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## Editorial Forward

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities would like to thank Eugene Cruz-Uribe for his many years of dedicated work on the Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities. I suppose that only those who have undertaken similar editing ventures can fully appreciate the amount of work he did as editor. We wish him well in his future endeavors.

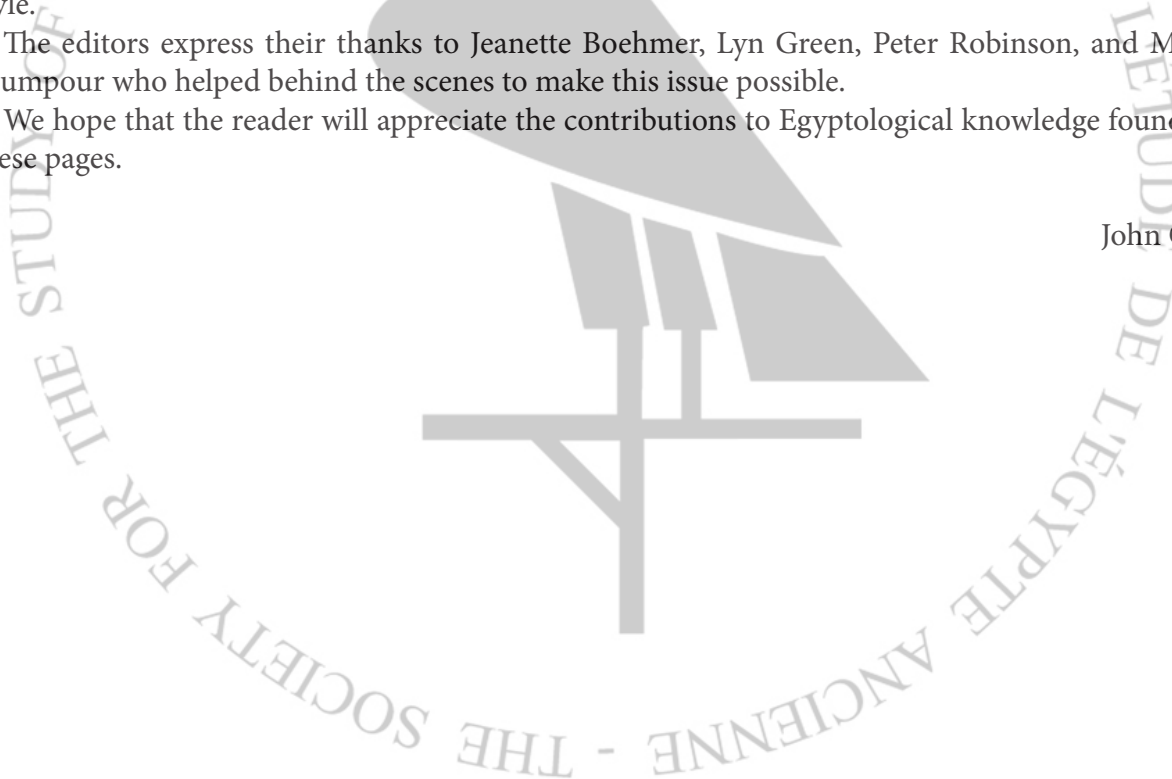
With Cruz-Uribe's departure, John Gee and Jean Revez have been asked to edit the Journal. The new editorial board has instituted new format as well as new peer review procedures and new style guidelines. We ask contributors to follow the guidelines carefully. In the future, articles without an abstract in English or French and key words will not be accepted.

Due to printer's errors, two articles of the last number appeared missing illustrations and entire pages. As the errors were so extensive, the editors have decided to include the entire articles again in this issue. While the articles have been reformatted, they have not been made to conform to the style.

The editors express their thanks to Jeanette Boehmer, Lyn Green, Peter Robinson, and Mark Trumppour who helped behind the scenes to make this issue possible.

We hope that the reader will appreciate the contributions to Egyptological knowledge found in these pages.

John Gee



# A Horizon of Aten in Memphis ?

Valérie Angenot

## Abstract:

Recent excavations in the Memphite area (and especially in its necropolis of Saqqara) have demonstrated the importance of the region during the Amarna period and the reigns that directly followed it. However, the archaeological documents discovered cause problems of interpretation, notably because of the use of certain toponymic terms common to Thebes, Amarna and Memphis.

This paper lists these toponyms and suggests there probably existed, contemporaneously with the foundation of the city of Amarna (Akhetaten), a location in Memphis called the “Horizon of Aten” (Akhetaten).

In the actual state of research, I will nevertheless remain careful about this statement and leave an interrogation mark at the end of this title until further discoveries in the Memphite region bring the definite answer.

## Résumé:

Les fouilles archéologiques menées ces dernières années dans la zone memphite —et tout particulièrement dans sa nécropole de Saqqara— ont démontré l'importance que la région avait conservée durant l'époque amarnienne et les règnes qui l'ont directement suivie. Les documents archéologiques recueillis ne sont cependant pas sans poser certains problèmes d'interprétation, notamment liés à l'usage commun de certains termes toponymiques à la fois à Thèbes, Amarna et Memphis.

Le présent article fait le point sur ces toponymes et suggère qu'il a probablement existé, parallèlement à la fondation de la nouvelle capitale (Akhetaten), une zone géographique à Memphis, elle-même appelée l'“Horizon d'Aten” (Akhetaten).

Dans l'état actuel des connaissances, nous nous devons cependant de rester prudents quant à une telle assertion, c'est pourquoi le titre de cet article conservera son point d'interrogation jusqu'à plus ample information que nous fourniront peut-être de futures découvertes dans la région memphite.

## Key words:

Amarna period, Memphis, *Horizon of Aten*, toponymy.

## Prolegomena<sup>1</sup>

As the reader will have noticed, the title of this article appears in the form of a question. The main reason is that, in the actual state of knowledge and with the archaeological material recorded up to now, tangible proofs of the existence of a *Horizon of Aten* in Memphis are still rather meagre and could only be supported by further discoveries to take place mainly in the Memphite region. Nevertheless, not taking that possibility into account could lead to errors

in the interpretation and dating of the material. Therefore, in spite of these shortcomings, one should consider that not every mention of the terms “*3h.t'Itn*” is necessarily and systematically to be associated to Akhenaten's capital city of Amarna.

I am aware of how hard a task it is to upset principles settled as true facts for so many years and to deviate from beaten tracks. However the necessity of an examination of recent archaeological material while questioning established

<sup>1</sup> This article is the augmented version of a lecture presented on November 3, 2006 at the Scholars' day colloquium of the 32<sup>nd</sup> Annual Symposium of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, University of Toronto.

schemes appears to me likely to bring interesting results. Although it is still impossible for me to thoroughly prove my theory, I hope that this article will at least have the merit of raising interest for the question.

My suggestion is based on some indices that there might have existed, prior and / or contemporaneously to the foundation of the city known nowadays as Tell el-Amarna (*Akhetaten*), a location called *Akhetaten* (a "Horizon of Aten") in the Memphite region. The documents that will be used here to support the argumentation are mainly the publication, by Maarten Raven's team of the University of Leiden, of the preliminary reports on the tomb of Meryre / Meryneith,<sup>2</sup> and the discovery, a few years ago, of a contemporary tomb by the *Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion* directed by Alain Zivie<sup>3</sup>.

### Akhenaten in Memphis

Thanks to these recent excavations, but also thanks to the pioneering work of Beatrix Löhr in the 70's,<sup>4</sup> it is now well attested that the whole Memphite area had remained a predominant administrative and religious city in the Egyptian landscape during the Amarna period. The

whole region most probably became a significant Atenist centre at the time,<sup>5</sup> since a temple to the Aten was erected there by Akhenaten, that probably remained functional until the reign of Seti I,<sup>6</sup> long after the death of the so-called heretic king. It is therefore legitimate to believe that the king had planned in Memphis, like he did in Thebes, an important construction project that would not have especially fallen into disgrace with the move to Amarna as has the "Southern city", unless it was actually founded at the same period as the "capital city".

Memphis played a prominent role during the whole 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and saw the development of its religious activities under the pre-amarnian kings. Akhenaten's brother, who should have reigned as King Thutmose (fifth of the name), had he not died too soon, had received there important religious charges as a high priest of Ptah. He was probably buried in one of the New Kingdom cemeteries of Memphis, perhaps in the mountain of Ankhtawi (Bubasteion) as suggested by Marc Gabolde.<sup>7</sup>

Though the Memphite Atenist temple has now disappeared, some *talatat* blocks reused under the pavement of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple of Ptah

2 Joint expedition of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities and the Faculty of Archaeology / Department of Egyptology of Leiden University. M. Raven, R. van Walsem, B. Aston and E. Strouhal, "Preliminary Report on the Leiden Excavations at Saqqara, Season 2001: the Tomb of Meryneith", *JEOL* 37 (2001-2002): 71-89.

3 The tomb of Raïay / Hatiay (Bub. I 27), scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten in Memphis. A. Zivie, "Hatiay, scribe du temple d'Aton à Memphis", in *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World*, Studies in Honor of D. B. Redford, ed. G. Knoppers and A. Hirsch (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 223-231. A. Zivie, "Mystery of the Sun God's Servant", *National Geographic* Vol. 204/5 (Nov. 2003): 52-59.

4 B. Löhr, "Aḥanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2 (1975): 139-187, pl. III-VIII.

5 There are also evidence, not too far from Memphis, in Heliopolis, of an Atenist priesthood and a temple called "The one which lifts Re in the Heliopolis (or Iwn) of Re". L. Habachi, "Akhenaten in Heliopolis", *Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde* 12 (Le Caire – Zurich, 1971), 35-45. See also H. Bakry, "Akhenaten at Heliopolis", *CdÉ* 47/93-94 (1972): 55-67; D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re: eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym im Neuen Reich* (Berlin: Achet, 1999), 118-119; G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Orientaliste, 1929), 103. More Atenist blocs were recently discovered in the area of the Suq el-Khamis, in the Ain Shams and Matariyya districts near Heliopolis, by the joint excavation of the SCA and DAIK.

6 See line 4, on the recto of hieratic Rollin Papyrus 213 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale) mentioning freights of wood for the *ḥwt p3 Itn* (in Memphis), at the time of Seti I. Löhr, "Aḥanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 146, Dok. I 4.

7 M. Gabolde, *Akhenaton. Du mystère à la lumière* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 24.

in Memphis, indicate that the Aten temple was most likely erected in its vicinity, somewhere east of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty sacred precinct —similar to the *Gem-pa-aten*, built in Thebes east of the great temple of Amun. At Memphis, it has been suggested that the temple of Aten was situated in the region of Kom el-Qalaa<sup>8</sup> (Figure 1). However, the EES archaeological survey led by David Jeffreys seems to indicate the area was a virgin ground until the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty,<sup>9</sup> probably because it was, at the time, occupied by the bed of the Nile, which has gradually shifted eastwards<sup>10</sup>.

A better option for the location of the Atenist temple in Memphis might be the Middle Birka<sup>11</sup> where later the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple of Ptah was situated, a bit north-west of Kom el-Qalaa (Figure 1). The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty precinct of the temple of Ptah was indeed probably located in Kom el-Fakhry<sup>12</sup> and most of the *talatats* found by Joseph Hekekyan were reused under the Rameside levels of the god's temple,<sup>13</sup> which means they might have come from somewhere in its surrounding areas.<sup>14</sup>

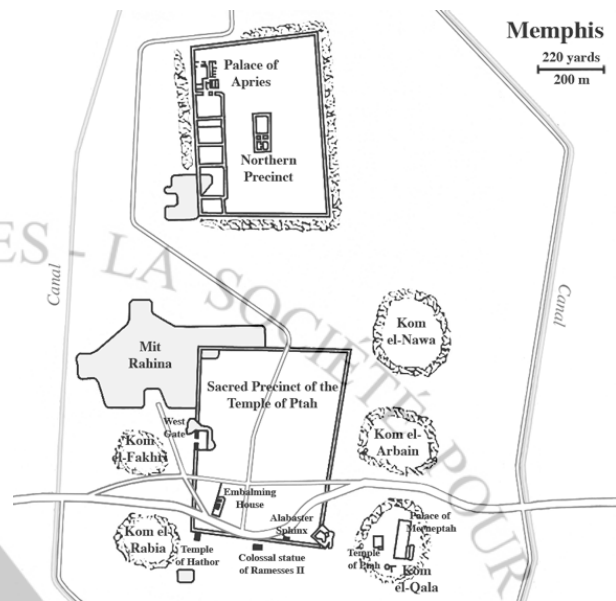


Figure 1: Map of Memphis and the vicinity of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple of Ptah

On the other hand, part of this zone seems to have been occupied by a sanctuary of Amenhotep III, which can be significant regarding the location of Akhenaten's buildings. About one hundred *talatats* were found in the temple of Luxor,<sup>15</sup> a group of reliefs was added by Akhen-

8 J. Malek, "The "coregency relief" of Akhenaten and Smenkhare from Memphis", *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. P. Der Manuelian (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 2: 553.

9 L. Giddy, "Le survey de Memphis: état des recherches archéologiques et épigraphiques", BSFE 129 (1994): 7-20, esp. 12-13. D. Jeffreys, *Survey of Memphis. Excavations at Kom Rabia (site RAT): New Kingdom levels* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2006), passim, conclusions, 137-138.

10 D. Jeffreys and H.S. Smith, "Memphis and the Nile in the New Kingdom", in *Memphis et ses nécropoles au Nouvel Empire*, ed. A. Zivie (Paris: CNRS, 1988), 55-66.

11 D. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis I. The Archaeological Report*, Occasional Publications 3 (London: EES, 1985), pl. 4.

12 As suggested by D. Jeffreys and H.S. Smith, west of the West Hall of Ramesses II: "Memphis and the Nile", 64.

13 South or south-east sector.

14 The *talatats* were found in zones BAO (bearing the early form of the Aten cartouches) and BAF (showing the late form of the name of the god). Jeffreys and Smith, "Memphis and the Nile", 36, pl. 8. However, tangible proofs of a pre-Rameside occupation of the site are also missing. Jaromir Malek suggested to me that the Aten temple might have been built a little bit east of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple, between there and Kom el-Qalaa.

15 A. Fakhry, "Blocs décorés provenant du temple de Louxor. Bas-reliefs d'Akhenaton", *ASAE* 35 (1935): 35-51. However D.B. Redford thinks its illusory to believe they actually come from a building erected in Luxor: "Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes", *JARCE* 10 (1973): 82.

aten in the vestibule of the temple of Soleb,<sup>16</sup> and he established structures around his father's third pylon in Karnak as well.<sup>17</sup> This may suggest that Akhenaten would have attached his own building program to each significant temple built by his father.<sup>18</sup> Such could have been the case in Memphis too.

As regards to the remains of a temple of Amenhotep III in the Middle Birka in Memphis, David Jeffreys and H.S. Smith suggest that these could have been the relics of the lost temple of *Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah*, erected in year 30 of his reign.<sup>19</sup> As a matter of fact, elements explicitly coming from that temple were found in the area.<sup>20</sup> If the origins of the Atenist cult really

take their roots in the ancestral cult of the divinized Amenhotep III,<sup>21</sup> such a location for the Memphite temple of Aten would indeed make sense.<sup>22</sup>

#### A "Horizon of Aten" in Thebes

It is known, regarding the history of the Amarna period, that some of the names of the sanctuaries and royal residences in Thebes were reused later on in Amarna (as well as in other places), such as the *Gem-pa-aten*,<sup>23</sup> the *Hut-bnbn*<sup>24</sup> or the *Rudj-menu* among others.<sup>25</sup> The toponyms common to Thebes, Memphis and Amarna will be developed at the next section.

16 W. J. Murnane, "Soleb Renaissance: Reconsidering the Nebmaatre Temple in Nubia", *Amarna Letters* 4 (San Francisco: KMT Communications, 2000), 6-19. The cartouches name him as Akhenaten but his work there had probably already begun when he was still known as Amenhotep, p. 18. See also the recent publication of the site by N. Beaux *et al.* (ed.), *Soleb III, Le temple*, Mission Michela Schiff Giorgini (Le Caire: IFAO, 2002).

17 See the smiting scene in the passage leading to the door jambs of the third pylon in R. Sa'ad, "Les travaux d'Amenophis IV au IIIe pylône du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak", *Kêmi* 20 (1970): 187-193. See also Ch. Loeben, "Nefertiti's Pillars. A Photo Essay of the Queen's Monument at Karnak", in *Amarna Letters* 3 (San Francisco: KMT Communications, 1994), 41-45.

18 This suggestion was made to me by Marc Gabolde whom I would like to thank here for enlightening correspondence on this topic.

19 About that temple, see R. Morkot, "*Nb-M3't-Rc—United-with-Ptah*", *JNES* 49/4 (1990): 323-337.

20 Such as the dedicatory statue of Amenhotep-Huy, chief steward of Memphis, overseer of the works in the temple "United-with-Ptah" and half-brother of Vizier Ramose (TT 55). The statue is preserved in Oxford at the Ashmolean Museum, ref. 1913.163. Morkot, "*Nb-M3't-Rc—United-with-Ptah*", *JNES* 49: 323-325.

21 Without corroborating the theory of a co-regency between Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, see R. Johnson, "Images of Amenhotep III in Thebes: Styles and Intentions", in *The Art of Amenhotep III: Art Historical Analysis*, ed. L. M. Berman (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1990), 43. See also A. Cabrol, *Amenhotep III le magnifique* (Paris: Rocher, 2000), 281.

22 D. Jeffreys and H. S. Smith suggest that Akhenaten might not only have augmented his father's building, but dismantled it and replaced it with a temple to the sun disc ("Memphis and the Nile", 63-64). If this is true, and if this temple was that of Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah, the divinized Amenhotep III has to equate Aten; otherwise such a superseding would constitute an unexplained act of *lèse-majesté* on the part of the son, whereas it is a honorific action in the above hypothesis.

23 Apart from Amarna, *Gem-pa-aten* is also the name of the Aten temple / city of Kawa. M. F. Laming Macadam, *The temples of Kawa* (London-Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949); J. Leclant and J. Yoyotte, "Notes d'histoire et de civilisation éthiopiennes: à propos d'un ouvrage récent", *BIFAO* 51 (1952): 1-39.

24 Fakhry, "Blocs décorés", *ASAE* 35: 42.

25 C. Desroches-Noblecourt, "La statue colossale fragmentaire d'Amenophis IV, offerte par l'Égypte à la France", *Mon Piot* LIX (1974): 24, n. 4. S. Tawfik, "Aten and the Names of His Temple(s) at Thebes", in R. W. Smith and D. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project. Volume I: Initial Discoveries* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1976), 58-63.



Figure 2: *Talatat* block Gayer-Anderson, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (from their internet site).

We know, on the other hand, that there existed in Thebes a place called “the Horizon of Aten”, systematically spelled “*ḥ.t n 'Itn*.”<sup>26</sup>

This denomination notably and mainly appears in the composition of the name of what is believed to have been the palace-sanctuary of Akhenaten in Thebes, prior to his establishment in Amarna: the “Exalted One in the Horizon of Aten.”<sup>27</sup> The name *ḥꜥy m ḥ.t n 'Itn* (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔) was indeed compared to that of the *pr ḥꜥy* in Amarna (𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓), a common name to both the reserved place in the king’s palace, and that of the god inside the enclosure of the *pr-'Itn*<sup>28</sup>. The name *pr ḥꜥy* (“house of Jubilation”) was also the denomination used for a part of Amenhotep III’s palace in Malqata connected to the king’s sed-festivals.<sup>29</sup>

The *ḥꜥy m ḥ.t n 'Itn* may have assumed the same kind of function for Akhenaten, as its

CIX. Slab Collection Gayer Anderson

Published: J. E. A. 5, p. 62-63; pl. VIII. -Sitzungsbere. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss. XXXVI, p. 477-484 (Schäfer)

Akhenaten, wearing Short Tunic, in Adoration before Altar.

𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔 + 𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔 = 𓆎𓆏𓆑𓆒𓆓𓆔

Figure 3: Edition of the bloc Gayer-Anderson by Maj Sandman

name appears on a *talatat* block of unknown provenance, depicting rituals related to the king’s first *heb-sed* (Figure 2).<sup>30</sup>

Cyril Aldred suggested that the block might have come from Memphis.<sup>31</sup> Though it would have served my demonstration, I do not think he is right. His main argument was that this block —perhaps acquired in Cairo by Gayer-Anderson— was made of limestone, as are the *talatat* blocks found in Memphis in the vicinity of the temple of Ptah; while the *talatat* blocks from Karnak were made of “Nubian sandstone.”<sup>32</sup> The argument would have had some weight had two other white limestone *talatats* not been found in the Theban region and sold on the antiquity market in Luxor; blocks also bearing the name *ḥꜥy m ḥ.t n 'Itn*, which indicates that this specific sanctuary in Thebes was, at least partially, made of limestone.<sup>33</sup>

26 M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutankhamon*, Collection de l'Institut d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'Antiquité, volume 3, Université Lumière-Lyon II (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1998), 28, n. 218. M. Doresse, “Les temples atoniens de la région thébaine”, *Orientalia* 24 (1955): 121-126.

27 M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton*, 82-85.

28 D. Redford, “Studies on Akhenaten at Thebes: I. A Report on the Work of the Akhenaten Temple Project of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania”, *JARCE* 10 (1973): 87-90. See also J. Assmann, “Palast oder Tempel? Überlegungen zur Architektur und Topographie von Amarna”, *INES* 31 (1972): 143-155.

29 M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton*, 82. On the Japanese excavations of the *heb-sed* monument at Malqata: J. Leclant, “Le monument de fête-Sed d'Aménophis III à Malkata-Sud”, *Journal des Savants* (1987), I-III.

30 M. Doresse wants to recognize in that kind of depiction a quotidian celebration of the king’s *heb-sed*: “Une statuette d'Akhenaton d'époque amarnienne et le culte quotidien de l'Aton”, *Mélanges Henri Wild = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 9-10 (1984-1985): 89-102.

31 C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1973), 97

32 Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 97; R. Vergnienx, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenhotep IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques I*, Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie 4 (Genève: Société d'Égyptologie, 1999), 17.

33 Doresse, “Les temples atoniens”, *Orientalia* 24: 121.

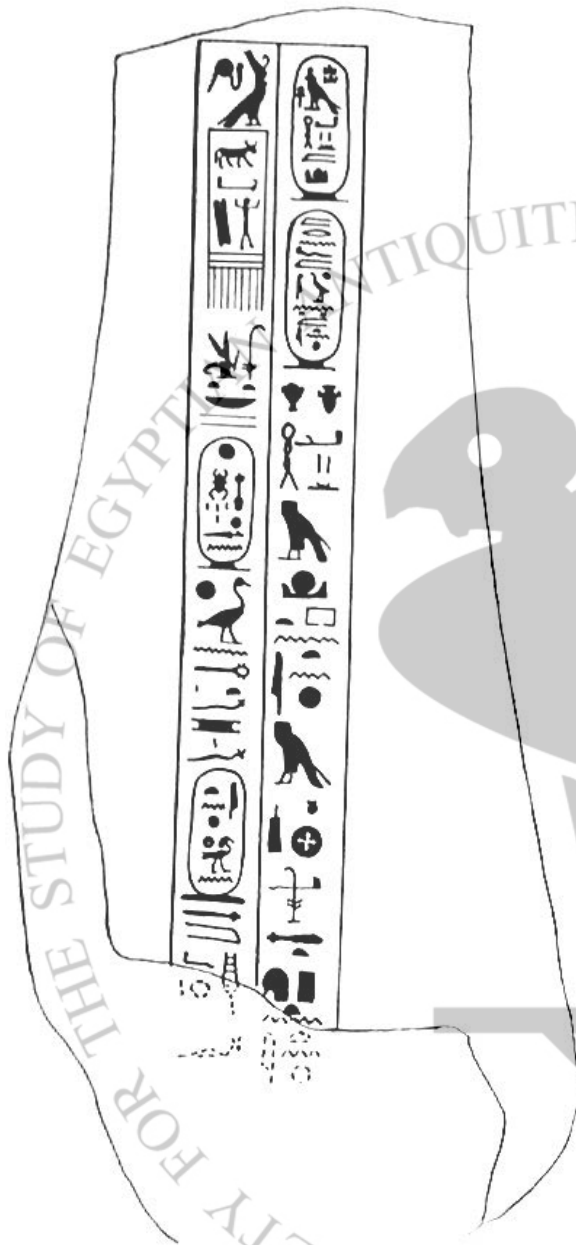


Figure 4: Pink granite altar found in the *Gem-pa-aten* in Karnak (after L. Habachi).

The publication of the text of the Gayer-Anderson block by Maj Sandman might also have supported the idea of a Memphite origin for this block, had it not been faulty.<sup>34</sup> The author indeed transcribes the name of the sanctuary *ḥꜣy m ʒḥ.t Itn* (Figure 3), which is a mistake for *ḥꜣy m ʒḥ.t n Itn*, as the “n” is quite visible on the block itself. This monument is thus attested to by different sources in Thebes but not at all in Memphis.

A few pink granite altars discovered in the area of the *Gem-pa-aten* in Karnak actually leave no doubt about the location of the monument.<sup>35</sup> Indeed, it is specified that the *ḥꜣy m ʒḥ.t n Itn* was situated “in the Southern Heliopolis”, that is in Thebes (Figure 4).

Another mention of the Theban Horizon of Aten is found on a fragment of pyramidion of a small pink granite obelisk, discovered in the wall of a modern Theban house by G. Legrain<sup>36</sup>:  
[...] *m ʒḥ.t n Itn m Iwnw šmꜣi* [...].<sup>37</sup>

In spite of all the evidence of its existence, we are still unsure whether the Horizon of Aten would designate a specific territory in the city of Thebes, or if the denomination could have applied to all the sacred lands in which the cult to the Aten was performed.

Two Theban documents mentioning the titles of a certain Nakhy, servant in the Place of Truth under Amenhotep IV, can make us wonder, as they draw a remarkable equivalence between the name of “Thebes” (*Wʒs.t*) and the expression the “Horizon of Aten” (*ʒḥ.t n Itn*).<sup>38</sup>

34 M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten*, Bibliotheca Ægyptiaca 8 (Bruxelles: FERE, 1938), 152, CLX.

35 L. Habachi, “Varia from the reign of Akhenaten”, *MDAIK* 20 (1965): 73-75.


36 Said to be found in Malqata, although this was put into question by H. Kees, “Ein Sonnenheiligtum im Amonstempel von Karnak”, *Orientalia* 18 (1949): 440.


37 G. Legrain, “Notes prises à Karnak”, *Recueil de travaux* 23 (1901): 62.

38 The fact was noticed by M. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton*, 28, n. 218.



On his funerary stele from Deir el-Medineh, Nakhy's title reads:


 *s<sub>d</sub>m*-*c<sub>s</sub>* *m*  
*s.t-m<sup>c</sup>3.t hr 'Imn.t.t W3s.t, N3hy*, "servant in the  
place of truth in the West of Thebes, Nakhy."<sup>39</sup>  
But on a chair fragment from his tomb (now  
lost, but owned by a Mr. Maunier of Luxor in  
1857), the name of Thebes was replaced by the  
expression "3*h.t n 'Itn*":

 *s<sub>d</sub>m*-*c<sub>s</sub>* *m*  
*s.t-m<sup>c</sup>3.t hr 'Imn.t.t 3h.t n 'Itn, N3hy*.<sup>40</sup> The  
presence of the *n* precludes an allusion to Am-  
arna.

### Thebes, Memphis and Amarna

If most of the Atenist edifices bear common names in Thebes and in Amarna, three building names are attested with certainty for Amarna and Memphis, which is already significant considering the few documents yet gathered from the area:<sup>41</sup>

- *t3 šwt R<sup>c</sup>*: a fragment of inscription from a talatat block discovered in the temple of Ptah in Memphis mentions the name of that type of chapel<sup>42</sup>. According to the form of the god's name, it was dated to years 9 to 17 of Akhenaten, that is after the move to Amarna.<sup>43</sup> The denomination exists in Amarna as well to designate chapels<sup>44</sup> devoted to queens<sup>45</sup> and princesses.<sup>46</sup>

It is interesting to note that there existed in Amarna (?) a *šwt R<sup>c</sup>* called  "the *šwt-R<sup>c</sup>* which is in (the temple called) "He fashions<sup>47</sup> the Horizon of Aten in the Horizon of Aten"" showing the spelling *3h.t n 'Itn* and *3h.t 'Itn* (probably Amarna in this case) together in the same toponym.<sup>48</sup>

- *t3 hwt p3 'Itn*: this broad designation of the Aten temple is attested to both in Thebes and in Amarna.<sup>49</sup> As regards Memphis, this temple's name appears on the funerary stela of Huy in Saqqara,<sup>50</sup> *hri šwi m hwt 'Itn*, and in the hieratic

<sup>39</sup> Turin No. 96. B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1928), FIFAO VI<sup>2</sup> (Le Caire: IFAO, 1929), 17-18.

<sup>40</sup> H. Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, Band I., (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1857), 274, pl. I, n° 1345.

<sup>41</sup> A thesis dealing with Memphite toponyms during the New Kingdom was recently presented at the Université Paul-Valéry in Montpellier. I did not have access to that work: S. Pasquali, *Recherches sur Memphis au Nouvel Empire. Topographie, toponymie, histoire*.

<sup>42</sup> Löhr, "Ahanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 152-153, Dok. II 5. This name is actually quite frequent during the whole New Kingdom, Cabrol, *Amenhotep III*, 122, n. 90.

<sup>43</sup> Löhr, "Ahanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 152. To year 15 according to M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton*, 110-118.

<sup>44</sup> On the function of these cultic monuments, see the opposed opinions of R. Stadelmann, "Šwt-R<sup>c</sup> als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich", *MDAIK* 25 (1969): 159-178, and A. Cabrol, *Amenhotep III*, 122, n. 90.

<sup>45</sup> E.g. the *shut-Re* of Teye. Cabrol, *Amenhotep III*, 102.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. the *shut-Re* of Meritaten. J.D.S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten. Part III. The Central City and the Official Quarters*, vol. I: Text, *The Excavation at Tell el-Amarna during the Seasons 1926-1927 and 1931-1936* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1951), 193.

<sup>47</sup> The different versions call it either «Fashioner» or «He fashions».

<sup>48</sup> The name is to be found on the sphinx "interrupted lintels" of Boston and Hanover, and on the lintel formerly part of the collection Koutoulakis in Geneva, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève (inv. 27804). The location of this temple has not been identified, and the provenance of the lintels is unknown. C. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 99.

<sup>49</sup> Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, 191.

<sup>50</sup> Cairo Museum CG 34182. P. Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire*, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, volume LXXXI, N° 34065-34186 (Cairo: IFAO, 1926), 222-224, pl. LXIX. Löhr, "Ahanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 176-177, Dok. III 3, who dates the stela to after year 9.

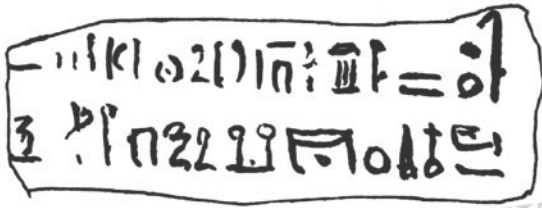


Figure 5: Hieratic wine label from Amarna (after W. F. Petrie)

Rollin Papyrus 213, probably originating from Memphis and dating from the time of Seti I,<sup>51</sup> which indicates that the temple was, in all likelihood, still functioning at the time.<sup>52</sup>

Another mention of a *ḥwt-ʿItn* brings confusion as it appears on the Theban funerary equipment of a scribe of the granaries of Aten, Hatiay, who may have actually worked in Memphis.<sup>53</sup> On his coffin<sup>54</sup> found at Cheikh Abd el-Gurna, Hatiay's title is *sš mr šnw.ti m ḥwt-ʿItn*,<sup>55</sup> while on a staff from Memphis<sup>56</sup> that may have belonged to him as well (although this is not certain), the title reads *sš n šnw.ti ḥ3ti3y whm ʿnh nb im3ḥ ʿItn-pr m Mn-nfr*<sup>57</sup> (see transcription below). The Theban sepulchre could be the reburial of a funerary equipment coming from Memphis. In any case, this shows that for a monument or artefact whose situation is supposed to be known (would it be Thebes or Memphis in this case), there is no need to specify its exact location; but when it is moved, one may easily lose its tracks. It also demonstrates, assuming these two Hatiay

are one and the same person, that *ḥwt-ʿItn* and *pr-ʿItn* were interchangeable and that we might not have to look for two distinct structures in Memphis as in Amarna. The *ḥwt-ʿItn* might also have been enclosed in the *pr-ʿItn* and formed a unit along with it.

However the possibility that *ḥwt-ʿItn* and *pr-ʿItn* were two distinct structures still has to be considered. The question then remains: where were they located in Memphis?

- *pr-ʿItn m Mn-nfr*: until recently, the only known mention of a *pr-ʿItn* in Memphis was that written on the staff of Hatiay mentioned above, with the honorific anteposition of the god's name:



These two location names also appear together on a hieratic wine label, but are believed to (and quite probably do) refer to the temple of Amarna (Figure 5):

51 W. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I.* (Staßburg: Trübner, 1896), p. 29, 73-74, Nr. 11, pl. xvi and xvii. Löhr, "Aḥanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 146-147.

52 *Cfr supra* footnote 5. See also H. Schneider *et al.*, "The Tomb of Iniuia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations, 1993", *JEA* 79 (1993): 1-9. J. van Dijk (p. 7-8) mentions two sons of Iniuia "scribes of the treasury of the temple of Aten [in Memphis]" after the reign of Tutankhamun, but he does not precise whether it is *ḥwt* or *pr* used in their titles. As he refers to the work of B. Löhr, p. 146-7, I assume it is *ḥwt p3-ʿItn*.

53 Zivie, "Hatiay", *Studies in Honor of D. B. Redford*, 223-231.

54 A shawabti was found inside the coffin, bearing no titulary other than *zš* and the name Hatiay: Cairo JE 31385. J.-F. and L. Aubert, *Statuettes Égyptiennes. Chaouabtis, Ouchebtis* (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1974), 53; G.T. Martin, "Shabtis of private persons in the Amarna Period", *MDAIK* 42 (1986): 121.

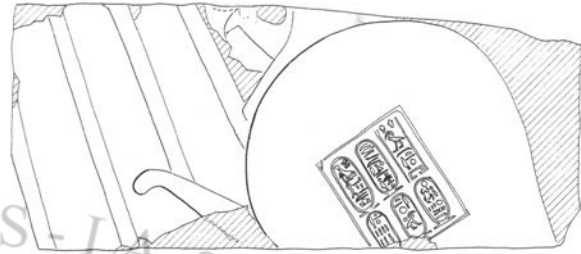
55 Zivie, "Hatiay", *Studies in Honor of D. B. Redford*, 224.

56 Or probably from Memphis. Zivie, "Hatiay", *Studies in Honor of D. B. Redford*, 226; Porter-Moss III, 175.

57 A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im Pharaonischen Aegypten bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches*, *MÄS* 33 (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976), 155. The preposition introducing *ʿItn-pr m Mn-nfr* is missing in this title.

58 After Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 155.

**Figure 6:** Talatat block from the temple of Ptah in Memphis (drawn by B. Ockinga, after D. Jeffreys).



“Year 8. Wine for the domain of Aten (*pr 'Itn*) ... in(?) Memphis (*Mn-nfr*)”<sup>59</sup>. As this jar label was found in Amarna, it probably refers to wine made in Memphis for the Aten temple in Amarna, as the region was a great producer of wine (“Wine for the domain of Aten ... FROM Memphis”). However, it may still be a reference to the Aten temple in Memphis as well.

In any case, the two documents we are going to analyse hereafter, show with certainty that there existed, in Memphis, a domain devoted to Aten called *pr 'Itn m Mnnfr*, which occurs in the personal titles of two officials working in the region. The name had previously been used in Thebes: *pr 'Itn m 'Iwnw šmꜣw*<sup>60</sup>.

Finally, it is notable that the toponyms were not alone in having been “recycled” throughout the whole Amarna period. The name of the king himself was also used to designate a sanctuary located in Memphis.

- *šh n 'Itn*: this sanctuary is known through its mention on a talatat found by Joseph Hekekyan

in the precinct of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple of Ptah and now preserved in the Nicholson Museum in Sydney (Figure 6, top column on the right)<sup>61</sup>. The bloc should be dated between year 5-6 and year 15 after the spellings of the queen<sup>62</sup> and god's names<sup>63</sup>.

My point was therefore to demonstrate through this digression that the names of the locations devoted to the cult of the Aten in Amarna were borrowed from previous establishments of the cult elsewhere in the country<sup>64</sup>; and that the appellation “Horizon of Aten” was already in use during Amenhotep IV's first years of reign, to designate Thebes itself or at least some location in the area.

Therefore the next step in reasoning is to assume that it might have been the case in the north of the country as well, and especially in Memphis which is known to have been the centre of significant Atenist activity during the Amarna period, as this region also shares some of its cultic location names with Thebes and Amarna.

59 W.F. Petrie, *Tell el-Amarna* (London: Methuen & Co, 1894), pl. 22, Br. 31. Tf. 25, Nr. 93. Löhr, “A<sub>h</sub>janjati in Memphis”, SÄK 2: 145-146, Dok. I 3.

60 S. Tawfik, “Aten and the Names of His Temple(s)”, 62-63.

61 D. Jeffreys, “An Amarna Period Relief from Memphis”, in *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum, Sydney*, ed. K.N. Sowada and B.G. Ockinga (Sydney: Meditarch Publishing, 2006), 119-133.

62 For the forms of the name of Nefertiti: R. Vergnienx and M. Gondran, *Aménophis IV et les pierres du soleil. Akhénaton retrouvé* (Paris: Arthaud, 1997), 187-189. For the dating to year 5, beginning of year 6 of the introduction of “Neferneferuaten” in the queen's name: M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton*, 149.

63 M. Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton*, 110-118.

64 It must be pointed out, however, that the Memphite names are quite generic (*ḥwt, pr, šwt-Rꜣ*), and that we do not find there more specific buildings such as the *ḥwt-bnbn qr the rwd mnw*. The *šh-n-'Itn* seems to be specific to that region and is not known elsewhere.



Figure 7: The statue of Meryre and Aniuia (after M. Raven *et al.*).

What is chiefly of interest to us in that regard, is that recent discoveries in the Memphite region brought to light monuments bearing another designation that is the object of this discussion:

 *m 3h.t 'Itn m Mn-nfr.*

### A Horizon of Aten in Memphis ?

After reading the preliminary report of the Leiden Excavations team at Saqqara, regarding the

discovery of the tomb of Meryre / Meryneith<sup>65</sup>, it occurred to me that some of the interpretive difficulties the authors had to deal with, could be solved by taking into consideration the idea that the mention of *3h.t 'Itn* on Meryre's statue (Figure 7) does not necessarily refer to Amarna, but could actually refer to a Horizon of Aten in Memphis.

I would like to review here different puzzling points that, in my opinion, could be clarified using the above theory.

The text on the statue gives one of the titles of Meryre that the authors of the article translate: "scribe of the temple of Aten in Akhet-aten (and) in Memphis, Meryre, justified"<sup>66</sup>:



Though this careful translation seems to leave room to doubt<sup>67</sup>, further developments in the article indicate that an identification of Akhetaten with a location in Memphis was never held back.

Nevertheless, they had to admit that their interpretation raised a few problems that they needed to explain.

First they observe that the style of the statue is that of the end of the reign of Amenhotep III<sup>68</sup>, which is incompatible with the mention of Amarna. They try to explain this contradiction by suggesting that the statue may have been sculpted at the beginning of Meryre's career, but inscribed later on, as the text appears to be absolutely intact<sup>69</sup>.

65 Raven *et al.*, "Tomb of Meryneith", *JEOL* 37: passim.

66 Raven *et al.*, "Tomb of Meryneith", *JEOL* 37: 82.

67 The same translation on their internet site provides a link between Akhet-aten and Amarna. <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/saqqara/Excavation/Tombs/Meryneith/Meryneith.htm>.

68 Raven *et al.*, "Tomb of Meryneith", *JEOL* 37: 84. This point was also put forward by R. van Walsem in a lecture held in Leiden on June 9, 2007 (Saqqara-dag 2007): "Het dubbelbeeld van Meryre/Meryneith en Anyuia in cultuurhistorisch perspectief". However, dating based on purely stylistic arguments may be unreliable as regards Artenist artifacts coming from outside Amarna, as I argue at the end of this article.

They are then embarrassed by the title of simple scribe, which they call a “new title” because of the putative reference to Amarna and because they have just assumed that it had been carved later in Meryre’s career. But this is incompatible with the logic of his career plan as he is bearing the titles “scribe of the temple of Aten”<sup>70</sup>, “royal scribe”<sup>71</sup>, “steward of the temple of Aten in Memphis”<sup>72</sup>, “greatest of seers of the Aten” and “first prophet in the temple of Neith”<sup>73</sup>. The article says: “At first sight, the title [scribe] may appear lower in rank than that of steward. However it may also reflect that his career was undergoing major changes at the time and that, pending his new appointment, he chose to use the neutral title “scribe” instead”.

However the reasoning seems to be caught into a vicious circle since the argument for his career undergoing major changes comes from what the authors believe to be the mention of Amarna, which according to them “suggests that he had been summoned to come to the new capital”<sup>74</sup>.

Then, they propose to identify Meryre / Meryneith, who would have reached the rank of greatest of seers of Aten in Amarna, to Meryre I, the owner of the Amarna tomb #4, also great-

est of seers of Aten. But I agree with them that, the fact that his wife would then bear neither the same name nor the same title, is puzzling<sup>75</sup>.

At some point in his career, Meryre indeed became greatest of seers of the Aten, but I suggest it was in Memphis, and not in Amarna.

The fact that both tombs show signs of building activities during the same period frame seems to indicate they cannot belong to the same person. The Dutch team reckons that parts of the Saqqara tomb were still being built and decorated in year 9<sup>76</sup>, while the depiction of Neferneferuaten Tasherit in the Amarna tomb indicates that at least part of the decoration was set after year 8<sup>77</sup>. Besides, the sole building of a Memphite tomb sounds incompatible with the development of Meryre’s career in Amarna<sup>78</sup>.

The exclusive character of their common title *wr-m3.w* of Aten does not contradict them being two distinct people. It is true that unlike the title of “prophet” (*hm ntr*) which displays a hierarchy of priests from first to fourth inside the same sanctuary<sup>79</sup>, that of greatest of seers seems to have been held by just one priest at a time<sup>80</sup>. However, although there was only one *wr-m3.w* at a time in each temple, the existence of different *wr-m3.w* in distinct contemporaneous temples is

69 Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 84.

70 On the statue at figure 7.

71 It is not mentioned in the article where this title occurs, Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 82.

72 On the jambs of the western chapel of his tomb, Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 82.

73 On the north jamb and rear wall of the northeast chapel, Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 82.

74 Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 84.

75 Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 85.

76 Notably based on the changes of names, there is no absolute date. However it is sure it was kept on being built later on in the reign, and even after the death of Akhenaten. Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 84-85.

77 As Neferneferuaten Tasherit was probably born in year 8. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton*, 122. According to N. de G. Davies, around years 9-10, *The Rock tombs of El Amarna I, The Tomb of Meryra* (London: EEF, 1903), 42.

78 Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 85-86. On the issue of double tomb ownership, see P. Dorman, «Two Tombs and One Owner», in J. Assmann (ed.), *Thebanische Beamten- nekropolen, Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens* 12, Heidelberg, 1995, p. 141-154. At the Xth ICE in Rhodes (2008), Daniele Salvoldi also presented a paper on “Thebes, Amarna, Memphis: Akhenaten’s officials with double tomb”, but most of the tomb owner associations were inconclusive. True double ownerships remain exceptional.

79 H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat von Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit* (Leiden-Köln: Brill, 1953), *passim*.

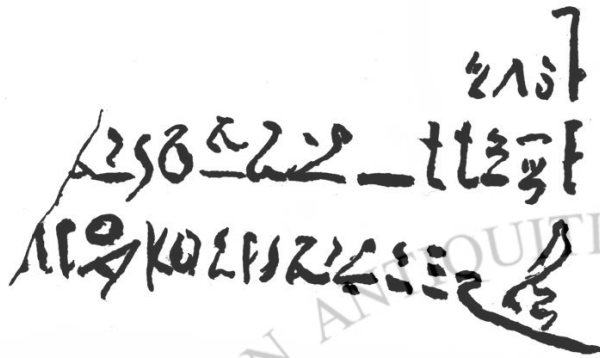


Figure 8: Wine label of the greatest of seers Meryre (after Petrie).

well attested to<sup>81</sup>. For instance, two greatest of seers of Aten are mentioned in Amarna: Meryre I (tomb 4) and Pawah (known from a doorpost of his house in Amarna (O 49,1))<sup>82</sup>. But they were clearly holding their office in two distinct domains. Meryre was Greatest of Seers of Aten in the domain of Aten in Akhetaten (*m pr Itn m 3h.t Itn*), while Pawah was Greatest of Seers of Aten in the domain of Re (*m pr R<sup>c</sup>*)<sup>83</sup>.

Meryre I was greatest of seers in Amarna at least between year 8 (cfr supra) and year 16<sup>84</sup>, as indicated by a wine-jar docket found in Amarna by Petrie (Figure 8):

«Year 16 wine good good of the tribute of [the house of?] the greatest of seers of the Aten Meryre»<sup>85</sup>.

In the Memphite tomb, when the title *wr-m3.w* is mentioned, the deceased is always referred to as Meryneith (name undamaged) instead of Meryre<sup>86</sup>, which may indicate, along with the style of the reliefs this title is connected to, that Meryre / Meryneith was appointed greatest of seers of the Aten after the Amarna period<sup>87</sup>, after he had climbed up the hierarchical levels (scribe and steward) inside the administration of the Memphite temple.

It could then be assumed that Meryre / Meryneith succeeded to Meryre I in the office of *wr-m3.w* of Aten in Amarna after year 16, but this again sounds incompatible with his keeping on building a tomb in Memphis at the same time,<sup>88</sup>

80 For an extensive discussion on the title *wr-m3.w*, see D. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), 134-138. See also Kees, "Ein Sonnenheiligtum", *Orientalia* 18: 430-433.

81 The title is attested to at the same period in Thebes, This, Amarna, Heliopolis and Hermonthis (though the last one seems to be based on the identification of the Southern Heliopolis with Hermonthis!): W. Hayes, ("Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III", *JNES* 10 (1951): 94. For the time of Amenhotep III, W. Hayes associates the greatest of seers Amenemhet who donated honey jars in Malqata to the Heliopolitan temple ("Inscriptions", *JNES* 10: 94), while C. Aldred places his office in Karnak ("Two Theban Notables during the Later Reign of Amenophis III", *JNES* 18 (1959): 113-120), as the successor of Aanen, Queen Teye's brother.

82 H. Kees, *Priestertum*, 86.

83 Though this domain of Re might have been situated in Amarna, it is considered to be in Heliopolis by D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re*, 42, 119. Pawah would then have preceded the "greatest of seers in the house of Re in Heliopolis" Pareemheb (Stela Cairo 34175), dated to the direct post-Amarna period by D. Raue, p. 40, 44. There was also a domain of Re in Thebes, but that one is less likely in this case: Kees, "Ein Sonnenheiligtum", *Orientalia* 18: 441. A wine jar found in Amarna also bears the name of a *pr-R<sup>c</sup> nty m Kbh<sup>w</sup>*, W. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London: Metuhen, 1894), 33, pl. XXIV.

84 And maybe even until Akhenaten's death and the desertion of Amarna, as Meryre I's tomb was left unfinished.

85 W. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London: Metuhen, 1894), 33.

86 Raven *et al.*, "Tomb of Meryneith", *JEOL* 37: 82. Maybe to differentiate himself from his homonym bearing the same title in Amarna?

87 Also suggested by Raven *et al.*, "Tomb of Meryneith", *JEOL* 37: 85.

and with his wife bearing the title of [songstress (?)] of Amun-Re on the same reliefs.<sup>89</sup> Moreover, there is no mention of a Horizon of Aten connected to his title of greatest of seers, which would preclude an office held in Amarna and would confirm he received this charge after the Amarna period. Identifying him to Meryre I of Amarna, or making him move back and forth between Memphis and Amarna imply more movements between the distant cities than required, and engender inextricable issues. As a proponent of the *lex parcimoniae*, I would tend to believe that Meryre / Meryneith never left Memphis, as his competence was doubtlessly fully needed there, in the temple of Aten. In addition, there is no indication in the tomb of Meryre I that he ever held, earlier in his career, the title of scribe or steward of the temple of Aten in Memphis. Instead, he probably started his career in the palace administration as Royal Chancellor and Fan Bearer on the right-hand of the King, before he was credited with the supreme religious charge in the temple of Aten, by the king, his “friend.”<sup>90</sup>

It is rational to assume that the Aten temple in Memphis—which we know existed contemporaneously with that in Amarna—needed its own permanent staff, and that the scribes<sup>91</sup> did not have to travel constantly all the way between Amarna and Memphis (more than 250 km), but were assigned to one temple and were able to climb the social levels inside that institution.

That would explain why we have no trace of this Meryre in Amarna and why the other Meryre had another wife, simply because they were not the same person. If his tomb was still being built in year 9 and even after Akhenaten’s death, this is because he did not have another site under construction in Amarna and because he probably never left Memphis.

This being said, one issue remains: that is the name of the owner of the statue who was either called Meryre or Meryneith in his tomb. It is assumed by the Dutch team that his first name was Meryneith and that he had to change it to Meryre because of Akhenaten’s increasing intolerance.<sup>92</sup> We know on the other hand that at some point in his career he became Meryneith (again?), greatest of seers of Aten and first prophet in the temple of Neith, probably after the death of Akhenaten and the restoration of the ancient cults. This means that he would have changed his name at least twice.

However, in other statements found in the “Preliminary report”, such as that on p. 84, it is stated that “the parts of the tomb using the name Meryre were traditional in style, very similar to those in the Theban tombs of Menna, Nakht or Nebamon and Ipuky, all datable to the reign of Amenhotep III,”<sup>93</sup> which is in accordance with the style of the statue bearing the name Meryre.

It seems that in the most ancient parts of his monuments, as well as on his statue, he would be called Meryre. We should therefore assume

88 J. van Dijk mentions that “the principal motivation of the choice of Memphis (as a burial place) was undoubtedly a religious one” (“The Development of the Memphite Necropolis”, in *Memphis et ses nécropoles*, 42). Memphis was certainly an important cultic centre at the time, but not more important than Amarna, unless one would work there and there only!

89 Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 85.

90 Davies, *El Amarna I*, 42.

91 As Meryre was a scribe, and not a greatest of seers yet, when he is assumed to have worked both in Memphis and in Amarna.

92 And because in different parts of the tomb, the name Meryneith was recarved into Meryre. But the contrary is true too. Raven *et al.*, “Tomb of Meryneith”, *JEOL* 37: 79-84.

93 Again, one should be cautious with dating based on stylistic arguments, let’s just say it was the earliest style used in the tomb.

that this was the first form of his name<sup>94</sup>. We also have to be very careful when attributing tendencies observed in Amarna (such as the proscription of certain names) to the rest of the country. For example, Ptahmay, goldsmith (head of the gold-leaf makers) in the temple of Aten (*pr Itn*), whose tomb was found in Giza, had two sons also bearing theophoric names in Ptah<sup>95</sup>. None of the names seem to have ever been altered. Nevertheless, Ptahmay may not have been an exact contemporary of Akhenaten either. Christiane Zivie dates the tomb to the course of the Amarna period,<sup>96</sup> but Beatrix Löhr gives it a more recent date, arguing that the "Amarna style" characteristic of that tomb could have actually only reached Memphis after Akhenaten's death, with the move of the court (and of its artists) from Amarna to Memphis during the reign of Tutankhamun.<sup>97</sup>

Another personality of the time<sup>98</sup> whose tomb (Bub. I.27) was recently discovered by Alain Zivie in another area of Saqqara, in the

Bubasteion cliff, is the scribe of the treasury of Aten Raïay / Hatiay.<sup>99</sup> He also bore two names, but none of them seem to have been censored.

The tomb owner of Bub. I 27 was a scribe of the treasury of Aten; maybe, originally, the wealthy treasury of the temple of Ptah, reallocated during these days to sustain the Atenist cult.<sup>100</sup> Raïay was himself the son of a goldsmith who worked for the temple of Ptah.<sup>101</sup>

In fact, his tomb does not bring the definitive answer we are expecting here, though once again we find the mention of *3h.t Itn* connected to that of Memphis.

In different parts of the tomb, Raïay is simply called "scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten", as if it was obvious to everybody where this temple was actually situated.<sup>102</sup> But on the right doorjamb of the small portico preceding the entrance to the tomb,<sup>103</sup> we may read a dedication "...for the ka of the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten in the Horizon of Aten (and?) in Memphis, Râiay, justified."<sup>104</sup>

94 But without having had contacts with the monument, I have to admit here that the recarving of the name, from Meryneith to Meryre, is puzzling when assuming Meryre was the first form of the name.

95 Löhr, "Aḥanḥjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 165.

96 C. Zivie, "À propos de quelques reliefs du Nouvel Empire au musée du Caire : 1. La tombe de Ptahmay à Giza", *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 285-310.

97 B. Löhr: "Aḥanḥjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2: 180-186. Ptahmes, son of Ptahmay, might have succeeded his father in his function (C. Zivie, "À propos", *BIFAO* 75 (1975): 304). The location of the temple in which Ptahmay held his office is not mentioned. We may assume (with no certainty) that it was the only surviving Atenist temple at the time, that of Memphis.

98 Part of the decoration is dated to the second half of the reign of Akhenaten, while the stela found in the tomb most probably postdates the king's death. A. Zivie, "Le point sur les travaux de la Mission archéologique française du Bubasteion à Saqqara", *BSFE* 162 (mars 2005): 38-43.

99 For a numbered list of the tombs discovered in the Bubasteion cliff, see A. Zivie, *Les Tombeaux retrouvés de Saqqara* (Paris: Rocher, 2003), 22-23.

100 On the contributions of the traditional cults to Atenism during Amenhotep IV's early years, see C. Traunecker, "Amenhotep IV, Percepteur royal du disque", in *Akhénaton et l'époque amarnienne*, ed. Th. Bergerot and B. Mathieu, Bibliothèque d'Égypte Afrique & Orient (Paris: Khéops, 2005), 145-182. For the mention of the domain of Ptah in Memphis, see p. 159-160.

101 Zivie, "Mystery of the Sun God's Servant", *National Geographic*: 54.

102 Just like in Ptahmay's case, *cf supra*. S. Tawfik notices it is also the case as regards the mentions of the temple of Aten on the *talatats* from Thebes, "Aten and the Names of His Temple(s)", 63.

103 As well as on a pillar of the pillared room.





We thus have another attestation of these two toponyms put together and in the same order,<sup>105</sup> which does not allow us to categorically decide, but which makes it a bit more disconcerting. Would all the Memphite staff have to work in Amarna as well?

Raïay’s title, *sš pr-hd n pr’Itn m 3h.t’Itn m Mn-nfr* may actually be translated in four ways:

The first one would be to separate the two locations: “scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten in Amarna AND in Memphis”, from which we would have to admit that these officials had to work, simultaneously or consecutively, in locations distanced from one another by more than 250 kilometres.

The second reading —my favourite— would be to posit a location called Horizon of Aten in Memphis, just as there was one in Thebes: “scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten (which is) in the Horizon of Aten (which is) in Memphis”.

The third possibility —suggested by Alain Zivie<sup>106</sup>— would be to read *m 3h.t’Itn* as an epithet to *Itn*. It would thus read: “scribe of the treasury of the temple of “Aten in Amarna” in Memphis. The phenomenon is well attested to for the cultic names of Amun out of Thebes, for example.<sup>107</sup>

A fourth reading —which I feel is far-fetched— would be to consider that the treasury is situated in Memphis but is used to supply the needs of the temple in Amarna: “scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten in Amarna, (treasury situated) in Memphis.” This fourth solution is strained and moreover could not apply to Meryre’s case.

“Philological” argument

Having a closer look at the Amarnian location nomenclature, one may notice that it is based on a nesting, multi-stage system similar to that of the Russian matryoshkas, according to which the name of a location is embedded in the name of the wider location in which it is enclosed, then of a wider one etc.

Let’s see the example of the name of the Rudj-menu in Amarna:<sup>108</sup>



*Rwd mn.w n’Itn r nhḥ m Gm-p3-Itn m pr-Itn m 3h.t’Itn*

The Rudj-menu-en-Iten-er-neheh (1) was a building situated inside the Gem-pa-aten (2), the Gem-pa-aten was itself part of the great temple of Aten (3), which was located in Akhetaten (4).



The *Rudj-menu* (“Sturdy are the monuments of Aten forever”),

104 I would like to express here my gratitude to Alain Zivie, who is still excavating and studying this tomb in the framework of the *Mission Archéologique Française du Bubasteion*, to have allowed me to publish this in-edited information.


105 Never the other way around. The partisans of the identification of *Akhetaten* with Amarna will argue that the name of the capital should always be mentioned first. My interpretation of this word order begs to differ (*cfr infra*).


106 Zivie, “Hatiay”, *Studies in Honor of D.B. Redford*, 229, n. 19.

107 See the name and epithet of the “Amun in Perunefer”, introduced either by *hri-ib* or *m. I. Guerneur*, *Les cultes d’Amon hors de Thèbes. Recherche de géographie religieuse* (Turnhout: Prepols, 2005), 15-21. Nevertheless, the epithet is usually only used in the city corresponding to the epithet, and is therefore never followed by another location name. However, there might have existed an Amun of Opet in Memphis (*Imn-m-Ip.t-m-Mn-nfr*), though his attestation is dubious (Guerneur, p. 59-60).

108 Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten*, 192.

(2)   
 (which is) in the Gem-pa-aten ("The Aten is found"),

(3)   
 (which is) in the (great) temple of Aten,

(4)   
 (which is) in Akhetaten ("The Horizon of Aten" = Tell el-Amarna).

All these embedded locations are put behind one another and successively introduced by the preposition *m*.<sup>109</sup> So why would it not be the case for our location in Memphis?<sup>110</sup>

The same pattern is to be found in shorter toponyms mentioning only two embedded locations, for which there is no possible doubt:



Nobody would translate the name of the Hay in Thebes as being in Amarna AND in Thebes, first because of the practical impossibility of the situation,<sup>111</sup> and because of the n specific to that region of Akhetaten that distinguishes it from Akhetaten in Amarna. Why would we then do it for this location name in Memphis, when everything shows that there is a great possibility for the name to have been reused, as the many other location names throughout the country, and when the interpretation of artefacts is undoubtedly working better that way?

Last argument: the two toponyms, *m 3h.t 'Itn - m Mn-nfr*, never appear in reverse order, which seems to indicate that they have to succeed one another that specific way. The matryoshka system would justify this order as Memphis could not be included in the Horizon of Aten, whereas the contrary makes sense.

#### What do the terms "Horizon of Aten" designate?

We saw that location names were reused, during the Amarna period, in the different Atenist centers established in Egypt and Nubia by Akhenaten. However, the toponyms listed above concern buildings or types of buildings, rather than bigger areas such as what must have been designated by the terms *3h.t 'Itn*, a city in the case of Amarna.

The 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty did not seem reluctant to attribute the same name to different cities. It is not impossible that this habit was induced by oriental influences. In Mesopotamia, the name Babylon could, indeed, be endorsed by different major cities such as Borsippa (either called "Babylon the second" or "another Babylon"), perhaps as early as the 19<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> century B.C., or later on by Nineveh.<sup>112</sup> Different reasons were invoked for this habit of toponymic interchangeability, among which the idea of ascribing to these cities part of the aura of Babylon as the first recipient city of kingship<sup>113</sup>. There is no doubt that the frequent assimilation of Thebes (Waset) with Heliopolis in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty<sup>114</sup> is to

109 See also the reconstitution by B. Löhr of the name of the Akhenaten sanctuary \**3h-n-'Itn m pr 'Itn m Mn-nfr* that she qualifies of "Amarnazeit üblichen Schema". Löhr, "Ahanjati in Memphis", *SÄK* 2:165.

