high priest of Memphis Šd-sw-Nfr-tm A. ¹⁰⁹ | Dynasty 22 |
| 6 | T3-šri.t-n.t-Mw.t ¹¹⁰ | Probably also the daughter of the high priest of Memphis Šd-sw-Nfr-tm A. | Dynasty 22 |
| 7 | *Is-tw-n.i-Pth ¹¹¹ | Her father is uncertain. The best candidates are Hri ¹¹² or P3-šri-Mw.t. ¹¹³ | Dynasty 22 |
| 8 | [. . .] ¹¹⁴ | Mother of a man with many priestly titles. | Dynasty 22 |
| 9 | [. . .]y ¹¹⁵ | Daughter of the <i>ms wr n Mšwš</i> . | Dynasty 22 |
| 10 | T3-n.t-3ḥ.t ¹¹⁶ | | Dynasties 22–25? |

estate, composed mainly of women, among whom were chantresses of the god. Unfortunately, there are no indications in these texts as to the nature of this foundation, nor is there any insight into the work of the women associated with the establishment.¹¹⁷

Another *grg w^cb*, in this case associated with the cult of Re-Atum, is mentioned in the Heliopolitan section of the papyrus (P. Harris I, 30, 2).¹¹⁸ Here the king is said to have created this establishment with “numerous young people.” As Jurman notes, this example indicates that at least in the New Kingdom, a *grg w^cb* was not exclusively dedicated to Ptah. Neither was it solely populated by women, nor was it an establishment located only in the area of Memphis. However, as Jurman observes, extant Third Intermediate Period references to a *grg w^cb* are limited solely to those dedicated to the god Ptah.¹¹⁹ As noted above, all

102 Schulman 1963, pp. 178, 181 n. u.

103 Louvre 20174; see Jurman 2020, p. 996 and pls. 177f, 198d.

104 Louvre E20368; see Jurman 2020, pp. 355–64, 1096.

105 Jurman 2020, p. 1058.

106 Jurman 2020, p. 1077.

107 Cairo JE 91114; see Jurman 2020, pp. 554–58, 1051. See also Hill and Schorsch 2016, p. 263; de Meulenaere 1998, col. 123; Hastings 1997, no. 78; Martin 1979, p. 61 and pl. 52.

108 Cairo CG 741 (JE 29858); see Jurman 2020, pp. 476–97, 1098.

109 Jurman 2020, p. 1090.

110 Cairo CG 741 (JE 29858); see Jurman 2020, pp. 476–97, 1097.

111 Cleveland Museum of Art 1914.669 (201.14); see Jurman 2020, pp. 498–522, 1056.

112 Jurman 2020, p. 1085.

113 Jurman 2020, p. 1067.

114 See Malinine, Posener, and Vercoutter 1968, cat. no. 54; Jurman 2020, p. 1178.

115 Berlin ÄM 9320; see Jurman 2020, p. 1022.

116 From a secondary burial in the Bubasteion at Saqqara; see Jurman 2020, p. 1031.

117 Schulman 1963, p. 182 n. w. For a further discussion of the *grg w^cb* at Memphis, see Loprieno 2012, pp. 11–12, where it is suggested it may have functioned as a settlement intended for the production of slave labor.

118 See Helck 1966, p. 36, for a discussion of the *grg w^cb* of Re-Atum.

119 Jurman 2020, pp. 1177–78.

these attestations, with the exception of the woman *T3-wd3.t-R'*, are from the Memphite region.¹²⁰ Jurman has further observed that the Memphite women who bear this title had family members who served in the upper levels of the priesthood at Memphis or were married to members of the Libyan power elite, suggesting a certain level of social standing for the holders of the office.¹²¹ Elaborating on Schulman's suggestions as to the nature of this foundation, Jurman posits that this establishment was likely attached to the Ptah temple at Memphis and played a role in the education and maintenance of young women connected to members of the Memphite priesthood.¹²²

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

Consequently, it is in this religious and cultural context of Memphite society of the later Twenty-Second Dynasty that we can tentatively anchor the life of Taperet. While her mother remains unknown, Taperet's identity as *šm'y.t n p3 grg w'b n Pth* "chantress of the Pure Foundation of Ptah," and additionally as *s3(.t) n hm-ntr Hr n pr Pth* "daughter of the prophet, Hor, of the estate of Ptah," emphasizes her descent from a priestly family. We may expect that other members of her extended family were commemorated on funerary objects, and the fuller lineage of Taperet may yet become clear in the records of Third Intermediate Period Memphis. In the coffin's fascinating blend of traditional funerary imagery alongside rare and even unique adaptations of funerary iconography, we may see a glimpse of the elite funerary arts in the Memphite region. The coffin of Taperet provides evidence countering the tendency for a simplistic division between a more sophisticated Upper Egyptian funerary artistic tradition and the notion of cruder Memphite and Lower Egyptian traditions. Perhaps not surprisingly, the Memphite elite of the Twenty-Second Dynasty emerge as the sponsors of artisans fully capable of the production of fine, and to a degree even innovative, funerary arts. Naturally, even within the fractured political structure of the Libyan period, ongoing interaction between major centers, including Memphis and Thebes, may explain some of the unusual combinations of iconography and style we see on the coffin of Taperet.

As a final comment on the date and provenience of Taperet's coffin, we may briefly return to Mr. Huffnagle's colorful description of the findspot of Taperet's coffin. Its rather embellished characteristics notwithstanding, the description of the coffin's original location inside a Saqqara tomb within a "large stone sarcophagus, surmounted with a heavy marble slab" is intriguing. Here, at the very least, we have an indication that Taperet (perhaps along with other members of her family) was buried in the Saqqara necropolis, and in proximity to the religious institution of Ptah that she served. The record, however distorted it may be, appears to corroborate the indications of the Memphite associations of the chantress Taperet, indicated by the woman's own title and parentage and the fact that almost all the known holders of the title *šm'y.t n p3 grg w'b n Pth* came from the Memphite area.¹²³

If we attempt to read a little more into Huffnagle's description and the apparent association of the coffin's findspot with the Old Kingdom relief of Senebes and Merankhef (Penn Museum 29-209-1), it appears conceivable that Taperet's burial had been placed within a reused, earlier tomb shaft, thereby forming a secondary burial in the multiphased Saqqara necropolis.¹²⁴ If that is the case, the context we might envision would seem to contrast with the statement that Taperet's coffin was housed inside a larger, lidded, stone

120 It is unclear whether there may have been a parallel institution in Thebes or whether perhaps *T3-wd3.t-R'* had previously been associated with the Memphite area. See Jansen-Winkel 2004, p. 360 n. 12.

121 The exceptionally high quality of Taperet's coffin would certainly indicate an individual of a certain status and means.

122 Jurman 2020, p. 1179.

123 To a less certain extent, the somewhat garbled title of her father may also hint at a Memphite location on account of his role as a prophet of the estate of Ptah.

124 As for Third Intermediate Period burials at Saqqara, see Bennett 2019, p. 233, where it is noted that although evidence for them is somewhat sparse, reference to purported burials of this period can be found in the following: Aston 2009, p. 82; Firth and Gunn 1926, pp. 5–6; Leclant 1952, p. 239; Quibell 1907, pp. 8–11; Quibell and Hayter 1927, p. 305; Raven 1991, 2017; Smith and Jeffreys 1980, p. 18.

sarcophagus. Here we must remain suspicious of the finer details of the Huffnagle account. The Taperet coffin appears quite likely to have once formed part of a nested burial set with an inner and an outer coffin. But use of a larger stone sarcophagus appears less likely for the Twenty-Second Dynasty. Even while the fuller characteristics of Taperet's burial assemblage remain unknown, and even if this Third Intermediate Period burial lacked its own purpose-built tomb and architecture in taking the form of an intrusive interment, it would appear likely that the cemetery area in which Huffnagle made his discovery was one patronized by Taperet, her own extended family, and perhaps also other individuals associated with the *grg w' b n Pth*. Continuing archaeological research at Saqqara itself has the greatest potential for identifying and understanding patterns of cemetery use by the priestly class of Memphis in the Libyan period.

ABBREVIATION

TM Nam Trismegistos People Name Identifier. <https://www.trismegistos.org/ref/>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Amann, Anne-Marie
 1983 "Zur anthropomorphisierten Vorstellung des Djed-Pfeilers als Form des Osiris." *Die Welt des Orients* 14: 46–62.
- Anderson, John Alexander
 1916 *Springdale—the Huffnagle Mansion and Its Collection: Papers*. Doylestown: Bucks County Historical Society.
- Asensi Amorós, María Victoria
 2017 "The Wood of the Third Intermediate Period Coffins: The Evidence of Analysis for the Vatican Coffin Project." In *Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference 19–22 June 2013*, edited by Alessia Amenta and Hélène Guichard, vol. 1, pp. 45–50. Vatican City: Musei Vaticani.
- Aston, David A.
 2009 *Burial Assemblages of Dynasty 21–25: Chronology—Typology—Developments*. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 21. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bennett, James E.
 2019 *The Archaeology of Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Berlandini, Jocelyn
 1982 "Meret." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 4, *Megiddo–Pyramiden*, edited by W. Helck and E. Otto, cols. 80–88. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Daniels, V., R. Stacey, and A. Middleton
 2004 "The Blackening of Paint Containing Egyptian Blue." *Studies in Conservation* 49: 217–30.
- de Cenival, Françoise
 1988 *Le mythe de l'oeil du soleil*. Demotische Studien 9. Sommerhausen: Zauzich.
- de Meulenaere, Herman
 1998 Review of *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqâra 1964–76*, by Elizabeth Anne Hastings. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 55: 123.
- Dodson, Aidan
 2015 *Ancient Egyptian Coffins: The Medelhavsmuseet Collection*. National Museums of World Culture. https://www.varldskulturmuseerna.se/siteassets/pdf/ancient-egyptian-coffins_low.pdf.
- Dominicus, Brigitte
 1994 *Gesten und Gebärden in Darstellungen des Alten und Mittleren Reiches*. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.

- El-Sawi, Ahmed
 1987 "A Nineteenth Dynasty Representation of the Winged Djed-Pillar at Abydos." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 87: 167–69.
- Firth, Cecil Mallaby, and Battiscombe George Gunn
 1926 *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Fischer, Henry George
 1959 "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 18: 233–72.
 2000 *Egyptian Women of the Old Kingdom and of the Heracleopolitan Period*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fleming, S. James
 1980 *The Egyptian Mummy: Secrets and Science*. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Fletcher, Amy Joann
 1995 "Ancient Egyptian Hair: A Study in Style, Form and Function." PhD diss., University of Manchester.
- Frazer, Persifor
 1895 "In Memory of Edward Yorke Macauley, U. S. N." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 34, no. 149: 364–80.
- Guglielmi, Waltraud
 1991 *Die Göttin Mr.t: Entstehung und Verehrung einer Personifikation*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 7. Leiden: Brill.
- Hastings, Elizabeth Anne
 1997 *The Sculpture from the Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqāra, 1964–76*. Excavation Memoirs 61. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Helck, Wolfgang
 1966 "Zum Kult an Königsstatuen." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25: 32–41.
- Hellinckx, Bart R.
 2001 "The Symbolic Assimilation of Head and Sun as Expressed by Headrests." *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 29: 61–95.
- Hill, Marsha, and Deborah Schorsch
 2016 "Ptah's Profile." In *Another Mouthful of Dust: Egyptological Studies in Honour of Geoffrey Thorndike Martin*, edited by Jacobus van Dijk, pp. 251–307. Leuven: Peeters.
- Hornung, Erik
 1982 *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen*. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Jansen-Winkel, Karl
 2004 "Bemerkungen zu den Frauenbiographien der Spätzeit." *Altorientalische Forschungen* 31: 358–73.
- Jurman, Claus
 2020 *Memphis in der Dritten Zwischenzeit: Eine Studie zur (Selbst)Repräsentation von Eliten in der 21. und 22. Dynastie*. 2 vols. Hamburg: Widmaier.
- Leclant, Jean
 1952 "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1950–1951. 2." *Orientalia* 21: 233–49.
- Leitz, Christian
 2002a *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Vol. 3, *p–nbw*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 112. Leuven: Peeters.
 2002b *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Vol. 4, *nbt–h*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 113. Leuven: Peeters.
 2002c *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*. Vol. 5, *h–ḥ*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 114. Leuven: Peeters.

- Li, Jean
2017 *Women, Gender and Identity in Third Intermediate Period Egypt: The Theban Case Study*. Routledge Studies in Egyptology 4. London: Routledge.
- Liptay, Éva
2017 “The Ancient Egyptian Coffin as Sacred Space: Changes of the Sacred Space during the Third Intermediate Period.” In *Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference 19–22 June 2013*, edited by Alessia Amenta and Héléne Guichard, vol. 1, pp. 259–70. Vatican City: Musei Vaticani.
- Loprieno, Antonio
2012 “Slavery and Servitude.” *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, and Elizabeth Froid, pp. 1–19. Los Angeles. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8mx2073f>.
- Malek, Jaromir
2006 *The Cat in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press.
- Malinine, Michel, Georges Posener, and Jean Vercoutter
1968 *Catalogue des stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale / Musées Nationaux.
- Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike
1979 *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the Sacred Animal Necropolis, North Saqqâra, 1964–1973*. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Musso, Simone, and Simone Petacchi
2014 “The Inner Coffin of Tameramun: A Unique Masterpiece of Kushite Iconography from Thebes.” In *Thebes in the First Millennium BC*, edited by Elena Pischikova, Julia Budka, and Kenneth Griffin, pp. 439–52. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Niwiński, Andrzej
1987–88 “The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty.” *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux* 30: 89–106.
1988 *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes: Chronological and Typological Studies*. Theben 5. Mainz: von Zabern.
1989 *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 86. Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Onstine, Suzanne Lynn
2005 *The Role of the Chantress (šmʿyt) in Ancient Egypt*. BAR International Series 1401. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Peck, William H., Sandra E. Knudsen, and Paula Reich
2011 *Egypt in Toledo: The Ancient Egyptian Collection at the Toledo Museum of Art*. Toledo: Toledo Museum of Art.
- Quack, Joachim Friedrich
2007 “Tier des Sonnengottes und Schlangenkämpfer: Zur Theologie der Katze im alten Ägypten.” In *Eine seltsame Gefährtin: Katzen, Religion, Theologie und Theologen*, edited by Rainer Kampling, pp. 11–39. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Quibell, James Edward
1907 *Excavations at Saqqara, 1905–1906*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Quibell, James Edward, and A. G. K. Hayter
1927 *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid, North Side*. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.
- Ranke, Hermann
1935 *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen*. Glückstadt: Augustin.
- Raven, Maarten J.
1991 *The Tomb of Iurudéf: A Memphite Official in the Reign of Ramesses II*. Leiden: National Museum of Antiquities Leiden.
2017 “Third Intermediate Period Burials in Saqqara.” In *Proceedings First Vatican Coffin Conference 19–22 June 2013*, edited by Alessia Amenta and Héléne Guichard, vol. 2, pp. 419–24. Vatican City: Musei Vaticani.

Rößler-Köhler, Ursula

- 1975 *Das Imiut: Untersuchungen zur Darstellung und Bedeutung eines mit Anubis verbundenen religiösen Symbols.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schlögl, Hermann Alexander

- 1980 *Der Gott Tatenen: Nach Texten und Bildern des Neuen Reiches.* Freiburg: Universitätsverlag and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
1986 "Tatenen." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 6, *Stele-Zyppresse*, edited by W. Helck and E. Otto, cols. 238–40. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Schulman, Alan R.

- 1963 "A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 22: 177–84.

Schweizer, Andreas

- 1994 *The Sungod's Journey through the Netherworld: Reading the Ancient Egyptian Amduat.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Smith, Harry S., and D. G. Jeffreys

- 1980 "The 'Anubieion,' North Saqqâra: Preliminary Report, 1978–9." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 66: 17–27.

Spiegelberg, Wilhelm

- 1917 *Der ägyptische Mythos vom Sonnenauge (Der Papyrus der Tierfabeln—"Kufi") nach dem Leidener demotischen Papyrus I 384.* Strassburg: Schultz.

Stevens, Marissa Ashley

- 2018 "Shaping Identities in the Context of Crisis: The Social Self Reflected in 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Swart, Lisa

- 2008 "Observations on the Status of Women in the 21st and 22nd Dynasty, Thebes, Egypt." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 35: 207–16.

Tarasenko, Mykola O.

- 2007 "'Ruti-Scene' in Ancient Egyptian Religious Art (19–21 Dynasties)." In *Cultural Heritage of Egypt and Christian Orient*, edited by Eleonora Kormysheva and Ivan Ladynin, vol. 4, pp. 77–122. Moscow: Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences.

Taylor, John H.

- 1984 "A Priestly Family of the 25th Dynasty." *Chronique d'Égypte* 59: 27–57.
1985 "The Development of Theban Coffins during the Third Intermediate Period." 2 vols. PhD diss., University of Birmingham.
2001 "Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins from the New Kingdom to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: An Overview." In *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, edited by Vivien Davies, pp. 164–81. London: British Museum Press.
2003 "Theban Coffins from the Twenty-Second to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: Dating and Synthesis of Development." In *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, edited by Nigel Strudwick and John H. Taylor, pp. 95–121. London: British Museum Press.
2006 "The Coffin of Padiashaikhet." In *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney*, edited by Karin N. Sowada and Boyo G. Ockinga, pp. 263–91. Sydney: Meditarch.
2009 "Coffins as Evidence for a 'North-South Divide' in the 22nd–25th Dynasties." In *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, edited G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper, pp. 375–416. Egyptologische Uitgaven 23. Leuven: Peeters.

Thompson, Dorothy J.

- 2012 *Memphis under the Ptolemies.* 2nd ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Troy, Lana

- 1986 *Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History.* Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 14. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.

van Dijk, Jacobus

1986 "The Symbolism of the Memphite Djed-Pillar." *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* 66: 7–20.

Warburton, David

2007 *The Egyptian Amduat: The Book of the Hidden Chamber*. Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications.

Ziegler, Christiane, Christophe Barbotin, and Marie-Hélène Rutschowskaya

1990 *The Louvre: Egyptian Antiquities*. Paris: Scala.

24

NEW LIGHT ON THE MAYORS AND RULING FAMILY
OF WAH-SUT

Josef Wegner
University of Pennsylvania

DURING THE REIGN OF PSUSENNES II, in approximately 950 BCE, fifty arouras of cultivated land at an obscure location named Wah-Sut south of Abydos were dedicated on behalf of the Great Chief of the Ma, Sheshonq, to the funerary endowment of Sheshonq's father, Nimlot.¹ This reference to Wah-Sut on the Abydos Donation Stela of the man best known as Sheshonq I is the last surviving mention of a town and royal mortuary complex that had been established nearly a full millennium before the Libyan period, around 1840 BCE, in the reign of Senwosret III. I dedicate this essay on the mayoral history of Wah-Sut to the memory of my colleague and friend of many years, Robert, and tangentially to his devoted canine companion also named Sheshonq. While Robert's interest in the Libyan period certainly exceeded his fascination for the intricacies of the late Middle Kingdom, I hope this essay will speak somewhat to Robert's interest in the longevity of ancient Egyptian cultural and historical traditions.

THE TOWN AND MAYORAL RESIDENCE OF WAH-SUT

On the low desert edge at South Abydos are the remains of a mortuary complex dedicated to the cult of the Twelfth Dynasty king Khakaure Senwosret III. Including a subterranean tomb and royal mortuary temple, this locale bore the institutional name *W3h-Swt H^c-k3.w-r^c m3^c-hrw m 3bdw* "Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-justified-in-Abydos." Three hundred meters to the local south of the royal mortuary temple are the ruins of a state-planned town that once housed the community responsible for the maintenance of the cult of Senwosret III (fig. 24.1).² This urban site, although officially comprising a component of the Senwosret III foundation, was known from its inception as Wah-Sut, an abbreviated form of the site's longer institutional name. Excavation of this townsite over the past two decades provides evidence for a community that thrived during the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties, about 1940–1650 BCE. During the Second Intermediate Period the site appears to have suffered institutional decline but survived as a local population center. Wah-Sut appears to have been reorganized in the early New Kingdom with the construction of the nearby Ahmose complex. Thereafter, the toponym appears sporadically during the New Kingdom and as late as the Twenty-Second Dynasty, reflecting the long-term evolution of a population center that was first established at the height of the Twelfth Dynasty.³

1 For the text of the Abydos Donation Stela (Cairo JdE 66285), see the translation and discussion of Ritner (2009, pp. 166–72) and earlier commentary of Blackman (1941, pp. 83–95). Regarding the chronological context of this reference to Wah-Sut, see also Dodson 2009 on the relationship between Pasebkhanut (Psusennes) II and Sheshonq I. For further comments on the occurrence of Wah-Sut (and its later spelling as *W3h-Swyt*) in the Abydos Donation Stela, see the conclusion to this essay.

2 For overviews of the mortuary complex, see particularly Wegner 2007, pp. 15–46; on the townsite itself, see Wegner 1998, 2001, 2014, and elsewhere.

3 Continued use of the toponym between the late Middle Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period is indicated in New Kingdom sources, including the Ramesseum Onomasticon and the Upper Egyptian tax collection scene in the tomb of Rekhmire; see Wegner 2007, pp. 26–31. The survival of the toponym Wah-Sut occurred alongside significant changes in the

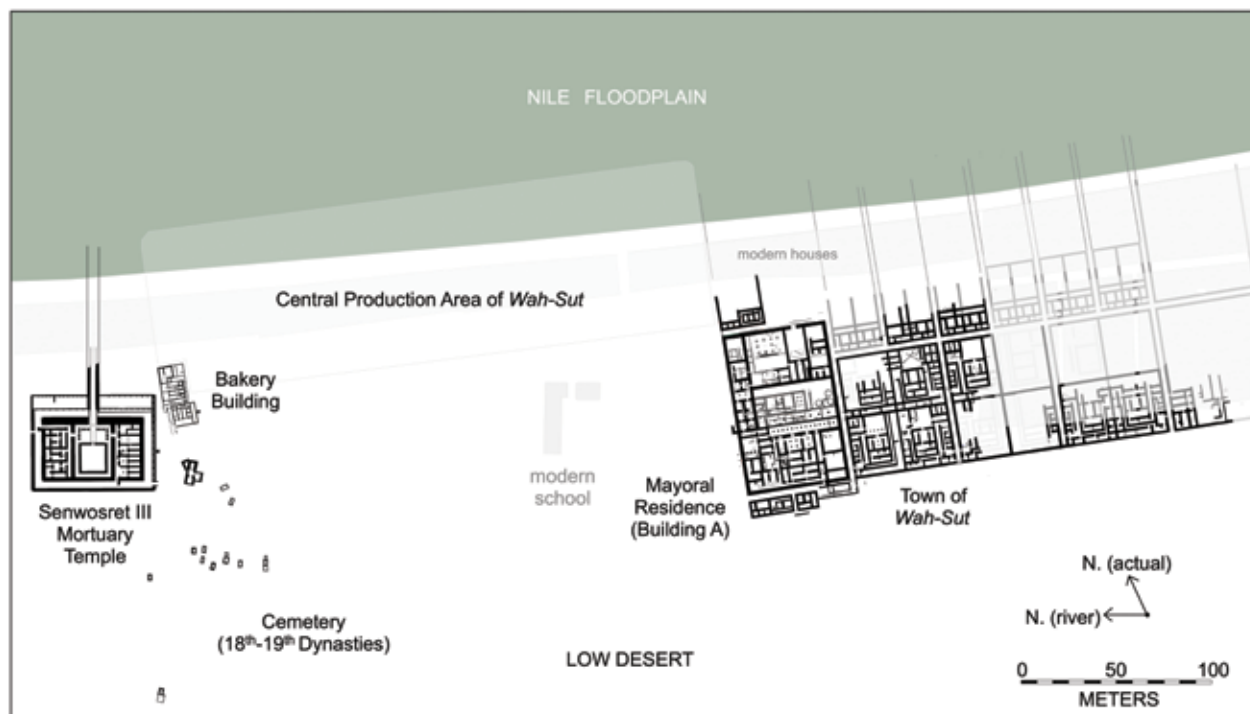


Figure 24.1. The mayoral residence and associated structures at South Abydos.

Since the initial identification of the late Middle Kingdom town of Wah-Sut in the 1990s, a major focus of archaeological work at South Abydos has been the large residential and administrative structure labeled “Building A.” Building A forms the southwestern corner of the town, placing it in closest proximity to the mortuary temple of Senwosret III, 300 m away on the desert edge. Measuring 53×85 m, this building dwarfs all known neighboring structures, including blocks of smaller residential buildings accessed through an internal street system. The location of Building A, its size, and its architectural complexity show that it held a central function in the administrative organization of the mortuary foundation of Senwosret III.

The specific identity of Building A was first established on the basis of clay seal impressions excavated in refuse deposits behind the structure. The most frequently occurring sealings in this area are those that bear the imprint of a group of institutional stamp seals. One of these is the official seal of the royal mortuary foundation with its full name: *W3h-Swt H^c-k3.w-r^c m3^c-hrw m 3bdw*. Others are different seal versions naming the administrative facility titled the *‘rryt nt pr h3ty-^c n W3h-Swt H^c-k3.w-r^c m3^c-hrw m 3bdw*. On these *areryt* stamps we find both the full name of the Senwosret III foundation as well as its abbreviated form, Wah-Sut, a name that was clearly rapidly adopted as the primary toponym used for the townsite itself (fig. 24.2).⁴

On the basis of the numerous institutional seal impressions connected with the administration of Wah-Sut, two rectangular buildings and associated structures behind Building A can be identified as the physical remains of the *areryt*. This facility appears to have served in managing the movement of goods into and out of Building A. In addition, the *areryt* was clearly a focus of scribal activity. A high frequency of document sealings in the associated refuse indicate that the facility managed the storage, reception, and transmission of papyrus correspondence connected with the mayoral administration. It is based on this corpus of seal

site, including the redevelopment of the area during the reign of Ahmose and shifting patterns of habitation and cemetery development.

⁴ Note that for ease of comparison between line drawings and photographs, all the seal reconstructions in the illustrations follow the orientation of the clay seal impressions. The actual carved seals would have been mirror images of these line drawings.



Figure 24.2. *Top*, stamp seal of the Senwosret III mortuary foundation; *bottom*, two stamp seals naming the administrative gatehouse (*rryt nt pr ḥ3ty-ꜥ*) of the mayor's residence.

impressions associated with the *areryt* that we can identify the 53 × 85 m structure of Building A as the *pr ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, or mayoral residence proper.

Excavation of the mayoral residence has spanned numerous seasons, and the full exposure and documentation of the structure has now been completed. The interior of the mayoral residence underwent a complex sequence of alterations reflecting changes in the way the building was used over approximately two centuries, circa 1840–1650 BCE, from the late Twelfth Dynasty through the Thirteenth Dynasty (fig. 24.3). Building A can be usefully understood as a “hybrid household,” a combination of residential, administrative, and institutional buildings, which—in this case—incorporated the domestic spaces for the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* and ruling family of Wah-Sut, as well as facilities involved in the economic and administrative functions of the mayoral office.⁵

Work on the interior of Building A has occurred alongside investigation of the wider landscape of the town and temple of Wah-Sut. One of the insights of recent work is the way the mayoral residence relates to the intervening area between the town and temple. Further to the west along the low desert edge, excavations in 2018–19 exposed the bakery associated with the mortuary temple of Senwosret III. The bakery and related structures were situated adjacent to the Senwosret III mortuary temple but were built on the same orientation as the town architecture 300 m away. The spatial relationships of these structures demonstrate that there was an expansive production area extending along the edge of the Nile floodplain and bounded by the mayoral residence on its local south and the temple of Senwosret III on the local north. The mayoral residence was situated on the landscape in a way that enhanced its position as the central, commanding institutional building at Wah-Sut.

In terms of its relationships to surrounding structures, one of the insights of recent work at South Abydos, paired with renewed examination of the contemporary late Middle Kingdom site of Lahun by several researchers, is how similar the configuration of Building A is to the so-called acropolis residence in the

⁵ For a discussion of the elite residences at Wah-Sut as hybrid households, see Picardo 2015.

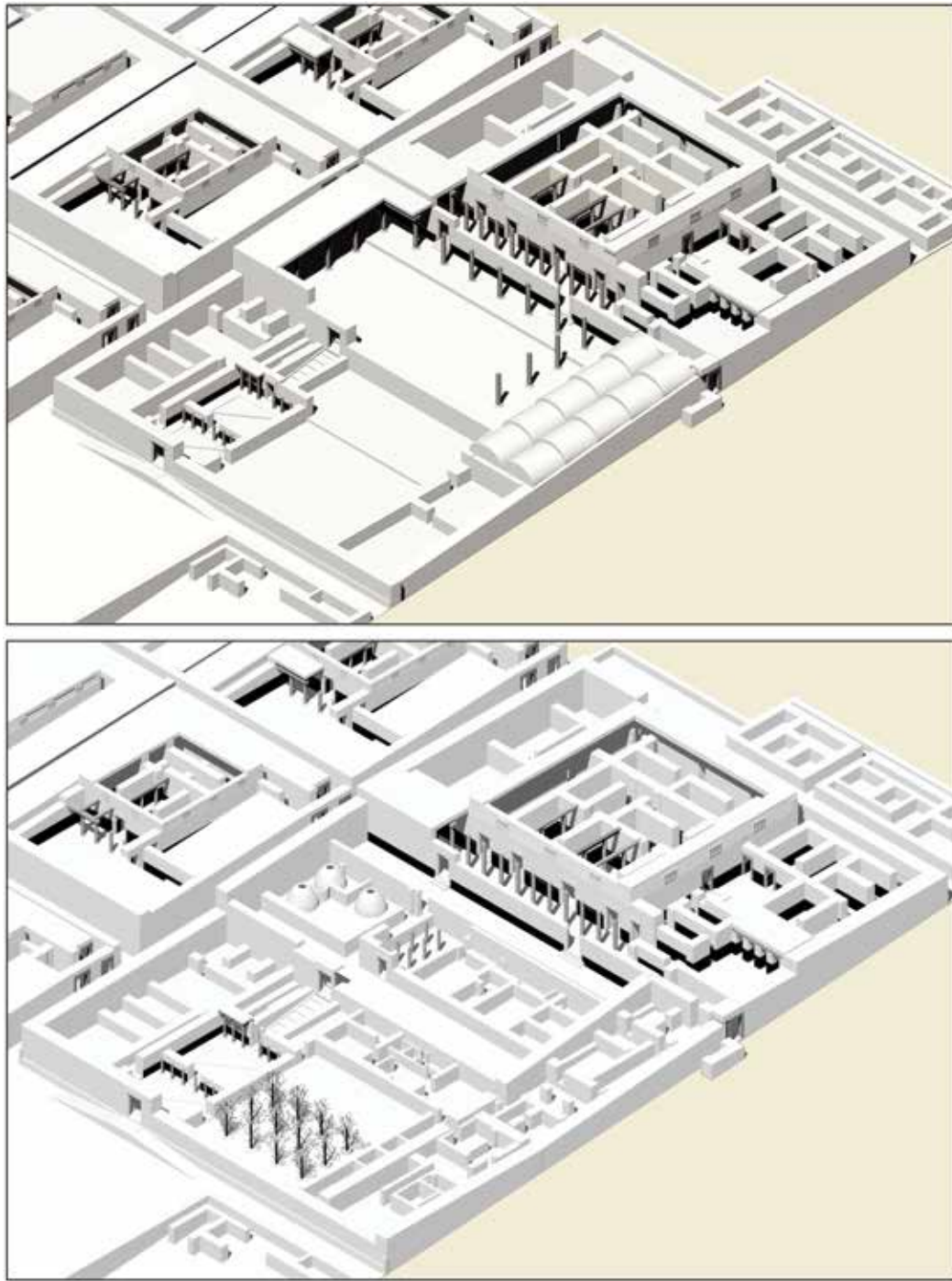


Figure 24.3. Isometric reconstruction of the mayoral residence, Building A, at Wah-Sut. *Top*, the original late Twelfth Dynasty building; *bottom*, the form of the building in the mid- to late Thirteenth Dynasty.

closely contemporaneous town of *Htp-Snwsrt m3'-hrw* at Lahun (fig. 24.4). The acropolis building has been convincingly argued to be the mayoral residence of Hetep-Senwosret.⁶ Although Building A at Wah-Sut is a larger, architecturally more imposing version of its equivalent at Lahun, the basic components of the central residence and surrounding room blocks are extremely similar. Apart from the residence proper, a notable parallel at both sites is the presence of a large, external courtyard or plaza fronting the mayoral

⁶ Moeller 2017, pp. 193–95.

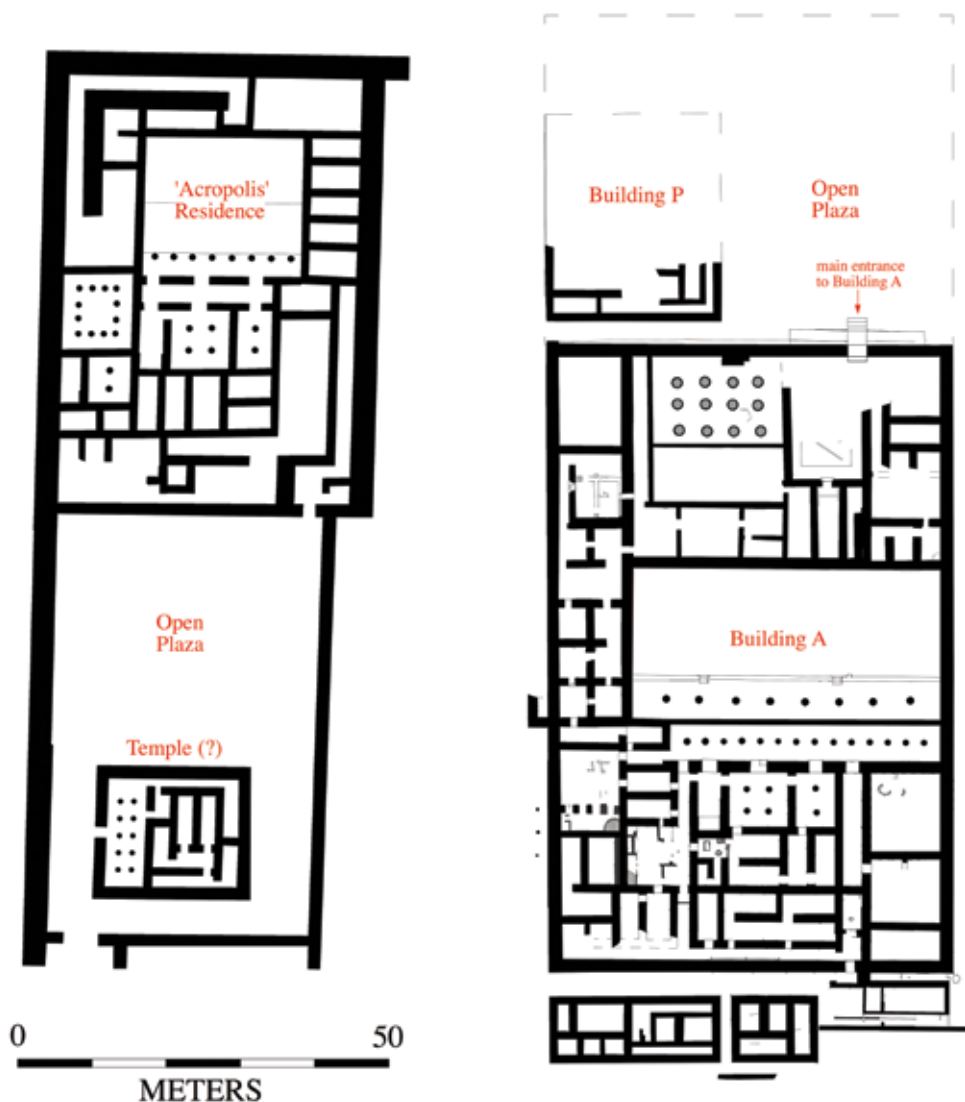


Figure 24.4. *Left*, the “acropolis” residence at Lahun; *right*, Building A and adjacent structures at Wah-Sut.

residence.⁷ At Lahun this space is occupied at one end by a freestanding building that has been provisionally identified as the town temple and a separate cult building to the nearby mortuary temple of Senwosret II.⁸

At South Abydos, the back portion of a structure labeled Building P has been exposed in the same relative position to the possible town temple at Lahun. Building P is displaced to the local north of a ramp system leading up to the main entrance into Building A. Otherwise the situation of Building P relative to the mayoral residence appears to be quite similar to that of the possible town temple at Lahun. As at Lahun, the structure may represent the remains of a temple that functioned independently from the mortuary temple of Senwosret III. Alternatively, it might be an administrative facility or storage building connected with the wider mayoral oversight of the production area of Wah-Sut, which extended from this structure along the edge of the floodplain toward the area of the bakery complex flanking the Senwosret III temple. The use of

7 Note that at both South Abydos and Lahun, this courtyard or plaza is positioned in front of the main entrance, facing toward the floodplain. At Lahun the floodplain is on the south side, whereas at Abydos it lies to the north. The main residential unit, fronted by a columned portico and interior courtyard, faces cardinal north in both cases. Consequently, the orientation of the core residential unit is reversed in the two sites.

8 This structure may be a cult building, possibly dedicated to Sopdet or other deities whose local cults occur in the textual records at Lahun; see the discussion in Moeller 2017, pp. 196–97; Horváth 2009.

the landscape and position of Building A in relation to these surrounding structures reflects a building that functioned as the central institution in the management of the Senwosret III mortuary temple, production and industrial activities, and the broader functions of civil administration of the townsite proper. The physicality of Building A and its spatial relationships emerges as a direct expression of the central role of the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* as primary administrator of the civil and religious life at South Abydos.

CONSTRUCTING A LOCAL HISTORY FOR WAH-SUT

In excavating the mayoral residence at Wah-Sut, an ongoing aspiration has been to recover evidence that allows us to reconstruct its occupational history, not just in terms of the building's physical evolution but also in terms of the identities of individuals who once lived and worked there. Such a task is challenging in the case of such a severely denuded building. However, certain categories of inscribed artifacts—name and title seals, and the remains of commemorative monuments—provide the potential for retrieving evidence of the individuals associated with the mayoral residence. One continuing objective is reconstructing the sequence of mayors who once occupied and ruled Wah-Sut from this building. The establishment of a mayoral history forms the backbone to understanding the development of the community of Wah-Sut, and possible continuities and breaks in the system of local rulership, over the course of the late Middle Kingdom.

Each small piece of archaeological and textual data relevant to reconstructing the mayoral history has been hard-won through excavation. The interpretation of the evidence remains an ongoing process, and many insights remain tentative and subject to revision. Unlike sites where an abundance of inscribed commemorative objects forms the basis for establishing histories of regional ruling families,⁹ the key evidence at South Abydos currently derives from the corpus of institutional and official name and title seals.¹⁰ I have discussed some of this evidence in previous publications. However, a set of new discoveries relating to the mayoral history of South Abydos has accrued in recent years that has added new information and corrected previous conclusions.

At the present time we can establish five mayors—Nakht, Nakhti, Khentykhety, Neferwenher, and Sehetepib—and their relative chronological positions with a high degree of certainty (fig. 24.5). These men held the primary title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, translated here as “mayor,”¹¹ along with a set of secondary titles, *imy-r ḥwt-ntr*, *imy-r ḥmw-ntr*, *ḥtmty-ntr* “temple overseer, overseer of the priesthood, god’s sealer,” which defined their role as principal administrator of the Senwosret III temple and possibly a separate town temple, as discussed above. Four of these men, Nakht, Nakhti, Khentykhety, and Neferwenher, represent a line of rulership that appears to have been held within a single family from the establishment of Wah-Sut into the early Thirteenth Dynasty. Nakhti in particular was the father of two sons who both succeeded him in the mayoral office.¹²

The fifth mayor, Sehetepib, who dates to the mid- to late Thirteenth Dynasty, stands apart from these earlier rulers. It remains unclear whether his mayoralty represents a continuation of Wah-Sut’s original ruling family or there was a break in rulership at South Abydos. The period encompassed by these five

9 E.g., Bubastis (for which see Lange 2015) or Elephantine (for which see Jiménez-Serrano and Sánchez León 2019).

10 This essay reviews the key evidence of the mayoral seal corpus as currently known. It does not seek to present here the full statistical evidence on frequency, distribution, and back types of the various sets of sealings.

