Current Research in Egyptology 2006

Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Symposium
University of Oxford 2006



Edited by
Maria Cannata
with the collaboration of Christina Adams

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Introduction

The annual Current Research in Egyptology Symposium was launched in 2000 by graduate students at the University of Oxford with the aim of providing a forum for the discussion of Egyptological research conducted by current students at the graduate level. Over the years the event has gained increasing recognition among the students' community in the field of Egyptology, as well as an international status. The Seventh edition of the symposium was again held at the University of Oxford, in April 2006, and brought together graduate and postgraduate students of Egyptology from institutions world-wide. A total of 44 students presented their new and on-going research on a variety of topics including archaeology, art and architecture, history and society, literature and language, religion, museum studies, scientific analysis, history of Egyptology and 'egyptomania', spanning the entire period of Egyptian history from Predynastic to Coptic times. The papers included in this volume are representative of this same wide range of research areas, and, in particular, of the multi-disciplinary approach to, and contextual analysis of, the evidence that is increasingly being adopted within the field at large.

Three of the papers present a reanalysis of the connotations of specific words and phrases, challenging long-held views on their meaning through a review of the evidence, and offering new interpretations of the data. Thus Griffin challenges the theory that those areas of the temples decorated with the rekhyt rebus were accessible to the *rekhyt*, or 'common people', through a careful examination of the various parts of the temple where these images and inscriptions are found. While the inscriptions in the forecourts and hypostyle halls, which speak of the *rekhyt* people 'seeing' pharaoh or the gods, suggest that these people would, indeed, have access to the temple precinct, the depiction of the rekhyt rebus in the sanctuaries and inner rooms of the temples calls for a different explanation. Griffin suggests that, rather than being mere space fillers, the depiction of the *rekhyt* people in these inner temple areas symbolises the metaphysical presence of the 'common people' within the temple, since, being a representation of the cosmos, it needed to include all classes of society in order to maintain order. Vassiliev deals with another Egyptian word, *ṯst* with the meaning of *hill* or *ridge*, attested in a number of textual sources in connection with the Egyptian military road to Canaan, and said to be located in the land of the Shasu People, a Near Eastern ethnic group. Vassiliev presents the available textual evidence for the term *ṯst* and argues that in the New Kingdom the plural form with a definite article was not a general topographical designation, but rather a proper geographical name of a specific region in North Sinai. He concludes that these *hills* or *ridges* were not mountains, but rather sand dunes, which are a prominent geographical feature of the North Sinai coastal plain. Cannata presents an analysis of the meaning of the root *ḳs* and its derivatives during the Ptolemaic Period, on the basis of the available documentary evidence from this period, to show that this root and its derivates had a wide range of connotations, depending on the context in which they were used, all of which related to aspects of mummification and burial. In particular, Cannata challenges the rendering, on the basis of Greek evidence, of the title *ḳs* as *shoemaker*, traditionally translated as *embalmer*, arguing that the use of Greek translations of demotic terms cannot be seen as reliable. Through the comparative palaeographical and orthographical analysis of the derivates of the root *ḳs*, Cannata shows that its spelling, when used to denote the professional title, is entirely germane to the funerary context, and that, therefore, the available evidence does not support conclusively its reinterpretation as *shoemaker*.

Ancient and modern documentary evidence is brought together by Cromwell in her study of Coptic documentary material from Jeme, an 8th century town located at Medinet Habu, Ramses III's mortuary temple. The analysis of the published and unpublished archival records in the British Library, where these Coptic documents are held, together with the biographical information on the individuals who acquired them in Egypt, Cromwell argues, indicates that these collections were discovered in the monastery of Apa Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahari, thus suggesting that a central archive may have existed there where the majority of the documents would have been stored. However, in a small number of cases, the acquisition date, the information on where specific individuals were excavating at a given time, as well as the fact that some deeds were found in isolation, indicates that a small number of these deeds were also kept in the town. On the other hand, information on ancient libraries and archives is combined together with modern library- and media-science by Zinn to propose an alternative definition of these institutions, one which emphasises their functional role in the preservation and transmission of collective wisdom. Using both archaeological and textual evidence, Zinn analyses the social and religious context of ancient Egyptian library traditions and addresses the important question of how Egyptian libraries functioned in terms of both storage and circulation of written knowledge, understood as the 'cultural memory' of a society, thus extending our understanding of these institutions from merely physical and spatial contexts to a cultural level.

Textual evidence, both literary and religious, forms the basis of four further papers in this volume. Heyne deals with the literary text known as the Teaching of Ptahhotep, different versions of which survive in a number of documents, but which is known almost exclusively from the translation of P. Prisse, dating to the Middle Kingdom, now in the collection of the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris. The text belongs to the genre of wisdom literature and comprises a prologue, which deliberates about the hardship of old age and the necessity to name a successor, followed by 37 maxims that consist of the advice of a father to his son and successor. In particular, Heyne highlights the importance of the versions preserved in two papyri now in the British Museum which, she argues, are probably the closest surviving copies of the original manuscript and represent the standard version of the text during the New Kingdom, and perhaps even the Middle Kingdom, as shown by the fact that later versions parallel the British Museum papyri both in terms of content and verse order. Literary evidence also forms the basis of Adams' paper, which deals with references to manifestations of the dead from the Old Kingdom to the Coptic period. Although most of them have been subjected to scholarly analysis, such studies have focused primarily on the literary, historical, socio-cultural, lexical, syntactical and palaeographical aspects of these texts, whilst they have never been examined together as a group and considered for their commonality. Adams argues that these post-mortem manifestations are no mere phenomenological curiosity, but rather, they are an important element of the interface between the living and the dead, and that they offer an invaluable insight into the Egyptians' conceptualization of the dead and the afterlife, and of the importance the Egyptians attached to the ability to interact with their dead. In particular, Adams highlights the importance of the remarkable continuity of the Egyptian thought and belief shown by these references to appearances of the dead, spanning the extent of Egyptian history and offering an unbroken seam of evidence of that understanding and belief that underpinned the more formal expression of their religious credo. The akh, the manifested dead, is also the subject of Janák, who brings together Egyptology and Zoology in his analysis of the northern bald ibis, also known as the waldrapp, used in the Egyptian language to write

the hieroglyphic sign *3ḫ*. Janák explores not only the natural habitat of this family of Ibises, but also their breeding and feeding habits, as well as their physical and behavioural characteristics, and their greeting display. Janák suggests that the fact that these birds probably nested on the rock cliffs along the Nile valley, an area representing both the real and the symbolic horizon, their flocking to the valley in search for food, as well as their departure for the horizon in the evening, may in part explain their identification with visitors and messengers from the other world, and their being viewed as manifestations of the blessed dead. In addition, Janák suggests that further reaserch into both the bird's behaviour, and its perception within the cultural context of Egyptian society, may throw further light onto the reasons behind the depiction of the *akh* on several distinctive Old Kingdom diadems and on representations of the ceremony known as the *Vogellauf*. The deceased and their survival in the Afterlife is the subject of the paper by Robinson, who analyses the scatological references to eating faeces and drinking urine within the corpus of the Coffin Texts. Using evidence from coffins originating mainly, though not exclusively, from the necropolises of Asyut and Bersha, Robinson analyses both the physical and conceptual position of specific spells within the decorative schema of individual coffins and within the corpus of the Coffin Texts as a whole, in an attempt to identify the purpose of such spells within the context of the funerary ritual. This analysis suggests that some spells were sequenced while others were non-sequenced, or isolated, and that some were more popular than others. Non-sequenced scatological references, disseminated anywhere within the inner surfaces of the coffins, had perhaps the scope of informing the deceased on the nature of demonic creatures and on how to avoid them. On the other hand, sequenced spells concentrate in the lower area of the coffin, in correspondence of the deceased's feet and legs, and appear to have had a number of functions, although, primarily, they seem to provide an indication of foulness, particulalry within foodstuffs. Thus Robinson suggests that they may have served the function of providing the deceased with knowledge of these polluted substances, ultimately symbolising forces of chaos, and the means to repel them, hence ensuring his or her survival into the afterlife.

Two of the papers in this volume are concerned with the analysis of archaeological remains and artifacts. Hodgkinson combines the archaeological evidence from Per-Ramesses, in the eastern Delta, with the geological information for the area to investigate the possible reasons for the abandonment of this city as a capital of Egypt around the beginning of the 21st dynasty. This, she suggests, was due to the combined effects of the natural tendency of the lower stretches of the Pelusian branch of the Nile to silt up, and the intense military activity that characterised part of the Ramesside period. In particular, Hodgkinson argues that the manpower employed at times of peace in the upkeep of the canals and basins surrounding the city would have been conscripted into the army at times of war, resulting in the neglect of the waterways' upkeep. This would have meant the loss for the city of both the natural protection afforded by the canals and basins surrounding it, and of its routes of communication and trade. McCann reports on the surveys and excavation projects in Sudan undertaken by the Sudan Archaeological Research Society and the British Museum in the area of the Fourth Cataract, where the construction of a hydroelectric dam and reservoir will flood the archaeological remains of this region. In particular, the analysis of ceramic assemblages discovered in this area provides a clear indication of changes in the potting tradition. On the one hand the ceramic workshops of the Meroitic period disappear, while on the other there is an increased emulation of south Sudan wares. Interestingly, the evidence indicates that alterations in potting

tradition parallel other changes that took place in the region of Meroe during the Post-Meroitic period.

At the other end of the timescale and focusing on artistic evidence, Judd analyses the large number of cattle petroglyphs found in the Eastern Desert, and suggests that they were drawn at a time when the climate was wet enough to support vegetation for grazing, and thus cattle were present in what is now a desert area. This would indicate a date around the early third millennium BC, that is, around the Predynastic and Early Dynastic Period, a suggestion supported by Stable Isotope analysis of cattle remains. Interestingly, these images appear to belong to the same artistic tradition in the Nile Valley during the same period, as indicated by similarities between the two.

Scientific methodology is the focus of Cockitt, who describes the application of accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS), a more accurate dating method than the conventional ^{14}C technique, to material from Egyptian mummified remains and associated artefacts. Cockitt argues that AMS can generate results that are comparable in their precision to those of the historical chronology. In addition, the application of this technique has the potential to produce information on the genetics and the epidemiology of diseases.

The papers in this volume offer but an example of the range of research currently conducted world-wide by graduate and postgraduate students, as well as of the ever-increasing interest that the later periods of Egyptian history, from the Ptolemaic to the Coptic Period, are receiving within the field of Egyptology.

A large number of people have been involved in the various stages of the organisation of the CRE VII Symposium and of the publication of these proceedings, although space constraints prevent us from naming them all. On behalf of the Oxford CRE organising committee, Christina Adams, Tom Hardwick and myself, I would like to thank Lady Margaret Hall, and in particular Carol Fowler, Conference Manager, and Bart Ashton, Domestic Bursar, for their help and expertise with the organisation of the Symposium, as well as all the staff who helped with the catering and accommodation of the symposium participants. Our thanks are also due to The Queen's College, and especially to Dr. Linda Irving-Bell, Domestic Bursar, and the Governing Body who allowed us host the CRE Formal Dinner in College, and to Dawn Grimshaw, Catering Manager, as well as all the staff who helped make the evening such a success. We are also indebted to Dr. Helen Whitehouse and Dr. Susan Walker of the Department of Antiquities of the Ashmolean Museum, and Paula Falck, Events Officer, for allowing us use of their facilities for the CRE Evening Reception, while my personal thanks go to Tom Hardwick for his mediation in the organisation of this event. We would also like to express our gratitude to Dr. Jaromir Málek, Elizabeth Fleming and Alison Hobby for kindly allowing the symposium participants to visit the archives of the Griffith Institute. We are also indebted to the Griffith Institute Fund for the financial support awarded towards the organisational costs of the symposium. Our special thanks also go to Prof. John Baines and Dr. Helen Whitehouse for chairing the various sessions and for their helpful comments to the speakers at the symposium; and to the academics that kindly read and commented upon the papers submitted. We would also like to thank everyone who attended the conference and all the students who shared their research with the other participants, and in particular to the authors of the papers included here for their assistance and patience throughout the editorial process. Our thanks are also due to Val Lamb and Clare Litt for their help with the formatting, typesetting and publication of this volume.

Finally, my personal thanks go to my colleagues, Christina Adams and Tom Hardwick, and to everyone else who, in many different ways, helped both with the Symposium and the publication of these Proceedings.

Maria Cannata
April 2007

Illustration credits

Front cover illustration: Vignette from the Book of the Dead Spell 92 depicted in the tomb of Irinefer at Deir-el Medina (Theban Tomb 290), 19th Dynasty (After Kampp-Seyfried, F. (1998) Overcoming Death – The Private Tombs of Thebes. In R. Schultz and M. Seidel (eds.) *Egypt. The World of the Pharaohs*, Figure 225. Köln, Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft). The editors and the individual authors would like to express their gratitude to all the institutions and scholars who granted permission to use the images published in this volume. The individual authors are alone liable for the use of specific images, the editors and Oxbow Books are not responsible for the obtainment of copyright permission.

Shades of Meaning: The Significance of Manifestations of the Dead as Evidenced in Texts from the Old Kingdom to the Coptic Period

Christina Adams

Introduction

Manifestations of the dead constitute one aspect of the wider spectrum that is the perceived interaction between the living and the dead; a dialogue which has been the central focus of my research to date. This paper is a distillation of the relevant sections of my 2004 BA Dissertation: *Appeals to the Living and Letters to the Dead: the interface between the living and the dead in ancient Egypt*, my 2005 M.St. Paper: *The Living and the Dead: contact and communication as exemplified in Coptic texts of the 4th to 11th centuries AD*, and my current D.Phil. Thesis: *Between Two Worlds: the interface between the living and the dead as evidenced in texts of the Late, Ptolemaic and Roman Periods.* References to manifestations of the dead occur in texts from all periods of Egyptian history. Such texts have been studied by scholars from various perspectives, though primarily for their literary, historical, socio-cultural, lexical, syntactical and palaeographic interest, only infrequently as phenomena in their own right. Their deeper import and significance has thus often been largely overlooked. Furthermore, they have not previously been collected, collated, and considered for their commonality. I would like to suggest, and to show, that instances where the dead appear to the living are no mere phenomenological curiosity. To the contrary, they are a valid, instructive and important element of the interface between the Egyptians and their dead. They are, additionally, a valuable resource for our understanding of the Egyptians' conceptualization of the dead and their post-mortem existence.

In researching my whole subject area, it seemed that greater insight would be gained from employing what might be termed an 'endocentric' methodology. By this I mean working from within, attempting, as far as possible, to look at the material from the Egyptian perspective, rather than taking an 'exocentric' stance; that of observing, extrapolating, and hypothesizing from an external viewpoint. I have, therefore, chosen to work predominantly with texts, since these were the words of the Egyptians themselves. This approach naturally came with a caveat regarding the twin potential dangers of taking a text overmuch at face value, and of translating too literally. At the same time, a poststructuralist position would have been inappropriate, and unlikely to yield satisfactory results. When citing an original text, all translations given are my own.

The context of manifestation

The context in which the Egyptian dead manifest, the encounters which they have with the living, are often characterized by an unexpected down-to-earthness. Indeed, a useful paradigm is to conceive of the living and the dead as being two interlinked communities. They are communities which, the evidence suggests, appear to lead lives that frequently parallel one another, often intersect, and on occasions merge. They are co-dependent, symbiotic, and for the

most part, mutually beneficial communities. The living need the dead: to watch over them; to protect them from the attentions of the less well intentioned dead; to sort out their mundane problems; to intercede on their behalf with other *ꜣḫw* and with the gods; to ensure that, when the living in their turn come to die, they are accorded a fitting reception in *Ỉmnt*. Occasionally, at a less elevated level, and normally involving the restless dead, they are required to act as intermediaries in magical procedures. The dead for their part need the living: to carry out all their funerary and mortuary requirements, both practical and ritualistic; to see to their provisioning needs for the afterlife through offerings, or through recitation of the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula; to maintain their tomb in good order, their bodies safe within their houses of eternity; to ensure the perpetuation of their name and their immortality.

The mechanics of manifestation

In what form do the dead manifest? What is the eschatological belief system, or systems, underlying the mechanics of manifestation? The Egyptians' conceptualization of the different spiritual, physical and physico-spiritual elements that constitute a human being, in death as in life, is a vast, subtle and complex topic, a whole subject area in itself. This despite the fact that those aspects of the individual held to survive death, or acquired during the transformational journey from life to afterlife, remained in essence remarkably consistent throughout much of Egypt's long history. Inevitably though, the passage of time saw theological and hierological evolution, with its resultant conceptual, connotative and lexical changes, further complicating the picture. To reduce the subject to all but the very barest of essentials: certain constituent elements need to be present, indeed are vital, for the deceased in the afterlife. The three most tangible, most physical of the elements, foci for the returning *bꜣ*, are the *ḫꜣt*, or 'corpse', the *ḏt*, or 'body/bodily form' which, though earthbound like the *ḫꜣt* is not tomb-bound as well, and the *sʿḥ*, or 'mummy'. There are two aspects of the heart, the *ḥꜣty* and the *ỉb*, both having fewer of the more physical connotations attributed to them in life, the latter in particular. The *rn*, or 'name', incorporates the identity of the deceased, its destruction, or consignment to oblivion having devastating consequences. Four elements of the dead are particularly important for coming and going in the afterlife: the *šwt / ḫꜣybt*, the *bꜣ*, the *kꜣ* and the *ꜣḫ*, the role of the *ꜣḫ*, or state of being an *ꜣḫ*, encompassing the others. They are respectively usually translated as 'shadow', 'soul', 'double' and 'transfigured/glorified spirit', though none of these renderings do justice to the connotative complexities inherent in the original Egyptian words. Of all these elements, only the *bꜣ*, *šwt* / *ḫꜣybt*, and *ꜣḫ* are patently implicated in actual manifestations of the dead, and hence relevant here.

In textual references to actual manifestations of the dead, I have found that in practice only two of these terms are employed: *ḫꜣybt* (demotic *ḫyby*) in later texts, and *ꜣḫ* (demotic *ỉḫy*) in all periods. The *bꜣ* however is surely present, if unseen, providing the mobility to move between the two worlds, for it is as a *bꜣ* that the deceased is described, when returning to visit his family and the scenes of his former life on earth. We have many extant descriptions. One from the 18th Dynasty, but typifying earlier and later examples, comes from the Theban tomb (TT 110) of the royal cup-bearer and chamberlain, Djehuty (Davies 1932, Pl. 40, column 7):

ḫpr m bꜣ ʿnḫ	'(…) becoming a living *bꜣ*,
ỉḫ ỉri=f sḫn ḥr mnw=f	so that he may alight on his arbour,
šsp=f šwt nt nhwt=f	so that he may enjoy the shade of his sycamores
snḏm=f r ḳʿḥ n mr	so that he may rest in a recess of the pyramid (…)'

The importance of the *bꜣ* is borne out too by the survival of the word into Coptic as **ⲃⲁⲓ**, or 'spirit', notwithstanding the change of prevailing religious ideology. The earthbound *šwt / ḫꜣybyt* and the peripatetic *bꜣ* are discrete but associated entities, a pairing first attested in the Coffin Texts of the First Intermediate Period. The *šwt* provides the ostensibly more corporeal aspect of the partnership, though the *bꜣ* is by no means without physicality in its needs and desires. Both are needed if the deceased is to be able to leave the tomb and walk abroad among the living. Spell 92 from the Book of the Dead specifies that it is a 'Spell to open the tomb for the *bꜣ* and *šwt* of N so that he may go forth by day and have power in his legs'. Yet the form in which the dead are most frequently described as appearing is as an *ꜣḫ*. This is perhaps not surprising, given that the term *ꜣḫ*, as it relates to the afterlife, is a term that subsumes all the other post-mortem elements in a single entity. The individual who has lived according to *mꜣʿt*, who has benefited from the *sꜣḫ*-ritual after death, is henceforward a transfigured spirit, enjoying freedom of passage in, and between, both worlds. Starting from Old Kingdom texts onwards, the word *ꜣḫ* is often adjectively qualified (see Hannig 2003, 14–15): *ꜣḫ ʿpr* 'equipped spirit', *ꜣḫ mnḫ* 'potent spirit', *ꜣḫ iḳr* 'excellent spirit', and *ꜣḫ šps* 'noble spirit'. In manifestation texts, only the last two appear to be used. At first these terms were generally approbative, yet even as early as the Pyramid Texts, *ꜣḫw* were not always benevolent, being capable of obstructing the celestial destiny of the king. Gradually overtime, *ꜣḫ* loses its originally impressive meaning, acquires a more neutral one, then an ambivalent one, and ultimately a patently pejorative one in the Coptic **ⲁϧ** 'demon'.

The appearance of the dead

Do we know what the dead looked like when appearing before the living as an *ꜣḫ* or a *ḫꜣybt*? Textual allusions or inferences would seem to point in favour of both of these visible types of manifestation of the dead as being totally human in form. In the case of the latter, depictions are plentiful. A vignette of spell 92, referred to above, with conventional representations of the dark, skeletal but entirely human-formed *šwt / ḫꜣybt* (Figure 1), accompanied by two human-headed, avian bodied *bꜣ*s, can be found on the walls of the 19th Dynasty Theban tomb of Irinefer (TT 290). There are hardly any depictions specifically identified as *ꜣḫw*, except perhaps on early cylinder seals from the Early Dynastic Period and that only in avian form (Friedman 2001, 48), and also possibly in representations of the 'feeding of the *ꜣḫ*' ceremony (*snmt ꜣḫ*), although a statue is probably involved there. However, I would suggest that the unique ornithanthropic figure (Figure 2) from the 19th Dynasty tomb of Amennakht at Sheikh 'Abd el-Qurna (Davies 1948, Pl. XXVI), though winged like a *bꜣ*, could well be a representation of an *ꜣḫ*, Stevenson Smith's 'male spirit' (1998, 221). It is unlikely to be de Garis Davies' 'angel' (Davies 1948, 38), since angels belong largely to the Abrahamic traditions, with no evidence for angels as such in ancient Egypt. Desroches Noblecourt argues, often with some plausibility, in favour of it being a 'king' (1947, 201–211), in this instance the dead Seti I, yet there are several problems with this, which can only be very partially, and very briefly, addressed here. The winged figure from Seti I's temple at Abydos, a determinative hieroglyph representing the king's protection, which both she and Stevenson Smith (as above) cite by way of comparison, is single-winged, and assumes the typical attitude of protective deities. It would seem to be primarily symbolic. Also the type of kilt worn by the Amennakht figure, by which she identifies the royal status of its wearer, was by this era no longer the exclusive preserve of royalty. Further, while the king has, certainly from the Pyramid Texts onwards, been described as flying to the sky, rising upon wings as a bird, with the democratization of the afterlife this



Figure 1. *Vignette of Spell 92 from the Book of the Dead. Tomb of Irinefer (Theban Tomb 290), 19th Dynasty (After Kampp–Seyfried 1998, Figure 225).*

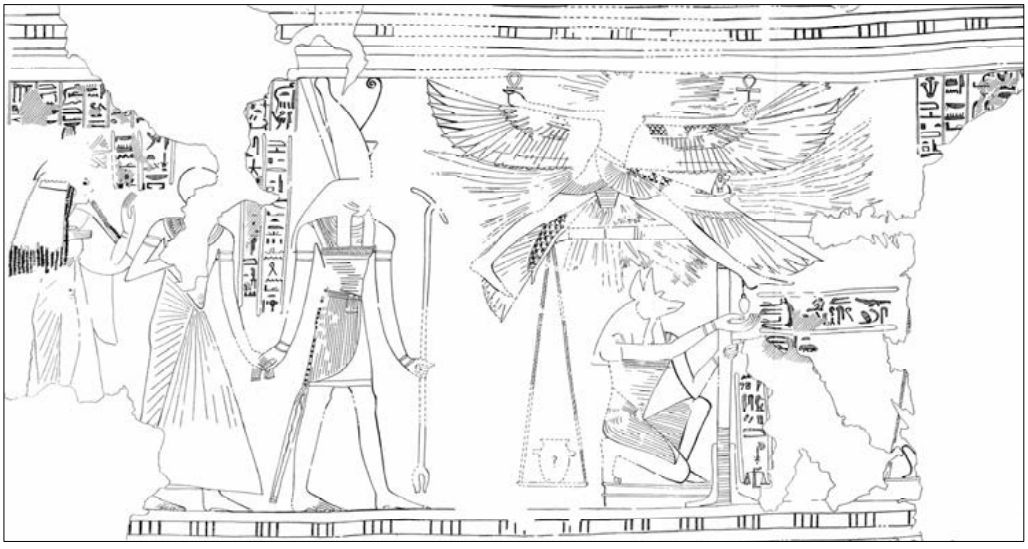


Figure 2. *Winged figure from the tomb of Amennakht (Theban Tomb 341), 19th Dynasty (After Davies 1948, Pl. XXVI).*

was a destiny shared by many more. It would also seem a strange context for a king, even a dead one, to be depicted rising above the judgement scene in the tomb of a noble. At the same time, however, I would suggest that neither is this figure the simple *bꜣ*, which one might expect to see within this sort of context. In the Papyrus of Ani, for example, Ani's *bꜣ* appears in the judgement scene, but to the left of the scales, and in avian form (Faulkner 1994, Pl. 3). Although the figure most probably incorporates the *bꜣ*, hence the wings, I believe that it may also be a fully-fledged *ꜣḫ*, hence the human form. Having undergone the divine judgement in the afterlife, and not been found wanting, having had the *sꜣḫ*-ritual performed by the living on his behalf, he now moves triumphantly towards his destiny holding aloft in his hands the symbols of his immortality. Might this not be an *ꜣḫ* in the ascendant?

Early references to manifestations of the dead

The first two attested manifestations of the dead as they appear to the living actually occur not in waking life, but in dreams. They can be found in two 'letters to the dead': P. Nag ed-Deir 3737 (Simpson 1966, 39–52), which dates to the 9th Dynasty, and the so-called 'Misplaced Stela' dating to the First Intermediate Period. The provenance and current whereabouts of the latter are not known. For the knowledge of its very existence, and its content, we are indebted to Wente (1975–6, 595–600). He recorded it as it passed briefly through the antiquities market, before it disappeared, almost certainly into some private collection. Both of these texts conjure up pictures of the dead, in the first case unbidden, in the second deliberately sought. To include these dream manifestations of the dead alongside those that are experienced during the waking state, may seem phenomenologically anomalous. Yet a reading of texts in which dream references occur, makes it very evident that the Egyptians considered the dream state as being not illusory, intangible or unreal, but rather a state which possessed a valid and substantial reality, one that closely mirrored everyday life and experience (see Szpakowska 2003, especially 15–40). This is confirmed lexically too. The word for 'dream' in most common usage is *rswt,* the stem of which, *rs*, means 'to wake', and this survives into Coptic as ⲣⲁⲥⲟⲩ or 'dream', and ⲣⲟⲉⲓⲥ 'to be awake, to watch'. Similarly, the dreamer observes the dream, the verb used being *mꜣ*(*ꜣ*) 'to see', with demotic using the alternative verb for 'to see' *nw,* and Coptic ⲛⲱ/ⲛⲁⲩ.