110 See the same kind of analysis as regards the names of the Theban monuments in Vergnieux, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains*, 165.

111 As one and the same monument cannot be settled —unlike a person— in two places at a time.

112 S. Dalley, "Babylon as a name for other cities including Nineveh", in *Proceedings of the 51st Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. R. Biggs *et al*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 62, (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2008), 25-33.

113 Dalley, "Babylon", 26.

be connected to the increasing role of Thebes as a centre for sun worship at the time,<sup>115</sup> and to the solarization of the monuments built in Karnak. Calling Thebes “Heliopolis” would therefore be aimed at reflecting the aura of the northern ancestral cultic place on the southern city and its newer role in solar worship.<sup>116</sup>

Could the process have been similar for the attribution of the name Horizon of Aten to Memphis? It might have been Akhenaten’s intention to present the northern city as such.<sup>117</sup>

But was the concept of a Horizon of Aten—that we identify with the city name of Amarna—actually meant to designate a city? On the one hand, it was certainly not the case for the original *Horizon of Aten* in Thebes. On the other hand, the lack of a city determinative after the name *ḥ.t (n) Ttn*, in all its known occurrences (Figure 9), seems to state otherwise. It gives the impression that it was rather used, at the origin, to designate some sacred area in which the Aten was revered, inside the limits of

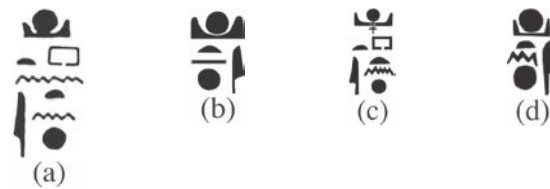


Figure 9: Different spellings of Akhet(en)aten in (a) Thebes, (b) Memphis, (c) Memphis, (d) Amarna.

the big city. After abandoning the Theban Horizon of Aten, Akhenaten founded a new one on an (almost) virgin ground (distinguishing it from the former by the use of a direct genitive). This meant that the name of this new Horizon of Aten would not be embedded in that of another city, but would become THE Horizon of Aten par excellence, the cultic place for the worship of the new god, detached from any pre-existing settlement. It might have been around the same period that he created a secondary Horizon of Aten in Memphis<sup>118</sup> whose name was embedded in that of the northern capital as in Thebes.

Christian Cannuyer reaches the same conclusion using a different argument. He wrote: “si l’on

114 Thebes being often referred to as the “Southern Heliopolis” at the time: A. Varille, “L’inscription dorsale du colosse méridional de Memnon”, *ASAE* 33 (1933): 85-96. See also, Redford, *History and Chronology*, 134-135. I would rather call the terms “Southern Heliopolis” a substitution than an epithet, as the two names never appear together, hence the difficulty of identification of its location. During the Late Period, “Southern Heliopolis” would designate the city of Armant: C. Cannuyer, “Akhet-Aton: anti-Thèbes ou sanctuaire du globe? À propos d’une particularité amarnienne méconnue”, *GM* 86 (1986): 11, n. 30.

115 The sun god under his form of Amun-Re who resides in Karnak. Kees, “Ein Sonnenheiligtum”, *Orientalia* 18: 430.



116 The connection between the Northern and the Southern Heliopolises is stressed on the back of the southern Memnon colossus of Akhenaten’s father, who built “important monuments, worthy of his power, brought from the Northern Heliopolis to the Southern Heliopolis”. Varille, “L’inscription dorsale”, *ASAE* 33: 85-96.

117 It might also have been a political move on the part of the king, aimed at annexing Memphis to his religious reform after all “the bad things he had heard in Thebes” that pushed him to move away from there, as mentioned on the boundary stelae of Amarna (W. Murnane and C. van Siclen, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London – New York: KPI, 1993). In year 5, Akhenaten receives a letter from the steward of Memphis Ipy, reporting that everything was in order there, and that the temples were receiving their prescribed offerings: E. Wente, “The Gurob Letter to Amenhotep IV”, *Serapis* 6 (1980): 209-215. Memphis, less touched by the king’s reforms, would not show the same opposition as Thebes.


118 The parallelism between two potential *Horizons of Aten* on earth, one in the north and one in the south, and the solar divinity Re-Horakhti (Re-Horus of the two Horizons) at the origin of the Atenist cult, crossing the sky from east to west, is interesting for it reflects well the Aten’s late epithet of “lord of all that the disc circles”, connecting the four cardinal points on earth and in the sky. For the names and epithets of Aten, M. Gabolde, *D’Akhenaton*, 106.



Figure 10: Sphinx stela of Akhenaten in Boston (© Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

s'en tient à son orthographe, la ville d'Akhenaton, cette cité idéale de l'universalisme atonien, n'aurait pas été, dans l'esprit de son fondateur, considérée comme une  traditionnelle<sup>119</sup>. He suggests that the lack of a *niwt* determinative would be a way for Akhenaten to distance himself from Thebes, the “City” par excellence. Yet he also reminds us that the word *3h.t* was commonly used in Egypt to designate royal mortuary temples and, from the New Kingdom on, divine sanctuaries<sup>120</sup>. Therefore Akhet(en)aten could simply be a way of naming the “sanctuary of Aten”, a wide and open air sanctuary whose borders could have been determined by the city limits in the cases of Thebes and Memphis, and by the boundary stelae in the case of Amarna. The  determinative behind the word *3ht* in dif-

ferent spellings of the *Horizon of Aten*<sup>121</sup>, as well as the above demonstration, would tend to support that view.

The case of the name of the *šwt.R* on the sphinx “interrupted lintel” ( “the *šwt-R* of the temple “He fashions the *Horizon of Aten* in the *Horizon of Aten*”<sup>122</sup>) is also of interest for this discussion (Figure 10). It shows that if Amarna was originally conceived as an open air sanctuary free of any connection with previous establishments, it was probably at the same time perceived as a city name in which another *Horizon of Aten* could be fashioned.<sup>123</sup> But maybe for the reason invoked by Christian Cannuyer, namely that Amarna was some kind of anti-Thebes, it never took on the city determinative.

119 Cannuyer, “Akhet-Aton: anti-Thèbes”, *GM* 86: 7.

120 In Memphis we would have both if the temple of Aten was built on the basis of the temple of Amenhotep III Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah (*cfr supra*). The New Kingdom Temples of a Million Years are probably to be considered as structures in which the king was revered under a divinized form rather than mortuary temples *per se*.

121 Fig. 9a (Thebes) and 9b (Memphis). That spelling may also be found in Amarna, for example on the shrine from the house of Panehesy. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 132.

122 *Cfr supra*: Boston, Hanover and Geneva stelae. Aldred, *Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 99.

123 Probably quite early after the establishment in Amarna as these lintels display the first version of the god's name (Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton*, 105).

### Where and when?

Considering the *Horizon of Aten* in Memphis really existed, as I hope to have been able to demonstrate, the questions that remain to be answered are: where was it situated, and when was it functional?

As for the first question, it is still difficult to answer. However, we saw that the main temple of Aten was probably situated under the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple of Ptah or a little bit east of it.<sup>124</sup> But we do not know exactly whether that temple was the *ḥw.t'Itn* or the *pr-'Itn*, as we don't know either if we really have to differentiate the two. On the one hand, the *ḥw.t'Itn* remained functional until the reign of Seti I; on the other hand, it is most likely that Meryre / Meryneith was appointed *Greatest of seers of the Aten* in the *pr'Itn* after Akhenaten's death (*cfr supra*), which means that domain was also active after the Amarna period. So should we really look for two different structures? Further excavations in Memphis and its necropolises might bring the definitive answer some day. If the temple lying under the layer of the 19<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple of Ptah is the *pr'Itn*, and according to the Amarnian nesting nomenclature system, the *Horizon of Aten* must then be situated in the same area, enclosing it; unless, again, the expres-

sion *ḥw.t'Itn* is a generic denomination for all the cultic places in which the Aten was worshipped.

As for the 'when', there are two options. The first one would be to consider that the Memphite *Horizon of Aten* started its activity very early in Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten's reign, contemporaneously with the establishment of the *Horizon of Aten* in Thebes and the building of the Karnak *Gem-pa-aten*. But this theory can only be backed up by stylistic arguments which should be handled carefully.

An important issue in assuming the *Horizon of Aten* in Memphis existed since the beginning of Akhenaten's reign is the letter of the *Steward of Memphis* Ipy to the king, dated to year 5 of Amenhotep IV, that does not mention it.<sup>125</sup>

However, on the autobiographical text of his father, Amenhotep-Huy,<sup>126</sup> also *Steward of Memphis*, and half brother to vizier Ramose (TT 55), it is stated that the temple of Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah was under the control of the Chief Steward of Memphis and of all future Stewards;<sup>127</sup> and yet, this temple is not mentioned in Ipy's letter either. There is a decent possibility that the temple of Aten in Memphis was built on the ground of the dismantled temple of Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah (*cfr supra*), or somewhere in its vicinity;<sup>128</sup> but still, neither one is mentioned in Ipy's letter, whereas at least

124 Because of the *talatat* blocks found under its pavement (*cfr supra*). The statue of Amenhotep-Huy, discussed hereunder, was also found within the *temenos* of the Great temple of Ptah (Morkot, "*Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ—United-with-Ptah*", *JNES* 49/4: 337). In the vicinity (Kom el-Qalaa), was also discovered —by the E. B. Coxe expedition (Pennsylvania)— the yellow quartzite head of Nefertiti, now in the Cairo Museum (JE 45547). The head must have been removed from its original place as the Kom el-Qalaa was occupied by the bed of the Nile during the 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty (*cfr supra*).

125 Wente, "The Gurob Letter", *Serapis* 6: 209-215.

126 On the statue in the Ashmolean Museum, 1913.163. W.F. Petrie, G.A. Wainwright and A.H. Gardiner, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1913), 33-36.

127 Morkot, "*Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ—United-with-Ptah*", *JNES* 49/4: 328.

128 On the possibility for the temple of Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah to have actually been adjacent to the temple of Ptah, like the temple of Aten, see Morkot, "*Nb-M3ʿt-Rʿ—United-with-Ptah*", *JNES* 49/4: 326. For its situation in the domain of Ptah, *idem*: 328. However, Morkot argues that the temple Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah might have been replaced, under Ramesses II, by the temple "House of Ramesses-mery-Amun [called] 'United-with-the-M3ʿt-of Ptah'", p. 336 (*i.e.* just when we have no more traces of the temple of Aten in Memphis).

one of them must have been standing in year 5. This shows again how careful one must remain in drawing conclusions based on e silentio arguments. It is not impossible either that the Aten temple / domain / horizon was actually not under Ipy's jurisdiction.

Nevertheless, there exists another solution that would make all the elements fit together even better. That would be to admit that we know very little about the spread of the new Atenist style outside Karnak and Amarna. The point should be developed with strong arguments in a separate article, and maybe tearing down one established belief is big enough a task for this article. But, as mentioned above, the main contention for advancing the date of the foundation of the Atenist structures in Memphis to early in the reign of Amenhotep IV is a stylistic one<sup>129</sup>. It should be taken into consideration that the Horizon of Aten in Memphis might have been founded more or less contemporaneously with the settlement of the court in Amarna. The Atenist artefacts that are datable with accuracy (that is not on stylistic grounds) send us back at the earliest to year 6,<sup>130</sup> and both the tombs of Meryre / Meryneith and Raïay / Hatiay show activity later on in the reign and even after the Amarna period.<sup>131</sup>

The later date for the existence of the Memphite *Horizon of Aten* might be assumed to coincide with the abandonment of Amarna. There is no reason, *a priori*, to believe its mention stopped before the death of Akhenaten, but the expression does not seem to be used after it occurred. When Meryre / Meryneith becomes *Greatest of seers* in the temple of Aten, the *Horizon of Aten* is not named in his titles anymore, and on the post-Amarna "restoration" stela of the tomb of Raïay / Hatiay, the tomb owner is still called *Scribe of the treasury of the temple of Aten* but the location of his activity is not mentioned anymore either.<sup>132</sup>

Even though it does not bring a definitive answer to all the issues raised by our lack of knowledge of the events that occurred in Memphis during the Amarna period, I think that my theory as the merit of addressing some of them, and of making the few data we possess fit together a little better.

This is why I believe that Meryre and Raïay never followed Akhenaten in the new capital city, but were assigned and worked all their career long in Akhetaten, not in Amarna but in Memphis, on his behalf and that of his god.

Again, we can only hope that future discoveries in the area will bring the definite answer we are looking for.

129 I would like to thank here Dimitri Laboury for enlightening discussions on various points related to this article and especially on the question of stylistic arguments. The idea that we might be misled by stylistic criteria was also pointed out to me on several occasions by Alain Zivie.

130 Or end of year 5, for example the Nicholson Museum *talatat* (*cfr supra*).

131 For Raïay: Zivie, "Le point sur les travaux", *BSFE* 162: 38-43.

132 Zivie, "Mystery of the Sun God's Servant", *National Geographic*: 56.

# The Re-examination of Selected Architectural Remains at El-Lahun

Rosa A. Frey and James E. Knudstad

## 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 re-excavated, 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 re-excavated 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.<sup>1</sup> This concession was renewed annually 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 dur-

1 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.



Figure 1: Topographic Map of the Lahun Site with superimposed Petrie Town Plan. (Claude G. Belanger and N.B. Millet)

ing the spring, for periods of about four weeks duration.<sup>2</sup>

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 indi-

cated to clear up our understanding of this very important site."<sup>3</sup>

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 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 2) In 1990 a requisite antiquities storeroom was built

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.





Figure 2: View from tombs near the Valley Temple looking W across the site towards the Pyramid

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 enclosure 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.<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> The pharaohs of the

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.



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

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,<sup>6</sup> is the best preserved, largest example of a pre-planned, purpose-built and walled "pyramid town"<sup>7</sup> 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 surviv-

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 *hṫp Sn.wsr:t m3ꜥ-hrw*, "The justified Senwosret is Content" and to *Shm Sn-wsr:t m3ꜥ-hrw*, "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.



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

ing 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) 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 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. (Figure 5)<sup>8</sup> 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,<sup>9</sup> given that various offices are named in the papyri.<sup>10</sup> 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.<sup>11</sup> 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.<sup>12</sup> 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

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' 10 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.



Figure 5: Petrie's Plan of the Town of Lahun

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.<sup>13</sup>

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 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 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

<sup>13</sup> 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).



Figure 6: View across the Town looking NW towards the Acropolis

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 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

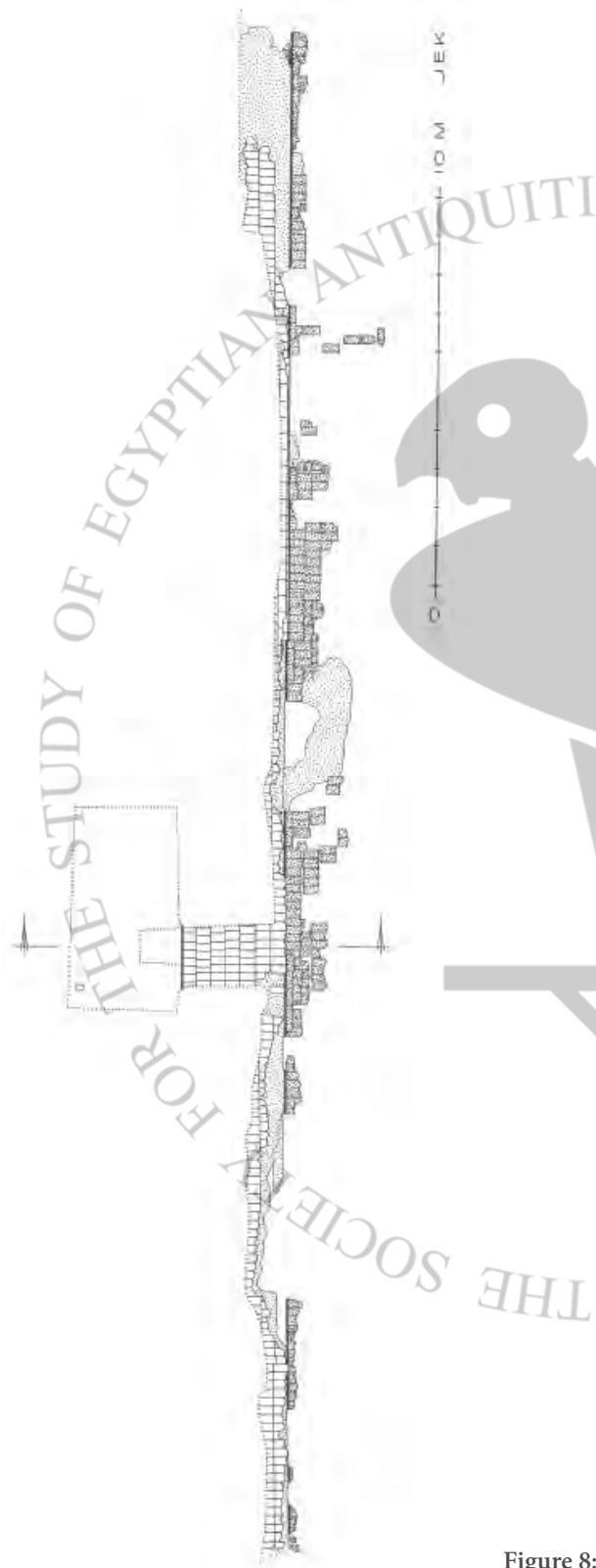


Figure 7: Test clearance in southern part of the Middle Southern Mansion.

Section looking N.

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 contem-

poraneous 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 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

Figure 8: Test at W Enclosure Wall of the Eastern Town.

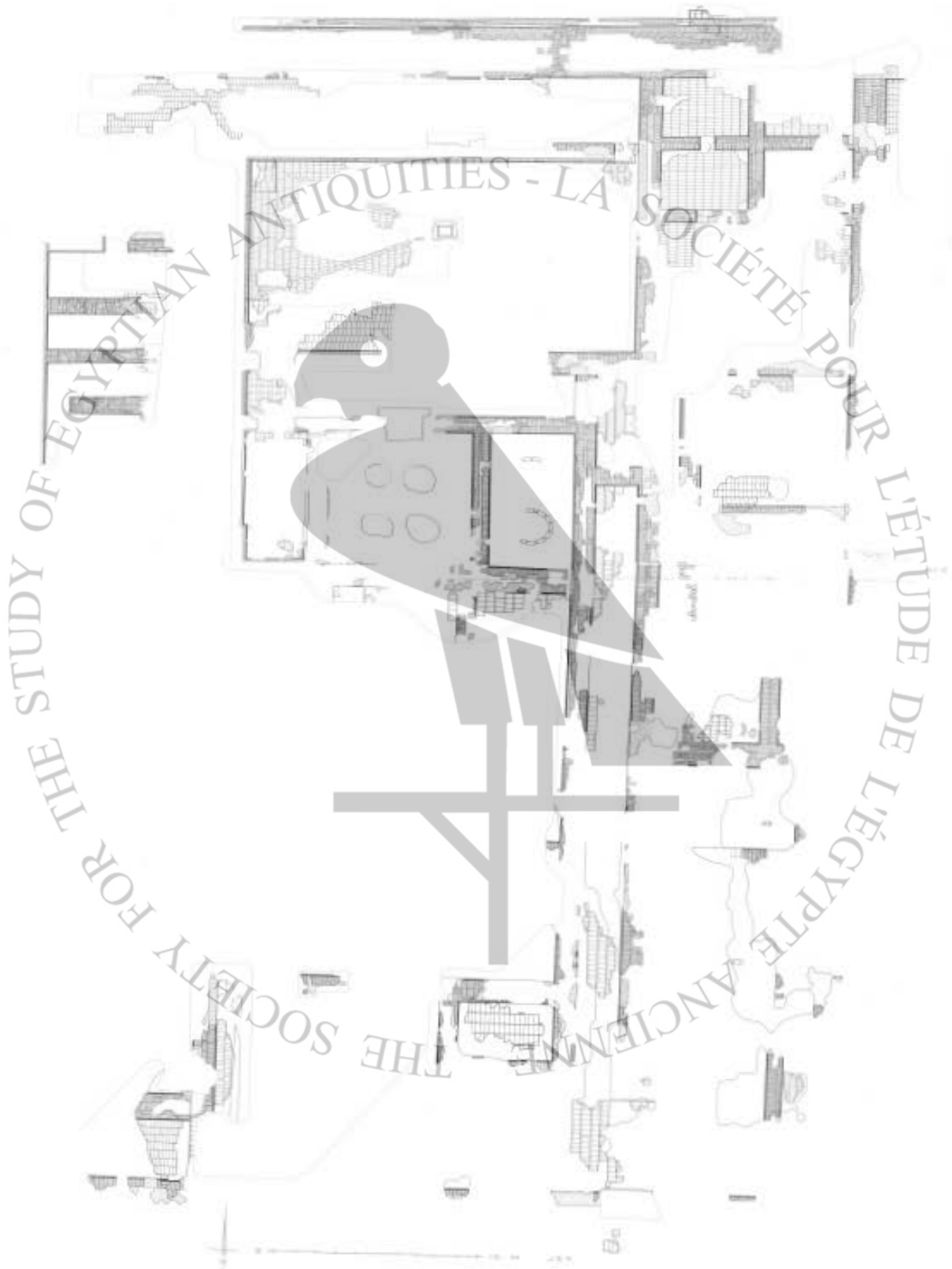


Figure 9: Mansion 1: Plan





Figure 10: Mansion 1: Vaulted Room on the W side, looking W, showing the springing of the vault in the N Wall on right.



Figure 11: Mansion 1: Section through Vaulted Rooms on W side, looking W.

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 10 and 11) Here traces of wooden door-frame impressions were still preserved in the mud plaster of two doorjambs, (Figure 12) and fallen fragments of black and white, and red and white, painted plaster were found in the debris. (Figures 13 and 14)



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



Figure 13: Mansion 1: Painted Plaster Fragment.



Figure 14: Mansion 1: Painted Plaster Fragment.



Figure 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.

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 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. The fragments of 7 rows of the smaller-sized<sup>14</sup> 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.

<sup>14</sup> 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.



Figure 16: Mansion 1: Limestone Tank in center of Large Courtyard.

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 16) The now badly eroded top of the basin had probably been originally set flush with the mudplastered 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 joints 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 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 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. Briefly, the mansions,<sup>15</sup> 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.<sup>16</sup> 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.<sup>17</sup> 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

<sup>15</sup> Kemp, 1991, 151ff.; Bietak, 1996, 31-37; O'Connor, 1998, 389-400.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> O'Connor, 1998, 394; Luft, 1998, 36-37; Arnold, 1989, 88.



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

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





Figure 19: Mansion 1: The Granaries, looking S.

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,<sup>18</sup> 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

18 Bietak, 1996, figs. 12 and 13.

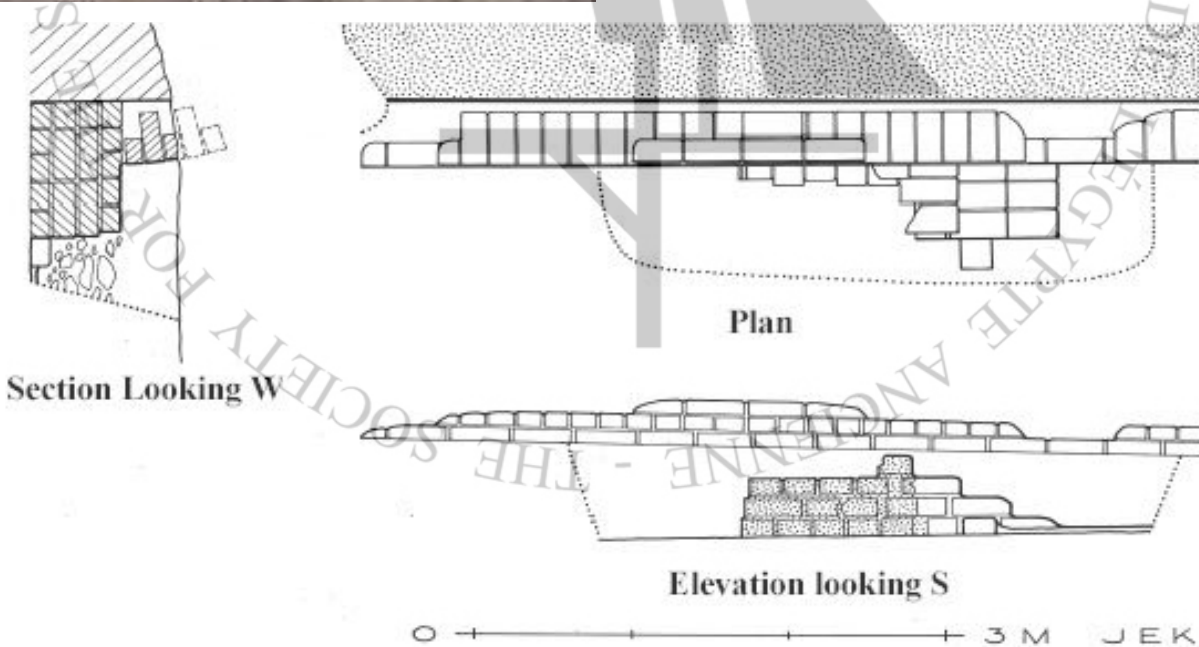


**Figure 20:** Mansion 1: N Wall Exterior Face with Lining Wall built over the ruinous Exterior Stairs (in front of the black basket on left).

manner.<sup>19</sup> 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 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

**Figure 21:** Mansion 1: Exterior Stairs.



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



Figure 22: Mansion 1: Ruinous Exterior Stairs under the low Lining Wall

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 20 & 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 22 & 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 alter-

Figure 23: Mansion 1: Ruinous Exterior Stairs overlaid by stone chip rubble and the subsequent Lining Wall, looking S.





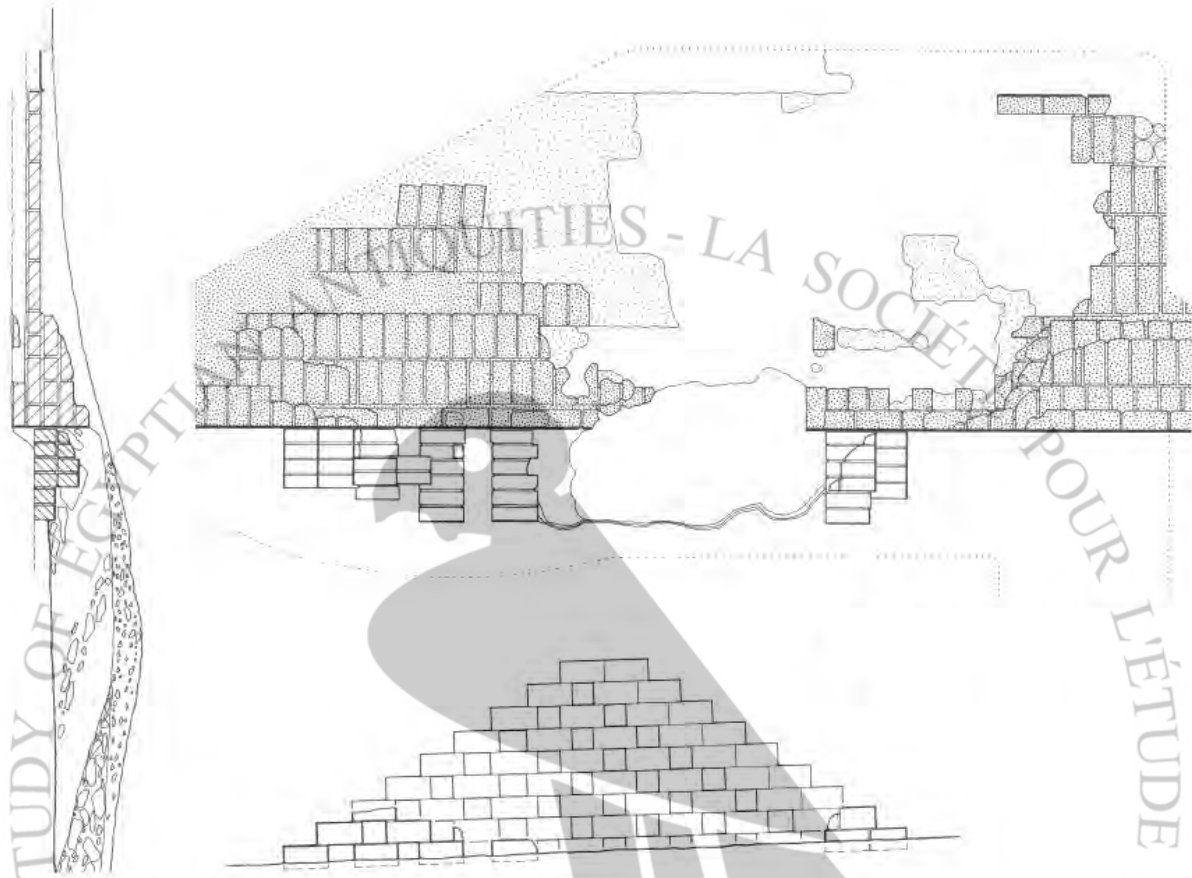


Figure 24: Mansion 2 Exterior Stairs: Plan.

nate 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 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

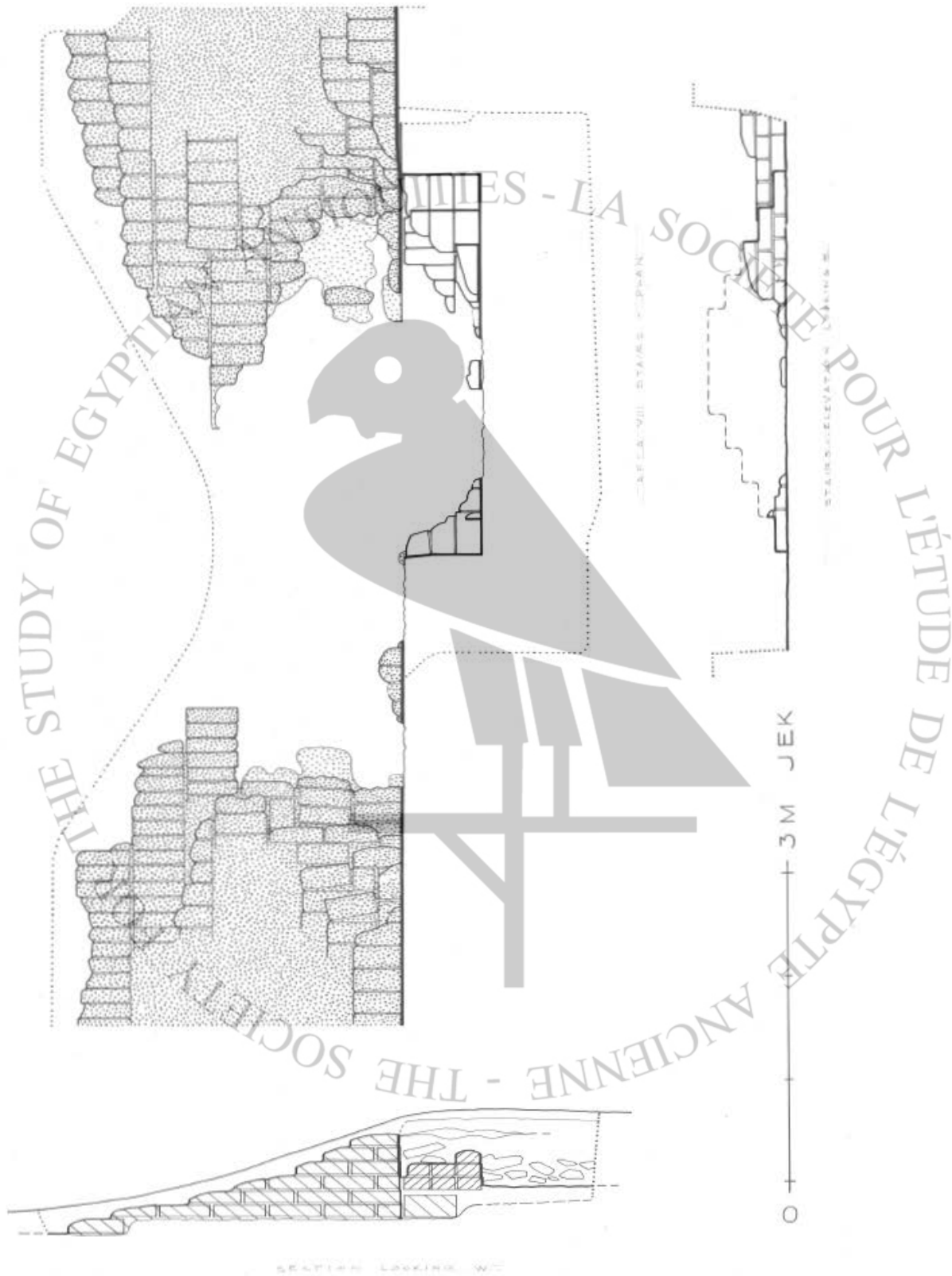


Figure 25: Mansion 4 Exterior Stairs: Plan. On right: Elevation looking S. Below: Section looking W.



Figure 26: Acropolis E Side from across Mansion I, showing walls of E rooms.

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 3.71 m. (Figure 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



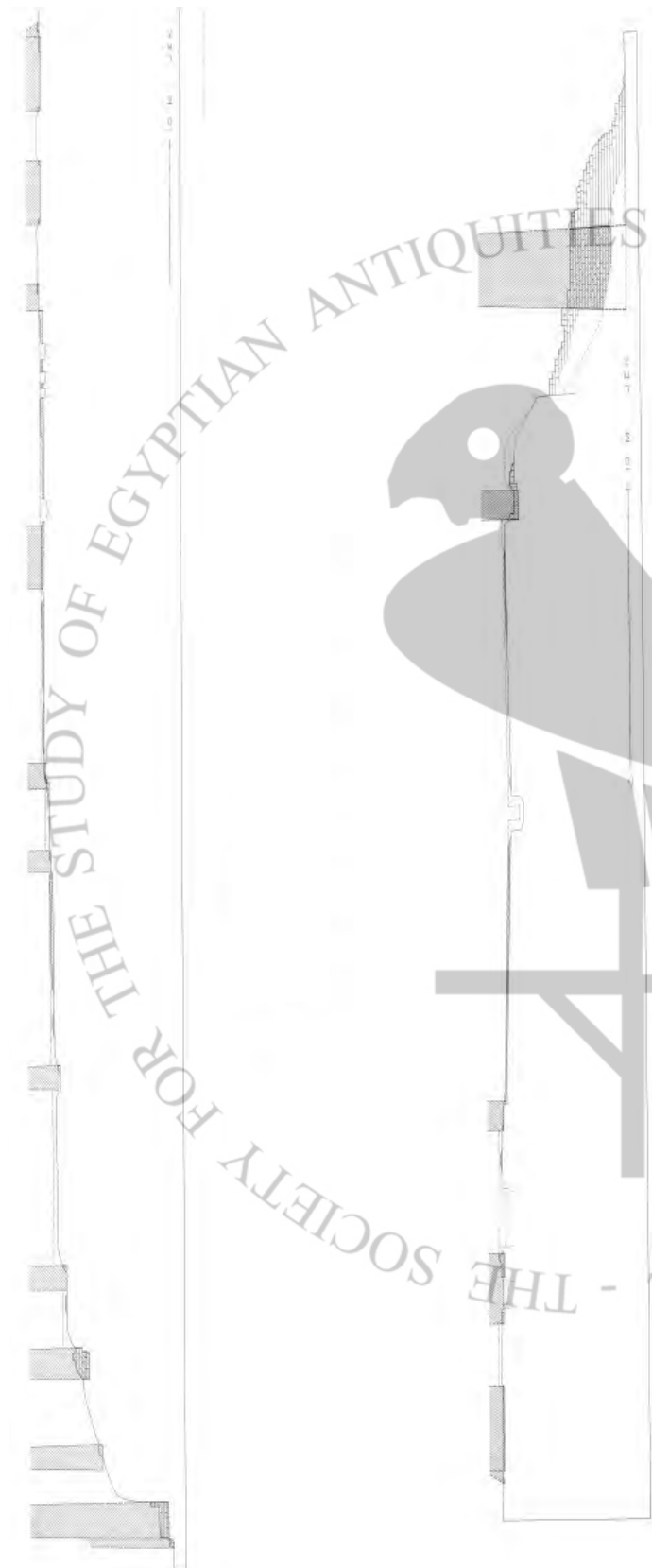
Figure 27: Acropolis S Side from "Guardhouse"/Temple.

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 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 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 28



& 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 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 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, suggest-

Figure 28 (on left): Acropolis: N-S Section, looking W.

Figure 29 (on right): Acropolis: E-W Section, looking N (through the large N court).



Figure 30: Party Wall between Mansion 1 and Acropolis, looking S.

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





Figure 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.

ing 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 32) The stairs were of a low standard rise and Petrie notes that, though made of plastered mud-

brick, they showed remarkably little wear.<sup>20</sup> 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.<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> (Figure 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 de-

<sup>20</sup> 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.

<sup>21</sup> Petrie, 1891, 6.

<sup>22</sup> 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.

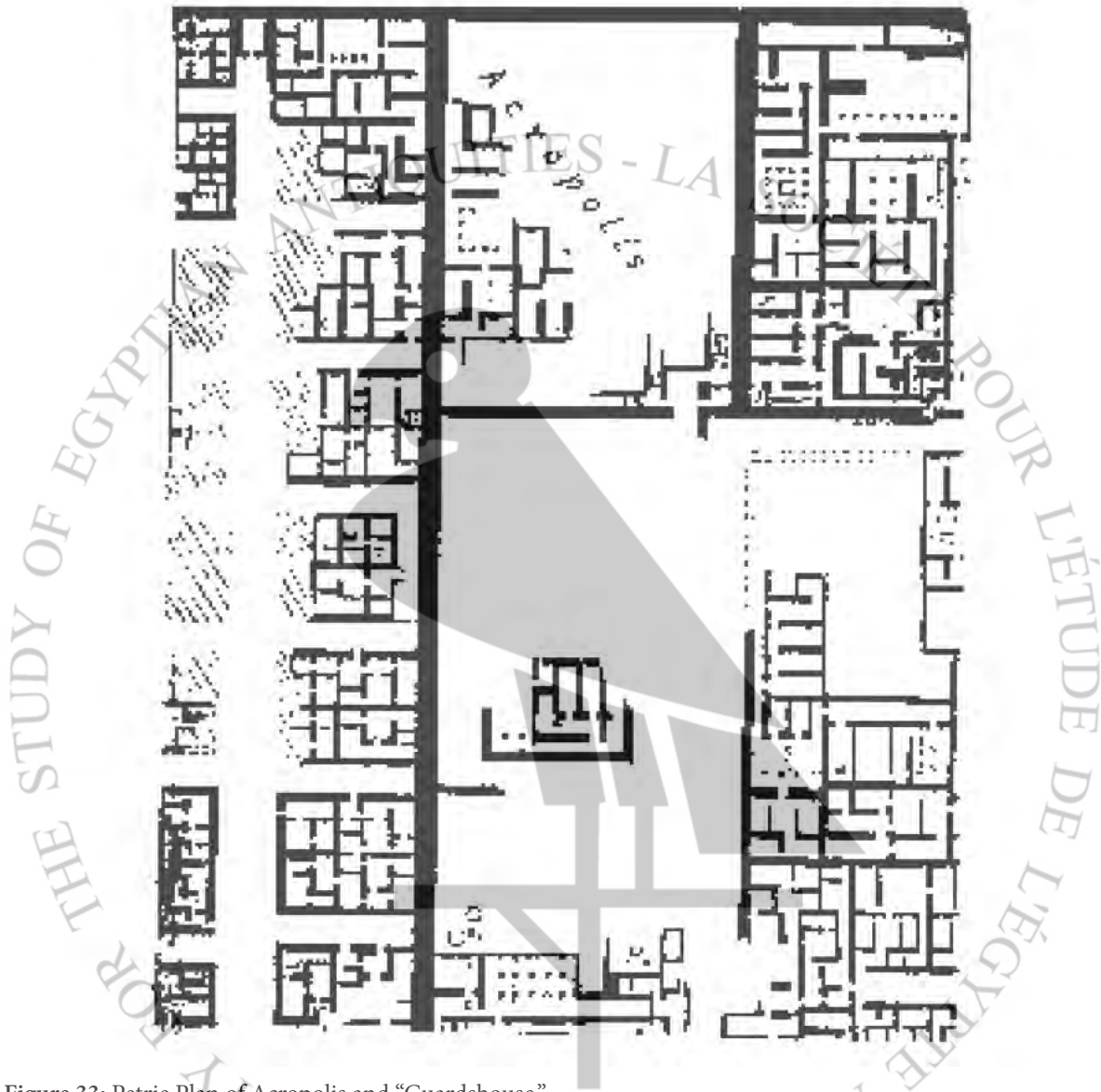


Figure 33: Petrie Plan of Acropolis and "Guardhouse."

stroyed 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 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, suf-



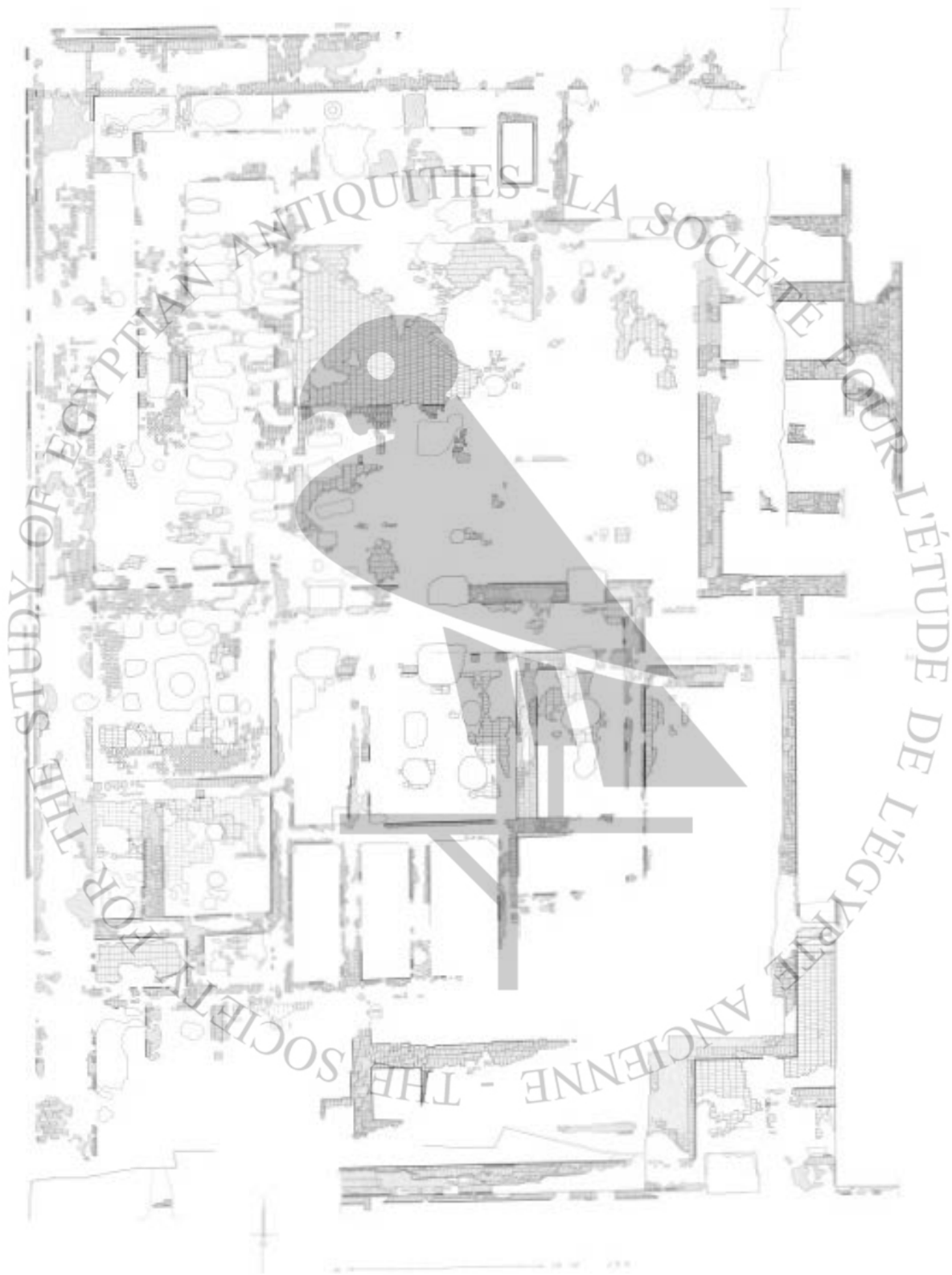


Figure 34: Acropolis: Revised Plan.

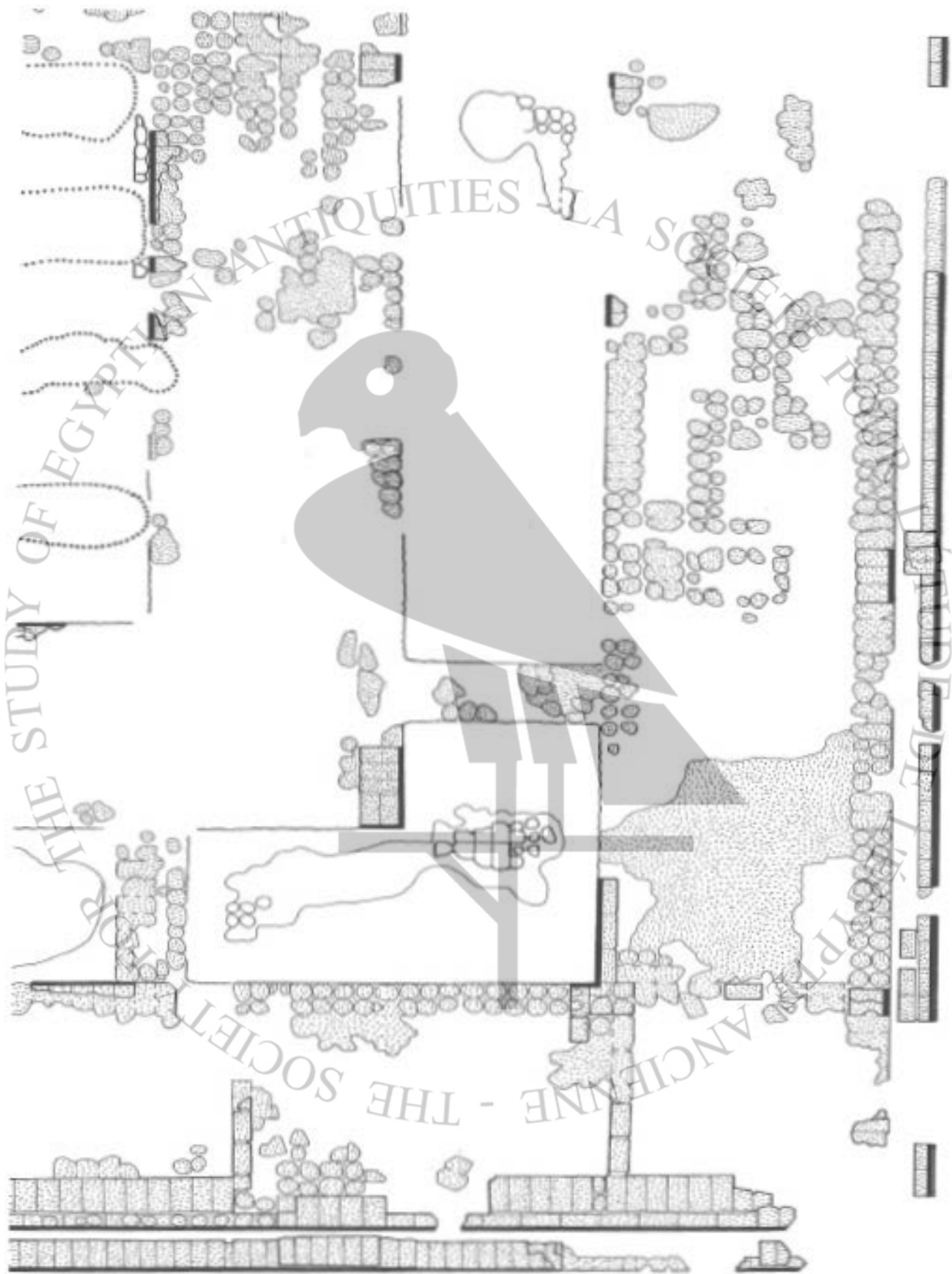


Figure 35: NW Corner of Acropolis/Enclosure Walls of the earlier Eastern Town, with subsequently added low Lining Wall on both N and W Exterior Faces.

ficient 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. There were no indications that it had ever been fitted with a limestone tank,<sup>23</sup> 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 em-

placements 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 sur-

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.

living 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."<sup>24</sup>

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 alter-

tations/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,<sup>25</sup> 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

<sup>24</sup> Petrie, 1891, 7.

<sup>25</sup> 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.



Figure 36: Guardhouse<sup>9</sup>/Temple and Precinct: Plan.

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. The currently revised plan, albeit incomplete, includes most of the main elements common to the mansions ranked immediately E of it.<sup>26</sup> 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 ḥ3ty-ḥ* 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 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

<sup>26</sup> Petrie, 1891, 6.



Figure 37: “Guardhouse”/Temple, looking S (2 column base foundations on right).

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.<sup>27</sup> 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 *h3ty-ꜥ* as also being *imy-rꜥ hwt-ntr*, chief administrator/manager of the temple.<sup>28</sup>

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 37) Nearly the whole area prepared for the building and its once walled but open compound is unfortu-

<sup>27</sup> Kemp, 1991, 156.

<sup>28</sup> Luft, 1998, 26.

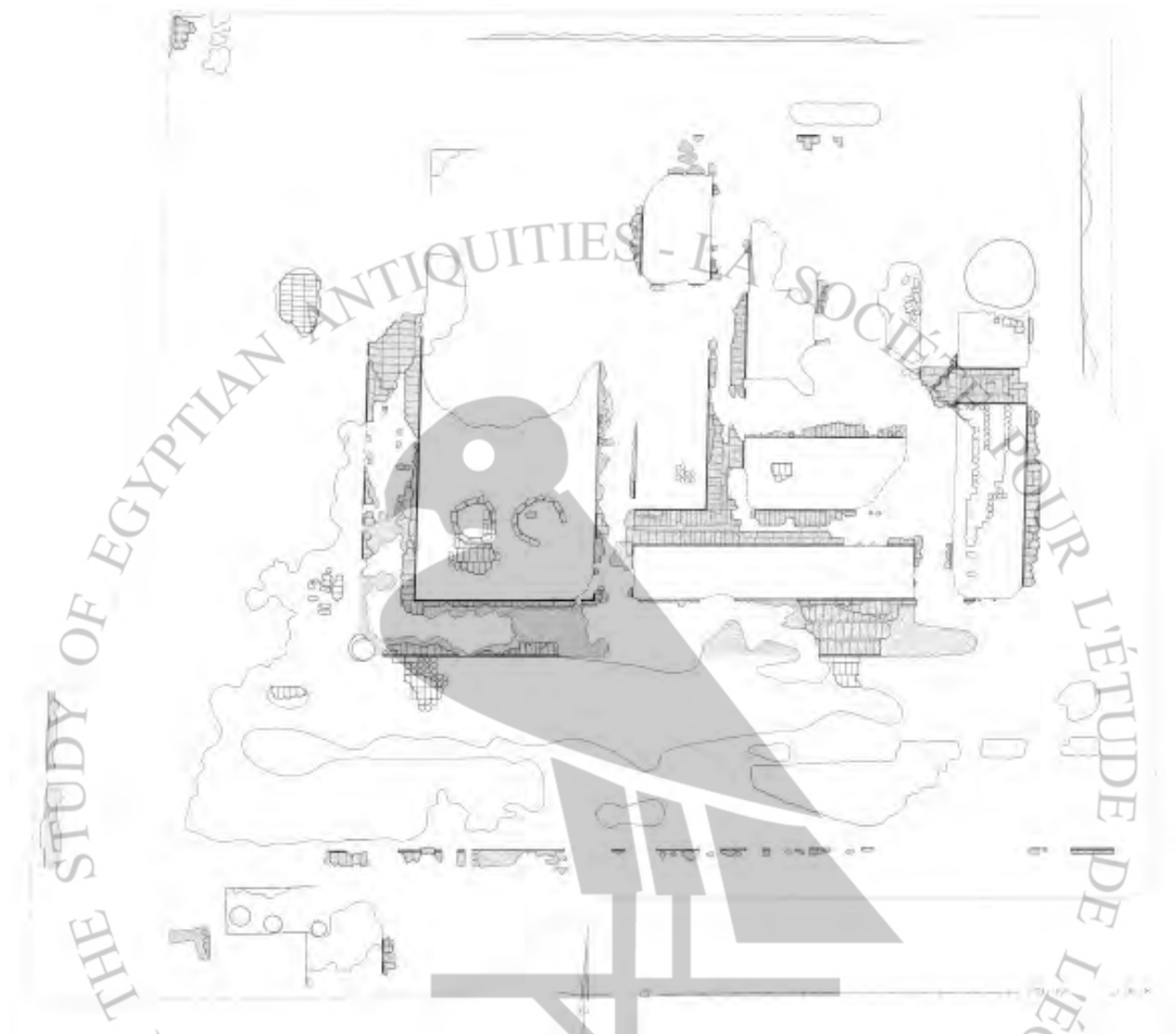


Figure 38: "Guardhouse" / Temple Plan.

nately 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 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 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





Figure 39: Hall with 2 subfloor mudbrick rings once supporting column bases .

for a reconstruction of 6 pairs of columns across the 14.75 m length of the hall. (Figure 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 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

pete 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

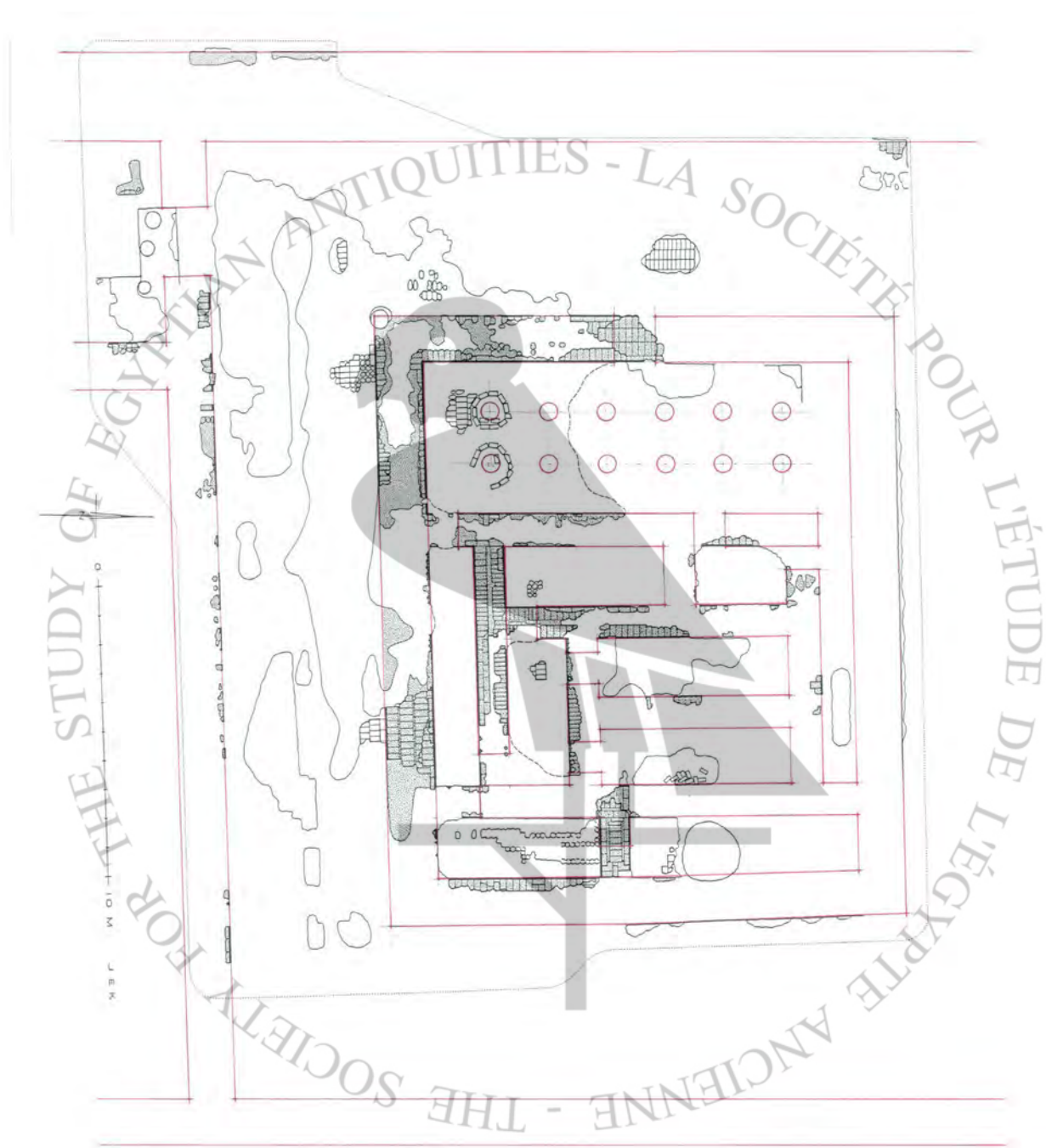


Figure 40: Temple: Plan Reconstruction.

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



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

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 42), few structural



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

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 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.<sup>29</sup>

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 44 & 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 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

<sup>29</sup> Petrie, 1891, 8, pl. XIV.



Figure 43: East Enclosure Wall, N of the Gate.

Figure 44: View from the Approach Passage, looking E toward the Wadi.





Figure 45: The East Gate and Approach Passage: Plan.



Figure 46: View of Part of the N Wall flanking the Approach Passage.

Figure 47: View across the Wadi toward the Approach Passage and East gate (the dark rising slash on right).



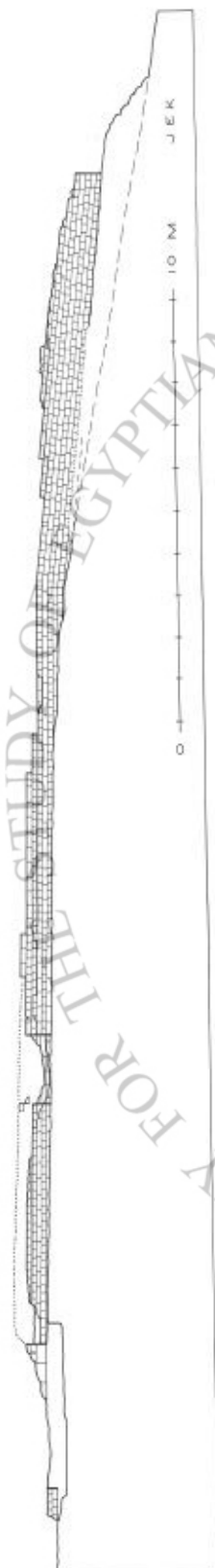


Figure 49: View of the North Stairs in the Approach Passage, N Wall.

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 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 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 49) Unfortunately the walls in the vicinity of these

Figure 48: The East Gate and Approach Passage: Section/Elevation, looking N.





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

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 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." 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,<sup>30</sup> 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 careful-

30 Petrie, 1891, 8.

ly 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 semistratified 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 lime-washed 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. (See **Figures 10, 11, and 12**) The room proportions<sup>31</sup> do suggest that there may

31 Petrie, 1891, 8.

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.<sup>32</sup> The suggestion has been made that a substantial and roofed upper storey once existed across the town,<sup>33</sup> but that has to remain conjecture.<sup>34</sup> 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.<sup>35</sup>

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 51)

### The Pyramid East Side

As the search for sufficiently preserved and productive areas of exploration and documenta-

tion 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, releared 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.<sup>36</sup> 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

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.