11 To clarify the issue of translation: the term “mayor” fits closely with the role of the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* (literally “one prominent of position”) of Wah-Sut as top-ranking administrator of the town and mortuary complex of Senwosret III. The office of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* at South Abydos is specified on the seals as being *ḥ3ty-ꜥ n W3ḥ-Swt Ḥꜥ-k3.w-rꜥ m3ꜥ-ḥrw m 3bdw* or, in its abbreviated form, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ n W3ḥ-Swt*. The term “governor” is also a valid translation of this same title where it denotes regional administrators of larger geographical divisions, such as the provinces or nomes. The connotations of the term are discussed by Willems (2014, pp. 53–58), who proposes an English equivalency with the word “lord.” Because the role of the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* in town administration closely fits with the meaning of the English term “mayor,” I retain that translation, while “lord” is a term already used for the generic word *nb* in Egyptian.

12 Although the position of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* was not explicitly hereditary, there is a strong tendency for the office to be held over long time frames within single lineages. In this respect, the evidence for the mayoralty at Wah-Sut follows patterns of familial succession in local administration, as examined by Favry (2016).

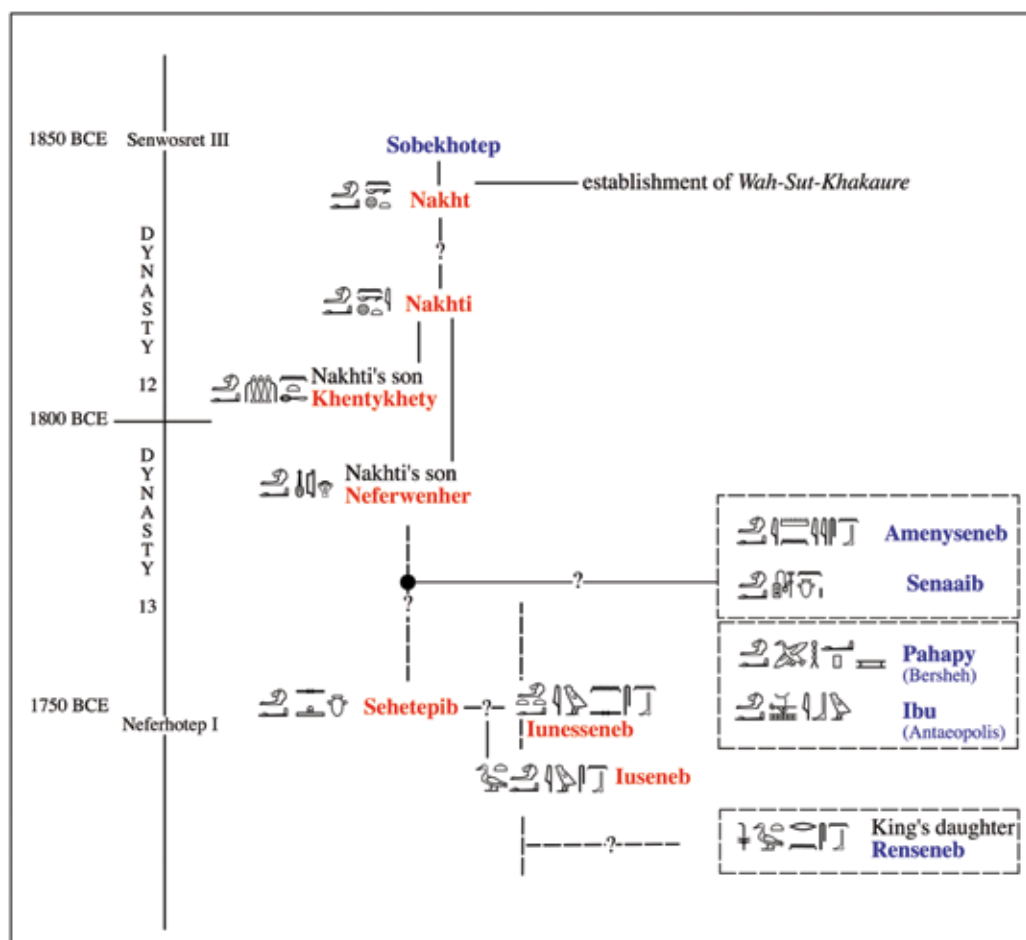


Figure 24.5. Known members of the mayoral family (in red) and other individuals attested in the South Abydos sealing corpus related to the mayoral history of Wah-Sut (in blue).

mayors extends from the reign of Senwosret III into the post-Neferhotep I period of the Thirteenth Dynasty (ca. 1840–1720 BCE). Although it is possible that only five long-lived mayors ruled over such a lengthy time frame, there appears to be a high potential for additional mayors who may have ruled for shorter periods and produced less obvious signatures in the archaeological record. Several other men represented by sealings at South Abydos are discussed here. They include two external governors, a *h3ty*-*ꜥ* Ibu of Antaeopolis and Pahapy, a ruler likely linked to the fifteenth Upper Egyptian nome at Deir el-Bersheh—two men whose sealings certainly reflect administrative links and correspondence between Wah-Sut and other provinces. However, it remains uncertain whether several other men with the title *h3ty*-*ꜥ* represented in the sealing corpus were local or external mayors. In particular, Amenyseneb and the recently identified Senaib, although represented by fewer seal impressions, may be additional, shorter-ruling mayors at Wah-Sut and possibly predecessors of Sehetepib.

One of the significant additions to our knowledge of the ruling family of Wah-Sut is a woman named Iunesseneb, who has now been identified through large numbers of sealings associated with Building A. Iunesseneb held a remarkably rare female counterpart designation to the mayoral title: *h3tyt*-*ꜥ* “mayoress.” She was likely the wife of one of the mayors at Wah-Sut during the Thirteenth Dynasty, possibly the wife of the fifth known mayor, Sehetepib, for reasons we shall examine below. Use of the rare designation *h3tyt*-*ꜥ* may not be simply the marker of a mayor’s wife, and it is noteworthy that no other women have yet been identified who bore this title at Wah-Sut. Consequently, questions arise regarding Iunesseneb’s social status and potential administrative role through her sealing activity. Separately from Iunesseneb, there is the possibility of a marriage between one of the Wah-Sut mayors and a king’s daughter, Renseneb, based on

significant concentrations of seal impressions of the *s3t nswt Rnsnb* inside one particular area of Building A. Innesseneb may have had origins outside Abydos as the member of an elite, late Middle Kingdom family.

At the present time, the framework of the mayoral succession and some key familial relationships can be reconstructed based on the seal corpus. However, the further depth of detail that might derive from commemorative monuments, such as the family stelae that are such prevalent fixtures of late Middle Kingdom Abydos, remains beyond the pale of the evidence. In the final section of this essay we shall examine some of the private commemorative material recovered from the area of Building A, which strongly indicate the presence of cemeteries and associated chapels on the low desert landscape in the vicinity of the town of Wah-Sut. Some of these objects suggest that funerary installations of the mayoral family were located in areas yet to be examined behind the townsite. We turn first to an examination of the existing evidence for these attested individuals and the mayoral history at South Abydos.

NAKHT, NAKHTI, AND THE INCEPTION OF A MAYORAL LINE

In the earliest deposits associated with Building A, as well as the refuse layers adjacent to the Senwosret III mortuary temple, are numerous impressions of several seal variants bearing the name of a *h3ty-ꜥ Nht* “Nakht.” Also occurring with significant frequency, but representing a smaller corpus of actual seals, are impressions naming a *h3ty-ꜥ Nhti* “Nakhti” (fig. 24.6). Because of the similarity of the name, I long assumed that Nakht and Nakhti were one and the same individual. Some seal versions presumably abbreviated the



Figure 24.6. *Top*, two versions of stamp seals naming the mayor Nakht; *bottom*, stamp seal naming Nakhti.

name by omitting the final reed-leaf for reasons of space.¹³ However, as additional seal examples naming Nakht and Nakhti have been excavated, significant doubt has arisen over whether Nakht and Nakhti are in fact the same man. The evidence at present weighs in favor of identifying them as two different individuals.

A mayor Nakht is identified on one scarab version as the “Mayor, god’s sealer, Great-one-of-the-Tens of Upper Egypt, Sobekhotep’s son Nakht.”¹⁴ Nakht on this filial seal is the only one of the mayors attested at Wah-Sut to use the *wr mdw šm’w* title, and we have found no indications that his father, Sobekhotep, held the title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* or was associated in any other way with South Abydos. On this basis, Nakht appears quite possibly to be the first individual appointed—presumably through royal command—as mayor of the newly established Senwosret III mortuary foundation.¹⁵

A distributional pattern observed in the refuse layers associated with the Senwosret III mortuary temple is that seals of Nakht and Nakhti occur in the lowest depositional layers but that seal impressions naming Nakhti with a terminal reed-leaf *i* continue in greater volume into higher strata than those naming Nakht. This evidence leads to two different scenarios: (1) Nakht and Nakhti are the same individual who preferred writing a fuller version of his name, particularly on seals used later in his mayoral tenure; or (2) Nakht was succeeded in the office of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* by a similarly named man, possibly his son, Nakhti. This second option is further supported by a group of filial seal impressions naming two later mayors, Khentykhety and Neferwenher, as the sons of Nakhti (discussed below; see figs. 24.9 and 24.10). The paternal name in both cases exclusively makes use of the longer name Nakhti, again suggesting there was a difference between an earlier mayor Nakht and a successor named Nakhti. It was this second mayor who was the father of Khentykhety and Neferwenher.

Aside from the sealing evidence, an object relevant to the identity of Nakht and Nakhti is a reused libation table that was discovered in the Wah-Sut townsite (fig. 24.7).¹⁶ The excavated fragment derives from the left side of a libation table with a row of circular recesses on the surface.¹⁷ Inscriptions on the front and back sides are funerary formulae that terminate on the left end with the name of the deceased: *n k3 n im3ḥw ḥ3ty-ꜥ imy-r ḥmw-ntr Nḥt m3’ ḥrw nb im3ḥw* “for the ka of the venerated one, the mayor, overseer of priests, Nakht, true of voice, possessor of veneration.” The upper surface is inscribed and also names Nakht with the same titles. In two locations this table names a mayor and overseer of priests Nakht, written without a terminal reed-leaf. It is interesting that this object provides abundant space for including a fuller writing Nakhti, if it were desired. But the text on this libation table does not do so. One might expect that the fuller writing of this mayor’s name would have been desirable on a piece of equipment used in the mortuary cult of this particular *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*.

It must be cautioned that we cannot be absolutely certain that the mayor Nakht on the libation table and the mayor Nakht recorded in the South Abydos seal corpus are one and the same individual. However, the equivalency seems probable. Unlike the case of the two later mayors, Khentykhety and Neferwenher, who are both named on filial seals as sons of Nakhti, there are no surviving seals or other inscriptions confirming the succession from Nakht to Nakhti. Consequently, it remains a possibility that Nakht and Nakhti are the same individual. Nevertheless, at the present time the sealing evidence paired with the reused libation table weighs quite heavily in favor of two different men, with Nakht being the earlier of the two and in all likelihood the first appointed as mayor of Wah-Sut.

Regarding the identification of a Sobekhotep’s son Nakht as the inaugural mayor at South Abydos, one of the questions central to understanding Wah-Sut’s history, for which we have been hoping to gain evidence, is the geographical origins of the town’s founding population. This issue is particularly interesting

13 The abbreviation of Nakhti to Nakht does occur sporadically on commemorative monuments (see Ranke 1935, pp. 209, 212) and is a viable understanding of the spelling variation, but the set of objects discussed here weighs against this possibility.

14 Not illustrated here; see Wegner 2007, p. 336, fig. 150 no. 4.

15 Regarding the practices involved in appointment to office during the Middle Kingdom, see Nelson-Hurst 2011, pp. 128–37.

16 The object is briefly discussed in Wegner 2001, p. 305.

17 A large, royal version of a similar libation table with a grid of circular receptacles was dedicated by Amenemhat VI (Thirteenth Dynasty) at Karnak (CG 23040); see Kamal 1906–9, vol. 1, pp. 31–32. The findspot and possible original context of the Nakht libation table are discussed further below.



Figure 24.7. Drawing of offering table dedicated to a mayor Nakht, reused as a door socket in Building B (object SA.15472).

in regard to the establishment of a mayoral administration that was newly constituted and incorporated into the preexisting administrative fabric of Abydos and the Thinite nome. One potential strategy for initiating the leadership of a newly formed royal mortuary foundation would be the selection of a member of one of the already established provincial ruling families. Such an appointment may advantageously have been accompanied by a coterie of subordinate officials deriving from the same town or region of origin as the initial mayoral appointment. Inasmuch as the establishment of Wah-Sut involved replication of the key hierarchical components of late Middle Kingdom administration, an initial appointee may have been someone from a provincial elite family with close ties to the crown, as well as someone who was drawn from the broader vicinity of the Thinite region.

One avenue offering possible insight into this question consists in recurrent patterns in the administrative connections of the mayoral residence and community of Wah-Sut with other regions. The sealing assemblage from the deposits behind Building A contains a remarkably high incidence of papyrus document sealings, and, as stated above, it appears the *areryt* facility played a primary role in the reception and dispatching of papyrus correspondence. Seal impressions recovered in Building A—as well as more widely in the South Abydos townsite—show ongoing administrative connections and correspondence beyond Abydos. It is significant, though not surprising, to find evidence for institutional, economic, and likely personal interconnections with other regions of Middle and Upper Egypt. Fragments of royal document seals also occur. The mayoral administration functioned within a web of local and regional linkages, as well as interactions with administrative departments of the royal administration. Here, in connection with mayoral administration at South Abydos, I include in the present discussion two document seals that help frame the administrative linkages in which the mayoral administration and population at Wah-Sut functioned.



Figure 24.8. *Left*, papyrus sealing from the seventh Upper Egyptian nome (Diospolis Parva); *right*, document seal with scarab of the governor Ibu of the tenth Upper Egyptian nome (Antaeopolis).

One example of a sealing from the mayoral residence that derived from regional correspondence originated in the seventh Upper Egyptian nome, Diospolis Parva (fig. 24.8, left). The stamp reads *htm htmt ht [nyt] hrp-w B3t*, perhaps to be rendered as “sealed item of the district-administration of the Diospolite nome.”¹⁸ On this seal, preceding the large version of the nome symbol (the scepter incorporating the face of the goddess Bat), we have a combination of the *hrp* baton and land sign as occurs periodically in the title *imy-r w* “district overseer.”¹⁹ In this instance *hrp* and *w* occur together, independent of any personal administrative title, suggesting that *hrp-w* denotes an administrative department associated with regional land administration. Wah-Sut appears to have economic connections with Diospolis Parva, perhaps indicating landholdings in the vicinity of the original nome capital, *B3t3w*, or more likely the mortuary foundation of Senwosret I, *Hwt-shm Hpr-k3-r3*, an institution that had emerged as the major urban center of the seventh nome and the regional capital of *Hwt-shm* (Hu) during the Twelfth Dynasty.²⁰ In this regard, it is intriguing to ponder what specific connections the mayoral administration at South Abydos may have held with the royal cult foundation of Senwosret I, which lay not far to the south in the Diospolite nome.

Another document sealing worthy of mention in the context of the present discussion is a scarab also bearing a nome symbol, here the emblem of the tenth Upper Egyptian nome, Antaeopolis, in combination with the name and title of a governor, *W3dyt h3ty-3 imy-r hmw-ntr 3Ibw m3-3hrw* “Wadjyt-nome, mayor and overseer of priests, Ibu justified” (fig. 24.8, right).²¹ This sealing was evidently sent to Wah-Sut under the authority of a governor, Ibu, who may be a late Middle Kingdom descendant of the ruling family documented in the nomarchal cemetery at Qau el-Kebir.²² This seal of a governor of Antaeopolis is particularly interest-

18 The lower left side of this sealing is obscured through contact with fabric when the sealing was still wet (though the back has the imprint of papyrus). The reading of the indirect genitive *nyt* is not absolutely certain, and the formula *htm htmt ht* most frequently occurs as a direct genitive with succeeding elements. However, close examination suggests the use of the indirect genitive here.

19 Regarding the title *imy-r w* and the presence of the baton sign (Gardiner sign list S42), see the discussion in Willems 2014, p. 41 n. 129; 1990, p. 31. Willems notes the frequent co-occurrence of the baton sign and word *w*, as well as the likely erroneous translation as simply “district” or “estate.” However, his implication that the baton appears as a bound element with no phonetic or nominal role appears unlikely. The term *hrp-w* as an administrative department connected with regional land administration appears more likely and is perhaps to be translated as “land-control.” For additional examples and discussion, see Ward 1982, p. 17; Quirke 2004, pp. 108–9.

20 Middle Kingdom toponyms associated with the Diospolite nome are summarized in Gomaà 1986, pp. 177–83; for detailed discussion of the development of the Bat emblem, see Fischer 1962.

21 For the geographical terminology of the Antaeopolite nome, see Gomaà 1986, pp. 235–39.

22 See fuller discussion in Wegner 2010, pp. 444–45; in connection with the family and dating discussion of the Antaeopolite governors, see Grajetzki 1997. An offering table from Abydos (CG 23036) records a *h3ty-3 imy-r hmw-ntr 3Ibw*, possibly the same individual recorded on this seal; see Kamal 1906–9, vol. 1, p. 29.

ing in view of the fact that, unlike the seal from Diospolis Parva, which shows administrative connections but not a wider pattern of personal connections, the seal of Ibu is part of a larger corpus of seal impressions indicating communications and the personal presence at Wah-Sut of people originating in the tenth nome.

Clearly, the initial mayoral appointment to Wah-Sut may have originated from many possible locales. Indeed, the wider composition of the founding population is likely to have been a quite heterogenous mix of people from diverse points of origin. Without direct textual evidence, the question remains a speculative one. Nevertheless, the evidence at hand offers some hints for consideration. Regarding the rulers of Wah-Sut, I have frequently wondered whether a site such as Antaeopolis/Qau el-Kebir (*Tbw*) in the tenth nome (*W3dyt*) might not represent the type of prominent provincial center that could have been tapped by the royal administration for the initial appointment to the mayoralty at South Abydos.

As I have discussed in detail elsewhere, seal impressions of individuals with connections to Antaeopolis form a distinctive subgroup in the corpus at South Abydos.²³ Some of the attested people at Wah-Sut can be linked specifically with groups of associated individuals from Antaeopolis commemorated on stelae set up at North Abydos.²⁴ A majority of these stelae represent a collection of monuments set up as temple votives or in commemorative chapels dedicated during occasional visits to Abydos by people from Antaeopolis, which lay not far to the north of Thinis.²⁵ However, such a robust corpus of monuments might reflect close and more systematic links between Abydos and Antaeopolis that may have been enhanced if there were familial links between the inhabitants of the two sites. Relocation of Antaeopolite administrators to Abydos in connection with the development of Wah-Sut could potentially be a factor behind this phenomenon of Antaeopolite private monuments at Abydos in the late Middle Kingdom.

That the names Sobekhotep and Nakhti occur among the lineage of Antaeopolite governors is intriguing given the occurrence of these names in the newly established mayoral line at Wah-Sut. There is also from North Abydos a stela of a *h3ty*-^c Nakhti, son of a woman (*nbt-pr*) also named Nakhti (BM 143), that shows stylistic features of the Antaeopolite corpus of monuments.²⁶ Unfortunately, the commonality of these personal names renders any direct links hard to prove at the present time. We can continue to hope for further evidence relating to the ancestry and descent of the mayors of Wah-Sut through future excavations. Such evidence, however, is likely to derive from the discovery of commemorative monuments and mortuary installations of these individuals, a topic we shall turn to below.

NAKHTI'S SONS: THE MAYORS KHENTYKHETY AND NEFERWENHER

As determined through the abundance of their seal impressions in deposits in both the town of Wah-Sut and the Senwosret III mortuary temple, two men who directly followed Nakhti in the mayoral succession are Khentykhet and Neferwenher (figs. 24.9 and 24.10). Because of uncertainties in the orthography and variations in the order of the signs on different seal versions, the initial reading of Neferwenher's name was "Neferher." That mayor's name can now be corrected to Neferwenher.²⁷ Neferwenher has a striking variety of seals, occurring in both stamp and scarab formats with varying orthography, implying that he had an extremely long period of rule at Wah-Sut.²⁸ During the earlier seasons of work at South Abydos it remained

²³ Wegner 2010.

²⁴ For a discussion of the Antaeopolite stelae at Abydos, see Ilin-Tomich 2017, pp. 61–78.

²⁵ At a distance of approximately 80 km north of Abydos, travel either by land or watercraft between Antaeopolis/Qau el-Kebir and Abydos could easily have been accomplished in a day or two.

²⁶ Hall 1912, pl. 44; included in the corpus of Antaeopolite monuments by Ilin-Tomich 2017, p. 74, table 1.

²⁷ The personal name Neferwenher is quite rare. Apart from being the name of the South Abydos mayor, it appears on only two other published objects. "Neferwenher" (written with the rabbit hieroglyph for *wn*) occurs on a statue, Cairo CG 426, with the titles *htmty-bity imy-r gs pr*; see Ranke 1935, p. 195; Borchardt 1925, p. 32, pl. 69. The name, written with a simplified form of the four-petaled flower and the door-leaf sign, also occurs on BM 231; see Hall 1912, pl. 18; Franke 2013, p. 78, pl. 16. Neither of these occurrences represents the same individual as the mayor Neferwenher discussed here.

²⁸ As shown on the seal examples here, the *wn* element of Neferwenher's name is most frequently spelled with use of the door-leaf (Gardiner sign list 031), but some versions use the rabbit (E34) or the four-petaled flower (M42). The terminal *hr*



Figure 24.9. Two scarab seals of Khentykhety.



Figure 24.10. Examples of five seal versions of the mayor Neferwenher.

uncertain what the genealogical relationship between these men was, although the relative positions of seal impressions in the stratified deposits adjacent to the Senwosret III temple suggested that Khentykhety served as mayor first, succeeded by Neferwenher. Multiple seal variants for both men have now been identified from Building A and show clearly that they were both sons of Nakhti and therefore either full or half brothers.

Both Khentykhety and Neferwenher are named on their filial seals as “Nakhti’s son,” and both bear the primary title *h3ty*-^c and secondary titles, appearing on different seal versions: *htmty-ntr*, *imy-r hwt-ntr*, *imy-r hmw-ntr* “god’s sealer, temple overseer, overseer of the priesthood.” Consecutive rule of two brothers, rather than father-son succession to the mayoralty, implies there may have been a significant age difference between the two men, and consequently they may have had different mothers. Tentatively we might identify Khentykhety as the older brother, who was succeeded, after a relatively shorter tenure, by a lengthy period of rule by his brother Neferwenher.

Examples of succession in high administrative office by brothers during the Middle Kingdom occurs in rare instances in governing families, and there is also at least one instance of fratrilineal succession in the

can be written with the face (D2) or sky (N1).

kingship of the Thirteenth Dynasty.²⁹ The circumstances that may have led to this case of brother-to-brother succession in the mayoralty at Wah-Sut remains a matter of speculation. Nevertheless, we might wonder whether the older brother, presumably Khentykhety, died at a relatively young age, either without male offspring or with sons who were not yet mature enough to assume the administration. Some of the temporal and familial features of this example of brother-to-brother succession at South Abydos may broadly parallel the example of Heqaib III and Amenyseneb, two full brothers who succeeded their older half brother Heqaib-ankh, a case of succession now well documented in the history of the governors of Elephantine.³⁰

One potentially significant distinction between the seals of these two brothers is that the majority of Neferwenher's seals end with the bare personal name, whereas the majority of those naming Khentykhety end with a funerary epithet: *nb im3hw* or *m3' hrw*. The use of these epithets remains a complex issue, and they may have been applied to seal amulets prior to the death of the named individual.³¹ However, it seems possible in this case that seals commemorating Khentykhety remained in use at Wah-Sut for a period of time after his death and extending into the mayoralty of his brother Neferwenher. The installation of Neferwenher at a relatively youthful age may explain the significant duration of rule implied by the numerous seal variants and the higher frequency of his seal impressions. These parameters would suggest a relatively shorter period for the mayoralty of Khentykhety and a significantly longer one for Neferwenher.

Among the seal variants of Neferwenher are numerous impressions of scarabs that employ the administratively significant statement *h3ty-ꜥ m T3-rsy, htmty-ntr m T3-wr, Nhtj s3 Nfrwnhr* "Mayor in Upper Egypt, god's sealer in the Thinite nome, Nakhti's son Neferwenher." Here we see appended to the standard mayoral titles a geographical ordering of Neferwenher's administrative duties in the Thinite nome, which itself is located in Upper Egypt. The question arises whether this statement is intended to specifically delineate the Wah-Sut mayoralty within the administrative system of the late Middle Kingdom. It is tempting to see the Thinite nome positioned here within the wider administrative division or *waret* of which it was a part. If so, what appears puzzling is that *T3-wr* here does not occur as a subunit of the *tp-rsy* "Head of the South" district, which traditionally includes the southern eight nomes, from Elephantine to Thinis. The likelihood is that *T3-rsy* is being used in a broad and nonspecific sense referring to all of Upper Egypt south of Memphis. Yet the administrative specificity embodied in late Middle Kingdom name and title seals makes me wonder whether it is conceivable that Abydos and the Thinite nome were repositioned to form part of *w'rt rsy* rather than *w'rt tp-rsy* at a certain point during the late Middle Kingdom.

The chronological range for Khentykhety and Neferwenher's mayoralty can be approximately positioned based on the stratigraphic relationship of their sealings and those of their father, Nakhti, in the refuse deposits on the exterior of the Senwosret III temple. Assuming a succession from Nakht to Nakhti, the two brothers represent the third and fourth known mayors. These two brothers' ruling in succession bridges the end of the Twelfth Dynasty into the Thirteenth Dynasty, although the duration of Neferwenher's clearly lengthy period of rule is difficult to define based solely on the seal impressions. At present it appears that Khentykhety ruled for a shorter period straddling the dynastic transition, while Neferwenher's mayoralty extended substantially into the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty. Unfortunately, subsequent to Neferwenher we have no further evidence for familial connections or continuity in the mayoral office at South Abydos. It is possible that rulership at Wah-Sut passed directly from Neferwenher to Sehetepib, the last of the frequent mayoral sealers. However, we also have sealings from other mayors who, although less prominent in the archaeological record, fall in the stratified deposits into this time frame of the middle

29 Despite some suggestions to the contrary, fratrilineal succession in the kingship was a rare phenomenon and is only confirmed in the case of Neferhotep I, Sobekhotep IV, and possibly their brother Sahathor (see discussion in McCormack 2008, pp. 116–20). Several other cases have been postulated in the earlier Thirteenth Dynasty (Sobekhotep I and Senebef, Khabaw and Djedkheperu; see Ryholt 1997, pp. 209–18) but remain uncertain.

30 For discussion of the governors Heqaib III and Amenyseneb, sons of Heqaib II and Sattjeni, see in particular Jiménez-Serrano 2015; Jiménez-Serrano and Sánchez León 2015. Based on analysis of his body, Heqaib III, the elder brother, died at about thirty years of age and was buried in tomb chapel QH33. For the lineage of the Elephantine governors, see Jiménez-Serrano and Sánchez León 2019, esp. pp. 78–81 (overview) and p. 42, fig. 28.

31 For fuller discussion of this issue, see Wegner 2018, pp. 250–56.

Thirteenth Dynasty. We shall briefly discuss Sehetepib and then other mayoral seals, some of which may represent mayors of Wah-Sut who ruled for briefer periods of time.

THE LAST-DOCUMENTED MAYOR, SEHETEPIB

Seal impressions of the *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* Sehetepib are chronologically the latest among the corpus of frequently occurring mayoral sealings at South Abydos. Sehetepib's sealings are extremely numerous, with approximately 250 fragments deriving from the *areryt* deposits behind Building A as well as from contexts in and around the Senwosret III mortuary temple. A striking aspect of the Sehetepib impressions is that, despite their frequency, all identified examples derive from a single scarab version, which reads simply *ḥ3ty-ꜥ ḥtmty-nṯr Šḥtpib* "the mayor, god's sealer, Sehetepib" (fig. 24.11). The homogeneity in Sehetepib's sealings contrasts with the multiple seal variants found for the earlier Wah-Sut mayors.

Sehetepib's floruit at Wah-Sut can be dated to the mid- to late Thirteenth Dynasty based on the relative position of his sealing fragments in the stratified refuse of the Senwosret III temple. His sealings begin in levels that also include royal name seals of Neferhotep I and extend into the upper levels of the stratified deposits. He is presently the last known mayor to be identifiable through the use of a personal name and title seal at South Abydos. Whether there was a familial relationship between Sehetepib and the earlier mayors remains unknown. Possibly he was a descendant of the late Twelfth to earlier Thirteenth Dynasty ruling family that included Nakht, Nakhti, Khentykhety, and Neferwenher. However, there is currently no basis for connecting him with those earlier mayors, and it appears possible a disjunction occurred in the Wah-Sut mayoralty during the first half of the Thirteenth Dynasty.

A primary question that has emerged regarding Sehetepib's position in the mayoral history is whether additional mayors intervened between Neferwenher and Sehetepib or there was a direct succession between these two men. If the latter, we are presented with the scenario of just five mayors ruling for a period on the order of a century and a quarter (ca. 1840–1720 BCE). While this is not impossible, it would necessitate long careers for at least some of these individuals. Thus, there is a high probability of additional individuals in this mayoral sequence.³² Regarding Sehetepib's chronological position, there is also the question of mayoral successors. Even with a long career extending into the later Thirteenth Dynasty, Sehetepib does not appear likely to be the last holder of the office of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* at South Abydos. The tendency for greater erosion of higher deposits and the decline of the late Middle Kingdom sealing system in the late Thirteenth Dynasty may be factors in the present lack of sealing evidence for additional mayors after Sehetepib.

Although the question of Sehetepib's predecessors and successors in the office of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* at Wah-Sut remains unanswered, there is intriguing—though still tentative—evidence in the form of filiative sealings,



Figure 24.11. *Left*, scarab seal of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty mayor Sehetepib; *right*, scarab of a "daughter of the mayor Sehetepib, Iuseneb."

³² By way of comparison, the attested Twelfth Dynasty governors at Elephantine include twelve men whose rules spanned some 175 years (from Senwosret I through Amenemhat IV), with an average period of rule of approximately fifteen years. See Jiménez-Serrano and Sánchez León 2019, p. 42, fig. 28.

at least one of which is linked to a mayor Sehetepib. A group of seal impressions excavated in the smaller residence, Building E, to the south of Building A, includes scarab impressions of one or possibly more women with the title *s3t h3ty-^c* “daughter of the mayor.”³³ Interestingly, no examples of sealings of this type have been documented in connection with Building A itself, suggesting that some offspring of Wah-Sut’s ruling family may have been married to other members of the community and resided in neighboring domestic structures.

One of the best-preserved fragments (fig. 24.11, right) bears the filiative text likely to be read as *s3t h3ty-^c Shtpib Iwsnb* “Daughter of the mayor Sehetepib, Iuseneb.”³⁴ Other fragments from Building E derive from the same or similar scarab seals naming Iuseneb. Identification of a woman named Iuseneb as the daughter of Sehetepib is intriguing in light of the discovery of numerous seal impressions of a woman bearing a similarly patterned name, *Iw-n.s-snb* “Iunesseneb,” who held the title *h3tyt-^c* “mayoress.” That the sealings of Iunesseneb are extremely similar in format to those of Sehetepib suggests they may have been contemporaries and possibly husband and wife. Although these linkages are tentative, there may be indications here of the use of similar personal names across multiple generations of the mayoral family. Before examining the evidence of the *h3tyt-^c* Iunesseneb, we turn first to the evidence of less frequent mayoral seals at South Abydos.

PAHAPY, AMENYSENEB, AND SENAAIB

A group of mayoral seal impressions dating, based on their stratigraphic relationships, to the early to mid-Thirteenth Dynasty record three individuals who are less certainly to be identified as local mayors at Wah-Sut. Seal impressions of all three are now attested in debris from both the Senwosret III mortuary temple and the mayoral residence. However, unlike the five mayors examined thus far, these three men—Pahapy, Amenyseneb, and Senaaib—are all to be classified as “infrequent” sealers. Each of these mayors has been recorded on fewer than twenty identifiable sealings, the majority being small fragments. I have examined Amenyseneb and Pahapy in previous publications, where I have suggested (as in the case of the *h3ty-^c* Ibu of Antaeopolis discussed above) that they may be nonlocal mayors who were linked administratively with the operation of the mortuary complex and foundation of Senwosret III. New sealing fragments add to the evidence for both of these individuals as well as for the newly identified mayor, Senaaib.

Although I had initially considered the possibility that Pahapy might be a local mayor, his identification as a nonlocal mayor appears to be virtually certain based on the title structure of his seal impressions.³⁵ Pahapy’s sealings occur in only a single scarab version, one that has the secondary title *hrp nsty* “controller of the two thrones” (fig. 24.12, left). This title does not occur elsewhere among the mayoral seals at South Abydos, and Pahapy’s scarab lacks the secondary titles *imy-r hwt-ntr* or *imy-r hmw ntr* so prevalent among the mayoral seals at Wah-Sut. *Hrp nsty* is a distinctive religious title among the governors of the fifteenth Upper Egyptian (Hare) nome and is found in inscriptions at Deir el-Bersha and Hatnub, on coffins from Deir el-Bersha, and on seals bearing the names of governors of the Hare nome.³⁶ The title *hrp nsty* appears to have a specific religious and political significance and might relate to the Bersha governors’ oversight of

33 See Picardo 2015, pp. 270–72 and table 11.1.

34 The photograph of this sealing, Building E 33116, is a record photograph; the final photograph has not yet been made. The lower part of the photograph is less distinct, and revisions to the lighter-gray parts of the drawing may occur in the future. The names Sehetepib on the left and Iuseneb on the right are quite probable. An epithet, possibly *nb im3hw*, may occur at the bottom and is presumably connected with Sehetepib. Thanks to Nicholas Picardo for this photograph of this Building E sealing.

35 Wegner, 2010, pp. 445–46; cited in Grajetzki 2009, p. 111, though the name should be corrected to Pahapy rather than Paenhapy.

36 The title occurs on coffins CG 28091, CG 28092, CG 28099, and CG 28123, all from Deir el-Bersha, and on three seals all relating the Bersha nomarchs; see Martin 1971, nos. 406, 1773, and 1774. For citations, see Ward 1982, no. 1151.

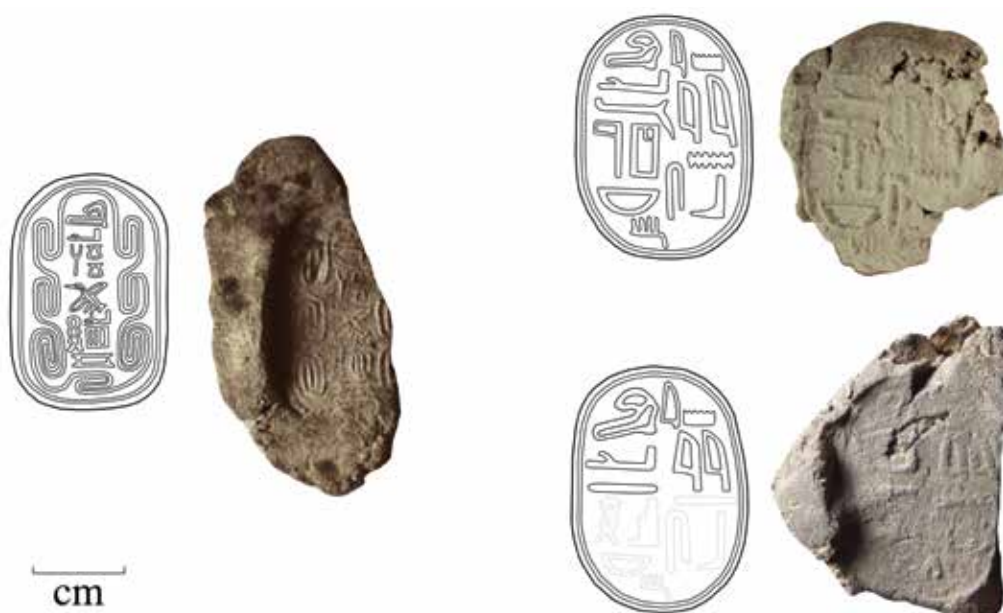


Figure 24.12. *Left*, scarab seal of Pahapy; *right*, two seal versions of the mayor Amenyseneb. The design of the Amenyseneb scarabs is similar, but they are two distinct seals.

the temple of Thoth and the religious center of Hermopolis.³⁷ However, it must be observed that *hrp nsty* does occur sporadically outside Bersha, at least in the early Twelfth Dynasty—namely, in the tomb chapel of Amenemhat (Tomb 2) at Beni Hasan³⁸ and in the chapel of Ihy at Saqqara.³⁹ Therefore, although he appears to be unattested elsewhere, Pahapy is most plausibly to be identified as a nonlocal, late Middle Kingdom governor, possibly a governor of the fifteenth nome.

During the most recent work at Building A, additional sealing fragments of two mayors, named Amenyseneb and Senaaib, have come to light. Although the total number of fragments remains low, it appears to me increasingly probable that these men are shorter-ruling, local mayors of Wah-Sut. Amenyseneb occurs in two similarly designed but different seal versions (fig. 24.12, right). One of these seals, which was previously known, names him with the secondary title *imy-r hwt-ntr*. Fragments of a newly identified seal version also naming Amenyseneb begin with the statement *h3ty- n . . .*, and may include the institutional name Wah-Sut. The recovered impressions of this scarab are all effaced, and the reading remains tentative. However, if this reading is correct, and Amenyseneb is therefore a local mayor, he can be placed in the relative sequence based on the occurrence of fragmentary seals naming him in the stratified debris adjacent to the Senwosret III temple. The position of these fragments indicates that he dates to the period contemporary with or slightly after Neferwenher.

A quite interesting mayoral seal—which we have recently been able to reconstruct based on small fragments recovered from the *areryt* deposits of Building A—is that of a mayor named Senaaib (fig. 24.13). Although now reconstructed in its entirety, the reading of this seal presents challenges. The first column of the stamp seal has the titles *h3ty- imy-r hwt-ntr htmty-ntr* “mayor, overseer of the temple, god’s sealer.” In the second column there is an additional title composed of two horizontal signs, followed by the personal name *Sn^cib^c nh*, probably to be read “Senaaib, may he live.” Here the personal name is followed by an *nh* sign suggesting either an otherwise unparalleled name, Senaaib-ankh, or more likely an appended old perfective, “may he live” (a usage that occurs on the seal of the mayoress Iunesseneb discussed below).

37 Willems does not examine this apparently crucial title of the Bersha nomarchs but discusses the significance of the administration of the temple of Thoth and its scriptorium (*pr-^cnh*); see Willems 2014, pp. 227–28.

