TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Foreword

Welcome to the first of two volumes dedicated to the memory of our honored colleague and former Editor of this Journal, James Hoch, a brilliant scholar and teacher who made outstanding contributions not only in Egyptian language and literature, but also in comparative Egypto-Semitic studies encompassing *inter alia* the Semitic loanwords in Egyptian, the history of the alphabet, and the difficult enigma of the Byblos Syllabic script. His expertise in ancient and modern languages was wide-ranging and profound.

We, as students of ancient Egypt, know that a major issue in ancient Egyptian life was the preparation for death and perpetual memory. Dr. Hoch's *Middle Egyptian Grammar* stands as a monument and a continual reminder of the importance he played in so many of our lives and careers. Through his superb *Middle Egyptian Grammar* textbook, Dr. Hoch made his Egyptological and pedagogical insight available to a far wider audience than the students he personally taught in the classroom. The contributors to both volumes include colleagues and students who worked directly with him, along with those who have used and appreciated and benefited from his work. The contributions are not limited to philology or language, but run the gamut of Egyptology.

In addition to a volume dedicated to the life and work of James E. Hoch, as we were preparing the materials of this volume to go to press, it was with great sadness that we learned of the passing of a long-term and devoted member of the Society, Steven Blake Shubert. Steve studied in the Department of Near Eastern Studies at the University of Toronto and earned his PhD with a dissertation devoted to the "Appeal to the Living," and he was very active in diverse aspects of Egyptology. In addition to NES, he had an academic specialty in Library Science, a field in which he worked professionally as well. He was a Life Member of the Society, serving on the Board as well as the Toronto Chapter Executive. He participated in the Akhenaten Temple Project/East Karnak Excavation and the Mendes expedition of Prof. Donald Redford, in which he made a major contribution as a ceramicist. Steve was equally at home in field archaeology, art and architecture, and language and texts; his excellent work appeared in *JSSEA* as well as other publications, and in his elegantly presented conference papers. He will be greatly missed.

With this volume we also introduce a new section in the Journal: Notices. This notice section is for shorter articles that introduce a subject and gives scholars an opportunity to document archaeological and philological discoveries in a more condensed format than an article. These notices are peer reviewed by scholars in the fields addressed, but they do not necessarily need to discuss arguments and the complete precedent of a specific topic. This format gives the Journal an opportunity to present newer materials in a more expeditious manner without sacrificing academic standards.

Ankh Wedja Seneb!–Be Well!

—Edmund S. Meltzer and Simone Burger Robin

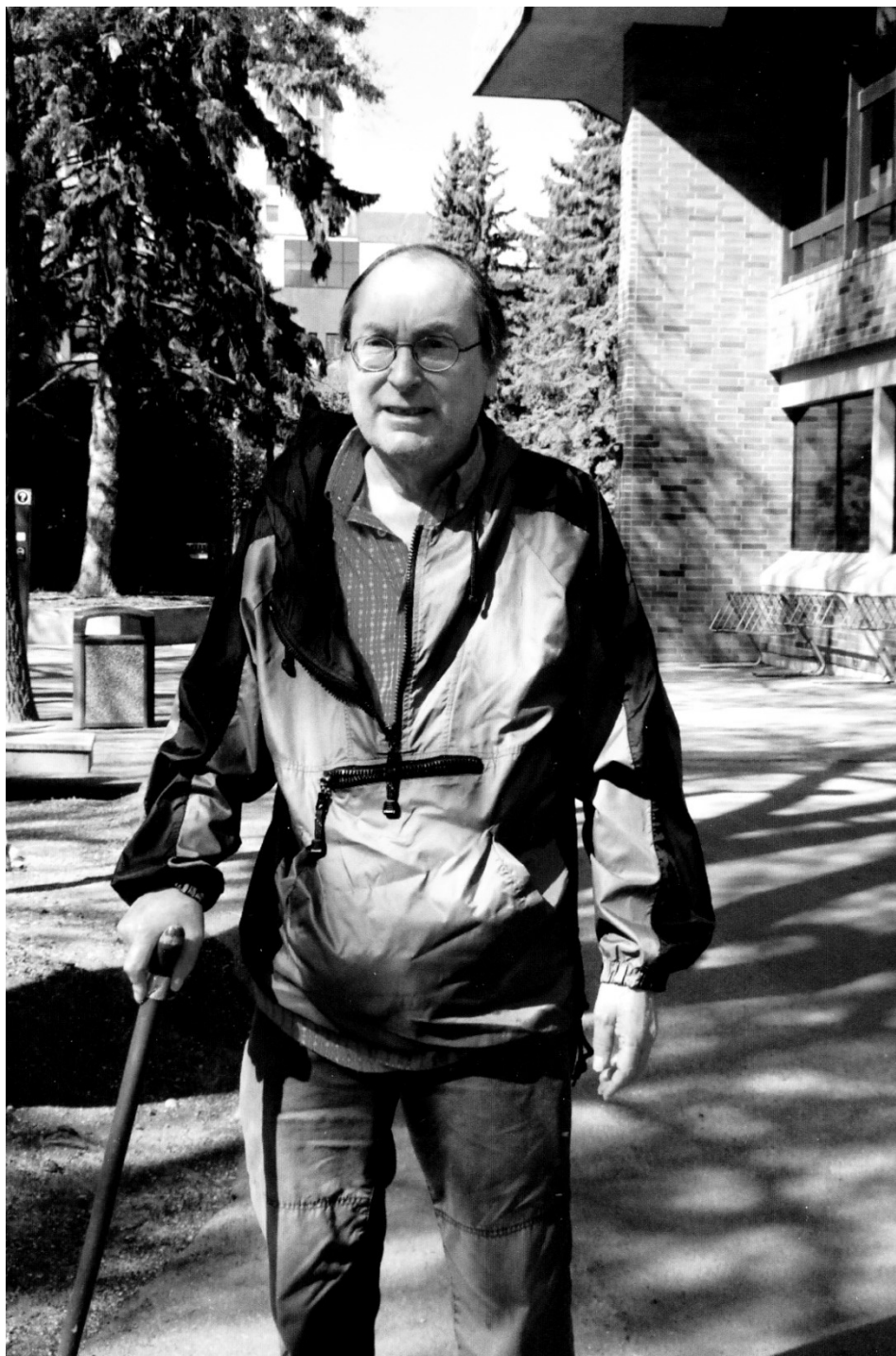# Tabula Gratulatoria

Robyn Gillam

David Grant

Edmund S. Meltzer

Sarah Orel

Richard B. Parkinson

Donald B. Redford

Matthew Scarborough

James E. Hoch
1954–2018

James E. Hoch
1 January 1954–19 September 2018

Reflections from James's partner, David Grant:

James's work and participation in the field of Egyptology meant the world to him. He was in his mid-twenties, with a bachelor's degree and a 4-year job abroad already behind him, when he moved to Ontario in order to study at the University of Toronto. He had long been fascinated by the subject matter, and knew of the great scholars in the field in Toronto, so he leapt right into an entirely new life. He completed three degrees at Toronto. While he worked on a postdoc the next two years, he had two great honors: winning the Distinguished Dissertation Award for 1992 from the Council of Graduate Schools and University Microfilms International; and then having a revised version of his dissertation published in 1994 by Princeton University Press.

I began living with James a year after his move to Toronto in 1980, and I can attest both to his passion for his work and to his exemplary dedication to it. He worked doggedly and unflaggingly, even though he also devoted a lot of energy to helping others individually and contributing to social change, as in his anti-apartheid work and in his efforts to improve graduate student housing.

In addition to the work itself, being part of the wider community of Egyptologists meant a great deal to James. He revered the work of his fellow scholars, and their recognition of his work and their friendship were very important to him. Both the SSEA and the *JSSEA* played a major role in James's life, making the honor they are giving him especially gratifying. His Egyptian grammar and his teaching had a special significance for James, because through them he could help others develop their knowledge and interest in the language.

An illness that increasingly restricted him in the last ten years of his life prevented James from devoting as much energy and time to his work as he had before that misfortune. But his passion for the field never wavered.

—David Grant

Reflections from James's niece, Laura Johnson:

My uncle, James Hoch, was the smartest person I have ever known in real life, but never in a way that made you feel inferior when you were with him. He was soft spoken and balanced his intelligence with a depth of kindness, quick wit, and genuine excitement for whatever he was telling you about that was immediately infectious. It didn't matter what the topic of conversation was, he was always ready with a fun piece of trivia or anecdote to add to the discussion. There was nothing that made his eyes light up more than when he was talking about Egypt, and he had a way of making even the driest parts of history and language come to life when he spoke. As a child, I idolized him. We lived far apart, so I wasn't able to see him as often as I would have liked to when I was

growing up, but the impact he had on my life has been indescribable. I wanted to grow up to be just like him.

I was fortunate to attend a university that offered study abroad courses for a short January term each year, and my second year there, I had my heart set on only one: Egypt. It was a competitive program, with more students who wanted to go than the course could accept, so I talked to my uncle to tell him how excited I was and ask for his advice on my application answers. The stars aligned, because right around the same time, the American Research Center in Egypt's annual conference was going to be in a city near where I attended college. He invited me to attend that year's conference with him to get a feel for Egyptology, meet some of his colleagues, and hopefully make my application stand out by having a great learning experience on the subject.

Attending that conference with him remains one of my favorite experiences, because I had always known he was amazing, but I thought I might be biased because he was my family and I loved him. At that conference, I saw for the first time I really wasn't biased at all. He was just incredible to watch. I followed him around like a puppy to every session he attended. He never minded my tagging along, even as I peppered him with questions. I was so new to the topic and most of the research being presented was much more his speed than it was mine, but he never ran out of patience, making sure I understood everything.

Before and after each speaker, he would tell me anything and everything he knew about the topic: important background information he thought would help me understand the current research being presented, what he was excited to learn from that session, opposing theories on the subject, or just a fun story of a colleague of his and some adventure they had been on in their younger years. I came away feeling like there was nothing he didn't know at least something about. The way he could store such detailed knowledge about 10,000 things at once still amazes me.

The other thing I got to see firsthand was how respected and well liked he was among his peers. Every time we were walking between conference rooms, professors were coming up to him to introduce their graduate students to him, often who had been using his Middle Egyptian Grammar book in their own studies. It meant so much to me getting to hear everyone tell him how important his work had been to their own course of study. I heard glowing comments over and over and people seemed genuinely thrilled to be getting to meet him.

I joked with him after that it felt like being at an event with a celebrity, and that I was glad I got to name drop that I was related to the famous James Hoch in my study abroad application. In addition to being the smartest person I have ever known, my uncle was also the most modest. He laughed and brushed it off as everyone just being really nice. I could tell it meant a lot to him, even as modest as he was, getting to hear how important his contributions had been to so many people. I did get to go on that trip to Egypt in college, and I know without him in my life, I never would have had that incredible experience.

I had no idea just how brilliant his work was until I got to see it through the lens of the people he met at that conference. He never boasted about his achievements,

though he had many. He wasn't the type to put himself in the spotlight or take as much credit as he should have for how truly valuable his contributions to the study of the Egyptian language have been. He was always a teacher at heart, and because of the thoughtful, well researched, unique scholarship he added to the field, he will get to keep being a teacher through his work, forever.

James Hoch was brilliant, kind, generous with his time and his knowledge, patient, a fantastic teacher, and, somehow, an even more fantastic human being. I still want to grow up to be just like him. I am so thankful to the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities for giving his family, friends, and colleagues this wonderful opportunity to honor his life and achievements. May his memory be a blessing.

—Laura Johnson

Bibliography for James E. Hoch

"The Byblos Syllabary: Bridging the Gap between Egyptian Hieroglyphs and Semitic Alphabets," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 20 (1990), 115–124.

"Professor Ronald J. Williams," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 21–22 (1991–1992), iv–v.

"The Teaching of Dua-Kheti: a new look at the Satire of the Trades," *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 21-22 (1991–1992), 115–124.

James E. Hoch and Sara E. Orel, "Murder in Ancient Egypt," *in Death and Taxes in the Ancient Near East*, edited by Sara E. Orel (Lewistown, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 87–128.

Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994).

James E. Hoch and Donald Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project*, volume 3: the *Excavation of Kom el-Amar and Environs. Aegypti Texta Propositaque* 2. (Toronto: The Akhenaten Temple Project, 1994).

"Egyptian Hieratic Writing in the Byblos Pseudo-Hieroglyphic Stele L." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 32 (1995) 59–65.

Middle Egyptian Grammar. The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) Publications 15. (Mississauga: Benben Publications, 1995).

Middle Egyptian Grammar. The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA): Studies 15. (Mississauga: Benben, 1997).

"The names of the foreign wives," in *The Tombs of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, edited by Christine Lilyquist, Christine, (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2003), 329–332.

A New Explanation for the Egyptian Word "*gś*" in Stele Hildesheim PM 6352, 14–15 and its Connection with Lotus

Stefan Bojowald

Abstract: In this contribution, the Egyptian word "*gś*" from Stele Hildesheim PM 6352, line 14–15 is considered again. At this place, the word appears together with lotus. A previous commentator had chosen the meaning "to garland". Here, the basic meaning "to anoint" of the verb is taken seriously. The following word "*sšn*" "lotus" is interpreted as metonymy for "ointment of lotus".

Résumé: Dans la présente contribution, le mot égyptien « *gś* » attesté sur la Stèle Hildesheim PM 6352, ligne 14-15, est de nouveau considéré. À cet endroit, ce mot est employé conjointement avec le mot « lotus ». Un commentateur précédent a opté pour la signification « enguirlander ». Dans le cas présent, la signification de base « oindre » du verbe doit être prise en considération. Le mot qui suit « *sšn* » « lotus » est interprété comme une métonymie pour « onguent de lotus ».

Keywords: Egyptian philology, Stele Hildesheim PM 6352, line 14–15, new explanation for the word "gś"

Mots-clés: philologie égyptienne, Stèle Hildesheim PM 6352, ligne 14-15, nouvelle interprétation du mot « *gś* »

In 1997, Jansen–Winkeln published a study on Stele Hildesheim PM 6352, which became the property of the Pelizaeus–Museum when it was acquired in 1993. The monument was carved out of a block of granodiorite during the Ptolemaic Period. The stele text is composed of a biographical inscription of the lady *ẖrdw–ʿnḫ*, who died at the age of 20, which with 21 lines takes up more than four fifths of the available space. The text gives as cause for the death of the young woman a crocodile attack. The crocodile could, however, be a metaphor for the premature end of life.[1] The biography of Chereduanch represents the most complete example for the untimely death of women.[2]

In the context of the present work the attention is shifted on the passage "*Ink nb tẖ, mri hrw. nfr, sꜣb sš imi ḥr=ś rʿ nb, wrḥ m ʿntiw gś m sšn*"[3] (lines 14–15) that Jansen–Winkeln would like to see translated with "Ich war eine, die gern trank und den Festtag liebte, indem das Durchziehen der Vogelsümpfe täglich vor ihr lag und sie mit Myrrhen

---

[1] J. Fr. Quack, Die Furcht vor dem Meer und der Tod im Nil: Wasserangst im alten Ägypten, in: A. Berner/J.-M. Henke/A. Lichtenberger/B. Morstadt/A. Riedel (Hrsg.), Das Mittelmeer und der Tod: Mediterrane Mobilität und Sepulkralkultur, Mittelmeerstudien 13 (Paderborn, 2016), 404–405.

[2] J. Baines, From Living a Life to Creating a Fit Memorial, in: J. Stauder-Porchet/E. Frood/A. Stauder (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Biographies, Contexts, Forms, Functions, Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology Number 6 (Atlanta, 2020), 69.

[3] K. Jansen–Winkeln, Die Hildesheimer Stele der Chereduanch, MDAIK 53 (1997), 93 (14–15).

gesalbt und mit Lotus bekränzt war." The content of the passage refers to the comforts and pleasures that the deceased had enjoyed during her earthly existence.

The concern of the following investigation is the renewed examination of the word "*gś*", which is written in hieroglyphic form as ⌒ ⊖. Jansen–Winkeln wants to reproduce the meaning of the word with "to wreath" for which he cites the wreath determinative after "*sšn*" "lotus" as a reason. At the same time, he does not categorically rule out the possibility that the wreath determinative could also be read "*mȝḥ.w*" "wreaths" and dragged to the beginning of the next sentence as a new word. In this second scenario he further combines that "*gś*" should be understood literally as "to anoint" and "*sšn*" "lotus" as an ingredient of this ointment. The idea is pursued further towards the end. The top priority, however, is given by Jansen-Winkeln to the first alternative.

Jansen-Winkeln claims to have found the support for this solution in the alleged parallel "*wrḥ m ibr, iwḥ.ti m sšn, tp=śn mḏḥ m giw*",[4] the middle part "*iwḥ.ti m sšn*" of which he translates with "wetted with lotus". He puts the word "wetted" in quotation marks. In this point he refers to the authors of the Wörterbuch, who had already drawn attention to the possible secondary meaning "adorned with lotus"[5] of "*iwḥ*". According to the information provided there, the meaning is documented in Greek times. However, the specification of the Wörterbuch has not only earned approval. In the relevant context, Kurth[6] prefers the option "soaked with lotus" for "*iwḥ m sšn*". The example makes it crystal clear that there are theoretically several paths open to the translation of such passages. Whether the shift in meaning could have been so easily transferred from one verb to the other, should have been extremely questionable anyway. The other evidence for the meaning "to wreath" of "*gś*" also looks very precarious. The material of the dictionaries shows that the semantic level was "to anoint"[7] in every conceivable shade. If there is no reasonable reason, it should not be deviated from. The secret of the passage has not yet been revealed to the last detail.

---

[4] G. Maspero/H. Gauthier, Sarcophages des Époques Persane et Ptolemaïque, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nᵒˢ 29307–29323 (Le Caire 1939), p. 47.

[5] WB I, 57, 7

[6] D. Kurth, Edfou VII, Die Inschriften des Tempels von Edfu, Abteilung I, Übersetzungen, Band 2 (Wiesbaden, 2004), 48.

[7] WB V, 201, 13–14, WB V, 202, 1–13; R.O. Faulkner, A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford, 1962), 291; P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexicon, A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu, OLA 78 (Leuven, 1997), 1106; R. Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II, Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, Teil 2 (Mainz, 2006), 2613; St. E. Thompson, A Lexicographic and Iconographic Analysis of Anointing in Ancient Egypt, Brown University 1991, 42/55/128;
for the verb "*gś*" "to anoint" in medical context cf. H. von Deines/W. Westendorf, Wörterbuch der medizinischen Texte, Zweite Hälfte (h-D), Grundriss der Medizin der Alten Ägypter VII 2 (Berlin, 1962), 923–925.
For the writing "*gȝś*" for "*gś*" "to anoint" cf. W. Westendorf, Grammatik der medizinischen Texte, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter VIII (Berlin, 1962), 9.
Note the Demotic writing "*kiiś*" for "*gś*" "to anoint" at R.K. Ritner, Gleanings from Magical Texts, Enchoria 14 (1986), 101.

The discussion will therefore start all over again here. The meaning "to wreath" proposed by Jansen–Winkeln for "*gś*" is again put to the test. As seen above, he had made the decision for this solution in front of the background of the wreath determinative after "*sšn*" "lotus". The last aspect, however, must be viewed from two sides. If the semantics really should have gone in this direction, the determinative would have to be expected much more after "*gś*" itself. The "jug determinative" used instead suggests the traditionally usual meaning. The apparently existing discrepancy will serve as the starting point of a separate explanation. The meaning "to anoint" is retained as the basis for all further considerations. The question then only has to be answered, which role the lotus played.

The problem can easily be solved. Research is in the fortunate position that there are enough other verbs for "to anoint" in connection with lotus. The relevant examples are here presented according to the current level of knowledge of the author

The first example comes from the passage "*tꜣi=w Pꜣ-di-ꜣś.t śꜣ ꜣIr.t=w-r=w m bꜣḥ pr ꜥꜣ tḫb=w ś n sšn*",[8] for which the translation "They brought *Pꜣ-di-ꜣś.t*, son of *ꜣIr.t=w-r=w* before the Pharaoh and anointed him with lotus" fits best.

The second example can be proven in the passage "*nꜣ ḥbś.w r-wn-nꜣ-w tḫb n sšn*",[9] for which the reproduction "the clothes that were dropped in lotus" seems to be recommended. In both cases, "lotus" is evidently a metonymiy for "lotus oil".
The third example can be obtained from the passage "*iir[=k] tḥś=f n śḳn n sšn*",[10] which can be translated with "You sh[ould] anoint it with oinment of lotus". The word "*śḳn*" must be analyzed as a late variant to "*śgnn*" "oil".

The closest parallel, however, suggests itself to a passage from the Theban Late Period tomb of Mutirdis. The line "*wrš=i t[ḫw] rꜥ.w nb, nn iri=i ꜣb, wrḥ m ꜥntiw, tḫw m [sšnn]*" is engraved in the wall surfaces there, which is reproduced by Assmann[11] with "Ich verbrachte/verbringe den Tag in Trunkenheit, Tag für Tag, ohne aufzuhören, gesalbt mit Myrrhen,[12] trunken von [. . .]". The addition to "*sšnn*" "lotus" can be considered relatively safe according to Assmann based one the remaining characters, although he leaves a gap in the German translation. He believes he can vary the literal meaning "to be drunken" of "*tḫw*" more freely to "to be decorated". In recent times the

---

[8] G. Vittmann, Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9, Teil I, Text und Übersetzung, ÄAT 38 (Wiesbaden, 1998), 141 (15).

[9] H.S. Smith/W. J. Tait, Saqqara Demotic Papyri I (P. Dem. Saq. I), Texts from Excavations 7 (London, 1983), 41.

[10] J.H. Johnson, Louve E3229: A Demotic magical text, Enchoria VII (1977), 61 (Text)/69 (Translation).

[11] J. Assmann, Das Grab der Mutirdis, Grabung im Asasif, 1963–1970 VI, AV 13 (Wiesbaden, 1977), 25.

[12] For the word "*ꜥntiw*" "myrrh" cf. G. Takács, Questions of the African lexicon in Older Egyptian, OLZ 109 (4–5) (2014), 266–267; for the possible connection between "*ꜥntiw*" "myrrh" and Eastern Lowland Cushitic "*ꜥꜥ(ꜥ)n*" "milk" cf. J. Cooper, Between this world and the Duat, The land of Wetenet and Egyptian cosmography of the Red Sea, in: C. Di Biase-Dyson/L. Donovan (Eds.), The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience, Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga, ÄAT 85 (Münster, 2017), 389.

author has been able to submit an alternative suggestion and specify the word as writing for "*tẖb*" "to anoint".[13] The prerequisite for this was the otherwise well documented sound change between "*b*" and "*w*".[14] The similarities of this formulation to the key terms in the Hildesheim Stele must be taken seriously. There is also the fact that the owners of the inscriptions are women in both cases. The two passages are therefore ideally suited to complement each other. The parallel has obviously not yet been recognized as such.

A few final words remain to be said in the overall evaluation. The passage from the Hildesheim stele is interpreted here like the other examples cited in a figurative sense. The term "*sšn*" "lotus" is understood as a metonymy for "lotus oil". The method is supposed not least by the jug determinative of "*gś*", which Jansen–Winkeln ignored in his approach. The fact that the stele uses with "*wrḥ*"[15] and "*gś*" two verbs from the same class of meaning so close together, is not to be seen as a style break. The two verbs certainly differed in subtle nuances, the gradual gradations of which are unfortunately much too blurred by the uniform translation with "to anoint". The original sound can perhaps be better matched by the translation "*wrḥ*–anointed with myrrh" and "*gś*–anointed with lotus". The poetic beauty of the language has consequently reached a particularly high level. The use of "*wrḥ*" "to anoint" in connection with myrrh is perfectly normal, while the above comparison shows that three verbs were used in connection with lotus. The apparent wreath determinative after "*sšn*" must therefore in fact be read as a separate lemma "*mȝḥ.w*" "wreaths" and placed at the beginning of a new sentence. Jansen-Winkeln had already considered this possibility as an alternative

---

[13] St. Bojowald, Ein neuer Deutungsversuch für das ägyptische Wort „*tẖw*" aus dem Grab der Mutirdis unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seiner Verwendung zu Lotus, Rd′E 66 (2015), 249–251.

[14] For this sound change cf. K. Sethe, Das aegyptische Verbum im Altaegyptischen, Neuaegyptischen und Koptischen, Erster Band, Laut- und Stammeslehre (Leipzig, 1899), 121 §210; W. Spiegelberg, Demotische Grammatik (Heidelberg, 1925), 6–7; W.A. Ward, Some Effects of Varying Phonetic Conditions on Semitic Loan Words in Egyptian, JAOS 80 (1960), 324 n. 17; G. Fecht, Wortakzent und Silbenstruktur, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der ägyptischen Sprache, ÄgFo 21 (Glückstadt, 1960), 145; H. von Deines/H. Grapow/W. Westendorf, Ergänzungen, Drogenquanten, Sachgruppen, Nachträge, Bibliographie, Generalregister, Grundriss der Medizin der alten Ägypter IX (Berlin, 1973), 137; C. Peust, Egyptian Phonology, An Introduction to the Phonology of a Dead Language, Monographien zur ägyptischen Sprache Band 2 (Göttingen, 1999), 135; R. Jasnow/K.–Th. Zauzich, The ancient Egyptian Book of Thot, A Demotic Discourse on Knowledge and Pendant to the Classical Hermetica, Volume 1: Text (Wiesbaden, 2005), 89; K. Jansen–Winkeln, Spätmittel-ägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit, ÄAT 34 (Wiesbaden, 1996), 35.

[15] For this verb cf. P. Wilson, A Ptolemaic Lexicon, A Lexicographical Study of the Texts in the Temple of Edfu, OLA 78 (Leuven, 1997), 245; R. Hannig, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II, Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit, Teil 1 (Mainz, 2006), 711
Note the defective writing "*wr*" for "*wrḥ*" "to anoint" at A. Kucharek, Altägyptische Totenliturgien, Band 4, Die Klagelieder von Isis und Nephthys in Texten der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit, Supplemente zu den Schriften der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch–historische Klasse Band 22 (Heidelberg, 2010), 427, which has been triggered by the well known loss of "*ḥ*". For "*wrḥ*" "to anoint" in metaphorical context cf. Fr. R. Herbin, Le Livre de parcourir l′ éternité, OLA 58 (Leuven, 1994), 253.

in his explanation, but rejected it as less likely. The present lines have given her full rights. The consistently young age of all examples should still be noted on the edge, although the picture may be distorted by the coincidence of tradition.
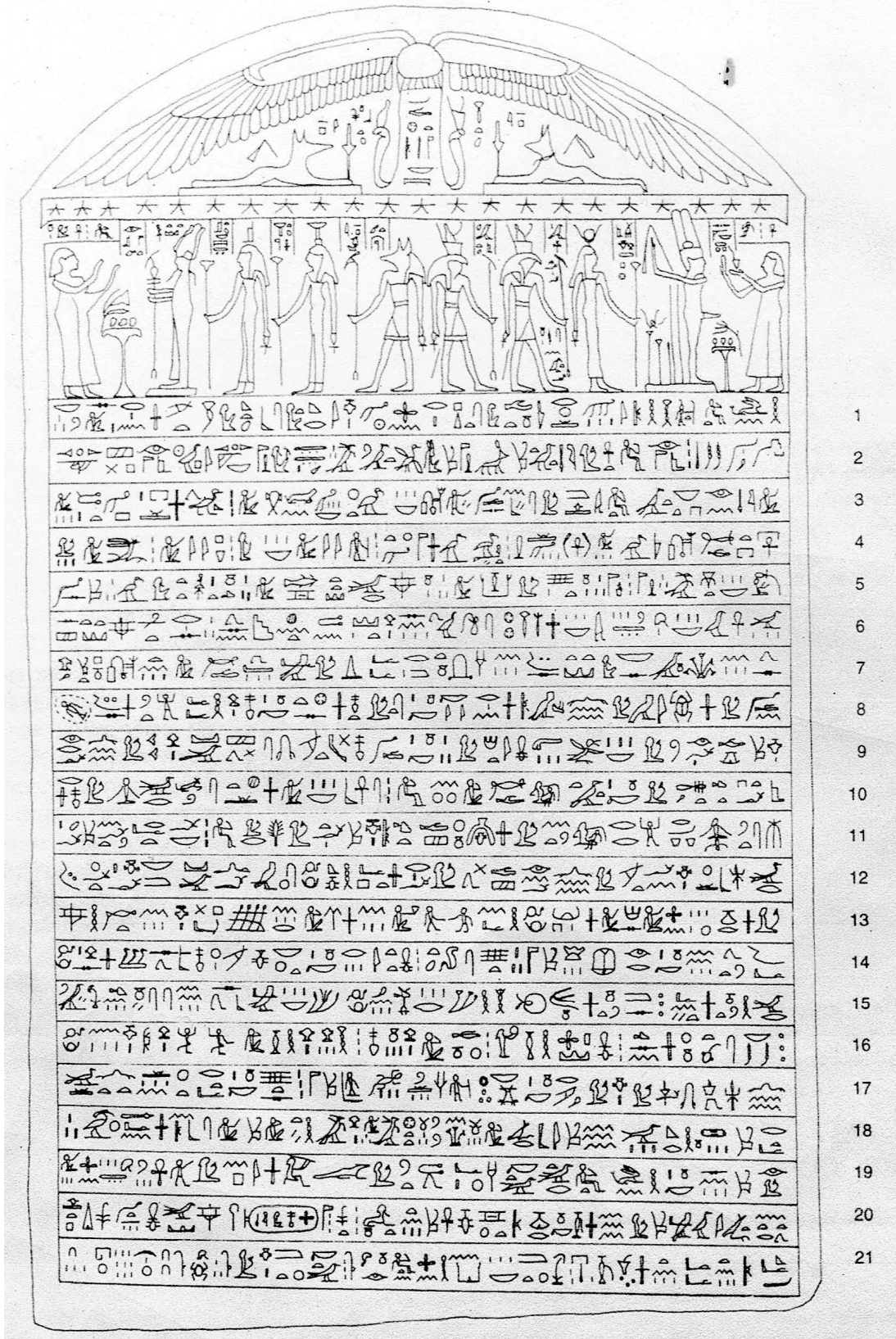
Egyptology, Mummy Fiction, and a Queer Colonization: H. Rider Haggard's "Smith and the Pharaohs"

Kelly-Anne Diamond

Abstract: This paper is about gothic fiction writer H. Rider Haggard's short story, "Smith and the Pharaohs," and how his narrative explores the cultural meaning of ancient Egyptian mummies as a queer aesthetic. The emergence of Egyptian Archaeology is arguably one facet of the British imperial project, which facilitated a familiarity with Egyptian mummies and brought them into the purview of many citizens back home. In fact, mummies become a common trope in gothic fiction, where they feature as the love interests of white male protagonists. This process enables archaeological artifacts to regenerate the colonial project at home. This "at-home colonizing" involved collecting mummies, owning them, and gazing on them for pleasure—and this was reiterated in stories. Several scholars have argued previously for the commodification of mummies, and I contribute to this by considering "mummy-love" as a perverse form of colonization. I focus on one work of gothic fiction (quest romance/imperial gothic fiction) to explore female mummies as an access point to non-normative, queer world-making. In other words, "Smith and the Pharaohs" is unique in the way it employs female Egyptian mummies to offer future possibilities for its effeminate male protagonist. Most gothic fiction does the opposite—it reinforces the cultural norms. I explore how "Smith and the Pharaohs" subverts the cultural norms of Haggard's time and how its transgressive nature suppresses anti-effeminacy anxiety.

Résumé: Le présent article porte sur la courte histoire « Smith and the Pharaohs » de l'auteur de fiction gothique H. Rider Haggard et sur la manière dont son narratif explore la signification culturelle des momies de l'Égypte ancienne en tant qu'esthétique queer. L'émergence de l'archéologie égyptienne est l'une des facettes du projet impérial britannique qui a entraîné une certaine familiarité avec les momies égyptiennes et qui les a mises à la portée de plusieurs citoyens britanniques. En fait, les momies devinrent un trope commun dans la fiction gothique au sein de laquelle elles font l'objet d'intérêts amoureux de la part de protagonistes masculins blancs. Ce processus a fait en sorte que les artéfacts archéologiques régénèrent le projet colonial à la maison. Cette « colonisation à la maison » impliquait la collection et l'acquisition de momies et leur observation pour le plaisir, une pratique qui fut réitérée dans les histoires. Plusieurs chercheurs ont précédemment traité de ce phénomène comme d'une marchandisation des momies et je contribue à cette position en considérant « l'amour des momies » comme une forme perverse de colonisation. Je me concentre sur une œuvre de fiction gothique (quête amoureuse/fiction gothique impériale) afin d'explorer les momies féminines en tant que point d'accès à la construction d'un monde non-normatif queer. En d'autres mots, « Smith and the Pharaohs » est unique dans la façon dont cette histoire recourt aux momies féminines égyptiennes afin d'offrir des possibilités futures pour ses protagonistes mâles efféminés. La plupart des fictions gothiques font l'opposé – elles renforcent les normes culturelles. J'explore ici la manière dont « Smith and the Pharaohs » bouleverse les normes culturelles de l'époque de Haggard et sur la façon dont sa nature transgressive supprime l'anxiété anti-efféminement.

Keywords: Egyptomania, Gothic fiction, LGBTQ+, Mummies,

Mots-clés: Égyptomanie, fiction gothique, LGBTQ+, momies.

Various European endeavors document well the stages of mummy appropriation, from mummy as remedy and the unrolling of mummies as entertainment to mummy as spectacle in museums and mummy fiction.[1] Egyptianizing fiction was a popular genre in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, often in the form of imperial fiction or the "quest romance."[2] These stories illustrate and interpret aspects of ancient Egypt in reference to the social, cultural, and political issues of the era. With Egypt being a British quasi- protectorate from 1882 (and a real one between 1914 and 1922), a popular tourist destination, and the object of a new wave of British archaeological effort, these tales have been seen to address many contemporary anxieties including, but not limited to, gender inequality, imperial arrogance, and scientific development.[3] Ailise Bulfin argues that it was the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 that triggered the true beginning of Egyptian-themed fiction, while Stephen Arata considers the anxiety over a possible reverse colonization to have some responsibility.[4] According to others, more elitist concerns also feature in these works, such as the vanishing opportunities for heroic adventure and the fear that exploration might be a thing of the past.[5] This led many writers to recreate it in the fictional world.

While the fictional mummies with which we are most often familiar from modern media are usually male, and often objects of horror, this has not always been the case.[6] In fact, their emergence in Egyptianizing fiction featured them originally as the revitalized female love interests of white, male protagonists who are either collectors or Egyptologists.[7] Female mummies also often connote thwarted sexual fulfillment with the male protagonist failing to win over his beloved Egyptian woman

---

[1] Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 1994): 24–25.

[2] Robert Frazer, *Victorian Quest Romance* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998); Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830–1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 227.

[3] Nolwenn Corriou, "'A Woman is a Woman, if She had been Dead Five Thousand Centuries!': Mummy Fiction, Imperialism and the Politics of Gender," *Miranda* 11 (2015): 6; Karen Macfarlane, "Here Be Monsters: Imperialism, Knowledge and the Limits of Empire," *Text Matters* 6 (2016), 74–95; Maria Fleischhack, "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction," *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017), 258; Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 111.

[4] Ailise Bulfin, "The Fiction of Gothic Egypt and British Imperial Paranoia: The Curse of the Suez Canal," *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 54.4 (2011): 418; Stephen Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: 'Dracula' and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," *Victorian Studies* 33.4 (1990): 621—45. See also Roger Luckhurst, *The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 241–42.

[5] Patrick Brantlinger, *Rule of Darkness* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 239.

[6] For a useful overview, see Robin Derricourt, *Antiquity Imagined: the remarkable legacy of Egypt and the Near East* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2015).

[7] Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 1994): 42.

and instead coming under her spell. [8] Archaeological discoveries coupled with necrophiliac motifs appear in several stories of the time, such as Edgar Lee's *Pharaoh's Daughter* (1889), George Griffith's *Romance of Golden Star* (1897), and Guy Boothby's *Pharos the Egyptian* (1899).[9] Eroticized native bodies "densely occupy the landscape of Western literary production,"[10] and critics have interpreted the use of female mummies in these stories in a variety of ways. Jasmine Day has argued that some American female authors have associated the unwrapping of female mummies with rape in order to condemn unwrappings as repugnant and to critique capitalism and patriarchy.[11] Nolwenn Corriou has asserted that the ancient Egyptian body, antique objects, archaeological remains, and the historical past in general are all constructed as feminine and are symbolized in the fictional female mummy. Corriou also supports Day's suggestion that archaeology and tourism are considered sexual quests in gothic fiction with the conquest of the antique woman as the center of the plot.[12]

In various analyses of these stories, the category of gender takes center stage and establishes the roles of collector (subject) and collected (object). This phenomenon has traditionally been received as reinforcing the domestic narrative—"the most natural and self-evident form of binary opposition."[13] These narratives provide a resolution through love and marriage that requires the subordination of the female (or the eradication of the female mummy), and it is precisely the protagonist's desire to see his mummy as human (not object) that disrupts the narrative.[14]

---

[8] Jasmine Day, "Repeating Death: The High Priest Character in Mummy Horror Films," in *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, ed. William Carruthers (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 220; Nolwenn Corriou, "'A Woman is a Woman, if She had been Dead Five Thousand Centuries!': Mummy Fiction, Imperialism and the Politics of Gender," *Miranda* 11 (2015): 9; Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 1994): 43.