Figure 51: Revised Plan of Lahun

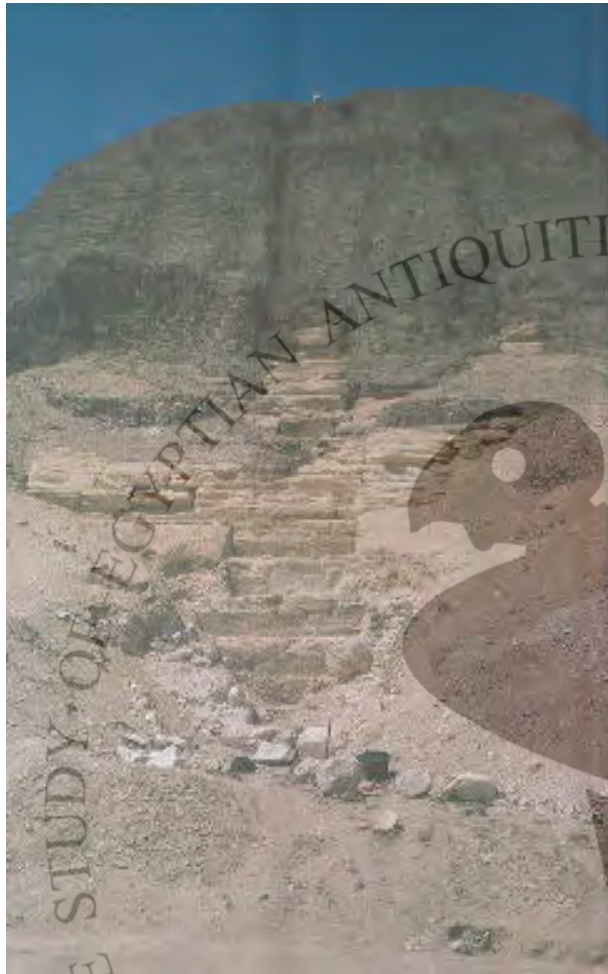
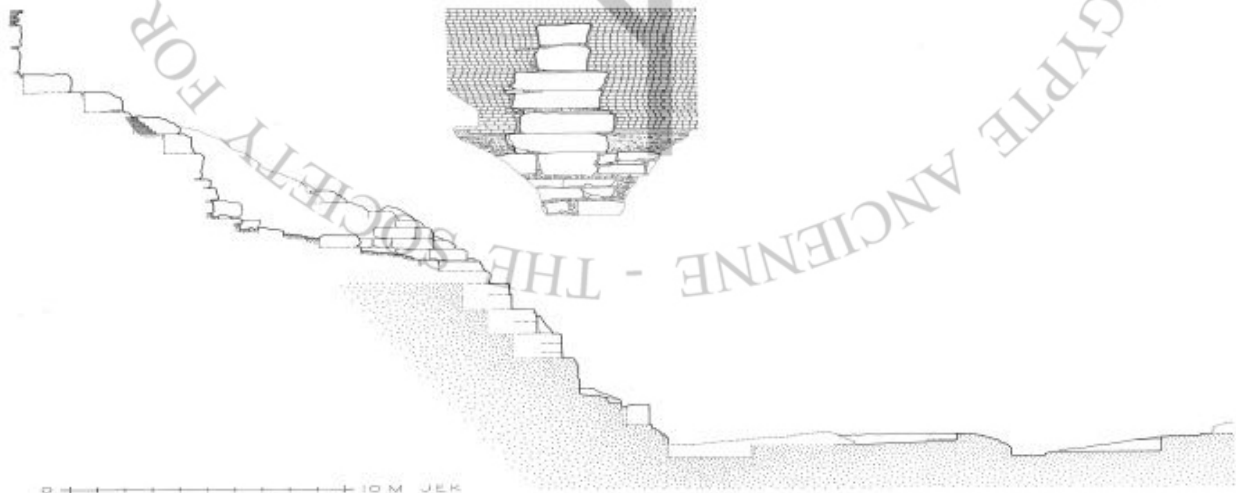


Figure 53: Full Extent of Clearance on the E Side (figure in white on top for scale).

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.<sup>37</sup>

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 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 53) The total height of the exposed sec-

Figure 54: Pyramid E Side: Section, looking N and Elevation of Axial Cross Wall.



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

tion 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 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 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 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. 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.<sup>38</sup> 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

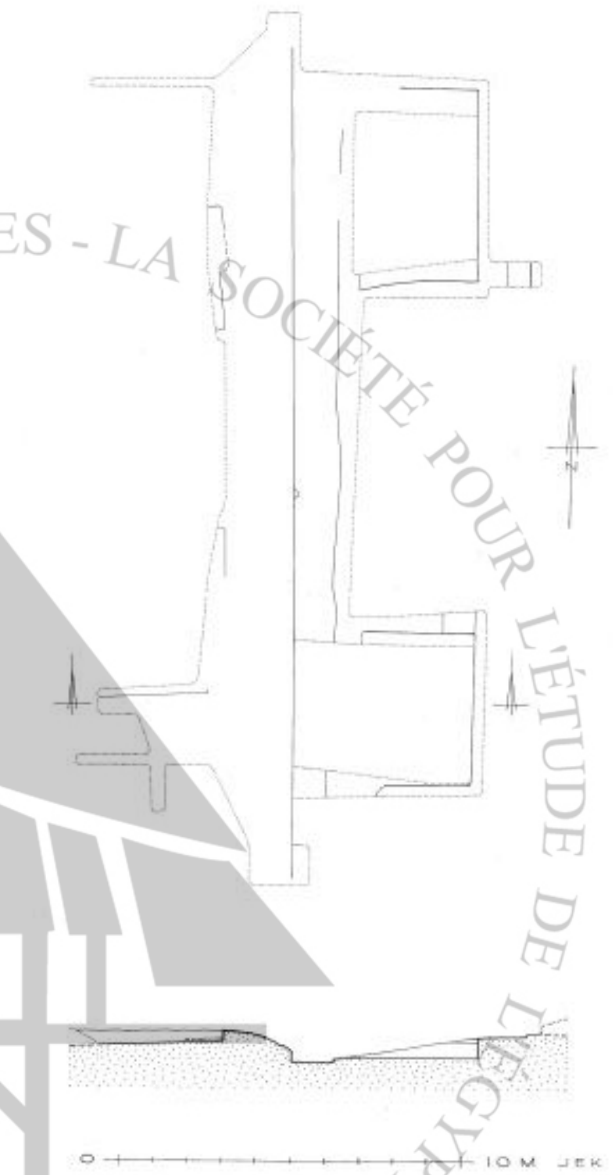


Figure 55: Pyramid East Terrace with Temple Platform: Plan and Section, looking N.

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 57 & 58)

38 Petrie, Brunton, Murray, 1923, 5.



Figure 56: East Temple Platform, viewed from above.

Figure 57: View of Base of Pyramid E terrace during clearance of shallow trenches and Temple Platform.







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

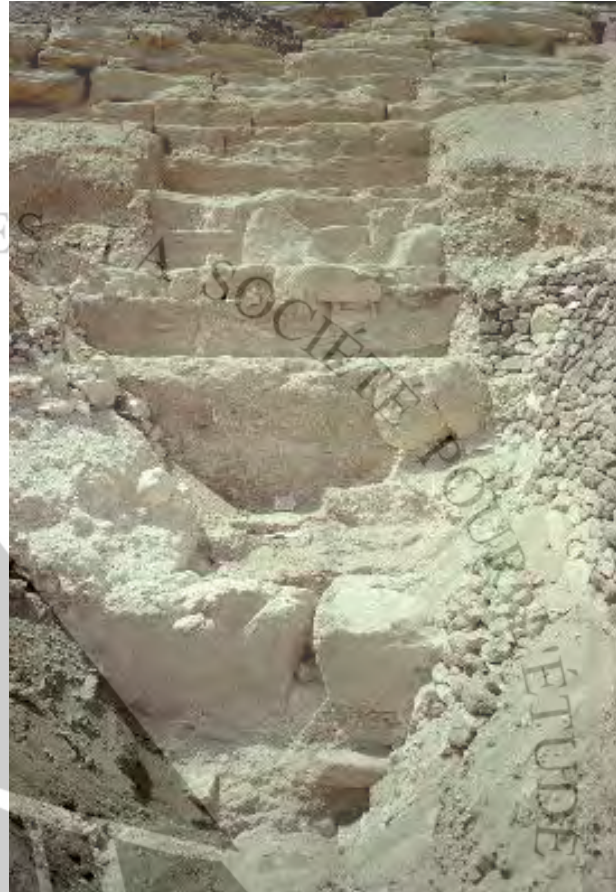


Figure 59: View of Pyramid E Side: Lower 2/3 of clearance with stepped bedrock (2 sub-casing blocks are in situ at the bottom) and sub-casing blocks in position above.

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 subcasing blocks *in situ*, square-cut and 0.94 m high. (Figure 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 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 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



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



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 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

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



Figure 62: View of Axial Cross Wall blocks rising with the base of the mudbrick structure.

course by course as the height of the brickwork progressed to each side. (Figure 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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# Love and Marriage in the Ancient World: An Historical Corrective

John Gee

## Abstract:

Despite recent politically motivated attempts to show otherwise, love and affection are closely associated with marriage in ancient Egypt and ancient Mesopotamia. Love or affection was a normal and expected part of marriage in ancient Egypt and a factor in entering into marriage in every account preserved.

## Resumé:

Malgré quelques tentatives récentes pour prouver le contraire, l'amour et l'affection étaient des sentiments étroitement associés à l'institution du mariage, que ce soit en Égypte ancienne ou en Mésopotamie. En effet, les sources primaires laissent entendre qu'amour et affection étaient des conditions préalables au mariage en Égypte.

## Keywords:

Affection, Diplomatic Marriage, Love, Mari, Marriage

## Introduction

A recent book by Stephanie Coontz,<sup>1</sup> director of research and public education at the Council on Contemporary Families (an American non-profit organization dedicated to transforming the traditional family and public perception of the family), purports to give a history of marriage from the ancient world to the present. Given that a mere seventeen pages are used to cover more than half of human history, it is little wonder that the presentation is selective in the extreme. Such a limited and limiting view of marriage from isolated examples and tertiary sources needs a corrective from a wider and more representative sampling of first-hand evidence. I will limit myself here to marriage in the ancient Near East, although I suspect that other specialists might have something to say about Coontz's treatment of marriage in their areas of specialty.

To anticipate my conclusions, marriage was a richer, more varied, and less alien institution in ancient times than Coontz would have her readers believe. Contrary to Coontz's assertions, love in marriage was not something that conquered marriage recently, but is part of it essentially as far back as we have human records.

## Coontz's Argument

The use of ancient evidence holds a particular and important place in Coontz's larger argument.

It is important to understand Coontz's larger argument in order to see the implications of the ancient evidence on it. It is designed to bolster the author's contention that "marriage has become more joyful, more loving, and more satisfying for many couples than ever before in history. At the same time it has become optional

1 Stephanie Coontz, *Marriage, A History: From Obedience to Intimacy, or How Love Conquered Marriage* (New York: Viking, 2005).

and more brittle."<sup>2</sup> Coontz argues that "in the last two hundred years" changes have taken place in marriage: "free choice became the societal norm for mate selection, love became the main reason for marriage, and a successful marriage came to be defined as one that met the needs of its members."<sup>3</sup> Coontz asserts that (1) until the 1920s it was widely believed that "women had no sexual desires," (2) "relatives, neighbors, employers, and government" used to have a greater ability "to regulate people's personal behavior and penalize nonconformity," (3) since the 1960s "birth control became reliable enough that the fear of pregnancy no longer constrained women's sexual conduct," and (4) since the 1980s "women won legal autonomy and made huge strides toward economic self-sufficiency" so that they were no longer dependent on marriage or men.<sup>4</sup> Since "people no longer needed to marry in order to construct successful lives or long-lasting sexual relationships" there is no need for traditional marriage.<sup>5</sup> Coontz goes further, however, and argues that "marriage itself might suffer" from efforts to emphasize traditional marriage.<sup>6</sup>

Thus Coontz uses a wide variety of scattered anecdotes to claim that marriage is said to be in trouble in many societies but it is not in trouble the same way in each society and so claims that the love-based marriage system is neither traditional nor stable.<sup>7</sup> Coontz also uses a variety of scattered anecdotes to argue that love was not traditionally part of marriage.<sup>8</sup> For example she

claims that eighteenth century Americans "did not believe that couples should talk frankly about their grievances" and to back up the point ironically cites John Adams whose extensive correspondence with his wife is nothing if not frank.<sup>9</sup> Adam's wife Abigail, who married him despite strong opposition from her mother, "had views on nearly everything and persons no less than topics."<sup>10</sup> "Open in their affections for one another, she and John were also open in their criticisms. 'Candor is my characteristic,' he told her, as though she might not have noticed. He thought she could improve her singing voice. He faulted her for her 'parrot-toed' way of walking and for sitting cross-legged. She told him he was too severe in his judgments of people and that to others often appeared haughty. Besides, she chided him, 'a gentleman has no business to concern himself about the legs of a lady.'"<sup>11</sup>

Coontz argues that there is no universal definition of marriage using disparate practices of isolated and rare groups in the attempt to overturn proposed standard definitions of marriage.<sup>12</sup> Viewed historically from the point of Western civilization, however, Coontz's objections are invalid since none of the groups that she cites are major contributors or antecedents to Western civilization.

Coontz's section speculating on the origin of marriage is appropriately entitled "the invention of marriage"<sup>13</sup> as both the theories she surveys and her own ideas that she puts forth are

2 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 306.

3 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 306-7.

4 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 307-8.

5 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 308.

6 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 310.

7 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 1-12.

8 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 14-23.

9 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 21.

10 David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 56.

11 McCullough, *John Adams*, 56.

12 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 24-33.

13 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 34-49.



nothing but hypotheses, speculations or sheer inventions. Since marriage is attested as far back as we have historical records,<sup>14</sup> there is no direct historical evidence for the origin of marriage and speculation on the subject can never be anything more than hypothetical.

Coontz asserts that marriage in the ancient world was simply a political arrangement designed to forge “personal and family ties to recruit and reward followers, make alliances, and establish their legitimacy” for the rulers,<sup>15</sup> “to consolidate property” for the poor,<sup>16</sup> and to be “the equivalent of today’s business mergers or investment partnerships” for the wealthy.<sup>17</sup> Coontz makes this assertion hand picking a few notorious and anomalous cases that support her arguments rather than delving into the substantial demographic evidence from the ancient world.

Because Coontz’s historical argument rests upon her assertion that in the past “marriage was not about bringing two individuals together for love and intimacy[; r]ather, the aim of marriage was to acquire useful in-laws and gain political and economic advantage,”<sup>18</sup> if that situation does not hold in the ancient world then her conclusions do not hold and her history needs to be rethought. I will rely on case studies from Mesopotamia and a survey of affection in marriage in ancient Egypt to show that Coontz’s depiction of ancient marriage is seriously flawed

and therefore her arguments about the recent changes in marriage as well as the conclusions drawn therefrom are invalid.

Doing a sociological study of the ancient world is fraught with difficulty. Our data is extremely fragmentary. First the vast majority of human activity was not recorded, and probably less was recorded then than is recorded now. Second, most of what was recorded has not survived. Third, much of what has survived has not been found. Fourth, much of what has been found has not been published. Fifth, ancient authors wrote about what was important to them and not necessarily what interests us. Still within those constraints it is possible to provide some answer to many questions we might have of the material. Furthermore, the Ancient Near East, unlike some of the cultures to which Coontz refers, is a direct antecedent and contributor to Western civilization,<sup>19</sup> particularly in the matter of marriage.<sup>20</sup>

### **Political Marriage at Mari: Three Case Studies**

Coontz begins her survey of marriage in the ancient world with Mesopotamia. As her earliest example, she gives the case of a political marriage at Mari. Before going into the particulars of her examples, it is useful to survey the scope of marriage in ancient Mesopotamia.

An understanding of marriage in ancient

14 John Gee, “The Family in the Third (and Second) Millennium . . . B.C.: Where We’ve Been,” in *The Family in the New Millennium: World Voices Supporting the “Natural” Clan*, ed. A. Scott Loveless and Thomas B. Holman (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2007), 1:114-23.

15 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 53.

16 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 65.

17 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 65.

18 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 306.

19 Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992); Martin Bernal, *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization: Volume 1: The Fabrication of Ancient Greece* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1987). Whatever one thinks of Bernal’s work, he is right about Egypt influencing Western civilization.

20 Philip L. Reynolds, *Marriage in the Western Church: The Christianization of Marriage during the Patristic and Early Medieval Periods* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

Mesopotamia comes mainly from legal documents which generally discuss the legal side of marriage and not the motivations for marriage. The oldest known law code was written in Sumerian and has been attributed to Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Ur III Dynasty (2112-2095 BC), although some attribute it to his son Shulgi (2094-2047 BC) who was known as a reformer,<sup>21</sup> but the state's interest in regulating marriage in Mesopotamia actually goes back earlier as the regulation of marriage is mentioned among the reforms of Irinimgina (d. 2334 BC).<sup>22</sup> Of the twenty-nine preserved laws in the law code attributed to Ur-Nammu, ten, approximately a third of them, deal with family law. Thus we know that rape was punished by death,<sup>23</sup> as was seduction.<sup>24</sup> Divorce and false accusations of sexual misconduct brought heavy fines.<sup>25</sup> All the Mesopotamian law codes deal with marriage,<sup>26</sup> but while "we must keep in mind that while legal compilations can indeed be windows to the world of antiquity, they are not encyclopedic about social relations and certainly not always realistic about the conditions

they are said to regulate."<sup>27</sup>

More informative are the individual mundane legal documents, the records of hundreds of court cases, both pending (**di-nu-til-la**) and closed (**di-til-la**). Marriage was contracted by oath in front of witnesses.<sup>28</sup> "Marriage in Neo-Sumerian times was monogamous, but dissolvable. It shows the characteristics of patriarchal marriage, so above all, in the regulation of inheritance, which was passed from the house to the male children, in the authority of the father over the children, which comes into play in divorce, in the regulation that divorce could only be initiated by the husband."<sup>29</sup> Both the heavy fines associated with divorce and the restrictions on who could initiate it show the state's active interest in minimizing divorce. Both infidelity and lack of sexual relations in the marriage are cited in court cases as reasons for divorce, although many of the cases do not cite the specific reason for divorce.<sup>30</sup> The legal documents provide some information about the procedures of marriage. The father and mother of both the bride and groom were supposed to give permission

21 Marcel Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1992), 6; Jacob Klein, "Shulgi of Ur: King of a Neo-Sumerian Empire," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 4 vols., ed. Jack M. Sasson, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 854.

22 J. N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (London: Routledge 1992), 106; Jerrold S. Cooper, *Reconstructing History from Ancient Inscriptions: The Lagash-Umma Border Conflict* (Malibu, California: Undena Publications, 1983), 51; Giovanni Pettinato, *I re di Sumer I*. (Brescia: Paideia Editrice, 2003), 199-205.

23 Ur-Nammu Code ¶6 (C iv 76-80), in Martha T. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Atlanta: Scholars Press 1997), 17.

24 Ur-Nammu Code ¶7 (A v 225-231, B i 1-10, C iv 86-92), in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 17.

25 Ur-Nammu Code ¶¶9-10, 14, in Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 17.

26 Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*.

27 Jack M. Sasson, "Forcing Morals on Mesopotamian Society?" in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 335.

28 Adam Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956), 1:102.

29 Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 1:98-99.

30 Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 1:108-9.

to marry, though this did not always happen in practice and legal consequences might follow.<sup>31</sup> The groom also declared his intention to marry.<sup>32</sup> The marriage itself took place in front of two to four judges (**di-ku<sub>5</sub>**) and an agent (**maškim**),<sup>33</sup> “whose duty it was to insure that everything necessary would be ready for the ceremony.”<sup>34</sup> Both the betrothal and the ceremony itself involved oaths.<sup>35</sup>

As the family (*bīt abim*) was the pattern on which the temple (*bīt ilim*) and the state (*bīt bēlim*)<sup>36</sup> were based, its importance cannot be overstated. The basic unit of society in ancient Mesopotamia was the nuclear family (*bīt abim*), which “consists of a man, wife (or wives), and unmarried children.”<sup>37</sup> “Cases of families with more than one wife and correspondingly larger number of children are negligible. At times, one or more relatives of the man or his wife are attached to the family. Nuclear families exist everywhere, from the earliest down to the latest Mesopotamian times.”<sup>38</sup> “It was the social and emotional centre in the life of the Babylonians, providing them with a corporate identity nothing else could replace: the family constituted a group of people participating in the same ‘flesh

and blood’, to quote the words of a central metaphor. Those who shared this ‘flesh and blood’ were ‘brothers’. Everybody else was a ‘stranger’ (*nakrum*), being ‘foreign’ (*ahūm*) to the family.”<sup>39</sup> But in early Mesopotamia “a nuclear family exists only within the frame of larger kinship groupings,”<sup>40</sup> such as the clan (*kimtum*, **im-ru-a** or **im-ri-a**) that could be widely dispersed.<sup>41</sup> Solidarity in the family (*ahhūtum*) was expected: “When the world outside is seen as dangerous and inimical (to the point where the language does not distinguish between ‘foreigner’ and ‘enemy’, both being referred to as *nakrum*), division within the family cannot be tolerated; it would be harmful to all its members. Hence the unwritten code of conduct commends filial obedience, fraternal solidarity, and parental care as essential virtues.”<sup>42</sup> “Royal families, with their many children and the possibility that a ruler had more than one wife (or a wife and several concubines)” constitute an exception to typical family patterns in Mesopotamia.<sup>43</sup>

By Old Babylonian times, legal documents show that women could initiate divorce proceedings. Women also could and did stop unwanted sexual advances by legal means.<sup>44</sup>

31 Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 2:21-26.

32 Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 2:23-26

33 Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 2:1-5.

34 Sgrist, *Drehem*, 123, 290-91

35 Falkenstein, *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden*, 2:1-5, 21-26.

36 See Frederick Mario Fales, “*bīt-bēli*: An Assyrian Institutional Concept,” in *Patavina Orientalia Selecta* (Padova: Sargon, 2000), 231-49; John A. Brinkman, “Provincial Administration in Babylon under the Second Dynasty of Isin.” *JESHO* 6 (1963): 242, 234-37.

37 Ignace J. Gelb, “Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia,” in *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East* (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979), 1:56-57, 75.

38 Gelb, “Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia,” 75

39 Karel Van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel: Continuity and Change in the Forms of Religious Life*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996), 20.

40 Gelb, “Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia,” 76.

41 Van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel*, 22.

42 Van der Toorn, *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria and Israel*, 23-25.

43 Gelb, “Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia,” 76, cf. 65-68.

44 Moshé Anbar, “Textes de l’époque babylonienne ancienne.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 69 (1975): 120-25; Sasson, “Forcing Morals on Mesopotamian Society?” 329-40.

In Syria during the Middle Babylonian period, the family "consisted of at least two generations, comprising the father (as head of the family), the wife (or wives), the unmarried sons and daughters, the married sons with the wife and their respective children, and if necessary other parents like their own parents."<sup>45</sup> A woman could be allowed to own property and legally act as head of the household.<sup>46</sup> It seems that the husband was typically much older than the wife.<sup>47</sup> The marriage arrangements typically involve the parents as well as the children.<sup>48</sup> The ceremony involved "a ceremonial presentation (Akkadian *ṭātu*) of two garments of different types and of fine oil, the latter almost certainly intended for the anointing of the bride."<sup>49</sup> The groom's family pays a bride price (*terhatu*) to the bride's family who give some of it back to the bride as a dowry,<sup>50</sup> the potential wealth of the bride price resulted in some cases of "a sort of 'futures trading' in bride wealth" and the resultant "commerce in nubile women" at Emar and Nuzi.<sup>51</sup> It was nevertheless possible for the woman to initiate divorce.<sup>52</sup>

#### *The Case of Inib-šarri*

The first example of marriage in the ancient world that Coontz cites is the marriage of

Zimri-Lim's daughter for political purposes.<sup>53</sup> Given the extensive material from Mari, it is surprising that Coontz does not delve more into this rich resource for a more complete picture of marriage in the ancient world. Coontz depicts Zimri-Lim as a harsh, unfeeling tyrant who played political games with his daughters. Perhaps he was, although one needs to make the case from documentation rather than assertion. Coontz focuses on the marriage of Zimri-Lim's daughter, Inib-šarri (whom Coontz curiously neglects to name), to Ibal-Addu, the king of Ašlakka. Coontz uses one of the seven known letters of Inib-šarri to suggest that Inib-šarri's marriage was unhappy.<sup>54</sup>

The other letters help understand the situation better, although the complicated political situation at the time,<sup>55</sup> and the general one-sided and incomplete nature of the correspondence makes it more difficult to untangle the role that political mechanizations and considerations played in marital situations and vice versa. Though the letters are not dated there are some clear indications about the relative order of the letters. The earliest letter from Inib-šarri is to her sister, Šunuhrahalu, which begins "The bridal-gift (*tirhatum*) is conveyed to my lord, the king, herewith" and Inib-šarri urges her sister to "argue

45 Gary Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates in the Thirteenth Century B.C.E.," in *Emar: The History, Religion, and Culture of a Syrian Town in the Late Bronze Age* (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, 1996), 58; Nicoletta Bellotto, "La struttura familiare a Emar: Alcune osservazioni preliminari," in *Patavina Orientalia Selecta*, 187.

46 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 60.

47 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 68.

48 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 68-69.

49 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 71.

50 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 69-70.

51 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 70.

52 Beckman, "Family Values on the Middle Euphrates," 71.

53 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 54-55.

54 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 55.

55 Douglas R. Frayne, "A Struggle for Water: A Case Study from the Historical Records of the Cities Isin and Larsa (1900-1800 BC)," *The Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Bulletin* 17 (1989): 17-28; Wolfgang Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 3-163.

my case forcefully (*awatia dunnenam*)” to her father.<sup>56</sup> The mention of the bridal-gift, which was required for the bride to attain the status of a wife and for the groom to have “the right to control over the bride,”<sup>57</sup> an institution that also seems to have been shared by the Hittites,<sup>58</sup> marks this letter as being sent at the beginning of the marriage. Yet here we have a woman asking her sister to argue her case forcefully. At that time Inib-šarri seems to have wanted to enter the marriage. Afterwards she seems to have changed her mind. She later sent a letter discussing with her father how “that man has changed; he has abused me as much as it is possible to be abused”<sup>59</sup> although the name of the man she is discussing is lost in a break in the tablet. There was also the matter of the other woman; Ibal-Addu already had a wife, which means that the situation was unusual. “The sparse available evidence from both the second and third millennia confirms the predominance of one man, one wife. A man could not, with rare exceptions, have more than one formally recognized wife at a time.”<sup>60</sup> Demographic evidence indicates that polygyny was practiced in less than one percent of households.<sup>61</sup> As second wife in a polygynous marriage, Inib-šarri found that the first wife was the queen and had the privileges and so she felt “like a foolish woman” and “very sick to heart”

and asked her father to call her home.<sup>62</sup> Coontz claims, “She begged her father to be allowed to return home, but to no avail,”<sup>63</sup> but the extant documentation does not support Coontz’s assertions. Zimri-Lim wrote his daughter: “After you settle your affairs, go! If there is no opportunity, disguise yourself and get out of there!”<sup>64</sup> Thus, the fuller picture is that Inib-šarri seems to have wanted to marry Ibal-Addu and argued for it, but the marriage turned sour, perhaps even abusive, and her father instructed her to leave, which contradicts Coontz’s assertions that “Zimri-Lim was not so indulgent” to the wishes of his daughter. What happened to her after that point is unknown. Strangely, through it all, Ibal-Addu seems to have remained loyal to Zimri-Lim.<sup>65</sup> Thus the political ties were not, in the end, dependent on the marital ties. So a more careful look at the extant documentation completely undermines Coontz’s assertions.

#### *The Case of Kirum*

Inib-šarri is not the only daughter of Zimri-Lim who had trouble in a diplomatic marriage. One of his daughters, Kirum, married Haya-Sumu, the king of Ilan-Sura, and also found herself unhappily playing second fiddle to a senior queen. Things had not gone as planned. She wrote, “My father and my lord seated me on the

56 ARM 10 75, in Georges Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, Archives Royale de Mari X (Paris: Paul Geuthner 1978), 114.

57 Raymond Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, (Horn, Austria: Verlag Ferdinand Berger & Söhne, 1988), 29, 59-60.

58 Norbert Oettinger, “Hethitisch *utēzzi* ‘Nässe’ und indogermanisch \**wed-*,” in *Hittite Studies in Honor of Harry A. Hoffner Jr. on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 312.

59 ARM 10 77, in Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 118.

60 Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia*, 106.

61 Gelb, “Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia,” 65.

62 ARM 10 74, in Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 112, 114.

63 Coontz, *Marriage, A History*, 55.

64 ARM 10 76, in Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 116.

65 ARM 28 81, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 502-3.

throne of a queen,"<sup>66</sup> but she found that she was treated as "the maid of a commoner."<sup>67</sup> She repeatedly begged her father to bring her home.<sup>68</sup> She was so miserable that she threatened "if my lord does not conduct me to Mari, I will not hesitate to throw myself from the roof."<sup>69</sup> And Zimri-Lim did request that she come home.<sup>70</sup> But it was of no use. "You wrote me once, twice about the issue of my trip to you, but my lord (Haya-Sumu) will not release me to go."<sup>71</sup> Haya-Sumu not only did not release her, he threatened her: "In the end, I will kill you. (Then) let your star (i.e. father) come and bring you back!"<sup>72</sup> If the marriage is supposed to cement bonds of loyalty to ones superiors, one wonders why Zimri-Lim remained an ally of Haya-Sumu after that point. "The utter disregard of Haya-Sumu for the power of his overlord Zimri-Lim, which is expressed in the expectation that the father will have to come to collect the body of his daughter, is astounding."<sup>73</sup> Several months later Zimri-Lim's servant Yamsum reported to him: "And Haya-Sumu spoke to her as follows: He (said), 'If you do not come with me, I will kill you with a bronze dagger and go.' Now, I am afraid my lord will mention that story to his messenger without paying attention, and he (Haya-Sumu) will kill, will not let her live."<sup>74</sup> It has been argued both that Haya-Sumu did kill Kirum and that he did

not.<sup>75</sup> We simply do not know what happened.

#### *The Case of Šimatum*

The tale of Kirum, does have one further complicating twist. The primary queen of Haya-Sumu who made Kirum's life so miserable was her sister, Šimatum. From Šimatum's correspondence, we learn that she quarreled with her sister over servants,<sup>76</sup> something we knew from Kirum's correspondence,<sup>77</sup> but Haya-Sumu sided with Šimatum. Otherwise, Šimatum seems to have gotten along well in her marriage, especially according to Kirum.

Šimatum's marriage raises a number of issues. If their marriage were only for political alliance, why would there be a need for a man to marry two sisters? One should suffice to make the connection. The fact that Haya-Sumu married two of Zimri-Lim's daughters suggests that something else besides political alliances is involved in the marriages. Zimri-Lim certainly had no shortage of kinglets he needed alliances with; there seems to have been no reason on his part to marry two of his daughters to Haya-Sumu. Putting political gain as the sole basis for marriage is insufficient to explain the behavior of the parties involved, particularly since the Haya-Sumu's marriage to Šimatum seems to have been a happy one. Nor does political gain

66 ARM 10 34+, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 492; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 66.

67 ARM 10 33, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 491; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 64.

68 ARM 10 32-34+, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 490-92; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 60-66.

69 ARM 10 33, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 491; Dossin *Correspondance feminine*, 64.

70 ARM 10 135, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 493; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 194-96; cf. ARM 10 32, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 491.

71 ARM 10 34+, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 491; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 66.

72 ARM 10 32, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 490-91; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 62.

73 Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 81.

74 ARM 26 315, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 298; Dominique Charpin, Francis Joannès, Sylvie Lackenbacher, and Bertrand Lafont, *Archives épistolaires de Mari I/2* (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilizations, 1988), 78.

75 Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 81.

76 ARM 10 95, in Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 144.

77 ARM 10 33, in Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 491; Dossin, *Correspondance feminine*, 64.

for the men explain why Inib-šarri would be so eager to marry Ibal-Addu. Nor does marriage as a political favor explain the loyalty of Ibal-Addu after the marriage went bad. Here the incomplete nature of the documentation limits our ability to understand the situation fully, but it is sufficient to signal that political motives alone are insufficient to explain what seems to be marriage for the purposes of political alliance. Other examples of diplomatic marriage raise more questions than they answer.<sup>78</sup>

### Love in Marriage in Mesopotamia

Was marriage based on love in ancient Mesopotamia? The question is worth asking but may not be capable of being answered, at least not directly. Legal documents are concerned principally with legal considerations, which largely deal with property and inheritance rights rather than stories about how couples came to be married.

If the question cannot be answered directly, it is possible to come up with indirect answers. We know that “the verb ‘to love,’ *rāmu*, is used of the relationship between children and parents, brothers and sisters.”<sup>79</sup> Gilgamesh describes loving an ax “like a wife (*kima aššati*)”<sup>80</sup> which shows that a man’s love for his wife was viewed as standard. Two provisions in the law code of Hammurapi provide for the dissolution of the marriage “if a woman hates (*izērma*) her husband.”<sup>81</sup> Such a provision is utterly odd if love had nothing to do with marriage.

### Summary

For Mesopotamia, the basic family structure

is the nuclear family and it appears to be the best attested by an overwhelming majority. So-called diplomatic marriages seem to have no impact on the politics. Successful marriages did not help the political alliances and disastrous marriages did not hinder them. Love is seen as part of marriage and a lack of it was seen as sufficient for divorce, which could be initiated by the woman. Abuse was seen as a reason to dissolve a marriage.

### Marriage and Family in Egypt

Egypt has continuously attested contemporary historical documentation for the last five millennia, longer than any other place on earth. Ancient Egyptian civilization covers roughly the first 3600 years of the 5000. The surviving historical record, however, is not complete in any given facet. Particular types of documentation are not necessarily continuously attested for the whole time period, leaving holes in the historical record. Sometimes the gaps in our record reflect accident of preservation; many of the records of daily life kept on perishable materials were kept in daily living areas subject to flooding and moisture that destroyed the documents. Sometimes gaps in the record reflect cultural practice; for example, at the end of the New Kingdom (c. 1069 BC), after a millennium and a half, depicting family groups in funerary artwork abruptly ceases for reasons unknown, perhaps theological, perhaps social, perhaps economic, perhaps for some other reason. Other times gaps in the record reflect incomplete publication of material or a lack of interest in a particular matter. Furthermore, the surviving

78 Nele Ziegler, “A Questionable Daughter-in-Law.” *JCS* 51 (1999): 55-59.

79 Rivkah Harris, *Ancient Sippar: A Demographic Study of an Old-Babylonian City (1894-1595 B.C.)* (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul 1975), 352.

80 Gilgamesh P I 33, in *CAD* 14:140.

81 Laws of Hammurapi ¶¶ 142-43, in E. Bergmann, *Codex Hammurabi: Textus Primigenius* (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1953), 17-18; Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 108; *CAD* 21:97-99; Westbrook, *Old Babylonian Marriage Law*, 22-23, 81.

historical evidence needs careful analysis before it can produce useful information for cultural historians. Translation is often an issue with historical writings as the range of meaning of an expression in Egyptian might not correspond exactly to any expression in English.

One of the more informative entry points into a discussion of Egyptian marriage is an undated letter, the names of whose sender and recipient are unknown. Archaeological provenance shows that it was written in Deir el-Medina, the village of the workmen who carved and decorated the tombs in the Valley of the Kings, while paleographic analysis reveals that it was written toward the end of the New Kingdom. A translation of the letter is as follows:

Your people—their old and their young, male and female—were agitated in the evening. They were coming, saying, "We will go to beat her and her people up." The steward was the one who asked them, "Why are you going [. . .] of my scribe to beat their people up when she is not here." And he restrained them, and asked them, "Will you find your man there? The representative told me, 'Whoever is found [there, we] are going to beat.' Please tell me." So he said to them. And they, answering, said to him, "For eight months now he is committing adultery with this woman, although he is not her husband. If he were a husband, he would never have sworn his oath about your woman." So they said to him. And the

steward sent to your mother in the presence of Ozer, the crewman with whom you also consulted, saying "As for Nesamenope, why did you accept him as a paramour so that you might commit adultery? Were you looking for enemies? Would that [. . .] not [. . .] at night to carry off their good men, saying, 'We will go [. . .] also.' So they said. If this man's heart goes after you, let him enter the court with his wife so that he might swear an oath and come to your household. But if he will not find the way, then sue him, your word against his; for if I restrained them this time, I will not restrain them another." So he said. When this letter reaches you, you shall not go to Neferti in this matter."<sup>82</sup>

When this letter was first published, the initial translations misunderstood one of the key phrases and were thus forced to translate some of the words with other than their accustomed meanings to try to make sense of the letter.<sup>83</sup>

The letter writer's casual reference to normal institutions in a difficult circumstance provides insightful information about institutions normally not discussed because knowledge of them was taken for granted. From the letter we learn that adultery was not tolerated in ancient Egypt. Marriage was an institution that involved husband (*hy*) and wife (*hmt*).<sup>84</sup> The institution of marriage was entered by an oath, and ended by one.<sup>85</sup>

82 P. BM 10416, following John Gee, "Notes on Egyptian Marriage: P. BM 10416 Reconsidered." *BES* 15 (2001): 17.

83 Jac. J. Janssen, "Marriage Problems and Public Relations (P. BM 10416)," in *Pyramid Studies and other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards* (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1988), 134-37, plates 25-28; Jac. J. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters and Communications*, Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum 6 London: British Museum, 1991), 28-32; Edward F. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990), 203.

84 Gee, "Notes on Egyptian Marriage," *BES* 15: 19-20

85 Jaana Toivari, "Marriage at Deir el-Medina," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists* (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 1160-61; Gee, "Notes on Egyptian Marriage," *BES* 15: 18.



### Representations of Affection in Egyptian Marriage

Museum of Fine Arts 37.2738 and 37.2739 are a pair of doorjambs from the Old Kingdom tomb of Mehu.<sup>86</sup> The symmetrical scenes from the jambs show Mehu standing with a staff in one hand and a cloth fold in the other. His wife stands behind him with one hand grasping his arm and the other grasping his shoulder. A similar posture in a different object has elicited the comment: "The woman places her arm affectionately around her husband's shoulder."<sup>87</sup> The inscription above their heads reads: "judge and official Mehu, his wife, whom he loves, royal acquaintance, Khenti." The inscription and the image are symmetrical. The wife's affection is expressed with a gesture in the image, while the husband expresses his affection towards the wife in the inscription.

One might suppose that the interpretation of the arm around a figure in ancient Egyptian art was an anachronistic interpretation retrojected onto the material by modern scholars. But such a supposition is belied by textual evidence. The embrace as a gesture of affection is confirmed by the Middle Kingdom story of the Shipwrecked

Sailor, where the sailor is told: "You will fill your embrace with your children; you will kiss your wife; you will see your house; it is better than anything."<sup>88</sup> Both the kiss and the embrace are signs of affection, and both figure prominently in the Egyptian love songs.<sup>89</sup>

There is nothing unusual about the Mehu doorjamb either in the scene depicted or the sentiments expressed. They are typical for the Old Kingdom. "It was customary for married couples to be shown embracing."<sup>90</sup> The embrace serves as "a demonstration of their conjugal relationship."<sup>91</sup> The mere fact that this scene is so very ordinary suggests that affection in marriage might have been more frequent than Coontz assumes. Note also that this particular piece comes hundreds of years before the earliest evidence that Coontz produces.

To test the hypothesis that affection in marriage was a common occurrence, I conducted a preliminary survey from a selection of sources of artistic representations of ancient Egyptian married couples depicted engaged in gestures of affection, i.e. kissing, embracing or arms around each other, holding hands.<sup>92</sup> The survey was neither systematic nor exhaustive, but it was

86 Museum of Fine Arts, *Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Nagoya: Nagoya/Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999), 64-65, 174.

87 Emily Teeter, *Ancient Egypt: Treasures from the Collection of the Oriental Institute University of Chicago* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2003), 23.

88 Shipwrecked Sailor 133-34, in Adriaan de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1963), 103.

89 Deborah Sweeney, "Gender and Language in the Rameside Love Songs," *BES* 16 (2002): 47-50.

90 Teeter, *Ancient Egypt*, 34.

91 Edna R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 39.

92 Works cited in the table are: Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo. Teil I* (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911); Sergio Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane I. Dall'antico al nuovo regno* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1959); Sergio Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane II. Del nuovo regno* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1965); Albert B. Elsasser and Vera-Mae Fredrickson, *Ancient Egypt: An Exhibition at the Robert H Lowie Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley March 25-October 23, 1966* (Berkeley: University of California, 1966); Rita E. Freed, *Egypt's Golden Age: The Art of Living in the New Kingdom 1558-1085 B.C.* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981); Edward Brovarski, *A Table of Offerings: 17 Years of Acquisitions of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art by William Kelly Simpson for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987); Sue D'Auria, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine H. Roehrig, *Mummies & Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1988); Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*; Karl-Heinz Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum*

representative. Since the lists already demonstrate the frequent nature of the phenomenon, it is not clear what advantage an exhaustive survey might have. Representations of royalty and deities have been specifically excluded, which on the one hand deprives us of many representations of

holding hands and kissing between Akhenaton and Nefertiti,<sup>93</sup> as well as those of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertary,<sup>94</sup> and the famous statue of Menkaure and his queen,<sup>95</sup> but on the other hand should give us better representation of marriage in Egypt among commoners.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
BM EA 1181	D4	?	<i>k3-tp</i> and <i>ḥtp-ḥr=s</i>	Wife's arm around husband	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 290-91.
Giza Mastaba G 7140	D4	Giza	<i>ḥwfw-ḥ<sup>c</sup>=f</i> and <i>nfr:t-k3.w</i>	Wife's arm around husband	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 109.
Hearst Museum 6-19775	D4	Giza	<i>šnw</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Elsasser and Fredrickson, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 40-41.
Leipzig 3684	D4	Giza	<i>j<sup>c</sup>j-jb</i> and <i>ḥw-w3.wt</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Krauspe, <i>Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig</i> , 32-33; <i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 292-94.
MMA 48.111	D4	?	<i>mmj</i> and <i>s3bw</i>	Arms around each other	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 294-96.
Berlin 10123	D5	Saqqara	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Priese, <i>Ägyptisches Museum</i> , 34-35.

(Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1991); Jürgen Settgast, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1991); Eleni Vassilika, *Egyptian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Mogens Jørgensen, *Egypt I (3000-1550 B.C.) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1996); Abdel Ghaffar Shedid and Matthias Seidel, *The Tomb of Nakht* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996); Renate Krauspe, *Das Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1997); David P. Silverman, *Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture and Artifacts* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1997); Mogens Jørgensen, *Egypt II (1550-1080 B.C.) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* (Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, 1998); Richard A. Fazzini, James F. Romano and Madeleine E. Cody, *Art for Eternity: Masterworks from Ancient Egypt*. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1999); Rita E. Freed, Yvonne J. Markowitz and Sue H. D'Auria, *Pharaohs of the Sun: Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tutankhamen* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999); Museum of Fine Arts, *Art of the Mediterranean World*; István Nagy, *The Egyptian Collection* (Collections of the Museum of Fine Arts 2. Budapest: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999); John P. O'Neill, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999); Richard Parkinson, *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Edna R. Russmann, *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Teeter, *Ancient Egypt*; Suzanne Bickel, *In ägyptischer Gesellschaft* (Freiburg, Schwiez: Academic Press, 2004).

93 E.g. Berlin 14511, 17813, 20494, in Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum*, 105-6, 118-19, 122.

94 BM EA 1516, in Russmann, *Eternal Egypt*, 192-94.

95 MFA 11.1738, in O'Neill, *Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids*, 268-71.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
Berlin 12547	D5	?	<i>tnt</i> and <i>jmr.t=f</i>	Holding hands	Settgast, <i>Agyptisches Museum Berlin</i> , 20-21.
Berlin 23720	D5	?	Husband and <i>nfr.t-k3</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Settgast, <i>Agyptisches Museum Berlin</i> , 14-15.
Berlin 4/78	D5	?	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Settgast, <i>Agyptisches Museum Berlin</i> , 22-23.
Brooklyn 37.17E	D5	?	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 368-69
Brooklyn 49.215	D5	Saqqara(?)	<i>nj-k3-r<sup>c</sup></i> and <i>hw.n-nbw</i>	Wife's arm around husband	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 370-71.
Cairo CG 6	D5	Seila	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:6-7, Blatt 2
Cairo CG 22	D5	Saqqara	<i>špsj</i> and <i>nj-k3.w</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:23-24, Blatt 6.
Cairo CG 55	D5	Saqqara	<i>nj-<sup>c</sup>nh-r<sup>c</sup></i> and <i>nbw-jr.t-šps.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:48-49, Blatt 14.
Cairo CG 89	D5	Saqqara	<i>nfr-htp</i> and <i>tntj</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:70-71, Blatt 20.
Cairo CG 94	D5	Saqqara	<i>nj-<sup>c</sup>hft-k3</i> and wife	Wife's arms around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:74, Blatt 21.
Cairo CG 95	D5	Saqqara	<i>tjj</i> and <i>smr.t-mn</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:75, Blatt 21.
Cairo CG 100	D5	Saqqara	<i>w3š-k3</i> and <i><sup>c</sup>nh-h3=s</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:78-79, Blatt 22.
Cairo CG 101	D5	Saqqara	<i>sqd-k3.w</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:79-80, Blatt 23; <i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 378-79.
Cairo CG 105	D5	Saqqara	<i>jj-k3.w</i> and <i>hnw.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:82-83, Blatt 23.
Cairo CG 107	D5	Saqqara	<i>r<sup>c</sup>-htp</i> and wife	Husband's arm around wife	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:84, Blatt 23.
Cairo CG 123	D5	Saqqara	<i>nmtj-nfr</i> and <i>nb=j</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:93-94, Blatt 27.
Cairo CG 125	D5	?	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:94-95, Blatt 28.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
Cairo CG 151	D5	Saqqara	<i>sʕ3mdib</i> and <i>bbj</i>	Holding hands	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:110, Blatt 34.
Cairo CG 158	D5	?	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 1:114, Blatt 35.
Cairo JE 51281	D5	Giza	<i>snb</i> and wife	Wife's arms around husband	Russmann, <i>Egyptian Sculpture</i> , 39-41.
MMA 52.19	D5	Saqqara(?)	<i>nj-k3-rʕ</i> and <i>hw.n-nbw</i>	Wife's arm around husband	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 375-76.
Wien AS 7444	D5	Giza	<i>k3-pw-ptḥ</i> and <i>jpp</i>	Wife's arms around husband	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 380-81.
OIM 10618	D5: Niuserre(?)	?	<i>nj-k3.w-jnpw</i> and <i>hm.t-rʕ-dd.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Teeter, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 22-23.
OIM 2036 A-B	D5: Menkauhor and Unis	Deshasheh	<i>nn-ḥft-k3</i> and <i>nfr-šms</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Teeter, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 26-27.
Brooklyn 37.17E	Late D5	Saqqara(?)	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Fazzini, Romano, and Cody, <i>Art for Eternity</i> , 50-51.
Boston MFA 06.1876	Late D5	Giza G 2004	<i>ptḥ-ḥnwj</i> and wife	Wife's arms around husband	D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig, <i>Mummies &amp; Magic</i> , 87.
Boston MFA 06.1885	Late D5	Giza G 2009	<i>b3</i> and <i>b3rw</i>	Wife's arm around husband	D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig, <i>Mummies &amp; Magic</i> , 88-90.
Boston MFA 37.2738-9	Late D5	Giza G 2423	<i>mḥw</i> and <i>ḥntj</i>	Wife embracing husband	<i>Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World</i> , 64-65, 174.
Leipzig 3155	D5-6	Giza	<i>nj-k3.w-ḥnm</i> and wife	Holding hands	Krauspe, <i>Agyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig</i> , 52-53.
Firenze 7584	D6	Akhmim	<i>ḥnw.t</i> and husband	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 15, ill. 4.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 20	D6	Giza(?)	<i>rwd</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt I</i> , 92-93.
Tomb of Ima-Pepi	D6	Balat	<i>jm3-ppj</i> and wife	Arms around each other	<i>Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids</i> , 68-69.
Hearst Museum 6-19760	OK	Giza	<i>ḥtpj</i> and <i>rnp.t-nfr.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Elsasser and Fredrickson, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 55.
Boston MFA 12.1477	1IP	Mesheikh tomb 102	<i>šd-it=f</i> and <i>ḥnw.t</i>	Holding hands	<i>Art of the Ancient Mediterranean World</i> , 67, 175.
Budapest MFA 60.19-E	1IP	?	<i>ʕḥw</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Nagy, <i>Egyptian Collection</i> , 26.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
Firenze 6368	11P	Luxor(?)	<i>igr</i> and <i>mn-rkw</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 16-17, ill. 6.
Firenze 6369	11P	Luxor(?)	<i>bbj</i> and <i>rf-ꜥnh</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 17, ill. 7.
Firenze 6375	11P	Thebes	<i>hꜥpj</i> and <i>ꜥnh-n-it=s</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 18-19, ill. 8.
Firenze 6385	11P	Thebes	<i>šnt</i> and husband	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 19, ill. 10.
Firenze 7588	11P	Luxor(?)	<i>hww</i> and <i>ꜥnh-jtt</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 20-21, ill. 12.
Firenze 7589	11P	Luxor(?)	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 21, ill. 13.
Firenze 7590	11P	Luxor(?)	<i>sbk-hꜥp</i> and <i>sn-ꜥnh</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 21-22, ill. 14.
OIM 16956	11P	?	<i>whꜥ</i> and <i>hꜥnw.t-sn</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Teeter, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 33-34.
Berlin 22820	D11	Kamula(?)	<i>kꜥy</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Priese, <i>Agyptisches Museum</i> , 53
Firenze 6364	D11	Edfu	<i>hr-nht</i> and <i>ib</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 23-24, ill. 17.
Firenze 6374	D11	Naqada(?)	<i>dwptw</i> and <i>in.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 23, ill. 16.
Firenze 6378	D11	Luxor(?)	<i>sbk-hꜥp</i> and <i>tꜥj</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 25-26, ill. 19.
Firenze 7592	D11	Thebes	<i>mntw-hꜥp</i> and <i>dw</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 26-27, ill. 21.
Frieburg Bibel+Orient ÄFig 2001.11	D11	unknown	Husband and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Bickel, <i>In ägyptischer Gesellschaft</i> , 20-21.
BM EA 571	D12	?	<i>s3-imn</i> and <i>hww</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Parkinson, <i>Cracking Codes</i> , 169.
BM EA 579	D12	unknown	<i>wsr-wr</i> and <i>sꜥ.t-dꜥ.t-nꜥr</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Russmann, <i>Eternal Egypt</i> , 99-100.
Boston MFA 1970.630	D12	Abydos(?)	<i>imny</i> and wife <i>nꜥr-hꜥw.t-hꜥr</i> , with <i>it=f-sn</i> and <i>nwb-m-mꜥr</i>	Both wives' arms around husbands	Brovarski, <i>A Table of Offerings</i> , 18-19.
Firenze 2553	D12	Thebes	<i>s3-ptꜥh</i> and <i>tp.t-nꜥr:w</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 39-40, ill. 34.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
Budapest MFA 51.2142	D12:	Abydos(?)	<i>sh̄tp-ib-r<sup>c</sup></i> and <i>rn=s-m-ib</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Nagy, <i>Egyptian Collection</i> , 28.
Firenze 2506	D12:	unknown	<i>3nh=f-iry</i> and <i>in.t-f</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 36-37, ill. 36.
Firenze 2523	D12-13	unknown	<i>hb3</i> and <i>mty</i> with another couple	Both wives' arms around husbands	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 49-50, ill. 47.
Firenze 7581	D12-13	Naqada	<i>rn-snb</i> and <i>snd.t=s-mn</i>	Holding hands	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane I</i> , 52-53, ill. 51.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 967	D13	?	<i>imn-h̄tp</i> and <i>s3.t-h̄w.t-hr</i> with <i>ddw-sbk</i> and <i>hnw.t</i> with <i>sbk-nht</i> and <i>mn-niw.t</i>	All Wives' arms around husbands	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt I</i> , 198-99.
Berlin 2298	D18	Thebes	<i>imn-h̄tp-wsr</i> and <i>t-nt-w3d</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Priese, <i>Ägyptisches Museum</i> , 90-91.
Brooklyn 07.420	D18	?	<i>sn-rs</i> and <i>hr-ms</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Fazzini, Romano, and Cody, <i>Art for Eternity</i> , 78.
Budapest MFA 51.2147	D18	Abydos(?)	<i>hr-ms</i> and <i>s3.t-ntry</i> with <i>hwy</i> and <i>imn-m-wsh.t</i>	Both wives' arms around husband	Nagy, <i>Egyptian Collection</i> , 49-50.
Boston MFA 1981.2	D18	?	<i>i<sup>c</sup>h-ms</i> and <i>wr-r3</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Brovarski, <i>A Table of Offerings</i> , 30-31.
Cairo CG 588	D18	Thebes	<i>twnr3</i> and <i>mw.t-?</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 2:143, Blatt 106.
Firenze 2496	D18	Abydos(?)	<i>in</i> and <i>sn.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 14-15, ill. 4.
Firenze 2498	D18	unknown	<i>t-t3</i> and <i>wr</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 15-16, ill. 5.
Firenze 2499	D18	Thebes(?)	<i>m3<sup>c</sup>.t-3h-hryw</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 25-26, ill. 15.
Firenze 2508	D18	unknown	<i>t3-n3i</i> and <i>nbw-hnw.t-pr</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 16-17, ill. 6.
Firenze 2511	D18	unknown	<i>wri</i> and <i>tmbw</i>	Husband's arm around wife (!)	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 19-20, ill. 8.
Firenze 2534	D18	Thebes(?)	<i>hr</i> and wife with <i>imn-m-ipt</i> and wife	Both wives' arms around husbands	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 26-27, ill. 18.
Firenze 2549	D18	El-Kab(?)	<i>hr-mni</i> and <i>di3.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 22-24, ill. 14.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
Firenze 2585	D18	Abydos(?)	<i>s3-p3-ir</i> and <i>iry.t-nfr.t</i> with <i>imn-http</i> and <i>nfr.t-iry</i>	Both wives' arm around husband	Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane II</i> , 17-19, ill. 7.
Leipzig 2554	D18	Qau	<i>wr-sw</i> and <i>hw-m-niw.t=s</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Krauspe, <i>Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig</i> , 79-80.
Leipzig 5147	D18	Memphis(?)	<i>šn-n-rs</i> and <i>in-iv-h3y</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Krauspe, <i>Ägyptische Museum der Universität Leipzig</i> , 92-93.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 718	D18	?	<i>ii=f</i> and <i>sn.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 54-55.
Tomb of Nakht	D18	Thebes	<i>nht</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Shedid and Seidel, <i>Tomb of Nakht</i> , 56-58, 60-61, 64, 74-75.
Fitzwilliam Museum E 21.1887	D18: Thumosis III	Thebes	<i>k3rwm</i> and <i>i3by-hy</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Vassiliki, <i>Egyptian Art</i> , 48-49.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 74	D18: Thumosis III or Amenhotep II	Thebes(?)	<i>i3h-ms</i> and <i>b3k.t-r3</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 58-59.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 885	D18: Amenhotep II or Thutmosis IV	?	Anonymous	Wives' arms around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 78-79.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 969	D18: Amenhotep II, Thutmosis IV or Amenhotep III	?	<i>3tt</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 86-87.
BM EA 51101	D18: Amenhotep III	Armant	<i>h3-m-w3s.t</i> and <i>nb.t-t3.wy</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Russmann, <i>Eternal Egypt</i> , 138-39.
Brooklyn 40.523	D18: Amenhotep III	Sumenu(?)	<i>nb-sn</i> and <i>nb.t-t3</i>	Arms around each other	Fazzini, Romano, and Cody, <i>Art for Eternity</i> , 89.
Tomb of Sennefer	D18: Akhenaton	Thebes	<i>sn-nfr</i> and <i>mry.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, <i>Pharaohs of the Sun</i> , 165.
Berlin 31009	Late D18	?	<i>b3k</i> and <i>t3-hr.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Settgast, <i>Ägyptisches Museum Berlin</i> , 84-85.
Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden AST 3	Late D18	Saqqara	<i>m3y3</i> and <i>mry.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria, <i>Pharaohs of the Sun</i> , 195, 279.

Museum Number	Date	Findspot	Individuals	Sign of Affection	Reference
Boston MFA 1972.651	Late D18	Dra Abu el-Naga	<i>ḥ3ty</i> and <i>nfr:t-iry</i> with <i>ḫwy</i> and <i>nfr-rnp.t</i>	Both wives' arms around husbands	Brovarski, <i>A Table of Offerings</i> , 42-43.
Berlin 7278	D18-19	Saqqara	<i>ry</i> and <i>mi3</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Priese, <i>Agyptisches Museum</i> , 138-39.
Berlin 2297	D19: Ramses II	Saqqara	<i>pth-m3y</i> and <i>ḥ3.t-špsw.t</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Priese, <i>Agyptisches Museum</i> , 150-51.
Berlin 6910	D19	?	<i>imn-m-ip.t</i> and <i>ḫw.t-ḫr</i>	Arms around each other	Settgast, <i>Agyptisches Museum Berlin</i> , 106-7.
Boston MFA 00.690	D19	Abydos	<i>mn-m3c.t-r3-m-ḫb</i> and <i>wr:t-nfr:t</i>	Holding hands	D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig, <i>Mummies &amp; Magic</i> , 157.
Cairo CG 597	D19	Saqqara	<i>nb-ḫḫ</i> and <i>b3kyr3ti</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 2:150-51, Blatt 107.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 37	D19	?	<i>p3-n-dw3</i> and <i>mw.t-m-ḫb</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 250-51.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 970	D19	?	<i>k3y</i> and <i>b3ki</i> with <i>thi</i> and <i>is.t</i>	Wives' arms around husbands	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 254-55.
Tomb of Nebamun	D19	Thebes	<i>nb-imn</i> and wife	Wife's arm around husband	Freed, <i>Egypt's Golden Age</i> , 18.
Tomb of Sennedjem	D19	Thebes	<i>sn-ndm</i> and <i>iy-nfr.ti</i>	Wife's arms around husband	Freed, <i>Egypt's Golden Age</i> , 21.
University of Pennsylvania Museum 40-19-2	D19	Abydos(?)	<i>r3-ms</i> and <i>mry.t-r3</i>	Wife's arm around husband	Silverman, <i>Searching for Ancient Egypt</i> , 282-83.
Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek ÆIN 935	D19-20	?	Anonymous	Wife's arm around husband	Jørgensen, <i>Egypt II</i> , 274-75.
Fitzwilliam Museum E.1.1971	D26	Saqqara	Anonymous	Husband and wife embracing	Vassiliki, <i>Egyptian Art</i> , 114-15.

