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1. On the Identity and Role of the God's Wife of Amun in Rites of Royal and Divine Dominion[1]

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Abstract

In a striking scene from the Building of Taharqa by the sacred lake at Karnak, a slender athletic-looking woman draws a long, wide-feathered arrow through a double-curved bow. She aims at four round targets represented at the periphery of the scene. Next to her, a male figure uses his pear-headed mace as a bat with which to strike four balls. The male figure is identified as King Taharqa, the penultimate king of the 25th Dynasty. The female archer, on the other hand, is simply identified as a God's Wife. Her name is not mentioned. Both the king and the God's Wife partner in the "rites of protection at the cenotaph." Together, they aim to avert the malign forces of the universe. This paper addresses the omission of the God's Wife name in this scene and aims to contextualize her role in this and similar rites of royal or divine dominion.

Key words

God's Wife of Amen, God's Wife, Edifice of Taharqa, Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph, Rites of Divine and Royal Dominion, archery, female archer, Elevation of the *Tjest*-column, Shepenwepet II, Taharqa, Cenotaph of Osiris

This paper is dedicated to the late Professor N. B. Millet, who first introduced me to Egyptian Iconography in his wonderful seminar on the subject in 1995-1996, and whose profound knowledge of all things Egyptian continues to inspire me.

On a lintel embedded in the eastern wall of subterranean room E in the Building of Taharqa by the sacred lake at Karnak, a striking scene survives (**Figure 1-1**).[2] A slender, athletic-looking woman draws a long, wide-feathered arrow through a double-curved bow. Shown in profile, the archer's face is turned to the viewer's left.[3] Right foot slightly forward, the barefoot archer takes aim at the uppermost of four doughnut-shaped targets depicted at the far left of the scene. Arrows still in place, three of the targets have been shot already. Of the original four targets, only the central two survive. The targets, which are turned to face the viewer, resemble the *niwt*-sign ⊗ (O 49).[4] Above the scene, five short columns of text provide a caption for the event taking place in this scene: [1]*ḥmt nṯr šsp.*[2]*n.s iwnty* [3]*r rsy mḥw* [4]*imntt iȝbtt* ⌈*r* [5]*ṯnw.f rdi.n.f n.s* "[1]the God's Wife has grasped [2]the bow [3]against the South and the North, [4]the West and the East [5] in return for what he has given her."

The bare-footed archer dons a long, form-fitting, sheath dress that falls down to her ankles. Starting just below her breast and going up and over her right shoulder, a diagonal strap holds the dress in place. A broad collar adorns her neck. She wears no other jewelry.

A skull cap, secured in place by a tied ribbon, covers her hair. Of unequal lengths, the loose ends of the ribbon fall behind the God's Wife's head, brushing past her left shoulder and reaching down to her left elbow.

Behind the archer, a single column of text separates her from an acacia-surmounted mound.[5] Under the tree, a rectangular structure encloses a crypt. A hieroglyphic inscription reading *iꜣt wsir* and carved within the enclosure clearly identifies the curved-topped crypt as the "mound of Osiris."[6] The group schematically represents the *hn*-cenotaph of Osiris, whose mythic location was at Kom Djeme on the west bank of the Nile. The small temple at Medinet Habu was thought to be a mythic location of the Mound of Djeme. It was here that Amen-Re was brought once every ten days during the Decade Festival. Because the mound was surrounded by Nun, the primordial life-giving waters, Amen-Re's visit to this "well-spring of life," rejuvenated him and renewed his energies.[7]

On the other side of the cenotaph is a male figure. His costume and regalia (the short tri-partite *šnḏwt*-kilt, the ceremonial bull's tail attached to his belt, the *ibs*-headband and the diadem on his head) clearly indicate his status as a king of Egypt. Represented in profile, his face is turned to the right, the barefoot king extends his left leg forward in a wide stride.[8] Like the God's Wife, the sovereign turns away from the cenotaph. His right calf flexed, his right heel arched up above the register line with only the toes touching the ground,[9] the king is shown running towards the outer limits of the lintel.

In his upraised arm, the king holds a pear-headed mace,[10] with which he strikes four balls represented above his head, one next to the other. The balls are shown at the exact moment of their release from the king's hand, his grip still cupping the fourth.[11] The sovereign takes aim at targets depicted at the far-right. While the targets are not preserved, hieroglyphic texts serving as captions and engraved next to each target, relate each of the targets to a geographic designation, and accordingly, to the four cardinal points. It is toward those targets that the king seems to be running. While the king may have performed four successive runs towards each of the four cardinal points, "throwing one of the four balls in each direction,"[12] in this scene, the four runs are conflated into one.

Behind the king, in the triangular space created between his upraised right arm, his flexed calf, and the acacia tree, are three D-shaped emblems. The emblems resemble similarly-shaped structures associated with the *sed*-festival.[13] In scenes of the *sed*-festival, similarly shaped signs symbolically marked the "the extent of the king's domain"[14] and triplicate signs would appear on either side of the king.[15] It is possible that three similar symbols were depicted in the damaged area in front of the king.[16]

Above the lintel, elements of Taharqa's *prenomen* are partially preserved in a cartouche, inscribed vertically directly above the central part of the scene. A pair of rearing cobras holding *shen*-signs flanks the cartouche. With the exception of an over-sized sun disk inscribed at the top of the cartouche, the signs inside the cartouche had been hacked out probably under Psammetichus II. The disk, probably constituted an element of Taharqa's *prenomen*: Nefertum-Khu-Re.[17]

This unique scene depicts what has become known in Egyptological literature as the "Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph." These rites were "aimed at averting any malign forces from the path or procession of a god."[18] Turning their backs to the cenotaph at the center of the scene, both the king and the God's Wife are orientated toward the outer limits of the

lintel. While their outward orientation may initially seem surprising, it is consistent with their actions. Both the King and the God's Wife protect the cenotaph by engaging in acts of aggression: shooting arrows and batting balls. Fischer notes that "[i]n attacking his adversary, either human or animal, the king usually faces outward from the rear of the temple (or from the longitudinal axis) as though defending the divine 'Lord of Maat' from the forces of chaos."[19] Likewise, both the king and the God's Wife are orientated away from the center of this scene in their efforts to defend the crypt of Osiris and combat the forces of evil.

Both the iconography and role of the God's Wife in this scene are quite extraordinary. Not only is she depicted at the same scale as the king, but she is shown engaged in a rigorous, militaristic activity: archery. In doing so, she *actively* partners with the king in protecting the *hn*-cenotaph of Osiris. As a deified human, it was normal for the king, indeed expected of him, to partake in such a ritual, for it was his part of his royal duties to preserve *Maat* and to sustain the gods and their cults. But why would a God's Wife, a mere mortal, be involved in such a sacred ritual?

Moreover, the fact that both the king and the God's Wife are represented at the same scale seems to indicate that their respective roles in this ritual were equally important. But whereas a cartouche, horizontally carved above the king's figure, clearly identified him as king Taharqa, the penultimate ruler of the Egyptian Twenty-fifth dynasty, the identity of the God's Wife is obscured. Nowhere is her name mentioned.[20] Likewise, a shorter and more generic form of her title is used: *ḥmt nṯr* "God's Wife." In this scene, she is not linked to her divine consort, the supreme solar deity Amun, whose name constituted an integral part of the fuller form of her title *ḥmt nṯr n 'Imn* "God's Wife of Amun." The suppression of Amun's name further intensifies the mystery surrounding her identity. In fact, the omission of both her name and the god's is quite startling. To an Egyptian, a person's name constituted an integral aspect of his or her personality. Such identification was so strong that caving a person's name on a statue transferred the whole essence of that person onto the statue and provided the person with an "'alternative physical form' that could serve as a permanant substitute for his/ her body."[21] For this reason, only the names of enemies were omitted or hacked out.[22] Clearly, this was not the case here.

Drawing on parallels with another rite of "divine and royal" dominion, the ritual elevation of the *ṯs.t*-support, this paper expounds on the role of the God's Wife in the Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph and proposes to identify the God's Wife depicted in the Edifice of Taharqa as Shepenwpet II. It will be further argued that the inclusion of the God's Wife name, or any reference to a particular deity in this scene would have effectively prevented the God's Wife from enacting the mythical component of this ritual. The omission of her name, as well as the suppression of Amun's, were the result of a deliberate decision, not a matter of oversight.

The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake at Karnak

The scene described above occurs on a lintel above a doorway in the eastern wall of a subterranean chamber in the Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake at Karnak. The

chamber, labeled E, is one of three underground chambers in the poorly preserved sandstone building erected near the northwestern corner of the Sacred Lake at Karnak.[23]   Room E, where our scene occurs, is the penultimate room of the underground lever.   It is sandwiched between rooms D and F (**Figure 1-2**).   Presentation of offerings and adoration to the nocturnal forms of the sun dominate the decorative theme of Room D, the first room of the subterranean level,[24] while "depictions of the souls (*bꜣw*) of Amun"[25] are found in room F, the innermost room of the substructure.

A descending staircase connected the underground level to a superstructure, which no longer survives.[26] The walls of the descending corridor are adorned with scenes dedicated to Re. Re's nocturnal forms occupy the eastern wall (= right, when descending), while his solar forms appear on the opposite, western wall.[27] Because it is not possible to reconstruct the superstructure's plan, it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact function and purpose of this building.   Nonetheless, it has been suggested that the "subterranean chambers of Taharqa's edifice can be linked to a crypt; and in that sense even a tomb,"[28] and that the entire building had the very specific function of celebrating (and perhaps even aiding) the "reunion of Amun demiurge with the elements of his creative power and the mystical union of Amun with various forms of the sun-god and with Osiris (= the night sun), and Amun's rebirth as the Sun."[29]

Representations of the God's Wife at the Edifice of Taharqa

Representations of the God's Wife in the Edifice of Taharqa are confined to chamber E. She features prominently on two walls of that chamber: on the eastern wall, where the scene described above occurs, and on the southern wall, where the entire length of the wall is occupied by scenes representing the Ritual Elevation of the *ts.t*-column. While the God's Wife participates in the rituals depicted on the other two walls, she appears there only as a minor figure. On the western wall, she appears in the Rites at Djeme, while on the northern wall, the God's Wife takes part in the Rites of Divine Reentrance, where she is depicted last in two processions that were part of this ritual.

The Elevation of the *ts.t*-support

An unidentified God's Wife appears as the main officiant in the "Rite of the Elevation of the *ts.t*-support" (**Figure 1-3**). The rite, depicted on the southern wall of room E, is enacted four times, for four different gods: Dedun, Soped, Sobek, and Horus. In each instance, the deity is shown atop a horizontal *ts.t*-sign, which serves as platform on which the god stands. A different priest helps the god's wife shore up the *ts.t*–support in each instance. Together, they lift up the *ts.t*-support, their hands meeting under the central knot of the *ts.t*-sign.[30]

Their faces shown in profile, the four deities, as well as the God's Wife, are orientated toward the viewer's right (= West). Facing the God's Wife, the priests are orientated toward the viewer's left.[31] Dividing the episodes is a single column of descriptive texts. With the exception of the name of the god mentioned, the texts are identical. The orientation of the hieroglyphs in the columns and lines of text below the scene suggests a

right-to-left reading of this scene. The scene thus starts with the westernmost episode depicting the elevation of Dedwen and ends at the easternmost episode enacted for Horus.

The four gods carry identical insignia, wear similar costumes and assume the same posture. Standing atop the *ts.t*-support, left leg extended forward, each of the four deities is represented in a striding posture, a *wȝs*-scepter in the left hand, an *ꜥnḫ*-symbol in the right. Each wears a short kilt, tied at the waist with a ceremonial tail suspended at the back of the kilt. The tail hangs vertically, parallel to the legs.

Of the four deities represented, Dedwen is only one shown wearing an upper-body garment. Dedwen dons a tight fitting garment that covers his chest and shoulders, its straps narrowing gradually as they near the god's neck. Although the figure of Dedwen is damaged, (the head with its identifying gear does not survive), the accompanying texts clearly identify him by name. The texts further link Dedwen to Nubia.[32] This deity was one favored and honored by Taharqa, who (re-)dedicated the temple at Semna West to Dedwen and transferred his worship to Napata.[33] Scenes from the temple at Semna West depict Thutmose III "receiving his kingship and rule over foreign countries from Dedwen."[34] Below Dedwen's feet, the *ts.t*-support is damaged at the far right (western end). The God's Wife wears a tight-fitting sheath, a short wig held in place by a knotted band, whose ends are depicted hanging loosely behind her head. She is barefoot. Precisely under the knot dissecting the *ts.t*-sign, the hands of the god's wife and the priest meet. The priest has the title of "opener of the doors of the sky" (*wn nwy ꜥȝwy-pt*), a title occasionally held by the High Priest of Amun.[35]

The next episode is enacted for the god Soped. Shown in anthropomorphic form, Soped wears a ceremonial beard and a *nms*-headdress, which is surmounted by two tall plumes. He wears a short belted kilt from which hangs a ceremonial tail at the back. He assumes the same posture as Dedwen, left foot forward, *wȝs*-scepter and *ꜥnḫ*-symbol in hand. While the figure of the God's Wife is somewhat damaged in this instance, she seems to assume the same posture and costume as in the previous instance of the ritual. This time, however, she partners with a *smȝty* priest. The bald-headed priest wears "a long kilt and a sash across his bare chest."[36] The accompanying texts declare that Soped is "Lord of the East" (col. 8), and associate him with Asia.[37]

Crocodile-headed Sobek is represented in the third episode of this ritual. Assuming a similar attitude and costume as the preceding two deities, he is elevated by a God's Wife and a priest. In this instance, the figures of the god's wife and the priest are quite damaged. Only the head of the priest and the hemline of his long kilt survive. The accompanying texts (col. 14) link Sobek to Libya.[38]

Finally, the ritual is performed for Horus. Falcon-headed, Horus assumes the same posture as the other three gods. Horus was one of the gods whose worship Taharqa actively promoted by dedicating temples to his cult at Buhen and Qasr Ibrim.[39] Horus is attended by a *ḥm snṯy-wr*, a "prophet of the *snṯy-wr*," a priesthood that is poorly attested and, therefore not fully understood yet, but may have served in a section of the Amun temple at Karnak that was associated with the mound of creation.[40] Horus, the King of the Living, is here elevated to scare Upper and Lower Egypt (cf. col. 16).[41]

In each of the four instances, a single column of text points to the identity of the God's Wife. In the first two instances (coll. 8 and 12), it reads: *ḥmt nṯr n nṯr pn*, "the God's Wife of this God." The inscription is damaged in the third instance, while in the fourth instance, she is identified as *ḥmt nṯr ḏrt nṯr* "the God's Wife, the God's Hand," adding on one of her other religious titles.

The consistent presence of the God's Wife in all four enactments of the ritual, has led Leclant to write:

"Puisque la Divine Adoratrice est l'épouse d'Amon par excellence, c'est donc que chacun de ces quatre dieux est assimilé à Amon; chacun d'eux étant lié à une répartition spéciale de l'espace, comme s'il était territorialement le substitut on l'hypostase d'Amon pour ce secteur. Car, . . . c'est Amon qui, par essence et de la façon suprême, donne la victoire."[42]

His suggestion was accepted and the four gods depicted in this ritual are now thought to be "four geographic forms assumed by the universal god, Amun."[43] The ritual was performed in order to assert Amun's supreme universal authority. His rule over Egypt, *and* the entire universe, is here symbolically represented by the presence of Horus, whose authority was over Upper and Lower Egypt, and the three other deities, whose presence signified their authority over three specific localities situated to the South, East, and West of Egypt. For it was only through such universal divine rule that the king was "assured of protection."[44] Thus, once more, we find that the God's Wife features as a main officiant in a rite of cosmic significance. Here, as well as in all her representations in room E, she is only identified by an abbreviated form of her title, and her name is, once again, omitted. So who might the woman represented in these scenes be?

The Identity of the Figures Represented in the Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph

During the reign of Taharqa (690-664 BC),[45] two Nubian God's Wives were in office as incumbent and heiress apparent: Shepenwepet II, daughter of Piye, who had been appointed sometime during the reign of Shebitku (702-690 BC), and Amenirdis II, Taharqa's own daughter.[46] It seems more likely that Shepenwepet II is the God's Wife represented in the Edifice of Taharqa. There is little evidence to suggest that Amenirdis II ever went beyond her status as the "heiress apparent" or "God's Wife of Amun Elect." The text of the Nitocris Adoption stela indicates that both Shepenwepet II and Amenirdis II were in office when the transition to Saite rule occurred. While both women may have adopted Nitocris in office in 656 BC,[47] the adoption of Nitocris effectively prevented Amenridis II from assuming full responsibility as God's Wife of Amun. In rites as ritually important as the Rites of the Protection at the Cenotaph, and the Elevation of the *ṯs.t*-support, one would expect that the more senior of the two women to have had the privilege of performing with the king.

I suggest that the God's Wife represented in the two rituals discussed above is Shepenwepet II, daughter of king Piye and, more pertinently, Taharqa's sister. In the rites of Protection at the Cenotaph, the God's Wife appears as the king's peer. She is represented at the same scale as the king, and seems to be equally engaged in defending the sacred abode

of Osiris. Their parallel representations imply an equal, lateral relationship, rather than a hierarchical one. A lateral relationship allowed them to impersonate the roles of Shu and Tefnut, who rid Re of his enemies, the "Children of the Rebellion" (*msw bdš*).[48] As his "sister," (Egyptian: *snt*) Shepenwepet II was also Taharqa's "(female) equal" and "(female) companion."[49] She was also able to embody the role of the ultimate sister-wife: Isis.

Conclusions

In the Rite of Protection at the Cenotaph, both the king and his female companion face the outer limits of this lintel, turning their backs to the cenotaph represented at the center of the scene.   In their effort to protect the crypt of Osiris, his *hn*-cenotaph, they actively combat the forces of evil.[50] By aiming her arrows at the four geographic location of the world in the Rite of Protection at the Cenotaph, the God's Wife, partnering with the king, averted danger from the Lord-of-All's way and cleared the way for him to re-establish his universal authority. A similar purpose was also behind the rite of the Elevation of the *ts.t*-support. Through her participation in elevating four different geographic manifestations of the god Amen, the God's Wife, once again, played an integral role in asserting Amun's power "over the four extremities of the world."[51]

Perhaps an essential question to address is why did the God's Wife, a mere mortal, assume such a prominent role in these cosmically important rites? The answer may lie in one of the most enduring of all Egyptian myths: the myth of the Isis and Osiris. In this myth, Isis, the loyal sister-wife, and the aggrieved widow, sought out and collected the dismembered body of her husband, put the corpse back together, and managed to revive him just long enough to conceive Hours.[52] I suggest that, in the rituals represented in the Edifice of Taharqa, a shortened version of the God's Wife title was used to allow for her full identification with the goddess Isis. The name of Amun had to be suppressed, indeed omitted, from her title in order to enable the female officiant to be fully identified as the wife of the god of the cenotaph, Osiris. For it was only in her capacity as the Divine Consort *par excellence*, Isis, that she was able to fulfill her mythic role and protect his cenotaph.

That in the Late Period, Isis assumed a protective role toward her husband (and not only her son), can be gleaned from an exquisite small statue currently in the British Museum (EA 1162).[53] The 81.3 cm. high grey siltstone statue features Isis as a winged woman, who spreads her wings protectively around the much-smaller statue of Osiris placed in front of her. Osiris, here represented as the King of the Dead, carries his royal insignia, the crook and flail and dons the *atef*-crown and a tightly wrapped cloak that envelops his entire body (**Figure 1-4**).[54]

As in the ancient myth, the purpose of the ritual elevation of the *ts.t*-support was to energize and rejuvenate the god (here, Amun's four geographic manifestations). In the ritual Elevation of the *ts.t*-column, the female officiant is identified explicitly as *ḥmt nṯr n nṯr pn*, "the Wife of this God." While the addition of *n nṯr pn*, "of this god," to the God's Wife title in the caption accompanying this scene led Leclant to suggest that the four gods represented in this ritual were merely four geographic manifestation of Amun,[55] it is more likely that this

phrase was added here in order to relate, very explicitly, the God's Wife to each of the gods represented in this ritual. For, much like Isis in the ancient myth, it was only in her role as the wife of *this god* that the God's Wife was able to rejuvenate the gods represented in this ritual.

Including Amun's name would have prevented the God's Wife from being associated with Osiris (in the rites of the protection), or Amun's four geographic manifestations (Dedwen, Sobek, Sobed, and Hours) in the rite of the Elevation of the *ṯs.t*-support. It would thus have effectively prevented her from fulfilling her mythic role in protecting and rejuvenating these gods. In both rites, the God's Wife was able to carry out her protective and regenerative roles *only* through her capacity as the wife of that particular god.

Likewise, for similar reasons, Shepenwepet's identity was intentionally obscured. In discussing the importance that Egyptians ascribed to a person's name, Allen notes that "[w]riting a person's name on a statue or next to a carved image could identify the image with that individual."[56] Likewise, "the mention of an individual's name can bring to mind a picture of that person, even if he or she is no longer living."[57] Including Shepenwepet's name next to the depiction of the God's Wife shooting arrows, or in the rite of the elevation of the *ṯs.t*-column would have definitively, and permanently, identified the officiant in both rites with the mortal administrator/ princess that Shepenwepet was. Such a complete and permanent identification would have effectively eliminated the potency of these rituals.

The suppression of Shepenwepet's identity as well as the omission of Amun's name from her titles, were both the result of a conscious decision and not a matter of oversight. Both omissions enabled the God's Wife to fulfill her mythic role in these rituals more effectively.

NOTES

1. A version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, Toronto, 2005.

2. R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), pl. 25.

3. See H. Schäffer, *Principles of Egyptian Art*. Trans. J. Baines (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2002), 302, for the suggestion that this was also how an Egyptian would have "distributed right and left."

4. A. H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar³* (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1957), 498. The similarity stems from the cross created on the surface of the target by the four curved arches that originate, and end, at the perimeter of each target. However, the cross depicted on these targets is less angular than the one formed by the crossroads of O 49.

5. The text identifies the tree as a *šndt n hnw*, "a Nile Acacia tree." See R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1988), 270.

6. Although the M 18 sign ⸗ is used here (a combination of the reed leaf and the walking legs), this is probably a misspelling of *iȝt*, the word for "mound," rather than the verb to "come." See Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 7 for *iȝt* and 10 for *ii*. See also Parker, et al. *Edifice of Taharqa*, 64, n. 32. Cf. WB I, 26.

7. R. Fazzini, *Egypt: Dynasty XXII-XXV* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 22; and K. Cooney, "The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake: Ritual Function and the Rule of the King," *JARCE* 37 (2000): 15-47, at 34-36.

8. Left and right with respect to the viewer.

9. Schäffer, *Egyptian Art*, 16: ". . . Egyptian art indicates even a very swift running pace merely by showing a longer stride with raised back heels and front toes placed on the ground."

10. Probably a *ḥḏ* (=white) mace, T3. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, 510.

11. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62, and pl. 25; J. Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains de la XXVᵉ dynastie dite éthiopienne* (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), pl. xlvii; and Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23 and pl. xxvi.

12. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62.

13. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62, and pl. 25.

14. A. J. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs and Their Relation to the Sed-festival," *JEA* 64 (1978): 52-55, at 55.

15. Spencer, "Two Enigmatic Hieroglyphs," 52.

16. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 62, n. 15.

17. See T. Eide, T. Hägg, R. H. Pierce, and L. Török, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum: Textual Sources for the History of the Middle Nile Region between the Eighth Century BC and the Sixth Century AD*. Vol 1: *From the Eighth to the Mid-Fifth Century BC* (Bergen: University of Bergen, Department of Classics, 1994), 129-130; and K. A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995), 388.

18. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23. See also M. Étienne, *Heka: Magie et envoûtement dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000), 36–39, for the rite of casting the four balls as an Osirian rite.

19. H. G. Fischer, *Orientation of Hieroglyphs* – Part 1*: Reversals* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), 46.

20. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 61, n. 2 and 80.

21. James P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian: An Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 81.

22. E.g., the names of Hatshepsut and Akhenaton were omitted from king list precisely because the reign of each constitute such a clear break from Maat.

23. PM II, 219-221, plan 6 on 558; R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak* (Inter Traditions International, 1999), diagram 18. Conventionally attributed to Taharqa (690–664 BC), the structure may have been erected by King Shabaka (716–702 BC) whose name survives of a number of reused blocks. Alternatively, the site may have been occupied by another, earlier structure dedicated by Shabaka. See Parker et al., *Edifice of Taharqa*, 80.

24. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23.

25. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23.

26. Only parts of the external walls of the superstructure survive. The few recovered blocks that belonged to the superstructure are too few and fragmentary to allow for the proper reconstruction of the superstructure.

27. See Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23; and Parker et al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 82, for the suggestion that "[d]uring the descent of the stairway Amun-Osiris became also the setting sun, and in room C he met again the Heliopolitan gods of creation, who would accompany him on his night trip."

28. Cooney, "Ritual Function," 19.

29. Fazzini, *Dynasty XXII–XXV*, 23.

30. Sign # S24, a "girdle knot." See Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar³*, 506.

31. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 65, and pl. 26.

32. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 67, and pl. 26, col. 5: "Beware, Nubia."

33. L. Török, *The Kingdom of Kush: Handbook fo the Napatan-Meroitic Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 176 and n. 333.

34. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 176, n. 333.

35. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 67, n. 24.

36. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 66, and pl. 26.

37. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 67, and pl. 26, col. 8. Col. 10 reads: "Beware, Asia."

38. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 68, and pl. 26; and Leclant, *Monuments thébains*, pl. xlviii.

39. Török, *Kingdom of Kush*, 176.

40. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 68, n. 39; H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*. Leiden : Brill, 1953, 209-10.

41. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 68, and pl. 26.

42. Leclant , *Monuments thébains*, 299.

43. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 69.

44. Parker et. al, *Edifice of Taharqa*, 69.

45. Regnal Dates for Taharqa follow Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 387.

46. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 387 and 391.

47. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 403-404, and n. 945. See also R. Caminos, "The Nitocris Adoption Stela," *JEA* 50 (1964): 71–101, on 78, the adoption decree reads: *rdi.i n.s s(y)* "I gave her to her," and on 79, for a discussion of Psammetichus I's assertion: "I will not do what in fact should not be done and expel an heir from his seat."

48. Parker et al., *Edifice of Taharqa*, 61-62 and pl. 25, coll. 14-15.

49. See J. Reves, "The Metaphorical Use of the Kingship Term *sn* 'Brother,'" *JARCE* 40 (2003): 123-131, at 124, where he points out that, from the 18th dynasty onwards, a wife (*ḥmt*) was generally referred to as *snt* "sister," and further that, the plural *snw* "brothers" "can refer to people of equal status;" and on 125, for the suggestion that the relationship between Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III may best be understood in view of the metaphorical use of the term *snt nsw* as defining an equal, harmonious, and balanced, relationship between two individuals of "identical status." Reves, 127, further argues for a "complementary duality" between brothers. For *sn* as "equal," see Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 230.

50. See note 19 above.

51. Parker, *The Edifice of Taharqa*, 69.

52. Convenient summaries of this myth may be found in: L.H. Lesko, "Ancient Egyptian Cosmogonies and Cosmology," in B. Shafer, ed., *Religion in Ancient Egypt.* (London: Routeldge, 1991), 92-93; and D. Meeks and C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods*. Trans. G. M. Goshgarian (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 165-166.

53. The statue was most recently published in Nigel C. Strudwick, *Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt.* (London: Trustees of the British Musem, 2006), 270-71. It was also discussed in: John H. Taylor and Nigel C. Strudwick, *Mummies: Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Santa Ana, Ca: 2005), 13.

54. The protective potency of this gesture/ attitude/ posture was frequently evoked in Egyptian art and iconography. Arguably the most famous examples of this posture those found on objects recovered from the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen. On his sarcophagus, as well on the golden shrines, winged goddesses spread their wings protectively along the sides of the sarcophagus and the shrines. See, for example, K. R. Weeks, *Valley of the Kings: The Tombs and Funerary Temples of Thebes West* (New York: Friedman/ Fairfax, 2001), pl. 146. Likewise, in the tomb of Nefertari, Isis and Nephthys, both represented as human females standing on either side of the nocturnal ram-headed Re, extend their hands toward the god in a protective embrace (pl. 129).

55. See note 42 above.

56. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 80.
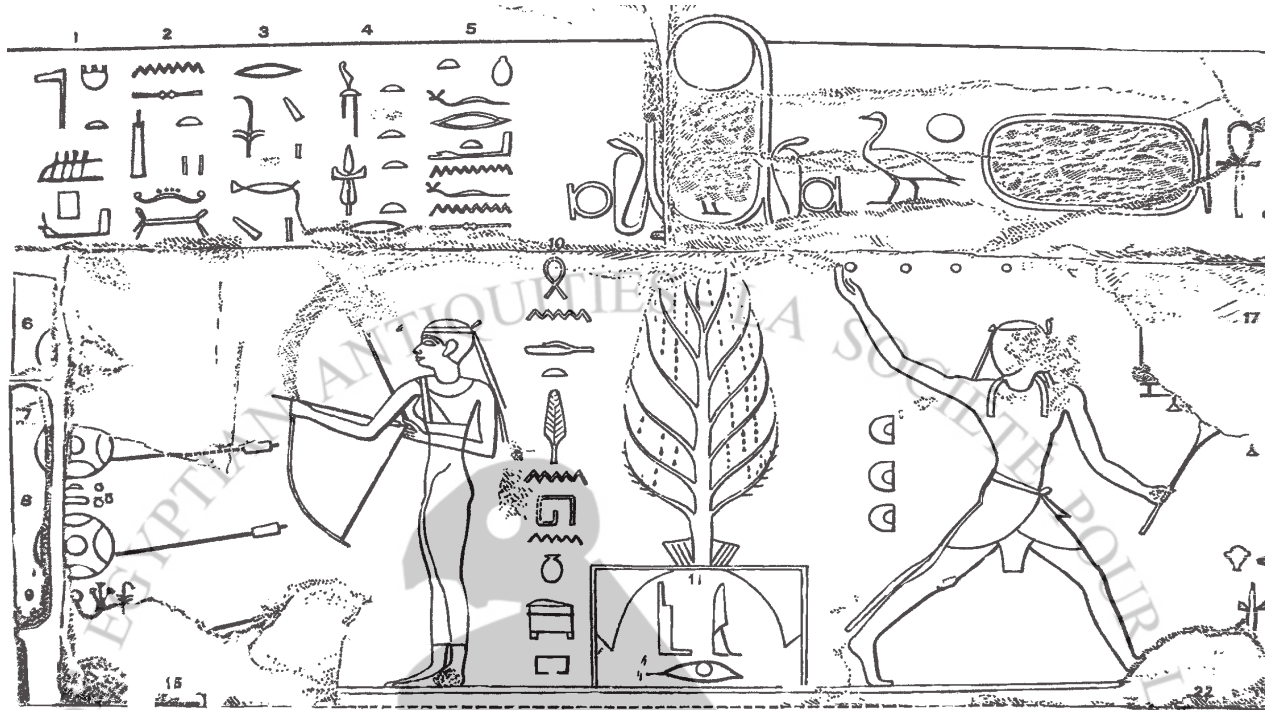
57. Allen, *Middle Egyptian*, 80.

Figure 1-1 - Rites of Protection at the Cenotaph, Edifice of Taharqa, Room E, Lintel on East Wall (after, R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), pl. 25).
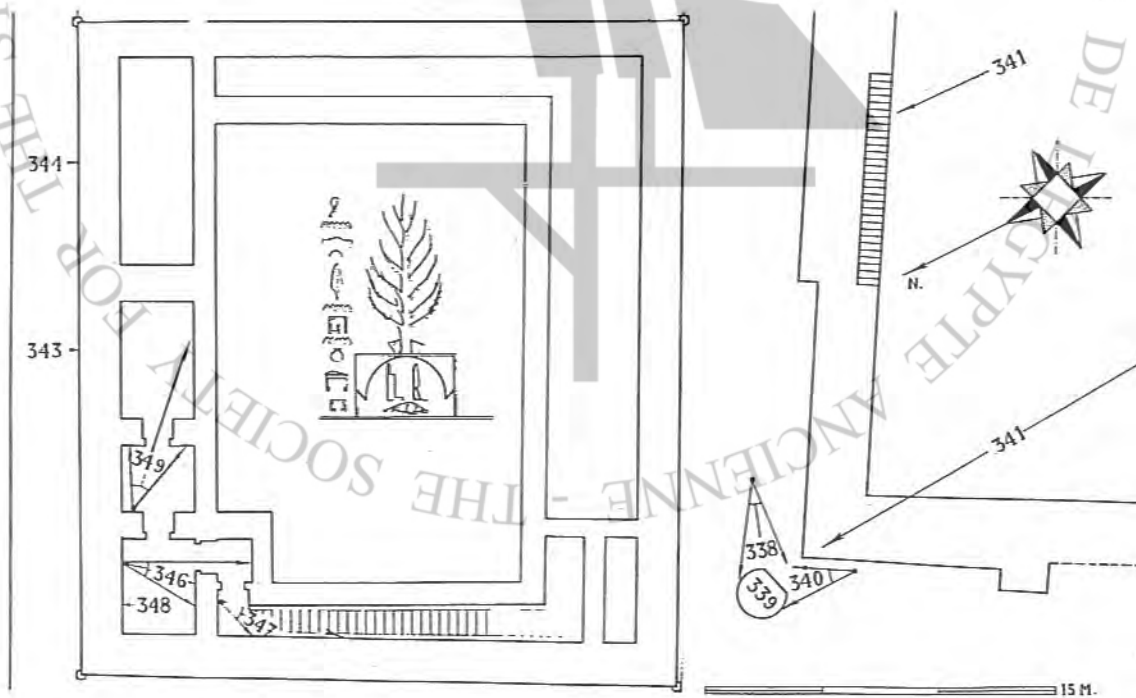

Figure 1-2 - Plan of the Edifice of Tahaqa by the Sacred Lake (after, R. A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Temples of Karnak* (Inter Traditions International, 1999), diagram 18.
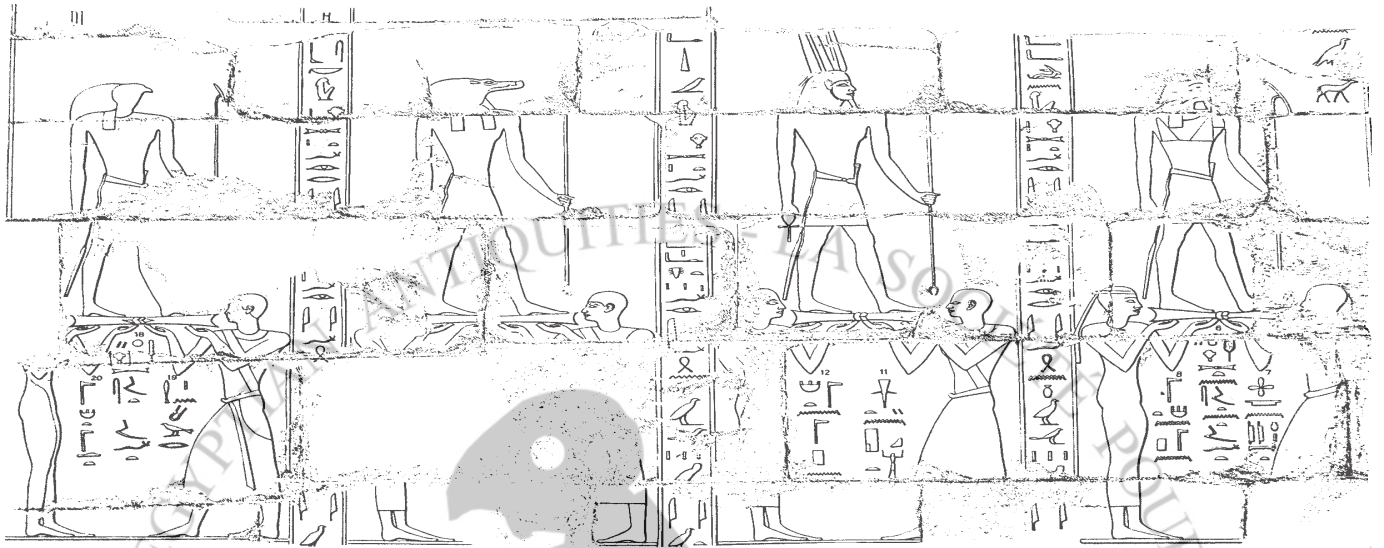
Figure 1 - 3 - Rite of the Elevation of the *tst*-Column, Edifice of Taharqa, Room E, South Wall (after, R. Parker, J. Leclant, and J-C. Goyon, *The Edifice of Taharqa by the Sacred Lake of Karnak*. Brown Egyptological Studies 8 (Providence: Brown University Press, 1979), pl. 26).

Figure 1-4 - Statue of Winged Isis (EA 1162) (after, Nigel C. Strudwick, Masterpieces of Ancient Egypt. (London: Trustees of the British Musem, 2006), 270-71).

2. Theology in the Time of Djoser

David A. Cintron

Abstract

The step pyramid complex of Djoser contains a set of six inscribed panels found in the passageways of the north and south tombs. In this paper I am proposing a religious belief system for the time of Djoser based upon speculative interpretation of the panels not before ventured. That these panels tell a continuing story of rejuvenation that is the king's journey from the *pr-nsr* to the *pr-wr* can be deciphered from these panels, but this is only the surface of this story. That the three signs which occur repeatedly and throughout all of the panels, the *ankh*, the *waset*, and the *djed* (used as a framing element in the underground corridors) appear together elsewhere only in the scepter held by the image of Ptah, leads us to a broader story.

Because links can be made between these and more well known beliefs of later times we can create a tentative theory of theological framework upon which Djoser's pyramid complex was constructed. His panels, carved in the form of an earlier, Memphite version of the Osirian myth, are where Amun, Ptah and Re are the keys to immortality.

Key words
Amun, Djoser , Horus Behdetite, Horus Letopolis, Hnty-Irty, Hnty-imntw/Khentymentiu, Leiden Papyrus, Min, Netjerikhet, Per Neser, Per Nu, Per Wer, Ptah, Re, Sed Festival, South-west corner, Step Pyramid, Ta-tanen, Wadjet, Wepwawet

The step pyramid complex of Djoser is perhaps the most remarkable surviving monument of archaic Egypt. It is the earliest surviving pyramid. It is the only royal monument with texts earlier than the fifth dynasty still in situ. It has also fortunately managed to escape the ramblings and intrusions of the "pyramidiots." Possibly the most fascinating aspect of this entire complex is the set of six inscribed panels found in the passageways of the north and south tombs. These were the subject of an article by Florence Dunn Friedman.[1] In this article these panels were described as falling into a specific sequence which will be adhered to in this paper, with the first panel being the northernmost and the last panel being the southernmost.

Because there are no surviving religious texts earlier than the fifth dynasty, no documents exist from which a theology can be interpolated that has validity earlier than the time of Unas. However a tentative theology for the third dynasty may be extrapolated based upon speculative interpretation of the underground panels of Djoser, as long as an attempt is made to fully explain every aspect of these panels in context. To be complete this must answer the questions, what is the purpose of these panels, and what story do they tell?

As these panels are the only inscriptions that remain after more than 4650 years they were likely of the highest quality. Because these special panels appear in a royal tomb in a funerary context it must be assumed that these panels tell the story of the rejuvenation of

Djoser. Perhaps this story is based on the sed festival, and perhaps the sed festival is based on this story. In either case the two are intimately connected. These inscriptions tell a continuing story of rejuvenation. Whether this was an event that occurred every 30 years or every day does not matter. What does matter is the motivation behind the story.

The six panels begin with the king standing in the first panel surrounded by symbolic iconography that illustrates his status as king. Each successive panel shows a slightly different shift in iconography that shows the progression of the journey. The second, third and fourth panels show the king in motion. The fifth and sixth show the king standing once again. Each standing panel shows the king in a specific shrine. Each moving panel shows the king between markers connected with the *sed*-festival as he passes a specific landmark.

In the first panel Djoser stands holding a mace and *mks*-staff, with a dagger in his belt, as if ready for a journey. The highest and foremost symbol in this panel, and every panel, is the Wepwawet standard. This standard is made up of the royal placenta followed by the Wadjet cobra and a Wepwawet, together opening the way to a new life. The motivation is defined by this standard, the opening of the way to a new life in the hereafter.

That way is led by the royal placenta which has a special significance as the lead symbol in the Wepwawet standard. Several things can be reviewed that are known about the royal placenta. Since predynastic times the placenta and cord blood was collected at birth using the *pss-kf* knife set.[2] It was most likely stored in a protected location throughout the king's life.[3] But there is no evidence that it was preserved at death. Neither canopic jars with the placenta nor a mummified form of the placenta has ever been found.

The placenta was saved because it was considered a part of the creation of the royal body. In every birth the placenta follows the newborn into the world. Is it possible the placenta was destroyed at death? It is a logical conclusion if it follows the king into this world to assist his birth. As his "twin" it would need to follow the king into the next world to assist his rebirth. The first panel hints at this.

In the first panel the king stands as Horus Behdetite in the Per Nu, also known as the Per Neser, or house of flame. Evidence of intentional conflagration has been found in royal mastabas at Saqqara[4] and Abydos.[5] This suggests that a Per Neser ritual was enacted after the king's death, and it may be connected with the royal placenta.

There is a stated link between Wepwawet and the *Pr Nsr* in Pyramid Text 569, "An address to Re,"[6] which begins, "I know your name, I am not ignorant of your name; your name is 'Limitless,' your father's name is 'you are great,' your mother's name is 'Peace,' (even) she who bears you on the path of the dawn(?), the path of the dawn(?)." The text is old and the translation is difficult, implying a link to archaic Egypt.

The second part is a repetition of two-line verses with a varying subject. "The birth of Limitless in the horizon will be prevented, if you prevent me from coming to the place where you are. … The birth of Wepwawet in the *pr-nw* will be prevented, if you prevent me from coming to the place where you are. …"

All of these verses threaten factors which provide support to Re' if the speaker is not allowed to join Re' in his solar bark.

"The birth of Limitless in the horizon will be prevented …
"The birth of Selket will be prevented …
"The Two Banks will be held back from Horus …

"The birth of Orion will be prevented …
"The birth of Sothis will be prevented …
"The Two Apes, his beloved sons, will be held off from Re' …
"The birth of Wepwawet in the *pr-nw* will be prevented …
"Men will be held back from the King, the son of the god,
if you prevent me from coming to the place where you are."

"Your crew of the inperishable Stars will be prevented from rowing you …
"Men will be prevented from dying …
"Men will be held back from food,
if you prevent me from going aboard this bark of yours."

   If Wepwawet was born in the house of fire, something must have been burned. A placenta would have left scant remains, so this may not be provable.
   Following the image of the placenta on the Wepwawet standard are the cobra and the canine. There is no contemporary explanation for why these symbols are combined in this standard, but there are two strong possibilities following the logic of Egyptian religion.
   First, the cobra was a powerful symbol from predynastic times. Its periodic shedding of skin can be likened to a rebirthing process, symbolic or real. It was also possessor of the *wadjet* eye.[7] Anubis / Wepwawet was the guardian of the underworld in later times and the canine image dates back to the first dynasty at least.[8] Together, these three represent birth (the placenta), death and rebirth (the cobra), and reclamation of death (the jackal).
   A second possibility may be found in the real world with a review of the birthing process. In this process the child is delivered first, still attached by the umbilical cord, which must be cut, and later follows the placenta or "afterbirth." It can be easily observed that the cobra has a similar shape as an umbilical, and that in nature dogs cut the umbilical with their teeth. This explanation may seem too simple, but if one were to be reborn in a place where no help was expected, that one would require a placenta, cord and cord cutter. These may have been combined in the Wepwawet standard, to open the way to rebirth.
   Just behind the Wepwawet standard is the throne cushion, there to ensure that when the king arrives in his new life, he will still be king. This cushion appears only in the panels with shrines and does not appear in the panels in which Djoser is moving.
   The first panel states, *ʿḥʿ* [*m*] *Ḥr Bhdt* (*pr nw*), interpreted as "standing at the shrine of Horus the Behdetite (Per Nu)." In every panel the Horus falcon flies at the top right, behind the Wepwawet standard and above the image of the king. This entire scenario is meant to establish the starting point of Djoser's rebirth in the house of flame.
   Other symbology in the first panel includes an *ankh*-sign holding a fan, two halves of a *pt*-sign with a *shen*-ring nested in each half, and a *waset*-sign holding a scorpion with its claws bound. Two of these are reminiscent of proto-dynastic symbology. On both the Narmer and Scorpion mace heads, two small human figures carry fans as they stand behind the king. On the Scorpion mace head, a scorpion appears in front of the king, and both that scorpion and the scorpion in the first panel display a shape extending downward from the center of the body which is not a normal part of scorpion anatomy. There are more parallels between the Djoser panels and these proto-dynastic artifacts that will be explored later.

In the second panel Djoser begins his run. The Wepwawet standard is now lifted by a *waset* symbol in this and the next panel. The scene is titled (ʿḥ)-ḫḏ wrw, interpreted as "the great white ones" or "the ancestors." It is thought that the message here is that Djoser first passes by his deceased ancestors as an entitlement to his throne in the hereafter.

Before and behind Djoser's feet appear a pair of bracketing symbols. These are also found on the Narmer mace head. Also on the Narmer macehead are three running figures, sometimes interpreted as captives. These three figures bear such a striking resemblance to the images of the running king Djoser holding his entitlement in the three panels that they are most likely a direct precursor.

Behind Djoser there are now two fans, both leaning as if in motion. The *pt*-symbols remain but the scorpion is gone, not to appear again until the fifth panel.

In the third panel Djoser continues to run, and the scene is much the same as the second panel. The scene is captioned *ḥr wsḫt rsj*(*t*) *imnt*(*t*), interpreted as "at the southwest corner of the court," and is interpreted as meaning the king has reached the southwest corner of the funerary complex. This most likely relates to the openings regularly placed in the southwest corner of the first dynasty tombs at Abydos. Djoser is ready to join his ancestors in the west.