[9] American Psychiatric Association, ed. "Other Specified Paraphilic Disorder, 302.89 (F65.89)." *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition.* American Psychiatric Publishing (2001), 705; J.P. Rosman and P.J. Resnick, "Sexual attraction to corpses: A psychiatric review of necrophilia," *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law* 17, no. 2 (1989): 153–163; Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 173–74.

[10] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995), 174, note 36.

[11] Jasmine Day, "The Rape of the Mummy: women, horror fiction and the Westernisation of the curse," in *Mummies and Science. World Mummies Research,* eds. P. Atoche, C. Rodríguez, and M.A. Ramirez (Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Academia Canaria de la Historia, 2008), 619–20.

[12] Nolwenn Corriou, "'A Woman is a Woman, if She had been Dead Five Thousand Centuries!': Mummy Fiction, Imperialism and the Politics of Gender," *Miranda* 11 (2015): 2.

[13] Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 1994): 42.

[14] The following is a list of some scholars who have read mummy fiction in various ways. Nicholas Daly has interpreted the mummy in terms of commodity theory ("That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 1994): 42–45; Susan Pearce has read the mummy as a mirror of modern feelings of exile and alienation ("Bodies in Exile: Egyptian Mummies in the Early Nineteenth Century and their Cultural Implications," in *Displaced Persons: Conditions of Exile in European Culture,* ed. Sharon

Using H. Rider Haggard's "Smith and the Pharaohs" as a case study, this article seeks to contribute to this conversation through an investigation of its queer colonial structure and by emphasizing how a seemingly colonial tale might offer new modes of thinking and being.[15] I use the term "queer" on one level to refer to something that is odd, curious, or strange in the same way as it appears in Victorian gothic fiction, which also uses the term to refer to homosexuality (in a derogatory way). I also use the word "queer" to refer to anything beyond the heteronormative, which is in line with twenty-first century reclamation of the term. I challenge the perception of imperial gothic literature as *primarily* reflecting anxieties about the limits of empire and the changing social structures at home, and instead see works like this one as revealing accommodations for queer lives and behaviors and future potential for non-normative expressions of desire. H. Rider Haggard's fiction has been read in a variety of ways—some believe his work (and indeed his general outlook) is purely colonialist,[16] while others postulate that his impetus to write emerged from his sympathies with the native African populations and his appreciation for pure archaeological method over mass tourism.[17] Haggard published several stories beginning in the 1880s portraying ancient Egypt as a utopia—but a backward looking one. His interest in ancient Egypt may have been more romantic than scientific since he thought he might have been an ancient Egyptian in a previous life.[18] With this paper, I demonstrate how the protagonist, James Ebenezer Smith, and his love Ma-Mee are each queer individually and also as a couple, despite their general adherence to a heterosexual relationship. In other words, both Smith and Ma-Mee represent subversions to the bourgeois order that mark the

---

Ouditt [Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002], 54-71); Bradley Deane has written about the mummy in terms of the sexualization of the Orient and colonial romanticization of the East ("Mummy Fiction and the Occupation of Egypt: Imperial Striptease," *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 51, no. 4 [2008], 381–410); Aviva Briefel has examined the gothicization of Egyptian manual productions in late-Victorian mummy narratives ("Hands of Beauty, Hands of Horror: Fear and Egyptian Art at the Fin de Siècle," *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2008): 263–271); and Eleanor Dobson has compared the female mummy to the fictions of Sleeping Beauty or Snow White who are preserved in glass coffins ("Sleeping Beauties: Mummies and the Fairy-Tale Genre at the *Fin de Siècle*," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 17, no. 3 [2017a]: 19–34).

[15] Following Thomas ("Queer Victorian Gothic," in *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion,* eds. Andrew Smith and William Hughes [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012], 143).

[16] Wendy Katz, *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire: A Critical Study of British Imperial Fiction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 153.

[17] Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 108–28 *contra* Maria Fleischhack, "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction," *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017), 267.

[18] Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 161; Richard Reeve, *The Sexual Imperative in the Novels of Sir Henry Rider Haggard* (London: Anthem Press, 2018), 99. Accessed on 5 Nov. 2021 *contra* Eleanor Dobson, "Gods and Ghost-Light: Ancient Egypt, Electricity, and X-Rays," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 45 (2017b): 120; Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 109.

boundaries of class and race. I also illustrate how the seemingly colonial settings of the British Museum, the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, and Ma-Mee's Theban tomb act as liminal locations of disorder and chaos, further queering the story. I look closely at the ways the colonial tropes veer off course in "Smith and the Pharaohs" and work to produce an imaginative world model that makes Smith's necrophiliac desire possible.

"Smith and the Pharaohs"

"Smith and the Pharaohs" was published in three consecutive issues of *The Strand Magazine* (Dec. 1912–Feb. 1913), combining conventional imperial literary tropes and ideals with racist and misogynist social structures. However, at the same time it provides readers with alternative non-heteronormative futures and options for queer world-making, and it suggests freedoms for the effeminate man—the man not able to contribute to the colonial project in the conventional manner. In other words, the protagonist James Ebenezer Smith, as the figure who mediates between the colonizer and colonized, offers future possibilities to queer subjects. In this case, the "Otherness" originates at home and blurs the lines between "Self and Other," "Subject and Object," and "Collector and Collectible." Smith is not concerned with exploiting Ma-Mee (neither as an archaeological artifact nor as a revivified spirit), and despite her removal at story's end, Smith emerges from his experience happy.

Nevertheless, several complications arise when a racist narrative opens up queer potential. The history of sexuality and the construction of race are intimately linked, and notions of degeneracy characterized those who were seen to veer off the bourgeois course in their domestic arrangements or cultural affiliation.[19] A romance with the rural "primitive"—in this case, dead—often underlies the writing of colonial history, so it is not surprising that we find it in imperial fiction. However, it is not only sexual desire at stake here. There are more complex longings and sentiments that might complicate the narrative, such as a desire for a rural past, a relaxation of restrictive laws, or a place where men could prove themselves.[20]

"Smith and the Pharaohs" parallels the colonial archaeological quest as Mr. James Ebenezer Smith searches for not necessarily archaeological objects (or at least not directly), but for a life not yet realized. This queer colonization involves the collection, display, and ownership of a female mummy, or a part of one, for the gratification of the white male protagonist whose sexual desire demands objects and entails no sex at all.

---

[19] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995), 31–33.

[20] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995), 173; Ardel Haefele-Thomas, "Disintegrating Binaries, Disintegrating Bodies: Queer Imperial Transmogrifications in H. Rider Haggard's She," in *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Swansea: University of Wales Press, 2012), 76; Robert Frazer, *Victorian Quest Romance* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998), 2–3; Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 110.

Imperial Gothic Fiction

"Smith and the Pharaohs" is part of the literary genre gothic fiction (variously subdivided into imperial fiction, quest romance, mummy fiction, *etc.*), which falls into the larger phenomenon of what might be called the third wave of mummymania. Many gothic narratives of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be read as having either overtly or covertly queer themes or characters.[21] These works often investigate and interrogate contemporary authoritative institutions and systems of power. During this time, the Victorian middle-class family was defined in rigid heteronormative language, definitions of disease were systematized in terms of sexuality, and British laws were concerned with sodomy and cross dressing.[22] In light of these trends, gothic fiction was one outlet for the exploration of sexual taboos and gender identity, as well as other topics such as desire, race, and empire. As gothic fiction reached its climax in popularity, gender and sexuality were becoming more standardized in modern culture. Gothic and queer coalesced in the transgression of boundaries and the exploration of what was considered respectable and normal and provided a medium for experimentation with unsanctioned genders and sexualities.[23] In other words, "the Queer" functioned in conjunction with heteronormative culture in that it called the norm into question. Gothic fiction boarders on troubling and was hence a testing ground to consider queer constructions.[24]

Archaeological discoveries, and mummies specifically, figure in a lengthy tradition of romantic stories about necrophilia, exogamy, and other taboos, particularly ones involving mummy love.[25] This association arose from a complex intertwining of complementary interests in Near Eastern archaeology, the supernatural, and psychology at the end of the century, as well as a fascination with ancient Egypt.[26] After having been ingested, unrolled, and displayed, the appearance of mummy fiction demonstrates that the mummy retained its significance in the cultural imagination of late Victorian and Edwardian Britain—and between 1880 and 1914 more than a dozen mummy

---

[21] Ardel Thomas, "Queer Victorian Gothic," in *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 142–152, esp. 142, note 4.

[22] Ardel Thomas, "Queer Victorian Gothic," in *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion,* eds. Andrew Smith and William Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 142–143.

[23] Ardel Thomas, "Queer Victorian Gothic," in *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion,* eds. Andrew Smith and William Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 143; Ardel Thomas, *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012); William Hughes and Andrew Smith, *Queering the Gothic* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 1–10; For other examples of queer gothic fiction, see Wilkie Collins, *The Woman in White* [1861] (Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006); Elizabeth Gaskell, "The Grey Woman" [1861] in *A Dark Night's Work and Other Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[24] George Haggerty, *Queer Gothic* (Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006), 2.

[25] Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 174.

[26] Eleanor Dobson, "Emasculating Mummies: Gender and Psychological Threat in *Fin-de-Siècle* Mummy Fiction," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 40, no. 4 (2018): 397.

narratives appeared.[27] Illustrative of this necrophiliac imagery are Grant Allen's *My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies* (1880/2020), Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Ring of Thoth* (1890/ 2016), Julian Hawthorn's *The Unseen Man's Story* (1893), H.D. Everett's *Iras: A Mystery* (1896), and Bram Stoker's *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (1903/2009).[28] These and other mummy stories share many similarities in that they emerged from a western context at approximately the same time, they present similar literary and historical tropes, and there is a common preoccupation with ideas surrounding desire.[29]

The Archaeology of Ancient Egypt
Over the course of the nineteenth-century Western Egyptology developed as an outcome of the imperial project. It was arguably an imperial tool used not only to control the native population but also to appropriate Egyptian culture for the "West." During this period, the French officially controlled archaeology in Egypt, but archaeology was a main component of Britain's participation in the discipline as well. Under men like Auguste Mariette (1821–1881) and Gaston Maspero (1846–1916), who were responsible for establishing the Antiquities Service and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the discipline of Egyptology materialized as a Eurocentric and colonial endeavor.[30]

British intervention in Egypt began in 1882, but despite the British presence Maspero managed to keep the Directorship of the Antiquities Service in French hands, where it remained until 1952,[31] although at the beginning of the twentieth century, Maspero welcomed British personnel into the Antiquities Service, with an increasing Egyptian presence from the 1920s onwards. Although professional Egyptology had been established in French and German universities during the first half of the

---

[27] Nicholas Daly, "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy," *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (Autumn, 1994): 25.

[28] For a French example, see Théophile Gautier's *The Romance of a Mummy* (1863).

[29] Bradley Deane, "Mummy Fiction and the Occupation of Egypt: Imperial Striptease," *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 51, no. 4 (2008): 384; Jasmine Day, "Repeating Death: The High Priest Character in Mummy Horror Films," in *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, ed. William Carruthers (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 220; Karen Macfarlane, "Here Be Monsters: Imperialism, Knowledge and the Limits of Empire," *Text Matters* 6 (2016), 74–75; Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 111; Maria Fleischhack, "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction," *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017), 257–258; Eleanor Dobson, "Gods and Ghost-Light: Ancient Egypt, Electricity, and X-Rays," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 45 (2017b): 120.

[30] M.L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London: EEF, 1995), 275–276; 278–279.

[31] Donald Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2015), 21; Salima Ikram and Amr Omar, "Egypt," in *A World History of Egyptology*, ed. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 28–34, 57.

nineteenth century,[32] British Egyptology remained largely the domain of amateurs and private patronage.[33] It was only at the British Museum that any professional Egyptology could be found, successively in the persons of Samuel Birch (1813–1885), Peter le Page Renouf (1822–1897), and E.A. Wallis Budge (1857–1934), until the appointment of Flinders Petrie (1853–1942) to the first British chair in Egyptology, at University College London in 1892.[34]

The privately funded Egyptian Exploration Fund (EEF) was established in 1882 and acted as the principal driver of British archaeology in Egypt, formalizing what has been called "an imperial antiquities regime."[35] This history is relevant to Haggard's portrayal of Smith in "Smith of the Pharaohs" because the latter's actions mirror those of a privately funded "archaeologist" working in Egypt. At this time many Britons became collectors of archaeological antiquities both inside and outside of the discipline.[36]

The political, and thus the archaeological, circumstances facilitated a colonial regime at home whereby domestic artists and creators (among others) had direct contact with newly acquired Egyptological "knowledge." Eleanor Dobson suggests that Haggard's "Smith and the Pharaohs" was unambiguously influenced by the work of the anatomist Grafton Elliot Smith (1871–1937), who did work on behalf of the Antiquities Service and other excavators while teaching in Cairo between 1900 and 1909. This included the examination of the royal mummies that had been found in 1881 and 1898, his publication of this work coming out in 1912—the same year "Smith and the Pharaohs" was released. Dobson also posits a play on words with the names G.E. Smith and J.E. Smith, the protagonist in Haggard's work.[37]

---

[32] Philippe Maniterot, "France," in *A World History of Egyptology*, ed. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 68–74; Thomas L. Gertzen, Susanne Voss and Maximilian George, "Prussia and Germany," in *A World History of Egyptology*, ed. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 211–214.

[33] Aidan Dodson, "The British Isles," in *A World History of Egyptology*, ed. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 91–14.

[34] M.L. Bierbrier, *Who was Who in Egyptology* (London: EEF, 1995), 45–46; 71–72; 329–332; 353.

[35] Donald Reid, *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2015), 23; Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 113.

[36] Beverley Rogers, "Unwrapping the Past: Egyptian Mummies on Show," in *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910*, eds. Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill A. Sullivan (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 199–217; Gabriel Moshenska, "Unrolling Egyptian mummies in nineteen-century Britain," *British Journal for the History of Science* 47.3 (2014b): 452–60; Tessa Baber, "Ancient Corpses as Curiosities: Mummymania in the Age of Early Travel," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 8 (2016): 60–93.

[37] Eleanor Dobson, "Gods and Ghost-Light: Ancient Egypt, Electricity, and X-Rays," *Victorian Literature and Culture* 45 (2017b): 128. See also Patrick Brantlinger, *Taming Cannibals* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 163.

Egyptian archaeology, as an imperial tool, continued at home as a colonization through the collection, display, and ownership of Egyptian antiquities—these antiquities often taking the form of human remains.[38] The colonial quest to understand the past involved a process that took place not only in the field of archaeological inquiry but also at home in museums and private libraries. Egyptian mummies had been brought home, collected, displayed, and gazed upon by admirers. It is in this cultural context that the protagonist Smith views a cast of Ma-Mee in the British Museum and decides to pursue her body and tomb via a self-funded archaeological expedition in Thebes. His quest is to locate her tomb, find her body, and satisfy his unrequited love. Britain's unofficial colonization of Egypt in 1882 helped give foreigners access to Egyptian relics on an unprecedented scale, although this interaction did not originate in the nineteenth century.

The stages of mummy appropriation were accomplished through various political, archaeological, and creative means. These endeavors relied on each other and were inextricably linked. The queer colonization of Egyptian mummies presented in gothic fiction holds true to many imperial tropes, but "Smith and the Pharaohs" also pushes back on the colonial enterprise by presenting a protagonist who subverts the gendered expectations of imperial manhood.

James Ebenezer Smith: The Imperial Foil

In this seemingly colonial tale, the characters are conservative in some ways but queered in others. In this section, I demonstrate how James Ebenezer Smith is characterized as a celibate, effeminate man who focuses on fragments (both bodily and otherwise) of the long dead queen Ma-Mee as the object of his desire. The nature of the male protagonist is one quality that most mummy fiction has in common—he is usually single and deteriorating in his contemporary environment.[39] In "Smith and the Pharaohs," Smith's desire demands objects, not people, and because of this, marriage is referenced only symbolically. A spiritual union is also more palatable considering exogamy was controversial at the time.

Much of Haggard's description of James Ebenezer Smith sets him up as a queer character who does not fit the prototype of male agent of empire. He is well-born and well educated, good-looking, and a good student; however, he had a rocky start in life which left him penniless, friendless, and at rock bottom. Despite his eventual recovery, he remains shy and reserved, he exhibits poor self-esteem, and lives in relative isolation. Most curious, though, is the first detail revealed about Smith—he knows when to be silent—a fact that *foreshadows* his queer behavior and his ability to secretly persevere during his quest. Smith's one relation is his godfather Ebenezer from whom he seeks help and employment from his unfortunate circumstance. Smith is given a modest post

---

[38] Tessa Baber, "Ancient Corpses as Curiosities: Mummymania in the Age of Early Travel," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 8 (2016): 60–93.

[39] Jasmine Day, "Repeating Death: The High Priest Character in Mummy Horror Films," in *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, ed. William Carruthers (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 220–21.

as a bank clerk, and soon after receives his inheritance from his godfather. At this point, he can increase his wealth through investments, being the shrewd businessman that he is. Nonetheless, Smith has no real ambition—a mark of an effeminate man.[40] The reader is told, "he was in a position to marry had he wished to do so. As it happened, he did not wish—perhaps because, being very friendless, no lady who attracted him crossed his path; perhaps for other reasons."[41] In addition to the odd characterization of his unobtrusive disposition, the reader is again alerted to the fact that Smith may be "orientated" differently.

Smith is removed from any physical labor that might help him establish his manhood in the traditional way, and his professional career at the bank leaves him bordering on the feminine.[42] After his unexpected experience in the British Museum when Smith falls in love with the cast of Ma-Mee, he sets to work ordering rare Egyptological publications, teaching himself Egyptian history, and learning hieroglyphs. The reader is told that Smith tackles the books "like a man"—a device put in place to counter how Smith "does" the rest of his life.[43] Likewise, when Smith applies for a ten week leave of absence from the bank to travel to Egypt to pursue his goal, he lies about the reason for his sabbatical and says instead that he is suffering from bronchitis. He knows his colleagues would ridicule him if he were to reveal the truth about his desire to find Ma-Mee's tomb. The excuse he gives emphasizes his effeminate nature, showing he is concerned about his health and wants to avoid the extreme climate at home.[44] This behavior subverts the gendered expectations of someone who belongs to the bourgeois class, especially at a time when strict lines were being drawn between colonizer and colonized and the middle class was being solidified. Once in Egypt, Smith employs a team of local *fellaheen* to perform the physical labor for him in pursuit of Ma-Mee's tomb.

Leonard Driscoll suggests that Smith's character mirrors other famous archaeologists of the time, such as Sir Henry Layard, Henry Rawlinson, and Heinrich Schliemann.[45] Arguably, that these potential role models serve to further characterize Smith as effeminate because of their whiteness, connection to science, and exposure to

---

[40] Travis Foster, "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Gender in American Literature and Culture,* eds. Jean Lutes and Jennifer Travis (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 52.
[41] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 150. Original pub. 1912–1913.
[42] Travis Foster, "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Gender in American Literature and Culture,* eds. Jean Lutes and Jennifer Travis (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 56.
[43] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 152. Original pub. 1912–1913.
[44] Travis Foster, "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Gender in American Literature and Culture,* eds. Jean Lutes and Jennifer Travis (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 52.
[45] Leonard Driscoll, "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)," *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 116–117, note 2.

"civilization."[46] As a white man, Smith would have been perceived as more susceptible to outside influence, both positive influences like "civilization" but also negative ones as is shown below.[47] It is, in fact, a red herring that Smith engages in archaeology—a colonial pursuit—because he has a specific purpose. Smith digs for love, not science. Smith is not seeking knowledge for knowledge's sake; he is attempting to piece together the fragments of Ma-Mee's former life. This is a masculine imperial trope that is queered.

While in Thebes discovering Ma-Mee's tomb, Smith's queer demeanor emerges again when "the mystery of Egypt entered his soul and oppressed him."[48] Here, Smith wonders about the dead and if the *fellaheen* were right about the *afreet* living in the tombs. Nervousness and fear identify Smith as bordering on the feminine. [49] Additionally, Smith obsesses in his attempts to find Ma-Mee. According to Maria Fleischhack, this obsessive behavior by male archaeologists and explorers is a typical trope in Egyptianizing fiction that reflects the attitude of these men who seek knowledge and possession of Egyptian artifacts.[50] However, this obsessiveness could also be construed as sentimentality and another instance in the text where Smith is identified clearly as Haggard's gender nonconforming protagonist and an effeminate figure. He is a male character who lives comfortably in his femininity but, according to societal norms of the time, he has disruptive potential because of it. Indeed, understanding (ancient) Egypt as a venue to reconfirm Smith as a bourgeois male in pursuit of his manhood is too simplistic. Smith's "manhood" will in fact be easily unmade through his endeavors abroad.[51]

It is not only Haggard's allusive rhetoric that suggests Smith's queerness, but on three occasions Smith is ridiculed or teased for it by other characters in the story. He experiences mockery at the British Museum when one of the museum-goers comments on his attraction to the queen's cast, "if he were the gent he'd go and look at 'a live'un' for a change."[52] Later in the tale, the comments of the Director of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo intimate that Smith is queer. When Smith asks the Director if he minds if he keeps Ma-Mee's embalmed hand, the Director replies, "Of the beloved Smith, [n]o, I suppose not, though for my part I should prefer one that was not quite so old." Once

---

[46] Travis Foster, "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Gender in American Literature and Culture,* eds. Jean Lutes and Jennifer Travis (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 51.
[47] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 35–67.
[48] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 157. Original pub. 1912–1913.
[49] Maria Fleischhack, "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction," *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017): 266.
[50] Maria Fleischhack, "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction," *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017): 266.
[51] Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995), 175.
[52] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 152. Original pub. 1912–1913.

Smith is out of earshot, the Director says to himself, "I believe he is in love with that Ma-Mee and wants to keep her picture. *Mon Dieu*? A well-established affection. At least he is what the English call an odd fish, one whom I could never make out, and of whom no one seems to know anything."[53] These three assertions intimate that Smith is queer.

Smith's general characterization as a shy and isolated man, his disdain for physical labor, his connection with science via archaeology, his obsessive love of Ma-Mee, his fear of the dead, and his interactions with other characters all serve to reinforce his queerness. Smith's fascination with spiritual matters moves him even further away from the proscribed boundaries of bourgeois culture. Smith encounters the spirit of Ma-Mee in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and imagines that he was once the ancient sculptor Horu, the artist of her court, and the true love of the queen. Smith's unstable body moves from England to Egypt, from present to past, and from "Self" to "Other." Smith, as the reincarnation of Horu, further breaks down the colonial narrative by questioning the position of the colonizer to the colonized. Up until this point, Smith is identified as the colonizer, albeit flimsily. Now, he moves toward a problematic affinity with the indigenous population.[54] The racial and cultural position that Smith's body signifies has become unmoored from contemporary British ideology. The mere fact that Smith has reincarnated and can move from one world to the next is a feminine position. Dobson explains that women (and the colonized) were considered particularly susceptible to psychological weakness as a result of their vulnerable emotional natures. [55] Smith becomes (or already is) corrupted.

Through these effeminate qualities Smith might be perceived as a reprobate, a degenerate, or weak in the mind.[56] But why is Smith feminized? According to Day, Smith's effeminacy is intricately associated with the theme of celibacy. Day offers two explanations for this literary imperative: Victorian sexual taboos and the image of a damaged man's appeal to Victorians (especially an impotent one).[57] However, there may be another rationalization for Smith's effeminate character. As mediator between the colonizer and colonized, Smith must be effeminate, weak, and impressible.[58] When Smith is in Egypt he is out of place, which questions the permeability of his body and

---

[53] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 168. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[54] Karen Macfarlane, "Here Be Monsters: Imperialism, Knowledge and the Limits of Empire," *Text Matters* 6 (2016): 88.

[55] Eleanor Dobson, "Emasculating Mummies: Gender and Psychological Threat in *Fin-de-Siècle* Mummy Fiction," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 40, no. 4 (2018): 402.

[56] Eleanor Dobson, "Emasculating Mummies: Gender and Psychological Threat in *Fin-de-Siècle* Mummy Fiction," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 40, no. 4 (2018): 403.

[57] Jasmine Day, "Repeating Death: The High Priest Character in Mummy Horror Films," in *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures*, ed. William Carruthers (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 221.

[58] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 37–60.

evokes its changeability. Smith must be impressible for (ancient) civilization to seep into him and for him to reincarnate.

      As an effeminate man, Smith is an excellent candidate for believing in reincarnation, reincarnating, and obsessively searching for Ma-Mee. According to Kyla Schuller, *sensibility* is the faculty of receiving impressions, and the more refined and delicate the tissue (and therefore also the person), the greater the capacity for impressibility.[59] Heightened impressibility encouraged growth and knowledge, but this also made one vulnerable. The cultured class and women had highly responsive natures which made them more impressible, but also weaker, in that "the capacity for delicate feeling can easily swell into an outlandish susceptibility to impressions."[60] Smith is highly impressible (over-civilized), and everything about Smith's quest requires him to be so.[61] Brown and black men were not understood to be impressible, but Haggard seems to have believed that the ancient Egyptians were white, at least to some degree.[62] However, Egyptian men could also be feminized as Africans (the colonizable).[63] Smith, or Horu, is more impressible than other men; his whiteness and effeminacy thus allow for sentimentality and an emotional belief in fantasy.[64]

Ma-Mee: Always Already Queer

Ma-Mee is the long-dead ancient Egyptian queen that is the fictional love interest of Smith, and as in most other examples of mummy fiction in which the mummy is female, she is not a frightful, malevolent being.[65] In contrast to the traumatizing effect that one

---

[59] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 37.

[60] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 59. Schuller explains that "Sensitivity connotes both potential for growth and the possession of nervous 'susceptibility,' a characteristic allegedly overdeveloped among wealthier women. Impressibility posed both the potential for progress and an unwanted vulnerability to degenerating influence . . ." (37).

[61] Intellectuals of the Gilded Age (1865–1910) were worried that further progress would depend on an increase of sentimentality and a decrease in manliness, which would result in a femininized over-civilization that was not prepared to handle the empire. See Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 60 and Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United State, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

[62] Ancient Egypt was racially diverse and using notions of black or white is anachronistic (C. Loring Brace, David P. Tracer, Lucia Allen Yarouch, John Robb, Kari Brandt, and A. Russell Nelson, "Clines and Clusters versus 'Race:' a test in ancient Egypt and the case of a death on the Nile." *American Journal of Biological Anthropology* 36 [1993]: 1–31).

[63] Qwo-Li Driskill, *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 67.

[64] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 41.

[65] The name of Ma-Mee, which Smith discovers in Thebes, serves to emphasize her symbolism: the Egyptian mummy, the French 'Ma mie–my darling,' and the oedipal maternal mummy (Maria Fleischhack, "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction," *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017): 265.

would expect, the men who encounter these mummies come to yearn for them.[66] In late nineteenth and twentieth century fiction, female mummies are unequivocally beautiful and their bodies function as a site of sexual desire.[67] This desirability characterizes the female mummy as a relic with which the protagonist attempts to forge a close relationship and to evoke a sense of male entitlement to the female body.[68]

As a dead ancient Egyptian, Ma-Mee is always already "other" and queer from the colonizer's standpoint.[69] Her colonization involves the collection, display, and ownership of the remnants of her being: the British Museum cast made in her likeness, the bronze statuette bearing her name, and her dismembered mummified hand. The reader learns about Ma-Mee only through Smith's perceptions of her. The male gaze is emphasized when Smith first encounters the *man*-made cast of the queen, which is then experienced by him. This cast is haunted, both in the spectral sense and in that it carries with it the previous existence of the person.[70] In the British Museum, Ma-Mee has been situated in a controlled context and has been reinterpreted for a colonial audience. What Smith sees of Ma-Mee is only a fragment of the whole, and from this point forward, Smith makes it his goal to re-member (both literally and figuratively).[71]

One of the most glaring inconsistencies in Haggard's portrayal of Ma-Mee is her ethnicity. She is an ancient Egyptian (African) queen, but her descriptions oscillate between brown/black and white. At the beginning of the story, Smith perceives her cast in the British Museum in exoticized racial terms, "Perhaps it was not really beautiful save for its wondrous and mystic smile; perhaps the lips were too thick and the nostrils too broad."[72] Furthermore, by finding this face to be the peak of feminine beauty, Smith transgresses British societal norms. Not only is Ma-Mee dead, but she is also African. However, later in the story Smith perceives Ma-Mee's hand as white, "It was withered a paper-white, but the contours still remained; the long fingers were perfect, and the almond-shaped nails had been stained with henna, as was the embalmer's fashion."[73] The other clue we get comes from the Museum Director in Cairo who draws attention to her elite status, "Ah! [A] pretty, well-bred hand. No doubt this Ma-Mee was the real

---

[66] Eleanor Dobson, "Emasculating Mummies: Gender and Psychological Threat in *Fin-de-Siècle* Mummy Fiction," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 40, no. 4 (2018): 397–398.

[67] Jasmine Day, *The Mummy's Curse: Mummymania in the English-speaking world* (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), 19.

[68] Eleanor Dobson, "Sleeping Beauties: Mummies and the Fairy-Tale Genre at the *Fin de Siècle*," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 17, no. 3 (2017a): 19–20, 24.

[69] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979), 11.

[70] Karen Macfarlane, "Here Be Monsters: Imperialism, Knowledge and the Limits of Empire," *Text Matters* 6 (2016): 81.

[71] Karen Macfarlane, "Here Be Monsters: Imperialism, Knowledge and the Limits of Empire," *Text Matters* 6 (2016): 82.

[72] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 151. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[73] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 163. Original pub. 1912–1913.

heiress to the throne."[74] Whiteness and elite status coalesce when Smith then passes the well-known ancient alabaster statue of Queen Amenartas (actually a Nubian), and describes it as a "wonderful white statue."[75] These passages fuse whiteness with privilege in ancient Egypt, *possibly* emphasizing that Haggard believed that the "progenitors of Western civilization" were white.[76] The author blurs the boundaries between black and white, ancient and modern, and Eastern and Western cultures. Yet, despite Smith's possession of Ma-Mee's hand, she cannot be colonized. She is a spirit and as such she refuses colonial patriarchal authority. She appears only in the liminal space of the Cairo Museum, which subverts colonialism.

A Spiritual Marriage
The colonial structure of heterosexual marriage is employed in "Smith and the Pharaohs" to not only drive the plot forward, but also to provide Smith's desire with an end goal. Yet, the story does not follow strictly the imperial trope. Sexual orientation is usually described in terms of object choice, and typically by the sex of that object choice (same or other). This two-sex model is conceived as a paradigm of straight (normative) or queer (non-normative), with the former considered to be neutral.[77] With Smith, his object choice is "Other," but dead and Egyptian, which squarely places his desire in the category of queer. Smith and Ma-Mee's relationship is also queer because it is conceived of as purely spiritual. There is no sexual contact between them, and it asserts a reunion of lovers in the afterlife.

Following the heteropatriarchal structure of marriage, Haggard employs the severed left hand to indicate Smith's marital intention. Mummy narratives often isolate the mummy's hand, for example, in Bram Stoker's *Jewel of Seven Stars* and Richard Mash's 1897 gothic novel, *The Beetle*. The mummy hand should be considered a collectible object and a manifestation of romantic conquest.[78] There is no horror apparent in "Smith and the Pharaohs" (unlike in *Jewel of Seven Stars* or *The Beetle*), only beauty. Ma-Mee's hand is not an inanimate object for Smith; it is a signifier of

---

[74] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 167. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[75] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 169. Original pub. 1912–1913. Read "the God's Wife Amenirdis I" for "Amenartas."

[76] It's difficult to discern exactly how Haggard understood race. It is possible that Ma-Mee's pale skin denoted her aristocracy as ancient Egyptian women are often depicted in art with lighter skin. This was perhaps to denote their living lives of luxury out of the sun.

[77] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Other* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006), 69.

[78] Aviva Briefel, "Hands of Beauty, Hands of Horror: Fear and Egyptian Art at the Fin de Siècle," *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2008): 263–264; Bradley Deane, "Mummy Fiction and the Occupation of Egypt: Imperial Striptease," *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920* 51, no. 4 (2008), 387.

queer desire and eternal love.[79] Upon retrieving the hand, the reader is told "[o]n the hand were two gold rings . . . . Smith looked at it for a long while, and his heart swelled within him, for here was the hand of that royal lady of his dreams."[80] Immediately, Smith is taken with this hand. This is not the "normal" way an archaeologist would react to discovering part of a mummy: "[He] did more than look, he kissed it, and as his lips touched the holy relic it seemed to him as though a wind, cold but scented, blew upon his brow. Then, growing fearful of the thoughts that arose within him, he hurried his mind back to the world . . ."[81]

Smith's marital intention is reinforced by the mysterious switching of rings at the end of the story.[82] When Smith leaves the Director's office after relinquishing some of his finds, including one of the rings, he contemplates the hand still in his pocket. He takes it out and removes Ma-Mee's remaining ring and places it on his own finger. This exchange of rings functions as an act of commitment and devotion between Smith and Ma-Mee (at least according to Smith).[83] Additionally, the hand that Smith has discovered is her *left* hand, which further symbolizes marriage.[84] By keeping it, Smith transforms it from archaeological object to marital possession.[85] This hand is the pinnacle of Smith's desire and is the object that makes his desires/pleasures attainable. He cannot give it to the museum for display—it is his. It is worth reiterating that by keeping the hand Smith thwarts the purpose of the museum (to collect and catalogue), rendering this a queer anti-colonial tale.

Seductive fantasy is an example of "the eroticization of the colonized" and it enables the imperial agenda.[86] In other words, it is through fantasy that the tradition of marriage coincides with the ideology of colonialism. Yet, Smith's sexuality is marked as contrary as it is outside the discourse of proper masculinity and the colonial project: Smith is queered. Smith's non-normative gender expression would render any offspring he might have as deficient, and thus not a good candidate for the reproduction of the

---

[79] Amy E. Martin, "Gothic Internationalism: Irish Nationalist Critiques of Empire as a System of Violence and Trauma," in *Traumatic Tales: British Nationhood and National Trauma in Nineteenth Century Literature,* ed. Lisa Kasmer (New York/London: Routledge, 2018), 99.

[80] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 163. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[81] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 163. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[82] Nolwenn Corriou, "'A Woman is a Woman, if She had been Dead Five Thousand Centuries!' Mummy Fiction, Imperialism and the Politics of Gender." *Miranda* 11 (2015): 5–6.

[83] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 189. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[84] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 169. Original pub. 1912–1913.

[85] Eleanor Dobson, "Sleeping Beauties: Mummies and the Fairy-Tale Genre at the *Fin de Siècle*," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 17, no. 3 (2017a): 27; Aviva Briefel, "Hands of Beauty, Hands of Horror: Fear and Egyptian Art at the Fin de Siècle," *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2008): 269.

[86] Qwo-Li Driskill, *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016), 78.

race.[87] Smith threatens to disrupt the integrity of English society—but there is no real threat. Smith and Ma-Mee cannot consummate their relationship because she has no body; Smith will have to wait until he dies, and their souls can meet again.

Smith's celibacy is not fully voluntary because there is no choice—Smith's selection of Ma-Mee as the object of his desire demands sexual renunciation. Ma-Mee directs Smith's destiny, but there is no sexual response to her on his part. This story omits some obligation and conflict from Smith's life. In Haggard's other stories, the protagonist must renounce sexual relations with the one he loves because of his obligation to another.[88] In this story, Smith does not, or cannot, have sex with Ma-Mee because she is dead. There is no "real" partner to accept his atypical lifestyle—only Smith. Thus, there are no sexual or emotional entanglements to hinder his nonconformity, and the only type of marriage Smith is good for is the spiritual kind. Smith, as the effeminate male protagonist, does not have any power. He is a man with unmanliness who is obsessed with other worldliness. Smith's sexuality is under-developed, and he is sexually timid—at times he even finds his love for Ma-Mee embarrassing.[89] There is no sexual aggression on his part, and he is sexually deficient (a trope normally applied to colonized men). So, in the end Ma-Mee is of no social benefit to Smith, and what begins as a colonial trope is transformed into queer world making.

This character analysis reveals that in some ways this relationship is not transgressive or a reaction to Victorian norms, but instead reinforces them by staving off the condition of primitivity. There is no sex or family, and the blood line remains pure. A dead Egyptian female as the object of desire does not disrupt the health of humanity. There are no biological processes underway, and a purely spiritual relationship helps the stability and growth of the English population. As race was thought to demarcate an allegedly differential capacity to be affected over time, it makes sense that "Smith and the Pharaohs" takes place over millennia with Smith moving from an Egyptian to a more impressible Englishman. If Haggard perceived ancient Egyptians as white—the "progenitors of early civilization"—then over time Smith has been over-impressed, which accounts for his high impressibility in this story and his effeminacy. Discrepancies in descriptions of Ma-Mee suggest that she and Horu could be perceived as white or brown/black. In effect, her facial features are described as black but her skin as white.