I found 103 representations of affection in marriage: Thirty-nine were of Old Kingdom date; ten, of First Intermediate Period date; fourteen, of Middle Kingdom date; one, of Second Intermediate Period date; thirty-eight, of New Kingdom date; and one, of Third Intermediate Period date. The representations were not of newly-weds since most of the couples had children and some had grown grandchildren. The representations of affection between husband and wife in this survey were limited to embraces and holding hands, which may not exhaust all

ancient Egyptian gestures of affection. While the gestures of affection are also found among other family members, and perhaps other associates (which is the reason that they are gestures of affection and not of marriage or sexual intimacy), they are primarily used between husband and wife. It should also be noted that such gestures of affection are just a few choices among many options available for depicting a family. Many of the family portraits from ancient Egypt lack the gestures of affection. Since either the subjects of the portraits or the artist chose to depict



the couple as affectionate, one is left with two choices of argument: (1) There was affection in the marriage of the couple in question, or (2) societal norms expected affection in marriage and thus the couple chose to be depicted as affectionate even if there was no affection in the marriage. Either way, the prevalence of the material indicates that affection in marriage was frequent or the norm. This indicates that the gestures are significant evidence of affection in marriage (and by extension in the family in general). I do not think it safe to assume that absence of gestures of affection is necessarily an indication of absence of affection in marriage, which would be an argument from silence and logically invalid.<sup>96</sup> We can therefore conclude that representation evidence shows significant evidence for affection in marriage throughout the time span of pharaonic Egypt. It is worth noting that although representations of affection seem to be more popular during the Old Kingdom, they persist throughout the entire time.

### References to Affection in Marriage

Since the written remains of ancient Egypt are vast and varied, what follows is a sample of pertinent material dealing with affection in marriage. I have deliberately excluded here the common introductory epithet *hm.t=f mr.t=f* "his wife whom he loves" that is frequently used on tombs, stele, and statues to introduce the wife.<sup>97</sup> Legal texts such as the nuptial agreements,<sup>98</sup> as legal texts, omit details such as whether or not

the couple was in love as legally irrelevant. Much of the written evidence for affection is literary and thus somewhat idealized. Still, in a culture where "long-term stable marriages are ubiquitous"<sup>99</sup> some notions of what the ideals were might be helpful in understanding the widespread prevalence of long-term stable marriages and the relatively low rate of divorce.

The Middle Kingdom literary story of the Shipwrecked Sailor also has a reference to affection, already quoted: "You will fill your embrace with your children; you will kiss your wife; you will see your house; it is better than anything."<sup>100</sup>

In the New Kingdom Tale of Two Brothers, Bata is introduced to his wife "who was more beautiful in her features than any woman in the whole world."<sup>101</sup> Bata's actions show that he loved his wife, provided for her, and protected her. When she later betrays Bata, and goes to Egypt to marry the pharaoh, the text explicitly says: "His majesty loved her very much and appointed her to be chief royal wife."<sup>102</sup> So here the promotion to chief royal wife is made on the basis of a pharaoh's love for his wife. Since the pharaoh has killed off all her family who did not allow her to leave the house, the marriage can hardly be said to be politically motivated.

If the Tale of Two Brothers in Papyrus D'Orbiney does not sound like the typical match made for political advantage, consider the Tale of the Doomed Prince from Papyrus Harris 500. Here the young man actually is a prince of

96 David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970), 47-48, 62-63.

97 Reiner Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 825-29 provides references for the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.

98 Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1960).

99 Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 122.

100 Shipwrecked Sailor 133-34, in de Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook*, 103.

101 P. D'Orbiney 9/7-8, in Alan H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories* (Bruxelles: FERE, 1932), 19.

102 P. D'Orbiney 12/2-3, in Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 22.

Egypt but pretends to be the outcast son of an army officer, who sets out to woo the princess in the tower from Naharain: "the gaze of the princess of Naharain was upon him. After this the lad came to jump with the princes. He jumped and he reached the window of the princess of Naharain. She kissed him and embraced him over his whole body. Someone went to inform her father. He was told: One of the men reached your daughter's window. The chief asked him: Which chief's son? He was told: The son of an officer fleeing from the land of Egypt before his stepmother. The chief of Naharain was very angry. He said: Should I give my daughter to an Egyptian fugitive? Send him back. One came to tell him: Go back where you came from. And the daughter grabbed him and she swore: As Re-Horachty lives, if he is taken away from me I shall neither eat nor drink and I shall die this instant."<sup>103</sup> The threat persuades her father and "he gave him his daughter to wife."<sup>104</sup> So in this case, seemingly political imprudence gives way to youthful romance.

One might also consider the Story of Setne and Naneferkaptah as relevant to the politically arranged marriage. The initial two columns of the story are missing, but when the story starts, a politically arranged marriage is precisely what is being considered. Much to the dismay of the dreamy-eyed Ihwere, she is certain that her father will not approve of her decision to marry her brother Naneferkaptah. She imagines him asking: "If I only have two children, is it the custom to let one marry the other?"<sup>105</sup> (Ironically, that was precisely the custom among royalty in

Ptolemaic Egypt, when our manuscript of this tale was copied.) So, she suggests to her father: "Let me marry the son of a general and let him marry the daughter of another general."<sup>106</sup> This elicits laughter on the part of Pharaoh and he permits the two to marry. Her comment on the marriage is "we loved each other."<sup>107</sup> So love triumphs over the politically arranged marriage once again. The motif is matched by the bewitched Setne being willing to marry Tabubu because he is so in love that "he did not know where on earth he was."<sup>108</sup> In the end of the story the two lovers separated in death, Ihwere and Naneferkaptah, are reunited and entombed together showing love triumphing over death as well.

Interestingly, the notion of the familial bonds lasting past death goes back much earlier. In a Coffin Text for "uniting a man's family for him in the god's domain," the individual asks: "O Re, O Atum, O Geb, behold, may N go down to heaven, may he go down to earth, may he go down to the waters, so that he might embrace his family, so that he might embrace his father and mother, so that he might embrace his children and his siblings, so that he might embrace his loved ones, so that he might embrace his friends, so that he might embrace his associates and his loved ones who perform rituals for [the owner of the coffin] on earth, and so that he might embrace his wife whom he knew."<sup>109</sup> The coffin owner "has united his children, his wives, whom he desired to receive," the text goes on to say.<sup>110</sup> Being with one's wife is actually desired. If this is merely politically expedient or the result

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| 103 | Tale of the Doomed Prince 6/4-13, in Gardiner, <i>Late Egyptian Stories</i> , 4-5. |
| 104 | Tale of the Doomed Prince 7/4, in Gardiner, <i>Late Egyptian Stories</i> , 6.      |
| 105 | P. Setne I 3/1.  |
| 106 | P. Setne I 3/4.  |
| 107 | P. Setne 3/7.  |
| 108 | P. Setne 5/1.  |
| 109 | CT 146 II 180-83.  |
| 110 | CT 146 II 183-84.  |

of the desire for fertility, then the sentiment expressed is strange.

In all cases where there is some description of the motivation for marriage from ancient Egypt, love place a dominant role and eclipses any other motivation.

### Summary

For a notion that is supposed to be unheard of, affection and love both in a marriage and cause of a marriage plays a large role in the literature of ancient Egypt. Combined with the frequent portrayal of love in marriage from stele, the only explanation for the data is that affection and love were an integral part of the ideals of marriage in ancient Egypt. The data is too rich to suggest that every marriage was happy or that love was the only factor in the forming a relationship or making it endure, any more than such is the case in our day, but like our day, it was the ideal. It

was expected that husband and wife love each other, that that love began the union and persisted in it.

### Conclusions

An examination of Coontz's assertions about the role of love in marriage in the ancient world finds it based on carefully selected exceptional instances taken out of context. Affection and love in marriage can be shown to be an integral part of marriage essentially as far back as we have written records. For the most part, individuals in the ancient Near East were not interested in recording why they chose to marry. When they do love plays a major role, and such is the case for millennia. Coontz's efforts to blame a wide variety of problems in marriage today on the notion that the role of love in marriage is rather recent are poorly informed historically.





# On the Practice of Sealing in the Book of the Dead and the Coffin Texts

John Gee

## Abstract:

A grammatically difficult phrase involving a seal and occurring in Book of the Dead 31 and 69 has been interpreted in a variety of ways. The phrase derives from Coffin Text 227 and refers to the practice discussed in Coffin Texts 131-135, 136-142, and 146. The texts are discussed in the light of sealing practices of the Middle Kingdom. Attempts to connect Coffin Texts 131-142 with providing food and shabtis are shown to miss the mark; all of the texts deal with the reuniting of the family after death. The missing object of the verb *htm* in the Book of the Dead passages is *wd* “decree.”

## Resumé:

Difficile d'interprétation sur le plan grammatical, une phrase apparaissant dans les formules 31 et 69 du Livre des Morts, dans laquelle il est question d'un sceau, a été interprétée de diverses façons. La phrase s'inspire de la formule 227 des Textes des Sarcophages et renvoie vraisemblablement à une pratique abordée dans les formules 131-135, 136-142 et 146 des Textes des Sarcophages. Ces passages sont traités dans le présent article, à la lumière des pratiques de scellement du Moyen Empire. Alors que certains spécialistes traduisent les formules 131-142 des Textes des Sarcophages comme la volonté d'approvisionner le défunt avec de la nourriture et des chouabtis, ces textes traitent en fait de la réunification de la famille dans l'au-delà. Quant au complément d'objet manquant du verbe *htm* dans certains passages du Livre des Morts, il s'agit de *wd*, ‘décret’.

## Key words:

Book of the Dead 31, Book of the Dead 69, Coffin Texts 131-135, Coffin Texts 136-140, Coffin Text 142, Coffin Text 146, Coffin Text 227, family, Geb, Middle Kingdom officials, Nut, seals, sealings, titles, *htm*, *htnty-bity*, *htnty-ntr*

An identical phrase occurs in Book of the Dead 31, a text for “driving off crocodiles” and Book of the Dead 69, a text for “going forth by day”: *ink wsir htm n=f it=f gb hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f nw.t hrw pfy n s<sup>c</sup>d 3.t it=i pw gb mw.t=i pw nw.t*<sup>1</sup>. The first of these three sentences has often puzzled

translators: T. G. Allen once translated it: “I am truly Osiris, to whom his Father Geb and his Mother Nut were sealed on that day (of) making the great slaughter”<sup>2</sup> taking *htm* as a perfective passive participle. He later translated it: “I am Osiris, to whom his Father Geb and his

1 BD 31, 69, in R. Lepsius, *Das Tottenbuch der Ägypter* (Leipzig: Georg Wigand, 1842), Taf. XVI, XXVI. The reading in BD 69 is slightly different: *ntf pw wsir htm n=f it=f gb hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f nw.t hrw n irt s<sup>c</sup>d 3.t it=f pw gb mw.t=f pw nw.t*. Besides a change in person and a slight paraphrase, the texts are identical. The Eighteenth Dynasty version of BD 69 reads: *ink pw wsir htm.n n=f it=f hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f hrw pw n ir s<sup>c</sup>.t 3.t it=f pw gb mw.t=f nw.t*, in Edouard Naville, *Das Aegyptische Tottenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, 3 vols. (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1880), 1:Taf. LXXXI.

2 Thomas G. Allen, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum at the University of Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960), 116. As an explanation, Allen invites the reader to compare this passage to the “Mormon rite of sealing children to parents,” Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents*, 117 n. s.

Mother Nut seal (i.e., dedicate?) this day of the great slaughter,"<sup>3</sup> taking the noun phrase without preposition as the direct object of the verb rather than adverbially. Barguet translated the sentence "C'est moi Osiris, à qui donnèrent un blanc-seing (?) son père et sa mère, le jour de faire le massacre."<sup>4</sup> Faulkner translated the passage as "I am Osiris, for whom his father and mother sealed an agreement on that day of carrying out the great slaughter"<sup>5</sup> although there is no mention of an agreement in the text. Hornung translated the passage as "Ich bin ja Osiris, für den sein Vater und seine Mutter eine Verfügung trafen an jenem Tag, an dem das große Gemetzel stattfand,"<sup>6</sup> taking the verb *htm* unusually as "Verfügung treffen." One of the problems is that one expects the verb *htm* to take an object, and failing that object, the translations either try to construe the verb as not needing an object (Allen), or supplying the one that made the most sense to the translator, either an agreement (Faulkner and Hornung) or a blank check (Barguet). Fortunately with careful consideration the missing object can be supplied.

### Textual Considerations

Some of the difficulties can be resolved by a

look at textual history. The line seems to have been added to Book of the Dead 31 after the Eighteenth Dynasty. Both Book of the Dead 31 and 69 derive from a Middle Kingdom source, Coffin Text 227,<sup>7</sup> a text for "becoming the successor (*s.ty*) of Osiris,"<sup>8</sup> where the line in question reads *ink wsir htm n=f it=f hn<sup>c</sup> mw.t=f hrw n<sup>c</sup> d.t<sup>c</sup> 3.t it=f pw gb mw.t=f pw nw.t* "I am Osiris, for whom his father and mother sealed on the day of great wrath. His father is Geb; his mother is Nut."<sup>9</sup> A textual variant replaces *htm* with *htm.n* indicating that the verb should be taken as a relative, rather than a passive participle.

Coffin Text 227 comments that the sealing by Geb and Nut takes place on the day of great wrath (*hrw pw n<sup>c</sup> d.t<sup>c</sup> 3.t*). Although the day of great wrath is otherwise unknown, the term used (*d.t*) is unusual.<sup>10</sup> The term is used in relation to slaughter carried out by divine means against those who have rebelled against the gods and spirits.<sup>11</sup> The Book of the Dead passages change the unusual term *d.t* with the more common *s<sup>c</sup>.t* "slaughter"<sup>12</sup> or the later writing of *s<sup>c</sup>d*.<sup>13</sup> This seems to reflect a desire to both interpret the text and make it more comprehensible.

3 BD 31 b S, in Thomas G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 41. Allen (*ibid.*, 63) took BD 69 similarly and translated as: "It is I, Osiris, to whom his Father and his mother sealed (i.e. dedicated?) this day when the great slaughter was made."

4 BD 69, in Paul Barguet, *Le livre des morts des anciens égyptiens* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), 108.

5 BD 69, in R. O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1990), 71. The corresponding passage is not in the translation of BD 31; see *ibid.*, 56.

6 BD 69, in Erik Hornung, *Das Totenbuch der Ägypter* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1990), 146. The passage is missing from the translation of BD 31, in Hornung, *Totenbuch der Ägypter*, 99.

7 Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 228, 230; Allen, *Egyptian Book of the Dead Documents in the Oriental Institute Museum*, 177 n. r; Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 7 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935-61) 3:xiv.

8 CT 227 III 260.

9 CT 227 III 264.

10 *Wb.* 1:239.

11 CT 317 III 116 (for the antecedent "gods and spirits" see 317 III 112); 592 VI 211; 595 VI 213.

12 BD 69, in Naville, *Das Aegyptische Todtenbuch*, Taf. LXXXI.

13 BD 31, 69, in Leipsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, Taf. XVI, XXVI.

### Sealing Practices

The idea of sealing in connection with a family first appears in the Middle Kingdom<sup>14</sup> just when “the massive increase of scarab seals and the great garbage deposits of sealings in the Middle Kingdom points to a particular conclusion, that the sealing practice was introduced at just this time.”<sup>15</sup> Sealings peak in the late Twelfth and early Thirteenth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> I shall therefore begin my examination of the use of sealing at that time.

Seals are depicted in Egyptian hieroglyphs from a side view, attached to a long string or necklace.<sup>17</sup> Although there is evidence that cylinder seals were used in the Early Dynastic Period, between the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, scarab seals took over the role of cylinder seals.<sup>18</sup> Thus by the Middle Kingdom scarab seals were the typical form,<sup>19</sup> and are more prevalent later in the Twelfth Dynasty.<sup>20</sup> Seals were normally stamped into lumps of mud, called sealings, which after use were usually discarded and are

thus often found on archaeological excavations. Sealings were used “for the securing of containers and rooms, and authentication of documents.”<sup>21</sup> Because not all scarabs were used as seals,<sup>22</sup> sealings can provide more information on sealing practices than scarabs.

The most common use of seals and sealings was on doors and chests. Doors and chests were sealed with a string unto which a cone of mud was affixed into which a seal was stamped multiple times around the sides of the cone.<sup>23</sup> Chests had one clay sealing affixed and doors had two.<sup>24</sup> As seals were used on doors to indicate that the room had not been entered, sealing was part of the daily temple ritual. At the beginning of the day, the seal on the door was broken to enable the doors to be opened and the god to be revealed.<sup>25</sup> At the end of the day, the statue of the god was put back in the shrine and the door was shut and sealed.

Vessels were sealed with string over the top and a ring of mud stamped with seals encircled

14 There are four instances of its use in the Pyramid Texts: PT 309 §491, 440 §815, 534 §1266, 577 §1523.

15 Cornelius von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII. Untersuchungen in der Stadt des Mittleren Reiches und der Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 252; Smith (“Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier,” 197) argues that “The practice began as an essentially administrative, purely Royal prerogative, [but] by the Middle Kingdom, private sealing was also flourishing.”

16 von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 252-53.

17 Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 506, Signs S19-20.

18 André B. Wiese, *Die Anfänge der ägyptischen Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, OBO Series Archaeologica, 12. (Freiburg (Schweiz), Universitätsverlag / Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996).

19 von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 249.

20 von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 249.

21 Stuart T. Smith, “Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier: Sealings from Uronarti and Askut,” in *Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration* (Liège: Université de Liège, 1990), 197.

22 Scarabs whose inscriptions were filled with glaze could not be used as seals. Scarabs whose writing was not reversed were probably not used as seals either. Scarabs that contain funerary epithets have been thought not to have been used as seals but archaeological sealings and findings from Elephantine belie that notion; von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 249-51.

23 These are the so-called Type A sealings and are the most common sealings (54% of 2907 examples) found in Middle Kingdom Elephantine; Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 234-36; Smith, “Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier,” 200; further examples can be found in H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976), 27-28, plate IX although they are identified by Smith as “Jar and Bag Sealings.”

24 von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 236.

25 P. Berlin 3055 3/5-8, in *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 5 vols. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901), 1:pl. III.

the neck of the vessel.<sup>26</sup> "Sacks were simply tied shut with string, knotted, and secured with a lump of mud to which a seal was applied."<sup>27</sup>

Seals were also used on letters.<sup>28</sup> The letter was folded end over end in fourths and then in half the long way two times, and tied with string.<sup>29</sup> A lump of mud was affixed to the string and then stamped with a seal.<sup>30</sup> The process is actually described in one of the Coffin Texts: "I am a faience seal<sup>31</sup> that went forth among men, to whom clay is given, who seals decrees."<sup>32</sup> The archaeological context for most of these types of seals is from the quarters of officials.<sup>33</sup> "Sealing was used to guarantee the identity of the sender and authenticate the contents of private, legal, and official documents."<sup>34</sup>

Egyptian seals of the Middle Kingdom typically carry the name of an individual or official (with some indication of his official status), or a design.<sup>35</sup> The seal impressions thus convey the authority of an individual over the contents, and signify whether the contents have been tam-

pered with by unauthorized use.<sup>36</sup> "The sealing of fasteners served in the first place to control the intactness of a closed container or document. Naturally a seal could not hinder the unauthorized opening of a container. It nevertheless unmistakably marked a prohibition to remove the fastener that with all probability stood under penalty and could be punished."<sup>37</sup>

In summary, a seal is used to certify the authenticity and authorize the contents. It is a sign of validity to those coming after and certifies that the contents under seal have not been tampered with. So in Coffin Text 227 as well as Book of the Dead 31 and 69 certify and authorize something.

### Egyptian Sealers

King's seal bearers are common in the Middle Kingdom, though recent work has shed some light on the function of these officials. A survey of almost eight-hundred high Middle Kingdom officials shows that the title *ḥtmty bity* "Sealer of

26 Vessel sealings (so-called type B sealings) were the second most common type of sealing (9.6%) found from Middle Kingdom Elephantine; von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 237 and Tafel 37q.

27 Smith, "Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier," 200.

28 T. G. H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1962), 45, and Plate 9; von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 238; Smith, *Fortress of Buhen*, 24-27; Smith, "Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier," 201.

29 James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 45.

30 James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, 45; von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 234; Smith, "Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier," 201.

31 For *w3d* as "papyrus amulet" see *Wb.* I 267-68 ("Röhrenperle . . . aus grünem Stein"); Robert K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 51-52; R. O. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1981), 55. The context makes clear that in this case the *w3d* must be a faience scarab seal, which is typical of Middle Kingdom scarab seals; see W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Historical Scarabs* (reprint Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1976), 7.

32 CT 135 II 160.

33 Smith, *Fortress of Buhen*, 23.

34 Smith, "Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier," 201.

35 von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 241-49.

36 Cf. Smith, "Administration at the Egyptian Middle Kingdom Frontier," 201.

37 von Pilgrim, *Elephantine XVIII*, 249.



the King of Lower Egypt<sup>38</sup> is held by less than 10% of them.<sup>39</sup> The officials who held this title also held other titles that illustrate their high position, such as vizier. This indicates that the seals are only used by “the highest officials of the state” a fact borne out in the administrative documents of the time.<sup>40</sup> The table below gives a list of the officials who bore the title of *htmty bity* and their other titles.<sup>41</sup>

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>ini-iti=f</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>wpwty-nsu</i> royal messenger <i>imy-r3-hmw-ntr-(<sup>c</sup>3)-mnw</i> overseer of prophets of Min <i>imy-r3-hmwt hnrw / hry-tp <sup>c</sup>3 n mnw</i> overseer of shrine of the corvee labor / great overlord of the ninth nome	Amenemhet I	#132
<i>ni-sw-mntw</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>rh-nsu</i> royal acquaintance <i>imy-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> (wr)</i> (chief) overseer of the army	Amenemhet I 24 to Seostris I 8	#282
<i>ini-iti=f-iqr</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3-niw.t</i> overseer of a city <i>Bty</i> vizier <i>imy-r3 hw.t <sup>c</sup>3.t 6</i> overseer of the six great law courts	Amenemhet I 27 to Sesostris I 38	#146

38 William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982), 170-171. I have adopted the reading of the title following the argumentation in Detlef Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit mit altägyptischen Titeln des Mittleren Reiches,” *GM* 83 (1984): 112-14; see also Henry G. Fischer, *Varia Nova* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 50-52.

39 I have taken the information from Detlef Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984).

40 See also Stephen Quirke, “The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom,” *RdE* 37 (1986): 123-24; Stephen Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents* (Surrey: Sia Publishing, 1990), 60-62, 69 n. 23.

41 For the translations of the titles, I have generally used Stephen Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* (London: Golden House Publications, 2004), supplemented by Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*. I have adjusted some of the priestly titles. The Franke number is from Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*.

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>hrw</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>imy-r3 pr</i> steward <i>imy-r3 snwty</i> overseer of the double granary <i>imy-r3 sšwy</i> overseer of the two marshes <i>imy-r3 <sup>c</sup>b whm šw.t nšm.wt</i> overseer of horned hoofed feathered and scaled animals <i>imy-r3 pr wr</i> high steward ... <i>imy-r3 htmtyw</i> overseer of sealers <i>imy-r3 <sup>c</sup>rry.t</i> overseer of the judgment hall	Sesostris I 9 to 17	#424
<i>rhw-r-dr=sn</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd</i> overseer of the double house of silver <i>imy-r3 pr.wy-nbw</i> overseer of the double house of gold <i>imy-r3 ḥtm.t</i> treasurer	Sesostris I	#391
<i>df3i-ḥ<sup>c</sup>pi</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend ... <i>imy-r3 ḥmw ntr</i> overseer of prophets	Sesostris I	#777
<i>ini-iti=f</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-p<sup>c</sup>it</i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 pr</i> steward	Sesostris I 24 to 25	#133

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>mntw-ḥtp</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 zh3ww m pr imn</i> overseer of scribes in the house of Amun <i>imy-r3 ḥtm.t zh3w</i> treasurer of scribes <i>ḥrp k3.t n.t ḥw.t ntr</i> director of temple works <i>imy-r3 pr.wy-ḥd</i> overseer of the double house of silver <i>imy-r3 pr.wy-nbw</i> overseer of the double house of gold <i>imy-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw</i> overseer of all royal works <i>imy-r3 gs.w-pr.w</i> overseer of the half domain <i>Ḳty</i> vizier <i>z3b</i> dignitary <i>Ḳty</i> he of the curtain	Sesostris I to Amenemhet II	#262
<i>z-n-wsr.t</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>Ḳty</i> he of the curtain <i>z3b</i> dignitary <i>Ḳty</i> vizier	Sesostris I 43 to Amenemhet II 8	#490
<i>imny</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>imy-r3 shty</i> overseer of marshland dwellers	Sesostris I 43 to Amenemhet II	#91

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>hpr-k3-r<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw</i> overseer of all royal works <i>imy-r3 <sup>c</sup>hnwty</i> interior overseer <i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>imy-r3 pr</i> steward <i>imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>.w</i> overseer of Upper Egypt <i>imy-r3 t3-mhw</i> overseer of Lower Egypt <i>imy-r3 <sup>c</sup>b whm šw.t nšm.t</i> overseer of horned hoofed feathered and scaled animals <i>imy-r3 pr wr</i> high steward	Amenemhet II	#457
<i>ni-sw-mntw</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>imy-r3 hm.w-ntr hry-tp n pr mntw</i> overseer of chief prophets of the house of Montu	Amenemhet II 14 to Sesostris III 13	#283
<i>hnty-hty-wr</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>imy-r3 rwy.t</i> overseer of the portal	Amenemhet II 28	#469
<i>z3-rnp.wt II</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 hmw-ntr</i> overseer of prophets	Amenemhet II and later	#530
<i>imny</i>	( <i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> ) prince ( <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> ) mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 mš<sup>c</sup> wr</i> chief overseer of the army	Before Sesostris III	#100

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>wh-htp</i> III	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 hm.w ntr hw.t-hr</i> overseer of prophets of Hathor	Sesostris II to Sesostris III	#216
<i>in-hr.t-nht</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 pr hsb it mhy</i> estate overseer, accountant of grain of Lower Egypt	Sesostris III 7	#151
<i>ini-iti=f-iqr nhhw</i>	<i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>rh-nsw rgy<sup>c</sup>l</i> acquaintance <i>imy-r3 hnwti n dd-b3w</i> interior-overseer of Djedbau	Sesostris III 13	#147
<i>ii-hr-nfr.t</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 pr.wy-hd</i> overseer of the double house of silver <i>imy-r3 pr.wy nbw</i> overseer of the double house of gold <i>imy-r3 htm.t</i> treasurer	Sesostris III 19 to Amenemhet III 1	#27
<i>inpy</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 k3.wt (nb.t n.t nsw)</i> overseer of (all royal) works <i>imy-r3 rwty wrty</i> overseer of the great law-court <i>hm ntr m3<sup>c</sup>.t</i> prophet of Maat <i>imy-r3 rwy.t</i> overseer of the great law-court	Sesostris III 19 to Amenemhet III 1	#155
<i>w3h-k3</i> I	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>h3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>htmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 hm.w-ntr</i> temple overseer	Sesostris III to Amenemhet III	#199

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>shṭp-ib-r<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 gs-pr</i> overseer of the half-domain ... <i>idnw n imy-r3 ḥtm.t</i> deputy treasurer	Sesostris III or Amenemhet III	#692
<i>imny</i>	<i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>rḥ-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>ḥtmw ntr</i> god's sealer <i>idnw n imy-r3 pr wr</i> deputy high steward	Amenemhet III 15 to 10+x	#127
<i>w3ḥ-k3 II</i>	<i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> prince <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> sole friend <i>imy-r3 ḥm.w-ntr</i> temple overseer	Amenemhet III	#200
<i>shṭp-ib-r<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh-ndm</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> mayor <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> sealbearer of the king <i>wr ḥrp ḥmww.t</i> high priest of Ptah at Memphis <sup>42</sup>	Amenemhet III and later	#697
<i>d3f / ḥr-m-z3=f</i>	( <i>iry-p<sup>c</sup>t</i> ) prince ( <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> ) mayor ( <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> ) sealbearer of the king ( <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> ) sole friend <i>rḥ-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>ḥtmw ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty wr n pr-ḥd</i> chief interior overseer to the treasury	Amenemhet IV 6 to 9	#774

An examination of the use of the title by reign indicates a general tendency for the use of the king's seal to become more widespread as the Twelfth Dynasty progressed. During the reign of Amenemhet I, the king's seal bearer was limited to the positions of vizier, chief general, and royal messenger. At this time, apparently only those in the highest positions in the government could use the king's seal on his behalf. There is a

slight broadening of the use of the title of king's seal bearer in the reign of Sesostris I, but the use of the seal is still confined to the top echelons of society, and thus we find that viziers, chief generals, treasurers, chief of supplies, and overseers of fields all may use the royal seal, but even someone like Hapy, the overseer of all the king's works was not allowed to use the king's seal.<sup>43</sup> Thus the use by someone like Intef, who is a mere

42 Translated by function, see Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux of Egypt*,

43 See Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 261, #411.

steward, seems slightly out of place.<sup>44</sup> During the reign of Amenemhet II, many of the same officials still bear the king’s seal, such as viziers, chief generals, chief of supplies, and overseers of fields. The treasurer, however, no longer bears the king’s seal.<sup>45</sup> Officials who begin to bear the king’s seal during Amenemhet II’s reign are the overseer of prophets, and the overseer of gates. During the reign of Sesostriis III, there is a shift in king’s sealers from what we consider secular offices to what we would consider sacred offices. Individuals like the chief general no longer bore the king’s seal.<sup>46</sup> The king’s seal is used by many priestly offices, such as overseer of the temple, overseer of prophets. The treasurers also bear the king’s seal again. Under the reign of Amenemhet III there are surprisingly few officials who bear the king’s seal. They were treasury officials, overseer of the great house, overseer of all works, overseer of prophets, overseer of temples, and high priest of Ptah. One of the more striking aspects of the reign of Amenemhet IV is that only one individual may have bore the title of king’s seal bearer, *d3f*, who is attested only in the Sinai where he served from at least year 6 to year 9. Even the vizier Senwoseretankh does not

bear this title.<sup>47</sup>

Also of interest is the use of the title god’s sealer. In the Old Kingdom “the god’s sealer was an official responsible for supplying rare and valuable materials, and that initially the title designated simply a dignitary in a royal mission.<sup>48</sup> His function was “to deputise for the king, possibly in some administrative tasks, during operations held far from the residence.”<sup>49</sup> Originally “a very exclusive office, held by members of the royal family and combined with high court and administrative functions,” later in Old Kingdom “there was a significant increase in the occurrence of the title” while “simultaneously, its importance diminished.”<sup>50</sup> Middle Kingdom use of the title seems to start late in the reign of Amenemhet II, but increases in frequency during the reign of Amenemhet III. The title is less exalted than that of *htmtj bity*, usually bearing the rank of *rh-nsw* rather than *smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty*. In the Middle Kingdom it was also used for officials heading an expedition,<sup>51</sup> as well as “to designate the senior embalmer as a person using special ingredients.”<sup>52</sup> Individuals who bore the title in the Twelfth Dynasty are listed in the following table:

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>mntw-htp</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance ... <i>imy-r3</i> <i>pr.w</i> overseer of sailors <i>htmw ntr</i> god’s sealer <i>imy-r3 h<sup>c</sup>.w</i> overseer of ships	Amenemhet II 24	#263

44 Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 112, #133.

45 See Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 405, #694.

46 See Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 95, #101.

47 Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 307, #502.

48 Kamil O. Kuraszkiwicz, “The title *htmtj ntr* – god’s sealer – in the Old Kingdom,” in *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology*, ed. Miroslav Bárta (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2006), 200.

49 Kuraszkiwicz, “The title *htmtj ntr*,” 202.

50 Kuraszkiwicz, “The title *htmtj ntr*,” 201.

51 Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 78.

52 Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 127.

Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>hk3-ib</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>wḥmw n ḥrry.t</i> reporter of the palace-approach	Sesostris II (born under Amenemhet I)	#463
<i>ḥnty-ḥty-ḥtp ḥnmsw</i>	<i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty wr n pr-ḥd</i> chief interior overseer to the treasury	Amenemhet III 2	#462
<i>z3-inpw</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w-ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty</i> interior-overseer <i>smr pr-ḥ3</i> friend of the palace <i>hrp nfrw</i> director of recruits	Amenemhet III 5	#518
<i>ḥrw-wr-rḥ</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty</i> interior-overseer <i>hrp skw</i> director of troops	Amenemhet III 6	#429
<i>rn=f-inpw</i>	<i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty</i> interior-overseer <i>imy-r3 t3-mḥw</i> overseer of Lower Egypt	Amenemhet III	#378
<i>z3-nfr.t</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>hrp k3.wt</i> director of works <i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty</i> interior-overseer <i>imy-r3 t3-mḥw</i> overseer of Lower Egypt	Amenemhet III	#528
<i>sbk-ḥtp</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>htm w kf3-ib</i> trustworthy sealer	Amenemhet III	#585
<i>pth-ḥnh</i>	<i>htm w-ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty</i> interior-overseer	Amenemhet III 20	#239 B
<i>rn=f-snb</i>	<i>hrd n k3p</i> child of the inner palace <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty wr n pr-ḥd (?)</i> chief interior-overseer of the treasury <i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w ntr n nwt</i> god's sealer of Nut	Amenemhet III 20	#382
<i>rn=f-ḥnh nhy</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w-ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 ḥnwty</i> interior-overseer <i>imy-r3 t3-mḥw</i> overseer of Lower Egypt <i>šmsyw</i> guard	Amenemhet III 25 to 30	#335



Name	Titles	Date	Franke #
<i>sbk-hr-h3b</i>	<i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 hnwty n pr-hd</i> interior- overseer of the treasury	Amenemhet III 40 to 44	#571
<i>pth-wr 3m</i>	<i>rh-nsw</i> royal acquaintance <i>htm w ntr</i> god's sealer <i>imy-r3 hnwty wr n pr-hd</i> interior- overseer of the treasury	Amenemhet III 45 to Amenemhet IV?	#242

Other sealing titles shed light on the practice of sealing, such as document sealer (*htm w hry-c*),<sup>53</sup> sealer (*htm w*),<sup>54</sup> and trustworthy sealer (*htm w kf3-ib*).<sup>55</sup> Officials like the overseer of the treasury (*imy-r3 htm.t*) do not necessarily have titles that connect them with sealing.<sup>56</sup>

In summary, during the Middle Kingdom use of the royal seal was associated with the highest officials. Thus in Coffin Text 227 and its descendants, Book of the Dead 31 and 69, when

Geb seals something, he do so as does so as the crown prince of Re,<sup>57</sup> a high official with full authority delegated to authorize whatever it is that he authorizes. To that missing object we now turn.

### The Sealing Texts

The verb *htm*, “to seal” occurs 37 times in the Coffin Texts.<sup>58</sup> It takes as a subject “I” (meaning the deceased),<sup>59</sup> *it=f hn-c mw.t=f* “his father

53 From Sesostri I year 9 *mr(r)y* bears the title *htm.w hri-c* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 192, #276). During the reign of Amenemhet II and later, *z3-hw.t-hr* bears the title *htm w hry-c* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 324, #535). Finally from year 41 of Amenemhet III through year 1 of Amenemhet IV *z-n-wsr.t-snb sbk-htp* bears the title *htm w hry-c n imy-r3 htm.t* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 310, #508).

54 During the reigns of Sesostri III and Amenemhet III, *mnw-htp* bears the titles *rh-nsw hry-c n imy-r3 htm.t* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 179, #254). From the reign of Amenemhet III, we have another *mnw-htp* who bears the titles *iry hsbw htm w* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 179, #255). From year 2 of Amenemhet IV *z3-hw.t-hr* bears the titles *rh-nsw htm w hry-c n imy-r3 htm.t* king's acquaintance, sealer, assistant to the overseer of a fortress (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 324, #536).

55 For the title, see William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1982), 173; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 52-53. In year 13 of Sesostri III, *snnbw* bears the titles *iry t smsyw rh-nsw htm w kf3-ib* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 377, #639). From Amenemhet III year 29 to Amenemhet IV year 2, *ihy-snb ddw.n=f nh-rn* bears the titles of *hry-c n imy-r3 htm.t htm w kf3-ib n hrp k3.wt* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 145, #189). From year 40 to year 43 of Amenemhet III *itw* bears the titles *htm w kf3-ib* (Franke, *Personnendaten aus den Mittlern Reich*, 454, #789).

56 For the title, see Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 24, 70 n. 27; which replaces the discussion in Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, 41.

57 For the term *iry-p.t* as crown prince, see Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 1:14\*-19\*. Geb as the crown prince of the gods has a long history that lasts from the Old Kingdom until Roman times, where a word list from Tebtunis names him as such; see P. Carlsberg 180 Fr. X 5/3, in Jürgen Osing, *Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I*, The Carlsberg Papyri 2 (Copenhagen: The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 1998), 172 and 174. See also Frank T. Miosi, “Some Aspects of Geb in the Pyramid Texts” *BES* 10 (1989-90): 106-7; Miosi, “Some Aspects of Geb in the Coffin Texts,” *JSSEA* 29: 103.

58 CT 75 I 352/353d, 97 II 91b, 131 II 151a, 134 II 158g, 134 II 159a, 134 II 159e, 135 II 160d, 135 II 160e, 137 II 165f, 137 II 166f, 137 II 170c, 142 II 174f, 142 II 174j; 227 III 264c, 236 III 304g, 236 III 305a; 336 IV 329q; 411 V 237a, 453 V 322b, 453 V 322e, 453 V 322i, 454 V 324b, 454 V 325c, 454 V 326k; 562 VI 162f, 644 VI 264g, 666 VI 294p, 666 VI 294q, 698 VI 332a, 698 VI 332c, 766 VI 397e; 956 VII 171q, 957 VII 174m, 1131 VII 472f, 1131 VII 473j, 1137 VII

and mother" (meaning Geb and Nut),<sup>60</sup> *šw tfn.t* "Shu and Tefnut,"<sup>61</sup> *nb mʕ.t* "the lord of truth,"<sup>62</sup> while the stative (usually with the meaning of "to shut") takes subjects of *ʕ.wy ʕ.t* "the doors of the horizon,"<sup>63</sup> *ir.t* "eye,"<sup>64</sup> *ibh.w* "teeth"<sup>65</sup> and *sp.ty* "lips."<sup>66</sup> As an object it takes (in order of decreasing frequency) *wḏ* "decree,"<sup>67</sup> *r3* "mouth" (with *htm* meaning "to shut"),<sup>68</sup> *wsr.w sth* "the strong ones of Seth" (with *htm* meaning "to lock away")<sup>69</sup> *htm.wt* "sealed documents,"<sup>70</sup> *hrwd.t* (perhaps some part of a door),<sup>71</sup> *sb3* "gate," (with *htm* meaning "to shut"),<sup>72</sup> *rn=f* "his name,"<sup>73</sup> *iḥm.ty* "two river banks,"<sup>74</sup> *ʕw3* "robber" (with *htm* meaning "to lock away").<sup>75</sup> As a participle, it modifies *hn* "box."<sup>76</sup> Once, it is taken as the opposite of *wḏʕ* "to divide."<sup>77</sup>

The clearest of these is Coffin Text 227.<sup>78</sup> It is significant that Geb and Nut are said to do the sealing, not only because Geb judges the deceased, but because of that judgment he grants him several privileges,<sup>79</sup> but also because other coffins contain a text said to be authored by Geb and entitled "sealing a decree concerning the family and giving a man's family to him in the next life."<sup>80</sup> In this text, Geb, as crown prince of the gods and with royal titulary, commands "to give to me my family, my children, my brothers, my father, my mother, my servants, and all my neighbors."<sup>81</sup> The text is the first in the sequence of CT 131-135 that are all found in the same coffins in the same order and have similar rubrics at the beginning and end of the sequence.<sup>82</sup> Other

483c. Incorrectly listed in Dirk van der Plas and J. F. Bourgoouts, *Coffin Texts Word Index* (Utrecht: CCER, 1998), 233-34 is CT 316 IV 106d (read *htm.t* "treasury").

59 CT 135 II 160.

60 CT 227 III 264.

61 CT 336 IV 329.

62 CT 75 I 352/353. In the Middle Kingdom, this is an epithet used of Horus; later it is applied to other deities (LGG 3:639).

63 CT 1131 VII 473.

64 CT 1131 VII 472.

65 CT 666 VI 294.

66 CT 666 VI 294.

67 CT 131 II 151, 134 II 158-59, 135 II 160, 137 II 165, 137 II 170, 142 II 174.

68 CT 236 III 304; 236 III 305, 453 V 322, 698 VI 332, 766 VI 396.

69 CT 956 VII 171, 957 VII 174.

70 CT 97 II 91. In this case probably not "seal" as suggested in van der Plas and Bourgoouts, *Coffin Texts Word Index*, 234, but as a feminine plural passive participle "those things that are sealed."

71 CT 137 II 166; van der Plas and Bourgoouts, *Coffin Texts Word Index*, 213.

72 CT 644 VI 264.

73 CT 411 IV 237.

74 CT 562 VI 162.

75 CT 75 I 352/353.

76 CT 1137 VII 483.

77 CT 562 VI 162.

78 CT 227 III 264.

79 Reinhard Grieshammer, *Das Jenseitsgericht in den Sargtexten* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1970), 81-82; Frank T. Miosi, "Some Aspects of Geb in the Coffin Texts," *JSSEA* 29 (2002): 104.

80 CT 131 II 151. cf. CT 134 II 158.

81 CT 131 II 151.

82 CT 131-35 II 151-60.

texts refer to this as the “uniting of the family in the next life.”<sup>83</sup> All these texts come at the end of a sequence of texts called *Spruchfolge* 8.<sup>84</sup> The sequence of texts is a series of texts dealing with sending the soul (*b3*) on various errands,<sup>85</sup> followed by a text for “being buried in the west,”<sup>86</sup> a text for “not allowing a man’s heart to sit [i.e. testify] against him,”<sup>87</sup> a text for “not entering the divine slaughterhouse,”<sup>88</sup> for “excavating a lake, planting a tree, and building a temple [var. tomb] in the next life,”<sup>89</sup> for “knowing the way to heaven,”<sup>90</sup> and finally for “giving a man’s family to him in the next life.”<sup>91</sup> In some cases a text for repelling snakes and crocodiles is appended.<sup>92</sup> The text sequence projects a sequence of events occurring in the next life: After burial, one is judged and avoids the destruction of the soul, establishes a house, a house that is illustrative of the type of houses found in the Middle Kingdom,<sup>93</sup> and has his family rejoin him.

The texts concerning sealing a decree on the family can be divided into three sequences. Coffin Texts 131-132-133-134-135 which is found in

the same sequence on three coffins from Siut and Gebelein and thus can be called the southern sequence. Coffin Texts 136-137-138-139-140-142 found on four coffins from Bershah and Saqqara and thus can be called the northern sequence. Coffin Text 146 seems to be a single unit, which is found on eight coffins all from Bershah, though an abbreviated form is found at Saqqara in Coffin Text 141.

Coffin Texts 131-135 begin and end with the rubrics *h̄tm wd hr 3b.wt rdit 3b.wt [nt] s [n=f] m hr.t-ntr* “sealing a decree about the family, giving a man’s family to him in the god’s property.”<sup>94</sup> Coffin Texts 136-142 begin with the rubric *dmd 3b.wt m hr.t-ntr* “uniting the family in the god’s property”<sup>95</sup> and end with the rubric *dmd hnw n Npn n=f nt m hr.t-ntr* “uniting the possession of this N to him which is in the god’s property.”<sup>96</sup> Coffin Text 146 begins with the rubric *dmd 3b.wt nt s n=f m hr.t-ntr* “uniting a man’s family to him in the god’s property,”<sup>97</sup> and ends with the rubric *dmd 3b.wt it mw.t hnms.w sm3.w hrd.w mt-hn.wt mr.wt b3k.w ht nb.t nt s n=f m hr.t-ntr šsr*

83 CT 136 II 160; cf. CT 142 II 175.

84 Günther Lapp, “Die Papyrusvorlagen der Sargtexte,” *SAK* 16 (1989): 181.

85 CT 89, 98-107 II 55-59, 92-120. For a discussion of these texts, see John Gee, “*B3* Sending and its Implications,” *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*, 3 vols. (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2002), 2:230-37; Jan Assmann, *Tod und Jenseits im alten Ägypten* (München: C. H. Beck, 2001), 554 n. 35; Jan Assmann, *Altägyptische Totenliturgien: Band 1: Totenliturgien in den Sargtexten des Mittleren Reiches* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 2002), 77 and n. 25.

86 CT 111 II 125-26.

87 CT 112 II 126-29.

88 CT 114 II 131-33. The context of the slaughter in Coffin Text 227 seems to be in the next life. The position of the text in its *Spruchfolge* indicates that the sealing is connected with avoiding the divine slaughterhouse.

89 CT 115-19 II 134-44.

90 CT 120-23, 125-30 II 144-50. The caption is from CT 129 II 150, but would seem to apply to all the texts in this group, compare CT 125 II 147 with CT 1 I 1-2.

91 CT 131-35 II 151-60.

92 CT 586 VI 205-8.

93 For illustrations, see MMA 20.3.13, in William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* 2 vols. (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1953), 1: 263.

94 CT 131 II 151, 135 II 160.

95 CT 136 II 160.

96 CT 142 II 175.

97 CT 146 II 160.

*m3c ḥḥ n sp* "Uniting the family, father, mother, friends, associates, children, concubines, loved ones, slaves, and everything belonging to a man to him in the god's property. It is truly effective many times."<sup>98</sup> The rubrics equate the sealing of a decree with giving a man's family to him and uniting him with them.

The form of the royal decree from the end of the Old Kingdom can be illustrated by Coptos decree R.<sup>99</sup> The document begins with the king's name. This is followed by the title (*wd-nsw n*) followed by the person addressed by the decree. The people affected by the decree are listed next. Finally, conditions of the decree are given as a series of conditional clauses (marked with *ir*). The publication and enactment of the decree are then described.

The form of royal decrees from the Second Intermediate Period can be illustrated with the Coptos decree of the Seventeenth Dynasty king Intef V.<sup>100</sup> It begins with a date and titulary. This is followed by a title *wd-nsw n* "royal decree for" followed by a list of people affected by the decree. The decree itself begins with the particle *mtn* followed by a statement that the individuals have been served the decree invoking the epistolary expression *r rdit rh . . . r-ntt* "to inform . . . that." Then comes the substance of the decree

saying what the king causes to happen (*rdi.n ḥm=i*). The actual commands are in the form of an imperative (*imi*). This is followed by a series of conditional clauses marked by *ir*, and the apodoses given in the future (*nn*).

The Coffin Text decrees for giving a man's family to him follow a similar pattern. Coffin Text 131 begins with the name of the king and then says that it is a "decree of Geb, the prince of the gods" (*wd n gb iry-p.t ntr.w*).<sup>101</sup> It then states the purpose of the decree "to give to me my family, my children, my brothers, my father, my mother, my loved ones, and my townsmen."<sup>102</sup> Then follows a list of the qualifications of the individual to be given his family.<sup>103</sup> Finally the sealing of the decree is described.<sup>104</sup>

Schneider claimed that the whole sequence of texts CT 131-146 were "food-spells" whose "main theme is the corvées in the Hereafter,"<sup>105</sup> for "the reunion with the family in the next world, pleasant as this may have been in itself, was primarily meant to provide the master with his previous attendants."<sup>106</sup>

As attractive as this theory is, it accords with neither textual nor artistic evidence. Schneider relies on interpretations of *irw* as "corvée labor," or "levy,"<sup>107</sup> and *tnw.t* as "census."<sup>108</sup> The standard terms for corvée labor in the Middle Kingdom are *ḥn.t*,<sup>109</sup> and *h3w*,<sup>110</sup> while those who worked

98 CT 146 II 205.

99 Hans Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967), 214-25; Nigel C. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 123-24.

100 Kurt Sethe, *Aegyptische Lesestücke* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1924), 98-99.

101 CT 131 II 151.

102 CT 131 II 151.

103 CT 132-33 II 152-58.

104 CT 134-35 II 158-60.

105 Schneider, *Shabtis*, 1:43.

106 Schneider, *Shabtis*, 1:42.

107 Schneider, *Shabtis*, 1:43-45.

108 Schneider, *Shabtis*, 1:43-44.

109 Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents* (New Malden Surrey, Sia Publishing, 1990), 137.

110 Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 162.

111 Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 169-70; William Kelly Simpson, *Papyrus Reis-*

as laborers were called *mny.w*,<sup>111</sup> *hsb.w*,<sup>112</sup> *ir m hsb*,<sup>113</sup> and *ith.w-inr.w*.<sup>114</sup> Workers were organized into crews called *ts.t*.<sup>115</sup> The term *hnr.t* is used for the camp of those serving their corvée labor assignment.<sup>116</sup> “The verb *iw3* is used in the texts to designate ‘taking’ someone in place of another for state work.”<sup>117</sup> The term *tnw.t* is used for a census, but it is the cattle census,<sup>118</sup> and *irw* is a cattle-tax.<sup>119</sup> On the whole, corvée work, if it is present at all in the texts, plays a very minor role. The texts, in fact, explicitly say of the deceased that “his heart is happy because his family has been given to him.”<sup>120</sup> Thus the reuniting of a family and the happiness it brings are the end and desirable in themselves and not for whatever economic good might arrive from them.

As for artistic evidence, in the Old Kingdom, at banquet scenes, the deceased is usually depicted alone, while in the Middle Kingdom, “the traditional image of the deceased seated in front of a table of offerings” is expanded to show

“other family members, deceased or living” “in addition to the deceased and his wife.”<sup>121</sup> In the Old Kingdom, scenes of ‘daily life’ in tomb decoration usually “relate to supplying the needs of the deceased in the afterlife.”<sup>122</sup> In the Middle Kingdom, in the period between the reigns of Sesostri II and Amenemhet III, private chapels were set up at Abydos “whereby the dedicator seeks *for himself and family* first an eternal associate with the mysteries . . . and second a share of the offerings.”<sup>123</sup> Thus there is a tendency during the Middle Kingdom to have the family take part in the offerings and not simply to supply food.

While the Coffin Texts that deal with uniting a family in the next life are not continued in the Book of the Dead, only the passage “I am Osiris, for whom his father Geb and his mother Nut seal (a decree) on this day of great slaughter”<sup>124</sup> is preserved first in Book of the Dead 69 and later in Book of the Dead 31. Both texts survive through the end of the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>125</sup>

*ner IV* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1986), 29.

112 Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 169-70; Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner IV*, 30.

113 Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner IV*, 27.

114 Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 169-70.

115 Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner IV*, 32.

116 Stephen Quirke, “State and Labour in the Middle Kingdom: A Reconsideration of the Term *hnr.t*,” *RdE* 39 (1988): 83-106; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 135-37.

117 Quirke, *Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom*, 162.

118 *Wb. V* 379; *CDME* 305; Rainer Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 1450-51.

119 *Wb. I* 114; *CDME* 27; Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, 190-91.

120 CT 146 II 201.

121 Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1997), 102.

122 Robins, *Art of Ancient Egypt*, 55.

123 William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13* (New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, 1974), 3, italics added, and see the list of Abydos North Offering Chapels on pp. 17-22.

124 BD 31 b, my translation, the numbering comes from Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 41; cf. BD 69 a 4, in Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 63.

125 See Malcolm Mosher, Jr., “The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead in the Late Period: A Study of Revisions Evident in Evolving Vignettes, and the Possible Chronological or Geographical Implications for Differing Versions of Vignettes,” 4 vols. (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1989), 1:225-27.

**Conclusion**

The missing object of the verb *htm* in Coffin Text 227, Book of the Dead 31 and 69 is *wꜥ* "decree" specifically a decree for uniting a family. For the Egyptians of the

Middle Kingdom, to seal a family was a royal or divine command, sealed at the highest level, mandating that a family be united and given to an individual, and efficacious in the next life.



# Egypt, the Bible, and Some Insects

Robyn A. Gillam

## Abstract:

This article compares the imagery used in the plagues of Egypt in Exodus with motifs in Egyptian literature, specifically descriptions of the flood, topoi of disasters and the Late Egyptian Miscellanies' descriptions of life abroad. It suggests how some aspects of the Biblical plagues narrative may have been influenced by cross-cultural exchange.

## Resumé:

Cet article compare l'imagerie utilisée dans l'épisode des dix plaies d'Égypte relaté dans l'Exode avec les motifs de la littérature égyptienne, notamment la description du déluge, les topoi des catastrophes et la description de la vie à l'étranger telle qu'évoquée dans les miscellanées néo-égyptiennes. L'auteure suggère que certains aspects du récit biblique des dix plaies d'Égypte ont pu être influencés par des échanges interculturels.

## Keywords:

Exodus, flood, insects, Taharqa, hieratic, scribes, miscellanies.

The plagues of Egypt described in Exodus 7-12 are a vast subject in Biblical hermeneutics and exegesis as well as the starting point of many an essay on the putative relationships of ancient Israel and Egypt, be they social, cultural or religious.

A theme in scholarly discussion on the ten plagues focusses on their radical character, initiating a sequence than has been likened to

“decreation,” a reversal of the sequence found in Genesis I.<sup>1</sup> Related to this interpretation are analyses that seek to relate the plague narrative to later eschatological and apocalyptic literature, as well as Egyptian works in the eschatological and pessimistic genres ranging from the Middle Kingdom Prophecy of Neferty to the Graeco-Egyptian Oracle of the Potter, preserved in a 2<sup>nd</sup> century document.<sup>2</sup> Attention has also been

1 See J. D. Currid, *Ancient Egypt in the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1997), 104-113 for summary of argument and bibliography.

2 Correspondences between Biblical apocalyptic and Egyptian literature were first noted by C. C. McCowan, “Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature,” *Harvard Theological Review* 18 (1925): 357-411. His work is marred by its imprecise definition of apocalypticism as well as a failure to distinguish between earlier Egyptian compositions and the truly eschatological apocalyptic works of the Persian and Hellenistic periods, c.f. R. Weill, *La fin du Moyen Empire* (Paris: Picard, 1918), 1:22-142; J. Bergman, ‘Introductory Remarks on Apocalypticism in Egypt,’ *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East. Proceedings of the International Colloquium on Apocalypticism, August 1979*, ed. David Hellholm (Tübingen: Mohr, 1983), 51-60; Assmann, J. “Königsdogma und Heilserwartung. Politische und kultische Chaosbeschreibung in ägyptischen Texten,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East*, 345-77; A. Blasius. and B. V. Schipper, *Apokalyptic und Ägypten: Eine kritische Analyse der relevanten Texte aus dem griechisch-romischen Ägypten* (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 7-62; C. H. Roberts, “The Oracle of the Potter,” *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Part XXII*, ed. E. Loebel and C. H. Roberts, Graeco-Roman Memoirs No. 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1954); L. Kroenen, “Die Apologie des Töpfers an Köning Amenophis oder das Töpferorakel,” in Blasius and Schipper, *Apokalyptic und Ägypten*, 139-187.

drawn to their relationship to some features of official "propagandistic" narrative which describe how a particular ruler sets order in the place of chaos.<sup>3</sup> However, the aspects of the plagues that are of interest to me are more modest than this, referring as they do to especially Egyptian environmental conditions in the form of some annoying insect and other verminous pests, especially as they relate the late Iron age, the formative period of Israelite and Biblical culture.

In Exodus 7:3ff the Lord tells Moses that "I will harden Pharaoh's heart that I may multiply My signs and marvels in the land of Egypt."<sup>4</sup> In vs. 8-13 Aaron has a magical contest with the wise men and sorcerers in which they all turn their rods into snakes and Aaron's rod swallows all the others. After the third plague of *kinnim* (lice, maggots or mosquitoes)<sup>5</sup> strikes, the magicians admit defeat and tell Pharaoh that it is the finger of God responsible for the afflictions (8:14). Many of the extant Egyptian descriptions of the breakdown of cosmic order (viz. failure of the flood and crops, disease, starvation) are found in magical texts such as those intended to cure the bites of scorpions, snakes and so on.<sup>6</sup> For example, a Late Period magic or healing statue base in Leiden has a spell that describes what happens when the infant Horus is bitten by a poisonous creature. When his mother Isis find him unconscious, she stops the sun god in his boat, threatens to destroy the

cosmos and asks for the help of Thoth, the god of wisdom with special spells.<sup>7</sup> The theme of a disease that afflicts the land and people is something we are already familiar with in both the Middle Kingdom and later prophetic literature. This notion is expressed with words like *sni-mnt* or *i3dt*, words that can also refer to natural phenomena like drought and pestilence.<sup>8</sup> Indeed both these words and other expressions combined with *rnpt*, "year" are commonly used to describe famine and low Niles. We find expressions like *rnpt gb*, "year of weakness," *rnpt knst*, "year of discomfort" or most famously, *rnpt n n3 htwt*, the year of the Hyenas of P. Abbot.<sup>9</sup>

While the threat of famine and drought were ever present in the life and thought of the whole Near East, the fear of a great flood was not something that found much resonance in Egypt. The yearly Nile surge was seen as generally beneficial even if it had some destructive effects.<sup>10</sup> The flood was seen as a remedy for misery rather than a cause. In fact, it was seen as providing relief for the kinds of stinging insects like the *kinnim* and *'arob*, that feature in the third and fourth plague (Ex. 8:12-20) or the locusts of the eighth plague that devour the crops of the land (10:3-15), as explained below.

The mention of insects or vermin brings us to the Great Inscription of the Year 6 of Taharqa (689 B. C. E.) which was published throughout Egypt and Sudan in the form of monumental

3 Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," 364-68.

4 *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1985).

5 See G. Hort, "The Plagues of Egypt," *ZAW* 69 (1957): 84-103; 70 (1958): 48-59, for a discussion of the environmental and scientific explanations of the plagues.

6 Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," 369-70.

7 Klasens, A. *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Behague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: Brill, 1952), spell IV, e-9; R. K. Ritner *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1993), 22.

8 *i3dt*, *Wb.* I 35, 16-17; *sni-mnt*, *Wb.* III 455, 20-22. J. Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Cairo: IFAO, 1936), pp. 80-85; Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," 354ff.

9 BM 10052: 11, 7-8; Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 26, 59-65, 78-94; Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," 359-60.

10 Vandier, *La famine dans l'Égypte ancienne*, 99.



hieroglyphic stela, and, no doubt, extensively circulated in papyrus documents. Copies of the hieroglyphic texts are known from Kawa, Coptos, Matanah and Tanis. Those of Kawa and Tanis were the most extensive, although that at Kawa is better preserved.<sup>11</sup>

The purpose of this document was to publicize four wonders or miracles (*bi3wt*) that occurred in the sixth year of Taharqa's reign and show that they were the result of his favour with Amun-Re<sup>c</sup>, the king of the gods, his dynastic patron.<sup>12</sup> Chief among these were a huge inundation and subsequent bumper harvest. The text informs us that the king has been praying to Amun for some time to avert a drought, suggesting period of low Nile prior to this, perhaps reflected in Isaiah 19:5-9. (The Isaiah passage with its description of dry river beds also reflects an Egyptian trope to describe drought, the sandbank or *tsw* that appear where water courses once flowed.)<sup>13</sup> When the flood came it rose until it penetrated the hills bordering the valley in Upper Egypt and the mounds of Lower Egypt covering all like the primordial ocean, recording a maximum height at Thebes of 21 cu. I pl. and

2½ f., over 10 metres. There was nothing like it to be found in the records. Even better than the flood itself were its beneficial effects recorded in their entirety in Kawa Stela V and in fragmentary condition in the Tanis Stela :

He (Amun) caused the arable land to be good in its entirety. He slaughtered the vermin (*hdqqw*) and snakes (*imyw [i3t]*) that were in it and he prevented the devouring of locusts (*snhmw*) in it.<sup>14</sup>

*Hdqq* is a *hapax legomenon*, but the determinative used in Kawa V, of which an enlarged image was published by Laming Macadam, suggests a rat or some small verminous mammal. It suggests nothing specific in relation to the plagues in Exodus.<sup>15</sup> *Imyw* according to Macadam or *imyw i3t* (as suggested by Hannig)<sup>16</sup> may be snakes, or possibly some other kind of marauding small animal according to Leclant and Yoyotte.<sup>17</sup>

The *snhm*, the locust, is one the other hand, the vector of the eighth plague and an insect rich in Biblical associations as a destructive pest.<sup>18</sup> Ludwig Keimer, who long ago conducted what remains the major study of this creature

11 F. L. Griffiths, in W.M.F. Petrie, *Tanis II* (London: EEF, 1888), 29-30, pl.9; V. Vikentiev, *La haute crue de la Nil et l'averse de l'an 6 de Taharqa* (Cairo: IFAO, 1930); Laming M. F. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa I: The Inscriptions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949), 22-32, pl. 6; J. Leclant, and J. Yoyotte. "Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa." *Kêmi* 10 (1949): 28-42.; Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments Thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie dite Éthiopienne* (Cairo: IFAO, 1965), 244-5.