In the fourth panel we see some new imagery revealed. The Wepwawet standard now floats on its own, without being held up by the *waset*. The *waset* stands behind the king as if ready to exit the scene, its power no longer needed. The Horus falcon above the king is specially captioned as *Bḥdt* and offers an *ankh* instead of a *shen*-ring. The serekh before him now wears the double crown, whereas in the prior panels no crown is worn (except the 3rd panel where this image is lost). The two *pt*-symbols representing the two halves of the sky are both on the same level, not one above the other. There is an *ankh* in front of the king but still within the *sed* markers.

The scene is titled *ms*(.*t*) *ḥr wsḫt imnt*(*t*) *rsj*(*t*), which can be interpreted as "born in the southwest court." This caption is similar to the third panel, but there are two interesting differences between these two panels. In the third panel, as in all other panels, the hieroglyphs face towards the king. In this panel, they face away from the king and towards the south wall of the enclosure. Also the words for south and west are transposed in this panel, with south first. As this is the first panel in the south tomb, this may be symbolic that the king is now south of the enclosure.

Clearly there has been a transformation that has occurred in this panel. Having crossed the south wall, he has become "Ptah-south-of-his-wall," and the king is being given and has achieved a new life. He no longer needs the *waset* escort. He has full entitlement to the double crown, equally in both regions of the sky.

In the fifth panel Djoser has completed his run and again stands, mace in his right hand and staff in his left, the red crown on his head. Horus of the serekh wears the white crown. The Wepwawet standard is rooted to the ground and the throne cushion is back. The scorpion is held by a *shen*-ring behind the king, its claws no longer bound. The scene is entitled, ʿḥʿ [*m*] *Ḥr ḥm*, interpreted as "standing in the Lower Egyptian shrine of Horus Letopolis." Three *waset*-signs populate the scene and the *ankh* is absent.

The king has arrived at the shrine of Horus Letopolis, a place of judgment by fire.[9] If the king's placenta was consumed by fire before his run, actually or symbolically, now his

spirit passes through the fire. He has achieved a new level of power. He is now ready to move on to his final destination by becoming *Ḫnty-irty*, the foremost of vision. This unusual name for Horus Letopolis refers to the story where Seth had blinded Horus, whose sight was then restored. By this association, the king has had his spiritual sight restored.

In the sixth panel Djoser stands as in the fifth, this time wearing the white crown. The Horus falcon again carries the *ankh* and the scorpion is gone. The *ankh* and *waset* symbols holding the fans are again at rest. The scene is captioned, *ꜥḥꜥ* [*m*] *pr-wr*, interpreted as "standing in the Upper Egyptian *pr-wr* shrine ." This was where the king was officially crowned.

In summary, these panels tell a story of the king's journey from the *pr-nsr* to the *pr-wr*. En route he visits his ancestors, exits the southwest court and is transformed by Horus the Elder. Its location in the funerary apartment implies that this ritual may be repeated continually and forever as a part of the posthumous *sed* festival. But this is only the surface of this story. In order to gain a deeper meaning from this monument a closer look must be taken at the significance of the message.

Most obvious is that there are three signs which occur repeatedly and throughout all of the panels. These are the *ankh*, the *waset* and the *djed*. This last does not occur in the panels themselves, but is used as a framing element in the underground corridors. These three symbols combined appear most uniquely in only one other place, and that is in the scepter held by the image of Ptah.

Ptah is known since at least as early as the first dynasty and so is contemporary with Djoser. The earliest image of Ptah was found in the pottery caches beneath the step pyramid.[10] His image holds a scepter of inconclusive form, so his form as the holder of the three part scepter is not attested as early as the third dynasty. We do note however that for most of the remaining time in Pharaonic history he is shown with the three part scepter. It is also known that Ptah was the chief deity of Memphis, the capital city of the two lands overseen by the Saqqara plateau, upon which the Step Pyramid was the most prominent monument when it was built.[11]

In the Coffin Texts, Ptah is described as the power of growth in the Earth. He is also associated with the Primeval Mound through his identification with Ta-tanen and the Old Kingdom form of *ḫnty-ṯnnt*. Interestingly, the *djed* pillars in the underground chambers are carved in the same mound shape as early dynastic burial mounds. Ptah is also described as a medium through which life is transmitted and as the creative speech which derives from perception.[12] Invoking these three symbols of Ptah as the senior deity signifies that the king is associating himself with the power of Ptah as part of his spiritual rebirth.

A link can be made between this third dynasty symbology and better known beliefs. By the time of the Pyramid texts, the king's story of spiritual rebirth had assumed a very specific form. At the time of death, the king becomes Osiris. Osiris is helpless until he assumes control over his fate at which point he becomes Sokar. At the same instant Isis and Nephthys appear to help him to reach the horizon. Isis represents the achievement of spiritual knowledge[13] and Nephthys the loss of it.[14] The king walks a line that could go either way. The power to speak is given at the Opening of the Mouth ceremony. When the king meets Isis and Nephthys he also achieves divine sight and so the knowledge of the word. Combined these give him the power to command the gods and so determine his own

fate.

In the time of Djoser all of these elements are yet present. There is no evidence that Osiris, Isis and Nephthys were discrete entities but their roles are filled by others in their formative aspects such as Wepwawet and Horus Letopolis. As such it is possible these two stories have a common thread that evolved in the five hundred years between Djoser and Unas. The strongest and most obvious thread that holds these stories together is the king's journey from this world to the next. The next most important element is the quest for divine vision or knowledge to attain high status in the afterlife. In order to determine whether the two stories are different representations of similar theology reconciliation must be attempted.

If Memphis was the domain of Ptah, Saqqara was the domain of Sokar. By the Late Period, Ptah overtly takes the form of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, but it is possible that these three deities were associated in earlier times. Certainly they were in close proximity. Sokar is known as early as the first dynasty based on year records on the Palermo Stone that represent the Sokar festival. Osiris is not known until the fifth dynasty from the Pyramid Texts of Unas, but this does not mean the divine principle that Osiris represents did not exist in the third dynasty.

The name of *Wsir* is spelled as *st + ir*, interpreted as place, seat, throne or position + eye. Osiris is also called *ḫnty-imntw*, most often interpreted as "foremost of the westerners." But *ḫnty* can also be translated as "south" or "southern,"[15] creating double entendre with Osiris as "foremost/south of the westerners." This meaning makes more sense when considering the unexplained significance of the southwestern corner in archaic period tomb construction, and in the third and fourth Djoser panels. This phrase must have its roots in further undiscovered myth, possibly indicating the point at which the sun meets the horizon, the origin of the Nile, or both. In any case, the two panels indicate that Djoser is attaining something in the southernmost westernmost corner of his complex. That something leads him to Horus Letopolis.

Horus Letopolis was known as *Ḫnty ʾIrty*, "foremost of vision." There is also the variant *m-ḫnty-ir.tj/m-ḫnty-n-ir.tj*, "he who has eyes" and "he who does not have eyes." Interestingly, the word *ḫnty* appears in both the name of Osiris Khentymentiu and of Horus Letopolis, and might mean both "foremost," or "brow" (as foremost part of the face), and "southern."

The concepts of the eye and of the word are present throughout Egyptian history. There is some argument as to how early the eye appears. It appears as part of the cobra from predynastic times. It is used as a hieroglyph in the word *iri*, "to do," as early as the third dynasty. The power "to do" is connected with the power of sight as an attribute of the living and can be viewed as integral with *is.t-ir.y* which, although not attested in the third dynasty, has been argued as nevertheless present.[16]

This argument allows us to go down a path that gives us a tentative theory of theological framework upon which Djoser's complex was constructed, which can only be confirmed by further research and discovery. In the Pyramid texts the deceased king begins his journey as Osiris, a helpless spirit who has had his mouth ceremonially opened so he may speak. The texts, or the knowledge behind them, gives him the ability to reach Isis and Nephthys who put him in contact with the power which is his birthright. Using that power

he is able to speak the words that empower him to assimilate the power of all of the gods and rule in the world of the afterlife as their equal.

In Djoser's time, the deceased king begins his journey as himself, a spirit who needs to move quickly, led on by Wepwawet and with power of Ptah and the sanction of *ḥnty-imntw*, reaches *ḥnty-irty* which grants him the divine knowledge and vision he needs to ascend to the *pr-wr*, where he achieve equal status with the gods.

The power of Wepwawet lends itself to Djoser as a three fold transcendence of the physical body: the offering of the placenta, the cobra as possessor of the eye, and the jackal as guardian of the dead. The power of Ptah lends itself to Djoser as a threefold transcendence of the world of the living: the power of the *djed* carved in the form of the primeval mound in the underground chambers; the power of the *ankh* granted by Horus Behdetite; and the power of the *waset* to restrain the scorpion long enough to carry Wepwawet to the end of the journey. If this is a valid representation of theology at the start of the third dynasty, then it is possible to extend this further into another time period?

The Narmer mace head has a strikingly similar set of iconography. On this mace head four standards march at the top level preceded by two bulls in a *wsḫt* sign. The placenta is followed by the throne cushion, just as in the Djoser panels. Behind these march two Horus standards whereas the Djoser panels feature the *Behdet* falcon. Is it possible these two falcons represent *m-ḫnty-ir.tj* and *m-ḫnty-n-ir.tj*? On the next level the three running kings are bracketed by the same *sed* markers as in the Djoser panels. On the Narmer mace head these are preceded by a human image sitting inside a covered pallet. If this image were to parallel the Djoser panels, it would have to represent the *ḥḏ-wrw*. There is no reference to a southwest corner, unless the angled line that Narmer's *sd*-runners stand on is meant to represent this. There is nothing that would serve as a *ms*- sign. There is no *djed* pillar, but Narmer does sit on top of a mound stairway.

Narmer himself sits at the top of a *pr-wr* shrine. There are two figures beneath him holding fans. If it is possible that if the Djoser story is a truthful representation of the underground panels of the Step Pyramid, then Narmer's story may be found on his mace head. However, to get as clear a picture as possible of first dynasty theology, there are many more artifacts that must be taken into account, much beyond the scope of this paper.

In conclusion it can be stated that the story of Djoser's rejuvenation is a fusion of the Memphite theology as known from later texts with the fifth dynasty Osirian story of the Pyramid Texts. In its simpler, earlier form the king achieves immortality through the transcendency of Ptah, the creative power between Amun and Re.

What of the rest of the ennead? The names Shu and Geb have been found in a relief fragment of Netjerikhet in Heliopolis.[17] It would seem you could not have Shu and Geb without Tefnut and Nut, but these last are not in evidence. Seth is known from the First Dynasty, but Isis, Osiris and Nephthys are not attested, although Osiris may have taken the form of Khentyimentiu as discussed earlier.

It is too early to expect the organization of cult centers that took place in the Old Kingdom that defined the separate mythologies of Heliopolis, Memphis, Hermopolis and Thebes, and the evidence of 3rd dynasty mythology presented here is very circumstantial. Nevertheless, if the maxim "all the gods are three" from the Leiden papyrus[18] held true in the time of Djoser, then it can be said that Djoser's spiritual quest began as he assumed the

form of Amun/Min, "the hidden one" in his sarcophagus, then claiming his divine birthright assumed the power of Ptah by symbolically invoking the process of in-formation through his pyramid complex, itself a form of Ta-tanen, allowing him to travel to the sky to join Re, the ultimate creative manifestation of Amun, with eternal dominion over the world.

NOTES

1. Florence Dunn Friedman, "The Underground Relief Panels of King Djoser at the Step Pyramid Complex," *JARCE* 32 (1995): 1-42. Note her drawings on 3, 19, 21, 23, 27, 28, 30, 33, 38, and 39.

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3. The Re-examination of Selected Architectural Remains at El-Lahun

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Abstract

The town plan of Lahun, published by Petrie in 1891, remains one of the outstanding examples of town planning from ancient Egypt. In 1989 N. B. Millet gained a concession to examine the site for renewed consideration of its remains. In 1993 he was joined by the authors and together we subsequently recleared, examined, and documented various surviving features of the town. This work included a test along the west enclosure wall of the town's first phase and clearances of Mansion 1, the "Acropolis," "Guardhouse," and the exterior of the East Gate. As the site was found to have suffered considerably in the century following Petrie's excavations, our initial expectations were modest. However, we found ourselves surprisingly fortunate in some aspects of the effort. Much of the plan of the "Acropolis" was recoverable, revealing a fairly standard mansion plan, albeit with anomalies. The "Guardhouse" was most probably a small temple standing within its own precinct, the latter giving direct access to the Acropolis Mansion entrance. The area to the exterior of the East Gate was found to be better preserved than as Petrie described and included a fairly intact and walled outer Approach Passage. The remains of three small mudbrick stairways were discovered built against the exterior of the north enclosure wall, apparently rising to give access to granaries within Mansions 1, 2 and 4, all of these associated with stratified material indicating mixed domestic activities close outside the town wall. Finally we recleared and examined portions of the E face of the pyramid, uncovering substantial courses of limestone masonry that add further intriguing complexity to its construction, as well as re-exposing and documenting much of its East Temple terrace.

Keywords

Petrie, Lahun / Kahun, Senwosret II, Millet, town plan, Mansion 1, Acropolis, Guardhouse / Temple, East Gate / Approach Passage, Exterior Stairways to Granaries, Pyramid East Face, East Temple Terrace

Introduction

Dr. Nicholas B. Millet of the Royal Ontario Museum was granted the license by the then Egyptian Antiquities Organization on 1 February, 1988, to study an extensive area around el-Lahun, situated immediately to north of the entrance to the Fayum Depression.[1] This concession was renewed anually until Dr. Millet's death in 2004, after which the ROM relinquished it. The Fayum Inspectorate throughout that time was under the direction of Mr. Ali el-Bazidi, and Mr. Ahmed Abdel-Al was most often the Inspector assigned to the project; both these men and their staff were of great help and support to the project. Mr. Ahmed

Abdel-Al, particularly, was of inestimable service, always amiable, patient and ready to expedite matters whenever he could do so. It was a pleasure to work with him. Dr. Millet chose to work in the field during the spring, for periods of about four weeks duration.[2]

Dr. Millet's initially stated aim in 1987 was to "carry out a thorough examination of the general area in which the effective capital of Egypt lay in the reign of Senwosret II. The pyramid complex..., the so-called "workers' village"..., and the cemeteries..., are all presumably parts of a more extensive residential and funerary complex which once existed here and which included palaces and administrative buildings. It is my intention to survey the whole area, draw up accurate maps..., and excavate where indicated to clear up our understanding of this very important site." [3]

In 1988 and 1990 (there was no field season in 1989), Dr. Millet was engaged with architect Claude G. Belanger in conducting a topographic survey of the site. (**Figure 3-1**) It soon became apparent that the priority given to a detailed contour survey was of limited use as the whole area in question has over the centuries been heavily eroded, deflated and disturbed. Large and small pits and heaps of debris, both ancient and modern, are everywhere to be seen. (**Figure 3-2**) In 1990 a requisite antiquities storeroom was built and in 1991 again no field work was done. The following spring Dr. Millet was joined by Edwin and Lyla Brock and two small test areas were examined: part of the SE quarter of the middle mansion in the S row, and a length of the W enclosoure wall for the first main phase of the town. From 1993 to 1997 the field seasons became annual and the staff comprised Dr. Millet, his wife Saralaine Millet, archaeological architect James Knudstad and archaeologist Rosa Frey.   Twelve to fourteen local men were hired and trained, most of them returning each season, providing good continuity in the workforce. During these latter five seasons, certain specific areas of the town were re-examined and documented. The final 1997 season was largely spent exploring, clearing and documenting the axial profile of the E face of the pyramid and the remains of the East Temple platform lying at its base.

General Site Description

The view was long held that Senwosret II reigned for 19 years.[4] However, based on the albeit sparse evidence, the king's reign has been reduced to only six years, in the middle of the Middle Kingdom, from 1868-1862 B.C.[5] The pharaohs of the dynasty took particular interest in the Fayum area and their capital Itjtawy was nearby, somewhere south of Memphis. Senwosret II's funeral complex was built at el-Lahun to the N of the Bahr Yusuf where it flows W into the Fayum depression. His town there, called Kahun by Petrie,[6] is the best preserved, largest example of a pre-planned, purpose-built and walled "pyramid town"[7] and remains one of the most important and discussed town sites ever excavated. It measures 384 m along its fully preserved north side and 335 m along the incomplete west side, an overall area of about 14 hectares. The town was clearly built in two phases, the smaller western enclosure of about 3.5 hectares having been added at some later time against the W wall of the first enclosure of the main Eastern Town.   Approximately the SE third to half of the town has been lost to erosion. The only surviving original entrance is the so-called East Gate. Adjoining the SW corner lay Senwosret's "Valley Temple," the temple of the royal cult. (**Figure 3-3**) The pyramid itself stands over a kilometer distant, 1180m to the W across broad open rising ground which now bears no sign of a causeway linking the two

structures. (**Figure 3-4**)

The town plan of streets and houses is well known and has been much discussed in the literature since Petrie's publication of it in 1891.[8] (Figure 3-5) The density of the housing and the narrowness of the streets is quite striking to our modern sensibilities. In the Eastern Town a main E-W street gave access to 10 large houses or mansions occupying this elevated and seemingly more favored N part of town, with Petrie's so-called 'Acropolis' dominating the highest ground in the NW corner, while blocks of smaller houses filled the lower southern slopes. The densest housing, however, stood within the later Western Town, where 150 small houses survived along 11 parallel E-W streets off a main N-S thoroughfare. What survived was essentially residential. Industrial areas have not been located. The identification of designated administrative buildings is still discussed,[9] given that various offices are named in the papyri.[10] It is also known from papyri that there was at least one temple in the town. Estimates of population vary considerably, based on housing density and the storage capacities of the granaries in the large houses, from 3000 – 5000, possibly up to 10,000.[11] Support for such numbers would surely have required sizeable agricultural estates in the vicinity.

Many papyrus texts and fragments were found in the town during Petrie's work.[12] A wide variety of subjects is represented, including medicine, mathematics, legal and religious matters, literature, business affairs, horoscopes and letters. In the years immediately following Petrie's excavations, illicit digging uncovered further texts which were recovered from the antiquities market, prompting Ludwig Borchardt to excavate in the rubbish heaps around the town. In a large midden N of the Valley Temple he discovered part of a temple archive.[13]

Although, on our arrival in 1990, the position and extent of the town was fairly obvious under much disturbed surface debris, most all of its surviving structural features lay largely obscured. (**Figure 3-6**)

Early Tests: South Mansion and West Enclosure Wall

Dr. Millet initially chose to re-examine part of the SE quarter of the middle mansion in the S row (a blank spot on Petrie's plan), where the 4-columned atrium in the master suite should be found, between the master bedroom to W and part of the 2-columned room to E. We were able to trace the outline of the atrium, with small pits marking the spots where 2 of the column bases had been removed. (**Figure 3-7**) The plan of the 2-columned room could also be completed. Two rings of mudbrick were found set into the sub-floor fill as part of the foundation for the column bases (which were missing). Such mudbrick rings were also found on the Acropolis and in the small temple to S (Petrie's "Guardhouse"), indicating the positions where missing columns had once surely stood. Both these columned rooms had doors in their N walls. Although it proved possible to recover more of the remains than Petrie shows in his plan, preservation in this area was indeed very poor. Both the remains of mudbrick walls and the ground overall were calcified to an extreme hardness.

In this initial phase of testing the general state of preservation across the site, the clearance of a short length of the W enclosure wall of the Eastern Town was carried out at a spot where it was found running through a relatively low hollowing of the limestone bedrock (Petrie's 'Rank E', N of the entrance shaft of Maket's tomb). This fragmentary

length, (**Figure 3-8**) measuring about 39.0 m, was only preserved along its strongly battered W exterior face for a maximum of 4 courses in height, built of mudbrick measuring a fairly standard 12-14 x 21-22 x 41-44 cm. The laying of the mudbrick was also quite standard: those courses forming the body of the wall were laid as headers with brick of the W face laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers. The inner E face of the wall in this area was virtually erased.

This clearance exposed, unexpectedly, the shallow remains of a later and substantial wall built closely against the W exterior face of the Eastern Town wall, but at a base level as much as 70 cm higher, on varying depths of earlier construction debris and accumulated sands. This later wall, apparently not seen by Petrie and of undetermined date, was followed for over 35 m in a narrow exposure along the W exterior face of the town enclosure wall, where it was preserved to a maximum of 2 ½ courses. In a shallow 1.5 x 3.0 m lateral test trench the later wall proved to measure about 3.0 m wide to an intact outer W face. All of its surviving base course of mudbrick was found to be of similar size to those bricks in the town wall, laid as headers for its full width to both faces. The test was then extended further W into the material overlying and abutting the W face of this wall, where it became clear that the base of the wall was abutted in turn by the packed mixed debris of a contemporaneous surface/floor, both of these overlying a 5 to 10 cm thick mud floor covering varying depths of presumed construction debris – stone chips, mud lumps and sand overlying bedrock, all probably associated with the construction of the earlier W enclosure wall. Thus it is clear that this better preserved outer wall (or foundation) and its associated stratigraphy, added as it was against the W enclosure wall, represents a fragment of serious extent surviving from a hitherto unknown and distinctly later phase of development in this area.

Mansion 1

Another of our early efforts was centered on Mansion 1 to E of the Acropolis, the large low-lying and probably best preserved house in Petrie's time, together with that length of the adjacent north enclosure wall. On Petrie's plan Mansion 1 was shown virtually complete but on our arrival the S and E parts of the house were found very poorly preserved, the mudbrick walls having been much reduced, if not completely erased, by the activities of local brick robbers. (**Figure 3-9**) Fortunately, parts of some walls which had been removed could in places be traced by their shallow foundation trenches cut into bedrock. The overall inner dimensions of the house are 57.65 m N-S by 40.25 m E-W.

Despite the loss of so much brickwork and most built stone features in the decades following Petrie's work, it quickly became apparent in our clearances that a serious amount of careful quarrying, terracing and leveling of the bedrock had to be carried out by the builders prior to the laying of any mudbrick, this necessitated by the general but irregular slope to SE of the original bedrock. A fact which Petrie failed to note was that floors were regularly laid on varying depths of subfloor fills of earth and stone chips and paved with mudbricks of a distinctly smaller size, 9-10 x 16-18 x 32-35 cm, than the larger mudbricks used in wall construction, measuring 12-14 x 21-22 x 41-44 cm. Some of these paved floors were found to be surprisingly well-preserved even though many of the adjoining walls had been removed. The walls of three rooms in the NW corner of the house, set lower by meters

in the lee of the Acropolis, were preserved to a height of well over a meter. In one of these rooms, 2 mudbrick walls survived to several courses above the height of the spring course for for a vaulted roof. (**Figures 3-10 and 3-11**) Here traces of wooden door-frame impressions were still preserved in the mud plaster of two doorjambs, (**Figure 3-12**) and fallen fragments of black and white, and red and white, painted plaster were found in the debris. (**Figures 3-13 and 3-14**)

Several instances of brick makers' marks made simply by finger - a single dimple in the center, a single diagonal stroke in either direction across the brick, or a small rectangle outlined in one corner so that the whole brick formed the *ḥwt* - hieroglyph - were found on bricks in both the house walls and the N enclosure wall itself, evidence that both were constructed closely in time. The house walls, however, were found not bonded to the enclosure wall, but simply abutting it.

One part of the mansion which yielded a number of new details was the large open north court, measuring 8.6 m N-S by 19.4 m E-W, and paved with the smaller-sized bricks usually associated with floor paving (9-10 x 16-18 x 32-35 cm). There is no surviving evidence for the rectangular feature which Petrie shows projecting into the courtyard on the W side. The N and W walls of this paved court are denuded below any evidence of doorsills. In its NW corner a raised step of 2 partially preserved courses of mudbrick resting on the courtyard paving seems to offer evidence of a short corner step or stairs possibly once serving a doorway through the W end of the court N wall, although no such doorway is shown in this position on the Petrie plan. (**Figure 3-15**) The S side of the court was framed by a columned loggia 3.0 m wide, surely roofed to maximize shade and catch the cooling north wind.[14] The fragments of 7 rows of the smaller-sized mudbrick loggia paving, oriented N-S, bear a fragment of mud floor plaster at their W end and are elevated slightly above the courtyard paving level. Two eroded hollows in bedrock approximate the positions of two of the westernmost column bases of the 9 shown on the Petrie plan.

All surviving remnants of the court paving were laid lengthwise E-W, with the exception of one row of brick laid N-S where bordering the court W wall. The paving was subdivided into four triangles by the initial insertion of four lines of single mudbricks laid end-to-end on the diagonals from close to the court's four corners. Although the courtyard paving is fragmentary, enough survives to show that the four triangular surfaces were carefully laid on very slight slopes down to center, this overall arrangement being clearly designed to accommodate seasonal rainfall in an open court. The sloping diagonals converged at a central feature and here we were very pleased to find a well-cut limestone basin measuring approximately 66 cm square within and 65 cm deep. (**Figure 3-16**) The now badly eroded top of the basin had probably been originally set flush with the mud-plastered pavement. The basin was constructed of four limestone slabs set vertically to interlock at the four corners, all resting on a flat limestone base. It was very skillfully made, the joins being extremely tight and precise and all five inner faces finely dressed.

The central master suite of rooms S of the court could be partly traced in plan. (**Figure 3-17**) A broad socket cut into bedrock to receive a missing dressed stone doorsill in the N wall of the 4-columned atrium was still well-defined although, curiously, Petrie failed to show an axial doorway in this position. The floor of the atrium was found pitted with holes resulting from the removal of column bases and random digging. The transverse hall was 2.6 m wide. The outline of the master bedroom to W was sketchily preserved,

measuring 7.8 m N-S by 3.05 m E-W. Luckily, the W side of the narrowed bed alcove survived, the alcove thus measuring 2.1 m by 2.8 m wide. (**Figure 3-18**) In the room to E of the atrium, parts of 2 rings of mudbrick set into the subfloor fill confirm the location of its 2 now missing stone column bases.

Although Petrie's failure to record the find spots of artifacts makes it a frustrating challenge to assign functions to specific rooms, the plans of the mansions have nevertheless been much discussed and interpreted.[15] Briefly, the mansions, the private residences of important individuals and their families (however one speculates on the respective living arrangements for master, mistress and children, or eldest son and heir), would also have housed a number of servants along with their respective families, as well as providing space for a variety of domestic and household activities.[16] There has been a suggestion, for example, that rooms in the SW corner of the northern mansions, corresponding to rooms that appear W of the large courtyards in the southern mansions, were stables.[17] Given the logistics of transporting the requisite large quantities of water and fodder and the removal of dung through the tight confines of the houses and the narrow access streets, however, it would seem most improbable that significant numbers of domestic animals were kept within these mansions. Agricultural land would have been close at hand and it was surely far more practical to stable animals there, readily accessible on demand.   It is more likely that the rooms in question may have been storerooms,[18] or used for other undetermined activities. One group of rooms that was reasonably well preserved and whose function was clear was that of the granaries occupying the NE corner of the house.

Features Exterior to the North Enclosure Wall: The Staircases & Wall Lining

The remains of three small stairways were found built against the exterior face of the N enclosure wall, adjacent to the granaries (variously preserved) in the NE corners of Mansions 1, 2 and 4, respectively.   Each stairway will be described in turn, and it is interesting to note that each one is constructed in a different manner. All 3 of them appear to be *ad hoc* later additions against the N wall. If the full height of these lower surviving fragments of stairways was intended to give access to the roof areas of the respective granaries, then additional stairs and/or some form of passageway would have been needed to reach the presumed height of the granaries, carved somehow out of the thickness of the N wall itself. Unfortunately, the N wall does not survive to sufficient height in any of these situations to show what might have been arranged above the preserved height of the stairs. Given their positions opposite the granaries, there can be little doubt that the stairways *were* intended for use by harvest-workers bringing grain for storage, filling the granary units through apertures in their roofs in the familiar Egyptian manner.[19] Stairway access to the granaries from outside would certainly have been much more convenient than hauling sacks or baskets of grain through the long narrow streets and house corridors to the storage facilities. It may be that these entryways were blocked up except at harvest-time, but their casual construction suggests that the highly pre-planned layout for the town failed to anticipate every practical need and that some individual adaptation occurred.

In Mansion 1 some lower parts of the granaries were found well preserved, the walls and floors mud-plastered, measuring 3.50 – 3.85 – 3.60 m N-S by 4.30 – 4.40 m E-W, with barley grains still scattered about. (**Figure 3-19**) Examination of the outer face of the N

enclosure wall (3.25 m thick) opposite the granary area revealed the unexpected remains of a fragmentary brick stairway in the form of 4 courses of the larger-sized mudbricks (12-14 x 21-22 x 41-44 cm) laid on edge to form 4 shallow steps rising from W to E to a width of 97 cm. (**Figures 3-20 & 3-21**) The stairway was built on a prepared mud floor overlying untested supporting material. A subsequent 5 cm thick mud floor was laid up to and against the lowest stair. The upper surfaces of the surviving steps exhibit considerable wear.

The stairway was later dismantled to a surviving E-W length of 1.97 m and height of 60 cm and then buried to a varying depth of 50 to 70 cm in an intentional fill of large and small stones. (**Figure 3-22 & 3-23**) This stone fill was then levelled to support the erection of a thin (1 brick length, about 38 cm, the smaller size of mudbrick) lining wall against the exterior face of the N wall (with loose earth fill between the two), laid up as alternate headers and stretchers set on an intentional cant inwards. Only 3 courses of this canted and eroded wall survive at this location, but it survives to varying heights elsewhere along the exterior of the N enclosure wall and, significantly, up to and around the NW corner of the Eastern Town enclosure walls. As a clearly secondary feature added to the exterior walls, this extensive low lining wall may represent a concern for the damage caused by windblown sand scouring and eroding the vulnerable exposed bases of the walls, and an attempt to guard against such damage over time. As such it does indicate that some significant period of time elapsed before the construction of the Western Town.

Having discovered this stairway at the Mansion 1 granary, we explored eastward along the exterior face of the N enclosure wall in hopes of finding further examples outside the other mansions. In a similar position at Mansion 2 we found two fragments of a stairway of somewhat novel form. (**Figure 3-24**) Its apparent width was 0.90 m and its length, between stepped opposing ends, was 5.86 m. Two steps were preserved at its W end and 2 ½ steps at its E end. All of the surviving mudbrick was found laid on edge in rollock fashion, with all lengths laid parallel to the exterior face of the N wall in regular individual rows spaced 20 cm to 27 cm apart. This allowed the next course of rollock-laid brick to span the gap beneath. A full reconstruction based on the remains and pattern of the two probable ends offers a 'pyramidal' double stairs of 9 courses rising to a maximum height of 1.28 m at an upper landing of 2 brick lengths or 0.90 m by 0.90 m square. It also offers the image of a line of grain-carriers filing up one side and down the other during the filling of the granaries. The mudbrick structure of this stairs was built on bedrock partly leveled for the erection of the N wall. Its lower courses of mudbrick were found buried in up to 0.50 m of tumbled stones and scattered clumps of mud debris. A firm, well-preserved and probably intentionally prepared mud floor was exposed for 4.4 m along the exterior face of the N wall and traced for a similar distance to N in a test trench laid out perpendicular to the wall, indicating that this outside area was actively utilized and contemporaneous with the N wall. Though the exterior wall face was preserved in places to 5 brick courses high, there was no sign in this area of the low wall lining noted at adjacent Mansion 1.

At Mansion 4 yet another small stairs was found in 3 fragments against the exterior face of the N wall at a position N of its presumed, but largely destroyed, granaries. The width of the stairs was fortunately preserved as 0.65 m, and its full length was 3.71m. (**Figure 3-25**) Three stepped and plastered brick courses survived at its W end as 3 low stairs. Its E end, similarly, appeared to preserve a first step and a fragment of a second, indicating that this stairs too was double-ended like the Mansion 2 stairs, though the two

stairways were of quite different construction. Relatively smaller than the other two, this appeared to have been built of level courses of mudbrick to a reconstructed height of only 5 or 6 courses, 0.65 c or 0.80 m respectively. Thus, again, further ascent would have been possible only at right angles within the body of the N wall. Beneath the eroded western stair fragment, the remains of 6 mudbricks were exposed, laid in rollock fashion perpendicular to both the N wall face and the stair brick above. These lower mudbricks were laid level with the base course of brick of the N wall and both rested on bedrock which was cut and leveled for their emplacement. As the base of the stairs rested on 5 cm of fill overlying the rollock laid brick, it would appear that these two constructions are not particularly related. The only made mud floor found exterior to the N wall was one directly abutting the base of the stairs. This well prepared level floor, in 2 close thicknesses, was laid over a fill of mud lumps burying the rollock laid brick, the 2-3 lowest courses of the N exterior wall face and both the leveled and natural bedrock in the vicinity.

The 'Acropolis' Mansion

This highest ground along the locally raised desert edge takes the form of a broad fairly level exposure of limestone. (**Figure 3-26**) However, quarrying was required across the building in order to achieve level floors within individual or groups of rooms, including 1 or 2 steps between them where necessary, and was carried down in a shallow stepped fashion from N to S. Similar concern for easy floor level gradient within the immediately adjacent buildings to E (Mansion 1) and S (Petrie's "Guardhouse"/Temple precinct) and beyond, however, required substantial quarrying to depth in those directions, effectively leaving the Acropolis floor levels standing well over a storey (5-6 m) above those for the adjacent buildings to S and E. (**Figure 3-27**) Thus the walls framing the Acropolis on its E and S sides were designed to rise from foundations on the lower quarried levels to enclose the elevated Acropolis for a total original height of perhaps well over 10.0 m. (**Figures 3-28 & 3-29**) The overall order and regularity achieved in carrying out these complex three-dimensional solutions in quarrying and mudbrick construction are testimony to the sophistication and skill of the Middle Kingdom builders working on this awkwardly positioned site.

The interior dimensions of the Acropolis are 57.9 m N-S by 39.7 m E-W. The best preserved construction element is the wall dividing it from Mansion 1, protected as it has been by the high mass of the Acropolis beside it. (**Figure 3-30**) The wall is 3.0 m wide, almost all the mudbricks laid running E-W, perpendicular to the wall face. Layers of matting, noted at 2 separate exposures and heights in the wall, both overlaid with a layer of 1 cm thick mud mortar, were found used as reinforcement between eight courses of mudbrick. This matting, still in excellent condition, was made of reed stems laid parallel and laced together at approximate 20 cm intervals with opposed strands of palm fibre cord. Two mats were used for each layer, one set at right angles to the other and square with the brickwork. (**Figure 3-31**)

Access to this elevated building was via an entrance lobby at the low SE corner, on the general level of Mansion 1. A large rectangular depression, 2.15 m N-S by 2.7 m E-W, still indicates the position of the doorsill, its width suggesting an originally double-leaved door. The lobby floor was paved with mudbricks bearing 8 or more layers of mud plaster

totaling up to 9 cm thickness, suggesting both heavy use and regular repair. Just inside to the right of the entrance door there was a small room presumed by Petrie to be the doorkeeper's lodge. Directly to left of the entrance a stairway, now nearly totally erased, ascended westward leading to now missing front rooms. To reach the wider main stairway one passed around the doorkeeper's lodge to ascend northward, within and against the E wall. (**Figure 3-32**) The stairs were of a low standard rise and Petrie notes that, though made of plastered mudbrick, they showed remarkably little wear.[20] The main stairway, originally a commodious 2.0m wide, is now in a poor state of preservation with all mudbrick removed except for the bottom 3 steps. Although the area at the top of the stairway is thoroughly eroded, traces that survive do accommodate the presence of a long passageway leading N bypassing the master suite on the left to arrive at the large N court, an arrangement found in other mansions. Although remains of both these stairways survive, however scantily, there is no trace of the third stairs presented by Petrie on his plan. A study of the quarried situation behind and immediately to N of the S wall of the Acropolis, where Petrie appears to show a N-S running third stairway, offers an angle of rise far too steep against the given bedrock for it to have been structurally feasible. The height of brickwork surviving at its supposed base also argues against a stairway in this position.

Petrie's explanation for the relatively greater "destroyed by denudation" of this highest building is correct.[21] Deflation by wind-driven sand, apparent across the whole of the town site, had surely been heaviest here. Most of the fragmentary plan that he was able to reclaim and record, although largely substantiated by our re-examination, reveals in its scantiness some of the difficulties and limitations of his approach.[22] (**Figure 3-33**) It is clear that he expeditiously limited his recording to walls which were physically preserved above paved floor levels. Most all other structural remains, that is floor pavings, foundations, depressions and ghosts of walls between pavings and subfloor fills, were not noted or drawn on his plan. As a result, and to our surprise, a great deal of the very nearly destroyed Acropolis plan was still recoverable. It also proved to be more complex than previously understood. (**Figure 34**)

The N and W outer enclosure walls that define those two sides of the Acropolis survive clearly enough, if now only in the form of scattered *in situ* mudbricks and regular if broken patterns of mudpats surviving on bedrock showing the positions of now missing brickwork. (**Figure 3-35**) Two mudpats were used to bed every mudbrick, first directly on leveled ground and then routinely between courses of brickwork. In some areas the ground was first prepared with an application of a thin smear of mud before the first mudpats. In other areas all that survives of walls is the pattern of those lowest mudpats -or just that first mud smear on bedrock. Although the immediate exterior NW corner is missing, sufficient exterior face bricks survive close to it to confirm an original exterior corner, clearly unbonded to the N wall enclosing the later western extension. Petrie's impression that the 'Western Town' was a later addition against this W wall has been confirmed by our discovery of further remains of the low narrow refacing or lining already discussed for Mansion 1, found for considerable if discontinuous lengths along the exterior faces of both the N and W enclosure walls and here, significantly, at both sides of this NW corner.

Within the Acropolis four major elements common to the adjoining N mansions are easily identifiable, a long corridor connecting the SE entrance to a large N court with columned loggia on its S side, the latter giving access to a master suite to S, and to W, a 12-

columned atrium leading to another suite of private rooms S of it.

Here the N court is almost square, measuring 18.5 m N-S by 18.8 m E-W, paved very similarly to that in Mansion 1, except that the lines of diagonal bricks crossing from the corners are two bricks wide and the sump at its center was cut into the bedrock in the form of a neatly circular hole with rounded bottom measuring 1.3 m in diameter and about 0.75 m in depth.[23] There were no indications that it had ever been fitted with a limestone tank, as found *in situ* in Mansion 1. Again as in Mansion 1, the N, E and W walls of the paved court are defined by fragmentary walls denuded below any evidence of doorsills, but fortunately evidence of a similar small corner stairs (or step) was found at its NW corner. The S side of the court preserved small fragments of a distinct paving (bricks laid N-S) for a loggia 3.0 m wide, but little evidence for the emplacements of columns. Other intrusive brickwork and associated mortar base fragments will be discussed later.

The master suite of 4 rooms lying immediately to S of the large court consisted of a transverse corridor 17.9 m long by 1.55 m wide offering access between the large N court and the 3 rooms to S. The N and S walls of this corridor were interrupted by hollows in the bedrock filled with loose debris mixed with fragments of cut white limestone that indicate the positions of now destroyed cut stone doorsills for doors that would have provided direct communication between the N court loggia through the corridor to the 3 rooms of the master suite. This arrangement of doorways is only partly evident on Petrie's plan for 4 of the mansions and suggests that he, too, had difficulty discerning positions of original doorways in the denuded walls as he found them. The private suite of rooms consists of an atrium 7.9 m square, its partial roof supported by 4 columns, centered between a 2-columned room, 7.9 m by 4.65 m, to the E and a bedroom, 5.9 m by 3.2 m to the W, including a bed-niche 2.0 m by 2.9 m, at its S end. There is no evidence in the given remains of walls of any further (deeply founded) doorsills offering access between these rooms or to other rooms on the E, W and S. Petrie's plan, however, does show some connecting doorways in similar suites in other mansions.

The 12-columned court or atrium with its central tank, 10.0 m by 9.5 m, plus the block of 4 adjacent rooms to S, bear striking resemblance in their form and position to those in other mansions, though the squarish block of 4 rooms differs in detail. Although all stone features are missing, fortunately the built jog in the surviving W face of the E wall of the narrow NW room in this block does confirm that the room was another bedchamber, 6.2 m by 2.70 m, with the bed alcove at its S end, measuring 1.60 m by 2.50 m.

A rank of 5 rectangular chambers (varying in width from 2.5 m to 3.5 m and in length from 6.4 m to 6.6 m) framing the E side of the N court, not recorded by Petrie, were possibly exposed by the *sebakhin* and are now clearly visible on the E side of the Acropolis (see **Figure 26**).   They were certainly contained within the Acropolis, but, curiously, the E half of their E-W length was quarried to depth prior to the erection of all their associated mudbrick walls to approximately the floor level of Mansion 1. (The line of this quarrying is a continuation of that required for the insertion of the frontal main stairway immediately to south and continues northward beneath the N enclosure wall.) The function of the spaces thus created at the depth between the rising quarried bedrock face and the Acropolis / Mansion 1 party wall, remains a puzzle. They might simply have been filled with rubble to Acropolis floor level, or, more intriguingly, they might have had some functional sub-floor function, perhaps some cellars.   There may be a parallel in the building S of the

"guardhouse"/temple, where Petrie records the presence of sub-floor rock-cut cellars "closed by flap doors of stout wood, one of which was still lying in place."[24]

Although the block of granaries found in other mansions are not evident in the Acropolis, this may be because the NW quarter of the plan has seen a lot of disturbance, erasing all evidence of granaries.

The Acropolis building is also remarkable in bearing the distinct remains of two major alterations/intrusions. The NW quarter of the plan has been seriously confused and interrupted, as we found, by 2 features of surely secondary and perhaps unrelated construction. The largest takes the form of patchy but distinct traces of a large rectangular structure measuring over 18.0 by 23.0 m, with mudbrick walls 2.6 m thick. The mudbricks used are of the standard larger size (12-14 x 21-22 x 41-44 cm) found in wall construction across the site . This structure was set squarely with and about 2.0 m within the N and W outer enclosure walls. Its S wall appears to override as well as interrupt the N court W wall and paving. The position of its E wall is suggested by traces of mud mortar and wall brick fragments remaining where court paving has been broadly erased. Traces of 4 short thin walls on its N and W exterior appear to divide the narrow space between it and inner faces of the enclosure walls into small narrow chambers with unclear entries. Traces of 5 similar small walls within also appear to divide the space between it and the N court N and W sides into smaller chambers.

A large carefully cut shaft, not mentioned by Petrie, measuring 1.6 m by 3.2 m at the top,[25] was found sunk into bedrock in a position neatly centered between the N wall of the large court and the inner face of the N enclosure wall. The remains of a possible brick superstructure framing this shaft for about 1.5 m width on its E side was also found neatly fitted between the walls to N and S. The upper meter of the shaft was lined with mudbrick set on a shelf cut into bedrock allowing the face of the brick lining to continue flush with the stone faces of the shaft below. Most of this brick, as well as that used for the possible superstructure, are similar in size to the larger bricks used in wall construction. The depth of the shaft is unknown, it being partially filled with sandy debris, but it is certainly over 5.0 m. The position of the shaft and its possible superstructure would interrupt a projected NE corner for the large rectangular structure just described. Both of these "intrusive features," however, share a curiously close squareness with each other and all other surrounding Acropolis features.

The NW quarter of the Acropolis also bears a third intrusion in the form of a cemetery of at least 28 graves of single extended body size, casually and crudely cut into the bedrock but arranged on an E-W orientation parallel to each other on irregular spacings in 3 N-S rows. The W ends of the 15 graves in the W row appear in part to have respected the E face of the W wall of the intrusive rectangular structure, but all 3 rows extend well into and S of its reconstructed S wall. Several other stray pits of varying size in this area may also have been graves. It is evident that all of the graves have been disturbed as fragments of cloth and bone protrude from the loose sandy debris filling them. One small cloth fragment bore traces of a cross in the weave, suggesting that some of the graves were Christian. Beyond mapping their positions, the graves were not further investigated.

Petrie's suggestion that the Acropolis was the royal residence or rest-house of the king during his visits to the area appears to have been based largely on the apparent status conveyed by its elevated position, with the open space and a 'guardhouse' at its SE front

entry.[26] The currently revised plan, albeit incomplete, includes most of the main elements common to the mansions ranked immediately E of it. Although not identical to them, the Acropolis can be categorized as a mansion favored by both height and association with the open square and special building to the S. It might then be assigned to a senior official in residence in the town, perhaps being the *pr ḥꜣty-ꜥ* referred to in the texts. As for a palace, it is surely safe to speculate that there was one at Lahun, undoubtedly a unique and grander affair than the mansions, privately situated outside the confines of the town and possibly associated with the prominent royal cult temple/Valley Temple. Along with so much of the southern part of the town, it may be long since lost.

The Midan and Temple (a.k.a. Petrie's 'Guardhouse')

Immediately S of the Acropolis is a deeply quarried and level terrace bearing the fragmentary remains of what had been a broad mudbrick paving, framed to N by the S outer wall of the Acropolis, to W by the W outer enclosure wall and to E by the wall (now missing) framing the W side of the N-S street. (**Figure 3-36**) The smaller-sized paving bricks (9-10 x 16-18 x 32-35 cm) were laid in rows running E-W. As preserved, the paving abuts a partially exposed 27 m length of thin wall, apparently more lining, laid against the Acropolis S wall face. The paving closely approaches the much buried and unexplored E face of the W outer enclosure wall and is found preserved eastwards to a point about 3.0 m W of the entrance to the Acropolis. The pavement is preserved to a maximum N-S extent measuring over 10.5 m, and found laid on a gentle slope southward of deeply quarried bedrock. This slope may have provided sufficient drainage for the original (but unknown) full extent of the paved area. There are no signs here of the diagonal lines of mudbrick found subdividing and draining the large sloped courtyards of Mansion 1 and the Acropolis. Given the uninterrupted proximity to the entrance lobby of the Acropolis, it is possible that entry to the Acropolis was via this open paved area, perhaps from some lost outer point of entry in the wall which Petrie shows framing the W side of the N-S street.