Ancient Egypt was already considered queer by British politics, literature, and histories.[90] In fact, Smith's queer characterization and his affinity for ancient Egypt serves to reify the existing heteronormative social order at home. Colonists use the

---

[87] Travis Foster, "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Gender in American Literature and Culture,* eds. Jean Lutes and Jennifer Travis (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 53.
[88] Richard Reeve, *The Sexual Imperative in the Novels of Sir Henry Rider Haggard* (London: Anthem Press, 2018), 102–103. Accessed on 5 Nov. 2021.
[89] H. Rider Haggard, "Smith and the Pharaohs," in *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* ed. Peter Haining (London: Michael Joseph, 1981), 152. Original pub. 1912–1913.
[90] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1979), 1–37.

presence of people they recognize as outside the gender binary system as evidence of the need for colonization. Smith troubles this premise by coalescing with ancient Egypt through his identification with Horu, Ma-Mee's ancient lover. Does Smith's queerness serve to consolidate or deconstruct the nation's agenda? Queerness is anti-colonial and identifying Smith and his affinity for Ma-Mee as queer both normalizes British society's heteropatriarchal agenda and allows for the creation of a new liminal world for encountering pleasure and the potential for future pleasure. It pushes the boundaries of contemporary society to celebrate deviance—one of the driving forces behind the creation of gothic fiction.[91] For Smith, he is entering a world of the past, but one that is available to inhabit in the present. It is a pleasure that cannot be realized in his contemporary time or place.

In many examples of mummy fiction, the protagonist surrounds himself with objects, both derived from another world and intended for the creation of a new one. In Stoker's *Jewel of Seven Stars*, Mr. Abel Trelawny collects ancient Egyptian artifacts from his excavations in Egypt and produces a veritable museum in his home.[92] In *The Ring of Thoth* by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Mr. John Vansittart Smith spends the entire story in the Louvre Museum surrounded by ancient artifacts.[93] However, James Ebenezer Smith in "Smith and the Pharaohs" goes about new world-making in a different way. In this story, as well as in Grant Allen's *My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies,* a story about J. Arbuthnot Wilson who cannot find love in his life and must enter a "dream" world to find happiness, the protagonist creates another time and place, i.e., something reminiscent of ancient Egypt, in which he can not only function, but also derive pleasure.[94] The seductive fantasy enables the imperial agenda but also offers space for Smith's "perverse" colonization and queer performance.

Post-dating Richard von Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886) by several decades, "Smith and the Pharaohs" describes the protagonist in certain ways that could have been deemed "psychopathic." Yet, despite Smith's engagement with necrophilia, celibacy, and spiritual exogamy, he is not truly villainized. Smith occupies a queer colonial position as one who falls in love with a cast—a love that materializes in the form of an ancient hand. Smith is not evil, but rather he elicits sympathy from the reader for his plight in a queer "marital relationship." This sympathy is in itself an effeminate process. This relationship does not take direction as a social good. It does not imagine

---

[91] Ardel Thomas, "Queer Victorian Gothic," in *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion,* eds. Andrew Smith and William Hughes (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 143; Ardel Thomas, *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012); William Hughes and Andrew Smith, *Queering the Gothic* (Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2009), 1–10.

[92] Bram Stoker, *The Jewel of Seven Stars* (Middletown, DE: Seven Treasures Publication, 2009). Original pub. 1903.

[93] Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Ring of Thoth.* In *The Speckled Band, Lot No. 249, & Other Horrors, The Best Weird Fiction and Ghost Stories of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle,* ed. M. Grant Kellermeyer (Middletown, DE: Oldstyle Tales Press, 2016), 284–297. Original pub. 1890.

[94] Grant Allen, *My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies*. Middletown (DE: publisher unknown, 2020). Original pub. 1880.

the future in terms of reaching a set of prescribed goals. It is not for procreation. As Sara Ahmed states, "A queer life might be one that fails to make such gestures of return."[95]

At the beginning of the twentieth century, many people worried that the dependence of progress on an increasing amount of impressibility and sentimentality (and a decreasing level of manliness) would result in an over-civilization unprepared to handle the empire.[96] In other words, the impressibility of tissue presents the conditions for growth, but impressibility of character brings emotional volatility, or the propensity to an emotional response above and beyond its stimulating impression. This could take the form of physical vice, superstition, or selfish ambition and could lead to the degeneration of an individual or to the collapse of a society.[97] In this sense, "Smith and the Pharaohs" may represent those anxieties. Colonization was a way to continue the sensitivity and progress of the civilized, and sexual relations between the colonizer and the colonized might always continue. Haggard avoids the sexual relationship in "Smith and the Pharaohs," thus maintaining the colonial aim of British superiority.[98] Did Haggard portray Smith and his relationship with Ma-Mee the way he did as a protective measure against over-civilization? Because Smith has no female partner to absorb the instability of impressibility, *he* absorbs it. His impressibility (those sentimental elements of his character) overcome the rational and cause him to engage in what "normal" society might call self-destructive acts (such as going to Egypt in pursuit of the corpse of your dead love interest to engage in a spiritual marriage). At the same time, these seemingly self-destructive acts free him from the oppressive heteropatriarchal norms.

It is in this context that Smith's desire for Ma-Mee, his long dead love interest, manifests itself in the form of archaeological objects and body parts and inspires life-changing decisions that make the world more bearable for him. H. Rider Haggard has cast a sympathetic eye on a queer situation to create a somewhat innocent character, albeit a relatively unsuccessful and socially ostracized one who often experiences contempt. A queer reading of "Smith and the Pharaohs" illustrates how the colonizing process continued at home, beyond the confines of Egypt proper, through a perverse colonialism and exploitation of long dead mummified females in popular gothic literature.

---

[95] Sara Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Other* (Durham/ London: Duke University Press, 2006), 21.

[96] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 58–60. The adjective "sentimental" is defined by Janet Todd as "the display of emotion for its own sake beyond the stimulus and beyond propriety" (Janet Todd, *Sensibility: An Introduction* [London: Methuen, 1986], 8).

[97] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 60.

[98] Kyla Schuller, *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018), 37–38.

Reference List

American Psychiatric Association, ed. "Other Specified Paraphilic Disorder, 302.89 (F65.89)." *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition.* American Psychiatric Publishing (2001), 705.

Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects, Other.* Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2006.

Allen, Grant. *My New Year's Eve Among the Mummies*. Middletown, DE: publisher unknown, 2020. Original pub. 1880.

Arata, Stephen. "The Occidental Tourist: 'Dracula' and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," *Victorian Studies* 33.4 (1990): 621–45.

Baber, Tessa. "Ancient Corpses as Curiosities: Mummymania in the Age of Early Travel." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 8 (2016): 60–93.

Bederman, Gail. *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Bierbrier, Morris L. "The Lethieullier family and the British Museum," in *Pyramid Studies and other Essays presented to I.E.S. Edwards,* edited by. John Baines, T.G.H. James, Anthony Leahy and A.F. Shore, 220–228. London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1988.

Bierbrier, Morris L. *Who was Who in Egyptology.* London: EEF, 1995.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism 1830–1914.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.

Brantlinger, Patrick. *Taming Cannibals.* Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 2011.

Briefel, Aviva. "Hands of Beauty, Hands of Horror: Fear and Egyptian Art at the Fin de Siècle." *Victorian Studies* 50, no. 2 (2008): 263–271.

Bulfin, Ailise. "The Fiction of Gothic Egypt and British Imperial Paranoia: The Curse of the Suez Canal," *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 54.4 (2011): 411–43.

Conan Doyle, Sir Arthur. *The Ring of Thoth. In The Speckled Band, Lot No. 249, & Other Horrors, The Best Weird Fiction and Ghost Stories of Sir Arthur Conan*

Doyle, edited by M. Grant Kellermeyer, 284–297. Middletown, DE: Oldstyle Tales Press, 2016. Original pub. 1890.

Collins, Wilkie. *The Woman in White* (1861). Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2006.

Corriou, Nolwenn. "'A Woman is a Woman, if She had been Dead Five Thousand Centuries!' Mummy Fiction, Imperialism and the Politics of Gender." *Miranda* 11 (2015): 2–14.

Daly, Nicholas. "That Obscure Object of Desire: Victorian Commodity Culture and Fictions of the Mummy." *A Forum on Fiction* 28, no. 1 (1994): 24–51.

Daly, Nicholas. *Modernism, Romance, and the Fin de Siècle: Popular Fiction and British culture, 1880–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Dawson, W.R. "Pettigrew's Demonstrations upon Mummies: A Chapter in the History of Egyptology." *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 20 (1934): 170–82.

Day, Jasmine. *The Mummy's Curse: Mummymania in the English-speaking world.* London/New York: Routledge, 2006.

Day, Jasmine. "The Rape of the Mummy: women, horror fiction and the Westernisation of the curse." In *Mummies and Science. World Mummies Research, Proceedings of the VI World Congress on Mummy Studies,* edited by Pablo Atoche-Peña, Conrado Rodríguez-Martin, Ángeles Ramirez-Rodríguez, and Arthur C. Aufderheide, 617–621. Santa Cruz de Tenerife: Academia Canaria de la Historia, 2008.

Day, Jasmine. "Repeating Death: The High Priest Character in Mummy Horror Films." In *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures,* edited by William Carruthers, 215–26. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

Deane, Bradley. "Mummy Fiction and the Occupation of Egypt: Imperial Striptease." *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920* 51, no. 4 (2008): 381–410.

Derricourt, Robin. *Antiquity Imagined: the remarkable legacy of Egypt and the Near East*. London: I.B. Tauris, 2015,

Dobson, Eleanor. "Sleeping Beauties: Mummies and the Fairy-Tale Genre at the *Fin de Siècle.*" *Journal of International Women's Studies* 17, no. 3 (2017a): 19–34.

Dobson, Eleanor. "Gods and Ghost-Light: Ancient Egypt, Electricity, and X-Rays." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 45 (2017b): 119–135.

Dobson, Eleanor. "Emasculating Mummies: Gender and Psychological Threat in *Fin-de-Siècle* Mummy Fiction." *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 40, no. 4 (2018): 397–407.

Dodson, Aidan, "The British Isles," in *A World History of Egyptology*, edited by. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, 91–135. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Driscoll, Leonard. "Restoring the Lost Empire: Egyptian Archaeology and Imperial Nostalgia in H. Rider Haggard's 'Smith and the Pharaohs' (1912)." *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 16, no. 2 (2017): 108–128.

Driskill, Qwo-Li. *Asegi Stories: Cherokee Queer and Two-Spirit Memory.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016.

Everett, H.D. *Iras, A Mystery.* New York: Harper. 1896.

Fleischhack, Maria. "Possession, Trance and Reincarnation: Confrontations with Ancient Egypt in Edwardian Fiction." *Victoriographies* 7.3 (2017): 257–270.

Frazer, Robert. *Victorian Quest Romance.* Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1998.

Foster, Travis. "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America." In *Gender in American Literature and Culture,* edited by Jean Lutes and Jennifer Travis, 51–65. Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Gaskell, Elizabeth. "The Grey Woman" (1861) in *A Dark Night's Work and Other Stories.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Gautier, Théophile. *The Romance of a Mummy.* Princeton: J. Bradburn, 1863.

Gertzen, Thomas L., Susanne Voss, and Maximilian George, "Prussia and Germany," in *A World History of Egyptology*, edited by Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, 210–58. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Haefele-Thomas, Ardel. "Disintegrating Binaries, Disintegrating Bodies: Queer Imperial Transmogrifications in H. Rider Haggard's She." In *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity.* Swansea: University of Wales Press, 2012.

Haggard, H. Rider. "Smith and the Pharaohs." In *The Best Short Stories of Rider Haggard,* edited by Peter Haining, 148–191. London: Michael Joseph, 1981. Original pub. 1912–1913.

Haggerty, George. *Queer Gothic.* Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2006.

Hughes, William and Andrew Smith, *Queering the Gothic.* Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press, 2009.

Ikram, Salima and Amr Omar, "Egypt," in *A World History of Egyptology*, edited by Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, 25–67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Ikram, Salima and Aidan Dodson. *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt: Equipping the Dead for Eternity.* London: Thames & Hudson, 1998.

Katz, Wendy. *Rider Haggard and the Fiction of Empire: A Critical Study of British Imperial Fiction.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Loring Brace, C., David P. Tracer, Lucia Allen Yarouch, John Robb, Kari Brandt, and A. Russell Nelson, "Clines and Clusters versus 'Race:' a test in ancient Egypt and the case of a death on the Nile," *American Journal of Biological Anthropology* 36 (1993): 1–31.

Luckhurst, Roger. *The Mummy's Curse: The True History of a Dark Fantasy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Macfarlane, Karen. "Here Be Monsters: Imperialism, Knowledge and the Limits of Empire." *Text Matters* 6 (2016): 74–95.

Maniterot, Philippe. "France," in *A World History of Egyptology*, edited by. Andrew Bednarski, Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, 68–90. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Martin, Amy E. "Gothic Internationalism: Irish Nationalist Critiques of Empire as a System of Violence and Trauma." In *Traumatic Tales: British Nationhood and National Trauma in Nineteenth Century Literature,* edited by Lisa Kasmer, 97–117. New York/London: Routledge, 2018.

Moshenska, Gabriel. "Thomas 'Mummy' Pettigrew and the Study of Egypt in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain." In *Histories of Egyptology: Interdisciplinary Measures,* edited by William Carruthers, 201–214. Abingdon: Routledge, 2014a.

Moshenska, Gabriel. "Unrolling Egyptian mummies in nineteenth-century Britain," *British Journal for the History of Science* 47.3 (2014b): 451–477.

Pearce, Susan. "Bodies in Exile: Egyptian Mummies in the Early Nineteenth Century and their Cultural Implications." In *Displaced Persons: Conditions of Exile in European Culture,* edited by Sharon Ouditt, 54–71. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.

Reeve, Richard. *The Sexual Imperative in the Novels of Sir Henry Rider Haggard.* Anthem Press, 2018. Accessed on 5 Nov. 2021.

Reid, Donald. *Contesting Antiquity in Egypt: Archaeologies, Museums, and the Struggle for Identities from World War I to Nasser.* Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2015.

Rogers, Beverley. "Unwrapping the Past: Egyptian Mummies on Show." In *Popular Exhibitions, Science and Showmanship, 1840–1910*, edited by Joe Kember, John Plunkett, and Jill A. Sullivan, 199–217. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016.

Rosman, J.P. and P.J. Resnick. "Sexual attraction to corpses: A psychiatric review of necrophilia." *Bulletin of the American Academy of Psychiatry and the Law*. 17, no. 2 (1989): 153–163.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism.* New York: Random House, 1979.

Schuller, Kyla. *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century.* Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2018.

Stoker, Bram. *The Jewel of Seven Stars.* Middletown, DE: Seven Treasures Publication, 2009. Original pub. 1903.

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Race and the Education of Desire.* Durham/London: Duke University Press, 1995.

Thomas, Ardel. "Queer Victorian Gothic." In *The Victorian Gothic: An Edinburgh Companion,* edited by Andrew Smith and William Hughes, 142–155. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012.

Thomas, Ardel. *Queer Others in Victorian Gothic: Transgressing Monstrosity.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012.

Todd, Janet. *Sensibility: An Introduction.* London: Methuen, 1986.

von Krafft-Ebing, Richard. *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Special Reference to Contrary Sexual Instruct: A Medico-Legal Study.* Philadelphia: F.A. Davis Co, 1886.

An Iconographical Study of the Royal-*ka* during the Middle Kingdom

Ahmed Hamden

Abstract: The Royal-*ka* (⳾ *k3-nsw.t*) was the vital force in Ancient Egypt that enabled the father-king to transfer this energy to empower his successor with the required legitimacy to rule Egypt. The royal family could only personify their *kas* on their monuments, and this idea is clearly illustrated by the representations on their temples, tombs and stelae. This paper proposes an iconographical compilation of the representations of the Royal-*ka* during the Middle Kingdom. In doing so, it helps to clarify the religious role of the Royal-*ka* as well as to establish its assimilation with the kingship during the Middle Kingdom.

Résumé: En Égypte ancienne, le *ka*-royal (⳾ *k3-nsw.t*) correspond à la force vitale que le roi transfère à son successeur pour le pourvoir de la légitimité nécessaire pour gouverner l'Egypte. Les membres de la famille royale pouvait personnifier leur *ka* seulement sur leur monument et cette idée est clairement illustrée par les représentations royales sur leurs temples, leurs tombes et leurs stèles. Cet article propose une compilation iconographique des représentations du *ka*-royal durant le Moyen Empire. Cela permet de clarifier le rôle religieux du *ka*-royal et d'établir son assimilation avec la royauté durant cette période à travers les scenes rassemblées.

Keywords: Royal-*ka*, iconographical, vital force, legitimacy, Middle Kingdom, kingship

Mots-clés: *ka*-royal, iconographie, force vitale, légitimité, Moyen Empire, royauté

Introduction

The ancient Egyptians believed there was a border between the living and dead; the *ka* is the vital force, the energy that literally provides a link between the living and the deceased.[1] After the king's death, he becomes the link between the gods and the next king in transferring this energy, which will provide his successor with the legitimacy he needs. Everyone may possess this vital energy of the *ka* with the Royal-*ka* coming into existence upon the king's birth and accompanying him in death.[2] The manifestation of the Royal-*ka* appears during the Old Kingdom and continued until the Roman Period. Waitkus has cited numerous representations of the Royal-*ka* during the Old, Middle

---

[1] U. Schweitzer, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der Alten Ägypter*. ÄF 19 (Glückstadt/New York: J.J. Augustin, 1956), 51; J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*. Translated from the German by D. Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 44; E. Hornung, *Conception of God in Ancient Egypt. The One and the Many*, translated by J. Baines (Ithaca/London: Cornell University Press, 1982), 47; C. Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon. Comme êtres autonomes au Nouvel Empire*, OBO 174 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000), 115.

[2] L. Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of the Royal Ka", *JNES* 44 (1985), 258; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, 33.

and New Kingdoms.[3] Moreover, like the kings in Ancient Egypt, the deities equally possessed *kas* and *bas*, such as the *kas* of Ptah, Sobek, Re-Horakhty and the 14 *kas* of Re.[4]

The Royal-*ka* was personified in two forms during the Middle Kingdom: the standard and anthropomorphic figures, both of which followed the pharaohs.[5] A- The standard type: the figure of the Royal-*ka* stands on a pole, the base of which ends with the Sn-sign, with its upraised arms, holding the king's *serekh*; the Horus name personified the king in Ancient Egypt, and thus the god Horus is connected with the Royal-*ka*.[6] B- The anthropomorphic figure: the Royal-*ka* is manifested as a male human figure, upon it the *ka*-arms are held vertically and embrace the king's *serekh*, and shown once with the nomen name at Medinet Madi temple.[7]

The two figures of the Royal-*ka* are depicted frequently with an additional arms and legs.[8] Most often, the personifications of the Royal-*ka* are shown holding the *mdw-špsj* staff in one hand and the *Maat* ostrich feather or the *ꜥnḫ*-sign in the other hand. The anthropomorphic *ka* is represented in two dimensional form, the first type is the

[3] W. Waitkus, *Untersuchungen zu Kult und Funktion des Luxortempels*, *Aegyptiaca Hamburgensia* 2, Bände I, 2008, 314–325; II, 240–251, Abb. H–1.

[4] For the *kas* and *bas* of the deities, see P. Barguet, "Au sujet d'une reprétation du ka royal" *ASAE* 51 (1951), 210 and fig. 7; Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago, 1948), 75; Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 73–78; L. Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts*, SAOC 34 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 11, 55; B. Rothöhler, "Die vierzehn Kas des Re" in Mythos and Ritual. Religionswisschaft 5 (Berlin, 2008), 183–206; M. El-Damaty, "Horus als Ka des Königs", *GM* 169 (1999), 37.

[5] El-Damaty, *GM* 169, 31. Highly unusually, the Royal-*ka* is facing and fanning Ramesses III. Scene from Koptos, now housed in the Petrie Museum, UCL (UC 14481), see W.M. Flinders Petrie *et al*., *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, ERA 21, (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1912), 36, pl. XXXVIII (1); PM V, 132. For further information on the iconographical figures of the Royal-*ka*, see Barguet, *ASAE* 51, 205; Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 55; Žabkar, *A Study of the Ba Concept,* 67; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, 33. G.C. Borioni, *Der Ka aus religionswisschaftlicher Sicht,* BeitrÄg 20 (Wien: Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität, 2005), 103–104.

[6] For the association of Horus and the Horus name with the kingship and the Royal-*ka*, cf. Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 25; D. Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt,* MÄS 17 (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1969), 113; A. Radwan, "Der Königsname", *SAK* 2 (1975), 214; Bell, "Luxor Temple", *JNES* 44, 258; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, 33-4; P. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I. Epigraphic, Historical and Art Historical Analysis,* ProblÄg 16 (Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill, 2000), 63; R. Gundlach, "Horus in the Palace: the Centre of State and Culture in Pharaonic Egypt", in: 4. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie, 4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. London, June, 1ˢᵗ–5ᵗʰ 2004. Beiträge zur altägyptischen Königsideologie 4/1; Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen 4/1, edited by J.H. Taylor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 46, 66–67.

[7] For the types of the Royal-*ka*, see El-Damaty, *GM* 169, 31–32 (Abb. 1, 2); Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 63.

[8] Barguet, *ASAE* 51, 205; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, 33.

undersized figure, which regularly follows the kings in the majority of the scenes, while the second is larger and equal in size to the king.[9]

The kings of the Middle Kingdom were keen to portray themselves with their *kas*, as were their ancestors and predecessors. The Royal-*ka* appeared in different locations within the temples, for instance: chapels, doorways, niches, sanctuaries and stelae. Numerous manifestations of the Royal-*ka* were depicted for several kings at different sites, including Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II (Deir el-Bahari and Gebelein) Amenemhat I (Koptos); Senwosret I (Karnak); Senwosret II (Wadi Gawasis); Senwosret III (Deir el-Bahari, Abydos and Medamoud); and Amenemhat III (Medinet Madi).

Documentation

The following documents illustrate the different elements of the Royal-*ka*, e.g. dating, location, types of the *ka*, epithets, variants*,* the *mdw-špsj* staff, title of the scenes, and deities appearing with the Royal-*ka*.

Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II:

Doc. **nº 1**

Temple of Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, north outer wall of the sanctuary, *in situ*.

Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II sails in his bark on his ritual journey to the temple of Amun-Re during the procession of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley. The standard *ka* is mostly damaged except for the feather held in the left hand and the falcon above the King's *serekh*.

> **Bibliography**: D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari,* vol. 2, *Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars*, AVDAIK 11 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), 26–7, pl. 22; L. Gabolde, *Le 'grand château d'Amon' de Sésostris Ier à Karnak. La décoration du temple d'Amon-Rê au Moyen Empire,* MAIBL 17 (Paris: Institut de France 1998), 50 (§65); L. *Postel*, *Protocole des souverains égyptiens et dogme monarchique au début du Moyen Empire*, MRE 10, (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth; Turnhout : Brepols, 2004), 226; M. Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in*

---

[9] Bell, *JNES* 44, 272; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 44.

Ancient Thebes, edited by P. *Dorman*, B. *Bryan*, SAOC 61 (Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 7–9, 16 and fig. 2.4.

Doc. **n° 2**
Chapel of Hathor at Gebelein, east Hill, block of Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo, J.E. T.R. 1/11/17/9. (Fig. 1)
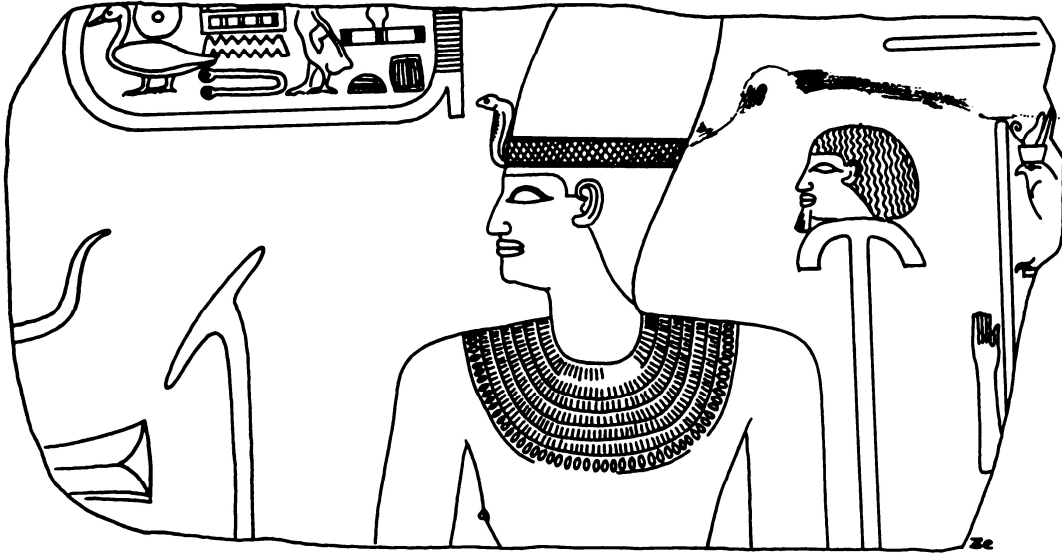
Fig. 1 After Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Menthuhotep", MDAIK 19, 37 and fig. 15. (Doc. 2)

A scene depicting the foundation of the temple of Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II. The Royal-*ka* is mostly damaged except for a small part of the *serekh* and the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with a human head and a curly hair wig.

Bibliography: PM V, 163; L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Menthuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Forms of Gods" *MDAIK* 19 (1963), 37 and fig. 15, 38; *Postel*, *Protocole des souverains*, 140, 185, 327 and doc. 88; E.F. *Marochetti*, *The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep at Gebelein (GGT 7003/1-277)*, *CHANE* 39, translated by K. *Hurry* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 116–117.

Amenemhat I:

Doc. nº 3

Koptos, Temple of Min (reused in the foundation of Thutmosis III beneath the Ptolemaic Temple). A relief fragment from a building of Amenemhat I currently housed at the Petrie Museum in London (UC 14785). (Fig. 2)

Fig. 2 After Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, pl. 12. (Doc. 3)

Amenemhat I stands before the ithyphallic Amun. The lower part of the scene is completely damaged. The anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* in the left hand while the other hand is damaged.

Texts:
In front and behind the *serekh* held by the Royal-*ka*:

k3-nsw.t ḫnt pr-dw3.t db3.t dj=f ꜥnḫ w3s
The ka of the King, foremost of the morning house and the robing house, may he be given life and dominion.

Bibliography: W.M. *Flinders Petrie, Abydos I, MEEF 22 (London,* 1902), 11, pl. 9.1; PM V, 125; *H.M. Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection*, II. *Archaic Period to Second Intermediate Period* (*Warminster:*

Aris & Phillips, 1979), 13–14, pl. 12; L.M. *Berman*, *Amenemhat I* (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1985), 77, 95; C. *Obsomer*, *Sésostris 1ᵉʳ. Étude chronologique et historique du règne,* CEA 5 (Bruxelles: Connaissance de l'Egypte ancienne, 1995), 100–101.

Senwosret I:

Doc. nº 4

Karnak, Middle Kingdom court, portico of the facade, southern wall, east end of the wall's southern face, *in situ*.

Senwosret I is depicted siting in his kiosk. The standard *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff in the left hand, while holding the *ꜥnḫ*-sign and the feather in the other hand.

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka*:

𓀭𓁐𓋹 𓈖 𓍹𓇓𓈖𓏏𓊃𓂋𓏏𓍺 𓄊𓏤 𓂋𓉐 𓄊 𓉐𓇼𓏏 𓂞𓋹

k3-nsw.t ꜥnḫ n s.n-wsrt ḫnt ḏb3.t ḫnt pr-dw3.t dj ꜥnḫ
The living ka of Senwosret, foremost of the robing house, foremost of the morning house, given life.

Bibliography: L. Habachi, "Devotion of Tuthmosis III to His Predecessors : A Propos of a Meeting of Sesostris I with his Courtiers", *Mélanges G. Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1 (1985), 352-3, pl. I–III; Gabolde, *Le 'grand château d'Amon'*, 38–39 (§57), pl. IV.

Doc. nº 5

Karnak, Middle Kingdom court, portico of the facade, southern half; northern face, first register, *in situ*. (Fig. 3)

Fig. 3 After Gabolde, Le 'grand château d'Amon', pl. IX. (Doc. 5)

Senwosret I sails in his bark on his ritual journey before the ithyphallic Amun. The standard *ka* holds in the left hand the *mdw-špsj* staff and the feather in the other hand.

Texts:

Above and behind the Royal-*ka*:

k3-nsw.t ḫnt ḏb3.t ḫnt pr-dw3.t

The ka of the King, foremost of the robing house, foremost of the morning house.

Bibliography: L Gabolde, *Le 'grand château d'Amon'*, 49–50 (§64), pl. IX; *Postel*, *Protocole des souverains,* 227; M. Ullmann, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes,* edited by P. *Dorman*, B. *Bryan*, SAOC 61 (Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 8–11, 16 and fig. 2.5.

Doc. **nº 6**
Karnak, White Chapel, pillars nº 7 and 8, west side, *in situ*.[10] (Fig. 4)
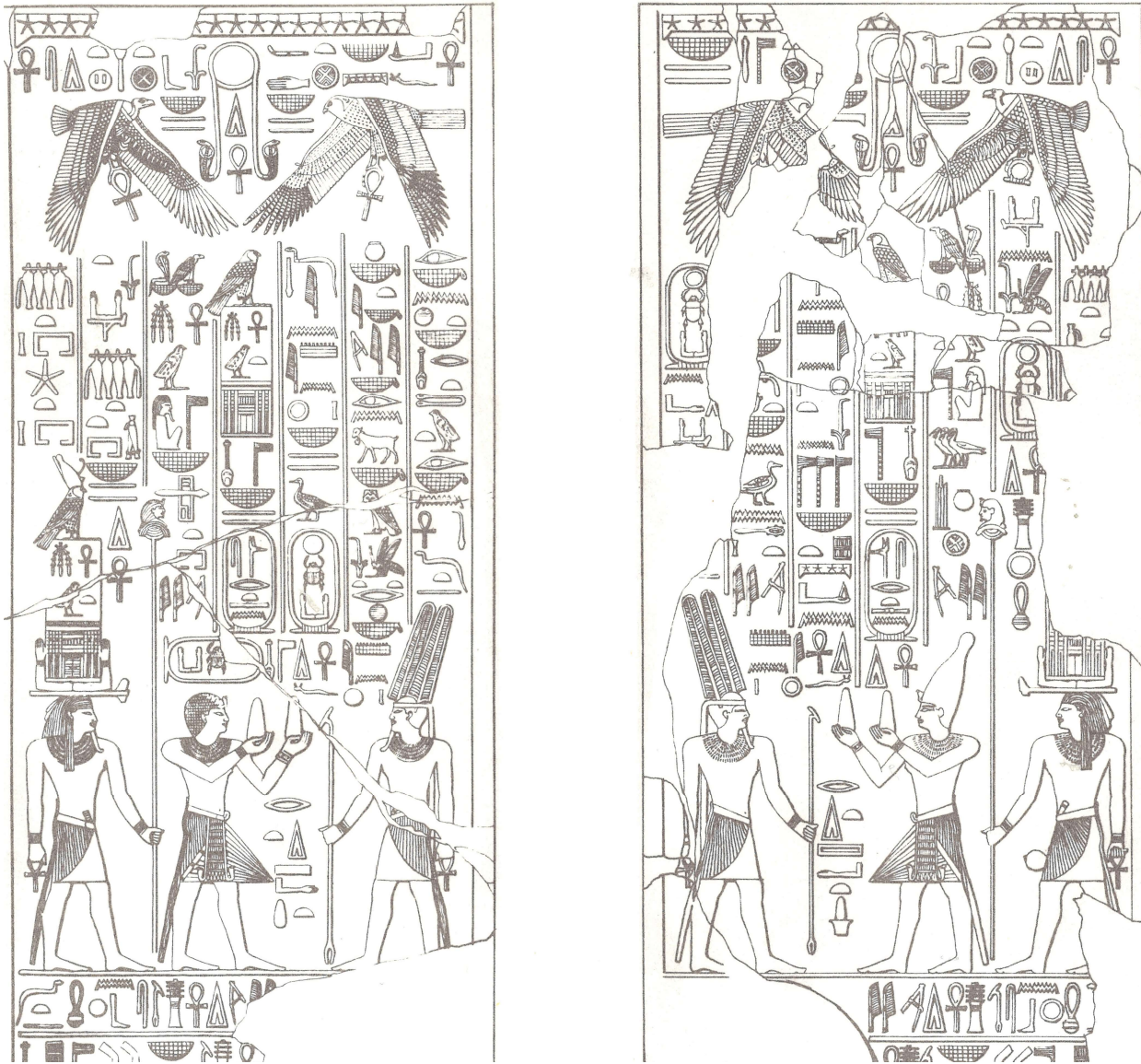
Fig. 4 After Lacau/Cheverier, Chapelle de Sésostris, II, pl. 15 (Sc. 7, 8). (Doc. 6)

Southern side: Senwosret I offers *š3ˁt*-bread to Amun-Re. The anthropomorphic *ka* holds in his right hand the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress, while holding the *ˁnḫ*-sign in the other.

---

[10] Waitkus presented an illustrated plan of the Royal-*kas* representations and its locations at the White Chapel in Karnak, see Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, II, Abb. H-1.

Texts:

I. Above the Royal-*ka*:

𓏞𓏤𓀀 [hieroglyphs]

kꜥ n nsw.t-bity ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ ḫnt ḏbꜣ.t ḫnt [pr-dwꜣ.t] dj ꜥnḫ ḏd mj-Rꜥ

The ka of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Kheperkara (Senwosret I), foremost of the robing house, foremost of [the morning house], given life and stability like Re.

II. The texts of Amun-Re dedicated to the King and his *ka*:

[hieroglyphs]

dj.n=(j) [snb] nb ꜣwt-jb nb n sꜣ=(j) n ḫt =(j) mry ḫpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ ḥnꜥ kꜣ[=k ḏt]

(I) have given all health and all happiness to (my) beloved son of my body, Kheperkara (Senwosret I), together with [your] ka [forever]".

Bibliography: P. Lacau, H. Cheverier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris 1er à Karnak* I (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956), 72–74; II (Cairo, 1969), pl. 15 (Sc. 7); PM II², 62 (d); E. Hirsch, *Die Sakrale Legitimation Sesostris I: Kontaktphänomene in Königsideologischen Texten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 190; Waitkus, *Luxortempels* I, 321.

Northern side: The King offers *šꜥt*-bread to Amun-Re. The anthropomorphic *ka* holds in his left hand the *mdw-špsj* staff and the *ꜥnḫ*-sign in the other.

Texts:

Above the Royal-*ka*:

[hieroglyphs]

kꜣ-nsw.t ḫnt ḏbꜣ.t nb-tꜣ.wy ḫnt pr-dwꜣ.t dj ꜥnḫ

The ka of the King, foremost of the robing house, lord of the two lands, foremost of the morning house, given life.

Bibliography: Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 72–74; II, pl. 15 (Sc. 8); PM II², 62 (d); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 191, Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 321.

Doc. nº 7

Karnak, White Chapel, left and right sides of the doorways, interior side, *in situ*.

Northern side: Senwosret I is embraced by Amun-kamutef. The standard *ka* holds in the left hand the feather and the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the other.

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka*:

𓂓𓏏𓋹𓂋𓋹

k3-nsw.t ꜥnḫ dj ꜥnḫ
The living ka of the King, given life.

Bibliography: Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 106–108; II, pl. 29 (Sc. 6); PM II², 62 (b); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 198.

Southern Side: Amun-kamutef embraces Senwosret I. The standard *ka* holds the feather in its left hand and the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the other.

Texts:
Above and under the Royal-*ka*:

𓂓𓏏𓋹𓂋𓋹𓎛𓎛𓏌𓈖

k3-nsw.t ꜥnḫ dj ꜥnḫ [ḏd] w3s nb
The living ka of the King, given all life, stability and dominion.

Bibliography: Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 106–108; II, pl. 29 (Sc. 5); PM II², 62 (b); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 198.

Doc. **nº 8**
Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene, *in situ*.

Senwosret I offers flowers and offerings to ithyphallic Amun-Re. The anthropomorphic *ka* holds in the right hand the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress, while embracing the King with other.

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka*:

𓂓𓏏𓏥𓈖𓏏𓊖𓏥𓉐𓏤𓂝𓇳𓋹𓇳

k3-nsw.t ḫnt ḏb3.t ḫnt pr-dw3.t dj=f ꜥnḫ mj-Rꜥ

The ka of the King, foremost of the robing house, foremost of the morning house, may he be given life like Re.

Bibliography: Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris,* I, 109-12; II, pl. 30 (Sc. 9); PM II², 62 (c); R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les Temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique* I. *Architecture et symboles sacrés* (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1982), 677, pl. 316; Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 199; Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 322.