In the 'letter to the dead' P. Nag ed-Deir 3737, the reality of the dream experience is all too apparent. A certain Heni writes to enlist the help of his dead father Meru. The latter's servant Seni, having met with an untimely and violent end, and holding Heni responsible for his death, has been troubling him in his sleep. The dead man, so Heni complains, has been responsible 'in causing your servant (scil. Heni) to see him in a dream' (*m rdt mꜣ sw bꜣk ỉm m rswt*) (Simpson 1966, Pl. IX, columns 2–3). For Heni though, it is more than just a dream, it is clearly a living nightmare, a fact underlined by the use of the Seth-determinative after *rswt* (see McDonald 2000, 283–291 for discussion on this determinative). Heni's fear is palpable. The sense of menace is real. Seni is perceived as having all the capability of the living to confront the object of their grievance, to threaten, and to exact vengeance. Meanwhile, Heni's father Meru is also in a powerful position; he has the power of intervention. The second of the 'letters to the dead', that on the 'Misplaced Stela', though very different in tone, and involving a potential rather than an actual manifestation, also illustrates the perceived effectiveness of the dead. One Meritify writes to his beloved dead wife Nebetiotef 'Please become an *ꜣḫ* for me, [in front of me], that I may see you (or 'and I will see you' if this is a simple future *sḏm=f*) fighting for me in a dream' (*ỉḫ ꜣḫ=t n*(*-ỉ*) [*ḫft ḥr-ỉ*] *mꜣ=ỉ ꜥḥꜣ=t ḥr=ỉ m rswt*) (Wente 1975–6, 596, columns 3–4). In this instance too, death is no barrier. The deceased is perceived as being, to all intents

and purposes, alive. He or she is seen as being able to intervene directly in, and affect for good or ill, the life of the dreamer. That Nebetiotef is asked to appear as an *ꜣḫ*, in her full spirit form, is of significance for it is as such that the majority of subsequent manifestations will appear. This may be the first instance of the term being used specifically for visible manifestations.

The first 'ghost' story?

For the next reference to the dead making themselves apparent to the living, we need to move forward in time to the Middle Kingdom, to the pseudepigraphical *Instruction of Amenemhet I for his son Senusret I* (Helck 1969). Though all extant texts of this work actually date to the New Kingdom, the 'eulogy to dead authors' on the verso of P. Chester Beatty IV (P. BM 10684) credibly attributes it to the Middle Kingdom scribe Khety. In the *Instruction* the dead Amenemhet appears and speaks to his son. He imparts didactic wisdom concerning kingship, citing his own achievements by way of example, but the speech also has an admonitory aspect. Warning Senusret to be on guard against treachery, he recounts the events surrounding what would appear to be his murder. Some scholars, particularly in earlier treatments, have suggested that that the *Instruction* does not relate to a visitation by the dead king. Anthes (1957, 176–190) proposed, for instance, that it was written ten years prior to the king's death, as a formal pronouncement. Most scholars now take the view that the king is indeed dead, though they differ as to the nature of the circumstances in which he appears. Much of the argument hinges on the precise translation of one crucial phrase: Amenemhet is described as speaking *m wpt mꜣꜥt* (Helck 1969, 9). Do we interpret *wpt mꜣꜥt* as alluding to a vision of the dead, to a dream scenario, or to a revelation or manifestation of some kind? Both vision and dream hypothesis are possible, but two factors suggest otherwise. Firstly, the king speaks of his feet departing. This suggests the actuality of a physically manifested presence. Secondly, there are no prefatory allusions of the sort that might indicate this to be a vision, nor are there allusions to nightfall, sleep, dreaming or subsequent reawakening, such as are usual in dream texts. Of the many translations proposed over time for *wpt mꜣꜥt*, Lichtheim's 'revelation of truth' (1973, 136) and Parkinson's 'revelation' (1991, 49) seem the most plausible. Furthermore, *m wpt mꜣꜥt* may refer to a 'revelation' in both senses of the word, verbal as well as visual. It is possible to interpret the phrase in terms of Amenemhet presenting himself both *in* and *as* a 'revelation', that is, as a manifestation of the dead. Therefore, what we may have in the *Instruction* is the earliest extant 'ghost' story.

The genesis of the ghost story

The first certain ghost story, that of *'Khonsuemhab and the Ghost'* (von Beckerath 1992, 90–107), dates to the New Kingdom, to the 19th Dynasty. There are a number of questions vis-à-vis the debut of the Egyptian ghost story as a literary form or genre, a classification which is of necessity somewhat broad given the heterogeneous nature of these tales. Though the ghost story first seems to have emerged during the Ramesside Period, did it in fact have its genesis in much earlier autochtonous and orally transmitted folklore? Can one account for the reasons why the ghost story should have appeared when it did? Was the prevailing religious *zeitgeist* a factor? Could there have been, as Assmann (2001, 17) has proposed, an influence from Mesopotamia? In answer to the first question, I would suggest that the probability lies in the written ghost story having indigenous oral roots. The sheer cross-cultural historical ubiquity of supernatural tales of revenants points in favour of this. The Egyptians' very belief system too would have led to an expectation of the dead being able to visit the living. Additionally, while

most oral traditions tend by definition to be unrecorded, hence lost, there is one Egyptian tradition, that of lamentations for the dead, which escaped this fate, and might serve as a useful parallel. From as early as the Old Kingdom, hieroglyphic texts, many of them recorded by Lüddeckens (1943), placed in juxtaposition to scenes of mourners, preserve their laments for posterity. Wickett (1993) subsequently traced the oral tradition up to the present day. However, this same oral tradition also found a written outlet in funerary liturgy (see Giamberardini 1965) and lamentationary epigraphia (see Cramer 1941). The same type of process may hold true for ghost stories.

As to why the ghost story should have surfaced when it did, two initial hypotheses suggest themselves, one a rebound from, and one a development from, Akhenaten's religion. The latter having, effectively cut the Egyptians off from the chthonic and eschatological elements of their religious heritage, the afterlife without underworld or celestial options, became terrestrially focussed. Post-Amarna revenants, though appearing in the same earthly arena, are clearly *3ḫw* with otherworldly connections. As representatives of a reinstated afterlife, they served to re-establish the proper mythology of death and immortality. Yet an emphasis on the terrestrial remained, a shift from 'next-worldliness' to 'this-worldliness', it being of prime importance for the dead to be able to return among the living to 'go forth by day' (Assmann 2001, 285-299).

As to whether there may have been a Mesopotamian influence upon the ghost story, I have found no real evidence to support this. In the first place, the spirits of the dead, though often mentioned in Mesopotamian literature, are rarely described. References to ghosts are mostly only 'oblique' (Scurlock 1995, 1883), and there appears to be no Mesopotamian ghost story tradition as such. In addition, since all the elements are already *in situ* in Egyptian lore, there was no need to borrow from elsewhere. Further, while there are undoubtedly strong parallels between the Egyptian and Mesopotamian worlds of the dead, there is one important and crucial difference, which is reflected in the Egyptian stories: the behaviour and appearance of the Egyptian dead at the interface between the living and the dead is that of ordinary human beings. The Mesopotamian world of the dead, where it overlaps with that of the living is, by contrast, generally more demonian: a Mesopotamian ghost, for example, *gidim* (Sumerian) or *etemmu* (Akkadian), being not even wholly human in form, but theriomorphic. However, if one predicates an already existing Egyptian oral ghost story tradition, then there is a way in which Mesopotamian literature, which was increasingly accessible during the New Kingdom, may have influenced the metamorphosis from the spoken to the written word. From the earliest Sumerian version of the *Epic of Gilgamesh* c. 2150 BC (Dalley 1989; George 1999) onwards, the Mesopotamian dead were part of mainstream literature, and were represented, in literature at least, as being even more interactive with the living than the Egyptian dead. Mesopotamian literature may therefore have been not so much a direct influence, but rather a catalyst for the embracing of the ghost story as acceptable literary topic.

Textual evidence for ghosts

Once stories of this kind had started to appear, it would seem that they gradually increased in popularity. We may have, as far as can be ascertained, perhaps only eleven known hieroglyphic, hieratic and demotic texts dating to between the 19th Dynasty and the Roman Period, but the fact that even this number have survived argues for the possibility of many more having originally existed, and more may still remain undiscovered. Moving chronologically on from the 19th Dynasty texts of *'Khonsuemhab and the Ghost'* mentioned above, the next text is that of the so-called *'Levitating'* or *'Jumping Ghost'* (Posener 1960, 75–82) dating to the Third Intermediate Period. From the Late Period, or perhaps the 1st Persian

Period, we have P. Vandier (Posener 1985), and from the 2nd Persian Period, or possibly the Ptolemaic Period, the Bentresh Stela (Broze 1989). Four of the ghost texts belong to the Setna cycle: P. Cairo 30646 (Griffith 1900; Spiegelberg 1908; Erichsen 1937) and P. Cairo 30692 (Spiegelberg 1906 and 1908), date to the Ptolemaic Period, while P. BMEA 10822 (previously P. BM 604 verso) (Griffith 1900), and P. Carlsberg 207 (Tait 1994; Quack and Ryholt 2000), date to the Roman Period. Of the three remaining texts, two date to the Ptolemaic Period ('*The Girl and the Ghost'* to be published by J. Dieleman, and a further possible demotic text from Tebtunis in the Berkeley collection, which mentions an *ꜣḫ* [Dieleman personal communication 15/02/2006]), while one is from the Roman Period, '*Petese, son of Petetum*', though there is one earlier fragment preserving the story which is early Ptolemaic (Ryholt 1999 and 2006).

The ghost stories: 'Khonsuemhab and the Ghost'

The tale of *Khonsuemhab and the Ghost* is largely intact, despite missing both beginning and end. It also contains a number of lacunae, but some of the potsherds on which it is written, with a possible provenance of Deir-el Medina, are parallel copies with partial overlap, thus enabling some restoration. The basic outline of the story is, therefore, readily discernible. Khonsuemhab, High Priest of Amun, summons a spirit, an *ꜣḫ*. The reason for his doing so is lost along with the first lines of the tale. However, we can conjecture from what follows that the spirit in question has put in an appearance, probably a somewhat disturbing one, in the Theban necropolis. Khonsuemhab, perhaps by way of placating the restless spirit, offers to carry out various rites for him and his parents, and to provide him with a fine new coffin. The plight of the spirit, who identifies himself as Nebusemekh, requires a more radical resolution though: the repair of his tomb. He recounts his tale to Khonsuemhab. In life he had held a position of eminence under Montuhotep II. In death he had been, at first, similarly privileged and had received proper funerary rites. He had a splendid sarcophagus, complete with accoutrements, the gift of his king, who may also have provided his fine tomb. He had been able to move freely between the worlds of the living and the dead. Alas, time and neglect had rendered his house of eternity uninhabitable, and he had been forced to wander abroad, desolate, earthbound, among the restless dead. Khonsuemhab, deeply moved by what he has heard, sends men out to search for what remains of the spirit's tomb. Their mission successful, he proceeds to implement the tomb's full restoration. The story breaks off at the point where the High Priest of Amun, satisfied that Nebusemekh's problems, and Nebusemekh himself, will finally be laid to rest, returns to Thebes to sleep. As Wente suggests (2003, 115 note 17) this may precede a dream episode in which the spirit of Nebusemekh appears to Khonsuemhab.

What might appear, at first, to be no more than an interesting ghost story, yields, on closer study, both new insights and confirmation of what has previously been known or conjectured. The text is instructive in that it throws light upon various aspects of the afterlife, particularly the negative ones, and on the nature of *ꜣḫw* and *ꜣḫ*-hood, as well as on the interrelationship between the living and the dead, when both are in a sense *ḥryw-tꜣ*. In the first place, it gives a very full picture of the tragic afterlife experience of an *ꜣḫ,* displaced through no fault of his own, and of the restless dead in general. It highlights the sharp contrast between the exalted life of abundance of most glorified spirits, and the life of the wandering spirit lost in limbo, cold, hungry, thirsty, deprived of light, having nowhere to rest, nowhere to receive offerings, unable to visit his or her family, or the scenes of the former life. One of the most striking, and perhaps unexpected things to emerge, is quite how vulnerable the state of being an *ꜣḫ* actually is. The *sꜣḫ*-ritual, a mortuary ritual performed by lector priests, when *kꜣ* and *bꜣ* are reunited as *ꜣḫ*, does not evidently guarantee a person the status of a fully transfigured spirit for all eternity, but needs, like the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula, perpetual renewal. Nebusemekh's coffin, which in the

Middle Kingdom would most probably have carried the *sꜣḫw* spells, is either missing or has disintegrated, likewise, the sarcophagus which would have carried the *ḥtp-di-nsw* formula. The tomb itself, where the *ḥtp-di-nsw* or offering scenes might have featured on a wall or stela, providing offerings in perpetuity, is also in a parlous condition. The story of *Khonsuemhab and the Ghost* emphasizes the importance of the tomb which, with the body, is the focal point and fulcrum between life and the afterlife, the interface, both mundanely and esoterically, between the living and the dead. Similarly, the tomb envelops and protects the body, both on a practical and on a metaphysical level (See Assmann 2001, 256–268 for discussion on the tomb as sacred place). In this tale, the consequence of its damage or loss, are only too graphically illustrated.

The lack of otherworldliness of spirit revenants is also illustrated. While there is no description of Nebusemekh as such, his presence, his personality and his humanness are skilfully and subtly conveyed. He is sceptical, people have promised to help him before, he is reluctant to trust Khonsuemhab. He is able to put across, not without a sense of irony at his circumstances, the deep suffering that he experiences, a suffering which mirrors in some aspects that of the wretched living. He speaks in the language of the courtier that he once was. He is eloquent in his speech, using metaphor, simile and rhetoric. He is a powerful, effective, and persuasive interlocutor in advancing his case. It may have been Khonsuemhab who summoned the ghost in the first place, yet it is the ghost who is the one who most benefits from the encounter. It is not only the ghost though, who has an air of normality, but so does much of the tale itself. Were it not for the context and the content of the conversation that is taking place, the protagonists might well both be alive. Furthermore, this is no mere verbal interchange. The ghost succeeds in engaging the High Priest at an emotional level. His plight and his distress move Khonsuemhab profoundly, and he weeps. When Khonsuemhab seeks to help Nebusemekh, his response is clearly personal as much as it is official; a relationship has been formed between the living and the dead, human being to human being.

The 'Levitating' Ghost

The manuscript of the *Levitating Ghost*, P. Chassinat II (Louvre E. 25352) (Posener 1960, 75–82) postdates *Khonsuemhab and the Ghost*, though by how much is not certain. It could be as early as the 21st Dynasty, or even as late as the 26th Dynasty, possibly slightly later. Lexical and palaeographic evidence, however, point to the probability of it dating to around the 25th Dynasty. Written in hieratic, only four small and badly damaged fragments remain, reasonably contiguous, though with not one single line intact. It is therefore not possible to make out any outline to the story, merely to catch fleeting glimpses of the action. That said, Posener does seem right in suggesting (1960, 82) that the remnants that are left may fortunately correspond to the crux of the tale. From what can be ascertained, there are five characters featuring in the *Levitating Ghost*, or at least in its fragmentary remains, the dramatis personae being: a pharaoh whose name is not known, though it may have been specified in one of the earlier missing parts of the story, an *ꜣḫ*, a *sḏꜣwty*, variously a 'royal chancellor', 'treasurer' or 'seal-bearer', a *wdpw* 'butler', 'retainer' or 'servant', and a *nḏs*, a poor man or one of lowly rank. It is not possible to go into all the alternative interpretations of the text here, particularly given the highly conjectural nature of those interpretations, simply to give what seem to be the most salient events. The earlier part of the extant text may take place at court, for the pharaoh, his chancellor and the butler are all present. The *ꜣḫ* is also mentioned as going, or being taken to a certain place *ꜣḫ šps r bw* (Posener 1960, 78, B x+4), possibly to where the pharaoh and chancellor are. Then some sort of ceremony, symbolic ritual, or perhaps an act of charity, may be taking place, with a poor man being reclothed in finer garments. After this, the scene seems to move to a temple or tomb: 'Then he had him lay offerings upon the [altar/offering stone]'

(*wn.in=f rd wꜣḥ=f ḥtp.w ḥr* ⸢*bꜣ*⸣) (Posener 1960, 78, A x+6). A dramatic description of the *ꜣḫ* follows from this, for he was 'held aloft on the supports of Shu (scil. in the air)' (⸢*ḫ ḥr sṯs* Šw) (Posener 1960, 78, B x+7) 'he was neither in the sky, nor upon the earth, his feet being far from the ground' (*nn sw m pt nn sw m tꜣ rdwy=f wꜣ r sꜣtw*) (Posener 1960, 78, A x+7), a description reminiscent in fact of the winged figure in the tomb of Amennakht (Figure 2). Finally, on the last line of the fragments, the spirit identifies himself 'Then that august spirit said "I am Khentyka, son of Snefer(u), my lord"' (*ḏd.in ꜣḫ šps pn ỉnk ḫnty-kꜣ sꜣ s*[*n*]*fr nb=ỉ*) (Posener 1960, 78, A x+8) (However, the onomastics suggest a ghost from the Old or Middle Kingdom, when the practice was to put the name of the father first. If so, he will be Snefer(u), son of Khentyka, not vice versa).

What are we to make of all this, assuming some inference to be possible? There are many tantalizing questions, with few answers, and those, at best, largely conjectural. What role does the *ꜣḫ* play in the unfolding of the story? What is the relationship of the three main protagonists, the pharaoh, the *ꜣḫ* and the *nḏs,* to one another? Does the spirit appear entirely of his own volition, having some reason, personal or otherwise to be involved in the proceedings with the *nḏs*? Or has he been bidden or summoned by the pharaoh, possibly even by another party who has already featured in a lost part of the papyrus? If so, is it in order to be a participant, to be a witness, to provide information? On the other hand, if the statement 'you shall not weep again' (*nn sp rm=k*) (Posener 1960, 78, B x+8) is addressed to him, is he the one who, like Nebusemekh, has some grievance or some sorrow? It is not possible to resolve what part the *ꜣḫ* is playing, nor whether his appearance is voluntary or sought. However, there is an impression, and it can be no more than that, as there are few textual clues, that his position is both in a literal, and a circumstantial way, more elevated than that of Nebusemekh, an 'august' or 'noble' spirit in the full sense. Unlike the latter, he is not forlornly earthbound, but rises in the air. He has more autonomy. Like Nebusemekh he gives his name, but he does so spontaneously, it is not solicited (the preceding lacuna is not long enough to include a restoration of a question from the pharaoh). He seems a benign, rather than a troubled spirit, and one held in respect. If the dead Amenemhet I can appear to his son, then might we not interpret the ghost's giving of his name in the Old and Middle Kingdom manner, and make a possible case for this being another royal ghost, that of Sneferu? The name may not be of significance, it was after all common practice to call one's child after the reigning king, or after illustrious monarchs from past centuries. Even the royal determinative of a falcon on a stand (Möller's G188, corresponding to Gardiner's G7) may simply be part of the borrowed name. Yet the use of the appellation or address *nb=ỉ* is employed not only between commoner and king, but also by the scions of royalty with respect to their father the king. What is more, the historic Sneferu's father is not known with any certainty, it is only conjectured to have been Huni, and the name Khentyka, along with its close variants, both masculine and feminine, is one frequently found in the genealogies of the 4th and 5th Dynasty royal families (Dodson and Hilton 2004, 52–3, 64–5). At all events, whether a royal ghost or not, and however fragmented the tale, it is, at the very least, another example of the interaction between living and dead. As Posener remarked (Posener 1960, 76), it has importance, if nothing else, through the very fact of its existence as an example of the genre.

P. Vandier

The third of the ghost stories, also written in hieratic, covers most of the recto of P. Vandier, PL 139 (Posener 1985). On lexical, palaeographic and stylistic grounds, Posener (1985, 1.12–14) dates it to the end of the 5th, or possibly the 6th century BC, making it Late Period or First Persian Period. When it first became known to scholars (its provenance is unknown), the outer

part of the papyrus roll, which bore the beginning of the tale, was already badly damaged, and has since disintegrated further. What remains today is probably most of the first half of the tale, what is left of the second being a large number of fragments of decreasing size. Fortunately, the task of placing the fragments was aided by the survival of part of a known standard version of the Book of the Dead on the verso of the papyrus. At the beginning of the tale, which is in place, the scene is set. The hero Meryre has, we learn, outstanding gifts both in his capacity as a *ḥr-tp* (on the title *ḥr-tp* see Quaegebeur 1985, 1987, 1989), and as a *sš nfr*, literally 'good' or 'skilled scribe', that is to say, he is highly skilled in the fields of medical diagnosis, magic, and the interpretation of arcane writings. The other *ḥryw-tp* driven by jealousy, have up till now kept the knowledge of Meryre's abilities from the pharaoh, the rather weak and unprincipled Sisobek. However, the latter, suddenly taken ill one day, calls for his *ḥryw-tp* who diagnose a malady likely to prove fatal within a week. Powerless themselves to help, they have no choice but to reveal Meryre's existence. Thereupon Sisobek summons him, and asks him to use his skills to prolong his life. Meryre is at first extremely reluctant, since, as he explains, he can only do so at the cost of his own life, by acting as a substitute. The pharaoh then offers various inducements, including posthumous veneration. Eventually the hero capitulates, but only after he has elicited promises from pharaoh regarding in particular the welfare of his family, and the safekeeping of his property. While Meryre prepares himself for death, the pharaoh goes to the temple at Heliopolis to make offerings for Meryre's safe journeying to the Duat, and to renew the promises he has made to the latter. Meryre duly goes to the Duat, where Hathor takes him into the presence of the great god (*pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ*), most probably Osiris. His request to return to the world above is denied, so when some while later he hears that Hathor will be returning there to celebrate her festival, he begs her to discover what is happening. The news could not be worse, Sisobek, encouraged by the *ḥryw-tp*, has made Meryre's wife his great royal wife, has killed Meryre's son, and has appropriated his property. At this point in the tale, the lacunae start to become more frequent, the narrative more disjointed. The sequence of events, as far as it is possible to discern, seem to be as follows. Meryre, filled with anger, distraught with grief, seeks revenge. Since he cannot himself return to the world, he creates, and magically brings to life, a man of clay (*rmṯ n sꜣtw*) who will go on his behalf, and carry out his bidding. This, the man of clay does, and eventually succeeds in making Sisobek punish and destroy the *ḥryw-tp.* On returning to the Duat he informs a jubilant Meryre. From here on, the text becomes even more fragmentary. Someone, and that someone is probably Meryre, is in conversation with a pharaoh. It is not clear whether this is a conversation that takes place in he Duat with a dead pharaoh, or, as is more likely, in the world of the living. The final column of any comprehensibility has Meryre returning to the world above. He comes before the pharaoh, but what happens thereafter, and the denouement of the tale is now sadly lost along with the disintegrated final columns.

As a ghost story, the one recounted in P. Vandier is notably different from the others. In part this may be because it is the one that most closely reflects the increasing correspondence between the often parallel Egyptian and Mesopotamian worlds of the dead, as well as an increasingly chthonic emphasis in contemporary Egyptian theology. The descent to the Duat or underworld, the creation of clay figures, or the employment of figures magically endowed with life, and the use of the substitute victim, are all themes which appear in the literature of both cultures. That said, this is nevertheless an Egyptian ghost story, though precisely what sort of ghost story, has been rendered impossible to judge. It is the obverse of the case with the *Levitating Ghost*. Though considerable portions of the text survive, the missing sections, frustratingly, are precisely those that seem to coincide with some of the most pivotal parts of the story. When Meryre first speaks with a pharaoh, when it appears he is probably still in the

underworld, could this be a dead Sisobek, whose death might release him from the Duat to return to the world? When Meryre does finally return to the world to confront Sisobek, or perhaps his successor, is it as an *ꜣḫ,* or has he been fully restored to life? The text is ambiguous as to whether a return to life is possible, sometimes negating other times affirming the possibility. Nevertheless, there is another sense in which this may be seen as a ghost story. Once dead, Meryre is a spirit. When he creates the clay man it becomes a substitute for him. There is a link, although at one stage removed, between the living and the dead. The clay man, in effect, becomes a surrogate *ꜣḫ* returning from the afterlife to move among the living. In conclusion, the tale is a complex one, and embodies a number of themes which it is not possible to explore here, but which provide rich sources of insight.

The Bentresh Stela

The ghost text which recounts the tale of the princess of Bakhtan who was possessed by an *ꜣḫ* is unusual on four counts. Louvre C284 (de Buck 1948; Broze 1989), is written, in the hieroglyphic script, on stone rather than on papyrus or potsherd ostraca, has a known provenance, and importantly, is complete. Found in a small Ptolemaic chapel within the Karnak complex, it purported to date to the reign of Ramses II, but palaeographic evidence reveals it to be pseudoepigraphical. The proposed dating is wide, ranging from the 25th Dynasty right through to the Ptolemaic Period. According to Ritner (2003, 361) a partial second text, as yet unpublished, was also discovered at Luxor, written on monumental stone blocks, and securely dated to the 30th Dynasty. Louvre C284 has the appearance of a royal stela with a lunette depicting Ramses II offering incense to Khons-em-waset-neferhotep, one manifestation of the local deity Khonsu. The twenty eight lines of text below begin with a titulary address and hymnic eulogy to Ramses II. What follows is written rather in the manner of a *Königsnovelle*, for the king plays an important role, and even when absent, his representatives are central to the action. The narrative unfolds as follows. Visiting Mittani to receive gifts and homage from foreign princes, he is captivated by the beautiful eldest daughter of the prince of Bakhtan, who, on becoming his queen, is given the name Neferure. Later, during festivities at Luxor temple, a messenger from the prince of Bakhtan approaches Ramses. Neferure's sister Bentresh has fallen ill, and her father requests that the king send a wise man (*rḫ-ḫt*). In a scene somewhat reminiscent of the previous tale, the king asks the staff of the House of Life and the council of the Residence to propose one of their number with the requisite skills, no doubt a *ḥr-tp* and *sš nfr.* This proves to be the royal scribe Thothemheb, who duly accompanies the messenger back to Bakhtan. Having seen Bentresh, he opines that the malady is caused by ghostly possession, but while it is treatable, the remedy will require the ministrations of a god. The king gains the assent of the god Khons-em-waset-neferhotep to send under his magical protection Khons-ir-sekher, an aspect of Khonsu who can drive out wandering disease spirits. Whereupon the god, in image form, travels to Bakhtan and magically restores Bentresh to immediate health. The *ꜣḫ* then addresses the god with great respect, promising to return whence he came. First though, he asks that the god celebrate with him and the prince of Bakhtan, a request to which the god acquiesces. Despite the prince's fear, he makes an offering, and the ghost, true to his word, departs in peace amid general rejoicing. The tale ends with the prince, impressed by the god's powers, trying to detain Khons-ir-sekher. However, following a powerfully symbolic dream he relents, and the god returns, laden with gifts, to Egypt and to Thebes.