Petrie's suggestion that the building standing to S of this 30.0 m open area was a guardhouse followed on from his earlier supposition that the Acropolis was a royal residence requiring nearby facilities for bodyguards. Now that it can be amply demonstrated that the former is a somewhat modified mansion, this building also needs reappraisal. Standing uniquely isolated in well-defined open space, what remains of its plan suggests that we are presented here with the scanty remains of a small temple. It is known from Lahun texts that there was a temple to the falcon god Sopdu "Lord of the East" established in the town and this building has been proposed as that temple.[27] If we place the "mayor" in residence in the Acropolis mansion, then the association of Acropolis with temple is even stronger, since the texts speak of the *ḥꜣty-ꜥ* as also being *imy-rꜥ ḥwt-nṯr*, chief administrator/manager of the temple.[28]

Despite heavy erosion and brick-robbing, Petrie's plan of this singular building has proven to be largely retraceable. Except in the NW corner of the terrace where brick paving was preserved, extensive clearance of surface debris and accumulated sand has exposed enough bedrock to show that this had been cut and shaped to distinct simple forms indicating that the building stood alone within a largely recessed walled compound and paved area. (**Figure 3-37**) Nearly the whole area prepared for the building and its once walled but open

compound is unfortunately on an area of smooth quarried limestone bedrock which has now become very soft and crumbly, so much so that it has lost much of its originally quarried surface. The building as recorded by Petrie appears already in his time to have lost its NE and NW corners to deflation. Upon re-examination, however, the ruin proves to survive in sufficient, albeit fragmentary form, to substantiate most of the walls on Petrie's plan. The building overall measures 18.0m N-S by 21.0 m E-W. (**Figure 3-38**) Subsequent deflation has erased all actual remains of doorways or sills. The 2 columns shown at the S end of the broader W room on Petrie's plan are indicated now by two casually laid rings of mudbrick set into a sandy subfloor fill within quarried hollows. (**Figure 3-39**) The W ring still supports mudbrick paving abutting it. (Similar circles of brick were found set into subfloor fill in a 2-columned room in Mansion 1, where they clearly acted as sockets for stone column bases.) The room is 5.25 m wide, but unfortunately the rest of the room's floor surface is lost to deflation. However, standard spacing would allow for a reconstruction of 6 pairs of columns across the 14.75 m length of the hall. (**Figure 3-40**)

To its S and W the building was clearly framed by enclosure walls separated from it by open paved areas measuring approximately 5.5 m wide. (**Figure 3-41**) Scraps of this paving do survive. A rectangular 1.3 m by 2.5 m recess found cut 20 cm deep into the bedrock on line with remains of the S enclosure wall and about 2.0 m distant from the reconstructed inner face of the W enclosure wall was likely to have been prepared to receive a large cut stone doorsill for a major entry in this S wall. Petrie's plan shows this S wall merely as a lengthy stub (without doorway) preserved as far E as the SW corner of the enclosed building, but we were able to trace it, albeit only as scraps of mudbrick and mud mortar, along its N face to just beyond the SE corner of the building where the scanty remains peter out. It may be that the S wall continued E for several more meters to a junction with a now totally erased N-S running wall that originally defined the W side of the N-S street, but unfortunately evidence for such does not survive.

To the N and E of the building, the terrace of limestone supporting it was found to be evenly cut to slope down (on an original angle of 20-30°) just beyond the remaining fragments of the building's N and E outer walls, thus framing those 2 sides of the building in eroded but straight and regular fashion to a common lower or bottom level beyond with measurably straight lower edges defined by vestiges of mud mortar. The line of mud mortar on the E appears to define the base of the now totally missing outer face of the building's outer E wall and that on the N may define the outer face of a totally missing N outer wall closely paralleling the given N wall on Petrie's plan. The NE corner junction of these 2 slopes (and of that corner of the temple) has been rounded off by erosion but the W and S extent of their bases tapers off against smoothly quarried but rising bedrock in both of those directions. The surviving regular depth of these slopes into the depression lying to N and E of the building is about 0.8 – 1.0 m. This depression, presumably fully cleared by Petrie and now devoid of either structural traces or the mud laminae resulting from ancient ponding, terminates to E along a fairly straight E-W slope closely paralleling and dropping from the base of the now totally missing N-S wall framing the W side of the street to E. To N and W this otherwise regularly cut and framed depression rises gradually to the quarried level surrounding it that still bears large fragments of mudbrick pavement. All in all, this depression, measuring roughly 20 m E-W by 30 m N-S across its bottom, surely looks to be the result of intentional quarrying, as opposed to other human disturbance or natural

deflation. Both its function, as well as its association with the building standing on 2 sides of it, remain open to further speculation.

The partially explored area lying between the depression to N of the temple and the W outer enclosure wall appears to have been further open terrace area quarried roughly level with the base of the W enclosure wall and the temple, several meters wide and sloping gently to S on a plane contiguous with the paving to N and S of it. Although where explored it is now denuded of all structural material, this area might have been part of a paved connection between the temple and the Acropolis entry to NE.

The East Gate and Approach Passage

On examining the area of the only known gateway to the town, found by Petrie in the E outer enclosure wall on axis with the major E-W street within (**Figure 3-42**), few structural remains of the actual gateway were found, only fragments of mudbrick for the E enclosure wall immediately to each side. The E enclosure wall was variably preserved but its full width of 3.25 m was preserved further N of the gate. (**Figure 3-43**) The narrowing of the enclosure wall which Petrie showed S of the gate was merely due to poor preservation. In the gateway, a large (now empty) rectangular socket was quarried into the level bedrock, measuring 2.4 m N-S by 4.0 m E-W by 0.3-0.4 m deep, probably intended to receive one or more large limestone slabs forming a doorsill designed to straddle the thickness of the wall as well as the width of the gateway. Only two fragments of mudbrick construction were found close by inside the gate, both probably parts of the 2 mudbrick features shown flanking the inner face of the gate on Petrie's plan, the southern one perhaps a porter's room.[29]

The 2 short walls flanking the gate's exterior on Petrie's plan were re-examined and proved to be only segments of 2 long well-defined but thin mudbrick side walls framing a straight approach passage 2.5 m wide continuing eastward directly on axis with the gate. (**Figures 3-44 & 3-45**) This fits well with the N-S 2.4 m dimension of the gateway threshold socket described above. The side walls were built of the smaller-sized mudbricks normally used for paving, 9-10 by 16-18 by 32-35 cm. (**Figure 3-46**) They directly abut the enclosure wall E exterior face where they share a foundation and gateway floor level cut approximately 0.35 m into the bedrock in the area of the gate and its immediate interior. These side walls and the passageway they flank were thus set for much of their length into a broad trench cut into the bedrock to a maximum exposed depth of 0.7 m. The need for this quarried trench was further determined by the gradient of the roadway, set on a gentle to increasing slope down to E from the E Gate sill level to intersect a gully (now more deeply eroded) flowing S to the flood plain. (**Figure 3-47**) Both walls survive complete in length to their finished E ends for a maximum length of 27.5 m, laid on a total slope down from gate level to their E ends of 1.24 m and for a maximum preserved height of 8 courses of brick or 0.92 m. (**Figure 3-48**)

At a distance of 5.6 m E of their abutment with the exterior face of the E enclosure wall and the E gate, both side walls are interrupted by short stairways of 2 to 3 steps about 1.7 m wide rising 0.7 m from the roadway surface to N and S, the steps carved out of bedrock to reach the top of the leveled bedrock to either side. (**Figure 3-49**) Unfortunately the walls in the vicinity of these side stairs are not preserved to sufficient height to offer

finished outer faces or other clues to some intended space and function served here to the sides of this major entry. Without further evidence it is at least clear that these side openings offered more ready access from the gate and roadway to the immediate exterior of the enclosure wall. Although no extensive clearance of the areas to N and S of the stairs was undertaken (these being obscured by Petrie's widespread dumps), those areas of bedrock exposed in their vicinity do show that surfaces had been leveled and bore patches of mud floor plaster. It was clear that irregularly eroded bedrock to the exterior of the E enclosure wall had been initially quarried and leveled as part of the preparation for the construction of that wall. These surfaces are similar to those encountered at intervals along the exterior of the N enclosure wall (where they included mud floors, thin stratified materials and sherds, engaged with the secondary exterior stairs and traced in some instances over 5.0 m beyond the N wall.) These exterior surfaces suggest busy contemporary domestic activity outside the town walls. Intriguing as they are, these areas await future exploration.

The mudbricks of both outer passage side walls were laid in level courses on a mud surfaced roadway cut on a gentle E slope in the bedrock for a distance of 17.7 m from the exterior face of the E enclosure wall. At that point the slope of the bedrock takes a steeper angle and disappears at about 1.0 m further E under a mass of packed stone chips, a compact fill supporting both the roadway and its side walls, which continues E to an eroded end over 31.0 m E of the E face of the enclosure wall. The brick coursing of the walls is also altered at the 17.7 m point to courses laid on a more sloped base on the stone chip fill, the slope measuring approximately 1 in 10 for a remaining distance of 9.5 m to the finished and squared ends of the side walls. The depth of the stone chip fill at its eroded E end measures about 1.0 m to its base on naturally eroded bedrock sloping into the gully. The stone chip fill (possibly antique to some degree beneath Petrie's dumps?) is also found packed against the preserved heights of the exterior faces of the side walls for much of their length E of the side stairs. The W flank of the gully is now much obscured by Petrie's dumps and windblown sand. (**Figure 3-50**) Where the passageway surface was broken, at least 4 successive mud floors were revealed in section. It appears that any original eastward continuation of the roadway at that level must have been supported on a fill of packed stone chips (reused quarrying debris) dumped into the gully, this subsequently carried away by erosion. No signs of a bridging of the gully in stone were noted. It is of course tempting to hypothesize a canal with a landing stage or pier at the end of this sloping roadway, or perhaps more likely, at a further distance at the S end of the gully at the contemporaneous Nile flood plain level. These possibilities also await exploration.

Summary Observations

Whatever the ancient reasons for the selection of the Lahun site for a major building program and the orientation chosen for the essentially regular and preplanned town, it would appear that these criteria were considered important enough to override any practical concerns for local topographic compatibility and ease of construction. From the builders' perspective, the site chosen was hardly ideal. Although the elevated limestone bedrock offered a dominant setting overlooking the lower flood plain, that immediate area found supporting the surviving extent of the town as documented by Petrie was anciently (and still is) a broad and very irregularly eroded surface broken into small bluffs and sloping terraces

standing from approximately 5.0 to 15.0 m above the present flood plain. Despite the shortcomings of the site, the whole of the town proves to have been one vast (if perhaps slightly stultifying) exercise in mudbrick, professionally built to impressive building standards.

Today this eroded slope of bedrock continues to S well beyond the given surviving southern extent of the town, in places for tens of meters beyond the remains of the buildings. As Petrie comments: "The southern ends of all these streets have been washed away entirely by denudation; and half of the part that is planned here is only a few inches deep, just enough to trace the plan by."[30] If we accept the probability of an original S enclosure wall connected and cornering with the lost original lengths of the E and W enclosure walls, a topographic puzzle presents itself. The sloping eroded bedrock drops awkwardly down to the modern plain level in this southern area, in antiquity perhaps meters lower than we find it now. The completion of a rectangular enclosure spanning these different levels would have required founding mudbrick walls on very deep (and yet unsought) foundations on the lower plain or on a very broad and deep stone and earthen fill artificially raising the plain level. In either case, whether on bedrock or on manmade fill, it is difficult to explain the disappearance of such a broad mass of supporting material. Whatever the cause, erosion or destruction on this scale would certainly have been dramatic.

Given the choice of site, the scale of the project and the preplanned rectangularity and density of the scheme, the builders were forced into elaborate alterations and preparations of their ground. The irregular bedrock had to be carefully leveled and terraced across almost the whole of the extent of the Eastern Town, in many cases room by room. Individual wall foundations were found set in shallow trenches on leveled bedrock, while finer adjustments to individual floor levels between rooms were achieved by the use of semi-stratified subfloor fills consisting of previously quarried rubble, earth and sand, leveled and sealed by mud-plastered mudbrick floor paving. Dressed limestone doorsills were set into individually quarried sockets. All of this preliminary sculpting and in-filling had to be carefully controlled over considerable distances in order to achieve easy, but stepped, gradients across the whole of the town. This sculpting is most dramatic in the case of the so-called 'Acropolis', where the E and S sides of the natural stone prominence were carved back to near vertical E and S faces to define a platform rising over a full storey above the lower town. Although the Acropolis proves to be little more than a modified mansion in scale and plan, it would have been the one prominent building within the town, additionally favored by the open space and the temple possibly associated with its S approach.

The builders appear to have favored founding most mudbrick walls directly on leveled bedrock, in some cases on a first or leveling course of brick laid in rollock bond. All wall faces were laid in alternate courses of headers and stretchers and the now very limited evidence suggests they were given a batter varying from slight to 1-in-10 on both faces. Lowest mudbrick courses on bedrock were either laid in a thick 1-2 cm continuous layer of mud mortar or, more generally, on flattened mudpats, 2 pats per brick. With a few curious exceptions, the size of wall brick averaged 12-14 cm thick by 21-22 cm by 41-44 cm within a broader variation. Floor paving brick, in contrast, were smaller, averaging (again with exceptions) 9-10 cm by 16-17 cm by 33-35 cm, all laid flat.

It is clear from recent examination that since Petrie's day much (if not surely most) of the then surviving mudbrick has been carried off by the *sebakhin.* Fortunately the E and

S walls framing the Acropolis are still preserved to appreciable heights, revealing some structural details. Layers of matting were found inserted at regular intervals in the brickwork, a practice probably used in all of the more substantial walls across the site. All bricks filling the core of walls 3 brick lengths or more in width were laid perpendicular to the run of the wall, *i.e.* as headers at the wall faces.

Remains of mud plaster on wall and floor surfaces were commonly found. In one case in the entrance lobby of the Acropolis 8 or more layers, totaling 9 cm in total thickness, survive on the brick paving. Smaller amounts of limewashed mud plaster were found on walls, some fewer loose fragments bearing colored panels of red and white as well as a background of black paint. Two doorways in relatively well preserved fragments of the W side rooms of Mansion 1 bore the impressions of missing light wood door frames in the mud plaster of their jambs. On this basis, as well as with Petrie's findings, it can be supposed that most buildings were commonly fitted with interior features of such light as well as heavier wooden construction.

In the majority of buildings examined (as in buildings, large and small, documented by Petrie across the site), there is a predominance of rectangular rooms with widths of 2 or 3 standard variants of vault spans and walls of serious thickness - all characteristic of the use of mudbrick vaulting, probably of so-called "Nubian" or skewed construction. Petrie found occasional remains of vaulting in the western houses, and he describes the better-preserved and vaulted rooms adjacent to the Acropolis in Mansion 1, where some evidence still survives.[31] (See **Figures 3-10, 3-11, and 3-12**) The room proportions do suggest that there may have been a prevailing use of vaulting for the roofs of rectangular rooms and passageways. Petrie notes that many remains of timber and reed roofs were found collapsed into rooms in the western houses.[32] The suggestion has been made that a substantial and roofed upper storey once existed across the town,[33] but that has to remain conjecture.[34] Light constructions on flat roofs appear commonly in house models and the regular use of roof tops is surely to be expected, but we found no evidence in mudbrick of stairs to rooftops within the buildings we examined (other than the 3 examples against the exterior of the N enclosure wall that appear to have served the granaries). Selected larger or status rooms, as only found and described by Petrie, were graced with cut stone or timber columns and colonnades supporting partial or complete flat roofs of mud-plastered timber. The use of finer cut white limestone, again in high status buildings, appears limited to columns, column bases, doorsills (and perhaps the jambs of special doorways). In the case of Mansion 1, a stone built rainwater sump found centered in the open and partially roofed court served to collect that water which drained from the mudbrick paved court floor. The liberal use of mudbrick paving extended to exterior as well as interior floors, requiring regular replastering. We found numerous instances of rodent holes in the mudbrick, as Petrie observed.[35]

Following our reappraisal of Mansion 1, the Acropolis, the temple and the east gate, it is now possible to present a revised plan of the town of Lahun. (**Figure 3-51**)

The Pyramid East Side

As the search for sufficiently preserved and productive areas of exploration and documentation across the much denuded town site became increasingly unpromising, we

decided to focus (for what later proved to be our final season) on the pyramid, and what might readily be explored, recleared and documented of its exterior features. Looming as it did always on our horizon, we hoped to find it less disturbed since Petrie's day, if also reburied to an unknown extent by windblown sand. Our interest was particularly spurred by the relative lack of detailed graphic as well as analytic description of the particular construction of this major monument, whether by Petrie or subsequent examiners. In short, we felt that we had little to lose, if even in a brief season (just over 3 weeks) of preliminary clearance.

Very briefly, the pyramid base length has been measured at 107.0 m, with a slope, determined by Petrie, of 42° 35' rising to an estimated height of 48.6m.[36] Although a core of limestone bedrock was shaped and incorporated into the lower part of the structure, this is the earliest royal pyramid to have a substantial mass of mudbrick serving as its upper core, reinforced by a supporting framework of limestone radial and cross walls constructed of large stacked blocks set above and possibly upon the bedrock, their ends now visible within and under the eroding mudbrick mass. Originally, of course, the entire pyramid was cased in polished limestone blocks, a few fragments of which still lie scattered at the base. There was a small temple at the center base of the N side, but the actual entrance was for the first time not on that side. After much searching, Petrie found one narrow shaft on the S side close within the first limestone enclosure wall and a second wider shaft carefully hidden in the floor of a queen's tomb (Tomb 10) well away from the pyramid, between the inner and outer enclosure walls, both leading via shaft and tunnel to the burial chamber. There was a cult temple on the E side, destroyed but for its foundation trenches cut into the bedrock, the blocks having been removed for reuse in the time of Ramses II. On the N side, between the two enclosure walls, was a row of 8 rock-cut mastabas and in the NE corner a small pyramid. No entrances to these have been found.[37]

The lower slope of the E side of the pyramid was chosen for our trial clearances since it offered a maximum exposure of structural features as well as easiest access. Initial clearance was to be limited to exposing a representative section centered on the upper profile and E face. (**Figure 3-52**) With a small team we were gradually able to expose a continuous section from the base of the mass of mudbrick, comprising the upper third to half of the pyramid's original height, down through varying levels of stone construction and quarried bedrock to the eroded remains of the frontal terrace of the small temple at its E base. (**Figure 3-53**) The total height of the exposed section measured approximately 20.0 m, with an E-W length of approximately 43.0 m, from the base of the mudbrick down to nearly the E extent of Petrie's clearances of the E temple terrace on bedrock. In addition, a 'section/elevation' of the denuded E end of the E-W axial cross wall, as found standing within the lower mass of mudbrick, was prepared. The drawings are shown together in their relative relationship. (**Figure 3-54**) A further drawing provides a plan and section of the E terrace to the 10 x 25 m extent exposed by our work. (**Figure 3-55**) The features exposed are described from the pyramid base westwards and upwards, beginning with the frontal E terrace.

The frontal E terrace, presumably quarried to an original level surface in soft limestone, is now found to be seriously wind-scoured and irregular but bearing two shallow (up to 0.65 m deep) smoothly quarried but incompletely preserved outer rectangular recesses. (**Figure 3-56**) Petrie determined from graffiti that the temple structure had been removed in the time of Ramses II, but he found limestone fragments bearing fine painted

relief and red granite fragments with hieroglyphs painted green, presumably from door jambs or lintels.[38] The northern recess measures 3.5 m E-W by 6.0 m N-S and the southern recess measures 3.3 m E-W by 4.7 m N-S. Both appear to be adjoined to E by shallowly stepped horizontal surfaces and to W by a 1.0 to 1.4 m wide N-S running trench cut to a 15-20 cm depth below the bottoms of the recesses. This trench also appears to frame the E sides of 2 further, more close-set but less deep, rectangular recesses positioned about 2.0 m to W. The northern and somewhat irregular recess measures 3.8 m N-S and the southern recess 5.0 m N-S. Both of these were only partially cleared at their E sides, filled as they were with salt-hardened sandy debris obscuring their full westward extent. This very hardened stony debris also obscured the width and depth of the adjacent quarried N-S running socket / foundation trench described by Petrie as defining the periphery of the pyramid's E casing. A length of several meters of the quarried W inner face of this casing socket was cleared and recognized as the rising bedrock core of the pyramid. (**Figures 3-57 & 3-58**)

The bedrock base of the pyramid was exposed for approximately 4.0 m height above the estimated lowest 0.5 m depth obscured by salt-hardened fill. Above this height the bedrock was cut into 3 somewhat irregular steps, the lowest step still bearing 2 inner sub-casing blocks *in situ,* square-cut and 0.94 m high. (**Figure 3-59**) The second prepared step was empty, but above it the third step supported 3 unequal courses of limestone blocks. From this point upwards the bedrock core itself was not visible, although 3 further stepped courses of limestone blocks most likely reflect the pattern established at the base, *i.e.* cut stone blocks supported on a stepped core of bedrock. In effect, this pattern of approximately coursed sub-casing masonry survived for 6 steps to a height of over 7.0 m, giving an approximate angle on the sub-casing slope of 46 degrees. (See **Figure 3-53**)

Five to 6 similarly coursed but less regularly cut and fitted stone slabs were found rising to a further height of over 4.5 m above the sixth regular course, but in a much more eroded state. Those blocks of this level lying further W within the mass of masonry were seen to be laid between compact beds of coarse sand and stone chips rather than on bedrock. (**Figure 3-60**)

A roughly quarried stone measuring approximately 1.0 m high and 2.0 m wide and resting flush with the top of the 4.5 m thick assemblage described above was, when viewed looking W on line with the W section of the E axial cross wall, laid directly beneath a stack of 6 further courses of large stones comprising the next major structural feature visible, the axial E-W cross wall. (**Figure 3-61**) Four lower stones, measuring approximately 0.80 m thick by 3.5 m wide in section, support two upper stones measuring approximately 1.0 m thick and 2.0 m wide, for a total height above the E terrace of 19.8 m. All of these stones were very roughly quarried. The lowest of the 6 stones was found buried to full depth to N and S sides in a thick mixed fill of large stone chips (quarry-waste) and coarse sand. Although the upper 5 stones visible in this section could have been stacked up prior to completing the bulk of the pyramid core of massed mudbrick to their sides and above, it was surely technically much easier to have set them in place course by course as the height of the brickwork progressed to each side. (**Figure 3-62**)

As the effort to explore and articulate the preserved extent of the upper mudbrick lay beyond our resources, only the following visual observations can be made. Denudation of this major constituent of the pyramid has obviously been the result of the loss of the pyramid's limestone casing and subsequent exposure of the mudbrick to wind, rain,

depredation, ancient and modern tunneling, as well as shearing and collapse of mudbrick following the removal of supporting masonry below. In the very approximately 28.0 m high eroded E "face" there are no signs of particular interruptions in the pattern of the mudbrick coursing or significant variations in the application of mortar beds. A distinct and level bed of fine sand was found laid to a 15 cm depth over the irregular top of the coarse sand and stone chip fill lying to the N and S sides of the axial cross wall and close under the massed mudbrick. As well, the interstices between the irregular limestone cross wall and the generally tightly laid mudbrick were filled with stone chips and broken brickbats, particularly against the S "face" of this axial cross wall. Curiously, the first 5 courses of exposed mudbrick laid against this wall face were laid perpendicular to it, as opposed to parallel to both faces and everywhere else. Thus, with this exception, all of the mudbrick exposed in the eroded E section of the pyramid appears to be laid as headers, *i.e.* laid E – W.

This discussion of the construction of the pyramid is necessarily very preliminary and incomplete. We presumed, of course, to return to Lahun with Dr. Millet in 1998, but as it happened he subsequently became ill. As recently as Christmas, 2002 he still talked with us fondly of returning to work at Lahun, but sadly, that was not to be. Our very dear friend and colleague died two years later. It has fallen to us to prepare and present this work, very much in his memory.

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NOTES

[1] The area of the concession comprised approximately 1600 hectares, between 29 14' and 29 16' north latitude, and between 30 57' and 31 0' east longitude, encompassing the pyramid, extensive cemeteries and the town.

[2] Field seasons took place as follows: 26 Feb.-25 Mar. 1988; 3 -30 Apr. 1990; 10 Apr.-19 May 1992; 17 Apr.-13 May 1993; 24 Mar.-23Apr. 1994; 6 Apr.-30 Apr. 1995; 19 Feb.-18 Mar. 1996; 10 Mar.-6 Apr. 1997.

[3] Letter dated 8 May, 1987, from Dr. N.B. Millet to Dr. Ahmed Qadry, then Chairman of the Permanent Committee, Egyptian Antiquities Organization.

[4] A reign of 19 years, *c*.1897-1878 BC., is frequently given in chronologies, for example, Baines and Malek, 1980. A good summary of the scholarship is found in Ulrich Luft, in Quirke, 1998, 5-6. R. Frey used these dates for her entry on "Illahun" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, 2000. Although 19 years is given in the Turin Canon (19th Dynasty), no contemporary evidence has been found to corroborate that length.

[5] Kitchen, 2000, 46. In the contemporary tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan the leader of the well-known band of Semites, Abishai, is handed a papyrus permit by an Egyptian official, dated 'year 6' of the king's reign. No higher year dates have yet been published.

[6] Petrie called the town site 'Kahun' after asking local people. In his *Journal* of 8-15 April, 1889, he recalls, "I only got this name (Medinet Kahun) from one man. No one else knows any name for it, and he only heard it from someone in his youth. It may be wrong, therefore, but it will be a name to know it by." Since then, some scholars continue to refer to Kahun while others use Lahun (Illahun, Lahoun, el-Lahun, , etc.).   For an introduction to the site and to Petrie's work there, see David, 1986 (though it should be noted that on Plate 5, 'Artist's reconstruction drawing of the town...', the (a), (b) & (c) designations are in the wrong positions). See also Luft, in Quirke, 1998, 1-2, for a good outline of the reasons for using 'Lahun', and also the weaknesses of Petrie's publication, especially in regard to the papyri.

[7] Regarding its ancient name, the papyrus texts refer to *ḥtp Sn.wsr.t mȝꜥ-ḫrw*, "The justified Senwosret is Content" and to *Sḫm Sn-wsr.t mȝꜥ-ḫrw*, "The justified Senwosret is powerful." The former has usually been accepted as the name of the town, but there is discussion of the matter. See Quirke, 1990, 157-58; Luft, 1998, 31-34 and 37-38.

[8] Petrie, 1891, 8, pl. XIV (Petrie proposed that the town plan was originally closed to the south by a fourth side of enclosure wall); Kemp, 1989, 149-57; Uphill, 1988, 27-33; Smith, 1981, 170-73.

[9] Quirke, 1990, p. 166.

[10] Offices of vizier, mayor, reporters of the 'northern district' and of the 'southern district' and 'keeper of public records' are all referred to in the documents. Griffith, 1898, pls. IX, XII, XIII; Kemp, 1989, 156; Quirke, 1990, 167.

[11] Kemp, 1989, 153-54; Uphill, 1988, 33.

[12] Only 65 of these were selected for publication by Griffith, 1898. The bulk of the material has only recently been published by Collier and Quirke in 2002, 2004 and 2006.

[13] Borchardt, 1899. Most of this material was brought to Berlin and transcribed by Eugene Dévaud before the First World War. During the Third Reich the Nazis agreed to the restitution of several of the largest papyri to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Kaplony-Heckel, 1971. Translation and analysis of the Berlin collection is ongoing. Luft, 1982, 1992, 2006; Horvath, 2006, 2007 (in press).

[14] At this latitude in a hot climate, the desirability of north-facing ventilation and shaded porches can be explained on purely practical grounds. This orientation was common in houses in Egypt and the Sudan, from earliest domestic efforts right through Roman, Meroitic, medieval into modern times. The refreshment of the prevailing 'sweet north wind' is still a blessing in Egypt today. However, cosmological interpretations have also been put forward, O'Connor, 1998, 396ff.

[15] Kemp, 1991, 151ff.; Bietak, 1996, 31-37; O'Connor, 1998, 389-400.

[16] Based on comparative analysis of MK houses at Tell el-Dab'a, Bietak identifies at least 4, and upwards of 5 or 6, distinct housing units within each mansion. Bietak, 1996, 31-37.

[17] O'Connor, 1998, 394; Luft, 1998, 36-37; Arnold, 1989, 88.

[18] Bietak, 1996, figs. 12 and 13.

[19] Frequently depicted by granary models and in tomb paintings, as for example, in the Tomb of Ity. (Gebelein, 1st Intermediate Period. Museo Egizio, Turin).

[20] Petrie, 1891, 6, pls. XIV and XVI. This observation is at odds with our finding that the lobby floor-paving at the foot of the stairways was replastered 8 times or more, indicating considerable wear.

[21] Petrie, 1891, 6.

[22] He was of course working very quickly and with very many workmen. Over 2000 rooms were cleared in 16 weeks, so close supervision was simply not possible. See his own reports, and also David, 1986, Introduction.

[23] This small feature seemed to offer us a rare opportunity to excavate an intact deposit, so considerable care was taken to recover pottery, plant roots or seeds. Half of the pit contents was removed to bottom. First, the soil was sampled and then sieved and a section drawn, but when the second half was removed, two filter cigarette butts were discovered near the bottom. These at least prove that illicit digging was going on until fairly recent time.

[24] Petrie, 1891, 7.

[25] The shaft was cleared after Petrie's time (several cigarette packets were found in the debris heaps, along with a scrap of paper with a pencilled date of 1978 in Arabic script). No record of this work could be found or is known by the Antiquities Inspectorate, suggesting it was carried out by illicit diggers.

[26] Petrie, 1891, 6.

[27] Kemp, 1991, 156.

[28] Luft, 1998, 26.

[29] Petrie, 1891, 8, pl. XIV.

[30] Petrie, 1891, 8.

[31] Petrie, 1891, 8.

[32] Petrie, 1891, 8.

[33] Arnold, 1989, 84-85.

[34] Petrie, 1891, 8, found remains of stairs in the western houses and suggested open courts on the rooftops.

[35] Petrie, 1891, 8

[36] Arnold, 2003, 215; Lehner, 1997, 175-6.

[37] Petrie's work on the pyramid is in Petrie, 1891, 1-5, and Petrie, Brunton, Murray, 1923, 2-6, pls. iii-xv.

[38] Petrie, Brunton, Murray, 1923, 5.
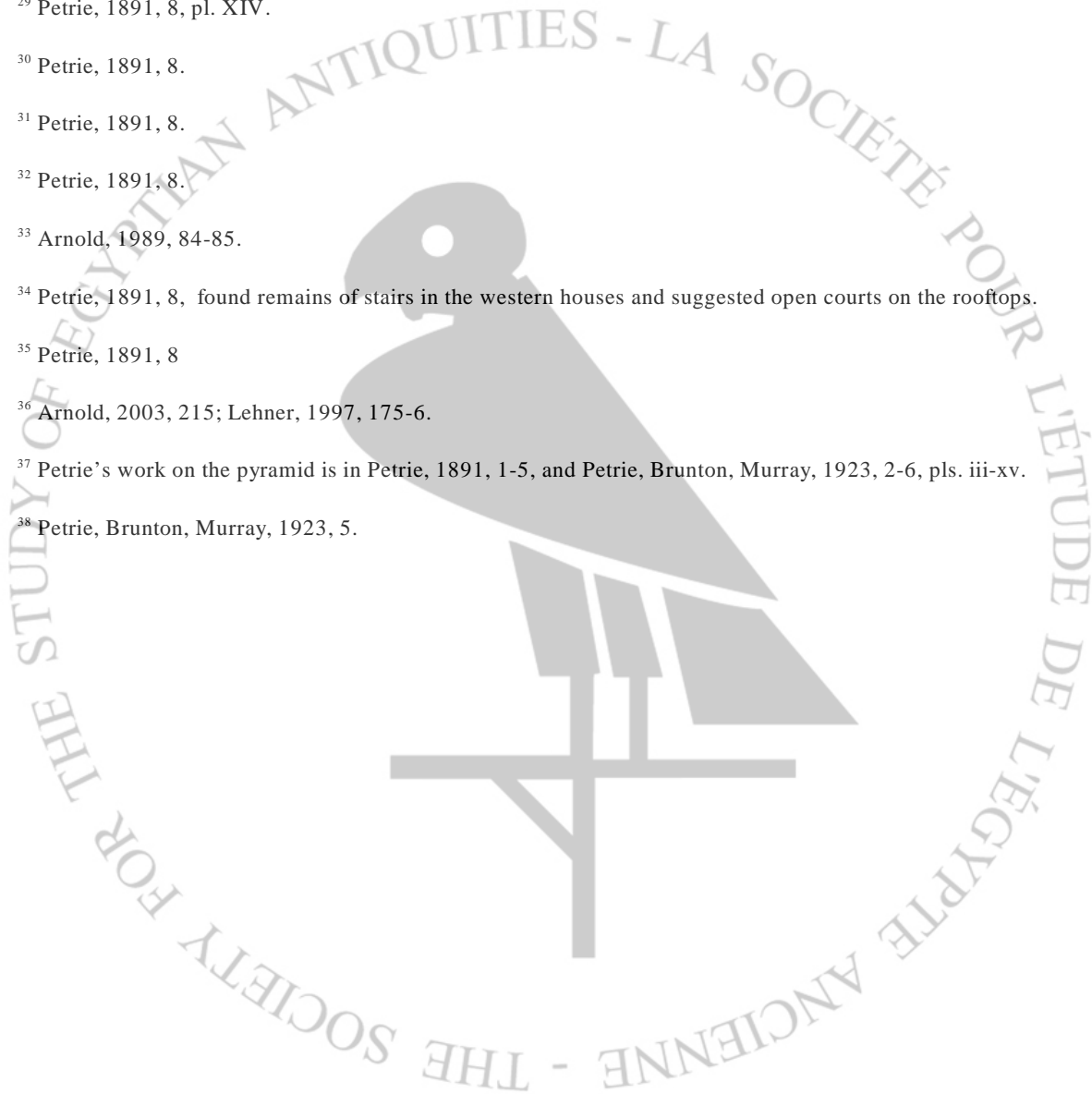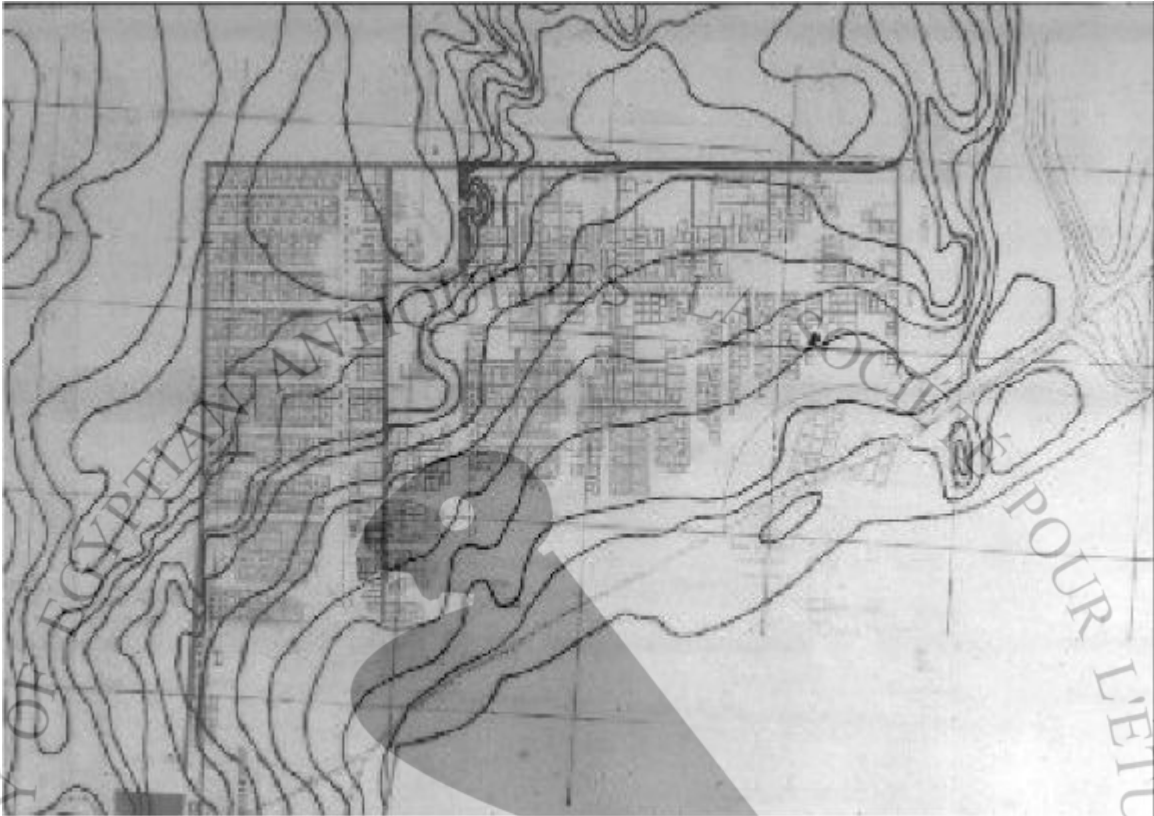
Figure 3-1 – Topographic Map of the Lahun Site with superimposed Petrie Town Plan. (Claude G. Belanger and N.B. Millet)

Figure 3-2 – View from tombs near the Valley Temple looking W across the site towards the Pyramid

Figure 3-3 – View across the Valley Temple debris (in foreground) looking W to the E side of the Pyramid

Figure 3-4 – View from top of the Pyramid looking E across the site toward the town site in the distance, next to the cultivation

Figure 3-5 – Petrie Plan of the Town of Lahun

Figure 3-6 – View across the Town looking NW towards the Acropolis
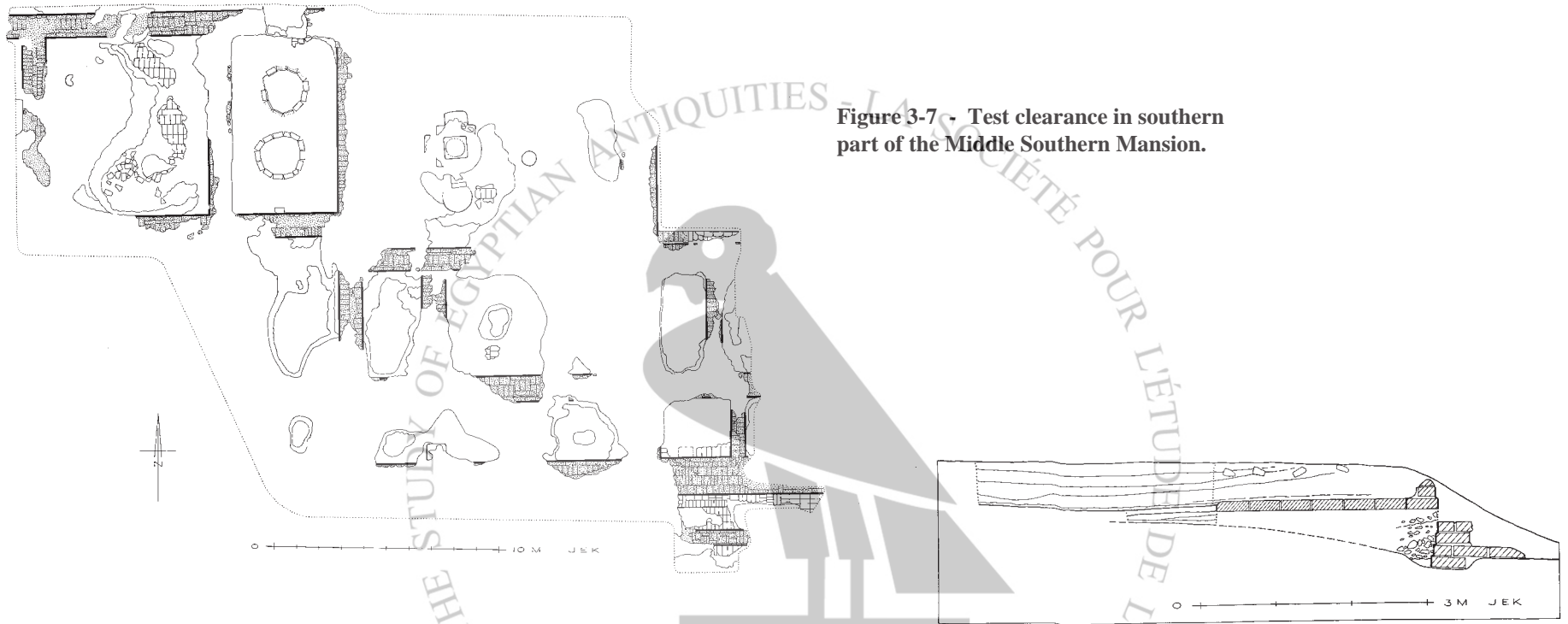
**Figure 3-7 - Test clearance in southern
part of the Middle Southern Mansion.**

Section looking N.
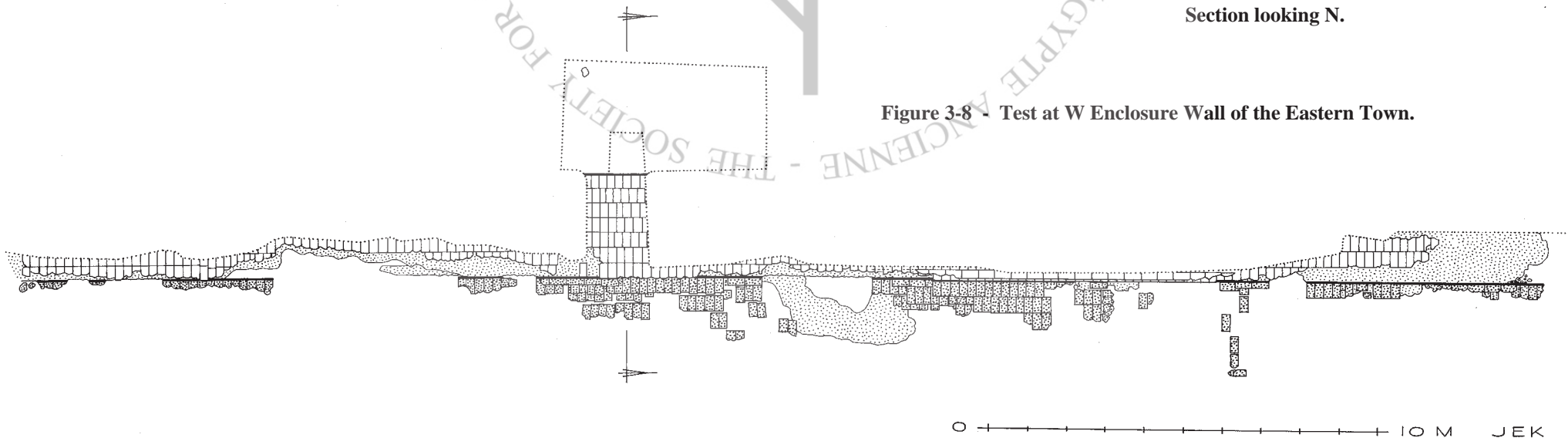
Figure 3-8 - Test at W Enclosure Wall of the Eastern Town.
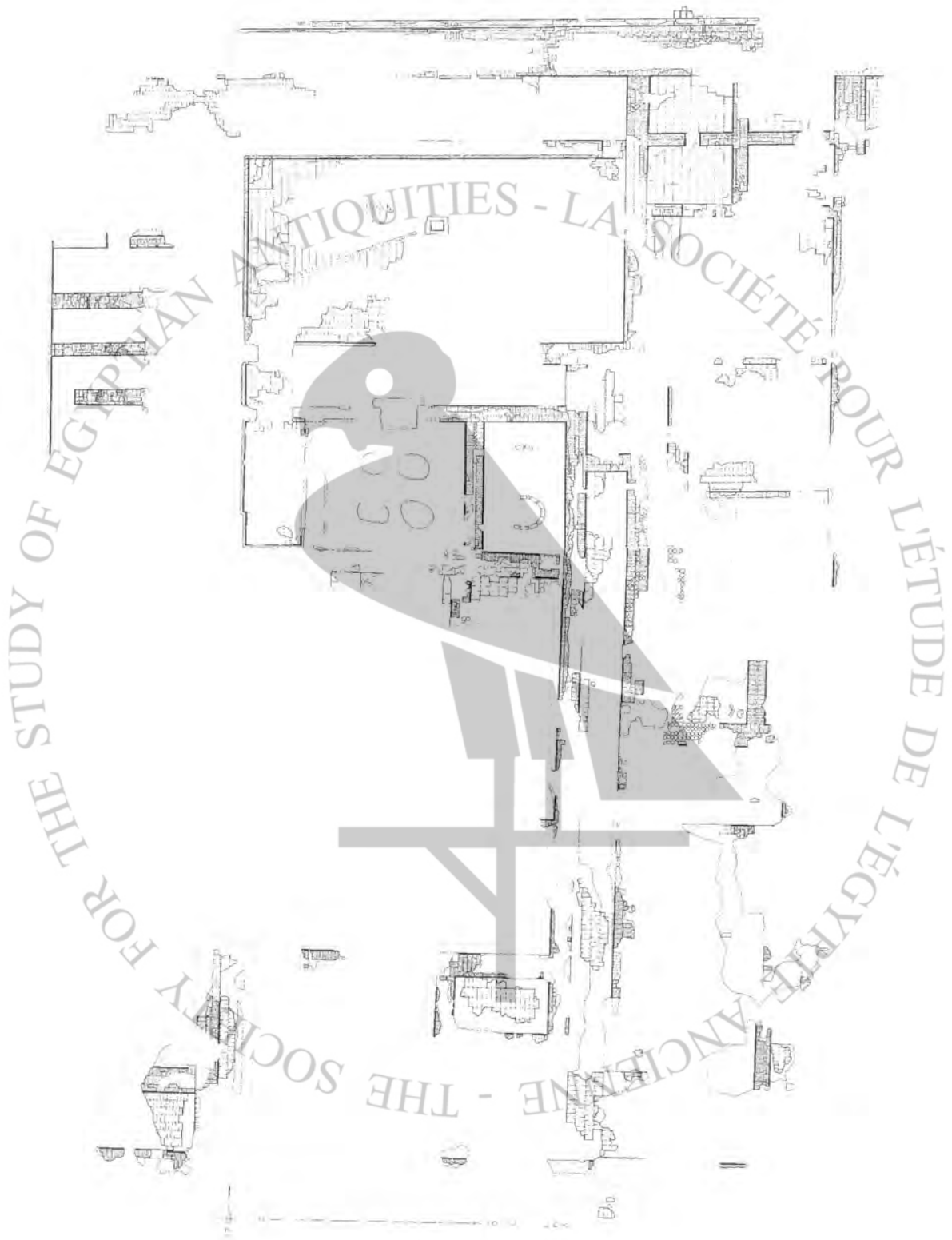
Figure 3-9 - Mansion 1: Plan

Figure 3-10 – Mansion 1: Vaulted Room on the W side, looking W, showing the springing of the vault in the N Wall on right.
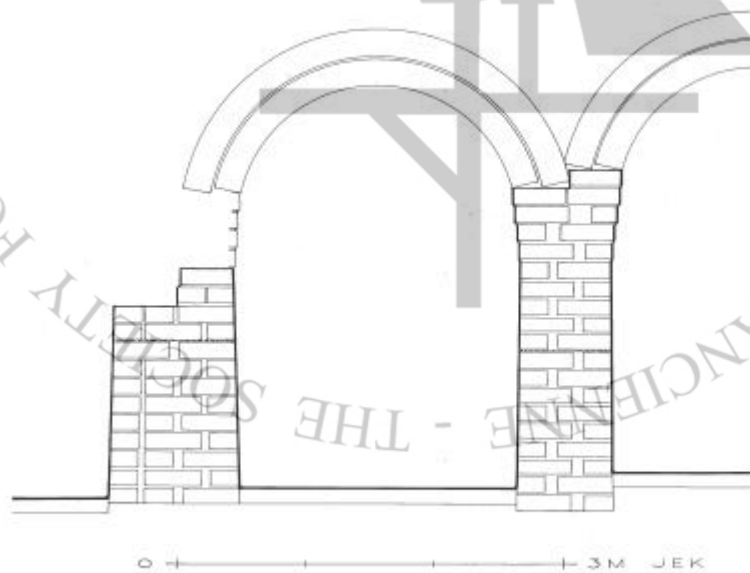
Figure 3-11 – Mansion 1: Section through Vaulted Rooms on W side, looking W.