Doc. nº **9**
Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene, *in situ*. (Fig. 5)

Doc. nº **10**
Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene, *in situ*. (Fig. 6)

The King stands before ithyphallic Amun-Re. The anthropomorphic *ka* embraces the King with his left hand while holding the *ꜥnḫ*-sign and the feather in the other.
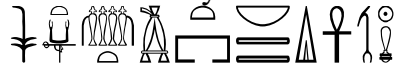
Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka*:

kꜣ-nsw.t ḫnt ḏbꜣ.t nb-tꜣ.wy dj ꜥnḫ wꜣs mj-Rꜥ
The ka of the King, foremost of the robing house, lord of the two lands, given life and dominion like Re.

Bibliography: Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 132–134, II, pl. 40 (Sc. 28); PM II², 62 (f).

Doc. nº **11**
Karnak, Cachette Court north the Seventh Pylon, lintel of a doorway, *in situ*. (Fig. 7)

Fig. 7 After Le. Saout et al., "Karnak:", CahKarn VIII, pl. VI (Doc. 11)

Senwosret I receives the *ʿnḫ*-sign from Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands and followed by Montu and Nekhbet, while Seth and Wadjet are behind the king, the four divinities are holding *rnpt* scepter. The standard *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand and the feather in the other.

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka*:
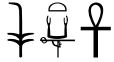
k3-nsw.t ʿnḫ
The living ka of the King.

Bibliography: PM II², 135; L. Habachi, "Devotion of Tuthmosis III to His Predecessors: A Propos of a Meeting of Sesostris I with his Courtiers", *Mélanges G. Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1 (1985), 358–359, pl. IV (c); Fr. Le. Saout *et al.*, "Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: varia 1", *CahKarn* VIII (1985), 307–308, 319 and pl. VI.

Doc. **nº 12**
Karnak, court of the Ninth Pylon, bark-station of Senwosret I, exterior northern wall, western side, *in situ*.

Senwosret I consecrates offerings. The anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand, while the right hand is entirely damaged.

Texts:

Above and in front of the Royal-*ka*:

[*k3-nsw.t ḫnt db3.t ḫnt*] *pr-dw3.t nb-t3.wy dj=f ꜥnḫ dd w3s*

[The ka of the King, foremost of the robing house, foremost] of the morning house, lord of the two lands. May he be given life, stability and dominion.

Bibliography: C. *Traunecker*, "Rapport préliminaire sur la chapelle de Sésostris 1er découverte dans le IXe pylône", *CahKarn* VII (1982), 123, pl. II (a); L. *Michel-Cotelle*, "Présentation préliminaire des blocs de la chapelle de Sésostris 1er découverte dans le IXe pylône de Karnak", *CahKarn* XI (2003), 343–344, 355 and fig. 3 (N1).

Doc. nº 13

Karnak, court of the Ninth Pylon, bark-station of Senwosret I, exterior southern wall, western side, *in situ*.

Senwosret I drives four calves before a damaged figure of an ithyphallic Amun, presumably as Amun-kamutef according to the accompanying texts. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* is mostly adorned on the top with a damaged *serekh* and texts.

Bibliography: C. *Traunecker*, "Rapport préliminaire sur la chapelle de Sésostris 1er découverte dans le IXe pylône", *CahKarn* VII (1982), 123, pl. I (b), II (b); A. Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chest and Driving the Calves*, I, EgUit 8 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1995), 206–207 (B.a-XII.2-Ka.1).

Senwosret II:

Doc. **nº 14**

Red Sea, Roman station at Wadi Gawasis, Stela of Khnumhotep (overseer of the cabinet), Durham University Museum (N 1935). (Fig. 8)

Senwosret II receives the *ꜥnḫ*-sign from Sopdu. The standard *ka* holds in the left hand the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress, while a feather in the other.

> **Bibliography**: P. Tallet, El-S. Mahfouz, *The Red Sea in Pharaonic Times : Recent Discoveries along the Red Sea Coast:* Proceedings of the Colloquium in Cairo - Ayn Soukhana 11th–12th January 2009 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2012), 119–120, 126 and fig. 5.

Fig. 8 After Tallet/Mahfouz, The Red Sea, 126 and fig. 5. (Doc. 14)

Senwosret III:

Doc. n° 15

Deir el-Bahari, a granite stela of Senwosret III. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 38655). (Fig. 9)

A double scene, depicting Senwosret III followed by his *ka* and consecrating offerings before the deified Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II (left side) and Amun (right side).

The anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the right hand and the *maat*-feather in the other.
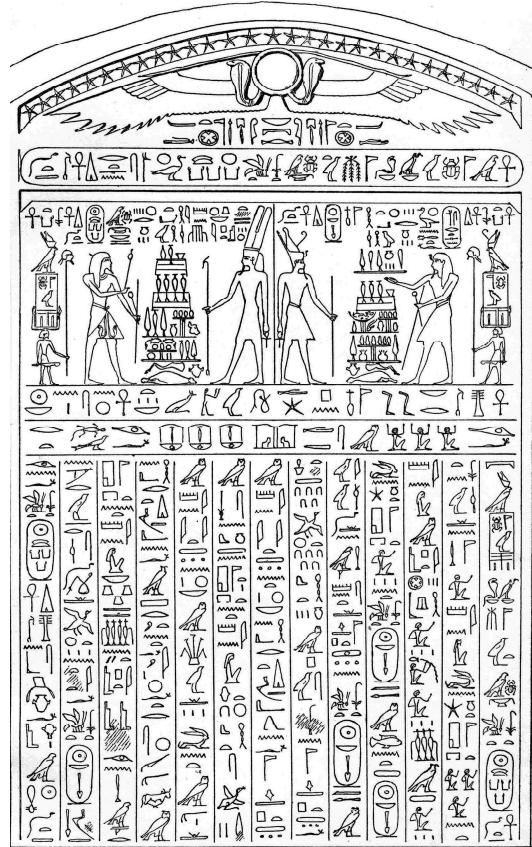
Fig. 9 After Naville, Deir el-Bahari I, pl. XXIV. (Doc. 15)

Doc. n° 18

The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, exterior decoration of the cult building. (Reconstructed reliefs).

The standard *ka* stands alone without the King, holding the *mdw-špsj* staff, adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand, while holding a feather and the *ꜥnḫ*-sign in the other.

Texts:

The remaining part of the text accompanying the Royal-*ka*:

ḫnt ḏbꜣ.t
Foremost of the robing house.

Bibliography: J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, PPYE 8 (*New Haven,* Connecticut: *Peabody Museum of Natural History; Philadelphia:*

University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2007), 181 and fig 76 (SA.306, SA.1631), 184.

Amenemhat III:

Doc. nº 19
Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, lintel of the door to the Central Chapel towards the vestibule, *in situ*. (Fig. 10)
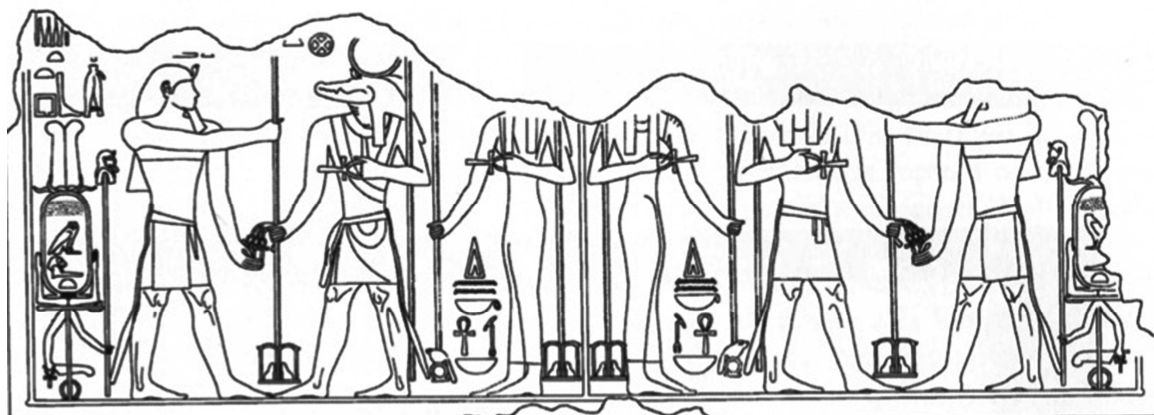
Fig. 10 After Bresciani, "Les Temples de Medinet Madi", in SDAIK 16, 63 and fig. 5. (Doc. 19)

Double scene. On the left: Amenemhat III, holding a jubilee-scepter, receives three ꜥnḫ-signs from Sobek-Horus of Shedyt, while Renenutet, who holds the *rnpt*-scepter, stands behind the deity. On the right side: Amenemhat IV is accompanied by the standard *ka*, holding the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand, while holding the feather and the ꜥnḫ-sign in the opposite. The two arms of the *ka* embrace the nomen of the King, while the name of Amun is completely defaced on both sides.

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka*:

[. . .] *ḫnt ḏbꜣ.t*
[. . .] foremost of the robing house.

Bibliography: A. Badawy, *The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Second Intermediate Period* (Berkeley: University of California, 1966), 75; E. Bresciani, "Les Temples de Medinet Madi passé et future d'une exploration

archéologique dans le Fayum", in *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet . . . Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen Sprechen: Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, edited by U. Rössler-Köhler, T. Tawfik, SDAIK 16 (Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 63 and fig. 5; E. Bresciani, A. Giammarusti, *I Templi di Medinet Madi nel Fayum* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2012), 83 and 93.

Doc. nº 20

Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, western wall of the Niche (B1), *in situ*. (Fig. 11)

Amenemhat III offers his eyes to Sobek-Horus of Shedyt. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand and the *ꜥnḫ*-sign in the other.
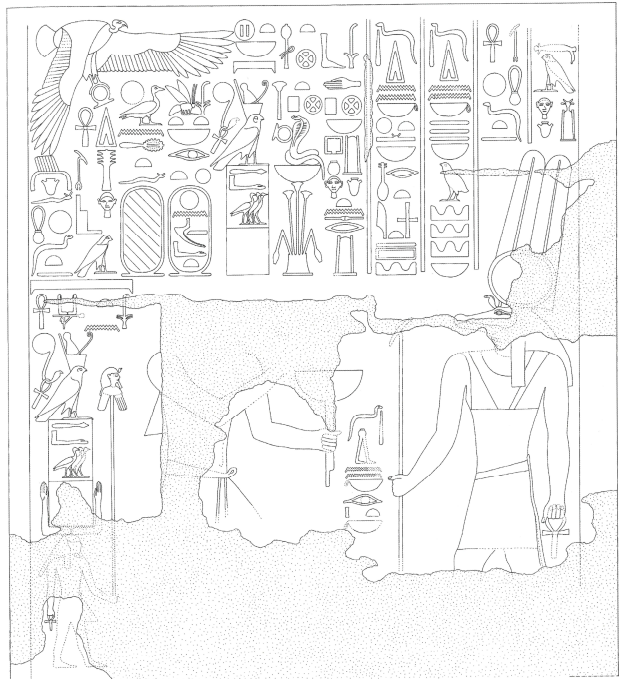
Fig. 11 After Bresciani/Giammarusti, Medinet Madi, 91. (Doc. 20)

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka* and under the *pt*-sign:

kꜣ-nsw.t ꜥnḫ
The living ka of the King.

Bibliography: Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 91,103.

Doc. nº 21

Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, eastern wall of the Niche (B3), *in situ*. (Fig. 12)

Amenemhat III offers *š3ˁt*-bread to Renenutet. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand and the *ˁnḫ*-sign in the other.

Texts:

I. Above the Royal-*ka* and under the *pt*-sign:

☥ ⌒ 〰 ⚌ ☥

k3-nsw.t ˁnḫ
The living ka of the King.
II. Above the *pt*-sign:

𓋹 𓊽 𓏏 𓈖 𓂝 𓏏 𓆱

dj ˁnḫ ḏd ḥnˁ k3=f 3wt-jb=f ḏt
Given life and stability together with his ka and happiness forever.

Bibliography: Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 95 and 103.
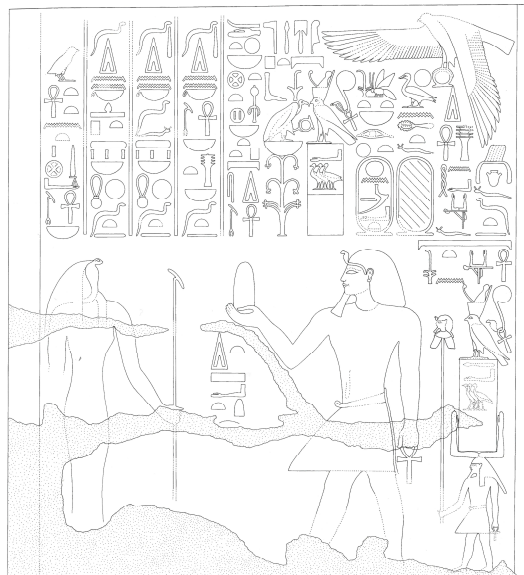
Fig. 12 After Bresciani/Giammarusti, Medinet Madi, 95. (Doc. 21)

Doc. nº 22

Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, western wall of the Niche (C1), *in situ*.

Amenemhat III pours libation before Renenutet. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand while the other hand is damaged.

Texts:

Above the Royal-*ka* and under the *pt*-sign:

☥ ⌒ 〰 ⚌ ☥

k3-nsw.t ˁnḫ

The living ka of the King.

Bibliography: Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 101 and 103.

Doc. nº 23

Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, eastern wall of the Niche (C3), *in situ*.
The King, whose figure is destroyed, is before Sobek-Horus of Shedyt. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand and the *ꜥnḫ*-sign in the other.

Texts:
Above the Royal-*ka* and under the *pt*-sign:

kꜣ-[nsw.t] ꜥnḫ
The living ka of the [King].

Bibliography: Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 103–104.

Tables

The types of the Royal-*ka* are tabulated as follows in four tables: the Standard, Anthropomorphic, undersized Anthropomorphic and the damaged representations:

Table (1): **The Standard *ka*.**

Dating	Location	Title of the Scene	Accompanied Deities
Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II	Deir el-Bahari, outer wall of the Sanctuary (doc. 1)	Sailing in the royal bark	N/A
Senwosret I	Karnak, the Middle Kingdom court, portico of the facade (doc. 4)	The king siting in his kiosk	N/A
	Karnak, the Middle Kingdom court, portico of the façade (doc. 5)	Sailing in the royal bark	Ithyphallic Amun
	Karnak, White Chapel, doorway – two reliefs (doc. 7)	The king is being embraced by the deity	Amun-kamutef
	Karnak, White Chapel, north side (doc. 9)	The king is being embraced by the deity	Amun-kamutef
	Karnak, White Chapel,	The king receives the	Amun lord of the

		ʿnḫ-sign from Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands	thrones of the two lands, Montu, Nekhbet, Seth and Wadjet
	doorway – (doc. 11)	*ʿnḫ*-sign from Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands	thrones of the two lands, Montu, Nekhbet, Seth and Wadjet
Senwosret II	Roman station at Wadi Gawasis, Stela of Khnumhotep (doc. 14)	The king receives the *ʿnḫ*-sign	Sopdu
Senwosret III	Temple of Medamoud, Middle Kingdom. *Heb-Sed* portal, fragments of a block nº 31 (doc. 16)	The king worships a deity	N/A
	Temple of Medamoud, Middle Kingdom. *Heb-Sed* portal, fragments of a block nº 71, 98, 69, (doc. 17)	The king worships Montu	Montu
	The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, exterior decoration of the cult building (doc. 18)	N/A	N/A
Amenemhat III-Amenemhat IV (Double scene)	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Lintel of the door to the Central Chapel towards the vestibule (doc. 19).	The two kings receiving three *ʿnḫ*-signs from Sobek-Horus of Shedyt	Renenutet, Sobek-Horus Shedyt

Table (2): **The Anthropomorphic *ka*.**

Dating	*Location*	*Title of the Scene*	*Accompanied Deities*
Amenemhat I	Koptos, Temple of Min, relief fragment (doc. 3).	The king before the deity	Ithyphallic Amun
Senwosret I	Karnak, White Chapel, pillars nº 7 and 8 (doc. 6)	The king offers *š3ʿt*-bread	Amun-Re
Senwosret I	Karnak, White Chapel, north side, (doc. 8)	The king offers flowers	Ithyphallic Amun-Re
	Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene (doc. 10)	The king erects the Chapel for Amun-Re	Amun-kamutef

Table (3): **The Undersized Anthropomorphic *ka*.**

Dating	*Location*	*Title of the Scene*	*Accompanied Deities*
Senwosret I	Karnak, court of the Ninth Pylon, bark-station of	The king offers a heap of offerings	N/A

	Senwosret I, northern exterior wall (doc. 12).		
	Karnak, court of the Ninth Pylon, bark-station of Senwosret I, southern exterior wall (doc. 13).	The king drives four calves	Amun-kamutef?
Senwosret III (Double Scene)	Deir el-Bahari, granite stela (doc. 15)	The king present offerings	Amun-Re and the deified Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II
Amenemhat III	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 20)	The king offers his eyes to Sobek-Horus of Shedyt	Sobek-Horus of Shedyt
	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 21)	The king offers SAat-bread	Renenutet
	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 22)	The king pours libation before the goddess	Renenutet
	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 23)	N/A	Sobek-Horus of Shedyt

Table (4): The damaged Royal-*ka*.

Dating	*Location*	*Title of the Scene*	*Accompanied Deities*
Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II	The Chapel of Hathor at Gebelein (doc. 2)	The foundation of the temple	N/A

Conclusions

It is still hard to determine the reason for the distribution of the scenes of the Royal-*ka* within the Egyptian temple, but most probably it is based on the available space of the whole scene.[11] A good example of distributing the representations of the Royal-*ka* during the Middle Kingdom occurs in the three niches of Medinet Madi temple, in which the undersized anthropomorphic *kas* are following Amenemhat III on the eastern and western walls of the Eastern and Western niches (B, C). The iconographical absence of the Royal-*ka* is obvious on the Northern walls of the two Niches (B, C), likewise is the middle niche (A), which did not bear any representations of the Royal-*ka*. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* is depicted on the western side of the chapel at

---

[11] The concept of choosing the locations of the Royal-*ka* scenes are clear on the pillars of the White Chapel at Karnak, Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 321, 325.

the bark-station of Senwosret I at the court of the Ninth Pylon in Karnak (doc. 12–3), with the king driving calves on the Southern exterior walls, while consecrating offerings on the northern wall. This similarity occurs with another intriguing example from the Eightieth dynasty, the alabaster shrine at Karnak where the undersized anthropomorphic *ka* is also shown on the western part of the walls, with the same theme of the scene on the exterior Northern and Southern walls.[12]

The king renewed his legitimacy to rule through the vital force of the *ka* during festivals such the *Sed*-festival in the Middle Kingdom and other festivals afterwards.[13] The divine birth scenes of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III dating to the New Kingdom, attest to the concept of the king's birth with his *ka*, which renews the king's legitimacy to rule Egypt.[14] The texts accompanying the Royal-*ka* are associated with two places in the Egyptian monuments: the *pr-dw3.t* and the *db3.t*. The latter one, the *db3.t*, presumably refers to the robing house or the palace. Alternatively, many rites took place at the morning room to purify the king, including changing his clothes and preparing for the next rite. In addition, it is the place where the *kas* of the king and deities are assimilated together.[15]

The gesture of the *ka* is two upraised arms for protection, which is obviously associated with the role of father-deities in protecting their sons, in the same manner as Horus protecting Osiris.[16] During the Middle Kingdom, the Royal-*ka* appeared with the living king and his deified father to ensure this transformation (doc. 15, 19). For example on the Middle Kingdom is the granite stela (JE 38655) of Senwosret III, found at Deir el-Bahari, in which the king is followed by his *ka*, while he consecrates a heap

---

[12] For Amenhotep I, see M. Pillet, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921-1922)", *ASAE* 22 (1922), 240; PM II², 63. For Thutmosis I, see PM II², 63; Egberts, *Meret-chest and Driving the Calves* I, 208 (B.a-XVIII.3-Ka.2); II, pl. 76.

[13] Bell, "Luxor Temple", *JNES* 44, 289. An intriguing example of the rejuvenation of the king's strength and power with his *ka* among the ceremonies the *Sed*-festival is the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak, E. Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple,* (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), 16. Another example is Doc. 1, in which the king sails toward the temple of Amun-Re as a part of the processions of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.

[14] Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 57, 65.

[15] H. Kees, "⬚✶ und 𓀀⬚𓏏", *RT* 36 (1914), 1–4; A.M. Blackman, "The House of the Morning", *JEA* 5 (1918), 157; Barguet, *ASAE* 51, 211–212; Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 57; Bell, "Luxor Temple", *JNES* 44, 280; Gabolde, *Le 'grand château d'Amon'*, 39.

[16] Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 25, 49; Bell, *JNES* 44, 272; Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 63. The Pyramid Texts spell 356 describes the deceased father as the *ka* of Horus, and indicates the concept of the *ka* between the father-king and his successor. See Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 44.

of offerings before the deified Nebhepetre Menthuhotep II (doc. 15).[17] The concept of the living power of the Royal-*ka* in Ancient Egypt survived constituently even after the monarch's death, the kings of the Middle kingdom were deified and their *kas* accompanied them during the New Kingdom, for instance, the two representations of Thutmosis III at the temple of Semna West before the deified Senwosret III with his *ka*.[18]

The representations of the Royal-*kas* are depicted at different sites and various locations within the temple, such as the bark stations, lintels of the doorways, pillars, stelae, sanctuaries and niches. The standard *ka* appeared mostly on the monuments of the Middle Kingdom, particularly with different religious scenes, e.g. the king sails in the royal bark, receives the *ꜥnḫ* sign from the deity or being embraced by him. The anthropomorphic and its undersized figure are portrayed with the kings in the royal offering scenes before deities, e.g. the kings offers *šꜣꜥt* bread, flowers, heap of offerings, driving calves, pouring libation.[19]

The religious role of the Royal-*ka* is clearly articulated in the accompanying texts, revealing the *ka*'s personality, epithets and the corresponding locations. The epithet *kꜣ-nsw.t ꜥnḫ* is the most common one and sometimes the text is followed with the: *ḫnt pr-dwꜣ.t ḏbꜣ.t* "*foremost of the morning house and the palace*".[20] The name of the Royal-*ka* is inscribed the most during the Middle Kingdom as ⸢𓂉𓎛⸣ (11 scenes), in addition to other variants such as ⸢𓂉𓈖𓎛⸣, ⸢𓎛𓂉𓃀⸣ and ⸢𓂉𓏏𓎛⸣. The *serekh* is depicted in all the scenes held by the arms of the Royal-*ka*, but highly unusually, the *serekh* is replaced in one scene with the nomen cartouche of Amenemhat III and IV at Medinet Madi (doc. 19).[21]

---

[17] Another intriguing example for a father-king and his successor during the Middle Kingdom is the one at the temple of Renenutet at Medinet Madi for Amenemhat III and IV accompanied with their *kas* (doc. 18), Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 83, 93.

[18] PM VII, 147 (12)–148 (23); G.A. Reisner *et al., Second Cataract Forts* I*, Semna Kumaa* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), pl. 21 (*a*); Ch.C. Van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti* (San Antonio: Texas, 1982), 27–29; Bell, *JNES* 44, 261, 269; R.A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma* I*. The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1998), 47–48, 94–95, pl. 26 (sc. 11), 49.

[19] The rites of driving calves and offering *meret*-chests before a deity appeared mostly with the Royal-*ka* during the New Kingdom, see Egberts, *Meret-chest and Driving the Calves* I.

[20] Bell, *JNES* 44, 267, 278; El-Damaty, *GM* 169, 31.

[21] Thutmosis IV is represented with his *ka* and the Nomen cartouche at his peristyle court in the Open Air Museum at Karnak, cf. B. Letellier, "La cour à Péristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak", *in Hommage à Serge Sauneron* I, BDE 81 (1979), 57; B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 168.

The texts of the Royal-*ka* include the *sdm=f* form (*dj=f*), which reveals the ability of the Royal-*ka* to give and grant to the king in the same manner as the deities (doc. 3, 8, 12). For instance: *dj=f ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs* "*May he be given life, stability and dominion*". The Royal-*ka* apparently is not the only personified figure who appeared with the *sdm=f* form texts (*dj=f*), other fecundity figures did, for example: the texts of the personified-*ankh* at the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) during the reign of Amenhotep III, the texts reads as: *dj=f ʿnḫ nb ȝwt-jb* "*May he give all life and happiness*".[22] The texts of the kings and deities showed their wishes for the *ka* to join the pharaoh again, e.g. the texts of Amun-kamutef at the White Chapel (doc. 9) reads as: *dj.n=(j) kȝ=k ḥnʿ=k m ḫnt kȝw ʿnḫw*, "*(I) have given your ka with you in the foremost of the living kas*". The context of this wishing formula took place also on the king's texts whether with the *ka* or not, e.g. Amenemhat III with his *ka* at Medinet Madi (doc. 21), *dj ʿnḫ ḏd ḥnʿ kȝ=f ȝwt-jb=f ḏt* "*Given life and stability together with his ka and his happiness forever*".[23]

The Royal-*ka* is depicted under the *pt*-sign in numerous scenes with the standard *ka*, which could conceivably reveal the divine nature of the Royal-*ka*, which has its own private cosmos (doc. 17, 20–3). An examination of the scenes of the Royal-*ka* before the Middle Kingdom and after it until the Roman Period shows the complete absence of this type during the Middle Kingdom, most presumably due to the lack of the smiting scenes.[24]

Finally, there is a distinctive role of the Royal-*ka* in the process of transmitting legitimacy from the father-king to his successor-son. Bell noted that: "the deceased father in his tomb was the source of the power, called by the Egyptians the *Ka*".[25] The vital force personified by the Royal-*ka* was essential to provide the king with the needed legitimacy to be able to rule Egypt. The Egyptians kings, therefore, were keen to portray themselves with their *kas* throughout Egyptian history.

---

[22] The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago, 1954), 41–3; pl. 24, 26; PM I/1², 299 (6).
[23] For the king's representations without the *ka at* Medinet Madi temple, see Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 76, 96–97.
[24] Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 69–70; Barguet assumed that the posture of the Royal-*ka* behind the kings was equivalent to the protective role of the fan bearers following the deities, P. Barguet, *Aspects de la pensée religieuse de l'Égypte ancienne* (Fuveau: La Maison de vie, 2001), 134–135.
[25] Bell, *JNES* 44, 256.

Zooming In and Out on Hoch's Semitic Word List

Haleli Harel[1]

Abstract A novel lens is used in this paper to analyze James E. Hoch's list of Semitic loanwords in Egyptian Texts. Hoch's corpus of examples served as the foundation for this study. A dataset was constructed by critically digitizing all lexical borrowings that Hoch collected. Using *iClassifier* (©Goldwasser/Harel/Nikolaev), each example's classifiers (aka determinatives) were tagged and annotated. This results in a dynamic, multilayered network of loanwords. A categorical semantic network composed of 360 lexical items in 1710 examples across more than 400 Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom was created. The distribution of the entire corpus of loanwords by classifier categories is fairly accurate since 95 percent of the attestations are written with one classifier or more. The discussion begins with a bird's eye view of the entire corpus, shifting the perspective on the phenomenon. Next, a macro-level clustering of loanwords based on Egyptian categories is presented, emphasizing their general hierarchy and structure. In the second perspective, we examine a specific detail of the network, the [WOOD] classifier. The final step is to zoom in closer and recount the integration route for a specific word. A lemma *jsb.t*, meaning 'seat'' or 'throne,' is used to illustrate how the Egyptians continuously structured their knowledge through systematically categorizing lexical items.
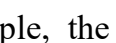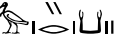
Résumé: Dans cet article, la liste des mots d'emprunt sémitiques dans les textes égyptiens de James E. Hoch est analysée à travers une nouvelle lentille. Le corpus d'exemples de Hoch a servi de fondation à la présente étude. Un jeu de données fut construit en numérisant, de manière critique, tous les emprunts lexicaux ayant été collectionnés par Hoch. En utilisant *iClassifier* (©Goldwasser/Harel/Nikolaev), chaque exemple de classificateurs (également connus sous le nom de déterminatifs) fut étiquetés et annotés. Cela a résulté en un réseau dynamique multicouche de mots d'emprunt. Un réseau sémantique catégoriel composé de 360 items lexicaux provenant de 1710 attestations réparties dans 400 textes égyptes du Nouvel Empire fut réalisé. La distribution du corpus intégral de mots d'emprunt en fonction des catégories de classificateur est assez précise puisque 95% des attestations sont écrites avec un ou plusieurs classificateurs. La discussion débute par un survol du corpus dans son intégralité permettant une perspective différente sur le phénomène. Par la suite, un groupement de mots d'emprunt au niveau macro basé sur les catégories égyptiennes est présenté, mettant l'emphase sur leur structure et leur hiérarchie générale. Dans une seconde perspective, nous examinons un détail spécifique du réseau à savoir le classificateur [BOIS]. La dernière étape consiste à poser un regard de plus près et à retracer le parcours d'intégration d'un mot spécifique. L'exemple du vocable *jsb.t*, qui signifie « siège » ou « trône », est utilisé pour illustrer la manière dont les Égyptiens ont continuellement structuré leur savoir en fonction d'une catégorisation systématique d'items lexicaux.

Keywords: Egyptian lexicography, classifier studies, cognitive linguistics, network analysis, colexification, lexical semantics

Mots-clés: Lexicographie égyptienne, étude des classificateurs, linguistique cognitive, analyse de réseaux, colexification, sémantique lexicale.

---

1. Introduction—Creating a *classifier-based network* based on Hoch's list

This paper is dedicated to the memory of James E. Hoch. Hoch's outstanding monograph *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* remains today, three decades later, a primary source of reference for etymological discussions of the treasured foreign vocabulary evident in texts of the New Kingdom era. In his monograph, Hoch listed all items alphabetically and suggested their etymologies. Afterward, he briefly described the lexical domains of loanword use. Hoch attempted to arrange the loanwords according to common thematic domains, compiling two lists—one of broader semantic domains and another of narrower semantic domains. He acknowledged a difficulty in identifying every loan with one semantic domain.[2] As I will demonstrate below, the ancient Egyptian perspective reflects a comparable difficulty in categorization. Some loanwords are uniformly assigned the same classifiers (aka "determinatives") and categorized by a certain category, and other loanwords lie in the *fuzzy boundaries* of a few classifier categories.[3] For example, the borrowing *ktm.t,* "gold", ⌂ was continuously classified with the ◦ [PELLET] (N33). Yet, other lexical borrowings show variation in classification, such as *brk* "gifts", occurring with classifiers denoting the materiality of the gifts, as comprised of a certain material. It is classified as made of small particles by the ◦ [PELLET] classifier in ⌂ *brk*[PELLET], by loaves of bread in ⌂ *brk*[BREAD], or by the type of activity when the same Semitic root is attested in a verbal form meaning "greeting" or "offering", ⌂ *brk*[GREETING].[4]

The study I present showcases the thematic distribution of all the words and examples listed by Hoch. I ask *how knowledge was arranged according to the classifier assignment of loanwords* by Egyptian scribes and present the results as a *classifier-based network*. This new perspective allows one to view an image of the record of loanwords at one glance. Then, it enables us to use computational tools and describe the distribution of the corpus with quantitative tools. The list compiled by Hoch received many reviews.[5] Based on these reviews, I extracted entries likely of native Egyptian stock and not of a foreign origin.

---

[2] J.E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton, 1994), 460–473; a discussion on comparing the distribution of loanwords according to etic and modern semantic fields to their distribution according to emic classifier categories is in H. Harel, *A Network of Lexical Borrowings in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom: Organizing Knowledge according to the Classifier System*. Doctoral Dissertation. (Jerusalem, forthcoming), §4.1.7.

[3] Selected loanwords were previously arranged thematically according to classifiers by W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1962/1971), 530–535.

[4] I cite specific examples throughout the articles with their example number in the new dataset I created. Using this number the reader will be able to look for it in the online version of the dataset. Each example is listed by its token number. Tokens nos. 1194, pHarris I: 13a, 5; 1402, Anastasi I: 5, 7; 1403, O. DeM 1178 (= P. Anastasi 1, 5,4–6,1): 1; 1409, Medinat Habu: 85, 8.

[5] Some of its reviews are: D. Meeks. "Les emprunts égyptiens aux langues sémitiques durant le Nouvel Empire et la Troisième Période Intermédiaire. Les aléas du comparatisme." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 54 (1997), 32–61; A.F. Rainey, "Egyptian Evidence for Semitic Linguistics," in: *Israel Oriental Studies*

In this paper, I provide *a bird's-eye view* of the entire corpus of loanwords (§2) as a *macro classifier-based network* (§2.1) and then discuss how this network is structured when arranged by a *community detection algorithm* (§2.2). Next, I zoom in on a particular classifier, the [WOOD] (M3) classifier, and demonstrate its centrality within the network (§3.1). Lastly, I zoom in and showcase one lemma that occurs with the [WOOD] classifier. There, the integration route of a single detail within the network is retold (§3.2), exemplifying the multidimensionality of knowledge organization in the ancient Egyptian mind.

2. Zooming out: Loanwords as a *classifier-based network*
First, I present a network of lexical borrowings, including 360 lexical items, attested in 1,710 examples. I added examples not listed by Hoch, based mostly on data from contemporary databases and publications.[6] The network is built around one hundred classifiers. The image below (Fig. 1) shows the general distribution of lexical items according to their classifiers.
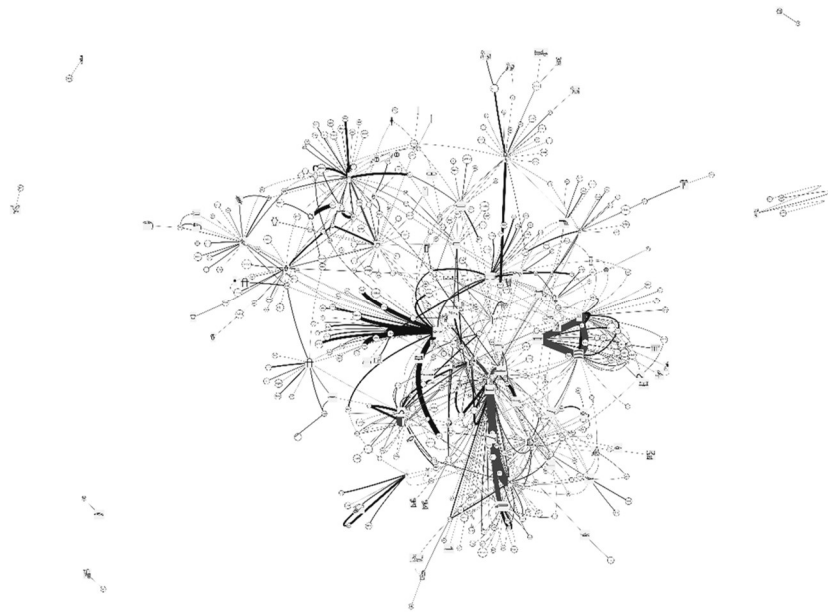
Fig. 1 A macro *classifier-based* network of knowledge organization of lexical borrowings in the New Kingdom era texts. Each lemma (word) is written in a white node (circle). Signs in the role of a classifier (aka "determinative") appear in a beige-colored square. Edges (lines) show a link between a classifier and a word or mark classifiers that occur together.

---

18 (1998), 431–453; and M. Müller, "Review of J.E. Hoch, Semitic Words," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 97 (2002), 29–30. A full list of the long list of reviews is in Harel, *A Network of Lexical Borrowings,* 9, fn. 37. I list there all lexical entries extracted from my version of the lexical borrowings list.

[6] Additional examples were added from new publications and mostly based on digital text corpora such as the Ramses Online an annotated corpus of Late Egyptian, University of Liege, <http://ramses.ulg.ac.be/> accessed 18.2.22, and Thesaurus Lingua Aegyptia, <https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/TlaLogin> accessed 18.2.22.

The network was created using the research platform *iClassifier* (©Goldwasser/Harel/Nikolaev).[7] It was achieved by digitizing and annotating all entries of loanwords listed by Hoch.[8] Observing the network, one immediately identifies what the central thematic classifier domains occurring with lexical borrowings were. Large categories show more edges (lines) connecting them to host lemmas. Classifiers that co-occur in multiple classifications are linked with red edges and show thick edges, representing a large number of examples. In the general network, most tokens occur with more than one classifier, as can be seen in the stats of the number of tokens per no. of classifiers:[9]

One classifier: 785 examples.
Two classifiers: 641 examples.
Three or more classifiers: 190 examples.
Zero classifiers: 153 (8.5 percent including proper names, 5 percent in content words). 95 percent of the tokens occur with one classifier or more. Half of the classified tokens (831) are attested with more than one classifier. Roughly the other half occurs with one classifier. These results include approximately ten tokens that appear in code-switching (as hapaxes in a phrase of foreign speech).[10]

In the web version of this classifier-based network,[11] one can draw maps of specific dissections within this general image, for example, to create a network of all words appearing in a specific text, locality, script (e.g., hieratic or hieroglyphic inscriptions), or time range.

---

[7] The *iClassifier* platform was developed for a research project "*Classifying the Other: The Classification of Semitic Loanwords in the Ancient Egyptian Script*" ISF grant 735/17, PI Prof. Orly Goldwasser.