12 Kawa VI, ls. 5,10:

5. *wnn bi3wt hpr m rk hm.f m rnpt 6 nt h<sup>c</sup>.f n p3wt m3 mit iry dr imyw-h3t n 3 n mr sw it.f imn-r<sup>c</sup>*

10. *sw hm.f dd.f ir n it.(i) imn-r<sup>c</sup> nb nswt t3wy bi3wt m hnw rnpt w<sup>c</sup>t*. See Leclant, *Recherches sur les monuments Thébains de la XXV<sup>e</sup> dynastie*, 240ff.

13 Vandier, *Famine*, 74-6.

14 *rdi.n.f sht nfrt r 3w.s sm3 n hdqqw imywt wn m qb.s hsf.n.f wnm shnmw r.s*

15 Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, pl. 10, l.12, p. 30, n. 34, fig. 5.

16 Macadam, *Temples of Kawa I*, 27; Rainer Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1995), 48.

17 Leclant and Yoyotte, "Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa." *Kêmi* 10:31.

18 Viz., Lev. 11.22 (locusts are edible), Ps. 105.34 (referring to Exodus); in figures of speech :Prov. 36.27, they have no king and yet they march in formation; Judges 6.5 (enemies of Israel are destructive like them); Jer. 46.23 (Babylonian army is more numerous); Job 39.40 (quivering like). The most detailed description of a locust swarm is found in Joel 2 and is indebted to a neo-Assyrian literary source; see further V. A. Hurowitz, 'Joel's Locust Plague in Light of Sargon II's Hymn to Nanaga,' *JBL* 112 (1993): 597-603.

in Egyptian art and literature<sup>19</sup> came to the conclusion that the locust had almost none of the negative associations in Egyptian culture that it had elsewhere. Indeed the locust or grasshopper was seen as a vehicle of the soul as it soared into the afterlife, up to heaven, as in the *Pyramid Texts* § 891d or into the western lands, to the field of grasshoppers, as in the *Book of the Dead* Ch. 125. This explained its depictions in tombs decorations and small mortuary objects. It could also be found as a motif used in jewellery for official decorations and in various forms of applied art. It often appears alighting on various plants in visual art, but almost never in a way that suggests anything bad. About the only negative reference to the locust occurs in a passage in a late New Kingdom school text (P. Anastasi V: 16, 2; Sallier.I, 6,1) which reprises the well worn theme of how the scribal profession is superior to all others: "Have you not recalled the condition of the farmer faced with the registration of the harvest-tax after the snake has carried off one half and the hippopotamus has eaten up the rest? The mice abound in the field, the locust descends, the cattle devour. The sparrows bring want on the farmer."<sup>20</sup> This text mentions two of the same pests, snakes and locusts, or possibly all three, if we are to identify the *ḥdqqw* with rats or similar vermin.

There are very few references to noxious

insects of any kind in the Egyptian literary corpus, but one of interest in this context, occurs in another description of a high flood, this time from an official graffito found in the Luxor temple from year 3 of Osorkon III (c. 784) (l. 2ff.)

The waters of Nun rose to.....this land in its entirety and reached up to the two cliffs of the high desert as in the first time. This land was in his power like (that of) the sea. There was no manmade dyke that could withstand his might. Every person was on their city (i.e. city mound) like *hmyw*.<sup>21</sup>

This word, generally rendered as "sandfly" or occasionally as "mosquito"<sup>22</sup>, is also occurs twice in the school texts. The first instance is to be found in celebrated *Satire of the Trades* or *Teaching of Dua-Khety*, the original encomium for the scribal profession on which New Kingdom works like that of P. Anastasi V, cited above, were based. This work, preserved in a number of New Kingdom copies, notably Sallier II, 11ff., contains a unflattering description of the working conditions of the arrow maker who must go the marshes to gather reeds:

No sooner has the gnat (*hnms*) slain him, than the mosquito (*hmy*) has slaughtered him with his slicer.<sup>23</sup>

Anastasi IV 12, 9 provides us with the variant *hmy rdwy* (perhaps "leg piercer" or "stinger") and another citation for *hnms* (Copt. *shol-*

19 L. Keimer, "Pendeloques en forme d'insectes faisant partie de colliers Égyptiens: B. Pendeloques et pièces de colliers en forme des sauterelles." *ASAE* 32 (1932): 129-150; 33 (1933): 97-130.

20 Anastasi V, 15,1: *is bw sh3.k q3 in 3hty hft r sphr* (16,1) *šmw ity t3 ḥf3w wnm p3 dbḥ kt n3 pnww ḥ3w m sht p3 snḥmw n3 i3wt wnm n3 ttw h3 g3w r p3 3hty* See R. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford: Cumberledge, 1974), 247, 248 (n. 16, 1-2).

21 *nbw m hmyw.ḥr niwt/iwt.f*G. Daressy, "Une inondation à Thèbes sous le regne d'Osorkon II," *RT* 18 (1896): 181-6.

22 *hmyw*, *Wb.* III 295,12; Vandier, *Famine*, p. 123.

23 W. Helck, *Die Lehre des Dw3-Htj*, (Harrossowitz: Wiesbaden, 1970), 50-2; *sm3m m sw hnms hmy sfnd.f n sw sfnd.f hr wn ḥ wdḥ* For an emended translation see J. Hoch, "The Teaching of Dua-Kheti: A New Look at the Satire of the Trades." *JSSEA* 21-22 (1994): 88-100.

mes, “gnat”)<sup>24</sup> only otherwise known in another school text in a simile (*iry.k n.k hnms m-s3 n3 wnsšw*- “you act for yourself like a gnat after jackals”)<sup>25</sup>. The context of Anastasi IV.12, 9-10 is a description the miserable lot of an official posted somewhere in Canaan, to a place called only “*qnqn-n-t3*.”<sup>26</sup> Among the ills of this place is an extremely active insect population:

There is the gnat (*hnms*) at sunset and the *dwt* at noon and the leg stinger (*hmy rdwy*) bites and sucks on every vein<sup>27</sup>.

The *dwt/dawata*, known only from this text and doubtfully in a broken context in the decree of Horemheb<sup>28</sup>, was identified as a Semitic loan word by Helck, possibly from the root *zbb* “fly”,

although this has been questioned<sup>29</sup>. Although these words are rare and their precise meanings unclear, it is obvious that we are dealing with the kind of stinging pests described in the third and fourth plague of Exodus.

The context of the few instances of noxious insects suggests why they do not appear more frequently in Egyptian literature. The school texts were composed to be used in the training of scribes, a class of people who prided themselves on being free from the kind of manual labour described in the Satire of the Trades and Anastasi V,<sup>30</sup> and who took pride in having no muscle development<sup>31</sup> and never getting their clothes dirty<sup>32</sup>. Although Herodotus describes

24 *hnms* Wb. III 295, 12; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (Providence: Scribe, 1984), 2:18, “gnat,” Coptic, *sholmes*. For a discussion of the meanings of this word, see W. Vychichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Copte* (Leuven: Peeters, 1984), 260-61.

25 Turin A, 1,9.

26 Caminos suggests “abomination of the land” (*Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 189) but the meaning of *qnqn* (Wb. V 55.4-12-56.1-2) suggests something closer to “place of punishment” or in contemporary vernacular, “armpit of the universe.”

27 *wnn p3 hnms hr q n šw t3 dwt m mtrt t3 hmy rdwy hr nhs ith st mt nb*

28 Urk. IV 2159.1. A group of signs that appears after a medium length lacuna; partial restoration is suggested by J.M. Kruchten, *Le decret d'Horemheb* (Bruxelles: Université de Bruxelles), 1981, plate, right face, l. 9 and p. 300. Kruchten does not suggest a translation. However, Benedict Davies, in *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, Fascicle IV (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1992), 82, gives “evil woman(?)”.

29 Helck, *Beziehung Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 577, n. 304 suggests *š* ( )-*wa-ta*, “sandfliege,” but see J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 381-2.

30 E.g., Sallier I, 6,9, Lansing 8, 1-2. On the perceived privileges of scribal life see H. te Velde, “Scribes and Literacy in Ancient Egypt,” in *Scripta Signa Vocis: Studies presented to J.H. Hospers by his Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends*, ed. H. J. L. Vanstiphout et al. (Groningen: Forsten, 1986), 256-8; J. Baines, “Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society,” *Man* (N.S.) 18, reprinted in J. Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 50.

31 See especially Chester Beatty IV, 4.3-6 and Lansing 7.7-8.1 (*ir sš n<sup>c</sup> h3w.k hpr drt.k g3h. tm.k rh. mi p3 h.bs mi gnn* (7.8) *h<sup>c</sup>w.f.p3 wnm ks n rmt im.k tw.k q<sup>c</sup> šm<sup>c</sup> ir By.k 3tp r β sw wnn.k wtmtm iw rdwy.k<sup>c</sup> s3 m shh iw.k iwd m phty*) where the scribe is described as tall (*q<sup>c</sup>i*), thin (*šm<sup>c</sup>*) and willowy (“not a bone of a man in you”) with no physical strength – *g3h* and *gnn* are used to describe the scribe, a sleek and enervated individual with soft, languid hands. *Gnn* is used of the dead (“the languid/inert ones”) as well as a medical term. (R. Faulkner, *Concise Middle Egyptian Dictionary* [Oxford, 1962], 210; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 385). *G3h* also even wider negative connotations of being cold, sluggish, numb, stunned, dazed or exhausted. (Wb. V 155; Dimitri Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* t. I, 1979 [Paris, 1980] 77.4612.)

32 Note, for example, how the scribes in the tomb of Menna are spotlessly and elaborately dressed as they supervise the measurement of the fields (Charles K. Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum's Collection of Facsimiles*, [New York: MMA, 1983], 48-9 [46]).

how the inhabitants of the delta had to protect themselves from stinging insects with nets<sup>33</sup> and any who visits Egypt even today can attest to the annoying ubiquity of these arthropods, this fact of life is barely registered in Egyptian elite culture. Why? It is obvious that in the minds of the Egyptian literati, insects only bothered the lower classes. That's why the king, the gods and the upper class are equipped with fans.<sup>34</sup> Such things, if they happened at all, could only take place outside of the domain of Maat, in a foreign country like Canaan, where the luckless official of Anastasi IV found himself.<sup>35</sup>

Is it possible or even likely that Egyptian scribes were still being trained in the seventh century to write from the same books used over 600 years earlier? Certainly, it has been pointed out that the famous victory stela of Piye closely resembles royal narratives of the New Kingdom both in form and content and shows knowledge of such Middle Egyptian literary classics as the Story of Sinuhe.<sup>36</sup> A group of papyri, now in Berlin, recording the divine service and hymns for the god Amun Re in his temple at Thebes in Upper Egypt, which include a hymn mentioning Ramesses IX, were also annotated with a note dated to the year 14 of a king Takelot (probably Takelot III), suggesting that at least some of the them may have been in use for almost 400 years

or at least copied from originals of the earlier date in the temple scriptorium<sup>37</sup>.

The Late Egyptian Miscellanies or school books which provided the material for our discussion of insects, although known from copies found in upper Egypt, seem mostly to have originated from a group of royal chancellery scribes and their students in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty residence city Pi-Ramesse, in the reign of Ramesses II and his son Merenptah.<sup>38</sup> When the accoutrements of this city were moved, lock, stock and barrel to Tanis in the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty,<sup>39</sup> the royal chancellery may have continued to operate throughout the subsequent Third Intermediate Period using much the same teaching materials. That they were used in other parts of the country is suggested by the stylistic uniformity of royal and other official inscriptions of this period and especially those of the Kushite kings which were promulgated all over Egypt and Sudan. It can be no coincidence that writers educated in this tradition, when called upon to describe the effects of the Nile flood, as in the Osorkon and Taharqa Yr. 6 text, summon up almost exactly the same creatures that are listed in their school texts that satirized other professions or those posted abroad. Experiencing something in real life is not the same as having a cultural framework in which to talk about it.

33 Herodotus, *Histories*, II.95.

34 H. G. Fischer, "Fächer und Wedel," *LÄ* 2:81-85.

35 On lands outside Egypt and their inhabitants as part of the domain of *isft*, see Ph. Derchain, 'Le rôle du roi d'Égypte dans le maintien de l'ordre cosmique,' *Pouvoir et le Sacré*, t.1 (ed. L. De Heusch, Bruxelles: Annales du Centre d'Études des Religions, 1962), pp. 61-73.

36 See N.-C. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi (ankh) au Musée du Caire, Je 48862 et 470866-47089* (Cairo: IFAO, 1981), pp. 284ff. and Ritner, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 371, n.4; 377, n. 9.

37 [G. Möller], *Hieratische Papyrus aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II*, (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1905), introduction; E. Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Eheverträge* (Wiesbaden:Harrassowitz, 1960), 10-11; S. A. Gülden, *Die hieratischen Texte des P. Berlin 3049* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2001), xiii-xvi.

38 W. Wettengel, *Die Erzählung von den beiden Brüdern. Der Papyrus d Orbiney und die Königsideologie der Ramessiden* (Freiberg/Schweiz, Universitätsverlag, 2003), 21-28, 225, 253.

39 N. C. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, tr. I. Shaw (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 315-18.; K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1996), § 444.

That the texts of this older literary tradition, represented by works like the *Admonitions* and *Neferty*, were still known in the first millennium is clearly demonstrated by the later prophetic works which make use of the same images and motifs<sup>40</sup> and suggested by the presence of some of them (viz. darkness, river turning to blood) among the plagues of Exodus.<sup>41</sup> However, the philosophical basis of the earlier Egyptian prophetic texts is quite different to that of the later tradition or the Hebrew one. In works like *Admonitions* and *Neferty*, the sickness of the land is entirely due to human malfeasance. The abandonment of essential activities like cultivation of crops and redistribution of goods in favour of murder and pillage is what leads disaster, which in turn leads to the gods turning their back on Egypt<sup>42</sup>. Later on specifically religious lapses, like that of the Amarna period, can lead to the sickness as do the less than punctilious cultic observances of the kings of the *Demotic Chronicle*.<sup>43</sup> While these later changes may well be the result of a greater openness to outside cultural influences like that of the Hebrew tradition, they are relative. There is nothing like the intention of the God of *Exodus* to create signs and wonders, or of teleology as opposed to re-

newal. If they resemble such works, these Egyptian texts are not Apocalyptic.

The account of the plagues of Egypt found in *Exodus* was inspired by a number of sources, including texts in the Egyptian literary tradition, describing the flood and other natural disasters, but filtered its own conventions as well as his own. How these foreign sources were accessed is a matter for speculation. It is often suggested that this happened indirectly, through oral borrowing and traditions, but this does not account for the precision of many correspondences between Hebrew and Egyptian literature. Although it may be possible that the text of something like the Taharqa stela at Tanis could have been read out to visiting emissaries from Judah<sup>44</sup>, this does not explain familiarity with literary texts, evidenced by Hebrew sources. During the New Kingdom, members of the Canaanite ruling class were removed to Egypt, where they were brought up and educated<sup>45</sup> and presence of numerous Semitic loan words in Egyptian from this period onwards shows that many people must have been multilingual.<sup>46</sup> Finally, the existence of Aramaic documents written in Demotic script from the Persian period in Egypt<sup>47</sup> shows not only oral but scribal

40 Prophecy of the Lamb, I, 10, II,7; Karl-Theodor Zauzich, "Das Lamm des Bokhoris." *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer (P. Rainer Cent.)* (Textband. Vienna: Hollinek, 1983), 165-74; H. J. Thissen, "Das Lamm des Bokhoris," Blasius and Schipper, *Apokalyptik und Ägypten*, 116-17; Ritner, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 445-7.

41 *Admonitions* 2,10; *Neferty* 5c, in Helck, *Die Prophezeiung des Nfr.tj* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1970), 21); cf. McCowan, "Hebrew and Egyptian Apocalyptic Literature," *Harvard Theological Review* 18: 374, 384.

42 Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," 350-1, 356.

43 Assmann, "Königsdogma und Heilserwartung," 364-8, 363-4; H. Felber, 'Die Demotische Chronik,' Blasius and Schipper, *Apokalyptik und Ägypten*, 106ff. J. Johnson, "The Demotic Chronicle as a Statement of a Theory of Kingship," *JSSEA* 13 (1983): 66-72.

44 Isaiah 19.11 or Ezekiel 30.14 point to such missions; on early Israelite relations with Tanis in general, see D. B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 296ff., 334-7; on relations with Kushites, pp. 343-8, 354-64. On the easily accessible position of the inscription see Leclant and Yoyotte, "Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa." *Kémi* 10:28-35. For evidence of oral performance and transmission of written texts, see Baines, "Orality and Literacy," *Visual and Written Culture*, 154-5.

45 W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches* (Leiden: Brill, 1958), 254.

46 Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 236ff.

47 See S. P. Vleeming and J. W. Wesselius, *Studies in Papyrus Amherst 63* (Amsterdam: Juda Palache Instituut, 1985), 7-11 for the possible identity of the community which produced this text.

versatility in the acquisition of languages and their traditions. It is from such a multicultural environment that the Biblical accounts of Egypt spring.

In the course of his excavations at Arad in the 1960s, Yohanan Aharoni noticed the extensive use of hieratic signs in Hebrew texts on ostraca found in late Iron Age levels.<sup>48</sup> Although the use of such signs seemed at first to be confined to numbers, as had earlier been noted in other contexts, it soon became apparent that the Juhadite scribes were using the signs in other contexts.<sup>49</sup> One of the documents appeared to be entirely in hieratic.<sup>50</sup> These documents have recently been reevaluated by David Calabro of the University of Chicago, who has concluded that not only did this Juhadite scribes have an extensive knowledge of the Egyptian writing system, but that it stemmed from a different tradition to that found in contemporary, late 7<sup>th</sup> century Egypt.<sup>51</sup> Calabro's conclusions about these documents have further been commented upon by John Gee who noted the presence of Egyptian scribes at the Assyrian court as noted in a number of neo-Assyrian sources, suggesting that Akkadian, and later, Aramaic were not the only media of international communication in

the Ancient Near East.<sup>52</sup> Gee's hypothesis about the origin of the hieratic signs used by the Juhadite scribes is that their use originated in the late Bronze age, during the period of political dominance of Egypt over Canaan and incorporated into local writing tradition. However, following the insect trail, I would like to suggest an alternative hypothesis.

The Biblical text itself documents trading and diplomatic contacts between the kingdom of Judah and Egyptian ruling elites in the Third Intermediate Period, when Tanis was the most important political centre in Lower Egypt<sup>53</sup>. Not only was this city the heir to the culture of the former metropole of Pi-Ramesse, which no doubt included the scribal traditions originating in the New Kingdom miscellanies, but it was the largest Egyptian centre closest to the places in Judah where most of Old Hebrew inscriptions containing hieratic characters have been found.<sup>54</sup> Divergences between later Egyptian hieratic signs and those on these documents might as well be the result of their contact with Lower Egyptian hieratic scripts, which are almost non-existent in the record, as well as the correspondences with Demotic (itself Lower Egyptian in origin) noted by Vernus in his study

48 S. Yeivin, "An Ostrakon from Tel Arad Exhibiting a Combination of Two Scripts," *JEA* 55 (1962): 98-102; "A Hieratic Ostrakon from Tel Arad," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 133-59.

49 As in using Egyptian characters to write Hebrew, A. F. Rainey, "A Hebrew 'Receipt' from Arad," *BASOR* 202 (1971): 23-9.

50 Y. Aharoni, *et al.*, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 63-4.

51 D. Calabro, "Inscriptions and the Hieratic Scribal Tradition in Late Monarchic Judah." *Evolving Egypt Conference*, BYU Hawaii, 2006.

52 J. Gee, "The Export of the Egyptian Scribe." *Scholars' Colloquium, Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Toronto, 2006. E.g., F. M. Fales and J. N. Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records Part I: Palace and Temple Administration* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1992), 4-5; K 1276 records Egyptian scholars (*hartibi*) (*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago* VI [Chicago: Augustin, 1956], 116) and scribes (A.BA.MEŠ). This word, *hartibi*, has been suggested to derive from *hry hb hry-tp* through Demotic *hry-tb*, like Hebrew *hartumim* ("magicians/dream interpreters") Ritner, *Magical Practice*, 221, ns. 1026-28; K. Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2003), 63-65.

53 Redford, *Magical Practice*, 289 ff.; Grimal, *History*, 323ff.

54 See R. Cohen, 'Did I Excavate Kadesh-Barnea?', *Biblical Archaeological Review* 7.3 (1981): 30.

of Qadesh Barnea Ostrakon 6.<sup>55</sup>

While it is obvious that Canaanite scribes of the Late Bronze Age would have learned Egyptian under the New Kingdom hegemony, the apparent use of Egyptian scribes in major centres like the Assyrian court suggests it was still a medium for international correspondence even so far away and of obvious utility in the neighbouring kingdoms of Israel and Judah. Not only does the knowledge of hieratic by Old Hebrew scribes presuppose international political and cultural contacts, it also suggests, as recently argued by Christopher Rollston, that these scribes were the product of a long standing, high level instructional curriculum.<sup>56</sup> While there could have been a cadre of low-level bookkeepers writing accounts, like those found on the ostraca, with a functional level of “craftsman’s literacy,”<sup>57</sup> how much more likely is it that at least some of these hieratic-literate scribes not only came from a highly cultured milieu that provided clerks skilled in foreign correspondence, but also those capable of the highest forms of literary composition.

How did scribes learn different languages and the scripts in which they were written? Evidence suggests that they learned them in much the same way as they learned their own, by copying and, most probably dictation. During

the Bronze Age, for example, in late 14<sup>th</sup> century Egypt, scribes in foreign office Tell el Amarna apparently learned Akkadian by copying out Mesopotamian religious compositions.<sup>58</sup>

It is unlikely that such activities ceased for long during the early Iron Age<sup>59</sup> and the early expansion of the Assyrian Empire alone would have required bureaucrats literate in foreign languages. The small kingdoms of the Levant like Israel, Judah and Phoenicia would also have needed to employ such people to communicate with the great powers. Although the Egyptian empire in the Levant had collapsed by the 11<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>60</sup> its long hegemony meant there was no shortage of Egyptian trade and cultural influence in this area.<sup>61</sup> Art and architecture were deeply influenced by Egyptian models quite apart from the influence of the Egyptian hieratic on the development of alphabetic scripts.<sup>62</sup> But even if the scribes of the kingdom of Judah knew hieratic, it is not necessary to suggest that developed a completely independent tradition in isolation since the Bronze Age. Given that Judah and especially its southern part, including Arad, was relatively close to Egypt, is it not conceivable that it was in constant contact with the nearest large centre of Egyptian culture at Tanis, to which all of the cultural capital of Pi-ramesse had been moved? Although the Hebrew ostraca

55 A. Lemaire and P. Vernus. “Lostrakon paléo-Hébreu N° 6 de Tell Qudeirat (Qadesh-Barnéa).” *Fontes atque pontes: Eine Festgabe für Hellmut Brunner*, ed. M. Görg (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1983), 307ff.

56 C. A. Rollston, “Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence.” *BASOR* 344 (Nov. 2006): 58-68.

57 For a definition of craftsman’s literacy, see W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard, 1989), 7-8.

58 Tablets Kn. 356-7 (myths of Adapa and the south wind and Ereškigal and Nêrgal), J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El Amarna-Tafeln* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1915), 1:24-5; W.L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1981), xv-xvi.

59 R. Byrne, ‘The Refuge of Scribalism in Iron I Palestine,’ *BASOR* 345 (February, 2007): 1-31.

60 Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times*, 283-85.

61 Cf. M. Feldman, *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an International Style in the Ancient Near East 1400-1200 BCE* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006).

62 K. McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* (Missoula: Scholars’ Press, 1975), 105, n. 7.

using hieratic signs, discussed above, are, for the most part, prosaic exercises in book keeping by unskilled or beginning clerks, their existence points to more highly skilled, educated scribes steeped in the Egyptian scribal tradition. They would have been exposed to the advanced teaching tools handed down from the New Kingdom with their model letters and satirical pieces that described miserable Egyptian officials stuck out in Canaan attacked by insects and stray dogs, supervising the production of bricks without straw. If their study of this foreign language included copying out mythological texts, following earlier practice, they might have worked on another product of the chancellery of Pi-Ramesse, a narrative about the brother gods Anubis and Bata, which described how Anubis's wife, after admiring Bata's strength, asked him to lie with her.<sup>63</sup>

Like their Egyptian counterparts, the scribes of Judah certainly aspired to an exalted

social status as reflected in the Wisdom of Ben Sira (ch. 38:24-39). However, it seems likely that the elitist attitude and cultural and social isolation of the Egyptian intelligentsia would be a legitimate subject for ridicule by them. In plagues of *Exodus*, it is pharaoh and his courtiers that are singled out for particular mention as suffering from the afflictions. If these are afflictions familiar to an audience of their peers steeped in Egyptian literature as only suffered by the lower classes or those abroad then so much the better. The Year 6 inscription of Taharqa, a copy of which was prominently displayed on a pylon in the temple of Amun in Tanis,<sup>64</sup> and no doubt circulating on papyrus, could well have been known to visitors from Judah. The subject of the Nile flood and the depredations of animals suggests how the imagery we have been examining could be worked into the motif of natural disaster, something that is largely foreign to the earlier Egyptian tradition.

63 S. T. Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers"* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1990), 27-29 for a bibliographic study of theories about the origin of this tale; a Canaanite origin is suggested by Wettengel, *Erzählung von den beiden Brüdern*.

64 Leclant and Yoyotte, "Nouveaux documents relatifs à l'an VI de Taharqa." *Kêmi* 10:28-35.



# A propos d'une brasseuse de bière prédynastique : evolution iconographique et attestations archeologiques<sup>1</sup>

Gwenola Graff<sup>2</sup>

## Abstract :

This article presents a figurine kept in the Cairo Museum (JE 38908) and published long ago. It is a predynastic bird-beaked beer brewer, standing before a vat and sieve. This statuette allows two points to be discussed: bird-beaked figurines on the one hand and beer brewers on the other.

The known predynastic statuettes with a bird-beaked face are inventoried before studying them in more detail their most frequent poses, the arms raised in a circle above the head, and their appearance. The question of masks in the predynastic period is broached. The beer brewers during the Old Kingdom are shown from numerous painted and sculpted representations.

The consumption of beer itself is attested from the Naqada II period, and four predynastic factories have been discovered. If the consumption and manufacture of beer are attested archaeologically, the figurine presented here is the first iconographic representation.

## Résumé :

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 brasseuses 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

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fig. 1 : Le Caire, Musée Egyptien, JE 38908, clichés G. GRAFF

Le propos de cet article est de revenir sur une figurine prédynastique mentionnée par A. Scharff et brièvement publiée par P. J. Ucko et W. Needler. Cet objet<sup>3,4</sup> en terre cuite est conservé au musée égyptien du Caire où nous avons pu l'étudier, sous le numéro d'inventaire JE 38908 (voir Figures 1 & 2). Il proviendrait des fouilles de H. de Morgan à Adaïma.<sup>5</sup> 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

interprété 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 parfois 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 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.

3. Scharff 1929, 38, fig. 25.

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

5. Needler 1984, 75.

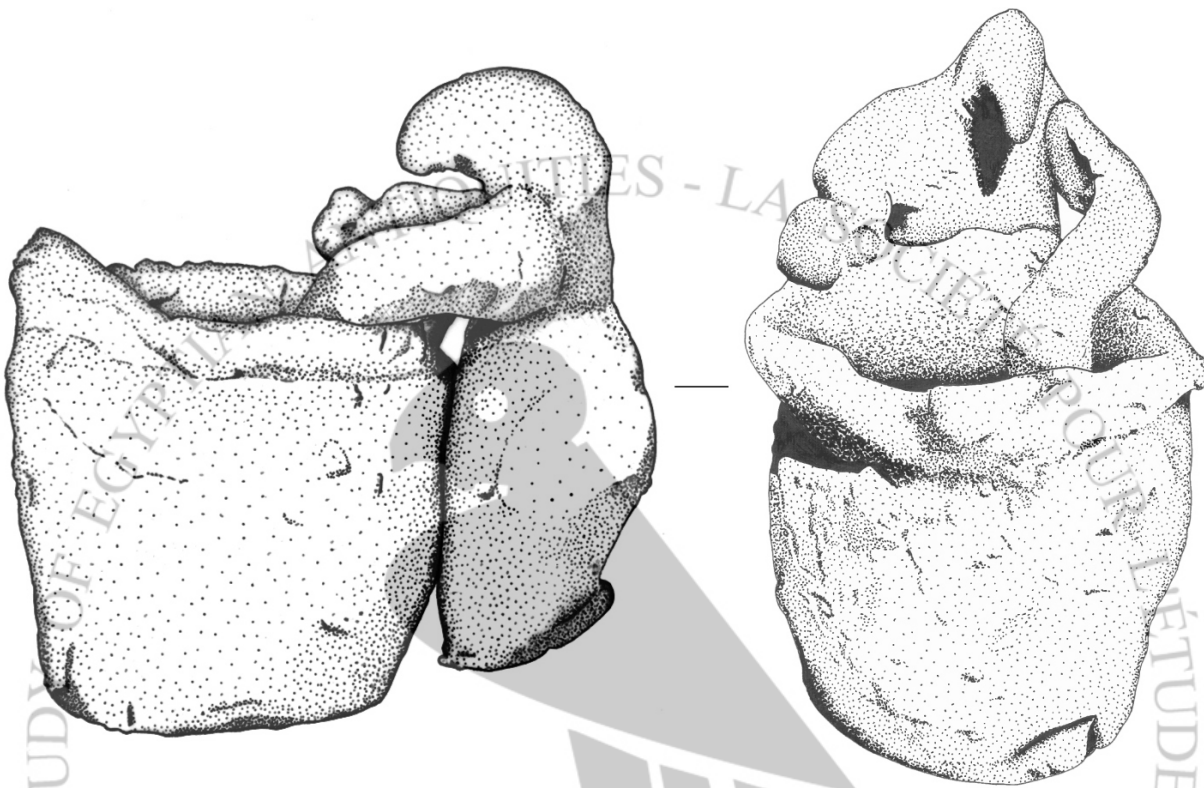


fig. 2 : Dessin : L. BILLAULT / IRD

Il a été possible d'inventorier 50 figurines à bec d'oiseau publiées, en dehors de la brasserie considérée ici. Un tableau en annexe les détaille (Table I). 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.

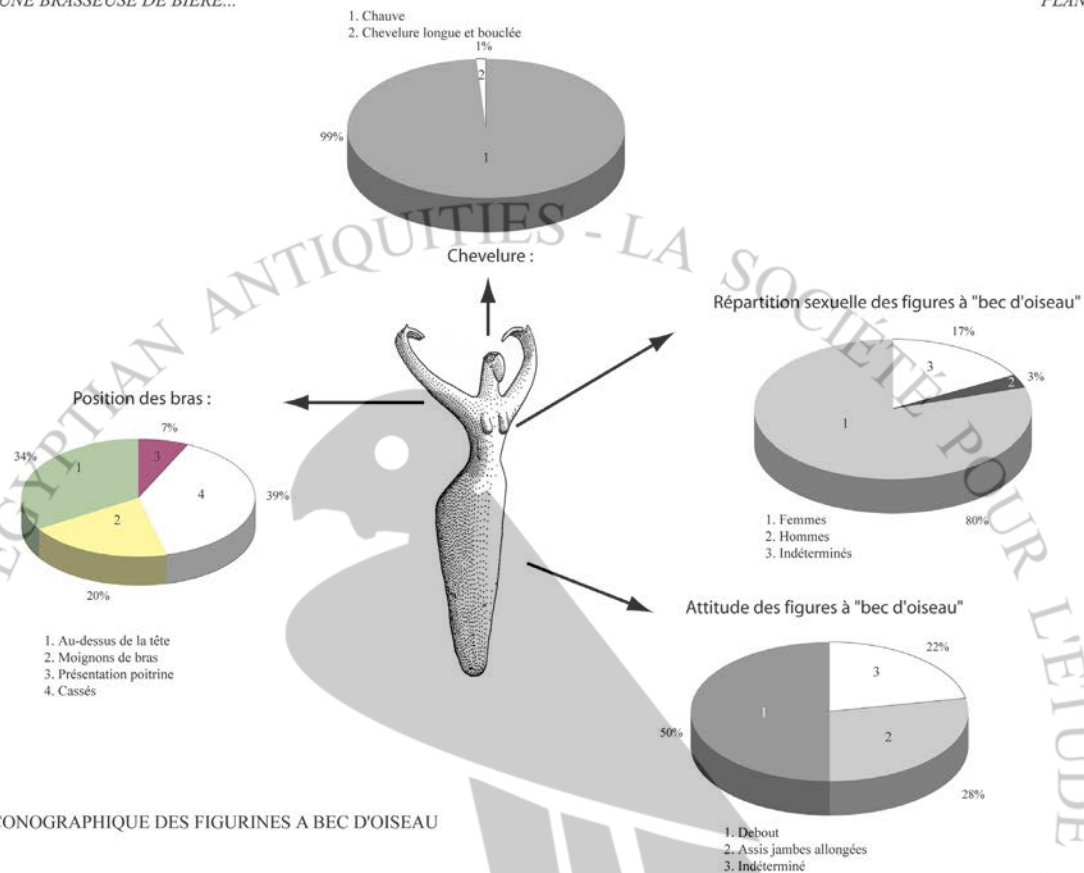
Lorsque le sexe de ces figurines est identifi-

**Tableau des figurines féminines à bec d'oiseau**

N°	Provenance	Lieu conserv.	n° invent.	Datation	Publication	Authenticité
1	Abadiya, tombe B101	Oxford (Ashmolean Museum)	E. 983	Nagada II a	Payne 1993, fig. 12, 51	Authentique
2	Abydos, tbe U-439			Nagada I-II	Dreyer 2003, 59, pl. 15	Authentique
3	Abydos, tbe U-502			Nagada I final	Dreyer 1998, Abb. 12	Authentique
4	El Badari, établissement 3000, "pointe" 6	London, University College	9647		Ucko 1968, fig. 58, n° 86	Authentique
5	Kom el-Akhmar	Paris, musée des Antiquités Nationales (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)	77740C		Ucko 1968, fig. 55, n°83, 53; Needler 1984, 385, n°1	Authentique

N°	Provenance	Lieu conserv.	n° invent.	Datation	Publication	Authenticité
6	Mo'ameriah, tombe n°2	New York, Brooklyn Museum	07.447.505	Nagada IIa	Ucko & Hodges 1963, pl. 28, fig. a; Ucko 1968, fig.47, n°72; Wildung 1981, 19, fig. 10	Authentique
7	Mo'ameriah, tombe n°2	New-York, Brooklyn Museum	07.447.502	Nagada IIa	Needler 1984, 338-339, fig. 268	Authentique
8	Mo'ameriah, tombe n°186	New-York, Brooklyn Museum	07.447.504	Nagada IIa	Ucko 1968, fig. 44, n°69; Needler 1984, 338-339, fig. 270	Authentique
9	Mo'ameriah, tombe n°186	New-York, Brooklyn Museum	07.447.516		Ucko 1968, fig. 45, n°70; Wengrow 2006, 105	Authentique
10		Boston, Museum of Fine Arts			Smith 1960, fig. 4	Authentique
11	Nagada, tombe 1802	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum	1895.821	Nagada II a	Payne 1993, fig. 12, 49	Authentique
12		Bruxelles, MRAH	E. 3005	Nagada II	Pierini 1990, fig. 360, 63	Authentique
13	achat	Bruxelles, MRAH	E. 3006	Nagada II	Ucko 1968, pl. XXXVI, n°215; Hendrickx 1994, 27	Authentique
14	achat	Ipswich Museum	1932.262		Ucko 1968, pl. XXVIII, n°170	
15		London, British Museum	50947		Hornblower 1929, XV, pl.VI; Ucko 1968, n°112	Authentique
16	achat	London, British Museum	53874		Ucko & Hodges 1963, pl. 30, fig. e	Douteux
17		London, British Museum	58064		Keimer 1948, p.3; Ucko & Hodges 1963, 29, fig. b-c	Douteux
18		London, British Museum		XXIIème dyn. d'après Ucko		Douteux
19		London, University College	U.C. 15161	Nagada I	Vandier 1952, 430	?
20		London, University College	U.C. 15162		Capart 1905, 24, fig.6	Authentique
21		London, University College	U.C. 15155	Nagada I		Authentique
22		Munich, SMAK	AS 6980	Nagada I		Authentique
23		New York, Metropolitan Museum	MMA 07.228.72		Hayes 1953, 19	Authentique
24		Oxford, Ashmolean Museum	1948.9		Ucko 1968, pl. XXXIII, n°197	Douteux
25		Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum	948.34.91		Needler 1966, V, pl.V	Authentique

N°	Provenance	Lieu conserv.	n° invent.	Datation	Publication	Authenticité
26	Acquis par Schiaparelli en 1900-1901	Turin, musée égyptien	inv. suppl. 1146	fin Nagada I, début Nagada II	Ucko & Hodges 1963, pl. 29, fig. f	Douteux
27	Acquis par Schiaparelli	Turin, musée égyptien	inv. suppl. 1147		Donadoni-Roveri 1988, 29	Authentique
28	Acquis par Schiaparelli	Turin, musée égyptien	inv. suppl. 1150		Donadoni-Roveri 1988, 29	Authentique
29					De Rustafjaell 1914, pl. I, n° 74	Authentique
30					Keimer 1948, 6, Scharff 1931, 260, fig. 91	Authentique
31				Nagada I	Vandier 1952, I, 429	Authentique
32					Vandier 1952, I, 429, fig. 287, 7	Authentique
33					Vandier 1952, I, 429, fig. 287, 1	Authentique
34				Nagada I	Vandier 1952, I, 429	Authentique
35				Nagada I	Vandier 1952, 430	Authentique
36					Vandier 1952, I, 430, fig. 288, 5	Authentique
37					Vandier 1952, I, 434	Douteux
38					Vandier 1952, I, fig. 288	Authentique
39			4411		cat. Coll. Hilton Price 1909, pl. 35	
<b>Tableau des figurines masculines à bec d'oiseau</b>						
40	Nagada	New-York, Brooklyn Museum	35.1269	Nagada II	Needler 1984, 432-343, fig. 274a	Authentique
41		London, British Museum	50687		Hornblower 1929, XV, pl. VI, 5; Ucko & Hodges 1963, pl. 28, fig. e	Douteux
42	Hiérakonpolis, Loc. 6, tbc 11		n° cat. 152	n° cat. 152	Adams 2000, 94, fig. 16, 152	Authentique
43	Naqel-Hai	Boston, Museum of Fine Arts	13.3815		Smith 1960, fig. 4	Authentique
44		Boston, Museum of Fine Arts	04.1804			
45	inconnue	Berlin, Staatliche Museum	13806		Scharff 1929, Tf. 10, 50	
46	inconnue	Berlin, Staatliche Museum	13808		Scharff 1929, Tf. 10, 52	
<b>Tableau des figurines à bec d'oiseau sans sexe déterminé</b>						
47		London, University College	U.C. 15156	Nagada I	Vandier 1952, 429	Authentique
48		London, University College	U.C. 15157		Capart 1905, p. 164, Vandier 1952, 429	Douteux
49	inconnue	Berlin, Staatliche Museum	13809		Scharff 1929, Abb. 22	Authentique
50	Alawniyeh, tombe 209, site L			Nagada I	Ucko 1968, fig. 39, n°49	



ANALYSE ICONOGRAPHIQUE DES FIGURINES A BEC D'OISEAU

able, 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? B. Adams pensait que les représentations masculines<sup>6</sup> devaient être aussi nombreuses que les féminines à l'origine.<sup>7</sup>

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 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

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).

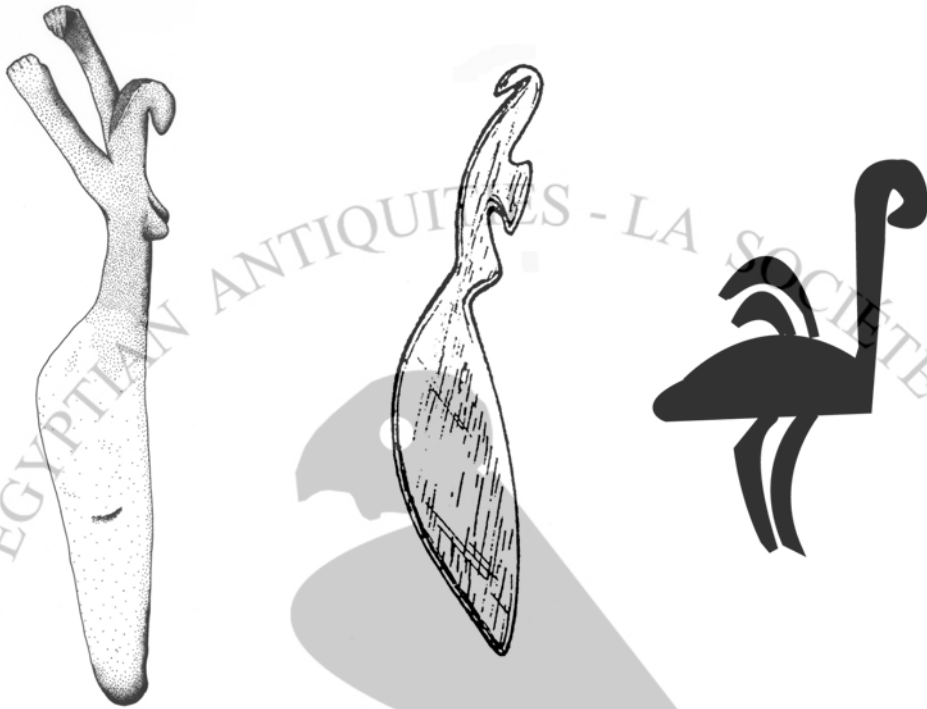


Figure 4: Mise en parallèle d'une figurine à bec d'oiseau, d'une palette à fard en grauwacke représentant une femme aux bras levés et d'une autruche aux ailes dressées représentée sur un vase décoré.

U-439 (Figure 6), qui a une chevelure longue et bouclée.<sup>8</sup> Il semble que la figurine masculine trouvée dans la tombe 11 de la Locality 6 d'Hiéakonpolis présente elle aussi une chevelure. Cette figurine très particulière a été identifiée par l'auteur comme une figure de prisonnier.<sup>9</sup>

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,<sup>10</sup> un geste de victoire,<sup>11</sup> une évocation de cornes de bovidé,<sup>12</sup> 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

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).

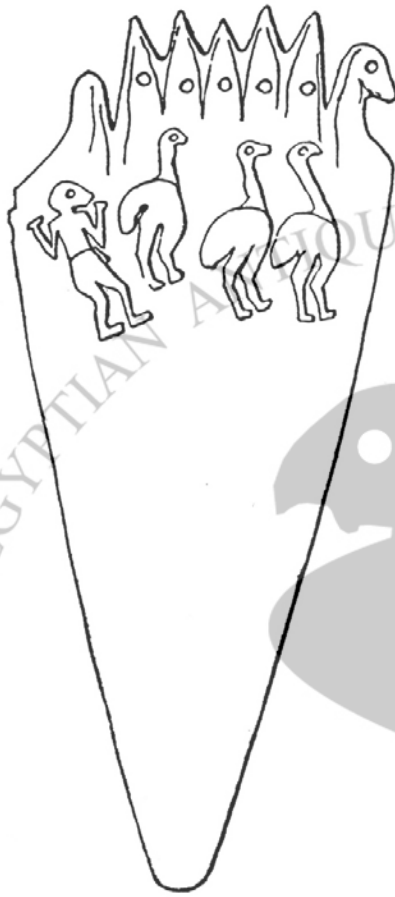


Figure 5: Palette lancéolée, Manchester, no 5476.

ce geste, bras levés et déployés, ne va pas sans évoquer des ailes d'oiseau.<sup>13</sup> 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 & 5). Elles sont représentées sur les vases Decorated Ware.<sup>14</sup> Il convient néanmoins de préciser qu'il existe deux identifications possibles pour cet oiseau: si certains auteurs y voient une autruche,<sup>15</sup> d'autres penchent pour un flamant.<sup>16</sup> 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:<sup>17</sup>

- 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

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. Petrie 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.



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 oeufs 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.<sup>18</sup>

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 5).<sup>19</sup> 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 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.<sup>20</sup>

La palette dite de Manchester est une palette en grauwacke lancéolée scutiforme (voir Figure 5), conservée au musée de Manchester (n° inventaire : 5476),<sup>21</sup> 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.<sup>22</sup> 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<sup>23</sup> le mentionne comme une représentation de masque en contexte cynégétique.

La question des masques doit maintenant être

18. En ce qui concerne les oeufs, 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.

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,<sup>24</sup> 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 acquiert une vision nouvelle. En particulier, il voit ce qui était auparavant invisible pour lui.<sup>25</sup> 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 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).

Graff, "A propos d'une brassseuse de biere prédynastique"

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.<sup>26</sup> Malheureusement, son état est beaucoup plus fragmentaire, mais il apparaît tout de même que les figures masculines avaient un bec d'oiseau (Figure 9).

Bien que l'attitude des sept femmes<sup>27</sup> 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 brassseuses de biere

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

Comme on le verra plus loin, l'importance de la production de la biere est attestée à l'Ancien-Empire par le nombre retrouvé de jarres destinées à la contenir.<sup>28</sup> 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 statuette qui y sont déposées. Aux périodes suivantes, Ière Période Intermédiaire et Moyen-Empire, ce sont des maquette représentant des ateliers de brasserie qui seront placées dans les hypogées.

Le terme hiéroglyphique le plus courant pour désigner la biere est *hnkt*.<sup>29</sup> Il est probablement dérivé de *hnk*, liquide.<sup>30</sup> Ce terme apparaît à la III<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Le vocabulaire s'enrichit d'appellations

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.

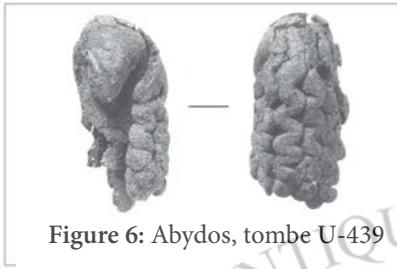


Figure 6: Abydos, tombe U-439

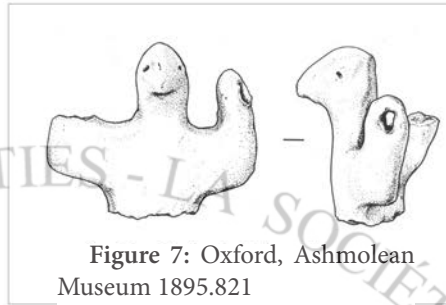


Figure 7: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1895.821

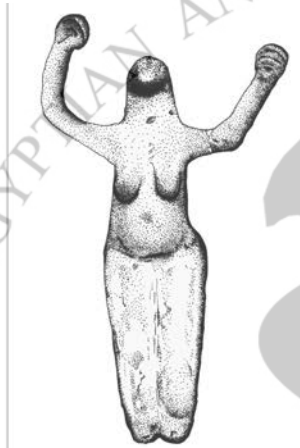


Figure 8: Bruxelles, MRAH E. 3006+

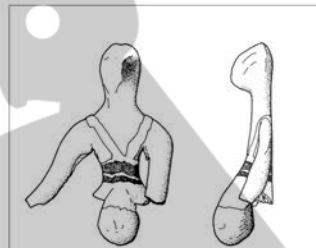


Figure 9: Abydos, tombe U-503

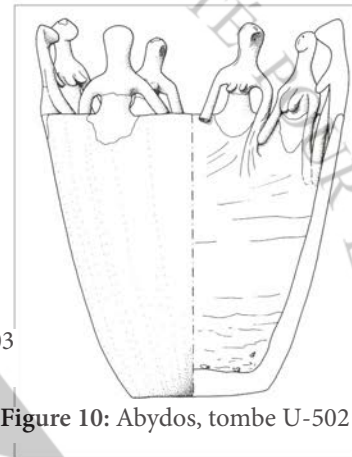


Figure 10: Abydos, tombe U-502

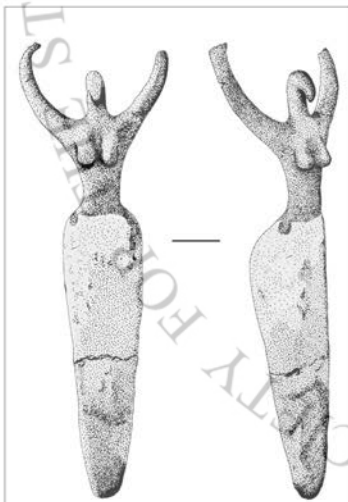


Figure 11: New York, Brooklyn Museum, 07.447.502.

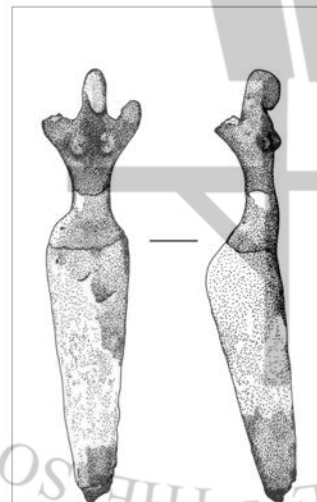


Figure 12: New York, Brooklyn Museum 07.447.504.

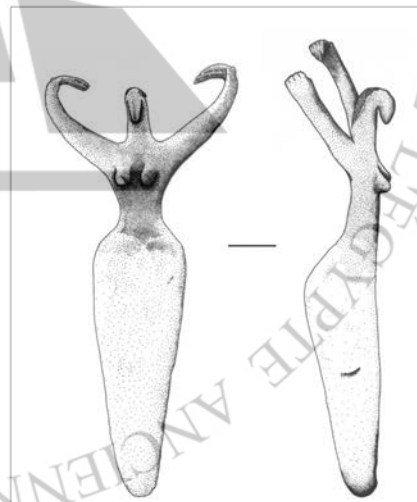


Figure 13: New York, Brooklyn Museum 07.447.505.

## QUELQUES BRASSEUSES DE L'ANCIEN-EMPIRE



Figure 14: Bissing 1908, pl. 1



Figure 15: Frederickson 1966, 45.



Figure 16: Breasted, 1948, 31, fig 30b.  
Florence, Inv. no. 3812.



Figure 17: Breasted, 1948, fig. 30b  
Florence, Inv. no. 3812

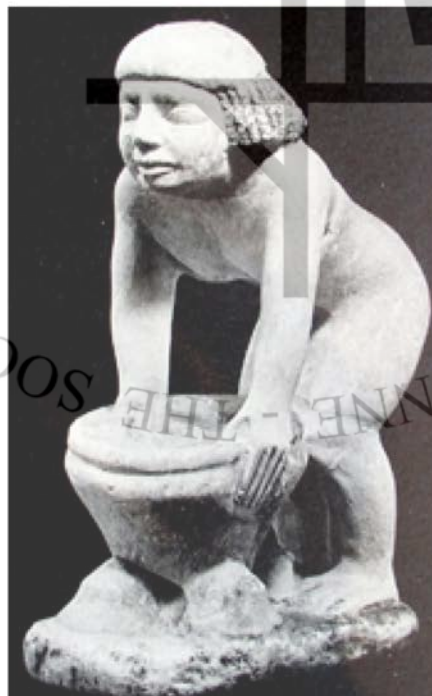


Figure 18: Breasted 1948, 32, fig. 31b.  
Chicago Oriental Institute 10635

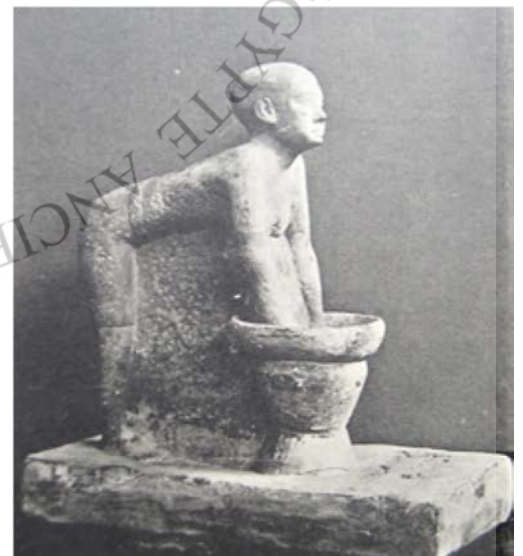


Figure 19: Borchardt 1911, 1:pl. 26, 118,  
Saqqara mastaba 5234

pour les différentes bières à la IV<sup>e</sup> dynastie.<sup>31</sup>

Quand au brasseur, il est désigné par var. *ʕfy* dès l'Ancien-Empire.<sup>32</sup> On trouve aussi le terme de var. *ʕth*, à l'Ancien et au Moyen-Empire.<sup>33</sup>

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 14 to 19).

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, les représentations<sup>34</sup> 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 (Table 2).

On explique traditionnellement la présence

**Table 2**  
**Tableau des représentations de brassage**

N°	Provenance	Lieu conserv.	n° invent.	Datation	Publication	Type	Sexe
1	Guizeh	Berkeley	6-19811	Anc.-Emp.	Elsasser & Fredrickson 1966, 45	RD	F
2	-	Florence	3812	Anc.-Emp.	Breasted 1948, fig. 30b, 31	RD	F
3	-	Chicago Oriental Institute	10635	Vème dyn.	Breasted 1948, fig. 31b, 32	RD	F
4	Guiza, tombe de Meresankh	-	-	fin Vème dyn.	Silverman 1997, 82	RD	F
5	-	-	-	Anc.-Emp.?	Bissing 1908, pl. 1	RD	F
6	Saqqara, mastaba S234, mastaba D20	Caire (Musée du)	CG 118	Vème dyn.	Borchardt 1911, vol. 1, pl. 26, 118	RD	F
7	-	Hildesheim, Pelizaeus Museum	18	-	Breasted 1948, pl. 30a	RD	H
8	tombe de Meket-Rê	New York, Metropolitan Museum	MMA 20.3.12	-	Hayes 1953; fig. 171, 264	M	
9	-	-	-	-	Breasted 1948, pl. 37a	M	H
10	-	Édimburgh, Royal Scottish Museum	1914.71	XIIème dynastie	Breasted 1948, pl. 37a	M	H
11	-	Boston (Museum of)	21.886	XIIème dynastie	Breasted 1948, pl. 37b	M	H
12	-	Copenhague, Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg	A 519	Ière Période Intermédiaire	Breasted 1948, pl. 32c	M	H
13	-	Chicago, Oriental Institute	10514	Moyen-Empire	Breasted 1948, pl. 38b	M	H

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.

14		New York, Metropolitan Museum	20.3.12	XIème dyn.	Breasted 1948, pl. 36b	M	H
15	Saqqara, mastaba de Ti	-	-	Vème dyn.	Steindorf G. 1913, pl. 83 + 84	BR	H
16	Meir V, A2, mastaba de Pépionkh dit Heny le Noir	-	-	VIème dyn		BR	H
17	mastaba du musée de Leyde	Leyde			Peters-Desteract	BR	H
18	Saqqara, tombe de Khentika	-	-	VIème dyn.		BR	H
19	mastaba de la glyptothèque	Copenhague, Glyptothèque ny Carlsberg,				BR	H
20	Abusir, tombe de Djedemonkh	-	-	Vème dyn.		BR	H
21	Saqqara, tombe de Ré-em-Kouy	-	-	A.-E.		BR	H

Dans la colonne Type, BR = Bas-Relief; RD = Ronde-Bosse; M = Maquette

Dans la colonne Sexe, F = Femme; H = Homme; I = Indéterminable

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 brassreuses 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 brassreuse 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,<sup>35</sup> ce qui oblige les brassreuses 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 brassreuses 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 bière à l'époque prédynastique

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.<sup>36</sup> Néanmoins, les jarres à bière semblent faire une brutale apparition durant Nagada IICD.<sup>37</sup> Toujours à Nag. IIC2-D, les cuves à bec caractéristiques pour la brasserie ont des lèvres fines, qui apparaissent

35. Faltings 1998.

36. Buchez 2004, 681.

37. Hendrickx et alii 2002, 291.

pour la première fois.<sup>38</sup>

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."<sup>39</sup>

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.<sup>40</sup> 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 séparés que de 80 m.<sup>41</sup>

D'autres ateliers ont été reconnus à Abydos et Mahasna.<sup>42</sup> Ils dateraient de la fin de Nagada II ou de Nagada III.<sup>43</sup> Le plus récent à avoir été découvert est situé dans le Delta, à Tell el-Farkha:<sup>44</sup> une construction liée à une activité domestique nécessitant l'usage du feu a été retrouvée 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.<sup>45</sup>

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.<sup>46</sup>

On notera que la figurine de brasserie 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."<sup>47</sup>

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."<sup>48</sup>

On sait par ailleurs que ce type de bière, fai-

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.

blement alcoolisée, ne se conservait pas et que la fabrication devait en être quotidienne.

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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 por-

Graff, "A propos d'une brasseuse de bière prédynastique"

tés 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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# The Side-striped Jackal, *Canis Adustus*: A New Element of Egyptian Bestiary?

Nicolas Manlius

## Abstract:

One of the animals depicted in the Nefermaat chapel is the Side-striped Jackal, *Canis adustus*.

## Résumé:

Un des animaux illustrés dans la chapelle de Nefermaat est le chacal à flancs rayés, *Canis adustus*.

## Keywords:

Canids, *Canis adustus*, Side-striped Jackal.

The aim of this paper is to bring attention to perhaps the first representation of the Side-striped Jackal, *Canis adustus*, in pharaonic art. This representation is to be found in a hunting scene incised in the stone and filled up with colored pastes, on the southern panel of the west wall of the facade niche of Nefermaat's chapel at Meydum, which dates from the Fourth Dynasty. On the lowest part of this panel, at the register 7, now in fairly poor condition, three canids are pursued by a hunting dog which holds one of them by the base of its tail (Figure 1). It is probable, but not sure, that the scene occurs in Egypt, maybe not so far from Meydum (29°24' N 31°09'E), that is to say in the Middle Egypt near the Fayum-oase.

In 1892 Petrie<sup>1</sup> published a color drawing

of this panel made about twenty years after its finding. According to this author, at that time this panel was still "well preserved at the base" with fully preserved inlays with "color of purely Egyptian origin". In this drawing, some details appear on the three canids, making them, as a matter of fact, very singular. Their morphologies are those of a fox jackal. With regard to coloring, their backs and tails are brown, their flanks display large black stripes, their tails have a black band near their end (one tip is not visible), and their heads, bellies, legs and tail tip are white. Two of these canids have black muzzles, and two have entirely black ears. The black and white representation of Petrie's drawing is sufficient to appreciate the specific features of these canids (Figure 2).

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1 W. M. F. Petrie, *Medum* (London: David Nutt, 1892).



Figure 1: Photography of the south panel of the west wall of the niche facade of chapel of Nefermaat (from Harpur, 2001, pl. 5).

The panel in question has already been depicted by specialists. The first description was made by Petrie<sup>2</sup>, who cited the “dog hunting jackal” but did not bring any mention about his prey, the Nefermaat canids. He does not specify the jackal species hunting by the dog, but he probably meant the Golden Jackal (*Canis aureus*) because it was the only jackal species living in Egypt at the end of the nineteenth century<sup>3</sup>. But this species generally display a homogeneous coat, varying from pale to dark tawny, without any white spot at the tip of the tail (Figure 3).