Figure 3-12 – Mansion 1: Vaulted Room (#64) with Painted Plaster doorjam on right, looking W.

Figure 3-13 – Mansion 1: Painted Plaster Fragment.

Figure 3-14 – Mansion 1: Painted Plaster Fragment.

Fgure 3-15 – Mansion 1: NW corner of Large Courtyard with diagonal line of mudbricks toward the center and the remains of lowest step of stairs in the foreground.

3-16 – Mansion 1: Limestone Tank in center of Large Courtyard.

Figure 3-17 – Mansion 1: Master Suite with Transverse Hall in foreground and Bedroom to R of the 4-columned Room.

Figure 3-18 – Mansion 1: Master Bedroom with Bed Recess at S end.

Figure 3-19 – Mansion 1: The Granaries, looking S.

Section Looking W

Plan

Elevation looking S

0 |—————|—————————|—————> 3M   JEK
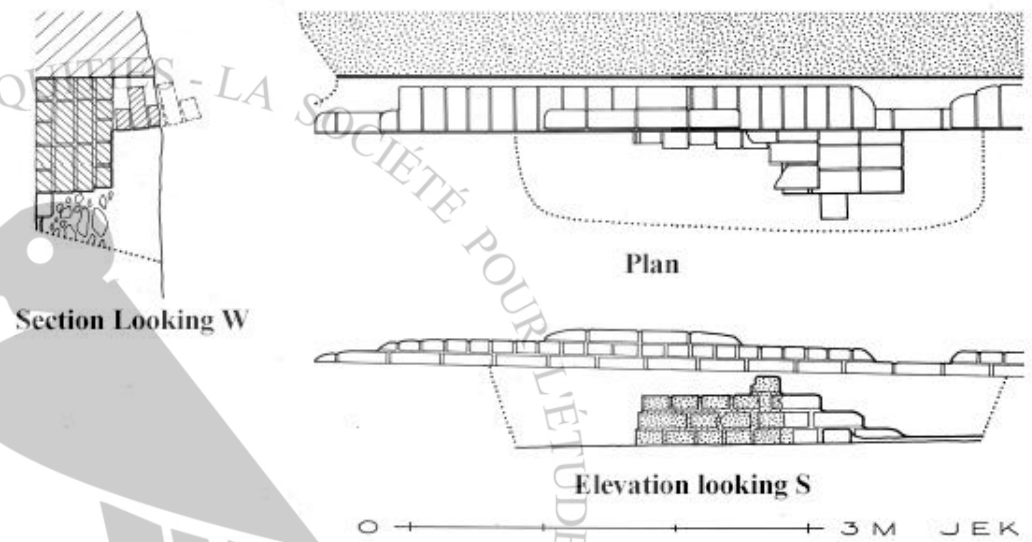
Figure 3-21 – Mansion 1: Exterior Stairs

Figure 3-20 – Mansion 1: N Wall Exterior Face with Lining Wall built over the ruinous Exterior Stairs (in front of the black basket on left)

**Figure 3-22 – Mansion 1:
Ruinous Exterior Stairs under
the low Lining Wall**

**Figure 3-23 – Mansion 1:
Ruinous Exterior Stairs
overlaid by stone chip rubble
and the subsequent Lining
Wall, looking S.**
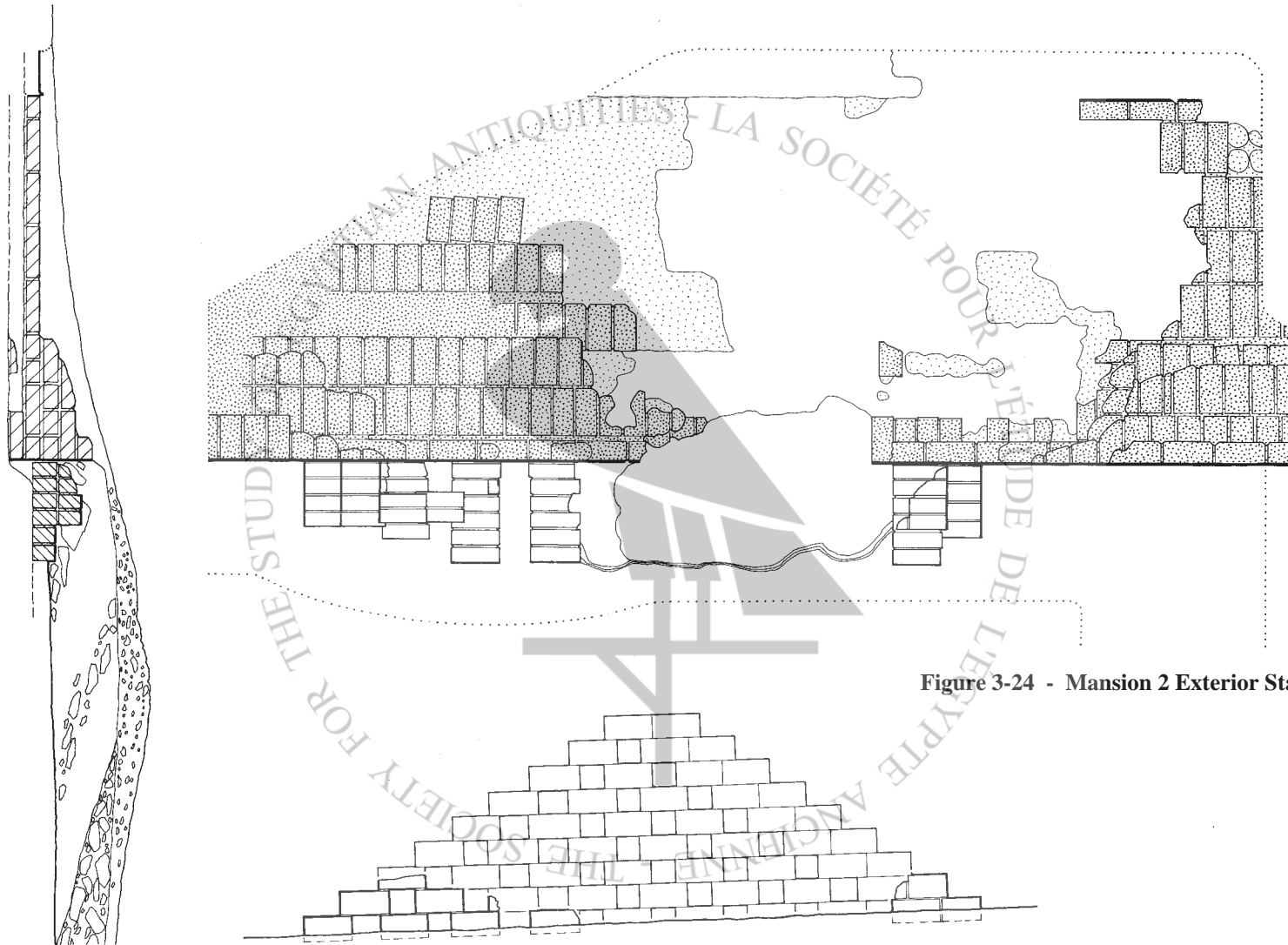
Figure 3-24 - Mansion 2 Exterior Stairs: Plan.

Section looking W.   **Elevation looking S.**

3 M   J E K

Figure 3-25 - Mansion 4 Exterior Stairs: Plan.

Section looking W.

3M JEK

Elevation looking S.

Figure 3-26 – Acropolis E Side from across Mansion I, showing walls of E rooms.

Figure 3-27 – Acropolis S Side from "Guardhouse"/Temple.
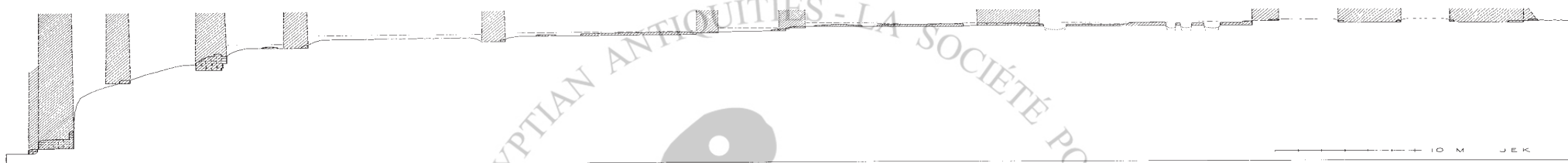
Figure 3-28 - Acropolis: N-S Section, looking W.
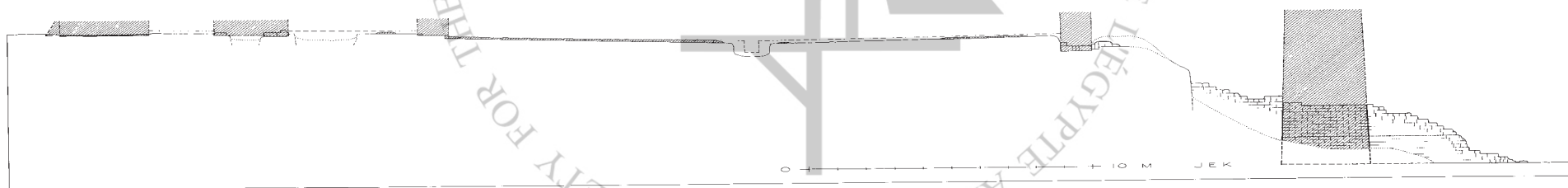
Figure 3-29 - Acropolis: E-W Section, looking N (through the large N court).

Figure 3-30 – Party Wall between Mansion 1 and Acropolis, looking S.

Figure 3-32 – Acropolis: Back of the Entrance Lobby to the Main Stairwell. The stairs have been removed but the flanking side walls are shown, the wall on left built on and against the quarried bedrock.

Figure 3-31 – Dividing Wall between Mansion 1 and Acropolis showing layers of well preserved reed matting used as structural reinforcement

Figure 3-33 - Petrie Plan of Acropolis and "Guardshouse."
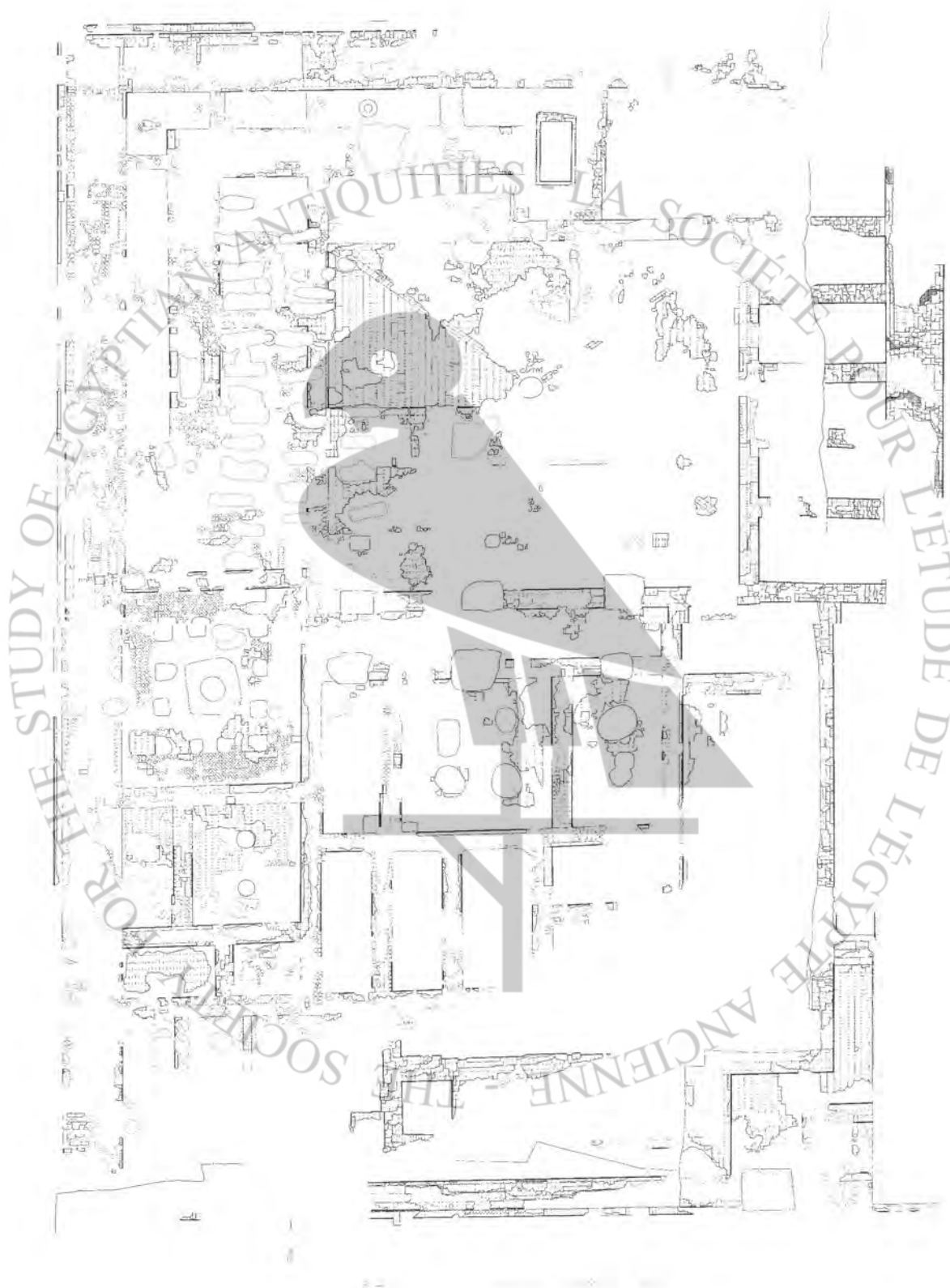
Figure 3-34 - Acropolis: Revised Plan.
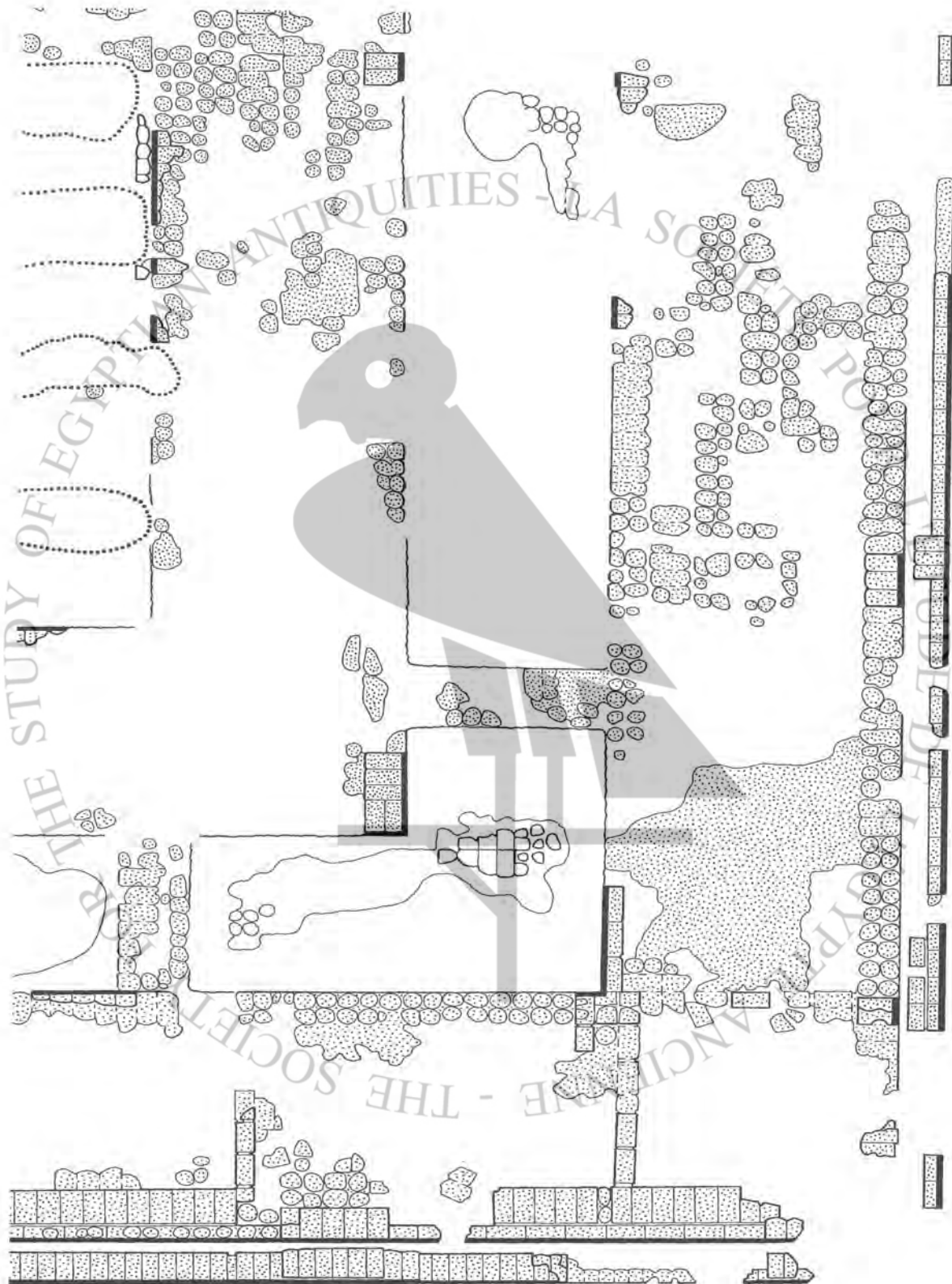
**Figure 3-35 - NW Corner of Acropolis/Enclosure Walls of the earlier Eastern
Town, with subsequently added low Lining Wall on both N and W Exterior Faces.**
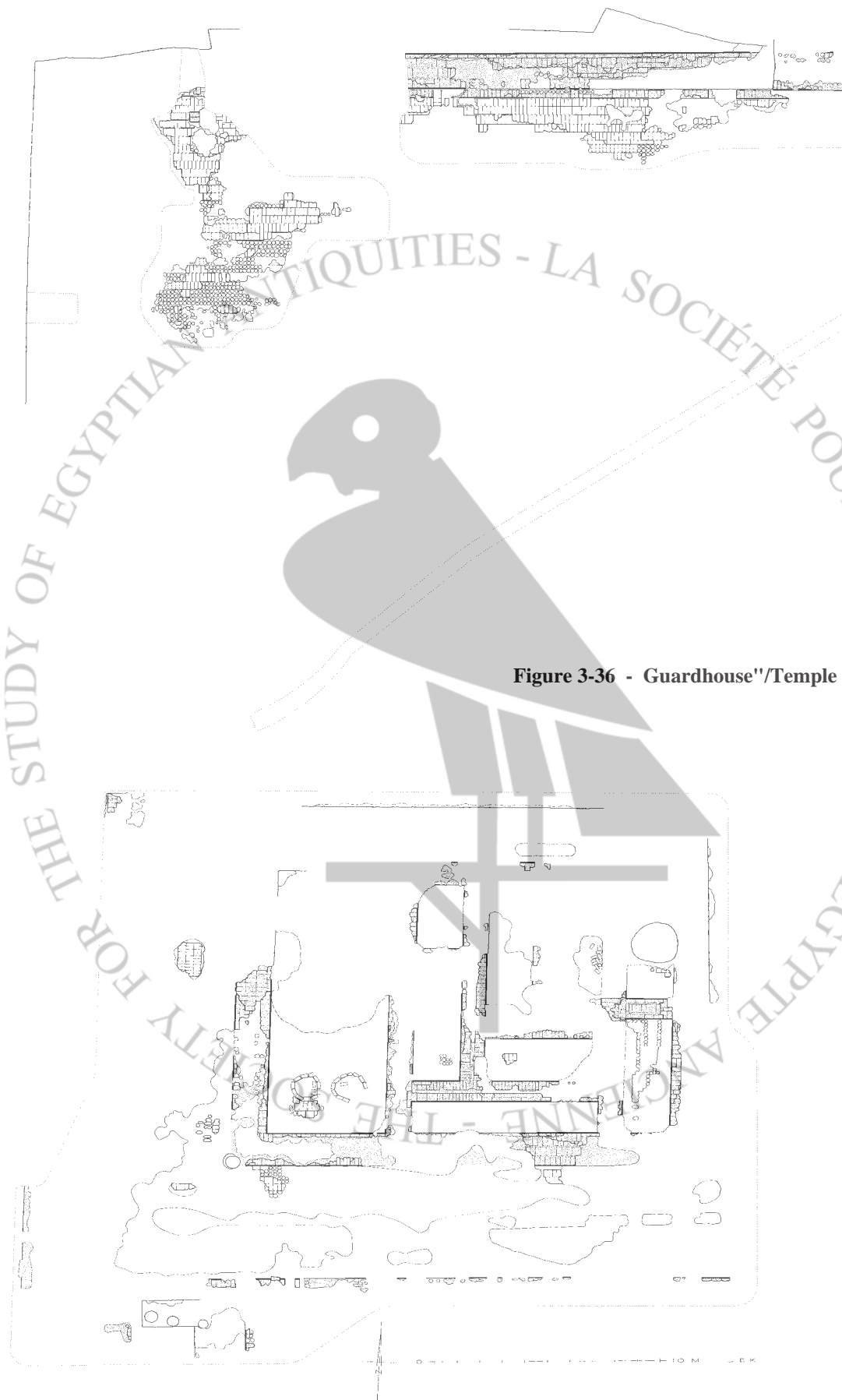
Figure 3-36 - Guardhouse"/Temple and Precinct: Plan

Figure 3-37 – "Guardhouse"/Temple, looking S (2 column base foundations on right).

Figure 3-39 – Hall with 2 subfloor mudbrick rings once supporting column bases .
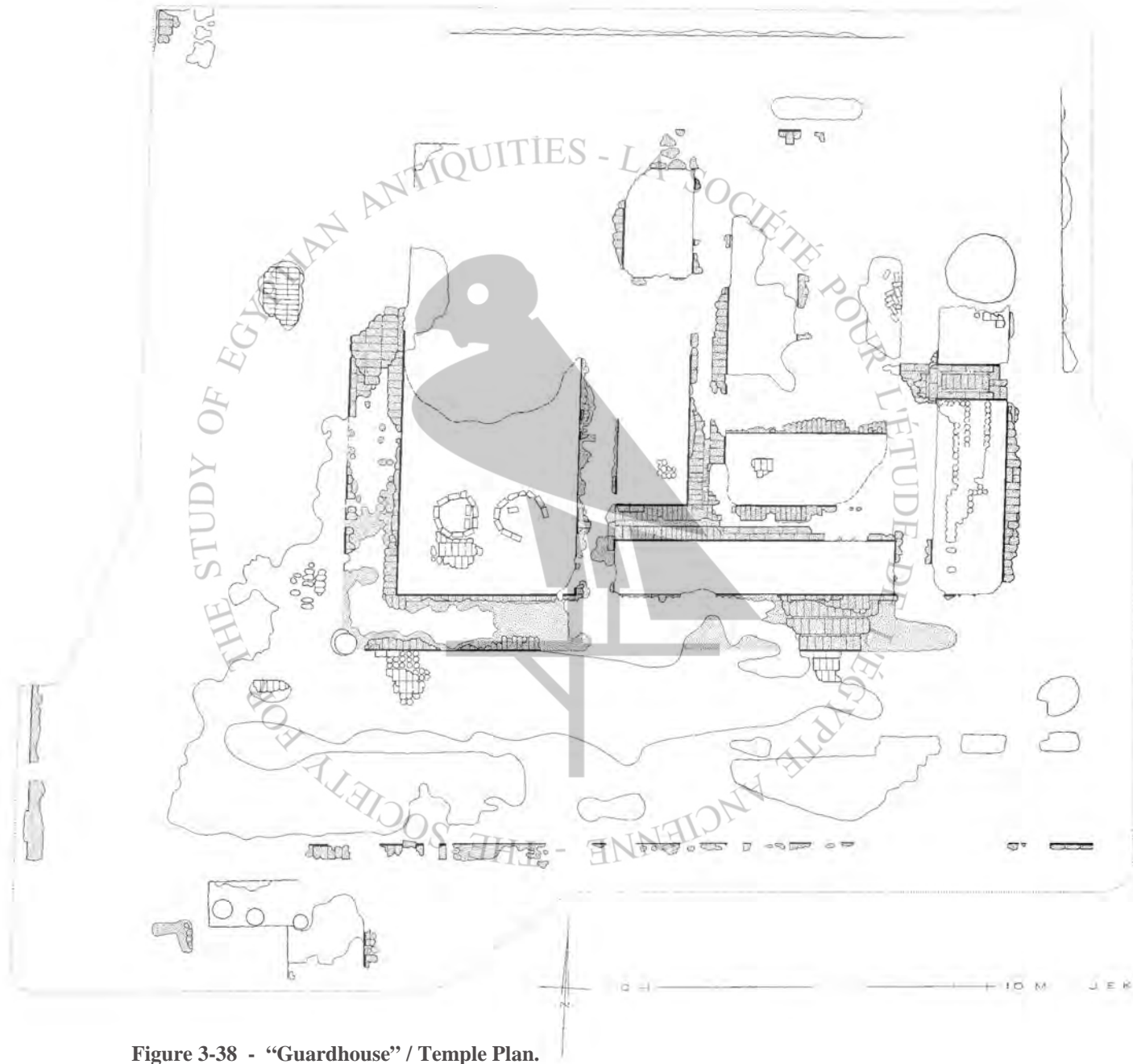
Figure 3-38 - "Guardhouse" / Temple Plan.
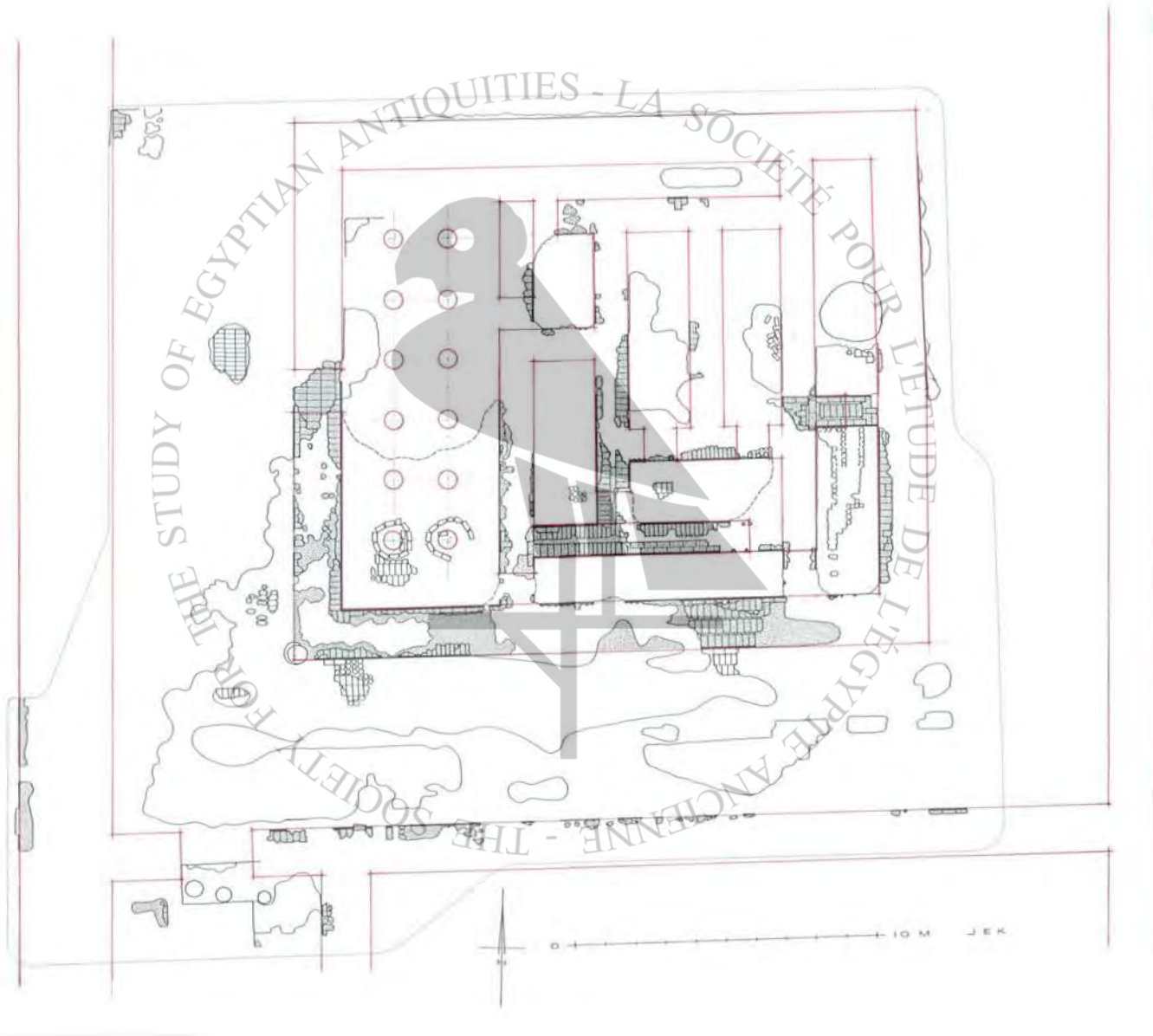
Figure 3-40 - Temple: Plan Reconstruction.

Figure 3-41 – WSW Corner of the Temple with outside paved passageway and Enclosure Wall on L.

Figure 3-42 – View from the Approach Passage through the East Gate, looking W along the Street to the Acropolis.

Figure 3-43 – East Enclosure Wall, N of the Gate.
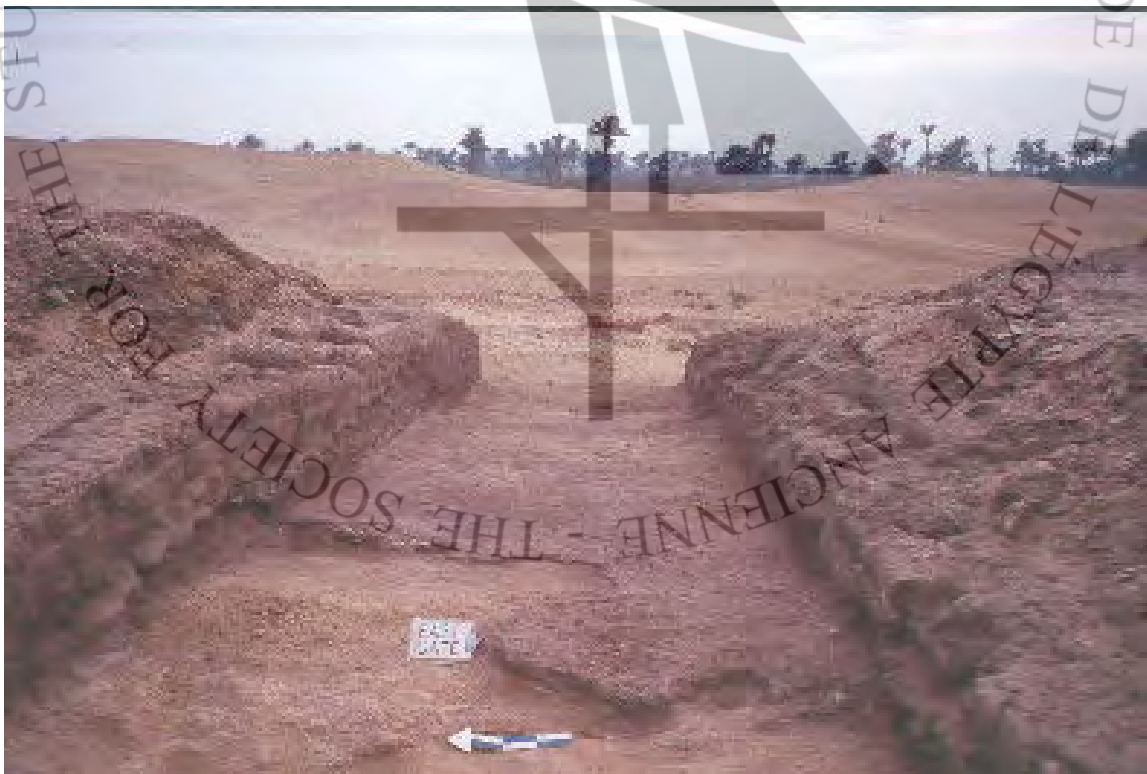
Figure 3-44 – View from the Approach Passage, looking E toward the Wadi.
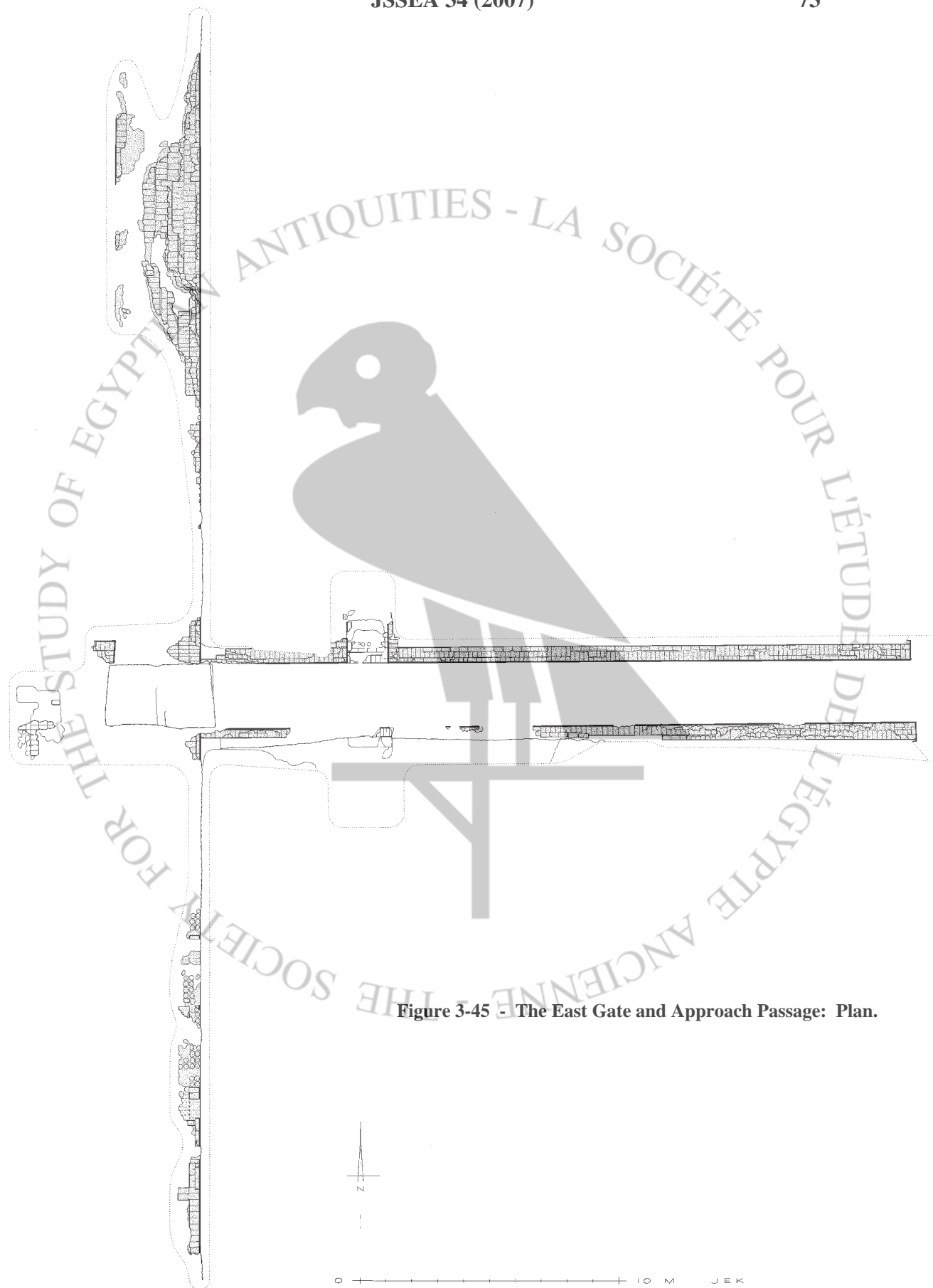
Figure 3-45 - The East Gate and Approach Passage: Plan.

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Figure 3-46 – View of Part of the N Wall flanking the Approach Passage.

Figure 3-47 – View across the Wadi toward the Approach Passage and East gate (the dark rising slash on right).
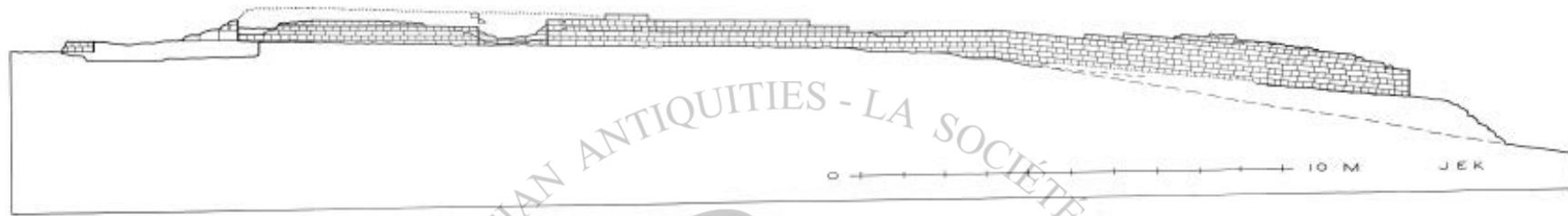
Figure 3-48 – The East Gate and Approach Passage: Section/Elevation, looking N.

Figure 3-49 - View of the North Stairs in the Approach Passage, N Wall.

Figure 3-50 – View from the Wadi, looking W toward the Approach Passage (NBM in the passage).

Figure 3-52 – View of Pyramid E Side showing the upper extent of clearance.
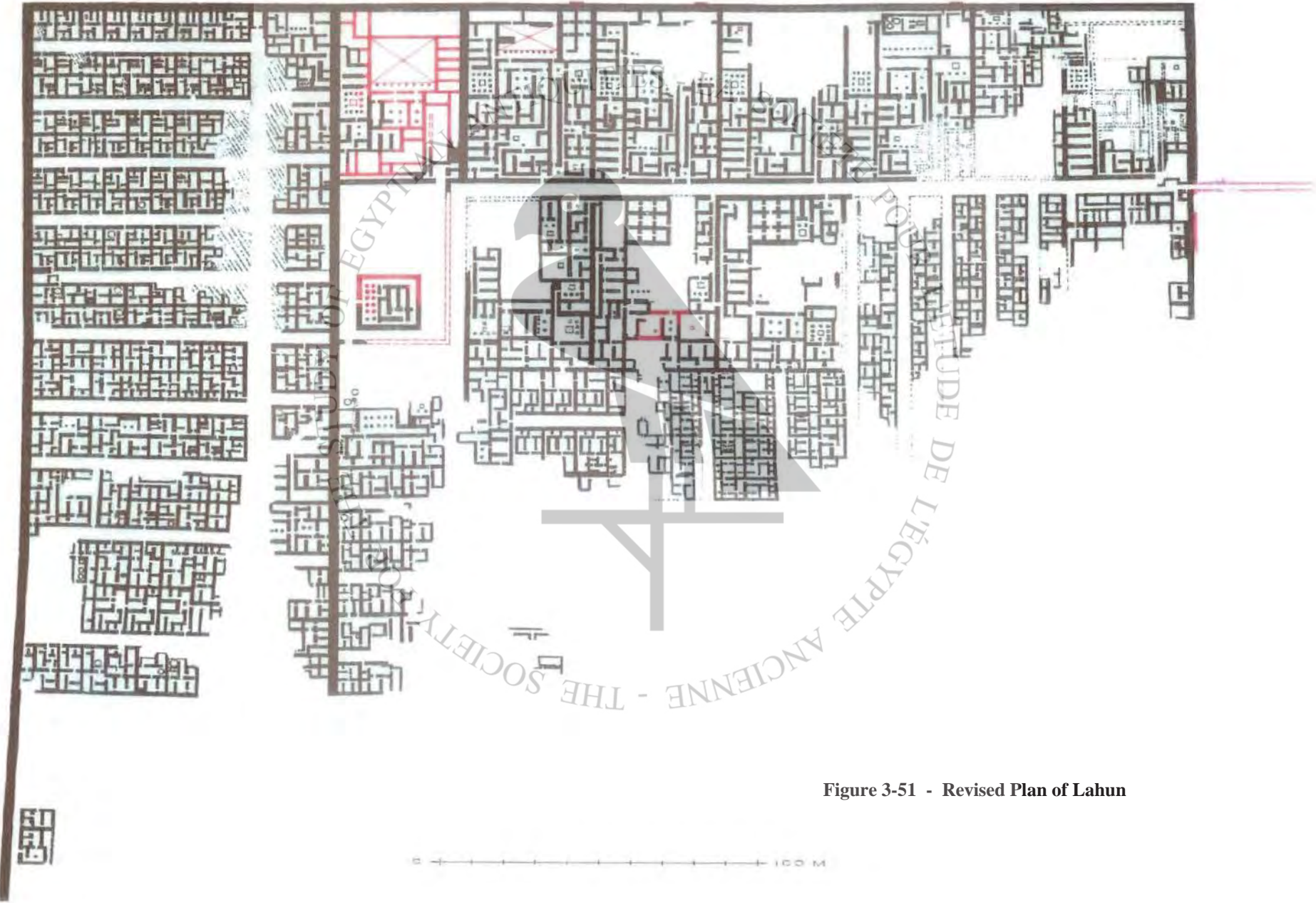
Figure 3-51 - Revised Plan of Lahun
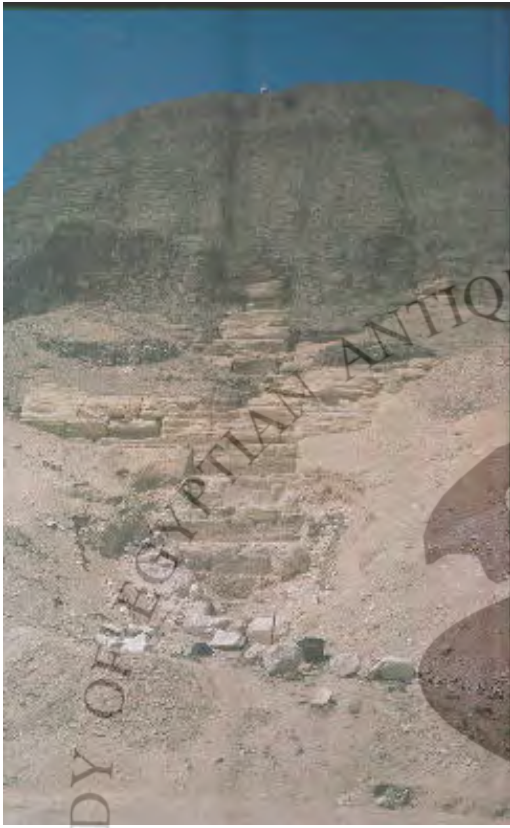
Figure 3-53 – Full Extent of Clearance on the E Side (figure in white on top for scale).
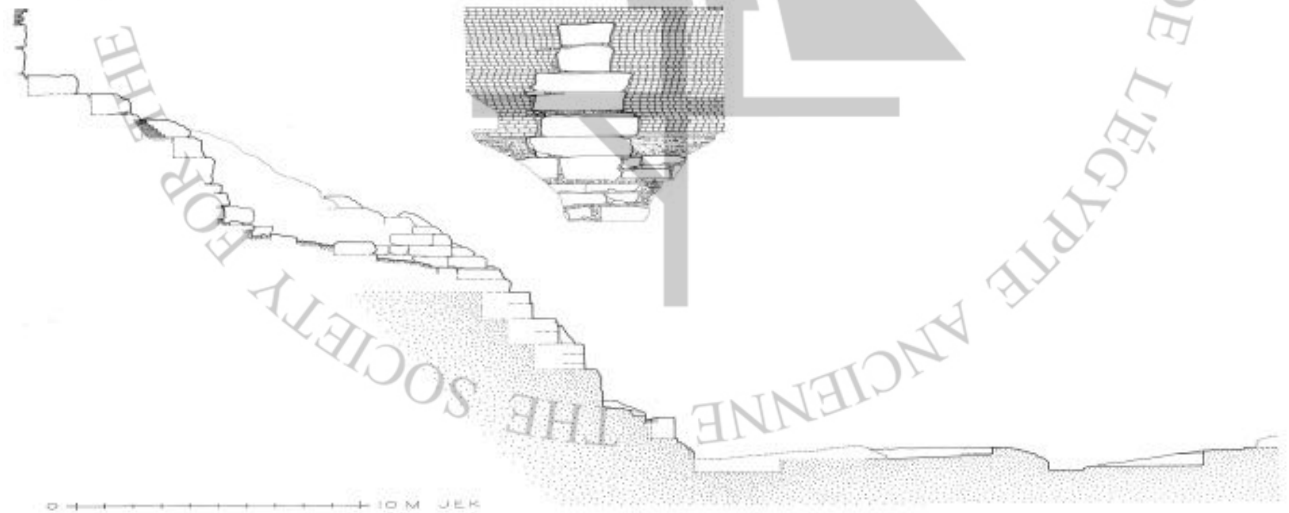
Figure 3 -54 – Pyramid E Side: Section, looking N and Elevation of Axial Cross Wall.
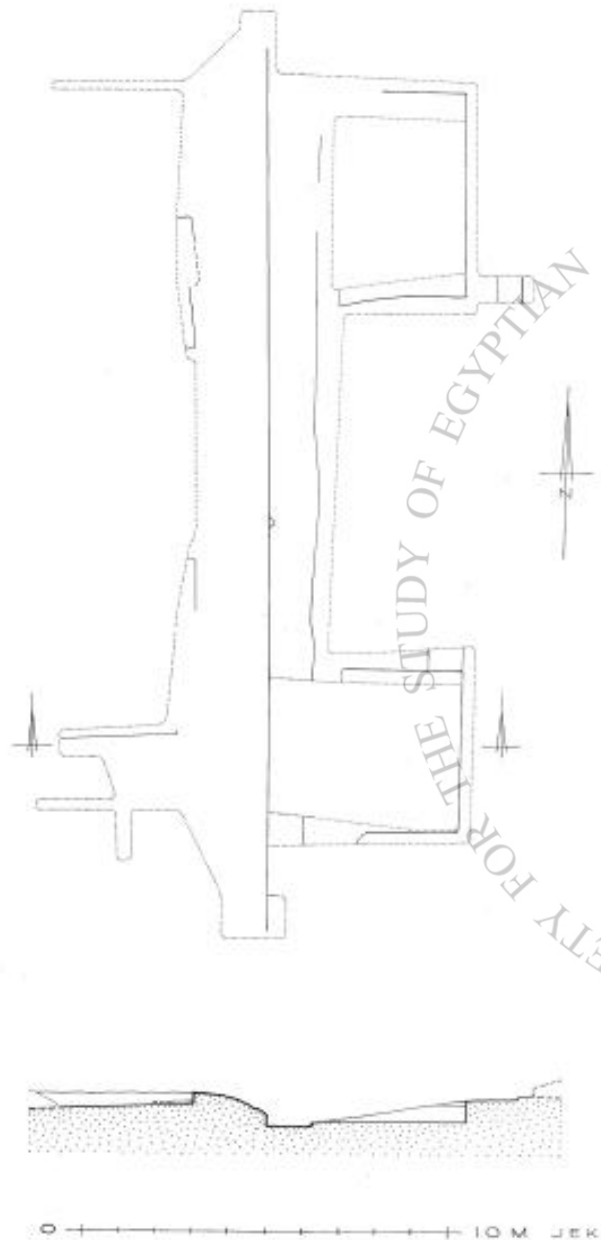
Figure 3-56 – East Temple Platform, viewed from above.