ꜣḫw are often implicated in magico-medical texts as the cause of illness (see Borghouts 1978; Ritner 1993), yet the *ꜣḫ* of this tale would appear to be no simple 'disease demon'. Though the outward circumstances differ, there are certain parallels between this particular

spirit and Nebusemekh. Both are in some sense among the restless dead, yet both are alluded to as '*3ḫ šps*', and that not apparently with any intended irony. While it is not known what brought Nebusemekh to Khonsuemhab's attention, or indeed to the attention of the four people to whom he appealed before, we can surmise that it was probably some sort of disruptive behaviour. Similarly, Bentresh's *3ḫ* would appear to have possessed her, not through any malevolent wish to do harm, but to put himself in a strong position for negotiating with the living. It is interesting that in both instances a divine intermediary or proxy is required for these negotiations; a High Priest of Amun in the first case, the royal scribe Thothemheb and the god Khons-ir-sekher in the second. Neither are coarse or debased spirits. Both Nebusemekh and the Bentresh *3ḫ,* once he has left the host body and is autonomous, behave in a dignified and courteous way towards the living as well as the divine, and are responded to in kind. Nebusemekh's dilemma is spelt out, that of the Bentresh *3ḫ* is not. Yet from the latter's request for a ceremony and offerings, it could be conjectured that he too may have been a previously exalted *3ḫ,* now fallen on hard times and, as it were, come down in the world. It is becoming apparent in fact from this and other stories, that there are subtle gradations among *3ḫw,* in short, some sort of hier*3ḫ*y. An analogy can be made with the word *nṯr*, a term which may be applied equally to a king, an immortalized human being such as Imhotep (see Wildung 1977), or to a great god from the Egyptian pantheon. Whatever the initial status though of Nebusemekh and the Bentresh *3ḫ*, in both cases the end result is that they succeed in achieving what they want. In both cases this could be read as moving on to a restful afterlife as fully reinstated *3ḫw*. Through negotiation with the living, the problems of both living and dead are resolved, and Maat is restored.

P. Cairo 30646

P. Cairo 30646 (Spiegelberg 1906, Pls. XLIV–XLVIII), written in Demotic, is probably not so much a separate story, but rather one of a cycle of stories, all with a magical and supernatural element, which centre around the figure of Setna Khamwas. The fourth son of Ramses II, and High Priest of Ptah at Memphis (the first part of his name derives from the demotic version of the priestly title *sm – stm/stn*), Khaemwaset was an actual historical figure. Prominent in his lifetime, having a reputation amongst other attributes as a sage and antiquarian, after death he passed into legend and acquired further repute as a great magician. Only two of the Demotic texts in which he features survive to any extent, the Ptolemaic P. Cairo 30646, and a Roman Period recension of another story, P. BMEA 10822. Fragments remain of two further stories P. Cairo 30692, and P. Carlsberg 207.

P. Cairo 30646, probably either from Thebes or Gebelein, is mid Ptolemaic, dating to the 3rd century BC. Originally consisting of six columns, the first two are missing, having been torn off along the beginning of each of the lines of the third column. The rest are intact.

The missing beginning can largely be reconstructed as this is a tale within a tale, the sequence of events being recounted by one of the protagonists. Setna, drawn to ancient and magical writings, learns of the existence and whereabouts of a magical book (the actual demotic word is *ḏmꜥ* or 'papyrus roll') written by the hand of Thoth himself which contains wondrous spells. With his foster brother Inaros he goes to an ancient tomb in the Memphite necropolis, the burial place of prince Naneferkaptah, the ghostly guardian of the book. Seeking to take the book, his way is barred by the prince, who is there with his sister-wife Ahwere and their son Merib. In order to deter Setna, Ahwere tells of the tragic events brought about by Naneferkaptah's own unremitting quest for the book, the final possession of which had cost all of their lives. Setna, refusing to be deterred by the terrible tale, takes on Naneferkaptah's challenge of playing him for the book. In great difficulty, for Naneferkaptah has caused him

magically to sink by degrees into the ground, and three games down, Setna manages to extricate himself with the help of Inaros who has fetched magic amulets. He takes the book, thus removing the source of illumination from the tomb (see Smith 2005, 166 [c] on the significance of light) much to the distress of Ahwere. Naneferkaptah promises her that he will make Setna return with a forked stick in his hand and a brazier of fire on his head (see discussion by Meltzer 1976, 10–11 on the significance of these as both punishment and penitential symbol). Setna takes the book to Pharaoh, who tells him to return it, but Setna obsessed with the book refuses to do so. What follows seems, at first, like a diversion from the main story. Setna becomes infatuated by a beautiful but evil woman, the hetaera Tabubu, to the point where he allows her to kill his own children before him. It transpires that this interlude is in actuality a dreadful nightmare, although it serves to bring a deeply shaken Setna to his senses. He returns to Pharaoh who makes him take the book back, in penitence, to Naneferkaptah. He is received joyfully by Naneferkaptah and Ahwere, without recrimination. Yet there is one thing that Naneferkaptah asks of Setna, which is that he find where the bodies of Ahwere and Merib lie in Coptos and bring them to Memphis. After a number of vicissitudes Setna succeeds in this, and the family are laid to rest together at last.

One of the most important effects of this story is that it re-emphasizes the parallels, and the closeness, between the living and the dead. Deliberately or not, and the first seems more probable, this is in part achieved through the striking parallels between Naneferkaptah and Setna. Both are princes and adventurers, both have a love of ancient writings, both are magical adepts, both are prepared to put what they desire before anything else, yet both are capable of subsequent guilt and remorse. Both challenge the gods through hubris, both meet their particular nemesis. A real friendship and mutual admiration develop between the dead Naneferkaptah and the living Setna, which dissolves any boundary between their respective conditions. They are, after all, well matched. Again, this is a tale where spirits behave with complete normality, conversing and interacting with the living. Like the tale of *Khonsuemhab and the Ghost*, we see the living being able to affect the lives, or rather the afterlives, of the dead. Setna is able to perform a favour for Naneferkaptah. Perhaps ties of marriage and consanguinity have enabled the ghosts of Ahwere and Merib to visit Naneferkaptah's tomb, while their mummies lay elsewhere, but it is no little service that Setna renders in Egyptian eyes to enable them all to be sealed within the same tomb.

P. BMEA 10822

P. BMEA 10822 (Griffith 1900; Ritner 2003), the second of our Demotic Setna stories occupies the verso of two joined Greek papyrus documents. The documents were drawn up in 46–47 AD in the vicinity of Gebelein, the Setna manuscript being probably nearly contemporaneous, and from the same region (Ritner 2003, 470). At least the first column is missing, and part of the first of the seven columns that remain. The tale concerns the short but remarkable life of Si-Osire, the son of Setna. Perhaps not much is missing from the beginning, for the narrative is taken up at the point where Meheweskhe, Setna's wife, is trying to conceive. With magical and divine help this comes about. As the child grows, he astonishes all around him with his precocity, his wisdom, skill and learning. There follows an episode where, seeing the bodies of a rich and a poor man being carried to the necropolis, the one with much pomp and ceremony, the other without mourners and wrapped in a simple mat. Setna remarks that the afterlife of the former will be the more glorious. Si-Osire, to show his father the truth of the matter, takes Setna to the underworld where the rich man, judged for his ill deeds, has been condemned to torment, while the poor man, on account of his goodness, leads an afterlife of abundance. In the final section of the tale, Si-Osire pits his magical skills against a shaman

from Kush, the pride and safety of Egypt is at stake. These contendings take up much of the narrative, with Si-Osire outwitting the shaman by recounting the contents of a letter sealed upon his person. The letter tells the 1500 year old tale of a magical challenge again with Egypt and Kush as contenders, in the persons of the magicians Horus-son-of-the-Wolf and Horus-son-of-the-Nubian-woman. Finally Si-Osire reveals himself. He is none other than the reincarnated spirit of Horus-son-of-the-Wolf, and his opponent none other than his erstwhile foe. Having returned to earth when Egypt was again under threat, and having done his duty, Si-Osire vanishes, as a shadow. The story ends with the grieving Setna returning to Meheweske, and another son is conceived, but for ever after, Setna makes offerings to the spirit of Horus-son-of-the-Wolf.

In terms of the manifested dead, this Setne story takes a rather different perspective than some of the other stories. To begin with, Si-Osire is a rather different kind of spirit. He waits for 1500 years, and when he does return to the earth, he incarnates ostensibly as one of the living. Yet spirit he is, and when he departs having accomplished what he came to do, it is as a spirit or shadow (*n ḫyby*) (Griffith 1900, 206–207) that he goes. The story also provides an example of the possibility that a spirit can reincarnate. Whereas with P. Cairo 30646 and P.Carlsberg 207, as indeed with *Khonsuemhab*, it is the living who help the dead, here the situation is reversed, and a spirit comes to help the living.

P. Cairo 30692

P.Cairo 30692 (Spiegelberg 1906, Pl. LI; Spiegelberg 1908, 112–115; Brunner-Traut 1965, 172–174; Zauzich 1976, 79–82) the third Demotic Setna text, dates to the Ptolemaic Period, probably the early Ptolemaic Period (Spiegelberg 1908, 115), with a possible provenance of Gebelein (Spiegelberg 1908, 112). The single papyrus fragment preserves an almost entire column. Since the original publication and translation of the text in 1906, which Spiegelberg had intended to be only provisional, it has received relatively little specific attention. Brunner-Traut's translation, which follows that of Spiegelberg in a number of respects, treats it as belonging with, and being part of P. Cairo 30646. Zauzich's treatment, at least of two crucial lines of the text, is however very different. These are lines 11 and 12 of the manuscript which in his translation, and only in his, include mention of a ghost. His reading has Setna having relations with a ghost. Though there are some small lacunae in the relevant lines, and some of the script is rubbed off, necessitating a few restorations, Zauzich's interpretation may well stand. However, given that I have only just begun to work on the text, and given the ambiguity of the text, it would be wrong to give an opinion on it at this stage.

P. Carlsberg 207

The Demotic P. Carlsberg 207 (Tait 1994, 282–290; Quack and Ryholt 2000, 141–163, Pls. 24–26), very likely from Tebtunis, has been dated on palaeographic evidence (Tait 1994, 21) to the end of the 2nd century AD. It occupies the other side of an earlier Greek manuscript. Two fragmentary columns remain, but further fragments have come to light since its initial publication, enabling a substantial amount, particularly of the less damaged second column, to be read. In the first part of what exists of the story, the Prophet of Amun-Re at Thebes, his wife, and many of his children are murdered during a feast, which has probably been deliberately arranged. The culprit would later appear to be one Petese, Prophet of Isis at Abydos. One possible motive for the murder being to prevent the Prophet of Amun-Re revealing some matter to the pharaoh, another that the Prophet has done something or acquired something that provokes his murder. In the second part, a ghost, a Prophet of Sokar-Osiris at Abydos, who seems to have been the narrator of the previous events, addresses Setna.

Unfortunately, there is a lacuna at the point where he gives his name. From the various requests that he subsequently makes, it seems highly likely that he is also the son of the murdered Prophet of Amun-Re. From hereon in the text he is simply referred to as the 'great man' (*rmṯ ꜥ3*). Having asked Setna to meet him at Abydos to avenge the killings, the 'great man' disappears 'like a shadow' (*n ḫyby*) (Tait 1994, 23 column X+2.l–5). Setna then goes to pharaoh and reads out to him what seems to be written evidence implicating the guilty. Pharaoh, intent that justice should be done, gives his assent to the carrying out of any punishment that the ghost might demand. Having gone to Abydos and met the 'great man' again, Setna asks him what he would like done. The ghost asks him to have Petese, and others who are guilty, lured to the temple at Abydos and have them killed. Having carried this out, Setna asks the ghost if there is anything further he would like done. The 'great man' asks for his parents to be given a proper burial, along with some other person (the text is very fragmentary here) all of them in Thebes. Setna, having seen to this matter has two final favours asked of him by the ghost: that his eldest son be made Prophet of Osiris-Sokar, and his second son, Prophet of Amun-Re. Here the story breaks off.

As Quack and Ryholt observe (2000, 162) there are many parallels between this story and the first Setna story. The most notable being that in both cases Setna is told by a ghost of the tragedies that have befallen their families, in both cases he is able to carry out favours for the dead and to bring them some final resolution, though the Setna of this story conducts himself with somewhat greater rectitude. Once again the living are able and willing to help the dead, in particular in ensuring that the dead receive that most important thing, a proper burial, one in the place where their forefathers have been buried before them. Once again we see in action the powerful dynamics of the interrelationship between the living and the dead. Once again too we witness the mutual respect between living and dead, indicated in the mode of address and behaviour to one another.

The Girl and the Ghost

This Ptolemaic Demotic narrative is preserved in five fragments, the largest being nearly a whole column, though many sentences are missing their beginning, and the overall state of the fragments is rather poor. The provenance is unknown, apart from the fact that it came from cartonnage. It is currently in a private collection. Work on the text has been undertaken by J. Dieleman who presented it at the IXth Demotic Congress in Paris. As the text is so very fragmentary, it is impossible, as with the text of the *Levitating Ghost*, to identify any sort of a plot. All that can be said at this stage, unless and until further fragments or copies come to light, is that the story features a goddess, a girl and an *3ḫ* in conversation. There is also mention of a pharaoh, but whether he is simply referred to, or whether he takes part in the action, is unclear. While little can be made of the story, like the *Levitating Ghost*, its very existence is of significance.

Petese son of Petetum.

Petese son of Petetum (Ryholt 1999 and 2005) is another example of a tale within a tale, or rather, tales within a tale, though the ghost only appears in the main extant part of the frame story. It is known from three fragmentary manuscripts, two from Tebtunis, one from Saqqara, designated P. Petese Tebt. A, P. Petese Tebt B and P. Petese Saq. The first two date to the Roman Period, palaeographic evidence suggests late 1st or early 2nd century AD, though P. Petese Saq, dating to possibly no later than the end of the 4th century BC (Ryholt 1999, xiii), is evidence of an earlier origin. The beginning is lost, so that the first lines find Petese, Prophet of Atum at Heliopolis, in the midst of a conversation with a ghost. Petese is trying to find out

when he will die. At first the ghost will not tell him, but Petese eventually elicits the information by magic, sending him to find the answer from Osiris-Wennefer. Petese's days are apparently numbered: he has only forty days left. Saddened he returns home to his wife Sakhminofret, intending to enjoy with her what little time he has left. First though, he has affairs to see to. After an initial setback, and again using magic when he is initially frustrated, he manages to raise a large amount of money from the treasuries of the sun-god, possibly by offering to provide in return information about, or interpretation of, secret arcane writings in the temple. A third time he uses magic, to ensure that his funeral will be the equal of that of a pharaoh, creating the necessary priests and attendants from wax. Finally he creates two wax baboons which, brought to life, will collect thirty five stories of vice, and thirty five of virtue, and record them, no doubt with a view to enhancing his name for posterity. It would appear that Petese then dies at the appointed time, and after his wife has burnt incense to the sun-god, speaks to his wife through him. The main tale, the one that concerns us, breaks off here.

On account of the missing beginning, we sadly do not know under what circumstances Petese meets the ghost, nor who the ghost might be. Ryholt (1999, 74) suggests that the encounter may take place in a tomb. While this is likely, it need not necessarily be so, since Nebusemekh, the levitating ghost, and the Bentresh *ꜣḫ* all appeared in places other than the tomb. As to the nature of the ghost himself, whoever he may be, he is certainly endowed with supernatural knowledge, and may be the 'very wise man' (*rmṯ rḫ m*-[*šs*) (Ryholt 1999, 14 column 2.l–2) to whom reference is made. He knows precisely when Petese is destined to die. He knows also that Petese's name has already been written in the book that records those who are about to die. He would evidently seem to have access to a higher level of information. It is probably this, together with the access he has to world of the dead, that prompts Petese to use him as an intermediary before Osiris. At the same time, he is shown with human aspects. He laughs. He behaves courteously when rejecting Petese's request, though he is firm in standing his ground. He is as tangible as Petese; one takes the other by the hand. Initially at least, this would appear to be another instance that illustrates the rapport between the living and the dead. It is only unfortunate that the part of the extant text that has the ghost episode should be missing so much, and so much that might be germane to the present topic.

Coptic Ghost stories

With the advent of Christianity comes an ostensibly different dynamic. The dead are no longer, in general, supposed to be manifesting to the living. The good dead are presumed to be resting in peace awaiting the resurrection, while the sinful dead together with the non-Christian pagans are assumed to be undergoing torment in hell. Yet, the Coptic dead do appear before the living, albeit through a temporary resurrection. However, this can only come about through the ministrations, or on occasion the mere presence, of a holy man or saint. The Coptic dead, it would seem, often lack the autonomy of the earlier Egyptian dead. I have collated to date some thirteen texts of this kind in which the dead appear to the living. Two are particularly relevant here in that they give descriptions, albeit brief ones, which emphasize the physical nature and realistic aspect of the manifestations.

One story is told of St Pisentius who wishing to seek solitude in the desert, takes up residence in an abandoned Ptolemaic tomb, his only companions the ancient mummies. He sees no other soul, save for his disciple John who brings him his meagre provisions. On one of these occasions John, arriving at the tomb, hears voices. It is the ghost of one of the mummies, brought to life through the prayerful presence of the saint. John sits and listens. The ghost weeps, and begs Pisentius to release him from the torments of hell, describing the dreadful life that he now endures. He names his parentage, gives details of his former life, asking the saint to pray for him.

Pisentius, moved to compassion, tells the ghost that all will be well. He will sleep till the resurrection, and rise with the others. John then goes on to describe what happened: 'I saw, with my own eyes, the mummy lie down to rest again as he was before' (ⲁⲓⲛⲁⲩ ⲉⲡⲓⲕⲱⲥ ϧⲉⲛ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲗ ⲉⲁⲩⲛⲕⲱⲧ ϧⲉⲛ ⲡⲉⲩⲙⲁ ⲙⲫⲣⲏϯ ⲛⲱⲟⲣⲡ ⲟⲛ·) (Amélineau 1887, 151).

A second tale is told of St Makarios who spent three years in a tomb where there was a single ancient mummy. At the end of the three years, he wishes to leave but 'the dead man stood near the door saying "I shall not let you leave, my father"' (ⲁⲫⲟⲩⲓ ⲉⲣⲁⲧⲩ ⲛⲁⲉ ⲡⲓⲣⲉⲙⲙⲟⲩⲧ ⲥⲓⲣⲉⲛ ⲡⲓⲣⲟ ⲉⲙⲁⲱ ⲙⲙⲟⲥ ⲁⲉ ϯⲛⲁⲁⲕ ⲉⲃⲟⲗ ⲁⲛ ⲡⲁⲓⲱⲧ·) (Amélineau 1894, 227). There is another similar reference in the text to him standing by the door of the tomb; he is clearly just as visible, just as real as the previous ghost. He too, asks the saint to help him. However, he is not quite as fortunate for he learns that the benefit he has gained through contact with the living is not eternal rest or resurrection, but the three years reprieve he has already enjoyed. Yet in both these instances the dead benefit from their contact with the living, and in looking at these texts, particularly the first, it is difficult to miss the striking parallels with much earlier stories, such as that of *Khonsuemhab and the Ghost*. What both of these tales illustrate is that, beneath the surface of the outwardly Christian tale, despite the passage of time that has elapsed, the manifested dead of the Coptic Period differ, in the last instance, very little from their earlier predecessors. The Egyptian ghost story is alive and flourishing.

Conclusion

While this is still very much work in progress, with many more avenues of research yet to be explored, certain themes have emerged, and certain perceptions, some unexpected, have offered themselves. Perhaps the most important of these is the remarkable continuity, amply illustrated by these stories, of how the Egyptians ultimately conceptualized their dead. Descriptions of manifestations of the dead put flesh upon the bare bones of the Egyptians' belief in immortality, and demonstrate that their expectation that the dead would be able to return to earth among the living, was no mere abstract credence. They also give further insight into the often pragmatic interrelationship between the living and the dead. They make clear too that the Egyptians really did perceive their dead to be as they themselves were: individualistic, autonomous and effective human beings, but who simply led parallel lives. Additionally, references to the dead underline the particularly pressing importance to the Egyptians of being able to interact with their dead. These references to appearances of the dead, which cover the extent of Egyptian history, posit a rich and unbroken seam of inherent understanding and conviction that underpinned the more formal expression of religious tenet and ritual. What seems likely to have originated primarily as an oral tradition breaks through into literary consciousness. The Egyptian dream manifestations and ghost stories are not the simplistic phenomena that they might appear, but are an important academic resource. One might well borrow the sentiments of Pliny the Younger (62–113 AD). Writing to Licinius Sura on the subject of ghosts (Book VII, xxvii), and having himself recounted two ghost stories, he ends:

> Proinde rogo eruditionem tuam intendas. Digna res est quam diu multumque consideres (Radice 1969, 548)
> 'And so I request you to apply your learning (to it); the matter is worthy of your giving it much lengthy consideration'

Harris Manchester College
Faculty of Oriental Studies
University of Oxford

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Of Bodies and Soles: the Meaning of the Root *ḳs* and its Derivatives in the Ptolemaic Period

Maria Cannata

Introduction

The Demotic root *ḳs* derives from the earlier Egyptian *ḳrst* denoting the act of 'burying' or 'laying somebody to rest', of 'wrapping somebody up', the 'condition of being buried', as well as the 'burial or funeral', a 'place of burial', the 'tomb equipment' and 'coffin' (Erman and Grapow 1982, V 63–66). In Demotic the derivatives of this root also have a range of different connotations, several of which are still attested in Coptic where **ⲕⲱⲱⲥ**, **ⲕⲁⲓⲥⲉ** and their variants are used, either as a noun or as a verb, with the following meanings: 'to prepare a corpse for burial, to bury, to be a corpse, to be dead, burial, funeral, preparation for burial, embalming, embalmer, place of burial and grave-clothes' (Crum 1939, 120–121).

As in Coptic, the derivate noun *ḳs* is employed in Demotic as a title which, traditionally, has been translated as *embalmer*. However, such a translation has been rejected on the basis of the evidence of a testament written in Greek in which this title is rendered as *shoemaker*. Nevertheless, the suggested reinterpretation fails to take into account a number of important points, not least the dangers of relying on Greek translations to interpret the meaning of Demotic terms.

This paper begins with an introduction to the evidence on which the reinterpretation of this title is based, followed by an analysis of the documentary evidence from around the country with a view to determining all the different meanings that the root *ḳs* and its derivatives had in the Ptolemaic Period. Their palaeography and orthography are then analysed to determine whether there is enough evidence to warrant a reinterpretation of this title.

Shoemakers or Embalmers?

Among the documents that form part of the archive of the Theban choachyte *Ḥr*, son of *Ḥr*, there are two that concern the testamental dispositions that he made in two consecutive years. The first document, the division of his properties among his offspring, was recorded in Demotic in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC), and consists of a list of liturgies that devolved upon his eldest son, *Wsir-wr*. The second document is a testament, drawn up in Greek and recorded in P. Bibliothèque Nationale Greek 715 (113 BC) (henceforth P. Bibl. Nat. Gr.), which *Ḥr* made also in favour of his eldest son. The first part of this latter document is almost identical to the list drawn up in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC), of which it provides a translation (Pestman 1993, 175–176). It is on the basis of the rendering of the title *ḳs* in P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC), that its translation in Demotic as *embalmer* has been contested.

In particular, De Meulenaere (1955, 80) argued that, on the basis of the Greek parallel, the title *ḳs* should be translated as *shoemaker*, and referred to the Coptic noun ⲕⲁⲥⲉ (Crum 1939, 121), also denoting a *shoemaker*, and to the earlier Egyptian noun *gs*, used to denote a '*leather-cutter*', a '*saddler*', a '*shoemaker*' or a '*cobbler*' (Hanning 1995, 907), as further evidence in support of his reading. The latter title is written with the phonetic signs *g* and *s*, followed by the sandal , the fullers' club  determinative (Erman and Grapow 1982, V 203) or by a determinative in the shape of a pot with something emerging from it  (Hannig 1995, 1166 sign W64), perhaps a type of scraping tool used in the tanning process similar to Gardiner T34 (butcher's knife), or a combination of the three. De Meulenaere's correction has been accepted by the Chicago Demotic Dictionary (henceforth CDD) where the corresponding entry for the Demotic title *ḳs* has been emended accordingly from *embalmer* to '*leather-worker, sandal-maker*' (CDD letter Q 24/02/2004, 85–87).

In order to determine whether the evidence warrants a reinterpretation of the title *ḳs* from *embalmer* to *shoemaker*, it is first necessary to establish the full range of meanings that this root and its derivatives can have in Demotic.

The meaning of the Demotic root ḳs

The following study is based on the countrywide analysis of the meanings of the root *ḳs*, and its derivatives, in light of the evidence provided by the Ptolemaic documentary sources (only a selection of the sources analysed is presented here, see Appendix for a list of all the documents examined including those cited here).

The evidence shows that, depending on the context in which they are used, the derivatives of the root *ḳs* can have a wide range of meanings, although, due to the unequal distribution of the sources, it is not possible to determine whether there was a geographical variation in their use. In the sources analysed both nouns and verbs constructed from the root *ḳs* are attested, although their meaning cannot always be determined with certainty. In the following analysis first are discussed nouns and verbs of which meanings are certain, followed by those with uncertain connotations, and then by a list of ambiguous examples (the various categories have been numbered consecutively to allow cross-referencing):

1. The mummification
2. The funeral: the entombment and burial rites
3. The mummy covering (bandages and decoration)
4. The individuals who performed the mummification
5. A state or condition: deceased
6. A state or condition: mummified
7. A state or condition: buried
8. The act of burying the deceased
9. The mummification and burial
10. A stage in the mummification process
11. The act of mummifying the deceased
12. Ambiguous examples

1. The mummification

Amongst the documents analysed, there is only one where the feminine noun formed from the root *ḳs* clearly refers to the *mummification* performed on the body of the deceased. The example is found in P. Carlsberg 37b (220 BC) where party A declares: 'I entrusted (…) *P-sỉy* son of *Pɜ-nfr-ḥr* (…), my husband, to you, he being dead and mummified with the *mummification* which I caused the god's seal-bearer and embalmer *P-n-ỉs.t* son of *P-sỉy* to perform' (*ỉr=y gyl* (…) *p-sỉy sɜ pɜ-nfr-ḥr* (…) *pɜy=y hy r-r=k ỉw=f mwṯ ỉw=f ḳs n tɜ ḳs.t r-ty=y ỉr ‹s› n=f ḥtmw-nṯr wyt p-n-ỉs.t sɜ p-sỉy*) (lines 4–5). Since the individual is clearly said to be dead, but not yet interred given that his burial is to be performed by party B, the stative form of the verb *ḳs* here has the meaning of *mummified* (see ¶6) thus indicating that the following noun *ḳs.t* refers to the mummification performed on the corpse.