38 Newberry 1893, p. 11 and pl. 7.

39 Firth and Gunn 1926, p. 280.

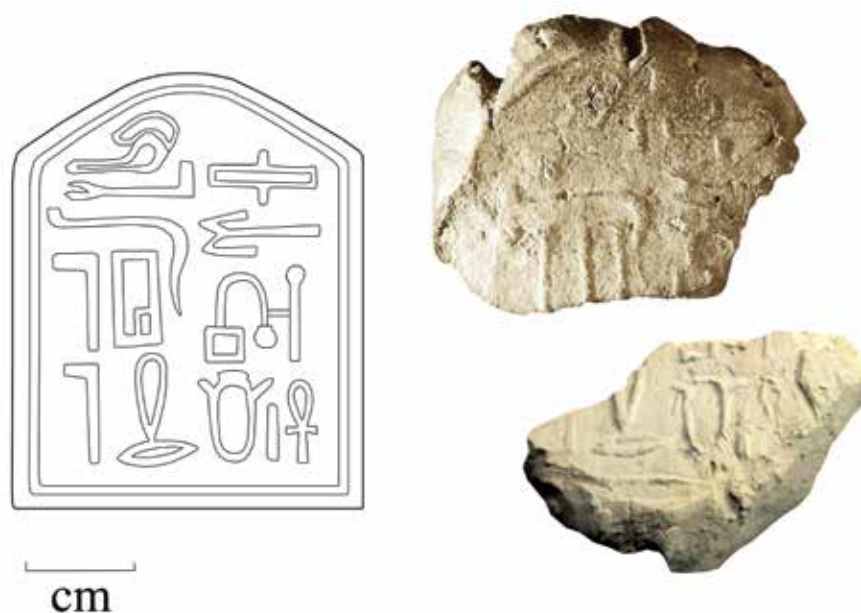


Figure 24.13. Stamp seal of the mayor Senaaib.

The title that precedes this mayor's name warrants a short digression into its possible connotations. The title consists of two signs: *imy* turned horizontally, followed by a bare *hnr* sign,⁴⁰ devoid of phonetic complements or a determinative. The *hnr* sign has a limited range of use; it is well attested in the writing of the word *hnrt* "workhouse, prison," as well as in words relating to baking (*rth/rhty*) and the social institution of the *hnr*, a group of ritual performers often associated with temple rites and festivals. Although the title *imy-r hnrt* "overseer of the *kheneret*" is well documented for the late Middle Kingdom, it is clearly not the title written here. There is no *t*-ending, nor are other signs used as phonetic complements or determinatives, suggesting that it is not *hnrt* "workhouse, prison." Similarly, a title linking Senaaib to either the activity or oversight of baking appears equally improbable. Given the bare writing of *hnr*, an intriguing possibility worth considering is that the reference here is to the social and religious institution of the *hnr* troop.

The identity of the *hnr* as a social institution associated with ritual performance has been examined by a number of authors.⁴¹ Although the word is most visibly associated with female musicians and dancers, men were integrally involved in the *hnr*, both in performative and in supervisory roles.⁴² Relating a mayor and temple overseer with the *hnr* in the context of his secondary titles, while unique, might be broadly paralleled in some of the other secondary titles among the Wah-Sut mayors—for example, Nakht's title *imy-r sš hwt-ntr* "overseer of the ritual equipment of the temple." If *hnr* is to be understood here as the ritual performative group, it would be surprising that not *imy-r* "overseer" is written but rather *imy* "one who is in," suggesting that Senaaib held a more than administrative role. During the Middle Kingdom the likelihood of membership by high-ranking temple officials in the *hnr*, and their involvement in the training of musicians and performers, appears certain in the case of Khesuwer at Kom el-Hisn, a man who served as priest in the temple of Hathor.⁴³ Nevertheless, to find the statement that a mayor and temple supervisor was specifically connected to the *hnr* would appear to be rather remarkable on a late Middle Kingdom administrative seal.

As attractive as the possibility of relating the role of the mayor Senaaib to the training and activities of the *hnr* group is, my suspicion is that the sign used here is an unusual spelling for a different secondary

40 Gardiner sign list U31, identified as a baker's tool with the trilateral phonetic value *hnr* meaning "to restrain."

41 For an overview, see particularly Morris 2011, 2017.

42 See discussion in Nord 1981; Guegan 2020.

43 Guegan (2020, p. 122) notes that Khesuwer is depicted as instructing women in the use of the sistrum. For the chapel scenes and titles of Khesuwer (*hm-ntr Hwt-hr, šd hmw-ntr, imy-r hnrwt sb3*), who lacks identification as a *h3ty-3*; see Silverman 1988, pp. 13, 103.

title: *imy hnt*. The title is typically translated as “chamberlain” in connection with its prominent use in palace administration.⁴⁴ However, *imy hnt* is also associated with temple cults and administration. The use of *imy hnt* is often followed by the identification of a specific deity, suggesting that it associates the individual with temple management following the same conceptual structure as that of a royal palace.⁴⁵ The role of Senaaib as *imy hnt* would then seem to involve a more logical secondary title that extends the primary title group tying him to temple cult and administration. In this case, however, we do have to account for an unusual writing using the *hnr* sign rather than the typical *hnt* sign (Gardiner sign list W17) or human face in profile (Gardiner D19). There appears to be high potential for cross-substitution of these signs based not just on the close similarity of their hieratic forms but also on their close phonetic structure. Substitution for purposes of graphic arrangement is also a possibility on seals. Because of his intriguing titles and the question of his connection with Wah-Sut, Senaaib has emerged as a “person of interest” in the recent work at South Abydos, and we hope to discover further evidence refining his chronological position and resolving the question of whether he was a local or external mayor.⁴⁶

THE MAYORESS IUNESSENEB

Apart from the men who held the office of *h3tyt-ꜥ* at South Abydos, excavation of the *areryt* deposits behind Building A during recent seasons has added an intriguing new member to the mayoral sealing corpus of Wah-Sut. Numerous repeating impressions have been recovered of the scarab seal of a woman who held the female equivalent to the mayoral title: *h3tyt-ꜥ Tw.n.s-snb ꜥnh.t(i) wd3.t(i) snb.t(i)* “Mayoress, Iunesseneb, may she live, be prosperous, and be healthy” (fig. 24.14).⁴⁷ Given the nature of her title and the high frequency of sealing deposition behind Building A, we may identify Iunesseneb with little doubt as an occupant of the mayoral residence. That no sealings belonging to Iunesseneb have been identified in the area of the Senwosret III temple indicates that sealing activity under her authority was limited to the townsite.⁴⁸

One of the interesting minor features of the Iunesseneb scarab seal is that the hieroglyphs are written in reverse direction—from left to right—a practice rarely seen in the extensive corpus of name and title seals at South Abydos. More significant is the use of the repeating old perfective verbal form with feminine ending: *ꜥnh.t(i) wd3.t(i) snb.t(i)* “may she live, be prosperous, and be healthy.” This formula, which occurs in late Middle Kingdom epistolary documents referring to living individuals, contrasts with the common use of funerary-style epithets on personal seals. In late Middle Kingdom letters, *ꜥnh wd3 snb* customarily follows the address *nb.i* “my lord,” although the feminine form is also attested in letters to women.⁴⁹ The application of this formula on personal seals is extremely rare. The only other published example of the use of the full formula *ꜥnh wd3 snb* in Martin’s seal corpus occurs on a seal belonging to a *s3-nswt* of the Thirteenth Dynasty,⁵⁰ while the only instance with the use of the simpler *ꜥnh.t(i)* occurs on a scarab associated with a

44 For the two uses of the title in palace administration and in the context of temples, see Quirke 2004, p. 34.

45 See examples discussed in Ward 1982, p. 54; Quirke 2004, p. 125. Fisher (1985, p. 51) discusses the role of the title as a priestly one associated with mortuary ritual. These associations mark this title as one that defines the individual as a ritual practitioner.

46 Occurrences of the name Senaaib datable through stela style or other diagnostic features indicate a rise in prominence of this personal name during the later Thirteenth Dynasty and Second Intermediate Period; see Ranke 1935, p. 312. Potentially, this person is a mayor who ruled in close temporal proximity to Sehetepib.

47 With sixty-five identified fragments, the sealings of Iunesseneb are among the most frequent personal name and title impressions in the *areryt* deposits.

48 The objects sealed with Iunesseneb’s scarab are identifiable as primarily box and door knobs, suggesting her seal was used for an extended period for containers and particular spaces within Building A. For a discussion of female sealers and the objects sealed under their authority, see Nelson-Hurst 2017.

49 See numerous examples in the Lahun letters and the specific use of *ꜥnh.t(i) wd3.t(i) snb.t(i)* in a letter addressed to the *nbt-pr* Sobekhotep; Griffith 1898, pl. 30.

50 Martin 1971, p. 111, seal 1428 (BM 66156).



Figure 24.14. Scarab and examples of seal impressions of the *ḥ3tyt-ʿ* Iunesseneb.

woman identified as a *ḥkrt-nswt* “royal ornament,” also likely dating to the Thirteenth Dynasty.⁵¹ Regarding Iunesseneb’s sealings, it appears to be a reasonable inference that (1) this scarab was owned and used by, or under the authority of, the woman named in the inscription, and (2) the use of the formula *ʿnh.t(i) wd3.t(i) snb.t(i)* on a name and title scarab emphasizes her social status and identity as a living occupant of the mayoral residence.

Yet more interesting is the occurrence of the female title *ḥ3tyt-ʿ* “governoress” or “mayoress.” The title occurs with extreme rarity during the Middle Kingdom as a whole and is most closely attested in connection with Twelfth Dynasty nomarchal families in Middle Egypt.⁵² Its primary attestation is among the titles used by just two of the wives of principal governors of the Twelfth Dynasty. *Ḥ3tyt-ʿ* occurs once in the early Twelfth Dynasty at Beni Hasan among the titles of Khnumhotep II’s wife, Khety.⁵³ There we see the use of the female version of the title in association with the wife of the nomarch of the sixteenth Upper Egyptian (Oryx) nome. The title was used later in the Twelfth Dynasty for Kemmu, wife of Wahka II, governor of Antaeopolis.⁵⁴ The late Twelfth Dynasty date of Wahka II is chronologically closer to Iunesseneb at Wah-Sut. A single use of the title on a late Middle Kingdom scarab occurs on an unprovenanced seal belonging to the lady Hepet.⁵⁵

Given the frequency of the male title *ḥ3ty-ʿ* in late Middle Kingdom administration, an issue of considerable interest emerges in connection with Iunesseneb: what factors might have motivated the use of the female version of this title? The title *ḥ3ty-ʿ* appears with tremendous regularity in the monumental record of the late Middle Kingdom, and the wives of men in this position almost invariably have the title *nbt-pr* “lady of the house.” In the late Middle Kingdom, the title *ḥkrt-nswt* also appears sporadically for the wives of mayors and governors, expressing close ties to the royal court.⁵⁶ If Iunesseneb were using the title *ḥ3tyt-ʿ* predominantly as a marker of marital and social status, why do we not see it applied more frequently to the wives of mayors or governors in the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties? It appears equally plausible that *ḥ3tyt-ʿ* at this time period indicates an unusual level of administrative and economic authority held

51 Martin 1971, p. 63 and pl. 13:24, seal 755 (Brooklyn 44.123.96).

52 See Ward 1986, p. 10.

53 Khety with the title *ḥ3tyt-ʿ* occurs in the tomb of Khnumhotep and again in the tomb of Netjernakht; see Newberry 1893, Tomb 3 (Khnumhotep), pls. 25, 35; 1894, Tomb 23 (Netjernakht), pl. 24.

54 Petrie 1930, p. 6 and pls. 7, 10. Kemmu’s title *ḥ3tyt-ʿ* occurs on an offering table from the main hall of Tomb 18.

55 Martin 1971, p. 85 and pl. 13:29, seal 11094a (MMA 10.130.290).

56 Stefanović 2009, pp. 85–93.

by the woman in question. The possibility that in certain circumstances a woman could wield an atypical level of administrative and economic power even in the context of marriage could in this case be indicated in the use of the title *ḥ3tyt-ᶜ*.⁵⁷ Admittedly, apart from the assumption that a *ḥ3tyt-ᶜ* must denote the wife of a *ḥ3ty-ᶜ*, we have no conclusive evidence on Iunesseneb's marital status. Consequently, she might have exercised the role of *ḥ3tyt-ᶜ* within the context of her marriage to one of the mayors of Wah-Sut, or perhaps she somehow held the title independently.

The *areryt* deposits are relatively shallow and do not display the deep, incremental layering encountered in some other areas at South Abydos, such as that adjacent to the mortuary temple of Senwosret III. The potential for vertical seriation of these deposits is limited, although meaningful spatial patterns and associations do occur in the distribution of sealings. It is worth noting that the Iunesseneb sealings occur toward the middle and upper elevations of the Building A deposits and in a majority of the same excavation lots containing an abundance of sealings of the mayor Sehetepib. The distribution of Iunesseneb sealings suggests that she can be dated to the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty. Although we have neither a clear indication of her marital status nor a conclusive link between her and any of the mayors, the style and format of her scarab are informative. The plain format of her scarab with no scroll border and the carving style of the hieroglyphs are extremely similar to the scarab of the mayor Sehetepib discussed above. The two scarabs appear to have been produced by the same seal workshop and may even have been issued as a pair for *ḥ3ty-ᶜ* and *ḥ3tyt-ᶜ*. While such stylistic evidence is less conclusive than direct inscriptional data, the evidence at hand suggests there is a reasonable possibility that Iunesseneb can be identified as the wife of the mayor Sehetepib. In this case the filiative seal discussed above of a *s3t ḥ3ty-ᶜ Shtpib ʾTwsnb* “daughter of the mayor Sehetepib, Iuseneb” is a further indication of familial relationships. The possibility emerges that Iuseneb was the daughter of Sehetepib and the mayoress Iunesseneb. The grammatical similarity of the names Iunesseneb and Iuseneb may also reflect familial links.

As the evidence stands, the mayoress Iunesseneb emerges from the archaeological record as an extremely prominent member of the ruling family of Wah-Sut. Her own family origins remain unknown, although the unusual application of the epithet series *ʾnh.ti wḏ3.ti snb.ti* after her name—not attested on any of the other seals at Wah-Sut—could be understood to imply a social status independent of her life at Abydos. In all likelihood she held an elevated position apart from, and preceding, any social standing that might have accrued through marriage to one of the mayors at Wah-Sut. The use of her rare title and epithets lends weight to the possibility that Iunesseneb may have been a woman with extralocal family origins who was married to one of the Wah-Sut mayors. Could she have been a member of one of the gubernatorial families of Middle Egypt, such as that at Antaeopolis, where the use of the title *ḥ3tyt-ᶜ* is attested? Could the use of *ʾnh.ti wḏ3.ti snb.ti* reflect her origins among the highest echelons of society, perhaps even as a woman descended from one of the families who held the kingship during the Thirteenth Dynasty?

I would note here that based on the co-occurrence with royal name sealings of Neferhotep I and several central governmental officials of the mid-Thirteenth Dynasty, the historical time frame indicated by the sealing corpus for both Sehetepib and Iunesseneb corresponds closely with the era of renewed royal building activity near the tomb of Senwosret III at South Abydos. The construction of tombs S9 and S10, as well as an unfinished royal tomb to the northwest of the funerary enclosure of Senwosret III, can be attributed with high probability to the reigns of kings Neferhotep I, Sahathor, and Sobekhotep IV.⁵⁸ A lengthy phase of sustained royal activity at Abydos may easily have been expressed in the forging of personal and familial associations between the local elites and Thirteenth Dynasty royal governmental officials. Potentially, marriages with the local ruling family could be one result of this phase at Wah-Sut. In this connection, we also have the evidence of a significant concentration within Building A of seal impressions of another

57 There is certainly potential for social positions outside the norm in elite families, as recorded, for instance, in the example of the lady Tjat at Beni Hasan who rose from *ḥtmtyt ʾryt ḥt nb.s* “female treasurer, keeper of the property of her lord” to become a secondary wife of Khnumhotep II; see Ward 1984; Paull 2017.

58 Wegner and Cahail 2021, pp. 1–8; pp. 195–239 for discussion of Thirteenth Dynasty elite building activity; for further discussion of the attribution of the tombs, see Wegner and Cahail 2015; Wegner 2020.

high-status woman: *s3t nswt Rnsnb*, the “royal daughter, Renseneb.”⁵⁹ Although we can by no means be certain that use of this personal-name seal implies that Renseneb herself was resident in Building A, she does form another candidate for a high-status union that may have occurred in the late Thirteenth Dynasty and in the final stages of the late Middle Kingdom occupational history of the mayoral residence. The sealings of Renseneb are associated with floor deposits in a section of Building A that underwent remodeling in the building’s final architectural phase during the late Thirteenth Dynasty. If this woman was herself personally linked with Wah-Sut, she appears to date somewhat later than the mayoress Iunesseneb. Nevertheless, both women may present instances of high-status unions that reflected the social standing of the ruling family of Wah-Sut within elite society of the late Middle Kingdom.

It is to be hoped that further evidence for the identity and family background of the *h3tyt-ʿ* Iunesseneb may emerge from the archaeological record at South Abydos. In the case of this mayoress, as well as the series of mayors and other individuals we have examined so far, more specific evidence regarding marital relationships and the lineage of the ruling family of Wah-Sut is likely to come only from the discovery of commemorative stelae or other inscribed monuments. We now turn to the question of the location of burial and funerary commemoration of the elite at South Abydos, a potential source of future data on the mayoral family and its history.

ELITE COMMEMORATION AND MORTUARY PRACTICES AT WAH-SUT

An ongoing issue at South Abydos regards the mortuary practices of the inhabitants of Wah-Sut and the locations of burial and commemoration for what was clearly a substantial population spanning many generations. In particular, funerary chapels and tombs of people at the elevated social and economic status of the mayoral family of Wah-Sut should be identifiable somewhere on the landscape of Abydos. Such structures and associated artifacts, including funerary stelae or other objects of commemoration, would have the potential for significantly augmenting the evidence gathered to date from the town and temple sites.

In recent years we have invested considerable effort searching for evidence of local Middle Kingdom cemeteries.⁶⁰ Exploring the possibility that mayoral and elite private tombs may have been located in proximity to the necropolis centered on the subterranean tomb of Senwosret III led to the discovery not of late Middle Kingdom elite tombs but of a cluster of later Second Intermediate Period royal tombs, including that of King Woseribre Seneb-Kay.⁶¹ Similarly, tombs identified through magnetometry between the town and temple of Senwosret III have all proven, upon excavation, to date to the New Kingdom.⁶² However, extensive tracts of the landscape directly behind the town of Wah-Sut have been inaccessible since the 1990s as a result of modern cultivation projects. It remains an unanswered question where the mayors and ruling family of Wah-Sut were buried, although commemorative material recovered in and around the ruins of the mayoral residence suggests that there were mortuary installations in close proximity to the townsite, almost certainly in the unexplored area behind the town.

Despite the current lack of a cemetery linked to the urban site of Wah-Sut, a significant number of fragmentary objects of commemoration have been recovered in excavations in Building A and its vicinity. The corpus of material, discussed recently by K. Cahail,⁶³ includes funerary stelae, offering tables, and stone statuary, as well as a variety of small artifact types frequently associated with mortuary assemblages. None of this material has been found in a primary depositional context, and it remains uncertain where these objects were originally installed and how they were redeposited to their particular findspots. Cahail has convincingly argued that some of this material can be attributed to domestic cult installations within

⁵⁹ Wegner 2004.

⁶⁰ See discussion in Cahail 2019.

⁶¹ Wegner and Cahail 2021, pp. 1–7 includes an overview of the survey and excavation program.

⁶² Cahail 2014a, pp. 359–99.

⁶³ For a brief summary of the material, see also Cahail 2014b. Detailed discussion is provided in Cahail 2014a, pp. 227–36 (on funerary objects) and 250–89 (discussing the corpus of commemorative objects).

the domiciles of the town proper. However, much of the material that filtered into the deposits within the townsite can be convincingly explained only by the proximity of late Middle Kingdom cemeteries. Here we discuss a specific group of material that is overwhelmingly indicative of the presence of late Middle Kingdom tomb and funerary chapels in the vicinity of the townsite (fig. 24.15).

In the excavation of Building A itself, we have recovered a range of fragments of inscribed funerary stelae and architectural fittings attributable to private funerary structures. Some of these objects clearly originated in chapels of quite substantial scale. One example is the right end of a lintel from a chapel doorway with a *hṯp-di-nswt* inscription (fig. 24.16, left). This lintel, originating from a door originally about 1 m in width, was reused as a threshold in one of the secondary additions in the columned courtyard of Building A. The rough-dressed flange on the lintel's right side shows that the doorframe and lintel were originally engaged into surrounding mudbrick architecture. While the name of the chapel owner is not preserved and its origin is unknown, the fragment clearly derives from an offering chapel of considerable scale and indicates a process of reusing architectural fittings from nearby cemeteries.

More specific evidence occurs on a fragmentary funerary stela, parts of which were found deposited beneath a secondary wall addition in the northern part of Building A. This stela is dedicated to an *iry-t n 't ḥnkt Ḥwy-niwt.f* "keeper of the chamber of linen, Khuinutef" (fig. 24.16, right). As Cahail has shown, this

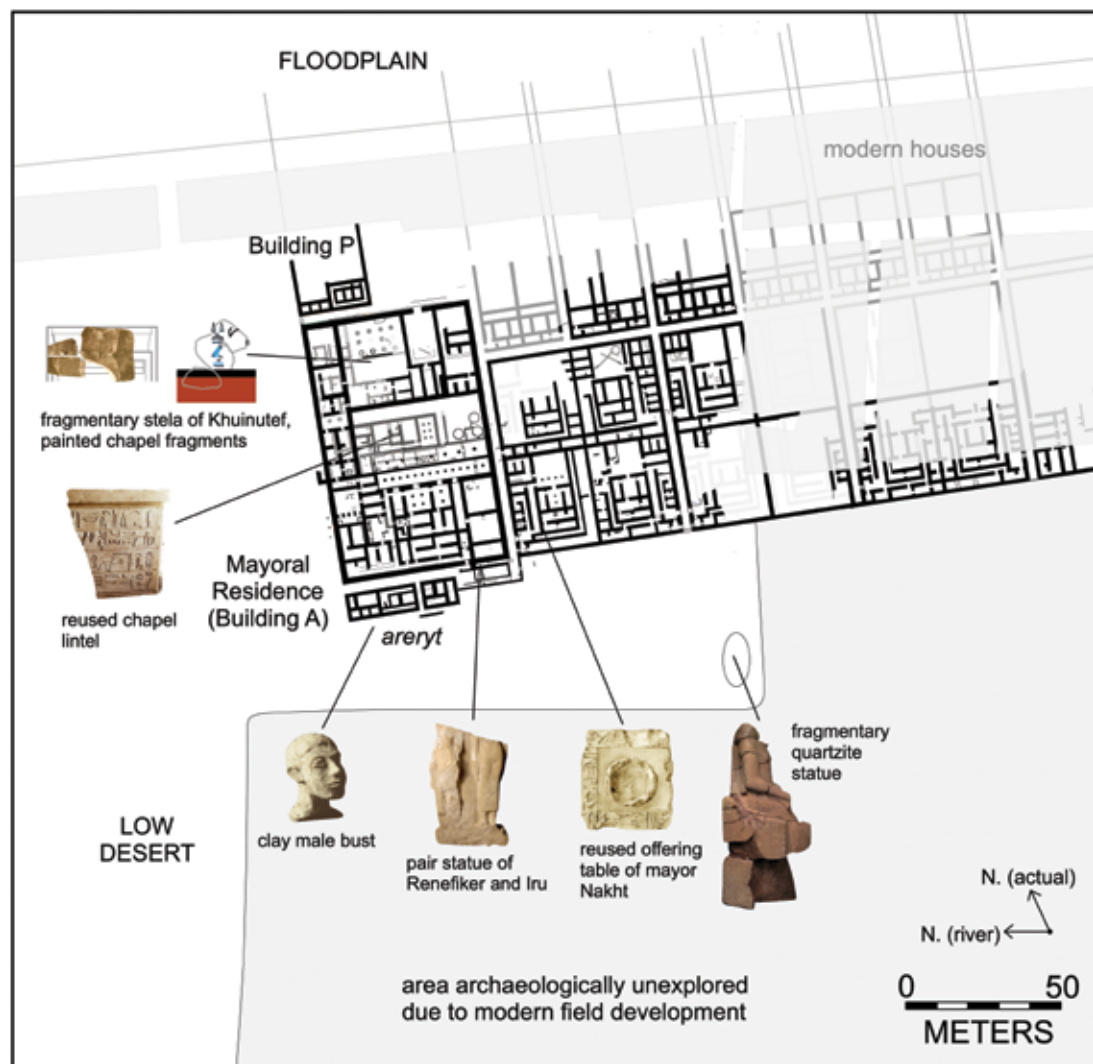


Figure 24.15. Findspots of mortuary stelae, chapel fragments, the Nakht offering table, and statuary excavated in the area of Building A, suggesting the proximity of funerary structures of Wah-Sut's elite and mayoral family.

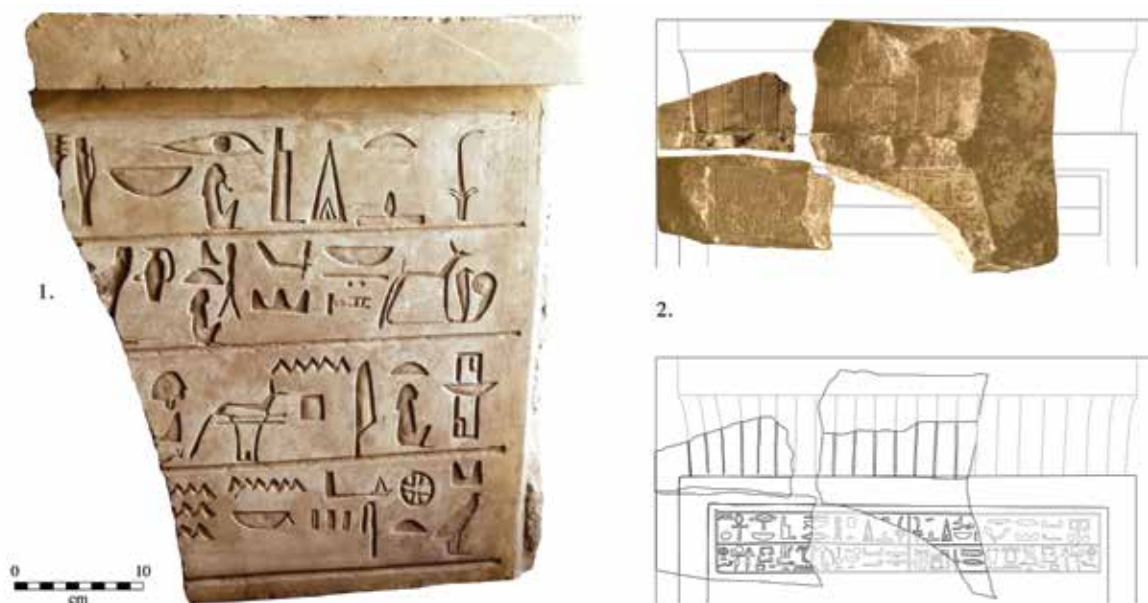


Figure 24.16. Examples found in Building A of inscribed limestone elements from funerary structures. *Left*, lintel from the doorway of an offering chapel or niche (height 46 cm, preserved width at top 44 cm); *right*, fragmentary funerary stela of the *iry-‘t n ‘t hnkt* Khuinutef (objects SA.12631a–b and SA.12639).

same Khuinutef appears on a stela of nearly identical size and format from North Abydos (stela CG 20134) belonging to Senebef, a man who bore a related title, *hry pr ‘t hnkt* “domestic servant of the chamber of linen.”⁶⁴ Senebef was the uncle of Khuinutef, and it appears that administrative positions associated with management of the *‘t hnkt* may have been held by multiple members of Khuinutef’s family. Whether Khuinutef was himself a resident at Wah-Sut remains unknown, but it appears probable as movement of this stela over a long distance seems unlikely. Significantly, the Khuinutef stela bears an indication of one underlying factor behind the discarding and reuse of some of the mortuary material at South Abydos: the name of Khuinutef, although still readable, was heavily gouged with a chisel and appears to have been targeted as part of a *damnatio memoriae*. Interestingly, the destruction of Khuinutef’s stela must have occurred during the occupation of the mayoral residence, since the fragments were sealed beneath secondary wall additions datable to the later phases of the building’s use in the late Thirteenth Dynasty.

This evidence for secondary deposition of a local funerary stela redeposited after a *damnatio memoriae* is echoed in another set of fragments from the same context as the Khuinutef stela, but deriving from a much more ostentatious mortuary structure. In this same area of Building A, we recovered a group of thirty-two painted relief fragments that clearly derive from a private, limestone funerary chapel of considerable scale. These fragments employ raised-relief scenes paired with texts in sunken relief. The majority of the fragments are too small to permit detailed reconstruction of the chapel decoration. Here I show the ten largest fragments (fig. 24.17). Many of them are remnants of large (7 cm wide), polychrome, coffered border bands and the edges of adjacent scene elements, too small to be positively identified. One of the larger fragments derives from a chamber corner and includes a rough-dressed surface with adhering gypsum from a wall joint. Although Cahail originally identified these fragments as being from a painted stela, the corner block paired with the large format of the border bands clearly indicates a mortuary chapel with large-scale scenes. The most informative fragments hinting at the nature of the wall decoration are three related fragments that include a scene label, . . . *Ddt-nšmt m3(t)-hrw* “. . . Dedetneshmet, true of voice,” positioned above a dado composed of a red lower face capped by a black band. This label faces toward the right and should accompany a figure facing in the same direction.

⁶⁴ See Cahail 2014a, pp. 260–65, with discussion of the title and reconstruction of the genealogy of Khuinutef. For the title *iry-‘t n ‘t hnkt*, including its meaning and variant writings, see discussion in Quirke 2004, pp. 72–73.

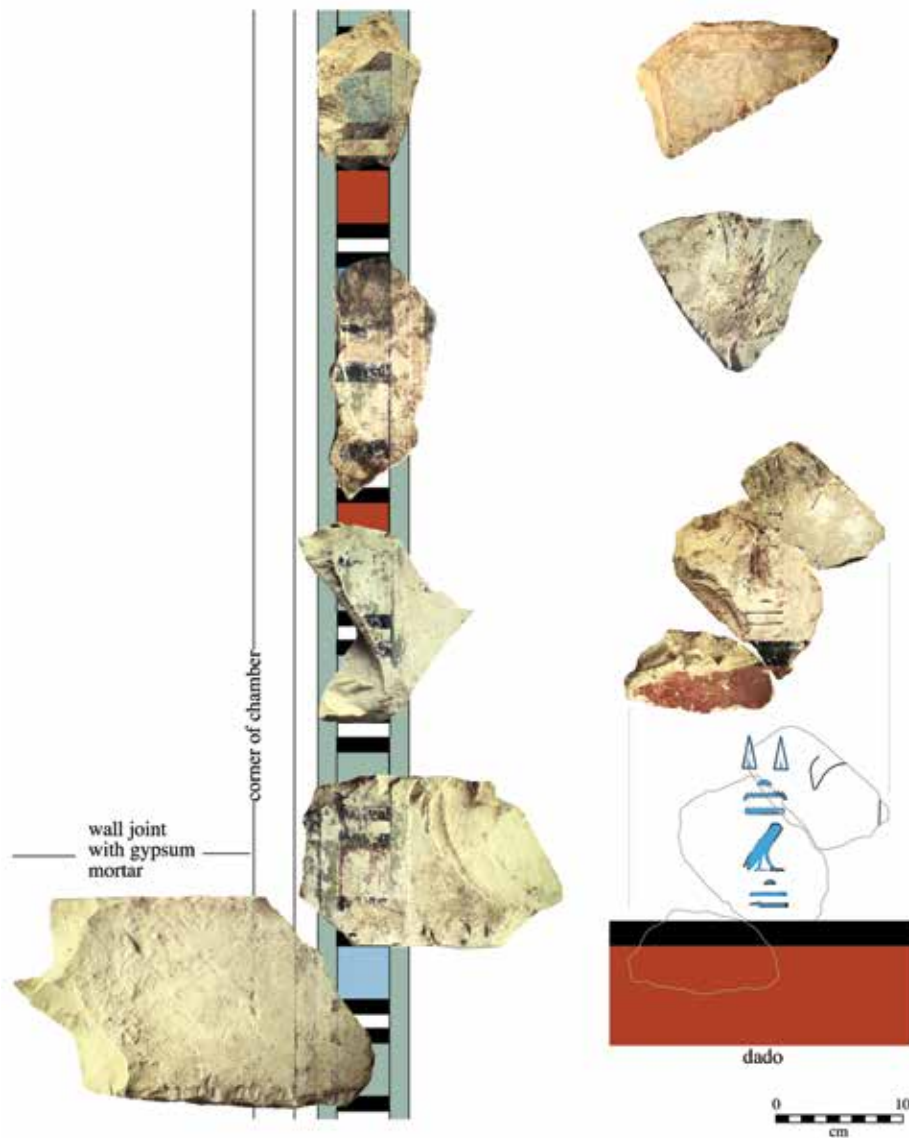


Figure 24.17. Fragments from a painted offering chapel (owner unknown) preserving the name of a woman, Dedetneshmet, as part of a filiative label (objects SA.11348–SA.11559).

The name Dedetneshmet is likely not the actual individual depicted but part of a filiative statement, *ir.n* or *ms.n* “born of” Dedetneshmet, with the name above. Scant remains to the right of the label may be part of the lower body and clothing of the chapel owner facing right, although too little is preserved to be certain of the disposition of the elements.⁶⁵ Clearly, however, this chapel had large-scale wall compositions that included offering scenes and the deceased accompanied by family members. Like the Khuinutef stela, there are indications of intentional damage and destruction of the chapel. Chisel gashes to the name Dedetneshmet suggest purposeful defacement of the chapel prior to its demolition. Other fragments, including parts of what may be offering vessels and offering-scene elements, were also viciously gouged.

This group of fragmentary architectural features incorporated into the archaeological record of the mayoral residence during the later stages of its history strongly indicate the presence of nearby cemeteries that included aboveground mortuary structures. Some of these installations already appear to have been

⁶⁵ See Cahail 2014a, pp. 257–59 and fig. 5.5, where the presence of a standing figure holding a lotus is suggested. Although an area of blue paint is preserved, the curvature of the element reconstructed as a lotus stem does not appear likely. Preservation of these scene elements is too limited for any reconstruction to be certain.

defunct or subject to demolition and removal during the later occupational phases of the mayoral residence, perhaps implying social and personal fissures in the community at Wah-Sut.⁶⁶ In addition, a sizable number of smaller-scale commemorative objects associated with deposits particularly toward the back of the building bolster this evidence for mortuary installations on the low desert behind the town.

One such example of a funerary statuette, recovered directly behind Building A, is the pair statuette of the steward (*imy-r pr*) Renefiker and his wife, the *nbt-pr* Iru (fig. 24.18). This object was discovered behind the back wall of the mayoral residence, sitting near the original floor level of the *areryt*. Although it is conceivable that the man and wife commemorated held some association with the mayoral residence, the findspot of the statuette appears likely to be accidental, and the presence of the object adds to the indications for funerary chapels and likely a late Middle Kingdom cemetery associated with Wah-Sut in the low desert environs behind Building A.⁶⁷



Figure 24.18. Limestone pair statuette of the “steward Renefiker, born of (the lady) Senankh,” and his wife, the “lady of the house Iru, born of (the man) Nedji” (object SA.20214).

66 The phenomenon of targeted damage to this chapel, as well as to the Khuinutef stela, is part of a wider set of evidence for pervasive *damnatio memoriae* to late Middle Kingdom elite funerary monuments recovered at South Abydos. Similar intentional damage occurs among reused fragments of chapels associated with the Thirteenth Dynasty officials Ibiau and Dedtu recovered from the tomb of Seneb-Kay; see Wegner and Cahail 2021, pp. 164–239. It seems that social and political conflict and consequent administrative breaks may have occurred in the history of this site that possibly also affected the continuity of the mayoral family.

67 For additional examination of the possible disposition of nonroyal mortuary activity at South Abydos, see Cahail 2019.

Other fragmentary statuettes and funerary stelae have been recovered from contexts inside and directly behind Building A. One object, of unclear function and also found within late Middle Kingdom deposits adjacent to the *areryt*, is a small-scale bust of a male in unfired clay (fig. 24.19). The quality of facial rendering is quite high. The bust was excavated fully intact, with no breaks. Below the neck, the sculpture ends with a flaring base marking the transition to the shoulders but no indication of an attachment to any other component. In all likelihood, this was a sculptor's model in clay intended for translation into a stone sculpture. Could this clay head represent a Middle Kingdom sculptor's model of one of the occupants of the mayoral residence? The bust remains an anonymous representation, but other fragmentary evidence suggests that the mayors and mayoral family of Wah-Sut were commemorated in other forms at South Abydos. In the final section of this essay, I return briefly to an object discussed above—the offering table of the mayor Nakht—and lastly to a quartzite statue that might be attributed to the rulers of Wah-Sut.



Figure 24.19. Unfired clay head found in the *areryt* area behind the mayoral residence (object SA.15662).

MORTUARY INSTALLATIONS OF THE MAYORS OF WAH-SUT?

Numerous objects redeposited through various mechanisms in the archaeological record of the South Abydos townsite indicate the probability of nearby cemeteries that included both burials and aboveground commemorative installations. Were the mayors and mayoral family members among these individuals? One of the funerary objects that specifically commemorates a mayor is the libation table naming a *h3ty-c* Nakht, already discussed above. If this offering table commemorates Wah-Sut's first mayor, Nakht, the context of its discovery is intriguing. The block was excavated not in Building A but in Building B, one of the smaller elite residences directly adjacent to the mayoral residence. The block had been reused as a door pivot in a secondary raising of a door threshold in the rear part of the house. The surviving fragment had been broken off from the larger libation table. Chisel marks in various locations show how it was cut away from a wider and taller offering table with decorated side panels (see fig. 24.7). The threshold where this block was mounted is an architectural alteration that cannot be specifically dated, but it indicates that any local veneration of the mayor Nakht must have ceased prior to that point in time. Such an irreverent mode of reuse could reflect discontinuities over a long time frame in the ruling family at Wah-Sut. Reuse of the object suggests it derives from a defunct mortuary installation that was no longer maintained by descendants of the extended family of the mayor Nakht. Conceivably, this libation table may have been discarded from a temple setting or even a domestic shrine where it had stood for a period of time as an item of ritual equipment dedicated in memory of the mayor Nakht. However, the more probable origin would be in a funerary chapel. Reuse of the block fits the broader pattern of a range of mortuary stelae, offering tables, and statuary either reused or dispersed in the general area of the townsite.

Finally, one of the most intriguing commemorative objects discovered so far, and one that may relate to Wah-Sut's mayoral family, is a finely carved, though fragmentary, red-purple quartzite statue of a seated male (fig. 24.20). The statue was excavated during an exploratory exposure to the southeast of Building A in 2013. Numerous fragments of this shattered figure were distributed over an area of some 5 m, associated with a midden-like deposit that contained a dense but heterogenous matrix of discarded ceramics. Careful screening and rescreening of the context was conducted to search for additional, missing components of the statue. At the time of its excavation, we hoped that portions of the head might be retrieved, as well as additional parts of the statue base that may once have borne an identifying inscription. No further elements of the head were recovered, nor were any fragments bearing remnants of an inscription, although

the wider area was not exhaustively excavated and the pottery midden continued beneath a nearby modern desert field, which prevented further investigation at the time.

Late Middle Kingdom quartzite statuary is an elite sculptural product that has been shown to have been distributed from a limited number of royally controlled workshops.⁶⁸ The fragmentary statue was likely produced elsewhere, potentially at Itj-Tawy or some other production center, and brought to Wah-Sut for dedication in a local funerary chapel. Although it is remotely conceivable that this statue was associated with a commemorative chapel or *mahat* set up at Wah-Sut by some nonlocal, high-ranking official, the greater likelihood is that it derives from the funerary chapel of an occupant of Wah-Sut itself. Consequently, we can be virtually certain that this statue was commissioned for a high-ranking member of the South Abydos community. Given the use of quartzite and the fine quality of the sculpture, there is a significant possibility this statue belongs to one of the mayors of Wah-Sut.