**Figure 3-55 – Pyramid East Terrace with Temple Platform:
Plan and Section, looking N.**

0 ⊢——————⊣ IOM JEK

Figure 3-57 – View of Base of PyramidE terrace during clearance of shallow trenches and Temple Platform

Figure 3-58 – View of Base of Pyramid E terrace clearance of shallow trenches (NBM standing above).

Figure 3-60 – View of Upper sub-casing blocks with Axial Cross Wall above (JEK and RAF surveying).

Figure 3-59 – View of Pyramid E Side: Lower 2/3 of clearance with stepped bedrock (2 sub-casing blocks are in situ at the bottom) and sub-casing blocks in position above.

Figure 3 -62 – View of Axial Cross Wall blocks rising with the base of the mudbrick structure.

Figure 3-61 – View of Upper sub-casing blocks with Axial Cross Wall above.

4. A propos d'une brasseuse de biere prédynastique : evolution iconographique et attestations archeologiques[1]

Gwenola Graff[2]

Abstract

Cet article présente une figurine conservée au musée du Caire (JE 38908) et anciennement publiée. Il s'agit d'une brasseuse de bière, prédynastique, debout devant une jarre et un tamis, au visage en bec d'oiseau. Cette statuette permet d'aborder deux points : les figurines à bec d'oiseau d'une part et les brasseuses de bière d'autre part.

Les statuettes prédynastiques au visage en bec d'oiseau connues sont ici inventoriées avant d'étudier plus en détail leur attitude la plus fréquente, les bras levés en cercle au dessus de la tête, et leur visage. Sera abordée la question du masque à l'époque prédynastique. De nombreuses représentations (sculptées et peintes) montrent des brasseuse de bière durant l'Ancien-Empire.

En ce qui concerne la bière proprement dite, sa consommation est attestée dès Nagada II et quatre ateliers prédynastiques ont été retrouvés. Si la consommation et la fabrication de la bière sont attestés archéologiquement, la figurine présentée ici en est la première représentation iconographique.

Key Words

prédynastique, iconographie, bière, masque

Le propos de cet article est de revenir sur une figurine prédynastique mentionnée par A. Scharff[3] et brièvement publiée par P. J. Ucko et W. Needler.[4] Cet objet en terre cuite est conservé au musée égyptien du Caire où nous avons pu l'étudier, sous le numéro d'inventaire JE 38908 (voir **Figure 4-1 & 4-2**). Il proviendrait des fouilles de H. de Morgan à Adaïma.[5] Il n'est pas daté avec précision. La figurine, qui ne mesure que 4,8 cm de hauteur, appartient au groupe prédynastique des représentations comportant un visage "en bec d'oiseau." Autrement dit, avec une face marquée uniquement par une protubérance inclinée vers le bas et pincée à son extrémité. En conséquence, ces figurines n'ont pas de visage. Nous reviendrons plus longuement sur ce type de représentation.

Le personnage considéré ici est représenté debout (bien que le bas de ses jambes soit manquant), devant une superposition volumineuse de deux objets: une grande jarre légèrement conique et ce qui semble être une large jatte concave.

L'ensemble peut très vraisemblablement être interprêté comme une brasseuse de bière égrenant de la pâte à travers un tamis posé sur une jarre. A son tour, cette représentation d'activité artisanale prend place dans une tradition iconographique. En effet, on connaît des statuettes et des reliefs de brasseuses et de brasseurs, en particulier à l'Ancien-Empire et au Moyen-Empire. Ce petit objet va donc devoir être replacé dans une double perspective et avec une double filiation: en tant que figurine à "bec d'oiseau" d'une part, et en tant que brasseuse de bière d'autre part.

1. Les figurines a "bec d'oiseau"

Il est pafois difficile de déterminer avec précision si un personnage a un visage en forme de bec d'oiseau ou pas. Certains visages humains très schématiques, avec un nez long et fort peuvent faire penser à des becs. Pour trancher face à certains cas litigieux, nous avons n'avons retenues comme bec d'oiseau que les représentations de visage sans menton: en effet, le menton nous ramène vers une face humaine, et non ornithomorphe, et a donc été laissé de côté.

Il a été possible d'inventorier 50 figurines à bec d'oiseau publiées, en dehors de la brasseuse considérée ici. Un tableau en annexe les détaille. Il est à noter que pour au moins 9 d'entre elles, l'authenticité est douteuse. Elles n'ont pas été retenues dans les décomptes qui suivent.

Lorsque le sexe de ces figurines est identifiable, soit dans 80% des cas, il s'agit de femmes, à 7 exceptions près. Mais ce phénomène est-il un exact reflet de la production nagadienne ou fruit du hasard des découvertes?[6] B. Adams pensait que les représentations masculines devaient être aussi nombreuses que les féminines à l'origine.[7]

En ce qui concerne leur datation, elles sont attribuées majoritairement à Nagada I et au début de Nagada II. Elles correspondraient donc à la période des White Cross-lined, soit de Nagada I à Nagada IIB. Dans 50% des cas, leur position est debout. La deuxième attitude possible, attestée à 28% est assise, jambes allongées et buste incliné vers l'avant. Les pourcentages manquants correspondent aux objets lacunaires (voir graphique en annexe, **Figure 4-3**).

En ce qui concerne les bras, ils sont majoritairement levés au-dessus de la tête du personnage (34%), mais peuvent aussi être remplacés par des moignons (20%), recourbés sur la poitrine qu'ils semblent présenter ou soutenir (10%) ou sont ballants le long du corps (7%). Sinon, ils ont été brisés et on ne peut savoir quelle était la gestuelle initiale. Les jambes en général ne sont pas distinguées et forment une masse compacte tronconique, sans pieds (dans 65% des cas).

En dehors de ces variations possibles, un critère ne connaît qu'une exception, c'est celui de la calvitie. La seule dérogation connue est celle de la tête trouvée à Abydos, dans la tombe U-439 (**Figure 4-6**), qui a une chevelure longue et bouclée.[8] Il semble que la figurine masculine trouvée dans la tombe 11 de la Locality 6 d'Hiérakonpolis présente elle aussi une chevelure. Cette figurine très particulière a été identifiée par l'auteur comme une figure de prisonnier.[9]

Si l'on regarde les provenances de ces objets, on fait une constatation très courante pour les objets prédynastiques: elles ne sont que rarement connues. Le site de Mo'ameriah, fouillé par de H. de Morgan en 1906-1907 se distingue par le fait que 4 figurines proviennent des tombes 2 et 186. Lorsque l'on ne connaît pas le contexte d'une pièce, sa datation fait aussi problème.

Clairement, les figurines à "bec d'oiseau" ne sont pas engagées dans une action concrète, artisanale ou domestique. La brasseuse présentée ici fait donc figure d'exception. La position debout avec les bras levés au-dessus de la tête a pu être interprétée comme une danse,[10] un geste de victoire,[11] une évocation de cornes de bovidé,[12] mais jamais comme la transcription d'une activité domestique. Bien que ce rapprochement n'ait jamais été mentionné dans la littérature, il nous semble pertinent de faire remarquer ici que ce geste, bras levés et déployés, ne va pas sans évoquer des ailes d'oiseau.[13] D'autant plus que les figures ont un visage en bec d'oiseau. Si l'on cherche dans l'iconographie prédynastique une semblable représentation de volatiles aux ailes redressées et courbes, on trouvera les autruches aux ailes levées dans une attitude typique à cette espèce (voir **Figures 4-4 & 4-5**). Elles sont représentées sur les vases Decorated Ware.[14] Il convient néanmoins de préciser qu'il existe deux identifications possibles pour cet oiseau: si certains auteurs y voient une autruche,[15] d'autres penchent pour un flamant.[16] Dans le cas des oiseaux aux ailes relevées sur les

D-Ware, l'interprétation de l'autruche paraît toutefois plus plausible, dans la mesure où cette position n'est pas courante au flamant. L'attitude ailes relevées est prise par l'autruche dans quelques circonstances précises[17]:

- lors de la course pour s'aider à conserver son équilibre.
- lorsque l'animal est agressé. Pour se rendre plus menaçant et avoir une prestance plus impressionnante, il ouvre ses ailes qui ont plus de 3 m d'envergure.
- lors de la parade nuptiale, le mâle entreprend une danse pour séduire la femelle, au cours de laquelle il montre l'extrémité de ses ailes, blanche, en les déployant au-dessus et devant lui.

Toutefois, il est envisageable que ce ne soit pas une attitude précise de l'autruche que veuille évoquer les bras de la femme, mais simplement l'idée du volatile, par un jeu de forme. N'oublions pas que l'autruche est le plus grand oiseau vivant et qu'il a la particularité de ne pas voler. Une autre de ses caractéristiques est d'être très fécond, en pondant les plus gros œufs connus actuellement dans le règne animal, au nombre de 25 en moyenne par nid. En outre, ces nids sont visibles, au sol, d'un diamètre d'1,8 à 2 m et exposés au soleil pour favoriser l'incubation.[18]

Un objet se révèle très intéressant dans cette perspective: il s'agit d'une palette à fard en grauwacke, provenant de Diospolis, tombe B117 (voir **Figure 4-5**).[19] Elle montre une femme de profil, avec un visage en bec d'oiseau et un bras au dessus de la tête, main recourbée en arrière. Par un jeu de forme, l'ensemble main, bras, tête de la femme évoque très fortement la silhouette d'un oiseau.

On va voir un peu plus bas, avec la palette de Manchester (voir **Figure 4-5**), que, lorsqu'une scène rapproche un personnage humain "à bec d'oiseau" de volatiles, ce sont des autruches. Notons d'ailleurs, on y reviendra, que ce personnage a les bras levés à hauteur de la tête. Ce rapprochement entre la gestuelle des personnages à tête d'oiseau et l'attitude des autruches n'exclue d'ailleurs pas les précédentes interprétations: les bras levés peuvent évoquer l'autruche et les cornes de bovidé ou l'autruche et une thématique liée au pouvoir.[20]

La palette dite de Manchester est une palette en grauwacke lancéolée scutiforme (voir **Figure 4-5**), conservée au musée de Manchester (n° inventaire : 5476),[21] et datée de Nagada IIc-d, on peut voir une représentation en bas-relief d'un personnage masculin précédé de 3 autruches. Le profil du visage de cet homme ressemble fort à celui des autruches. Cette représentation a pu être interprétée comme une scène de chasse au cours de laquelle le chasseur a arboré un masque d'oiseau pour mieux approcher son gibier.[22] Ce profil d'autruche se retrouve en haut de la palette, brisé d'un côté, mais se détache encore nettement à droite. Dans le cas où cette interprétation serait valide, on trouverait ici un exemple de personnage portant un masque ornithomorphe dans une contexte lié à une activité quotidienne. Toutefois, cette interprétation de masque en contexte cynégétique n'est pas évidente: il pourrait s'agir d'un visage en bec d'oiseau comme les autres représentations présentées ici, dont rien n'indique qu'elles sont des masques, d'une part. D'autre part, la lecture de cette scène comme représentation de chasse ne s'impose pas: en effet le personnage ne porte pas d'arme, ce qui rendrait l'interprétation évidente, mais se contente de lever les bras devant les autruches.

Il existe un autre cas de personnage en bas-relief qui semble porter un masque: il s'agit d'une palette historiée scutiforme de Nagada III. La "Palette des deux chiens" de l'Ashmolean Museum (E. 3924) provient d'Hiérakonpolis. Sur une face, on voit des chiens chassant des animaux du désert, sur l'autre un personnage humain debout, muni d'une longue queue et d'une tête animale à longues oreilles tient un objet fin et long devant son "museau." Il est mêlé à de nombreux animaux

réels parmi lesquels on reconnaît une girafe, des lions, des bovins et différentes sortes d'antilopes et de gazelles, mais aussi à quelques animaux fantastiques. B. Adams[23] le mentionne comme une représentation de masque en contexte cynégétique.

La question des masques doit maintenant être évoquée. On peut se demander si les figurines à bec d'oiseau portent des masques ou non. Tout d'abord, que sait-on sur les masques à l'époque prédynastique? En réalité, fort peu de choses. Seuls deux masques en argile ont été retrouvés, sur le site d'Hiérakonpolis,[24] Locality 6. Ils ne sont pas zoomorphes, mais anthropomorphes. Il n'est donc pas du tout avéré que les Egyptiens de l'époque prédynastique utilisaient des masques zoomorphes. Et finalement, ceci n'est pas fondamental ici: en effet, porter un masque ou donner un visage animal à une figure humaine relève du même processus. Il s'agit de changer le visage, autrement dit l'identité du personnage. Le visage est par excellence la marque d'une individualité, puisque c'est par son visage qu'on reconnaît une personne. Faire porter un masque ou accorder un visage animal à un humain, c'est lui enlever une partie de son humanité pour le faire entrer dans l'identité d'un animal. Le fait de porter un masque donne aussi un regard différent : le porteur de masque acquière une vision nouvelle. En particulier, il voit ce qui était auparavant invisible pour lui.[25] Le personnage a donc une identité double, humain-oiseau, et possède les qualités (ou certaines qualités) des deux espèces.

Un cas un peu à part est celui des sept figures trouvées par l'équipe de G. Dreyer dans la tombe U-502 d'Abydos (**Figure 4-10**). Sur le rebord d'un vase tronconique sont fixés 7 protomés féminins. Outre un visage "en bec d'oiseau," ceux-ci ont une poitrine tombante laissée découverte par un vêtement représenté par une peinture blanche. Il se compose d'un empiècement haut (de jupe). Les mains de ces femmes reposent sur la lèvre du vase. Un objet similaire avec des personnages masculins avait été retrouvé par l'équipe allemande dans la même tombe.[26] Malheureusement, son état est beaucoup plus fragmentaire, mais il apparaît tout de même que les figures masculines avaient un bec d'oiseau (**Figure 4-9**).

Bien que l'attitude des sept femmes[27] faisant cercle autour du vase de la tombe U-502 ne soit pas évidente à comprendre, il ne semble pas qu'elles soient engagées, elles non plus, dans une activité courante.

II. Les brasseuses de biere

Un certain nombre de statuettes en pierre et en bois ont été réunies ici, qui illustrent le brassage de la bière à l'époque pharaonique (voir **Figures 4-14 to 4-19**).

Comme on le verra plus loin, l'importance de la production de la bière est attestée à l'Ancien-Empire par le nombre retrouvé de jarres destinées à la contenir.[28] On trouve aussi, en particulier à la fin de cette période (Vème dynastie), des représentations de sa fabrication tant sur les bas-reliefs qui ornent les parois des tombes que des statuettes qui y sont déposées. Aux périodes suivantes, Ière Période Intermédiaire et Moyen-Empire, ce sont des maquettes représentant des ateliers de brasserie qui seront placées dans les hypogées.

Le terme hiéroglyphique le plus courant pour désigner la bière est 𓊸𓂧𓏺 *ḥnḳt*.[29] Il est probablement dérivé de *ḥnḳ*, liquide.[30] Ce terme apparaît à la III° dynastie. Le vocabulaire s'enrichit d'appelations pour les différentes bières à la IV° dynastie.[31]

Quand au brasseur, il est désigné par 𓊸𓀜 𓀜𓂋 *ꜥfty* dès l'Ancien-Empire.[32] On trouve aussi le terme de 𓊸𓀜 𓀜𓂋 *ꜥtḫ*, à l'Ancien et au Moyen-Empire.[33]

Parmi les étapes de la fabrication de la bière, le brassage est particulièrement bien illustré. On voit clairement le personnage debout, penché en avant, presser ou écraser la pâte dans un tamis posé sur une jarre (voir **Figures 4-6 to 4-13**).

Ceci explique peut-être que le brassage puisse visiblement aussi être accompli par des hommes. On connaît des statuettes analogues à celles mentionnées plus haut où les femmes sont remplacées par des hommes. D'après W. Helck[34], les représentations féminines seraient les plus anciennes, et elles laisseraient progressivement place aux masculines, du fait du caractère physique de cette activité. En effet, on trouve plutôt des brasseuses à l'Ancien-Empire et plutôt des brasseurs au Moyen-Empire.

Un tableau donné en annexe recense les représentations pharaoniques liées au brassage.

On explique traditionnellement la présence de ces illustrations d'activités artisanales dans les tombes par le fait que ces serviteurs de pierre ou de bois devaient continuer à produire les denrées nécessaires au défunt dans l'autre monde. La fabrication de la bière n'est de loin pas la seule activité concernée: on trouve des boulangers, des rôtisseurs, des bouviers, des potiers, des menuisiers, etc… Les brasseuses appartiennent donc à cette catégorie de serviteurs emportés magiquement dans la tombe par le défunt.

Bien qu'il s'agisse de la même activité, si l'on met en parallèle la figurine prédynastique de brasseuse et ses homologues en ronde-bosse de l'Ancien-Empire, on observe un certain nombre de divergences.

Tout d'abord, les jarres de l'Ancien-Empire sont assez basses,[35] ce qui oblige les brasseuses à se pencher en avant, alors que la jarre plus haute de JE 38908 permet à la femme de rester droite, le contenu de la jarre étant à hauteur de sa taille. Toujours en ce qui concerne les jarres, elles sont posées sur un socle (pour les caler?) à l'Ancien-Empire, qui n'est pas représenté à l'époque nagadienne. En ce qui concerne le vêtement ensuite, les brasseuses de l'Ancien-Empire sont vêtues d'une jupe à empiècement haut, mais gardent la poitrine découverte. En revanche, celle du Caire n'a pas de vêtement représenté, ni de mention de sa poitrine.

III. La biere a l'epoque predynastique

Si l'on a une première représentation iconographique de l'existence de la bière à l'époque nagadienne avec la figure présentée ici, qu'en est-il des attestations archéologiques contemporaines? D'emblée, il apparaît que dès le début de Nagada II, la bière est une boisson de consommation courante.[36] Néanmoins, les jarres à bière semblent faire une brutale apparition durant Nagada IIC-D.[37] Toujours à Nag. IIC2-D, les cuves à bec caractéristiques pour la brasserie ont des lèvres fines, qui apparaissent pour la première fois.[38]

Il semble qu'il y ait une évolution entre l'époque d'apparition de ces jarres à Nagada II et leurs formes connues à l'Ancien-Empire: "Des céramiques ont été identifiées comme des jarres de bière. Les formes R81 et L30, coniques avec une large ouverture, peuvent être considérées comme les prototypes des formes qui apparaissent à la fin de Nagada III et qui sont clairement identifiées comme contenant pour la bière dans les documents iconographiques de l'Ancien-Empire."[39]

En ce qui concerne les brasseries, quelques ateliers ont été retrouvés sur les sites d'habitat. Le plus ancien d'entre eux se trouvait à Hiérakonpolis (localité Hk24D) et date probablement de Nagada IIB.[40] Il semble qu'il ait été associé avec un four de potier (localité Hk25D) dédié à la fabrication de jarres à bière R81. Les deux ateliers n'étaient séparé que de 80 m.[41]

D'autres ateliers ont été reconnus à Abydos et Mahasna.[42] Ils dateraient de la fin de Nagada II ou de Nagada III.[43] Le plus récent à avoir été découvert est situé dans le Delta, à Tell el-Farkha:[44] une construction liée à une activité domestique nécessitant l'usage du feu a été retouvée sur le kom occidental, phase 2 du site (Nagada IId2). Le feu était utilisé dans ces structures pour cuire le contenu de tamis. Il ne peut pas avoir été question de grain, parce que les températures générées sont trop hautes et que le grain aurait été brûlé. Le contenu devait être liquide.[45]

D'après S. Hendrickx, les ateliers découverts à Hiérakonpolis, Abydos et Mahasna et plus récemment à Tell el-Farkha, donnent des preuves de production de la bière avant la fin de Nagada III. Ils consistent en des rangées de larges pots grossiers, qui sont apparemment utilisés pour malter le grain, mais le maltage est une partie non indispensable à la préparation de la bière.[46]

On notera que la figurine de brasseuse nagadienne présentée ici proviendrait du site d'Adaïma et qu'aucune brasserie n'a été révélée par la fouille de ce site.

Grâce à ces données, on a une idée assez précise de ce qu'était la bière à l'époque prédynastique et de la manière dont on la fabriquait: "la bière prédynastique n'était pas préparée de la même manière que celle de l'Ancien–Empire (…) La bière fabriquée à partir de pain n'était pas seulement nutritive mais aussi, d'un point de vue bactériologique, plus sûre que l'eau."[47]

En ce qui concerne sa préparation, "les ingrédients – dattes, pain et eau – sont d'abord mis à macérer dans une large cuve à fond plat, pour fermenter. Ces cuves sont utilisées maintes fois, permettant le développement d'une microflore résiduelle, qui servira d'amorce naturelle pour la prochaine fermentation. La réaction alcoolique durant la fermentation a lieu uniquement dans un environnement à oxygène limité, ou mieux à absence complète et pour cela la purée de la cuve a dû être couverte. Lorsque la fermentation est complète, la purée est vidée à la cuillère hors de la cuve et pressée au travers d'un tamis dans des cuves à bec, desquelles la bière est finalement versée dans des jarres à bière."[48]

On sait par ailleurs que ce type de bière, faiblement alcoolisée, ne se conservait pas et que la fabrication devait en être quotidienne.

<div align="center">**</div>

Les différents points qui viennent d'être passés en revue autorisent à préciser certains éléments concernant la figurine prédynastique. Tout d'abord sa datation. Etant donné que les représentations de bec d'oiseau semblent pouvoir être attribuées majoritairement au début de Nagada II, que les attestations archéologiques de fabrication de la bière débutent à Nagada II également, il apparaît que la brasseuse du Caire devrait pouvoir être replacée dans une fourchette chronologique se situant entre la fin de Nagada I jusqu'à Nagada IIC inclus.

Les visages en "bec d'oiseau" ont pu être considérés antérieurement comme des masques portés par des femmes au cours de rites spécifiques, impliquant une gestuelle précise (les bras levés au-dessus de la tête). Le fait qu'un personnage exécutant une tâche courante soit représenté de cette manière semblerait écarter cette hypothèse. Rien ne nous permet en l'état actuel des connaissances de dire que ces figurines portent des masques. Le visage en bec d'oiseau n'est donc pas lié exclusivement à la représentation d'un rituel.

La petite statuette du musée égyptien du Caire apporte donc des renseignements de deux types d'ordre: elle enrichit le corpus des figurines "à bec d'oiseau," en les sortant du seul contexte rituel d'une part et d'autre part, elle fournit des indications sur la place de la bière à l'époque prédynastique, indications d'un type nouveau puisqu'elles sont iconographiques et non plus seulement archéologiques.

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NOTES

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2. Chargée de Recherche à l'Institut de Recherche pour le Développement, U.R. 088 SETLAS, Centre IRD d'Orléans, Technoparc, 5 rue du Carbone, 45 072 Orléans cedex 2, France.

3. Scharff 1929, 38, fig. 25.

4. Ucko 1968, n°110 et Needler 1984, 381-382.

5. Needler 1984, 75.

6. Hendrickx (sous presse). Les données statistiques pourraient être faussées par l'abondante production de fausses statuettes, qui sont en général des figurines féminines.

7. Voir à ce propos Hendrickx (sous presse).

8. Sur la question des chevelures féminines sur les figurines prédynastiques, voir Graff, "Les Représentations de Femmes et de la Plante Nagadienne sur les Vases Decorated-Ware de Nagada II," (sous presse).

9. Adams 2000, 94.

10. Vandier 1952, t. 1, 432; Midant-Reynes 1992, 165.

11. Hendrickx 1995.

12. Hendrickx 2002; Hendrickx (sous presse).

13. D'après une remarque de J. Parlebas, ancien directeur de l'institut d'égyptologie de Strasbourg.

14. On en connaît onze cas sur les vases suivants : 1. Rijksmuseum van Oudehen (Leiden); 2. Musée égyptien du Caire, C.G. 18806; 3. Musée égyptien du Caire, C.G.11556; 4. New-York, Metropolitan Museum (MMA 20.2.10); 5. Galerie Nationale de Victoria, Melbourne, NGV741a.2; 6. Perie Museum, University College, Londres, U.C. 6341; 7. Oriental Institute, Chicago, OIM 107-58; 8. Medelshavmuseum, Stockholm 11.125; 9. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, AM 1966.357; 10. Musée Egyptien, Turin, S. 4749; 11. vase provenant d'El-Hosh (Huyge2005, fig. 12) .

15. Petrie 1896, 12 & 40; Randall-MacIver & Mace 1902, 42; Capart 1904, 113; Boreux 1908, 3; Lythgoe & Dunham 1965; Fattovich 1978; Moneh-Saleh 1983, 272; Needler 1984, 203; Adams 1988, 48; Hendrickx 1994, 29; Hendrickx 1999; Friedman 1999 et surtout Hendrickx 2000.

16. Lortet & Gaillard 1909, 35; Newberry 1913, 135; Scharff 1927, 33-34; Dechambre 1951, 105-106; Petrie 1920, 13, 16-17, 43; Junker 1919, 53; Baumgartel 1960, 151; Asselberghs 1961; Brunner-Traut 1975, 53; George 1975; Bourriau 1981, 26; Naguib 1987, 51; Midant-Reynes 1992, 180; Payne 1993, 101; Regner 1998; Gilbert 1999, 27.

17. Ces indications éthologiques concernant l'autruche nous ont aimablement été communiquées par F. Baillon, ornithologue à l'IRD.

18. En ce qui concerne les œufs, voir Graff (sous presse).

19. Petrie 1901, pl. XI.

20. Hendrickx (sous presse).

21. Davis 1989, 140, fig. 6, 8.

22. Crompton 1918, 57-60; Weill 1961, 223-224.

23. Adams 1999, 5.

24. Adams 1999, 4-5.

25. Meeks 1991, 7.

26. Dreyer 1998, 112, abb. 12.3.

27. Le nombre des figurines placées autour du vase peut être fortuit; mais il peut aussi évoquer un groupe de sept divinités ultérieures, protectrices de humains et préposées au destin: les sept Hathors. Ce rapprochement est à l'heure actuelle purement hypothétique.

28. Hendrickx et alii 2002, 291.

29. WB III, 169, 11-20.

30. WB III, 117,3.

31. WB V, 495, 3-15; WB V, 72,7; WB I, 552, 8-11; WB I, 478, 10; WB V, 384, 9; WB V, 616, 14-19.

32. WB I, 183, 9-10.

33. WB I, 236, 13; WB I, 237, 4.

34. Helck 1971, 96.

35. Faltings 1998.

36. Buchez 2004, 681.

37. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 291.

38. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 292.

39. Buchez 2004, 681.

40. Geller 1992; Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 293.

41. Buchez 2004, 681.

42. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 293.

43. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 293.

44. Chlodnicki *et alii* 2002.

45. Chlodnicki *et alii* 2002, 92.

46. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 293.

47. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 293.

48. Hendrickx *et alii* 2002, 292.

Les représentations predynastiques liees à la preparation de la biere
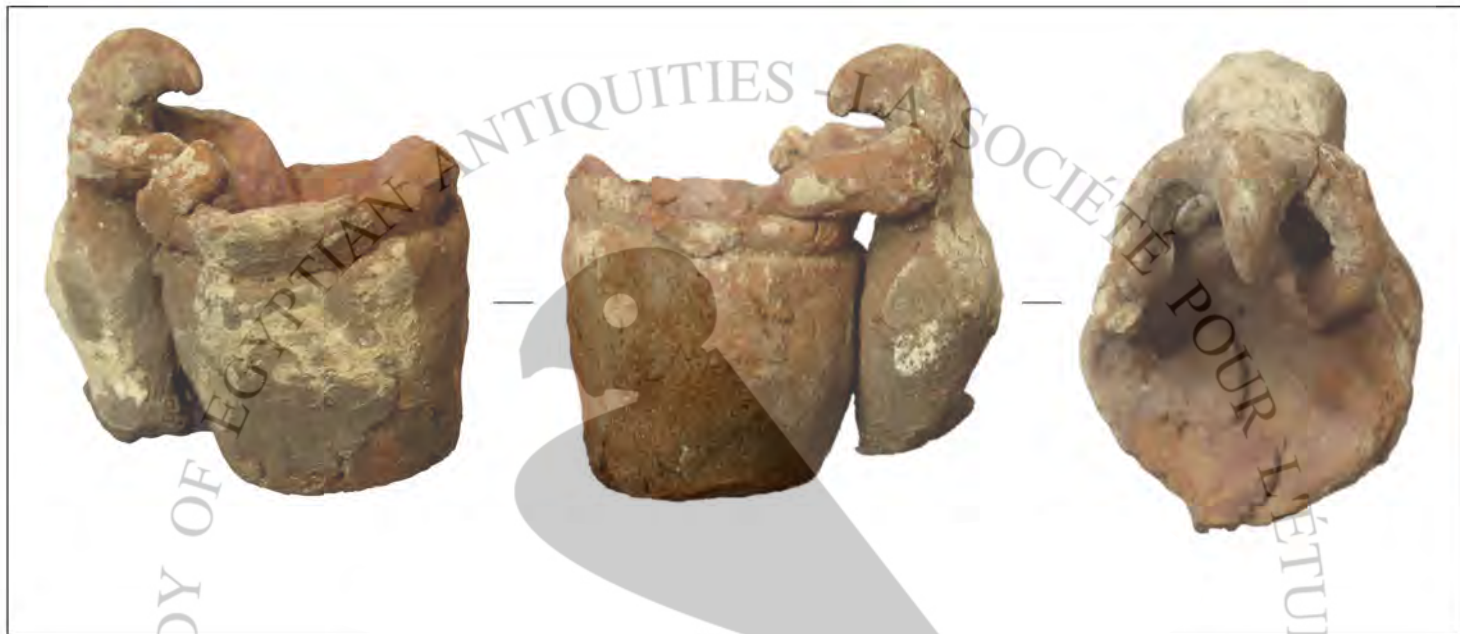
Figure 4-1 - Le Caire, Musée Egyptien, JE 38908, clichés G. Graff.

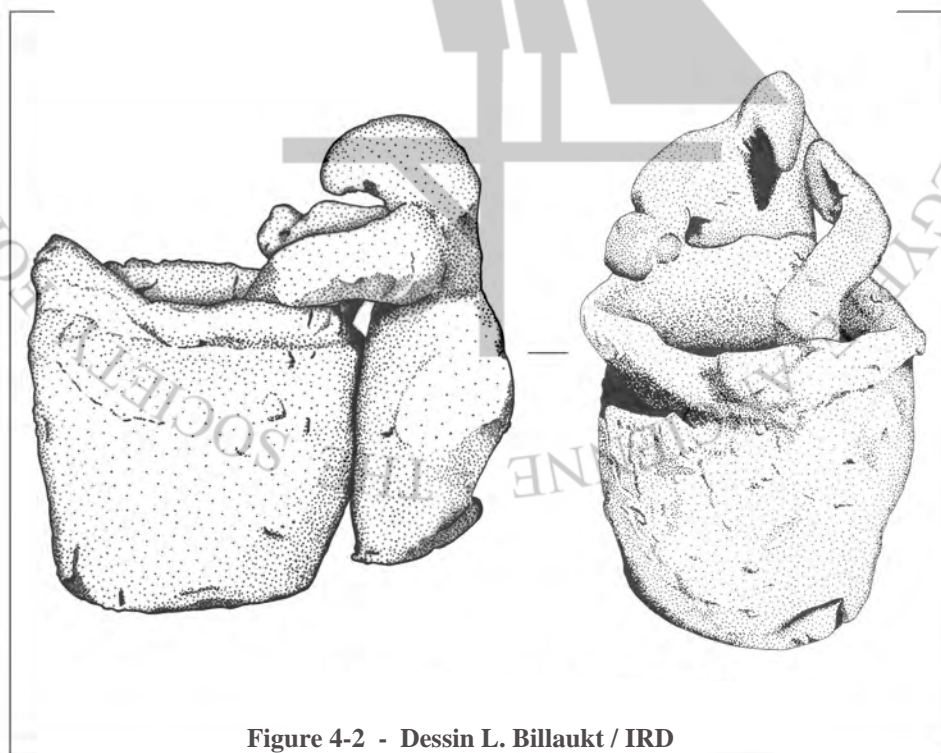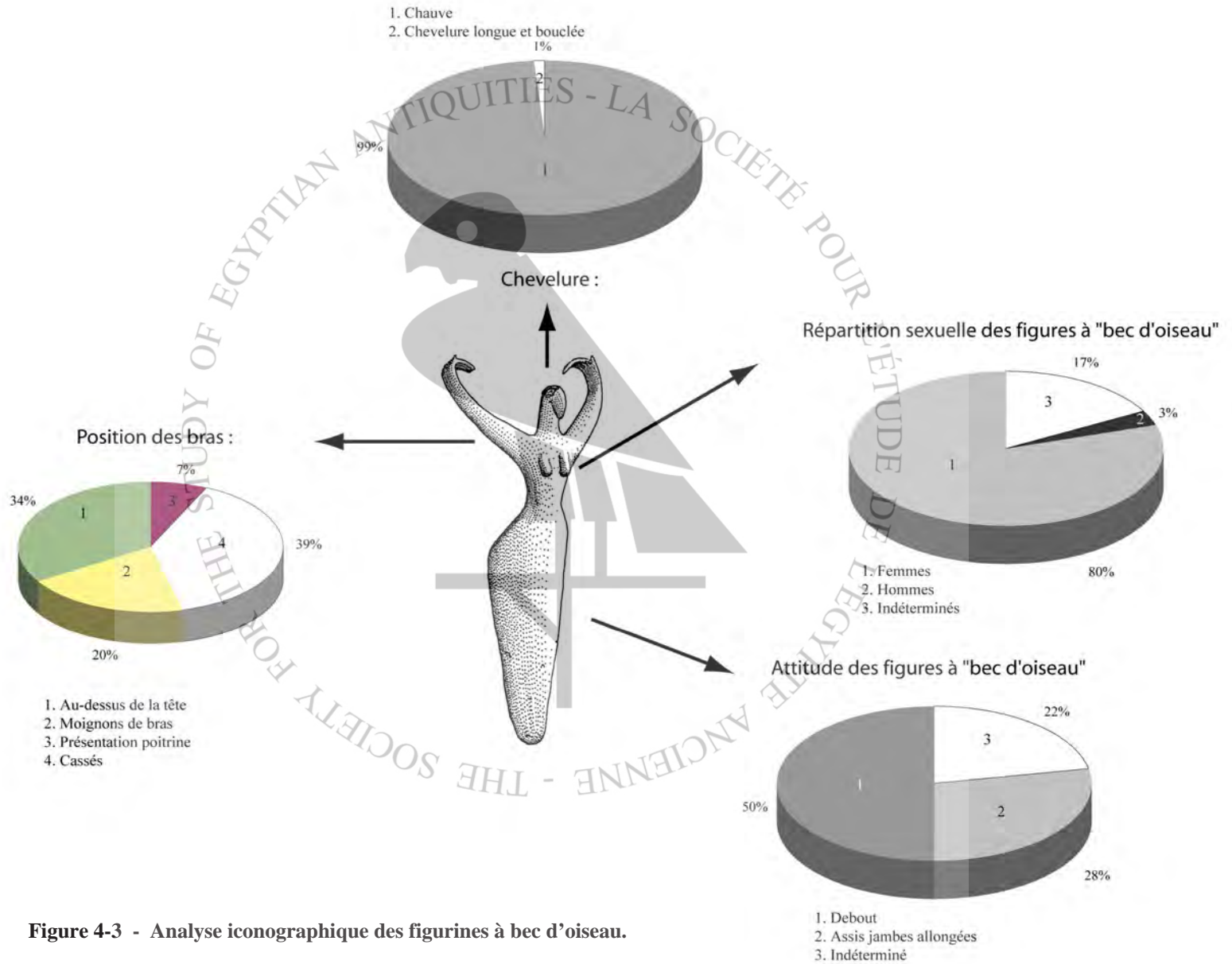Figure 4-2 - Dessin L. Billaukt / IRD

1. Chauve
2. Chevelure longue et bouclée

1%

2

99%

1

Chevelure :

Répartition sexuelle des figures à "bec d'oiseau"

17%

3

2 3%

1

1. Femmes
2. Hommes
3. Indéterminés

80%

Position des bras :

7%

3

34%

1

4 39%

2

20%

1. Au-dessus de la tête
2. Moignons de bras
3. Présentation poitrine
4. Cassés

Attitude des figures à "bec d'oiseau"

22%

3

50%

1

2

28%

1. Debout
2. Assis jambes allongées
3. Indéterminé

Figure 4-3 - Analyse iconographique des figurines à bec d'oiseau.
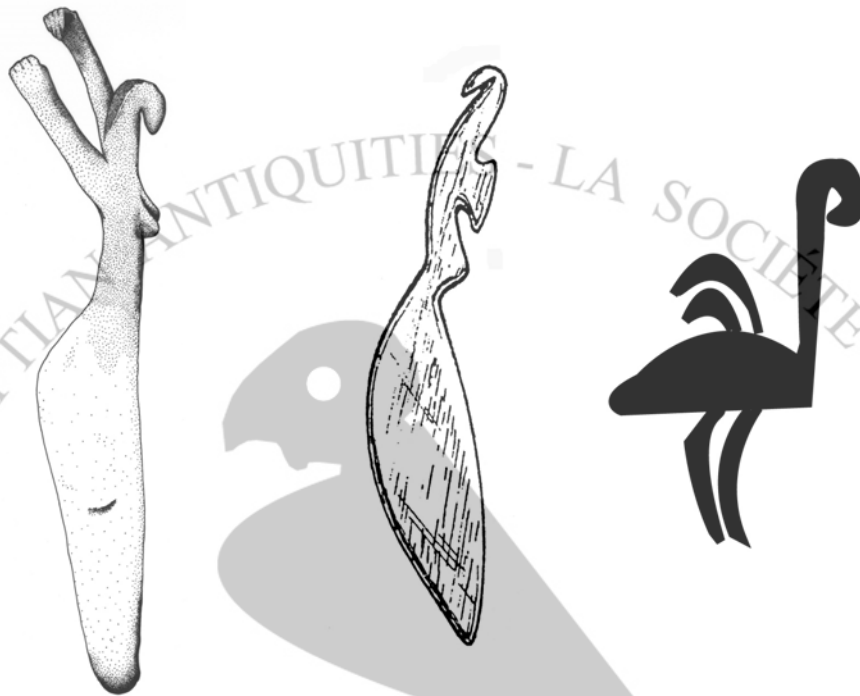
Figure 4-4 - Mise en parallèle d'une figurine à bec d'oiseau, d'une palette à fard en grauwacke représentant une femme aux bras levés et d'une autruche aux ailes dressées représentée sur un vase Decorated.

Figure 4-5 - Palette lancéolée, Manchester, no 5476.

Figure 4-6 - Abydos, tombe U-439.
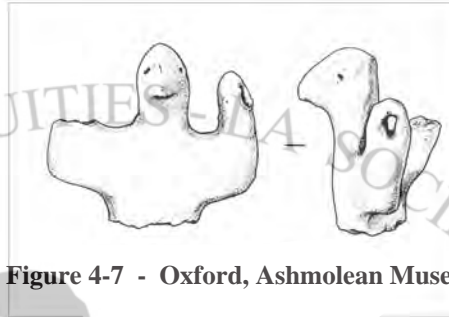
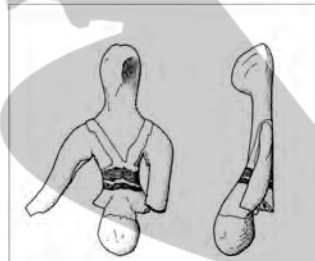**Figure 4-7 - Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1895.821.**

Figure 4-9 - Abydos, tombe U-503.

Figure 4-8 - Bruxelles, MRAH. E. 3006*.
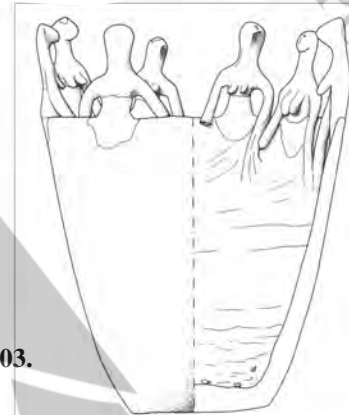
Figure 4-10 - Abydos, tombe U-502.

Figure 4-11 - New York, Brooklyn Museum, 07.447.502*.

Figure 4-12 - New York, Brooklyn Museum, 07.447.504*.

Figure 4-13 - New York, Brooklyn Museum, 07.447.505*.

Quelques figurines predynastiques à bec d'oiseau - *Dessin L. Billault / IRD.

5. Human Cargo: Transportation of Western Asiatic People during 11th and 12th Dynasty

Steven James Larkman

Abstract

The following article represents a revision of the second chapter of my MA dissertation (University of Liverpool). It investigates the transportation and subsequent development of the Asiatic population during the early part of the Middle Kingdom. Transportation of captives has a long history in the ancient world, but, to Egypt the physical transportation of captives was the result of successful military campaigns. This produced a workforce that allowed Egypt to expand and develop. This paper will explore how many Asiatic were actually known to have been transported to Egypt during the 11th and 12th Dynasties. It also explores where these people ended up when they arrived in Egypt. Finally, we will see what happened to these people over time from their initial arrival to their death.

The transportation of captives has a long history in Egypt. During the early Middle Kingdom the Egyptian kings sent military expeditions to Syria-Palestine and brought back large numbers of Asiatic captives. This paper will look at situations that could have resulted in large amounts of people being transported to Egypt and investigate where these people ended up.

There is very little information about Egyptian military activities against the Syro-Palestine area in the 11th Dynasty. It is quite clear, however, that on several occasions Egyptian forces did attack locations in Asia. How many times they did so is unknown, but they were evidently capable of it. These military expeditions span most of the early part of the Middle Kingdom (11th and 12th Dynasties). Documentation of these expeditions is scattered and, in some cases, only one text refers to the expedition. Others are documented in a number of forms.