2. The funeral: the entombment and burial rites

The noun *ḳs* is also used to refer to the *entombment*, that is, the laying of a deceased to rest in a tomb, and the related *burial rites*. This is the case in P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC), P. Philadelphia V (302 BC), P. BM EA 10561 (157 BC), P. Lille 29 (223 BC), and the Theban ostracon DO BM EA 25886 (Late Ptolemaic) and possibly also O. Cairo 12469–79 (248–7 BC).

A clear example for such a use of the noun *ḳs* is found in P. Philadelphia V (302 BC), a donation deed for two tombs in the necropolis of Djeme, where party A declares: 'I have given to you this *s.t*-tomb which is in the necropolis of Djeme (…) in order to place in it your persons awaiting *burial*' (*tw=y n=k tɜy s.t nt ḥr tɜ ḥɜs.t n ḏmɜ* (…) *r ḥɜʿ nɜy=k rmṯ.w ḥr pɜ ḥrr n ḳs n-ỉm=s*) (line 7). Since it would not be possible to store a corpse without having first mummified it, it is clear that, in this instance, the noun denotes the *entombment* rather than the mummification. However, in this specific instance it is not clear whether *burial rites* would be performed for the deceased given that they would only be placed in this tomb temporarily.

Another example is found in P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) (see also ¶9), which, with respect to the eldest son, specifies: 'you are to pay its ⅓ on the day (of) *burial* which you shall appoint' (*mtw ‹=k› ty pɜy=s ⅓ n pɜ sw ḳs.t nt ỉw=k r-ỉr=f*) (line 4). The fact that the eldest son will be able to appoint a day for it suggests that in this case the noun *ḳs.t* denotes the *entombment* of the deceased which, unlike the mummification, could take place even years after death.

Similarly, in P. BM EA 10561 (157 BC) the parties stipulate that '(as for) the man among us who is approached, concerning a dead man from Siut, together with his associates from today onwards, forever, he will give (…) 10 cloths (for) the 35th day, 10 cloths (for) the day of *ḳs*' (*pɜ rmṯ n-ỉm=n nt ỉw=w ỉy n=f r-ḏbɜ rmṯ ỉw=f mwt n sywṯ ỉrm nɜy=f sn.w ṯ pɜ ḥrw r ḥry šʿ ḏt ỉw=f ty* (…) *pɜ ḥrw mḥ*-35 *ḥbs* 10 *pɜ ḥrw n ḳs ḥbs* 10) (lines 12–16); and that '[ʿNo one at all shallʾ] perform the ceremonies on the 35th day and on the day of *ḳs* beside these (men)' ([ʿ*bn ỉw rmṯ nb pɜ tɜ*ʾ] *ỉr ḥb n pɜ ḥrw mḥ*-35 *pɜ ḥrw n ḳs pɜ bnr nɜy*) (lines 16–17). The specific reference to the *day of ḳs*, and the fact that a distinction is made between the latter and the *35th day*, suggests that the former should be understood as separate from the mummification process, of which the 35th-day ceremonies were part, and thus as a reference to the day of *entombment* and related *burial rites*. In this case the *day of burial* would correspond to the day after the *night of mummification* (*grḥ ḳs.t*) during which religious compositions, such as that preserved in P. BM EA 10507 (columns IV–XII) (Late Ptolemaic – Early Roman Period), were recited in the embalming place (Smith 1987, 27–28).

The noun *ḳs* is also used in conjunction with the noun *ʿ.wy* as part of a compound word to denote, literally, a *place (for) burial*. Such a use is attested only in documents from the Memphite necropolis. Examples are found in P. Louvre E 2412 – P. Bibl. Nat. 226 (305–4 BC), P. Leiden I 379 (256 BC), P. Brussels 6033 (276–5 BC), P. BM EA 10381 (276–256 BC),

P. Hermitage 1122 (135 BC), P. BM EA 10398 (119 BC), P. Leiden I 380a (64 BC) and P. BM EA 10384 (132 BC). Although it may be argued that the compound could also be translated as place for embalming, the fact that the *ꜥ.wy-ḳs* is listed together with other types of tombs and funerary structures indicates that this too was a type of tomb. For example, in P. Louvre E 2412 – P. Bibl. Nat. 226 (305–4 BC), a contract of sale of funerary endowments, the list of properties alienated includes a 'share of every *ḥ.t*-tomb, every [*ꜥ.w*]*y-ḳs*-tomb (and) ‹every› *kɜ*-structure (…) belonging to *ʾIy-m-ḥtp* son of *Pɜ-gyr* (…) (and) which are on the necropolis of Memphis' (*tnỉ.t nb ḥ.t nb* [*ꜥ.w*]*y-ḳs nb kɜ.w ‹nb›* (…) *nt n ỉy-m-ḥtp sɜ pɜ-gyr* (…) *nt ḥr tɜ ḫɜs.t mn-nfr*) (lines 2–3).

3. The mummy covering (bandages and decoration)

There are only two documents among those analysed in which the noun *ḳs* denotes the *mummy-covering*, that is, the ensemble of bandages and decoration applied to the treated corpse: P. Carlsberg 37a–b (220 BC). In P. Carlsberg 37b (220 BC) party A declares 'I entrusted (…) *P-sỉy* son of *Pɜ-nfr-ḥr* (…), my husband, to you, he being dead and mummified' (*ỉr=y gyl* (…) *p-sỉy sɜ pɜ-nfr-ḥr* (…) *pɜy=y hy r-r=k ỉw=f mwṯ ỉw=f ḳs*) (lines 4–5), further specifying 'you were accused saying "you have done wrong to his *mummy-covering*, I will cause that you make for me a deed-of-call before *Tš-nfr*, the god", saying "I did not do wrong to the said *mummy-covering*, (nor) did I cause wrong to be done to the said *mummy-covering*"' (*ỉw=w ꜥš m-sɜ=k ḏ ỉr=k mt-ꜥḏ n tɜy=f ḳs.t ỉw=y ty ỉr=k n=y wꜥ sḫ n ꜥš m-bɜḥ tš-nfr pɜ nṯr ḏ bn-pw=y ỉr mt-ꜥḏ n tɜ ḳs.t n rn=s bn-pw=y ty ỉr=w mt-ꜥḏ n tɜ ḳs.t n rn=s*) (lines 6–7).

In P. Carlsberg 37a (220 BC) the accused declares: 'If it happens that I refuse to call about it in accordance with what is written above saying "I have not caused that wrong be done to the said *mummy-covering* in my name, nor have I (myself) done any wrong to the said *mummy-covering*", or if it happens that I call before *Tš-nfr* without him having come to me concerning the said *mummy-covering* (…), I will give to you 10 silver (deben)' (*ỉw=f ḫpr r sṯɜ.ṯ=y r tm ꜥš r-r=s r ḫ pɜ nt sḫ r ḥry ḏ bn-pw=y ty ỉr=w mt-ꜥḏ n tɜ ḳs.t n rn=y bn-pw=y ỉr mt-ꜥḏ n tɜ ḳs.t n rn=s gr gr ỉw=f ḫpr r ꜥš=y ḥɜ.t tš-nfr r bn-pw=f ỉy n=y ḫr tɜ ḳs.t n rn=s* (…) *ỉw=y r ty n=t ḥḏ* 10) (lines 11–13).

In P. Carlsberg 37b (220 BC) the *ḳs.t* is identified as belonging to the deceased, *tɜy=f ḳs.t*, as opposed to being the deceased, *ỉw=f ḳs*, thus indicating that in these two instances the noun denotes the ensemble of bandages and decoration that were applied during the mummification process. In addition, the use of the past relative construction, *tɜ ḳs.t r-ty=y ỉr ‹s› n=f ḫtmw-nṯr wyt p-n-ỉs.t* (line 5), in P. Carlsberg 37b (220 BC), shows that the mummification process had already been completed at the time the deceased was entrusted to the defendant, and that any damage suffered could only have been caused after the mummification process and only to the *mummy-covering*.

4. The individuals who performed the embalming

The noun *ḳs* is also used to denote the individuals who performed the embalming. The clearest examples of this are found in P. Florence 3667 (111 BC), a list of embalming and burial expenses, in which are recorded 'the reckoning of the corn for the hand⌜s⌝ of ⌜the *people*⌝ *embalmers* [10 measures of corn] (Pestman [1992, 218 note 11] suggests that this amount may be part of the original text now washed out) (*pɜ ỉp sw pɜ ꜥ.wy*. ⌜*w*⌝ [⌜*nɜ rmṯ*⌝].*w ḳs* [*sw* 10]) (column II, line 1), and 'the expenses for the *embalmers*' (*pɜ ḥy nɜ ḳs.w*) (column III, line 10). Although it could be argued that here the noun *ḳs* could also be understood as referring to individuals in charge of the burial of the deceased, the fact that these accounts also list the

expenses for the choachyte of the dead man indicates that the individuals identified by the title *ḳs* had to be in charge of the mummification process of the deceased rather than the burial, since, in the Theban area, the latter was the responsibility of choachytes.

5. A state or condition: deceased

Ḳs is also used in a small number of texts to denote a *deceased person*. In P. Rylands XI (284 BC), a marriage document, Party A, a lector-priest, pledges his entire possessions including a share of the *deceased persons* belonging to him in the necropolis of Djeme, and a share of the *deceased persons* who belong to his father. Since the role of the lector-priests was limited to the process of mummification, *ḳs*, in this instance, cannot refer to the condition of being *mummified* (¶6), nor to the state of being *buried* (¶7), since in both cases the involvement of the lector-priests would have already ended, and the responsibility passed onto the choachytes in charge of the burial and mortuary cult of the deceased. Therefore, *ḳs* has to refer here to those deceased people who are going to be *mummified* and then *buried* (as opposed to being already interred) in the necropolis of Djeme, the right to perform whose mummification fell within the competence of party A.

6. A state or condition: mummified

There are only two associated documents from Hawara, P. Carlsberg 37a–b (220 BC), which provide evidence for the use of the stative form of the verb *ḳs* to denote the state of being mummified. In the first document party A agrees to appear before *Tš-nfr*, the god, on account of the mummification of '*P-sỉy* son of *Pɜ-nfr-ḥr*, his mother being *Ta-swr*, who is dead, (and) whom you caused (the) god's seal-bearer and embalmer *P-n-ỉs.t* son of *P-sỉy* aforesaid to mummify' (*p-sỉy sɜ pɜ-nfr-ḥr mw.t=f ta-swr nt mwṯ r-ty=t ḳs ‹s› ḫtmw-nṯr wyt p-n-ỉs.t sɜ p-sỉy nt ḥry*) (line 6). Party A undertakes to take him to the tomb 'he being *mummified*, he having been placed in my care (lit. hand) *mummified*' (*ỉw=f ḳs ỉw=w ty s r ḏr.ṯ=y ỉw=f ḳs*) (line 8).

In the second document, P. Carlsberg 37b (220 BC), the withdrawal of complaint, party A gives details of her accusations against party B saying 'I entrusted (…) *P-sỉy* son of *Pɜ-nfr-ḥr* (…), my husband, to you, he being dead and *mummified* with the mummification which I caused the god's sealer and embalmer *P-n-ỉs.t* son of *P-sỉy* to perform' (*ỉr=y gyl* (…) *p-sỉy sɜ pɜ-nfr-ḥr* (…) *pɜy=y hy r-r=k ỉw=f mwṯ ỉw=f ḳs n tɜ ḳs.t r-ty=y ỉr ‹s› n=f ḫtmw-nṯr wyt p-n-ỉs.t sɜ p-sỉy*) (lines 4–5). Party A then specifies: 'I will bring him to you for (the burial in) the *ḥ.t*-tomb of (…) my father, which is in the necropolis of Hawara, he being *mummified*' (*ỉw=y ỉn.ṯ=f n=k r tɜ ḥ.t n* (…) *pɜy=y ỉṯ nt n tɜ ḫɜs.t n ḥ.t-wr ỉw=f ḳs*) (lines 5–6).

Given that both documents clearly state that the individual is dead and that he is yet to be taken to his final resting place in the necropolis, *ḳs* here cannot refer to the condition of being *deceased* (¶5), nor to that of being *buried* (¶7), and, therefore, it has to denote the state of being *mummified*.

7. A state or condition: buried

The stative form of the verb *ḳs* is also used to refer to the state of being buried, as is the case in P. Philadelphia XXIV (227 BC), P. Louvre E 3440A–B – P. Berlin 3112 (175 BC), P. Naples 8414 (126 BC), P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC), and possibly in P. Hamburg 13 (84 BC) and P. Ashmolean 1968.3 (116–115 BC) as well.

A clear example for this use is found in P. Philadelphia XXIV (227 BC), a contract for the hire of a choachyte's services, in which Party A stipulates 'you (scil. the choachyte) will not be able to take any man at all in it (scil. the tomb) (either) being *interred* (or) being on the head-rest besides the man whom I will lease to you' (*bn-ỉw=k ṯ rmṯ nb n pɜ tɜ n-ỉm=w ỉw=f ḳs ỉw=f ḥr*

tꜣ wrs m-sꜣ pꜣ rmṯ nt ỉw=y sḫn=f n=k) (line 4). In this case both the fact that the text refers to the taking of a deceased person into the tomb, and the contrast between the two states, that of being *ḳs* and that of being on the head rest, indicates that the stative denotes here the condition of having received the final burial, as opposed to being placed inside a temporary tomb, rather than that of being *deceased* (¶5) or *mummified* (¶6).

A further example for this use is found in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) which lists, among others, 'the *ḥ.t*-tomb of *Swsygrts* the husband of *Lwl*, together with those *buried* in it' (*tꜣ ḥ.t n swsygrts pꜣ ḥy n lwl ḥnᶜ nꜣ nt ḳs.w r-r=s*) (lines 21–22). In the preceding example, as well as in P. Louvre E 3440A–B – P. Berlin 3112 (175 BC) and P. Naples 8414 (126 BC), the use of the preposition *r-r=s* following the verb indicates a relationship between the deceased and the tomb that would not be logical if the word was to be translated as *deceased* or *mummified* person (another example is found in P. Hamburg 13 [84 BC], although with a different construction).

8. The act of burying the deceased

Amongst the documents analysed there is one example for the use of the verb *ḳs* to refer to the act of burying the deceased. This is found in P. Turin Suppl. 6071 (103 BC), a receipt for payment of lease and burial expenses, in which party A declares: '(…) *Pꜣ-šr-mn*, son of *Wsr-mꜣᶜ-rᶜ*, my father, your father, whom I have yet to *bury*. I will *bury* him without being able to have a claim on you concerning your ⅓ share' ((…) *pꜣ-šr-mn sꜣ wsr-mꜣᶜ-rᶜ pꜣy=y ỉṯ pꜣy=t ỉṯ nt ỉw bw-ỉr-rᶜ-tw=y ḳs=f ỉw=y ḳs=f ỉw bn-ỉw=y rḫ ḫpr m-sꜣ=t n nkt ḫr tꜣy=t tny.t* ⅓) (lines 7–8). In this instance the verb *ḳs* refers to the burying of the deceased in his final resting place, rather than to his mummification, given that *Pꜣ-šr-mn* was already dead in 105 BC and that the body would have had to be mummified at the time of death.

In addition, there are a number of instances where the meanings of the derivatives of the root *ḳs* are less certain:

9. The mummification and burial

The noun *ḳs* appears to have been used, in some cases, to refer to the *mummification and burial* processes together. This seems to be the case in P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC), P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC), P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC), P. Cairo 30960 (104 BC), P. Cairo 30619 (137 BC) and P. Prague (137 BC).

P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC), for example, a donation deed of properties from a father to his eldest son, includes a clause in which is specified the amount to be contributed by each of the three sons at the death of their father for his burial expenses: 'they (scil. the two younger sons) are to give to you the amount in silver which devolves upon them for my *mummification and burial*, (while) *Pꜣ-hb* and *Pꜣ-ty-ḫnsw*, being two persons, my children, your younger brothers, are to give to you the ⅔ (for) the *mummification and burial*, ‹you› are to pay its ⅓' (*mtw=w ty n=k pꜣ wn n ḥḏ nt ỉw=f pḥ r-r=w r/n tꜣy=y ḳs.t mtw pꜣ-hb ḥnᶜ pꜣ-ty-ḫnsw r s* 2 *nꜣy=y ḫrṯ.w nꜣy=k sn.w ḫm.w ty n=k pꜣ ⅔ tꜣ ḳs.t mtw‹=k› ty pꜣy=s* ⅓) (line 4) (see also ¶2).

A similar example is found in P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC), a will styled as a sale between a mother and her son, where party A stipulates: 'you are to give five silver (deben) (…) for my *mummification and burial* from the day in which I die until the completion of three years' (*mtw=k ty ḥḏ* 5 (…) *r tꜣy=y ḳs ṯ pꜣ hrw n mwt nt ỉw=y ỉr=f šᶜ pꜣ mnḳ rnp.t* 3.*t*) (line 5).

In these examples it seems possible that the noun *ḳs* refers not only to the *entombment and burial rites* but also to the *mummification*, since the cost of both was generally paid by the same persons, normally the heirs or, in the case of religious associations, (in full or in part) by the other members. Such an interpretation of the meaning of the noun *ḳs* is also suggested by the evidence of P. Cairo 30646 (Ptolemaic Period) and Stela Cairo 31099 (73 BC). In his analysis of the range of meanings shown by the root *ḳs* and its derivatives, Vos also included that of 'coffining' (Vos 1978, 265). For the latter reading he gave as an example a passage in P. Cairo 30646 (Ptolemaic Period), one of *The Setne Stories*, which he translated as:

> *'Pharaoh caused to be made for him a festive entry into the place of embalming on the 16th day, bandaging on the 35th day, coffining on the 70th day'* (*tw pr-ꜥɜ ṯ=w n=f ꜥḳ n pr-nfr n hrw* 16 *tb.t n hrw* 35 *ḳs.t n hrw* 70) (P. Cairo 30646 column 4, 24–25) (Vos 1978, 265).

However, the clause *n hrw* x should be translated as 'of x day(s)' or 'in x day(s)' rather than 'on the x-th day' (Smith 1987, 27). The same passage was translated by Griffith in *Stories of the high priests of Memphis* as:

> *'And Pharaoh caused to be given to him entry to the Good House of(?) sixteen days, wrapping of(?) thirty-five, coffining in seventy days'* (Griffith 1900, 29),

and again in his translation of the *Stela of Anemher* (Stela Cairo 31099 [73 BC]), in which he also understood the noun *ḳs* as referring to the coffin(ing) of the deceased, translating the relevant passage as:

> *'they made for him a great and fine coffin(ing) according to that which comes in writing from the 6th Epiphi to the end of the mourning he having entered his house of rest'* (*ir=w w*(sic) *n=f ḳs ꜥɜ.t nfr.t r-ḥ pɜ nt ỉy n sḫ ṯ ỉbt* 3 *šmw sw* 8 *šꜥ-tw n hrw ỉw=w ty ḥtp=f r pɜy=f ꜥ.wy-ḥtp*) (line 9) (Griffith 1900, 29–30 note 25; thus also Rowe 1938, 177; and Shore and Smith 1960, 291).

Spiegelberg read the same passage as:

> *'Man machte ihm jede Waschung(?) und jede Reiningung(?) Man machte ihm ein grosses, schöne Begräbnis, wie es vorgeschrieben ist, vom 8.(?) Epiphi an bis zum Ende(?) der Trauer(?) wo man ihn ruhen liess an seinem Ruheplatz'* (Spiegelberg 1904, 32, line 9).

In fact, in the first instance the noun *ḳs* refers to the entire *mummification and burial* which would have taken a total of seventy days or so to complete (Smith 1987, 27–28), while, in the case of Stela Cairo 31099 (73 BC), it refers to the *entombment and burial rites* (¶2), since a translation of the noun *ḳs* as *coffin(ing)* would imply that it took three days to place a mummy inside a coffin.

10. A stage in the mummification process

In a small number of documents, P. Berlin 3115 (108 BC), P. Cairo 30606 (157 BC) and P. Cairo 31179 (147 BC), the noun *ḳs*, with its variants *ḳs.t* and *ḳs.w*, seems to denote a stage within the mummification process.

In P. Berlin 3115 (108 BC), in which are recorded the regulations of the association of the Theban choachytes, the members agree that 'they will not go to the *ḳs.w* and (the) 35-(days ceremonies), (and) the liturgy besides those on the heart of (scil. chosen by) the choachyte' (*bn=w šm r ḳs.w ḥnꜥ* 35 *tɜ šty m-sɜ nɜy.w ḥr-ḥɜ.ṯ pɜ wɜḥ-mw*) (Text C lines 2–3); and that 'no man at all within the association will bring doctors (scil. embalmers) to the association of *ỉmn-ỉpy* besides the choachyte who will go to (the) *ḳs*, (to the) purification, (to the) 35-(days ceremonies), to give (the) cloth (and a) bed, (and to) his liturgy' (*ỉw bn.w rmṯ pɜ tɜ ḫn tɜ* 6-*nt*

ỉn swnw r tɜ 6-*nt ỉmn-ỉpy mtw* [scil. ⌜*m-sɜ*⌝: a comparison between the writing for *mtw* and that for *m-sɜ* in lines two and three above suggests that this is also the reading of *mtw* here in line 11. I thank M. Smith for this reading] *bnr wɜḥ-mw mtw=f šm r ḳs wʿb* 35 *r ty ḥbs glg pɜy=f šty*) (Text C lines 10–12).

A similar example is found in P. Cairo 30606 (157 BC) and P. Cairo 31179 (147 BC), both of which record the regulations of a priests' association in the Fayum, where the members stipulate: 'we are to give for him (scil. a deceased member) our dues which those of the house will agree to give for his *ḳs.t* and his *pr-nfr*' (*mtw=n ty n=f pɜ ḥḏ ʿl* [*nt ỉ.ỉr nɜy=w pɜ ʿ.wy mt r=f ty st wbɜ tɜy=f ḳs.t ḥnʿ pɜy=f pr-nfr*] [line 14]; and [*mtw*]*=n ty n=f pɜ ḥḏ rmṯ ʿl nt ỉ.ỉr* [*tɜ* 6-*nt m*]*t r=f ty st wbɜ tɜy=f ḳs.t* [*ḥnʿ pɜy=f*] *pr-nfr* [line 14] respectively).

The suggestion that the word *ḳs* is used in the preceding examples to refer to a stage of the mummification process, rather than to the burial itself, is based solely on the word order since the noun *ḳs* precedes the reference to the 35-days ceremonies and the compound noun *pr-nfr*, the last two being different stages within the entire process of mummification, although it is unclear how important a factor word order is in this instance.

11. The act of mummifying the deceased

There are two examples for the use of the verb *ḳs* in this context. These are found in P. BM EA 10561 (157 BC), an agreement between embalmers from Middle Egypt, in which the parties stipulate: '(as for) the [⌜priest⌝] of *Wp-wɜwt* who will die and whom they will *mummify*, together with his 35-(days ceremonies), [x will be given] to the lector-priest in whose charge he is' (*pɜ* [⌜*wʿb*⌝] *wp-wɜwt nt ỉw=f mwt ḥnʿ pɜ nt ỉw=w ḳs=f s ḥnʿ nɜy=f* 35 [⌜*ỉw=w ty* x⌝] *r pɜ ẖr-ḥb nt ỉw=f n-ḏr.ṯ=f*) (lines 21–22). Again the fact that *ḳs* precedes the reference to the 35-days ceremonies indicates that here the verb refers to the *act of mumifying* rather than to the *act of burying* the deceased.

The second example is used as part of a title constructed with the noun *rmṯ* followed by a circumstantial verbal form: *rmṯ-ỉw=f-ḳs*, a man who embalms, or *embalmer*, and which the CDD (letter R 29/06/2001, 41) translates as '*coffiner*'. However, as mentioned above, there is no evidence to indicate that *ḳs* was ever to used as a noun to denote a coffin or as a verb to refer to the act of placing the deceased into a coffin. In the contract, the parties stipulate: 'We will not be able to give a bed, a *gnrṯ*, a cushion, (or) a funerary bed to a man who embalms' (*n-mtw=n tm rḫ ty glg gnrṯ šty s.t-sḏr n rmṯ-ỉw=f-ḳs*) (line 19). Although the verb *ḳs* here could be understood as denoting the act of burying the deceased, the list of objects suggests that the title should be translated as '*a man who embalms*' rather than as '*a man who buries*', since these items seem more pertinent to the mummification process. In addition, contextually, the former translation is probably the more accurate of the two, since the agreement is stipulated between lector–priests.

Finally, there are a number of examples which are contextually too ambiguous to determine with certainty which of the above connotations *ḳs* had, since more than one translation would be equally possible and logical (the following is only a selective list of all the occurrences):

12. Ambiguous examples

Ambiguous examples are, for instance, found in P. Brussels 8255d (306 BC) (lines 7–8) where the noun *ḳs* could refer either to the *mummification* (¶1), the *entombment and burial rites* (¶2) or the *mummification and burial* (¶9), although the fact that this letter was found among the

documents of a choachyte strongly suggests that it refers to the burial of a deceased person rather than to any of the other categories; P. Brussels 6037 (153 BC) (column II lines 7–8) where the noun could be read as either *deceased* (¶5) or *buried* persons (¶7); P. BM EA 10615 (175 BC) where the noun *ḳs* could be translated as *deceased* (¶5), *mummified* (¶6) or *buried* (¶7) persons; P. Louvre E 3266 (197 BC) (line 11 C–E and F–K) where the noun *ḳs* could be translated as either *mummification* (¶1) or *entombment and burial rites* (¶2); P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) (column III, line 2) where ˹*.wy.w* ⸢*ḳs*.(*t*)⸣ could be translated literally as *places (for) burial* (¶2) rather than as *places of mummification*, and in column III line 19 of the same document, where ⸢*irp*⸣ *ḳs* could be translated either as *embalming wine* or *wine (for) embalmer*.