[8] For information about the method, see H. Harel, O. Goldwasser and D. Nikolaev, "Mapping the Ancient Egyptian Mind: Introducing *iClassifier*, A New Platform for Systematic Analysis of Classifiers in Egyptian and Beyond," in J. A. Roberson, S. Vinson and R. Lucarelli (eds), *Ancient Egypt and New Technology: The Present and Future of Computer Visualization, Virtual Reality and Other Digital Humanities in Egyptology* (Leiden, 2022), 25 pages.

[9] These numbers include classification by [PLURAL] (Z2/Z3). The plural classifiers were extracted from the figures as it distorts the image since it has connections with most categories.

[10] For the evidence of code-switching in Ramesside texts, see J.F. Quack, "From Group–Writing to Word Association. Representation and Integration of Foreign Words in Egyptian Script," in J. de Voogt and I.L. Finkel (eds.), *The Idea of Writing. Play and Complexity* (Leiden: 2010), 73–92; T. Schneider, "Language Contact," in A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (eds), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles, 2022), 2.

[11] The project reports are accessible at <https://www.iclassifier.pw/reports/#!classifyingtheother> accessed 18.2.22.
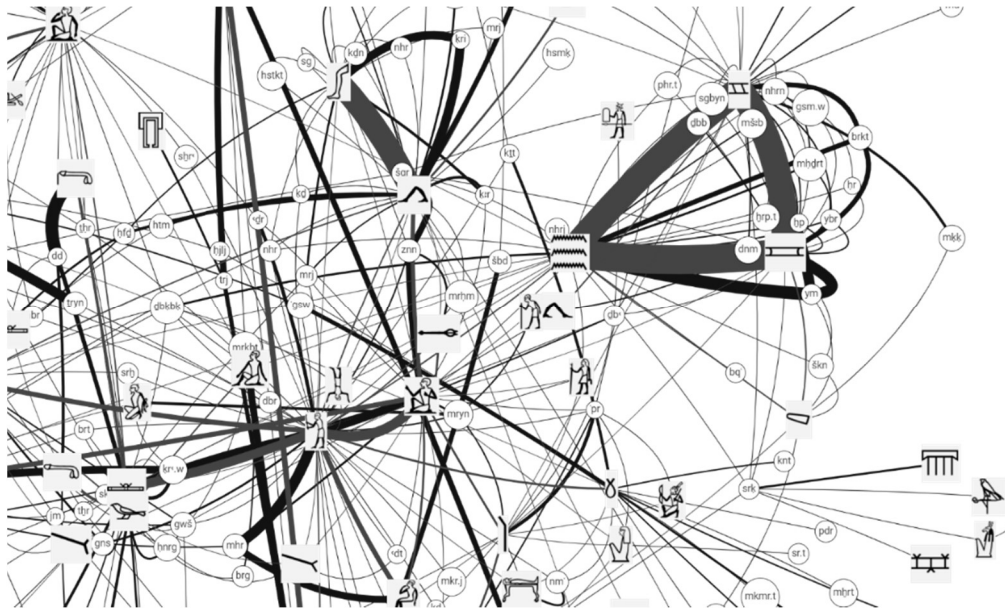
Fig. 2 A detail of the *classifier-based network* of lexical borrowings

In Fig. 2 above, one can identify the density of connections within the center of the network. In the top right corner of Fig. 2, a thick red cluster links the signs 〰 (N35A), ⛏ (N23), and ⟼ (N36). The width of the red edges represents that these three signs frequently co-occur in the categorization of [WATER-WAYS] with items such as *ym* "sea", *brkt* "pool", or *ḥp* "shore."[12]

2.1 The structure of the classifier-based categorical semantic network

The graph below (Graph 1) lists all classifiers in the network, followed by how many distinct lemmas occur with each classifier.[13] The network approach assists us in exposing the distribution of lexical items across Egyptian texts. One can learn which categories were the most central and how the classification dynamics changed over time.[14] In the corpus of loanwords, the most central category in the macro network, occurring with the most significant number of lexical items, was the [HUMAN-FORCE] categories 𓀢 (A24)/𓂡 (D40). It occurred with numerous names for types of troops and with violent or forceful actions. The distribution of categories, as presented in Table 1 (below), shows that the corpus is distributed into a few large-scale categories followed by many small categories that classify a single host word or a few entries.

---

[12] While this combination is commonly occurring together as a composite classifier, there are also instances where each of the three classifiers occurs separately or in other combinations.

[13] The data presented in this paper are all tokens listed in the book of Hoch, *Semitic Words*. Hoch's collection of examples is a sample, and he acknowledged that he is listing some examples of each word and *not all existing instances*. I work towards adding all the existing tokens of all loans. This version includes more occurrences yet not all existing instances are yet added.

[14] See an extended analysis in Harel, *A Network of Lexical Borrowings*, §4.1.

Classifier by no. of lemmas
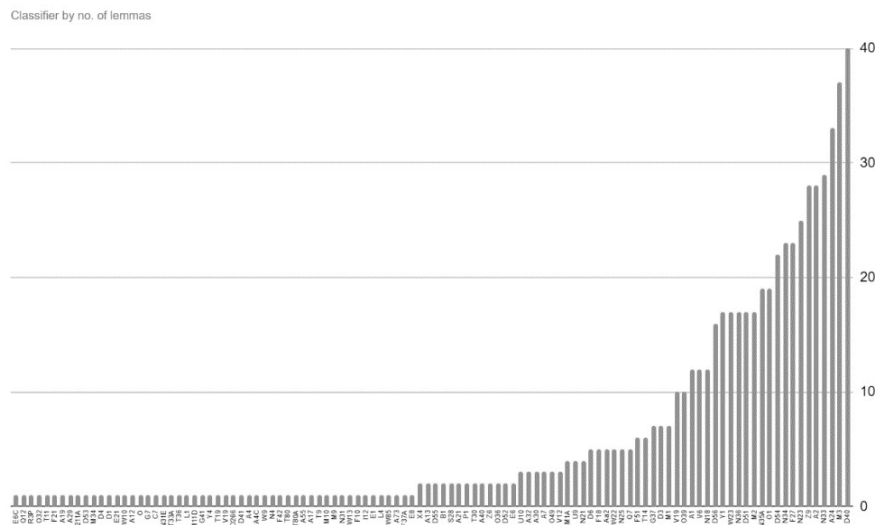
Graph 1. The distribution of lexical borrowings –
arranged by the number of lemmas per each classifier

Graph 1 lists which categories appear with the most loanwords. On the top of the list are the 𓀜 (A24)/ 𓂡 (D40) [HUMAN-FORCE] category (added by 𓏴 (Z9) in many host words) occurring with military functions and forceful actions, followed by the 𓄿 (M3) [WOOD] classifying domestic objects made of wood or various types of wood used for construction. Next, the composite water classification occurring in most cases with the classifier combination 𓈖+ 𓈗 + 𓈘 [BODIES OF WATER]. These categories classify military ranks, names of plants, wooden items, and waterways. Next, by their extent are the categories 𓀁[EAT/SPEAK/THINK/FEEL] (A2), and ○[PELLET] (N33). In this corpus of examples, the sign 𓀁 (A2) classifies terms relating to actions of the mouth such as "cries" or "divination". Then, the classifier ○(N33), occurring with many borrowed foreign commodities, such as "gold", "incense" or "lentils". Next in their frequency are the [MOVEMENT] 𓂽 (D54) category, and additional material categories such as 𓄑 (F27) occurring both with items made of animal hide and with types of animals, and the 𓈒 (N34) [METAL] category, occurring with items made of [METAL], mostly with various types of weaponry. Graph 1 above shows a long-tailed distribution,[15] where a few categories have the most lemmas, followed by many small and rarely occurring categories. This type of distribution is evident in networks of many kinds.

According to the classifier system, knowledge is organized not in a neat treasury of boxed chests. Instead, it is arranged as an open treasury. Piles spread out, and some

---

[15] On the essence of such distribution in network studies, see H. Harel, "Comparing Knowledge Organization Networks: Digitizing Graphemic Classifiers (Egyptian, Sumerian (Cuneiform) and Ancient Chinese) using the *iClassifier* Research Platform," in G. Chantrain (ed) *Language, Semantics and Cognition: Saying and Conceptualizing the World from Ancient Egypt to Modern Times*. (New Haven, in press), 23 pages.

finds are set on a fuzzy edge in the margins of the pile.[16] Medium categories are mostly material borrowings such as vessels and certain objects made of metal, stone, or leather. Such is the category 𖼄 [HERB] (M2) occurring with a variety of plants of foreign origin yet showing variation with the categories ⌇ [WOOD] (M3) and ♧ [TREE] (M1) OR 𖼅 (M1A). Objects made of metal, such as weaponry and prestigious metal containers,

occur as "made of" ⌣ [METAL] (N34), and a diverse inventory of foreign containers and vessels occur within the categories 𒑰 / 𒑱 [JUG] (W22/W23) and the borrowings of various tools and containers, classified under the 𐎛 [ROPE/CLOTH]/[TIE/ENCLOSE] (V6) category. On the margins occur domains that are rare in lexical borrowings, such as the 𓅱 [DIVINE] (G7) that occur only with names of foreign divinities or demons and with the word *srḳ* "snow" in one instance (appearing in the bottom right corner of Fig. 2 above).

2.2 Community detection

Next, the network is analyzed using a *community detection algorithm* (below Fig. 3).[17] The algorithm exposes the distribution of categories into clusters or communities and marks each "community" of classifiers by a certain color based on shared hosts. The communities we identify reflect a dozen broader categories, comparable to the broad semantic fields listed by Hoch and others. The clusters apparent in the network arrange it the following large-scale categories– Such clusters structuring a large scale semantic space are the [WOOD] (M3)+[HABITAT] (O1) CATEGORIES, THE [HUMAN-MALE] (A1) +[HUMAN-FORCE] (A24) +[ABSTRACT] +[HUMAN-FEMALE]+ [FOREIGN] (T14).

Another cluster is compiled of material categories sharing links [PELLET] (N33), [METAL] (N34), [JUG] (W23), and [STONE] (O39), representing the interplay of material and container classification for commodities.

---

[16] On the "fuzzy edges" of classifier categories, see already O. Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes. Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 29.

[17] This visualization and discussion are merely a first step in analyzing classification patterns with community detection algorithms and thus its exact methodology is still being created. For the methodology and analysis of community detection in *iClassifier,* see D. Nikolaev et al. "Analysing the Structure of The Semantic Space According to Classifiers in Ancient Languages Using Network-Community Detection." (XX*will be added).
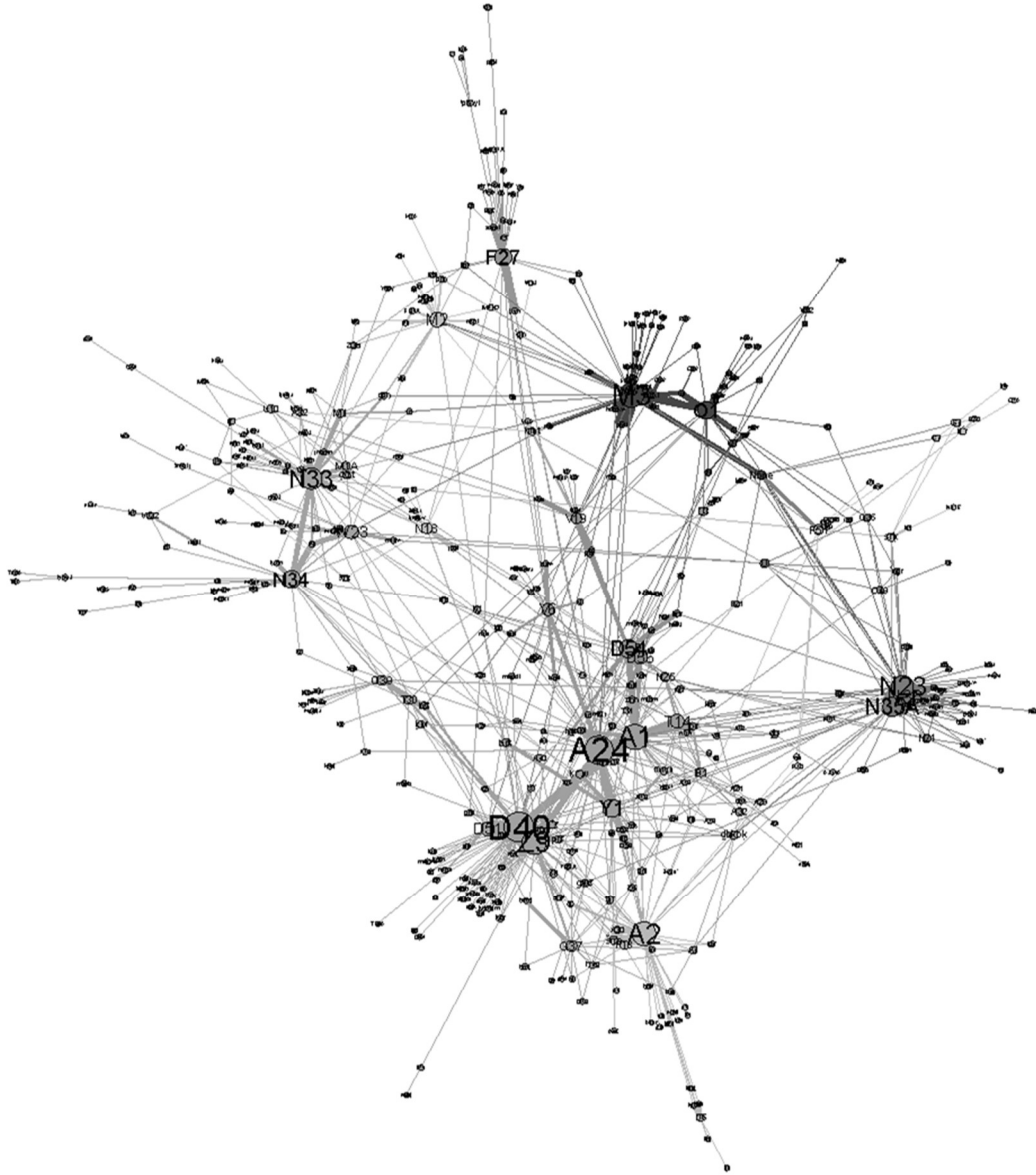
Figure 3. A network of lexical borrowings, a community detection algorithm.
The algorithm creates clusters with different colors according to statistical analysis.

This visualization is merely a first step in quantifying and modeling the structure and proximity of Egyptian script categories. We learn which knowledge domains come in contact and which are separated from one another.

3. Zooming in: The [WOOD] classifier and a foreign throne
The previous section showed how the network of lexical borrowings is compiled of central and marginal categories (Figs. 1–2). In the graph (Graph 1), several central classifiers categories occur with the most lemmas. Next, I will focus on a category with the most concrete examples (tokens) of loanwords written in texts of the studied

era. This category is the ⌐ [WOOD] classifier (§3.1).[18] After reviewing the category in its entirety, I will examine one specific host lemma that occurs with the [WOOD] classifier. I chose the lemma *jsb.t* "throne", "seat" (§3.2) as it is well integrated and portrays variation in its classifier assignment.

3.1 Zooming into the [WOOD]
In Fig. 4 below, one detail within the network is enlarged. It depicts all the interconnections of the sign ⌐ [WOOD] (M3) as a classifier, including 37 host lemmas.
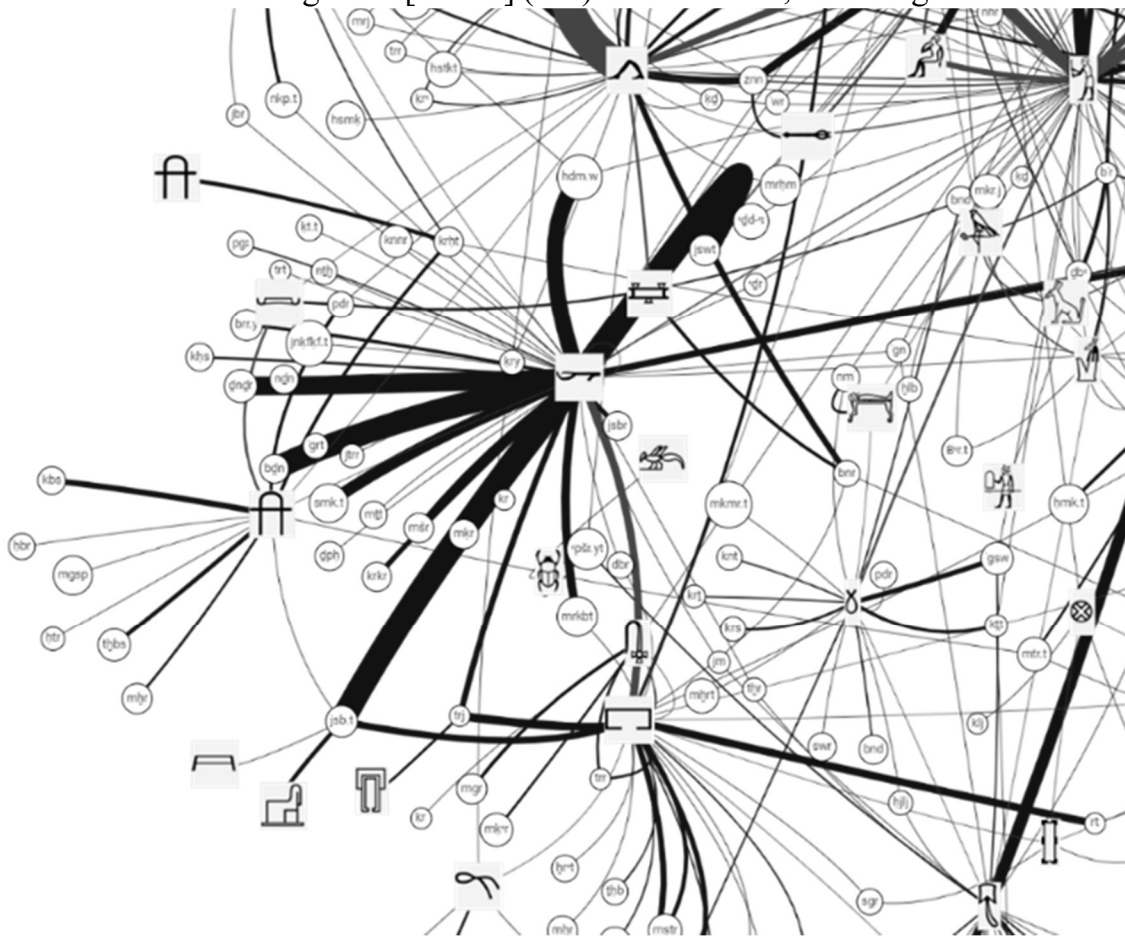
Fig. 4 The [WOOD] classifier ⌐ [M3] within the general network.

When examining specifically the host words appearing with a [WOOD] classifier, we see a wide range of items made of [WOOD].[19] The most commonly used loanwords are types of wood used in daily life, such as *dndr*[20] or *bdn*[21] meaning "stick", or *jswt*[22]

---

[18] Harel, *A network of lexical borrowings*, §4.1.2.
[19] The category M3 in the *iClassifier* report.
<https://www.iclassifier.pw/reports/#!classifyingtheother/classifiers/M3> accessed 18.2.22.
[20] Hoch, *Semitic Words*, no. 586.
[21] Hoch, *Semitic Words*, no. 149.
[22] Hoch, *Semitic Words*, no. 27.

"long plank", as well as words for pieces of furniture made of wood, such as *jsb.t*[23] "seat", "throne", or *hdm* "footstool".
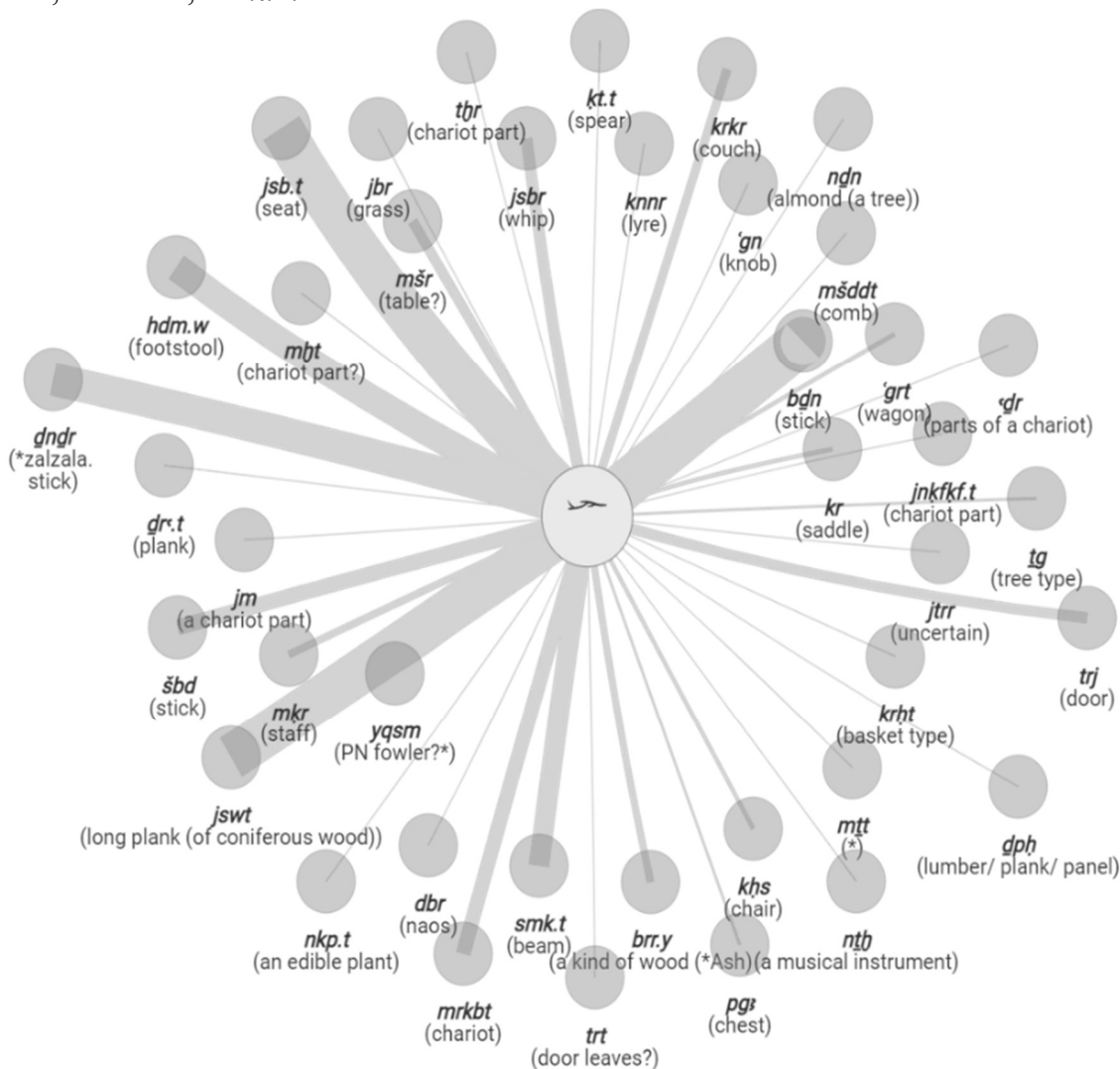

Fig. 5 The [WOOD] classifier ⤚ [M3]

Table 2 (below) accounts that the [WOOD] classifier occurs alone as a single classifier in most cases and rarely occurs in multiple classifications. We learn from these results about the integration of imported wood in the studied period. It reflects observations that have been described in historical accounts of the Late Bronze Age, accounting for the regular import of wood to Egypt.[24] Still, it adds up to the material record. It accounts that the wood delivered to Egypt was still referenced by its foreign genus names or terms, i.e., according to its type of cut as in "beam" or "stick".

---

[23] Hoch, *Semitic Words*, no. 30.

[24] For example, N. Na'aman, *Canaan in the Second Millennium B.C.E. Collected Essays*. Volume 2 (Winona Lake, 2005), 219, for records of wood deliveries to Egypt in the Amarna letters.

A few edges colored red in Fig. 4 above mark the co-occurrences of [WOOD] with other classifiers in cases of multiple classifications.[25] Some instances show the addition of the [HABITAT] (O1) classifier, and few show the addition of the 𓀙 [HUMAN-FORCE] (A24), 𓆸 [HERB] (M2), or 𓎟 [SACK] (V19) classifiers.

Classifier combination	Count
𓆱	225
𓆱 + 𓊖	8
𓀙 + 𓆱	2
𓆱 + 𓆸	1
𓆱 + 𓎟	1

Table 2. Classifier combinations of the 𓆱 (M3) [WOOD] in the corpus of loanwords.

The detail within the network highlights the importance of foreign craftsmanship for certain parts of construction materials in woodworking. Not only foreign objects like the chariot or domestic furniture items were borrowed. Also, wooden parts and technologies carried their foreign names.

---

[25] There are 36 tokens that occur with a plural classifier, extracted from this table. Additionally, one personal foreign name listed by Hoch, *Semitic Words*, no. 61, 𓏤𓆱𓉐𓏤 *yḳsm* "*fowler*" is classified with M3, as well as one toponym 𓇋𓏏𓈖𓏥 *nḏn* "almond (a tree)", Hoch, *Semitic Words*, no. 268.

3.2. Zooming into the *jsb.t*
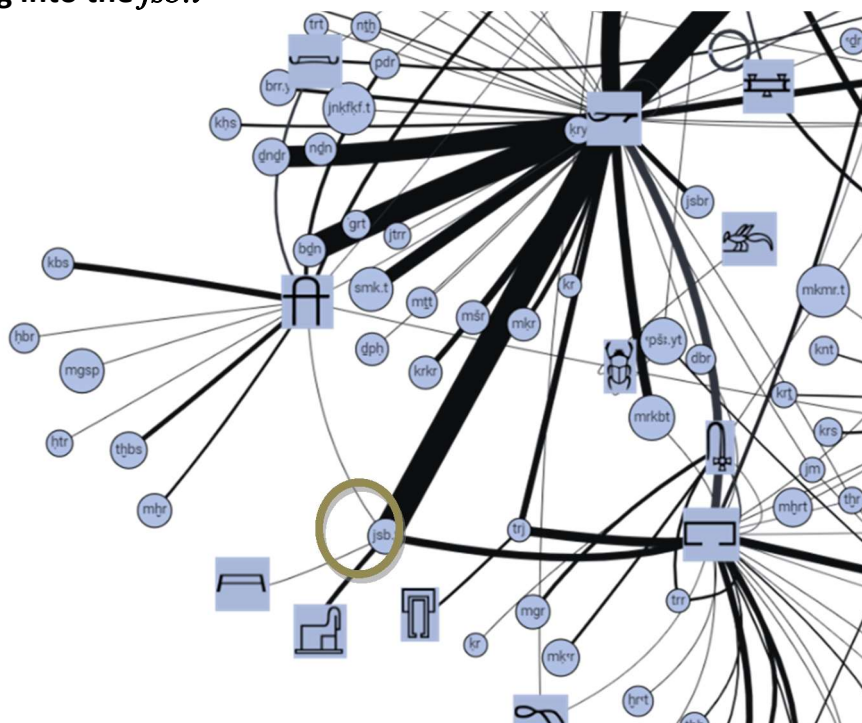
Fig. 6 A detail depicting the lemma *jsb.t*
within the *classifier-based network*

Continuing our analysis of the network, we will examine a specific detail in it closely. In this magnified detail, included in the image is the lemma *jsb.t*, which is linked to the (M3) [WOOD] category by a thick blue edge. The width of the line represents that it was primarily classified within the category [WOOD]. Moreover, apart from the [WOOD] classifier, the lexical item *jsb.t* shows connections to a few other classifier categories (Figs. 6–7). I will now discuss the variation in the classifier assignment in this specific lexical item and illustrate the relations between its classifier assignment and its semantic range. Fig. 7 shows the classification of the lexical borrowing *jsb.t* "seat, throne".[26] The lemma report of the *jsb.t* "seat", "throne", occurs with five different classifiers categories.[27] I will describe its diachronic integration route and its classification across its occurrences.

---

[26] I unified here all examples under one lemma. Hoch separates some meanings as "shelter", yet Meeks suggests all examples meaning a seat, just that it was a certain place of rest, cf. Meeks, "*Les emprunts égyptiens aux langues sémitiques*", 35–36.
[27] Visit the report at: https://www.iclassifier.pw/reports/#!classifyingtheother/lemmas/31390, accessed 18.2.22.

Classifier combination	Count
⌇	25
⬓	6
𓉐	5
⌇+⬓	2
𓊪	1
⌇+ⅲ	1
⊟	1
⌇+𓏢	1
🏛	1

Fig. 7 The lemma *jsb.t* and its classification patterns

The earliest occurrence of this lexical item was in the 18th dynasty as a luxury item acquired by the Egyptian elite.[28] The word first occurs in the time of Amenhotep III and next in inscriptions at Tell el-Amarna from the tomb of Ay. Later, in hieratic ostraca, it stands for a common household item made of wood (e.g., 2 *jsb.t m ḫ.t* "two seats of wood").[29] Next, it occurs in royal texts describing an ob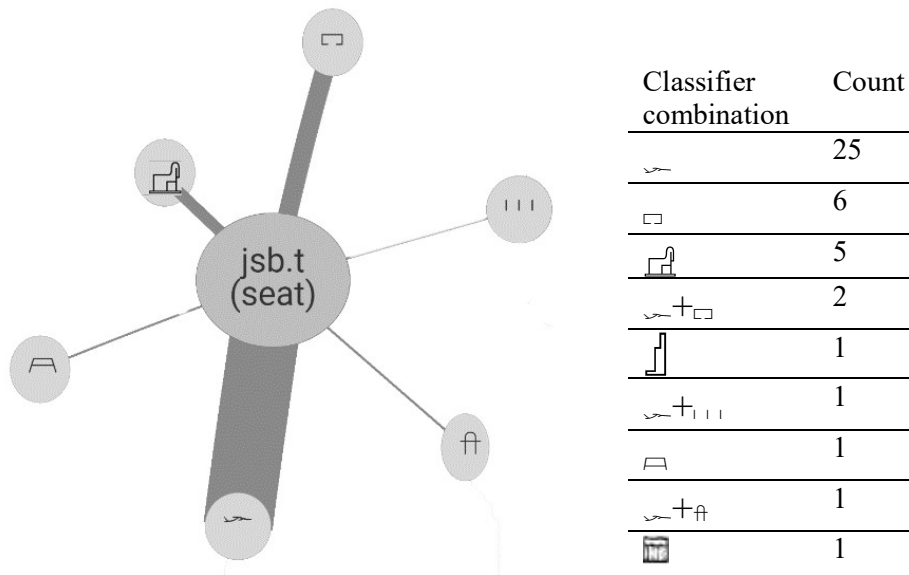ject belonging to the king—commonly translated as "throne" e.g., DZA 21.303.310. As illustrated in Fig. 7, its classification ranged from a repeater classifier[30] depicting a royal throne[31] to classification according to the material the object was made of [WOOD].

3.2.1 The emergence of the *jsb.t*

A lexical item transliterated *jsb.t* first appeared in Egyptian texts of the 18th dynasty, representing a royal and a domestic seat. I will briefly sketch here its integration route. While it is not written in group-writing, it is likely a loan in syllabic writing.[32] Previously, dictionaries listed its first occurrence in Amarna.[33] Yet, it appeared earlier in a funerary inscription of Amenhotep, son of Hapu (ca. 1430–1350 BCE), a scribe and high official under Amenhotep III of ancient Egypt (reigned 1390–1353 BCE).

---

[28] DZA no. 21.303.180, accessible in https://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/DzaBrowser, accessed 18.2.22.

[29] DZA 21.303.280; DZA 21.303.240.

[30] For the notion of a "repeater classifier," see O. Goldwasser and C. Grinevald, "What Are Determinatives Good For?," in: E. Grossman, S. Polis and J. Winand (eds.), *Lexical Semantics in Ancient Egyptian* (Hamburg, 2012), 20, 48.

[31] Q12, TSL id 1_5164.

[32] See Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien,* 505–506. An explanation of the spelling of this loan is found in W. A. Ward "Notes on Some Semitic Loan-words and Personal Names in Late Egyptian." *Orientalia* 32/4 (1963), 418.

[33] *WB* I, 132, writes "belegt seit Amarna". They reference the meaning ranges from: I. *Stuhl; Thron; Thron-himmel.* Auch bildlich; *Thron jedes Landes* = Herrschaft uber jed. L and II. *Untersatz fur Statuen und Stelen.*

Amenhotep, son of Hapu, titled the overseer of builders of Amun, was awarded by the king a unique honor, as he was awarded a mortuary temple in Thebes, observing the royal mortuary temple. In an inscription in his mortuary temple, he is seated on a *jsp.t* of gold. This earliest known occurrence is painted in color below (Fig. 8). This golden seat was awarded to Amenhotep, son of Hapu, by the king, as illuminated in Ex. 1.
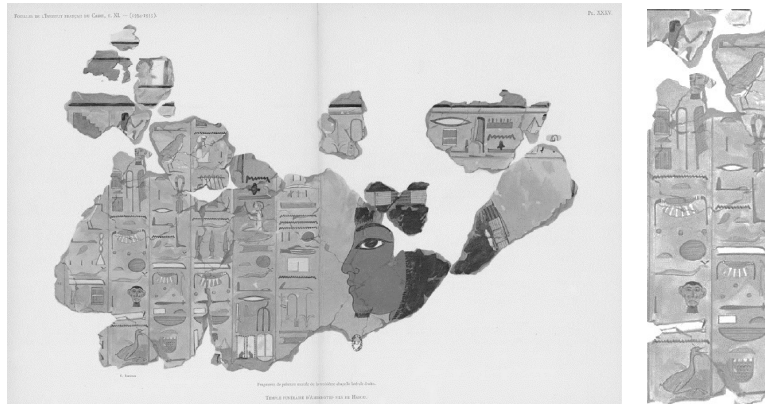
Fig. 8 The first occurrence of *jsb.t* in an inscription
at the mortuary temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.[34]

(Example 1) (URK IV, 1837, 12–15).

ḥms≤i ḥr isp.t▢ nt nbw ḫft-ḥr tnṯ³.t[ ]
VB:seat=1sg on N:seat[SEAT] of N:gold before N:throne-dais[DAIS]
"*I sat on a seat of gold before the throne dais*."

In this first instance, the word is spelled *jsp.t* and is written with a repeater classifier reconstructed by Varille as a flat square-shaped decorated floor cushion (Fig. 9). Its spelling *jsp.t*, instead of *jsb.t* in most of its later occurrences, likely represents the same lexical item, as a variance of /*b*/ and /*p*/ even in a single text showing both spellings.[35] In ex. 1, a unique rectangular classifier is shaped like the sign Q3, commonly representing the phonetic value /*p*/. This glyph is used more rarely as a logogram for *p* "base", "seat".[36] Here, it occurs in a new sign function it did not before, as a classifier with new lexical borrowing. The original pictorial reference of the sign is activated, just as it is depicted and maintained in its decoration as a colored hieroglyphic, in Fig. 8.[37] When it is used as a logogram, it is followed by a classifier

---

[34] C. Robichon and A. Varille. *Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, fils de Hapou*, (Cairo, 1936), pl. 30.
[35] DZA no. 21.303.180.
[36] TLA lemma 58650.
[37] This decorative pattern is perhaps maintend in the hieratic form of this sign as well, written with three vertical lines and a base line ⧢. For the hieratic forms of this sign, see its entry in the AKU project,

such as a "seat" classified as made [WOOD] 𓉻, or made of (O39) [STONE], written 𓊪𓊌 .[38]
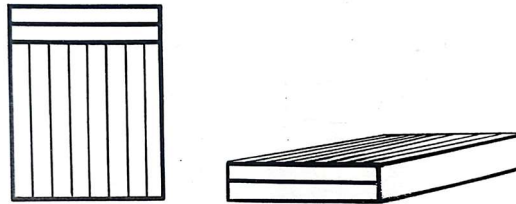
Fig. 9 A reconstruction of "le determinative
de cousin-carreeau *isp.t,"* after Varille's (1968, 64).

The Egyptian language already had several terms for "throne", "seat", or "chair", written 𓊨𓏏 *s.t* or 𓏠𓊨 *ns.t*.[39] In this first known example, the text suggests that Amenhotep, son of Hapu, was seated on a *jsb.t* made of gold while the king sat on the standard throne, the *s.t wr.t* 𓊨𓏏𓈖𓇋𓃀𓅢.[40] This unique classifier does not appear in any other example, so we wonder what this specific seat looked like and why it carried a new, and possibly foreign, name.

3.2.2 From a seat to a throne and back
While the first occurrence of this loan reference a luxury seat, its subsequent occurrences are for various types of seats. Early examples of this loan in the Amarna period occur with the [WOOD] classifier, and represent, according to lexical and pictorial contexts, the borrowing of the sense "seat", "chair", or "stool". Fig. 10 and the example below, demonstrate one example from an inscription at the tomb of Ay.

---

courtesy of the AKU project, Mainz, <https://aku-pal.uni-mainz.de/graphemes#id=509&mdc=Q3>, accessed 24.5.22.