The sculpture originally would have measured approximately 40 cm in height. The figure wears a kilt and belt and is bare chested above the waist. On the right-hand side, part of the wig was retrieved; it shows that the man is depicted with a smooth wig or hair that ends at the shoulders. The surviving surfaces of the sides and back of the chair are blank. In view of the degree of damage to the base, it appears most likely that the statue originally bore an inscription somewhere on the sculpture's missing lower parts. There is no inscription on the partially preserved right-hand side of the chair, although the most typical location for an identifying inscription would be on the front of the chair flanking the figure's legs. However, since this area is relatively narrow (just 2.5 cm wide), other locations may have been used, such as the base adjacent to the feet or the front of the base below the feet.

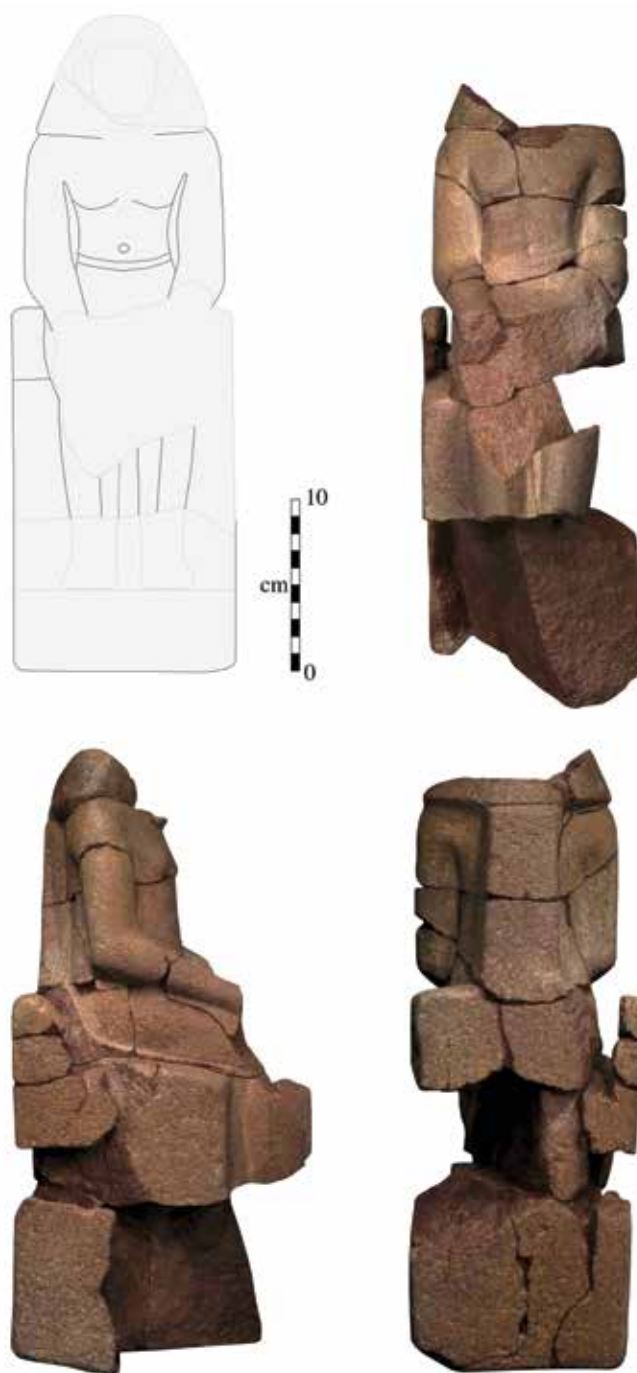


Figure 24.20. Fragments of a smashed quartzite statue (object SATC 5.1) discovered mixed in with ceramic debris to the southeast of the mayoral residence. Is this one of the mayors of Wah-Sut?

⁶⁸ See discussion in Connor 2018; in the broader context of late Middle Kingdom private statuary, see Connor 2020.

The sculptural format of the figure—seated, with schematic rendering of the musculature of the torso—appears consistent with nonroyal elite sculpture dating to the late Twelfth Dynasty. Based on the particular set of features and the late Middle Kingdom trend toward the depiction of officials wearing longer garments, Cahail has suggested a relatively earlier date in Wah-Sut’s history: during the reign of Senwosret III or the earlier reign of Amenemhat III.⁶⁹ Aspects of the figure do appear to fall well in the late Twelfth Dynasty time frame. The format and proportions of the chair, with its slightly tapering back support, are virtually identical with, for example, the well-known, late Twelfth Dynasty quartzite figure of Nemtyhotep.⁷⁰ Nemtyhotep’s statue shows a similar approach to the primarily plain chair base. The identifying inscription of Nemtyhotep’s statue was added, somewhat crudely and in lightly incised hieroglyphs, perhaps only as a temporary label, on only the chair’s right-hand side. The South Abydos figure may similarly have been inscribed somewhere flanking the legs or feet, or elsewhere on the chair’s base or sides. The specific date and identity of this anonymous figure remain unknown. However, in view of the probable late Twelfth Dynasty date of the statue, we may wonder whether it depicts one of the early mayors—Nakht, Nakhti, Khentykhety, or Neferwenher.

The extent of fragmentation of the South Abydos quartzite figure is a notable feature of this find. Although Cahail has suggested it might be an example of ritualized destruction of a statue that had been removed from a domestic cultic setting, it does not appear likely to me that this statue was purposefully “decommissioned” and ritually buried.⁷¹ The fragmentation suggests a statue that was rather aggressively smashed and then scattered over some distance. Although it is a portable piece, this statue was likely discarded not far from the original architectural context that housed it. The presence of this fragmentary statue substantially behind the back wall of the Wah-Sut townsite significantly bolsters the evidence of funerary and commemorative objects recovered in secondary contexts in the town itself. The quartzite statue is a strong indication that mortuary chapels and accompanying tombs of the late Middle Kingdom elite occupants of South Abydos were located in the low desert landscape directly behind the townsite. Whoever it represents, the statue hints at new evidence that can be expected from continued excavation in the wider landscape of Wah-Sut.

CONCLUSION

As we have examined in this review of current evidence for the history of Wah-Sut, various forms of inscribed material provide the basis for constructing a relative sequence of the mayors, and some of their familial relationships, over the course of the late Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties. Seals and seal impressions form the key data set underpinning our current knowledge, though with the inherent limitations in how consistently these objects reflect the personnel and development of the site as a whole. Tantalizing evidence for a large and richly equipped late Middle Kingdom cemetery, however, filter through into the archaeological record of the townsite and suggest that future investigations at South Abydos have the potential to augment our present evidence with new discoveries of this community in its heyday of the late Middle Kingdom. Continued work on the site and its surrounding landscape also has the potential to shed light on longer transformations occurring over subsequent centuries that allowed Wah-Sut to survive—at least in name—across the New Kingdom and into the era of Sheshonq I, nearly a millennium later.

As stated in the dedication of this essay, the toponym Wah-Sut appears to have still been used in the Third Intermediate Period, at the stage when fifty arouras of land at South Abydos were dedicated to the funerary endowment of Sheshonq I’s father, Nimlot.⁷² Although the place name was spelled slightly differ-

⁶⁹ Cahail 2014a, pp. 252–53.

⁷⁰ Connor 2015.

⁷¹ See Cahail 2014a, pp. 251–53. For the decommissioning of statuary, see also the overview in Connor 2019.

⁷² This sizable tract of agricultural land would equal 137,300 m² (13.73 ha), probably including floodplain areas extending up to the edge of the low desert at South Abydos. The donated fifty arouras likely encompass what was once the agricultural surroundings of the Wah-Sut townsite.

ently at that point—using a *sw* sign atop a *t* rather than the *st* hieroglyph—the land was specified as being “in the district of the high tract south of Abydos, called Wah-Swyt.”⁷³ The wording used in the land donation list of Sheshonq I therefore weighs strongly in favor of the continued use of the toponym “Wah-Sut.” The administrative area once managed under the authority of the Middle Kingdom mayors of Wah-Sut continued to be part of the cultural memory—and land organization—of Abydos during Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period, long after the demise of the town established for maintaining the funerary cult of Senwosret III.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Blackman, Aylward

- 1941 “The Stela of Shoshenq, Great Chief of the Meshwesh.” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 27: 83–95.

Borchardt, Ludwig

- 1925 *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo, Nr. 1–1294*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 77. Berlin: Reichsdruckerei.

Cahail, Kevin

- 2014a “In the Shadow of Osiris: Non-royal Mortuary Landscapes at South Abydos during the Late Middle and New Kingdoms.” PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- 2014b “Their Memory Lives On: Domestic Funerary Commemoration at Wah-sut.” *Expedition* 56, no. 1: 36–38.
- 2019 “Laying the Ancestors to Rest: Defining Possible Cemetery Placement Associated with the Late Middle Kingdom Town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos.” In *Abydos: The Sacred Land at the Western Horizon*, edited by Ilona Regulski, pp. 93–120. British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 8. Leuven: Peeters.

Connor, Simon

- 2015 “The Statue of the Steward Nemtyhotep (Berlin ÄM 15700) and Some Considerations about Royal and Private Portrait under Amenemhat III.” In *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion and Written Sources*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki, pp. 57–79. Middle Kingdom Studies 1. London: Golden House.
- 2018 “Sculpture Workshops: Who, Where and for Whom?” In *The Arts of Making in Ancient Egypt: Voices, Images, and Objects of Material Producers 2000–1550 BC*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Juan Carlos Moreno García, Stephen Quirke, and Andréas Stauder, pp. 11–30. Leiden: Sidestone.
- 2019 “Killing or ‘De-activating’ Egyptian Statues: Who Mutilated Them, When, and Why?” In *Statues in Context: Production, Meaning and (Re)uses*, edited by Aurélia Masson-Berghoff, pp. 282–302. British Museum Studies on Egypt and Sudan 10. Leuven: Peeters.
- 2020 *Être et paraître: Statues royales et privées de la fin du Moyen Empire et de la Deuxième Période intermédiaire (1850–1550 av. J.-C.)*. Middle Kingdom Studies 10. London: Golden House.

Dodson, Aidan

- 2009 “The Transition between the 21st and 22nd Dynasties Revisited.” In *The Libyan Period in Egypt*, edited by G. P. F. Broekman, R. J. Demarée, and O. E. Kaper, pp. 103–12. Egyptologische Uitgaven 23. Leuven: Peeters and Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten.

Favry, Natalie

- 2016 “The Transmission of Offices in the Middle Kingdom.” In *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion and Written Sources*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki, pp. 117–31. Middle Kingdom Studies 2. London: Golden House.

Firth, Cecil, and Battiscombe Gunn

- 1926 *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*. Excavations at Saqqara 7. Cairo: Service des antiquités de l’Égypte.

73 For the text and discussion of the place-name in the original publication of the Abydos Donation Stela (Cairo JdE 66285), see Blackman (1941, p. 85 and n. 48). The name is likely to be transliterated as *W3h-swyt*, rather than *W3h-nsyt* as read by Blackman. Although some doubt about the name’s continuity might be raised based on the spelling change, the specified geographical location makes the identification extremely probable. For further references, see n. 1 above.

Fischer, Henry George

1962 “The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1: 7–18.

Franke, Detlef

2013 *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th Dynasties*. Vol. 1/1, *Descriptions*. London: British Museum.

Gomaà, Farouk

1986 *Die Besiedlung Ägyptens während des Mittleren Reiches*. Vol. 1, *Oberägypten und das Fayyūm*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B (Geisteswissenschaften) 66/1. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Grajetzki, Wolfram

1997 “Bemerkungen zu den Bürgermeistern (*ḥ3ty-ꜣ*) von Qaw el-Kebir im Mittleren Reich.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 156: 55–62.

2009 “Women and Writing in the Middle Kingdom: Stela Louvre C187.” *Revue d'égyptologie* 60: 209–14.

Griffith, Francis Llewellyn

1898 *The Petrie Papyri: Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*. London: Quaritch.

Guegan, Izold

2020 “The Men of the *ḥnr*.” *Pražské Egyptologické Studie* 25: 111–27.

Hall, H. R.

1912 *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum*. Vol. 3. London: Longmans.

Horváth, Zoltán

2009 “Temple(s) and Town at el-Lahun: A Study of Ancient Toponyms in the el-Lahun Papyri.” In *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt*, edited by David P. Silverman, William Kelly Simpson, and Josef Wegner, pp. 171–203. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Ilin-Tomich, Alexander

2017 *From Workshop to Sanctuary: The Production of Late Middle Kingdom Memorial Stelae*. Middle Kingdom Studies 6. London: Golden House.

Jiménez-Serrano, Alejandro

2015 “A Unique Funerary Complex in Qubbet el-Hawa for Two Governors of the Late Twelfth Dynasty.” In *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion and Written Sources*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki, pp. 169–75. Middle Kingdom Studies 1. London: Golden House.

Jiménez-Serrano, Alejandro, and Juan Carlos Sánchez León

2015 “Sattjeni: Daughter, Wife and Mother of the Governors of Elephantine during the End of the Twelfth Dynasty.” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 142: 154–66.

2019 *Le premier nome du sud de l'Égypte au Moyen Empire: Fouilles de la mission espagnole à Qoubbet el-Haoua (Assouan) 2008–2018*. BAR International Series 2927. Oxford: BAR Publishing.

Kamal, Ahmed

1906–9 *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 23001–23246: Tables d'offrandes*. 2 vols. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Lange, Eva

2015 “The So-Called Governors' Cemetery at Bubastis and Provincial Elite Tombs in the Nile Delta: State and Perspectives of Research.” In *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1550 BC): Contributions on Archaeology, Art, Religion and Written Sources*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci and Wolfram Grajetzki, pp. 187–203. Middle Kingdom Studies 1. London: Golden House.

Martin, Geoffrey Thorndike

1971 *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals Principally of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum.

McCormack, Dawn

2008 “Dynasty XIII Kingship in Ancient Egypt: A Study of Political Power and Administration through an Investigation of the Royal Tombs of the Late Middle Kingdom.” PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.

Moeller, Nadine

- 2017 "The Foundation and Purpose of the Settlement at Lahun during the Middle Kingdom: A New Evaluation." In *Essays for the Library of Seshat: Studies Presented to Janet H. Johnson on the Occasion of Her 70th Birthday*, edited by Robert K. Ritner, pp. 183–203. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 70. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Morris, Ellen F.

- 2011 "Paddle Dolls and Performance." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47: 71–103.
- 2017 "Middle Kingdom Clappers, Dancers, Birth Magic, and the Reinvention of Ritual." In *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000–1500 BC). Proceedings of the International Conference of the EPOCHS Project Held 18th–20th September 2014 at UCL, London*, edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Marilina Betrò, and Stephen Quirke, pp. 285–335. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 262. Leuven: Peeters.

Nelson-Hurst, Melinda

- 2011 "Ideology and Practicality in Transmission of Office during the Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: An Examination of Families and the Concept of *ibt*." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- 2017 "Spheres of Economic and Administrative Control in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Textual, Visual, and Archaeological Evidence for Female and Male Sealers." In *Structures of Power: Law and Gender across the Ancient Near East and Beyond*, edited by Ilan Peled, pp. 131–41. Oriental Institute Seminars 12. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Newberry, Percy E.

- 1893 *Beni Hasan: Part I. Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 1. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.
- 1894 *Beni Hasan: Part II. Archaeological Survey of Egypt* 2. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co.

Nord, Del

- 1981 "The Term *hnr*: 'Harem' or 'Musical Performers'?" In *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Sudan: Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday*, edited by William Kelly Simpson and Whitney M. Davis, pp. 137–45. Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts.

Paull, Aymie

- 2017 "The Family of Tjat at Beni Hassan." *Göttinger Miszellen* 251: 71–78.

Petrie, William M. F.

- 1930 *Antaeopolis: The Tombs of Qau*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 51. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

Picardo, Nicholas

- 2015 "Hybrid Households: Institutional Affiliations and Household Identity in the Town of *Wah-sut* (South Abydos)." In *Household Studies in Complex Societies: (Micro) Archaeological and Textual Approaches*, edited by Miriam Müller, pp. 243–89. Oriental Institute Seminars 10. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Quirke, Stephen

- 2004 *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850–1700 BC*. Golden House Publications Egyptology 1. London: Golden House.

Ranke, Hermann

- 1935 *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*. Vol. 1, *Verzeichnis der Namen*. Glückstadt: Augustin.

Ritner, Robert K.

- 2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period*. Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.

Ryholt, K. S. B.

- 1997 *The Political Situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800–1550 BC*. Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 20. Copenhagen: Museum Tusulanum Press.

Silverman, David

- 1988 *The Tomb Chamber of Hsw the Elder: The Inscribed Material at Kom El-Hisn*. Part 1, *Illustrations*. American Research Center in Egypt Reports 10. Publications of the Ancient Naukratis Project 3. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.

Stefanović, Danijela

- 2009 *The Non-royal Regular Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers*. Golden House Publications Egyptology 11. London: Golden House.

Ward, William

- 1982 *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*. Beirut: American University of Beirut Press.
- 1984 “The Case of Mrs. Tchat and Her Sons at Beni Hasan.” *Göttinger Miszellen* 71: 51–59.
- 1986 *Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects*. Beirut: American University of Beirut Press.

Wegner, Josef

- 1998 “Excavations at the Town of *Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos*: A Preliminary Report on the 1994 and 1997 Seasons.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 35: 1–44.
- 2001 “The Town of *Wah-sut* at South Abydos: 1999 Excavations.” *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 57: 281–308.
- 2004 “Social and Historical Implications of Sealings of the King’s Daughter Reniseneb and Other Women at the Town of *Wah-Sut*.” In *Scarabs of the Second Millennium BC from Egypt, Nubia, Crete and the Levant: Chronological and Historical Implications*, edited by Manfred Bietak and Ernst Czerny, pp. 221–40. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 8. Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- 2007 *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*. Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 8. New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University.
- 2010 “External Connections of the Community of *Wah-Sut* during the Late Middle Kingdom.” In *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Edward Brovarski*, edited by Zahi Hawass, Peter Der Manuelian, and Ramadan Hussein, pp. 437–58. Supplément aux Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte 40. Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l’Égypte.
- 2014 “The Palatial Residence of *Wah-Sut*.” *Expedition* 56: 24–31.
- 2018 “The Evolution of Ancient Egyptian Seals and Sealing Systems.” In *Seals and Sealing in the Ancient World: Case Studies from the Near East, Egypt, the Aegean, and South Asia*, edited by Sarah Scott, Sara Kieldt Costello, Marta America, and Gregg Jamison, pp. 229–57. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 2020 “Two Recently Discovered Burial Chambers of the 13th Dynasty at Abydos: Evidence for Tombs of the Brother-Kings Sobekhotep IV and Sahathor.” In *Guardian of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Zahi Hawass*, edited by Janice Kamrin, Miroslav Bárta, Salima Ikram, Mark Lehner, and Mohamed Megahed, vol. 3, pp. 1665–82. Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University.

Wegner, Josef, and Kevin Cahail

- 2015 “Royal Funerary Equipment of a King Sobekhotep at South Abydos: Evidence for the Tombs of Sobekhotep IV and Neferhotep I?” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 51: 123–64.
- 2021 *King Seneb-Kay’s Tomb and the Necropolis of a Lost Dynasty at Abydos*. University Museum Monographs 155. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Willems, Harco

- 1990 “Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Moalla Inscription 8).” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 76: 27–54.
- 2014 *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture: Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 73. Leiden: Brill.

25

“I INTERROGATED THE ARABS OF THE DESERT”:
LOCAL INTERLOCUTORS IN THE EGYPTOLOGICAL
RESEARCH OF CLAUDE SICARD, 1712–1726*

Jennifer Westerfeld
University of Louisville

IN EARLY JANUARY 1721, THE French Jesuit missionary and explorer Claude Sicard was on his way home to Cairo after an extended research trip that had taken him as far south as Aswan. Together with his traveling companion, a Piedmontese priest named Pietro Lorenzo Pincia, he stopped in Luxor for a couple days' exploration amid the ruins of ancient Thebes. This time, Sicard hoped, he would be able to gain access to the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, a site he had been unable to visit on his previous stay in Thebes three years earlier “because nobody had dared to take me there at that time.”¹ The two travelers met with greater success in 1721. Describing the experience in a letter to one of his childhood friends, Sicard wrote, “By dint of persuasion and gifts I got the Arabs to admit me into the tombs of the ancient kings, isolated behind a mountain where I had never before set foot.”² Pincia's account of how the two men gained access to the royal necropolis offers some additional details. “We found ourselves at Medinet Habu,” he wrote, “in the midst of eighteen or twenty Arabs, having already contracted a friendship with their leader . . . by means of a present we had given him during our previous encounter at Naqada. In return, he received us cordially, had horses readied for us, and ordered his son, together with four other Arabs, all on horseback, to serve as our guides and to show us the ancient magnificence [of the monuments].” The following day, the same group would guide the two priests on their long-desired visit to the Valley of the Kings.³

*Research for this chapter was carried out with support from the Commonwealth Center for the Humanities and Society at the University of Louisville, and I am grateful to former CCHS director John Gibson and the entire 2020–21 cohort of Bingham Faculty Fellows for their collegiality and their enthusiasm for the project. Sincere thanks to Pamela Beattie and Wendy Doyon for providing feedback on earlier drafts of the chapter and to Daniel Stolzenberg and Johannes den Heijer for asking sharp questions about key aspects of my analysis following presentations on the project in Louisville and Brussels.

1 Sicard to unnamed recipient, date unknown but likely early 1721 (*Oeuvres* I.29, p. 86): “on n'avait pas osé m'y conduire en ce temps-là.”

2 Sicard to Guis, 27 January 1721 (*Oeuvres* I.30, p. 89): “à force d'insinuations et de présents je me suis fait introduire par les Arabes dans les tombeaux des anciens Rois, écartés derrière une montagne où jamais je n'avais mis le pied.” The brothers François and Augustin Guis, from La Ciotat near Marseille, were childhood friends of Sicard's, and he corresponded with them frequently. The complicated transmission history of Sicard's correspondence, however, means that it is not always possible to identify which Guis brother was being addressed in any given letter.

3 Pietro Lorenzo Pincia, “Relation de l'ancienne ville de Thèbes . . .” (*Oeuvres* I, Annexe II, p. 142): “Nous trouvâmes à Medine Thabue, au milieu de 18 ou 20 arabes, leur chef avec qui nous avons déjà contracté quelque amitié. Nous l'avions disposé à nous accorder la sienne par un présent que nous lui fîmes dans une rencontre précédente à Nakadé. En reconnaissance il nous reçut avec cordialité, il nous fit préparer des chevaux et ordonna à son fils, accompagné de 4 autres arabes pareillement à cheval, de nous servir de guide et de nous faire voir leurs anciennes magnificences.” Pincia's “Relation . . .” is preserved in both French and Italian versions in a manuscript now in Paris (BnF, Département des Manuscrits NAF 22335); for the Italian version, see Pincia 1998. In keeping with common eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century usage, Sicard and Pincia both utilize the term “arabe” broadly and imprecisely throughout their works to refer to Egyptian agriculturalists and Bedouin tribesmen alike; for this usage, see Jomard 1809. In this instance, Pincia was most likely referring to members of the Hawwara Bedouin tribe, who exercised authority over much of the Thebaid in the early eighteenth century; on the Hawwara, see Crecelius 1998, pp. 66–67.

These accounts of Sicard and Pincia's experiences in western Thebes raise several related questions about the role of local guides and interlocutors in the production of Egyptological knowledge in the early eighteenth century. As a Jesuit missionary, Sicard resided in Egypt under the aegis of that religious order, with the primary goal of converting the country's Coptic Christian population to Roman Catholicism.⁴ At the same time, however, he was engaged in extensive scientific and historical research, mapping the Nile Valley and attempting to reconcile classical accounts of pharaonic Egyptian monuments with the ruins still visible on the ground. This research was made possible by the participation of numerous local informants. Egyptians from all walks of life instructed Sicard on the characteristics and uses of local flora and fauna, procured artifacts and natural history specimens for him, provided him with information on the contemporary Arabic names for the pharaonic and Greco-Roman sites he sought to map, and guided him to the places he wished to visit. The crucial work of these local sources, however, is all but invisible in both Sicard's surviving correspondence and the heavily edited versions of his field reports that were published in the Jesuit periodical series *Nouveaux mémoires* and *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*. This elision of Sicard's Egyptian interlocutors from the narrative of his research exemplifies the phenomenon of the "invisible technician," first described by Steven Shapin in the context of early modern laboratory science. It speaks to the "evaluative distinction between skill and knowledgeability" that characterized much early modern intellectual activity, and it would have facilitated Sicard's efforts to present himself as the quintessential man of science—a savant writing for an audience of fellow savants, as he put it—pursuing knowledge in heroic isolation.⁵ It also reflects the emerging division of labor and hierarchy of knowledge production that would become the norm in the field of Egyptian archaeology by the nineteenth century, whereby the authority to direct archaeological projects and interpret their findings was typically arrogated to Europeans (and later, Americans), while the manual labor of excavation was largely carried out by Egyptians.

My analysis of Sicard's research in the following study, then, represents a preliminary attempt to re-center Egyptian agency in early eighteenth-century Egyptological research and to render these "invisible technicians" visible once more. I examine Sicard's surviving letters and some of his published works to answer a series of related questions. First and most fundamentally, when, where, and in what capacities did Egyptian informants enter into Sicard's research process, and what contributions did they make to his work? What happened when his understanding ran counter to theirs, as it sometimes did? To what extent, if at all, can we hear these Egyptians speak to us in their own voices? And finally, how does this information contribute to our larger picture of the nature of archaeological research at the dawn of Egyptology?

This effort to write Egyptians back into the early history of Egyptology draws on two parallel strands of thought in contemporary scholarship: a keen interest in the material and sociopolitical conditions of early modern knowledge production, on the one hand, and a movement within the field of Egyptology to expose and interrogate the imperialist and colonialist roots of our discipline, on the other. Historians of early modern science continue to highlight both the institutional structures that made research activity possible and the essential contributions that local interlocutors made to that research.⁶ Andrés Prieto has shown, for example, that Jesuits in the South American missions relied on native spiritual leaders for information about the medicinal properties of local plants. The missionaries then represented that information as their

4 A brief overview of the Cairo mission's history is provided in Hamilton 2006, chapter 10. A more detailed presentation of the mission's fortunes in the eighteenth century can be found in Libois 2003.

5 The foundational study of the "invisible technician" is Shapin 1989; the quotation is at p. 562. For an overview of more recent scholarship on this phenomenon, see Morus 2016.

6 On the nature of scientific knowledge production and transmission "in the spaces of intercultural encounter" created by early modern European expansion, see Raj 2007 (p. 10 for the quotation); Schaffer et. al. 2009. More specifically on early modern Jesuit scientific activity and its institutional supports, see Harris 1996, 2005; Feingold 2003; Hsia 2009; Findlen 2019. The intersection of early modern French scientific, religious, and colonial endeavors is stressed in McClellan and Regourd 2011; the authors identify Catholic missionaries and missionary-scientists as a key constitutive element of what they call the "Colonial Machine."

own discoveries and used it to “assume the healing and spiritual functions of the shamans,” thereby marginalizing a group they considered problematic.⁷ Moving beyond the realm of specifically Jesuit scientific activity, James Delbourgo has emphasized the role of indigenous (and in some cases, enslaved) laborers and informants in shaping the collection of botanical specimens that Hans Sloane brought from Jamaica to London—a collection that Sloane used to cement his own scientific reputation and that would ultimately become part of the core assemblage of “curiosities” around which he founded the British Museum.⁸ Similar concerns animate many of the contributions in Londa Schiebinger and Claudia Swan’s *Colonial Botany*, which highlights the ways in which political, economic, religious, and intellectual interests were fundamentally entangled in the work of early modern natural scientists.⁹ By examining Sicard through the lens provided by this body of scholarship, I aim to situate him not only within a purely Egyptological context but also within the broader framework of early modern scientific activity.

Within the field of Egyptology, scholars continue to explore the complex intersections of colonial ambitions and Egyptological scholarship and the ways in which the extension of European mercantile, religious, and political interests into North Africa during the early modern period laid the foundations for the emergence of Egyptology as a European academic discipline. Stephanie Moser has shown, for example, that as the nature of British colonial interventions in Egypt evolved from the late eighteenth to the late nineteenth century, so too did British perceptions of the value of Egyptian antiquities, and Donald Reid has elucidated not only the mechanisms by which French and British scholars came to dominate the Egyptian Antiquities Service but also the adoption of pharaonic imagery and claims to pharaonic descent by emergent Egyptian nationalist movements in the early twentieth century.¹⁰ Efforts to foreground the labor of Egyptians in the emergence of academic Egyptology and Egyptian archaeology have thus far tended to focus on British and American excavations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which are comparatively well documented by fieldwork archives. Stephen Quirke, for example, has sought to restore the Egyptian laborers and supervisors employed by Flinders Petrie in his excavations to their rightful place at the center of the narrative of discovery, and Alice Stevenson has argued for the vital importance of “acknowledg[ing] the role that Egyptian workforces have played in enabling and shaping the production of archaeology.”¹¹ Wendy Doyon likewise examines the history of Egyptian archaeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with particular attention to social and labor relations, situating the discipline’s development in relation not only to European colonization but also to Egypt’s emergence as a modern state.¹² It is to be hoped that continued attention to Egyptian presences in Western archival sources, coupled with the study of Arabic language sources such as the recently discovered Abydos Temple Paper Archive, will ultimately enable a clearer view of Egyptian agency in the production and dissemination of Egyptological knowledge.¹³

By examining the role of Egyptian interlocutors in Sicard’s Egyptological research, I aim to extend this vital conversation both back in time, to a period when the practice of field archaeology was just beginning to take shape, and out of the Anglophone context that has been the focus of much of the prior work in this area. I am very happy to offer these remarks in memory of Robert Ritner, whose 1999 course “Introduction to Ancient Egyptian Religion” cemented my desire to become an Egyptologist and from whom I gained a deep appreciation for the complex and fascinating history of our discipline.

7 Prieto 2011, p. 61.

8 Delbourgo 2017.

9 Schiebinger and Swan 2005.

10 Moser 2006, 2012; Reid 2002, 2015. See also Jasanoff 2005; Colla 2007.

11 Quirke 2010; Stevenson 2019, p. 18.

12 Doyon 2015, 2021.

13 Shalaby et al. 2018.

LOCAL KNOWLEDGE, LOCAL VOICES: THE ROLES OF EGYPTIAN INTERLOCUTORS IN SICARD'S RESEARCH

Sicard arrived in Egypt in the summer of 1712 to take up his position as the new superior of the small Jesuit residence in Cairo. He had spent the previous six years in the Levant, studying Arabic in Tripoli and professing his final vows in the city of Aleppo.¹⁴ By December he had begun traveling, visiting the Coptic monasteries of the Wadi Natrun and the cities of Alexandria and Rosetta. He would return to Wadi Natrun in early 1714, traveling later that year to the Delta town of Mansoura and venturing for the first time into Upper Egypt as far as Naqada. Sicard maintained this peripatetic pattern for the rest of his life; rarely did a year pass without some amount of travel, and it was not unusual for him to spend several months at a time on the road.¹⁵ Sicard's earliest voyages seem to have been motivated primarily by concerns connected to the mission, and his investigations into Egypt's natural history and archaeological remains were carried out on an opportunistic basis whenever his mission trips brought him close to an interesting site or geographic feature. His trip to the Wadi Natrun and the village of Menoufia in 1714, for example, was aimed first and foremost at confessing and catechizing the Coptic Christians in those areas, but it also gave him the chance to investigate the unusual rock formations and petrified wood found in the desert region to the west of the Monastery of St. Macarius.¹⁶ The following years saw Sicard continuing to balance these two imperatives of religion and research, but as his scholarly reputation grew, thanks in part to the 1717 publication of a heavily redacted synthesis of three of his travel accounts (*relations de voyage*) in the Jesuit periodical series *Nouveaux mémoires*,¹⁷ Sicard began to plan expeditions more deliberately organized around his academic goals.

Sicard's research activities in Egypt fell into three principal categories, which he pursued simultaneously: investigating the natural history of the Nile Valley and the surrounding deserts; mapping that same region using the most up-to-date methods and technologies, while at the same time reconciling ancient and modern place-names; and carrying out what we would now understand as a form of survey archaeology, intended to identify as many pharaonic sites and monuments as possible. This combination of seemingly disparate interests was in fact very characteristic for the period, and other early eighteenth-century European travelers to Egypt investigated a similarly broad range of topics.¹⁸ In our current state of knowledge, it is unclear to what extent Sicard's interest in these areas may have predated his arrival in Egypt. There is no indication in the sources that he carried out research in any of these fields during his years in the Levant, and his surviving scholarly output concerns Egypt almost exclusively.¹⁹ That said, as a product of the French

14 Claude Sicard (1675–1726) has not been the subject of any book-length biographical treatments to date. Brief biographical sketches are available in Barthélemy 1889, pp. 329–31 (focusing on Sicard's roots in the Provençal town of Aubagne); *Oeuvres* I, v–viii (focusing on Sicard's Egyptological achievements); Libois 2003 (focusing on Sicard's work as a missionary).

15 A timeline of Sicard's voyages, with accompanying maps, reconstructed on the basis of the surviving documentation, can be found in *Oeuvres* I, pp. xxiii–xxviii.

16 For this trip, see *Oeuvres* I.2 and I.3; *Oeuvres* II, pp. 10, 30.

17 Sicard 1718; a critical reedition of the text appears in *Oeuvres* II, pp. 1–113. The transformation of Sicard's field reports and memoirs at the hands of the Jesuit procurator and editor of *Nouveaux mémoires*, Thomas-Charles Fleuriu, is a fascinating subject in its own right. In the future I plan to explore the question of how Fleuriu's editorial interventions may have affected the representation of Sicard's Egyptian informants.

18 For example, the publications of Paul Lucas (1704, 1712, 1719) and Benoît de Maillet (1735) demonstrate a similar range of interests. Lucas offers a particularly intriguing point of comparison; he was a close contemporary of Sicard (who did not have much good to say about him), and his research, like Sicard's, was subsidized by the French government.

19 The most detailed contemporary description of Sicard's years in the Levant comes from the obituary notice published by his fellow missionaries Pierre Fromage and Marc-Antoine Treffond (1727). Sicard is presented as wholly devoted to missionary activity while in Syria, and the only academic research he is said to have pursued at that time is the study of the Arabic language and the composition, in Arabic, of two theological treatises refuting schismatic doctrinal positions (neither of which is known to survive to the present day). For the training of Catholic missionaries in the Arabic language in the early modern period, see Girard 2017. Although Girard's analysis focuses primarily on the teaching of Arabic in Rome, his description (pp. 202–4) of missionaries being simultaneously instructed in classical Arabic and dialectical theology to prepare them to conduct theological disputations in Arabic probably applies to the linguistic training Sicard received in Tripoli

Jesuit educational system, Sicard would have been prepared to conduct this research thanks to a thorough grounding not only in the traditional domains of *belles lettres* and theology but also in mathematics, astronomy, and other theoretical and applied sciences, including the basics of surveying and cartography.²⁰ All the theoretical knowledge in the world, however, would have availed Sicard little without the crucial involvement of local informants with specific, practical knowledge of the Egyptian environment. It is to these individuals and their contributions to Sicard’s research in the areas of natural history, cartography, and archaeology that we shall now turn.

NATURAL HISTORY

Although he is best known today for his work in cartography and archaeology, Sicard, like many of his early modern peers, was also actively engaged in natural-historical research. Both his letters and his published travel accounts contain observations on the geology, flora, and fauna of the Nile Valley; he was called upon to respond to queries by members of the Académie Royale des Sciences; and he frequently gathered specimens that were destined for the cabinets of curiosities of fellow intellectuals back home in France.²¹ Local informants played key roles at various points in this process, as we can see from some of the earliest letters to survive from Sicard’s years in Egypt. In early 1714, as noted above, Sicard undertook a mission trip to the Wadi Natrun. Business concluded, he set out to explore a dry riverbed that lay to the west of the monasteries. His goal was to investigate the unusual rock formations there, which included petrified wood and a type of geode that Sicard referred to as “*pierres d’aigle*,” or eagle-stones (*aetites*).²² Characteristically, when he described this trip in a letter to one of the Guis brothers, Sicard represented himself as a solo traveler, speaking in the first-person singular: “I departed the Monastery of St. Macarius on Sunday, the 4th of this month [February]. . . . I saw plenty of petrified trunks and branches, but so broken that I didn’t bother to collect any of the fragments.”²³ However, the remainder of the letter makes it clear that Sicard was accompanied by at least two local guides. He mentioned their role explicitly only once, in discussing the difficulty he had in collecting specimens of the geodes: “I broke I don’t know how many the moment I touched them lightly with my fingertips, until, instructed by my own experience and the advice of my guides, I went about the task more gently.”²⁴ In this instance, the key contribution of his local interlocutors was to show Sicard the correct method of gathering the geological specimens that were the object of his interest. The same guides had presumably led him to the deposit of geodes in the first place, for despite his

and Aleppo as well. It is less clear how or whether Sicard received any formal training in the diverse Arabic dialects of the Levant or of Egypt; as Girard points out (pp. 204–7), training in “vernacular Arabic” was attempted at various moments in the early modern period but with limited recognition of the significant differences between the regional dialects.

20 For Sicard’s early education, see the remarks of Sauneron and Martin in *Oeuvres* III, xii–xv. More generally on the place of history and geography in French Jesuit education in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see de Dainville 1978, pp. 427–54; Kupfer and Buisseret 2019, pp. 58–59. Pedley (2005, pp. 26–31) has emphasized the Jesuit educational background of many of the leading cartographers in eighteenth-century France.

21 One of Sicard’s published works is represented as a response to queries posed by members of the Académie and transmitted to Sicard by the French consul in Cairo. The academicians had evidently requested information about natron, sal ammoniac, marble, and Egyptian chicken incubators; see Sicard 1729, pp. 64–90 (*Oeuvres* II, pp. 199–209). For the complex and evolving relationship between Jesuit scientists and the Académie in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Hsia 2009. A handful of Sicard’s letters reference the shipping of natural-history specimens to fellow scholars; see, for example, Sicard to Foynat, 20 October 1724 (*Oeuvres* I.59). Generally on the establishment of collections of Egyptian “curiosities” within the Provençal intellectual circles to which Sicard was so strongly attached, see Foissy-Aufrère 1985; Bosc and Jacotin 2013.

22 Bromehead 1947 and Barb 1950 both note that *aetites* were an object of curiosity and an element in the western European pharmacopeia through at least the end of the seventeenth century; Sicard’s interest in them suggests that the same was still true in the first quarter of the eighteenth century as well.

23 Sicard to Guis, 11 February 1714 (*Oeuvres* I.2, p. 2): “Je partis du Couvent de St. Macaire, le dimanche 4 de ce mois. . . . Je vis bien des mâts et des avirons pétrifiés, mais si brisés que je ne daignai en ramasser aucun fragment.”

24 Sicard to Guis, 11 February 1714 (*Oeuvres* I.2, p. 2): “J’en rompis je ne sais combien au moment que je les touchais légèrement avec le bout du doigt, jusqu’à ce qu’instruit par mon expérience et par l’avis de mes guides, j’allai plus doucement en besogne.”

self-characterization as an intrepid explorer venturing out into the desert wastes on his own, he cannot have been very familiar with the area.

Sicard wrote to Guis again later in February, noting that the geodes' color had changed significantly since they were collected. In order to pursue these geological researches further, Sicard told Guis that he had just written to a monk from the Monastery of St. Macarius to request more specimens, instructing the Copt to "go himself immediately and gather them in the richest mine that we had dug together, which is only a half-day's journey from his monastery, and then to hasten here so that I might have the stones still fresh and brilliant in their original color, which is lemon-yellow."²⁵ The work of this unnamed Coptic monk is clearly integral to Sicard's academic endeavor—it is his discernment in the selection of specimens and his speed in carrying out the commission that will furnish the missionary with his research materials—but Sicard characterizes the man's role in purely mechanical terms.