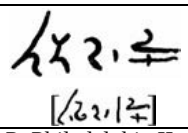
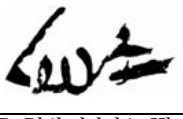
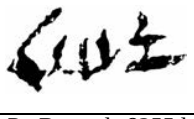
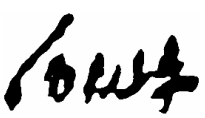
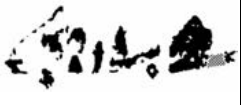
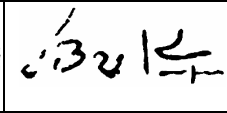
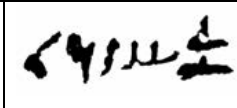
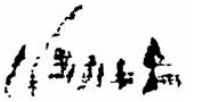
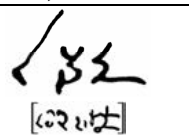
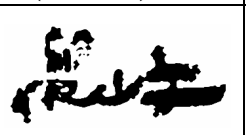
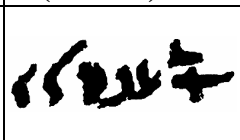
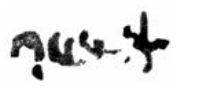
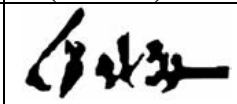
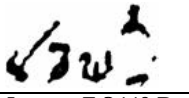
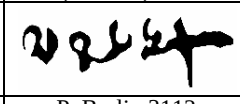
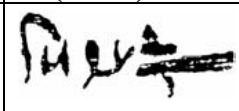
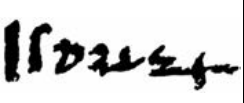
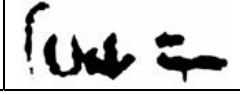
From Lower Egypt there is a small number of contracts, P. BM EA 10381 (276–256 BC), P. Leiden I 379 (256 BC) and P. Rendell (232 BC), in which the meaning of the word *ḳs* may also be that of *deceased person*. In P. Rendell (232 BC), for example, a deed of donation for a number of properties and funerary endowments in the Hawara necropolis, the shares transferred include 'the revenues (from) the *ḥ.wt*-tombs (and) the *deceased persons* of the god's seal-bearer and embalmer *P-sy*' (*nꜣ št.w* (*n*) *nꜣ ḥ.wt nꜣ ḳs.w n ḫtmw-nṯr wyt p-sy*) (line 6). However, particularly in view of the fact that in the necropolises of Memphis and Hawara the same person appears to have worked as both lector-priest and choachyte (see Cannata n. d.), it would be possible to translate the noun *ḳs* as the right to perform the *mummification* (¶1) or the *entombment and burial rites* (¶2), or both.

The palaeography and orthography of the Demotic word ḳs

Having established the range of meanings that the root *ḳs* and its derivatives can have, it is important to examine their palaeography, to determine what variant spellings existed; and its orthography, to establish the significance, if any, of the choice of determinatives used (in view of the palaeographical variations across the country, only examples from the Theban area are included here, since this is the place of provenance of P. Berlin 3116 [114 BC]).

As shown in Table 1, the orthography of the root *ḳs*, and its derivatives, consists of the phonetic signs *ḳ* and *s*, plus a group resembling in writing the verbal auxiliary *ỉw=s*, followed by a cloth, evil, or divine determinative, while there is also a small number of documents which employ the flesh determinative. The phonetic signs *ḳ* and *s* are mostly written separately, although there are a few cases where they are ligatured, whilst there is one instance where this first group has been doubled. The second group is written mainly like *ỉw=s*, although there are very few examples in which the *ỉw=s* is to be understood as being either absent or written in a rather abbreviated form. Lastly follow one of the determinatives or some combination of them.

With regard to the group resembling the verbal auxiliary *ỉw=s*, a palaeographical analysis indicates that the writing of this sign could be reduced to simply two strokes. This is the case in DO BM EA 25886 (Late Ptolemaic) and in DO W69 (Late Ptolemaic), both of which use the noun *ḳs* with the meaning of *entombment and burial rites*, and possibly in P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) (column II line 1) where it is used to denote an *embalmer*, although the latter papyrus is quite damaged at this point and the abbreviated writing may be simply the result of erasure. The funeral context of these documents, however, is unquestionable since the first two ostraca are burial-tax receipts, while the last document is a list of the expenses undertaken by the family of the choachyte *Ḥr*, son of *Ḥr*, at his death.

P. Louvre E 2439 (330 BC)	P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) line 4a	P. Strassburg 1(324 BC) line 4b	P. Strassburg 1 (324BC) line 4c
			
P. Philadelphia IIa (314 BC) line 6	P. Philadelphia IIb (314 BC) line 6	P. Brussels 8255d (306 BC) line 8	P. Philadelphia V (302 BC) line 7
			
P. Brussels 6032–P. BM EA frag. (301 BC) l. 3	P. Brussels 6032–P. BM EA frag. (301 BC) l.3a	P. Louvre E 2429bis (292 BC)	P. Rylands XIa (284 BC) line 7
			
P. Rylands XIb (284 BC) line 4	P. Rylands XIc (284 BC) line 4	P. Rylands XId (284 BC) line 4	P. Rylands XIe (284 BC) line 4
			
P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC) line 5b [l. 5a]	P. BM EA 10026b (265–4 BC) line 7	P. BM EA 10026c (265–4 BC) line 10	P. BM EA 10026d (265–4 BC) line 9
			
P. BM EA 10026e (265–4 BC) line 8	O. Cairo 12469–76 (256–5 BC) line 5	O. Cairo 12469–79 (248–7 BC) line 3	P. Marseilles 299 (235 BC) line 15
			
P. Marseilles 298 (235 BC) line 12	P. Philadelphia XXIV (227 BC) line 4	P. BM EA 10615 (175 BC) line 6	P. Louvre E 3440 B (175 BC) line 3a
			
P. Louvre E 3440 B (175 BC) line 3b	P. Louvre E 3440 A (175 BC) line 5e	P. Berlin 3112 (175 BC) line 10	P. Brussels 6037 (153 BC) line 8
			
P. BM EA 10390 (136 BC) line 3	P. BM EA 10390 (136 BC) line 4	P. Naples 8414 (126 BC) line 3	P. Naples 8414 (126 BC) line 3
			**[…]**

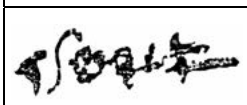
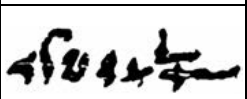
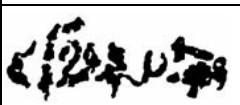
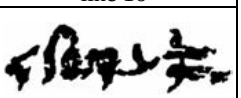
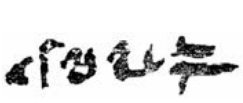
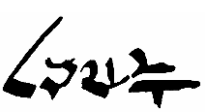
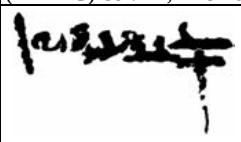
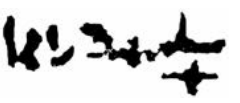
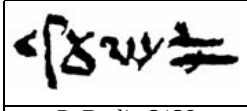
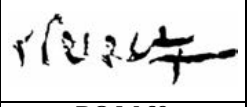
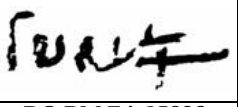
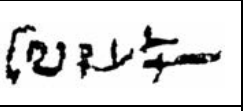
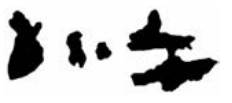
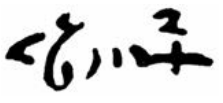
P. Berlin 3099 (124 BC) line 17	P. Berlin 3099 (124 BC) line 18	P. Berlin 3100 (124 BC) line 15	P. Berlin 3100 (124 BC) line 16
			
P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC) line 16	P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC) line 17	P. Amherst 48–52 (113 BC) line 2	P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) col. II, line 1
			
P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) col. III, line 2	P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) col. III, line 10	P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) col. III, line 19	Berlin 3115 Text C (108 BC) line 2
			
Berlin 3115 Text C (108 BC) line 11	P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC) line 2	P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC) line 4	P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC) line 7
			
P. Cairo 30960 (104 BC) line 7	P. Turin Suppl. 6071 (103 BC) line 7	P. Turin Suppl. 6071 (103 BC) line 8a	P. Turin Suppl. 6071 (103 BC) line 8b
			
P. Berlin 3139 (98 BC) line 4	DO W 69 (Late Ptolemaic) line 4	DO BM EA 25886 (Late Ptolemaic) line 2	
[…]			

Table 1. *Comparative palaeographical chart of the derivatives of the root ḳs in the Theban area (not to scale) (After the individual publications, Photoshop editing by the author).*

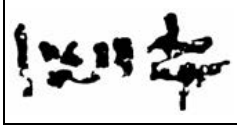
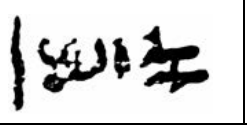
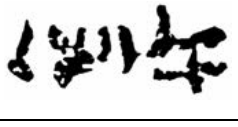
P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column II, line 17	P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column II, line 19	P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column II, line 20	P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column V, line 22
			

Table 2. *Palaeography of the noun ḳs in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) (not to scale) (After the original publication, Photoshop editing by the author).*

In addition, the palaeographical data presented in Table 1, show that a variety of different determinatives could be used in the writing of the root *ḳs* and its derivatives. In particular, these data show that there is a clear temporal change in the choice of determinatives employed. In fact, the example in P. Louvre E 3440 B (175 BC) indicates that from around this period the use of divine determinative became more widespread, replacing the evil determinative which had been more common until then, although it did not entirely supplant it (it is possible that the divine determinative is already used in an earlier document, P. BM EA 10026b [265–4 BC], although it is difficult to be certain since the area is damaged, while the evil determinative is also found in one of the later documents, P. Amherst 48–52 [113 BC]). No temporal change is immediately apparent in the use of the cloth and the flesh determinatives, although the former is certainly much more frequently attested than the latter throughout the period under analysis.

Interestingly, a comparative analysis of the range of meanings of *ḳs* and its orthography, particularly with respect to the determinatives used, indicates that there is no direct correlation between the two, as illustrated in Table 3. Thus, for example, in P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) the noun *ḳs*, denoting the *mummification and burial*, is written with the cloth and evil determinatives, while in P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC) it uses the flesh and the evil determinatives, only the cloth determinative in P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC), and both the cloth and the divine determinatives in P. Cairo 30960 (104 BC). The same range of determinatives is employed in the writing of the noun *ḳs* when denoting the *entombment and burial rites*. In P. Philadelphia V (302 BC), P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) and possibly in P. BM EA 10026c (265–4 BC) the orthography of the noun shows both the cloth and the evil determinatives, while in P. Brussels 6032 – P. BM EA fragments (301 BC) it employs the flesh and evil determinatives. On the other hand, in P. BM EA 10026b (265–4 BC) both the flesh and divine determinatives are used, while only the flesh determinative in employed in P. BM EA 10026d (265–4 BC) and P. BM EA 10026e (265–4 BC), and only the cloth determinative is present in DO BM EA 25886 (Late Ptolemaic) and DO W 69 (Late Ptolemaic). In particular, the fact that in P. BM EA 10026b–e (265–4 BC) different determinatives were chosen by the various scribes of this witness-copy contract shows that the variation was due to a difference in scribal practices. The same is also true when the noun *ḳs* denotes a *stage in the mummification process*, as shown by the fact that in both P. Berlin 3099 (124 BC) and P. Berlin 3100 (124 BC) the cloth and the divine determinatives are employed, while P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC) uses the flesh and the divine determinatives, despite the fact that all three documents were written by the same scribe on the same day and for the same testator. In addition, the presence of the flesh determinative in P. Brussels 6032 – P. BM EA fragments (301 BC), P. BM EA 10026d (265–4 BC), P. BM EA 10026e (265–4 BC) and possibly P. BM EA 10026b (265–4 BC), where the noun *ḳs* refers to the *entombment and burial rites*, in P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC), where it refers to the *mummification and burial*, and in P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC), in which it refers to a *stage in the mummification process*, indicates that the use of this determinative is entirely germane to a funerary context. In fact, although it cannot be proved with certainty that the noun *ḳs* was used to denote some of the above categories, specifically the *mummification and burial* (in P. Strassburg 1 [324 BC], P. Louvre E 2424 [267 BC], P. Turin Suppl. 6083 [105 BC], P. Cairo 30960 [104 BC], P. Cairo 30619 [137 BC] and P. Prague [137 BC]) and a *stage in the mummification process* (in P. Berlin 3115 [108 BC], P. Cairo 30606 [157 BC] and P. Cairo 31179 [147 BC]), the context in which it was used within these documents remains unquestionably a funerary one.

The noun ḳs as a title

Among the documents analysed from the Theban area, there are only eight instances where the noun *ḳs* is used as a title to refer to individuals, as illustrated in Table 3. In the two examples found in P. Florence 3667 (111 BC), one shows a doubling of the first group, while they both use a full writing of the group resembling the verbal auxiliary *ỉw=s*, followed by a cloth determinative. Similarly, in the two examples in P. BM EA 10390 (136 BC), the orthography of the noun *ḳs* consists of the full writing of the group resembling *ỉw=s* followed by the cloth determinative. In the first document only the title *ḳs* is given, while in the latter document the title is accompanied by that of *Servant of Montu, lord of Hermonthis*. The latter title is also used in P. Amherst 48–52 (113 BC) in conjunction with that of *ḳs*, which orthography shows a full writing of the group resembling *ỉw=s*, followed by both the flesh and the evil determinatives.

Three further examples are found in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC). A comparative palaeographical analysis of the examples of the root *ḳs* and its derivatives indicates that the writing of this noun in the latter differs from the spelling found in the other documents in that it writes two small strokes in place of the group resembling the verbal auxiliary *ỉw=s*, and in its use of a flesh determinative instead of the cloth, evil and divine determinatives, or a combination thereof (see Table 2). As mentioned above, it is on the basis of the rendering of this title in P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC) that it has been suggested this is a different title and that it should be read as *leather-worker* or *shoemaker*. The relevant passages in the two documents read:

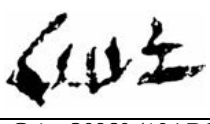
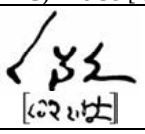
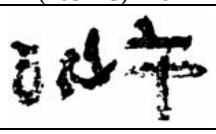
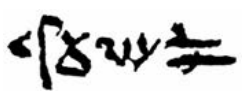
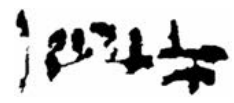
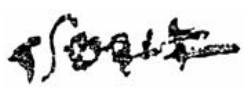
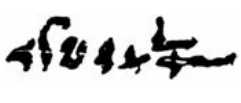
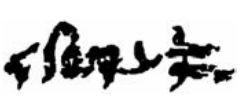
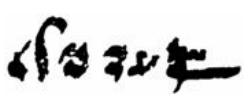
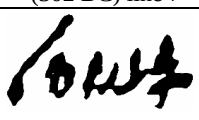
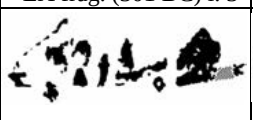
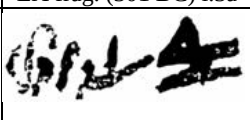
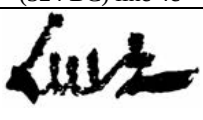
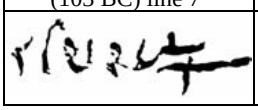
P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) (column II):

> ‘the embalmers of the district of Pathyris’ (*nꜣ ḳs.w n pꜣ tš n Pr-ḥ.t-ḥr*) (line 17)
> ‘the father of *Pꜣ-šr-ḏḥwṯ*, the embalmers, their women (and) their children’ (*pꜣ ỉṯ pꜣ-whr ḥnᶜ pꜣ-šr-ḏḥwṯ pꜣ*(sic) *ḳs.w nꜣy=w sḫm.t nꜣy=w ḫrṯ.w*) (line 19)
> ‘*Ta-ḏtm* the (female) embalmer’ (*ta-ḏtm tꜣ ḳs.t*) (line 20)
> ‘the lector-priests of the district of Coptos (*nꜣ ḫr-ḥb.w tꜣ ḳbḥ*(sic) *ḳbty*) (line 23)

P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC) (column III):

> ‘Shoemakers of the pathyrite nome’ (Σκυτέων τοῦ Παθυρί[ον]) (line 3)
> The father of Poorios (and) Psenthotes’ (Πατὴρ Ποώριος Ψενθώτες)) (line 5)
> ‘Tasatmis’ (Τασάτμις) (line 6)
> ‘[[Shoemakers]] Taricheutai of the district of Coptos’ ([[Σκυτέων]] Ταριχευτων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κοπ(τἰκου)) (line 9)

The individuals mentioned in these documents were either tomb-owners or tomb-occupants and were listed as part of the liturgies owned by the choachyte *Ḥr*, who would have performed their mortuary cult. Contextually, therefore, it is not possible to argue in favour of one or the other translation of the title *ḳs*, since both renderings would be equally plausible. Consequently, the palaeography and orthography of the noun *ḳs*, as it appears in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC), are the only means by which it can be determined whether this noun had a different meaning in this document. However, the evidence presented shows that the abbreviated spelling employed in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) with the group resembling the verbal auxiliary *ỉw=s* reduced to two strokes is not without parallels, and that a variety of determinatives was used in the writing of the root *ḳs* and its derivatives, thus indicating that the use of the flesh determinative in P. Berlin

Mummification and burial			
P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) line 4a	P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) line 4b	P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC) line 5b [l. 5a]	P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC) line 4
			
P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC) line 7	P. Cairo 30960 (104 BC) line 7		
			
Stage in the mummification process			
P. Berlin 3115 Text C (108 BC) line 2	P. Berlin 3115 Text C (108 BC) line 11	P. Berlin 3099 (124 BC) line 17	P. Berlin 3099 (124 BC) line 18
			
P. Berlin 3100 (124 BC) line 15	P. Berlin 3100 (124 BC) line 16	P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC) line 16	P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC) line 17
			
Entombment and burial rites			
P. Philadelphia V (302 BC) line 7	P. Brussels 6032–P. BM EA frag. (301 BC) l. 3	P. Brussels 6032–P. BM EA frag. (301 BC) l.3a	P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC) line 4c
			
P. BM EA 10026b (265–4 BC) line 7	P. BM EA 10026c (265–4 BC) line 10	P. BM EA 10026d (265–4 BC) line 9	P. BM EA 10026e (265–4 BC) line 8
			
DO W 69 (Late Ptolemaic) line 4	DO BM EA 25886 (Late Ptolemaic) line 2		
			
Act of burying the deceased			
P. Turin Suppl. 6071 (103 BC) line 7			
			

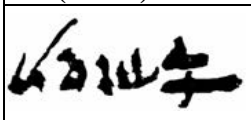
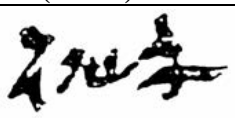
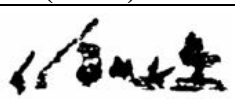
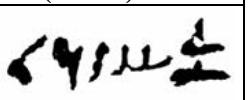
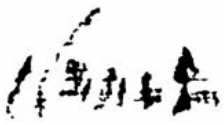
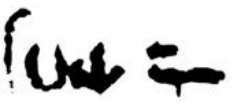
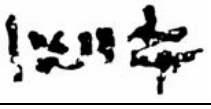
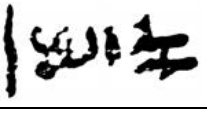
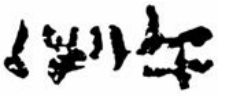
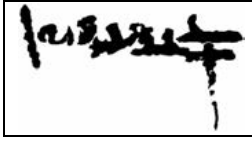
State or condition: deceased			
P. Rylands XIa (284 BC) line 7	P. Rylands XIb (284 BC) line 4	P. Rylands XIc (284 BC) line 4	P. Rylands XId (284 BC) line 4
			
P. Rylands XIe (284 BC) line 4			
			
State or condition: buried			
P. Philadelphia XXIV (227 BC) line 4	P. Louvre E 3440 B (175 BC) line 3a	P. Louvre E 3440 B (175 BC) line 3b	P. Louvre E 3440 B (175 BC) line 5c
			
P. Louvre E 3440 A (175 BC) line 5e	P. Berlin 3112 (175 BC) line 10	P. Naples 8414 (126 BC) line 3	P. Naples 8414 (126 BC) line 3
			**[…]**
P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column V, line 22	P. BM EA 10615 (175 BC) line 6		
			
Individuals who performed the mummification			
P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column II, line 17	P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column II, line 19	P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) column II, line 20	P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) col. II, line 1
			
P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) col. III, line 10	P. BM EA 10390 (136 BC) line 3	P. BM EA 10390 (136 BC) line 4	P. Amherst 48–52 (113 BC) line 2
			

Table 3. *Orthography and contextual meaning of the derivatives of the root ḳs in the Theban area (not to scale) (After the individual publications, Photoshop editing by the author).*

3116 (114 BC) does not constitute enough evidence for this noun to be considered different from examples in other documents.

In trying to determine whether the title *ḳs* denoted a shoemaker or an embalmer, it is also important to note that in documents written in Greek three different terms are used, not always consistently, to translate the titles of lector-priest, embalmer and doctor (all of whom appear to have had some involvement in the mummification process), as shown in Table 4 (on the difficulties of relying on Greek translations of Demotic terms see, for example, De Cenival 1984). In fact, although in the Ptolemaic period the title of lector-priest is generally rendered in Greek as *taricheutes*, two of the documents from the Theban area use the term *scuteus*: P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC) and P. Leiden Gr. 414 (105 BC). The latter is a contract of sale of a plot of land in which party A, 2 brothers and 2 sisters, are identified as *scuteis* from the Memnonia (column II line 9) (Pestman 1993, 202–203), although, unfortunately, their Demotic titles are not known and their profession cannot be ascertained further from the Greek deed.

Name	***Demotic title***	***Greek title***	***Document and Date***
Pз-šr-ỉmn (tomb owner)	*pз swnw*	τ]αριχεύτης	P. Berlin 5507–3098 (136 BC)
ỉmn-ḥtp son of *Ḥr*	*ḫr-ḥb tp*	παρασχίστης	P. Turin 2155 (119 BC)
	ḫr-ḥb tp	παρασχίστης τῶν ἀπὸ Διὸς πόλεως τῆς Μεγάλης	P. Turin 2160 (119–117 BC)
	ḫr-ḥb tp	παρασχίστης	P. Turin 2154 (116 BC)
Pз-ty-nfr-ḥtp son of *Pз-ty-nfr-ḥtp*	*ḫr-ḥb tp*	παρασχίστης	P. Turin 2155 (119 BC)
	ḫr-ḥb tp	of the same (profession) (τῶν αὐτῶν) (scil. παρασχίστης)	P. Turin 2160 (119–117 BC)
	ḫr-ḥb tp	παρασχίστης τῶν ἀπὸ Διὸς πόλεως τῆς Μεγάλης	P. Turin 2154 (116 BC)
No name given		ταριχευταί	P. Turin 2147 (117 BC)
No name given	*ḳs.w*	Σκυτέων	P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC) [P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC)]
No name given	*ḫr-ḥb.w*	[[Σκυτέωον]] ταριχευτῶν	P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC) [P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC)]
Πιμώνθης (*Pзy-mnṯ*) Σεμμοῶθις (*Tз-šr.t-mw.t*) Σναχομνεῦς (*Ns-nз.w-ḫmn.ỉw*) Ταθαὐτ (*Ta-ḏḥwṯ*) (The children of Πετεψάις)	No title given	οἱ ἐκ τῶν Μεμνονέων σκυτεῖς	P. Leid Gr. 414 (105 BC)

Table 4. *Embalmers' titles in Greek contracts from the Theban area*

In P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC) the scribe translated the first occurrence of the title *ḳs.w* as *shoemakers*, but omitted the title in lines five and six (see above). In addition, he first

rendered the title *ḫr-ḥb.w* as *shoemakers*, and then crossed it out and corrected it to *taricheutai*. Pestman (1981, 7 note 10) states that it was the additional information on the *origo* of these two groups of workers that helped the scribe decide between one profession and the other, although it is difficult to see why their *origo* should have any bearing on the profession they practiced. On the other hand, the correction may be indicative of the scribe's unfamiliarity with either the Egyptian or the Greek terminology used in these documents, thus employing, mistakenly, the title *shoemakers* instead of that of embalmers, or using the closest term that he knew to the title *ḳs*. In addition, whichever his ethnic background, it seems clear that this scribe was not very accurate since he omitted to translate the title in two out of three instances while he corrected himself once. It could be argued that his correction of the word in line nine from *scuteus* to *taricheutes*, and not in line three, may indicate that he realised the titles referred to two different groups of workers. In the same way, however, it could be argued that his initial use of the word *scuteus* to translate both *ḳs* and *ḫr-ḥb*, suggests that he knew the two groups were both involved in the mummification process. In fact, it seems possible that the Greek translation of the two titles, as *scuteis* and *taricheutai* respectively, may reflect the different hierarchical standing, as well as roles, of the two groups with respect to the mummification process. Such a distinction is perhaps also suggested by the fact that in P. Florence 3667 (111 BC) the title of lector-priest (*ḫr-ḥb*) is used only in the singular while that of embalmer (*ḳs*) appears in the plural in both instances.

Indeed, it is possible that Vos may be correct in suggesting that the translation of the word *ḳs.w* as σχυτεῖς, corresponding to Coptic **ⲕⲁⲥⲉ**, may, in a funerary context, refer to the incision made on the bodies during the first stage of the mummification process (Vos 1978, 265). From the same root as σχυτεῖς also derive the terms σκῡτ-ῖνος, used metaphorically to denote somebody 'of skin and bones [or] gaunt', and σκῦτος referring to 'skin, hide especially dressed or tanned hide' (Liddell and Scott 1897, 1406). Consequently, it would not be surprising if the term σχυτεῖς were used to denote embalmers whose work transformed a corpse into one that appeared as if made of tanned, leathery skin and bones.

Conclusion

The evidence presented shows that during the Ptolemaic period the root *ḳs* and its derivatives had a wide range of meanings, all relating to aspects of mummification and burial.

A comparative analysis of the examples of the derivatives of this root in the Theban documentary sources indicates that a number of palaeographical variations are present throughout this period and that the abbreviated spelling employed in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) finds parallels in nouns clearly used in a funerary context. Furthermore, the preceding analysis demonstrates that there is no direct correlation between the range of meanings of the word *ḳs* and its orthography with respect to the determinatives used. In particular, it shows that the flesh determinative is used in contexts clearly relating to the mummification and burial and that its use in P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC) as a determinative for the title *ḳs* is entirely germane.

In addition, the evidence indicates that the use of Greek terms to translate Demotic words is not entirely consistent and, consequently, that they cannot be taken as reliable evidence on which to base the understanding of the Demotic title *ḳs*.