[38] It lasted into the late period, were it also occurs with a classifier of a specific type of seat, 𓊪𓇜 [THRONE] or a [HABITAT] classifier 𓇋𓊌.

[39] The term *ns.t* (TLA lemma 854540) is the most attested and is widely in use in Ramesside texts, occurring in 276 tokens in the Ramses database. Additional, yet rare, terms for "throne" in texts of the studied era are *bḥdw* (3 tokens in the Ramses database), *wṯs.t* (2 tokens) (Ramses lemmas nos. 100244, 101142.)

[40] K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, 1–16* (Berlin, 1961), 1841, 6. This term lasts into Coptic ⲚⲎⲤⲈ, TLA lemma no. C2519.
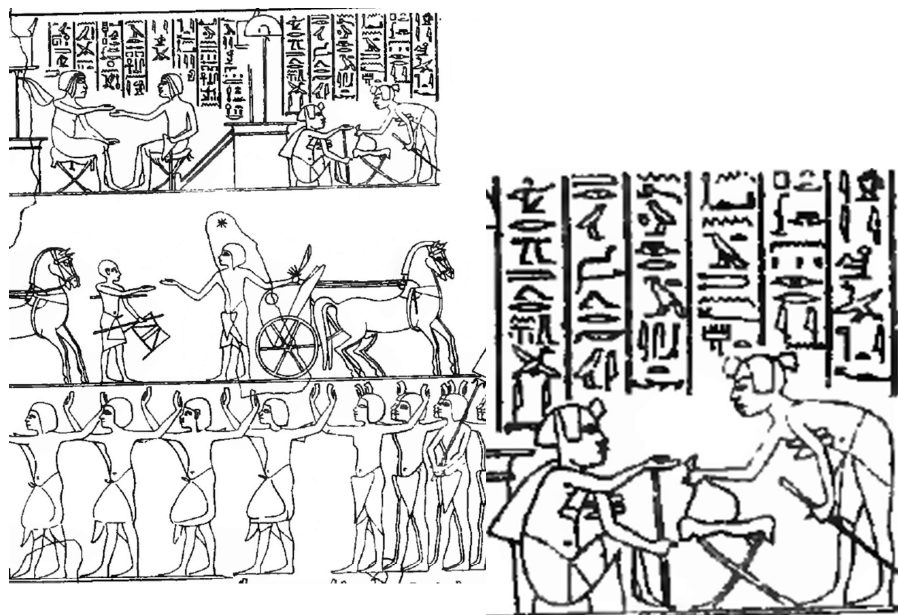
Fig. 10 Tomb of Ay, the magnified detail (on the right side) includes *jsb.t*.

The inscription (starting from the third line from left on the magnified detail) reads *nwꜣ r tꜣ jsb.t ḥnꜥ {n} tꜣ tnf.t ptr⸗n jry n jy pꜣ jt-ntr* "Look to the stool and the sack, that we may see what is being done for Ay, the father of the god." Then, his comrade answers, "Don't be long (or) I'll be off and keep them, my master!"[41] Here, the *jsb.t* represents a folding stool. The elite and royalty commonly used such stools in cultic or day-to-day uses.[42]

Fig 11 A luxury folding stool found in a New Kingdom Theban tomb.
Photograph courtesy of the British Museum, EA2477.

---

[41] After N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna: Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Aÿ* (London/Boston, 1908), pls. 23, 30 and B.M. Bryan and E.S. Meltzer, "A Note on an Obscure Title, *ꜣy tnfyt pd(t) n nb tꜣwy*," JSSEA 8 #2 (Feb. 1978) 60–65.
[42] For a survey of the depictions of folding chairs in New Kingdom records, D. Sweeney, "The Man on the Folding Chair: An Egyptian Relief from Beth Shean," *Israel Exploration Journal* 48, 1/2 (1998), 38–53.

In the same tomb inscription,[43] the lexical item *jsb.t* is also used to represent a royal seat, a throne classified with the ☐ [HABITAT] classifier. The inscription reads: "All foreign lands are bringing tributes to the great throne (ꜥꜣ.t jsb.t⌐) of Akhenaten." The Pictorial record from Amarna shows variations in the depiction of the royal throne, where in some depictions, the typical throne is replaced by a throne with a new shape. It has no back part and is shown as a rectangular decorated seat (Fig. 13).[44] Similar square-shaped thrones are familiar in depictions of royalty in Near Eastern cultures.
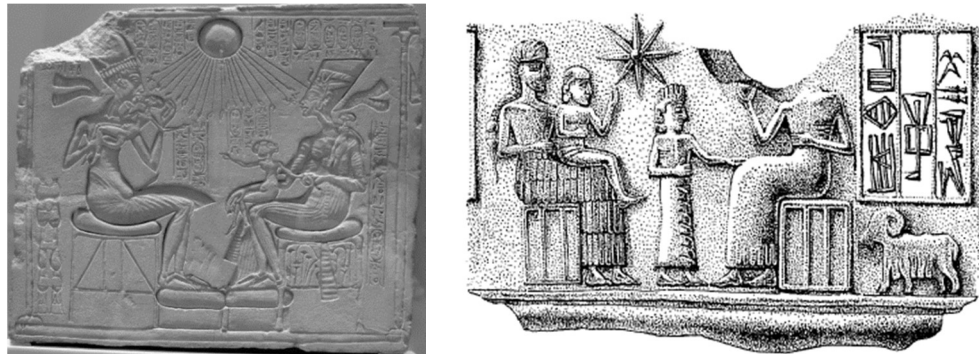
Fig. 13 (left) The Relief of Ahkenaten, Nefertiti and their three daughters, 18th Dynasty, 1351–1334 BCE; © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung © José Luiz Bernardes Ribeiro / CC BY-SA 4.0 and (right) Rulers of Urkeshand, seal impression, Tell Mozan.[45]

The innovative shape of Akhnaten's throne leads one to think of a foreign origin for the new word used for the royal seat. Next, *jsb.t* appears designated to a foreign ruler, in the phrase *jsb.t n ḥkꜣ* "throne of the foreign ruler" in the tale of Astarte.[46] In the tale, it occurs several times with an inconsistent orthography spelled both *jsp.t* and *jsb.t*.[47] These spelling variations support reading the earlier example discussed above

---

[43] Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna,* III, Xiii.

[44] David suggests that an additional feature added to the royal furniture in royal scenes of the Amarna period is a footstool (Semitic loanword *hdmw*), that appears as a plain rectangular step or a cushioned one with a geometric pattern, see A. David*, Renewing Royal Imagery: Akhenaten and Family in the Amarna Tombs* (Leiden, 2020), 294.

[45] I. Ziffer, *Metamorphosis of Ancient Near Eastern Metaphors of Rulership, The Towel, The Flower and The Cup.* Doctoral Dissertation (Tel Aviv, 1999). (Hebrew), fig. 197; I. Ziffer, "From Acemhöyük to Megiddo: The Banquet Scene in the Art of the Levant in the Second Millennium BCE." *Tel Aviv* 32, 2 (2005), 133–167, Fig. 12. Figure after G. Buccellati and M. Kelly-Buccellati, "The Royal Storehouse of Urkesh: The G1yptic Evidence from the Southwestern Wing," *AfO* 42/43 (1995/1996): Fig. 4b.

[46] P. Collombert and L. Coulon. "Les dieux contre la mer Le début du «papyrus d'Astarté» (pBN 202). "*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* 100 (2000): 193–242, note that this is the earliest occurrence of the term, following Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 36-40 and Meeks, *"Les emprunts égyptiens aux langues sémitiques"*, 35–36.

[47] Collombert and Coulon "*Les dieux contre la mer*", the authors suggest this inconsistent orthography is due to the new integration of this lexical item into Egyptian.

as the same lexical item. As recently suggested by Schneider,[48] some of the uses of *jsb.t* are in phrases expressing *calque borrowing*, such as the *jw=tw ḥr rdj.t n=s tꜣy=s jsb.t jw=s ḥr ḥms* "her throne was brought to her, and she sat down",[49] that he parallels to the Ugaritic *tꜥdb ksủ wyṯṯb*. Yet, this use of this loan was extended beyond calque, and it was well-integrated as a domestic object.

Moreover, the term does not stand for one specific chair style; it is depicted as a folding chair or a seat in various styles. When attempting to identify the etymology of this new lexical item, one is left uncertain regarding a language of origin. The root *y-ṯ-b* is widely attested in Semitic. Relevant here are its formations in Ugaritic and Akkadian.[50] Both commonly used this root as a verbal lexeme, meaning "to sit down" and "take a seat on a throne". In Ugaritic, the root *yṯb* appears mostly in verbal formations, e.g., in G-stem: *yṯb l hdm* (. . .) *yṯb larṣ* "he sat down on the footstool (. . .) he sat down on the ground",[51] or "*Bꜥl yṯb l ks mlkh* "Ba'al sat on his royal throne".[52] Despite its common use as a verbal lexeme meaning "to sit", its derived nouns differ, *mṯb* "a dwelling". A noun for "throne" in Ugaritic differs and is "*ks*". Similarly, in Akkadian, while such a term is a common verb "to sit", its nominal forms don't show a clear parallel.[53]

In Ramesside texts, *jsb.t* occurs in literary genres such as royal inscriptions and non-literary records such as lists and administrative texts. For example, it is used to describe the Egyptian throne: *jsbt n tꜣ-mrỉ* "the throne of Egypt",[54] or *ṯꜣj jsbt n nb tꜣwj*, "Carrier of the throne of the lord of the Two Lands",[55] the epithet *jsb.(w)t ꜥꜣ n km.t*,[56] e.g., p. Harris I 75, 8–9, or an "ordinary" household seat, such as in, *jr jnk, twj sḏr.kwj*

---

[48] T. Schneider, "Language Contact," in A. Stauder and W. Wendrich (eds.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, (Los Angeles, 2022), 8, after T.H. Gaster "The Egyptian "Story of Astarte" and the Ugaritic Poem of Baal." *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 9 (1952), pp. 82–85.

[49] (pBN 202 + pAmherst 9, line 3,y). Another reconstructed example reads (pBN 202 + pAmherst 9, line [1,x+8]) *tꜣy=f jsp.t n ꜥnḫ-wḏꜣ-snb*. T. Schneider, "Wie der Wettergott Ägypten aus der grossen Flut errettete: Ein 'inkulturierter' ägyptischer Sintflut-Mythos und die Gründung der Ramsesstadt." *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 38 (2011–2012), 173–139.

[50] A discussion regarding the lexicon of the throne in ancient Near Eastern languages is in I. Ziffer, *Metamorphosis of Ancient Near,* 158–160.

[51] (After 1.5, VI, 12–13).

[52] G. del Olmo Lete and J. Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Leiden/London, 2015), 995.

[53] Hoch, *Semitic Words*, 38, criticized Meeks suggestion of Akkadian *ušbu*, and suggested the cognates *šubtu* "seat" and *ꜥšbꜥtum* "cushion", "seat".

[54] Medinet Habu=O. Institute. *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III. Oriental Institute Publications (OIP) 8 and Later Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago, 1930), 75,11.

[55] K.P. Kuhlmann, *Der Thron im alten Ägypten: Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens* (Glückstadt, 1977), 8, 13 (I), 15, fns. 9 and 11, 106, 10; K.P. Kuhlmann. 2011, "Throne," in W. Wendrich (ed), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology,* (Los Angeles, 2011) < http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0026w9gt>, accessed 18.2.22.

[56] DZA 21.303.560.

m tȝy.j jsb.t "as for me, I was lying in my **jsb.t*."[57] Meeks suggests seeing the examples of this item with the [HABITAT] classifier as belonging to the same lexical item, unlike Hoch, who listed this example as a separate entry, translated as "shelter".[58] In its various occurrences, this lexical item shows variation in its classification. For example, it occurs mainly with the categories [WOOD], [HABITAT], and more rarely with a few repeater classifiers depicting the classified object, a [THRONE] or a [SEAT]. One must wonder why the word for throne changes after a period of foreign throne holders.[59] *jsb.t* is attested in inscriptions in private tombs of the Amarna period, describing the great throne of Akhenaten. Later in Ramesside, records of the 1st Hittite marriage, the Hittite treaty, and the Battle of Qadesh show the use of this well-integrated term referencing an Egyptian royal throne. The conventional Egyptian word for the royal "throne" *ns*

⬚ or ⬚[60] is rarely classified and rarely appears with a repeater classifier depicting a seat ⬚ (Q2) or a throne ⬚ (Q12).[61] In the New Kingdom, where it is more commonly classified, it occurs with a ⬚ [HABITAT] (O1) classifier.[62] While the Egyptian terms perhaps are well understood and do not need the additional pictorial categorization, both types of the throne classifier occur with the new loan when referring to a throne.

To sum up the integration route of *jsb.t*: the word was introduced in the 18th dynasty, and its classification has varied, mainly to represent various types of seats—be they royal or domestic.[63] Because of its early introduction, it is continuously written in consonantal Egyptian orthography. When the new word *jsb.t* was transcribed in Egyptian, it was first classified with a unique repeater, and later with the varieties of the throne or with the material it was made of, [WOOD]. Some of the classifier variations show the referents of this word were perhaps various "types" of chairs, royal and domestic. In the integration of this noun, one can identify a process of semantic extension. Initially, it referenced a specific type of seat, and later was generalized and extended to represent various types of seats. At the same time, the classifier system

---

[57] KRI=K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and biographical* IV (Oxford, 1982) IV, 302,16.

[58] Meeks "*Les emprunts égyptiens aux langues sémitiques*", 35–36; Hoch, *Semitic Words,* no. 31.

[59] For changes in the conceptions of the throne in the 18th dynasty, particularly in Amarna, see A. David. "A *Throne* for Two: Image of the Divine Couple During Akhenaten's Reign." *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 14 (2017), 1–10.

[60] TLA lemma-no. 87870; DZA 25.279.920.

[61] DZA 25.279.880.

[62] The ⬚ classifier has been widely attested since the Old Kingdom. E.-S. Lincke, *Die Prinzipien der Klassifizierung im Altägyptischen* (Wiesbaden, 2011), 31, 81–93, analyzed the classifiers for 'throne' and contexts of variance of the Q2/Q12 classifiers.

[63] Hoch suggests that the consonantal writing may reflect the word entered the language in an earlier phase. However, borrowings occurring in the inscriptions of the 18th dynasty portray consonantal spelling commonly, Hoch 1994, 36, fn. 111; J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden, 1975), 191–194, for "folding stool".

shows a reverse mechanism and disambiguates the referent. The variety of classifiers offers specification of the specific referent and marking of the object's class.

Moving on to another zoomed-in detail in the network of lexical borrowings (Figs. 5–6 above), one can find additional loans within the [WOOD] classifier category for types of seats, *kḥs* "chair",[64] and *hdm* "footstool".[65] The word *hdm* is used as a domestic artifact, primarily in lists and inventories, yet again adorns also royal depictions, such as seen in the pictorial in the depiction of Akhenaten in Fig. 13 above. Similar to *jsb.t,* it is attested in various genres and appears both in domestic, royal, and literary texts, e.g., in the Ramesside tale "Blinding of Truth" (Ex. 2). In this loan, we see a possible partial loan-translation, as the second element in the Semitic *hdm rglym* "stool (of) feet", is translated into native Egyptian:

(Example 2)

jw=f ḥr dỉ.t wꜥ hdm rd.wy.=f ḥr rd.wy=f

VB-conj:did=3sg one N:footstool -N:feet=POSS.3sg under N:feet=POSS.3sg

"Then he put a footstool under his feet" (pBM 10682, 6,3).[66]

4. Conclusions

This paper examined the Egyptian lexicon from a novel perspective, arranging lexical items by innate Egyptian categories as semantic networks. As a case study, I used a corpus of Semitic words appearing in Egyptian texts of the New Kingdom collected by James E. Hoch. The list was edited based on a critical evaluation of its reviews. First, I presented the macro distribution of loanwords according to semantic domains. This new approach allows one to examine the testimony of lexical borrowing into Egyptian in its entirety as well as to dissect the record of ancient Egyptian categories. The general distribution of lexical items and the most common knowledge domains are highlighted, exposing the central domains of lexical borrowing. Next, I discussed one central hub within the network, the [WOOD] classifier. This category has the most significant number of concrete examples. It reflects that the most common items of

---

[64] Lemma-no. 854765, Hoch, Semtic Words, no. 496. Linked to cognates in various NWS dialects, *ksʾ* and *ksʾh* are attested in Phoenician and Punic for "throne"; in Akkadian */kussu/* from Sumerian, J. Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*, (Leiden, 1995), 522. In Ugaritic, a comparable form is identical in its consonantal spelling *kḫt*, del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language,* 429, meaning "throne".

[65] Hoftijzer and K. Jongeling. *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic,* 552.

[66] *htm(ꜣ)* 'Thron; Schemel,' TLA (demotic) lemma-no. 3883. This word lasts to demotic and is commonly used for the meaning "throne", while the word *jsb.t* does not last to later Egyptian. Kammerzell commented on the cyclical change of terms for the Egyptian throne, showing how in Coptic again a foreign lexical item for throne was borrowed, in this turn the Greek θρόνος, see F. Kammerzell, "Old Egyptian and Pre-Old Egyptian: Tracing linguistic diversity in Archaic Egypt and the creation of the Egyptian language", in S. Seidlmayer (ed): *Texte und Denkmäler des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Berlin, 2005), 171.

lexical acculturation were related to woodworking and domestic artifacts such as wooden stools and chairs.

Magnifying into the network, I presented a sketch on the integration of one loan, the lemma *jsb.t* "seat" or "throne", appearing in Egyptian texts in the 18th dynasty as a seat used in domestic and elite contexts. The semantic range of this material loan is reflected in its classification. Its classifiers vary from the most common [wood] to specific types of seats, such as a [THRONE], a low seat [STOOL], or a [SEAT]. Its occurrences with a throne classifier depicting a typical Egyptian throne attested to its semantic extension when a foreign item competed with the native Egyptian word for the throne. Through zooming in and out on Hoch's Semitic word list, I was able to begin a new path of research based on inner hierarchies in the semantic structures of Egyptian. In the next step, we can use the *iClassifier* tool to zoom into more hidden corners in ancient history and direct the spotlight to the integration path of additional acculturated goods and concepts.

Manqabad: A Coptic Monastery of Middle Egypt with Cultural Influences from Pharaonic, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods

Ilaria Incordino

Abstract: The monastery of Manqabad is a large recently-discovered monastic site of the mid-1st millennium AD in Middle Egypt that has already revealed its long history of Christian occupation (Vth–VIIIth cent. AD), a Late Roman Period (for the presence of thermal-bath-like architectural structures in the central area of the site), a possible Ptolemaic (?) and a Pharaonic phase (for two limestone blocks with carved hieroglyphs reused in Christian era). The large monastic area (92,000 m^2), object of a joint Italian-Egyptian archaeological mission of Study and Conservation since 2011, had an undoubtedly high cultural level with several influences deriving from short, medium and large distance trade, possibly derived from the hypothesis that it was a well-known pilgrimage center. The analysis of the paintings, texts and the decorated pottery has underlined several links with the Pharaonic and Roman periods, possibly involving reminiscences of a Dionysiac/Osiriac figurative repertoire (VI–VII cent. AD). It is not surprising that to better spread the Christian faith, it was necessary to convey a new message using symbols and images already known by the majority of the population. The Hellenistic mood was still very present in Christian Egypt, as in the Dionysiac theme, mainly because of the Ptolemaic connection with this divinity, often identified with Osiris. Moreover, it could be suggested a link between the Christian saint to which the Manqabad monastery has been possibly dedicated (Onophrius) and the ancient god Osiris (*Wennefer*). The area of Asyut was, in fact, connected to Osiris since the Old and Middle Kingdom, where the shrine of Osiris was called "*The House of Wennefer*". The name Onophrius is, therefore, thought to be a Hellenized form of a Coptic name 'Unnufer', ultimately from the Egyptian *wnn-nfr,* meaning "The Perfect One", epithet of the god Osiris. Since two limestone blocks with carved hieroglyphs have been found in Manqabad so far (one reused as a painted window and the other used as building material for later phase of construction), it could be likely that they derive from a pre-existent Osiriac temple or shrine.

Résumé: Le monastère de Manqabad est un grand site monastique du milieu du 1er millénaire après J.-C., récemment découvert en Moyenne-Égypte, et qui a déjà révélé sa longue histoire d'occupation chrétienne (V^e–VIIIe siècle après J.-C.), une période romaine tardive (par la présence de structures architecturales en forme de bain thermal dans la zone centrale du site), une éventuelle phase ptolémaïque et pharaonique (par la présence de deux blocs de calcaire ornés de hiéroglyphes sculptés, réutilisés à l'époque chrétienne). La grande zone monastique (92 000 m^2), qui fait l'objet, depuis 2011, d'une mission archéologique conjointe italo-égyptienne d'étude et de conservation, avait un niveau culturel indubitablement élevé et bénéficiait de multiples influences dues au commerce à courte, moyenne et grande distance, attribuable peut-être à son prétendu statut de centre de pèlerinage réputé. L'analyse des peintures, des textes et des poteries décorées a mis en évidence les nombreux liens avec les périodes pharaonique et romaine, impliquant peut-être des réminiscences d'un répertoire figuratif dionysiaque / osiriaque (VIe–VIIe s. après J.-C.). Il n'est pas étonnant que, pour mieux diffuser la foi chrétienne, il fut nécessaire de transmettre un nouveau message, à l'aide de symboles et d'images déjà connus par la majorité de la population. L'ambiance hellénistique était encore très présente dans l'Égypte chrétienne, ainsi que dans le thème dionysiaque, principalement en raison du lien ptolémaïque avec cette divinité, souvent identifiée à Osiris. On pourrait supposer, en outre, un lien entre le saint chrétien auquel le monastère de Manqabad a peut-être été dédié (Onuphre) et l'ancien dieu Osiris (Wennefer). La région d'Assiout était, en effet, reliée à Osiris depuis l'Ancien et le Moyen Empires, à l'époque où le sanctuaire d'Osiris était appelé « *la maison de Wennefer* ». On pense donc que le nom Onuphre est une forme hellénisée du nom copte Onnufer, dérivé à son tour de l'Égyptien *wnn-nfr*, qui

signifie « Le parfait », une épithète du dieu Osiris. D'autant plus que les deux blocs de calcaire, ornés de hiéroglyphes sculptés, récemment retrouvés à Manqabad (l'un réutilisé comme fenêtre peinte et l'autre utilisé comme matériau pour la phase de construction ultérieure), proviennent très probablement d'un temple ou d'un tombeau osiriaque préexistant.

Keywords: Manqabad, Coptic Archaeology, Egyptian monasticism, cultural influences.

Mots-clés: Manqabad, Archéologie copte, monachisme égyptien, influences culturelles.

Introduction

The Italian-Egyptian Study and Conservation Project at the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut), sponsored by the Embassy of Italy in Egypt, is a collaborative archaeological mission of the Italian Archaeological Center (IIC, Cairo), L'Orientale University of Naples (UNIOR) and the Supreme Council of Antiquities. The purpose of this project, directed by Prof. Rosanna Pirelli, is a thorough analysis and survey of Manqabad site, about 7.50 km west of Asyut in Middle Egypt.

After its accidental discovery in 1965, the monastery was explored by Egyptian archaeologists in 1976, then between 1984 and 1986, again from 1990 to 1992, and from 2000 to 2010. Yet, no complete reports have ever been published. It was, however, addressed briefly by some authors. Between 1989 and 1991, Peter Grossman briefly described Manqabad as "a late Roman site surrounded by a rectangular mud-brick enclosure, mainly comprising buildings with Christian features, including some churches and, in the centre of the site, a completely different group of buildings," whose architectural features he compared to some found in Bawit (Monastery of Apollo, just north of Asyut).[1] According to Grossman, the site should be dated between the 6th and 8th cent. AD.

The Italian-Egyptian project started in 2011, beginning with a topographical survey of the numerous extant structures, followed by the documentation of the archaeological material stored in the warehouse of el-Ashmunein, to be included in a digital database. During the two last fieldwork seasons (2018–2020) restoration activities were performed as well, and a complete georeferenced map of the site was produced.[2] It was also possible to start an overall architectural, paintings and pottery survey, which provide significant information about the artistic accomplishments and daily life of the monks.

---

[1] Peter Grossmann, "Neue frühchristliche Funde aus Ägypten," *Actes du XIe congrés international d'archéologie chrétienne Lyon 21–28 Septembre 1986,* Vatican (1989): 1876–1879; Peter Grossman, "Manqabad," *Coptic Encyclopedia,* New York (1991: 1523).

[2] Rosanna Pirelli et al., "The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad 2018–5th Campaign," *CISA Newsletter*, Naples (2018) 9: 305–350; Rosanna Pirelli et al., "The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad 2020–6th Campaign," *CISA Newsletter*, Naples (2019) 10: 347–389, http://www.unior.it/userfiles/workarea_231/file/NL10/02Notiziario2019/Pirellietalii_.pdf

The site consists nowadays of monastic housing units arranged in regular rows (Northern Sector), a collective baths structure still to be fully investigated (Central Sector), at least four churches, a massive perimeter wall, and a southern large production area (Fig. 1). It has never been disturbed in the pursuit of antiquities, and after its long occupation (from the end of the 4th to the beginning of the 9th century AD), and it was probably suddenly abandoned.

The investigation of the area south of the monastery walls in 2020 (already identified in the past seasons) produced extraordinary results, when a very large and articulated complex of kilns for pottery emerged from the cleaning of one of the "dumps" (Fig. 2).[3] In fact, due to the discovery of the remains of pottery production in the area, the presence of a workshop for ceramic production at Manqabad seems well grounded. Despite the fact that, even if only few trenches have thus far been opened, and more in-depth archeological investigation is

Fig 1. Plan of the Manqabad archaeological area (©UNIOR).

planned for the next field season, we can probably confirm this hypothesis with additional, new evidence. According to the pottery types identified at the site (African Red Slip Wares, Gaza and Palestinian amphorae, Late Roman 1 and 5 amphorae) it is also possible to suggest that this workshop did not produce simply for the needs of the local monastery community, but for larger, long-distance trade.[4]

The large size of the kiln structure (43 x 18 m), its multi-vaulted roof with several openings, and the presence of mudbrick walls running from the inside to the outside of the structure (creating an open courtyard) are only a few of the interesting and so far unparalleled characteristics, which suggest a massive and standardised production.

---

[3] Pirelli et al., "The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad 2020–6th Campaign," 356–357.

[4] For a more general discussion about the pottery assemblage from Manqabad see: Ilaria Incordino, *Pottery of Manqabad. A selected catalogue of the ceramic assemblage from the monastery of 'Abba Nefer' at Asyut (Egypt)* (Oxford, 2020).

Fig 2. The kiln structure in the southern area of Manqabad (©UNIOR).

The preliminary results achieved so far point to a lively and high-level cultural milieu within a long and complex history of the monastery, in which it is possible to suggest a pre-Roman phase (Pharaonic/Ptolemaic), then a Late Roman period, and two different Christian phases, before (V–VII cent. AD) and after (VIII–IX cent. AD) the beginning of the Islamization of Egypt.

The monastery owes its modern name from the venerated saint, Abba Nefer (Onophrious), who was extensively worshipped in Middle Egypt from the 6th century onwards, and only mentioned in a Kufic inscription found in 1976 at Manqabad. Except for one image in a very poor state of conservation, no other specific reference to him has been found on the site.

Rather, we find almost exclusively throughout the oldest sections of the site, the presence of three saints, Jeremias, Enoch and Sibylla, whose names are constantly found along with those of the Trinity, the Virgin, and the archangels Michael and Gabriel in images and epigraphic inscriptions, graffiti and wall paintings. It is therefore highly probable that the supposed dedication of the monastery to Saint Onophrious must have been modern, and probably influenced by a local tradition.

Despite its large size and wealth, Manqabad, with its assumed Coptic toponym "Mankapot", is rarely attested in ancient textual sources. Therefore historical, hagiographic and liturgic Coptic, Greek and Arabic sources are in the process of being studied to find more information about the toponym of the site, its perception and memory.

Cultural influences among the Manqabad material
Manqabad offers us the opportunity to study many layers of ancient and medieval Egyptian culture, some of which has only been recently brought to light. The specific features, richness and variety of the material culture of Manqabad are highly suitable to serve as the base of a much expanded and developed interpretative system of this ancient community, its related activities and symbolic meanings.

Since the current knowledge of ancient Egyptian monastic societies has traditionally drawn heavily upon textual sources, this project rests on a bottom-up theoretical framework based on the interpretation of the material culture. In this way it can be possible to investigate social indicators for everyday activities and rituals that

become inscribed in the archaeological records, a quite rare approach as regards Christian Archaeology in Egypt.[5]

The work conducted thus far at Manqabad has shown that almost 90 percent of this Late Antique monastic settlement has never been the object of investigation of any kind. Therefore, a complete archaeological and topographical survey and excavation of two 'untouched' areas of the monastery have been planned for the forthcoming fieldwork seasons: the collective baths structure in the Central Sector and the large southern production area already surveyed in 2020. In addition, another goal of the project is the completion of the documentation of the previously collected items, today stored at the warehouses of el-Ashmunein and Shutby.

After ten years of research at the site, a clearer picture of the development of the Manqabad monastic community is emerging, with some hints of more ancient cultural influences. These influences would naturally be found at such a large and complex settlement, which was part of a vast network of relationships both within Egypt (Manqabad is located at the end of an important desert road, Darb el-Arbayn) and beyond.

Pharaonic period evidence at Manqabad

The work at the warehouse of el-Ashmunein started in 2014, with the goal of documenting all the items found during the Egyptian investigation of the site (still largely unpublished) for a total of about 833 archaeological finds.

Fig 3. Pharaonic artefacts from Manqabad (©UNIOR).

Among the oldest items, there is a limestone window frame (Inv. 1558, 50.5 x 48 x 5.5 cm, Fig.1 upper left), with an elaborate Christian polychrome decoration, cut out from a Pharaonic block. In fact, on one of the short sides of the frame there are some hieroglyphic signs in relief still visible today.

The text was originally arranged in columns and likely dates to the late V/VI Dynasty, according to the paleographical analysis,[6] with the exception of the extreme right column, of smaller size and different orientation, possibly related to the New Kingdom period.

During the cleaning operation of the Housing Unit 8/9 conducted in 2018 in the Northern Sector of the site, another block of limestone was found (45 x 25 x 15 cm,
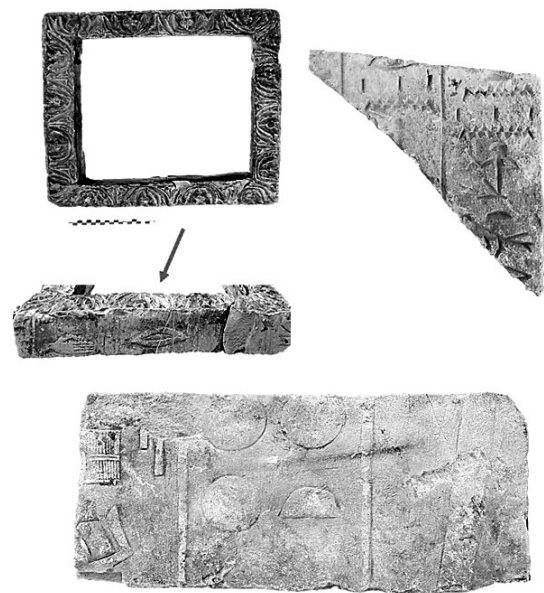
---

[5] K. Elisabeth, "Early Christian Archaeology: A State of the Field", *Religion Compass* 2/4, 575–619.
[6] A paleographical analysis on the text has been conducted by the director of the mission, prof. Rosanna Pirelli.

Fig. 1 bottom), with two large columns of hieroglyphs. The block was reused as floor lining of one of the annexes of a storeroom. Considering its size and hieroglyphs, it may have originally belonged to a monumental wall (Fig.3).

In regards to the identification of a possible religious building from which the blocks may have originated, there is not yet enough information on the possibility of a Pharaonic cult structure that may have existed at Manqabad. As such, it could be only tentatively suggested that the blocks may came from a sanctuary in the area of Asyut, possibly dedicated to a form of Osiris.

During the Middle Kingdom there was a local shrine referred to the god called "The House of Unnefer," a name, which could recall the modern name of the monastery of 'Abba Nefer (Onofrious) at Manqabad.[7] However, only further investigation at the site may provide more elements to shed light on this subject.

Among the items documented at the site, there are also several architectural stone elements bearing interesting decorative themes, such as the limestone fragment of a freeze found in 2001 in the Housing Unit 13 (Inv. 1551, 52 x 17.7 x 11.2, Fig. 4). In the central part of the register, there is a side view of a lotus flower with elongated, pointed petals, and some elements related to the acanthus bush. Therefore, it is possible

Fig. 4 Architectural element from HU13 at Manqabad (©UNIOR).

to identify it as an "acanthised lotus flower,"[8] an artistic syncretism, which is frequently found in Coptic art. Moreover, the lotus flower seems to keep its ancient Pharaonic meaning of rebirth, an appropriate substitute for the usual Christian cross.[9]

A possible derivation from Pharaonic times can also be spotted in an unusual architectural feature found in several housing units from the Northern Sector of the site: called "sunken" pots. In fact, during a survey of the ceramics still in situ at Manqabad

---

[7] R. Pirelli "Manqabad: A Crucial Satellite of Ancient Asyut. A preliminary Outline Through the Archaeological Data." *Annali Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli* 79 (2019), 82–83.

[8] A.Salsano, "Stone Architectural Elements of Manqabad. Season 2014," *Aegyptus* 95 (2015), 91–111.

[9] G. Sauron, *L'Histoire végétalisée. Ornament et politique à Rome* (Paris 2000), 62.

conducted in 2018, about 21 vessels sunk into the floor of storerooms and annexes have been documented (Fig.5).

The analysis has revealed some variability among the typologies of embedded pots, even if they could be all included in a small/medium-size category (inferior than 40 cm), without any clear association between their morphology and their position (and consequently function).[10]

In only very few instances, some organic content was found inside the pots. The lack of contents makes it difficult to suggest an interpretative hypothesis. In the past, several diverse functions have been suggested in order to explain their occurrence in many Late Antique monasteries in Egypt, ranging from rubbish bins to containing insect repellents, support jars and even spittoons.

But their occurrence in a New Kingdom funerary context (Deir el-Medina, chapel 1190) and, more frequently, in Ptolemaic and Late Antique settlements

Fig. 5 Sunken pots from HU 8–9 at Manqabad (©UNIOR).

also outside Egypt, could represent an indication of their most ancient use during Pharaonic times in a domestic environment.[11]

Additionally, it is worth mentioning a very ancient crafting tradition dating back to the Pharaonic period, which has been documented among the material culture of Manqabad: the manufacturing of female terracotta figurines. Those items, which were often related to the idea of fertility, pregnancy and good fortune, were still used during the Christian period in Egypt, probably with a completely different purpose linked to the new religious message and rituality.[12]

---

[10] I. Incordino I., "Documentation and analysis of vessels sunk into the floor at the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut, Egypt)," *Egittto e Vicino Oriente* 42 (2020), 83–94.

[11] Incordino, "Documentation and analysis of vessels sunk into the floor at the Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut, Egypt)," 89.

[12] I. Incordino, "Terracotta female figurines from the monastery of Manqabad (Asyut, Egyp): analysis and possible function," *ArOr* 90/4 (2022) in press.

Hellenistic evidence at Manqabad.

An interesting cultural link could be traced between some ceramic decorative themes of the Manqabad repertoire and a frequent Hellenistic representation known as "Dyonisiac portrait". In particular, a cup/plate (Inv. 1570, Fig. 6) with a raised base, documented in 2014 at el-Asmunein, and possibly deriving from the HU15-18 at Manqabad, bears a painted inner decoration of a woman's head with an elaborate headdress and jewels, included in a rounded framework, possibly a vine motif.[13]

Considering the general paucity of female representations in Coptic art (with the exception of the Virgin), the occurrence of the same richly decorated 'bust' of a woman on several other pottery containers during the documentation of the warehouse in 2019 led to the suggestion that this kind of non-religious figure must have been quite frequent during the Christian period in Egypt.

Fig. 6 Painted small plate from Manqabad (©UNIOR).

Another interesting element is the use of recurrent decorative themes on different supports, such as for example tapestry, mosaic and paintings, showing also the interconnection between pottery and walls decoration. Those female figures may represent a sort of "Dionysiac portrait" conveying an ancient idea of luck bringing, good fortune and prosperity into a new religious environment.[14]

This hypothesis seems more grounded if we consider the importance and spread of the Dionysiac theme in Egypt since Ptolemaic period, when Dionysus was often identified with Osiris and conveyed as a foreshadowing of Christ.[15]

Roman evidence at Manqabad.

There are several Late Roman remains found among the archaeological material deriving from the monastery of Manqabad. The most monumental is a bath complex (thermae) in the Central Sector of the site (Fig. 7). The remains of this structure have

---

[13] I. Incordino, "Analysis of a painted female Head among the pottery Decoration from the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad (Asyut)," *Studien zur Altägyptishen Kultur (SAK)* 48 (2019), 107-116.