This type of labor, carried out by otherwise unidentified Egyptians, is attested at other points in Sicard's writings and seems to have been a normal feature of his research into Egypt's natural history. On a trip into the Eastern Desert, for example, Sicard sent his camel-driver guides off in pursuit of a lizard (it escaped), and in a letter to Guis he assured his friend that specimens of Nilotic fauna would soon be forthcoming because "a *mubāšir* friend of mine, who is leaving this week for the Saïd, has promised to seek out lots of crocodiles and their eggs for me."²⁶ Similarly, when the teenage king of France requested a mummified dog from among those excavated by Sicard in the animal cemeteries of the Cynopolite nome, the missionary turned to local agents for assistance. As he informed the Comte de Maurepas, the Secretary of State for the Navy through whom Louis XV had made his request, he was a hundred leagues or more away from the Cynopolite region, but he had "written and sent people into that area to dig around in the catacomb and fetch a well-preserved animal."²⁷ In this latter case, Sicard's trust in his agents may have been misplaced. Over the course of the following months, Louis Borély, the acting French consul in Cairo, provided Maurepas with regular updates on the status of the king's request in his official dispatches, and the young monarch does not seem ever to have received the object of his desire.²⁸

In addition to helping Sicard secure the natural history specimens he sought, the missionary's informants also provided him with invaluable information about the names and characteristics of the plants and animals he was investigating. In relaying information on Egypt's flora and fauna to his readers back in France, however, Sicard was somewhat inconsistent in crediting these local informants as the source of much of his data. Although he spoke out strongly in favor of personal experience and eyewitness observation as key components of sound scientific practice—suggesting, for example, that contemporary Egyptians might furnish better information on crocodiles than the ancient writer Plutarch because they had daily exposure to the reptiles²⁹—his letters and publications frequently elided any reference to his local informants and represented the information he received from them either as common knowledge or as the fruit of his own insight. In the case of the lizard his camel-driver guides failed to capture, for example, Sicard went on to identify the creature's Arabic name (*ouāral* or *waral*) and to speak in knowledgeable terms about its

25 Sicard to Guis, 23 February 1714 (*Oeuvres* I.3, p. 3): "J'ai écrit hier à un Religieux de S. Macaire . . . d'aller lui-même incessamment les ramasser dans la mine la plus riche que nous avons creusée ensemble et qui n'est qu'à demi-journée de son couvent, de venir ensuite ici en diligence pour que je puisse avoir les pierres encore fraîches et brillantes de leur couleur originelle, qui est celle du citron."

26 Sicard, "Relation d'un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . ." 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 46); Sicard to Guis, 24 March 1720 (*Oeuvres* I.26, p. 78): "Un Mebacher de mes amis, qui part cette semaine pour le Saïd, m'a promis de me faire chercher force crocodiles avec leurs oeufs."

27 Sicard to the Comte de Maurepas, 16 March 1724 (*Oeuvres* I.56, p. 119): "J'ai écrit et fait passer des gens en ce pays-là pour fouiller dans la catacombe, et en tirer quelque animal bien conservé."

28 Updates were provided by Borély in reports to Maurepas from May through June 1724; see AN AE/B/1/320, fol. 6r.–11r.

29 Sicard, "Lettre du Père Sicard . . . sur les différentes Pêches qui se font en Egypte," 3 February 1723 (*Oeuvres* II, p. 198). The letter does not survive in manuscript copy; the text in *Oeuvres* II is based on the published version, which appeared in *Nouveaux mémoires* VI.

unique eating habits.³⁰ This information almost certainly came from the missionary’s Egyptian guides, but in transmitting the observations to his readers, Sicard took ownership of them and thereby turned himself into an authority on the subject. Indeed, later scholars would cite his remarks as original observations. The French naturalist Sonnini de Mononcourt, for example, quoted Sicard’s report of the *waral*-lizard’s dietary preferences in his own discussion of Egyptian fauna, stating that “people tell a lot of fairy tales about it [the lizard], among which we should perhaps place the stratagem it employs, per Sicard’s report, in order to drink the milk of lambs and goats.”³¹

The collection of specimens and their conveyance into the hands of French scholars, coupled with the presentation of field observations of natural-historical phenomena, undoubtedly helped cement Sicard’s reputation as a man of science.³² The missionary’s limited acknowledgment of the role local assistants played in procuring specimens for him was wholly in keeping with the academic standards of his time. As James Delbourgo points out in his discussion of Hans Sloane’s collection of Jamaican botanical specimens, many of which were obtained for him by enslaved Africans and indigenous Jamaicans, such a lack of acknowledgment was the norm rather than the exception for eighteenth-century naturalists.³³ And as Steven Shapin has established, an insistence on the fundamental importance of firsthand observation and hands-on experimentation did not necessarily mean that the eyes and hands involved in that labor were those of the scientist writing up and receiving credit for the work.³⁴ By limiting the number of references to the work of his Egyptian assistants, Sicard was able essentially to repackage the information they provided to him as the fruit of his own erudition, thereby strengthening the public perception of his own expertise and intellectual authority.

CARTOGRAPHY

A significant part of Sicard’s research program centered on his efforts to create maps of the Nile Valley according to contemporary standards of scientific cartography. Existing maps of Egypt—many of them produced by mapmakers who had never set foot in the country—were, in his view, insufficiently precise, failing to represent adequately the Nile Valley’s distinctive geography and the location of individual Egyptian sites and settlements.³⁵ His *own* maps, he claimed, would render Egypt’s topography more accu-

30 Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 46).

31 Sonnini de Mononcourt 1798, p. 299: “On raconte, à son sujet, beaucoup de fables, entre lesquelles il faut peut-être placer l’expédient qu’il emploie, au rapport de Sicard, pour traire le lait des brebis et des chèvres.” In his commentary on Sicard’s text, Martin noted (*Oeuvres* I, p. 46 no. 1) that Sonnini “told the same story” as Sicard about the lizard, but he did not acknowledge Sonnini’s direct quotation of Sicard’s account.

32 That Sicard wished to be seen in this light is clear from his correspondence. In a fascinating letter to one of the Guis brothers, for example, he lamented the fact that his reports were being not just edited but fundamentally rewritten by Fleuriau on their way to publication in *Nouveaux mémoires*, and he expressed great concern as to how his work would be received by the “lynx-eyed savants,” whom he saw as his most important audience. Sicard to Guis, 13 September 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.15, p. 54): “Peut-être qu’en France on ne s’aperçoit point tant des récits incongrus qui nous frappent en Égypte. Mais il y a des savants qui ont des yeux de lynx, et c’est pour eux principalement et presque uniquement qu’un savant écrit ou doit écrire.”

33 Delbourgo 2017, p. 98.

34 Shapin 1989. Sicard himself insisted on the importance of firsthand observation and spoke derisively about the work of contemporary European commentators on Egypt who had not “drunk the waters of the Nile.” See, e.g., Sicard to M. d’Héricourt, 18 June 1722 (*Oeuvres* I.41).

35 Sicard was unsparing in his criticism of existing maps of Egypt. His comments to M. d’Héricourt (*Oeuvres* I.41, p. 104) are characteristic in this regard: “Que ma carte de l’Égypte ancienne soit épluchée, pesée, secouée de la bonne manière par vous et vos savants. Je ne cherche que la vérité et la perfection des belles lettres. Songez cependant que les plus doctes chroniqueurs de notre siècle, quand ils ont voulu parler de ce pays-ci, semblent avoir tiré à la courte paille d’un côté pour les noms, de l’autre pour la situation des villes, tant ils ont placé pitoyablement chaque lieu, et comme au hasard.” For an excellent overview of early modern mapmaking in Egypt, see Haguët 2018. Haguët discusses the transition from what she calls “arm-chair mapmaking,” which was based on textual sources, to “mathematical” mapmaking, which incorporated geographical coordinates obtained through astronomical observations and topographical surveys, and she cautions (p. 108) that although “Sicard is known to have drawn the first accurate map of Egypt, identifying ancient places based on his observations in the field . . . that should not obscure the fact that he used textual sources to refine his map.”

rately than anything previously produced, while also reflecting the most up-to-the-moment understanding of the country's historic geography and the location of its ancient monuments. This cartographic research ultimately became the heart of Sicard's academic work in Egypt, a project he expected to culminate in the production of both an authoritative scientific map of the country and an accompanying gazetteer, the so-called *Geographic Parallel* (*Parallèle géographique*), in which Egypt's ancient sites, identified in the works of classical authors such as Herodotus, Pliny, and Strabo, would be correlated with their modern locations. Sicard outlined the essentials of the project in a letter to one of the Guis brothers in late 1717. He wrote:

I am contemplating a substantial map of Egypt. All the canals that branch off from the Nile will have their place. The geography, ancient and modern, will be presented everywhere in parallel. We will omit neither mountains, nor lakes, nor monasteries, nor ruins that can be named. The principal locations will be accompanied by their latitudes, for the measurement of which I have pretty good instruments . . . like the cross-staff (*arbalète*) and the astronomical ring (*anneau astronomique*).³⁶

Work on this project occupied the missionary for the rest of his life. Although he did send a "substantial map" to the king in 1722, the text of the *Geographic Parallel* appears to have been incomplete at the time of Sicard's death four years later, and the work was never published in its entirety.³⁷

The production of Sicard's maps of Egypt required assistance of various kinds, some provided by locals and some by specialists dispatched from France by the Council of the Navy (*Conseil de Marine*), which oversaw France's overseas merchant colonies and religious missions and which intermittently provided Sicard with funding for his research. It is possible to reconstruct something of Sicard's process from his personal letters and from his more formal correspondence with the Council of the Navy. As he journeyed the length and breadth of the Nile Valley, whether on pastoral business or dedicated research trips, the missionary took regular readings of latitude for the sites he encountered, a process that, he noted, was particularly suited to the slow pace of riverine travel. He also made detailed observations and sketches of the local topography and notes about geographic features, currents and tides, and of course any ancient sites and monuments.³⁸ By his own admission, Sicard was a poor draftsman—"my sketches are rudimentary," he once remarked—so his sketch plans and measurements would then be turned over to the professional draftsmen and artists who would produce the finished maps.³⁹ For this labor, Sicard sometimes relied on local talent. The early fall of 1717 saw him waiting for an Armenian painter living in Cairo to copy a map of the Fayum that Sicard had produced earlier that year, and it is thought that Sicard's 1717 *Map of the Deserts of the Lower Thebaid* is likewise the work of an Armenian artist, perhaps the same individual (unnamed in Sicard's

36 Sicard to Guis, 23 October 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.16, p. 55): "Je médite une Carte d'Égypte bien ample. Tous les canaux qui partent du Nil y auront place. La géographie ancienne et moderne s'y trouvera partout en parallèle. Nous n'omettrons ni montagnes, ni lacs, ni monastères, ni ruines qui aient un nom. Les principaux lieux seront accompagnés de leur latitude, pour laquelle prendre j'ai des instruments assez bons, bien que communs, comme l'arbalète et l'anneau astronomique."

37 Sicard's 1722 map of Egypt survives not in its original form but in two early eighteenth-century hand copies now in Paris (BnF, département des Cartes et plans, GE C-10070, by Guillaume Delisle, and BnF, département des Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 [7804,1-2 B], by Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville). For the state of Sicard's papers at the time of his death and the question of what happened to them in the years that immediately followed, see Martin's remarks in *Oeuvres* I, Annexe III. The text published by Sauneron and Martin in *Oeuvres* III under the title "Parallèle géographique de l'ancienne Égypte et de l'Égypte moderne" represents only a portion of the original work, in a copy thought to have been produced not long after Sicard's death by a fellow Jesuit, Pierre-Julien Rouillé, who had been given the task of preparing Sicard's work for publication.

38 Readings of latitude: see Sicard to Guis, 23 November 1717 (*Oeuvres* 1.15, p. 55); Sicard to unnamed recipient, date unknown but likely early 1721 (*Oeuvres* I.29, p. 87): "la lenteur de la navigation m'a procuré tout le loisir nécessaire pour prendre hauteur avec mon astrolabe presque chaque jour et m'assurer ainsi de la latitude des principaux lieux, pour examiner les différents contours du Nil, marquer ses îles et pouvoir dresser une carte exacte du cours de ce fleuve."

39 Sicard lamented his lack of artistic skill in a letter to Thomas-Charles Fleuriau, procurator of the Jesuit missions in the Levant, likely written in August 1718 (*Oeuvres* I.18, p. 59). In the same letter, he articulated a plea that would echo throughout much of his subsequent correspondence with both his Jesuit superiors and the Council of the Navy: "il me faut un dessinateur habile qui m'aide."

correspondence).⁴⁰ As his research program grew more ambitious, however, Sicard increasingly sought the aid of assistants who could help him, not only with compiling and copying the final versions of his maps but also with the more technical aspects of the surveying process. He had a clear idea of what he was looking for—either “some Jesuit or other who knew some mathematics and was perfectly skilled at drawing” or perhaps “a draftsman, member of the Académie”—but his dissatisfaction with the individuals the Council of the Navy hired to assist him resulted in prolonged and increasingly bitter negotiations with that body, a situation that threatened to halt Sicard’s fieldwork altogether on more than one occasion.⁴¹

If Egyptian assistants played a relatively small role in the final production stages of Sicard’s mapmaking efforts, they made significant contributions in the initial surveying and data-gathering phases. On the most basic level, local guides literally showed Sicard where to go, leading him through the deserts, down the river, and to various points of interest along the way. Sicard’s journey in the spring of 1716 to the monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul, for example, was made possible by two camel drivers hired in the village of Baiad. We met them earlier chasing the *waral*-lizard and informing Sicard about its habits, but even more important was their role in guiding the missionary and his traveling companion, the Vatican librarian Joseph Assemani, through the Eastern Desert to the Red Sea coast and back again.⁴² It was their knowledge of the desert routes and water sources that allowed the journey to be completed in safety, and both the manuscript and published accounts do allude to that fact. A few days into the trip, for example, the party discovered that their water supply had become tainted by the linseed oil used to treat the waterskins, to the point where the water was nearly undrinkable. Rising before dawn, the group spotted a tuft of date palms off in the distance, and as Sicard wrote in his account of the voyage, “our men told us that there was a little swampy area sheltered by the palms and covered with reeds, and that its water, if a bit brackish, was nonetheless good to drink, and that if necessary we could go and get some.”⁴³ This contribution of the guides to the party’s well-being also made its way onto Sicard’s 1717 *Map of the Deserts of the Lower Thebaid*, which was produced to accompany his travel narrative. On that map, situated near the mouth of the gorge leading from the Wadi Sannur to the Wadi Araba, a stand of three date palms is accompanied by the legend “source of water, a bit brackish.”⁴⁴ Local informants must have provided other data points on the map as well, including observations on conditions in the desert during the winter, a season that Sicard did not witness firsthand.

As we have already seen, Sicard appears to have been somewhat reluctant to credit local interlocutors as a major source of information on botanical and zoological matters. He was less reticent when it came to acknowledging his local sources for geographic data, and the same account of his journey through the Eastern Desert is full of references to conversations he had with local informants about everything from the Red Sea tides to the existence of marble quarries at the foot of Mount Colzim. His comments on the quarries are worth examining in more detail for what they reveal about his research process and the value he placed on different sources of evidence:

40 Waiting for the Armenian painter: Sicard to Guis, 23 October 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.16, p. 54); the man is identified only as “un Arménien, seul peintre du Caire.” On the workmanship of Sicard’s *Carte des deserts de la Basse Thébaïde . . .* (BnF, département des Cartes et plans, GE C-5380), see the remarks of Maurice Martin (*Oeuvres* I, p. 17 no. 1) and Paul Devos (*Oeuvres* I, Annexe I). The identity of the Armenian painter(s) who worked with Sicard is not known, but Martin has suggested that he (or they) might be related to the better-known Yuhanna al-Armani (ca. 1720–86), on whom see Guirguis 2008.

41 Sicard’s search for a draftsman and his dissatisfaction with the Council of the Navy’s first two candidates for that position dominate his surviving correspondence from 1721 onward. For more on the financing of Sicard’s research and his troubled relations with his patrons at the French court, see Westerfeld, forthcoming.

42 The journey is detailed in Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11). A version of this report, heavily edited by the Jesuit procurator Fleuriau, was eventually published in *Nouveaux mémoires* V (1725), pp. 122–200; this version was subsequently reprinted twice in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1780 and 1810).

43 Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 22): “nos gens nous dirent qu’il y avait là un petit marais ombragé de ces palmiers et couvert de roseaux, que son eau quoiqu’un peu salée ne laissait pas d’être bonne à boire, et qu’en cas de nécessité on allait en faire provision.”

44 Sicard, *Carte des deserts de la Basse Thébaïde . . .*, 1717 (BnF, département des Cartes et plans, GE C-5380): “source d’eau, un peu salée.”

Since we were walking fairly close to Mt. Colzim, we perceived at its foot vast depressions and great slabs (?) of detached stone, which the monks assured us were three quarries for marble—yellow, red, and black. . . . Two other quarries are found on the same mountain. . . . Of these five quarries, I could only see the one that is a quarter league away from the monastery, since when one is traveling in company it's not possible to deviate much from the route in order to satisfy a desire for learning that the others do not share. However, based on the uniform reports of the abbot Synnadius, the camel drivers, and the Arabs, all eyewitnesses, on the report of several people in Cairo who told me about a public bath recently paved with marble from Colzim, and on the examination I made of the pieces of marble that form the staircase of St. Peter and St. Paul, taken from these five quarries, I cannot dispute their existence. In the *Geography* of Ptolemy and in other authors, mention is made of the mountains of the Thebaid which produce marble; might this not designate Colzim?⁴⁵

In this passage, Sicard identified several possible sources of information that could be used to confirm the existence of the Colzim quarries. Eyewitness testimony and physical examination of the evidence were clearly privileged over secondhand reportage, and Sicard was careful to distinguish between the on-site observers (monks, camel drivers, Arabs) who had firsthand knowledge of the quarries and the individuals in Cairo who had merely informed him about the use of Colzim marble in that city. The testimony of ancient authors might be relevant as supporting evidence, but direct observation of the phenomenon in question was still needed. Sicard obviously preferred that he be the one to do the observing, but when that was not possible, he drew on the expertise of as wide a range of local informants as possible, always seeking to corroborate one individual's testimony with that of another.⁴⁶ In the case of the Colzim quarries, Sicard was satisfied with the weight of the available evidence, and the quarries appear on both his 1717 manuscript *Map of the Deserts of the Lower Thebaid* and the revised, engraved version of the same that was produced in Paris and printed in *Nouveaux mémoires* V (1725), where it accompanied Sicard's account of his journey to the Eastern Desert.⁴⁷

In addition to serving as guides and providing Sicard with eyewitness testimony about geographic points of interest, local interlocutors played another, absolutely critical role in Sicard's cartographic research—informing him about contemporary place-names. This was a crucial element of any mapping project, but it was all the more important in a place such as Egypt, where any given site might have three or four different names, ranging from ancient Egyptian through to Greek, Coptic, and Arabic.⁴⁸ With his goal of setting Egypt's ancient and modern geography into parallel always in view, Sicard paid very close attention to local toponymy, querying his local guides about contemporary Arabic usage and trying to ferret out possible correspondences with earlier Egyptian and Greek place-names. This approach is exemplified by a passage in a letter that Sicard wrote to one of the Guis brothers, in which he spoke about the various names applied to the Bahr Yusuf: "It was known by the name of Lycus, or 'wolf.' The *Ecclesiastical History* mentions it often. Today it is called Abu Homar, or 'father of the donkey.' These two names are related. I am speaking

45 Sicard, "Relation d'un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .," 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 29): "Comme nous marchions assez près du mont Colzim nous aperçûmes à son pied de vastes creux et de grands cartiers de pierre détachés que les moines nous assurent être trois carrières de marbre, du jaune, du rouge, et du noir. . . . On trouve sur le même mont deux autres carrières. . . . De ces cinq carrières, je n'ai pu voir que celle qui est à un quart de lieue du couvent, n'étant pas possible quand on voyage en compagnie de s'écarter trop du chemin pour satisfaire un désir d'apprendre dont les autres ne sont pas piqués. Cependant, sur le rapport uniforme du supérieur Synnadius, des chameliers et des arabes, tous témoins oculaires, sur celui de plusieurs personnes du Caire qui m'ont parlé d'un bain public pavé depuis peu de marbre du Colzim, sur l'examen que j'ai fait des pièces de marbre qui forment l'escalier de l'église de St. Pierre et de St. Paul, tirées des cinq diverses carrières, je ne saurais mettre en doute leur réalité. Dans la Géographie de Ptolémée et des autres auteurs, il est fait mention des montagnes de la Thébaïde qui portent le marbre; n'aurait-on pas désigné celle du Colzim?"

46 On the differential valuation of field observation, eyewitness testimony, and the evidence of textual sources in later eighteenth-century mapmaking, see Withers 2004.

47 Sicard 1725. The digitized versions of *Nouveaux mémoires* V that are currently available via archive.org and Google Books reproduce the foldout map incompletely, if at all, but a copy of the engraved map is held by the BnF (département des Cartes et plans, GE DD-2987 [7839]) and is accessible via gallica.com. On the relationship between manuscript and printed maps, see the remarks of Paul Devos in *Oeuvres* I, Annexe I.

48 On the role of local guides in providing early modern cartographers with information on place-names, see Pedley 2005, p. 36.

with people who understand the nature of the Arabic language.”⁴⁹ Similar discussions of individual place-names and their folk etymologies permeate Sicard’s writings, and behind virtually every toponym included in Sicard’s maps, we must envision a local informant from whom the missionary learned those names.

In working to produce scientific maps of the Nile Valley, Sicard joined what was, by the early eighteenth century, a scientific initiative global in its scope. The improvement of existing maps and the mapping of hitherto unexplored territories were major features of early modern intellectual activity, and Jesuit missionary-scientists were heavily involved in this research in every part of the world where they had missions.⁵⁰ Closely contemporary with Sicard’s own work, the Jesuit-led topographic survey of China offers an instructive parallel. Carried out at the invitation of the Kangxi emperor, the survey culminated in the publication of Jean-Baptiste du Halde’s *Description géographique de la Chine* (1735) and Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville’s *Nouvel atlas de la Chine* (1737).⁵¹ Although the survey of China was clearly a much larger project than Sicard’s mapping of Egypt, both in terms of the area to be covered and the manpower involved, the process followed by the China Jesuits was nonetheless fundamentally similar to Sicard’s own. A recent study describes the missionaries as traveling “across the country, gathering geographical information from local officials and gazetteers, which they then verified and supplemented by combining celestial observations with methods of triangulation,” and local interlocutors, ranging from servants to imperial officials, provided crucial support to this work.⁵² Even more than his natural-history research, Sicard’s maps of Egypt, boasting the cardinal virtue of eyewitness observation and produced, as we have seen, with all manner of local assistance, established the missionary’s public reputation as a man of science and a legitimate member of the Republic of Letters.

SURVEY ARCHAEOLOGY

In addition to gathering observations about Egypt’s natural history and mapping the course of the Nile and the deserts that surround it, Sicard was also engaged in what we would now identify as a form of survey archaeology, as he sought to locate and identify as many ancient sites as possible. This axis of research, which Sicard himself seems to have regarded as an aspect of his larger cartographic project, was at the very heart of the *Geographic Parallel* and remains one of the missionary’s central contributions to the nascent field of Egyptology. Here, too, Egyptian interlocutors played an absolutely central, if inconsistently acknowledged, role in making Sicard’s research possible.

Sicard and Pincia’s 1721 visit to the Valley of the Kings, the episode that opened this chapter, provides an excellent illustration of how local informants could shape the production of archaeological knowledge in early modern Egypt. As already noted, Egyptian guides played a key role in directing Sicard to various points of interest—witness the Coptic monks who led him to the deposit of *aetites* near Wadi Natrun, the camel drivers who showed him where to find water in the Eastern Desert, or the abbot who led him to the cave of St. Antony. The role of the Bedouin tribesmen in the Valley of the Kings seems to go beyond merely providing guidance to travelers, however. The accounts of both Sicard and Pincia suggest that the tribesmen actually controlled access to the royal necropolis, and Sicard’s failed attempt to visit the site in 1718 demonstrates that access was not automatically granted to visitors. It is difficult to ascertain from Sicard’s writings whether this phenomenon was specific to the Thebaid, which in the early eighteenth century was nominally subject to Ottoman control but in practice largely ruled by local leaders from the Hawwara

49 Sicard to Guis, 3 September 1718 (*Oeuvres* I.20, pp. 63–64): “Il était connu sous le nom de Lycus, ou du Loup. L’Histoire Ecclésiastique en fait souvent mention. On l’appelle aujourd’hui Abou Homar, ou père de l’âne. Ces deux noms se rapprochent. Je parle à des gens qui connaissent le génie de la langue arabe.”

50 Jesuit cartography has been a burgeoning area of study for some time now, and a special issue of the *Journal of Jesuit Studies* was devoted to the subject in 2019; for an introduction to the volume, see Batchelor 2019.

51 Ribeiro and O’Malley 2014.

52 Cams 2014, p. 38.

tribe, or whether we should envision a similar pattern playing out elsewhere in the country as well.⁵³ An intriguing reference in a 1722 letter sent by Sicard to the Comte de Toulouse, president of the Council of the Navy, requesting financial support for his Egyptological research suggests that “persuasion and gifts” were a fairly routine part of obtaining access to ancient sites. In that letter, Sicard sketched out a succinct budget narrative that ranged from “the rental of a boat” and “provisions for a long journey” to “those indispensable gifts needed to calm the monstrous suspicions of the Arabs and the Turks.”⁵⁴ Who were these suspicious Arabs and Turks? Sicard was occasionally obliged to pay off bandits who confronted him on the roads, but it seems likely that at least some of the money he requested from the comte was intended as *bakshish* for local guides and gatekeepers to ensure his admission to the sites he sought to inspect.⁵⁵

Sicard’s archaeological objectives in Egypt revolved around the location and identification of ancient sites, as we have already seen—hence the categorization of his research as a form of survey archaeology. He did not normally excavate the sites he visited, although on one occasion he referred to having “dug out” a catacomb full of dog mummies on a visit to the Cynopolite nome.⁵⁶ Much more commonly, however, it was local informants who obtained small artifacts for him and brought larger pieces to his attention. In 1718, for example, Sicard sent a collection of small finds to one of the Guis brothers, including “four antiquities found in the ruins of Coptos . . . plus two clay mummies found in the ancient tombs of Thebes.” The missionary apologized to his friend for the poor appearance of the artifacts he was sending but assured Guis of their authenticity: “This piece of pottery is surely ancient. I took it myself from the hands of the Arabs who are digging in the ruins of Coptos.”⁵⁷ This passing reference raises some interesting questions about the trade in antiquities as it was developing in early modern Egypt. Were these excavations at Coptos (modern Qift) carried out at Sicard’s direction, or were they a local initiative already underway when he arrived? If the latter, where and to whom did the diggers intend to market their finds? And should Sicard’s insistence on the authenticity of the artifacts he was sending to Guis be taken as evidence for the local production of fake antiquities? All these questions warrant further consideration.⁵⁸ It does seem, from other references in his letters, that Sicard was widely recognized by Egyptians as the person to contact when archaeological discoveries were made. In 1719, for example, Sicard recounted to Guis that on a visit to the Delta village of Ibyar he had been informed by a local *mubāšir* of the recent discovery of a black-marble sarcophagus covered with inscriptions, and that he had received similar intelligence concerning finds at Rosetta as well.⁵⁹

Survey archaeology of the kind Sicard was engaged in necessarily relies heavily on local knowledge of the landscape, and the missionary’s fluency in Arabic allowed him to communicate directly with local informants in a way that many of his European contemporaries could not.⁶⁰ Although this aspect of

53 For the situation of the Thebaid as a partially autonomous region in the early modern period, see Abul-Magd 2013, chapter 2.

54 Sicard to the Comte de Toulouse, 11 November 1722 (*Oeuvres* I.44, pp. 106–7): “Le fret d’une barque, les provisions d’un long voyage . . . les présents indispensables pour calmer les monstrueux soupçons des Arabes et des Turcs, tout cela amène sans doute de la dépense, et une dépense considérable.”

55 Bandits on the roads: see, e.g., Sicard to unnamed recipient, date unknown but likely early 1721 (*Oeuvres* I.29, p. 88): “nous fûmes attaqués une fois par 10 ou 12 cavaliers arabes. Comme par bonheur j’en connaissais 2 ou 3, ceux-ci nous défendirent des autres, il nous en coûta néanmoins quelques pièces d’or et d’argent et quelques hardes que les plus méchants partagèrent entre eux.”

56 Sicard to Foyat, 12 July 1723 (*Oeuvres* I.50, p. 112): “J’ai déterré des cavernes où l’on enterrait les chiens.”

57 Sicard to Guis, 29 August 1718 (*Oeuvres* I.19, pp. 61–62): “Cette pièce de poterie est certainement antique. Je l’ai tirée moi-même des mains des Arabes qui creusent dans les ruines de Coptos.”

58 As noted by Hagen and Ryholt (2016, pp. 6–8), the antiquities trade remains an understudied aspect of Egyptology’s disciplinary history, particularly for the period prior to the Napoleonic expedition. For a glimpse of the movement of Egyptian antiquities from the Nile Valley to the hands of French collectors, see Foissy-Aufrère 1985; Aufrère 1990; Brockliss 2002; Bosc and Jacotin 2013.

59 Sicard to Guis, 26 April 1719 (*Oeuvres* I.24, p. 72).

60 As noted above, Sicard studied Arabic in Syria before traveling to Egypt, and that linguistic training probably emphasized the classical form of the language. It is less clear how well prepared he was to deal with the dialectical diversity of Egyptian Arabic, but his own accounts certainly do not betray any qualms about his ability to communicate with Egyptians from all

Sicard’s research process is just barely visible in his surviving writings, we must assume that for nearly every pharaonic site or artifact he “discovered,” there was an Egyptian with intimate knowledge of the local terrain pointing the way. As we will see in the following section, however, the trust Sicard placed in his local informants had its limits; he accepted their input on matters of fact, but the interpretation of ancient sites and artifacts he generally viewed as his exclusive domain.

“I CONVINCED THE EFFENDIS AND MADE THE ARAB LOOK RIDICULOUS”: HIERARCHIES OF KNOWLEDGE AND DIFFERENCES OF OPINION

In the preceding pages, we have seen how Sicard’s natural-historical, cartographic, and archaeological research was facilitated and informed—whether he acknowledged it or not—by the knowledge and perspectives of Egyptian interlocutors ranging from provincial camel drivers to the leaders of Coptic monastic communities. However, it remains to be seen how Sicard weighted these different sources of information and how he responded when the opinions of his local informants diverged from his own. What independent authority, if any, did he grant these Egyptian interlocutors? Two episodes may serve to shed some light on these questions: Sicard’s investigation, in 1716, into the route of the biblical Exodus, and a public display of erudition earlier that year, when Sicard debated the meaning of certain hieroglyphic inscriptions at the site of Ashmunein with a group of local notables.

MAPPING THE EXODUS

Sicard’s 1716 expedition to the Red Sea, which has figured prominently in the foregoing discussion, was carried out with multiple goals in mind. The missionary aimed to make converts among the Coptic monks at the monasteries of St. Antony and St. Paul; he intended to collect information about the geology and plant and animal life of the desert and the Red Sea coast; and he planned to map the route of the Hebrews on their passage to the Promised Land. This latter aim culminated in the production and revision, over the course of several years, of a “Dissertation on the Passage of the Israelites out of Egypt,” an early version of which was incorporated into the manuscript account of his visit to the Red Sea monasteries.⁶¹ In that account, Sicard described arriving at the Red Sea coast full of questions. After bathing in the sea, reciting the *Te Deum*, and collecting some shells on the beach, the missionary began questioning the camel drivers and Coptic monks who accompanied him about the geographic features visible from where they stood.

One such feature was a stretch of coastline that Abbot Synnodus and his companions referred to as “Gorondel” (Wadi Gharandel). In the abbot’s telling, “That was the famous coast . . . where the Hebrews triumphed in emerging from the abyss that drowned the Egyptians.”⁶² The abbot went on to say that the waters in that part of the Red Sea continued to boil ceaselessly, causing many shipwrecks. Although Sicard put little faith in this latter observation, he stated that he paid close attention to the abbot’s remarks concerning the passage of the Hebrews. “I interrogated the Arabs of the desert and the countryside on that subject,” he said, and he continued to examine the question upon his return to Cairo. Although he did not personally trace the Hebrews’ path from Memphis all the way to the sea, he had little doubt about the accuracy of his findings: “The very map of this route, based on the precise words of the Scriptures, on the ecclesiastical and secular historians, and on the tradition of the local people, forms a kind of evidence that I submit,

regions and backgrounds. His friends and colleagues shared this positive assessment of his linguistic abilities and testified to the fact that his knowledge of Arabic distinguished him from contemporaries such as Paul Lucas; see, e.g., Negrel Bruny’s remarks in a letter from 3 June 1754 (Libois 2003, p. 522): “Le Père Sicard, versé dans les langues Orientales ne dédaignoit pas de courir dans les déserts, de se jeter à travers les Arabes dont il avoit étudié les moeurs et les coutumes.”

61 Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, pp. 32–38). The version of this travel narrative that appeared in *Nouveaux mémoires* V (1725) omitted the dissertation, which was published posthumously in *Nouveaux mémoires* VI (1727) and subsequently reprinted in *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* (1780 and 1810).

62 Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 31).

nevertheless, to the scrutiny of our savants and on the basis of which I shall sketch a brief geographic dissertation, woven from principles and conclusions.”⁶³

With these remarks, Sicard established a certain hierarchy of authority among his various sources. Although he gave pride of place to the Christian scriptures, and secondarily to the works of ancient historians, the testimony of contemporary interlocutors nonetheless played a key role in his endeavor insofar as they helped him correlate biblical and modern place-names and identify the physical remains of sites discussed in the textual sources. Sicard did at times acknowledge that eyewitness observation could carry more weight than the authority of ancient authors, as in the discussion of crocodiles cited above, but at no time did he permit local traditions or local observers to challenge the authority of scripture. In a landscape as multilayered as Egypt’s, where any given site might be the locus of several thousand years’ worth of accumulated tradition and interpretation, this hierarchy of authority must have been constantly in Sicard’s view as he weighed the testimony of written sources against that of his local informants.

CONVINCING THE EFFENDIS

In March 1716, Sicard visited Middle Egypt in the suite of Muhammad Bey Cherkes as the latter journeyed south to take up his position as governor of the Thebaid. This was a multipurpose trip, during the course of which Sicard had the opportunity both to catechize the Coptic Christian villagers of Minya and Talla and to examine the ruins of Tihna el-Gebel, Beni Hassan, and Ashmunein, among other ancient sites.⁶⁴ In a letter to one of the Guis brothers, Sicard related an episode that is instructive for what it reveals about his attitude toward local expertise. On March 14, the company reached the site of Ashmunein, ancient Hermopolis, and camped there. Muhammad Cherkes took his ease under the famous portico of what we now know to have been the temple of Thoth, and he asked Sicard to explain the meaning of the inscriptions that covered the structure. Sicard responded that if the writing was Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Coptic, or Greek, then he could read the texts and interpret them. Upon examining the inscriptions, however, Sicard “saw nothing but hieroglyphs everywhere,” as he had expected. He went on to provide an explanation of the texts “drawn from the custom of ancient sacrifices with respect to birds, dog-headed monsters, globes, cups, knives, etc.”⁶⁵ Sicard’s audience—consisting of the bey and a sizable portion of his entourage—was displeased with this response, however, as it did not point to the location of any ancient treasure. Sicard described his response in the following terms: “I made them feel the impertinence of these visions of treasures. The most sensible of them were on my side, and the Bey seemed content.”⁶⁶

A lunch break followed—cold roast chicken—and Sicard left the bey to join a local notable named Sheikh Hamed, whom he described as “the principal Effendi [of Ashmunein] and the chief of the Christian scribes.” Together with several other effendis, they continued discussing the “supposed treasures (*prétendus trésors*) of Ashmunein.” Somebody went to fetch one of the leading citizens of the town (*un des principaux du bourg*), who “expounded on fantasies of treasure and claimed that he had witnessed a talisman to raise the wind and an urn full of chemical powder.” Sicard’s judgment was swift and unsparing: “He was talking

63 Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 32): “J’interrogeai là-dessus les arabes du désert et de la campagne. . . . Le plan seul de cette route appuyé sur les textes formels de l’Écriture, sur les historiens ecclésiastiques et profanes, et sur la tradition des gens du pays, forme une espèce d’évidence que je soumets néanmoins aux lumières de nos savants, sur quoi je vais dresser une petite dissertation géographique tissée de principes et de conclusions.”

64 Sicard detailed the events of this trip in three successive letters to one of the Guis brothers, dated between 15 March and 24 April 1716 (*Oeuvres* I.7–I.9, pp. 7–12). For Muhammad Bey Cherkes as a key player in the political machinations of early eighteenth-century Ottoman Egypt, see Winter 1992.

65 Sicard to Guis, 15 March 1716 (*Oeuvres* I.7, p. 10): “Je ne vis partout que des hiéroglyphes, comme je le savais déjà. Je lui en donnai une explication tirée de l’usage des sacrifices anciens par rapport aux oiseaux, aux monstres à visage de chien, aux globes, aux gobelets, aux couteaux, etc.”

66 Sicard to Guis, 15 March 1716 (*Oeuvres* I.7, p. 10): “Je leur fis sentir l’impertinence de ces visions à trésors. Les plus sensés furent pour moi et le Bey parut content.”

about a funerary urn. The wind-talisman was only in his head. I convinced the Effendis of this and made the Arab look ridiculous.”⁶⁷

What should we make of this episode? Muhammad Cherkes’s visit to Ashmunein offered Sicard an unparalleled public stage upon which to display his erudition, and he obviously took full advantage of the opportunity. In his response to the bey’s query about the inscriptions on the temple portico, the missionary was quick to flaunt his grasp of foreign languages ancient and modern, and he did not hesitate to offer an interpretation of the hieroglyphic text according to the latest European understanding of that script—never mind that the genuine decipherment of hieroglyphs lay more than a hundred years in the future!⁶⁸ The very public nature of this disquisition, however, meant that Sicard was confronted with alternative local interpretations of the inscriptions, offered by members of Cherkes’s entourage, and alternative ways of thinking about the site of Ashmunein and its artifacts, expressed by Sheikh Hamed’s associates. The belief that pharaonic sites held hidden treasure was in fact extremely widespread in early modern Egypt, as it had been in earlier periods. Medieval Muslim historians such as Al-Maqrizi and Al-Mas’udi related tales of the riches that had been discovered at different sites in Egypt, and Arabic-language treasure-hunting manuals produced in the medieval and early modern periods indicate that this was no simple folk tradition, as Sicard seems to have assumed, but an important current in contemporary Egyptian intellectual thought. The belief that hieroglyphic inscriptions had a talismanic function and held the key to revealing those hidden treasures was likewise widely held and articulated in some of the same sources.⁶⁹ Both ideas ultimately had roots stretching back to antiquity and found early expression in some of the very same classical and patristic texts that Sicard himself viewed as authorities for the history of pharaonic Egypt.⁷⁰ In the mouths of local interlocutors, however, Sicard found these views worthy only of derision.⁷¹

The effendis of Ashmunein were not the only Egyptian informants to proffer interpretations of pharaonic sites or sources that Sicard deemed objectionable; similar incidents are detailed elsewhere in his letters. Earlier in the same journey with Mohammed Cherkes and his entourage, for example, Sicard had mocked the Christian and Muslim villagers of Tihna el-Gebel for interpreting the Greek inscription surmounting a small rock-cut shrine as a talisman for attracting wild pigeons, and a letter to Guis a few years later found Sicard lamenting “the ignorance of the Arabs and Copts” of Ibyar, who had incorrectly identified the hieroglyphic script on a newly discovered sarcophagus as Greek or Latin.⁷² From these passing references and the more detailed account of the incident at Ashmunein, it seems that although Sicard was willing to accept the authority of local informants when it came to gathering data on the Egyptian landscape and the region’s flora and fauna, or the locations and modern names of ancient sites, he refused to take seriously local *interpretations* of those sites, going so far as to characterize the latter as ridiculous and even insulting. The word that Sicard uses to describe the belief that the hieroglyphic inscriptions at Ashmunein might reveal buried treasure, “impertinence,” is particularly revealing, as it suggests that he saw the production of Egyptological knowledge as a strictly hierarchical system. Local informants might be trusted to provide

67 Sicard to Guis, 15 March 1716 (*Oeuvres* I.7, p. 10): “Il soutint les imaginations thésaurifiques et qu’il avait été témoin d’un talisman venteux et d’une urne pleine de poudre chimique. C’était une urne mortuaire dont il parlait. Le talisman venteux n’était que dans sa cervelle. J’en convainquis les Effendis et je rendis l’Arabe ridicule.”