This leaves us a number of questions. How many of the previously mentioned military expeditions were successful? How many of them brought back any number of captives? If these were similar to the expeditions of Amenemhat II, then there would have been a large number of captives in Egypt of Syrian-Palestinian origins. If so, where did all the captives go when they were brought back to Egypt?

Were there military actions by the 11th Dynasty against western Asia?

One of the first documented occurrences of Egyptian military expedition attacking

Syro-Palestinian communities comes from two monuments: Mentuhotep II's Deir el-Bahari temple; and, the tomb of Intef, Mentuhotep II's general (Shaw 1996: 245). Relief blocks from Mentuhotep II's Deir el-Bahari temple once bore scenes depicting a battle against an Asiatic community (Shaw 1996: 245). The tomb of Intef also contains a scene that shows the Egyptian army attacking an Asiatic community. The Egyptians used a siege tower to scale the walls. The people depicted in the scene are clearly of Asiatic origin based on the similarity with the scene in the tomb of Knumhotep II at Beni Hasan (Shaw 1991: 38-39).

The two scenes are from different periods, but the similarities are quite striking. There seems to be no indication of the results from these battles, and, in particular, no lists of goods or captives taken. However, in light of later events, there is an indication that captives and spoils most likely were taken back to Egypt. Even at this early date, Egyptian interests seem to have been quite exceptional. These early battles and attacks set the stage for the 12th Dynasty and the Egyptian interest in the Syro-Palestinian area.

What type of military actions occurred in the 12th Dynasty?

The 12th Dynasty period saw significant military activities by the kings of Egypt aimed towards Syria-Palestine and into Wawat (Nubia) and Kush. The kings of this dynasty had a great deal of military and trade activity between Egypt and Syria-Palestine. Inscriptions have been found in both areas that document the relationship between the two. Most of the kings of the 12th-Dynasty had dealings with the Syria-Palestine.

Some military evidence suggests the 12th Dynasty kings had skirmishes with the sand dwellers on the eastern edges of the Delta region. Amenemhat I built the 'Wall of the Rulers' along the eastern edge of the Delta. This fortress protected the Delta from the incursion of the sand-dwellers (Bedouin) and others from the Sinai and Syria-Palestine.

There are large numbers of Egyptian officials who hold elite epithets and titles that suggest they were involved military activities against Syria-Palestine. Whether these were primarily bombastic or had a historical reason for them is not known (Shaw 2000: 325). In one case, Senwosret I describes himself as the 'throat-slitter of Asia' (Callender 2000: 167). Currently, there is no evidence for Senwosret I having made a military attack on Syria-Palestine. These epithets and titles could imply there were military activities, but they do not provide specific events.

The more important military expeditions were substantial ones that traveled into the area of Syria-Palestine proper to engage the local Canaanite communities in open warfare. The evidence suggests there were two kings (Amenemhat II and Senwosret III) that attacked the Levant on two different occasions.

Ian Shaw (2000: 325) relates that Amenemhat II made two military invasions of the Levant. The most complete and informative of the military raids is that of Amenemhat II. 'The Royal Annals of Amenemhat II' is a daybook that was transferred from papyri on to a temple wall and it is the most detailed example of Egyptian annals (*genut*) that survive to this day (Malek 1992: 18). This inscription occurs in two fragments: the larger piece is the more important one, due to its size and the information that it contains (Malek and Quirke 1992: 13). Jaromir Malek and Stephen Quirke (1992) do not discuss precisely how these two fragments are connected, but they do make the suggestion that both come from a lager inscription that was later re-used. The annals record events that occurred at the court of

Amenemhat II. These include military expeditions resulting in spoils, donations to the sanctuaries of local gods, the making and endowing statues of the king and officials and the presenting of exotic imported products at the palace (Malek 1992: 18).

The Stele of Khusobek from the Manchester Museum describes an attack on the city of Shechem that he participated in (Shaw 2000: 325). This stele provides a snap shot of a military campaign during the reign of Senwosret III against Syria-Palestine (Wienstien 1917: 11). Khusobek held the title of "Inspector of Retainers" and the stele relates how Senwosret III led a military expedition to the central valley of Israel (Manley 2000: 48-9). This expedition was aimed at the site of *Sekmem* (presumably Shechem) before the expedition returned to Egypt. It was directed against the area called *Skmn* (biblical Sheshem). This was probably no more than a raid to punish raiding Asiatics, but it was sufficiently important to be noted on a stele for Khusobek. Michael Rice (1999:100) says that Khusobek commanded the rear guard when they were attacked by a group of Badu. During the attack(s), Khusobek claims to have killed one of the attackers.

The above military campaigns are the only ones aimed at Syria-Palestine with documented evidence. There may be more expeditions that have not so far come to light. What is known is that there were large numbers of captives or prisoners of war entering Egypt during the Middle Kingdom.

How many Captives were brought to Egypt?

The Royal Annals of Amenemhat II documents two military expeditions to the Levant and includes the bringing back of large amounts of spoils to Egypt. The spoils included inanimate and raw materials as well as 1554 captives (Altenmuller and Moussa 1991; Callender 2000: 163; Redford 1992: 78-79). The term used in the inscription was too general to indicate gender or age of the captives. It seems likely that the term captives included both males and females of all ages. If the Amenemhat II military expedition resulted in 1554 captives, then how many other captives were brought back from the other military expeditions discussed above?

Assuming we can accept the presentation of the event depicted and inscribed as being successful, then we can then start to discuss the number of captives that could have been brought to Egypt. The one expedition of Amenemhat II brought back 1554 captives. Was his other expedition also successful or not? There seems not to be any evidence one way or another but, if it was successful, then we can add that to the total for Amenemhat II, possibly even doubling the total captives from his known returning expedition. The other expeditions could have returned with even more captives. A conservative estimate could be as high as ten thousand captives brought back to Egypt spread out over two dynasties and seven reigns.

We have no other information about the number of captives from other expeditions, but the documentation from the 11th Dynasty and the engagement of Khusobek under Senwosret III suggests that they were successful. None actually provide details about the spoils of war being brought back to Egypt, so we have no idea if there were any captives brought back to Egypt as well.

The question that should now be asked is: how many Asiatic captives were brought to Egypt over the first half of the Middle Kingdom?

One known example of a military expedition that brought large numbers of captives to Egypt was during the reign of Snefru in the 4th Dynasty. Snefru led a military expedition into Nubia and claimed to have-brought back 7000 Nubian prisoners in just one expedition (el-Mahdy 200: 58). Thousand of captives over several reigns does not seem far-fetched and even ten thousand might be on the low side. Whatever the total number of captives brought into Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, we know there was a large population of indentured captives living in Egypt at the time. The question now to be asked: where were these people settled?

Where did the captives end up?

The captives brought back to Egypt were divided into groups and sent to work on estates. Two such estates were Lahun and Thebes. These are known to have had large numbers of foreigners living in Royal Estates and establishments. Some captives also ended up in private ownership.

Most of the foreign populations at these sites were identified by an ethnic term indicating area or place of origin. In the case of the Syro-Palestinians, the people were identified with the term *ꜥ3mw* (Asiatic) (Luft 1993: 292). This was applied to male or female *ꜥ3mw* or *ꜥ3mt* was used to identify the person of Asiatic descent. In all documents from the two sites, *ꜥ3mw* or *ꜥ3mt* was placed before the name of the individual. In one example from Rio de Janeiro, a stele from Abydos documents two Asiatics. The bottom registers documents: *ꜥ3m Gbgb ir.n ꞽmꞽ* "the Asiatic Gebgeb, born of Ummi." The bottom lines of the stele documents: *s3.f Ḥrw-nfr ꜥ3m ir.n mwt.f* "his son, Herunefer the Asiatic born of his mother" (Kitchen 1991: 88). Both Gebgeb and Herunefer were documented either by themselves or by the carver of the monument as being Asiatic.

The most documented groups of Asiatics were those found at Lahun and Thebes. Most of the evidence is derived from documents written and later found at the sites. This literary evidence is written in the same format as the above stele inscription.

Ulrich Luft (1993: 296) suggests that there was a special camp for Asiatics located in the vicinity of Lahun. He presents the inscription from the Papyrus Berol 10021 that documents "the Asiatic Ja'ru is to be transferred from the special Asiatic camp together with his son and other individuals" (Luft 1993: 296). These people (two of the group were documented as being Asiatic) were transferred from the special prison to another location not documented. The Asiatics were first housed in the special camp and were later transferred to communities including Lahun.

All Asiatic people who lived and worked in Lahun and the surrounding area were under the authority of the "Scribe of Asiatics" (David 1986: 190-1). The Scribe of Asiatic's controlled the movement of Asiatic people and possibly the special Asiatic camp. This person could be the official who authorized the above transference of the Ja'ru and his son.

Papyrus Berlin 10046 provides a list of unspecified number of male attendants to the temple of Sekhem Senusret, the justified. It does not mention any female Asiatic attendants (Luft 1993: 293), but in others texts, the Asiatic's were documented as singers and dancers in the temple Senwosret II at Lahun (David 1986: 190). In another part of the text, two porters were employed in the same temple. Taken together, these documents present a

picture of the Asiatic people that were present at Lahun and the jobs they performed.

Like Lahun, the ancient city of Thebes also had a sizable population of Asiatic people who lived there. The documentation of the Asiatic people in Thebes comes primarily from a papyrus known as Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446. This papyrus documents 95 servants, of which 45 were of Asiatic heritage.

The Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 was a "Register of Criminals of the Great Prison" (Hayes 1955: 128). This register documents people who were classed as prisoners and listed in dockets. The final docket documents 95 servants. These servants are documented as being at the center of a legal case between three people. These servants were originally transferred from the prison through two intermediaries to their final owner (Hayes 1955: 115). These Asiatics were held as private household servants to the Lady Senebtisy.

The 95 servants in this list were documented in a standard outline. The individual's name follows a title usually "king's servant" or the "female servant." In the case of Asiatic servants, they are given the title of "Asiatic servant" or "female Asiatic." A standard entry is # 4 "the King's servant, the son of Yusni, Asha," or the female equivalent # 2 "the female servant, daughter of Iy, Satgemini" (Hayes 1955: 87) and an Asiatic servant was entry # 6 "the Asiatic, Senebbressonbe," or # 7 "the female Asiatic Rehwy" (Hayes 1955: 87). Several entries are listed as a son or daughter. This occurs in # 8 "her son, the son of Nefu, Ressonbe," or # 3 "her daughter, Rensonbe" (Hayes 1955: 87). While the servants were documented in the above pattern, the wider implication of the document is that the Asiatic people were present in Thebes as part of the community.

In addition to the 95 servants the papyrus also documents the legal battle and legal certification between three citizens for the ownership of these servants. The first citizen is Ha'ankhef, Overseer of Fields; the second was Pay, Accountant in Charge of Prisoners and, finally, the Lady Senebtisy, wife of Ha'ankhef and the eventual owner of the contested servants.

The legal battle was started by Ha'ankhef, "Overseer of Fields," who petitioned the king for the household servants confiscated from the official Pay, "Accountant in Charge of Prisoners" (Hayes 1955: 114, 128). These servants were described as both a gift and as "the people (for whom) he made petition." Later, the servants were transferred from Ha'ankhef to Lady Senebtisy. Hayes presents the idea that Pay may have misused his position as "Accountant in Charge of the Great Prison" at the expense of "Overseer of Fields," Ha'ankhef, who took a legal case to the court of the Vizier. The Vizier ruled in favour of Ha'ankhef and the 95 servants were transferred into the personal ownership of the Ha'ankhef. Later, Ha'ankhef transfers these 95 servants and other objects to his wife, Senebtisy. Senebtisy used this information to justify her claim to the ownership of these servants in this document.

With the large numbers of captives taken on military expeditions there was likely a royal establishment or prison-like camp where the captives were organized into groups and documented by the royal government. Then they were dispersed to places that need workers. Taken together, these Lahun and Theban documents provide substantial evidence about the forcible transportation of Asiatic captives, where they were sent and what they were expected to do when they arrived.

Conclusion

The transportation of Asiatic people into Egypt over the early Middle Kingdom produced a large population that spanned the entire land of Egypt. There are events recorded about several military expeditions to Syria-Palestine. But, for the most part, these expeditions are only partially detailed. In the case of the Royal Annals of Amenemhat II, we have an inscription that details the return of one expedition and documents captives of war. This suggests there may have been large numbers of people from western Asia being brought back to Egypt over the course of the 11th and 12th Dynasties.

The transportation of the captives to Egypt produced a large indentured workforce that could be used anywhere in the country. We have two examples of Asiatic populations, the servant lists of Lahun and Thebes. These lists present information on the make up of the Asiatic population controlled by the state and an independent owner of servants. The evidence suggests that transported captives ended up in the workforce on various royal estates.

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6. Empty Threats? How Egyptians' Self-Ontology Should Affect the Way We Read Many Texts

Kerry Muhlestein

Abstract

Egyptologists have typically divided texts into those that dealt with the divine and those that treated the mundane. This false dichotomy is not one that the Egyptians themselves would have imposed. They saw themselves as mortal beings that interacted with the divine realm and the afterlife. The texts they created reflect this understanding, and thus we are greatly hampered when we insist that the language of a decree, threat formula, or other texts, must refer to *either* the mundane *or* the supernatural, but not both. There is ample evidence that the Egyptians often intended specific wording to invoke multiple realms, by use of metaphoric and divine language, and by doing so they increased the efficacy of their texts. Without this understanding, we will misunderstand many of the texts we study.

Key words

Threat-formulae, divine language, textual interpretation, charms, inscriptions

I aver that in our own lives most Academicians, whether religious or not, make divisions between the natural and supernatural, compartmentalizing the mundane and ultramundane.[1] We do this as Enlightenment-influenced creatures who habitually and consciously – often even unconsciously – bifurcate the religious and the secular. The Academy, almost regardless of geographic location, usually strengthens this Western tendency. While this training is invaluable as we form our methodologies, it concurrently creates a world-view barrier between us and those of ancient or modern cultures who do not create such mental dichotomies. Because we operate in light of our own experience,[2] we tend to superimpose this Western compartmentalization on the ancient Egyptians. However, this contravenes the world view that the Egyptians themselves possessed. The other-worldly, or preternatural, was superjacent in all aspects of Egyptian life. We understand this when the Egyptians employ language in the form of simile, explicitly comparing themselves to the divine, such as when the king "appeared against them *like* Montu."[3] Recognizing Egyptian self-identification with the preternatural becomes more difficult when the similes give way to other rhetorical devices in which the comparison or self-identification is less transparent. I call this divine language, such as when the king "*is* the strong bull, sharp of horns and resolute;"[4] or when the king destroys enemies with "*his* flame."[5] Differences between these terms will be discussed below, but from the outset we must understand that supernatural similes and divine language were not employed merely as literary devices; instead they reflect the Egyptian tendency to see themselves in light of both the mortal and supra-mortal realms. They lived in their metaphor, considering themselves ontologically to have a presence simultaneously in what we would consider to be a number of different planes; such a multivalent self-view is commonly reflected in Egyptian texts. Failure to realize this hampers us in our efforts to understand many such texts.

There can be no doubt that the ancient Egyptians considered themselves entities with elements of existence in a number of spheres. They were not a conglomeration of flesh and bones that existed for the few moments of mortality and then ceased to exist, creating minimal ramifications upon others and the cosmos. Instead they were beings that existed in a mortal realm, interacting with the divine sphere, and moving on to an afterlife which was at least partially integrated with the divine, but which also continued to collude with the mortal realm. Moreover, their actions in any of these spheres *could* have cosmic influence.

While this multivalent impact must have, to some degree, weighed heavily on the Egyptians themselves, their response to such an existence also proves bedeviling for Egyptologists. Philological evidence regarding the multivalence of Egyptian personalities is inherently skewed. Naturally those actions which could have effect in multiple realms would be deemed of enough import that the likelihood of its being recorded increased greatly. In a cycle of increasing importance, the creation of the written record dealing with such events invoked the numinous power of writing; the writing itself lifted the level of force which the events could have, creating perpetuity and enhanced multivalence.

Even more bewildering is the tendency for these records to be intentionally ambiguous, employing language that could simultaneously have impact in more than one sphere. This multi-leveled language often leaves the modern philologist in a quandary as to how to interpret the wording encountered. Is the language speaking of something a mortal man will do, or of events belonging to other realms? The question itself reveals that our conundrum is increased when we operate under the false dichotomy that inscriptional language must refer to either one realm or another.[6]

This compartmentalization is not one that the Egyptians themselves employed. When we label a text as having to do with either the mortal or supra-mortal realm, we make the assumption that texts must have been intended for only one realm at a time. This assumption also leads to presumptions about the juridical efficacy of certain texts and their agents of enforcement. We will find ourselves understanding the ancient Egyptians much better if we abandon such anachronistic divisions and look for intentional polyvalence. This will also better enable us to evaluate individual inscriptions. More levels of understanding unfold when we let the Egyptians speak in the manner they conceived, looking specifically for the tendency to preternaturalize and multiply the spheres of ramification. Approaching Egyptian texts with a lens that allows for the Egyptian conception of multivalent entities operating in various spheres will enhance our understanding of what the Egyptians themselves understood the texts to mean.

Undoubtedly the degree and type of multi-spherical references changed over the course of Egypt's long and splendored history. Future studies must undertake a careful analysis of the types of references made in each time period, accounting for the medium on which the texts were created and the social and archaeological context for each text. For example, as concepts of what was sacred and the appropriate way to interact with the sacred changed,[7] surely the method of identifying with the sacred must have been influenced. Similarly, changing views as to the relation between mortals and the divine[8] had to impact the way in which the Egyptians sacralized their lives. Much can be gained from examining the current topic historically, searching for continuity and change. However, we must first more carefully address the core issues. I aver that while the specifics of doing so probably changed over time, the habit of creating texts intended to concurrently address more than one realm was present in all ages of Egyptian society.

As a discipline, we have intuitively seen this multivalence in the acts of kings, rites and spells. We have had more difficulty when looking at proscriptions, juridical expressions, and tomb threats. These are issues that have appeared sporadically in the research of myself and others when discussing tomb threats, spells, etc.; however, I believe that pulling together these separate threads in a concentrated examination will be productive and useful.

Preternaturalization

There can be no dispute about the ancient Egyptian tendency to equate mortal circumstances with preternatural characters and events. The textual reflections of this are manifested in at least three ways. The most recognizable is through the employment of simile. For example, Senusret III was said to "shoot arrows as does Sakhmet."[9] A string of similes is employed to liken the military exploits of Thutmosis III to the preternatural, such as his being like Amun, stars, a bull, a crocodile, a lion, a divine hawk, the jackal of Upper Egypt and Horus.[10] Merneptah reports that "like the flooding of the Nile, I caused Egypt to be."[11] Ramesses II "appeared against them like Montu."[12] Moreover, he "is like Montu, [grasping] his bow, like Horus in his array, with his bow he is like Bastet, and his arrow is like the Son of Nut;"[13] and he will be "given life like Re."[14] Language about having valor, stability, dominion, protection, life or health like Re is ubiquitous.[15] The use of similes relating the acts of mortals (especially *royal* mortals, we will consider others below) to the supernatural is so common it is readily overlooked. In the case of similes we understand that the characters and acts of other spheres have been superimposed upon the acts of mortals, and vice versa.

A similar equation with the other-worldly was made with the use of divine language. Yet this textual tendency is less transparent, lending itself to ambiguity regarding whether the acts spoken of belonged to this realm, the next, or both. Examples of divine language include when Senusret III, who used common military tactics in his campaigns, had these exploits described as smiting "foreign countries with his crown."[16] Similarly, Merneptah "has the strength of Re,"[17] and Ramesses II is the "strong bull, sharp of horns and resolute."[18] Moreover, Thutmosis III is told in regards to a northern campaign, that the serpent upon his brow will consume those in foreign lands, that she would burn them with her flame, and that "she cuts off the heads (*dn꞊s tpw*) of the Asiatics."[19] While Thutmosis' armies certainly enacted all kinds of literal mayhem on the Asiatics, those acts are described metaphorically as the Uraeus burning and beheading.

The use of divine language can include imagery in which the wording no longer attributes to men phenomenal abilities or divine accouterments with such, but instead attests that these mortals carried out acts generally only credited to the divine. In this kind of divine language, phraseology is employed that, were the name of a mortal not included, we would associate only with deities. The prophecy of Neferti describes Ameni with such language. The line "Libyans will fall to his flame (*nswt꞊f*),"[20] uses divine language to ascribe to the king divine abilities, such as producing a consuming flame. This is done a few lines later in another sense: "The Uraeus at his fore pacifies the hostile for him" (*shrì.tì n꞊f ẖꜣk-ìbw*).[21] Both lines describe the same type of thing, but the former arrogates the power directly to Ameni, as opposed to a divine element (such as the Uraeus) assisting him. Both are types of divine language, but the former incident can be more confusing to modern interpreters. Similarly, Ramesses II is referred to as "Re, born of the gods" (*rꜥ mss nṯrw*).[22] Elsewhere he says "I am Re, Lord of heaven, who is upon the earth" (*ìnk rꜥ nb pt nty ḥr tp tꜣ*).[23] Clearly he is charged with divine attributes here, via divine language.

As Egyptologists our academic background, with its insistence on the verifiable, generally heightens the likelihood that we will underestimate the Egyptian proclivity for seeing the supernatural in the mundane. We must remember that the supernatural was much more real and immediate to the typical Egyptian than to modern Egyptologists. Even lore associated with *sp tpi* and other foundational events was not something of the distant past, but were actions that had occurred, were presently taking place, and would happen yet again in the future. These *historiolae* were carried out by real characters who had a real impact on the life of Egyptians. Thus, while some circumstances may have been desirably preternaturalized, and others less so, interacting with the supra-mundane was inevitable and unavoidable.

We cannot know the extent to which a narrative myth concerning supernatural characters existed in various phases of Egyptian history.[24] We are also incapable of deducing with how much of any given mythical narrative an average Egyptian would have been familiar. Yet the tendency to preternaturalize does not depend on narrative nor full familiarity with narrative. Identification with the supernatural had more to do with the qualities of cosmic identities and incidents than with storyline. The cryptic allusions and citations of supernatural characters and events within the pyramid texts demonstrate that it was qualities and powers, not stories, from which it was important to draw, even from the earliest periods of Egyptian texts. I generally, though not completely, avoid the use of the term "myth" in this study because of the baggage the term carries and because it is quite possible to identify with the preternatural whether or not texts dealing with divine narrative exist.

Preternaturalization of the Political

The use of preternatural language exceeded the reflection of a world view, and was more than creating texts as political propaganda.[25] The purpose went beyond convincing others of a particular viewpoint. Instead it actuated that viewpoint, both by appeal to *historiolae* and by enforcing the numinous power of writing in multiple realms. These texts may have convinced, but more importantly, by means of identification with the preternatural, they created, enforced, and empowered.

Such preternaturalization is most readily seen in the political sphere. Egyptologists understand well that the death of the king and the ascension of his successor was viewed as an event both quotidian and as a re-enactment of the story of Osiris and Horus. Other actions of the king were also often identified with the divine. For example, after burning (*rḫ.tw*) a group of Theban rebels, Prince Osorkon identifies what he has done with bringing the eye of Re, an allusion to the Myth of the Heavenly Cow.[26] Osorkon then serves warning that any rebellion in the future would be met with the fire (*nbi*) of Mut (divine language).[27] Given that Osorkon himself had just burned malefactors, we can assume that he would do so to any who acted likewise in the future; yet he equated this punishment with divine fire. In his mind the punishment he had inflicted had taken place multivalently on both a mundane and supra-mundane level; necessarily so, since the rebellion against royal authority he had been dealing with clearly had cosmic ramifications.[28] He also raised any future rebellions to the same supernatural level, along with the punishment that would ensue. Such a warning, with its obvious reference to real burning, casts illumination on other threats of action from supernatural beings in royal decrees and elsewhere. If the threat could have real consequences in this inscription, was it thus in others?

We should ask, for example, what should be made of a donation stela from the time of Shabako. The text states that any who harmed the donated fields would fall to the sword of the king (literal), and that Sakhmet would somehow punish them (divine language), though a lacuna makes this section so unreadable as to render it impossible to tell exactly what Sakhmet would do.[29] Since the donation had been given to a temple, and since Shabako was pictured on the stela, we may assume that the land in question had come under state protection. It seems very unlikely that those who harmed state property would not be punished by the state. Yet in this case, as with so many others, the crime and punishment have been raised to the preternatural level. This does not mean that a worldly punishment would not be enacted; instead it extended the efficacy of that punishment to multiple realms.

Such preternaturalization happens again and again. We will highlight only a few more examples. Those who might misappropriate the tomb personnel of Amenhotep son of Hapu are warned that they would go "to the fire of the king on the day of his fury (literal). His Uraeus shall spit fire on their heads (divine language), annihilating their bodies and devouring their flesh, having become like Apophis on the morn of the New Year (simile)."[30] When possible, misappropriation of tomb personnel was punished by the state.[31] Here we should note that the state's potential response to it has been preternaturalized.

A stela from Dakhla states that any who disregarded its inscription would be killed by Amun-Re and Sakhmet, and was "an enemy of Osiris, lord of Abydos" (*ḫrwy n wsỉr nbt ȝbḏw*).[32] *The* enemy of Osiris is Seth; additionally, Amun-*Re* and Sakhmet jointly killing is reminiscent of the narrative of Sakhmet killing rebellious mankind for Re. In this case, the inscription makes mortals congruent with a number of elements from two specific *historiolae* of *sp tpỉ*. Similarly, a hymn to Amun likens Apophis to those who rebel: "The weapon is in Apophis the injurer, felled by his sword (divine language). Our rebels, they are cut down (literal)."[33] Again, mortal rebels are narratively identified with the other-worldly. In a ritual designed to thwart foreign incursions, Seth and Apophis are told they can no longer enter Egypt, equating the entrance of foreigners with preternatural characters.[34] Hornung notes a Ptolemaic tomb inscription which identifies potential violators with Apophis.[35] A Ramesseum papyrus equates rebels with the son of Nut.[36] Late sources speak of red foreigners being killed to represent eradicating Seth and all the enemies of Osiris.[37] Even animals could be sacralized, such as when when an oryx, goat, or other animals were associated with Seth or Apophis,[38] and thus their destruction was also preternaturalized.[39] In each of these cases a quotidian event has been transformed into something larger as it is equated with sacral *historiolae*.

The fluid movement between the mortal and preternatural introduces elements of ambiguity in the Teachings for Merikare. Here, Merikare is told "Do not strike down (*m sḳr*), it does not empower you. Punish with beatings, with captivity, and thus will the land be established. Except for the rebel whose plans are discovered, for god knows those who plot treason, god smites his obstacles in blood (divine language)" (*ḥwỉ nṯr sḏbw=f ḥr snfw*).[40] Here it is expressed that god will smite the rebel, but since it is the king who is told not to strike people down except for the rebels, it is clearly the king who must enact the smiting of those rebels, lest he lose his throne. Similarly, Merikare is admonished that "He who is silent toward the violent (*grw r sḫm-ỉb*) diminishes the offerings. God will attack the rebel for the sake of the temple (divine language)" (*tkk nṯr sbỉ ḥr r pr*).[41] Again the reference is to god attacking the rebel, but implicitly Merikare is warned that this attack must come from him because of the danger of being silent towards violence. In both of these cases the language is divine, but the actions refer to the king. The language does not have reference

to the actions of two different beings, instead it lifts the actions of the king to the divine realm, causing his attack to be efficacious in multiple spheres.

I believe we see similar ambiguity in the Hatshepsut inscriptions at Deir el-Bahri. In the account of her coronation ceremony, it is written that Thutmosis I declared that "he who shall speak an evil thing in the path of her majesty shall die (literal)."[42] This pseudopigraphic edict is probably due to the extenuating circumstances of Hatshepsut's need for suppressing anything that would detract from her legitimacy, and it is difficult to imagine that this threat would not be employed under the aegis of the queen herself. Yet later in the inscription it is recorded "as for anyone who will speak against the name of her majesty, immediately god shall cause his death (divine language)."[43] While the agent of the punishment has been preternaturalized by the use of divine language, surely the royal court would see to its enactment, as intimated earlier in the inscription.

Another example of preternaturalization can be found when Ramesses II had his actions in the battle of Qadesh described as:

On my brow my serpent was felling my foes for me, (divine language)
Casting her blast of flame in the faces of my enemies, (divine language)
I was like Re when he rises at dawn, (simile)
My rays burned the flesh of the rebels.[44] (divine language)

Ramesses being like Re when he rises is in parallel with his rays burning rebels. This hearkens to Re having those who rebelled against him killed by his eye at the beginning of a new day. Such a preternatural identification is strengthened in the next four lines of the poem, wherein Ramesses' enemies describe him as Sakhmet the great. In the myth of the Heavenly Cow, it was Sakhmet who destroyed rebellious mankind for Re. Clearly Ramesses intended to identify his actions not only with preternatural characters, but with a specific *illo tempore* mythical event.

More evidence could be brought forth, but there is already a great deal of acceptance that the political realm demonstrated a tendency to preternaturalize.[45] Three things are lacking from this general understanding. First, we have typically failed to see the connection between supernatural references and mortal actions, such as those posed by Prince Osorkon, Ramesses II, Hatshepsut, and others as noted above. Second, there is abundant evidence that the disposition to preternaturalize extended beyond the political. Third, there is a general failure to apply this tendency to other types of Egyptian texts.

The Preternaturalization of the Individual

Undoubtedly the average Egyptian often identified his own quotidian acts with those which took place in other realms. This is most transparent in charms and spells. It has been long understood by Egyptologists that in this genre the individual sought identification with the supernatural, hoping to influence their own lives by choosing with which ultramundane occurrence their circumstance would be equated. For example, a spell for warding off plagues equates the owner with Horus, saying "I am Horus," and further "I am your Horus, Sakhmet (divine language)."[46] Similarly, in a spell to fend off bad dreams, a man is to call on his mother Isis, who will draw the bad dream out of him, referring to him as Horus (divine language).[47] In a spell designed to help in a conflict, the man asking for help says that Montu and Seth will strike the antagonist, and that if this adversary were to "seize my feet, I am Montu. If you kill, I am Osiris

(divine language)."[48] Spells dealing with child birth lifted the laboring mother from the mortal realm to the divine, regarding her as Hathor[49] or Isis (divine language).[50] Vaginal hemorrhages (*snf*) could be equated with the inundation (Hapy) wherein Anubis was invoked to stop the flood (divine language).[51] In one spell dealing with a snake, the protagonist claims "I wield your catching-fork as Horus" (simile).[52] A variety of spells for easing a burn identify the burn victim with Horus, asking for Isis to aid him (divine language).[53] Dozens of spells dealing with scorpions identify mortals with Horus, Isis, Re, Geb, and other deities (divine language).[54] Spells could even go so far as to sacralize inanimate objects, such as when a spell for protecting a house indicates that the bolts of the door are actually Ptah (divine language).[55] While preternatural identifications in this genre are overt, equating mundane and real actions with divine events, what is surprising is that such an acknowledgment is not extended to similar trends in other genres.

Threat Formulae, Ritual Texts and Decrees

Operating under the old tendency to dichotomize texts into the categories of mortal or supra-mortal, Egyptologists have debated the conundrum as to whether or not tomb curses were ever meant to be acted out during mortal life,[56] or if they were always intended to take effect in another realm.[57] It seems to me that these need not be mutually exclusive. It is even plausible that a double meaning may be intended, indicating action that should take place in the here and now, but insuring *both* that those actions would have effect in other realms, *and* that if the action did not take place in this life, it would in the next. The fluidity of thought expressed in the threats, and their incumbent philological difficulty is illustrated by Assmann, who first wrote that threats could have no impact on this realm,[58] but later modified his position to reflect that the Ankhtifi curse "is not, then, a curse in the normal sense but the announcement of laws; malediction and jurisdiction intermingle in a curious way."[59] Assmann's earlier objections stem from what Baines identified as his tendency to separate the divine and "real" world in a problematic way since "it could suggest that the world of the gods is not real. For the actors that world is real, even if its status may be less straightforward than the human world."[60]

Undoubtedly there are a whole host of threats which could only be enacted by the supernatural, such as being hated (*ḥbd*) by Re,[61] being judged with the deceased by a god,[62] or being consigned to the prison of the netherworld.[63] Often these types of punishments are strung together, making it quite clear that they belong to other spheres of existence.[64] Concomitantly, many threats had to be intended to be acted out in the mortal realm. For example, Willems has pointed out that the loss of burial and identity prescribed in threats is a well known juridical punishment.[65] By the time a person arrived at a tribunal in the next life it would be too late to deny him a burial, indicating that the denial of burial was at least intended to be enacted by "the living." Willems also demonstrates that curses of death by fire mirror perfectly texts which are certainly juridical;[66] Sottas compares threats from the Old Kingdom with royal decree punitive clauses;[67] Nordh notes that the threat formulae used in execration rituals often coincided with a legal enactment of their texts;[68] both Goedicke and Morschauser have outlined threat formula terminology that indicates the pronouncement of capital punishment.[69]

Yet the middle ground – texts which could be taken as either intended for this life, the next, or both – is much larger than we have previously acknowledged. I believe this is true of both threats pronounced by individuals, and those associated with the state or king. While elsewhere I have written about the likelihood that threats had elements which either dictated or mirrored mortal

actions,[70] my thinking about some of the elements previously discussed has shifted. Language that we once considered quite clear has become much more ambiguous in my mind. For example, if Prince Osorkon could literally enact the fire of Mut, and Shabako that of Sekhmet, what is to dictate that other textual uses of these sacral figures and punishments did not have real life referents? Should we not understand the many texts which speak of the Uraeus spitting fire to really reflect a punishment by the king?[71] Operating under the knowledge that burning was a form of capital punishment commonly employed,[72] and that burning enacted by mortals could be referred to with divine language, why should ubiquitous phrases such as "the fire (*ꜣht*) will consume his limbs,"[73] " he will go to the flame (*hh*) of Sekhmet,"[74] or "he will go to Osiris' brazier (*ꜥh*),"[75] not be taken literally? Could being cursed to fall to the "knives (*dsw*) of Horus,"[76] have reference to real knives enacted by real people? Why would not "belonging to the knife (*šꜥd*) of Amun-Ra,"[77] or going "to the knife (*ds*) of those who slaughter (*ḥnbw*),"[78] represent a preternaturalization of punishments that were actually to be inflicted in mortality?

Furthermore, we must question our assumptions about references to unearthly tribunals. Afterall, we know that the punishments enacted in the Harem Conspiracy were viewed as being directed by the gods. In this case, several of those punished found that "the great punishment of death (*sbꜣyt ꜥꜣy n mwt*) was applied to him, which the gods said, 'Do them to him'" (*ḏd nꜣ nṯrw ii st r=f*).[79] Since this punishment was attributed to the gods, but enacted by mortals, we must ask ourselves if other punishments ascribed to the divine via any number of phrases may not have reflected that which was done by mankind. In this light, why should mention of being prosecuted (*wšb*) by a tribunal in Heliopolis[80] not refer to an earthly tribunal? This seems especially likely in view of the fact that sometimes it was stipulated that it would be earthly officials who would enact judgment.[81] Why would references to being condemned by a god[82] not be a way of combining a preternatural event with an earthly tribunal? Should we not take the many references to having a plea or case heard "in the place of litigation," (*bw nty wḏꜥ-mdw im*)[83] as a likely reference to a real mortal judgment hall? This is more ambiguous when the judgment or litigation is to be done by the Great God.[84] While this may refer solely to a divine enactment, it seems even more probable that the tribunal would be hoped for either in both the mortal and divine realm, or that a tribunal held in the mortal realm would create a similar effect in the divine.

We can say of divine language in threat formulae (or, indeed, in almost any Egyptian text) what John Baines said of references to the "mythical" in the Pyramid Texts: "To call them allusions to myths is to weaken the implications of their presence in the texts, in which they enact rather than evoke, an identification between a ritual action and a divine occurrence."[85]

We find further evidence for this intentional ambiguity of language in ritual texts. For example, in the Bremner-Rhind papyrus the description of a ritual which specifies that fire is literally to be used, refers to this fire as "the fire which issues from the Eye of Horus,"[86] or as the "Mistress of Burning," the flame from the "eye of Re," flame of the "fiery one," or Sekhmet, all of which fires are to consume Apophis.[87] The stabbing of the figures is referred to as going to "the executioners of Sakhmet."[88] While the language of the text is highly preternatural, and very similar to that of tomb threats and other textual proscriptions, it is made very clear from the rubrics that the figures being assaulted were to literally be burned with a fire made by the priests, who ultimately represent Horus, Re, and others. This multivalent language is representative of the cross-spheric interaction which permeated the Egyptian world – especially the textual world – whether in formal ritual or elsewhere.

Multivalence of language seems even more apt in official spheres. When Seti I wrote that the Ennead will judge those who strayed from the stipulations he outlined in the Kanais decree,[89] he probably intended that a mortal and immortal tribunal would judge the transgressor; or perhaps even more likely that the action taken by a mortal tribunal would have effect in the immortal realm. In fact, in many ways the Kanais decree mirrors a similar Seti I decree from Nauri.[90] The Nauri decree is precise about which offenses demanded what punishments, and which mortal councils would enact them. The Kanais decree echoes this, but the agents of enforcement are Osiris, Isis, and Khonsu.[91] In this case the mundane agents of the Nauri decree must have still been intended, but they had been preternaturalized. We must attune ourselves to just such multivalent phrases which could be understood as both invoking an action on earth and equating it with the supernatural. This language causes the action taken in the mortal realm to have efficacy in other spheres of existence. Such must be the case when Taharqa stipulated that he who violated a decree would go to the knife of Ptah-Sokar and that Amun-Ra would slaughter him.[92] Surely Taharqa wanted a punishment to be pursued in this world, but the language of his inscription intentionally preternaturalized the desired events. A congruent identification of mortal actions with the divine is seen when Psametichus I threatens that the guilty would belong to the knife of Amun-Ra and Ptah, being destined for the flame of Sekhmet, while his son would not be allowed to succeed him.[93] Clearly Psametichus intended for the punishment of the offender to be enacted in mortality as much as he meant for the lack of succession to be. It is only the preternaturalization of the agents of enforcement, who are equated with Amun-Ra, Ptah, and Sekhmet, that distracts us from this conclusion.

My thoughts regarding the concept of not having an offering accepted by a god[94] have also evolved over time. I have long held this type of punishment to be something that could only be enacted in the supernatural realm. I now believe that this may represent actions taken on earth that were preternaturalized as part of the process of having effect in multiple spheres. Being excluded from aspects of religious life was a possible real worldly punishment, and threats such as not being allowed to participate in the festivals of Amun[95] probably were meant to be enforced in the mortal realm, with clear ramifications in the divine. As noted above, Willems has argued, and eventually Assmann agreed, that Ankhtifi's threats were intended for actual enactments; among these threats were that Hemen would not accept the offender's meat offering.[96] If Willems' supposition is correct, at least part of the reason Hemen would not *accept* the offering is because the offender would not be allowed to *make* an offering. It is likely, then, that this would be the ideal in countless cases wherein a curse entailed that gods would not accept offerings such as white-bread.[97] If this hypothesis is true, it would represent the withdrawal of earthly privileges – which actions were intended to interact with the divine – in an effort to affect the offender in multiple realms. While we will never know if any of these inscriptions were ever enacted, the possibility changes the way we understand the text.

It is not as important to determine which inscriptions were meant for which realm(s) – indeed, often this is beyond our reach – as it is to realize that the language employed in many cases is more fluid than we are accustomed to. Such a realization can open new interpretations and understandings of both texts and historical events. Yet this realization must be accompanied by a frank admission. While the ancient Egyptians likely understood what situations were appropriate for preternaturalization, and what phraseology would indicate such, we have not cracked this code. We simply do not presently have the knowledge available to develop a master key which can explain every text in light of the preternaturalization tendency. A healthy dose of skepticism on both sides

of the issue is in order. We must be open to the possibility of sacral metaphor in many texts, while acknowledging that we frequently cannot make a certain determination. We will experience difficulties in keeping our feet under us as we tread among such fluid wording.

It is probable that some curses really were intended for "when justice fails," by which I mean that the curse was intended to be acted out in this life, but if that failed to happen, characters and forces of the next would have to be relied on. This is typical of the Egyptian "system of redundancy,"[98] wherein they made many provisions for those things that were important to the afterlife in case there was a problem with any one of them. For instance, mummification was designed to ensure a place for the *ka*. However, in case there was a problem with the mummified body, a statue, or many statues, were also often provided (resources permitting), along with spells and drawings. Likewise, while actual offerings were ideally provided for the dead, the redundancy system included drawings of offerings, funerary spells, and offering spells for passers by to read,[99] all aimed at ensuring the provision of offerings. However, I do not think that references to the preternatural in threat formulae were only for when justice fails, but were commonly employed to multiply the realms of inscriptional efficacy.

The fluidity of cross-realm interaction found in the threat formulae is highlighted in another genre. A curious reversal takes place in many "divine decrees," wherein the language of worldly policies and procedures is adopted by those in the divine realm.[100] For example, terms typical of human decrees, such as *šꜥt* or *wḏ*, come to be used in divine decrees[101] or by divine figures in funerary literature.[102] The adoption of the mundane by the supra-mundane underscores the degree to which the Egyptians saw their realms colluding.

Inscriptional Efficacy

The reasons underlying Egypt's tendency to textually identify themselves with the preternatural make it likely that the language employed in most inscriptional genres intentionally caused actions, in whatever realm they occurred, to be potent in a variety of spheres. In an increasingly secular academe, this becomes more and more difficult to identify due to our lack of tendency to resonate with a people who had a multi-leveled ontological view of themselves. We cannot let this ebb of empathy with an Egyptian worldview prevent us from recognizing how they conceived of themselves. It is specifically because they viewed their actions as potentially having impact on multiple spheres that they invoked language which also had effect in those same spheres. They sought to expand the effectiveness and role of writing, not to limit it.

The preternaturalization examples cited above indicate that many fugacious acts were viewed as having supernatural parallels and ramifications. This was necessary for ontologically multivalent beings. Crimes against tombs, temples, memorial inscriptions, and a variety of other aspects of life simultaneously affected a person's existence in both the mortal and supernatural realms, and were viewed as the repetition of rebellious acts which had happened in the sacred *historiolae* of *sp tpi*, creating cosmic consequences, and thus demanding appeals to preternatural narrative elements. The authors of such appeals were well aware of the many layers of "reality" in which they were attempting to be efficacious, hence they used language which is confusing to those who try to compartmentalize the texts' spheres of influence. Those who carried out actions, whether good or ill, with ramifications in other realms supervened their merely mortal natures, and thus were transmogrified into characters which demanded multivalent actions and texts. When we allow the Egyptians to operate in all of the planes they intended, we are able to make much more sense of

many of their inscriptions, allowing us to realize their viability and applicability in both the mortal and extramortal realms. This is not only true of curses, but of much in the way of juridical and political terminology. These numinous writings were designed to operate in a multivalent manner. It was just such a perception of the numinousity of texts that caused Christians to later damage the texts; they reacted against the perceived power and multivalence of the inscriptions.

Because of their continual interaction with many spheres, in all eras of Egyptian history we find several mechanisms which enabled influence in multiple planes of existence. Ritual certainly constituted one such mechanism, as well as many actions which were intended to eradicate not just the mortal existence of a person, but their immortal elements as well (such as burning). Seeing a collusion of the mundane and supramundane within these actions has allowed us to more fully understand them. It has become apparent that the same must be done with texts, and that in so doing, we will be able to more fully understand the intent of the language employed. The careful crafting of language and phrases intended layers of interaction. The sacred power of writing and language was yet another tool employed as the Egyptians felt their way through realms both seen and unseen.

NOTES

[1] As Eliade has opined, life is lived on two planes: the human plane and the transhuman, or cosmic plane. See Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane; the Nature of Religion* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1959), 167.

[2] As is noted in Antonio Loprieno, "Slaves," in *The Egyptians*, ed. Sergio Donadoni (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 186.

[3] *KRI* 2:85, repeated lines.

[4] *KRI* 2:166, line 2.

[5] P.Lenningrad 1116B, lines 62-64, as in Wolfgang Helck, *Die Prophezeihung des Nfr. tj* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1970), 53.

[6] Such as when Shmuel Ahituv, "Review of *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards*," *IEJ* 41, no. 4 (1991), 303, argues that all of the elements of a scene must be either a depiction of a real event or were completely symbolic, insisting that there can be no mixing of the realistic with other elements.

[7] See Antonio Loprieno, *La pensée et L'écriture; pour une analyse sémiotique de la culture égyptienne* (Paris: Cybele, 2001), 13-50.

[8] See, for example, Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, Andrew Jenkins, trans. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 229-246.

[9] Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (1924-37), 65.

[10] Urk. 4: 614-619, lines 13-24.

[11] *KRI* 4:10, line 71.

[12] *KRI* 2:85, various lines.

[13] *KRI* 2:154, lines 2-4.

[14] *KRI* 2:153, line 16.

[15] See, for example, Stela Cairo JE 35256, upper section, as in Anthony Leahy, "A Protective Measure at Abydos in the Thirteenth Dynasty," *JEA* 75 (1989), 41-60, wherein Ugaf (and then Neferhotep after usurpation of the stela) is given life, dominion, health and joy, like Re, forever.

[16] Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (1924-37), 65.

[17] *KRI* 4:10, lines 69-70.

[18] *KRI* 2:166, line 2.

[19] Urk. 4: 613-614, lines 9-10.

[20] P.Lenningrad 1116B, lines 62-64, as in Wolfgang Helck, *Die Prophezeihung des Nfr. tj* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1970), 53.

[21] P.Lenningrad 1116B, lines 64-65.

[22] *KRI* 2:202, line 19.

[23] *KRI* 2:320, line 25.

[24] See John Baines, "Myth and Literature," in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, ed. Antonio Loprieno (New York: E.J. Brill, 1996), 361-377; and idem, "Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods, and the Early Written and Iconographic Record," *JNES* 50/2 (1991), 82.