However, this is not to deny that in Demotic there existed a noun, possibly derived from the root *ḳs*, used to denote a *shoemaker*, a possibility suggested by the existence in earlier Egyptian of the noun *gs* and by its survival into Coptic as **ⲕⲁⲥⲉ**, both having this same meaning.

Nevertheless, the available palaeographical and orthographical data alone do not provide incontestable evidence warranting the reinterpretation of the title *ḳs* as *shoemaker*.

Finally, one may ask why the title of *scuteus*, denoting a shoemaker or a leather-worker, should be any less acceptable as a denomination for an embalmer than that of *taricheutes*, which was normally used in Greek to designate fish picklers.

Appendix

The following is an alphabetical list of all the documents analysed as part of this study, including those cited in this paper, with a selective bibliography of their publications. Only the main editions, which give a translation and/or a photograph of the texts, are listed here, while, for reasons of space, works in which these documents are cited and/or re-analysed have not been included.

P. Amherst 48 – 52 (113 BC)	Pestman 1993, 183–186
P. Ashmolean 1968.3 (116–5 BC)	Reymond 1973, 55–67, Pls. II–III
P. Berlin 3099 (124 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 12–13, Pls. 23, 26 Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 178
P. Berlin 3100 (124 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 12–13, Pls. 24, 26
P. Berlin 5508 (124 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 12–13, Pls. 25–26 Erichsen 1939, 81–90
P. Berlin 5507 – 3098 (136 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 11, Pl. 19 Griffith and Wilcken 1908, 103–110
P. Berlin 3115 (109–106 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 18–19, Pls. 38–41 De Cenival 1972, 103–135, Pl. VIII
P. Berlin 3116 (114 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 19, Pls. 42–44 Erichsen 1952, 10–32
P. Berlin 3139 (98 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902, 16, Pls. 32, 34
P. Bibl. Nat. Gr. 715 (113 BC)	Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 180a
P. BM EA 10026 (265–4 BC)	Andrews 1990, 16–22, cat. 1
P. BM EA 10074 (230 BC)	Reich 1914, 43–51 Vleeming 1998, 155–170
P. BM EA 10381 (276–256 BC)	Andrews 2004, 27–32, Pl. I
P. BM EA 10384 (132 BC)	Martin forthcoming
P. BM EA 10390 (136 BC)	Andrews 1990, 78–81, cat. 33
P. BM EA 10398 (119 BC)	Brunsch 1990, 71–77
P. BM EA 10507 (Late Ptolemaic–Early Roman Period)	Smith 1987
P. BM EA 10556 (Ptolemaic)	Andrew 1994
P. BM EA 10561 (157 BC)	Shore and Smith 1960, 277–294, Pl. V
P. BM EA 10615 (175 BC)	Andrews 1990, 31–34, cat. 6
P. Brussels 6033 (276–5 BC)	Spiegelberg 1909, 9–15, Pls. 4–5
P. Brussels 6032 – P. BM EA fragments (301 BC)	Spiegelberg 1909, 3–9, Pls. II–III Shore 1968, 193–198, Pl. XXXI
P. Brussels 6037 (153 BC)	Spiegelberg 1909, 19–25, Pl. VII
P. Brussels 8255d (306 BC)	Depauw 2000, 209–224
P. Cairo 30606 (157 BC)	Spiegelberg 1908, 26–29, Pls. XIII–XV De Cenival 1972, 45–58, Pls. IV, X
P. Cairo 30619 (137 BC)	Spiegelberg 1908, 66–71, Pls. XXXII–XXXV De Cenival 1972, 93–102, Pls. VII, XIII
P. Cairo 30960 (104 BC)	Spiegelberg 1908, 198–199, Pl. LXX

P. Cairo 31179 (147 BC)	Spiegelberg 1908, 290–295, Pls. CXVII–CXIX De Cenival 1972, 63–72, Pls. V, XI
P. Carlsberg 37a–b (220 BC)	Lüddeckens 1998, 37–45, Pl. 4 Lüddeckens 1998, 46–54, Pl. 5
P. Florence 3667 (111 BC)	Botti 1949, 23–32 no. 4, Pl. V Pestman 1992, 207–221, Pls. LX–LXI
P. Hamburg 13 (84 BC)	Lüddeckens 1998, 216–220, Pl. 27
P. Hermitage 1122 (135 BC)	Martin forthcoming Wilcken 1927, 617 no. 127
P. Leiden I 379 (256 BC)	Donker van Heel 1998, 33–57, Pls. 1–7
P. Leiden I 380a (64 BC)	Martin forthcoming
P. Leiden Gr. 414 (105 BC)	Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 172 Pestman 1993, 114–115, 343
P. Lille 29 (223 BC)	Sottas 1921, 57–70, Pls. 15–16 De Cenival 1972, 3–38, Pls. I–II
P. Louvre E 2412 – P. Bibl. Nat. 226 (305–4 BC)	Pezin 1987, 269–273, Pls. XLVIII–L
P. Louvre E 2424 (267 BC)	Zauzich 1968, 17–21
P. Louvre E 2429bis (292 BC)	Zauzich 1968, 14–15
P. Louvre E 2439 (330 BC)	Revillout 1880 Pestman 1987
P. Louvre E 3440 A–B – P. Berlin 3112 (175 BC)	Vittman 1987, 97–145, Pls.13–23
P. Louvre E 3266 (197 BC)	De Cenival 1972, 11–65, Pls. I–XII
P. Marseilles 299 – 298 (235 BC)	Vittmann 1980, 127–139, Pls. 12–15
P. Naples 8414 (126 BC)	Botti 1949, 65–73, Pl. XIV Pestman 1992, 199–206, Pl. XLV
P. Philadelphia II (314 BC)	El–Amir 1959, 7–12
P. Philadelphia V (302 BC)	El–Amir 1959, 22–27
P. Philadelphia XXIV (227 BC)	el–Amir 1959, 110–114
P. Prague (137 BC)	Erichsen 1959, 1–62 De Cenival 1972, 84–91
P. Rendell (232 BC)	Hughes *et al.* 1997, 63–70, Pls. 58–62
P. Rylands XI (284 BC)	Griffith 1909, 122–124, 257–260, Pls. XLIX–LII, LX
P. Strassburg 1 (324 BC)	Spiegelberg 1902a, 18–20, Pl. III
P. Turin 2147 (117 BC)	Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 162 Pestman 1992, 155–197, Pls. XXXIV–XLIV
P. Turin 2154 (116 BC)	Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 196 Pestman 1981, 66–75, Pls. IX–XI
P. Turin 2155 (119 BC)	Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 194 Pestman 1981, 56–59, Pl. VII
P. Turin 2160 (119–7 BC)	Wilcken 1935–1953, no. 195 Pestman 1981, 60–65, Pl. VIII
P. Turin Suppl. 6071 (103 BC)	Botti 1967, 164–167, Pls. XXXIX–XL
P. Turin Suppl. 6083 (105 BC)	Botti 1967, 153–154, Pl. XXXV Pestman 1985, 177–180, 189
O. Cairo 12469–76 (256–5 BC)	Wahid El–Din 2004, 640–642, Pl. LIX
O. Cairo 12469–79 (248–7 BC)	Wahid El–Din 2004, 644–645, Pl. LIX
OD IFAO 130 (117 BC)	Devauchelle 1987, 156, Pl. 24
OD IFAO 205 (120 BC)	Menu 1982, 315–316, Pl. LVII no. 2 Devauchelle 1987, 156–157, Pl. 26

OD IFAO 781 (Ptolemaic)	Devauchelle 1987, 158, Pl. 25
OD IFAO 81 (Ptolemaic)	Devauchelle 1987, 155–156, Pl. 24
OD IFAO 882 (144 BC)	Devauchelle 1987, 158–159, Pl. 26
OD IFAO 883 (144 BC)	Devauchelle 1987, 159, Pl. 25
OD IFAO 884 (c. 144 BC)	Devauchelle 1987, 159–160, Pl. 25
DO BM EA 25886 (Late Ptolemaic)	Wångstedt 1964, 50 no. VII
DO W 69 (Late Ptolemaic)	Wångstedt 1981, 23–24 no. XIV
Stela Cairo 31099	Spiegelberg 1904, 30–36, Pl. VI

The Queen's College
Faculty of Oriental Studies
University of Oxford

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The radiocarbon Dating of Ancient Egyptian Mummies and their Associated Artefacts: Implications for Egyptology

Jenefer Anne Cockitt and Ann Rosalie David

Introduction

Ancient Egyptian remains received considerable attention from radiocarbon experts when this technique was first developed. Much of the work in this field has concentrated on the analysis of plant material from Pharaonic mortuary sites across Egypt, and in particular on those from the Old Kingdom pyramid sites (Berger 1970; Smith 1964; Derricourt 1971; Long 1976; Mellaart 1979; Hassan and Robinson 1987; Nakhla 1988; Bonani *et al.* 2001). A small amount of work has also been carried out on Egyptian mummies and skeletal remains, while samples of linen wrappings, coffin wood and bone have also been ^{14}C dated, although without much success (Fishman *et al*. 1977; Hakannson 1980; Shaw 1985; Hounsley *et al*. 1989). However, a significant proportion of the ^{14}C dates returned were much older than expected, with many being below the level of precision usually experienced with radiocarbon data (Germer 1984). This has been a significant problem with bone samples in particular. A clear example of this is the radiocarbon dating of the Manchester mummy 1770, published in 1979 by Hodge and Newton. The mummy is stylistically typical of the Ptolemaic Period, as shown by the cartonnage head mask, the chest and lower leg covering pieces, as well as by the mummification technique used to preserve the body. However, the radiocarbon dates placed the mummy within the Third Intermediate Period, which equates to an age offset of c.700 years.

At the beginning the technique was beset with several problems such as poor sampling, ineffective chemical pre-treatments and measurement errors. Consequently, many results still remain unpublished and fewer samples from mummified remains are submitted for analysis. Despite the improved results and advantages that accompany the application of Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) dating to other areas of archaeological research, Egyptologists have remained on the whole wary of using ^{14}C dating as a result of these early problems. Therefore, although AMS was developed over 25 years ago, its potential is really only just being recognised in this field.

Nevertheless, samples from mummified bodies and their funerary goods represent an invaluable source of information that goes beyond the mere age estimation of a mummy. Bone, tissue, teeth and hair from mummified and/or skeletal remains can all be analysed, as can funerary equipment, such as coffin wood, linen bandages, funerary wreaths, rope, victual offerings, vegetable-based pigments and resinous material.

The radiocarbon technique

Radiocarbon dating is commonly used in archaeology to determine how long ago an organism lived. The technique is based on the radioactive properties of ^{14}C or radiocarbon, one of three carbon isotopes present in living organisms. The other two forms of carbon (^{12}C and ^{13}C) are stable, and distinguishable from ^{14}C only in the number of neutrons present in their nuclei. ^{14}C is produced in the Upper Atmosphere as a result of collisions between ^{14}N and thermal neutrons:

$$^{14}N + n = {}^{14}C + H \qquad \text{(Libby 1952, 3)}$$

Once formed, radiocarbon behaves in the same way as the other carbon isotopes, rapidly becoming oxidised to form CO_2. It then enters the food chain via photosynthesis. Radiocarbon has a half life of 5730 ± 40 years, which means that 1% of the starting amount decays every 83 years (Aitken 1990, 56). During an organism's lifetime, as one atom decays it is replaced immediately by another. Replenishment ceases once an organism stops exchanging CO_2 with its environment and dies. From this point onwards, the amount of radiocarbon present in a sample begins to decay. As the level of starting activity is known, it is possible to determine, on the basis of the amount of ^{14}C remaining in a sample, how long ago an organism died.

Radiocarbon dates are given in terms of the number of years before present (BP), with each one carrying a statistical error or sigma. A ^{14}C date does not give the exact date when an organism died, instead it provides a range of possible dates. Although the rate of decay is known, it is not possible to predict exactly when each ^{14}C atom will decay (Gillespie *et al.* 1984, 23). Before they can be used, all radiocarbon dates must be converted into calendar years through a process known as calibration. A radiocarbon year does not equate to a solar or calendar year, due to the fact that the levels of ^{14}C production in the atmosphere have fluctuated over time. Rather, calibration is achieved using the calibration curve, a graph developed using the radiocarbon content of tree rings of known age, which charts the fluctuation of ^{14}C production over time. Modern calibration involves the use of calibration computer programmes that allow statistical probabilities of the likely calendar age of a sample to be determined. However, at present, it is only possible to calibrate back to 11,000 BC due to the lack of known age tree-rings from very early periods.

The Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) revolution

The advent of a new form of radiocarbon dating in 1979 revolutionised this technique and its application to archaeology (Gove 1999, 22). Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) involves the direct counting of the number of ^{14}C atoms remaining in a sample, by contrast to β counting techniques which measure the decay rate of radiocarbon. As a result of direct counting much smaller samples can be dated in a shorter space of time (Taylor 1987, 92). A high degree of precision is possible, with routine precision being c. 0.5% or ± 41 years, with 0.3% proving possible in some of the most established radiocarbon facilities. This is beyond the accuracy obtainable in standard decay counters, and comparable to the very small number of high precision β counters (Aitken 1990, 77).

The main advantage of using AMS for both archaeology and Egyptology is that it requires only very small sample sizes, that is, 50 mg or less of plant material and 500 mg-10 g of bone (Hedges *et al.* 1989, 100). This ability to work with smaller sample sizes is of the greatest importance, given the finite nature of ancient remains, since it does not involve the destruction

of entire artefacts or the removal of large sections from them, which would obviously affect the aesthetic appearance of an object. This is especially important with display artefacts and human remains, where destructive sampling remains a contentious issue. Instead, tiny samples from hidden areas or detached pieces can be used for analysis.

The ability to use much smaller samples has also had significant impact upon the radiocarbon technique itself. A more intensive pre-treatment is now possible since it is only applied to a reduced area (Gillespie *et al.* 1984, 165). However, a negative aspect of this technique is that even a small amount of contamination will have a comparatively greater effect. It is, therefore, much more important to apply extremely rigorous chemical pre-treatments to samples submitted for AMS analysis. Nevertheless, the application of this technique has meant that the timescale of radiocarbon dating has been extended back in time to 40,000 BP with the potential to stretch it back to 75,000 BP eventually (Berger 1979, 101). Such a technique has tremendous implications for the study of human evolution, both in Africa and elsewhere.

This study presents the results of AMS analysis conducted on Egyptian samples by the University of Manchester and the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit (ORAU). The work carried out at ORAU is among the first AMS work to be conducted on ancient Egyptian mummified tissue samples, and, as such, the results have important implications for the future use of such materials. For consistency's sake all calibrations have been preformed using the OxCal calibration programme produced by Bronk Ramsey (1995), and the chronology in Shaw (2000) is used as the benchmark for comparison.

The application of ^{14}C analysis to Egyptian mummies

Samples from securely dated Egyptian mummies can be used to extrapolate information about Egyptian chronology. Although the reconstructed chronology of ancient Egypt is an exceptional achievement, the calendar dates assigned to some periods are not as absolute as frequently implied. A large number of epigraphic, literary and archaeological sources have been used to produce a list of the pharaohs who ruled over Egypt, their reign lengths and the dynastic 'family' to which they belonged. The two main textual sources are the surviving copies of the history of Manetho (Waddell 1940) and the Turin Canon (Gardiner 1959; Malek 1982). There are many contradictions between the two, both in terms of the identification of some pharaohs' throne names and of the length of reign each one served. This is further compounded by problems such as suspected co-regencies, not documented in primary sources, and the three Intermediate Periods or 'Dark Ages' of Egypt. During these periods the political scene in Egypt was characterised by fragmentation of centralised authority, and increased evidence for regionalisation. As such, much of the chronological information sought by Egyptologists is missing, patchy or contradictory.

Before the Late Period, the dynasties are fixed in place mainly through astronomical data, such as lunar phases or Sothic risings, without which there would be 'floating' chronologies (Parker 1950). Regression formulae carry an associated error or sigma due to uncertainties in the Egyptian calendars (Schmidt 1973, 1), the location in which sightings were made, and problems with the accuracy of visual sightings (Shaw 2000, 11). As such, all dynasties prior to the 26th carry statistical errors in the way that radiocarbon dates do. These are compounded by uncertainties in the king-list reconstructions, the earlier the period, the more insecure the dating. The Old Kingdom, for example, carries an approximate statistical error of ± 150 years. All these associated errors have led to the formulation of three possible chronologies: High,

Middle and Low, with current reconstructions favouring a middle to low reconstruction (Kitchen 1996; Baines and Malek 2000; Shaw 2000). It has been suggested that ^{14}C dating is not applicable to ancient Egypt because its errors are too large to compare with the historical chronology. However, given the errors associated with the Egyptian chronology itself, this claim cannot be substantiated.

There are two possible applications of ^{14}C analysis with regard to Egyptian chronology. First, to known-age artefacts, to test the accuracy of the established chronology, and secondly, to periods where little chronological data exists, such as the Early Dynastic Period, or the Intermediate Periods, where carefully selected samples may provide further insight into these areas.

An excellent example of the use of ^{14}C dates obtained from mummified remains to test parts of the Egyptian chronology is the analysis of the mummy of Wah. He worked as an estate manager for Meket-Re, who is known to have been a high court dignitary during the reign of Mentuhotep III. The mummy of Wah was found in a small tomb beneath that of his master in the Third Valley, near Deir el-Bahari (Winlock 1936). Despite dating to an early stage in the development of mummification techniques, the body is extremely well preserved. Wah is thought to have been a favourite servant, having been buried with several sheets of household linen from the estate of Meket-Re. These bear marks for years 1 to 5 in the reign of Mentuhotep III, providing a *terminus post quem* for the death of Wah (Winlock 1940, 258). Thus the mummy is firmly dated to the early years of the reign of Mentuhotep III (2004–1992 BC). In addition, when the mummy was unwrapped at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), the body was found to have been provided with a magnificent head mask and a considerable quantity of jewellery, which are consistent with similar artefacts known to belong to the same period.

Three tissue samples were analysed at the Oxford Radiocarbon Accelerator Unit, producing extremely consistent results (Table 1), which enabled the production of a weighted mean for the age of Wah (Figure 1). On the basis of the calibrated result, it can be confidently stated that the mummy is comparable with the current chronological estimates for the 11th Dynasty and with the reign of Mentuhotep III. The weighted mean is less indicative of a lower chronology for this particular Dynasty, suggesting instead that a middle–high reconstruction is the most likely. This cannot be considered as absolute in chronological terms, but it can be employed as one of many pieces used in chronology building. High chronology is currently not favoured by Egyptologists, but these results suggest that the most accurate reconstruction for this particular reign may be towards the higher end of possible calendar dates.

Lab ref	**Sample**	**^{14}C date (BP)**	**$\delta^{13}C$ (‰)**	**Calibration (BC)**	
				1 sigma	**2 sigma**
OxA-15239	Brain	3657 ± 30	–21.6	2130–1960	2140–1940
OxA-15351	Skin (Upper arm)	3676 ± 33	–22.0	2140–1970	2150–1940
OxA-15213	Skin (Finger)	3664 ± 31	–19.4	2140–1970	2150–1940

Table 1. *AMS results obtained from samples taken from the mummy of Wah.*

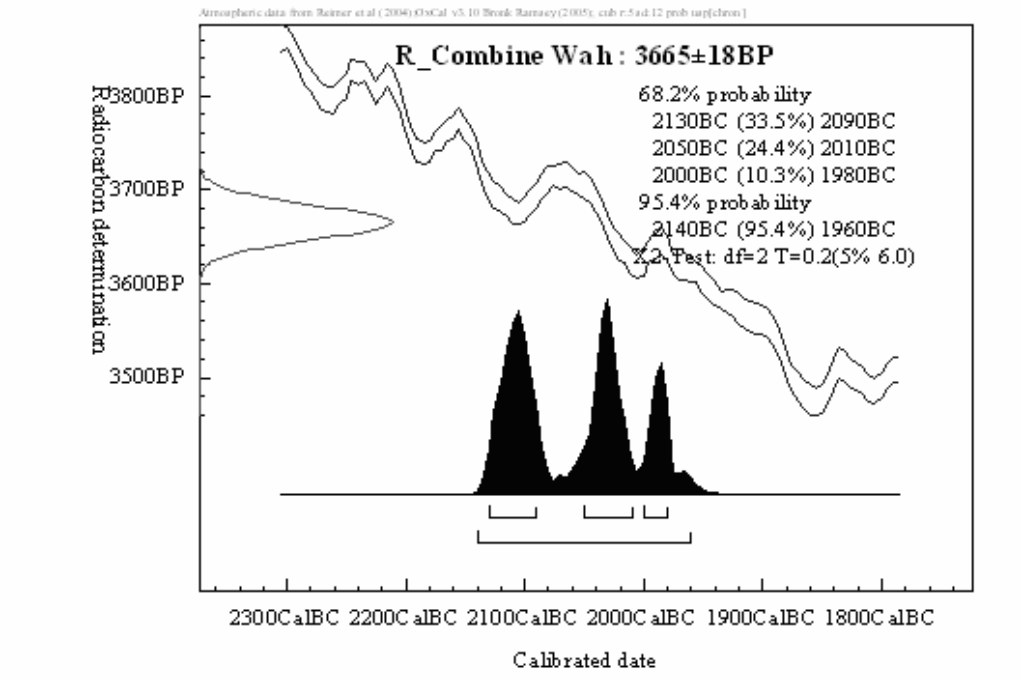


Figure 1. *Weighted mean calibration for the three ^{14}C dates obtained by Wah.*

One period of Egyptian history that is poorly represented in the chronological record is the Second Intermediate or Hyksos Period. This is characterised by the division of Egypt among different rulers. Lower Egypt was controlled by the invading Hyksos, Upper Egypt was ruled by a Theban Dynasty (O'Connor 1996), while the Kerma People gained control of Upper Nubia, and formed an alliance with the Hyskos in the Delta (Baines and Malek 2000, 42). In addition, during this time the remains of a different culture appear in the archaeological record, which are known as the Pan Grave People after their distinctive pan-shaped burials. They are thought to have been mercenaries hired by the Thebans to fight in their army (Bourriau 2000, 201). The culture is represented only by their burials, and has left no written records. It is difficult to place exact calendar dates on the appearance and subsequent disappearance of this group, although generally they are thought to belong to the Second Intermediate Period.

A single hair sample was submitted for ^{14}C analysis from pan grave 1874 at Mostagedda, where the burials have been sequenced according to the degree of Egyptianisation shown (Bourriau 1991, 129). It is thought that over time the Pan Grave People adopted Egyptian customs, resulting in their eventual disappearance from the archaeological record by the time of the New Kingdom. This particular grave contained pottery typical of the early New Kingdom (Brunton 1937, 134), and a wooden coffin suggesting that a degree of Egyptianisation had taken place. However, the body was not mummified and only the braided hair remained intact (Figure 2), while the pan shape of the grave was retained, thus placing the body towards the latter end of the Second Intermediate Period.



Figure 2. *The Mostagedda head from grave 1874 (By permission of Bolton Museum) (Photograph by the author).*

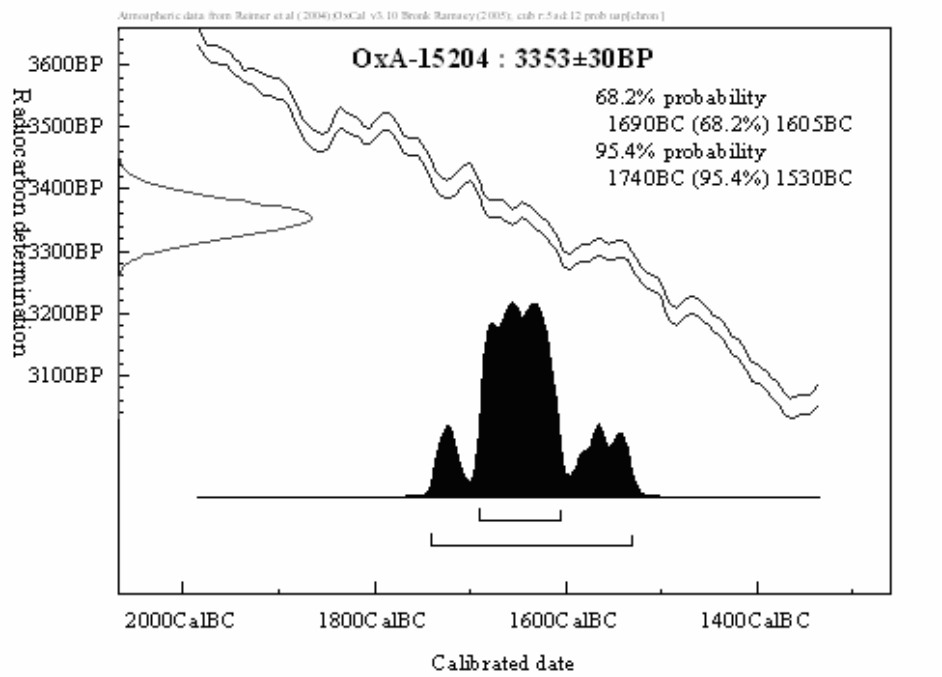


Figure 3. *Calibration from the hair sample obtained from Mostagedda grave 1874.*

A result of 3353 ± 30 BP (Reference OxA-15204) was returned from the hair sample (see Figure 3 for calibrated result). A single radiocarbon date cannot be seen as conclusive, but it does demonstrate the value of applying radiocarbon dating to this area. The basic chronological outline is supported by the result, but the more specific attempt to refine further the chronological trends on the basis of the degree of Egyptianisation observed does not. The radiocarbon date is much closer to the end of the Middle Kingdom than had been previously supposed. There are two possible reasons for this, either the Pan Grave culture, and possibly the Second Intermediate Period as a whole, overlapped with the end of the Middle Kingdom; or the adoption of Egyptian cultural practises by the Pan Grave People was much faster than has been supposed. In either case, radiocarbon dating should be applied to further samples from this period in the hope that the chronology can be refined further.

Radiocarbon dating can also be applied to assess the accuracy of the dating of artefacts on the basis of style, and by extension their sites of provenance, and to establish calendar dates for sequence dating methods that can often only be discussed in relative terms. One of the main advantages of using this technique is that it can potentially bridge the gap between archaeological and historical dating. It is particularly difficult to date settlement sites with historical methods, since firmly dated epigraphic material, for example, does not always survive. At the same time, archaeological evidence often does not provide very close estimates of actual dates.