68 For a brief overview of early modern European theories about the nature of hieroglyphic writing, see Winand 2014, chapters 2–3. For a more detailed discussion of the symbolic interpretation espoused by the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, about whose work Sicard spoke with great admiration, see Stolzenberg 2013.

69 El Daly 2005, chapters 3 and 5; Braun 2020.

70 Westerfeld 2019, pp. 92–93, 158–67.

71 Sicard seems to have been especially offended by interpretations of ancient sites and artifacts that smacked of superstition or occult beliefs; they are, at least, the only local interpretations that he described himself as engaging with in any detail, and then only for the purpose of refutation. This presumably reflects the fact that belief in the occult was a key element in Sicard’s critique of contemporary Egyptians, both Copts and Muslims, and one that was reiterated ad nauseum in both personal letters and more formal field reports. See, for example, his description of the Coptic monks at the Monastery of St. Antony, whom he characterized as addicted to fortune-telling, snake-charming, and the search for the philosopher’s stone, among other activities; Sicard, “Relation d’un voyage fait au désert de St. Antoine . . .,” 1 February 1717 (*Oeuvres* I.11, p. 26).

72 Sicard to Guis, 15 March 1716 (*Oeuvres* I.7, p. 8); Sicard to Guis, 26 April 1719 (*Oeuvres* I.24, p. 72).

individual data points, but Sicard clearly did not see them as capable of the higher-order thinking required to put those data points together and interpret them. Through their temerity in suggesting an alternative reading of the hieroglyphic inscriptions, the bey's escorts challenged Sicard's position at the top of that hierarchy of knowledge production and had—in his view—to be put strictly and publicly back in their place.

In his public refutation of local notables and his insistence on his own exclusive right to interpret ancient Egyptian sites and artifacts, Sicard began to articulate a vision of Egyptological activity that sharply distinguished between the intellectual/interpretive activity of Western scholars like himself, on the one hand, and the local knowledge and physical labor of the Egyptians themselves, on the other. As Shapin and others have shown, such a dynamic was common in early modern scientific endeavors even when scientists and their technicians shared a common language, religion, and nationality. In the context of early modern Egypt, scientists and technicians were further divided by differences of education, religion, class, and race. By delegitimizing and even ridiculing the Egyptians' interpretations of their own cultural heritage, Sicard sought to characterize his project as a heroic effort to rescue knowledge of Egypt's pharaonic past from the benighted contemporary denizens of that country. This attitude is perhaps most clearly articulated in the letter Sicard sent to Guis discussing local farmers' amuletic use of the Greek inscription at Tihna el-Gebel to attract pigeons: "What a shame that the precious remains of antiquity should be in the hands of this filthy race of Pharaoh."⁷³

CONCLUSION

A close examination of Claude Sicard's writings, read as it were "against the grain," has made it possible to catch fleeting glimpses of the many Egyptians who made possible his research in the areas of natural history, cartography, and archaeology. Far from being carried out in heroic isolation, this work was supported by a multitude of individuals who came from backgrounds ranging from the literate elite (e.g., the *mubāšir* who promised to send Sicard crocodile eggs from the Thebaid) to the illiterate laboring classes (e.g., the camel drivers who saw Sicard and his companion safely to the Red Sea coast). They were Christian and Muslim, monk and layman, Ottoman official and Bedouin tribesman. We have seen these individuals procuring geological and zoological specimens, tracing routes through the desert and providing insight into local toponymy, and excavating the catacombs of sacred animals in order that Sicard might send a dog mummy to the teenage king of France—in a word, providing crucial support to every aspect of Sicard's scientific work. But the sources also confront us with the limits of historical reconstruction—we almost never learn the names of these Egyptians who were so central to Sicard's academic success, and it is extraordinarily difficult to restore their individual voices.

Examining how Sicard talked about his local interlocutors also tells us something about the construction of his identity as an expert—he would probably say *the* expert—on all matters Egyptological. Although he did sometimes acknowledge the contributions of his local informants, as we have seen he also frequently elided any mention of them, appropriating their knowledge and presenting it as his own—a rhetorical move that, intentionally made or not, had the effect of enhancing his own intellectual standing. His confrontations with locals over their occult interpretations of inscriptions and artifacts had a similar effect, allowing him to cast himself as the savior of Egyptian antiquity who was attempting to rescue the country's glorious past from its degenerate present. This sort of hero narrative has been a very prominent feature of Egyptological discourse in more recent centuries, and the fact that we can identify its presence already in the early modern period is significant for our understanding of the discipline's earliest stages of development.

This discussion of Sicard's Egyptian informants also points to some possible directions for future research. My analysis up to this point has focused primarily on the evidence of Sicard's correspondence, but his published works would also reward closer consideration. For example, how did Sicard's overzealous editor, Fleuriau, handle the discussion of the missionary's local interlocutors? Did he play up the motif of

⁷³ Sicard to Guis, 15 March 1716 (*Oeuvres* I.8, p. 8): "Quel dommage que les précieux restes de l'Antiquité soient entre les mains de cette crasseuse race de Pharaon."

Sicard as a heroic scientist laboring in solitude, or did he acknowledge the contributions that Egyptians made to different aspects of Sicard’s work? A comparative analysis of the representation of local informants in the works of Sicard’s contemporary and sometime competitor, Paul Lucas, would also be a fruitful angle to pursue. Unlike Sicard, Lucas was obliged to rely on the services of a dragoman, or interpreter, in all his interactions, so his approach to working with local informants will necessarily have looked quite different from Sicard’s. Indeed, one of Lucas’s dragomen, a Syrian Christian named Ḥannā Diyāb, left his own written record of their journey to Egypt in 1707, opening up a whole new perspective on Lucas’s research process and his interactions with Egyptian sources.⁷⁴ There is clearly much more work to be done in trying to reconstruct the diverse roles played by early modern Egyptians in the development of Egyptology as a field of knowledge and an academic discipline, and I hope that this preliminary effort has at least shown the value of making that attempt. The voices of these Egyptian informants may reach us only faintly, but they undoubtedly have much more to tell us.

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| AN | Archives nationales, Paris |
| BnF | Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| <i>Oeuvres I</i> | Claude Sicard. <i>Oeuvres I: Lettres et relations inédites</i> . Edited by Maurice Martin. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1982 |
| <i>Oeuvres II</i> | Claude Sicard. <i>Oeuvres II: Relations et mémoires imprimés</i> . Edited by Maurice Martin. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1982 |
| <i>Oeuvres III</i> | Claude Sicard. <i>Oeuvres III: Parallèle géographique de l’ancienne Égypte et de l’Égypte moderne</i> . Edited by Maurice Martin and Serge Sauneron. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1982 |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abul-Magd, Zeinab
 2013 *Imagined Empires: A History of Revolt in Egypt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Aufrère, Sydney
 1990 *La momie et la tempête: Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc et la curiosité égyptienne en Provence au début du XVII^e siècle*. Avignon: Barthélemy.
- Barb, Alphons A.
 1950 “Birds and Medical Magic: 1. The Eagle-Stone.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13: 316–18.
- Barthélemy, Louis
 1889 *Histoire d’Aubagne, chef-lieu de Baronnie depuis son origine jusqu’en 1789*. Vol. 2. Marseille: Barlatier & Barthelet.
- Batchelor, Robert
 2019 “Introduction: Jesuit Cartography.” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6: 1–13.
- Bosc, Aurélie, and Mireille Jacotin, eds.
 2013 *Le goût de l’Orient: Collections et collectionneurs de Provence*. Milan: Silvana.
- Braun, Christopher
 2020 “Equipped with Shovels, Pickaxes, and Books: Treasure Hunters and Grave Robbers in Medieval Egypt.” In *Living with Nature and Things: Contributions to a New Social History of the Middle Islamic Periods*, edited by Bethany J. Walker and Abdelkader Al Ghouz, pp. 79–99. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- Brockliss, L. W. B.
 2002 *Calvet’s Web: Enlightenment and the Republic of Letters in Eighteenth-Century France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷⁴ Diyāb 2022.

Bromehead, C. N.

1947 "Aetites or the Eagle-Stone." *Antiquity* 21: 16–22.

Cams, Mario

2014 "Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville and the *Nouvel Atlas de la Chine*." In *Jesuit Mapmaking in China: D'Anville's Nouvelle Atlas de la Chine (1737)*, edited by Roberto M. Ribeiro and John W. O'Malley, pp. 37–49. Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press.

Colla, Elliott

2007 *Conflicted Antiquities: Egyptology, Egyptomania, Egyptian Modernity*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Crececius, Daniel

1998 "Egypt in the Eighteenth Century." In *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, edited by M. W. Daly, vol. 2, pp. 59–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

de Dainville, François, S.J.

1978 *L'éducation des jésuites (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles)*. Paris: Éditions de Minuit.

Delbourgo, James

2017 *Collecting the World: The Life and Curiosity of Hans Sloane*. London: Lane/Penguin.

de Maillet, Benoît

1735 *Description de l'Égypte, contenant plusieurs remarques curieuses sur la Géographie ancienne et moderne de ce País, sur ses Monumens anciens, sur les Mœurs, les Coûtumes & la Religion des Habitans, sur le Gouvernement & le Commerce, sur les Animaux, les Arbres, les Plantes, &c. Composée sur les Mémoires de Monsieur de Maillet, Ancien Consul de France au Caire, par M. l'Abbé Le Mascrier*. Paris: Louis Genneau et Jacques Rollin, Fils.

Diyāb, Ḥannā

2022 *The Book of Travels*. Edited by Johannes Stephan. Translated by Elias Muhanna. New York: NYU Press.

Doyon, Wendy

2015 "On Archaeological Labor in Modern Egypt." In *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, edited by William Carruthers, pp. 141–56. New York: Routledge.

2021 *Empire of Dust: Egyptian Archaeology and Archaeological Labor in Nineteenth-Century Egypt*. PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.

El Daly, Okasha

2005 *Egyptology: The Missing Millennium; Ancient Egypt in Medieval Arabic Writings*. London: UCL Press.

Feingold, Mordechai, ed.

2003 *Jesuit Science and the Republic of Letters*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Findlen, Paula

2019 "How Information Travels: Jesuit Networks, Scientific Knowledge, and the Early Modern Republic of Letters." In *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World*, edited by Paula Findlen, pp. 57–105. London: Routledge.

Foissy-Aufrère, Marie-Pierre, ed.

1985 *Égypte et Provence: Civilisation, survivances et cabinets de curiosités*. Avignon: Fondation du Musée Calvet.

Fromage, Pierre, and Marc-Antoine Treffond

1727 "Lettre du Père Supérieur-Général des Missions de la Compagnie de Jésus en Syrie et en Égypte, au Père Fleuriau de la même Compagnie." *Nouveaux mémoires* 6: 256–78.

Girard, Aurélien

2017 "Teaching and Learning Arabic in Early Modern Rome: Shaping a Missionary Language." In *The Teaching and Learning of Arabic in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Jan Loop, Alastair Hamilton, and Charles Burnett, pp. 189–212. Leiden: Brill.

Guirguis, Magdi

2008 *An Armenian Artist in Ottoman Cairo: Yuhanna al-Armani and His Coptic Icons*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

- Hagen, Fredrik, and Kim Ryholt
 2016 *The Antiquities Trade in Egypt 1880–1930: The H. O. Lange Papers*. Copenhagen: Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters.
- Hamilton, Alastair
 2006 *The Copts and the West, 1439–1822: The European Discovery of the Egyptian Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Harris, Steven J.
 1996 “Confession-Building, Long-Distance Networks, and the Organization of Jesuit Science.” *Early Science and Medicine* 1, no. 3: 287–318.
 2005 “Jesuit Scientific Activity in the Overseas Missions, 1540–1773.” *Isis* 96, no. 1: 71–79.
- Haguet, Lucile
 2018 “Egypt and Maps, or: What Early Modern Maps Are (Not) Telling Us about the History of Egyptology in Europe.” In *Mapping Ancient Identities: Methodisch-kritische Reflexionen zu Kartierungspraktiken*, edited by Susanne Grunwald, Kerstin P. Hofmann, Daniel A. Werning, Felix Wiedemann, 91–113. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 55. Berlin: Topoi.
- Hsia, Florence C.
 2009 *Sojourners in a Strange Land: Jesuits and Their Scientific Missions in Late Imperial China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Jasanoff, Maya
 2005 *Edge of Empire: Lives, Culture, and Conquest in the East, 1750–1850*. New York: Knopf/Random House.
- Jomard, Edme-François
 1809 “Observations sur les Arabes de l’Égypte moyenne.” In *Description de l’Égypte: État moderne*, vol. 1, pp. 545–75. Paris: Imprimerie Royale.
- Kupfer, Carl, and David Buisseret
 2019 “Seventeenth-Century Jesuit Explorers’ Maps of the Great Lakes and Their Influence on Subsequent Cartography of the Region.” *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 6: 57–70.
- Libois, Charles, ed.
 2003 *Monumenta Proximi-Orientis*. Vol. 6, *Égypte (1700–1773)*. Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu.
- Lucas, Paul
 1704 *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas au Levant: On y trouvera entr’autre une description de la haute Égypte, suivant le cours du Nil, depuis le Caire jusques aux Cataractes, avec une Carte exacte de ce fleuve, que personne n’avoit donnée*. 2 vols. Paris: Vandive.
 1712 *Voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait par ordre du Roy dans la Grèce, l’Asie Mineure, la Macédoine et l’Afrique*. 2 vols. Paris: Simart.
 1719 *Troisième voyage du Sieur Paul Lucas, fait en 1714, &c. par ordre de Louis XIV, dans la Turquie, l’Asie, la Sourie, la Palestine, la Haute et la Basse Égypte, &c.* 3 vols. Rouen: Machuel.
- McClellan, James E., III, and François Regourd
 2011 *The Colonial Machine: French Science and Overseas Expansion in the Old Regime*. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Morus, Iwan Rhys
 2016 “Invisible Technicians, Instrument-Makers and Artisans.” In *A Companion to the History of Science*, edited by Bernard Lightman, pp. 97–110. Malden, MA: Wiley & Sons.
- Moser, Stephanie
 2006 *Wondrous Curiosities: Ancient Egypt at the British Museum*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 2012 *Designing Antiquity: Owen Jones, Ancient Egypt and the Crystal Palace*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Pedley, Mary Sponberg
 2005 *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Pincia, Pietro Lorenzo

- 1998 *In Egitto prima di Napoleone: Viaggio della Palestina, Egitto e Sacro Monte Sinai fatto da' Pietro Lorenzo Pincia oggi di prevosto della Cathedrale d'Ivrea nel corso degl'anni 1719, 1720, 1721.* Turin: Galleria del libro.

Prieto, Andrés I.

- 2011 *Missionary Scientists: Jesuit Science in Spanish South America, 1570–1810.* Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.

Quirke, Stephen

- 2010 *Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880–1924.* London: Duckworth.

Raj, Kapil

- 2007 *Relocating Modern Science: Circulation and the Construction of Knowledge in South Asia and Europe, 1650–1900.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Reid, Donald M.

- 2002 *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 2015 *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser.* Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Ribeiro, Roberto M., and John W. O'Malley, eds.

- 2014 *Jesuit Mapmaking in China: D'Anville's Nouvelle Atlas de la Chine (1737).* Philadelphia: Saint Joseph's University Press.

Schaffer, Simon, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo, eds.

- 2009 *The Brokered World: Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820.* Sagamore Beach, MA: Science History Publications.

Schiebinger, Londa, and Claudia Swan, eds.

- 2005 *Colonial Botany: Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Shalaby, Nora, Hany Abu El-Azm, Ayman Damarany, Jessica Kaiser, Hazem Salah Abdallah, Mohamed Abu El-Yazid, Yasser Abd El-Raziq, et al.

- 2018 "The Lost Papers: Rewriting the Narrative of Early Egyptology with the Abydos Temple Paper Archive." *Online Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt.* <https://www.arce.org/resource/lost-papers-rewriting-narrative-early-egyptology-abydos-temple-paper-archive>.

Shapin, Steven

- 1989 "The Invisible Technician." *American Scientist* 77: 554–63.

Sicard, Claude

- 1718 "Lettre d'un missionnaire en Égypte, à Son Altesse Sérénissime Monseigneur le Comte de Toulouse." *Nouveaux mémoires* 2: 1–288.
- 1725 "Lettre du Père Sicard, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Égypte, au Père Fleuriau de la même Compagnie." *Nouveaux mémoires* 5: 122–200.
- 1729 "Réponse du Père Sicard, Missionnaire de la Compagnie de Jésus en Egypte, à un mémoire de Messieurs de l'Académie des Sciences." *Nouveaux mémoires* 7: 64–90.

Sonnini de Mononcourt, Charles-Nicolas-Sigisbert

- 1798 *Voyage dans la haute et basse Égypte, fait par l'ordre de l'ancien gouvernement et contenant des observations de tous genres.* Vol. 3. Paris: Buisson.

Stevenson, Alice

- 2019 *Scattered Finds: Archaeology, Egyptology and Museums.* London: UCL Press.

Stolzenberg, Daniel

- 2013 *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Westerfeld, Jennifer

- 2019 *Egyptian Hieroglyphs in the Late Antique Imagination.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Forthcoming “A Mummy for the King: Aristocratic Patronage and Archaeological Fieldwork in Early Eighteenth-Century Egypt.”

Winand, Jean

2014 *Décoder les hiéroglyphes, de l'antiquité tardive à l'expédition de l'Égypte*. L'Académie en poche. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.

Winter, Michael

1992 *Egyptian Society under Ottoman Rule, 1517–1798*. London: Routledge.

Withers, Charles

2004 “Eighteenth-Century Geography: Texts, Practices, Sites.” *Progress in Human Geography* 30: 711–29.

26 THE LAST BUCHIS BULL(S) OF ARMANT: NOTES ON THE END OF AN INDIGENOUS ANIMAL CULT IN LATE ROMAN EGYPT

Terry G. Wilfong
University of Michigan

IT IS A GREAT, IF melancholy, pleasure to offer this small tribute in memory of Robert K. Ritner, not only one of the most learned Egyptologists of our time but also an extremely generous and patient teacher. I will always be grateful for the time and effort Robert put into my graduate education; he introduced me to so much wonderful material (some of which became the subjects of later books and articles), he sparked my interest in Coptic (which I came to graduate school determined not to study), he encouraged my interests (however eccentric they might have seemed), and he showed me (by example) the value of reading and learning beyond Egyptology. Robert's generosity to his students with his time was extraordinary, something I have only really come to appreciate after years of teaching. This essay is itself a tribute to another aspect of Robert's generosity as a teacher. While writing a term paper for Robert's seminar on animal cults, I excitedly made a "discovery" (redating the Buchis stela 20 discussed below to 340 CE), only to discover later that this redating had already been made in print a few years earlier by Jean-Claude Grenier. Instead of penalizing or criticizing me for missing an important reference, Robert encouraged me to work up the original aspects of my paper for publication. It took a few decades to do so, but I am glad that Robert was able to see this essay before he died.¹

The cult of the Buchis bull was not well known to classical travelers and writers; its center, the Bucheum, was located at Armant (Hermonthis), much farther south and much less accessible to foreign tourists than the cult centers of the Apis and Mnevis bulls in the north. Aside from an allusion in Strabo, the Buchis cult is not mentioned in any of the surviving works of earlier Greek authors on Egypt. Perhaps as a result, the Buchis cult has also received considerably less attention from modern-day Egyptologists, although that situation has been changing in recent years.² The Buchis cult has much to tell us about the late survivals of indigenous religion in Egypt. In particular, a reexamination of aspects of the archaeological and literary

1 This essay is in a different form than I had originally planned, thanks to the COVID-19 pandemic, which kept me from my office as well as from planned visits to libraries for research. I have taken advantage of the circumstances to make the essay a bit more open-ended and speculative than I might have otherwise done. I developed some of these ideas in connection with a more general series of lectures on the religious landscapes of Armant at Oberlin College in 2013, as part of its Haskell Lectures in Religion series, and earlier lectures for the University of Minnesota Heartland Workshop in Ancient Studies and Illinois Wesleyan University. I would like to thank François Olivier of Meretseger Books for expediting a copy of Goldbrunner 2004 to me in lockdown. Thanks to Elisabeth O'Connell for facilitating visits to look at the Armant material in the British Museum and Egypt Exploration Society and for her own insight into the material, and thanks to Andrew Ferrara for his ongoing support and encouragement. Thanks to volume editors Foy Scalf and Brian Muhs, and the anonymous referee, for their useful comments and suggestions. And thanks to Greg Madden, who, by his generous gift of a copy of *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae of the Pushkin Museum* (Hodjash and Berlev 1982) when we were students, exposed me to my first Buchis bull stela that ultimately led me to this project.

2 Note, in particular, the comprehensive study of the Buchis cult in Goldbrunner 2004, referenced below, as well as the ongoing efforts of Christophe Thiers and Youri Volokhine (2005, 2022) to publish the Ptolemaic temple at Armant and the brief but useful survey in Fitzenreiter 2013, pp. 107–10.

evidence for the late survival of the Buchis cult raises interesting questions about its closure and a possible reuse of its facilities. Following are some notes and suggestions made on the basis of this evidence.

Like the better-known cult of the Apis bull, the Buchis bull cult had its origins in the second millennium BC, although relatively little survives of the cult of Buchis before the Late Period.³ The Buchis bull cult centered on a peripatetic sacred animal that traveled between four towns in the south of Egypt: Armant, Medamud, Tod, and Thebes.⁴ As with the Apis, the cult of the Buchis bull centered on a single sacred animal, identified by special markings, that was the center of cultic activity and was succeeded on its (natural) death by another bull similarly chosen. The Buchis bull was known for its oracles (delivered through interpretation of the animal's movements) and its healing powers (especially for diseases of the eyes). As with the Apis bull, the mothers of the individual Buchis bulls were also venerated.

In the Thirtieth Dynasty, the center of the cult of the Buchis bull shifted decisively to Armant with the establishment of a burial place for the Buchis bulls—a subterranean complex of burial chambers now known as the “Bucheum”—and a comparable burial place nearby for the mothers of the Buchis (known by its modern name, Baqariya).⁵ The general trend toward the renewal and intensification of animal cults in the Thirtieth Dynasty is well documented, and the establishment of a formal burial place for the Buchis bulls and their mothers at Armant is part of this wider trend. We are fortunate that these Armant burial sites were excavated by the Egypt Exploration Society under the direction of Sir Robert Mond and Oliver Myers between 1925 and 1931, and published soon afterward in 1934, so that we have a fully documented, relatively modern excavation in full publication from which to work.

Beneath a long-lost superstructure, the Bucheum consisted of a long, underground corridor leading to a T-shaped hallway with a side corridor, off which some thirty-eight burial chambers lay. In these chambers, the mummified bulls were buried individually, with varying amounts of funerary equipment (given the high water table of the area, most of these subterranean burials were in poor condition when excavated). The mummies were walled into their chambers, which were marked by a commemorative stela recording information about the individual bull: its dates of birth, installation, and death. Its age at death and the name of its mother were among the information usually included on these stelae, along with an image of the bull, alive or mummified, and also that of the reigning king, as supporter of the cult, making offerings. Some twenty-one of these stelae survive, and, taken with other inscriptional evidence from the Bucheum and inscriptions relating to the burials of the mothers of the Buchis (often less elaborate but conducted along the same general plan), they allow some detailed reconstruction of the history of the Buchis cult. The burials in the Bucheum began under Nectanebo II,⁶ continued under Alexander the Great and the Ptolemies, and persisted under the Roman emperors who followed.⁷ Construction of the individual burial chambers took place in phases; the addition of more chambers was possible, but the local water table precluded construction in some areas, and ultimately there were limitations in what could be done at the site, so that at least some of the later Buchis bulls were buried in the Baqariya,⁸ the nearby burial place for the mothers of the Buchis bulls that was constructed along similar lines. Likewise, the construction of the Baqariya complex occurred in phases, allowing for the addition of more chambers, but was, as well, affected by environmental factors. Near the Baqariya complex is also a later Roman village.⁹

The earlier history of the Bucheum and Baqariya complexes is relatively well documented; the Late Period, Ptolemaic, and earlier Roman burials were dealt with extensively in the original excavation report

3 See the recent reappraisal of the earlier evidence for the Buchis cult in Colonna 2021, pp. 147–49.

4 Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 2, pp. 45–50; Grenier 2009.

5 Information about the site generally throughout this essay is from Mond and Myers 1934 unless otherwise noted.

6 But note Colonna 2021, p. 148, which argues for evidence of Buchis burials considerably earlier in the New Kingdom.

7 For a detailed reconstruction of the chronology of the Buchis burials, see now Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 100–118, in addition to Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 1, pp. 169–79.

8 Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 100–101.

9 For the Roman village, see Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 1, pp. 178–86.

and have since been the subject of renewed interest and publication.¹⁰ The later history of the Buchis cult is less well understood. Fewer stelae survive from the second and third centuries CE, but enough evidence was recovered (including coins and Demotic and Greek ostraca) to enable the original excavators to document the cult's continuation through the end of the third century CE. The original excavators posited an end to the cult under Diocletian in the year 295 CE, the date of a Buchis burial they considered to be the latest by their understanding of the inscriptional material.¹¹ But they themselves remarked on this date as a relatively early terminus compared to, for example, the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria in 391 CE. Later evidence found in the Bucheum and Baqariya complexes, including fourth-century CE coins and later Coptic ostraca, they attributed to subsequent looting of the site or its destruction by Christians, and they painted a dramatic picture of the demise of the Buchis cult at the end of the third century.¹²

The original publication frankly admitted not knowing what to do with one of the stelae from the site, designated stela 20, obtained some years before the excavation and first published by Georges Daressy in 1908 as Cairo Museum JdE 31901.¹³ This stela, with a representation of a mummified Buchis bull and a hieroglyphic inscription, commemorates a bull that was born in year 33 of an emperor whose name was considered ambiguous or unreadable by the original editors, and this bull died in year 57 of the same emperor. Stela 20 is somewhat atypical-looking in general and hard to place stylistically with the other surviving stelae (unlike the others, it does not include a representation of the king), and its high regnal-year dates are problematic. The original publisher and the Bucheum excavators were at a loss as to where to assign this inscription. Daressy suggested Augustus, but H. W. Fairman, who edited the Bucheum inscriptions for Mond and Myers, eventually opted for a date under Commodus, who sometimes added the years of Marcus Aurelius to his reign and could come up with the requisite thirty-three years. But the stela does not particularly resemble a mother-of-Buchis stela that specifically names Commodus, and even the excavators considered this identification problematic and uncertain.¹⁴

Aside from a few reviews, Mond and Myers' 1934 publication excited relatively little scholarly interest in general, and nearly fifty years passed before the problematic stela 20 was reexamined in print. In 1983 Jean-Claude Grenier published an article demonstrating conclusively that the stela was, in fact, that of the last-known Buchis, buried in 340 CE, under Constantius II. The year dates of 33 and 57 were years of Diocletian, as the "ambiguous cartouche" could easily be read as "Diocletian" if one understood that some of the characters were Demotic signs. Diocletian, of course, did not rule for thirty-three, let alone fifty-seven years, and these posthumous years of Diocletian were years of an "Era of Diocletian" already known from horoscopes, literary texts, documentary papyri, and inscriptions of the fourth to sixth centuries CE.¹⁵ This system of dating ultimately became the basis for the Era of the Martyrs, by which to this day the Coptic Orthodox Church continues to date.¹⁶ Thus stela 20 became the penultimate known dated hieroglyphic inscription, with the better-known Philae inscription of 394 CE being the latest. Grenier later also identified an inscription relating to the mother of a Buchis with Era of Diocletian dates under Licinius (316/17 CE) and Constantine (330/31 CE)¹⁷ and further refined his reading of stela 20.¹⁸

In his 1983 article, Grenier pointed out a fact noted in the original 1908 publication of stela 20 but not repeated in the Mond and Myers discussion of it: the face of the stela originally contained a Coptic graffito, in red paint, consisting of crosses and the name "Jesus Christ" written neatly on the body of the representation

10 Most thoroughly in Goldbrunner 2004.

11 Stela 19; Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 2, p. 34, and vol. 1, p. 19, with vol. 3, pls. XLVI, XLVIIA.

12 Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 1, p. 23.

13 Daressy 1908; Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 2, p. 19, and vol. 3, pls. XLVI, XLVIIA.

14 Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 2, p. 19.

15 Summary in Bagnall and Worp 2004, pp. 64–71.

16 Bagnall and Worp 2004, pp. 67–68.

17 Grenier 2002.

18 Grenier 2003.

of the bull mummy and in the empty field above it.¹⁹ From this, Grenier also posited a dramatic end to the cult of the Buchis that was rather different from that proposed by Mond and Myers—namely, that shortly after 340 CE, the tombs and stelae of the Buchis were deliberately desecrated as part of a general destruction of pagan monuments. But I would like to suggest a less violent scenario for the end of the Buchis cult and its aftermath, one that uses the late archaeological and literary evidence relating to the cult in a slightly different way than previous authors have done.

To begin with, the use of the Diocletianic era on the stela for dating is consistent with other late inscriptions, but the reasons for doing so may not be so well understood. Aside from its use in Greek-language horoscopes of the fourth to sixth centuries, as well as a few Greek literary and documentary texts, most instances of Diocletianic dating in Egypt in the fourth and fifth centuries are inscriptional: the fourth-century dates from hieroglyphic texts of the Bucheum,²⁰ a Greek graffito from Thebes,²¹ and the much more extensive fourth- and fifth-century dates in hieroglyphic, Demotic, and Greek inscriptions from Philae, which end in 394 CE (hieroglyphic), 452 CE (Demotic), and 456 CE (Greek).²² One point of interest worth noting is that dated fourth- and fifth-century texts in the indigenous hieroglyphs and Demotic use only the Diocletianic era—that is, there are no dates to named emperors after Diocletian in indigenous-language texts—and the majority of Greek inscriptional texts that use Diocletianic dating relate specifically to indigenous, non-Christian religious cults. This seems significant in understanding why this dating system might be used.

It has been suggested that the early use of the Diocletianic era marks a form of resistance to, or protest against, the coming of Christianity or specifically against Christian emperors,²³ but there is no definite evidence to support this idea or the idea that this form of dating was a way of ignoring “bad” emperors.²⁴ The connection of some early instances of Diocletianic dating to indigenous cult practice does suggest some relationship between the adoption of the dating system and the state of these cults. But it seems likely that this shift has nothing to do with any kind of resistance against putatively Christian emperors and instead is a reaction to overall withdrawal of imperial support to Egyptian cults. Of course, real imperial involvement in these cults had already been curtailed and terminated by the mid to late second century,²⁵ but perceptions of imperial sponsorship or support may still have persisted.²⁶ For the Bucheum, comparison of stela 20 with the stela of Diocletian from 295 CE is suggestive; the earlier stela shows a roughly canonical pharaonic figure, representing Diocletian, offering to the mummified Buchis bull, thus suggesting at least the pretense of official imperial support. This is the classic pattern of the earlier Buchis stelae, and only our late stela 20, dated to the Era of Diocletian, fails to show a king doing homage to the god. Rather than signaling a protest, the Diocletianic dating seems instead to be a simple acknowledgment of the withdrawal of even the idea of the ruling king participating in the cult. Grenier had already noted the centrality of the king to all Egyptian cults, and he specifically commented on the significance of the lack of an imperial image on stela 20.²⁷ Exactly how this change affected the cult and, presumably, led to its end is harder to trace.

Although there is some information about the temple organization and priesthood of the Buchis bull in earlier periods,²⁸ there is nothing from the later periods of the cult that would shed light on the makeup of

19 Grenier 1983, pp. 207–8.

20 Not noted in the discussion in Bagnall and Worp 2004.

21 See Bagnall and Worp 2004, p. 69, in reference to inscription SB III 6632, dating to 342/43 CE, though the reading is not certain.

22 Summarized in Bagnall and Worp 2004, pp. 69–71.

23 E.g., Frankfurter 1998, pp. 107–8.

24 Grenier 1983, pp. 204–6.

25 Evidence summarized in Bagnall 1993, pp. 259–68; also Bagnall 2008, more generally, for discussion of subsequent rejoinders to the earlier work.

26 Klotz 2012 surveys the range of temple construction attributed to Roman emperors in Thebes and environs; note the discussion of the Buchis cult on pp. 398–401.

27 Grenier 2002, pp. 254–56.

28 Mond and Myers (1934, vol. 1, p. 15) suggest an “aristocratic” Kalasiris family as being prominent in the Buchis cult hierarchy in the first and second centuries CE, but they admit there is no certain evidence of continuity between the two priestly

the Buchis priesthood in its last centuries. So it is difficult, if not impossible, to know anything for certain about the size or other characteristics of the cult's priesthood and staff in its last years, and there is overall little evidence for the final disbandment of the cult. The somewhat later evidence of the inscriptions from Philae, especially in the light of the recent work of Jitse Dijkstra,²⁹ may provide some useful comparative material.

The temple at Philae is known as the last surviving indigenous cult site in Egypt, all the more relevant to the Bucheum because of the late survival of its animal cult, which centered on a falcon. The latest inscriptions in the temple at Philae are Demotic and Greek texts from the mid-fifth century, and they seem to attest to a contraction of personnel at the temple in the wake of the fourth century, and even more so in the fifth century. The Philae priesthood gradually dwindled, at least in terms of inscriptionally attested individuals, to a few members of the Smet family—who shared variations of this name and occupied priestly offices.³⁰ These inscriptions, of course, do not address issues of temple finances, but it is not hard to see, in the decreasing priesthood, a decline in revenue. Cults may have maintained at least some of their income-producing landholdings and may have been able to rely on dwindling amounts of offerings from local worshippers, but it may not be too implausible to suggest that support of these cults shifted, in their final years, to the priestly families devoted to them. If this was, in fact, the case, the decline and ultimate end of the cults may have been as much a result of economic fatigue on the part of the last priestly families as of growing isolation in an increasingly Christian population. Such a “privatization” of cults might account for the discrepancies between the widely divergent dates of the closures of temple cults in Egypt. Priestly elites such as the Smets at Philae and the Buchis priests, likely also to have been a family,³¹ may themselves have kept their cults afloat for a while through their own resources. But the withdrawal of state support, combined with a population turning more and more to Christianity, signaled the ultimate economic doom for all indigenous cults.

There is no direct evidence for the survival of the Buchis cult beyond the 340 CE burial recorded on stela 20, but there are sources that seem to indicate that the cult continued after this burial. Goldbrunner reconstructs a full sequence of Buchis bulls and their mothers,³² and he proposes at least one further Buchis bull after 340 CE on the basis of late inscriptions relating to Buchis mothers.³³ Goldbrunner also proposes that the Buchis bulls began to be buried in the Baqariya in the late third century as the Bucheum complex filled.³⁴ Given the average lifespan of the Buchis bulls (seventeen to twenty years, based on the documented ages), Goldbrunner's suggested last bull could take the cult into the early 360s, and of course another bull could have followed, taking the cult into the 380s.

This later date may be supported by another source that is, in fact, the sole detailed description of the Buchis cult to survive in classical literature, although it has not previously been considered evidence of a late survival of the cult. Before the excavation of the Bucheum, most scholars knew of the Buchis cult primarily from the late Latin author Macrobius, who, in his wide-ranging dialogue on Roman religion and lore called the *Saturnalia*, gave a brief description of the Buchis cult in relation to other Egyptian bull cults:

Egyptian cult practice shows that the Bull has a manifold relation to the sun: . . . because the Apis bull in the city of Memphis is welcomed as the likeness of the sun; or because in the town of Hermunthis, in a splendid temple of Apollo, they pay cult to a bull they call Bouchis, which is consecrated to the sun and distinguished by miraculous qualities appropriate to the sun's nature. For it is said to change color from one hour to the

individuals named Kalasiris on which this proposition is based.

29 See especially Dijkstra 2008, pp. 193–218, and my brief discussion in Wilfong 2010, pp. 379–80, for what follows.

30 For this and all that follows, see Dijkstra 2008, pp. 175–281; note also the more recent examination of the late activity at Philae in Ashby 2020 (especially the section “The Last Priests of Philae,” pp. 207–72), which makes a convincing case that the Smet (or Esmet) family was Nubian in origin.

31 Perhaps a survival of the Kalasiris family mentioned above?

32 Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 100–123.

33 Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 117–18.

34 Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 100–101.

next and has a shaggy coat of bristles that grow in the opposite direction naturally found in all other animals: hence it is regarded as being like the sun, which casts its light in the opposite direction to that of the heavens [Book I.21.20–21].³⁵

The reference to the Buchis cult's situation in a temple of Apollo at Hermonthis—the Greek name for Armant—reflects its actual situation in the temple of Montu (Montu and Apollo being frequently equated), while the “miraculous” qualities of the Buchis bull, not otherwise attested in Egyptian sources, are comparable to the characteristics for other bull cults, also largely known from classical sources, most notably Herodotus's description of the markings by which the Apis bull is identified.³⁶

The characteristics by which the Buchis bull is to be identified are unique to this source. Macrobius's account of the Buchis makes it clear that the peculiar nature of the bull's coat is the identifying feature: a shaggy, bristly coat that appears to change colors in the changing light. Exactly what this means is unclear—one might envision the “horse of a different color” in the 1939 film version of *The Wizard of Oz*. More realistically, it is likely that the Buchis description refers to one of the “blue” breeds of cattle whose coat appears iridescent in certain lighting³⁷ or, perhaps more likely, a parti-color or “finched” breed of cattle, to which are sometimes attributed magical or divine properties in other cultural traditions.³⁸ This particular and specific information about the Buchis appears only in Macrobius, not in Egyptian or other classical sources, and is cited in earlier publications on the Buchis cult. Recent reevaluations of Macrobius, however, can help us think about the implications of this passage in new ways.