Osborn & Osbornová<sup>4</sup> believe that the Nefermaat canids are Red Foxes (*Vulpes vulpes*), which also lived in Egypt<sup>5</sup>. They assume that their morphology is characteristic of a fox, and think that the black stripes on the flanks are somewhat abstract. It is true that, like the Nefermaat canids, red foxes present a pointed muzzle, long ears, long slender legs whit nearly black lower parts and almost black feet and a long tail with a white tip (Figure 3). According to Gaillard,<sup>6</sup> Egyptian artists colored animals as seen in the daylight, that is to say in function of nature, luminosity and angle of light. It is perhaps possible that the black coloration of muzzles and ears of Nefermaat canids is the result of this practice. But although the painting of the panel shows an incontestable stylization, it is difficult to think that the Egyptian artists made an abstract painting, comprizing a very large strip on the flanks, of the Nefermaat canids whereas the leopard, painted just above them in register 6 is, for his part, perfectly drawn and colored. Registers 6 and 7 of the panel are probably the work of the same artist. So it is difficult to think that he used different *modus operandi* in the same painting.

2 Petrie, *Medum*.

3 R. M. Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*, 6th edition. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).

4 D. J. Osborn, & J. Osbornová (1998). *The Mammals of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1998).

5 Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*.

6 C. Gaillard, “Identification de l'oiseau AMÂ figuré dans une tombe de Béni-Hassan,” *BIFAO* 33 (1933): 169-190.

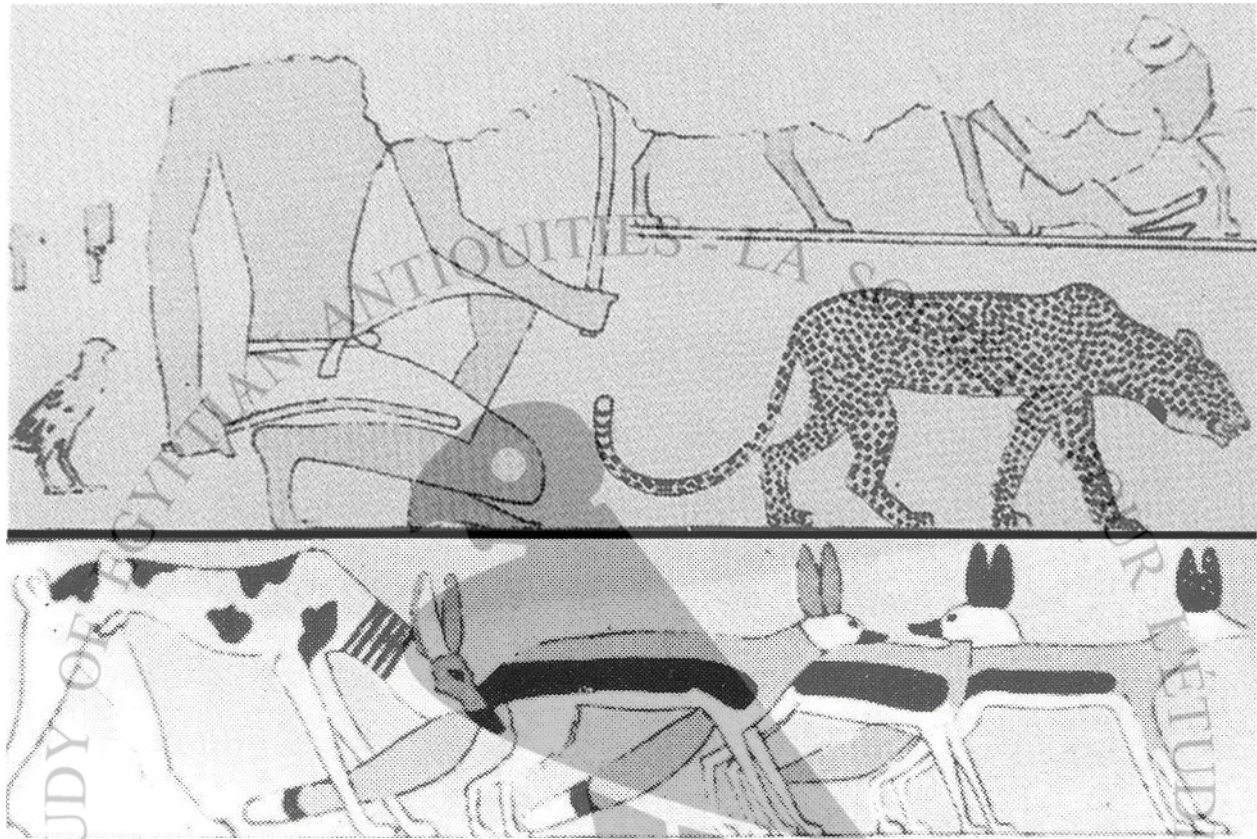


Figure 2: Enlarged view of the low decoration of the south panel of the west wall of the niche facade of chapel of Nefermaat. Register 6 (high) and register 7 (below) (from Petrie, 1892, pl. XVII).

If perchance it is not the case and the canids of register 7 were painted by a different artist, it can be equally supposed that the large black stripes on the flanks come from a Striped Jackal and are transposed on another canids – the Nefermaat canids – in view to realize chimeras. Moreover, chimeras are generally formed from species familiar to the Egyptians, that is to say from species living in Egypt or in proximity. In this case, the large black stripes argue for a presence of the Striped Jackal in, or near, Egypt.

Harpur<sup>7</sup> thinks that the Nefermaat canids are Fennec Foxes (*Vulpes zerda*), which lived in des-

erts of Egypt<sup>8</sup>. Of course, the large size of the fennec ears is somewhat similar to that of the Nefermaat canids, but this is absolutely not the case of the remaining of its morphology. Effectively, the fennec has a very small head and muzzle in relation to its ears, short legs, a short tail with a black tip, and an entirely pale coat (Figure 3).

The fourth other species of canid currently present in Egypt is Rüppell's fox (*Vulpes rueppellii*)<sup>9</sup>. But if this species has long broad ears and a long tail with a dark proximal half and a white tip, its body is low with proportionally short legs, and its coat is of a homogenous beige to pale (Figure 3).

7 Y. Harpur, *The Tombs of Nefermaat and Rahotep at Maidum. Discovery, Destruction and Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

8 Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*.

9 Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*.

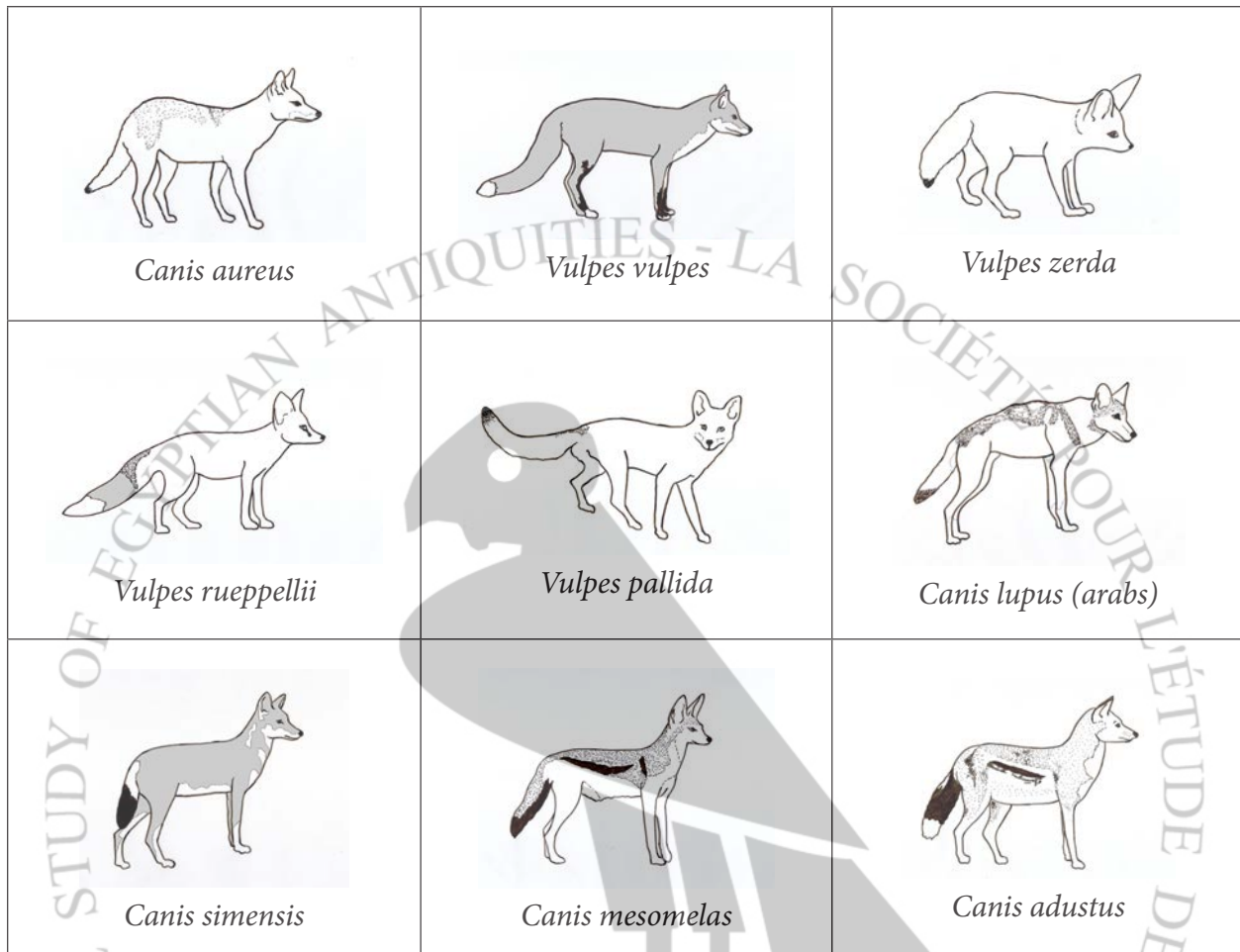


Figure 3 : Drawing of nine of the ten canids cited in the text (African wild Dog is not represented).

The six other species of canids which live more or less near the Nile Valley are the African wild Dogs (*Lycaon pictus*), the Pale Fox (*Vulpes pallidus*), the Wolf (*Canis lupus*), the Ethiopian Wolf (*Canis simensis*), the Black-backed Jackal (*Canis mesomelas*) and the Side-striped Jackal (*Canis adustus*) (Figure 3)<sup>10</sup>.

We can exclude the African Wild Dog. Indeed, this specie probably lived in Egypt during the Fourth Dynasty<sup>11</sup> and have in common

with the Nefermaat canids some particular coloration, like a black, brown and white coloration coat, a black muzzle and a white-tipped tail edged whit a black band. But the head morphology of the African wild Dog (square muzzle and round ears) is very different of those of Nefermaat canids.

The Pale Fox, which lives, among other regions, in middle Sudan and northern Eritrea-Ethiopia, has a similar morphology and col-

10 Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*.

11 N. Manlius, N. "Le Lycaon présent en Egypte au XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle?" *Bulletin de la Société linnéenne de Bordeaux*, 24 (1996): 107-109.



oration than Rüppell's fox, except for its legs, which are longer and its tail without any white tip, but a black one instead.

The four last species have, like the Nefermaat canids, a pointed muzzle, long ears, long legs and long tails. Two of them, the wolf and the Ethiopian Wolf, do not have any dark flank stripe. Moreover, the Wolf, which still lives in the Sinai peninsula (*C. l. arabs*), has a homogenous ochre to brown coat, and its tail does not show any white tip. The same is true for the Ethiopian Wolf, which possesses a homogenous reddish coat, and a tail, the proximal third of which is white, while the distal two-thirds are black.

On the other hand, the two remaining species display an obvious dark stripe situated at flank level. The fact that the Nefermaat canids show a large black stripe in the middle of the flanks will be in favor of Striped Jackal because this species exhibits the same pattern, whereas in the Black-backed Jackal the stripe is situated higher up on the flank, extending from the shoulder to the base of the tail. But above all, the only one to have a white tail tip is the Striped Jackal, whereas the Black-backed Jackal possesses a dark tail with a black tip. Nevertheless, the Striped Jackal differs from the Nefermaat canids by its tail, which is completely black with a white tip, and not brown with a black band and a white tip, and by its muzzle, which is not black like that of the Nefermaat canids.

In conclusion, the black stripe of the flanks of Nefermaat canids delete the possibility of the Golden Jackal, Red Fox, Fennec Fox, African

wild Dog, Rüppell's fox, Pallid Fox, Wolf and Ethiopian Wolf. On the other hand, the white tail tip delete the Black-backed Jackal. Candidates for the Nefermaat canids are in fact reduced only to the Striped Jackal. Even if color need to be considered carefully, the stripe on the flank of the Nefermaat animals is too realistic for it not to correspond to a true characteristic of the animals's coat.

Such a picture can be surprising because the Striped Jackal has never been classified in the bestiary of ancient Egypt. In present time, it is distributed at a distance of more than one thousand kilometers from the southern border of Egypt, more particularly in southern Sudan and Ethiopia<sup>12</sup>. But at about 3000 BP the Egyptian desert was of a more steppic nature, and it is quite possible that this species had then a more northerly distribution. Furthermore, wild canids are not good paleontological indicators.<sup>13</sup> So, it is possible that the Striped Jackal was present, during Old Kingdom, more northward than ecological conditions authorized to think.

Bone remains are not determinate because it is very difficult to assign a specific name to the fragmentary and isolated large canids remains from Egypt.<sup>14</sup> In most cases, large wild canid bones found in African Egypt are attributed to Golden Jackal because this jackal is the only one living to-day in this part of the country.<sup>15</sup> But in reality, bones of Golden Jackal or Striped Jackal are of the same size.<sup>16</sup>

The idea of presence of Striped Jackal in Egypt is not new. Van den Brink<sup>17</sup> thinks that the Black-

12 Nowak, *Walker's Mammals of the World*.

13 A. Gautier, personal communication.

14 A. Gautier, & W. van Neer "Animal Remains from the Late Paleolithic Sequence at Wadi Kubbaniya," in *The Prehistory of Wadi Kubbaniya. Vol. 2 : Stratigraphy, Paleoeconomy and Environment*. ed. Wendorf, F., Schild, R. & A.E. Close (Dallas: SMU, 1989), 119-161.

15 A. Gautier, personal communication.

16 A. Gautier, "The Middle Paleolithic Archaeofaunas from Bir Tarfawi (Western Desert, Egypt)," in *Egypt during the Last Interglacial. The Middle Paleolithic of Bir Tarfawi and Bir Sahara East*, ed. Wendorf, F., Schild, R. & A.E. Close (New York: Plenum Press, 1993), 121-143.

backed Jackal once extended into Egypt and was displaced by the Striped Jackal and the Golden Jackal ; that is to say, for this author, the Striped Jackal lived in Egypt far after the Black-backed Jackal and co-habited with the Golden Jackal.

It is important to underscore that this article only presents a remark made on Nefermaat

canids, not an hypothesis. It is also important to emphasize that, if we want progress towards the better comprehension of the ancient Egyptians environment, we must advance toward a better comprehension of this kind of remark.



# A Correction Regarding “A Newly Attested Votive Offering of Horemheb,” versus Sety II at Serabit el-Khadim

Gregory Mumford

## Abstract:

This brief communication re-assesses the identification with Horemheb of a prenomen on a votive found at Serabit el-Khadim. It concludes that until a re-assessment of the original votive can be undertaken, the ROM card transcription of the prenomen is best equated with Sety II.

## Résumé:

Ce court article réévalue l'association d'un objet votif découvert à Serabit el-Khadim avec le pharaon Horemheb de la XVIII<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Jusqu'à ce que l'original de cet objet soit de nouveau examiné, il vaut mieux lire le prénom transcrit sur une fiche du Musée royal de l'Ontario comme étant celui du pharaon Séthi II de la XIX<sup>e</sup> dynastie.

## Keywords:

Horemheb, prenomen, Serabit el-Khadim, Sety II

Regarding this writer's recent submission of an article to the *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, which discussed a votive offering attributed to “Horemheb,” some respondents have since noted either an unfortunate typographical error, or a misreading of the initial sign in the published prenomen cartouche.<sup>1</sup> Although the published transliteration was mistakenly transcribed as *Weser-kheperure setep-en-re* (actually Sety II),<sup>2</sup> instead of the intended *Djeser-kheperure setep-en-re* (Horemheb),<sup>3</sup> following doctoral research in the 1990s,<sup>4</sup> more recent analysis and publications reveal it is most likely *weser* and indeed Sety II. In 1994 this writer, in agreement with the original Royal Ontario Museum index card (see figures 1-3), and other

1 Special thanks to Joseph Serio and Baruch Brandl (personal communications) who recently pointed out this error. Brandl identified both the pertinent sign and prenomen with *Wsr-hprw-r<sup>c</sup> stp-n-r<sup>c</sup>*, namely Sety II. Further thanks go to James Hoffmeir for several discussions on the prenomen in question, and for sending me a copy of his manuscript on Djeser. In a more recent communication with Jaap Van Dijk, via James Hoffmeier, he has asserted that the prenomen is undoubtedly that of *Wsr-hprw-r<sup>c</sup> stp-n-r<sup>c</sup>*, namely Sety II.

2 Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Mainz: Philipp Von Zabern, 1999), 160 T.1 and 161 T.1 (Sethos II/Sety II).

3 Von Beckerath *Handbuch der Ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 146 T.1 and 147 T.1 (Haremhab).


4 The doctoral dissertation research in the early 1990s followed the ROM index card/curator's attribution of this prenomen to “Horemheb” and thus *dsr-hprw-r<sup>c</sup> stp-n-r<sup>c</sup>* (see Gregory Mumford, “International Relations between Egypt, Sinai and Syria-Palestine during the Late Bronze Age to early Persian Period (Dynasties 18-26: ca. 1550-525 BC)” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1998), 1060, table 4.61).

906.16.34  
(B.3111)

Egyptian

E.E.F. excav. Flinders Petrie  
to Sinai, 1905-06

FRAGMENT of faience ring stand; edges and  
inside surface straight, outside sur-  
face slightly convex with narrow raised  
band at lower edge; design in brush lines:

 prenomen of Harmheb, bordered by  
single lines parallel to edges, dots  
bordering base, body material white(over)

EGYPTIAN Ht. 1 7/16ins. Th. 7/16in.  
Harmheb. See B.3105.

Figure 1: Verso of ROM index card B.3111; 906.16.34 (courtesy of N. B. Millet [ROM]).

scholars,<sup>5</sup> accepted the pertinent sign as a variant of "Djeser" (Gardiner sign list D45), rather than "Weser" (sign list F12), and thereby identified this prenomen with Horemheb. Of interest, James Hoffmeier, who already investigated the *dsr*-sign in an earlier study,<sup>6</sup> concurred that this sign and cartouche did yield an initial impression of djeser and thereby Horemheb. However, like Hoffmeier and several other colleagues, this writer agrees that the interpretation of this initial sign needs both further consideration and

an examination of the original votive.

The palaeography and attribution of this sign and prenomen become less certain when re-examined more vigorously. Concerning its similarity to a *wsr*-sign, other ROM index card drawings (albeit not original images, but fairly well-transcribed sketches) yield somewhat different styles for *wsr*-signs in cartouches. The *wsr*-signs in these examples tend to be taller, have more distinct ears, and are more readily identified with sign F12 versus the less rigidly

5 During the Fall of 1994, upon examining the ROM index card drawing of the prenomen in question, D. Redford agreed with the ROM index card/curator's identification with Horemheb. Likewise, N. B. Millet, who encouraged and supervised my initial examination of the ROM index cards and materials, did not contest the original attribution with Horemheb. In fairness, it must be emphasized, however, that Redford, Millet, and this writer did not have access to the original artifact, leaving some doubt as to the absolute accuracy of the transcription and its attribution. Naturally, the acceptance and publication of the prenomen as "Horemheb" represents the decision and responsibility of this writer. Despite more recent attempts, the original votive remains unexamined.

6 Personal communication (November 23, 2007); see also James K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt. The Term DSR with Special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (Gottingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg and Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht 1985).

and friable, glaze weathered light olive green, design in black; interior glazed.

Figure 2: Recto of ROM index card B.3111; 906.16.34 (courtesy of N. B. Millet [ROM]).

rendered sign on index card B.3111 (figure 3). An examination of photographs and drawings of New Kingdom votives from both Serabit el-Khadim<sup>7</sup> and Timna<sup>8</sup> reveal generally more accurate depictions of *wsr*-signs, while contemporary hieratic variants are also more immediately recognizable.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, New Kingdom hieratic writings of the *dśr*-sign do not normally show the *nḥbt*-wand extending below the hand and thus are much less favourable to identifying it with this sign.<sup>10</sup> Other writings of Horemheb's prenomen in hieratic and hieroglyphs<sup>11</sup> tend to contain a clear *djeser*-sign below the sun-disk (Re<sup>c</sup>). Another option, albeit seemingly less likely (unless more examples are forthcoming), is to retain an acceptance that the sign in question represents an odd variant of *djeser*,<sup>12</sup> displaying

an arm and hand holding a stick<sup>13</sup> in place of the usual *nḥbt*-wand.

Hence, upon further reflection, it must first be conceded and emphasized that one definitely cannot restrict the equation of this sign to *djeser* and thereby the prenomen to Horemheb. Second, the less conventional rendition of the initial "*wśr*" / "*dśr*"-sign, in conjunction with the regular format for writing Horemheb's prenomen (*Djeser-kheperure setep-en-re*), does seem better equated with "*weser*" and thereby the prenomen of Sety II (*Weser-kheperure setep-en-re*): my apologies to Sety II and W. M. F. Petrie for doubting them and my condolences to Horemheb for removing him from the current roster of pharaohs visiting Serabit el-Khadim.

In regards to Serabit el-Khadim, however,

7 See W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (London: John Murray, 1906), figs. 146:9 (Ramesses II), 146:12 (Sety II), 147:5 (Sety II), 148:15 (Sety II), 149:5 (Ramesses II), 149:7 (Sety II), 149:19 (Ramesses III), and 151:1 (Ramesses II).

8 See Alan Schulman in Beno Rothenberg, *The Egyptian Mining Temple at Timna* (London: Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies, 1988), figs. 31:5, 32:6 and 34:3; unfortunately, Sety II's cartouche from Timna is fragmentary (see Schulman in Rothenberg 1988: 119-20, cat. 26, fig. 31:3, pl.121:1).

9 See Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie: Die Aegyptische Buchschrift in Ihrer Entwicklung von der Fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit, Zweiter Band: von der Zeit Thutmosis III bis zum Ende der Einundzwanzigsten Dynastie* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1927), 12 no.148 hieratic variants of *wśr* (Dynasties 18-21).

10 Möller (*Hieratische Paläographie*, 9 no.107) illustrates hieratic variations for this sign, showing either a slightly diagonal, simple line held by a schematic hand and bent arm, or a diagonal, elongated looped line grasped by a hand on a bent arm.

11 For a stamped jar handle with Horemheb's prenomen, see Geoffrey T. Martin "Excavations at the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1977: Preliminary Report," *JEA* (1978): pl.III.3; a docket in hieratic contains Horemheb's prenomen with a clear *djeser*-sign; Geoffrey T. Martin, "Excavations at the Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, 1978: Preliminary Report," *JEA* (1979): pl.III.1.

12 Hoffmeier has suggested (personal communication) the *nḥbt*-wand (*dśr*) may have developed from another implement (forthcoming study) that better resembles the suggestive portrayal of a staff/stick in the Serabit prenomen.

13 The substitution of a stick for the *nḥbt*-wand is quite rare (*Wb.* V 610 first entry III *dśr* and 617, seventh entry: *dśr*). An example from the prenomen of Horemheb awaits more specialized expertise by philologists.



Figure 3: Detail drawing of cartouche illustrated on ROM index card B.3111; 906.16.34.

while Horemheb may still remain unproven as having been active here, the growing evidence for his activity elsewhere in North Sinai (e.g., Tell el-Borg) and the Levant (e.g., Lachish; Hala Sultan Tekké),<sup>14</sup> does not preclude the likelihood that he dispatched at least one expedition to South Sinai. In addition, the remaining and

scattered corpus of unpublished votives from Serabit el-Khadim and future explorations at this site may yet yield further surprises and clarifications. Thus, there may yet be hope for Horemheb.

14 See Gregory Mumford, "Egypt's New Kingdom Levantine Empire and Serabit El-Khadim, Including a Newly Attested Votive Offering of Horemheb," *JSEA* 33 (2006): 163, 180 note 72; Hoffmeier (personal communication and project website).

# A Re-evaluation of the Ancient Egyptian Term *ḥ3i*

Kelly-Anne Diamond Reed

## Abstract:

This article is the culmination of my dissertation research although here it is in summary form. The word *ḥ3i* has been commonly translated as “mourn” as it regularly appears in a funerary setting. However, some translators acknowledge that the anomalous meaning “to dance and /or sing” at a funeral is another possible meaning. The issue arises over the A 28 determinative that accompanies the word *ḥ3i*. This same determinative is used to write the word *ḥ3i* “rejoice.” This fact renders the two words (*ḥ3i* and *ḥ3i*) similar both visually and aurally, a purposeful ancient construct.

The earliest known private source containing the word *ḥ3i* is the tomb of Debehni at Giza, which dates to the Fourth Dynasty. The Pyramid Texts also present various royal examples of this word beginning at the end of the Fifth Dynasty.

My research has demonstrated that *ḥ3i* can no longer be classified as a mourning word. The ritual of *ḥ3i* refers to the uplifting (or transforming) of the deceased's spirit to the Hereafter. The significance of the A 28 determinative lies in the idea of the elevation of the spiritual essence toward heaven which actuated the resurrection of the deceased.

## Résumé:

Cet article se voit être l'aboutissement de ma recherche de thèse, présentée ici en abrégé. Apparaissant régulièrement en contexte funéraire, le mot « *ḥ3i* » est habituellement traduit par « être en deuil ». Cependant, certains traducteurs reconnaissent la traduction irrégulière « danser et / ou chanter » à des funérailles comme étant aussi possible. Le problème repose sur le déterminatif A28 qui accompagne le mot *ḥ3i* : ce même déterminatif est aussi utilisé dans le mot *ḥ3i*, qui signifie « se réjouir ». Ainsi, ces deux mots (*ḥ3i* et *ḥ3i*) se ressemblent autant au point de vue visuel que sonore—un concept ancien bien réfléchi.

Le plus ancien texte privé faisant mention du mot *ḥ3i* se trouve dans la tombe de Debehni à Gizeh, un monument qui date de la quatrième dynastie. Plusieurs exemples de source royale se trouvent dans les textes des pyramides, remontant à la fin de la cinquième dynastie.

Les résultats de ma recherche démontrent que *ḥ3i* ne peut plus être considéré comme un mot relié au deuil. En fait, le rituel *ḥ3i* évoque la montée (ou la transformation) de l'esprit du défunt vers l'Au-delà. Le sens du déterminatif A28 repose dans l'idée de l'ascension de l'essence spirituelle vers les cieux, ce qui entraîne la résurrection du mort.

## Keywords:

Mourning, transporting spirits, *ḥ3i*

It was while collecting the citations for words meaning “to mourn” (a deceased individual), that I first came across the word *ḥ3i*. Because it was accompanied by the A 28 determinative I immediately thought the word to have strong ties with the act of rejoicing. The same determinative (A 28) is used in writing both *ḥ3i* and *ḥ3i* (“rejoice”), which renders the two words similar

both visually and aurally. In fact, different translations of the same text employ either “rejoice” or “mourn” as the English translation for this word. The fact that these are two contrasting emotions was intriguing to me. Even the earliest attested example of *ḥ3i* is initially puzzling, in that it is included in a caption accompanying a funerary scene where women are dancing. Unfortunately-

ly, I cannot convey here all of the results stemming from my doctoral research; therefore, the purpose of this brief article is to demonstrate that the word ḥ3i can no longer be classified as a mourning word and to present some general observations about the true meaning of this ancient Egyptian word.

Until now, the word ḥ3i (and its variants) has been commonly translated as "mourn." Its regular appearance in funerary settings has implied this meaning. All of the major dictionaries (*Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* and dictionaries by R. O. Faulkner, R. Hannig, and J. P. Allen) note this definition; and the former three also record the anomalous meaning of "to dance and/or sing at a funeral."<sup>1</sup> The *Wb* distinguishes between ḥ3 and ḥ3i; however, other scholars tend to think these verbs are one and the same,<sup>2</sup> and I agree. There is only one root, and it is ḥ3i. The conventional entries for ḥ3i are as follows:

*Wb* III 6, 10-11 and 7, 1-8

(This source is the only one to separate the two verbs "dance and sing" and "mourn," ḥ3i and ḥ3, respectively.)

ḥ3i - von tanzenden und singenden Frauen beim Leichenbegängnis

ḥ3 - klagen (um den Toten, bes. um

Osiris)

ḥ3 - die Klage?

ḥ3i.ti - die beiden Klagenden, als Bez. der Isis und Nephthys

ḥ3(i)t - ein Vogel, der Klagenden Isis

ḥ3(i)t - Kummer, Leid

Raymond Faulkner<sup>3</sup>

ḥ3i - 1. mourn, 2. wail, 3. screech (of falcon or kite), 4. dance (at funeral)

ḥ3yt - mourning

ḥ3w - mourners

Rainer Hannig (Vol. I)<sup>4</sup>

ḥ3i - 1. klagen (um), beklagen, beweinen, 2. klagen (hr um), 3. schreien (von Weihe oder Falke), 4. tanzen (beim Begräbnis)

ḥ3ytiw - die Trauernden

ḥ3yt - Trauer

ḥ3t - die Trauernde

ḥ3w - der Trauernde (viell a. beruflich)

Rainer Hannig (Vol. II)<sup>5</sup>

Section 91. Trauer, Klage: ḥ3i - klagen (um), beklagen, beweinen, klagen; ḥ3yt - Trauer.

Section 269. Personen, b. Trauernde, Klagende: ḥ3ytiw - die Trauernden; ḥ3t - die Trauernde; ḥ3w - Trauernder (viell a. beru-

1 *Wb* III 6, 10-11; 7, 1-8; 7, 10-12; Raymond Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1991), 160; Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch: Ägyptisch-Deutsch* (Mainz: Zabern, 1995), 501; Rainer Hannig and Petra Vomberg, *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*. Mainz: Zabern, 1999), 342, 612; Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch: Deutsch-Ägyptisch* (Mainz: Zabern, 2000), 169, 202, 713, 792, 1275, 1309, 1310; James P. Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts* (Malibu: Undena Publications, 1984), 571.

2 Alan H. Gardiner, "Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41 (1955): 10, n. 6; Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, 571; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 160; Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch: Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 501.

3 This author recognizes the predominant sense to be one of mourning or lamenting; however, he is aware that certain examples do not fit into this framework. Thus, he includes definition number four under his first entry to satisfy these other circumstances. The other situations tend to give support to the sense of dancing and singing as the meaning of ḥ3i.

4 Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch: Ägyptisch-Deutsch*, 501.

5 Hannig and Vomberg, *Wortschatz der Pharaonen in Sachgruppen*, 342.



*flich*)<sup>6</sup>

J. Allen<sup>7</sup>

*ḥ3i* - mourn, bewail

Scholars have been fairly consistent in their analyses of *ḥ3i*, and tend to agree that in most situations *ḥ3i* connotes “mourn,” and elsewhere

signifies “dance and sing (at a funeral).” I find troublesome the idea that one word could fundamentally signify two such dissimilar actions, and I believe it more likely that the true meaning of *ḥ3i* may contain aspects of both ideas. Table 1 presents the examples of the word *ḥ3i* from the Old Kingdom through the Ptolemaic Period.

Table 1:  
Summary of *ḥ3i* Citations

OLD KINGDOM	
1	Tomb of Debehni at Giza – 4 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>8</sup>
2	Sun Temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob <sup>9</sup>
3	Tomb of Hetepherakhti at Sakkara D 60 – 5 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty <sup>10</sup>
4	Tomb of Qar at Giza G 7101 – Pepy II <sup>11</sup>
5	Inscription of Sabni from west bank at Aswan – Pepy II <sup>12</sup>
6	Tomb of Pepiankh at Meir – Pepy II <sup>13</sup>
7	PT §550
8	PT §744
9	PT §1255
10	PT §1280
11	PT §1585
12	PT §1791
13	PT §2112
14	PT §2117
MIDDLE KINGDOM	
1	CT I 73d
2	CT I 74e
3	CT I 303g
4	CT II 177h

6 Vol. III: *Deutsch-Ägyptisch* reiterates the abovementioned definitions (Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch: Deutsch- Ägyptisch*, 169, 202, 713, 1275, 1309, 1310).

7 Allen, *The Inflection of the Verb in the Pyramid Texts*, 571.

8 Ricard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1897), 111-112; Ricard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, (Berlin: Nicolaische Buchhandlung, 1972), 35; Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, 176-178, pl. 50; John Wilson, “Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,” *JNES* 3 (1944): pl. 18.

9 Elmar Edel, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), *Abb.* 11; *PM* III,i, 319-324.

10 Rijksmuseum van Oudheden I 1905, pl. IX; Auguste Mariette, *Les mastabas de l’Ancien Empire: Fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1889), 343; Herta Therese Mohr, *The Mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti: Study on an Egyptian Tomb Chapel in the Museum of Antiquities, Leiden*, *Mededeelingen en Verhandelingen* 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1943), 38-39; Wilson, “Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom,” *JNES* 3: 211, pl. 17.

11 Bernhard Grdseloff, *Das ägyptische Reinigungszelt: Archäologische Untersuchung* (Cairo: IFAO, 1941), 36-37; Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, 5-6, fig. 24; Alexander Badawy, *The Tomb of Nyhetep-Ptah at Giza and the Tomb of Ankhmāhor at Saqqara* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 41, fig. 57; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*. *Writings from the Ancient World* 16, ed. Ronald J. Leprohon (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 413-414.

12 *Urk.* I, 137-139; Nigel Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, 335-339.

13 Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 53, pls. 42 and 43.

5	CT II 238b
6	CT II 239a
7	CT III 22a
8	CT III 297i
9	CT III 307a
10	CT III 307b
11	CT III 308d
12	CT III 311h
13	CT III 317e
14	CT III 317l
15	CT IV 331g
16	CT IV 373a
17	CT IV 373a
18	CT V 332c
19	CT VI 360j
20	CT VI 385o
21	CT VII 28o
22	CT VII 51s
23	Funerary Liturgy column 16 <sup>14</sup>
24	FL. col. 44-45
25	FL. col. 64
26	FL. col. 84
	<b>NEW KINGDOM</b>
1	Tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82) <sup>15</sup>
2	BD 172 <sup>16</sup>
3	Book of Gates, Twelfth Hour <sup>17</sup>
4	Papyrus Sallier IV <sup>18</sup>
5	Papyrus CB III: Dream-book <sup>19</sup>
6	Onomastica <sup>20</sup>
7	Urk. IV 84,10
8	Bibl nat 20, 15; RB 111,13 Hymn to Osiris, first half of 18 <sup>th</sup> Dynasty – Louvre Stela C 286
9	BMMA 27, 130 Scribe's palette
10	Theb Grab Nr 76 <32> <sup>21</sup>
11	The Amduat, Third Hour <sup>22</sup>

14 Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41: 9-17.

15 Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, 52; pl. XI.

16 T. G. Allen (*The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, 178) notes that this spell is unique to Nebseni. The Florence fragment (Nr. 1594/Inv. 2473) is another occurrence of this text. See also Leonard Lesko's *A Note on Book of the Dead 172* (forthcoming) for more information on the variants and additional insight.

17 J. Bónomi and S. Sharpe, *The Alabaster Scarcocephalus of Oimeneptah I, King of Egypt* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1864), pl. 9; Erik Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 1, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 7 (Basel: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel, 1979), 400-401; Erik Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits*, vol. 2, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 8 (Basel: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel, 1980), 284-285; Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian books of the Afterlife*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 65, fig. 41.

18 For hieroglyphs see Alan H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* 7 (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1937), 88-92; *LEM* 9,4 v. 8). For translation see Ricardo Caminos, *Literary Fragments in the Hieratic Script* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1956), 335, 349.

19 Alan H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1935), 17.

20 Alan H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), 2:257\*-258\*.

21 *PM* I.i, 149-150; *Wb* III 7, 11. The inscription is presented as an unpublished example in the *Beleg*.

22 *Wb* III 7, 6; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd., 1906), 53; Erik Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltsbücher* (Zürich: Artemis Verlag, 1984), 85; Erik Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat*, vol. 1, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 13 (Basel: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel, 1987), 289.

12	BD 1 <sup>23</sup>
	<b>LATE PERIOD</b>
1	Lond 1292 <sup>24</sup>
	<b>PTOLEMAIC PERIOD</b>
1	Edfu I 160 <sup>25</sup>
2	Edfu I 201 (2)
3	Edfu I 205 (2)
4	Edfu I 209 (2)
5	Edfu I 210 (2)
6	Edfu I 211 (2)
7	Edfu I 214
8	Edfu I 215 (2)
9	Edfu I 216 (4)
10	Edfu I 222 (2)
11	Edfu I 223 (2)
12	Edfu I 459
13	Edfu IV 101 (2)
14	Dendara 32 <sup>26</sup>
15	Dendara 126
16	Dendara 132
17	Dendara 135 (2)
18	Dendara 141
19	Dendara 145
20	Dendara 147
21	Dendara 213
22	Dendara 292
23	Philae <1621> Phot 217 <sup>27</sup>
24	ASAE 17, 11 <sup>28</sup>
25	ASAE 17, 17
26	ASAE 17, 18 (4)

## Background

To give a brief summary, the ritual of *ḥ3i* necessarily originated in a religious context. The earliest known private source containing the word *ḥ3i* is the tomb of Debehni at Giza, which dates to the Fourth Dynasty.<sup>29</sup> Shortly thereafter, at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, the Pyramid

Texts present various examples of this word (see **Table 1**). It is commonly held that these utterances would have been transmitted orally prior to being carved in stone.<sup>30</sup> This practice distorts our dating of the *ḥ3i* ritual, despite the fact that the contexts in which the word occurs are the most homogeneous at this time. The Pyramid

23 For hieroglyphs and translation, see Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day*, pl. 5.

24 Jean Leclant, "Une coupe hathorique au nom de Montouemhat," in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes: Festschrift Hermann Junker* 54 (Wien: Orientalischen Institutes, 1957), 113, pls. I-III.

25 The Edfu references denote passages in Émile Chassinat's *Le temple d'Edfou* vols. 1-14. *Mémoires de la Mission Française*, vols. 10-11, 20-31 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1892 ff).

26 The Dendara references denote passages presented in Sylvie Cauville's *Le temple de Dendara, Les chapelles osiriennes: transcription et traduction*. Bibliothèque D'Étude 117 (Cairo: IFAO, 1997).

27 Wb III 7, 7.

28 M. G. Daressy, "Fragments de deux cercuils de Saqqarah," *ASAE* 17 (1917): 1-20.

29 Selim Hassan, *Excavations at Giza 1932-1933*, vol. IV (Cairo: Government Press, 1943), 176-178, pl. 50.

30 Jacobus Van Dijk, "Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* 3, ed. J. Sasson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 1697. It can be assumed that the texts would have been originally written on papyrus.

Texts are a major source of information for the religious environment before and during their emergence. Anthes points out that the mythological conceptions presented in this conglomeration of utterances change, based on the date of origin of the particular utterance.<sup>31</sup> Breasted describes the situation of interpretation of the Pyramid Texts as “a tangled mass of threads which (are) now very difficult or impossible to disentangle.”<sup>32</sup> Therefore, the origins of the *ḥ3i* ritual have been obscured by time.

Even if myth existed at an earlier time it must have been restricted to oral tradition since no evidence survives.<sup>33</sup> Or it was restricted to the elite class.<sup>34</sup> Van Dijk notes that when there are official recordings of myth, they are found in areas of restricted use, like the innermost parts of temples or royal tombs.<sup>35</sup> The most reasonable explanation seems to lie in this idea of sacred knowledge which required initiation. In the early periods there is no evidence for the democratization of religion; certain elite or priestly personages would have been entitled to the use of sanctified knowledge, while others from the lower classes would not have been privy to this information. Van Dijk’s suggestion is significant because *ḥ3i* appears in Old Kingdom private contexts without mythological allusions, and in Old Kingdom royal contexts with mythological allusions.

Reed, “Re-evaluation of the Ancient Egyptian Term *ḥ3i*”

J. Gwyn Griffiths explains the mythologization of ritual as the superimposition of mythological beings on ritual, stating that when a text includes a mythological interpretation it can be considered as more recent than one that does not.<sup>36</sup> The Pyramid Texts do not offer long passages of coherent myth, but instead present allusions to it that relate to ritual.<sup>37</sup> Essentially, myth is implemented to explain ritual.

The connection between the Osiris myth and royalty can be seen in the names Isis, “the throne,”<sup>38</sup> and Nephthys “Mistress of the *ḥwt*.”<sup>39</sup> This link, together with the idea of sacred knowledge and the mythologization of ritual, may account for the fact that the Fourth Dynasty tomb of Debehni appears to be devoid of Osirian allusions, and that some of the Pyramid Texts that contain the word *ḥ3i* include Osirian references.<sup>40</sup>

Giving credence to the abovementioned theory of the mythologization of ritual the tomb of Debehni presents a more archaic funerary rite, devoid of mythological allusion, which functioned as a revitalizing, or transforming event to secure eternal life for the deceased. In the almost contemporary royal tradition this rite was interpreted from a mythological perspective. Early versions of the mythologized ritual can be found in excerpts from various Pyramid Text utterances. Some examples clearly use the word

31 Rudolf Anthes, “Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.,” *JNES* 18 (1959): 170.

32 Henry James Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1912), 51.

33 John Baines, “Egyptian Myth and Discourse: Myth, Gods, and the Early Written and Iconographic Record,” *JNES* 50 (1991): 83-84.

34 Van Dijk, “Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt,” 1698.

35 Van Dijk, “Myth and Mythmaking in Ancient Egypt,” 1698.

36 J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 34.

37 Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 1.

38 Anthes, “Egyptian Theology in the Third Millennium B.C.,” *JNES* 18: 172.

39 Jessica Levai, *Aspects of the Goddess Nephthys, Especially during the Graeco-Roman Period in Egypt* (PhD diss., Brown University, 2007), 19. See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on the name “Nephthys.”

40 It is assumed that the oral tradition of the Pyramid Texts predates the Fifth Dynasty, and that the funerary rites appearing in the tomb of Debehni also existed earlier. See Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*.

*ḥ3i*, while others, by comparison, unmistakably describe the same ritual. In order to understand this ritual it is necessary to integrate the private version (unmythologized) with the royal version (mythologized).

It is during the Old Kingdom that the circumstances under which the rite appears are the most homogeneous. As time goes on, the rite exists in more varied contexts. This homogeneity indicates an early origin for the rite of *ḥ3i*.

The ceremony of *ḥ3i* was not originally Osirian but was adapted by the royal cult at some point during the first five dynasties. In the early Old Kingdom only royalty had access to the cult of Osiris. Private people participated in other funerary traditions, namely those that existed prior to the advent of the cult of Osiris. Griffiths attributes this transformation of tradition to a change in regime, "It is not hard to understand why this ceremonial (Butic tradition) would not always be given prominence in the royal funerary cult of the early dynastic period. This regime reflected an Upper Egyptian supremacy which would not be anxious to follow Lower Egyptian traditions. Their funerary cult had its origin in Abydos."<sup>41</sup> The rite of *ḥ3i* may have belonged to the Butic ceremonies which spread amongst private persons. The cult of Osiris eventually absorbed the Butic traditions and reinterpreted them. Hence, the result is a new understanding of the old ceremonies. Likewise, there is some evidence to support the idea that the *ḥ3i* ritual

originated in the Naqada culture. The earliest examples of the A 28 pose date to the Naqada II/Gerzean period, where it is illustrated on pottery and exhibited in female figurines.<sup>42</sup>

Beginning at least as early as the Fourth Dynasty, the rite of *ḥ3i* is an important element in the resurrection process which magically enabled the deceased to reach the Hereafter. According to Breasted, it was necessary to help the deceased in becoming a spirit; it did not happen automatically.<sup>43</sup> In the mid to late Old Kingdom, in the royal sphere, the ritual of *ḥ3i* was part of the procedure to transform Horus into Osiris. After the Old Kingdom, the rite of *ḥ3i* occurs only with reference to the mythological realm, or to events that would happen in the Afterlife.<sup>44</sup> The nature of this rite reveals its jubilant character, as the arrival of the deceased in the Hereafter was a time to celebrate and rejoice.

### The A 28 Gesture

The first item to examine is the determinative of the man with upraised arms (A 28) that appears regularly in the word *ḥ3i*.<sup>45</sup> Also, this gesture itself can appear in a scene accompanying a caption, acting as a substitute for the determinative. This would seem to be a curious complement to a word signifying "mourn" because, on the one hand, there are other more appropriate determinatives like D 3 (hair), D 9 (eye with flowing tears), or Hannig's B 28 (woman in mourning gesture)<sup>46</sup> that would be more suit-

41 Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 60.

42 Winifred Needler, *Predynastic and Archaic Egypt in The Brooklyn Museum*, (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1984), 206, 336-337.

43 Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, 59.

44 This statement excludes Gardiner's (1955) funerary liturgy whose date is a subject of debate.

45 Alan H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1994), 445.

46 Jan Buurman, Nicolas Grimal, Michael Hainsworth, Jochen Hallof and Dirk van der Plas, *Inventaire des signes hiéroglyphiques en vues de leur saisie informatique 2*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Paris: Institut de France, 1988), 71. In Buurman et al. determinative B 28 includes the additional variant of a woman with tears pouring forth from her eyes. This form does not appear in Hannig.

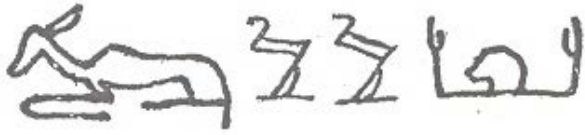


Figure 1: PT § 1973

able for conveying a sense of mourning. On the other hand, this gesture (A 28) can symbolize rejoicing, which would seem to communicate an emotion in conflict with mourning. The A 28 sign is used as a determinative in the word *ḥ<sup>ci</sup>*, to rejoice.<sup>47</sup> It is noteworthy that in the Coffin Texts, for example, the D 36 sign (forearm) can replace the A 28 sign in the word *ḥ3i*. This may signify that *ḥ3i* denotes an action, possibly involving movement of the arms, thus emphasizing the importance of the upraised arms in the A 28 sign.

It is also interesting to note that the A 28 determinative does not occur in the more common words meaning "to mourn/mourning."<sup>48</sup> In fact, to the best of my knowledge, this determinative is absent from the general corpus of mourning words; however, I did find three examples.<sup>49</sup>

The first example is from Pyramid Texts §1973 where an abbreviated version of the determinative appears in the word *iww* (Figure 1).<sup>50</sup> The only part of the A 28 hieroglyph employed is the upper portion containing the head

Figure 2: Second hour of the night from Edfu (Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, 86).

and upraised arms (Hannig's D 115). Utterance 670 (PT §1973) is described by Faulkner as a variant of Utterance 482 (PT §§1004-1005) and reads as follows:

[The doors of the sky are opened, the doors of the celestial expanses are thrown open; the gods who are in Pe are full of sorrow, and they come to Osiris the King at the sound of the weeping<sup>51</sup> of Isis, at the cry<sup>52</sup> of Nephthys, at] the wailing (*iww*) [of these two spirits]<sup>53</sup>

The second example comes from the Ptolemaic *Stundenwachen* at Edfu (14, 105) and appears in the second hour of the night in the word *hh* (Figure 2).<sup>54</sup> The relevant section reads as follows:<sup>55</sup>

*hh[.i] kw n mt isk r.k*  
Ich beweine dich [?], du sollst nicht sterben...

47 Faulkner 1991, 164; Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 445.

48 For example *i3kb*, *imw*, *nhwt*, *sbḥ*, *sgb*, *kni*, or *g3s*.

49 The second and third examples are late in date and reflect the fact that in the New Kingdom the upraised arms appear in tomb scenes within a mourning context. The signification of the A 28 gesture evolved over time (See Kelly-Anne Diamond Reed, "Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual: The Term *ḥ3i*" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2007).

50 Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, vol. 2 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1908) 476; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 285-286. See also Hermann Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*. Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse (Wien: Aus der Kaiserlich-Königlichen Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1910), 30 where the word *iwh* appears with an upside down A 28 determinative.

51 *hrw rmm*.

52 *sbḥ*.

53 Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 285.

54 *Wb II* 502, 9.

55 Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien nach den Inschriften von Dendera, Edfu und Philae*, 86.



Figure 3: P. Rylands IX 19/16

The third example appears in a demotic writing of *nhp* published in the *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library* (IX 19/16) (Figure 3).<sup>56</sup> The word appears in a papyrus from el-Hiba entitled “The Petition of Peteësi.” The passage reads as follows:

“...Ich habe gehört, daß er nach Buto gegangen ist, um *hr*, den Vater des *hr-hnsw*, der zu seinen Vätern gegangen ist, zu betrauern.”<sup>57</sup>

When taking into account the other mourning words in the Egyptian language, there appears to be a stock number of determinatives applied to these words, some of them listed above.<sup>58</sup> The fact that A 28, the man with upraised arms, is not one of them, leads me to believe that there is something out of the ordinary about the usage of this hieroglyph in relationship to mourning. Therefore, I am suspicious of the traditional

definitions given for *h3i*, since *h3i* is frequently written with this very determinative.

Additionally, the A 28 sign is used with words that have a rejoicing connotation (*h3i*, for example), and this gesture is common in Old Kingdom tomb scenes of singing and/or dancing. The notion expressed by this pose suggests the true meaning of the word *h3i*.<sup>59</sup>

#### The Relationship between *h3i* and Mourning

The relationship between *h3i* and mourning needs to be reexamined. Those sources where additional words for mourning or lamenting appear in close proximity to *h3i* may enable us to elaborate on this connection. When examining the sources it becomes evident that *h3i* is not synonymous with mourning, but is instead a related activity. Listed in Table 2 are the Pharaonic sources that mention the word *h3i* and also contain additional words that have a recognized mourning connotation.

56 Francis Llewellyn Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 3 vols. (Manchester: University Press; London: B. Quaritch, 1909), 362; Donald Redford (ed), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 3:24.

57 Günter Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9*, 2 vols., Ägypten und Altes Testament 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 1:183. Griffith (*Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, 3:104, 362) supplies the following translation, “...I have heard that he went to Puto to mourn for Hôr the father of Khelkhons, who hath gone to his fathers.”

58 See footnote 48.

59 After noting the occurrence of this pose, observing its employment over time and documenting the placement of this gesture in its various scenarios, one can further comprehend the nature of this ritual action. It is through an analysis of these sources, in conjunction with the textual evidence, that patterns and themes in the ritual activities associated with this gesture can be determined (See Diamond Reed, “Ancient Egyptian Funerary Ritual,” 222-243).

**Table 2:**  
**Sources Containing Additional Mourning Words**

	Source	Additional Mourning Word	Definition of Additional Mourning Word	Form of <i>ḥ3i</i>	Definition Given to <i>ḥ3i</i> by Translator
1	Pepiankh's Rock Tomb at Meir	<i>dryt</i>	Kite or Mourner <sup>60</sup>	<i>ḥ3(i)w</i>	Mourner <sup>61</sup>
2	PT §550	<i>rmi</i> ; <i>i3kb</i>	Weep or Beweep, <sup>62</sup> Mourning or Wailings <sup>63</sup>	T - <i>ḥ3(i)</i> P - <i>ḥ3y</i> <sup>64</sup>	Mourn <sup>65</sup>
3	PT §744	<i>wršiw</i>	Watchers, Sentries, Klagefrauen <sup>66</sup>	T - <i>ḥ3i</i> P - <i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>67</sup>	Wail <sup>68</sup>
4	PT §1255	<i>dryt</i>	Kite or Mourner	<i>ḥ3(i)t</i> <sup>69</sup>	'screecher' <sup>70</sup>
5	PT §1280	<i>dryt</i> ; <i>rmi</i> (weeping eye only)	Kite/Mourner; Weep	<i>ḥ3(i)t</i> <sup>71</sup>	'screecher' <sup>72</sup>
6	PT §1585	<i>rmi</i>	Weep	<i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>73</sup>	Mourn <sup>74</sup>
7	PT §§2117-2118	<i>rmi</i>	Weep	<i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>75</sup>	Mourn <sup>76</sup>
8	CT I 303	<i>dryt</i>	Kite or Mourner	<i>ḥ3(i)t</i> <sup>77</sup>	screecher <sup>78</sup>
9	CT IV 373	<i>rmi</i>	Weep	<i>ḥ3</i> , <i>ḥ3y</i> , <i>ḥ3(i)w</i> <sup>79</sup>	Mourn <sup>80</sup>
10	CT VI 385o	<i>rmi</i>	Weep	<i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>81</sup>	Lament <sup>82</sup>
11	Funerary Liturgy	<i>dmd(y)t</i>	Group of Women <sup>83</sup>	<i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>84</sup>	Wail <sup>85</sup>
12	Tomb of Amenemhet	<i>mnknw</i> ; <i>dmd(y)t</i> <sup>86</sup>	Isis; Nephthys <sup>87</sup>	<i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>88</sup>	Rejoicing <sup>89</sup>
13	BD 1	<i>i3kbywt</i>	The women who mourned	<i>ḥ3yw</i> <sup>90</sup>	The men who lamented <sup>91</sup>
14	BD 172	<i>rmi</i> (1 <sup>st</sup> stanza)	Weep	<i>ḥ3(i)</i> <sup>92</sup>	Mourn <sup>93</sup>

60 Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 323; *Wb V* 596, 6-13.

61 Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, 53, 55.

62 Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 149; *Wb II* 417, 10.

63 Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 9; *Wb I* 34, 9.

64 Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, vol. 2 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1908), 281.

65 Faulkner *The Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 109.

66 Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 65; *Wb I* 336, 12.

67 Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 407.

68 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 138.

69 Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 210.

70 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 200.

71 Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 219.



The most common mourning word occurring in close proximity to *ḥ3i* is *rmi*. *dryt* is also a common counterpart for *ḥ3(i)w/ḥ3(i)t*. It is my belief that on numerous occasions the modern translator has tailored the definition of *ḥ3i* to fit the meaning of the nearby mourning word. For example, when *dryt* and *ḥ3(i)w/ḥ3(i)t* appear together the latter word is translated as either “mourner” or “screecher” depending on the definition given to *dryt* (either “mourner” or “kite”). Likewise, when *ḥ3i* occurs in connection with *rmi* or *ib3* it is assigned a synonymous meaning. I also believe that there is nothing substantial in any one of these sources to clearly indicate that *ḥ3i* means “to mourn.” I do,

however, agree that the action of *ḥ3i* is related to mourning.

### Brief Contextual Analysis

The ritual of *ḥ3i* occurs in diverse contexts particularly notable in the repertoire of funerary scenes.<sup>94</sup> For example, in the Old Kingdom tomb of Qar at Giza, in the scene where four performing women are accompanied by the legend “*ḥ3(i)t in šndt(y)t*,” these women are also complemented by individual legends stating the particular action being performed by each one of them: *ib3*, *ib3*, *ib3* and *m3ḥ*, respectively.<sup>95</sup> It therefore seems doubtful that *ḥ3(i)t* has exactly the same connotation as either *ib3* or *m3ḥ*.<sup>96</sup> The

72 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 203.

73 Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 343.

74 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 238.

75 Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, 515.

76 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 299.

77 Adriaan De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 303.

78 Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2004), 1:68.

79 Adriaan De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 373.

80 Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 1:280.

81 Adriaan De Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 385.

82 Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, 2:289.

83 Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, 313; *Wb V* 461, 12.

84 Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41: 12.

85 Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41: 12.

86 I am not able to locate a published definition for *mnknw*.

87 Plate X shows two women kneeling and presenting bowls of water before four tanks. Some sources suggest the women represent Isis and Nephthys. According to Gardiner, these women are called *mnknw* and *dmdyt*, respectively. Gardiner notes that the former reference may have something to do with the word for “garden,” and quotes a similar example in the tomb of Rekhmire (Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, 52).

88 Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XI.

89 Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet*, 52.

90 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. 5.

91 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, pl. 5.

92 Édouard Naville, *Das aegyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie* (Berlin: A. Asher & Co., 1971), pl. CXCIII.

93 Faulkner, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, 129.

94 See Table 3.

95 William Kelly Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu*, Giza Mastabas 2 (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), fig. 24.

96 Gardiner, “A Unique Funerary Liturgy,” *JEA* 41: 10-11.

definition of *ḥ3i* more likely includes the notions of the actions expressed by *ib3* and *m3h*.

A second example that illustrates the performance of the *ḥ3i* ritual can be seen in the tomb of Pepiankh at Meir, where a man with the title *ḥ3(i)w* stands with his arms in the A 28 pose beside an offering table filled with food.<sup>97</sup>

Another incongruity appears in the New Kingdom tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82), where two men are riding in a skiff carrying a naos, with a caption reading "rejoicing in faring upstream."<sup>98</sup> Gardiner has chosen to translate the passage using the traditional definition of the verb *ḥ3i*, instead of *ḥ3i*.

These are just some of the examples that demonstrate the assorted contexts in which *ḥ3i* can appear. I have not found an instance where the word *ḥ3i* appears in the caption of a scene depicting the traditionally recognizable mourners. Similarly, the people who do appear in the scenes featuring captions containing the word *ḥ3i* do not perform any gesture other than that of the upraised arms (A 28), except in the case of the tomb of Qar. In this example the women have only one arm upraised.

### Genre of Sources and Contextual Setting

All references to the word *ḥ3i* occur in ritualistic material, namely, captions in tomb scenes, a tomb inscription, religious texts (Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, Amduat, and Book of Gates), a funerary liturgy, and a hymn to Osiris (Table 3). The word *ḥ3i* is ritualistic in nature and refers to an action performed in a ceremonial setting.<sup>99</sup>

The contexts in which *ḥ3i* appears can be classified into two groups: the real world and the mythological world (Table 4). In every circumstance *ḥ3i* occurs in the event of a death, and assumedly prior to the termination of the spiritualization, or rebirth, of the deceased into the Afterlife.

The examples occurring in the tomb scenes of Debehni, Hetepherakhti, Qar, Pepiankh, and Amenemhet,<sup>100</sup> in the inscription of Sabni, and in the funerary liturgy,<sup>101</sup> appear in relation to a real funeral. The remaining sources can be categorized as funerary literature, where *ḥ3i* takes place in a mythological setting.

The Pyramid Texts are innately funerary,

97 This figure appears twice in two separate scenes in Alyward Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 5, ASE 28 (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1953), pls. 42, 43.

98 Nina de Garis Davies and Alan H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhet (No. 82)*, The Theban Tombs Series 1 (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1915), 52. This is Gardiner's translation.

99 I have chosen to omit the examples appearing in the Sun Temple of Niuserre, P. Sallier IV *verso*, P. Chester Beatty III, the Onomasticon fragment and the Tombos Stela. Since these citations refer to *ḥ3yt-* or *ḥ3yw-*birds, are strictly avian in nature, appear in parallelism with various other birds, and have no apparent funerary connection, I consider these sources irrelevant for the rest of this section of the study. Likewise, I have excluded the references occurring in the scribe's palette (MMA 30.7.1), TT 76, and the libation vessel of Mentuemhet (London 1292) because in these sources the word *ḥ3(y)t-ib* refers to sadness. These references will be consistently omitted throughout the remainder of this study.

100 By the New Kingdom the ordinary funeral program has been inundated by mythological allusion.

101 The fragmentary funerary liturgy was discovered by Quibell beneath the Ramesseum (Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41: 9-17). Originally this text was termed a processional papyrus, but was subsequently renamed by Gardiner because of the funerary references. The purpose of this text was to present a normal funerary program (Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41: 17). This source is badly preserved, but there are a number of clues regarding the nature of this text. First, the phrase "circulating around the mastaba four times" appears regularly. Second, the *imy-ḥnt* priest and the lector-priest are mentioned. And third, the person for whom the rites are performed is "*Wsir mn pn*," "the Osiris this So-and-So." Additionally, the word *ḥ3i* appears on at least four separate occasions.