[14] E. Dauterman/H.P. Maguire/M.J. Duncan-Flowers, *Art and holy powers in the early Christian house* (Chicago 1989), 13–14.

[15] M. Smith, *Following Osiris. Perspectives of Osirian Afterlife from four millennia*. (Oxford, 2017), 559-560.

not yet been the object of a systematic archaeological investigation. From the known archaeological remains uncovered this far, the bath complex is composed of: a) a large rectangular *calidarium* (22 m x 16 m), whose big *suspensurae* are still extant (21 m x 7 m); b) a long and narrow *frigidarium* (approx. 25 m x 10 m), on its south-east side, with rectangular basins leaning against the west wall and interspersed with columns; and c) a series of still unidentified buildings on the north and south sides. The whole area to the west of the

Fig. 7 Bath complex at Manqabad (©UNIOR).

calidarium is currently not accessible, due to the presence of two large debris dumps stemming from Egyptian excavations.

Despite the incompleteness of the data at our disposal, the monumentality of the complex is undeniable. The refined architectural elements that decorated it (columns, capitals, limestone slabs of the floors) identify the structure as one of the most significant buildings of the site.

Due to its monumentality and to the lack of immediately comparable structures found in Egyptian monasteries, one wonders whether the building cannot be more easily compared to other types of thermal complexes—possibly of the Roman "imperial type"—rather than to "normal" monastic baths.

Although dating from different historical periods, several documents (Late Roman, Coptic and Arabic texts and diaries of travelers from the 17th and the 18th centuries) seem to agree on the presence of a series of monumental structures from the Roman Imperial period in an area north-west of Asyut, possibly to be identified with ancient Manqabad. The documents mention a circus/hippodrome, an amphitheater and some Roman *mausolea*; while the *Notitia Dignitatum* (an official document on the administrative organisation of the Late Roman Empire) testifies to the presence of a Roman garrison - the *Cuneus Equitum Maurorum Scutariorum*—in Lycopolis/Asyut between the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th century.[16]

Of all these structures no archaeological evidence has been recorded up to now. The upcoming fieldwork seasons will be dedicated to verifying whether the peculiarity

---

[16] N. Pollard, "Imperatores castra dedicaverunt: Security, Army Bases, and Military Dispositions in Later Roman Egypt (Late Third-Fourth Century)," *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6/1 (2013), 3–36.

of the Manqabad thermal structure is actually attributable to its original function within a different type of site that pre-existed the monastery. This site would, most likely, be attributable to an "imperial" context, which could have been part of a system of Roman settlements.

Nevertheless, the hypothesis that a Roman camp (*castrum*) was actually present at Manqabad seems very likely,[17] but its vestiges seem to be concentrated only in the north-western sector of the site, where they occupy a square area whose sides measure about 160 x 160 m.

The pottery specimens found at the site have a remarkable persistence of Late Roman typologies,[18] ranging from several coarse wares to the finest examples of African Red Slip Wares produced in northern Tunisia (Fig. 8). The Manqabad assemblages contain most of the known types of Late Roman amphorae (LRA1, LRA4, LRA5/6, LRA7), probably obtained through commercial exchanges not only with the region of Asyut, but also with Aswan and the Mediterranean, demonstrated by the presence of Aswan Slip Wares and Gaza and Palestinian *amphorae*.

A recent find in 2020 at Manqabad of a large kiln-like structure has widened the scope of the project. Issues to be addressed will include the analysis of the local

Fig. 8 African Red Slip Wares (left) and Egyptian Red Slip Ware from Manqabad (©UNIOR).

production, which will perhaps provide more information about the social groups involved in the serial production process, their relationship with the activities of the

---

[17] Pirelli "Manqabad: A Crucial Satellite of Ancient Asyut. A preliminary Outline Through the Archaeological Data," 86.

[18] Incordino I. *Pottery of Manqabad. A selected catalogue of the ceramic assemblage from the monastery of 'Abba Nefer' at Asyut (Egypt)*, Access Archaeology, 2020, Archaeopress, https://www.archaeopress.com/archaeopressshop/public/displayProductDetail.asp?id={426FBAEB-D4D7-4EEC-9071-8FB3BDF8584D}

adjacent monastic community and village, and the possible influences from the Roman architecture related to kilns and furnaces.

During the last season at Manqabad in 2020, several female *tondi* decorating a niche of a monastic housing unit (HU2) in the Northern Sector of the site were found. These still unpublished fragments depict female figures within a yellow frame, adorned with jewels and elaborate headdresses, which clearly recall the iconographical type of personifications deriving from Roman prototypes (Good Fortune, Prosperity, the Earth). It is not surprising that they continued to be employed for their beneficial and protective power during Christian era.[19] Moreover, some stylistic elements could be associated also with the Fayum portraits of women, dated from the 1st cent. BC to the 3rd. cent. AD, a well-known example of cultural syncretism.[20]

Conclusion

After three archaeological field seasons at Manqabad, the site has already yielded many noteworthy features and interesting finds, which contribute to its identification as an important, multicultural center of Late Antique Middle Egypt. The complex at Monaqabad with its rich religious and ideological environment reflects this moment in Egypt when different traditions came together, mixing their identities. The reason behind this complexity probably lies in the fact that the rise of Christian art in Egypt was a long and complex process, and that the sacred texts were accessible only for literate people. In order to spread the Christian faith, it was therefore necessary to convey a new message using symbols and images already known by the majority of the population.[21]

Different typologies of material culture from the site have all contributed to a picture of a more nuanced portrait of the local high cultural milieu, and paintings and pottery decorations seem to have played a special role in this process.

In fact, the iconographic repertoire of Byzantine pottery in Egypt is influenced by contemporaneous wall painting themes, such as the known examples from Saqqara and Bawit monasteries. This interconnection mainly derived from the deep knowledge of 7th century artisans of Costantinopolitan and Alexandrian models and stylistic trends.[22]

Furthermore, several preliminary observations suggest the hypothesis that the site might have been a renowned pilgrimage center of Late Antique Middle Egypt. In fact, several Coptic graffiti and inscriptions probably made by visitors have been documented in the Central Sector, contiguous to the bath complex, and in many other areas of the site. Together with some inscribed prayers found on pottery sherds, they

---

[19] E. Dauterman/H.P. Maguire/M.J. Duncan-Flowers (1989), *Art and holy powers in the early Christian house*, 13–14.
[20] M. Svoboda and C. Cartwright (eds), *Mummy Portraits of Roman Egypt. Emerging Research from APPEAR Project* (Los Angeles, 2020).
[21] L. Török, *Transfigurations of Hellenism. Aspects of late antique art in Egypt AD 250–700* (Leiden 2005), 156-158.
[22] Torok *Transfiguration*, 342–343

could be related to pilgrimage activity. Their presence would also explain the richness of this monastic community, clearly evident throughout the overall material culture assemblage, architecture and paintings repertoire of Manqabad.

Ceramic analysis possibly provides additional evidence to support the hypothesis of pilgrimage to the site with the presence of hundreds of complete and fragmentary small cups with stamped motifs (perhaps trademarks?),[23] very likely produced at Manqabad, with no parallels found elsewhere. Similarly, some terracotta female figurines discovered among the stored material may be related to pilgrimage practices too, adding some clues about the nature of these ritual, possibly linked to fertility issues.

If we consider also the bath complex of extraordinary dimensions in the Central Sector of the site, its monumental structure is hardly comparable to the smaller buildings usually devoted to baths known from other Christian complexes in Egypt, with the sole exception of the impressive baths of the Sanctuary of Abu Mena (south-east of Alexandria).[24]

The idea that Manqabad would have been a southern counterpart of the Abu Mena shrine is tempting, but not supported by concrete evidence thus far. However, several elements may point to the effective presence of a pilgrimage center at Manqabad, whose collective baths may be intended mainly for pilgrims and used for purification purposes or in those healing practices.

The forthcoming investigations of the Italian-Egyptian mission will add more information to this already heterogeneous portrait of a monastery. It was probably much more than simply a monastery. It was likely an important and well known religious center of the region of Asyut, possibly venue of a popular pilgrimage related to a religious figure still not identified.

Bibliography

Bowes K. (2008) Early Christian Archaeology: A State of the Field, in: Religion Compass 2/4, pp. 575–619.

Dauterman/H.P. Maguire/M.J. Duncan-Flowers (1989), Art and holy powers in the early Christian house, Chicago.

Incordino I. (2019). 'Analysis of a painted female Head among the pottery Decoration from the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad (Asyut)', in: Studien zur Altägyptishen Kultur (SAK) 48, pp. 107–116.

Incordino I. (2020a) Pottery of Manqabad. A selected catalogue of the ceramic assemblage from the monastery of 'Abba Nefer' at Asyut (Egypt), Access

---

[23] Incordino, *Pottery of Manqabad* : 18, 21–24, 55, 58, 80–81.

[24] This saint was usually worshipped for his well-known 'power' of protecting women and help them solving fertility/pregnancy issues. At his sanctuary, several terracotta figurines, pilgrims' graffiti and a ceramic production area were found.

Archaeology,   Archaeopress.https://www.archaeopress.com/archaeopressshop/
public/displayProductDetail.asp?id={426FBAEB-D4D7-4EEC-9071-
8FB3BDF8584D}

Incordino I. (2020b). Documentation and analysis of vessels sunk into the floor at the
Monastery of Abba Nefer, Manqabad (Asyut, Egypt), in: EGITTO E VICINO
ORIENTE, vol. XLII, p. 83–94.

Incordino I. (2022) Terracotta female figurines from the monastery of Manqabad
(Asyut, Egyp): analysis and possible function, in: ArOr vol.90 n.4, in press.

Pirelli R. et alii (2018) "The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the
Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad 2018–4th Campaign". In: CISA
Newsletter 9, pp. 305–350.

Pirelli R. et alii (2019) "The Italian-Egyptian Project of Study and Conservation of the
Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad 2018–5th Campaign". In: CISA
Newsletter 10, pp. 347–389.

Pirelli R. (2019), Manqabad: A Crucial Satellite of Ancient Asyut. A preliminary
Outline   Through   the   Archaeological   Data.   ANNALI.   ISTITUTO
UNIVERSITARIO ORIENTALE NAPOLI, vol. 79, pp. 86.

Salsano A., (2015) Stone Architectural Elements of Manqabad. Season 2014, in:
Aegyptus 95, pp. 91–111.

Török L. (2005) Transfigurations of Hellenism. Aspects of late antique art in Egypt AD
250–700, Leiden.

Royal Statue Fragments from Western Thebes
Hassan R. Aglan

Abstract: From 2009 to 2011 the Ministry of State for Antiquities (MSA) carried out excavations on the west bank of Thebes, modern Luxor, in the area of the Nobles Tombs. The work of the MSA was in the northern section of the necropolis, called today Dra' Abu el-Naga, and focused especially on the Central portion of Dra' Abu el-Naga (CDAN). During the excavations several fragments of a painted sandstone statue were found while removing the debris from the middle area of the CDAN valley. The purpose of this article is to propose a join between the fragments recently unearthed by the MSA and another fragment discovered by the German Archaeological Institute during their 2001–2002 excavation seasons.

Résumé: De 2009 à 2011, le Ministère des Antiquités (MSA) a réalisé des fouilles sur la rive ouest de Thèbes, l'actuelle Louxor, dans la zone où sont situées les tombes des nobles. Les travaux du MSA se sont déroulés dans la partie nord de la nécropole, appelée aujourd'hui Dra' Abou el naga, et se sont concentrés en particulier sur la partie centrale de Dra' Abou el naga (CDAN). Au cours des fouilles, plusieurs fragments d'une statue de grès peint ont été retrouvés lors du retrait des débris de la zone médiane de la vallée du CDAN. Le but de cet article est de proposer une jonction entre les fragments récemment mis à jour par le MSA et un autre fragment découvert par l'Institut archéologique allemand au cours de leurs saisons de fouilles 2001–2002.

Keywords: Dra' Abu el-Naga, Nubkhheperre, Theban Necropolis, royal statues

Mots-clés: Dra' Abu el-Naga, Nubkhheperre, nécropole thébaine, statues royales

The context of the fragments

During the 2009 season, the author was one of a team responsible for the MSA excavations in CDAN.[1] At this time work was being done in eight tombs. In March four sandstone fragments were found in Tomb Z1[2] (fig. 1), shaft S2, corridor B that were part of a statue. They are now stored in the Ali Hassan magazines on Luxor's West Bank. The context for the fragments is not clear due to the fact that they were found within mixed debris that is from the looting activities of the local inhabitants. So it is

---

[1]Central Dra' Abu el-Naga lies to the north of the causeway of queen Hatshepsut and just south of the German and Spanish concessions, overlooking the valley where a temple of Amenhotep I was once erected. The tombs are situated just below the hilltop of the middle range of the Dra' Abu el-Naga hills.

[2] Tomb Z1 is one of the discovered tombs in CDAN.

possible that these fragments are not original to the shaft, but come from a different location.

Fig 1: The location of the Tomb Z1 at CDAN and location approx of Tomb Shaft K01.9 and, © GoogleEarth

Description of the fragments

As mentioned above, four fragments were found in the shaft: a part of a face and three sections belonging to an arm (fig. 2).The three fragments that come from an arm cannot be directly joined, but all represent a part of the right arm of seated statue (fig.2, B, C, D).Fragment B includes part of the upper portion of the arm and the bend at the elbow. It is painted red and the dimensions are: height of 16 cm from bend to the break and width of 12 cm. Fragment C is also painted red and is the lower portion of the right arm just before the wrist and measures 8cm in height and 6.5 cm in width. Fragment D represents the wrist and hand resting on the thigh. On the wrist is a bracelet of turquoise and yellow, and the hand, painted red, is holding a folded cloth painted white. The portion of the leg that the hand rests on is
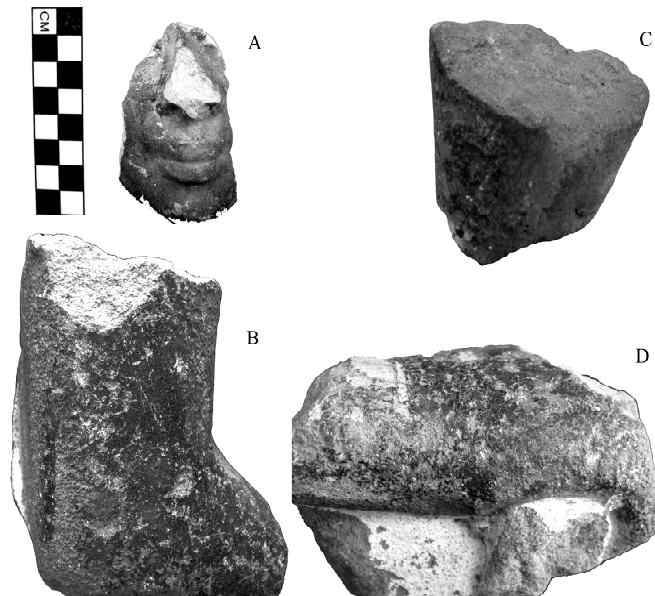

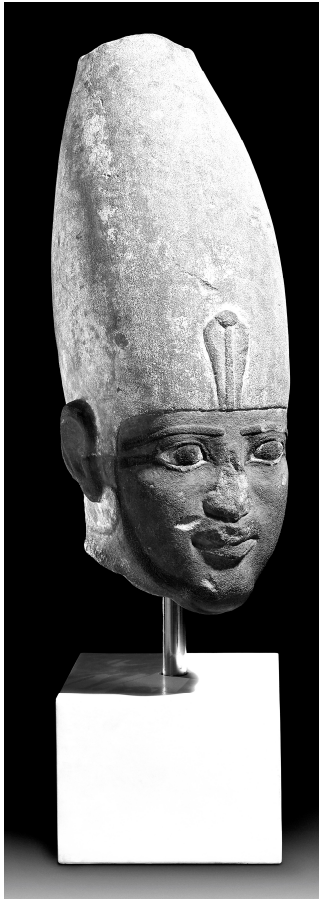Fig 2: The statue fragments from the MSA excavations in CDAN

also painted white. From the front of the hand to the break the fragment measures 18cm and is 10cm at its widest point.

The fragment of the face shows the front portion and is painted in red (fig. 2, A); the dimensions at the widest points are: height of 9 cm and width of 6 cm. As the figure shows, the eyes are damaged with only the inner canthi intact, the surface and tip of the nose are missing, but the mouth and chin are mostly intact.

Significant features are shown in the face fragment. The inner canthi of the eyes are worked in relief and the edges of the eyelid are painted black, with the white eye making them look large and wide. The chin and cheekbones are prominent, and the thick lips are smiling faintly, with their edges defined by ridges and the corners indented. The nose is damaged, but the nostrils are clearly defined, and one can see the fold of the muscle running from the edges of the nose outwards towards the cheek, and also down towards the mouth. [3]This treatment of the face is also represented in two sandstone heads of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II, one in the British Museum (EA 720; fig. 3)[4] and another in the Vatican Museum(Inv. 22680;).[5] Both are suggested to come from the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. According to an artistic convention of Egyptian figurative art, these sculptures are extraordinary examples of Egyptian royal monumental portrait and should have come from his funeral temple at Deir el-Bahari in West Thebes.[6] There are other examples of Mentuhotep II's statuary with similar faces, including examples in Cairo (JE 36195),[7] New York (MMA

Fig 3. Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II head British Museum, EA720 ©

[3]Aldred, C. "Some Royal Portraits 61of the Middle Kingdom in Ancient Egypt" In: Metropolitan Museum Journal Metropol. Mus. (New York), Vol. 3 (1970): 35–36.

[4] This head comes froma standing Osiride statue, not a seated statue. https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/984939001, (Date accessed: 03.12.2021).

[5]http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/fr/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-egizio/sala-v--statuario/testa-del-faraone-mentuhotep-ii.html, (Date accessed: 01.08.2020)

[6]http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/fr/collezioni/musei/museo-gregoriano-egizio/sala-v--statuario/testa-del-faraone-mentuhotep-ii.html, (Date accessed: 01.08.2020).

[7]https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Mentuhotep_Seated.jpg , (Date accessed: 01.06.2020)

26.3.29),[8] and Worcester (1971.28).[9] A statue of Mentuhotep III in Boston (38.1395),[10] *and another in the* Luxor Museum (J. 69),[11] are also useful to compare to the fragment from CDAN, but still the head in the British Museum is the best comparison.
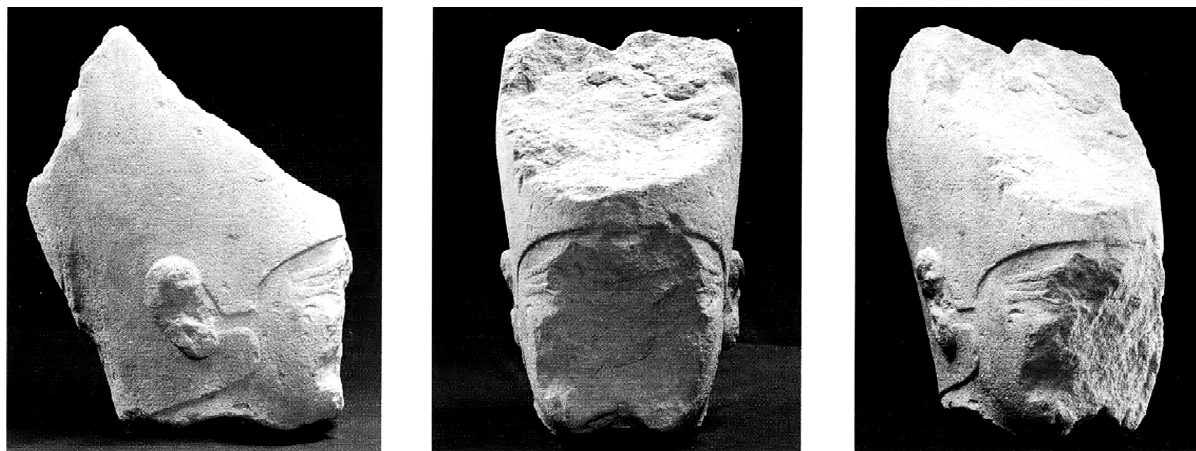

Fig 4. Different views of the defaced head from tomb shaft K 01.9, after Polz (2003), p. 15.

In 2001–2002 the German excavations in Dra' Abu el-Naga rediscovered the pyramid of the Second Intermediate Period, Dynasty 17 king Nubkheperre Intef VII. From the fill of the nearby tomb shaft K01.9 they recovered an intentionally defaced sandstone head of a life-size royal king (fig. 4), which probably came from a seated statue. Polz thinks that it is doubtful that this statue was originally carved for Intef VII himself, as the head's iconographic and stylistic features suggest an earlier dating.[12] However, the statue may well have been reused by Intef VII and taken from another site, since many Middle Kingdom royal statues were reused during later periods, including during the Second Intermediate Period.[13] By comparing the CDAN face fragment with this defaced head it seems possible that they belong together (fig.

[8] https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Statue_of_Nebhepetre_Mentuhotep_II_in_the_Jubilee_Garment _MET_DP302397.jpg (Date accessed: 01.12.2021); Haney, Lisa Saladino, *Visualizing Coregency: An Exploration of the Link between Royal Image and Co-rule during the regain of Senwosert III and Amenemhat III*, Cambridge, MA 2018, p. 99, Fig 3.1.

[9] https://worcester.emuseum.com/objects/2711/head-of-mentuhotep-ii;jsessionid=C5D9C815BDF99AD1FA1D3D4DB7F2AFA4, (Date accessed: 01.12.2021); Widmaier, Kai, Bilderwelten: Ägyptische Bilder Und Ägyptologische Kunst: Vorarbeiten Für Eine Bildwissenschaftliche Ägyptologie, 2017, P. 280, Fig 28.

[10] https://collections.mfa.org/objects/148171, (Date accessed: 01.06.2020).

[11] http://www.leben-in-luxor.de/luxor_lexikon_museen_luxormuseum.html, (Date accessed: 01.06.2020).

[12] Polz, Daniel. Seiler, A. "The pyramid complex of Nubkheperre Intef" In: *Egyptian Archaeology. The Bull. of the Egypt Explor. Soc.* (Londres) 22, pp. 12–15 (2003): 23; unfortunately, there is no other evidence from CDAN or Tomb Z1.

[13] For more information see: Hill, Marsha, "Later Life of Middle Kingdom Monuments, Interrogate Tanis", in: Adela, Dorothea Arnold, Dieter Arnold, and Kei Yamamoto *Ancient Egypt Transformed: The Middle Kingdom*, Oppenheim, London: Yale University Press, New Haven (eds) 2015, pp. 294–299.

5). Both the fragments and the defaced head are made of sandstone, both have the same surface treatment being painted red, and the eyes of the head are also done in relief like the face fragment. Also, the measurements of the face fragment match well with the defaced head. Both the fragments and the defaced head also match with the head of British Museum which came from Deir el-Bahari.
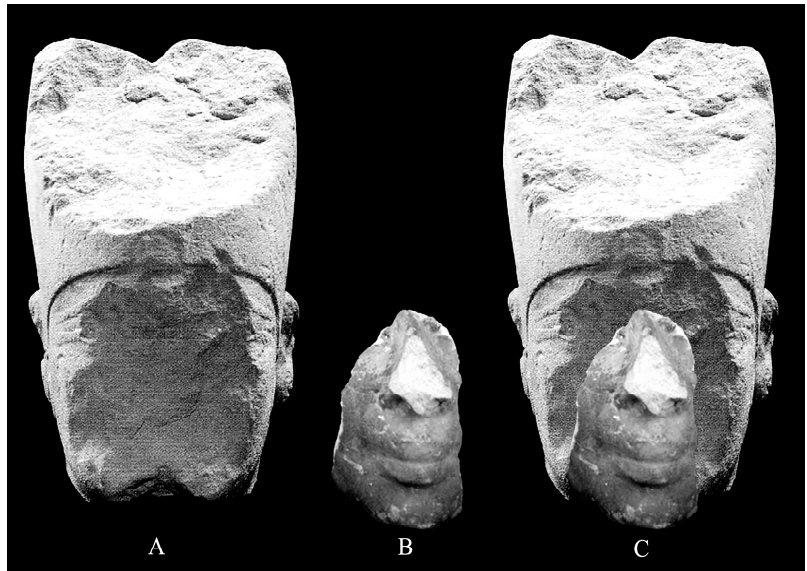
Fig 5. A: the German defaced head;B: CDANface fragment; C: the defaced head together with the face fragement

Conclusion

Altogether, the fragments found in a disturbed context in CDAN are likely to belong to a life-size seated royal statue of painted sandstone (fig. 6). The similarities of the face fragment with the head discovered in tomb shaft K01.09 makes it likely that they are part of the same statue. The reconstruction in fig. 6 shows how all of the fragments could fit together. The comparison of the face with statues of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II suggests that this statue may originally have been made for this king, and possibly came from Deir el-Bahari, but was re-used by Intef VII.

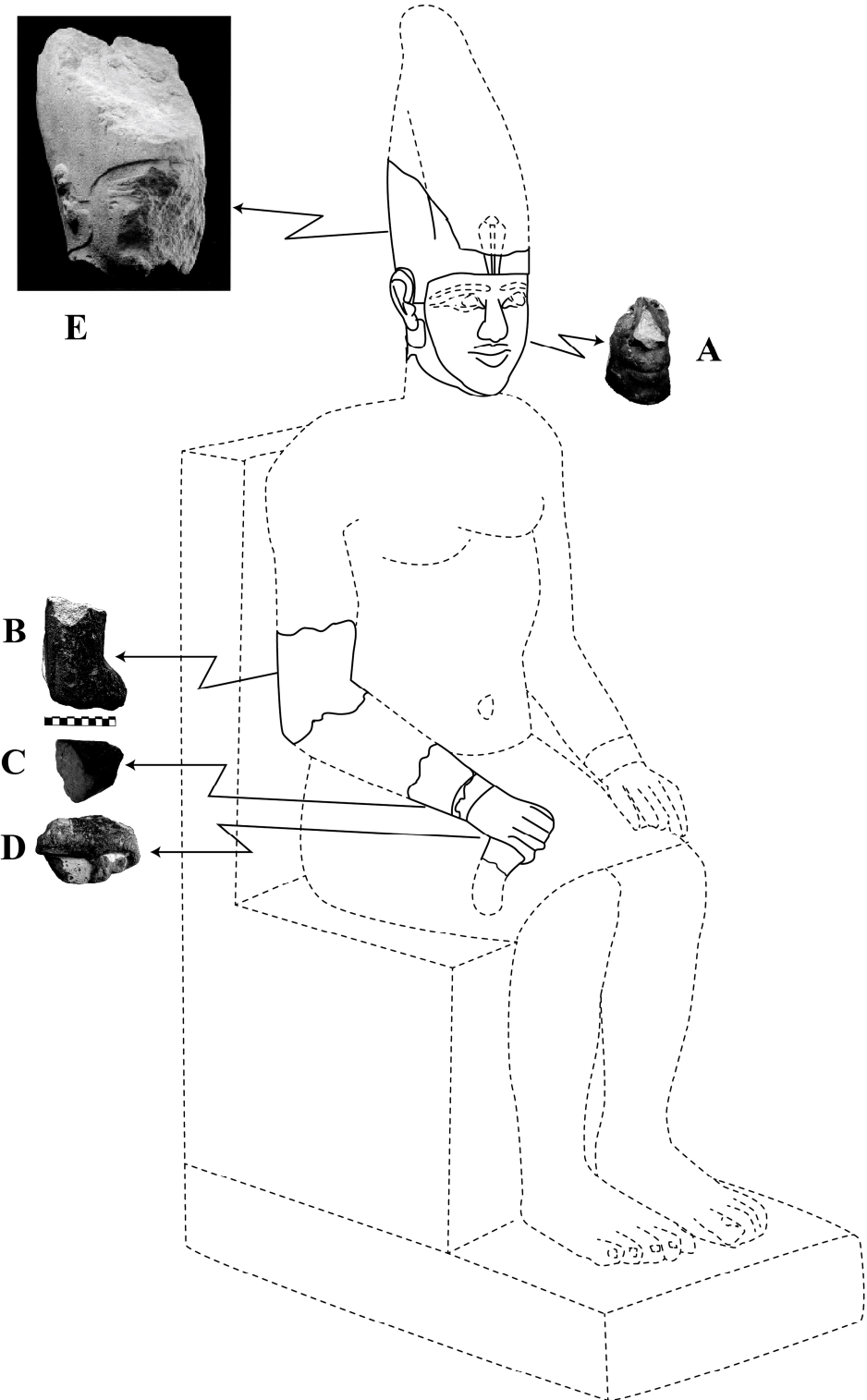Fig 6. A reconstruction of the discovered fragments from CDAN with the defaced head from the German excavations, author's reconstruction

Evidence that a Hippo Killed King Tutankhamun
in the Nile
W. Benson Harer, Jr.

Abstract: Recent review of unpublished CT scans of Tutankhamun's mummy indicates that his diaphragm is intact in the mummy. This is only possible if the chest had been packed by the embalmers through an opening in the chest wall. The most likely explanation for this extraordinary departure from the norm for embalming New Kingdom royalty was that much of the chest wall was absent when the corpse arrived at the embalming house. The most plausible explanation for that extraordinary state is that the heart and chest wall were ripped out by a hippopotamus.

Résumé : Un récent réexamen de CT scans non-publiés de la momie de Toutankhamon indique que son diaphragme est intact. Cela est uniquement possible si la poitrine a été comblée par les embaumeurs à travers une ouverture dans la paroi thoracique. L'explication la plus probable à cet écart exceptionnel des normes d'embaumement royal du Nouvel Empire est que la majeure partie de la paroi thoracique fut absente lorsque le corps est arrivé dans la place d'embaumement. L'explication la plus plausible de cette rare condition est que le cœur et la poitrine furent arrachés par un hippopotame.

Keywords: Tutankhamun, embalming, hippopotamus, Nile, water

Mots-clés : Toutankhamon, embaumement, hippopotame, Nil, eau.

Introduction
When the CT scans of King Tutankhamun were first done, a select committee of nine experts was charged to analyze them. The committee concluded that he died as the result of sepsis from a fracture of the femur at his knee. However, it was not well publicized that this decision was *not* unanimous. Some of the reviewers did *not* believe there was an antemortem fracture. The author agrees with the dissenting members.[1]

My independent review of unpublished lateral and frontal CT scans of King Tutankhamun's mummy show that his diaphragm is still intact within the mummy (Figs 1, 2, and 3). This indicates that portions of his ribs and the sternum were missing when his corpse arrived at the embalming house. Furthermore, he was embalmed without his heart. Since the chest was open, the embalmers simply lifted out the lungs instead of having to go through an abdominal incision and then cut through the diaphragm to extract the lungs. When they packed the body with resin-soaked linen, they again simply filled the upper body through the open chest and depressed the intact diaphragm down into the abdomen to its inverted position. Tomb robbers could not have cut the ribs because the existing curved pattern could not be achieved with a hacksaw or other straight blade. Furthermore, there is no penetration of the underlying packing as would be necessary to cut them with a saber blade.[2]

Discussion
All parts of the king's corpse would be considered sacred, so there is no reason that they would not have been included if the embalmers had them. Even if the leg fracture was

---

[1] See www.guardians.net>hawass>press Press Release Tutankhamun CT Scans 8 March 2005.
[2] W. Harer, *New Evidence for King Tutankhamun's Death: His Bizarre Embalming* JEA 67 (2011), 228–233.

antemortem, it is irrelevant because he died when his heart and chest wall were ripped out. These tissues could not have been removed by the robbers who later chiseled off the beaded bib and jewelry which covered his chest when Carter interred him.

The embalmers used enough packing to restore the normal contour of the chest and then laid the jewelry and beaded bib directly on the packing. Since there was no skin to provide a plane for easy removal. Carter left the bib and jewelry in situ rather than destroy them in removal. The robbers had no such compunctions.

Since the heart was missing there was no need for a heart scarab, which otherwise would be expected. There also is no defect from which robbers might have extracted the heart, and they chipped off a shallow layer that was just enough to get the beads. The belief that tomb robbers are responsible for these findings is common but does not comport with this evidence.

I postulate that the most plausible cause of death to create such a corpse is that the heart and chest wall were ripped out by a hippo. Many Egyptologists have been reluctant to embrace this theory because it just seems implausible . . . too much of a freak accident to be true regardless of this evidence. Yet a similar event happened on 9 December 2013. Janice Bartlett-Simpson was in a canoe with a guide and her husband of two weeks in the Okavango Delta in Botswana. A hippopotamus attacked them, bit their canoe in half, and ripped out her heart. This was reported on several news broadcasts in South Africa and the United Kingdom and also in her obituary [3]

Hippos are the major killers of humans in Africa to this day. They can run faster than humans on land and also run faster through water that than any human powered craft can go. They can weigh over 6,000 pounds, so they are too heavy to swim. Instead, they run through the water on the bottom. Hippos are known to attack large crafts. Lady Florence Baker recorded in her journal that on 5 March 1870 a hippo attacked their dahabeyah. It punched two holes through the hull that threatened to sink the boat.[4] A hippo could easily tip over or destroy the boats in use in ancient Egypt, just as they can today.[5] It is reasonable to believe that hippos were still living in the Nile around Thebes at that time. The roughly contemporary Ebers Papyrus contains three prescriptions that call for inclusion of hippo parts[6]. The Hearst Medical Papyrus dated to the reign of Amunhotep II also has a treatment for a bite from a hippopotamus.[7] Furthermore, the attack did not necessarily occur at Thebes.

If Tutankhamun were boating, a hippo could have tipped his craft and plunged him into the water. With one great slashing bite it could kill him instantly as it ripped away the front of his chest along with his heart. It could have been an unexpected attack when fowling or fishing or even a hunting expedition that went awry. In such an assault his entourage could not protect him. Furthermore, they would be unable to readily recover the missing parts since they would have sunk along with his body. After a day

---

[3] Some reports used her married name Simpson and others used her maiden name Bartlett and others use Bartlett-Simpson. Nevertheless, the accounts are consistent that a hippo ripped out her heart. See www.findagrave.com>memorial>janice Janice Bartlett. News reports with minor variations are on www.iol.co.za, www.thetimes.co.uk, www.news24.com, www.news.bbc.co.uk, www.dailymail.co.uk.

[4] P. Shipman, *The Stolen Woman*, (London 2004) 264–265.

[5] S. Ehringham, *The Hippo: Natural History and Conservation* (London 1999) 120–121.

[6] P. Ghalioungi, *The Ebers Papyrus*, (Cairo, 1987) Recipe 443 requires hippo skin, and recipes 447 and 712 use hippo fat.

[7] G. Reisner, *The Hearst Medical papyrus* (Leipzig 1905) Recipe #245, XVI, 7.

or two enough gas would have formed in the bowels to make his corpse buoyant. Then it would have been recovered and sent to the embalmers without the heart and anterior chest wall and in generally poor condition. The missing parts would have remained lost in the depths. Hunting in marshes where there is little or no current fits this scenario best.

The king could have suffered the same injury from a hippo attacking on land. Their victims are typically running from the charging hippos and are caught from behind. The hippo reaches in front of the victim with its lower jaw and slashes through chest or abdomen with its sabre -like teeth. A twist of its head rips the body open and usually causes almost instant death. However, if Tutankhamun suffered such a fate, his entourage would have been able to recover the missing tissues because hippos are herbivores and would have left them at the scene. They could have been retrieved after the hippo moved away.

Evidence for Death on Water

Peter Sheldrick, who has worked on mummies in the Dakhla Oasis for 30 years, is one of the physicians who agrees with my interpretation of this evidence. He independently assessed it and provided compelling evidence to support a death in water. Sheldrick astutely noted other little discussed and otherwise unexplained anomalies of Tutankhamun's mummy. First, is its unusually thin skin. This would result from exfoliation of the epidermis from prolonged immersion in water. In addition, the putrefaction of abdominal contents developing gas would cause the corpse to come to the embalmers with a greatly distended belly. This would prompt them to forego the usual inguinal incision to remove the abdominal contents and instead make the para-umbilical transverse incision. While abdominal contents were putrefying, the brain would be liquefying. This would make it more difficult for the embalmers to extract it through the nose and sinuses. When that approach failed, they resorted to opening the foramen magnum (the opening into the skull for the spinal cord) to drain it out. These all are further evidence supporting that a hippo attack occurred in water instead of land.

At the time of Tutankhamun's death Egypt was still recovering from the heresy of the Amarna period. Since the hippo was representative of chaos and the evil god Seth, it could be politically destabilizing to have it publicized that the king was killed by a hippo. The prudent course for the priests of Amun would have been to maintain silence. It is generally agreed that a partial scene in the tomb of his successor, King Ay, represents him killing a hippo in the water. If Tutankhamun had been killed by a hippo, this scene would have special significance, especially since it is the only such depiction in a royal tomb.

Could any other animal cause such injury? Being gored by an aurochs bull could do the same damage, but it would require the king to have been standing facing the charging bull like a foolhardy matador. This is hardly a likely scenario. A fatal kick from a horse could crush in his chest, but not account for any loss of tissues. An attack by a crocodile would cause injury to the back roughly matching that to the front. A lion would rip open the abdomen to ingest the liver. Falling from a speeding chariot would result in a tumbling type of injury with multiple broken bones, but not this loss of tissue. The same is true if he was struck by a speeding chariot.