Macrobius's dialogue is placed in the mouths of real individuals—Roman elites of the late fourth century known from historical sources, including an Egyptian named Horus, described as a boxer turned philosopher. The particular passage about the Buchis bull is part of a long discourse attributed to Vettius Praetextatus, a distinguished official who held high pagan religious offices, in addition to being a former praetorian prefect of North Africa. He is the sort of person who could have had firsthand knowledge of the Buchis cult. The *Saturnalia* dialogue is set in December, with the festival itself serving as the pretext for the dialogue. The year of the dialogue is not explicitly stated; the most recent work suggests December 382 or 383.³⁹ The traditional view of Macrobius—that he was a pagan himself and wrote his composition at some time near the purported date of the dialogue—is no longer accepted. More recent research dates the composition of the *Saturnalia* to sometime after 430, seeing the discussants as contemporaries of Macrobius's father and Macrobius himself as a Christian writing for a Christian audience.⁴⁰ This understanding fits well with Edward Watts's recent discussion of how wider conversion of the late Roman world to Christianity was driven, in part at least, by the children of late pagan elites.⁴¹

The implications for our understanding of the late Buchis cult are suggestive but inconclusive. Much of the monologue attributed to Vettius Praetextatus derives from Porphyry, and the comments on other Egyptian cults can be traced to classical authors such as Herodotus and Pliny, but the remarks on the Buchis cult have no apparent (or, at least, identifiable) sources in classical literature. So the question is, where did Macrobius, writing in the mid-fifth century a dialogue set in the late fourth century, get his information about the Buchis cult, and was this information about a cult that was still active in the late fourth century? Vettius Praetextatus was, of course, an official in North Africa who could have had firsthand, or perhaps more realistically secondhand, knowledge of the Buchis cult. Watts has recently suggested that Macrobius

35 Macrobius 2011, vol. 1, pp. 286–89.

36 “The marks of this calf called Apis are these: he is black, and has on his forehead a three-cornered white spot, and the likeness of an eagle on his back, the hairs of the tail are double, and there is a knot under the tongue” (Herodotus III.28, from Godley 1938, p. 39).

37 Porter 2007, pp. 55–56.

38 Porter 2007, pp. 29–30.

39 For the former date, see Cameron 2011, pp. 243–46; for the latter, see Macrobius 2011, pp. xxiv–xxv.

40 Macrobius 2011, vol. 1, pp. xi–xxiii.

41 Watts 2015, pp. 149–65.

featured Vettius Praetextatus because of his deep knowledge rather than because of his paganism.⁴² The presence of the Egyptian philosopher Horus at the *Saturnalia* discussions might imply a firsthand informant, although Horus does not speak about the Buchis cult and, in any case, it is Macrobius who is placing his own words into the mouths of historical figures.⁴³ But perhaps this fact can at least allow us to suggest that Macrobius himself had some reason to believe that the Buchis bull cult was still active in December 382 or 383, the date he set his work. Indeed, one could argue that Macrobius's point would have been significantly undercut had he chosen a historical cult no longer active.

The archaeological evidence—particularly the coins from the site—supports the possibility of a still-active Buchis cult in 382 or 383, although the relative lack of immediately later material suggests that the Bucheum was likely closed by the time Macrobius wrote in the mid-fifth century. The numismatic evidence is consistent with a survival of the cult until 383, if not later.⁴⁴ The majority of coins from the Bucheum, most of which cannot be specifically tied to an emperor, date to the mid- to late fourth century CE (coin nos. 285, 300–303), the latest possible date of which is 373 CE (coin no. 303), while a smaller cluster date to earlier in the fourth century (coin nos. 283–84). From the Baqariya burial complex, to which at least some of the later Buchis burials shifted, we have mid- to late fourth-century CE coins (nos. 286, 288, 305–9), clustering more toward the later end, with the latest dated to 388–95 CE (coin nos. 307–9). The Baqariya burial complex, interestingly, yielded one sixth-century CE coin of Justinian (no. 287). These coins are all low-denomination bronze coinage, likely to have been dropped inadvertently, and could stem from burial activity as well as the terminal closure of the complexes. Coins from the Roman village at Baqariya have a wider range, from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE, but cluster in the later third and fourth centuries CE as one would expect. A few Ottoman- and Mamluk-era coins are more likely related to episodes of looting. Overall, the numismatic evidence makes it likely that the sites were closed by 388–95 CE.

Precisely how the decision was made to close the Bucheum and terminate the bull cult is uncertain. The priests would have been aware of declining revenues and adherents to the cults, perhaps (as the new work of Edward Watts suggests) as their own children converted to Christianity, leaving no family members to carry on the cultic activity. Or, as represented in many later Christian accounts, even the priests themselves may have converted to Christianity for personal or practical reasons. It is also possible that an entirely practical consideration played a part in the decision: the available space for future burials. As Goldbrunner suggests,⁴⁵ the Bucheum itself may have been completely full and the latest burials shifted to the Baqariya. Although additions to the Bucheum and Baqariya complexes were possible, the condition of the site as noted by the excavators would have made them difficult, and likely expensive. Did the priests, during that burial ceremony in 340 CE, have the realization that their burial complexes were nearly full and reflect on the implications of the situation—namely, that adding additional chambers would be an expense unlikely to be covered by declining cult revenues and that the next Buchis, or the next one after that, might need to be the last? Two longer-lived bulls could have taken the cult up to December 382 or 383 CE, the likely date for the setting of Macrobius's dialogue, when the cult may still have been active. Such a planned end to the cult is a possibility that would have allowed the priests operating it to shut down the cult and its activities gradually, while still maintaining its basic functions. Of course, it is also possible that the 340 CE burial was indeed the last one—that the priests either knew of the dwindling options for burial and planned accordingly, or simply made the decision not to continue despite the waiting new bull.

Whatever its precise date, the actual closure of the Buchis cult seems to have been much less violent and dramatic than scholars have previously supposed. All signs point to a voluntary, peaceful closure. There is no evidence of actual destructive vandalism in the Bucheum or Baqariya, aside from the graffito on

⁴² Watts 2015, pp. 216–17.

⁴³ Horus does refer to Egyptian rites as ongoing when comparing them to contemporary Roman rites; see Cameron 2011, p. 259.

⁴⁴ The following references to Bucheum and Baqariya coins from the Mond and Myers excavation come from the coin register in Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 3, pls. CLXVI–CLXVII, with additional details in vol. 1, pp. 115–20. Note that precise findspots within the Bucheum and Baqariya burial complexes and the Baqariya Roman village were not recorded.

⁴⁵ Goldbrunner 2004, pp. 100–101.

stela 20, to which I will return. Many bull and cow burials were ultimately found looted, but this seems to have happened much earlier in the history of the site, perhaps not long after the burials themselves; looted burials were often restored and resealed, and stelae sometimes seem to have been misplaced in the process. But some of the burials remained intact, and there seems to have been no attempt to target the bull burials themselves, or the stelae.

We have no Christian text about the end of the Buchis cult specifically, but the end of the falcon cult at Philae is described in dramatic terms in the Coptic *Life of Aaron*. Thanks to the recent reedition of this text by Jitse Dijkstra and Jacques van der Vliet, we now have a much-improved text of this important composition, likely written in the sixth century, about events in the fourth century.⁴⁶ In one story recounted in this extensive collection, Macedonius, the first bishop of Philae, active in the fourth century, described going into the shrine of the falcon cult at Philae in the guise of being a cult adherent, destroying the sacred falcon, and ultimately converting its priests.⁴⁷ The editors of the new edition point out that the story is demonstrably legendary and ahistorical, as the falcon cult at Philae is known to have persisted into the fifth century.⁴⁸ Similar stories, if less dramatic, survive from elsewhere in Egypt, and indeed they are a staple of Coptic literature about the early history of Christianity in Egypt, along with martyrdoms, but are often as demonstrably fictional.

Christian sources for the end of indigenous religion at Armant are less descriptive and specific. The Coptic *Synaxary*, known only from a later Arabic version, briefly recounts in the entry for Khoiak 7 the life of one John of Armant, a young man from a family of fourth-century CE carpenters, who converts at the behest of his older brother, Pisentios.⁴⁹ Pisentios becomes a monk under Pleinis, then bishop of Armant, who was ordained sometime around 328 CE. Pisentios's brother John is beset by carnal temptations, to which he responds by throwing himself into thorn bushes, an act that impresses his brother. On the death of Pleinis, the local Christians attempt to claim Pisentios as their bishop, but he presents John to them instead. John is confirmed at Alexandria and returns to Armant, and we get the following meager account of his conversion of the non-Christian population, taking place at some time in the mid- to late fourth century CE:

When he arrived in the city, he baptized many of the idolaters who were there. By day he built a church and at night the pagans came to destroy him, but he did not allow himself to be disturbed: on the contrary, he was patient until miracles appeared. So the idolaters came to him, asked his forgiveness, and he baptized them.⁵⁰

But this account contains no reference to the destruction of the Bucheim or, indeed, anything to do with the local bull cult, which would have been still active. Significantly, according to the *Synaxary*, the conversion of Armant was a peaceful process, unlike many of the Christian accounts of the ends of local indigenous cults. On the whole, this less violent vision of the transition from paganism to Christianity fits the archaeological evidence, which supports more scenarios of peaceful appropriations of temples and spaces rather than violent destructions.

There remains, of course, the Coptic graffito on stela 20, but I would like to propose an alternative explanation for it, one in keeping with other Coptic texts from the Armant excavations. Nearly 150 Coptic ostraca—texts on potsherds—were found at the site, with most coming from the Roman-period townsite associated with the Baqariya complex.⁵¹ Although this town seems to have been abandoned by the end of

46 Dijkstra and van der Vliet 2020, pp. 58–59.

47 Traditionally, the story has been interpreted as an account of the destruction of a cult image, possibly a mechanical image used for oracles, but Dijkstra and van der Vliet see it as an account of killing a live falcon; the text is somewhat ambiguous on this point, however, and the case could still be made for a cult image (Dijkstra and van der Vliet 2020, pp. 189–92).

48 Dijkstra and van der Vliet 2020, pp. 57–58.

49 See Basset 1909, pp. 394–96, for the text of this episode; Crum 1908, supplemented by Winlock and Crum 1926, p. 135, for discussion of dates.

50 My own translation from Basset 1909, pp. 394–95.

51 Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 2, pp. 78–79, editions by Walter E. Crum; I was able to check them against the originals in the British Museum, which are now mostly nearly illegible. Not surprisingly, Crum's readings hold up in all cases where they could be checked.

the fourth century CE, the Coptic ostraca, very loosely dated to the sixth to seventh century CE, led the excavators to speak of a possible reoccupation of the site in that period. But several of the Coptic ostraca come not from the townsite but from the burial complex of Baqariya and also from the Bucheum itself (along with the coin of Justinian mentioned above). These ostraca, both literary and documentary, are extremely fragmentary—very few of them are published even in description, let alone with full text. They are mostly illegible, but the few readable examples preserve letters, literary texts, and, in one case from the Bucheum, an apparent memorial inscription of the sort found in monastic settings.⁵² This inscribed jar seems to have been used to commemorate the burial of a monk, perhaps an impromptu tombstone made from materials immediately to hand, or possibly a draft for a memorial inscription on stone now lost. This material from within the Bucheum and Baqariya complexes is suggestive of some Christian activity in the burial chambers well after their abandonment. But I would argue that the activity was not intentionally destructive, nor was it part of a wider program of the desecration of pagan monuments.

Instead, I would suggest that the Bucheum was later reused for a Christian devotional purpose—as a complex of solitary monastic cells. Such cells would have served the needs of monks from nearby monastic communities, such as the Monastery of John to the west, much as the pharaonic tombs of western Thebes served the needs of the monks of western Theban communities by allowing them space for more solitary contemplation and ascetic activity. This practice is well attested in the extensive documentary and literary record from western Thebes, as well as being supported by the archaeological evidence for the monastic reuse of tombs.⁵³ The reuse of ancient funerary space allowed monks solitude, but within walking distance of their community. Indeed, some reuse or reoccupation of the Buchis tombs is the most logical explanation for the graffito on stela 20, which would not have been visible to casual passersby.

One may object to my suggestion for the reuse of the Bucheum as a complex of solitary monastic cells on a number of grounds, and perhaps the most compelling objection has to do with the original occupants of the Bucheum complex: the mummies of the Buchis bulls themselves. Mummies of later periods of Egyptian history—especially animal mummies—are not particularly good examples of the embalmer's art; the complex procedures developed in earlier periods to dry out the bodies and prevent decay had largely given way to superficial treatment of the dead bodies concealed by elaborate encasement and decoration. To put it bluntly, animal mummies of the later periods tend to stink, as anyone who has worked with them will have good reason to know. This stench in the Bucheum would have been even more pronounced in the fourth and fifth centuries, after only a few hundred years, especially given the relatively humid conditions at the site. Would the monks of Armant really have put up with it in exchange for a premade set of monastic cells?

For anyone at all familiar with the writings of Egyptian monks of this time, it will be evident that the answer is yes. Indeed, for the more hard-core of the ascetic monks in Egypt, the smell of indifferently embalmed animal mummies may have been a perverse attraction—an opportunity for serious devotional mortification. We have no evidence that the monks specifically sought out chambers with bull mummies, but there is evidence that monks in nearby areas put up with the original inhabitants of tombs reused as monastic cells—specifically, in the vast cemeteries of western Thebes just to the north of Armant, where the archaeological record shows many examples of monks living in uncleared tombs that still contained mummies. Indeed, these tombs often contained many generations of mummies: the original, intended occupants of the tombs as well as group or family burials, and often later intrusive burials. The archaeological evidence is supplemented by an extraordinary literary text, the biography of Pistentios, early seventh-century bishop of Coptos.⁵⁴ Pistentios lived for many years as a solitary monk in a tomb in western Thebes. His biography records a miraculous episode⁵⁵ in which Pistentios and his follower John (putative author of the *Life*) find

52 Ostrakon designated O.15 in the publication (Mond and Myers 1934, vol. 2, p. 79) = British Museum EA 59593.

53 See O'Connell 2007 for a comprehensive survey.

54 The Bohairic version of the *Life* of Pistentios is the fullest, and the only one to contain the anecdote mentioned below; the Bohairic text is available only in the *editio princeps* of Émile Amélineau (1887, pp. 73–163).

55 Amélineau 1887, pp. 141–45.

a tomb filled with mummies together with a scroll containing a list of the mummies originally buried in the tomb.⁵⁶ Pistentios goes on to revive one of the mummies, who describes the torments of hell. The case of Pistentios is a bit unusual. No other talking mummies are found in surviving Coptic literature, however often the more recent dead may have been made to speak,⁵⁷ but the cohabitation of monks with mummies in Theban tombs was common. And it is not a stretch to envision monks living among the Buchis mummies in the Bucheum and Baqariya as well.

In these Theban tombs reused for monastic occupation, one often sees earlier images covered in graffiti in red ink, with crosses and nomina sacra very much like those seen on stela 20. Though often regarded as simple vandalism, such graffiti may in fact also have a different purpose—they serve to neutralize images that might be perceived as harmful to the monastic occupant of the tomb.⁵⁸ Monastic literature such as the *Apocalypse of Paul* and the *Life of Pistentios* make it clear that the imagery of pharaonic tomb paintings haunted the imaginations of at least some of the Christians living in the tombs, whose writings feature the animal-headed, knife-wielding gods from the tomb walls in their representations of hell. Such images were occasionally plastered over by the monks but rarely destroyed, and much more often are simply the focus of graffiti that seem to serve as insignia of neutralization—crosses and nomina sacra placed on and around figures but respecting ancient representational boundaries, only rarely obscuring faces and more often simply covering bodies as though the graffiti were tattoos, effectively “converting” the images. And this is the case with Bucheum stela 20, where the red graffiti covers the body and surrounding space of the bull figure but not its head. Rather than showing disrespect for the sacred bull, the graffitist seems to be respecting the image’s boundaries and, by extension, its powers.

The cult of the Buchis bull had a much less violent end than usually supposed. Presumably supported and maintained by a local priestly family after the withdrawal of official support, all parallels and evidence point to a peaceful closure of the cult in the late fourth century. Christians did have an impact on the site, but not as previously imagined; instead of being rampaging vandals, they seem to have been peaceful re-occupants of an already-abandoned sacred space—a bit in awe or fear, perhaps, of the remains of one of the last indigenous cults in Egypt, the Buchis bull of Armant.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Amélineau, Émile

1887 *Étude sur le christianisme en Égypte au septième siècle*. Paris: Leroux.

Ashby, Solange

2020 *Calling Out to Isis: The Enduring Nubian Presence at Philae*. Gorgias Studies in the Ancient Near East 13. Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias.

Bagnall, Roger S.

1993 *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

⁵⁶ Ironically or not, John describes the scent coming off the mummies using a term that originally meant “good smell” (σῶμα ὀσφί) (Amélineau 1887, pp. 142–43).

⁵⁷ Note, e.g., the two cases in the Sahidic version of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* in which desert fathers cause a murdered man to tell about his assailant (no. 225) and a widow’s husband to say where he hid valuable property (no. 227) (texts in Chaîne 1960, pp. 65–67); the latter story is adapted from one in Herodotus, for which see Ogden 2019, pp. 74–76.

⁵⁸ There is considerable recent scholarly interest in the mutilation of “pagan” images by Christians in Egypt, notably Kristensen 2013 and the brief but valuable discussion in Bleiberg and Weissberg 2019, pp. 60–64, but this work largely concentrates on “public” reliefs and sculpture and does not get into the treatment of reliefs and paintings hidden from public view, e.g., tomb paintings or monuments such as Buchis stela 20. Indeed, I have informally observed that while the faces of pharaonic figures in “public” reliefs are often damaged and mutilated, such damage is relatively unusual in tombs and other contexts where the image is hidden from public view. On the power of ancient images as understood by Egyptian Christian writers such as Shenoute, see Westerfeld 2019, pp. 98–124.

- 2008 "Models and Evidence in the Study of Religion in Late Roman Egypt." In *From Temple to Church: Destruction and Renewal of Local Cultic Topography in Late Antiquity*, edited by Johannes Hahn, Stephen Emmel, and Ulrich Gotter, pp. 23–42. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 163. Leiden: Brill.
- Bagnall, Roger S., and Klaas A. Worp
2004 *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*. 2nd ed. Leiden: Brill.
- Basset, René
1909 *Le synaxaire arabe jacobite (rédaction copte)*. Vol. 2, *Les mois de Hatour et de Kihak*. Patrologia Orientalis 3/3. Paris: Librairie de Paris.
- Bleiberg, Edward, and Stephanie Weissberg
2019 *Striking Power: Iconoclasm in Ancient Egypt*. St. Louis: Pulitzer Arts Foundation.
- Cameron, Alan
2011 *The Last Pagans of Rome*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chaîne, M.
1960 *Le manuscrit de la version copte en dialecte sahidique des "Apophthegmata Patrum."* Bibliothèque d'études coptes 6. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Colonna, Angelo
2021 *Religious Practice and Cultural Construction of Animal Worship in Egypt from the Early Dynastic to the New Kingdom: Ritual Forms, Material Display, Historical Development*. Archaeopress Egyptology 36. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Crum, Walter E.
1908 "A Greek Diptych of the Seventh Century." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 20: 255–65.
- Daressy, G.
1908 "Stèle funéraire d'un taureau d'Hermonthis." *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 30: 10–15.
- Dijkstra, Jitse H. F.
2008 *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298–642 CE)*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 173. Leuven: Peeters.
- Dijkstra, Jitse H. F., and Jacques van der Vliet
2020 *The Coptic Life of Aaron: Critical Edition, Translation and Commentary*. Supplements to Viviliae Christianae 155. Leiden: Brill.
- Fitzenreiter, Martin
2013 *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten*. Ägyptologie und Kulturwissenschaft 5. Paderborn: Fink.
- Frankfurter, David
1998 *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Godley, A. D.
1938 *Herodotus, Books III–IV*. Loeb Classical Library 118. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goldbrunner, Lothar
2004 *Buchis: Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie des heiligen Stieres in Theben zur griechisch-römischen Zeit*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 11. Turnhout: Brepols.
- Grenier, Jean-Claude
1983 "La stèle funéraire du dernier taureau Bouchis." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 83: 197–208.
2002 "La stèle de la mère d'un Bouchis datée de Licinius et de Constantin." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 102: 247–58.
2003 "Remarques sur les datations et titulatures de trois stèles romaines du Bucheum." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 103: 267–79.

- 2009 "Les pérégrinations d'un Boukhis en Haute Thébaïde." In *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives* (D3T 1), edited by Christophe Thiers, pp. 49–58. Cahiers "Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenne" 3. Montpellier: Université Paul Valéry.
- Hodjash, Svetlana, and Oleg Berlev
1982 *The Egyptian Reliefs and Stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow*. Leningrad: Aurora Art Publishers.
- Klotz, David
2012 *Caesar in the City of Amun: Egyptian Temple Construction and Theology in Roman Thebes*. Monographies Reine Élisabeth 15. Brussels: Association Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.
- Kristensen, Troels Myrup
2013 *Making and Breaking the Gods: Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Macrobius
2011 *Saturnalia*. 3 vols. Edited and translated by Robert A. Kaster. Loeb Classical Library 510–12. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Mond, Sir Robert, and Oliver H. Myers
1934 *The Bucheum*. 3 vols. Memoirs of the Egypt Exploration Society 41. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- O'Connell, Elisabeth R.
2007 "Tombs for the Living: Monastic Reuse of Monumental Funerary Architecture in Late Antique Egypt." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.
- Ogden, Daniel
2019 "Lies Too Good to Lay to Rest: The Survival of Pagan Ghost Stories in Early Christian Literature." In *Visitors from Beyond the Grave: Ghosts in World Literature*, edited by Dámaris Romero-González, Israel Muñoz-Gallarte, and Gabriel Laguna-Mariscal, pp. 65–80. Série Humanitas Supplementum Estudos Monográficos. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra.
- Porter, Valerie
2007 *Cattle: A Handbook to Breeds of the World*. Ramsbury, UK: Crowood Press.
- Thiers, Christophe, and Youri Volokhine
2005 *Ermant I: Les cryptes du temple ptolémaïque. Étude épigraphique*. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 124. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
2022 *Ermant II: Bab el-Maganîn (Ermant II, nos. 1–33)*. Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 147. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Watts, Edward J.
2015 *The Final Pagan Generation*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Westerfeld, Jennifer
2019 *Egyptian Hieroglyphs in the Late Antique Imagination*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Wilfong, Terry G.
2010 Review of *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion: A Regional Study of Religious Transformation (298–624 CE)*, by Jitse H. F. Dijkstra. *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 47: 375–82.
- Winlock, H. E., and W. E. Crum
1926 *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*. Part I, *The Archaeological Material, the Literary Material*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.

27

NEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE CRYPTOGRAPHIC TEXT
OF PINUDJEM I AT MEDINET HABU

Jonathan Winnerman
University of California, Los Angeles

IT IS MY PLEASURE TO offer this contribution in honor of Robert Ritner, my graduate advisor and mentor. I am honored to dedicate it to his memory for two reasons in particular. First, it develops ideas regarding Egyptian kingship and divinity that were first formed under his guidance as my dissertation advisor. Second, it was Robert who first instructed me in the reading of such cryptographic, enigmatic, Late Period, and Greco-Roman texts in class many years ago. It is my hope that this study might be taken as a testament of my appreciation for the excellence of his instruction, as well as a small contribution to our understanding of one of these texts.

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the small, unassuming text that Pinudjem I added to the southern outer wall of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu during the Twenty-First Dynasty.¹ Conveniently identified by its Nelson number, MHB 4, this shallowly carved inscription is literally overshadowed by the deeply carved bandeau text of Ramses III directly above it. Both inscriptions, as well as the larger reliefs on the exterior, are later additions to the construction work of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, whose outer walls were originally left blank in standard Eighteenth Dynasty fashion. The fact that they postdate the original construction, however, does not diminish their significance, and the southern text of Pinudjem I has attracted the interest of scholars for many years, likely because it is written partially in an intentionally obtuse and mysterious style usually identified as “cryptographic.”² This makes reading the text a fascinating challenge but is only one aspect of the import of this text, whose writing system, context, and content interact to create overlapping political, theological, and historical meaning.

The text was first published in 1940 by Étienne Drioton together with several other cryptographic texts.³ A pioneer in our understanding of such texts, Drioton’s methodology was primarily based on the principle of acrophony, where each sign was believed to represent a word, only the first letter of which was

1 For the location and direction of this text, see PM II, pp. 473–74, pl. XLV; Epigraphic Survey 1995, pl. 26, section B, no. 24; Dembitz 2011, p. 31, fig. 1. This is only one of several restoration texts added by Pinudjem I at Medinet Habu. For another example, see the doorway of the first pylon of the Ramesside temple in Epigraphic Survey 1963, p. 37, pls. 247–48. It is also not the only cryptographic text at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu. For an inked inscription above the northern doorway of the western wall of the northern Ptolemaic annex, see Edgerton 1937, pl. 6. Like the cryptographic section of MHB 4, it is largely composed of a procession of deities. This text, however, is obviously later and must date to at least the Ptolemaic period. See also the mention of this text in Darnell 2004, pp. 361–62 n. 76.

2 Another possible term is “enigmatic writing,” as has been favored in the recent publication of Klotz and Stauder 2020.

3 See Drioton 1940, pp. 328–38.

to be read.⁴ Even shortly after its publication, this approach provoked a sharp counterresponse,⁵ and today acrophony is considered a methodology that should be used only as a last resort.⁶ Scholars instead prefer to derive meaning through a variety of other methods, such as the rebus principle, substitution of shape, hieratic spellings, *pars pro toto*, phonetic similarity, and the like.⁷ For this reason, Drioton's edition of the cryptographic text of Pinudjem I should be considered out of date; yet it remains the primary source on which all other interpretations are based. Full editions with translation and commentary are few and far between, though the hieroglyphs themselves have helpfully been reproduced on several occasions together with updated translations of selected passages.⁸ The major exception has been a recent transliteration, translation, and commentary provided by Gabriella Dembitz.⁹ Dembitz's interpretation makes great strides in our understanding of the text, as will be further clarified below, but its impact remains limited by a reliance on the readings of Drioton. The first goal of this study is thus to offer an updated transliteration and translation of the entire southern text. Since this occasionally involves corrections to Drioton's and thus subsequent hieroglyphic editions, especially in the first cryptographic portion, a new hieroglyphic rendering of this section is also provided. Beyond this section, when the text becomes easily legible, hieroglyphs are provided only as necessary in the notes. The study then introduces comparative material for a brief and preliminary discussion of why Pinudjem I chose this format and content for his inscription. The answers to this question not only touch on the unique historical context of the early Twenty-First Dynasty in Thebes but also have the potential to reframe larger discussions of ancient Egyptian politics, theology, and royal divinity.

Lastly, I should note that I had the privilege to collate this text in person as a team member of the Epigraphic Survey over the course of the 2016–17 and 2017–18 seasons, and I am extremely grateful to the entire team,¹⁰ both foreign and Egyptian, as well as the Ministry of Antiquities, without whom this contribution would not have been possible. It is thanks to this opportunity that I am able to offer many corrections to Drioton's readings, as well as other notable details about the southern cryptographic text. The conventions used in the transliteration and translation are those of Ritner.¹¹ The only exception is the use of square half brackets, which also indicate portions of the text obscured by the walls of the later Ptolemaic annex to the Small Temple. As these walls were built directly against the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, they render the text inaccessible in several sections except through a small gap of only a few centimeters. Many readings of these glyphs were skillfully obtained or confirmed by team members of the Epigraphic Survey through the use of tinfoil rubbings.

4 In addition to his publication of the text currently under discussion, see, e.g., Drioton 1953. To cite an example of this principle from MHB 4, Drioton (1940, p. 332) correctly translated the group *špr* (for *hpr*). He arrived at the value of the phallus as *f*, however, not through similarity of shape but through the word *fg* "to urinate." Similarly, he read the winged beetle not as a variant of the standard *hpr* beetle but as *r* through its identity as a form of Re.

5 See, e.g., Fairman 1943, 1945.

6 For a critique of acrophony, see Darnell 2004, pp. 15–17; Roberson 2020a, pp. 143–45; 2020b, p. 5.

7 For a summary of these principles, see, e.g., Darnell 2004, pp. 14–15; Roberson 2012, pp. 65–96; 2013, pp. 4–7; 2020a, p. 142; 2020b, pp. 4–11.

8 For hieroglyphic editions of the text without translation or commentary, see Römer 1994, pp. 555–56; Jansen-Winkel 2007, pp. 18–19. The hieroglyphs were also copied in Černý's unpublished notebook. For selected transliterations and translations of the noncryptographic sections, see Jansen-Winkel 1996, p. 549, text B/1.1.95 in the index.

9 See Dembitz 2011. This publication also includes several new photographs of the text. See also the short comments on a few writings in Klotz 2020, pp. 55–57.

10 I am especially grateful to W. Raymond Johnson, former director of the Epigraphic Survey, and J. Brett McClain, current director, for their permission to publish this text here. I also wish to thank Ariel Singer, who also collated the inscriptions, as well as artists Keli Alberts, Margaret De Jong, Sue Osgood, and Krisztián Vértés.

11 Ritner 2009, p. 10.

TEXTUAL EDITION¹²

INITIAL CRYPTOGRAPHIC SECTION



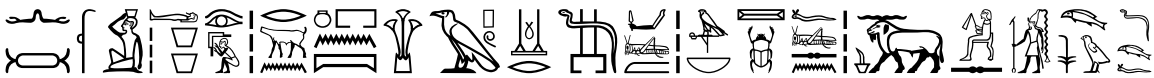
ḥnh^r ḥ^rImn^r-R^c k3 nht sb^B nhh ntr^C ntry hpr^D ds=f

(Long) live ḥAmun^r-Re, mighty bull, who traverses eternity,^{EE} divine god, who came into being himself,



Nbty^E h^c m 3ht šhd t3.wy^F d3 p.t r^c nb

(he of the) Two Ladies, who appears in the horizon, who brightens the two lands, who crosses the sky every day,



n wrd=f^G iwty^c w^H imn.w r-hnw-n p.t h3p.w r md.t dsr.w m ntr nb^I šb3f r3sn b3 šps nb^J sw ds=f wtt ntr.w rmt t3w mht^K di t3w^L pr m fnd=f^M r s^rnh ir.n=f k3 rnp^I hnty B^H sf 3 m MBnw

without having become weary, one who is without sleep, he being hidden within heaven, he being secret from the depths^{FF} and concealed from all the gods, he being separate from them, the noble *ba* who fashioned himself, who begot the gods, men, and the north wind, who gave the breath, which came forth from his nose, in order to make live what he made, youthful bull, foremost of the eastern mountains, great child of the western mountains,



Hr-nbw^N šb3 ms pr m nhb wr ity wr^O ntr.w^P šhm n p.t

Golden Horus, secret of birth, who came forth from the great lotus, sovereign, chief of the gods, powerful one of heaven,



ny-sw.t bity^Q ḥImn^r nb ns.wt t3.wy b3 šps imy W3s.t hr(y)-ib t3(t) t3.w-mw.t r imnt W3s.t

king of Upper and Lower Egypt,^{GG} Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, the noble *ba* who is in Thebes and who resides in the mound of Djeme in western Thebes.

12 Note that a complete photographic record of the inscription is freely available online via the Integrated Database of the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures (ISAC). This record comprises ISAC negative numbers 20201–20220. For the first image in this series, see <https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/cad5436d-8907-4128-836a-9155e8f54089>. For maximum legibility of the cryptographic section, the transcription has been presented without hatching, brackets, or any other indications of damage. A full facsimile of the entire text that accurately represents all damage will be published by the Epigraphic Survey.

NONCRYPTOGRAPHIC SECTION

*hpr^r swt^r [. . . imy-r3 niw.t]^R t3ty imy-r3 mš^c wr^s hm-
ntr tp(y) n Imn-R^c ny-sw.t ntr.w P3y-ndm^T m3^c-hrw
s3 n hm-ntr tp(y) n Imn^U P3y-^cnh m3^c-hrw iy r m33
t3 3h.t n(.t) itzf šps Imn-R^c Dsr-s.t m-h^t^v gm^rzf^w
sw [w3.ti] (r) d^cm*

*sm3 mnw ir.nzf r sh^tp ib n itzf šps Imn Dsr-s.t hn^c
psd.tzf*

st3.nzf htp.w-ntr q(3)b.nzf 3b.t

*st3.nzf qrr(.t) r tp sw 10 nb m t ir.t.t^x irp šdh sntr
^cntyw iw3^y rnnw wndw r3.w^z dd.w qd^czf r3.w-przf
n-m3y*

sd3.nzf htp m-b3h^czf

*ntr.w ntr.wt^r hrw ib=sn ndm š(s)p=sn^r htp-ntr=sn m
h3wzf*

di=sn^{AA} nzf qny r t3 nb nhtw r h3s.t nb(.t)

di=sn mn mnw nb ir.nzf iw rnzf mn hr-r=sn

di=sn nr(w)zf r t3 nb h3s.t nb(.t)

iw=sn nzf m [. . .]^{BB} W3s.t-nht.t^{CC} nb hpš

h^czf mi imy=sd^{DD} r d.t

‘Now^{HH} (it) happened that [. . . the overseer of the city,] the vizier, the great general, the high priest of Amun-Re king of the gods, Pinudjem, the justified, son of the high priest of Amun, Piankh, the justified, came in order to see the horizon^{II} of his noble father, Amun-Re of *Dsr-s.t*, after he found it ‘fallen’ into ruin.

The renewal of the monument which he did in order to satisfy the heart of his noble father, Amun of *Dsr-s.t*, together with his Ennead.

Just as he brought in divine offerings, so also he doubled the provisions.

He brought in offerings^{II} specifically at the beginning of every decade, being bread, milk, wine, sweet wine,^{KK} incense, myrrh, cattle, cows, short-horned cattle,^{LL} and fat fowl, when he built his temples anew.

He supplied flowers^{MM} specifically in his presence.

The gods and goddesses ‘were satisfied and their hearts happy, since they received’ their divine offerings near him.

May they give to him valor against every land and strength against every foreign land.

May they cause that all the monuments which he made endure, his name (also) enduring on them.

May they place dread of him in every land and every foreign land.

May they come to him from [. . .] Victorious-Thebes,^{NN} lord of strength.

His lifetime ‘is like the one who is in it forever.’


NOTES ON THE TRANSLITERATION

^A The head of the first divinity is damaged, but a close examination reveals horizontal ram’s horns, thus providing a reading of *Imn* followed by the falcon-headed *R^c*. This reading not only accounts for all signs present but also makes better sense in a Theban context. It is also paralleled by a comparable cryptographic text on the southern outer wall of the temple of Darius I to Amun of Hibis, for which see Drioton 1940, p. 341; Davies 1953, pl. 50.

^B For a discussion of this writing of *k3-nht*, see Klotz 2014–15, p. 83. For the oxyrhynchus fish, Gardiner sign list K4, as s, see Darnell 2004, pp. 22–23, 603.



^C Drioton (1940, p. 331) placed the head of this figure in damage. Jansen-Winkel (2007, p. 18) provides a jackal-headed figure in damage. I would somewhat hesitantly suggest a ram-headed figure instead.

^D This word is spelled with *šp* instead of the expected *h* because of phonetic similarity.

^E The first two figures seem to be goddesses, the first with a human head and wearing an *atef*-crown and the second with a cobra head and headdress. Based on these features, I would see Nekhbet and Wadjet. The following cow with the *menit*-collar might then be a variant of a well-attested writing for *nb* (see, e.g., Roberson 2020b, p. 67). The group might thus be understood as something like . This reading is largely

influenced by the understanding of this text as an elaborated titulary, first suggested by Dembitz 2011 and expanded on in the discussion below, and thus is slightly different from *ḫ.wy nb*, suggested by Klotz (2020, p. 56). Drioton (1940, pp. 332–34) read the three signs together as *ḫ* by acrophony. For similar writings of *Nbty*, see Roberson 2020b, p. 200.

^F For this bird as *ḫ*, see Fairman 1945, p. 107; Darnell 2004, p. 598. Note that the precise appearance or species of bird depicted in previous editions all differ slightly.

^G Drioton (1940, pp. 334–35) read *n nn=f* “he is not weary.” Instead, I take this to be a cryptographic writing of *n wrd=f* (here *wrt* or *wrti*), another word meaning “to be weary.” Wilson (1997, p. 247) cites  and  as possible spellings. In the present text, the Neith emblem, Gardiner R24, has been substituted for the cross and *rn* for *ti* through substitution of shape. For a similar use of this phrase, see P. Cairo 58033 1/6 in Golénischeff 1927, p. 198.

^H For this phrase and the writing of *iwt* with the prostrate mummy through phonetic substitution, see Darnell 2004, pp. 25–26, 598; Drioton 1940, pp. 334–35.

^I My interpretation of the phrase *ḫḫp.w r md.t dsr.w m ntr nb* differs notably from previous editions. Drioton (1940, p. 336) and Dembitz (2011, p. 33) both read *ḫḫp.w r-mt(r) n rm(t)* “hidden from the presence of people.” In my opinion, however, this reading is based on an overemphasis of the cryptographic elements in the passage. The word *md.t* as written is a perfectly acceptable writing of the word “depth(s)” and does not need to be seen as a cryptographic writing of the preposition *r-mt* “in the midst of.” My interpretation also provides a nice parallel with the previous phrase. Just as Amun-Re is hidden in heaven, so also he is hidden with respect to the depth(s). This understanding then permits the arm with *nhb.t*-wand, Gardiner D45, to be read by its standard value, *dsr*. For the proximity of the verbs *ḫḫp* and *dsr*, see *Wb.* III, p. 30/14. Uncertainties do, however, remain. The sense of this passage is clear: Amun-Re is hidden from all other beings, even gods, as is reinforced by the next clause. Unusual, however, is the use of the preposition *m* following *dsr*. Faulkner (2002, p. 324) gives “concealed from” as only *dsr r*. The cricket that follows *dsr* is indeed read as *r*, but must be interpreted as a phonetic complement to avoid having the two prepositions *r* and *m* in a row. None of the other dictionaries mention a similar use of the word with *m*. Another possibility might be to read *dsr.w m ntr nb* as “concealed as every god” and then take the following clause as “separate from them.” This reading would result in a translation of something like “he being hidden as every god (even) while he is secret from them.” A final possibility would be to interpret the sign below the cricket not as *m* but as *gs*, resulting in a translation of “concealed from the side of every god.”

^J The participle of the verb *nbi* “to fashion” is here written with a foreign god with a long vegetative flange extending from the back of his cap or crown. This iconography is associated with Canaanite deities such as Reshep and occasionally Seth, as on the 400 Years Stela. An image of Seth *Nbty* “the Ombite” is thus used to write the verb *nbi* “to fashion” (*Wb.* II, p. 241/24) through the rebus principle. For gods with this iconography, see Rowe 1930, pp. 14–15. For a textual parallel, see P. Cairo 58032 1/10, published in Golénischeff 1927, p. 172. Drioton (1940, p. 337), followed by others, read *ms* by means of acrophony.

^K Drioton (1940, pp. 337–38, followed by all other editions) read the sail sign followed by an image of a goddess with the Red Crown as *ḫw ndm* by means of acrophony. Instead, I suggest interpreting the goddess as Neith and reading *mḫt* by means of her affiliation with the north and the city of Sais in particular. Another option would be to read just *mḫy.t* “north wind,” with the second sign as a determinative. Compare this passage with Chassinat 1931, p. 2, line 2, where the solar deity is said to be the one who *ir ḫw shp(r) mḫy.t* “made the air and created the north wind.”

^L Drioton (1940, pp. 337–38, and all other editions) showed this group in damage and mistakenly recorded a dittography of the following sign, a vertically oriented snake entering a house. Forthcoming work by the

Epigraphic Survey has shown this sign to be a standing figuring carrying a tray with another sail, hence the reading *di ḫw*.

^M There seem to be multiple options for the reading of this phrase and in particular the boat. Based on parallels in the Opet and Ptah temples at Karnak, I prefer *m fndz.f*. The verb *hnt* “to sail south” is written for the animal nose, *hnt*, which is in turn written through substitution of kind for the human nose, *fnd*. The parallel at the temple of Opet occurs associated with the sixth Nile figure on the southern portion of the rear, eastern wall of the temple and reads *ḫw n fntz.f s'nh ḫ drz.f*. For this text, see de Wit 1958, p. 211; Legrain 1901, p. 70. The parallel at the temple of Ptah is found in the heading of the bottom register on the eastern face of the northern section of Porte A and reads *pr ḫw m qbz.f mhy.t m fndz.f*. For the publication, see Biston-Moulin and Thiers 2016, p. 59, no. 31. Dembitz (2011, p. 33) reads *prj fnd.tiz.f*. Drioton (1940, pp. 337–38) read *m hnty=f* and translated “from him.”