Table 3:  
Genre of Sources

	Source	Caption in Tomb Scene	Tomb Inscription	Book of the Afterlife <sup>102</sup>	Funerary Liturgy	Religious Hymn
1	Tomb of Debehni	X				
2	Tomb of Hetepherakhti	X				
3	Tomb of Qar	X				
4	Inscription of Sabni		X			
5	Tomb of Pepiankh	X				
6	PT §550			X		
7	PT §744			X		
8	PT §1255			X		
9	PT §1280			X		
10	PT §1585			X		
11	PT §1791			X		
12	PT §2112			X		
13	PT §2117			X		
14	CT I 73d			X		
15	CT I 74			X		
16	CT I 303g			X		
17	CT II 177h			X		
18	CT II 238b			X		
19	CT II 239a			X		
20	CT III 22a			X		
21	CT III 297i			X		
22	CT III 307a			X		
23	CT III 307b			X		
24	CT III 308d			X		
25	CT III 308d			X		
26	CT III 311h			X		
27	CT III 317e			X		
28	CT III 317e			X		
29	CT III 317l			X		
30	CT IV 331g			X		
31	CT IV 373a)			X		
32	CT IV 373a)			X		
33	CT V 332c			X		
34	CT VI 360j			X		
35	CT VI 385o			X		
36	CT VII 28o			X		
37	CT VII 51s			X		
38	Funerary Liturgy col. 16				X	
39	F.L. col. 44-45				X	
40	F.L. col. 64				X	
41	F.L. col. 84				X	
42	Tomb of Amenemhet	X				
43	BD 1			X		
44	BD 172			X		
45	Louvre Stela C 286					X
46	Amduat IV 34			X		
47	Book of Gates			X		

TABLE 4:  
CONTEXTUAL SETTING PRESENTED IN SOURCES

Source	Human Funeral	Divine World
Tomb of Debehni	X	
Tomb of Hetepherakhti	X	
Tomb of Qar	X	
Inscription of Sabni	X	
Tomb of Pepiankh	X	
All Pyramid Texts		X
All Coffin Texts		X
Funerary Liturgy col. 16	X	
E.L. col. 44-45	X	
E.L. col. 64	X	
E.L. col. 84	X	
Tomb of Amenemhet	X	
BD 1		X
BD 172		X
Louvre Stela C 286		X
Amduat IV 34		X
Book of Gates		X

in that they are a collection of utterances that were first carved on the walls of the pyramids of nine kings and queens of the late Old Kingdom, beginning with King Unas, the last king of Dynasty Five. They represent the oldest body of Egyptian religious and funerary literature now extant.<sup>103</sup> This corpus is comprised of both very ancient texts and others that are contemporary with the pyramids. The purpose of the Pyramid Texts was to help the deceased king in the Afterlife. They were inscribed on the walls of the corridors and burial chambers; however, their sequence is still a matter of debate. Some of the texts deal with various rituals that would have been performed at the royal funeral where the deceased is addressed as Osiris. Scenes do not accompany the texts because it was thought that a picture could come alive and hurt the king.<sup>104</sup>

There are many utterances related to the revivification of the deceased and the protection of his body. These texts were intended only for the benefit of the king and the royal family.

The Coffin Texts are also funerary in nature, and were first inscribed on the walls of burial chambers, and later on the inside of wooden coffins of private persons, as well as on a few papyri beginning in the First Intermediate Period and during the Middle Kingdom. These texts are related to the aforementioned Pyramid Texts, and also provided an assurance of survival in the Afterlife. At this time private individuals were appropriating the king's funerary privileges and were increasingly being identified with Osiris without having any connection to the royal cult.<sup>105</sup>

The Book of the Dead is directly related

103 Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, v; J. P. Allen, "Funerary Texts and their Meaning," in *Mummies and Magic: The Funerary Arts of Ancient Egypt*, ed. D'Auria, Sue, Peter Lacovara, and Catharine H. Roehrig (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 1992. 2d ed.), 38-39.

104 Hieroglyphs were treated like pictures and were thus ritually mutilated to prevent them from hurting the deceased king. This is particularly true for those hieroglyphs appearing in the burial chamber. See Richard H. Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 7; Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 69.

105 Kathryn Bard, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (Malden, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2008), 174.

to both of these groups of spells. Each new group of mortuary texts exhibits some degree of overlap with the older literature.<sup>106</sup> The earliest chapters of the Book of the Dead appeared in the Seventeenth Dynasty and eventually became one of the most important pieces of burial equipment.<sup>107</sup> Usually private people used the chapters of the Book of the Dead, while a number of examples are also found in royal contexts. Normally the Book of the Dead was written on a papyrus roll, and it was placed in the coffin of the deceased, in the deceased's hand, in a hollowed out Osiris figurine, or in a box.

The hymn to Osiris on Louvre stela C 286 functions in a way similar to that of the literature above, namely, it is employed in a funerary context to ensure the well-being of the deceased in the Hereafter. In fact, T. G. Allen classifies this hymn as Chapter 185A of the Book of the Dead.<sup>108</sup> This hymn reflects the myth of Osiris; therefore, the context is also mythological and the participants are divine. This stela is dedicated by Amenmose and his wife, Nefertari.<sup>109</sup> On the upper portion of the stela there is a double of-

fering scene. On the left, the official Amenmose and his wife are seated before an offering table, and on the right the lady Baket is seated. One son stands behind the couple, while another son stands in front of the offering table raising one arm in an offering gesture. A priest is performing offering rites before the lady Baket. More sons and daughters are seated below.<sup>110</sup> According to Moret, Amenmose, Nefertari and their children are alive and well and are participating in a funerary meal dedicated to their ancestor Baket.<sup>111</sup> It is on this occasion that Amenmose chants the hymn to Osiris.<sup>112</sup> In general, a funerary stela was the focus of a cult place, the point of transition between this world and the next.<sup>113</sup> Although the provenance of this particular stela is unknown, such stelae were usually associated with the funerary complex. In this case, it may come from Abydos, the cult place of Osiris.

The Amduat, actually entitled the Book of the Hidden Chamber,<sup>114</sup> is another funerary book that first appears in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, and is inscribed on the walls of some royal tombs.<sup>115</sup> The earliest copies of the book

106 Ogdon Golet, Jr., "A Commentary on the corpus of Literature and Tradition Which Constitutes The Book of Going Forth by Day," in *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day*, ed. Eva von Dassow (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), 139.

107 R. B. Parkinson and Stephen Quirke, "The Coffin of Prince Herunefer and the Early History of the Book of the Dead," in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, ed. Alan B. Lloyd, (London: EES, 1992), 37-51.

108 T. G. Allen, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, SAOC 37 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974), 203ff.

109 Alexandre Moret, "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque théban d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30 (1931): 725-750; Barbara Lesko, *The Great Goddesses of Egypt* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 170.

110 Moret, "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque théban d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30: 727, pl. III.

111 Alternatively, the parents may also be deceased and are sharing in the funerary meal of Baket.

112 Moret, "La légende d'Osiris à l'époque théban d'après l'hymne à Osiris du Louvre," *BIFAO* 30: 728.

113 John Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 136.

114 Erik Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 32.

115 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 27-28.

come from the tomb of Thutmosis III and his vizier Useramun.<sup>116</sup> The text contains a detailed description of the Netherworld, describing the journey of the sun god through the twelve hours of the night, beginning with his setting and ending with his rising.<sup>117</sup> This is the first completely illustrated book that has matching text and pictures.<sup>118</sup> This book appears in part, or in whole, in most of the royal tombs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, and also in private Theban papyri of the Twenty-First Dynasty.<sup>119</sup> In the latter part of the Twenty-First Dynasty excerpts begin to appear on a variety of funerary equipment.

The Book of Gates, officially untitled, first appears in the royal tomb of Horemheb just after the Amarna Period. Some suspect that the book may date as far back as the Middle Kingdom; however, due to the cosmopolitan nature of some of the accompanying scenes, Hornung believes that this date is too early.<sup>120</sup> Seti I is the first king to display a complete version of the Book of Gates on his alabaster sarcophagus. With Ramesses IX the book disappears from the royal tomb. Excerpts from the Book of Gates appear infrequently after the New Kingdom.<sup>121</sup> Like the Amduat, the Book of Gates also displays the twelve hours of the night in three registers.<sup>122</sup>

As is now evident, the sources where *ḥ3i* appears can be classified into real world exam-

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ples and mythological examples. The private contexts in which *ḥ3i* appears show the ritual occurring at an authentic funeral for a human being. This can be contrasted with those where the context is strictly mythological: Pyramid Texts, Coffin Texts, Book of the Dead, Amduat, and Book of Gates. The participants in these cases are divine.

### *ḥ3i* and the Cult of Osiris

The word *ḥ3i* functions primarily in contexts alluding to Osiris (Table 5). There is a stark contrast between the Old Kingdom private sources and the other sources. There are no confirmed Old Kingdom private sources where *ḥ3i* appears in connection with clear allusions to the myth of Osiris.<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts of the Old and Middle Kingdoms show that the performance of *ḥ3i* almost always took place in a context including these Osirian allusions.

The New Kingdom sources are not as straightforward. The tomb of Amenemhet (TT 82) is the only New Kingdom private source to include the word *ḥ3i* as part of a caption in a tomb scene. By this time the royal prerogatives that were developed in the Old Kingdom have infiltrated the funerary concepts of the private individual, whereby everyone could be considered as Osiris. Aside from the Louvre stela whose content is purely Osirian, the funerary

116 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 28.

117 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 27.

118 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 32.

119 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 30, 33. The 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty version is called the short, or abridged, version of the Amduat.

120 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 55.

121 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 56.

122 Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, 57. One difference between the two books is in the illustrations of the gods. In the Book of Gates only two gods (Sia and Heka) appear with the sun god, while several gods appear in the Amduat. The first hour holds an important position, and there are curious features displayed in the last three hours where Atum/Horus is excluded in the lower register.

123 Because the date and original context of the funerary liturgy cannot be confirmed with certainty it is difficult to classify this source (Gardiner, "A Unique Funerary Liturgy," *JEA* 41: 9-17).

Table 5:  
Allusions to the Cult of Osiris

Source	Evidence for Osirian Allusions	No Osirian Allusions
Tomb of Debehni		X
Tomb of Hetepherakhti		X
Tomb of Qar		X
Inscription of Sabni		X
Tomb of Pepiankh		X
PT §550	X	
PT §744	X	
PT §1255	X	
PT §1280	X	
PT §1585		X
PT §1791		X <sup>124</sup>
PT §2112	X	
PT §2117	X	
CT I 73d	X	
CT I 74e	X	
CT I 303g	X	
CT II 177h	X <sup>125</sup>	
CT II 238b	X	
CT II 239a	X	
CT III 22a		X
CT III 297i	X	
CT III 307a	X	
CT III 307b	X	
CT III 308d	X	
CT III 308d	X	
CT III 311h	X	
CT III 317e	X	
CT III 317e	X	
CT III 317l	X	
CT IV 331g	X	
CT IV 373a	X	
CT IV 373a	X	
CT V 332c	X	
CT VI 360j	X	
CT VI 385o	X	
CT VII 28o	X	
CT VII 51s	X	
Funerary Liturgy col. 16	X <sup>126</sup>	
EL. col. 44-45	X	
EL. col. 64	X	
EL. col. 84	X	
Tomb of Amenemhet	X	
BD 1	X	
BD 172		X

124 Faulkner (*The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 262) suggests that the feminine pronoun in this spell is referring to Isis.

125 Osiris is mentioned only once at the beginning of the spell. However, this spell does not have allusions to rejuvenation and life in the Hereafter like other Osirian spells. It speaks of assembling the deceased's family in the realm of the dead.

126 In the funerary liturgy the deceased is referred to as an Osiris; therefore, *ḥ3i* is functioning in conjunction with the cult of Osiris. However, Osiris is not directly linked to these passages. This analysis is dependent on whether or not the liturgy is to be regarded as a whole or if certain passages are analyzed in isolation.

books involve numerous characters and demonstrate an amalgamation of many religious ideas. Osiris is included in these funerary books, but the texts themselves are not purely Osirian.

### Conclusion

By way of summation, the word *ḥ3i* can no longer be classified as a mourning word. It appears only in ritual sources, and more precisely, in contexts of a strictly funerary character.

In the private sources, the ritual of *ḥ3i* is depicted as occurring on earth amongst the living. In the sources that stem from a royal context, the ritual is depicted as occurring in a mythological setting. Often these contexts are laden with Osirian overtones; however, the early private sources do not exhibit an Osirian influence.<sup>127</sup>

A major key to the meaning of the word *ḤAḥ* can be seen in the New Kingdom tomb of Ramose (TT 55). There is a caption between the two groups of four men who walk with their arms in the A 28 pose in the dragging scene in the funeral procession that reads: *q3(i) n b3w.k mi mnw(y) mnw(w).k*, “Exalted is your mystical power, just as your monuments are monumental.”<sup>128</sup> This exaltation, or uplifting, of the deceased’s mystical power (*b3w*) is synonymous with his spirit prospering in the Hereafter. Some also interpret this scene to mean that the men are rejoicing at Ramose’s eternal existence.<sup>129</sup> This scene has precedents dating back to the Old

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Kingdom, for example, the procession scene in the tomb of Hetepkherakhti, where the participants walk in front of the sledge with their arms upraised, and are accompanied by the caption: *ḥ3(i)t*.

The word *ḥ3i* refers to the uplifting, or transforming, of the deceased’s spirit from this world to the next. The positioning of the participants’ arms (A 28) may demonstrate the elevation of the spiritual essence that would ascend toward the heavens and thus actuate the revivification of the deceased. Or the upraised arms may represent the “mystical embrace” that transfers the life force from one to another.<sup>130</sup>

The word *ḥ3i* can be translated as “transport,” that is, to ritually transport one in the sense of revivifying the deceased for the Afterlife, or transforming one from a physical being into a spiritual being. This is why the rite takes place on the day of burial and in conjunction with the embalming workshop. This also accounts for the word’s connection with birds. A *ḥ3(i)t* or *ḥ3(i)w* helped to ritually transport the deceased’s spirit from earth, while ascension to the Hereafter was imagined to occur through the flight of a bird.<sup>131</sup> A new dictionary entry for *ḥ3i* might read as follows:

*ḥ3i* – to ritually transport one’s spirit  
*ḥ3i-ti* – the two transporters  
*ḥ3(i)t* – a bird; the transporter

127 In his book *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, Hornung (34) states that Osiris is mentioned over and over again in the *Amduat*; however, he remains passive and does not speak even once.

128 The funerary liturgy demonstrates that the cult of Osiris may have been operating as early as the Third Dynasty. Since its date is a subject of controversy, and its status as a royal text debated, this source cannot act as a firm bench-marker. However, I suggest that this text illustrates an early royal funeral that demonstrates the ritual of *ḥ3i* prior to the superimposition of the Osirian characters.

129 Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London: Egyptian Exploration Society, 1941), 23, n. 2. This is an original translation thanks to the help of Lanny Bell.

130 [www.osiris.net/tombes/nobles/ramose/e\\_ramose.htm](http://www.osiris.net/tombes/nobles/ramose/e_ramose.htm). The author of this site is Thierry Benderitter.

131 Henri Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 32, 66-67, 122, 199.



# Fremdwörter in der ägyptischen Militärsprache des Neuen Reiches und ein Bravourstück des Elitesoldaten (Papyrus Anastasi I 23, 2–7)\*

Thomas Schneider

## Abstract:

The article proposes to distinguish between different varieties of language use for communicative situations and text production relating to the Egyptian military: „Militärsprache“ (military language) in the narrower sense as the specialised language of the institution, and „Soldatensprache“ (soldiers' or military slang) as the sociolect of the troupes, comprising again different varieties according to military units and hierarchy. In particular the inofficial military slang, but also technical terms are poorly documented; many of which were borrowings from foreign languages. The article discusses a number of new etymologies and gives subsequently a comprehensive list of 111 loanwords from the military vocabulary (technology of the chariot and equipment, weaponry, infrastructure, military titles and functions, military behaviour and activities, application of violence, intimidation and flight). In the last section, an exemplary passage from P. Anastasi I (23,2-7) containing multiple loanwords is subjected to a new interpretation which presents the elite soldier as excelling in bravery rather than (as traditionally assumed) failing. The linguistic character of such texts should be rendered adequately in modern translations for which an attempt is given (German text with French military terms for the Egyptian text with Semitic terms).

## Resumé:

Le présent article vise à établir une différence dans les registres de langage militaire égyptien employés dans des situations d'énonciation et de production littéraire. Ainsi, la 'Militärsprache' (la langue militaire) est au sens propre le langage spécialisé utilisé par l'institution militaire, tandis que la 'Soldatensprache' (le jargon militaire) est le sociolecte des troupes. Ce dernier comprend des sous-registres différents qui varient selon les unités et la hiérarchie militaires. Le jargon militaire officieux est malheureusement peu documenté, de même que les termes techniques qui sont souvent empruntés de langues étrangères. Notre article étudie un certain nombre d'étymologies et dresse une liste de 111 emprunts du vocabulaire militaire égyptien à des langues étrangères (technologie du charriot et de l'équipement, armement, infrastructures, titres et fonctions militaires, comportement et activités militaires, traitements violents, intimidation et fuites). Dans la dernière section, l'analyse d'un passage significatif qui contient plusieurs mots d'emprunt, tiré du Pap. Anastasi I (23, 2-7), débouche sur une nouvelle interprétation du texte. Le soldat d'élite y est dépeint en termes élogieux: plutôt que d'être condamné pour ses faiblesses, comme les interprétations traditionnelles l'ont supposé, sa bravoure est au contraire mise en avant. La dimension linguistique de tels textes devrait être rendue de manière plus explicite dans les traductions modernes. Pour cette raison, le passage en question est ici rendu en allemand en employant des termes militaires français au lieu des termes sémitiques du papyrus Anastasi.

\* Der vorliegende Beitrag entstand für das Kolloquium zur ägyptischen Militärgeschichte, das im Dezember 2003 an der Universität Mainz ausgerichtet wurde, und war ursprünglich zur Veröffentlichung in R. Gundlach/C. Vogel, *Militärgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten*. Altägypten und seine Nachbarkulturen im Spiegel der aktuellen Forschung (Schoeningh) vorgesehen; das druckfertige Manuskript wurde im Februar 2004 eingereicht. Ich danke dem Herausgeber und dem Editorial Board von *JSSEA*, durch die Aufnahme des Manuskriptes in *JSSEA* 35(2008) nun endlich ein Erscheinen des Beitrags zu ermöglichen. Peter Raulwing danke ich für Hinweise und Arbeit am Layout des Artikels.

**Keywords:**

Egyptian military language/military slang, loanwords in Egyptian, Pap. Anastasi I.

**1. Militärsprache und Soldatensprache**

Die Untersuchung James E. Hochs zum semitischen Lehnwortschatz im Ägyptischen des Neuen Reiches und der 3. Zwischenzeit<sup>1</sup> verzeichnet anteilmäßig an erster Stelle die Entlehnungen im Bereich Krieg und Militärwesen. Bei genauerem Hinsehen zeigt sich hinter dieser Spitzenposition jedoch eine Vielzahl von Problemen: ein Großteil der Lexeme ist nur selten, viele nur ein einziges Mal belegt, ihre Bedeutung ist häufig unsicher oder gänzlich unklar, ganz zu schweigen von der Etymologie. Die überlieferten Texte, die sie uns belegen, verdanken sich einem Überlieferungszufall, der nur Bruchstücke der Kriegsliteratur<sup>2</sup> und des Schriftgutes der Militärverwaltung erhalten hat und nur selten Aussagen über die präzise Verwendung oder das soziale Milieu eines Ausdrucks gestattet.

Zur methodischen Grundlegung scheint eine Unterscheidung verschiedener Varietäten militärischen Sprachgebrauchs geboten,<sup>3</sup> die demselben Berufsumfeld entstammen. Dazu notiert D. Möhn: „Die Einheitlichkeit des Kommunikationsbereichs einigt auch die Komponenten „Militärische Fachsprache“ und „Soldatische Sondersprache“. Während der ersten Kompo-

nente eine strikte Normung, die Priorität des institutionellen Funktionierens zukommen, gilt die zweite als Repräsentation des Nichtoffiziellen. Sie dient der Distanzgewinnung innerhalb der Institution, trägt zum Zusammengehörigkeitsgefühl bei und ermöglicht durch Umbenennung des offiziellen Vokabulars auch eine konnotativ gestützte Verdrängung gegebener existenzbedrohender Situationen.“<sup>4</sup> Unter noch engerer Eingrenzung hält K. von Schweinitz mit Blick auf das bundesdeutsche Heer fest: „Unter der Bezeichnung *Heeressprache* ist die in den Dienstvorschriften niedergelegte Führungs-, Gefechts- und Dienstsprache des Heeres zu verstehen. (...) Von der Heeressprache zu sondern ist die *Soldatensprache*, die jargonartige Umgangssprache der Soldaten im Felde und in der Kaserne. Zwar lebt auch sie im Dienst, doch ist sie nicht im Dienst.“<sup>5</sup> Die Studie von K.-P. Möller<sup>6</sup> unterscheidet zwischen

(1) der *militärischen Fachsprache* mit festgelegtem, kodifiziertem Vokabular, das Fachausdrücke von der Bewaffnung über die Truppe bis zur Strategie umfaßt, außerdem feste Kommandos und Befehle, reglementierte Sätze, Rangbezeichnungen usw.;

1 J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 1994.

2 Dazu jetzt A.J. Spalinger, *The Transformation of an Ancient Egyptian Narrative: P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*, GOF IV.40 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 347–365.

3 Dazu in allgemeiner Hinsicht *Sociolinguistics: an International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society = Soziolinguistik: ein internationales Handbuch zur Wissenschaft von Sprache und Gesellschaft*, ed. U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K.J. Mattheier, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 3, 2 Bde, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1987-1988; *Fachsprachen: ein internationales Handbuch zur Fachsprachenforschung und Terminologiewissenschaft = Languages for Special Purposes: an International Handbook of Special-language and Terminology Research*, ed. L. Hoffmann et al., Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 14, 2 Bde, (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1998-1999).

4 D. Möhn, „Fachsprachen und Gruppensprachen,“ in *Languages for Special Purposes*, 177.

5 K. von Schweinitz, *Die Sprache des deutschen Heeres* (Osnabrück: Biblio, 1989). Vgl. W. Transfeldt, „Wort und Brauch“ in *Heer und Flotte*, ed. von H.-P. Stein, 9., überarb. und erw. Aufl. (Stuttgart, 1986).

6 K.-P. Möller: *Der wahre E. Ein Wörterbuch der DDR-Soldatensprache* (Berlin: Luikas, 2000). „E“ meint den Entlassungskandidaten des dritten Diensthalbjahres der Nationalen Volksarmee der DDR.

(2) der *Soldatensprache* als inoffizieller Sondersprache der Mannschaften, üblicherweise sogar in verschiedenen Varietäten (etwa Infanterie, Kavallerie, Marine), die die besondere Kommunikationsgemeinschaft einer auf engem Raum, im beschwerlichen Militärdienst, in fester Hierarchie und unter besonderen Bedingungen zusammenlebenden Truppe reflektiert und eine Vulgärsprache mit zahlreichen außersprachlichen Kommunikationsformen (Gestik, Verhalten, Rituale) darstellt, und schließlich

(3) der *Offizierssprache*<sup>7</sup> als Sondersprache der vorgesetzten Offiziere, die wiederum festgelegte Ausdrucksformen, Normen, Vokabular usw. besitzt und das kulturelle Subsystem der militärischen Elite definiert.

Auch für den Bereich des altägyptischen Militärs sollte die grundlegende Zweiteilung in die *Militärsprache*<sup>8</sup> als Fachsprache der Institution und die *Soldatensprache*<sup>9</sup> als Soziolekt oder Sondersprache einer Gruppe vorgenommen werden. Dabei kann der Bereich der Waffenterminologie, jedenfalls sofern er die offiziellen technischen Begriff aus der Fachsprache der Militärtechnik verwendet und nicht Substitutbezeichnungen der Soldatensprache, entweder separat behan-

delt oder der Militärsprache zugeschlagen werden. Der reduzierte moderne Zugang über ausgewählte Gattungen schriftlicher Überlieferung hat zur Folge, daß uns der Soziolekt der altägyptischen Soldaten wenig zugänglich ist bzw. erst aus den Quellen erarbeitet werden müßte (vgl. etwa die inoffizielle Bezeichnung *ḥ3wti qni* „tapferer Krieger“ und vielleicht die Verwendung des vulgären *wš* „abnagen“ im Sinne von „aufbrauchen“ in der Biographie des Berufssoldaten Haanchef aus Edfu, Kairo JdE 52456).<sup>10</sup> Fremdwörter sind insbesondere im Bereich der Waffentechnologie, der militärischen Hierarchie und Strategie – d.h. in der Militärsprache – belegt, allgemeiner auch im Bereich der Gewaltanwendung (Einschüchterung, Furcht, Flucht). Letztere Ausdrücke könnten auch Teil der Soldatensprache sein und sind teilweise als Ausdrücke in der Sondersprache der gegnerischen Truppen (also nicht als Fremdwörter im Ägyptischen, sondern nur fremdsprachige Wörter in ägyptischen Texten) bezeugt.

## 2. Sache und Bezeichnung: Exemplarische neue Etymologien

Die etymologische Ableitung zahlreicher Begriffe ist schwierig. So ist beispielsweise die

7 G. Zimmermann, „Phonetische und paralinguistische Beobachtungen zur fiktionalen preussischen und sächsischen Offizierssprache. Nach Zeugnissen aus der erzählenden, dramatischen und biographischen Literatur,“ *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 1(1987): 28-60.

8 M. Peñarroya i Prats, *El lenguaje militar: entre la tradición y la modernidad* (Madrid: Ministerio de Defensa, 2002).

9 Auch als *Jargon* oder durch Näherbestimmung (Soldatendeutsch, Bundessoldatendeutsch, Landserdeutsch usw.) bezeichnet. Vgl. P. Horn, *Die deutsche Soldatensprache* (Giessen: A. Töpelmann, 1905); F. Déchelette, *Largot des Poilus: dictionnaire humoristique et philologique du langage des soldats de la Grande Guerre de 1914*, Argots spéciaux des aviateurs, aérostiers, automobilistes, etc. (Paris: Jouve et Cie, 1918); A. Dauzat, *Largot de la guerre: d'après une enquête auprès des officiers et soldats* (Paris: A. Colin, 1918, réédition 2007); vgl. H. Bächtold-Stäubli, *Die schweizerische Soldatensprache 1914-1918* (Basel: Verlag der Schweizerischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, 1922); G.W. Haupt-Heydemarck, *Soldatendeutsch* (Berlin, 1934); M. Fritz, *Schwäbische Soldatensprache im Weltkrieg* (Stuttgart: A.E. Glaser, 1938); H. Küpper, *ABC-Komiker bis Zwitschergemüse: das Bundessoldatendeutsch*, Beihefte zur Muttersprache 3 (Wiesbaden: Verlag für Dt. Sprache, 1978); M.G. Mosci Sassi, *Il sermo castrensis*, Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino 19 (Bologna: Pàtron, 1983) (römische Soldatensprache); Möller, *Der wahre E*; J.D. Wright, *The language of the Civil War* (Westport: Oryx Press, 2001) (Soldatensprache des amerikanischen Sezessionskrieges).

10 T. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches und der Hyksoszeit: Teil 2: Die ausländische Bevölkerung*, ÄAT 42. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 177-78; 250.

Herkunft der Fachtermini zur Technologie des Wagens<sup>11</sup> und zur Ausrüstung des Gespanns uneinheitlich und in einigen Fällen noch nicht eruierbar. Dazu trägt auch die dünne Beleglage bei und die aus ihr resultierende Schwierigkeit, einzelne Termini konkreten Bestandteilen des Wagens oder auf dem Wagen mitgeführter Objekte zuzuordnen. Diese Problematik wird schon bei der in der 18. Dynastie für den Streitwagen üblichen Bezeichnung *wrry.t* deutlich. Meiner hethitischen Herleitung<sup>12</sup> steht die Ungewißheit über die genaue Bedeutung des hethitischen Ausdrucks entgegen,<sup>13</sup> der ägyptischen von J. Zeidler<sup>14</sup> die unsichere Ableitung von einer postulierten Wurzel \**wR*, die graphematisch nur als <*w3*> erscheint und deren Bedeutung nicht eindeutig ist.<sup>15</sup> Andere sichere hethitische Etymologien sind bisher im Bereich der Terminologie von Pferd und Wagen nicht nachzuweisen. Ob *m-š-y* „Lederbänder o.ä. (zur Traktion)“ allen-

falls zu heth. <sup>TUG</sup>*maššiya* „Art Gürtel oder Schal“ gehören könnte, ist ganz unsicher.<sup>16</sup> Hurritisch zu deuten ist bisher nur *h-r-h* „Brüstungsstangen des Wagenkastens“ = hurr. *hiarohhe* „golden, Goldenes“, das in der Belegstelle pAnast. IV 16,8 geradezu ins Ägyptische übersetzt ist: *iw n3y=sn ʿm-i-y b3k.w m nbw n3y=sn h-r-h m nbw* „Ihre Stützen sind aus Gold gearbeitet, ihre *hiarohhe* („Goldenen“) sind aus Gold.“<sup>17</sup> Erfolgreicher ist die Suche nach weiteren semitischen Etymologien, die entweder in der Untersuchung James E. Hochs nicht vorgeschlagen wurden oder dort nicht rubrizierte Termini betreffen. Die Bezeichnung *d(3)-b-w<sub>2</sub>*<sup>HTP</sup> (2. 19.–20. Dyn.; Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 268) – ein Teil des Wagens, offenbar bestimmte Applikationen oder Verzierungen – wird von A.R. Schulman als ägyptisch angesehen und zu ägypt. *db3* „schmücken“ gestellt.<sup>18</sup> Da letzteres Wort aber im Gegensatz zu dem hier vorliegenden Begriff regelmäßig mit dem Dreikonso-

11 Aus der umfangreichen Literatur nenne ich nur P. Raulwing, *Horses, chariots and Indo-Europeans: foundations and methods of chariotry research from the viewpoint of comparative Indo-European linguistics*, Archaeolingua, Series minor 13 (Budapest: ???, 2000) (mit ausführlicher Lit.); *Rad und Wagen: Der Ursprung einer Innovation. Wagen im Vorderen Orient und Europa*, ed. M. Fansa, S. Burmeister (Mainz am Rhein: , 2004) (u.a. mit Beiträgen von A. Herold und U. Hofmann zur Wagentechnologie in Ägypten).

12 T. Schneider, „Zur Herkunft der ägyptischen Bezeichnung *wrry.t* „Wagen“. Ein Indiz für den Lautwert von <r> vor Beginn des Neuen Reiches,“ *GM* 173 (1999): 155-158.

13 D. Groddeck, „Ist das Etymon von *wrry.t* „Wagen“ gefunden?“ *GM* 175(2000): 109ff.. J. Tischler gibt in *Hethitisches Handwörterbuch. Mit dem Wortschatz der Nachbarsprachen*, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft 102 (Innsbruck, 2001) die Bedeutung „Wagenkorb?, Wandschirm?“ (S. 203) bzw. „Wagenkorb?, Raumteiler?“ (S. 229).

14 J. Zeidler, „Zur Etymologie von *wrry.t* „Wagen“. Mit einigen Bemerkungen zur ‚syllabischen Schreibung,“ *GM* 178 (2000): 97-111.

15 T. Schneider, „Nichtsemitische Lehnwörter im Ägyptischen. Umriss eines Forschungsgebiets,“ in *Das Ägyptische und die Sprachen Vorderasiens, Nordafrikas und der Ägäis. Akten des Basler Kolloquiums zum ägyptisch-nichtsemitischen Sprachkontakt Basel 9.-11. Juli 2003*, ed. T. Schneider Unter Mitarbeit von F.Breyer, O. Kaelin und C. Knigge (AOAT 310), (Münster: ???, 2004), 20 f. Anm. 43.

16 Eine auffällige Übereinstimmung im Konsonantenbestand zeigt das als Stoffprodukt im großen pHarris I 63b, 12 (Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 163) verzeichnete *q-3-d-3-m-r<sup>ss</sup>* mit heth. <sup>KU8</sup>*gazzimuel* (Teil des Pferdegeschirrs; HEG I, 550). Ob eine Bedeutung wie „Gürtel, Band, Schärpe“ (mit je spezifischer Verwendung in den Einzelsprachen) vorliegt?

17 T. Schneider, „Hurritisch *hiarohhe* „Goldenes“ als Fachterminus im Ägyptischen“ in *Egyptian and Semito-Hamitic (Afro-Asiatic) Studies in Memoriam W. Vycichl*, ed. G. Takács, *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* 39 (Leiden, 2003), 137-38.

18 A. R. Schulman, „The So-called Poem on the King's Chariot,“ *JSSEA* 16 (1986): (part 1) 19-35; (part 2) 39-49.

nantenzeichen Gardiner T25 (Schwimmer am Fischnetz) geschrieben wird, scheint mir eine andere Ableitung plausibler, und zwar von akk. *šuppu* I „verziert, eingelegt, überzogen“ (von Gold-, Silbergegenständen, Möbeln und Textilien).<sup>19</sup> Weitere Termini semitischer Herkunft wurden bisher vielleicht deshalb noch nicht erkannt, weil ein übertragener Gebrauch eines Lexems, eine andere Lesung oder eine phonologische Veränderung anzusetzen sind. So könnte der Wagenteil *iw-m*<sup>MSK3.Ht</sup> – möglicherweise die Standfläche des Wagenkastens – (Hoch 22f. [9.]; 2 x 19. Dyn.) eine Verwendung von semit. 'umm „Mutter“ in übertragener Verwendung „Mutterstück, Hauptteil“ sein.<sup>20</sup> Da es sich um ein Primärnomen ohne Femininendung handelt, dessen eigentliche Bedeutung der Ägypter nicht assoziiert haben könnte, muß der dem Wort vorangestellte männliche Artikel nicht gegen die Etymologie sprechen.

Bei der Beschreibung der Reparatur des Streitwagens und seiner Ausrüstung in pAnast. I 26,8 findet sich u.a. der Passus: *di-w iw<sub>2</sub>-ḫ-m<sub>3</sub>-y<sup>BB</sup> n p<sub>3</sub>y=k i-ś-b-w<sub>2</sub>-r<sup>HT</sup> ts-w n=f m-ti-d<sub>3</sub>-i-w<sub>2</sub><sup>MSK3.P</sup>*, von Hoch (1994 175 [233.]; 130 [168.]) verstanden als „they place a ferrule on your whip; they tie the whip-lashes on it.“ Von den drei in diesem Passus vorliegenden fremdsprachigen Fachbezeichnungen ist *i-ś-b-w<sub>2</sub>-r<sup>HT</sup>* die Peitsche (4 x 18.–20. Dyn.; Hoch 34 f. [28.]), ein Wort unklarer Herkunft.<sup>21</sup> *iw<sub>2</sub>-ḫ-m<sub>3</sub>-y<sup>BB</sup>* (1x 19. Dyn.; Hoch 44 f. [39.]) besteht nach dem Determinativ aus Metall und dürfte mit Hoch die Metallspitze auf

dem Ende des Stabes, durch dessen Bohrung die Peitschenschnüre geführt wurden, meinen. Zur Deutung des Wortes möchte ich vorschlagen, daß mit alternativer Lesung des anlautenden Kanalzeichens korrekter *mi-ḫ-m<sub>3</sub>-y<sup>BB</sup>* angesetzt werden sollte. Dann könnte ein Lehnwort der Zweiten Zwischenzeit vorliegen, bei dem analog zu der innerägyptischen Entwicklung im Auslaut /r/ > /y/ leniert wurde und nordwestsemit. *mismar* > *mismay* „Nagel, Spitze“ (hebr. *mi/asmēr* „Stift, Nagel“, *maśmērā* „Nagel (des Ochsensteckens)“, vgl. arab. *mismār* „Nagel, Stift“) vorläge. Die vermutlichen Peitschenschnüre *m-ti-d<sub>3</sub>-i-w<sub>2</sub><sup>MSK3.P</sup>* mit der Variantenschreibung *m-n:-ti-d<sub>3</sub>-i<sub>2</sub><sup>MSK3.P</sup>* in pAnast. IV (2x 19. Dyn.; Hoch 175 [233.]; 130 [168.]) bestanden nach der Determinierung aus Leder. Vielleicht kann der Begriff als Partizipialbildung nif. von der Wurzel bibl.-hebr. *tzz* bzw. nif. oder hof. der mittelhebr. Variante *ntz* mit der Grundbedeutung „abspringen, abklatschen“ gestellt werden, die auch das Abprallen eines Schwertes vom Hals, eines Stokkes von einem anderen bzw. von Funken von einer Platte bezeichnet.<sup>22</sup> *mntz* wäre somit „die (vom Körper des Pferdes) abspringende bzw. zum Abklatschen gebrachte (Peitschenschnur)“. Bei dem Ausdruck *ḫ<sub>3</sub>-y-rw-y<sup>MSK3.SS</sup>* (1x 19.–20. Dyn.; Hoch 223 [306.]) dürfte es sich auf Grund der Determinierung (Leder, Stoff) um einen der am Wagen oder am Geschirr vorhandenen Riemen handeln. Die Schreibung könnte eine Ableitung \**ḫailiy* mit der Zugehörigkeitsnisbe *-iy* von nordwestsemit. *ḫail* „Kraft, Vermögen,

19 AHw III, 1221-22.

20 Vgl. die Verwendungen i.S.v. ‚Behälter‘ (akk. für ‚Köcher‘), ‚Hauptkörper‘ (akk., arab., mittelhebr. auch für ‚Stamm‘), arab. auch ‚Matrix, Matrize“ u.ä.: AHw III 1417, 12–15.17; H. Wehr, *Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*, 5th ed. (1985), 38-39. In diesem Sinn auch dt. ‚(Schrauben-)Mutter“ und das verwandte Mieder. Zu einer identischen möglichen Notation des Wortes in einem Personennamen siehe T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114, (1992), 21 [N 17].

21 Ob zu *āš<sup>bar</sup>-ba-ru* = *nēbeḫu* = ‚Band, Gürtel‘ (Vokabelliste BM 38590; Eintrag 6; unbekannt Sprache) zu stellen (Schneider, ‚Nichtsemitische Lehnwörter im Ägyptischen,“ 11–31: 18; T. Schneider, ‚Kassitisch und Hurro-Urartäisch: Überlegungen zu möglichen lexikalischen Isoglossen,“ *AoF* 30 (2003): 372 f. Anm. 5)?

22 *Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament*, 3. Auflage, 5 Bände, (Leiden 1967–1996), 1580; J. Lévy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Berlin, 1924), 3:455-56.

Tüchtigkeit, Heer“ darstellen; *ħailiy* wäre dann „der zur Zugkraft gehörige (Riemen)“. Bei einem Begriff wie *ħ3-b-w<sub>2</sub><sup>SPR</sup>* „Felge“ (1x 19. Dyn.; Hoch 240 [332.]) könnte schließlich eine ägyptische Ableitung von ägypt. *ħ3b*, seit dem Neuen Reich auch *ħ3b* „krumm sein“ (statt akk. *ħuppu* „Felge“) am plausibelsten sein,<sup>23</sup> mit dem es in dem Wortspiel der Belegstelle des Ostrakons Edinburgh korrespondiert.

Auch im Bereich der Ausrüstung des Soldaten, der militärischen Funktionen und der allgemeinen Militärterminologie lassen sich vereinzelt neue Etymologien finden. Eine Entlehnung der Ersten Zwischenzeit aus dem Berberischen (Libyschen) dürfte *m3-g-šw/b3-g-šw* „Dolch“ (berb. *gs* „Stab oder Pflöck aus Metall oder Holz“ mit dem diminutiven Nominalbildungspräfix *br-/mr-*) sein (vgl. für eine frühe Entlehnung auch die Bemerkungen zu ägyptisch *ssm.t* „Pferd“ sub 3.1).<sup>24</sup> Ebenfalls berberischer (libyscher) Herkunft ist *i-š-t-n-nw<sup>MSK3</sup>* „Gürtel“ < berb. (Zentralmarokko) *istawn* „alles, was zum Gürtel dient“, vgl. *tastawin* „Gürtel“, Wurzel *stw* „(sich) gürteln“. Ob *g-3-w3-n<sup>TWF.P</sup>* – ein Ausrüstungsgegenstand des libyschen Soldaten, den er bei der Flucht liegen lässt – zu altnub. ΓΟΥ-ΕΙ- „Schild, Rüstung“, Nobiin *guñi* „Schild“ gehört, ist allerdings ganz unsicher.<sup>25</sup> Gewaltanwendung (im Kampf, bei der Bestrafung) bezeichnen die möglicherweise anatolischen Ausdrücke *ħ-n:-r<sup>RD.TW</sup>* „zerstreuen, versprengt werden (vom Feind)“ (10x 19.–21. Dyn.; Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 364) < heth. *ħulla/i-* „bekämpfen, umstoßen, niederschlagen“, *ħ-š-b(-w<sub>2</sub>)<sup>DS.NHT</sup>* „verstümmeln“

(2x, 20. Dyn.; Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 375) < heth./luw. *ħašpa* „vernichten, zerstören“ und *w3-š3* „drücken, schlagen“ (2x, 19.–21. Dyn.; Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 91) < luw. *wiši-* „pressen, drücken“, mil. *wis(e)i-*. Eine heftige Art des Zuschlagen bezeichnet *p-(w2-):r-š(3-w<sub>2</sub>)<sup>SD.NHT</sup>*, das in den Wendungen *ħwi m prš* „mit Wucht o.ä. schlagen“ und *šħt n prš* „zerschmetternder Schlag“ vorkommt (4x, 19.–20. Dyn.; Hoch 120 f. [153.]) und vielleicht zu heth. *parš-* „zerbrechen, zerstückeln“ gestellt werden kann. Das häufige *tī/t-n:-r* „tapfer, stark; Tapferkeit, Bravour“ ist am ehesten aus hurr. *adal* „tapfer, stark“ entlehnt.<sup>26</sup> Für die neu gedeuteten Termini militärischer Vorgehensweise *š3-g-3<sup>RD.TW</sup>* „losstürmen, angreifen“ < hebr. akk. *šqq* „anstürmen, überfallen“ und *p3-:r-B<sup>NHT</sup>* „Durchbruch“ < nwsemit. *pirš* „Bresche, (militärischer) Durchbruch“ verweise ich auf die unten vorgeschlagene Deutung von pAnast. I 23,2–7. Ein Beleg für einen Fachbegriff aus der Sondersprache der gegnerischen libyschen Truppen dürfte *iwn-n:-m-k-t<sup>PR</sup>* „Bund, Föderation o.ä.“ (der Libyer; 1x 20. Dyn.; Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 21) sein, das ich nach tuar. *anālkam* „Gefolgsmann; verbündetes Volk“ (zu der Wurzel *lkm* „folgen“, mit Metathese 3–4)<sup>27</sup> erklären möchte.

Für weitere Vorschläge verweise ich auf die folgende Auflistung, die eine Übersicht über die Fremdwörter in der ägyptischen Militärsprache des Neuen Reiches vermittelt.

Die Fremdwörter werden in Umschrift,<sup>28</sup> mit der Angabe ihrer Bedeutung, einem Kurznachweis (Hoch; Lesko [zweite Auflage]; Helck 1971) und ihrer Etymologie verzeichnet. Fehlt

23 Vorschlag C. Peust (mündlich).

24 T. Schneider, „Etymologische Methode, die Historizität der Phoneme und das ägyptologische Transkriptionsalphabet“, *LingAeg* 11 (2003): 195.

25 Schneider, „Nichtsemitische Lehnwörter im Ägyptischen“, 17.

26 T. Schneider, „Eine Vokabel der Tapferkeit. Ägyptisch tl - hurritisch adal“, *UF* 31 (1999): 677–723; Schneider, „Nichtsemitische Lehnwörter im Ägyptischen“, 24. Eine Ableitung von altnub. ΤΟΥΛΛ- „sicher sein, stark sein, dauern“ scheint nicht möglich, da die altnubische Adjektivableitung ΤΟΥΛΛΙC ist und der zweite Wurzelkonsonant stark dental/alveolar realisiert wurde (Wurzelvariante ΤΟΥΔ-) (Browne 1996, 182 f.).

27 C. de Foucauld, *Dictionnaire touareg-français. Dialecte de l'Ahaggar* (1952), 3:1041–42.

diese letztere Angabe, existiert bisher kein Vorschlag für eine Herleitung des Fremdwortes bzw. erachte ich die vorliegenden Vorschläge als nicht ausreichend plausibel. Aus der Liste ausgeschlossen habe ich Ausdrücke, deren Verwurzelung im militärischen Bereich ganz unsicher ist, wie etwa die nur in Objektlisten auf Ostraka verzeichneten Wörter *q-3-rw-n-3<sup>HT</sup>* (Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 157) oder *k3-:r<sup>HT</sup>* (Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 170; von Helck 1971, 523 zu hebr. *kālî* „Gerät, Waffe“ gestellt).<sup>29</sup>

### 3. Die Fremdwörter der ägyptischen Militärsprache

#### 3.1. Technologie des Wagens / Ausrüstung des Gespanns

- [1.] *iw-m*<sup>MSK3.HT</sup> (Teil des Wagens; ev. Standfläche des Wagenkastens)  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 22 f. [9.]  
< sem. *ʾumm* „Mutter“ i.S.v. „Mutterstück, Hauptteil“ [Schneider]
- [2.] *iwn-q-f-q-f-t*<sup>HT</sup> (Objekt aus Holz am oder auf dem Streitwagen)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 26 f. [15.]  
Der Anklang an myk. *i-qa-e-qa* = \*(h)ikk<sup>wo</sup>-(h)ek<sup>wes</sup> „Beschirrung“ (Plath 1994a, 22 f., 58, 397 ff.) wohl zufällig, wenngleich etwa die Schreibung des Stoffadjektivs *dorw-eiyo-* „aus Holz, hölzern“ stets mit *i-qa-qa* auftritt (Hinweis Raulwing)
- [3.] *i-b3-r*<sup>SSMT</sup> „Hengst“  
2x, 18.–19. Dyn., Hoch 18 f. [3.]  
< nwsem. *ʾabbīr* „stark, gewaltig“ (auch vom Stier oder Hengst)
- [4.] *i-š-b-w2-:r*<sup>HT</sup> „Peitsche“  
4x, 18.–20. Dyn., Hoch 34 f. [28.]  
< ob zu *áš<sup>bar</sup>-ba-ru* (aus unbekannter Sprache) „Band, Gürtel“ [Schneider]
- [5.] *i-š-p(3)-t(i)*<sup>MSK3</sup> „Bogenköcher“  
6x, 18.–20. Dyn., Hoch 40 f. [34.]  
< semit. *ʾtpt* „Köcher“

28 Nach dem von mir in Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, 9–13 entwickelten System.

29 Das von R. Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1995), 379 verzeichnete *m-t-g-tj* „*mdgt* [syll, nāg] Armee“ (< akk. *madaktu*) ist für das Neuägyptische ein Phantomwort: es handelt sich um die hieroglyphische Umsetzung des demotischen *mtgt-* in der Geschichte vom Zauber Naneferkasokar (pdem. Berlin 13640) durch W. Spiegelberg, „Aus der Geschichte vom Zauberer Ne-nefer-ke-Sokar“, *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith*, (London 1932), 176 f. Anm. 7). Zu dem Wort (> kopt. **ΜΑΤΕΩΤΕ**) siehe G. Vittmann, „Semitisches Sprachgut im Demotischen“, *WZKM* 86 (1996): 435-447.

- [6.]  $\epsilon\text{-}m/m\text{-}d\text{-}i_2$  <sup>MSK3/3M.P</sup> (Teil des Wagens) „Stützverstreben“?  
2x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 70f. [77.]  
< nwsem. *md* „Stütze“
- [7.]  $\epsilon\text{-}w_2\text{-}d\text{-}r$  <sup>NHT.HT.P</sup> (Teil des Wagens)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 90 [109.]  
< nwsem. *dr* „Hilfs(verstreben)“?
- [8.] *wrry.t* „(Streit)wagen“  
oft 18. Dyn.–ptol., Wb. I 334,2; Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 105  
< heth. *widuli* „Wagenkasten?“ [Schneider] (oder anderer Herkunft?).
- [9.]  $b\text{-}m\text{-}r\text{-}r\text{-}w\text{-}y/i\text{-}3$  <sup>HT</sup> Holzart (zur Herstellung des Wagens)  
4x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 100 [125.]  
< akk. *b/murrānu* „Esche“
- [10.]  $b\text{-}t\text{-}i$  <sup>HT.P</sup> (Teile des Wagens oder seiner Ausrüstung)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 115 [145.]  
< akk. *bīt* „Kasten, Hülle“
- [11.]  $m\text{-}n\text{-}tj\text{-}d\text{-}i_2$  <sup>MSK3.P</sup>,  
Var.  $m\text{-}t\text{-}i\text{-}d\text{-}i\text{-}w_2$  <sup>MSK3.P</sup> „Peitschenschnur“  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 175 [233.]; 130 [168.]  
< *ntz* „abspringen“; *mntz* „die (vom Körper des Pferdes) abspringende (Peitschenschnur)“? [Schneider]
- [12.]  $m\text{-}r\text{-}k\text{-}3\text{-}b\text{-}w_2\text{-}t\text{-}i$  <sup>HT</sup> „Streitwagen“  
seit 19. Dyn., Hoch 145–147 [189.]  
< nwsem. *mrkbt* „Streitwagen“
- [13.]  $m\text{-}h\text{-}i_2\text{-}t\text{-}i$  <sup>BB.13/HT.P</sup> (Teil des Wagens aus Holz bzw. Metall)  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 152 [197.]  
Sivan/Cochavi-Rainey 1992, 42 setzen \**maḥīta* < *maḥiyta* [sic, korrekt /h/!] an, geben aber keine Etymologie.
- [14.]  $m\text{-}š\text{-}y$  „Lederbänder“ o.ä. an der Deichsel  
2x, 19.–20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 207  
< ob allenfalls zu heth. <sup>TÜG</sup>*maššiya* „Art Gürtel oder Schal“?  
[Schneider]
- [15.]  $m\text{-}š\text{-}r\text{-}r$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> (vom Befestigen der Deichsel)  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 159 [208.]  
< nwsem. *mšrr* „befestigt“



- [16.] *mi-ḫ-mḫ-y*<sup>BB</sup>  
(st. \* *iw*<sub>2</sub>-*ḫ-mḫ-y*<sup>BB</sup>) Metallspitze am Ende der Peitsche  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 44 f. [39.]  
mismay < sem. *mismar* „Nagel, Spitze“ [Schneider]
- [17.] *m-ḫ-ti-t*<sup>HT</sup> (ein Wagenteil)  
Helck 1971, 515 [131.]
- [18.] *ḫḫ-y-rw-y*<sup>MSK3.S5</sup> (Art Riemen am Geschirr)  
1x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 223 [306.]  
< nwsem. *ḫailiy* „der zur Zugkraft gehörige (Riemen)“ [Schneider]
- [19.] *ḫ-r-ḫ* „Brüstungsstangen des Wagenkastens“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 252 f. [354.]  
< hurr. *ḫiarohḫe* „golden, Goldenes“ [Schneider]
- [20.] *ḫ-n:-r(-y)*<sup>MSK3</sup> „Zügel“  
3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 365  
< akk. *ḫullu* „Halszwinge“ oder heth. *ḫalaliya* (Gegenstand aus Leder)? [Schneider]
- [21.] *ḫ-wḫ-r*<sup>S5.P</sup> (Ausstattung des Wagens aus Stoff)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 257 [361.]
- [22.] *ssm.t/šsm.t* „Pferd“, altakk. *sīsum*, altass. *sisium*, *sisā’um* „Pferd“  
häufig ab 18. Dyn., Wb. IV 276f., AHw II, 1051 f.  
Das ägyptische Lexem ist bisher erst seit der 18. Dynastie belegt, muß aber früh entlehnt worden sei (um 2100 v.Chr.?), als  
(1) das Akkadische noch die Mimation zeigte, die im Ägyptischen als stammhaft mißverstanden wurde und  
(2) ägypt. <*s*> noch affriziert /*ts*/ realisiert wurde (entsprechend dem in den semitischen Belegen vorliegenden Samek).<sup>30</sup>
- [23.] *qḫ-wḫ-ti-t*<sup>HT</sup> (auf dem Wagen mitgeführte Waffe bzw. Stab)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 304 f. [439.]  
< mittelhebr. *qatt*, TA/syr. *qattā* „Speerschaft, Messergriff“
- [24.] *kḫ-w-iḫ-ḫḫ-n-ḫ*<sup>MSK3</sup> (Teil des Geschirrs; ev. Pferddecke oder die Polster unter den Jochgabeln?)  
2x, 19. Dyn.–Spätzeit, Hoch 314 f. [453.]  
< akk. *kušānu* „Lederdecke, Kissen“

30 Vgl. noch J. Tropper, Ugaritische Grammatik, AOAT 273 (Münster, 2000): 45.

- [25.]  $k3-:r-ḫ$  <sup>SS.P/k-3-r-ḫ</sup> <sup>SS</sup> „Peitschenschnur“  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 336 [492.]  
< akk. *kurussu* „(Leder)streifen“, AHw I, 514 (m/jB)
- [26.]  $g-3-w3/i_2$  <sup>MSK3.P</sup> (Pferdeart)  
3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 346 f. [507.]  
< nach A.M. Blackman zu myk. *i-ḳo*, \*(H)ik<sup>(w)</sup>kwō- „Pferd“ (Plath 1994, 278 ff.)
- [27.]  $g-3-:r-b/p-w_2$  <sup>NT.NHT</sup> „abhobeln“ (zur Herstellung der Deichsel)  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 350 f. [516.]  
< semit. *glb* „rasieren“
- [28.]  $t-w_2-p-:r$  <sup>WRIT</sup> „Wagen (mit Bronzeverkleidung)“  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 365 [542.]  
< akk. *saparru* „Wagen“, AHw II, 1026
- [29.]  $ti-ḥ-i_2-r$  <sup>MSK3</sup> „Lederverschalung des Wagenkastens?“  
2x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 363 [538.]  
Die auch von Hoch vorgeschlagene Ableitung von dem hebr. Hapax *tahrā'* ist nicht möglich, da die für letzteres angesetzte Übersetzung „Lederpanzer“ nur auf einer lautlich nicht möglichen Ableitung aus ägypt. *dḥr* beruht.
- [30.]  $d(3)-b-w_2$  <sup>HT.P</sup> (Teil des Wagens; Applikationen, Verzierungen)  
2x, 19.–20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 268  
< akk. *šuppu* I „verziert, eingelegt, überzogen“ (von Gold, Silbergegenständen, Möbeln, Textilien, AHw III, 1112) [Schneider]

### 3.2 Ausrüstung, Waffen, Infrastruktur

- [31.]  $i(w)-h-(3)-:r$  <sup>FH/ŠNLPR.P</sup> „Zelt, Lager“  
2x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 31 [24.]  
< nwsem. *'hl* „Zelt“
- [32.]  $i-š-t-n-nw$  <sup>MSK3</sup> „Gürtel“  
Wb I 133; Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 48  
< berb. (Zentralmarokko) *istawn* „alles, was zum Gürtel dient“ (vgl. *tastawin* „Gurt“, Wzl. *stw* „(sich) gürtel“) [Schneider]
- [33.]  $i:-t-w_2-rw-rw$  <sup>HT.P</sup> (Gegenstand im Zusammenhang mit Soldaten)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 43 [37.]

- [34.] *m3- / b3gsw* „Dolch“  
Wb I 432 (Entlehnung der 1. Zwischenzeit)  
< = berb. \* *mrgs/brgs* (GS „Stab oder Pflock aus Metall oder Holz“  
mit diminutivem Nominalbildungspräfix *br-/mr-*) [Schneider]
- [35.] *m-r-ḥ*: <sup>BI3/HT</sup> „Speer“  
5x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 138 [179.]  
< ugar. *mrḥ* „Speer, Lanze“
- [36.] *m-š3-q.3* <sup>DB\*,NHT</sup> (Terminus technicus der Metallwaffenbearbeitung)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 206
- [37.] *mš-ti* <sup>WB</sup>/*mš-ti-i-w-t* <sup>WB.P</sup> „(Ruder)boot, Schiff“  
2x, 18.–19. Dyn., Hoch 153f. [201.]  
< semit. *mš* „Ruder; leichtes Schiff“
- [38.] *m-k-ti-(:)r* <sup>INB</sup> „Wachturm“  
6x, 18.–20. Dyn., Hoch 169f. [224.]  
< nordwestsem. *migdāl* „Turm“
- [39.] *m-d3-r-n-3* <sup>BB.P</sup> (Art Waffe ?)  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 178 [241.]  
< ugar. *mdrn* (eine Waffe)
- [40.] *r-b3-š3-y* <sup>MSK3.P</sup> „(Leder-)Rüstung“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 202 f. [274.]  
< sem. *lbš* „Kleidung, Rüstung“
- [41.] *r-k-šw* <sup>NHT</sup> „Ausrüstung“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 210 f. [286.]  
< nwsem. *rkš* „Ausrüstung“
- [42.] *ḥ(-)n-y-t* <sup>NIWY</sup> „Speer, Lanze“  
2x, 18. Dyn., Hoch 229 [318.]  
< nwsem. (hebr.) *ḥnt* „Speer“
- [43.] *ḥ:-:r-p-w2* <sup>BI3</sup> „Dolch, Kurzschwert“  
3x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 233 [324.]  
< nwsem. *ḥrb* „Schwert“
- [44.] *ḥ-n:-:r-d3* <sup>FH3ŠT</sup> „Festung“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 247 [341.]

- < sem. *hlš* „Festung“
- [45.] *s-i-b-y-n* „Camp, militärisches Gestüt?“  
1x, 18. Dyn., Hoch 255 [357.]  
Sicher nicht (wie Hoch vermutet) Fehlschreibung zu Hoch 39f.  
[31.]. Die mit der Schreibung der Lehnwörter *ḫ-r-y-n-ḫ* „(Leder-)Rüstung“ und *m-r-y-n-ḫ* vergleichbare Notation auf *-y-n* könnte auf hurritische Herkunft hinweisen.
- [46.] *š-g-ḫ-r* <sup>TNB.PR</sup> „Festung, Tor“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 270 f. [385.]  
< sem. *tgr* „Tor“
- [47.] *šḫ-n-b-i* <sup>BT</sup> „Trompete“  
5x, 20.–25. Dyn., Hoch 281 f. [403.]
- [48.] *q-r-ḫ* <sup>(-w)</sup> „Abschirmung, Schutz“  
5x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 298 f. [432.]  
< ugar. *ql'* „Schild?“ oder doch zu semit. *ql'* „Plane, (geflochtene) Abschirmung“ [Schneider]?
- [49.] *k-ḫ-rw-i-w-ḫ-t* <sup>T3.PR</sup> (Gebäudeart; „Gefängnis“ ?)  
1x, 20.–21. Dyn., Hoch 328 [474.]  
< sem. *kl'* „festhalten“, hebr. *kälä'*, akk. *kūli* „Haft“ (AHw I, 476, m-spB)
- [50.] *kḫ-r-sḫ* <sup>SS</sup> „Sack, Vlies“  
2x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 332 f. (483.)  
< heth. *kurša* „Leder, Haut, Sack aus Haut/Leder“; Fellsack als Herrschaftssymbol des hethitischen Königs, auf Kriegsdarstellungen Ramses' II. abgebildet [Schneider 2004, 26f.]
- [51.] *k-ḫ-t-p-w-ḫ* <sup>DS</sup> „Schwert“ < nwsem. *ktp* „Schwert“  
1x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 337f. [500.]
- [52.] *g-ḫ-wḫ-nḫ* <sup>TWF.P</sup> Ausrüstungsgegenstand des libyschen Soldaten  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 347 [508.]  
< altnub. *ḫoyei-* „Schild, Rüstung“, N. *guñi* „Schild“ [Schneider]?
- [53.] *ḫ-p-w-ḫ-gḫ* <sup>PR</sup> „Kaserne“  
3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 365 f. [543.]
- [54.] *ḫ-r-y-nḫ* „(Leder-)Rüstung“

8x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 366 f. [546.]  
 < nwsem. *tryn* (< hurr. *šariyanni*)

[55.] *t-r-r-y*<sup>T3</sup> „Belagerungswall“  
 3x, 25. Dyn., Hoch 368 f. [548.]  
 < nwsem. (hebr.) *sōlālā* „Belagerungswall“

[56.] *ḥ3-b-w2*<sup>PR</sup> „Stall (für das Gespann)“  
 2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 370 [552.]