Man, the ultimate predator, could have caused such damage. Ray Johnson and Marc Gabolde have reconstructed two different post Amarna battle scenes with Asiatics from reused talatats found in the filling of the second pylon at Karnak. One talatat shows King Tutankhamun shooting an arrow. It is uncertain that Tutankhamun actually fought in any battle. Nevertheless, this does offer another remote possibility for his being killed in battle with desecration of his corpse.[8] The enemy would have chopped out his heart and carried it off. The Egyptians would have rallied and recovered the desecrated body.[9] Nevertheless, some readers may find this a more plausible explanation than death by hippo.

Conclusions

In conclusion, a fatal attack on King Tutankhamun by a hippo while he was on a boat in the Nile or its marshes would account for him having his heart and a large portion of his anterior chest wall being ripped out and lost in the water. This also explains the unusual thinness of the mummy's skin and the generally poor condition of the mummy as noted in the original autopsy by Douglas Derry. Since there was no heart, there was no need for a heart amulet to protect him from having his heart betray him in the judgment process to enter the afterlife.

Implausible as it may seem at first, death by a hippopotamus is the best explanation that fits *all* the evidence. The more recent death of a tourist in Botswana echoes such a demise when her heart was ripped out by a hippo. Award winning science writer Jo Marchand has reviewed all the theories to account for King Tutankhamun's death and concluded, "Whether it was a hippo that caused the injury is of course a very speculative suggestion. But I'd love to believe it. And to be honest, it's as good as anything else we've got".[10]

Acknowledgments

---

[8] H. Carter, The tomb of Tutankh-Amen II, (London 1927) Preface, xxiii.

[9] R. Johnson, *Tutankhamun's Life, Death and Afterlife: New Evidence from Thebes.* Fifteenth Annual William J. Murnane Memorial Lecture, 6 Nov 2020, institute of Egyptian Art and Archaeology, University of Memphis, TN. If he had been isolated in a battle, he could have been killed and his chest hacked open to steal his heart. This could be done in just a few minutes and the heart could have been carried from the scene or otherwise lost. However, it would have required some days before the corpse could be delivered to an embalming site. With no means of preservation, we would expect far more deterioration of the corpse than what was found.

[10] J. Marchand, *The Shadow King.* (Boston 2013) 213–222.

Funding
The author received no financial support for any part of the research and publication of this article.

Author Biography
The author is a retired OB/GYN and independent scholar. He was a sometime Adjunct Professor of Egyptian Art at California State University San Bernardino. He has published the narcotic properties of the blue lotus, sexually transmitted diseases in ancient Egypt, and a reinterpretation of King Tutankhamun's CT scans.
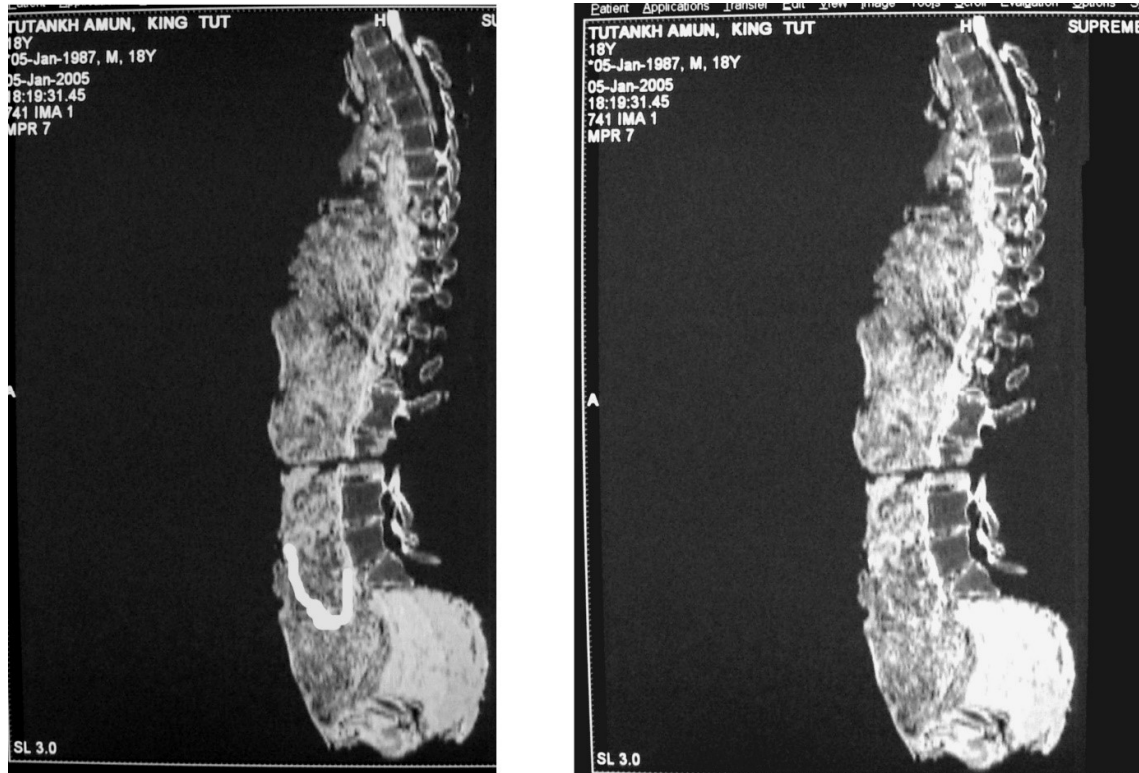

Fig. 1 This view is a slice of the middle of the mummy as seen from the side. The picture on the left has had the location of the inverted diaphragm enhanced to assist identification for those unfamiliar with reading scans. The picture on the right is not altered in any way and is typical of the lateral scans.
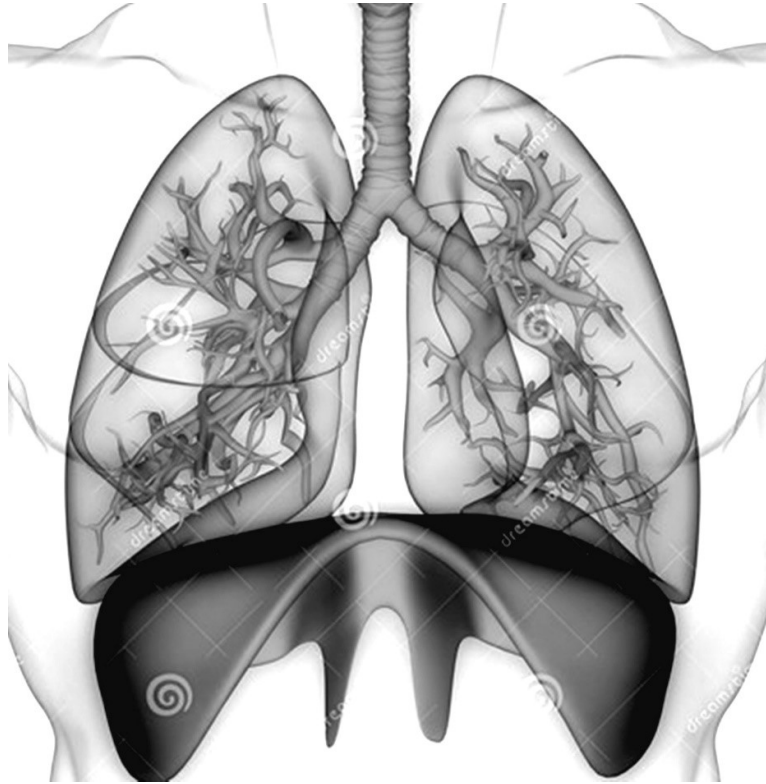
Fig. 2 This view shows the normal location of the diaphragm in living people.
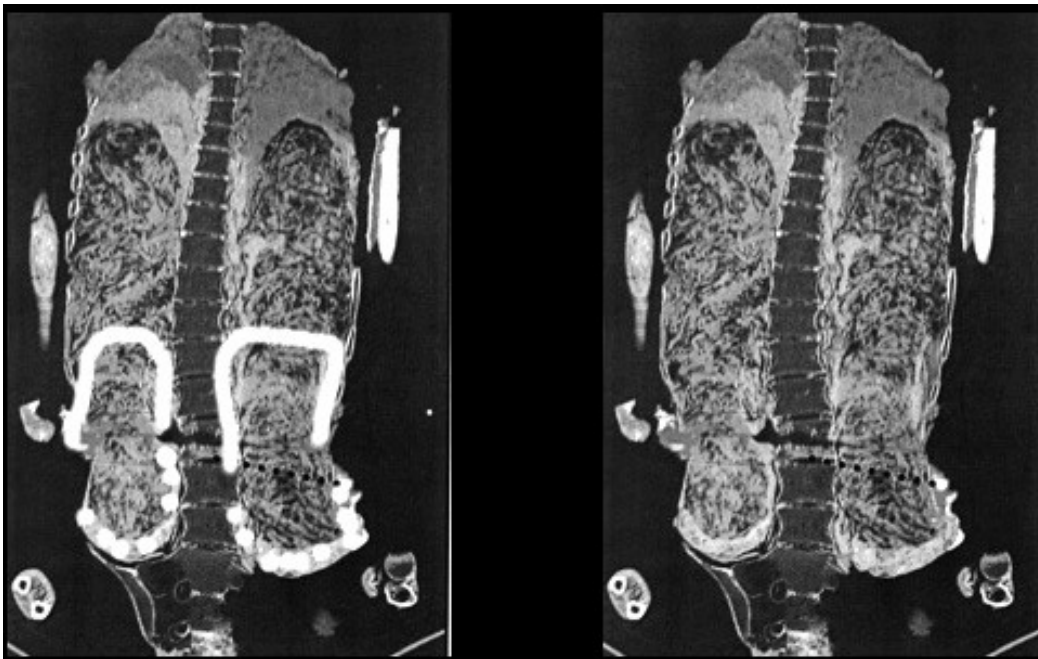

Fig. 3 The left image is a slice of the interior of the mummy as seen from the front. A solid white line designates the approximate position if the diaphragm at that location during life. The white dots show the inverted natron stained diaphragm. The right side picture has not been enhanced in any way.

Christina Geisen (ed.)

Ritual Landscape and Performance, Proceedings of the International Conference on Ritual Landscape and Performance

Yale University, September 23–24, 2016, *YES* 13 (New Haven, 2020), VII–XIX, 1–203, ISBN: 978-1-950343-12-6

Die Publikation enthält die ägyptologischen Beiträge einer Konferenz zu ritueller Landschaft und Performance, die vom 23.–24. September 2016 in Yale stattfand. Der Inhalt kann wie folgt zusammengefasst werden:

M. Bárta hebt Aspekte zu ägyptischen Gräbern des frühen Alten Reiches hervor. Die meisten Elitegräber unter Djoser liegen in Nordsaqqara und Abusir Süd (2). Der See von Abusir ist vielleicht mit dem Kult der Regenerationsgöttin Heket assoziiert (2). Die Gräber AS 10, 20 und 33 in Abusir spiegeln große Veränderungen in der Entwicklung der nichtköniglichen Mastabas wider. Die Anfänge der Kultstätte im Grab reichen bis in frühdynastische Zeit zurück (7-9). Die erste kreuzförmige Kapelle im Grabinnern kommt in der 2. Dyn. vor (10).

H. Willems vergleicht zwischen Deir el-Bershe und Deir el-Bahari. Das erste Monumentalgrab in Deir el-Bershe wurde vom Gaufürsten Ahanacht I. errichtet (27). Die Kultbereiche für die lebenden Gaufürsten in Bershe und deren verstorbenen Vorgängern wurden durch eine rituelle Achse auf dem Ostufer verbunden (30). Der Tempel des Mentuhotep II. in Deir el-Bahari hängt eng mit der Stadt Theben zusammen (38). Der gleiche Tempel weist den ersten Bezug zum Talfest auf (39).

Chr. Geisen untersucht die Rolle von Karnak als Bühne für ein Gedächtnisritual für Sesostris I. Die Bauaktivitäten in Karnak setzten unter diesem König in großem Stil ein (56). Der kleinere Barkenschrein deutet auf die Feier des Opetfestes schon unter Sesostris I. hin (58). Der Dramatische Ramesseumspapyrus diente vielleicht dem Gedächtnis der Leistungen von Sesostris I. in Karnak (60).

M.-A. Pouls Wegner behandelt Abydos als Landschaft für die nachtodliche Transformation. Die Reise der Osirisbilder auf der Prozessionsstraße in Abydos lässt sich aufgrund der Topographie als physischer Aufstieg interpretieren (74). Das Phänomen bietet sich laut Verf. als Analogie für die Reise des Verstorbenen durch die Dat an (74). Die Hypothese müsste argumentativ noch besser abgesichert werden, der Rez. behält sich in dieser Frage eine gewisse Skepsis vor. Der solare Aspekt des Osiris wurde in Abydos während des Neuen Reiches aufgewertet (77). In der 18. Dyn. wurden in der Votivzone von Abydos die ersten königlichen Kapellen errichtet (77).

U. Rummel befasst sich mit dem Verhältnis zwischen Denkmälern und Topographie in Theben West. Das Tal von Deir el-Bahari bildete schon in der 11. Dyn. den rituellen Bezugspunkt für die jährlichen Festprozessionen aus Karnak (92). Das Gebiet gegenüber von Karnak wurde im Neuen Reich als Teil des Amun-Tempels begriffen (92). Das Grab des Neuen Reiches sollte der Verwandlung des Verstorbenen in ein Ach-Wesen dienen (104).

J.C. Darnell spürt dem Zusammenhang von Tempel und Steinbruch nach. Die Herrscher waren seit dem Mittleren Reich aktiv in den Herstellungsprozess von Statuen und anderen Objekten eingebunden (123). Die Inschrift aus Jahr 3 von Ramses

II. im Luxortempel weist auf die Verbindung von esoterisch-kosmographischem Wissen des Königs mit praktischen Baukenntnissen hin (126). Die Personifikationen der Minengebiete im Luxortempel stellen die ältesten Vorläufer der Mineraliengötter in den Soubassements der griechisch-römischen Tempel dar (127). Der Vergleich der durch die Berge ausgespuckten Steine mit dem Ausfluss des Osiris (128) leuchtet nur mühsam ein. Die gleiche Diktion kehrt in anderen nahöstlichen Literaturen wie dem ugaritischen Schrifttum wieder, wo der Osirisbezug natürlich ausscheidet.

M. Ullmann betrachtet am Beispiel von Miam/Aniba die rituelle Landschaft in Nubien während des Neuen Reiches. Die Priestertitel aus den Gräbern von Miam und Graffiti deuten auf die Existenz eines Horustempels von Miam von der frühen 18. bis späten 20. Dyn. hin (143). Der Kult des Amun-Re hatte dort eine zweite wichtige Rolle gespielt (145). Der Königskult war ebenfalls in den Tempel von Miam einbezogen (145). Die rituelle Landschaft von Miam wurde ab der Zeit von Hatschepsut/Thutmosis III. durch mehrere Felsspeoi ergänzt (146–149).

R. Gillam wendet sich am Beispiel der Gegend zwischen Scharuna und Assiut der antiken Sicht auf Landschaft zu. Die Darstellung der Landschaft fing nach Meinung des Autors hauptsächlich in der Amarnazeit an (161), was so nicht stehen bleiben kann. Die Erscheinung ist schon wesentlich früher zu beobachten. Die altägyptischen Ortsnamen dauern z. T. in modernen arabischen Entsprechungen fort (162–164).

J. Baines setzt sich vor dem Hintergrund des Wassers mit dem Delta auseinander. Die Mehrheit der ägyptischen Bevölkerung hatte im Delta und südlich davon gelebt (178). Der früheste bildliche Beleg für Wasserriten ist in frühdynastischer Zeit zu finden (179). Der älteste bekannte Beleg für die Inszenierung von Landschaft taucht auf dem Keulenkopf von König Skorpion auf (181). Die Wüste wurde relativ selten in den Gräbern dargestellt (185). Die Grabdekoration des Iniwia aus der 19. Dynastie fällt durch den deutlichen Schwerpunkt auf den Marschen auf (186). Das königliche Papyrusraufen für Min-Amun im Tempel von Kom Ombo ist als letztes Beispiel für diese Handlung zu sehen (194).

Das Gesamturteil des Rez. bewegt sich in einem überwiegend positiven Rahmen. Die meisten Beiträge werden ihrem Anspruch durchaus gerecht. Die wenigen Kritikpunkte wurden oben vermerkt. In einigen Fällen wird das eigentliche Thema verlassen. Die Lektüre lässt sich dessen ungeachtet durchaus empfehlen.

—*Stefan Bojowald*

Henry Colburn
Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt
Edinburgh, 2020, Pp. 344; ISBN: 978-1-474-45237-3

Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt focuses on the material remains of the Persian periods. The book is divided into seven chapters with an introductory chapter, two chapters outlining experiences of Achaemenid rule in separate geographic areas, three chapters focusing on categories of objects, and a final concluding chapter. The tripartite aim of the monograph focuses on deconstructing the intellectual history of the Achaemenid period, cataloging a corpus of material culture from the 27th Dynasty,

and then using this material to interpret Achaemenid impact on Egyptian society. Colburn is overwhelmingly successful; he convincingly argues that certain scholarly approaches have created baseless assumptions for Persian governance, and the catalog of art and archaeology should become the definitive overview of the present state of Persian period material culture. In the third aim, Colburn stresses the benevolence of Persian kings, Egyptian acceptance of Persian rule, and Persia's influence on Egyptian identity. While the study could have benefited from a more nuanced discussion of colonialism and identity, *Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt* is a landmark monograph with its innovative research methods and compilation of Persian period art and archaeology.

The introductory chapter "The Study of Achaemenid Egypt" defines the intellectual framework of the book and introduces its goals and objectives. Colburn opens the work by reviewing modern scholarly bias in interpreting the Achaemenid period in Egypt that results in the common use of what Colburn defines as two contradictory stances: that the Achaemenid empire either a) caused very little change in Egyptian society or b) was tyrannical and oppressive. Colburn links these interpretations to proto-orientalism in antiquity and more recent views on the perceived scarcity of material dating to Persian governance. These arguments are deconstructed using updated archaeological and textual evidence. The placement of these reinterpretations at the beginning of the book prepares the reader to better engage with Colburn's later geographic chapters. The introduction also lays the groundwork to theorize individual experience through relationships with structures and presentation of identity. "Structures" are defined by the author as either social, economic, or institutional, and the continuity or discontinuity of such structures is one approach Colburn uses to evaluate Persian impact on Egyptian society. The author studies identity through the form of objects commissioned, and identity is used as a way to understand individual relationships to different social groups. Although Colburn admits identity is multifaceted and complex, his stance that individuals emphasized the most important parts of their identity—and had the agency to do so—through visual media reduces the nuanced field of identity studies which hinders later chapters that focus on individual experience by considering only the simplest option for the motivation of their choices.

The next two chapters relate to geographic areas focusing on Memphis and the Western Desert respectively. These chapters illustrate that Colburn's emphasis on structures is a useful addition to and critique of existing work. The discussion of Memphis is extensive and focuses on the Palace of Apries and the cult of the Apis bull. The motive of this chapter is to analyze the contemporary landscape of Memphis and discuss Achaemenid alterations to administrative and religious structures of the city. As a lead in to the next section, Colburn states that the fixation of scholars on when a building was erected detracts from how it was used and experienced across time periods. The next section of the chapter discusses the Palace of Apries. Significant space is devoted to discussing the layout of the palace which, in addition to serving as the political home of the satrap, suggest additional militaristic and administrative purposes. Administrative evidence from the palace derives primarily from wooden labels and seal impressions. Colburn uses evidence of bilingual labels and seal impressions with Egyptian and Persian motifs to conclude that the

administration of the palace was an "open social environment" where administrators were not forced to present their identities entirely through the Persian Empire.

"The Cult of Apis" section of chapter two is most notable for its consideration of the interaction of Persian kings with the sacred rites surrounding the Apis cult. The author then turns to tombs from Saqqara with an emphasis on their form, the texts included, and their location in relation to the Palace of Apries. The summation of this discussion is that, for these five tombs, there is no significant deviation from the interment practices of the Late Period. Similar to statues from this period in Egyptian history, tombs with no firm date are attributed to either the 26th or 30th Dynasties, making the perceived scarcity of elite tombs during the Persian period tenuous. Finally, the author considers naming conventions of the period as found in papyri from the Sacred Animal Necropolis. In some instances, it is possible to determine that households contained a mixture of Egyptian and Persian names. What follows is an intriguing discussion of naming conventions and names as "aspirational". Colburn posits that Persian names had joined a corpus, in the Egyptian mentality, of "successful" names that could provide a child with a distinctive advantage. Here the author has created an excellent foundation for future research as there are several points that could and should be expanded. The chapter ends by reinforcing that individual experience was varied and could be marked by continuity, as in the example of the Apis cult, or it could manifest in cultural shifts, such as in naming conventions.

Colburn's third chapter leaves the urban centers and examines Persian impact on the Western Desert. The justification for using the Western Desert as a case study is that the oases were a region beyond the Egyptian borders and lacked long-standing cultural and administrative structures. In this chapter, the author focuses specifically on irrigation and temples as structures that reinforced Persian authority in the oases. Colburn's overarching argument for this chapter is that Persians did not attempt to achieve military control over the oases; instead, they focused on populating them with Egyptians from the Nile Valley as their method of establishing and maintaining authority. The author then turns to archaeological evidence for the qanat. The Achaemenid Empire spread qanat technology throughout their empire, and Egypt was no exception. After construction, the management of water rights was controlled by the local temples, and Colburn's next section details the patronage of the Achaemenids to temples in the oases. The Achaemenid period shifted the religious landscape of the oases with the addition of at least four temples constructed during this time. In the following subsections, Colburn goes through each site in great detail with a particular emphasis on Hibis, the best preserved of the Achaemenid temples. This chapter also contains a discussion of potential settlers of the oases, which Colburn suggests to be primarily Upper Egyptians based on specific deities depicted in temples. The final conclusion of the chapter is that while individuals almost certainly had differing attitudes towards the imperial projects in the oases, the relationship between the oases and the Nile Valley strengthened significantly as a direct result of Achaemenid rule.

The next chapter, "Representation and Identity", deals entirely with visual material culture, primarily focusing on statuary. The chapter is divided into two major sections with the first focusing on the art historical context of Persian period features and the intellectual trajectory of the period's art history, while the second presents several case studies to assess individual experience. After a problematized rebuttal of the assumption that the 27th Dynasty represents an "artistic poverty", Colburn

discusses the dating criteria historically employed by Egyptologists to assign a 27th Dynasty date. Most helpfully, this section discusses the "Persian gesture" and the "Persian garment". The author places these in their historical context and renames the Persian garment as a "Persianizing garment" because it is not identical to Persepolis examples. Another robust and useful contribution of the book is the discussion of dynamic formation processes related to art historical evidence. At the end of this section, Colburn states that false precision is one of the biggest challenges facing art historians of the Persian period. He concludes that continuity and change were both present in the art of the 26th and 27th Dynasties and emphasizes that individuals likely had a variety of interactions with Persian rule.

Chapter five discusses material evidence for eating and drinking. Colburn frames the introduction to this chapter in terms of *haute cuisine* which refers to differentiated dining practices with respect to social standing. *Haute cuisine* usually manifests itself through the use of recherché ingredients and high-effort methods of food preparation, which is characteristic of the royal table. Next, there is a discussion of drinking vessels and the ability of satraps to mimic the royal table. Colburn examines the Persian drinking vessels in relation to provenanced examples of them from Egypt. In the latter part of this chapter, drinking practice is examined, including the evidence for the adoption of Persian drinking practices, the imperial nature of 'Achaemenid bowls', and the mimicry of Persian style vessels in alternative materials.

The penultimate chapter examines coinage and economic activity during the Persian occupation. Achaemenid rule is particularly significant in this context as it marked the introduction of the coin to Egypt, which was necessary in order to fulfill Achaemenid tribute demands. Colburn includes significant evidence of coinage in Egypt and variations in coin value over time. Of particular interest is the Egyptian production of tetradrachm imitations, which likely began toward the end of the 1st Persian Period and was carried out in Egyptian temples. These coins served as the predecessors of those minted in Egypt during the 2nd Persian Period that bear the names of Artaxerxes and two satraps. During the reign of Artaxerxes III, coins were produced in multiple mints that were later centralized to a single mint under the two successive satraps, although imitations continued and have been found together with the official coinage. Colburn concludes the chapter with the statement that previous ideas of Egyptian economic hardship at the hands of the Persians must be reevaluated

The final chapter of the monograph connects all of the previous ones in a concluding discussion on how Achaemenid Egypt was experienced by its inhabitants. Colburn critically examines historical accounts that depict Persian rule as oppressive and traumatic, and rightly points out that the ancient and modern authors used these accounts to further their own agendas. The author summarizes structural continuity in religious rituals and political authority, as well as the changes that occurred in the oases and in the economy. The discussion of identity focuses on the different ways individuals express their identity. The chapter concludes with the takeaway of the book: that the experience of Achaemenid Egypt was not uniform across all of its inhabitants

Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt is an excellent example of the direction Egyptological research should take. It is critical of the assumptions of previous research, it integrates contemporary archaeological theory, and it remains accessible to scholars of all levels of familiarity with the Persian period. While the

monograph certainly deserves a cover-to-cover read, several chapters stand out as particularly strong and useful. The first chapter, "The Study of Achaemenid Egypt", carefully considers previous scholarship and thoroughly deconstructs how flawed understandings of the period have affected the trajectory of Persian period studies, which will be helpful to all scholars as they theorize their own research. "Urban Experiences: Memphis" likewise provides broad appeal with an engaging discussion of Memphite administration and archaeology useful for urban studies and phenomenological analyses of Egyptian cities. Finally, "Representation and Identity" should certainly be the chapter instructors of Egyptian art assign for the Persian period since it integrates broader, conceptual discussions of art as well as significant concrete analyses of major works.

While focusing solely on archaeological evidence does provide much-needed attention to the material record, there is some contradictory treatment of the textual evidence. Texts seem to be utilized only to support Colburn's (implied) argument that the Persians were benevolent rulers. For example, a stela discussing Cambyses's burial of an Apis bull is discussed extensively, while textual evidence of Petuabaste IV and Inaros is minimally mentioned. Similarly, Colburn's corrective stance on the Persians leads to the utilization of interpretative and judgmental terminology—Petubaste IV is repeatedly referred to as a "pretender"[1] or "ephemeral pretender"[2]. Colburn's work additionally would benefit from a more nuanced discussion of identity. Identity is frustratingly elusive, and it is constantly negotiated and performed even for a single individual across disparate contexts. The assumption that there is a one-to-one correlation between Persian iconography and a hybrid identity for Egyptians is present across multiple chapters. With colonial power dynamics, adoption by a group with less power cannot be assumed to be a free and personal choice. Just as the use of these elements does not indicate forced domination, neither does it prove a benevolent occupation with Egyptians eager to adopt imperial identities. The truth of the matter likely lies somewhere in the middle of these two interpretations, in a realm of individual experience that is beyond the access of modern scholars.

Archeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt brings an exemplary approach to a period in Egyptian history that is fortunately receiving increasing attention. Colburn's contribution is a landmark monograph through its foregrounding of material culture which grants a voice to parts of a multi-ethnic and globalized empire that are rarely explored.

—*Allison McCoskey*

---

[1] Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire*, 124
[2] Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire*, 165

Books Received

Books listed here have been received by the Society, or that publishers have indicated they are willing to send out, and are available for review. Please contact the editors at JournaloftheSSEA@gmail.com for more information or to request a review copy.

Maravelia, A. and Guilhou, N. (eds). *Environment and Religion in Ancient and Coptic Egypt: Sensing the Cosmos through the Eyes of the Divine. Proceedings of the 1ˢᵗ Egyptological Conference of the Hellenic Institute of Egyptology, Co-Organized with the Writing & Scripts Centre of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina and the Institute of Coptic Studies (University of Alexandria), at the People's University of Athens, under the High Auspices of His Eminence Mᵍʳ Damianos, Archbishop of Sinai, Athens. Wednesday 1ˢᵗ, Thursday 2ⁿᵈ & Friday 3ʳᵈ February 2017. Archaeopress Egyptology* 30. Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing, Ltd., 2020. pp. 538 + XLIV. £90. ISBN 978 1 78969 639 4.

Μαραβέλια, Α. *Ἡ Ἱστορία τοῦ Ναυαγοῦ: Εἰσαγωγή, Σχολιασμὸς καὶ Μετάφρaση ἐκ τοῦ Πρωτοτύπου τοῦ Ἀρχαιοτέρου καὶ Ὡραιοτέρου Αἰγυπτιακοῦ Διηγήματος*, Ἀθῆναι: Σέραπις, 2021, σσ. 240. € 40. ISBN 978–618–85516–0–2.

Maravelia, A. *The Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor: Introduction and Translation from the Original of the most Ancient and Nice Ancient Egyptian Tale*, Athens: Serapis, 2021, pp. 240. € 40. ISBN 978–618–85516–0–2.

Guidelines for Contributors

Languages
- Please submit article manuscripts in English, French, or German, to journalofthessea@gmail.com.
- All manuscripts of articles should include abstracts in both English and French, as well as a list of key-words (in both these languages) relevant to the topics covered by the article.

Formats
- Manuscripts should be typed or pasted into a specific *JSSEA* template that is available by email from the editors.
- Articles and reviews should be formatted with only a single space after periods and colons.
- Footnote numbers should be placed after the relevant punctuation.
- Contributions in English should use Chicago Manual of Style footnote formatting for all references. Contributions in French and German should use a footnote formatting style conventional for Egyptological scholarship in those languages. Please refrain from using ibid., op. cit., or loc. cit. Exceptions from this rule are acceptable in cases where several references to the same work appear in a single footnote or in subsequent notes.
- Please add a pdf-version as a point of reference for issues such as fonts used, as well as for the intended layout of potential tables or quoted text-excerpts.
- All tables, charts and pictures should also be sent as separate files.

Fonts
- Transliterations of Egyptian text should be in Manuel de Codage format; Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic should preferably be rendered in Unicode fonts. Hieroglyphic text should ideally be encoded in Vector Office.

Images
- Pictures should have a minimum of 600dpi and ideally be submitted in .tif or .jpg formats. Please note that, while both b/w and color photographs will be accepted, printing will be in b/w only. The online edition of *JSSEA* does support color images, however. It is the responsibility of the author to obtain all copyright permissions.

Book Reviews
- Book reviews are accepted in French and English.
- Instructions for fonts for book reviews are the same as for articles.
- Reviews of books may contain footnotes. Citations should be done in Chicago style.
- A template for book reviews is also available online from the editors.
- Book reviews must be submitted to bookreviews@thessea.org

Deadline
Normal deadline for the submission of manuscripts is January 31st of each year. All submissions will be peer-reviewed. Authors may make changes after the peer-review process is complete. Once proofs are sent out, only minor corrections will be accepted.

Directives aux Auteurs

Langues de publication

- Vous pouvez soumettre votre article en anglais, en français ou en allemand à journalofthessea@gmail.com.
- Toutes les épreuves doivent inclure un résumé en anglais et en français ainsi qu'une liste de mots-clefs (également en anglais et en français) indiquant les principaux thèmes abordés dans l'article.

Mise en forme

- Le texte doit être rédigé ou inséré dans le modèle propre au *JSSEA* disponible par courriel
- Dans les articles et les comptes rendus, les points et les deux-points sont suivis d'un seul espace insécable.
- L'appel de note doit être situé après le signe de ponctuation approprié.
- Les textes en anglais doivent utiliser les notes de bas de page du style Chicago. Les textes en français et en allemand doivent employer le style conventionnellement utilisé par les chercheurs en égyptologie pour ces langues respectives. Veuillez éviter d'utiliser les abréviations latines telles que ibid., loc. cit. et op. cit., à l'exception des cas où il est fait plusieurs fois référence au même ouvrage dans une même note ou dans des notes subséquentes.
- Veuillez fournir une version PDF de votre texte à titre de référence pour d'éventuels problèmes relatifs à la fonte utilisée aussi bien que pour la disposition initiale de tableaux ou de citations.

Fontes

- La translitération de textes égyptiens doit être en format Manuel de Codage; idéalement, le grec, l'hébreu et l'arabe doivent être rédigés avec la fonte Unicode. Les textes hiéroglyphiques doivent préférablement être édités à l'aide du logiciel Vector Office.
- Les images doivent avoir une résolution minimale de 600 ppp et doivent idéalement être soumises en formats .tif ou .jpg. Notez que nous acceptons les images en noir et blanc et en couleur, cependant celles-ci seront imprimées uniquement en noir et blanc. L'édition en ligne du *JSSEA* permet néanmoins la publication d'images en couleur. Notez qu'il est de la responsabilité de l'auteur d'obtenir les droits d'auteur sur la diffusion du contenu visuel.

Comptes Rendus

- Les comptes rendus d'ouvrage sont acceptés en français et en anglais.
- Les directives concernant la fonte sont les mêmes que celles pour les articles
- Les comptes rendus peuvent contenir des notes de bas de page, le cas échéant le style Chicago doit être utilisé
- Un modèle pour les comptes rendus est également disponible par courriel
- Les comptes rendus doivent être soumis à bookreviews@thessea.org

Date de Tombée

La date limite pour soumettre un texte est le 31 janvier de chaque année. Toutes les soumissions seront évaluées par un comité de lecture. Les auteurs peuvent apporter des changements une fois que le processus de lecture est complété. Une fois que les épreuves finales sont soumises, seules des corrections mineures seront acceptées.

About The SSEA/SÉÉA

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities was founded in Toronto in 1969 and duly incorporated in August of 1970. It was registered as a charitable organization under the laws of Canada in a year later. In 1984, the Calgary Chapter of the SSEA was formed and in 1999, a chapter was opened in Montreal under the name "La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne" (SÉÉA). In 2007, the Toronto Chapter was established as an entity distinct from the Head office of the Society (The head office or parent organization is now known as The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne). A Chapter in Vancouver has been operational since the summer of 2010. Each Chapter organizes local events for its members and is maintained by an elected Chapter Executive, under the authority of the Bylaws of the Society.

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne is governed by a Board of Trustees elected annually. It organizes the Annual General Meeting, Symposium, Scholars' Colloquium and Poster Session, maintains the membership database and sundry websites, and publishes both the *Journal of the SSEA* and the *Newsletter*, in addition to other occasional publications. To join the SSEA, contact info@thessea.org or visit http://ssea2020.thessea.org.

Below is information regarding The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / La Société pour l'Étude de l'Égypte Ancienne in the year of printing of this journal (2021–2022).

COMMITTEES 2021–2022

Publications Committee
Journal of the SSEA
Edmund S. Meltzer and Simone Burger Robin, Editors-in-Chief
Cloé Caron, French Language Editor
Rahel Glanzmann, German Language Editor
Mary Ann Marazzi, Technical Editor

Editorial Committee:
Edmund S. Meltzer and Simone Burger Robin, Chairs
Katherine Blouin, Dan Deac, Katja Goebs, Jacqueline Jay, Nikolaos Lazaridis, Ronald J. Leprohon, Nancy Lovell, Caroline Rocheleau, Peter Sheldrick, Mary-Ann Wegner

Book Review Committee:
Edmund S. Meltzer and Simone Burger Robin, Coordinators
Lyn Green, Jean Li, Jacqueline Jay, Caroline Rocheleau, Sarah Schellinger

Journal Production and Distribution:
Mark Trumpour, Chair
Elaine Crabtree, Gayle Gibson, Arlette Londes, Leslie Cowger, Ian Stevens (ISD)

Newsletter
Peter Robinson, Editor
Leslie Cowger, Proofing
Cloé Caron, French Language Editing
Gayle Gibson, Assistant Editor
Peter Robinson, Mark Trumpour, Production and Distribution

Bylaws and Policy Committee
Rick Moran, Chair
Mark Trumpour, Paul English, Peter Sheldrick

Fieldwork and Research
Dakhleh Oasis Project
Dr. Peter Sheldrick, Board Representative

"In Search of Ancient Egypt in Canada" Project
Mark Trumpour, Lead Researcher
Guillaume Sellier

Communications Committee
Rick Moran, Chair
Leslie Cowger, Paul English, Dawn Power, Stephen Ficalora, Mark Trumpour, Peter Robinson

Web Presence
Peter Robinson, Webmaster
Mark Trumpour, Associate Webmaster

Fundraising Committee
Leslie Cowger and Elaine Crabtree, Chairs

Administration Team
Mark Trumpour, Gayle Gibson, Leslie Cowger, Elaine Crabtree, Arlette Londes

Poster Session Committee
Kerry Muhlestein, Chair
Gayle Gibson, Mark Trumpour

Scholars' Colloquium Committee
Mark Trumpour, Coordinator
Jacqueline Jay, Kerry Muhlestein, John Gee

Symposium Committee
Mark Trumpour, Coordinator
Arlette Londes and Mark Trumpour, Finance
Kerry Muhlestein, John Gee, Gayle Gibson, Stephen Ficalora, Technical coordination