^N The reading of this group as *Hr-nbw* was first suggested by Dembitz (2011, p. 35), whereas earlier editions read *bik nbw*. The difference is not a major one, but it has been adopted here for consistency with my reading of the royal title as *Hr-nbw*. For attestations and uses of *bik (n) nbw*, see Leitz 2002, pp. 764–65. There are, however, no examples listed there of this name associated with Amun.

^O A standing Libyan chief, identifiable as such by the two feathers on his head, is depicted in the editions of Drioton (1940, p. 329 with n. 1), Römer (1994, p. 555), and Jansen-Winkel (2007, p. 18). The use of this sign for *wr* makes sense in the context of the Theban priesthood of the Twenty-First Dynasty, as Ritner (2009, pp. 83–84) has argued that Herihor and his descendants were of Libyan origin.

^P A similar writing of *ntr.w* is found in a comparable cryptographic text at Hibis, for which see Drioton 1940, pp. 345–46; Davies 1953, pl. 50.

^Q This group is recorded as *iw' n* “heir of” in Drioton 1940, pp. 329–30; Römer 1994, p. 555; Jansen-Winkel 2007, p. 18; Dembitz 2011, p. 35. Work conducted by the Epigraphic Survey, however, showed that the first sign is more likely the White Crown of Upper Egypt, thus leading to a reading of *ny-swt bity*. This again reinforces the connections between this text and the royal titulary.

^R The ellipses and brackets here indicate the interruption of the text by an entrance into the Eighteenth Dynasty ambulatory. The suggested restoration is based only on Pinudjem I’s usual titulary. Previous publications are ambiguous as to whether a section of the text is missing or was intentionally interrupted to bridge this gap. The editions of Jansen-Winkel and Dembitz do not indicate any gap in the text. Dembitz (2011, p. 36), for example, simply transliterates *hpr ḫty* without comment. Somewhat confusingly, however, these editions do indicate such a missing section on the parallel, noncryptographic text on the northern outer wall of the temple. For example, when speaking of the gap in the northern text, Römer (1994, p. 557) notes “[älterer Türdurchbruch]” and “[2 Gruppen]”. Jansen-Winkel (2007, p. 19) includes a little less than a line of damaged, unreadable text. In his publication of the southern text, Drioton (1940, p. 329) proposed a restoration of [*imy-r3 niw.t*] between *hpr* and *ḫty* but gave no indication of any other lacuna. This restoration is one also suggested by Römer (1994, p. 555). The confusion likely stems from the uncertain date of these side entrances into the Small Temple and whether they pre- or postdate the reign of Pinudjem I and the carving of the texts. In his discussion of this doorway, Hölscher (1939, p. 21) noted, “Traces of another late built-in doorway are observable in the last intercolumniation of the south side, but we have been unable to determine its age.” The Ramesside text found immediately above on the same wall may shed some light on the problem, but unfortunately it, too, is ambiguous. The gap here interrupts the formulaic phrase *ir.nz.f [m mnwzfn . . .] n psd.t . . .* “he made [his monument for . . .] for the Ennead. . .” It is thus possible to restore only a short gap, identifying the Ennead as a divine group for whom the monument was made, or to restore a larger lacuna and assume a different context for this phrase. Collation of the text has fortunately shed some light on this question. Immediately before the gap in the text on the left are traces of two curves, which appear to represent the leaves of a *swt*-plant. These signs therefore likely represent the phrase *hpr*

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

^{EE} For the phrase *sb(i) nhh*, see *Wb.* II, p. 300/12; Smith 2009, esp. pp. vi, 396; Hannig 1995, p. 683, which cites *pr n sbb nhh* as a comparable example. For an example of the phrase in a similar (i.e., not exclusively funerary) context, see P. Cairo 58032 2/22, published in Golénischeff 1927, p. 173; Ritner 2009, pp. 147, 152. See also Chassinat 1931, p. 2, line 2.

^{FF} The sense of this phrase seems clear: Amun-Re is hidden whether in the sky or the underworld, but the prepositions *r-hnw-n* seem to provide additional nuance. Perhaps the sense is that, as a solar deity and the clearly visible sun, part of his true nature is still hidden even within heaven.

^{GG} For another, roughly contemporary use of the title “king of Upper and Lower Egypt” for Amun, see P. Cairo 58032, line 39, in Ritner 2009, pp. 148, 154.

^{HH} In Middle Egyptian, the particle *swt* usually has an antithetical sense and is translated as “but” or “however.” Jansen-Winkel (1996, p. 216, §373), however, notes that the particle seems to retain this meaning in only one example in the Late Period. In other contemporaneous attestations, it seems to function much more as a coordinating particle signaling a change in subject, like Greek and Coptic δε. This interpretation seems well suited here, as the text prior to this one is concerned with Amun-Re, but at this point it shifts focus and discusses the role of Pinudjem I in renovating the temple.

^{II} “Horizon” is here a designation for a temple or possibly a section of a temple. For this use of *ʒh.t*, see Hannig 1995, p. 13; Wilson 1997, p. 18.

^{JJ} For *qrr.t*, a word of Semitic origin meaning “burnt offerings,” see Wilson 1997, pp. 1066–67; Černý 1976, p. 328. The fact that this term is followed by the preposition *m*, used here as the *m* of equivalence, seems a bit bizarre, as it would appear to indicate that all the products that follow should fall under the umbrella of these burnt or holocaust offerings. Many of the following products, such as incense, myrrh, and different varieties of beef, do align with this context, as they would all at some point have been put in fire. Yet others, such as wine, do not seem to fit this context, nor is there evidence to my knowledge that wine, unlike *šdh* “sweet wine,” could be cooked (see note KK).

We might therefore conclude that the original and specific sense of the word in Semitic has been lost, with the result that it came to mean “offerings” in general. Only Hannig (1995, p. 863), however, provides a definition not specifically related to fire, “Opferstelle,” but the determinative he cites is different from the usual brazier with flame. Yet the word as it appears in MHB 4 is written with neither of these determinatives. It instead uses a strange variant that has been rendered differently in previous publications. Römer (1994, p. 556) draws what appears to be a vessel with a long plume of smoke folding over to the left. Drioton (1940, p. 329) and Jansen-Winkel (2007, p. 18), on the other hand, both provide slightly different versions of the same brazier-with-flame hieroglyph, Gardiner Q7. The sign as carved, however, has an organic appearance and almost resembles a vertically oriented *šd* biliteral or *imy-wt* standard, though its identification as a vessel of some sort cannot be ruled out. Additionally, the substance emanating from the base does not resemble the expected flame, smoke, or wick but is rippled as though it were water. It is almost as though the sculptors themselves were unsure of the sign they were carving. Hopefully, future study and publication by the Epigraphic Survey will shed further light on the issue.

^{KK} For *šdh* “sweet wine,” see *Wb.* IV, p. 568; Wilson 1997, p. 1042; Tallet 1995, 2010. This product seems to have been considered a rare and fine one, as playfully expressed in the satirical letter of Hori, preserved on P. Anastasi I, 5/2–3 and in fragments on ostraca: [*bn*] *tp.w-rʒ=k bnr bn s.t dhr.t(i) pr nb m rʒ=k ky hr bi.t it.n=k šdh ʒbh hr pʒwrw* “Your utterances are not sweet nor are they bitter. All that comes forth from your mouth is (such), another like honey. You have taken *šdh*-wine and mixed it with unmellowed wine.” The sense is that one has taken a product of high value and made it mediocre by mixing it with swill. For the publication of this passage, see Fischer-Elfert 1983, pp. 57–58.

^{LL} The difference between regular- and short-horned cattle is also reflected visually by the noticeably shorter horns on the determinative of *wndw*.

^{MM} For this translation of *htp* with plant determinative, see Hannig 1995, p. 569.

^{NN} For this goddess, a personification of Thebes, see Leitz 2002, p. 255. Her name is often followed by the epithet *nb hps̄*. See, for example, *Urk.* VIII, p. 115, no. 143, line 4; Nelson 1981, pl. 104, line 8; Leclant 1961, p. 214, line 16.

DISCUSSION

The combination of a careful epigraphic analysis and updated cryptographic methodology has greatly contributed to the understanding of the southern text of Pinudjem I at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (MHB 4). One important observation is that a portion of the text, precisely at the point where the focus shifts from Amun-Re to Pinudjem I, has been lost. Some previous editions have included small gaps or restorations, but the lacuna is longer and more significant than has been recognized. This fact slightly complicates any attempt to discuss the relationship between god and high priest in the text, though it is still possible that the missing section will be located. Perhaps the most significant observation, however, stems from the new identification of the first anthropomorphic glyph as a ram-headed Amun rather than a falcon-headed Re or Horus. The primary god to whom the text is dedicated can thus be confirmed to be a form of Amun,¹³ as would be expected at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu in western Thebes.

This, together with other new readings, encourages and builds on Dembitz's identification of the text as an elaborate titulary. In her study, she argues against Drioton's classification of the text as an "invocation au Soleil," a solar hymn,¹⁴ instead arguing that it better fits the content of a eulogy of Re.¹⁵ Eulogy, as outlined by Jan Assmann, refers to a genre that elaborately develops the name and identifying characteristics of a deity.¹⁶ In its basic form, it describes said deity in terms of their rulership, primeval origins, and role in supporting life and caring for those who worship them. In other words, it differs from a hymn (which, for example, might open with *i.nd-hr=k* or *rdi.t i3w*) and is instead closer to royal titularies. Such eulogies are often found in contemporaneous oracular decrees, which indeed contain many parallels to phrases and concepts also found in MHB 4.¹⁷ Yet the text currently under discussion does not contain any oracular decree, and it is also similar to the hymn to Amun of P. Berlin 3049, probably dating to the late Twentieth Dynasty.¹⁸ The identification of Pinudjem I's text at Medinet Habu as a eulogy is thus useful insofar as it highlights the connections between it and a titulary, but the term should not be taken too proscriptionally, as the text clearly draws from other genres as well.¹⁹

The elaborate titulary of Amun-Re is a central element of the text, as was already argued by Dembitz.²⁰ The text opens with *'nh DN*, which, as she points out, is reminiscent of the *'nh RN* frequently found before

¹³ This suggestion was made by Dembitz (2011, p. 36).

¹⁴ See Drioton 1940, p. 331.

¹⁵ See Dembitz 2011, p. 34.

¹⁶ For this definition of a eulogy, see Assmann 1995, pp. 102–32; 2002, pp. 308–9.

¹⁷ The decrees of Neskhons, the wife of Pinudjem II, and Pinudjem II seem to supply the most parallels. For these decrees, see P. Cairo 58032–33 in Golénischeff 1927, pp. 169–209; Ritner 2009, pp. 145–58 (Neskhons only).

¹⁸ For P. Berlin 3049, see Gülden 2001.

¹⁹ Dembitz (2011, pp. 34–35, relying on Assmann), states categorically that the text cannot be considered a hymn. This view works if one narrowly defines what a hymn is—for example, through specific textual labels such as *i.nd-hr=k*. On the other hand, it might be misleading if a hymn is instead defined by content and function. Note that the comments of Assmann (2002, p. 308) are also made specifically in reference to oracular decrees rather than as a general statement broadly applicable to all eulogies.

²⁰ See Dembitz 2011, pp. 35–36, 40.

royal titularies during the New Kingdom. Developing a suggestion first made by Römer,²¹ Dembitz then proposes reading the text as a fully rendered, five-part royal titulary for Amun-Re as king. Still identifying the initial figure as Horus, she reads this as the Horus name, followed by a Golden Horus name, a Two Ladies name (without *Nbtj*), and so on. Yet there are also some dubious aspects of this interpretation, such as the unusual order of names, the arbitrary breaks between them when not marked by the expected title, and the complete absence of many titles. The new readings suggested here fortunately resolve many of these issues. First, the attribution of the text to Amun-Re rather than Horus still permits the identification of this section with the Horus name. The justification for this, however, is now the use of *k3 nht* “strong bull,” which appears as the first element of nearly every Horus name of nearly every king of the New Kingdom. The Two Ladies name might then be written in the expected second position with the two goddesses followed by a cow wearing a *menit*-collar (see note E).²² This is then followed by first the Golden Horus name and finally the prenomen, a reading enabled by the realization that the *iw*^c recorded in previous editions is instead the White Crown (see note Q). The only element potentially missing is the nomen. Dembitz identified the nomen as beginning with *b3 šps*, but I remain unconvinced. On the one hand, most of Amun’s other royal names are explicitly introduced in the traditional manner, and on the other hand, there are perhaps both theological and political reasons for omitting a nomen. In doing so, Pinudjem I could have portrayed himself as the clear son of the solar deity and his representative on earth. He even begins his parallel text on the northern wall of the Small Temple with *‘nh ntr nfr s3 ’Imn* “(Long) live the good god, the son of Amun.” Furthermore, as a mysterious and, above all, hidden deity, Amun-Re may not technically have a well-known “birth name.” Certainly he could take physical form as a cult image, but a birth name—the name the living and breathing king was first given before the coronation—may not have been appropriate or, in this case, may have been easily appropriated by another, namely, Pinudjem I.

With this nearly complete titulary, it seems clear that MHB 4 presents Amun-Re as a king of Egypt, though perhaps not a king like any other. To understand the implications, nuances, and purposes of such a presentation, however, it is first necessary to place the inscription in its monumental and historical context. Many New Kingdom royal inscriptions begin with *‘nh* followed by the king’s titulary,²³ but the arrangement of parallel cryptographic and standard hieroglyphic texts has two very specific precedents. The first is a series of standard royal titles and epithets, both dating to the reign of Ramses II, that pair cryptographic and noncryptographic scripts. The first example is found at Luxor Temple on the architraves of the Ramesside court.²⁴ This inscription writes the names, titles, and divine associations of Ramses II in cryptography on the eastern side but in standard hieroglyphic characters on the western side. The second example is from Abu Simbel, specifically the doorjambs of the gateway separating the interior and exterior sections of the temple.²⁵ There, the names of Ramses II are presented in cryptography on the left or southern jamb and in standard script on the right or northern jamb. Not only do both these texts present Ramses II’s names and titles in parallel cryptographic and noncryptographic form, but their cryptographic writings also employ processions of deities like that found in MHB 4.

The second precedent for the texts of Pinudjem I at Medinet Habu are bandeau texts of the Ramesside period that run in parallel either on exterior walls or in a single room.²⁶ These texts, while usually containing a royal titulary, can also be more elaborate and add a royal dedication formula or even dates and the names of officials. Out of all of these, however, only a single surviving example displays the same

21 See Römer 1994, pp. 128–29.

22 Though I remain somewhat hesitant about this reading, I still prefer it to reading an unmarked Two Ladies name arbitrarily somewhere after the Golden Horus name.

23 For the comparison and development of royal titularies during the Ramesside period, see Kitchen 1987, pp. 131–41. Dembitz (2011, pp. 36–37) also notes the connections between the texts of Pinudjem I and Ramesside titularies.

24 For these texts, see Drioton 1940, pp. 319–28.

25 For these texts, see Drioton 1940, pp. 315–19.

26 For bandeau texts during the New Kingdom, see Kitchen 1984, though I am not convinced that the royal titulary of Ramses II at Luxor should not be placed within this genre as well. Note that the phrase “(Long) live . . .” is also used for the Aten during the Amarna period.

arrangement of cryptographic and standard hieroglyphic scripts as found at Medinet Habu.²⁷ This example is also from western Thebes and dates to the reign of Sety I. It is located in Room IV off the right, or north-eastern, side of the hypostyle hall of his temple of millions of years at Gurna.²⁸ The inscriptions begin with a single *nh* on the back wall of the room and then run in parallel from there, with the cryptographic version extending to the left and the standard version to the right. Both sides, though inconsistently preserved, appear to write the exact same text and preserve Sety I's royal titulary followed by a royal donation for all the gods and goddesses of the temple.

Monumental cryptographic texts such as these in temple contexts appear exceptional for the New Kingdom, as the vast majority of such writings were limited to tombs and usually recorded various underworld texts. When MHB 4 is compared with its cryptographic precedents that also occur outside this mortuary context, however, its origins seem clear. Pinudjem I combined elements from both the cryptographic titularies of Ramses II and the longer bandeau texts. Their general arrangement and location even seem to correspond, as all the examples on the west bank of the Nile consistently place the cryptographic section on the left (often southern) side of the monument and the standard version on the right (often northern) side.²⁹ What is perhaps the most direct connection with these various Ramesside titularies is the fact that MHB 4 is located directly below a noncryptographic bandeau text of Ramses III. The layout and content of these two inscriptions correspond to a surprising degree, which is not immediately obvious because of the latter's cryptographic nature. Both begin with *nh* and provide a full royal titulary. They then both shift from this titulary to an account of the royal (re)dedication of the temple at almost the exact same point on the wall.³⁰

The primary difference between MHB 4 and all these earlier texts, whether cryptographic or not, is of course the recipient of this titulary. The earlier monumental inscriptions focus exclusively on the king, whereas contemporary eulogies on papyri are dedicated not to the king but to Amun. Pinudjem I, however, dedicates the cryptographic titulary on the south to Amun-Re and the standard hieroglyphic titulary on the north to himself as ruler and caretaker of Thebes. The names and titles of Amun-Re, which consistently stress the hidden nature of this deity from multiple perspectives, are also much more complicated and elaborate than those found in most Ramesside royal inscriptions. Not only is the god described as "being hidden within heaven, he being secret from the depths and concealed from all the gods, he being separate from them," but this hiddenness is also reinforced by the cryptographic nature of the script itself, which hid its true nature from all but the most erudite of readers. The juxtaposition of the two scripts thus forms a binary with the hidden, metaphysical, and unknowable aspects of the divine represented by Amun on the south and the revealed, physical, and comprehensible aspects represented by Pinudjem I on the north.

The distinction between revealed and hidden aspects of the divine is of course not unique in Egyptian theology.³¹ Perhaps the most obvious example of this duality is ubiquitously perceptible in the very identity of Amun-Re, whose name literally combines hiddenness and the visible sun. The division between these two natures was also articulated during the Amarna period, when Atenist religion made the divine largely inaccessible except through the physical body of Akhenaten and his family. The resulting duality has then been used to explain everything from the rise of personal piety to a loss of faith in the immanent and human manifestations of the divine, which has been correlated with the eventual division of the country in the early Third Intermediate Period and the rise to power of high priests such as Pinudjem I.

27 For these texts, see Drioton 1940, pp. 309–14.

28 For the location of the text in Room IV of the temple, see PM II, pl. XL, nos. 44–46; Epigraphic Survey 1995, pl. 37, fig. 1, nos. 174–76.

29 This placement is likely true of the example from Luxor Temple on the east bank as well, though here the cryptographic text is found on the east and the standard one on the west. Since the temple is located on the east bank near Karnak, it was probably imagined as having a similar west–east axis. Reorienting the temple to this direction would then still place the cryptographic text on the conceptual south and the standard hieroglyphic text on the conceptual north.

30 For an image, see ISAC negative number 20207 at <https://isac-idb.uchicago.edu/id/0daaf953-a961-46bf-aa5a-9f6c63ccb811>. The shift occurs at *ir.n=f* in the Ramesside text and at *hpr* in that of Pinudjem I.

31 See, e.g., Assmann 2001, pp. 206, 237–40; 1995, pp. 70–75; Hornung 1996, esp. pp. 190–96, 248–49.

The historical context of divine kingship in this period is also important for understanding the meaning and implications of the text of Pinudjem I at Medinet Habu. The era during which he ruled is often referred to as a “theocracy.”³² This term, taken from Josephus, who used it to describe God’s covenant with Israel, is used in an Egyptian context to refer to a specific period during the Twenty-First Dynasty when the high priests of Amun were ruling in Thebes. The cause of their rise has been linked to the failure of the Ramesside dynasty to reconcile an increasingly powerful and personally effective image of the divine with the bombast of its increasingly ineffective kings.³³ Despite the terrestrial power of these priests, they were only regents for Amun, who was considered the true king. He ruled and made his will known to these priests by means of oracles such as those recounted on the Banishment Stela.³⁴ The precise position, ideology, and power of these high priests, however, is difficult to pin down, as their self-definition underwent a good deal of change especially toward the beginning of this period. The first two of these rulers were Herihor and Piankh,³⁵ but only Herihor seems to have aspired to royalty in the traditional sense. Yet even his stylings as pharaoh were somewhat limited, and they were largely confined to the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. The kingship of Pinudjem I, on the other hand, was more widely established. By year 16 of Smendes, he was using a full royal titulary and could be referred to as “King Pinudjem” by his son and successor, Masaharta.³⁶ Even so, his assumption of royalty did not happen all at once, and Römer recognizes five phases to the development of Pinudjem I’s titulary throughout his career, reflecting a situation where Pinudjem was not simply a king or a high priest but an unconventional melding of both.³⁷

It is easy to interpret Pinudjem I’s work at the Small Temple within the framework of this historical and theological narrative and to see the texts as reflective of the increasing divide between distant divine and immanent terrestrial power. From this perspective, the division of the texts between the hidden Amun and the accessible Pinudjem I would represent the culmination of this trend with a rupture, after which the two aspects of the divine could no longer be located in a single human individual or office. Whereas similar parallel texts could previously reflect the dual nature of Amun-Re or a divine king such as Sety I, that at Medinet Habu now divides these two aspects of power between different entities. Amun-Re is identified with the mysterious and hidden aspects of the divine and Pinudjem I as its visible and accessible representative. In other words, it is possible that the loss of faith in the royal office has led to its projection further into the remote and unapproachable sphere of the divine, on the one hand, and into a new terrestrial vehicle that reduces royal power and ideology by combining it with priestly self-presentation, on the other.

This rupture might be seen not only through a comparison of the primary beneficiaries in the northern and southern texts but also through their content. While MHB 4, the southern text, consistently stresses Amun-Re’s all-powerful but also hidden nature, that on the north focuses instead on the beneficent real-world actions of Pinudjem I, such as equipping the two lands and fashioning the gods and their temples. Yet the text does not refer to him outright as “king.” Like that on the south, it begins with the formulaic “(Long) live the good god, the son of Amun,” but Pinudjem I is not explicitly named until later, and even then the text endows him with only priestly titles. This distribution of titles and epithets may in fact reflect intentional ambiguity and the hesitancy of Pinudjem I to portray himself as the terrestrial manifestation of

32 For discussions of this period as a theocracy, see Assmann 2002, pp. 299–311; Römer 1994, pp. 78–131.

33 See Assmann 2002, p. 301.

34 For the Banishment Stela, see Ritner 2009, pp. 124–29.

35 The order of the first two pontiffs is somewhat debated. The most common interpretation is that Herihor was the first high priest of Amun after the tumultuous period at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and the expulsion of Panehsy from Thebes. For this view, see Kitchen 1986, pp. 3–6, 248–62. For the reverse order, however, see Jansen-Winkeln 1992, p. 921; 1997. For a summary of the debate, see Dodson 2012, pp. 18–23, and the sources cited therein.

36 For the kingship of Pinudjem I, see Kitchen 1986, pp. 258–62; for his royal names and titles, which appear even at Tanis, see Bonhême 1987, pp. 38–51. See also Gregory 2014, esp. pp. 138–46, where it is argued that Herihor’s actions and ideology are completely in line with those of traditional Egyptian kingship and that the idea of the theocracy is only a historiographical myth.

37 See Römer 1994, p. 59.

divinity in an overtly obvious way.³⁸ It is tempting to view it as recognition even on the part of Pinudjem I that this new division marked a rupture with the past and that he was making a new, radical statement about his own role and position. This line of argumentation would, in turn, play into standard narratives of divine kingship and the rise of the Theban priesthood preceding and during the Twenty-First Dynasty. Accordingly, the inscriptions of Pinudjem I would serve as evidence for the loss of faith in the royal office and the increasing desire to remove the divinity from terrestrial kingship and project it into the divine realm, a process that might even be said to culminate with the rise of monotheism.

CONCLUSION

Situating the text of Pinudjem I at the Small Temple of Medinet Habu into this analytical framework and historical narrative has shed a great deal of light on the politics and theology of the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period. It has proven very productive in some areas, but one could argue that it has been less effective in others. One notable issue that remains problematic in this narrative is divine kingship. As explained above, the pairing of Amun-Re in the southern cryptographic text and Pinudjem I in the northern standard text directly evokes earlier examples centered on either a single god or a single divine king. Such examples are clearly reflective of the nature of gods like Amun-Re, as his ability to embody conceptions of both hidden and revealed divinity are well attested in other sources. It also easily applies to divine kingship, as here the dichotomy between hidden and revealed might be understood as a reflection of the two natures of kingship, with the standard text signifying the immanent, human body of the king and the cryptographic one his transcendent, immortal, and intangible body politic.³⁹ The scheme begins to break down, however, when applied to Pinudjem I's inscriptions at Medinet Habu. By splitting real and imaginary bodies between two individuals, one human and the other divine, it suggests several possible conclusions. One is that the dual nature of kingship must be split between a strictly divine and distant Amun-Re and the strictly human and immanent Pinudjem I, but this would seem to undermine one of the very foundations of divine kingship and is contradicted by other evidence from his reign. Another possibility is that Pinudjem I, unlike a regular pharaoh, possessed something like semidivinity, but this state of existence is not attested in Egyptian sources. Both options also seem to draw on and limit us to clear and dogmatic descriptions of divinity that are firmly grounded in a Western, monotheistic perspective.

In this conclusion, I would like to suggest an admittedly speculative but potentially illuminating alternative approach to reframe the problem, avoid these pitfalls, and shed new light on divine kingship both in the early Third Intermediate Period and beyond. Like the framework described above, this approach takes as its starting point the duality between immanent and transcendent natures of the divine. This duality can be described in many additional ways, including but not limited to the near and the distant, the physical and the metaphysical, the real and the fictional, and the tangible and the intangible. What all these formulations try to capture is the duality between the real and the imaginary. It is tempting to see this duality in terms of polar-opposite categories of existence, into which each manifestation of the divine must be placed. I, however, would argue that it is misleading to claim that any divinity must be either hidden or revealed. Instead, the true nature and power of the divine is to be located in the vague, ambiguous, undetermined, and unarticulated space between these extremes. This is brought more clearly into focus when it is remembered that this conception of the divine is only one of several in Egyptian theology, which can easily view god as

38 Perhaps the greatest potential for ambiguity can be seen in the writing of "son of Amun" at the beginning of the northern text of Pinudjem I at Medinet Habu. Though it can clearly be read as *s3 'Imn*, the orthography $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{amun}} \\ \text{son} \end{array} \right\}$ is suspiciously reminiscent of the standard spelling of Amun-Re $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \overline{\text{amun}} \\ \text{re} \end{array} \right\}$. This similarity leaves open the possibility that viewers might easily confuse "son of Amun" for the more expected "Amun-Re" and that the writing may have been intentional.

39 For the dual-bodied king in an ancient Egyptian context, see primarily Bell 1985. Yet Bell's description is too proscriptive and limiting in its attempt to eliminate fluidity and see only a single manifestation of the bodies natural and politic. For critiques of Bell, see Waitkus 2008; Winnerman 2018. For the division between the king's two bodies outside Egypt, see most famously Kantorowicz 1997.

one, two, three, or millions.⁴⁰ As is consistent with the Egyptian style of problem solving,⁴¹ there was not a single solution but multiple perspectives, which circle around the true identity and nature of the divine.

It may also be misleading to assume that any of these schemes must have been fundamentally different if and when applied to a divinity versus a king. As Marshall Sahlins has recently argued, gods were also political beings who participated in and interacted with their communities of believers.⁴² As social beings, gods also took physical forms, consisting of both two- and three-dimensional images, cult statues, divine icons, and even animals and other natural phenomena. Much like kings, these physical forms were also understood to be insufficient in themselves, and there was a recognition that these visible elements did not encompass the full totality of divinity.⁴³ Perhaps the only real difference between god and king is that the former is grounded more in the metaphysical, unreal dimension while the latter is more firmly anchored in the real. If both thus partook in the same divinity, then labeling Pinudjem I as divine or nondivine in these inscriptions tells us very little. Any entity that could potentially be endowed with a metaphysical form could be considered divine, but more important are the extent and force of the resulting powers: how this potential is defined, in how many ways it can be conceived and accessed, and how powerful and effective these manifestations are. In other words, what is important for divinity is the middle space between metaphors, which may grow or shrink depending on the ways it could be conceived. From this perspective, divinity in an Egyptian context is not to be found in Western definitions of natures and ontologies but as a category that exists and is created by the indeterminate space between them.

When this new approach to divinity is applied to the inscriptions of Pinudjem I at Medinet Habu, it is once again the juxtaposition of Pinudjem's physical position and actions with the almost beyond-imaginary nature of Amun-Re that stands out. What this juxtaposition might represent, however, is not an elevation in the position of god or a denigration of the office of ruler, but the new application of traditional metaphors of real and imaginary. If Amun-Re as a god and Pinudjem I as a ruler could both partake in the same divinity, then it does not represent a violation of theological rules or require the identification of a new, semidivine state of existence. The factors behind it might still be linked to the failure of previous terrestrial rulers, but this new formulation represents not a collapse of the system but its expansion into new, more flexible areas. By increasing the ambiguity between god, ruler, and priest, it could have also expanded the institutions and persons in which power could be located. It would have allowed Pinudjem I and other Theban high priests of the period a flexible way to construct their power in an uncertain time of change. The need for flexibility during this time is affirmed by inconsistent claims to royalty made by both Herihor and Pinudjem I, which then seem to have been abandoned by their successors. Most importantly, it should be remembered that this basic duality between a physical, observable form and an imaginary second one was nothing new; these lines were regularly blurred before and would of course be blurred again.⁴⁴

The ideas outlined above seem to me an attractive way to analyze such issues, but it must be stated that, at least for the moment, such an approach to the study of divinity must be considered preliminary at best and speculative at worst. Much additional research is needed to confirm whether this framework will indeed be a productive and valid one with which to view the problem. Yet I believe it has the potential to push past the traditional roadblocks erected by Judeo-Christian approaches. It might accomplish this by

40 For these different conceptions, see especially the hymn of P. Leiden I 350 published in Zandee 1948.

41 For the Egyptian tendency to employ complementary approaches or multiple perspectives to a theological problem, see Frankfort and Frankfort 1977; Wilson 1977.

42 For this argument, see Sahlins 2017.

43 This view is similar to the underlying theological framework of *h_kʿ* proposed in Ritner 1993, pp. 247–49. See also the more general arguments of Hornung 1996.

44 While I am currently unaware of any similar examples of the juxtaposition of a real high priest with the hidden nature of god during the Twenty-First Dynasty, the scheme was employed by Darius I at the temple of Hibis. On the southern wall is a cryptographic inscription that also begins "(Long) live Amun-Re," while the standard text on the north is focused on Darius and, like the northern text at Medinet Habu, begins "(Long) live the good god." For these inscriptions, see Davies 1953, pls. 44–45, 50–51. For the cryptographic text only, see Drioton 1940, pp. 339–60.

reframing discussions of terrestrial and celestial power to embrace the multiple and shifting metaphors found in the monuments themselves.

ABBREVIATIONS

- MHB Medinet Habu Nelson number
 PM Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1927–
 Urk. VIII Kurt Sethe. Edited by Otto Firchow. *Thebanische Tempelinschriften aus griechisch-römischer Zeit*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 8. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1957
 Wb. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow. *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926–63

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Assmann, Jan

- 1995 *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Crisis of Polytheism*. Translated by Anthony Alcock. Studies in Egyptology. New York: Kegan Paul International.
 2001 *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*. Translated by David Lorton. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
 2002 *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*. Translated by Andrew Jenkins. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bell, Lanny

- 1985 “Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka.” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 44: 251–94.

Biston-Moulin, Sébastien, and Christophe Thiers

- 2016 *Le temple de Ptah à Karnak*. Bibliothèque générale 49. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Bonhême, Marie-Ange

- 1987 *Les noms royaux dans l’Égypte de la troisième période intermédiaire*. Bibliothèque d’étude 98. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Černý, Jaroslav

- 1976 *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Chassinat, Émile

- 1931 *Le temple d’Edfou VI*. Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire 23. Cairo: Institut français d’archéologie orientale.

Darnell, John C.

- 2004 *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 198. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Davies, Norman de Garis

- 1953 *The Temple of Hibis in el Khārgēh Oasis*. Part 3, *The Decoration*. Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 17. New York: Plantin.

Dembitz, Gabriella

- 2011 “Inscriptions of the High Priest Pinudjem I on the Walls of the Eighteenth Dynasty Temple at Medinet Habu.” In *From Illahun to Djeme: Papers Presented in Honour of Ulrich Luft*, edited by Eszter Bechtold, András Gulyás, and Andrea Hasznos, pp. 31–41. BAR International Series 2311. Oxford: Archaeopress.

de Wit, Constant

- 1958 *Les inscriptions du temple d’Opet à Karnak*. Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca 11. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth.

Dodson, Aidan

- 2012 *Afterglow of Empire: Egypt from the Fall of the New Kingdom to the Saite Renaissance*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.

Doresse, Marianne

- 1979 "Le dieu voilé dans sa châsse et la fête du début de la décade." *Revue d'égyptologie* 31: 36–65.

Drioton, Étienne

- 1940 "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 40: 305–429.
 1953 "Les principes de la cryptographie égyptienne." *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 97, no. 3: 355–64.

Edgerton, William F.

- 1937 *Medinet Habu Graffiti Facsimiles*. Oriental Institute Publications 36. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Epigraphic Survey

- 1963 *Medinet Habu*. Vol. 6, *The Temple Proper*. Part 2, *The Re Chapel, the Royal Mortuary Complex, and Adjacent Rooms with Miscellaneous Material from the Pylons, the Forecourts, and the First Hypostyle Hall*. Oriental Institute Publications 84. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
 1995 *The Registry of the Photographic Archives of the Epigraphic Survey*. Oriental Institute Communications 27. Chicago: Oriental Institute.

Fairman, H. W.

- 1943 "Notes on the Alphabetic Signs Employed in the Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of the Temple of Edfu." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 43: 191–310.
 1945 "An Introduction to the Study of Ptolemaic Signs and Their Values." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 43: 52–138.

Faulkner, Raymond O.

- 2002 *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. Reprint. Oxford: Griffith Institute.

Fischer-Elfert, Hans-Werner

- 1983 *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I*. Kleine ägyptische Texte 7. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Frankfort, Henri, and Henriette A. Frankfort

- 1977 "Introduction." In *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 3–27. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Golénischeff, M. Woldemar

- 1927 *Papyrus hiératiques*. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes 83. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.

Gregory, Steven

- 2014 *Herihor in Art and Iconography: Kingship and the Gods in the Ritual Landscape of Late New Kingdom Thebes*. London: Golden House.

Gülden, Svenja A.

- 2001 *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049*. Kleine ägyptische Texte 13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Hannig, Rainer

- 1995 *Großes Handwörterbuch, Ägyptisch–Deutsch (2800–950 v. Chr)*. Kulturgeschichte der antiken Welt 64. Mainz: von Zabern.

Hölscher, Uvo

- 1939 *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*. Vol. 2, *The Temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty*. Oriental Institute Publications 41. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hornung, Erik

- 1996 *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*. Translated by John Baines. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Jansen-Winkeln, Karl

- 1992 "Das Ende des Neuen Reiches." *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 119: 22–37.
 1996 *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 34. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
 1997 "Die thebanischen Gründer der 21. Dynastie." *Göttinger Miszellen* 157: 49–74.

- 2007 *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Part 1, Die 21. Dynastie.* Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Kantorowicz, Ernst H.
1997 *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Kitchen, Kenneth A.
1984 "A Note on Bandeau Texts in the New Kingdom." In *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Freunden und Schülern*, vol. 1, *Sprache*, edited by Friedrich Junge, pp. 547–54. Göttingen: Hübner & Co.
1986 *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.).* 2nd ed. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
1987 "The Titularies of Ramesside Kings as Expression of Their Ideal Kingship." *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* 71: 131–41.
- Klotz, David
2014–15 "Two Hymns to Isis from Philae Revisited (Žabkar, *Hymns* 1–2)." *Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie, Genève* 30: 75–107.
2020 "The Enigmatic Frieze of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple." In *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, vol. 1, *Revealing, Transforming, and Display in Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, edited by David Klotz and Andréas Stauder, pp. 49–99. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beiheft 12/1.* Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Klotz, David, and Andréas Stauder
2020 *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom. Vol. 1, Revealing, Transforming, and Display in Egyptian Hieroglyphs.* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beiheft 12/1.* Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Leclant, Jean
1961 *Montouemhat.* Bibliothèque d'étude 35. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Legrain, Georges
1901 "Le temple et les chapelles d'Osiris à Karnak." *Recueil de travaux* 23: 65–75, 163–72.
- Leitz, Christian
2002 *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen. Vol. 2, '–b.* *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 111.* Leuven: Peeters.
- Nelson, Harold H.
1981 *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak.* Oriental Institute Publications 106. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
- Ritner, Robert K.
1993 *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice.* Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 54. Reprinted with minor corrections in 1995, 1997, and 2008. Chicago: Oriental Institute.
2009 *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt's Third Intermediate Period.* Writings from the Ancient World 21. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Roberson, Joshua A.
2012 *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth.* Wilbour Studies in Egypt and Ancient Western Asia 1. Atlanta: Lockwood.
2013 *The Awakening of Osiris and the Transit of the Solar Barques: Royal Apotheosis in a Most Concise Book of the Underworld and Sky.* Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 262. Fribourg: Academic Press and Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
2020a "A Brief Excursus on the Mechanisms of Cryptographic Sign Substitution." In *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, vol. 1, *Revealing, Transforming, and Display in Egyptian Hieroglyphs*, edited by David Klotz and Andréas Stauder, pp. 141–47. *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beiheft 12/1.* Berlin: De Gruyter.
2020b *Enigmatic Writing in the Egyptian New Kingdom. Vol. 2, A Lexicon of Ancient Egyptian Cryptography of the New Kingdom.* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde Beiheft 12/2.* Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Römer, Malte
1994 *Gottes- und Priester-herrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches: Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen.* Ägypten und Altes Testament 21. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.

Rowe, Alan

- 1930 *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan*. Philadelphia: University Press for the University of Pennsylvania Museum.

Sahlins, Marshall

- 2017 "The Original Political Society." In *On Kings*, edited by David Graeber and Marshall Sahlins, pp. 23–64. Chicago: Hau Books.

Smith, Mark

- 2009 *Traversing Eternity: Texts from the Afterlife in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tallet, Pierre

- 1995 "Le shedeh: Étude d'un procédé de vinification en Égypte ancienne." *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 95: 459–92.
- 2010 "De l'ivresse au dégrisement: À propos d'un article récent sur le vin shedeh." *Göttinger Miszellen* 227: 105–12.

Waitkus, Wolfgang

- 2008 *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels*. Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia 2. Gladbeck: PeWe-Verlag.

Wilson, John A.

- 1977 "Egypt." In *The Intellectual Adventure of Ancient Man: An Essay on Speculative Thought in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 31–61. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wilson, Penelope

- 1997 *A Ptolemaic Lexikon*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 78. Leuven: Peeters.

Winnerman, Jonathan

- 2018 "Rethinking the Royal Ka." PhD diss., University of Chicago.

Zandee, Jan

- 1948 "De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350." *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 28: 1–158.



Robert Kriech Ritner (May 5, 1953–July 25, 2021) was the Rowe Professor of Egyptology at the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures of the University of Chicago. His trendsetting scholarship revolutionized our views of ancient Egyptian religion and helped launch a renaissance in the study of magic in the ancient world. In this volume, twenty-seven of Robert K. Ritner's closest friends, colleagues, and students have come together to honor him by presenting the latest groundbreaking research in Egyptology and beyond.



THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

**INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY
OF ANCIENT CULTURES**

West Asia & North Africa