[57.] *d3-b3-iw2* „Armee“  
 3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 382 [573.]  
 < sem. *ḏb'* „Armee“

### 3.3 Militärische Titel und Funktionen

[58.] *iw-:r-iw-r*<sup>WNM.DB<sup>c</sup>.SI</sup> „Führer, Kundschafter?“  
 2x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 30 [19.]

[59.] *m-rw-i-w2*<sup>RD.SI</sup> „Pferdeknecht o.ä.“  
 9x, 19.–23 Dyn., Hoch 132–134. [173.]  
 < ugar. *mr'* „Offizier“?

[60.] *m-r-y-n-3* „Streitwagensoldat, Marianni“  
 13x, 18.–20. Dyn., Hoch 135–137 [175.]  
 < indoar.-hurr. *marya-nni* [Wegener 2000, 49; 232]

[61.] *m-h3-:r*<sup>HRD.(NHT).SI</sup> „Elitesoldat, Pioniersoldat“  
 9x, 18.–20. Dyn., Hoch 147–149. [190.]  
 < nwsem. *māhîr* „geschickt, erfahren“

[62.] *m-š3-k-3-b-w2*<sup>NHT</sup> (militärische Funktion, etwa:) „Quartiermeister?“  
 20x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 160–163 [209.]<sup>31</sup>

[63.] *m-g-3(-y/i-3)*<sup>H<sup>T</sup></sup> (Kategorie von nubischen Soldaten)  
 3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Lesko I, 250  
 Die Ableitung als \**magg-* „Krieger“ von einer postulierten nwsem. Wurzel \**mgg* „Krieg führen, kämpfen“ durch I. Kottsieper<sup>32</sup> scheint auf Grund des nubischen Kontextes eher unwahrscheinlich.

31 Einen zusätzlichen Beleg verzeichnet G. Vittmann, Rez. Hoch, Semitic Words, in: WZKM 87 (1997): 283 mit Anm. 8.

- [64.] *n-3-ꞣ(:)-rw-n-3* <sup>F.SLP</sup> (Kategorie von Soldaten)  
8x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 182 f. [245.]  
< sem. *n'r* „Junge, Knecht“
- [65.] *s-n-n-i<sub>2</sub>* <sup>SN.TW</sup> „Wagenkämpfer“  
15x, 19.–21. Dyn., Hoch 261–263 [371.]  
< ugar. *tnn* „Wagenkämpfer“
- [66.] *q-r-ꞣ-w* <sup>NHT.SI</sup> „Schildträger, Wagenfahrer“  
21x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 299–301 [433.]  
< ugar. *ql'* „Schildträger, Wagenfahrer“
- [67.] *k3-d/B-n* <sup>RD.(TW).SI</sup> „Streitwagenfahrer“  
ca. 50x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 341–345 [506.]  
< hurr. *kuzi-ne* (mit hurr. „Artikel“! Vgl. Wegener 2000, 49)
- [68.] *t-w<sub>2</sub>-h-3-:r* <sup>NHT</sup> (u.a.) (Kategorie von [hethitischen] Soldaten)  
mehrf. Wb. 5, 322, 10–14, Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 217
- [69.] *t-3-m-rw-g-3-n* <sup>HRD</sup> (Bedeutung unklar; Art militärische Hilfstruppe?)  
2x, 21.–22. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 211<sup>33</sup>
- [70.] *By-tkm* (ein Wagensoldat; auch ein Priestertitel?)  
2x, Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 225
- [71.] *t-k-t<sub>2</sub>-n* <sup>PTR.(TW).SLP</sup> (Kategorie von Soldaten)  
3x, Wb. 5, 411, 3  
Vermutlich nubisches Wort nach pAnast. IV 10,9.  
Ob svw. „Söldner“ zu alt nub.  $\omega\text{O}\Gamma\Gamma\Delta$ - /  $\text{CO}\Gamma\Gamma\Delta$ - „Silber, Geld“?  
[Schneider]

### 3.4 Militärisches Verhalten und Tätigkeiten

- [72.] *iwn-n:-m-k-t* <sup>PR</sup> „Bund, Föderation o.ä.“ (der Libyer)  
1x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 21

32 I. Kottsieper, „mgg – „Krieg führen, kämpfen“. Eine bisher übersehene nordwestsemitische Wurzel,“ UF 20(1988): 130, 133.

33 Ein weiterer Beleg neben pPushkin 127,5,5 jetzt bei G. Vittmann, „Ein kursivhieratisches Brieffragment (P. Kairo CG 30865),“ Enchoria 27 (2001): 155-163 (nicht bei Lesko2).

- < tuar. *anālkam* „Gefolgsmann, verbündetes Volk“ von *lkm* „folgen“ (Metathese 3–4) [Schneider]
- [73.] *iw/i:-š3-f*<sup>fNSR/ŠD.NHT</sup> „(Städte) niederbrennen“; auch vom Hieb, der den Soldaten trifft.  
3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 41 [35.]
- [74.] *ʿ:-m-d-i*<sub>2</sub><sup>NT.NHT</sup> „standhalten, die Oberhand behalten“  
1x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 70 [76.]  
< semit. *ʿmd* „stehen, standhalten“
- [75.] *p3-r-β*<sup>NHT</sup> „Durchbruch, Bresche“ [Schneider]  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 122 f. [155.]  
< nwsem. *pirš* „Bresche, (militärischer) Durchbruch“ [s. unten 4.]
- [76.] *p3/p-w2-s3-s3*<sup>ŠD.NHT</sup> „sich anstrengen; Unternehmung“  
4x, 18.–19. Dyn., Lesko I 182; Helck 1971, 512 [80.]
- [77.] *n-β-w3-β*<sup>ŠD.NHT</sup> „zittern“  
3x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 232; Helck 1971, 516 [137.]
- [78.] *n-(β)-ʿ(:)-š(β)*<sup>ŠD.NHT</sup> „stark, kräftig (vom Arm)“  
8x, 20.–22. Dyn., Hoch 183 f. [246f.]  
< semit. *šš* „anschwellen, dick sein (von den Muskeln), stark sein“  
[N-Stamm; Schneider]
- [79.] *n-β-š3-k*<sup>ŠD.NHT</sup> „(Kriegsschiffe) ausrüsten, bemannen, anordnen o.ä.“  
1x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 193f. [259.]
- [80.] *r-g3-ti-t*<sup>T3/PR</sup> „Hohlraum, Füllung einer Rampe o.ä.“  
3x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 211 f. [287.]  
< sem. *rq.t* „Leere, Hohlraum“?
- [81.] *š3-w3-b3-b3*<sup>ŠD.NHT</sup> „Umweg, Umgehung“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 256 [360.]  
< Infinitiv pilel *tōbēb* von *tbb* (s. unten sub 4.)
- [82.] *š3-g-β*<sup>RD.IW</sup> „losstürmen, angreifen“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 269 [382.]  
< hebr. akk. *šqq* „anstürmen, überfallen“ [Schneider] [siehe unten]
- [83.] *š3-r-m*<sup>DW3</sup> „Friede; (Waffen) niederlegen; grüßen“  
14x, 19.–25. Dyn., Hoch 283–286 [406–408]  
< semit. *šlm* (dass.)

[84.]  $ti/\underline{t}-n:-r$  „tapfer, stark; Tapferkeit, Bravour“  
häufig, 18. Dyn.–ptol. Zeit, Wb. 5, 382–384.  
< hurr. *adal* „tapfer, stark“ [Schneider 1999 mit Belegen]

[85.]  $ti-\underline{h}:-\underline{s}3$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> „zermalmen“  
3x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 361 f. [535.]  
< semit. *dhś* „zerschlagen, zerdrücken“

### 3.5 Gewaltanwendung, Einschüchterung, Flucht

[86.]  $i:-\underline{\beta}-r$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> „Gefangener“  
1x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 45 f. [40.]  
< nwsem. *āsīr* „Gefangener“

[87.]  $\overset{c}{-}w_2-\overset{r}{-}d3- w_2-t$  <sup>NHT.SLP</sup> (gewalttätige Handlung)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 78 f. [87.]  
< nwsem. *ṛt* „erschrecken“

[88.]  $\overset{c}{-}s3-q/g$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> „ausbeuten; Unterdrückung o.ä.“  
5x, 20.–21. Dyn., Hoch 80 f. [93.]  
< hebr. *šq* „ausbeuten, unterdrücken“

[89.]  $w3-s3$  „drücken, schlagen“  
2x, 19.–21. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 91  
< luw. *wiši-* „pressen, drücken“, mil. *wis(e)i-* [Schneider]

[90.]  $p-(w_2-\overset{r}{-})r-\underline{s}(3-w_2)$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> (bezeichnet heftige Art des Zuschlagens:  
*ḥwi m prš, šht n prš* („splitting, searing blow?“)  
4x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 120 f. [153.]  
< heth. *parš-* „zerbrechen, zerstückeln“? [Schneider]

[91.]  $m-n-i_2-n-i_2$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> „Schraube (zur Folter)“  
1x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 186

[92.]  $m-r-q-3-\underline{h}:-\underline{ti}$  <sup>RD.IW</sup> „Flucht, Rückzug“  
2x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 142 f. [185.]  
< nordwestsem. *mrḥq(t)* „Flucht“

[93.]  $n-3-w3-s3$  <sup>RD.IW</sup> „hinaustreiben, verjagen“  
1x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 231

[94.]  $n-3-h-r$  <sup>RD.IW</sup> „Flucht o.ä.“ (Handlung der Libyer)



- 1x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 191 [254.]
- [95.] *n-3-h-r*<sup>RD.IW</sup> (Wort unklarer Bedeutung; svw. „Räuber“?)  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 192 [255.]
- [96.] *h-r-t-i<sub>2</sub>-q-3-h*:<sup>TW</sup> „fliehen, sich zurückziehen“  
1x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 216 f. [299.]  
< hebr. *rhq* hitp „sich entfernen“
- [97.] *h(:)-f-(i<sub>2</sub>)-d3*<sup>RD.IW</sup> „fortrennen, in Panik fliehen“  
6x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 225 f. [310.]  
< hebr. *hpz* „in Angst davonlaufen“
- [98.] *h-i<sub>2</sub>-m-β*<sup>SD.NDS</sup> „Grauen, Schrecken (o.ä.)“ (den Ägypten in den libyschen Feinden erweckt)  
1x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 242f. [335.]
- [99.] *h-n:-r*<sup>RD.IW</sup> „zerstreuen, versprengt werden (v. Feind)“  
10x, 19.–21. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 364  
< heth. *hulla-/hulli-* „bekämpfen, umstoßen, niederschlagen“?  
[Schneider]
- [100.] *h-š-b(-w<sub>2</sub>)*<sup>DS.NHT</sup> „verstümmeln“  
2x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> I 375  
< heth., luw. *hašpa* „vernichten, zerstören“? [Schneider]
- [101.] *š:r-ti*<sup>FHMT</sup> (Bezeichnung einer gefangenen Frau)<sup>34</sup>  
2x, 20. Dyn., Hoch 265 f. [376.]
- [102.] *š3-d-3*<sup>RMN. NHT</sup> „berauben“  
1x, 19. Dyn., Hoch 290 f. [418.]  
< semit. *šdd* „zerstören, plündern“
- [103.] *k3-(:)-r-n-3-ti*<sup>TW.FP</sup> „Vorhaut; unbeschnittener Phallus“ (auch abgeschnitten als Kriegstrophäen)  
9x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 302 [436.]  
< semit. *ğurlat* „Vorhaut, unbeschnittener Phallus“
- [104.] *q-3-q-3*<sup>SD.NHT</sup> „Zusammentreiben, Erbeuten von Feinden“ (o.ä.)  
1x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 145

34] J.F. Quack, „Gefangene oder Edelfrau? Zu einem semitischen Fremdwort der ägyptischen Soldatencharakteristik,“ *WdO* 25 (1994): 17–20 möchte darin wieder nordwestsem. *šarat* „Fürstin“ erkennen.

- [105.]  $k-(\beta)-p-w_2$  <sup>DRT.IWF</sup> „Handfläche, Fußsohle“ (auch für abgeschlagene Hände als Kriegstrophäen)  
14x, 19.–22. Dyn., Hoch 317 f. [457.]  
< sem. *kapp* „Handfläche, Fußsohle“
- [106.]  $k\beta-r-ti$  <sup>DS.BI\beta</sup> „Blutbad, Massaker“  
1x, 21.–22. Dyn., Hoch 335 [491.]  
< hebr. *krt* „abschneiden, ausrotten“
- [107.]  $g-\beta-n-\beta-\beta_3$  <sup>ND\beta</sup> „Gewalt o.ä.“  
3x, 20.–22. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 190  
< ob zu heth. *kuen-* „töten“? [Schneider]
- [108.]  $ti-k-\beta_3-\beta_3$  <sup>RD.IW</sup> „niedertreten“  
1x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 221
- [109.]  $d-p-h-w_2$  <sup>DGI</sup> „Richtstätte (zur Exekution); pfählen (o.ä.)“  
2x, 20. Dyn., Lesko<sup>2</sup> II 247  
< semit. *ṭbh* „schlachten“ (Hoch 376 f. [562.])
- [110.]  $d\beta-n-\beta/i_2-n-\beta/i_2$  <sup>SD.NHT</sup> „Qualen, Schmerzen“ (in pAnast. III 5,6 ff. als Schicksal des Soldaten)  
10x, 19. Dyn.– Spätzeit, Hoch 388 f. [585.]
- [111.]  $d\beta-n:-d-\beta r$  <sup>HT</sup> (u.ä.) „Stock (auch zum Foltern)“  
20x, 19.–20. Dyn., Hoch 389–391 [586.]

#### 4. Ein Bravourstück des Elitesoldaten: Papyrus Anastasi I 23, 2–7

Als exemplarisches Beispiel für das Vorkommen von Fremdwörtern in der Militärsprache sei eine Passage aus dem von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert bearbeiteten Papyrus Anastasi I vorgestellt, nach dem Bearbeiter „eine in Briefform gekleidete öffentliche Anklage zur Zeit Ramses' II. an die Adresse des Schreiber- und (des literaten) Offiziersstandes, mit dem Ziel, deren

vermeintliches berufliches Wissen sowie dessen schulische Vermittlung bloßzustellen und einer eingehenden Kritik zu unterziehen“.<sup>35</sup> Er behandelt Aufgaben militärischer Logistik, die Topographie des syrisch-palästinischen Raumes und Episoden aus dem beschwerlichen Leben des Elitesoldaten. Eine besondere Problematik für das korrekte Textverständnis stellen die hier gehäuft, zur Feststellung der Orts- und Sprachkompetenz des Soldaten verwendeten fremden Toponyme und Fremdwörter dar, deren Deutung noch nicht als abgeschlossen gelten kann.

35 H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I. Übersetzung und Kommentar*, ÄgAbh 44 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1986), 290.

**ÜBERSETZUNG VON FISCHER-ELFERT  
(1986, 196 F.):**

Du bist (doch) ein Maher, (23,2) der im Kriegshandwerk erfahren ist.

Möge man einen Maher wie dich (wieder)finden, um vor dem Heere einherzuschreiten.

Du Mariannu, (23,3) vorwärts zum Schuß!

Siehe, der Abhang in der Schlucht (?) ist von 2000 Ellen Tiefe

die voll ist von Felsbrocken und Kieselsteinen.

(23,4) Du gehst umher (?), nimmst den Bogen, spannst (?) mit deiner Linken.

Du läßt die Fürsten zusehen, deren Blicke (23,5) wohlwollend sind,

wenn deine Hand schwach wird.

„Du irrst umher wie ein Schaf, lieber Maher!“

Mögest du den Ruf eines (23,6) jeden Maher erlangen, (eines?) Offiziers von Ägypten.

Dein Name ist wie der des Qasra-jadi („meine Hand ist zu kurz“), des Fürsten von Aser,

als ihn (23,7) der Bär in der Balsamstaude fand.

**EIGENE ÜBERSETZUNG:**

Du bist ein Mahir (Elitesoldat), erfahren in militärischer Vorgehensweise,

man beruft einen Mahir wie dich, um vor der Truppe loszustürmen.<sup>a</sup>

Oh Marianni, (23,3) vorwärts zum Schießen!

(Aufgabe:) Schützen vor<sup>b</sup> dem Herabgestürzten<sup>c</sup> an den Füßen der Berge,<sup>d</sup> angefüllt mit Felsbrocken und Geröll von 2000 Ellen Tiefe,

(Lösung:) (23,4) Du veranlaßt einen Rückzug.<sup>e</sup>

Du hebst den Bogen<sup>f</sup> und machst einen Durchbruch<sup>g</sup> auf deiner Linken.

Du läßt die Fürsten, deren Augen gut sind, sehen,

ob Lethargie in deiner Handlungsfähigkeit ist –

„Du hast (das Heer) wie ein Löwe hindurchgebracht / heimgeführt, glücklicher Mahir“<sup>h</sup>

So machst du den Ruf jedes Mahir (Elitesoldaten) und Streitwagenkämpfers von Tameri.

Dein Ruf ist wie (der des) Gauzal-dij („Raubvogeljunges“),<sup>i</sup>

des Fürsten von Aseru, nachdem ihn die Bärin in dem Baka-Baum fand.

<sup>a</sup> š3-g-3<sup>RD:TW</sup> wird von Helck 1971 zu hebr. swg „weichen, abtrennen“ gestellt, was phonetisch nicht möglich ist (Samek). Fischer-Elferts Übersetzung „einerschreiten“ ist geraten. Hoch 269 [382.] postuliert eine Etymologie nach dem zeitlich fernstehenden und auch semantisch nicht unproblematischen arab. šaqqa „(auf) reißen; reisen“. Hebr. šgg/’ „fehl gehen, taumeln“ (HALAT 1313) scheint kontextuell nicht zu passen. Ich schlage eine Deutung nach hebr. šqq „anstürmen, überfallen“ (HALAT 1519) (ob < \*tqq ?) vor.

<sup>b</sup> Fischer-Elfert liest mk „siehe“ und streicht das folgende hr vor dem Artikel. Viel-

36 Nur angemerkt sei hier, daß auch eine Erklärung anderer Ortsnamen möglich ist; so dürfte „hdm“ (Berliner Schulumschrift; korrekt htm, 18,7) zu arab. haṭm, akk. huṭṭimmu, mhebr. haṭām „Schnauze“ gehören oder yg3dij (18,8) zu hebr. yəgūd „Feuerstelle“.

leicht ist daher ohne Emendation doch *mki hr* „schützen vor, schützen angesichts (einer Bedrohung)“ zu verstehen.

<sup>c</sup> Fischer-Elfert hat hier wohl richtig in *mw-w<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>2</sub>-<r-d><sup>RD</sup>-t<sup>T3</sup>* emendiert und die Schreibung zu hebr. *mōrād* „Abhang“ gestellt. Den vermeintlichen Genuswechsel (hier femininer Artikel und Femininendung) stützt er unter Hinweis auf pAnast. I 19, 2, wo umgekehrt das maskuline *m3-g-3-r<sup>F.H3</sup>Št* zu nordwestsem. *mğrt* „Höhle“ zu stellen sei. An dieser Stelle dürfte aber sicher hebr. *māqōr*, ugar. *mqr* „Quelle, Quellort“ vorliegen, da die Passage von der Schasu-Quelle handelt.<sup>36</sup> Ich möchte daher auch (*t3*) *mw-w<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>2</sub>-<r-d><sup>RD</sup>-t<sup>T3</sup>* als Femininum = fem. Part. Hof. *mūrādat* „das Hinabgestürzte“ ansehen. Sonst wäre allenfalls an einen Ortsnamen wie *mōlādā* (zu *mōlādāt* „Abstammung(sort)“; HALAT 527) zu denken.

<sup>d</sup> Bisher ungeklärt ist der hier notierte Begriff *š3-d-i<sub>2</sub>-ti-t<sup>MD3T.INR</sup>*, der oft mit dem in 24,3 genannten Plural (*n3*) *š3-d/t?-rw-ti-t<sup>T3.P</sup>* zusammengestellt wird. Das verlangt aber die Annahme eines Schreibfehlers (*rw*); außerdem ist die Determinierung unterschiedlich. Ich schlage vor, den hier vorliegenden Ausdruck – nach der Determinierung ein Abstraktum, das mit Steinen zu tun hat – zu hebr. *šēt*, pl. *šātōt* „Grundlage, Steinschicht, Fuß (eines Berges)“, ugar. *št ġr* „Fuß des Berges“ (KTU 1.3 II 5) zu stellen. Zu der ungewöhnlichen Notation von *šātōt* (<*šātāt*) (mit *-d-i<sub>2</sub>-t*) vgl. die ähnliche Notation im Lehnwort *m-š3-d-i<sub>2</sub>-d-i<sub>2</sub>-t<sup>HT</sup>* „Kamm“ < akk. (pl.) *mušdātu* „Kamm“ (Hoch 164f. [212.]).

<sup>e</sup> Eine Ableitung des Ausdrucks *s3-w3-b3-b3<sup>SD.NHT</sup>* von der Wurzel *sbb* (pol. „umhergehen“; Fischer-Elfert 1986, 198 [f.]) ist phonetisch (Sammel) nicht möglich. Die richtige Ableitung als Infinitiv *pilē tōbēb* von *tbb* ist von Hoch (257f. [360.]) unterstrichen worden, wenngleich er

die Bedeutung auf Grund einer vermeintlichen Beziehung zum Spannen des Bogens falsch angesetzt hat („draw back“). Korrekt ist „zurückbringen, zurückführen, herumlenken“ (HALAT 1329). Der Mahir führt das Heer von der unpassierbaren Stelle zurück und auf einer Umgehung weiter.

<sup>f</sup> Das Heben des Bogens vielleicht als Signal zu verstehen.

<sup>g</sup> Zur Diskussion des bisher nicht geklärten Ausdrucks siehe Fischer-Elfert 1986, 198 und Hoch 122f. [155.], die eine Handlung mit dem Bogen („Spannen“) oder die Verletzung durch die Bogensehne auf dem linken Arm vermuten. Das folgende *hr śmḥi=k* fasse ich im Gegensatz zu ihnen nicht als „auf deiner linken (Hand)“, sondern „auf deiner linken (Seite)“ auf, wodurch für *p3-r-t<sup>HWT</sup>* eine Handlung im Gelände resultiert. Ich deute das Wort als nordwestsem. *pirš* „Bresche, (militärischer) Durchbruch“ (HALAT 915; für die Wiedergabe des emphatischen /š/ vgl. Schneider 1992, 399). Vgl. auch Ableitung von einer Wurzel *prz* („Offenheit“, „Führung“; HALAT 908f.).

<sup>h</sup> Dieser berühmte, rein kanaanäische Satz in ägyptischer Umschrift ist häufig und widersprüchlich diskutiert worden. Die bisherigen Bearbeiter gingen dabei von einer Form der Verbalwurzel *'bd*, entweder im Grundstamm (Qal) „verloren gehen, sich verlaufen“, oder im D-Stamm (Piel) „vernichten“ aus, dabei müssen sie eine Assimilation *dt > t t* (geschrieben <*t*>) ansetzen und im Falle der unten referierten Deutungen (3) und (4) /'i-/ statt des eher notierten /'a/. Der widersprüchliche Sinn ergibt sich auch durch die unterschiedlich interpretierte Tierbezeichnung, statt „Löwe“ (hebr. *'arī*, *'arjē*) setzen die im Folgenden aufgeführten Übersetzungen (1) und (2), von der Notation her eher unwahrscheinlich, hebr. *'ajil* „Widder“ an, ver-

stehen aber nicht „Widder“, sondern das ganz anders konnotierte „Schaf, Lamm“! Vgl. in der Übersicht:

1. Albright: „I perish like a lamb, dear maher!“ (1. Ps. Sg. G-Stamm Perf., hebr. *ʾabadī*)

2. Fischer-Elfert: „Du irrst umher wie ein Schaf“ (2. Ps. Sg. G-Stamm Perf., hebr. *ʾabadī*)

3. Burchardt, Helck: „Du mordest wie ein Löwe, o ... maher!“ (2. Ps. Sg. D-Stamm Perf., hebr. *ʾibbadī*)

4. Hoch: „I have destroyed (you) like a lion“ (1. Ps. Sg. D-Stamm Perf., hebr. *ʾibbadī*)

Ich möchte eine neue Interpretation des Satzes vorschlagen, und zwar:

*i:-b3<sub>5</sub>-t:2<sup>WNM</sup> k3-m<sup>WNM</sup> i-3-:r<sup>MSK3.P</sup> m-h-3-:r<sup>HWI</sup>  
n-ʿ-m-w<sup>2<sup>HW.WNM</sup></sup>  
hēbīʿtā kamā ʾarī māhīr nāʿim*

„Du hast (das Heer) wie ein Löwe hindurchgebracht/heimgeführt, begnadeter Mahir“

*i:-b3<sub>5</sub>-t:2<sup>WNM</sup>*: 2. Ps. Sg. Perf. hif. der Wurzel *bwʿ* qal „hineingehen, heimkehren, einrücken (vom Heer)“, hif. „hinbringen, hineinbringen, (das Heer aus dem Feld) heimführen“ (HALAT 108ff.). Nicht abschließen möchte ich, daß sich in der hier

vorliegenden Schreibung mit /i/-Anlaut ein phönizischer Kausativ spiegelt, für den eine Entwicklung *hiqtil* > *ʾiqtil* > *yiqtil* anzusetzen ist.<sup>37</sup>

Zur Deutung des Namens Schneider 1992, 206f. [N 437].

Eine ausschließlich deutsche Übersetzung des mit Fremdwörtern durchsetzten Abschnitts verfälscht allerdings den Eindruck, den der Text auf ägyptische Ohren gemacht haben dürfte. Ich füge deshalb eine zweite eigentliche Übertragung an, bei der die semitischen Fachausdrücke des ägyptischen Textes durch französische militärische Begriffe im deutschen Text<sup>38</sup> nachempfunden sind. Dabei steht der sprachliche Eindruck des Textes über der sachlichen Präzision, für die ich auf die Bearbeitung von H.-W. Fischer-Elfert und den vorhergehenden Kommentar verweise – so hätte statt *éclairneur* auch das zusammengesetzte (und daher vermiedene) *soldat de l'avantgarde* oder ein anderer Ausdruck verwendet werden können:

Du bist ein *éclairneur*, erfahren in militärischer Vorgehensweise,  
man beruft einen *éclairneur* wie dich, um vor der Truppe zu *avancieren*.

Oh *paladin*, vorwärts zum Schießen!  
Schütze dich vor der *avalanche* an den *pieds des montagnes*  
angefüllt mit *pierres* und *rochers* von 2000 Ellen Tiefe,  
indem du eine *retraite* machst

Du hebst den Bogen und machst eine

37 J. Tropper, „Die phönizisch-punischen Kausativbildungen im Lichte von Präjotierung und Dejotierung im Semitischen,“ *ZDMG* 145 (1995): 28–37.

38 Zum Einfluß des Französischen im Bereich des Militärsprache, v.a. während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts, siehe I. Zollna, „Französisch und Provençalisch/Deutsch,“ in W. Besch (Hg.), *Sprachgeschichte: ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*, ed. W. Besch, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 2, 2., vollst. neu bearb. und erw. Aufl., Bd. 4, (Berlin 2004), 4:3192–3202 (mit Lit.).

*percée* auf deiner Linken.

Du läßt die Fürsten, deren Augen gut sind, sehen,

ob Lethargie in deiner Handlungsfähigkeit ist:

„*Tu as fait passer (l'armée) comme un lion, éclaireur heureux!*“

So machst du den Namen jedes *éclaireur* und *charettier* von Tameri –

Dein Name ist wie (der des) *Petit de faucon*, des Fürsten von Asar,

nachdem ihn die Bärin in dem *micocoulier*<sup>39</sup> fand.

Das hier vorgestellte Textstück ist nach diesem Verständnis mitnichten eine ironische Schilderung des Versagens des Soldaten, sondern skizziert im Gegenteil ein eigentliches Bravourstück des Soldaten, der sich in schwierigster Situation bewährt. Das scheint auch die Episode des vom Bären überraschten Fürsten anzudeuten, der sich vielleicht heldenhaft aus seiner mißlichen Lage erretten und so überhaupt erst der Mitwelt Kunde von seiner Tapferkeit geben konnte.

Es wäre überlegenswert, inwiefern sich durch solche Neuansätze einzelner Passagen auch die Deutung der Gesamtintention des Textes verschiebt.

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<sup>39</sup> So die Interpretation der hier entlehnten (u.a. hebr.) Strauch- oder Baumbezeichnung *bākā'* (2 Sam. 5, 23f.) nach der französischen ökumenischen Übersetzung des Alten Testaments: *Ancien Testament. Traduction œcuménique de la Bible* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf/Les Bergers et les Mages, 1975), 574.

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# Observations on the Status of Women in the 21<sup>ST</sup> and 22<sup>ND</sup> Dynasty, Thebes, Egypt

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## Abstract:

The 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties are characterized by major changes within the Egyptian political, social, cultural and economic arenas. There appears to be a general improvement in the status of women within the Theban social structure during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. A relationship was noted between the representation of gender on the funerary ensemble and the prosperity of the women in the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. It was observed that during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, there does not appear to be any difference in funerary paraphernalia and decoration between males and females in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. However, by the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, it was seen that there was a trend back to the “traditional” canon of gender differentiation and representation, indicating a link to the declining importance and prosperity of the Theban priesthood of Amun as a result of the centralization of power by the ruling Libyan dynasty at Tanis.

## Résumé:

Les XXI<sup>e</sup> et XXII<sup>e</sup> dynasties furent le théâtre d'importantes transformations dans la sphère politique, sociale, culturelle et économique. Il semblerait notamment que le statut de la femme ait connu une amélioration sensible au sein de la communauté thébaine de la XXI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, et qu'un lien puisse être établi entre le mode de représentation des sexes dans les complexes funéraires et le degré fluctuant de prospérité des femmes pendant les XXI<sup>e</sup> et XXII<sup>e</sup> dynasties. On peut ainsi observer qu'il n'y avait apparemment pas de différence notable dans le traitement des personnages masculins et féminins, dans les complexes funéraires et la décoration de la XXI<sup>e</sup> dynastie. Cependant, au cours de la dynastie suivante, on note un retour au canon traditionnel de différenciation sexuelle dans la représentation des genres. Ce changement est vraisemblablement imputable au déclin du clergé thébain d'Amun, conséquence de la centralisation croissante du pouvoir aux mains de la dynastie libyenne qui régnait à Tanis.

## Keywords:

21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, Libyan-Bubastite Dynasty, “God’s Wives of Amun”, status of women, Thebes, Tanis, high priests of Amun, chantress of Amun, funerary ensemble, funerary papyri, wooden stelae

## Introduction

The 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasties are characterized by major changes within the Egyptian political, social, cultural and economic arenas. One of these changes involves a general improvement in the status of women within the Theban social structure during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty. This has been attributed to the fact that women became increasingly powerful within the temple, specifically those associated with the cult of Amun, adopting titles such as the “First Great Chief of the Musical Troupe of Amun”, culminating into the position of the “God’s Wife of Amun”. This

paper serves to examine the changes in the status of women within the Theban hierarchy and their representation in the funerary ensemble. A visible correlation could be discerned between the representation of gender on the funerary ensemble and, literally, the fortunes of the women in the 21<sup>st</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. It was observed that during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, there does not appear to be any difference in funerary paraphernalia and decoration between males and females in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty (especially from the latter half). However, by the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, it was seen that there was a trend back to the “traditional” canon of

gender differentiation and representation. This clearly indicates a link to the declining importance and prosperity of the Theban priesthood of Amun that was a direct result of the centralization of power by the ruling Libyan dynasty at Tanis.

### The 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty: (c. 1069 – 945 B. C. E)<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the government of Egypt was divided in two with the legitimate royal house ruling from Tanis and the high priests of Amun establishing their "sovereignty" in Thebes. With the ruling powers having moved north, the cult of Amun in the southern regions enjoyed increasing significance. According to the "Tale of Wenamun", Smendes, the first king of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty accepted a power-sharing agreement with general Herihor, the high priest of Amun who ruled Upper Egypt from Thebes.<sup>2</sup> This arrangement was sealed by the marriages of several northern princesses to various high priests of Amun,<sup>3</sup> which effectively allowed the high priests to become virtual rulers of a separate state.

The high priests of Amun secured their autonomy by employing their wives and daughters in the temple.<sup>4</sup> The daughters fulfilled the role

of the God's Wife of Amun, and the wives became the Prophetess of Mut (Amun's consort).<sup>5</sup> The highest cultic rank was that of the Prophetess of Mut in Karnak, Prophetess of Khonsu in Karnak, Prophetess of Onuris-Shu, Prophetess of Min, Horus and Isis in Apu, Prophetess of Nekhbet in Nekheb and Prophetess of Osiris, Horus and Isis in Abydos.<sup>6</sup> Both the first and second wives of the High Priest of Amun, Pinudjem I, assumed these titles, and it has been suggested that the power that these women wielded paralleled their husband's authority.<sup>7</sup> Women performed the crucial duties within the temple cult and had authority over male workers. They functioned as administrators, receiving and distributing goods that were destined for the altar, and were charged with coordinating temple ritual, for example, organizing and leading the musical troupe in temple services. Employment in this regard was just as vital as working in a civil administration, and furthermore, the personnel received compensation for their work in the temple.<sup>8</sup> In this way, the priestly families became entrenched, intermarried, and controlled much of the wealth of the kingdom.

It is thus not surprising that the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty also coincides with sweeping changes within

1 K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100 – 650 BC)* (Oxford: Aris & Philips, 1972), 255–287.

2 John Taylor, "Nodjmet, Payankh and Herihor: The End of the New Kingdom Reconsidered", in *Proceedings from the 7<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Egyptologists*, ed. C. J. Eyre (Leuven: Peeters, 1998), 1154; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100 – 650 BC)*, 255–257.

3 Karol Mysliviec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt: First Millennium B. C. E.* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2000), 33.

4 John Taylor, "The Third Intermediate Period (c 1069 – 664 BC)," in *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed. Ian Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 362.

5 Barbara Lesko, "Women and Religion in Ancient Egypt", 4 (2002), <http://www.stoa.org/hopper/text.jsp?doc=Stoa:text:2002.01.0007:section=4> (June 10, 2007), Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Lesko states that whether this office had ever previously been filled by women is unknown due to the scarcity of records.

6 Lana Troy, "Patterns of Queenship in Ancient Egyptian Myth and History" (Uppsala: University of Uppsala, 1986): 174; Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, "Le Clergé Féminin d'Amun Thébain à la 21<sup>e</sup> Dynastie," *OLA* 38 (1990): 275–277.

7 Andrej Niwiński, "Relativity in Iconography – Changes in the shape and value of some Egyptian funerary symbols dependent on their date and authorship," in *Funerary Symbols and Religion*, eds. H. Milde and J. H. Kamstra (Kampen: J. H. Kok, 1988), 226–230

8 Lesko, "Women and Religion", Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.

religious and funerary practices. The Theban priesthood (both male and female) utilized previously exclusive royal compositions extensively in their burial ensembles, and integrated the formerly royal doctrine into their non-royal, private theological canon. The decision to adapt iconography from the New Kingdom royal tombs points to the reign of the high priest of Amun, Menkheppere (c. 1045 – 995 B. C. E.),<sup>9</sup> who claimed royal status by the end of his time in office. From this point on, many officials began using the same compositions in their burials.<sup>10</sup> New theological ideas were incorporated into the existing iconographic compositions, and reproduced in the numerous coffins and papyri of the period, to the extent that two papyri were now interred with the deceased. The funerary literature became a fusion of Re (solar) and Osiris,<sup>11</sup> and through the concept of this solar-Osirian unity<sup>12</sup> the deceased could be identified with the numerous solar and Osirian aspects of the great god.<sup>13</sup> The deceased, be it male or female, was placed at the centre of the universe.<sup>14</sup> Consequently, the afterlife became democra-

tized to anyone who could afford it and was able to purchase funerary equipment<sup>15</sup>, the quality of which varied according to the workshop patronised.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the motifs/iconography, size and quality of the funerary ensemble were not dictated by a gender hierarchy, but by cost.

Depictions and motifs from the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty continued to adhere to Ramesside canons of representation, and were executed according to traditional patterns. In some cases, these formed a direct continuation of New Kingdom models in terms of compositional arrangement, decoration and gender differentiation. It was also seen that some married couples still shared a papyrus, a common practice in the New Kingdom, for example, the papyrus British Museum 10541<sup>17</sup> belonging to Nodjmet and her husband, the high priest, Herihor. Within the shared funerary papyri, gender differentiation was emphasized further by the placement of the female figure in the subordinate position behind the male. Often, where the couple are both seated, the female figure's knees overlap the buttocks of the male figure, embracing the male figure with

9 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 14–16.

10 Andrej Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> Centuries B.C.*, OBO 86 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 38. Here, Niwiński notes that this may have been the price that Menkheppere had to pay to have his authority recognized by the denizens of Thebes.

11 Alexander Piankoff and Nicholas Rambova, *Mythological Papyri* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), 6.

12 Andrej Niwiński, "The Solar-Osirian Unity as Principle of the Theology of the "State of Amun" in Thebes in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1989): 89–106.

13 Piankoff and Rambova, *Mythological Papyri*, 8.

14 Niwiński, "Mummy in the Coffin as the Central Element of Iconographic Reflection of the Theology of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty in Thebes," *GM* 109 (1989): 53.

15 Lisa Swart, "The Relationship and Interaction between Private Individuals and Deities in Thebes during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty" (paper presented to the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the American Research Center in Egypt, Toledo, April 20 – 22, 2007).

16 Lisa Swart, "A Stylistic Comparison of Selected Visual Representations on Egyptian Funerary Papyri of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty and Wooden Funerary Stelae of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, c. 1069 – 715 B. C. E." (Ph.D. diss. University of Stellenbosch, South Africa, 2004), *passim*.

17 British Museum, *Guide to the Third, Fourth and Fifth Egyptian Rooms* (London: The British Museum, 1904/1909), plates I, XLI; Gay Robins, "Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom" in *Ancient Egyptian Art from the British Museum* (Atlanta: Michael C. Carlos Museum, 1995), 139 – 142; John Taylor, "Nodjmet, Payankh and Herihor: The End of the New Kingdom Reconsidered," 1143–1154.

her forward arm, a pose typical of the New Kingdom rules of gender differentiation.<sup>18</sup> In some instances during the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, scale still played a role in defining a gender hierarchy. The female deceased was portrayed much smaller than the male, thus indicating through compositional dominance, the importance of the male,<sup>19</sup> which can be seen, for example, in the papyri Egyptian Museum, SRVII 10249<sup>20</sup> belonging to the scribe and priest of Amun, Tawaserhatmes. Within the various manuscripts that can be attributed to this period, it was noted, however, that there was a decided lack of standardization, and the extent of gender differentiation within the sexes also varied between representations on the funerary ensemble.

From the middle of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the trend of sharing funerary manuscripts disappeared, and with it all obvious evidence of gender differentiation. From this time on, only the owner of the funerary papyri or coffin was depicted, spouses, additional family members, and servants were excluded from the funerary repertoire. Representations from this period do not exhibit any differentiation in terms of content, size and quality between the various papyri and coffins belonging to males and females. All are represented equally, and both sexes enjoy the

seemingly unlimited use of previously royal motifs and spells. The late 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty manuscript, Berlin P. 3148<sup>21</sup> provides an excellent example of the attitude towards gender representation and hierarchy. In the etiquette of the papyri, the female owner is represented, but the rest of the manuscript contains depictions of a male where the female owner should have been portrayed. Thus, it would not seem that this "gender blunder" was not a matter of concern for the owner or the workshop.<sup>22</sup>

The emphasis of the mortuary beliefs of the time was strictly focused on the individual and the completion of successful journey through the afterlife. The papyri and accompanying funerary equipment were designed for the sole use of the deceased, and no one else was included. Spells from an assemblage of various underworld books aimed to guide, protect and provision the deceased in their netherworldly voyage. This approach could possibly be interpreted as a response to the lack of tomb decoration and the prevalence of communal burials.<sup>23</sup> It may be postulated further that the economy at Thebes during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty was thriving, well enough for a married couple to each purchase their own individual manuscripts, and for nearly every person to possess two different types.<sup>24</sup>

18 Gay Robins, "Some Principles of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art," *JARCE* 31 (1994): 34–35.

19 Robins "Some Principles of Compositional Dominance," *JARCE* 31: 34 – 35

20 G. Maspero and G. Roeder, *Führer Durch das Ägyptisches Museum zu Kairo* (Cairo: F. Diemer, Finck & Baylaender, 1912), 91, plate 54; Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, plates 22b – 25b (Cairo 86).

21 U. Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften. Teil 3. Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1986), 40; S. Schött, "Das Blutrünstige Keltergerät," *ZÄS* 74 (1938): 88–93; S. Schott, "Zum Weltbild der Jenseitsführer des Neuen Reiches," *NAWG* 11 (1965): 185–197.

22 Swart, "Stylistic Comparison," 113.

23 Erik Hornung, *Der Ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh: Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommene*, OBO 46 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 190; Karol Mysliwiec, *Herr Beider Länder: Ägypten im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, *Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt* 69 (Mainz: von Zabern, 1998), 38; Lise Manniche, *City of the Dead: Thebes in Egypt* (London: British Museum Publications, 1987), 89–90.

24 Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, passim.

The abundance of 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty funerary equipment in museums around the world may in itself attest to this assertion.

From a theological aspect, these changes may be in part due to the belief that the deceased was an incarnation of Osiris,<sup>25</sup> and therefore, a deity who was always in the company of other deities. Once the Osirification process was complete, the deceased became an active participant in the afterlife. The newly regenerated deceased was believed to pass through an endless number of transformations that were understood as multiple creations of the Great God, Osiris and Re, this composition was known from the New Kingdom as the *Litany of Re*. The main focus of the *Litany* was the meeting of opposites, Re and Osiris who become one, which is believed to be part of the royal ritual to transform the Osiris-King into a new Re.<sup>26</sup> This concept is illustrated in the papyrus Metropolitan Museum 30.3.32<sup>27</sup>, belonging to Herihor's daughter, Nany, which is comprised of a series of solar and Osirian forms, each figure being an incarnation of the deceased, whose name and title accompanies every second form.<sup>28</sup>

There is no differentiation of scale between the gods and the deceased (male or female). The majority of the coffins and papyri contain

the etiquette on the right, in which the deity is always represented on the left in the dominant position facing the deceased on the right.<sup>29</sup> Female deities are typically represented standing behind the male deity. These characteristics are in keeping with artistic conventions dating as far back as the Middle Kingdom.<sup>30</sup> However, there is an unusual etiquette in the manuscript of Henattawy, Virginia Museum 54-10,<sup>31</sup> here the female deceased is drafted at least twice the size of an enthroned Osiris, although he is still represented in the dominant position on the left, facing right.

In depictions from the Middle and New Kingdom, men were portrayed with their title, or sequence of titles, stating their position within the administration, and women were typically referred to by their association with the man, such as "his wife" or "his mother".<sup>32</sup> In the funerary ensembles from the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, coffins and papyri contain extensive genealogies of both the male and female priestly class at Thebes, and titles are recorded for both. In Egyptian Museum SRIV 980,<sup>33</sup> the funerary manuscript of Maatkare, the daughter of Pinudjem I, she is identified as the "God's wife and Adoratrix; King's Daughter and Daughter of a Chief Queen...". Neskhons, the wife of Pinudjem II, claims the

25 Niwiński, "The Solar-Osirian Unity" *JEOL* 30: 105 – 106.

26 N. Rambova, *The Litany of Re*. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 10. Rambova believes that this is part of the royal ritual to transform the Osiris-King into a new Re.

27 Rambova, *Litany*, 114-118, plate 7; H. E. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition 1929 - 1930. The Museum's Excavations at Thebes," *BMMA* (December 1930): 3-28.

28 Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 42. MMA 30.3.23-25 is labelled *t3 md3t imy d3t*.

29 Gay Robins, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 33.

30 Robins, *Proportion and Style*, 33.

31 M. Mayo, *Ancient Art: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1998), 18 – 19; Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 148, fig. 42; Rambova, *Litany*, 162, Note 11.

32 Robins "Some Principles of Compositional Dominance," *JARCE* 31: 34. Robins states that the status of the man is seldom classified through his connection to the woman.

33 M. S. G. Heerma van Voss, *Ägypten, die 21. Dynastie* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1982), 8, plate 4a; M. S. G. Heerma van Voss, "Die Beiden Opfergefilde als Opfertisch," in *Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens: Zu Ehren von Wolfhart Westendorf* (Göttingen: U. Druck, Hubert & Co, 1984), 805-806; E. Naville, *Papyrus Funeraires de la XXI Dynastie. Le Papyrus Hiéroglyphique de Kamara et le Papyrus Hiératique de Nesikhonsou* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), 7-9, plates I-X.

titles of Viceroy of Nubia and First Chief of the Harem of Amun in her funerary papyrus, Egyptian Museum SRVII 11485/SRVII 11573.<sup>34</sup> In the majority of the funerary ensemble owned by women, the deceased identify themselves by their titles as "Lady of the House" or "Chantress of Amun/Musician-Priestess of Amun". The former title is not used to indicate the woman's role as a housewife, but instead, recognizes the administrative and business abilities necessary to administer a household.<sup>35</sup> Husbands are frequently omitted in these titles. In the papyrus of the priestess Anhai, British Museum 10472<sup>36</sup> and several other papyri where Chapter 110 of the *Book of the Dead* is represented, the depiction of a man working in the field is not acknowledged at all; similar representations from the New Kingdom tombs typically identify the men as husbands of the deceased.<sup>37</sup>

To attain a leading role within the temple administration, a certain level of literacy must be assumed. Therefore, it can be put forward that the Theban women working for the cult of Amun were educated and in some cases may have even created their own funerary manuscripts. It has been proposed that Pinudjem II's daughter, Nesitanebasheru, the owner of British Museum

10554<sup>38</sup> may have been the author and scribe of her funerary papyrus, due to the exceptional nature of the manuscript, care of execution, generous special allocations, the long vignettes and the owner's numerous priestly titles, and the title Bakt pAipu n Imn Ra, Servant of the Scrolls of Amun-Re.<sup>39</sup>

Based upon the observations and conclusions derived from the funerary ensembles, it can be assumed that during this time, women enjoyed a fairly high, and even (in terms of representation on the funerary ensemble) an equivalent status to men.

### The 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty

During the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, there appears to be a gradual (albeit unsystematic) return to the earlier, traditional canons of representation. The impetus for the departure from 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty practices can be attributed to the new rule of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty Libyan kings from Bubastis in the delta. By the time of Psusennes I (c. 959 – 945 B. C. E),<sup>40</sup> the last ruler of the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the Libyan element in Egyptian society had become a serious and dominant in Egypt. Shortly after marching his army into Thebes, Shoshenq I (c. 945 – 924 B. C. E)<sup>41</sup> proclaimed himself pharaoh

34 Naville, *Papyrus Funeraires de la XXI Dynastie*, passim.

35 Terry G. Wilfong, *Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt: From Prehistory to Late Antiquity. An Exhibition at the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology* (Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, 1997), 36.

36 Carol Andrews, "A Family for Anhai?" *JEA* 64 (1978): 88–98; E. A. Budge, *Book of the Dead. Facsimiles of the Papyrus of Hunefer, Anhai, Kerasher and Netschemet, With Supplementary Text From the Papyrus of Nu* (London: British Museum, 1899), passim; Heerma van Voss, *Ägypten, die 21. Dynastie*, 9–10, plate 7; T. G. H. James, *Egyptian Painting and Drawing in the British Museum*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985), 81, Fig. 9.

37 Andrews, "A Family for Anhai?" *JEA* 64: 88.

38 E. A. W. Budge, *The Greenfield Papyrus in the British Museum: The Funerary Papyrus of Princess Nesitanebasheru, Daughter of Painetchem II and Nesi-Khensu, and Priestess of Amen-Ra at Thebes, about B. C. 970* (London: The Trustees of the British Museum, 1912), passim; Heerma van Voss, *Ägypten, Die 21. Dynastie*, plate 5b; M. S. G. Heerma van Voss, "Ein Spruch aus dem Papyrus Greenfield," in *Essays in Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde*, ed. J. van Dijk, (Groningen: Styx, 1997), 183–185; James, "Egyptian Painting and Drawing", 48–49.

39 Leonard Lesko, "Some Remarks on the Books of the Dead Composed for the High Priests, Pinedjem I and II," in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David Silverman (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 183.

40 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 283.

41 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 287.



with the divine approval of the oracle of Amun. Shoshenq's reign was characterized by a change in attitude of the king towards the integrity of the country.<sup>42</sup> Egypt was unified again, and the title "Lord of Two Lands" once more applied to the ruler. The reunited Egyptian empire developed into a strong political and military power. The Bubastids displayed a rather shrewd domestic policy, with the strategic marriage of Osorkon I to Maatkare, daughter of Psusennes II, and the mother of Shoshenq II (the third king of the Libyan Dynasty). Calculated appointments of Osorkon I's sons to various high offices meant that he exercised specific control over the most important areas of the country by uniting the religious and secular realms. His son, Iuput, was simultaneously the Governor of Upper Egypt, the High Priest of Amun and commander-in-chief of the armies. His second son, Djedptahufankh, was the Third Prophet of Amun, and his third son acted as the military commander at Herakleopolis, who could keep the citizens of Thebes in check if the need arose.<sup>43</sup> The practice of installing wives and daughters of the leading Libyan families into principal religious positions continued uninterrupted, for example, queen Karomama II, the daughter of Nimlot and wife of Takelot II, was the Divine Adoratrice of Amun.

A major aspect of religion of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty was the rise in importance of the cults of Osiris and Isis.<sup>44</sup> It is believed that from the beginning

of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the prominence of the motifs of the falcon, Horus and Isis protecting the young Horus in the marshes of Chemmis, near Buto, may echo the shift in political power to the Delta.<sup>45</sup> Thus, while the cult of Amun-Re appears to have remained undisputed in the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the period of Libyan rule saw it progressively limited to the Theban area and decline in importance.<sup>46</sup>

This change is reflected by the reduction in quality and variety of the funerary ensemble. From the time of Shoshenq I to Osorkon I (c. 924 B. C. E – 889 B. C.E),<sup>47</sup> the Theban workshops were still producing funerary papyri, but these were limited in the selection of spells to either rigid or highly abbreviated imitations of the last four hours of the *Amduat*, and papyri production ultimately ceased. The latest dateable funerary papyri were found with the mummy of Osorkon, son of the high priest Shoshenq, and the grandson of Osorkon I.<sup>48</sup> and they were replaced by small, one-scene wooden stelae.<sup>49</sup> The only occurrence of any funerary literature from c. 850 – 700 B. C. E. is the use of the *Book of the Dead* and underworld book excerpts in the decoration of the tombs of Osorkon II and Shoshenq II in Tanis, and the high priest of Ptah, Shoshenq, at Memphis.<sup>50</sup>

These stelae were not a new development; they had been formerly utilized in several burial ensembles in the early 21st Dynasty, the decoration of which followed the motifs and iconogra-

42 Taylor, "The Third Intermediate Period," 335

43 Peter Clayton, *Chronicle of the Pharaohs* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 184.

44 Richard Fazzini, "Several Objects, and Some Aspects of the Art of the Third Intermediate Period," in *Chief of Seers: Egyptian Studies in Memory of Cyril Aldred*, Studies in Egyptology (London: Kegan Paul, 1997), 11.

45 Fazzini, "Several Objects and Some Aspects," 8.

46 Karol Mysliwiec, *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), 43 – 44.

47 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 302.

48 Niwiński, *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri*, 42.

49 Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 204 - 206.

50 Stephen Quirke, *Owners of Funerary Papyri in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1993), 56; Stephen Quirke and Werner Foreman, *Hieroglyphs and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 148.

phy of their accompanying papyri.<sup>51</sup> The disappearance of funerary manuscripts coincides with an extreme simplification of the iconographic repertoire on coffin decoration, the disappearance of Osiris figures, and Chapter 16 of the Book of the Dead on shabtis. The texts on the coffin surfaces were now reduced to repetitious offering formulae and speeches of the gods.<sup>52</sup> It has been noted that a new style of coffin arrived at Thebes apparently fully developed, and it has been suggested that an earlier evolution may have taken place elsewhere, more than likely in Tanis.<sup>53</sup> The iconographic repertoire found on the stelae and coffins exhibits an impoverishment in the selection of iconography available to the private individuals at Thebes, maybe as a reaction to the excessive use of royal motifs by the private citizens in the previous period, or perhaps a shift in emphasis of the mortuary theology by the ruling party.<sup>54</sup> It is not accidental that the termination of the 21st Dynasty customs coincided with the imposition of stronger royal central authority over the south during the reign of Shoshenq I and his successors. Hence, it may be construed that the regulation of representation during the early 22nd Dynasty reflects strong controls on religious and funerary practices as a political tool, as the Theban citizens' mortuary choices were severely limited. It also appears that the status of Theban women was once again restricted by the deliberate appointments of carefully selected Libyan women into the higher ranking roles of the temple adminis-

tration. Consequently, by the 23rd Dynasty, the role of God's Wife of Amun had become fully politicized. Shepenwepet, Osorkon III's daughter controlled all the wealth and property of the priesthood of Amun, and depicted herself with all the accoutrements of royalty, including the offering of maaat.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the concentration of power was once again firmly in the hands of the monarchy.

Theologically, there appears to be a shift in the focus on death and the mortuary cult of the Libyan pharaohs of the 22nd Dynasty. Emphasis was transferred from the progress of the deceased through the realm of the dead, as represented in the papyri and coffins of the preceding periods, to the deceased themselves in the direct presence of the gods, as if they had successfully attained eternal life. Munro (1973) describes the function of the stelae as more of a "memorandum" for the gods, that for humans,<sup>56</sup> as they were now interred with the deceased instead of tomb chapels. Thus, the target audience shifted from the general public on whom the deceased relied to recite the offering formulae, to the gods themselves.<sup>57</sup>

A distinguishing feature of the 22nd Dynasty is the deliberate archaization of representation, harking back to Old Kingdom proportions. It was also observed that figural forms in stelae from the later 22nd Dynasty, take on a provincial, almost folk-art nature, indicating maybe a lack of skilled artists in the Theban region.

Additionally, there was once again a tendency

51 Lisa Swart, "The Transition from the 21st to the 22nd Dynasty as manifested in the Changes in the Wooden Funerary Stelae of the 22nd Dynasty," *Journal for Semitics* 16/2 (2007): 518–538.

52 Taylor, "The Third Intermediate Period", 363.

53 John Taylor, "Patterns of Colouring on Ancient Egyptian Coffins: an overview," in *Colour and Painting in Ancient Egypt*, ed. W. Vivien Davies (London: British Museum Press, 2001), 172

54 Anthony Leahy, "The Libyan Period in Egypt: An Essay in Interpretation," *Libyan Studies* 16 (1985): 51–65.

55 Emily Teeter, *The Presentation of Maaat: Ritual and Legitimacy in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1997), 13.

56 Peter Munro, *Die Spätägyptischen Totenstelen* (Gluckstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1973), 5.

57 Swart, *A Stylistic Comparison*, 41.

on several stela for couples to share a stela, for example, the stela Berlin 24038 belonging to the craftsman Hor and his wife.<sup>58</sup> This trend could possibly be interpreted as a decline of the economic fortunes of the families of the former priesthood of Amun in Thebes during the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. It was observed that the practice of sharing occurred throughout the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, unlike the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty when sharing occurred only during the early stages of that dynasty. With the representation of two people, gender differentiation according to size and position is clearly discernable. These are drawn according to the traditional Egyptian canons, where the male figures are depicted on a larger scale than the female figures. In terms of orientation and positioning, the male is always placed on in the middle directly before the deity who stands on the left, facing right, and the female always stands to the rear on the right, as can be seen in British Museum 37899.<sup>59</sup> However, there are exceptions and it does appear that the restrictions on representation may have been loosely enforced, for example in the verso of Metropolitan Museum 22.3.33,<sup>60</sup> the deceased is represented with her spouse; she is seated in the dominant position on the left with her spouse on the right. In Brussels E. 6283,<sup>61</sup> the female deceased is placed directly in front of the deity in the dominant position, while the male (assumed to be her spouse) is placed behind her.

In the majority of the stelae, the female deceased are depicted on a much smaller scale than the deities, even if they share the same hairline and baseline. Re-Horakhty is predominantly

represented, in which he is typically shown standing, striding or enthroned on a dais. When standing, the deceased have to look up to him, and when seated, the sun disc always makes him appear taller. The discrepancy in size is not as apparent in the stelae with male owners.

The only text on the stelae comprises of the offering formulae, primarily the *Htp di nsw* formulae and the *Dd-in* prayer. In these texts, the female owners continue to identify themselves by their titles, the most common being: “Lady of the House” and “Chantress of Amun” (see discussion below). Within a representative sampling of the stelae invocation formulae, there was a tendency to refer to their pedigree by mentioning their fathers and their respective titles within the temple cult. There was also increased reference to their spouses in the stelae, and the owners typically classify themselves as “the wife of ...” When this occurs it appears as if they are trying to enhance their own personal status. Several of the trends that emerged during the 21st Dynasty were continued into the 22nd. It was observed that the deceased still used their titles to a large degree, and the role of colour in differentiating gender (males brown/darker and the females tan/lighter) remained the same. The location of deities within the composition also remains unchanged, and when depicted, the female deities are always represented standing behind the male deity. Additionally, there does not appear to be any differentiation within the poses in the vignettes of the 21st and 22nd Dynasty, typically both males and female deceased raise their hands in adoration, or offer libations to the god before them.

58 K. H. Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum* (Mainz: Verlag Philip von Zabern, 1991), 166–167, no. 99.

59 M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc.* Part 11 (London: The British Museum, 1987), 10–11, plates 4–5.

60 Fazzini, “Several Objects,” plate XLV, No’s 1–2; H. E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahari 1911–31* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), 53–54, plate 89.

61 L. Limme, *Egyptische Stèles* (Bruxelles: Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire, 1979), 36–37; B. Van Rinsveld, “Un Cryptogramme d’Amon. Société et Spiritualité dans l’Égypte Pharaonique et Copte” in *Melanges Égyptologiques Offerts au Aristide Théodoridés* (Bruxelles, 1993), 263–268.

### Conclusion

To conclude, it has been shown that during the early 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, Ramesside canons of representation were still used in the decoration of the funerary ensemble, and with it the status of women followed the Ramesside mind-set. However, by the late 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, there appears to be a change in gender differentiation and status of women. During this time, there is no perceptible gender differentiation, and both men and women are represented equally as owners of funerary ensembles. The size and quality of the ensemble appears to be based on affordability and wealth not gender. There is also no difference in the use of iconography between male and female owners. This suggests that women shared a prominent role in the social, political and economic structure of Thebes during this time period, and may have enjoyed a much higher level of equality than had previously been attested to in Egypt.

Subsequently, with the rule of the Libyan-

Bubastite Dynasty there seems to be a shift back to the traditional canon of gender representation and gender hierarchy. This change coincides with the increased centralization of power by the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. It is commonly accepted that the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty kings held greater power over the denizens of Thebes, and had a strong influence on their options of funerary embellishment.

By filling high-ranking positions within the temple with members of their families, the Libyan kings managed to centralize control, and effectively diluted the authority and economic status of the former high priests of Amun and their families. The higher status of women was now limited to a few elite women (related to the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty) within the temple cult. This was the way for the 22<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty kings to restrict the privileges of the former ruling class and to ensure that they would be economically powerless to make any pretensions towards the throne.