[25] See Edward Bleiberg, "Historical Texts as Political Propaganda During the New Kingdom," *BES* 7 (1985/6), 5-13.

[26] Bubastite Portal, Annals of the High Priest Osorkon, inscription of Year 11 of Takelot II, cols. 35-36, as in Harold Hayden Nelson and University of Chicago Oriental Institute. Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936), pls. 16, and 18-19; also see Ricardo Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1958), 48.

[27] Nelson, pl. 19; and Caminos, 73.

[28] As was noted in the teachings for Merikare, when he was told that any who rebelled against him were "destroying heaven." See P. Leningrad 1116A, line 40, as in Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Studien zur Lehre für Merikare* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1992).

[29] Emil Brugsch-Bey, "Mittheilungen von Emil Brugsch-Bey," *ZÄS* 34 (1896), 84.

[30] C. Robichon and A. Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1936), line 8.

[31] See, for example, the inscription by Sheshonq the Elder who obtained the death penalty (*ḥdb*) for those who misappropriated tomb goods and personnel from his son's tomb, as recorded in Auguste Mariette, *Abydos. Choix de Monuments* vol. II (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1880), pl. 36.

[32] Jac. Jansen, "The Smaller Dakhla Stela," *JEA* 54, pl. XXVa, line 14.

[33] Leiden hymn 30, as in J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1947), pl. 2, lines 20-21. John L. Foster, *Echoes of Egyptian Voices: An Anthology of Ancient Egyptian Poetry* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 67, emmends the "Apophis" I have included here.

[34] Urk. 6: 17, various lines.

[35] Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and the Many*, trans. John Baines (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 158, n. 57. In some cases, the role of Apophis was occupied by the similar snake *Rerek*. See J. F. Borghouts, "The Victorious Eyes: a Structural Analysis of Two Egyptian Mythologizing Texts of the Middle Kingdom," *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens, Band 2: Religion, Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf überreicht von seinen Fruenden und Schülern* (Göttingen: Hubert & Co., 1984), 703-709.

[36] P. Ram. IX, 2, 2-5 as in Alan H. Gardiner, *The Ramesseum Papyri: Plates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), pl. 41.

[37] J. Gwyn Griffiths, "Human Sacrifices in Egypt: The Classical Evidence," *ASAE* 48 (1948), 417.

[38] Jan Assmann, "Spruch 23 der Pyramidentexte und die Ächtung der Feinde Pharaos," in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas-Christophe Grimal (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1994), 52; also Philippe Germond, "L'oryx, un mal-amie, du bestiaire égyptien," BSEG 13 (1989), 54.

[39] See, for example, Mark Ciccarello, "Shesmu the Letopolite" in, *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1976), 51; and Philippe Derchain, *Le sacrifice de l'oryx* (Brussells: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth, 1962).

[40] P. Leningrad 1116A, lines 47-50. David Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt through the New Kingdom," *JESHO* 20 (1977), 13, feels that only intentions are spoken of, and thus the king cannot punish but only god. He musters no evidence that the king cannot punish for intent, applying this Western ideal in the face of examples of the king punishing for intent in later periods, such as in the Harem Conspiracy.

[41] P. Leningrad 1116A, line 110.

[42] Urk 4:257, line 16.

[43] Urk 4:259, line 1.

[44] *KRI* 2:86-87, lines 280-84.

[45] See, for example, Erik Hornung, *Altägyptische Höllenvorstellungen*. Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-historische Klasse Bd. 59, Heft 3 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), 27.

[46] P. Edwin Smith XX lines 1-2, as in James Henry Breasted, *Edwin Smith Surgical Papyrus, published in facsimile and hieroglyphic transliteration with translation and commentary in two volumes*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), 484 in vol. I, and plate XX in vol. II.

[47] P. Chester Beatty III, col. 10, lines 10-9, as in J. F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 3.

[48] O Armytage, line 2-3. Ostracon reproduced and transcribed in Alan W. Shorter, "A Magical Ostracon," *JEA* (1936), plates VIII, and IX.

[49] P Leiden I 348 recto col. 13, lines 9-11, from A. de Buck and B. Stricker, *OMRO* 1 (1920).

[50] P. Leiden I 348 verso col. 11, lines 2-8.

[51] P. British Museum 10059 [41] 13, 14-14 as in Hermann Grapow, *Die Medizinischen Texte in Hieroglyphischer Umschreibung Autographiert* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), 482.

[52] Borghouts, "Victorious Eyes," 704.

[53] Borghouts, *Magical Texts,* 24-26.

[54] Borghouts, *Magical Texts*, 51-82.

[55] P. Chester Beatty B III, verso col. 1, lines 1-2, as in Borghouts, *Magical Texts*, 10.

[56] As Harco Willems, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Mo'alla Inscription 8)," *JEA* 76 (1990), 27-54 argues.

[57] As Jan Assmann, "Inscriptional Violence and the Art of Cursing: A Study of Performative Writing," *Stanford Literature Review* 9, no. 1 (1992a): 43-65; Jan Assmann, "When Justice Fails: Jurisdiction and Imprecation in Ancient Egypt and the Near East," *JEA* 78 (1992): 149-162; or Scott Morschauser, *Threat-Formulae in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: Halgo Inc., 1991); 20, argues. Morschauser's monograph has been most helpful in this study.

[58] Assmann, "Art of Cursing;" and Assmann, "When Justice Fails."

[59] Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs*, Andrew Jenkins, trans. (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 99.

[60] Baines, "Myth and Discourse," 86.

[61] Urk. 4:1491, line 4 and again in line 12.

[62] David Silverman, "The Threat-Formula and Biographical Text in Tomb of Hezi at Saqqara," *JARCE* 37 (2001), 11.

[63] *KRI* 1:69, lines 6-7.

[64] For example, see *KRI* 1:69, lines 2-7.

[65] Willems, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment," 42.

[66] Willems, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment," 42.

[67] Henri Sottas, *La préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte, avec le recueil des formules d'imprécation* (Paris: H. Champion, 1913), 36-40.

[68] Katarina Nordh, *Aspects of Ancient Egyptian Curses and Blessings: Conceptual Background and Transmission* (Stockholm: Gotab, 1996), 95.

[69] Morschauser, *Threat Formulae*, 155; and Hans Goedicke, "Juridical Expressions of the Old Kingdom," *JNES* 15 (1956), 58-59.

[70] Kerry Muhlestein, *Violence in the Service of Order: The Religious Framework for Sanctioned Killing* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Los Angeles, 2003), 107-116.

[71] See, for example, C. Robichon and A. Varille, *Amenhotep, fils de Hapou,* Text No. 27, line 8.

[72] See Anthony Leahy, "Death by Fire in Ancient Egypt," *JESHO* 27, no. II (1984); and Muhlestein, 269.

[73] *KRI* 1:69, line 11.

[74] Urk. 3:107, lines 2-3.

[75] P. Rylands IX, line 23, as in F. Ll Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester, with Facsimiles and Complete Translations* (London: University press, 1909).

[76] Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (1924-37), 87, line 13. This would be contra Morschauser, 168, who believes such references are never intended literally.

[77] Urk. 3:107, lines 2-3.

[78] P. Rylands IX , line 23.

[79] As from Papyri Lee and Rollin, reproduced in Hans Goedicke, "Was Magic Used in the Harem Conspiracy Against Ramesses III?" *JEA* 49 (1963), 78.

[80] *KRI* 1:69, lines 3-4.

[81] See, for example *KRI* 1:70, line 4, which stipulates that the officials (*srw*) of the sacred land/cemetery (*tꜣ-ḏsr*) would bring the charge against the offender; or Stela Cairo JE 35256, as in Leahy, "Protective Measure," which outlines precisely the punishment to be enacted by officials.

[82] Such as when Thoth is to condemn a perpetrator in Elmar Edel, *Die Inschriften der Grabfronten der Siut-Gräber in Mittelägypten aus der Herakleopolitenzeit : eine Wiederherstellung nach den Zeichnungen der Description de l'Egypte*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften Bd. 71 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1984), 190-95.

[83] See, for example, Urk. 1:35, line 3.

[84] See Urk. 1:51, line 1.

[85] Baines, "Egyptian Myth and Discourse," 85.

[86] Raymond O. Faulkner, "The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III: D. The Book of Overthowing 'Apep," *JEA* 23/2 (1937): 169.

[87] Faulkner, "Bremner-Rhind Papyrus III," 169-170.

[88] Raymond O. Falkner, "The Bremner-Rhind Papyris IV," *JEA* 24/1 (1938): 43.

[89] *KRI* 1: 69.

[90] See F. Ll. Griffith, "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," *JEA* 13, no. I-IV (1927), pl. XLII, lines 74-78. See also *KRI* 1: 55-56.

[91] See Morschauser, 188.

[92] Morschauser, 234.

[93] P. Turin 248, as in Morschauser, 237.

[94] See, for example, P. Berlin 19400.

[95] As in *KRI* 4: 359, lines 5-6.

[96] See See Jacques Vandier, *Mo'alla. La tombe d'Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1950), 206.

[97] See for example, Siut Inscription 225, as in Edel, 193.

[98] Systems with multiple elements intentionally designed to accomplish the same purpose in order to insure that the desired outcome is reached. These are usually mechanical safety systems.

[99] This was one of many possible functions of funerary inscriptions which the living could read. See, for example, the purpose of preserving social ties and memory as argued by Jan Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 2001), 54-82.

[100] I am grateful to Dr. John Gee who pointed this out to me during his work on economic texts.

[101] Such as Jan Quaegebeur, "Lettres de Thot et Décrets pour Osiris," 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*, ed. J. H. Kamstra, H. Milde, and K. Wagtendonk (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1988), 106; Jan Quaegebeur, "P. Brux. Dem. E. 8258 une letter de recommandation pou l'au-delà," in *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim, vol. 2* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1990), 779; and L. Kákosy, "Three Decrees of Gods from Theban Tomb 32," *OLP* 23:321.

[102] For example, see in CT 131 Geb decrees (mirroring royal decrees) that a man's family will be given to him. See Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts, Volume I* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1973), 114, n.1; similarly in Michael D. Rhodes, *The Hor Book of Breathings, a translation and commentary* (Provo, Utah: Foundation for Ancient Research and Mormon Studies and Brigham Young University, 2002), 28.

7. The Ritual Landscapes of the Field of Hetep[1]

Peter Robinson

Abstract

The Ancient Egyptians took great pains to ensure that their anticipated afterlives would be happy and successful beyond death. They used ritual and art to depict their Afterlife activities and landscapes in which they hoped to enjoy their immortality. Whilst many of these depictions occur in private tomb reliefs from much of the dynastic period, a number of examples of Afterlife landscapes first appear within coffins during the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, in the so-called 'Coffin Texts.' Those coffins from the necropolis of Bersha especially introduce a view of the Afterlife that provided much of the deceased's daily needs, close at hand.

Whilst the main part of the Field of Hetep description from this Middle Kingdom necropolis consists of a textual component (the Coffin Text spells CT464 to 468), like a number of the Afterlife landscapes from the Bersha Coffin Text genre, the Field of Hetep is also depicted in the form of a map-like image (Spell CT466), placed in most cases on the inside of the inner coffin, within easy reach of the deceased, and annotated with descriptions of locations and activities which all seemed to have been designed to enable the deceased to be provisioned for all eternity as well as provide a so-called 'Elysian' landscape for the deceased to inhabit.

This paper will look at the text and imagery of the 'Field of Hetep' from Bersha documents, and will attempt to analyse this landscape of the Afterlife as a cognitive and ritual construct for the deceased, as well as discuss the cartographic nature of the text and imagery.

Key words
Middle Kingdom, Coffin Texts, Field of Hetep, Afterlife, landscape, Bersha

Introduction

It can be argued that the Ancient Egyptians saw their Afterlife as a continuation of their living world. Entry for the deceased into this post-mortem existence was enabled through the use of ritual and ceremony performed during the process of mummification and after, and throughout various periods of dynastic history we are given clues and explanations of the passage through the liminal regions to the Afterlife, in the form of sacred or funerary literature, such as the Pyramid Texts, the Coffin Texts and the Book of the Dead.[2] As they were with this physical world, the inhabitants of the next were subject to the same needs of requiring the breath of fresh air, of eating and drinking fresh food and clean water and avoiding unsavoury waste, and of the need for secure habitation and travel. In addition, they were also subject to the necessary daily toils of labour and activity. For those that achieved it, however, the Afterlife was also a place of divine pleasure and has led many to describe

it somewhat erroneously in the Judeo-Christian and Greek terms of a 'Paradise' or as a landscape of 'Elysian Fields'.

The spirit of the deceased - his or her *ka* - hoped to be sustained throughout its eternal existence through the use of ritual in these afterlife texts. These texts give many references to the provision of food and drink, for instance at the funeral side, or later, once the deceased has reached his or her eternal destination and was firmly established in his or her afterlife. Such provisioning no doubt grew out of a belief that the dead needed to eat and drink as much as their living mortal relatives and descendents did. Food and drink was sometimes provided within the tomb, and occasionally laid out as if for a meal, upon plates and in bowls.[3] In addition to food and drink provided at the funeral feast, or entombed with the deceased, food was provided through the use of ritual arranged by the deceased's descendents. One way for such continuing ritual was through the employment of a mortuary cult, and the establishment of a priesthood and estate, but this was unlikely to have taken place for all but royalty or the most elite of the aristocracy. For most, the deceased's *ka* was nourished eternally by the use of magic, images and the written word. Important means of such provision were through the medium of the so-called 'offering formula' where prayers for the provision of food were offered to the tomb's incumbent through recitation of phrases, or by the depiction of images of abundant harvests, fecund landscapes, and by the recording of cycles of birth, growth and butchery of domesticated food-source animals. These images first appeared within the Old Kingdom tombs of high status individuals and continued for much of pharaonic history.

Towards the end of the Old Kingdom, these various Afterlife texts underwent a shift in form and structure, and the so-called 'Coffin Texts' became part of the repertoire of funerary texts for members of the elite and a number of other high status individuals at various places along the Nile valley. These texts, written upon the inner and outer surfaces of coffins, contain information designed to equip, guide and inform the deceased enclosed within, of the rituals and activities he or she was expected to encounter in the life beyond the grave. Amongst other purposes, the Coffin Texts additionally described the various metaphysical landscapes that the deceased was envisaged as occupying.

With Ancient Egypt being a largely agricultural society, great emphasis was placed in the various Afterlife texts such as the Coffin Texts on the production and provision of food and drink for the deceased. Indeed, it was vital, as many funerary texts suggest, for the deceased to be furnished with the correct forms of sustenance rather than its unsavoury waste forms and by-products. Thus there are explicit references to collecting and consuming these correct food types within the various funerary texts from the earliest days. Within the Coffin Texts references to the provision of food and drink are many. As well as the so-called 'offering formula' which appears in a number of spells within the Coffin Texts,[4] there are also references to the sorts of foodstuffs that the deceased wished to consume in the Afterlife. Thus bread and beer are typical staples, but mention is made of other foodstuffs such as figs and wine,[5] shins of beef,[6] cucumbers and grapes.[7] Furthermore, there are many references to not eating incorrect foods. Many spells caution the deceased to stand up, rather than stand inverted, so as to prevent him or her from eating the filth on the ground, or from eating faeces and drinking urine.[8]

One possible source of provisions for the Afterlife, the Field of Hetep (or Field of Offerings), can be found within a number of coffins from the Middle Kingdom necropolis

of Bersha, which was the nomarchal capital of Hermopolis in Middle Egypt (**Figure 7-1**). Whilst the Field of Hetep is recorded from the Pyramid Texts onwards, it becomes a common reference within Coffin Text documents from various parts of Egypt. The text from Bersha contains a section, spells CT464 to CT468, which describe in detail the landscape of the metaphysical location, and in a number of cases also include an illustrated explanation of the text.

The textual section of the Coffin Texts concerning the Field of Hetep consists of a number of key parts. Spells CT464 and CT465 describe activities that the deceased performs in this location – ' I row in its lakes and arrive at its cities…' and again '…he [the deceased] comes and goes at will in its waterways and towns'. Spell CT466 is a graphic portrayal of the landscape in what can best be described as a 'map' of the ritual space and Spell CT467 is a written explanation of the cartography depicted in the previous spell. Finally Spell CT468, as Lesko suggested in his 1972 paper,[9] is a variant of Spell CT467 in a couple of examples. In total, these spells refer to the deceased's animated vitality – the deceased is not regarded as still and lifeless, but as equally mobile and active as the inhabitants of the living world that he or she had left behind at death.

Lesko identified a number of coffins that included the version of the Field of Hetep text, which is the subject of this paper, in his 1972 paper and elsewhere.[10] Although a number of the texts that contain the spells CT464 to CT468 belong to the nomarchal family of Hermopolis from the 12th Dynasty, most of those now known are associated with non-nomarchal, though nonetheless elite, persons, and that these especially were found in the shafts cut in the forecourt of tomb 2, that of the famous 'colossus tomb' of Djehutyhotep, at Bersha (**Figure 7-2**). Because of their association with the tomb of Djehutyhotep, these coffins have been dated by Willems to the reigns of Sesostris II or Sesostris III.[11] Therefore these coffins date to the end of the period in which coffins were decorated with cartographic images and texts, such as the Book of Two Ways, which also appears exclusively in the coffins of Bersha.

Although nine coffins from Bersha contain the Field of Hetep text cycle in total, not every coffin contains every spell (**Table 7-1**). Thus the coffin of the nomarch Djehutynakht (B1Bo) contains only CT464 and CT468, whereas the outer coffin of Sen (B4L) and the inner coffin of Sepi (B2P) only contain the graphical spell CT466. Most of the coffins, however, contain the four spells CT464 to CT467, which must therefore form the core of the text cycle.

Methodology

Hays has suggested that the Middle Kingdom was a period in which the emphasis of Afterlife texts was one of knowledge, allowing the deceased to know of the landscapes of the afterlife as well as the metaphysical and arcane characteristics of the demons and divinities of the Afterlife.[12] Is there any evidence that the role of the image and text of the Field of Hetep provided such knowledge to those who included them within the coffin decorative schema? By analysing the textual and cartographic devices and subject matter employed within the descriptions of the Field of Hetep therefore, it might be possible to gain an appreciation, if not an understanding, of what the detail of this spell segment may have

meant to the Ancient Egyptians, and the role it played in their conceptualisation of the Afterlife.

At first glance, the texts regarding the Field of Hetep give us a description of a landscape. They tell us that the area was an environment of trans-liminal, metaphysical space that occupied part of the Afterlife. This environment consisted of a landscape of fields and waterways, towns and regions, not unlike 'a large, well-kept, and well-stocked homestead, situated at no great distance from the Nile or one of its branches.'[13] In this landscape of the afterlife, the deceased actively participates by traversing its byways, and by growing and harvesting crops, visiting locations and consuming food and drink. In effect, the Field of Hetep described in these coffins from Bersha is both a reflection of a typical Nile valley landscape and also a place where the deceased considered his or her existence would be a metaphysical parallel to their daily life in this world as the formerly living person they once were.

Spell CT466, as we have suggested, is a graphical depiction of this Afterlife landscape. It consists of a number of common elements laid out in a similar design (**Figure 7-3**) and since the image appears amongst four generations of coffin owners, we can assume that this image probably constituted an important of part of the Hermopolitan conceptualisation of the Afterlife. The image itself consists of a 'map' recording the names of a number of districts, waterways and cities. As the Field of Hetep consists of such landscape elements, it is possible to attempt to classify this landscape through the use of geographical structures and subdivisions, in order to investigate whether any cognitive logic or reasoning lay behind its conceptualisation.

In modern urban analysis, it is possible to analyse and classify maps using a number of subjective criteria. One such method uses descriptions of landscape divided into the five elements of paths or routeways; edges or linear boundaries; districts or regions; nodes, or focal points through which people can pass; and landmarks, or points not entered by people. This methodology was developed in the 1960s in American cityscapes.[14] This system can be further simplified into an analysis based upon the three conceptual landscape entities of landmarks, districts, and paths.

It is not the aim of this paper to discuss the landscape of the Coffin Texts in general along such conceptual lines since that has been done elsewhere.[15] However, such an approach can be used to great effect in an analysis of the landscape of the Field of Hetep and especially its graphical version in CT466. It is possible to begin to analyse the Field of Hetep image as a series of conceptual layers, each having a specific function or theme, that help describe the landscape and by taking each layer in turn and identifying its content, the possible purpose of these layers might become apparent.

In 2003, Quirke looked at measurements within the various Afterlife books of the Middle Kingdom and later, and included the Bersha map of the Field of Hetep amongst the regions he analysed.[16] There are a number of references on the 'map' of CT466 that include measured distances (**Figure 7-4.1**). These appear to be either standard rounded-off units of 1000 *schoeni*,[17] or measurements described in the text as 'unknown' even to the gods. Such a lack of explicitly accurate distances or relationships between locations could mean either that distance and geographical layout was not important in the ritual landscape of Hetep, or that the metaphysical world of Hetep was unknown and mysterious, even to the deceased

who was expected to use the map in the Afterlife without the knowledge of distances traveled or contained within the landscape.

Spell 466 and its following description mention a number of regions within the Field of Hetep. These regions can be split into two classes of landscape – fields or estates and waterways or bodies of water (**Figure 7-4.2**). The fields add weight to the suggestion that Hetep is a food production area for the deceased, and the waterways reflect the use of irrigation and of water-borne transport in the Nile Valley, and the possible inspiration of the physical world as a model for the metaphysical.

The inhabitants we encounter in the Field of Hetep appear to be various divinities or their representatives, and these are also located at various points within the map (**Figure 7-4.3**). Although some of these references may be speculative ('She who unites') or oblique – 'The Waterway of the White Hippopotamus' might refer to one or other of the various hippopotamine goddesses, associated with nursing or childbirth, and with the birth or protection of Osiris[18] - there are clearly some locations that do have divine associations, as for example 'Those who row with him are… the four sons of Horus'. It might be significant that many of these locations and divinities are feminine personifications, since linguistically the Egyptian word for town, *niwt*, occurring throughout this text has a feminine gender.

Many of the locations referred to within the landscape of Hetep are those that might be expected to represent some form of offering or other (**Figure 7-4.4**). Thus, there are explicit locations called 'Offerings' and 'Offering Bowls.' There are also places called 'Foodstuffs', 'Milk' and 'Vegetables.' In addition, offerings are implied within the location called 'Baskets.' The deceased inhabiting this landscape was ensured an eternity of a ready supply of foodstuffs from the produce of the agricultural activity located at a references to fields and to the activities of the ploughing and reaping of barley and emmer wheat.

In addition, other locations allude to materials other than foodstuffs. Thus, the location 'Lapis Lazuli' might have been noted as a place from where the deceased could obtain this precious and costly material, or one of amuletic significance. Lapis lazuli could also be included as a reference to the hair of the gods, found at one point within the divine landscape. Another similar location may be referred to in the location called 'Red Cloth.' This might allude to the red shrouds that begin to appear around images of Osiris at this time as has been noted by Taylor in respect of coffins from the 12th Dynasty until the Late Period.[19] References to red cloth may have represented the red linen bindings around the mummy of the deceased themselves, or be a forerunner of the Book of the Dead spell 164, which sought to use a strip of red linen bandage to protect the deceased from a demon called 'the Devouress of Souls.'[20] In all cases, these locations, whether they be of foodstuffs or other materials, appear to be dotted and scattered around the landscape of Hetep.

Conclusions

There are a number of references within spells CT464 to CT468 to suggest that we should interpret the Field of Hetep as a sky-location and a birth-place for the gods. Thus we read 'I traverse the Field of Hetep as Re who is in the sky' and 'I am the moon, I have swallowed the darkness.'[21] Like the references to distances within the map, however, the sky-based location of Hetep may help to isolate this metaphysical world for the dead from the accessible world of the living. The texts also imply that the Field of Hetep functions as

a landscape to provide for the deceased as well: 'he partakes of a meal in the birth-place of the god.'[22] There are also a number of explicit mentions of the deceased acquiring his or her eternal sustenance in this region: 'I live as Hetep, my bag and bowl… I have filled in the isles,' and later: 'I know the names of the towns, districts and waterways… I eat in them and move about in them….'[23]

Egyptian tombs had a ritual cardinality, in which specific images and wall decorations represented aspects of ritual actions and orientations within a metaphysical landscape and therefore were placed in particular locations within the decorative scheme of the tomb.[24] Coffins from the Middle Kingdom likewise had ritual orientation in which the deceased lay facing the east and the world of the living, the Akhet[25] and the rising sun (**Figure 7-5**). The placement of texts within coffins from this time is crucial to our understanding of the rituals incorporated within the Coffin Texts. A number of coffins from Bersha are floored with the Book of Two Ways and roofed with a representation of the sky goddess Nut for orientating the deceased in three-dimensional space. The text and image of the Field of Hetep lie within a significant part of a number of these Bersha coffins. Of the coffins that contain this spell sequence, all but one are inner, or single, coffins. The deceased in these coffins, therefore would have direct contact with the spell sequence in front of the his or her preserved body.

The only outer coffin of the nine that contains the spell sequence, that of Sen (B4L), contains a text-less 'map' and no accompanying spells CT464, CT465 or CT467.   Sen, however, also has an inner coffin (B3L), which contains the full text and an annotated image of Hetep. Sen, therefore, would have been, like the others whose coffins contained copies of the spell sequence, able to read the appropriate spells when necessary.

Field of Hetep texts were placed on the inner surfaces of the front of the coffin, before the hands of the deceased lying inside the coffin. This suggests that the intention of the deceased was to have the image and text of Hetep close to hand. The placement of the Field of Hetep close to images of offering tables piled high with food and liquids also suggests this text segment functioned to provide the deceased with an eternal supply of life-giving provisions. The orientation of the coffin and its images adds further weight to this supposition. The image of Hetep on the living, Eastern, side of the coffin accords well with general tomb orientations and their texts from the Pyramid Age to the New Kingdom. Hetep is part of Akhet – the birthplace of the gods and explicitly mentioned as a component of that place in Spell CT465. Hetep, therefore, is a location that apparently provides for the deceased.

The landmarks, cities and regions of Hetep and its environment may add to this conclusion. It was noted that many of the landmarks within Hetep are associated with possible offerings and foodstuffs. This is highly suggestive of an idea that Hetep may be thought of as an offering table or tray itself. In this case, the layout of the image – the 'map' of Hetep - becomes clearer (**Figure 7-6**). From the Middle Kingdom onwards, stone offering tables begin to be made with representations of foodstuffs and jars of liquid suitable for the deceased or god to consume. They were to be found in the public area of the tombs, and no doubt played a role in allowing the living to commune with, and present offerings to the deceased in the burial chamber nearby. Thus loaves, bread and cakes, fowl and bunches of vegetables or haunches of meat are shown, often carved in slight relief, upon the surfaces of such offering tables. The purpose of such representations no doubt was to provide either

a locating device for actual foodstuffs represented upon the offering table's surface, or maybe more likely to act as simulacra for those foodstuffs when they were not available. In addition, these tables are often provided with channels to allow any libation liquids of water, wine or beer to run into collecting rectangular basins.

If we can understand the Field of Hetep to be a representation of an offering table, painted within the coffin, then the towns included within the landscape of Hetep and described within the text appear to be representations of, or markers for the placing of, offerings of food or significant substances. The waterways upon which the deceased traverses the landscape should be interpreted as the runnels along which the liquids poured by priests or other officiates are funnelled in front of the *ka* of the deceased. The lakes and fields of the landscape in which the deceased catches fish or grows and harvests crops represent the basins which collect and hold the now energised liquids on the offering table.

Examples exist of 'soul houses' and offering trays modelled in terracotta dating primarily from the Middle Kingdom, and many of these copy features common to the larger offering tables.[26] They often have runnels impressed into the flat clay surface, or forecourts of the soul houses, and often include models of foodstuffs, such as trussed oxen, vegetables or loaves, applied to the remaining surfaces.[27] Although soul houses with their superstructures shaped into the forms of dwellings might not have necessarily been intended as homes for the tomb owners' spirit, as was previously thought, nonetheless they do appear to possess a structure and environment that would parallel the metaphysical concepts inherent in the landscape of the Field of Hetep, used by the deceased as a place of provisioning.

From his excavations at Rifeh, Petrie suggested that many of these offering trays were left on the surface above the tombs, as a means for the living to make offerings to the deceased interred in the tomb below.[28] Although offering trays and soul houses appear to have been widespread throughout Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, in the necropolis of Bersha offering trays appear to have taken a unique form, in that they were modelled not from terracotta but from cartonnage. In addition, these offering trays, complete with highly modelled and brightly painted representations of food offerings, were found in the tombs, either on the coffins of the deceased themselves, or in niches within the burial chamber walls.[29]

Clearly offering tables and the Field of Hetep cycle of spells CT464 to CT468 in the Coffin Texts shared a common theme, and in some respects, have layouts with common features. But whereas most tombs in the Middle Kingdom used the device of a soul house or offering tray as a public link between the living and the dead, and verbal references to the Field of Hetep as a provisioning location in the Afterlife, the necropolis of Bersha seems to have used the landscape of Hetep and offering trays in a regionally unique way, with the Field of Hetep depicted as a map and the offering table being moved to within the tomb itself, closely associated with the deceased within his or her coffin.

With the arrival of the New Kingdom, and its Book of the Dead afterlife texts, the Coffin Text spells CT464 to CT468 were transformed virtually intact into Chapter 110 of the Book of the Dead and its associated vignettes.[30] In the New Kingdom versions, however, the implied function of the landscape of Hetep, and the deceased's ability to wander upon its surface were made explicit with the portrayal of the deceased, often with his or her spouse, in various localities within Hetep, actively engaged in the process of food gathering

and consumption. Images of the deceased wandering at will along the waterways and through the fields, in boats and by foot, were also included in order to confirm the deceased's ability to travel around this metaphysical landscape.[31] Here we see the highly ritualised and provincial conceptualisation of an Afterlife landscape, as originally envisaged in Bersha, finally combined with the role of the offering table, and become a populated environment, and made available for a wider spectrum of the elite of the length of the Egyptian Nile valley, some five hundred years or more after it was first depicted on a group of high status coffins from Middle Egypt.

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NOTES

[1] An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, held in Toronto in 2005. I would like to thank the JSSEA editor Eugene Cruz-Uribe for his encouragement and guidance during the preparation of this paper.

[2] The standard references to such Afterlife texts translated into English that I will be using are: for the Coffin Texts, Faulkner, 1973, 1977, and 1978; and for the Book of the Dead, (or the Book of Coming Forth by day, as it was known by the Ancient Egyptians), Allen, 1974. For the purposes of space, I will refer to spells in the Coffin Text spells with the prefix CT.

[3] Taylor, 2001a, 92-93.

[4] CT399, for instance, contains the standard formula of thousands of foodstuffs, given as a royal boon. Elsewhere, variations of this formula appear, as in CT72, where the deceased as Osiris is addressed and offered thousands of figs, bread, two types of geese as well as alabaster, at what appears to be a funerary

ritual.

[5] CT516.

[6] CT179.

[7] CT205.

[8] CT184 to 206. Some coffins contain only one of these spells, others can contain up to twelve different spells out of the twenty-three within their text schema

[9] Lesko 1971-1972, 99.

[10] Lesko 1971-1972; Lesko 1979, 16-48.

[11] Willems 1988, 77.

[12] Hays 2004, 190.

[13] Budge, 1908, 176.

[14] Lynch, 1960, 46-49.

[15] Robinson, 2006, 125-126.

[16] Quirke 2003, 176-178.

[17] The word *schoeni*, as used by Faulkner 1977, 93, or Quirke's rendering 'river length' is a translation of the word *itr.w*, and represents a distance of about 10.5 kilometres, Quirke 2003, 177.

[18] Wilkinson 2003, 183-186.

[19] Taylor 2001b, 166-167.

[20] Pinch 2001, 182; Allen 1974, 160-161.

[21] CT 467.

[22] CT 465.

[23] CT 467.

[24] Kamrin 1999, 146-148.

[25] Allen 1989, 17-21.

[26] Tooley 1990, 249.

[27] Taylor 2001a, 106-107.

[28] Petrie 1907, 14.

[29] Tooley 1990, 302.
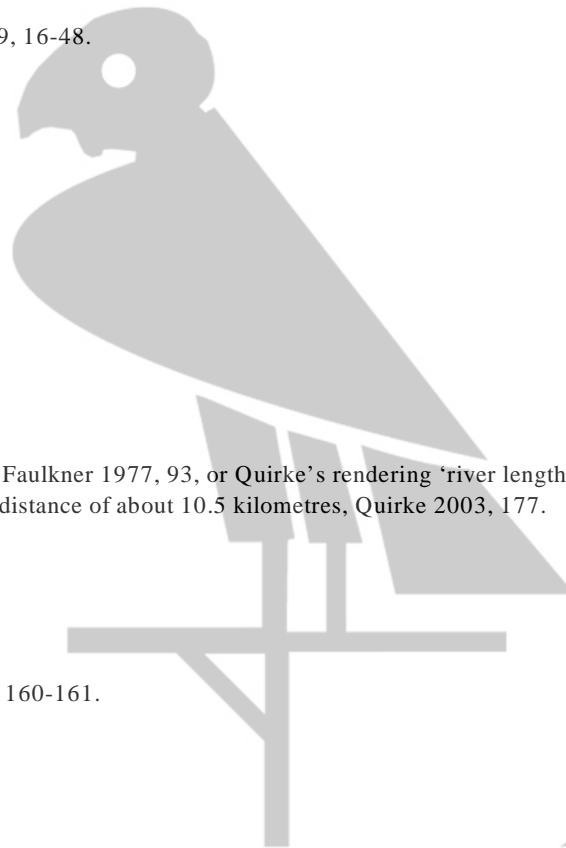
[30] Allen 1974, 232.

[31] Faulkner 1985, 10, 103-108 contain a number of New Kingdom and later examples of the image of the Field of Hetep, showing the deceased engaged in the various activities mentioned within the text.

Coffin Siglum	Coffin Owner	Inner / Outer	Museum Catalogue Number	464	465	466	467	468
B1Bo	Djehutynakht	Outer	MFA 20.1822-27	x				x
B1C	Sepi	Inner	CG 28083	x	x	x	x	
B5C	Djehutyhotep	Inner	JdE 37566	x	x	x	x	
B6C	Kay	single?	CG 28094	x	x	x	x	
B9C	Amenemhat	Inner	CG 28091	x	x	x	x	
B1L	Gwa	Inner	BM 30840	x	x	x		
B3L	Sen	Inner	BM 30842	x	x	x	x	x
B4L	Sen	Outer	BM 30841			x		
B2P	Sepi	Inner	E10779B			x		

Table 7-1 - Bersha coffins and Hetep spells.
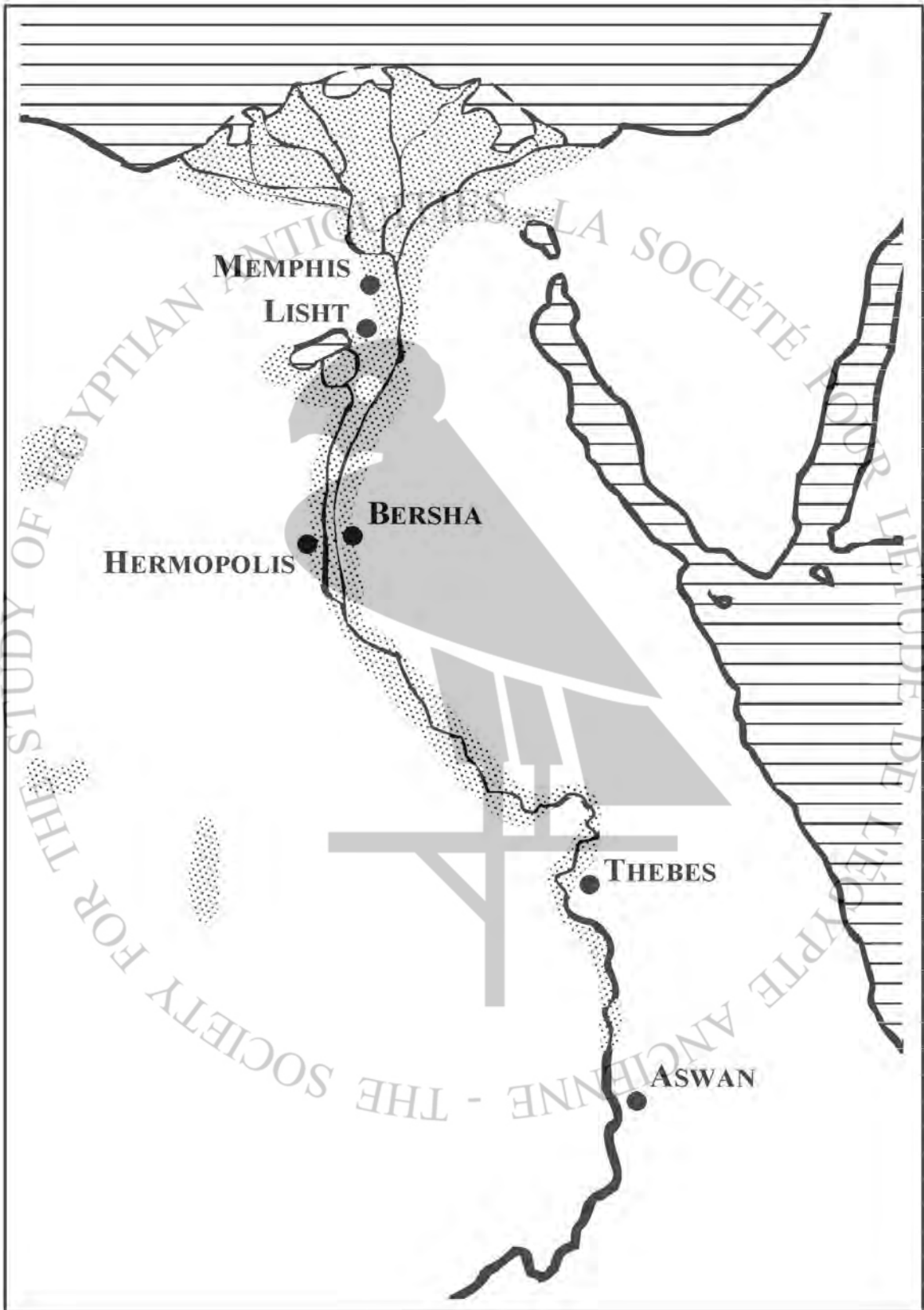
Figure 7-1 - Map of Egypt showing selected Middle Kingdom locations.
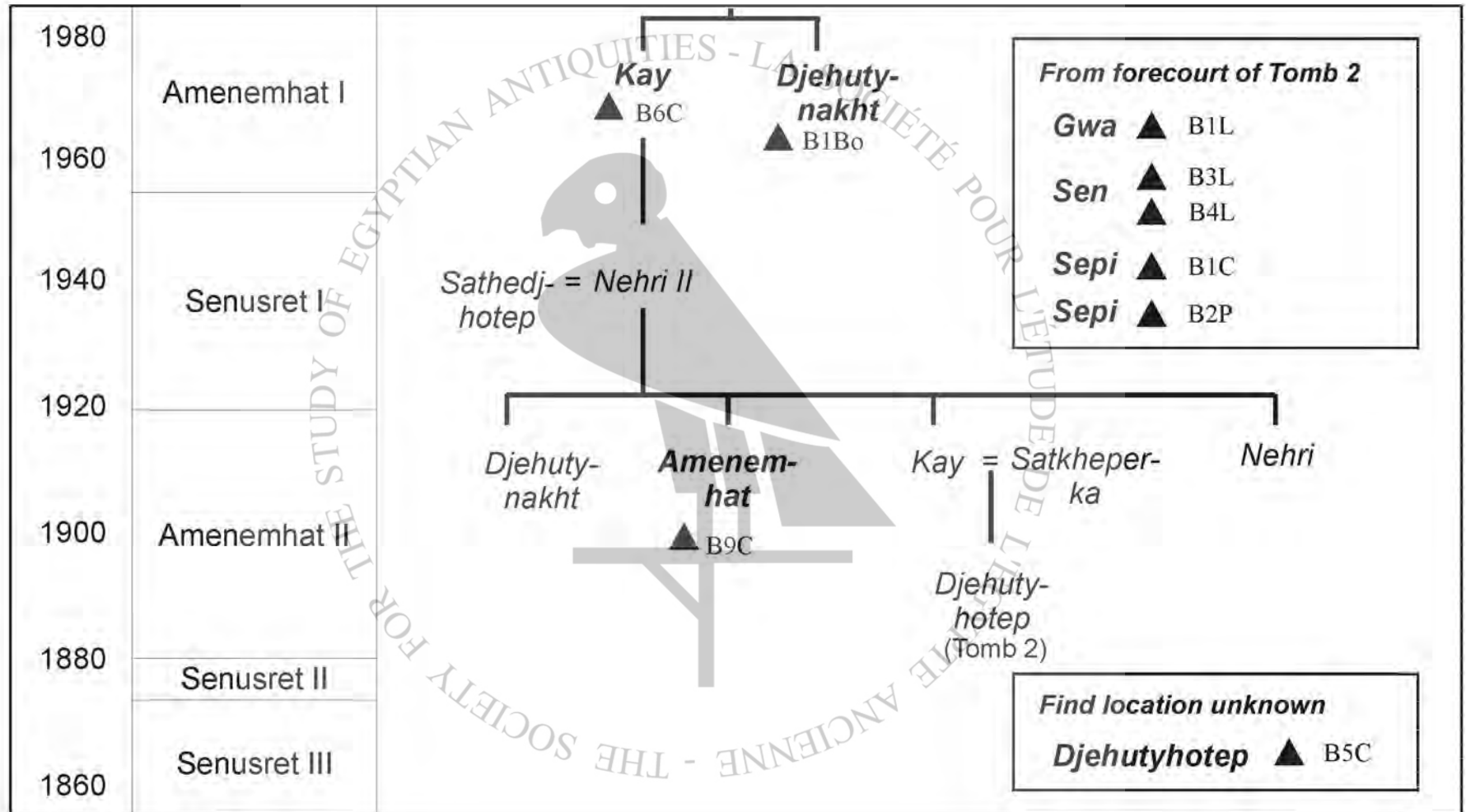
Figure 7-2 - Owners of Bersha coffins that include Field of Hetep texts.
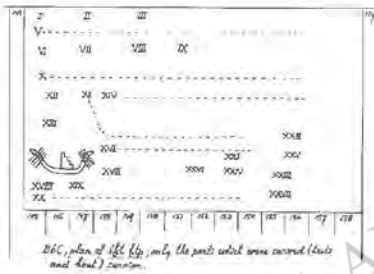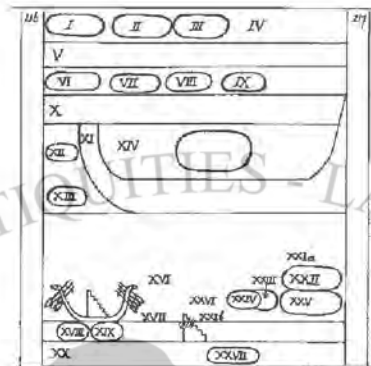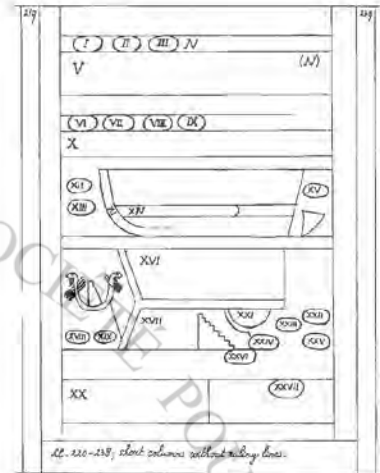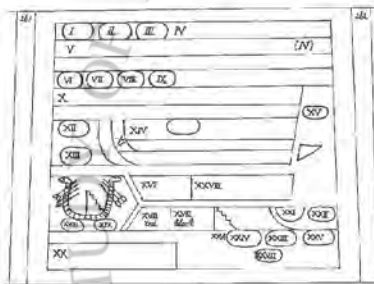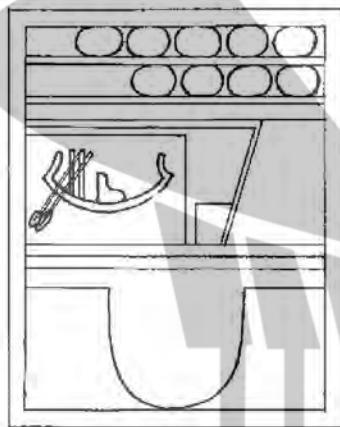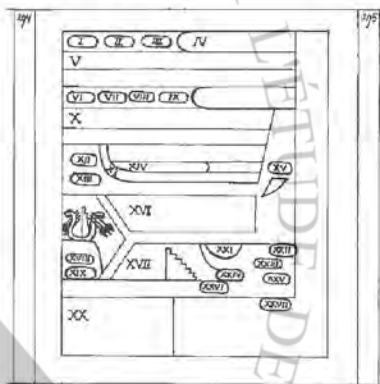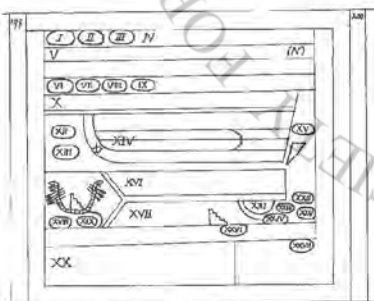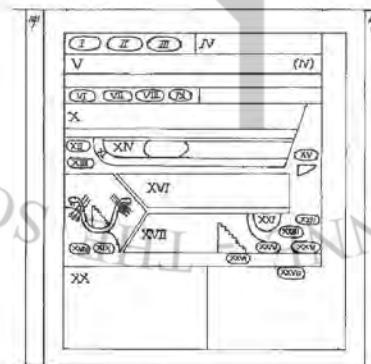
Figure 7-3 - Layouts of the Field of Hetep map (after de Buck 1951, 359-362).