Stylistic dating is the main method applied to mummies and their associated artefacts. Trends in mummification practises, coffin styles and so on, are generally used to date a mummy. However, these are often rather arbitrary, with little work being carried out to assess the long-term accuracy of such techniques. One example of this is Tomb 23 at Medinet Gurob. W. F. Petrie excavated the site in 1889–90 (Petrie 1890, 1891), and dated the tomb to the reigns of Ramses I to Ramses II (1295–1213 BC) on the basis of the presence of a yellow-on-black coffin in the tomb (Petrie 1890, 39). The tomb lies beneath the remains of the city of Gurob, built during the reign of Ramses II, thus the end of his reign provides a *terminus post quem* for the grave. However, the AMS date returned from hair taken from the grave provided a date of 1530–1400 BC at 95.4% accuracy, consistent with the early to mid 18th Dynasty (Figure 4). A re-analysis of the stylistic dating methods used by Petrie found that

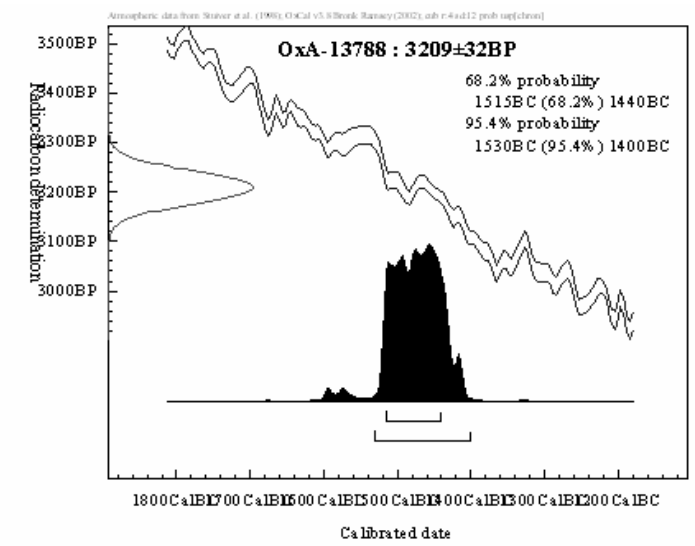


Figure 4. *The calibrated result from hair sample OxA13788 from Gurob tomb 23.*

yellow-on-black coffins have actually been identified from the reign of Hatshepsut (Taylor 1989, 33–4). The earliest evidence for their use at the site belongs to the reign of Tuthmosis III (Petrie 1890, 32). This information, in conjunction with the calibrated ^{14}C results, places the tomb in the reign of Tuthmosis III. Therefore, by combining historical, archaeological and radiocarbon data a much greater understanding of sequence dating can be produced and more secure calendar dates can be provided for individual stylistic trends.

In addition, it is necessary to exercise caution when using the stylistic dating of objects such as coffins and other funerary equipment to date the mummies themselves, since there are many examples of coffins being reused. Close examination can often, but not always, reveal the mismatch. The mummy of Ta-Bes from Akhmim, for example, was confidently dated to the late 25th–early 26th Dynasty, on the basis of the style of her coffins. This period was characterised by an overlap between two different styles: the Third Intermediate Period trends, which included few religious inscriptions and large numbers of floral or geometric motifs, and the Late Period style when funerary equipment became more conservative, once again incorporating horizontal registers with large amounts of hieroglyphic text (Taylor 1989). The coffins of Ta-Bes display a mixture of both trends. Her inner coffin is a rectangular pedestal style, something which appeared for the first time during the late 25th Dynasty (Taylor 1989, 53), while the fact that there are few inscriptions suggests that the coffin is unlike to post-date the early 26th Dynasty.

Subsequent radiocarbon analysis of tissue samples taken from the mummy itself showed that Ta-Bes actually died during the 29th Dynasty (Table 2 and Figure 5). It appears likely that she was buried in reused coffins removed from earlier graves in the area. There is only a very small number of well dated 29th Dynasty mummies available for comparison, and which could provide a guide to date the mummification or bandaging style used to preserve the body of Ta-Bes. Radiocarbon may thus offer the only available means of assessing the historical date of mummies from this period.

Lab ref	Sample	^{14}C date (BP)	$\delta^{13}C$ (‰)	Calibration (BC) 1 sigma	2 sigma
OxA-15240	Muscle (Abdomen)	2253 ± 30	–23.5	390–210	400–200
OxA-15242	Skin (L. Shoulder)	2314 ± 27	–21.8	402–379	410–230
OxA-15241	Skin (R. Forearm)	2319 ± 26	–23.7	402–382	410–250

Table 2. *AMS results obtained from the mummy of Ta–Bes.*

Potential problems with the use of mummified tissue for radiocarbon dating

However, it is also true that there are still some problems with using these types of samples for radiocarbon analysis. The most significant of these is the poor preservation of human tissues (mummified skin, muscle and hair) at molecular level. Samples that appear to be well preserved at both macroscopic and microscopic level have been found to have undergone chemical diagenesis, that is, tissues may have sustained post-mortem alteration, exchanging carbon with their environment (Garland 1987, 122), which in turn could have affected the ^{14}C content of the sample. It has been difficult to select samples with suitable integrity for analysis, though not all types of samples are affected, hair being particularly suitable for AMS analysis.

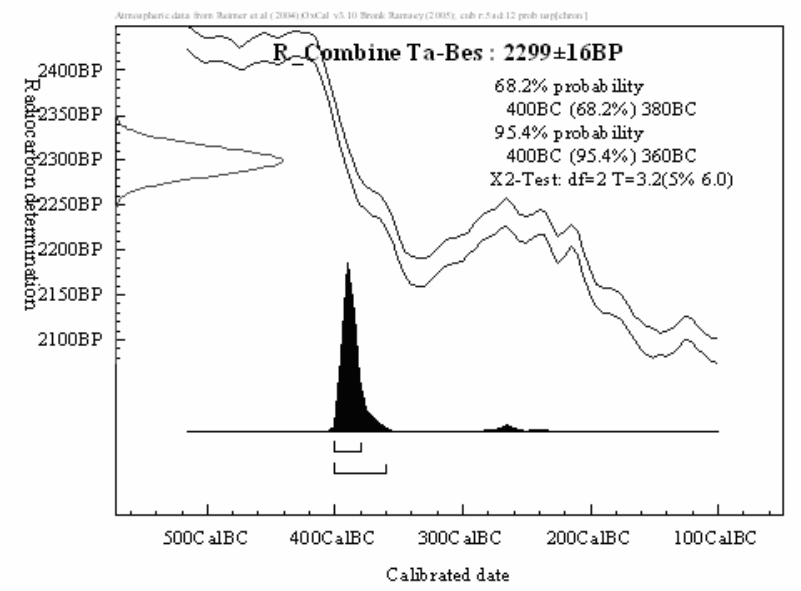


Figure 5. *Weighted mean of tissue samples from the mummy of Ta-Bes.*

Another problem is represented by the difficulties in removing the resins and/or bituminous material applied to tissue during mummification. Standard Acid–Base–Acid chemical pre-treatment sequences do not appear to remove enough of this layer to prevent it from interfering with the radiocarbon age of a sample. Bitumen as a petroleum source is radiocarbon dead or 'old carbon', meaning it has long since lost its radioactivity, and, therefore, has a negative radiocarbon age. The addition of 1% old carbon to a sample will artificially age it by c.80 years (Taylor 1987, 118). In addition to this, many of the resins frequently employed in mummification, such as pine resin, are also likely to be much older than the body they were used to preserve. These problems could be solved with the development, for example, of protocols by radiocarbon facilities for dealing with this type of tissue which Egyptologists could consult when selecting appropriate samples.

Conclusion

The application of AMS dating to ancient Egyptian mummies has dramatically increased the accuracy of the ^{14}C dates produced, and good results, comparable with the precision of the historical chronology, can now be obtained from this type of material. This has significant implications for the use of such samples for many areas of Egyptological research. There is, however, a need to perfect the protocols applied to the selection and pre-treatments of mummified material, and it is hoped that more research will be conducted in this area since this could facilitate a much wider application of radiocarbon dating to ancient Egyptian material.

The increased use of samples from Egyptian mummies, and their associated artefacts, to provide a variety of dating information, can potentially add to the current understanding of the ancient Egyptian civilisation. Future possible applications include the development of an

absolute chronology for the evolution of mummification practises, which, for example, may lead to a greater understanding of burial and religious practises in Egypt. The submission of samples from mummified or skeletal remains offers a way of dating both individual graves and large-scale mortuary sites. Ultimately, it should be possible to identify any patterns in site usage over a period of time.

In addition, the routine application of this form of dating human remains has also significant implications for the study of genetics and the epidemiology of disease. Only limited demographic deductions can be made from studying mummies that have no firm historical date, a very large number of which are still inadequately or incorrectly dated. The ability to sequence burials in communal terms would also be important for studying instances of disease and genetic relationships within familial groups. Hence the potential of radiocarbon dating since it can supplement many existing archaeological and scientific projects conducted on ancient Egyptian artefacts.

KNH Centre for Biomedical Egyptology
University of Manchester

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The Archival History of Coptic Documents from Jeme Held in the British Library

Jennifer Cromwell

Introduction

During the 19th and early 20th centuries the British Museum acquired a large number of papyri manuscripts from the 8th century AD Coptic town of Jeme. The town was built within the remains of the mortuary temple of Rameses III, Medinet Habu, on the Theban west bank. These texts document the legal activity of the inhabitants of the town, and comprise predominantly sales, settlements, testaments and donations of children and property to the monastery. Other than Jeme, one other site is also mentioned frequently within these documents: the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, located at Deir el-Bahri, approximately 2km away on the upper terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut.

A considerable body of work has been published concerning the provenance of these documents, pre-eminent amongst these being the works of Goodwin (1859 and 1863), Schiller (1932, 1953 and 1971) and Godlewski (1986). The purpose of this paper is not to provide a complete overview of the theories concerning the provenance, but to present previously unexploited archival and unpublished material, and to assess earlier discussions in the light of this material. It is hoped that the presentation of this data will further facilitate the reconstruction of the town's archives.

This paper is divided into two sections. The first catalogues the archival history of the Jeme texts acquired by the British Museum (BM) and now held in the British Library (BL). The transfer of the documents between the two sites was completed at different times: those with the prefix Pap. (Papyrus) were transferred in 1892, those prefixed Or. (Oriental) in 1972. The BL collection is the most substantial holding of the Jeme material, containing 82 of the 134 known published documents. This information, in combination with relevant published and unpublished sources, constitutes the primary evidence for constructing an account of their provenance. The second section discusses this evidence in the context of previous studies on their provenance.

Sources for the Acquisition of the Documents

Published Sources

The principal sources for the acquisition of the manuscripts are Crum's 1905 *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (henceforth *Catalogue*) and his *Koptische Rechtsurkunde des Achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben)* (henceforth KRU) published with Steindorff in 1912. The latter of these is the main publication of the Jeme material, since 123 of the texts were published here. The texts acquired after 1912 were published by Schiller in 1932 in *Ten Coptic Legal Texts* (henceforth CLT). Of these, one is in the BL. The KRU and CLT only state where the manuscripts were held at the time of publication and their designation. The *Catalogue* provides little additional information. For 61 of the 73 texts included, the name of the individual who acquired them is provided. No reason is given as to why the same

information is not provided for the remaining 12. The catalogue was published in 1905, and the latest document to be included in it is Or. 6462, acquired in 1902. Documents acquired after this date are therefore not included.

Unpublished Sources

The records for manuscripts prefixed Or. are kept in the Asia and Africa Collection reading room (formerly the Oriental and India Office Collection) in the British Library, while those prefixed Pap. are held in the Manuscripts department. The Manuscripts' records are not accessible on open-shelf in the reading room, but information from them can be gained on request. These hand-written records essentially contain the same information: the manuscript designation, its description, and the language in which it is written. The Papyrus records also state the source of acquisition and, in most cases, the specific date (rather than just the year, as is the case of the Or. records).

Of Crum's unpublished notes, held by the Griffith Institute, the relevant files are: Group V, file 5, pages 14–16, the Stobart Papyri; Group XI, files 17–19, the 1905 Catalogue; Group XI, files 27–29, the KRU; notebook 77, Jeme Papyri in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) and BM. These notes predominantly consist of transcriptions and photographs of the texts, with some notes on their prosopography and content. Except for notebook 77, discussed below, there is no additional information concerning their acquisition.

Acquisition

From these records, supplemented by details from other published sources, the following acquisition details can be determined. This information (the key details of which are provided in Table 1) signifies the extent of the information available. The manuscripts are dealt with in chronological order, that is, the order in which they were acquired by the British Museum. When referring to the acquisition of the manuscripts, the BL designations are used; when referring to their content, the KRU designations are used, Table 2 is a concordance of these numbers.

Papyrus XL

Bought from the Sotheby's sale of items belonging to James Burton (Bierbrier 1995, 76–7; DNB 1885, 43; Ibrahim-Hilmy 1886, 108–111) on 25th–27th July 1836. At this sale, the details of which have been retained by the British Museum, this papyrus formed Lot 372, and was purchased by Edward Hawkins (DNB 1889, 207–8), then Keeper of Antiquities, for £25. This item was erroneously labelled as being written in Greek in the sale catalogue, an error which was initially copied into the acquisition record, and later corrected.

Burton worked in Egypt between 1822 and 1834. During this time he only made one significant journey to Upper Egypt. In 1825 he travelled with Lane (Bierbrier 1995, 235; DNB 1891, 71) to the Theban region, digging at Medinet Habu, Karnak and in a number of tombs in the Valley of the Kings. It is possible that it was during his time in Thebes that this document was found, or purchased, but this cannot be confirmed with any certainty.

The date of acquisition of this document is substantially earlier than the other manuscripts in the collection. Crum certainly had no problems in including Papyrus XL, a land settlement document, amongst the material from Jeme. It is identified as originating from Jeme in his 1905 Catalogue, and is included in his KRU publication. Prosopographically, however, connections with other Jeme material are limited. The scribe in this text, Christophoros son of Demetrios, is not known from any other document, and of the individuals named in the deed, only one, Joseph son of Petros, may appear in other documents, but this is somewhat tenuous.

Item number	Acquired from	Date	Acquired in Egypt by	Date
Pap. XL	Sotheby's	1836	James Burton	1825?
Pap. LXXVI	Sotheby's	1854		
Pap. LXXVI–LXXXVIII	Stobart	1857	Stobart	1854/5
Pap. XCII–XCVII	Stobart	1857	Stobart	1854/5
Pap. XC	Stobart	1857	Stobart	1854/5
Pap. C–CII	Rankin and Goodwin	1861	G. C. Rankin	<1856
Pap. CIII–CV	Brewer	1863		
Or. 72	Vaughan	1867		
Or. 1060–1062	Glennie	1871	Glennie	1862
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 281	A. A. Goodwin	1880	Joad	
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 290	A. A. Goodwin	1880	Rhind	1856/7 ?
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 291	A. A. Goodwin	1880	Rhind	1856/7 ?
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 279	A. A. Goodwin	1880	Joad	
Or. 4659–4668		1893		
Or. 4866–4885	Budge	1895	Budge	1895
Or. 4915	Budge	1895	Budge	1895
Or. 5985	Budge	1901	Budge	
Or. 5899 (2)	Myers	1901	Myers	1882/7
Or. 6462	Sivadjian	1902		
Or. 6721 (1–10)	Budge	1906	Budge	1906
Or. 9525–9537		1924		

Table 1. *Acquisition of the Documents: Key Details.*

There is, therefore, a strong possibility that none of the individuals in KRU 57 are accounted for elsewhere. Furthermore, Jeme itself is not mentioned (either as the Coptic Jeme or Greek Kastron Memnonion). The individuals involved are from Romoou in the nome of Ermont and Pmiles in the nome of Coptos. Romoou, mentioned in four KRU texts, appears to have been a settlement in the Armant area (Goodwin 1869, 74), rather than a district of Jeme (Timm 1985, 1030 note 34). Pmiles is not attested elsewhere, and it is the only town mentioned in the KRU located within the nome of Coptos (other than Coptos itself, which appears in KRU 59 and 67).

KRU 57 is not the only example of Jeme material with no links with the remainder of the textual material. There are two other documents, KRU 110 and 118, that do not refer to Jeme, and which are complete texts (14 further texts do not include references to Jeme, but these instances are the result of damage to the manuscripts: KRU 8, 26, 28, 33, 46, 48, 61, 83, 101,

BL Designation	KRU Designation		BL Designation	KRU Designation
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 279	55		Or. 6721 (1)	48
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 281	38		Or. 6721 (2)	123
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 290	118		Or. 6721 (3)	25
Add MSS 31,290 fol. 291	117		Or. 6721 (4)	46
Or. 1060	70		Or. 6721 (5)	47
Or. 1061	58		Or. 6721 (6)	56
Or. 1062 + 1061 C	68		Or. 6721 (7)	28
Or. 4659	71		Or. 6721 (8), Recto	26
Or. 4660	52		Or. 6721 (8), Verso	54
Or. 4661	116		Or. 6721 (9)	11
Or. 4662	49		Or. 6721 (10)	50
Or. 4663 + 4669 (3)	51		Or. 72	79
Or. 4665	53		Or. 72 Verso	119
Or. 4666	61		Pap. C	36
Or. 4667	62		Pap. CI, recto	35
Or. 4668	63		Pap. CII	66
Or. 4866	12		Pap. CIII	20
Or. 4867	1		Pap. CIV	39
Or. 4868	14		Pap. CV	37
Or. 4869	2		Pap. LXXIX, Recto	80
Or. 4870	4		Pap. LXXIX, Verso	81
Or. 4871	15		Pap. LXXVI	90
Or. 4872	6		Pap. LXXVII	65
Or. 4873	5		Pap. LXXX	104
Or. 4874	72		Pap. LXXXI	82
Or. 4875	3		Pap. LXXXII	83
Or. 4876	33		Pap. LXXXIII	84
Or. 4877	17		Pap. LXXXIV	85
Or. 4878	7		Pap. LXXXV	86
Or. 4879	16		Pap. LXXXVI	87
Or. 4880	19		Pap. LXXXVII	88
Or. 4881	8		Pap. LXXXVIII	112
Or. 4882	9		Pap. XC	108
Or. 4883	27		Pap. XCII	89
Or. 4884	44		Pap. XCIII	121
Or. 4885, Recto	59		Pap. XCIV	107
Or. 4885, Verso	60		Pap. XCV	91
Or. 4915	122		Pap. XCVI	111
Or. 5899 (2)	32		Pap. XCVII	73
Or. 5985	13		Pap. XL	57
Or. 6462	41			

Table 2. *Concordance of BL and KRU Designation.*

103, 105, 111, 112 and 120). Of these, KRU 110 is the least contentious. While it is not prosopographically connected to the other Jeme material, it is a donation text in which the monastery is the benefactor. In KRU 118, the two individuals named are known from other texts, Theophilos son of Elias in OMH 16 (Ostraca Medinet Habu) (Strefanski and Lichtheim, 1952), Severos son of Elias in OMH 384 and KOW 68 (Koptische Ostraka Wien) (Till, 1960). On this basis, the papyrus has a history and content which may dissociate it from the main corpus, but there is not sufficient evidence to be certain.

Papyrus LXXVI
Purchased from Sotheby's on 8th February 1854, Lot 371. The original owner of this document is unknown. The British Museum has not retained a copy of this sale and Sotheby's does not retain catalogues dating to this time.

Papyrus LXXVIII–LXXXVIII, XC and XCII–XCVIII
These manuscripts were acquired by Reverend Henry Stobart during his time in Egypt in 1854/55 (Bierbrier 1995, 405). He presented his entire Coptic and Greek collection to the British Museum on 8th January 1857. Dawson states that the three leather manuscripts in this collection were acquired by the British Museum in 1855 (Dawson 1934, 62). The acquisition records clearly state that they were not acquired until 1857. The likelihood is that 1855 was the year when Goodwin first had access to the texts and that they were not formally presented to the Museum until the latter date, as discussed below. Between these years the leather documents in the collection, Pap. XCV and XCVII, were published by Stobart, as painted copies, in the folio volume *Egyptian Antiquities collected on a voyage made in Upper Egypt in the years 1854 and 1855*. Transcriptions, translations and commentaries for these and the other Coptic documents from this collection were made by Goodwin, in notes now in the British Library. These are now bound as Add. MSS. 31,290.

At the same time, Stobart presented a Greek manuscript, Pap. LXXVII, the will of Apa Abraham, bishop of Ermont, and superior of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon (Kenyon 1893, 231–236; MacCoull 2000).

Papyrus C–CII
Presented jointly by G. C. Rankin and Charles Goodwin on 23rd July 1861. Dawson, without accrediting his source, states that these documents were acquired by Goodwin from Rankin at 'about the same time' as he, Goodwin, was studying Stobart's leather manuscripts (Dawson 1934, 62). As discussed below, Goodwin had finished his study of these texts by the end of 1856. Consequently, if Dawson is correct, Rankin bought the texts in Egypt some time before this (it is not possible to state a more accurate date).

Papyrus CIII–CV
Purchased from David Brewer of Aberdeen on 17th October 1863.

Or. 72
Acquired from Sir Henry Vaughan in October 1867.

Or. 1060–1062
Acquired from Stuart Glennie in 1871. These three documents were published by Goodwin in 1863, who states they 'have lately been brought from Egypt' and that they 'were obtained last

year by Mr Glennie' (Goodwin 1863, 447), suggesting that the deeds were purchased in Egypt some time in 1862.

Add. MSS. 31,290, fol. 279, 281, 290 and 291
These are Goodwin's transcriptions of manuscripts purchased by Rhind (fol. 290 and 291) and Joad (fol. 279 and 281). Details of the acquisition of the original manuscripts by these two individuals are not known. They are referred to by Goodwin in his 1863 article, and so must have been acquired in Egypt some time prior to this date. In Goodwin's notes there are transcriptions of two further texts from the site, not published by Crum in the KRU, acquired by Charles Nicholson (Add. MSS. 31,290 fol. 280 and 289). Nicholson is known to have been in Egypt during 1854–5 (the same time as Stobart) (Bierbrier 1995, 311; DNB 1893, 11–12). Rhind was in Egypt in 1856–7 and again in 1862–3 (Bierbrier 1995, 355; DNB 1895, 82–3). Thus, he was present during the excavations at Deir el-Bahri in 1856 (Rhind 1862, 44, 149) and it is possible that it was then that the documents were purchased.

Goodwin's paper copies, together with his other transcriptions, notes and letters, were presented to the British Museum by his wife A. A. Goodwin (Bierbrier 1995, 171) on the 13th November 1880. In his KRU publication, it is these folio numbers that Crum uses.

Or. 4659–4669
Acquired in 1893. Crum lists no information for this series and no record was made concerning their acquisition in the unpublished material.

Or. 4866–4885, Or. 4915, Or. 5985, Or. 6721 (1–10)
All these documents were acquired by Budge between the years 1895 and 1906. The series Or. 4866–4885 and Or. 1915 were acquired in 1895, Or. 5985 in 1901, and the Or. 6721 group in the second half of 1906.

There are a number of problems concerning their acquisition. These principally arise from a contradiction between the published and unpublished records. In *By Nile and By Tigris*, Budge states that in 1895 he was presented with 'a kerosene tin full of rolls of leather and papyrus and many large fragments of inscribed papyrus' (Budge 1920 II, 342). This was the result of an instruction given in 1892 to clear the remains of Deir el-Bahri and Medinet Habu (Budge 1920 II, 334). The tin contained '40 documents, 20 complete and 20 incomplete' (Budge 1920 II, 339). Instructions to continue this clearance are claimed to have resulted in further acquisitions from the site, which Budge notes as '43 complete rolls in 1903, 12 more in 1906, 19 more in 1907 and 12 more in 1909' (Budge 1920 II, 339).

As noted above in the discussion of the various acquisition sources, the records for Or. manuscripts invariably do not include the name of the individual responsible for acquiring the said documents. From the information in *By Nile and By Tigris*, the acquisition of the 1906 documents can be attributed to Budge. This is further supported by the record, which notes that a group of 12 Coptic manuscripts, 'belonging to a series discovered in the monastery of Tcheme in Western Thebes', entered the British Museum in this year.

Contradictions arise when the other acquisitions are considered. For Or. 5985 Crum notes Budge as the purchaser of this papyrus, and this was entered in the *List of Oriental MSS. acquired from 1890–1908* in 1901. There is no mention of this year in Budge's account. His reference to documents procured in 1903 is problematic, as the records do not list any Coptic acquisitions for this year. Furthermore, in the records of 1907 and 1909 there is no reference to texts from Jeme (all the other Or. entries for these documents make specific mention of the town). The majority of the acquisitions from these two years are religious in nature, with the

exception of Or. 6808 ‘A collection of papyrus fragments’, and Or. 6809 ‘A document on papyrus’, both acquired in 1907. With the possible exception of the multiple fragments of Or. 6808, neither of these entries correlate with Budge’s account. It is not the case either, that the papyri were erroneously entered into the wrong acquisitions catalogue, for there is no mention of Coptic manuscripts in the records of artefact acquisitions compiled by Budge, now stored in the British Museum.

It would appear, therefore, that the account provided in *By Nile and By Tigris* is not entirely accurate. If manuscripts from Jeme existed from these years it is highly unusual that they were not published in Crum’s KRU publication. Conversely, what do exist in the British Museum’s acquisition records of artefacts from 1903, 1907 and 1909, are a large number of entries of Coptic ostraca discovered during the course of the excavation at Deir el-Bahri (see Crum 1921 and Biedenkopf-Ziener 2000 for the Coptic ostraca from Deir el-Bahri acquired by the British Museum in these years; for ostraca acquired prior to this, see Crum 1902). This information contradicts Budge’s account, and the exact nature of the situation concerning these documents is therefore unclear.

Or. 5899 (2)
Crum notes that this text was obtained from ‘Myers’. This must be William Joseph Myers, 1858–1899 (Bierbrier, 1995, 305). Between 1882 and 1887 he was stationed on the staff of the General in Command in Cairo. During this time he built a collection of antiquities that was, for the most part, bequeathed to Eton College (Reeves 1988). Other objects from the collection are also in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Royal Scottish Museum. Or. 5899 (2) was acquired in 1901 by the British Museum, after Myers’ death. It is not clear how this document was procured.

Or. 6462
Presented to the British Museum by Sivadjian in 1902.

Or. 9525 (I)A–E
This text, published as CLT 5 by Schiller in 1931, was acquired in 1924. According to Crum’s notebook 77, it entered the Museum in June 1924, and was handed to the Egyptian Department in the winter of the same year. This is substantially later than the other documents from Jeme in the British Museum’s collection. It is catalogued as being one of ‘Eleven Coptic documents and a number of Coptic fragments relating to the legal affairs of the monastic establishment at Jeme’. These manuscripts were acquired at the same time and bear the designations Or. 9525–9537. Or. 9525 (I) is the only published manuscript from this collection.