4.1 Measured distances
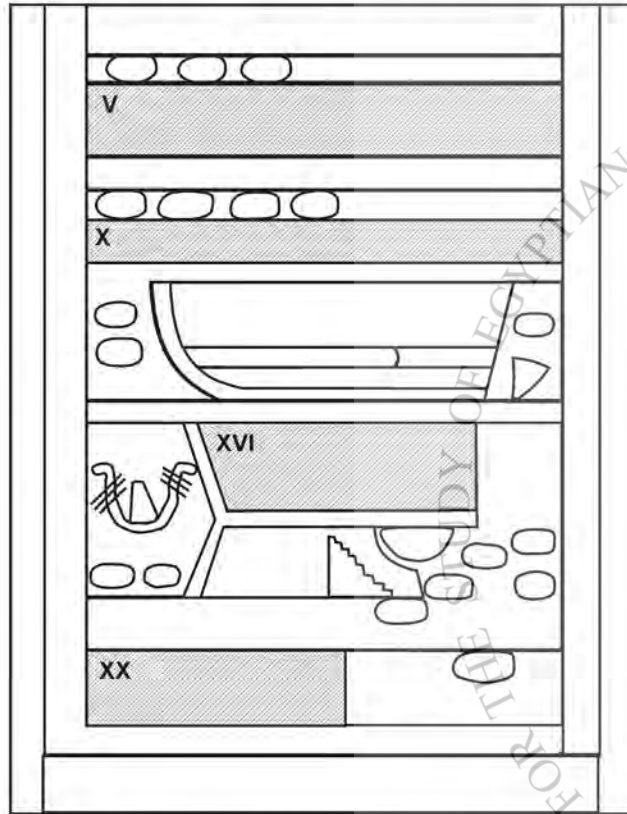
V   It is 1,000 *schoeni* long and 1,000 wide
X   ...it is 1,000 *schoeni* long but its width is not told
XVI It is 1,000 long but its width is not told
XX   Its length and its breadth are not told to Osiris

Figure 7-4 - Mapping themes in the Field of Hetep.

4.2 Routeways and regions
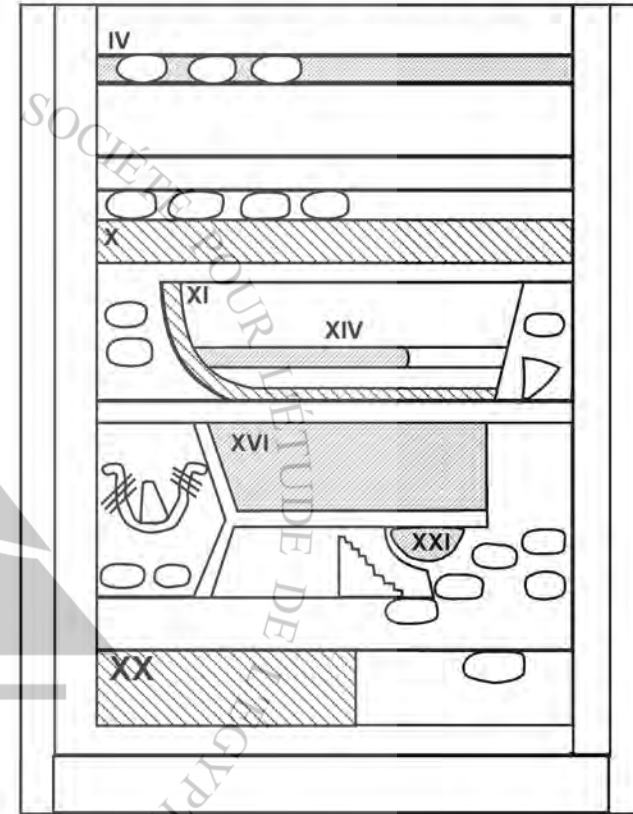
IV   (To be Hetep, Lord of) this field
X   The Waterway of the White Hippopotamus
XI   ...the length of the Waterway of Hetep
XIV ...the god's estate
XVI It (is 1,000 long...)
XX   It is the sea of the gods
XXI The birthplace of the gods is Knkt

4.3 Divine locations
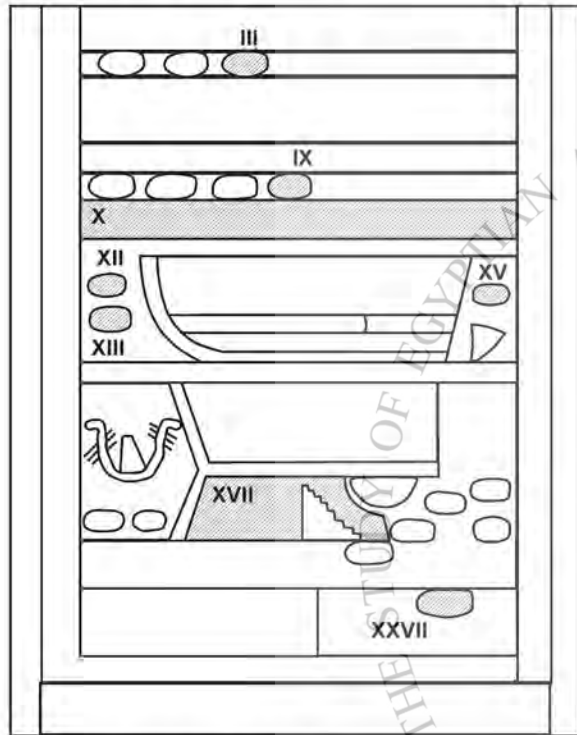
III	Great Ladies
IX	Mistress of the Two Lands
X	The Waterway of the White Hippopotamus
XII	The Mighty Lady
XIII	She who unites
XV	Mistress of the Winds
XVII	Those who row with him are Imsety, Hapy, Duamutef & Kebhsenuf
XXVII	The women in it

4.4 Locations with mention of offerings
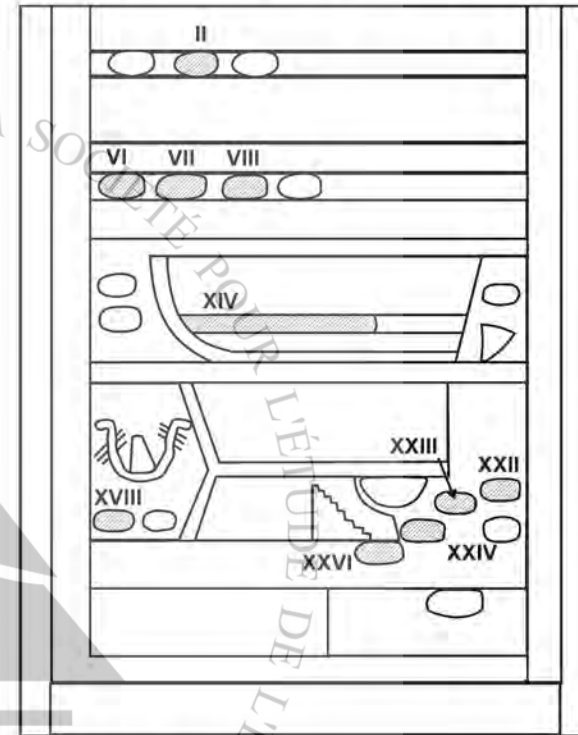
II	Offerings
VI	Offering bowls
VII	Red cloth
VIII	Vegetables
XIV	Ploughing & reaping barley & emmer
XVIII	Foodstuffs
XXII	Milk
XXIII	The great field
XXIV	Baskets
XXVI	Lapis lazuli

Figure 7-4 - Mapping themes in the Field of Hetep (cont.).

The World of the Dead
Old Kingdom offering scenes
The Dwat
Sunset

Top

W N
S E

Head

Back

Front

Bottom

Foot
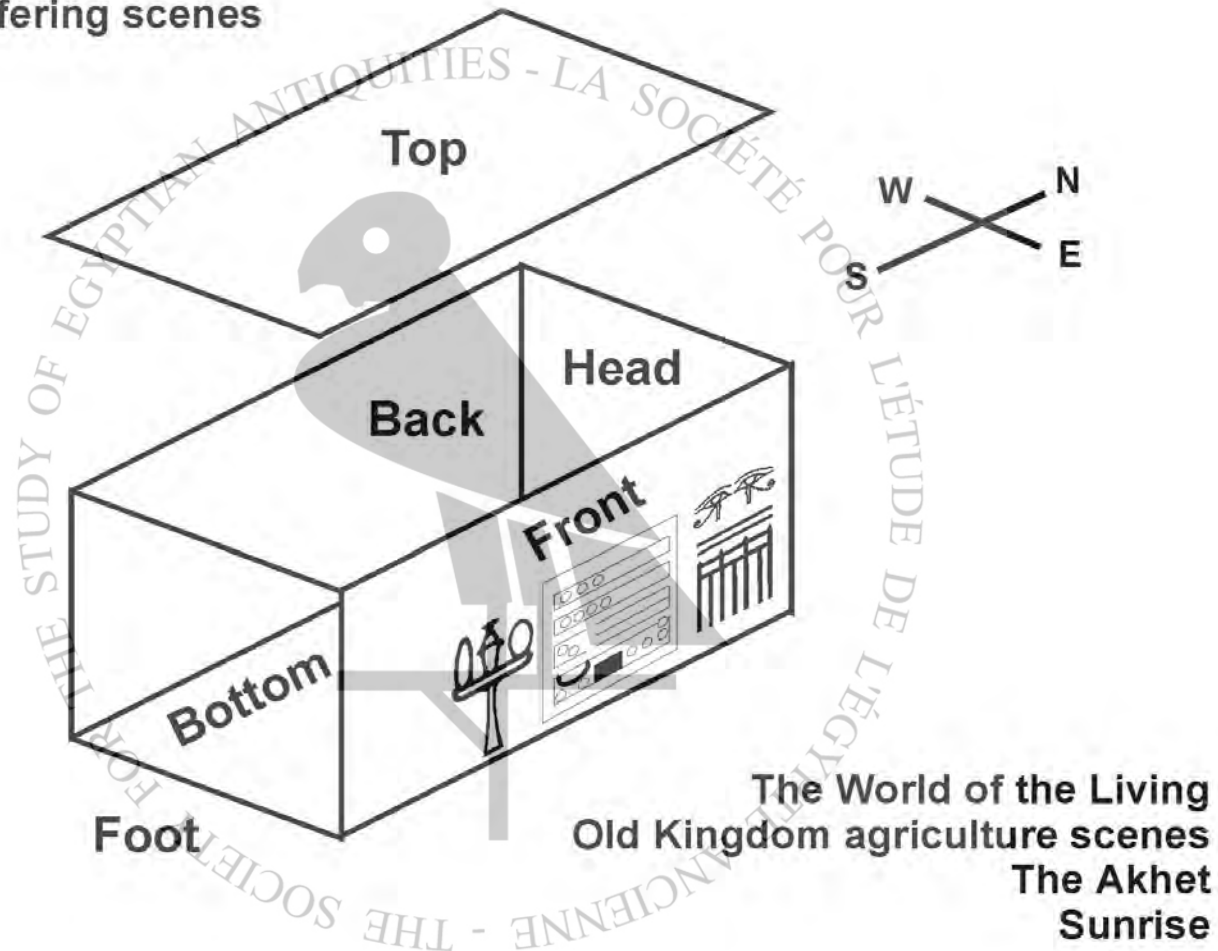
The World of the Living
Old Kingdom agriculture scenes
The Akhet
Sunrise

Figure 7-5 - Cardinality of coffins and the Field of Hetep.

EA 980 (British Museum)
Provenance: Asyut
Date: XIIth Dynasty

Food offerings   **Towns**

Collecting Basins   **Fields and Lakes**

Channels   **Waterways**
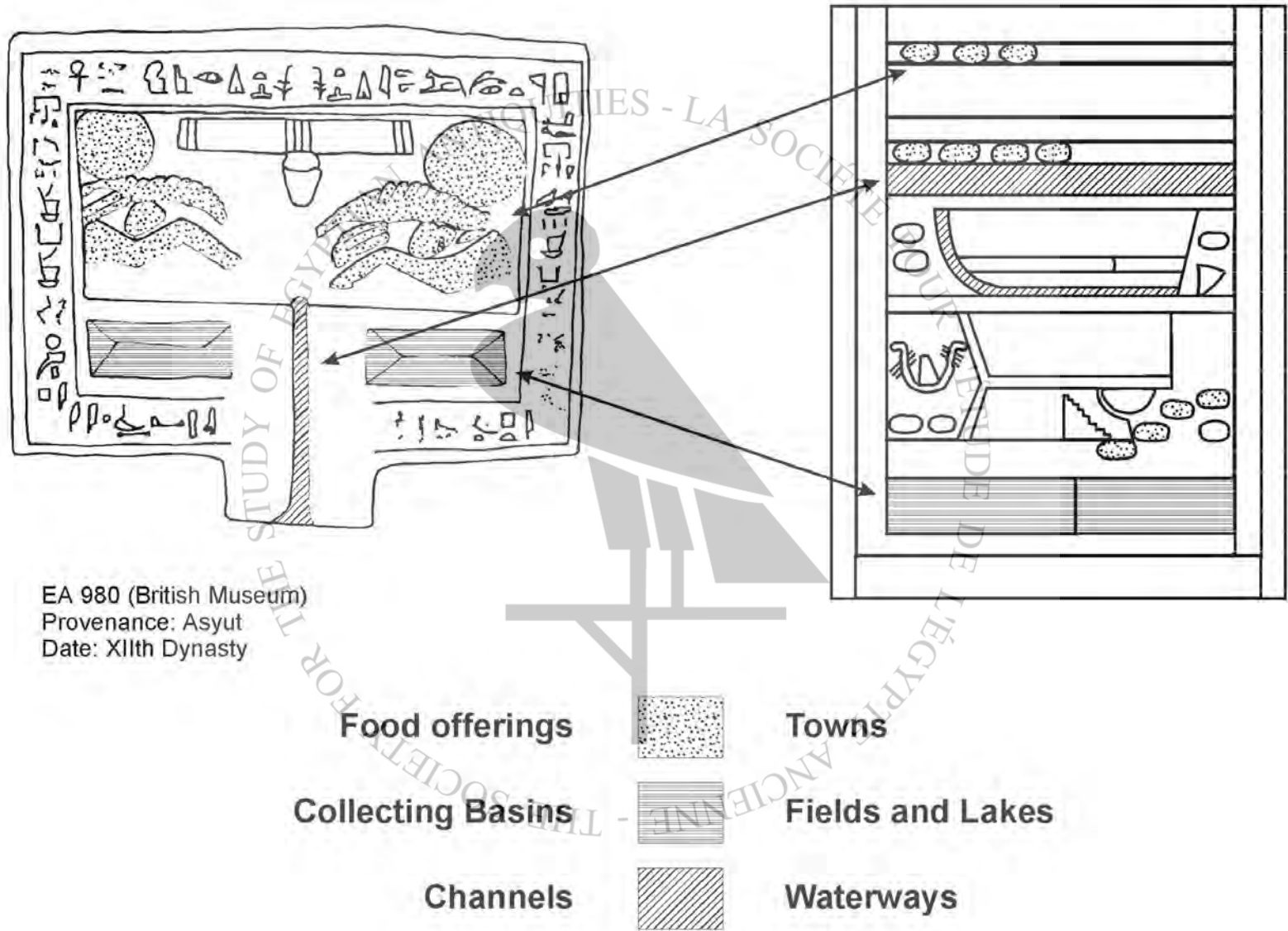
Figure 7-6 - A comparison between the Field of Hetep and offering tables.

8. Ancient Egyptian Queens' Names

Lisa K. Sabbahy

Abstract

Throughout ancient Egyptian history proper names changed in terms of their content and grammatical form. This article is a study of the names of ancient Egyptian queens from the beginning of the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom. The study analyses their names by content and by grammar. The names are compared to contemporary non-royal names, and the question of whether or not queens assumed throne names is addressed.

Keywords

deities, grammar, Hathor, king, names, queen

I was fortunate to have had Nick Millet as professor and dissertation advisor. I would like to dedicate to his memory this small study that grew out of material that first appeared in an appendix of my dissertation.

The following is an analysis of ancient Egyptian queens' names from the beginning of the Old Kingdom to the very beginning of the New Kingdom. Included are all the women who carried the title *ḥmt-nzw*, "king's wife," from the reign of King Djoser in the Third Dynasty to that of King Amenhotep I of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[1] In the first part the names are analyzed by content, and in the second by grammar. Within each category, the names are arranged chronologically. Each category gives the queens' name in transliteration, her dynasty in parenthesis, and then the name in translation. The first time a transliterated name occurs, a source for the name is cited.

Content Analysis

I. Name with Royal Element
  1. Names containing the king's name:

ꜥnḫ-n.z-mry-rꜥ [2]	(6)	May Mery-Re live for her[3]
ꜥnḫ-n.s-ppy [4]	(6)	May Pepy live for her[5]

  2. Names containing reference to the king:

ḥtp-ḥr-nbty [6]	(3)	The face of the Two Ladies is satisfied
with variation ḥtp-ḥr.z [7]	(4)	Her face is satisfied[8]
ḫꜥ-mrr-nbty [9]	(4)	The one whom the Two Ladies love shines
ḥknw-ḥḏt [10]	(4)	The White Crown is praised
nfrt-ḫꜣ-nbty [11]	(5)	Good (protection) is behind the Two Ladies[12]
nwb-nbty [13]	(5)	The Two Ladies are golden[14]

II. Names with Divine Element
   1. Names containing deity's name:

iry-ḫt-r [15]	(4)	Re's acquaintance
*ny-mꜣ*t-ḥp* [16]	(5)	Truth belongs to the Apis
nt [17]	(6)	Neith
sꜣt-zbk [18]	(13)	Daughter of Sobek
sꜣt-ḏḥwty [19]	(17)	Daughter of Thoth
mnṯw-ḥtp [20]	(17)	Montu is satisfied
sbk-m-zꜣ.f [21]	(17)	Sobek is his protection
*i*ḥ-ḥtp* [22]	(17)	The Moon is satisfied
*i*ḥ-ms-nfrt-iry* [23]	(18)	The Moon is born-the beautiful one thereof
mryt-imn [24]	(18)	She whom Amun loves
*i*ḥ-ms-in-ḥ*py* [25]	(18)	The Moon is born-Hapy brought (it) about[26]

   2. Names containing reference to a deity:

rpwy-nwb [27]	(5)	Statue of Gold[28]
nwb-wnt [29]	(6)	Gold ……(?)[30]
ḳm.i-(m)-nwb [31]	(12)	I am complete like Gold
*nwb-m-ḥ*t* [32]	(SIP)	Gold is foremost
nwb-ḥtp.ty [33]	(17)	Gold is satisfied[34]
nwb-ḫ.s* [35]	(17)	Her appearance is Gold
sꜣt-kꜣ-msw [36]	(18)	Daughter of the Bull who creates

III. Secular Names
   1. Simple descriptive names:

ḥnwt.sn [37]	(4)	Their mistress
bw-nfr [38]	(4)	Something beautiful
ḫnwt [39]	(5)	Child
nbt [40]	(5)	Mistress
nfrw-kꜣyt [41]	(FIP)	Exalted beauty
nfrw [42]	(11, 12)	Beauty
nfrt [43]	(12)	Beautiful one
nfrt-ḥnwt [44]	(12)	Beautiful one of the mistress
ꜥꜣt [45]	(12)	Great one
wrt [46]	(12)	Old(est) one
šryt [47]	(12)	Little one
wꜣḏt [48]	(13)	Young one
tty-šry [49]	(18)	Little Tety

   2. Names expressing family relationships:

mryt-it.s [50]	(4)	She who is beloved of her father
pr-snt [51]	(4)	A sister comes forth

3. Names expressing wish for the child:

mr.s-ʿnḫ[52]	(4, 5)	May she love life
snb-ḥnʿ.s[53]	(13)	May health be with her
snb.s-n.i[54]	(13)	May she be healthy for me
ḥꜣ-ʿnḫ.s[55]	(SIP)	Would that she live

4. Names with *kꜣ*:

ḫntt-kꜣ.(i)[56]	(4)	(My) ka is foremost[57]
ḫnt-kꜣw.s[58]	(4, 5)	Her kas are foremost

5. Miscellaneous statements:

ḫwit[59]	(5, 6)	She who is protected
ipwt[60]	(6)	She who sets in order (?)
wḏbt.n(.i)[61]	(6)	She whom I have directed
in(.i)-n.k/inty[62]	(6)	I wait(ed) for you (?)/ ?
snt[63]	(12)	She who resembles (?)

Grammar Analysis

I. Nouns and Noun Clauses
  1. Proper names:

nt	(6)	Neith
tty-šry	(17)	Tety the younger

  2. Names that are nouns:

nbt	(5)	Mistress
ḥnwt	(5)	Child
nfrw	(11,12)	Beauty
nfrt	(12)	Beautiful one
ʿꜣt	(12)	Great one
wrt	(12)	Old(est) one
šryt	(12)	Little one
wꜣḏt	(13)	Young one

3. Names that are nouns plus genitive or possessive:

iry-ḫt-rʿ	(4)	Re's acquaintance
ḥnwt.sn	(4)	Their mistress
rpwt-nwb	(5)	Statue of Gold
nfrt-ḥnwt	(12)	Beautiful one of the mistress
sꜣt-sbk	(13)	Daughter of Sobek
sꜣt-ḏḥwty	(17)	Daughter of Thoth

4. Names that are nouns with adjectives:

bw-nfr	(4)	Something beautiful
nfrw-kꜣyt	(FIP)	Exalted beauty

II. Non-verbal Sentences

1. Names that are adjectival predicate sentences:

ḫntt-kꜣ.i	(4)	My ka is foremost[64]
ḫnt-kꜣw.s	(4,5)	Her kas are foremost
nwb-nbty	(5)	The Two Ladies are golden
nwb-ḫꜥw.s	(18)	Her appearance is Gold[65]

2. Names that are adverbial predicate sentences:

ny-mꜣꜥt-ḥp	(5)	Truth belongs to the Apis
nfrt-ḥꜣ-nbty	(5)	Good (protection) is behind the Two Ladies
snb-ḥnꜥ.s	(13)	May health be with her
nwb-m-ḥꜣt	(SIP)	Gold is foremost
sbk-m-sꜣ.f	(17)	Sobek is his protection[66]

III. Verbal Sentences

1. Names with *sḏm.f*:

ḥtp-ḥr-nbty	(3)	The face of the Two Ladies is satisfied
pr-snt	(4)	A sister comes forth
ḥknw-ḥḏt	(4)	The White Crown is praised
ḥtp-ḥr.s	(4)	Her face is satisfied
ḫꜥ-mrr-nbty	(4)	The one the Two Ladies love shines[67]
mr.s-ꜥnḫ	(4,5)	May she love life
ꜥnḫ-n.s-ppy	(6)	May Pepy live for her
in(.i)-n.k/inty	(6)	I waited(ed) for you(?)/?
ꜥnḫ-n.s-mry-rꜥ	(6)	May Mery-Re live for her
km.i(-m-)nwb	(12)	I am complete like Gold
snb.s-n(.i)	(13)	May she be healthy for me
ḫꜣ-ꜥnḫ.s	(SIP)	Would that she live

2. Names that are old perfectives:[68]

nwb-ḥtp.ty	(SIP)	Gold is satisfied
mnṯw-ḥtp	(17)	Montu is satisfied
iꜥḥ-ḥtp	(18)	The moon is satisfied
iꜥḥ-ms-nfrt-iry	(18)	The moon is born/the beautiful one thereof[69]
iꜥḥ-ms-in-ḥꜥpy	(18)	The moon is born/Hapy has brought(it)about

3. Names that have active participles:

ipwt	(6)	She who sets in order (?)
snt	(12)	She who surpasses
sꜣt-kꜣ-msw	(18)	Daughter of the bull who creates

4. Names that have passive participles:

mryt-it.s	(4)	She who is beloved of her father
ḥwit	(5,6)	She who is protected
mryt-imn	(18)	She who is beloved of Amun

5. Names that use relative form:

wḏbt.n(.i)	(6)	She whom I have directed[70]

Conclusion

Tendencies in the types of names held by queens are apparent in the analysis above. First of all, names that have as an element the name of the king, or a reference to the king, are confined to the Old Kingdom. Specifically, only two names of the Sixth Dynasty incorporate the name of the king into them, using the simple pattern *ꜥnḫ-n.s*-King. This type of name was also held by non-royal women,[71] and a shortened version, *ꜥnḫ*-King, was a common masculine name.[72] Other names of the Third, Fourth and Fifth Dynasties refer to the king as *nbty*, "the Two Ladies,"[73] and one Fourth Dynasty name refers to the king as *ḥḏt*, "the White Crown." There are also examples of non-royal female names with *nbty* and *ḥḏt* as well.[74] In fact, names connected with the king are typical of Old Kingdom names in general.[75]

A few other kinds of queens' names also seem confined to the Old Kingdom. The only two names which express a family relationship are Fourth Dynasty. Non-royal names of this type, however, are found from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom.[76] The only queens' names using the word *kꜣ*, "soul," are from the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty. Ranke compiled more than one hundred names with *kꜣ*; virtually all of them date to the Old and Middle Kingdoms.[77]

Grammatically speaking, all the queens' names that are verbal sentences with a *sḏm.f* date to the Old Kingdom. Also, slightly more than half the names that are non-verbal sentences, half the names that are participles, and the only name that is a relative form, are Old Kingdom.

The names of Middle Kingdom queens are marked by their simplicity. The majority of Twelfth Dynasty queens' names are descriptive nouns. Two Thirteenth Dynasty queens' names express a wish for the child. These are all secular names, and the tendency for these types of names is typical of the Middle Kingdom as a whole. "Ein anderes Kennzeichen der Mittleren Reichs sind die Namen rein profanen Inhalts."[78]

Another kind of common Middle Kingdom name is one connected with the name of a god or goddess. One type of this name describes the person as the son or daughter of the deity, while another type describes the deity as "strong" or "in festival."[79] Such names are not well represented in queen's names; only one queen of the Thirteenth Dynasty is called "Daughter of Sobek." From the Seventeenth Dynasty is another queen named "Daughter of Thoth."

With the early New Kingdom, all queens, and all princesses, have names compounded with that of a deity, particularly *Iꜥḥ* or *Imn*. The pattern God+old perfective dominates this kind of name, and, in fact, all the queen's names that use an old perfective date to the Second Intermediate Period or Eighteenth Dynasty. This name pattern is typical of non-royal names of the time as well.[80] No queen's name is compounded with that of a goddess, although sporadically from the Fifth to the Seventeenth Dynasty queens have names that refer to the goddess Hathor as "Gold."[81]

One final point should be made in regards to these royal female names. There does not seem to be any evidence that ancient Egyptian queens took throne names. The kinds of names that queens have, and the way their names change from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, are exactly the same as non-royal names. None of these royal female names appears, therefore, to be an assumed throne name rather than a birth name.

NOTES

[1] Not included are six names dating FIP or SIP whose readings are uncertain, Among these is *ìnì* and *ìì* which might well be interjections, see Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, Rome, 1986, 127. Also seemingly untranslatable is *m-ḥʒʒ* of the Sixth Dynasty, Leclant, *Orientalia* 66, 1997, fig. 25. Not included as well are the names of six women buried in chapels at the back of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's temple who had the title "king's wife" only in a cultic capacity, see L. Sabbahy, *JARCE* 24, 1997, 163-165.

[2] *Urk*. I, 117, 13-14.

[3] For this pattern of preposition+suffixpronoun as predicate in personal names, see W. Barta, *ZÄS* 117, 1990, 8, c.

[4] A. Donadoni-Roveri, *I Sarcofagi Egizi*, Rome, 1965, 144 and pl. 35. See H. Fischer, *JEA* 75, 1989, 214-215, for the transliteration of Pepy.

[5] B. Mathieu, *BIFAO* 100, 2000, 283-285, suggests a graphic transposition of the preposition *n*, and accepts the name as *ʿnḫ.s n Ppy*, "qu'elle vive pour Pépy."

[6] W. Smith, *HESPOK*, Boston, 1948, fig. 48.

[7] D. Dunham and W. Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, Boston, 1974, pls. 7-8, figs. 4 and 7.

[8] For other types of OK names with reference to the face of a god, see P. Kaplony, *MIO* 14, 1968, 204.

[9] *Urk*. I, 155, 13-14.

[10] S. Hassan, *Giza*, IV, p. 117, fig. 62.

[11] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-re*, Leipzig, 1910, II, pl. 48.

[12] *nfrt-ḥʒ*+king's name appears as a personal name, see Barta, *ZÄS* 117, 1990, 11, n. 120.

[13] A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris, 1889, 225.

[14] Two variations are known in the names of princesses: *nwb-ib-nbty* (5), L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, Berlin, 1911, #37 and #196; *nwb-ḫt-nbty* (6), F. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Kagamni*, I, Berlin, 1905, pls. 20-21.

[15] S. Hassan, *Giza VI*, 3, fig.3.

[16] L. Sabbahy, *GM*, 61, 1983, 27-28, and pl. 2. For a discussion of this name pattern see H. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, New York, 1996, 55-60.

[17] G. Jequier, *Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit*, Cairo, 1933, pls. 8, 14-16.

[18] P. Newberry, *Ancient Egyptian Scarabs*, London, 1905, pl. XII, #6.

[19] *Relazione sui Lavori della Missione Archeologica Italiane in Egitto*, Turin, 1923, 20, fig.16.

[20] H. Winlock, *JEA* 10, 1924, 270.

[21] H. Winlock, *Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes*, New York, 1947, pl. 47.

[22] *Urk*. IV, 21.

[23] I. Harari, *ASAE* 51, 1959, pl. 2.

[24] H. Winlock, *The Tomb of Meryet-Amun at Thebes*, New York, 1932, pl. 22.

[25] A. Hermann, *Die Stelen der Thebanische Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*, Glückstadt, 1940, 61, fig. 8.

[26] For the juxtaposition of names with *iꜥḥ-ms* as the first element, see P. Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 88. Princesses also carry this type of name, see L. Troy, *GM* 35, 1979, 87,4: *iꜥḥ-ms-tw-mrt.sy* and *iꜥḥ-ms-ḥnwt-m-pt*, and see G. Daressy, *Cercueils de Cachettes Royales*, Cairo, 1909, 17, #61012, for *iꜥḥ-ms-ḥnwt-tꜣ-mḥw*.

[27] L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re*, Leipzig, 1907, 109, fig. 88.

[28] Gold refers to Hathor, see K. Hoffmann, *Die Theophoren Personennamen des älterer Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1915, 8, and S. Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult*, München, 1963, 131.

[29] J. Leclant, *Festschrift für Emma Brunner Traut*, Tübinger, 1992, 218.

[30] Meaning unclear, but same pattern as the name *nfr-wnt*, see H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 423, 26.

[31] J. de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, Vienna, 1903, 71 and fig. 116.

[32] F. Petrie, *Koptos*, London, 1892, pl. 12, 2.

[33] W. Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt*, New York, 1953, I, 343, fig. 226.

[34] There is a 13th Dynasty princess with the name *nwb-ḥtp.ty-(m)-ḫrd*, "Gold is satisfied with a child," de Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, fig. 154.

[35] P. Pierret, *Recueil D'Inscriptions Inédits du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, Paris, 1879, II, 5.

[36] G. Maspero, *Les Momies Royales de Deir el-Bahari*, Paris, 1889, 54.

[37] De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, 59, and fig. 118.

[38] S. Hassan, *Giza, IV*, pp. 178-180.

[39] L. Sabbahy, *GM* 52, 1981, 37-39.

[40] L. Sabbahy, GM 52, 1981, 39-40.

[41] F. Petrie, *Dendereh*, London, 1900, pl. 15.

[42] Gabet, *RT* 12, 1891, 217; D. Arnold, *The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret I*, New York, 1992, pl. 70, 22.

[43] Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, #381 and #382.

[44] Smith, *HESPOK*, fig. 44b.

[45] De Morgan, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, figs 147-148.

[46] G. Brunton, *ASAE* 49, 1949, 101, figs. 1-2.

[47] L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 39, 1901, 96.

[48] F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, London, 1917, pl. 18, top row.

[49] *Urk*. IV, 26. For the reappearance of this Sixth Dynasty king's name in the early New Kingdom, see Ranke, *PN* II, 241.

[50] E. de Rouge, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques Copiées en Égypte*, Paris, 1877, pl. 62.

[51] C. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypter und Äthiopien*, Leipzig, 1897, II, pl. 152c.

[52] Dunham and Simpson, *The Mastaba of Queen Mersyankh III*, figs. 2-13; Donadoni-Roveri, *I Sarcofagi Egizi*, pls. 30-31.

[53] M. Macadem, *JEA* 37, 1951, pl. 6.

[54] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, IV, 126.

[55] Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. 12, 2.

[56] E. Chassinat, *Monuments et Mémoires Fondation Eugène Piot*, Paris, 1921-22, 63.

[57] See discussion by Fischer, *JEA* 75, 1989, 65.

[58] Hassan, *Giza*, IV, fig. 2; M. Verner, *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus*, Prague, 1995, 11.

[59] Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 207-8.

[60] C. Firth and B. Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, Cairo, 1926, 13, fig. 7.

[61] G. Jéquier, *La Pyramide D'Oudjebten*, Cairo, 1928, figs. 3, 6, 8, 9. See H. Fischer, *Dendera*, New York, 1968, 54 for this transliteration.

[62] J. Leclant, *Le dossier d'archéologie, Saqqara*, #147-148, Mars/Avril 1990, 76, fig. 5. Type of double name known from the OK in which the nickname is a shortened form of the longer name, see Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 81, and 110. *'Inty* is a common OK nickname, see Ranke, *PN* I, 38, 23.

[63] E. Naville, *The Shrine of Saft el Henneh*, London, 1888, pl. 9,B. This is a common MK name, see Ranke, *PN* I 296, 21. Possibly *snt* is shortened from *snt*+divine name, see Vernus, *Le Surnom au Moyen Empire*, 62, 289.

[64] See Fischer, *Dendera* for *ḫntyt* as a nisbe.

[65] This name is also found in the form of *nwb-m-ḫꜥ.s*, see Hoffmann, *Die Theophoren Personennamen des älterer Ägypten*, 52, 9.

[66] The name is masculine in form.

[67] See E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik*, Rome, 1955, I, 332, for the use of the masculine form for a feminine singular relative.

[68] For the old perfective in NK theophoric names, but its avoidance in certain cases in the OK, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 61ff.

[69] See M. Gitton, *L'Epouse du Dieu Ahmes-Nefertary*, Paris, 1975, 5-6.

[70] See Ranke, *PN* II, 28. First person suffixes tend to be omitted in OK names "reflecting the grammar of the period," see the entry "Names" by D. Doxey, in D. Redford (ed.), *OEAE*, Oxford, 2001, II, 490.

[71] *ꜥnḫ-n.s-ppy*: L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reichs*, Cairo, 1937, 222, #1522; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrawi*, London, 1902, II, pls. 6 and 9.

[72] For example: *ḫwfw-ꜥnḫ*, H. Junker, *Giza*, Vienna, 1929-1955, II, 117; *ḏd.f-rꜥ-ꜥnḫ*, idem.,*Giza* III, 179; *wsr-kꜣ.f-ꜥnḫ*, S. Hassan, *Giza*, Cairo, 1940-1955, III, 98.

[73] *Nbty* refers to the *nbty* name of the king, and therefore the king himself. See the discussion by B. Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zür Götterwelt des Alten Reichs*, Göttingen, 1981, 255 and 261.

[74] Begelsbacher-Fischer, 226-227.

[75] Ranke states this conclusion, *PN* I, 231.

[76] Ranke, *PN* I, 198-199.

[77] See Ranke's discussion, *PN* I, 208-216.

[78] *PN* I, 236.

[79] See the comments by E. Lüddeckens in his article on names in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel*, Mainz, 1995, 106.

[80] Ranke, *PN* I, 239. *iꜥḥ-ḥtp* is a very common female name of the MK and NK, particularly in the Theban area, M. Thirion, *RdÉ* 39, 1988, 136.

[81] See ft. 28 above. Some princess names of the MK are compounded with Hathor, for example: *sꜣt-ḥwt-ḥr-iwnt* (12), G. Brunton, *Lahun*, London, 1920, I, pls. 14 and 15; *sꜣt-ḥwt-ḥr* (12), de Morgen, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, I, fig. 133; *ḥtp-ḥwt-ḥr* (13), *Fouilles à Dahchour*, II, fig. 154.

9. Evidence for a Co-Regency between Amunhotep III and Akhenaten in the Earlier Proclamation of Amarna Boundary Stelae K, X, and M

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Abstract

This article reconsiders a fragmentary chronological passage from the Amarna boundary stelae that bears on the question of a co-regency between Amunhotep III and his son, Akhenaten. Based on Norman de Garis Davies' 1908 translation, scholars have argued that Amunhotep III died before Akhenaten's fifth regnal year — when the passage was inscribed — perhaps even before his second. This study suggests the opposite. Most likely, the original passage did not mention Amunhotep III at all, though it did list each of his deceased predecessors going back to Thutmose III. The implication is that Amunhotep III was still alive in Akhenaten's fifth regnal year and shared a lengthy co-regency with him.

Key words

Co-regency, Amarna, Amenhotep III, Akhenaten, boundary stela

In 1975, John R. Harris advanced new evidence in the debate over the possibility of a co-regency between Amunhotep III and his son, Akhenaten.[1] The evidence is a fragmentary passage from Akhenaten's Earlier Proclamation, carved on Amarna boundary stelae K, X, and M in his fifth regnal year. Harris used this text, which provides a short chronology, to argue that Amunhotep III and Akhenaten ruled together for less than two years, if at all. More recently, Nicholas Reeves has cited it as proof that these kings were co-regents for a maximum of five years.[2] Unfortunately, both of these interpretations are probably wrong. As it survives, the passage actually suggests that Amunhotep III and Akhenaten ruled together for *at least* five years.

Harris reconstructed the relevant lines of the Earlier Proclamation as follows:

it would be worse than *the things I heard in year 4*, worse than *the things I heard in year* [*3 or 2*], worse than *the things I heard in year* [*2 or 1*], worse than *the things Nebmarç* (sic) *heard*, (and) worse than *the things Menkheperurē heard.*[3]

Since this restoration places the reigns of Menkheperure Thutmose IV and Nebmaatre Amunhotep III before Akhenaten's second regnal year at the latest, Harris concluded that both kings were dead by that point.
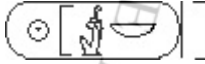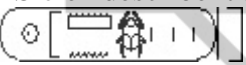
Harris based his reconstruction on Norman de Garis Davies' study of the Amarna boundary stelae, published in 1908.[4] Davies did record the remnants of two royal names, ⊙⟯ and (▭[🏛], but these are more puzzling than Harris recognized.[5] The first cartouche cannot have been Nebmaatre, which was usually written as some variation of (⊙🔧⊂), and never with the sign ∿∿∿.

Also, the end of the second cartouche is missing, leaving both (⊙▭[🐝ιιι)⌋, Menkheperure, and
(⊙▭[🐝)⌋, Menkheperre (Thutmose III), as viable restorations.

   Harris' reconstruction is even more problematic in view of William J. Murnane and Charles
C. Van Siclen's work on the stelae, published in 1992.[6] Murnane and Van Siclen were unable to
discern Davies' fragment ⊙⌋ and declined to speculate on the original name.[7] Strangely, however,
they transcribe (⊙ ~~~] in its place.[8] Apparently, Murnane and Van Siclen detected the beginning
of a cartouche, shuffled Davies' signs forward, and separated them. In this way, they imply that the
name was (⊙▭🐝ιιι), Menkheperure. More significantly, Murnane and Van Siclen discovered
a reference to another regnal year along with traces of another cartouche, (⊙ .[9] They thus restore
the passage:

   it was worse than those which I heard in regnal year 4; it was wor[se] than [those] which
   heard (sic) in regnal year 3; it was worse than those which I hea[rd in regnal year 2; it was]
   worse [than those which I heard in regnal year 1]. It was worse than those which (King)
   [Nebma'at]re [hea]rd. [It was worse than those which] (King) [… heard]. It was worse [than]
   those which (King) Men[kheper]re heard. [It was] worse [than tho]se which any of the kings
   who had (ever) assumed the White Crown heard.[10]

This is the reconstruction that Reeves uses. Essentially, he adopts Harris' reasoning, but taxes the
evidence less, merely supposing that Nebmaatre Amunhotep III was, like Menkheperre Thutmose
III, dead by the time the inscription was carved.

   Obviously, the key issue is the restoration of the new cartouche (⊙ , as (⊙[🚶◡)⌋,
Nebmaatre. Murnane and Van Siclen describe it as 'hypothetical, albeit plausible', but there is no
epigraphic reason to prefer it to (⊙▭🐝ιιι)⌋, Menkheperure.[11] Ultimately, our reconstruction
must depend on the other names in the passage.

   The second cartouche (Davies' first) is the most enigmatic. A final ⊙ does not appear in
any Egyptian prenomen, makes little epigraphic sense, and is grammatically unintelligible.[12] For
these reasons, I believe that Davies made an error and I agree with the decision to advance the group.
I am apprehensive about separating the signs, however.[13] We should further modify Davies'
transcription only if an initial ⊙ is impossible, and it is not. Amunhotep II's prenomen,
(⊙ 🐝ιιι)⌋, Aakheperre, could be erroneously written as (⊙ 🐝ιιι), as a stela from Karnak
shows.[14] At the very least, we should regard both (⊙▭🐝ιιι)⌋, Menkheperre, and
(⊙ 🐝ιιι)⌋, Aakheperre, as possibilities.

   The third and final cartouche is the only one that we can restore with certainty. Thanks to
Murnane and Van Siclen, we know that it originally contained the name of a king who was at least
two successions removed from Akhenaten. Since Menkheperure Thutmose IV was only one
succession removed, we can reject the reconstruction (⊙▭[🐝ιιι)⌋. And, since Menkheperre

Thutmose III was the only other king of the Eighteenth Dynasty who wrote his prenomen with the sign ▭, we can confidently postulate ⟨ 𓇳 ▭ [𓃀] ⟩.

        Having thus restored the third cartouche, let us consider the whole passage. It is thorough, to be sure. The text refers to each of Akhenaten's previous regnal years and lists three out of four previous kings. It omits just one ruler — Aakheperure Amunhotep II, Menkheperure Thutmose IV, or Nebmaatre Amunhotep III. Why? Since none of these kings were blacklisted, we must conclude that one of their reigns was not 'previous'. Of course, only the most recent, Amunhotep III, could have still been ruling when the text was composed. I would thus emend Murnane and Van Siclen's reconstruction as follows:

> It was worse that those which I heard in regnal year 4;
> it was wor[se] than [those] which I heard in regnal year 3;
> it was worse than those which I hea[rd in regnal year 2;
> it was] worse [than those which I heard in regnal year 1].
> It was worse than those which (King) [Menkheperu]re (Thutmose IV) [hea]rd.
> [It was worse than those which] (King) [Aakheperure] (Amunhotep II) [heard].
> It was worse [than] those which (King) Men[kheper]re (Thutmose III) heard.
> [It was] worse [than tho]se which any of the kings who had (ever) assumed the White Crown heard.

Needless to say, if this restoration is correct, it constitutes evidence for a long (five-year or more) co-regency between Amunhotep III and Akhenaten.[15]

NOTES

1. J. R. Harris, "Contributions to the History of the Eighteenth Dynasty, 2. Amenhotpe III: A Terminus for the Co-Regency with Akhenaten," *SAK* 2 (1975): 98-101.

2. N. Reeves, *Akhenaten: Egypt's False Prophet* (London, 2001), 77, 101.

3. Harris, *SAK* 2, 99.

4. N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el Amarna, Part V — Smaller Tombs and Boundary Stelae* (ASE 17, London, 1908).

5.Davies found the remnants in line 23 of stela X's inscription. He noted just the top corner of the 𓃀-sign in the second name. Davies, *Rock Tombs, V*, pl. 32.

6. W. J. Murnane and C. C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London, 1992).

7. Murnane and Van Siclen, *Boundary Stelae*, 41, pl. 7.

8. Murnane and Van Siclen, *Boundary Stelae*, 26.

9. Murnane and Van Siclen, *Boundary Stelae*, 26, pl. 7.

10. Murnane and Van Siclen, *Boundary Stelae*, 41.

11. Murnane and Van Siclen, *Boundary Stelae*, 61.

12. ☉, signifying the god Re, is usually written first, in honorific transposition. A final ☉, "Re of" or "Re for" makes

no sense.

13. In Davies' drawing, the 〜 is slightly off-center, but it still seems to be grouped with ☉.

14. G. Legrain, 'Notes prises à Karnak', *RdT* 26 (1904), 223. The confusion probably stemmed from the similarity of 〜

and ⟨—⟩ in hieratic.

15. Based on a reassessment of the reliefs in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), Peter Dorman has recently presented an
argument against a long co-regency. Although he raises significant questions about the chronology of the tomb's
construction and decoration, his conclusion that "the debate over the existence of a long coregency is … one that is of
markedly diminished scholarly value, and one that can be answered in the negative" seems too bold. Indeed, both James
P. Allen and Frederick J. Giles have brought to light intriguing new evidence for a long period of joint rule. Clearly, the
debate is far from over. P. Dorman, "The Long Coregency Revisited, Architectural and Iconographic Conundra in the
Tomb of Kheruef," in *Causing His Name to Live, Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J.
Murnane* (Memphis 2006), http://history.memphis.edu/murnane/Dorman%20-
%20Coregency,%20Tomb%20of%20Kheruef.pdf (accessed August 27, 2006); J. P. Allen, "Further Evidence for the
Coregency of Amenhotep III and IV," *GM* 140 (1994), 7-8; J. P. Allen, W. J. Murnane, and J van Dijk, "Further
Evidence for the Coregency of Amenhotep III and IV? Three Views on a Graffito Found at Dahshur," in D. Forbes, ed.,
Amarna Letters (Essays on Ancient Egypt ca. 1390-1310 BC) Volume 3 (1994), 26-20; F. J. Giles, *The Amarna Age:
Egypt* (ACE 6, Warminster, 2001), 78-79.