Five documents were purchased in the same year by L. M. Lythgoe, Curator of Egyptian Art in the MMA (Bierbrier 1995, 265). Four of these are Coptic documents, published as CLT 1–4, the fifth is a Greek document published by Bell (Bell 1926). Godlewski, in his discussion of the archives of the monastery of Apa Phoibammon, briefly mentions Lythgoe’s acquisition for the MMA, but makes no reference to the British Museum (Godlewski 1986, 56). It is not known whether these documents originally formed one group which was subsequently divided and sold on the antiquities market. This period corresponds to Winlock’s excavations at Deir el-Bahri, but no mention is made of any papyri by Winlock (Winlock 1942). Crum’s note on the provenance of the BL material is unhelpful. No mention is made of their place of discovery, and they are only described as having been found ‘all together in a coarse linen bag, tied up at mouth with string’. The source of this information is not accredited.

Provenance

Previous Studies

Previous studies have predominantly fallen into two categories: those supporting as place of provenance Deir el-Bahri, and those supporting Medinet Habu. Goodwin was the first to discuss their provenance. In the first published account of the discovery of these documents he writes: 'A few years ago, somebody discovered an old wooden chest in the ruins of an ancient monastery near Thebes in Egypt' (Goodwin 1859, 237). He does not identify the specific documents which came from this chest, but proceeds on to discuss Pap. LXXIX, Pap. XC, Pap. XCV and Pap. LXXVII (the Greek will of Apa Phoibammon). All of these are from the Stobart collection, as discussed above. This statement is repeated, almost verbatim, in a second article by Goodwin (Goodwin 1863, 447). In this he refers to the papyri owned, and subsequently donated, by Glennie, Stobart, Nicholson, Rhind, Joad and Rankin. Goodwin states that these documents were from the same find, and were sold 'from time to time to different travellers' by the 'curiosity-dealers of Luxor' (Goodwin 1863, 447) who had procured them. In neither article is the source of this account of their origins named.

The idea that Medinet Habu was the source of these documents entered the published record in 1914, in a review of the KRU by Schmidt (Schmidt 1914). His conclusion was that those papyri that came into the hands of dealers during the later years of discovery (which he states as 1880–1910), were found in pots in the cellars of houses. In his excavation report of the 1929/30 season, Hölscher (Hölscher and Nelson 1931, 50) notes his failure to unearth new Jeme papyri from the site. Only 'papyrus scraps' were found during the clearing of the Coptic houses. Despite this, he was of the same opinion as Schmidt that the Jeme papyri, all or some (he does not say), were discovered at Medinet Habu, and that 'the *fellahin* discovered and plundered one or more (…) archives' (Hölscher and Nelson 1931, 51). The papyrus rolls had been deposited for safe-keeping in these official archives, which were possibly the houses of judges or priests.

Over the forty year period that Schiller published material on the Jeme material, his opinion changed concerning their provenance. Initially he repeated the statement made by Goodwin, that the documents were 'discovered in the ruins of an old monastery on the west bank of the Nile opposite Thebes' in 'a chest filled with papyri inscribed in Coptic' (Schiller 1932, 3). The change in Schiller's theory is seen most clearly in his 1953 article 'A Family Archive from Jeme'. The documents in question are divided into two lots, those belonging to Abigaia and Elizabeth (KRU 35, 36, 37 and 68: Pap. CI, C, CI and Or. 1062 respectively), and those of the rest of the family (Or. 6721). Schiller suggests that the first group was discovered in the house of one of the children of Elizabeth, and argues that the second was kept, in antiquity, as one homogenous unit. This group passed from one person to the next, ultimately coming to rest with Komes son of Damianos, recipient of the last dated document, KRU 54 (Schiller 1953, 368–370). By 1971, in his introduction to the second edition of the KRU, he suggests a situation to accommodate both locations: that documents were actually found at both sites and that their place of storage was connected primarily to their content (Schiller 1971, 4).

Godlewski provides the most comprehensive overview of the accounts on provenance, synthesising the main theories discussed above, and others. In particular, he refers to the 'wooden box' accounts of Maspero (Maspero 1889) and Vassalli (Vasalli 1867). These shall not be discussed here, as the dates of these discoveries and the contents of the boxes do not appear to correspond to the material currently in question, as acknowledged by Godlewski (1986, 55). Godlewski's conclusion follows Goodwin, rather than Schiller, that the monastery was the predominant archive and most of the material was kept there.

The Unpublished Sources and a Reassessment of the Documents' Provenance

The origins of Goodwin's account are revealed when his unpublished private letters, currently in the British Library, are consulted. Two letters from Goodwin to Samuel Birch (Assistant Keeper in the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum) form part of the collection of Goodwin's notes: Add. MSS. 31,290 fol. 181–192 and fol. 211–215. Only the second of these is dated: on the reverse of the final page is written the date 2nd December 1856. This precedes the date, referred to in both letters, when the deeds, Pap. XCV, Pap. XCVI and XCVII (KRU 91, 111 and 73 respectively), were given to the British Museum, in perpetuity, by Stobart. Before their permanent deposition, it appears that they were given on loan to the Museum for only a brief period, as seen in the opening sentence of the first letter: 'In a former letter I gave you an account (…) of two Sahidic manuscripts upon leather brought from Egypt by the Reverend Henry Stobart'. It was at this time that Goodwin had the opportunity to study them. As the second letter refers to matters discussed in the first, the first must then predate it by some time. Without a date, however, it is impossible to say exactly when this first letter was written.

In the first letter there is no mention of the discovery of the manuscripts. Only their deposition is referred to. At this time, Goodwin, while knowing that the text of the documents referred to the 'monastery of St Phoebamon of Mount Djeme near to the city of Hermonthis', had no knowledge of the existence, past or present, of any such place. By the time of the second letter he appears to have been informed of their discovery, for he refers to Stobart's account of a wooden chest in the monastery. It would seem from this, therefore, that the origins of the story of the discovery of these documents lies in a conversation from around 1856, later published by Goodwin and transmitted throughout the published material from this point on.

Contextually, in support of Medinet Habu as the provenance, the distinction made by Schiller between private documents and those connected to the monastery, is a sensible one. Such a distinction is not, however, supported by the acquisition details. The Stobart manuscripts, claimed to have been found at the monastery, are all, indeed, connected to the monastery: 17 are donation texts, and 2 are testaments of monks. The 1895 corpus mostly contains sale documents (18 of the 23 texts) and the 1906 collection forms part of the archive of four generations of one family from Jeme (Schiller, 1953). If the content of the documents is an indication of their provenance, as Schiller proposes, these texts would be expected to come from Jeme. The account of the individual who acquired the 1895 and 1906 collections, Sir Wallis Budge, contradicts this. According to Budge, his documents were found by local Egyptians, 'hidden in a wall in the foundations of the old Coptic monastery near Dêr al-Baharî' (Budge 1920 II, 342).

From Medinet Habu, while there is no concrete evidence for the discovery of papyrus at the site, a large number of ostraca were found and recorded *in situ*. Of the 400 ostraca catalogued by Strefanski and Lichtheim (OMH), 55 have a secure find-spot. In the cellar of House 34 were found 30 ostraca belonging to several generations of the family of Koloje, daughter of Hllo (Wilfong 1990). There is, then, a precedent for the survival of stored archives in Jeme. This does not, however, immediately signify that papyri documents would also have been stored in such a manner. Furthermore, there is not enough information from the surviving archaeological material to indicate social distinctions in the housing in Jeme (see Hölscher 1954). Another possibility is that the official archives were not stored in a house, but in the main institution in the town, the Holy Church of Jeme in the second court of the temple. However, there is not enough surviving material to support either scenario.

Storage in the monastery is also supported by the textual evidence. KRU 96 (lines 64–68) states: 'I have drawn up this deed of gift and have given it to our father, the bishop and

steward, so that he will place it in the library of the holy monastery'. A similar statement is found in KRU 100 (lines 50–52). How the manuscripts would have been stored is not clear. Budge describes them as being stored between gaps in the brickwork of the monastery, while Stobart's collection was found in a wooden box. This indicates the existence of not one homogeneous archive, but disparate storage locations.

Conclusion

There are three principal manuscript groups in the BL collection of Coptic Jeme documents: the Stobart collection (1857), and the two Budge collections (1895 and 1906). A study of the archival and unpublished records indicates that each of these collections came from the monastery at Deir el-Bahri, thus supporting Godlewski's conclusions. This perhaps points to the existence of a central archive here where the majority of the texts would have been stored, which is also supported by statements written in KRU 96 and 100. This does not, however, necessarily dictate that all manuscripts were kept or found there. The importance of considering not just the content of the papyri but also their history is indicated by Pap. XL. Its acquisition date, together with the fact that Burton worked at Medinet Habu, suggests the possibility that some documents were stored in the village. A number of other documents were also found in isolation, and might conceivably be from Jeme. These were acquired by Glennie, Rhind, Joad, Vaughan, Brewer, Myers and Sivadjian. In many of these cases, little is known about the individuals responsible for their acquisition and their activities in Egypt. These documents, however, amount to only 18 of the 85 held in the British Library collection. While these numbers do not automatically presuppose all papyri material would be stored at the monastery, the empirical data that exists does support the existence of an archive there.

School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology
University of Liverpool

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A Reinterpretation of the Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus in New Kingdom Temples

Kenneth Griffin

Introduction

The lapwing bird (*Vanellus vanellus*) was, for a period of over 3,000 years, abundantly represented in both Egyptian art and hieroglyphs. It was referred to by the Egyptians as *rḫyt* (*rekhyt*). The birds were often depicted in the papyrus marshes, perching on their nests. However, it is in the great temples of the New Kingdom that the majority of representations appear. The most common depiction, normally on the dado of the papyrus columns, forms part of a rebus which reads 'All the *rekhyt* people worship N' (Teeter 1997, 4). It is generally accepted that the *rekhyt* people are to be identified as 'subjects', 'common people', 'plebeians' or 'mankind' (Pirenne 1934, 89; Erman and Grapow 1971 II, 447,9–448,2; Gardiner 1947, 98; Helck 1959, 1–36; Faulkner 1972, 152; Meeks 1977, 219; Kaplony 1980, 418–22; Hannig 1995, 476). However, other scholars (Clère 1958, 44; Hodge 1985, 13–23; Nibbi 1986, 1987, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1997, 2000) have suggested that the *rekhyt* people were actually foreigners who had entered into Egypt and possibly settled there.

One question that this paper will examine, is the exact significance of the *rekhyt* rebus, and why it was so frequently found in the temples. Bell (1998, 164) suggests that the rebus 'bestows mythological significance on the king's subjects', further arguing that the use of this rebus was deliberate on the part of Egyptians and that it represented the areas of the temple where the 'common people' were permitted access (1998, 164, 170). This theory is supported by a number of inscriptions which may indicate that the *rekhyt* people had access to certain areas of the temples. Other scholars are in agreement with Bell, including Wilkinson (2000, 99) who states that the rebus was used to 'indicate areas of public gathering or worship'; Phillips (2002, 268) who suggests that the depictions of the *rekhyt* on the columns indicated the 'places where lay worshippers were allowed to gather during major festivals'; and Brand (2006) who, discussing the examples from the hypostyle hall of Karnak, states that the rebus was 'a visual sign to the public that they had access to this part of the temple' and that 'the illiterate could easily be taught to recognise this design as a visual sign meaning "you may stand here"'. However, a closer examination of the evidence would seem to suggest otherwise.

In order to test the aforementioned theory, this paper will look at depictions and inscriptions of the *rekhyt* found within the New Kingdom temples. For convenience, the temples will be split into three main sections: the forecourts, the hypostyle halls, and the shrines and inner sanctuaries, with each site being discussed chronologically. It will be observed that many of the areas and columns where the *rekhyt* rebus is depicted are deep within the temple where, it is assumed, only the priests would have been permitted to enter (Baines 2006, 268), and hence could not have been areas to which the 'common people' had access.

The Rekhyt Rebus

Before examining the areas of the temple where the *rekhyt* rebus is depicted, it is essential to understand the elements which form this monogram. The most important element of the rebus is the *rekhyt* figure itself. In its most common appearance the *rekhyt* figure is depicted in theriomorphic form, and may readily be identified as a lapwing bird by the distinctive crest on the top of its head. The bird is also depicted with human arms raised in an act of adoration, in contrast to the feet which are clearly those of a bird (Wilkinson 2003, 87). The wings of the bird are pinned back in an act of submission, with one wing slightly proud. Mrs Firth (Gunn 1926, 186; Gardiner 1947, 101; Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 266), wife of the Egyptologist Firth, made the interesting comment that live ducks and other birds are frequently to be seen in the modern Egyptian markets with their wings twisted round one another so that they cannot disengage them. This prevents them not only from flying, but also from walking. Consequently, being unable to stand properly, they lie on their legs as the *rekhyt* birds do.

Furthermore, the *rekhyt* bird is usually depicted resting upon the hieroglyph 𓌙 *nb*, meaning 'all' (Erman and Grapow 1971 II, 227). This hieroglyph, in the shape of a basket, is similar to the nest upon which the lapwing bird would commonly be seen by the ancient Egyptians. An Old Kingdom relief from Abusir depicts a lapwing bird sitting on its nest, and it is possible that the use of the rebus, with the lapwing sitting upon the *nb* sign, was adapted from its observation in the wild (Vlčková 2005, 168, Pl. 1B). Another element part of the rebus is the hieroglyph ⋆ *dwꜣ,* meaning 'worship' (Erman and Grapow 1971 V, 426–7), which is usually placed just in front of the face of the *rekhyt* figure. Often the cartouche of the pharaoh is carved in front of the *rekhyt* figure, so that the whole rebus reads 'all the *rekhyt* people worship N' (Figure 1).



Figure 1. *Rekhyt rebus from the forecourt of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple (Photograph by the author).*

While the above description represents the standard form of the *rekhyt* rebus, it is not uncommon for there to be an extra element. This includes the hieroglyphs *ʿnḫ.sn* meaning 'that they might live' which can be written as  or . These are normally placed below the *nb* sign, and form part of a rebus reading 'all the *rekhyt* people worship N, that they might live'. In addition, while the basic form of the *rekhyt* rebus depicts the lapwing bird with human arms, other variants are known, and include depictions of *rekhyt* in zoomorphic and anthropomorphic form (Zayed 1962, 115–8).

Forecourts

The first area of the temple to be examined is the forecourts. A number of these forecourts were referred to as *wsḫt ḥbyt* which Bommas (2000, 211) calls a '*Festhof*'. He states (2000, 211) that the term first appears in the Seventeenth Dynasty, is frequently attested during the Eighteenth Dynasty, and that the *wsḫt ḥbyt* was constructed to commemorate events into which a broader mass of occupants would have had access. Spencer (1984, 64) also believes that the *wsḫt ḥbyt* 'was an open area in which were held certain ceremonies to which a selected number of members of the public were admitted'. These courtyards were large open areas just inside the temple that would have been suitable for public gathering, and which O'Connor (1991, 170) suggests acted as 'the transitional zone between the sacred world and that of men'.

Forecourt of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari

The upper courtyard of the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari contains the earliest known examples of columns decorated with *rekhyt* figures (Figure 2). This courtyard, which has undergone extensive restoration in recent years, has been examined by Wysocki (1980, 63) who identified four fragments of *rekhyt* figures, facing left, which belonged to four different column shafts. The same results were established from those fragments where the *rekhyt* figures faced right.

So what exactly was the function of this courtyard and would the 'common people' have had access to it? A number of texts from the temple refer to the courtyard as a *wsḫt ḥbyt*. As mentioned previously, this term is used to designate temple courts in which the main offering ceremonies were performed during major religious festivals. One of the most important and well documented festivals of the New Kingdom was the 'Beautiful Feast of the Valley' (Spalinger 2001, 521–522). During the reign of Hatshepsut the barques of the three principal deities of the Theban region, Amun, Mut and Khonsu, travelled from Karnak Temple to Deir el-Bahari, where they would reside in the temple (Kemp 1991, 209; Spalinger 2001, 521).

A text from the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, which refers to the *wsḫt ḥbyt*, suggests that the *rekhyt* people might have had access to the area. The text, which accompanies the image of the queen making offerings to the god Amun, reads as follows: 'In the interior of the *wsḫt ḥbyt* in view of the entire land. Jubilation by all the *rekhyt* people; they give praises to the lord of the gods' (*m-ẖnw wsḫt-ḥbyt ḫft ḥr n t3 r-dr.f irt ḥnw in rḫyt nb*(*w*)*t di.sn i3w n nb nṯrw*) (Naville 1895, 18)

Therefore, while it is clear that the Valley procession would have been watched by the public, who often consulted the gods in an oracular manner, it is debatable whether the public would have had access to the third tier at Deir el-Bahari, where the courtyard was located (Spalinger 2001, 524). Instead, one would expect the populace to gather on the large terrace of the second tier, where they could watch the barques of the deities entering and leaving their sanctuaries.



Figure 2. *Reconstructed column from the third tier of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el–Bahari (Photograph by the author).*

Forecourt of Amenhotep II at Elephantine

At the temple of Khnum, on the island of Elephantine, there is an interesting text inscribed on two blocks that form one of the architraves of the temple courtyard (Bommas 2000, 176; Borchardt and Riche 1938, 46; Sethe and Helck 1906, 1361, lines 2–7; Junge 1987, 29, Pl. 12a–d.). The text, which is written on the interior face of the architrave, reads as follows: 'He made, for his father Khnum, in the midst of Elephantine the making for him of a *wsḫt ḥbyt* in order that all the *rekhyt* people may see that which he makes for him, given life' (*ir.n.f n it.f*

Ḥnmw ḥry-ib ꜣbw irt n.f wsḫt [*ḥ*]*byt r mꜣꜣ rḫyt nb*(*wt*) *iri.f n.f di ꜥnḫ*) (Bommas 2000, 176). This inscription once occupied the south-eastern side of the open courtyard which was built during the reign of Amenhotep II. The temple was the largest on the island, and was presumably the focal point for festival celebrations. As implied by the inscription, this courtyard would have been accessible to the *rekhyt* people. Despite this there are no columns from the temple decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus.

Solar Court of Amenhotep III at Luxor Temple

The 'solar court' at Luxor Temple was begun during the reign of Amenhotep III but was left unfinished at his death (Kozloff *et al*. 1992, 85). The entrance to the temple was through the large colonnade which opened up into the solar court. Amenhotep's own description of Luxor Temple can be found on the many architraves. Part of the inscription on a stela from his mortuary temple, on the West Bank at Thebes, speaks of the building of Luxor Temple as follows: 'The king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands Nebmaatre, heir of Re, the son of Re, lord of crowns, Amenhotep ruler of Thebes propitiated with works for his father Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands in Southern Ipet (Luxor Temple) out of good white sandstone, it being broadened, made very large, and its beauty being exaggerated. Its walls are of electrum, its floors of silver, all its doorways being worked on their thresholds. Its pylon approached heaven, and its flagpoles were the stars. When the *rekhyt* people see it, they will give praise to his majesty' (Kozloff *et al*. 1992, 82–3).

This mention of 'the *rekhyt* people seeing it' may suggest or indicate that they had access to the interior of the temple. Moreover, one of the architraves from the court identifies Luxor Temple as 'his place of justification, in which he is rejuvenated; the palace from which he sets out in joy at the moment of his appearance, his transformations visible to all' (Kemp 1991, 208). Bell (1985, 275) believes that the court is to be identified as the *Maru*, or 'Viewing Place', of which Amenhotep III speaks on the same stela mentioned above. Baines (2006, 279, 284), however, argues against the solar court being accessible to the public, suggesting that 'one should not use the size of the buildings to argue for mass participation'.

There are also a number of inscriptions mentioning the *rekhyt* people, located on the eastern and western pilasters leading to the hypostyle hall, which Bell (1985, 275; 1992b, 27; 1998, 170) believes further reinforce the idea of the 'common people' having access. The inscriptions, while simple in form, read 'Beloved, Given Life, Strength, Power, Health and Joy upon the Horus throne of the living, like Re. The first occasion of a *Sed*-Festival. May he make a great many. All low-lying lands and all highlands are at the feet of this Great God whom all the gods love and all the *rekhyt* people adore, that they might live'. It was here that the pharaoh would receive the acclamation of the 'common people' who Bell (1998, 170) believes were specially chosen and assembled to witness further episodes of their king's miraculous transformation. He (Bell 1998, 170) rightly points out that the solar court of Amenhotep III would have been the original place of gathering during such occasions as the *Opet*-Festival. In fact, it was not until Amenhotep III built his colonnade that the solar court ceased being the place of gathering, and it was not until Ramesses II built his courtyard, to be discussed below, that there was a new gathering place at Luxor Temple.

Despite the changes resulting from the additions of Ramesses II, Bell (1998, 172) believes that the solar court was still used by the *rekhyt* people during his reign and that, as the procession passed through the colonnade of Amenhotep III, 'some or all of the people exited through the gate of the Ramesside court, hurried past the colonnade, and funnelled through the northeast door of the sun court. There they readied themselves to reverence the king anew

when he emerged from the colonnade. Or perhaps a totally different group of people were assigned the sun-court role of adoration'. With regard to the people, he also states (1992b, 27) '*A l'issue des rites qui se déroulaient mystérieusement à l'intérieur des salles du temple pendant la fête d'Opet, on peut imaginer la foule qui attendait au-dehors dans la cour s'efforçant d'apercevoir et d'acclamer le roi-divin qui apparaissait en pleine lumière dans toute sa gloire*'.

Forecourt of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple

The forecourt of Ramesses II at Luxor Temple contains more evidence than any other temple from ancient Egypt that the *rekhyt* people had access to the forecourts (Teeter 1997, 4). The forecourt at Luxor was known by a number of names including *st-smnḥ,* 'place of supplication' (Kitchen 1996, 402; Sadek 1987, 47; Zivie-Coche and Dunand 2004, 112), *wsḫt ḫꜥt,* 'court of appearance' and *wsḫt ḥbyt,* 'festival court' (el-Razik 1975, 136). The triple shrine, located within the forecourt, was also called 'a place of supplication of Amun hearing petitions of gods and men' (*st snmḥ sḏm sprwt nywt nṯrw rmṯt*) (el-Razik 1975, 134; Kitchen 1996, 407). This shrine was built during the reign of Ramesses II, and because of its location within the forecourt it will also be discussed in this section.

Although the inscription referring to the courtyard as a *wsḫt ḥbyt* does not mention the *rekhyt* people in the way the Elephantine inscription does, Bell (1998, 164) believes that the abundant representations of the *rekhyt* rebus on the papyrus columns on the eastern side of the court indicate that the 'common people' would stand here during festivals, particularly the *Opet*-Festival. He also states (1998, 164) that 'the *rekhyt* are found in a frieze at about face-level, but *only* on the columns on the eastern half of the court, where they are orientated towards the north–south axis. This asymmetry was deliberate and not accidental, as is proven by the reliefs and inscriptions associated with the eastern doorway of the court'. A depiction of the *Opet*-Festival from the colonnade of Amenhotep III is accompanied by an inscription, which clearly demonstrates that the *rekhyt* people played an active part in the celebrations. The text reads 'the two lands are in festival, and the two banks are in jubilation when they see the foremost of the gods as she (scil. Mut) illuminates the land with her beauty. The gods give her praise and all the *rekhyt* people adore her while she is in the retinue of the Lord of the Gods in his beautiful festival of *Opet*' (University of Chicago and Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey 1994, 14–15, Pl. 28).

While the *rekhyt* rebus appears on the majority of columns from the eastern side of the court, those on the western side do not. The lack of this rebus on the latter columns has led to the suggestion (Brand 2002, 268) that they were restricted to the eastern side of the court. Furthermore, inscriptions from the door jambs of the eastern gateway have led to the suggestion that it was used exclusively by the *rekhyt* people. The inscriptions, giving the name of the door, read as follows: 'The Great Gateway of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatre Setepenre, whom all the *rekhyt* people adore that they might live' (*sbꜣ ꜥꜣ nsw bity Wsr-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ Stp-n-rꜥ dwꜣ rḫyt nb*(*wt*) *ꜥnḫ.sn*) (Kitchen 1996, 404).

The name of this gateway has been published and commented on by many scholars over the years. Baines (1985, 49) discusses this inscription and concludes that the gateway represented 'the innermost part to which the normal people were allowed to come'. Similarly, Bell (1998, 167) believes that 'this doorway was effectively the 'people's gate' and through it select townsfolk and officials were admitted to stand in the eastern half of the courtyard in order to observe the stately *Opet*-Festival procession'. El-Razik (1975, 130) also posits that the name of the gateway 'suggests that this was a door that could be used by the king (coming from his

palace)'. Grothoff (1996, 69) claims that *'Dieser Torname ist Hinweis auf eine Gebetsstätte für das Volk in diesem Bereich des Hofes'*. Kitchen (1999, §772) remarks how the doorway 'faces inland, hence towards the south part of the ancient town of Thebes [now lost], adjacent to the east side of the temple's precinct. This doorway may have been the king's entrance, from the east-Theban royal palace, by which he personally came and went, to the acclamations of the people as bystanders, as the basic name of the doorway may imply'. Finally, Nims (1957, 80) suggests that the various gateways 'were places where the people either stood for worship or entered the temple courts'.

Beneath the inscriptions, on the eastern exterior face of the temple wall, there are a number of kneeling human figures with their hands raised in adoration. The figures on the southern side can be positively identified as the *rekhyt* people through a small *rekhyt* bird hieroglyph which is carved between the second and third figures (Figure 3). Traces of hieroglyphs between the figures on the northern side suggest that they are to be identified as the *pat* people (Bell 1998, 163). The *pat* people, often referred to as the 'patricians' (Erman and Grapow 1971 I, 503), are closely connected with the *rekhyt* people in the Egyptian texts.



Figure 3. *Kneeling anthropomorphic rekhyt figures from the 'people's gate' at Luxor Temple. Note the rekhyt bird between the two figures (Photograph by the author).*

Further evidence of the *rekhyt* people having access to this court comes from the two colossal statues of Ramesses II seated before the colonnade of Amenhotep III. These statues have been labelled as *ka* statues, cult statues of the king as the embodiment of the royal *ka* (Bell 1985, 259). Bell (1998, 167) suggests that these statues were 'accessible to the ordinary people, and they mediated suppliants' pleas to the great, hidden god whose sanctuary lay beyond'.

As mentioned previously, within the forecourt there is a small triple shrine with chapels dedicated to Amun, Mut and Khonsu which is located against the south-west face of the pylon. The chapel was built by Ramesses II, but an examination of the blocks indicates that they had been usurped, and that they were originally decorated by Hatshepsut and Tuthmose III (Habachi 1951, 466; Bell 1992a, 23). Although the evidence suggests that the temple was built anew by Ramesses II, it seems likely that the original one was constructed nearby (Habachi 1965, 94). An inscription within the shrine states that it was built as a 'place of supplication and of hearing petitions of gods and men' (el-Razik 1975, 134; Kitchen 1996, 407). This further suggests that the *rekhyt* people had access to this area for worship.

Furthermore, within the chapels of Khonsu and Mut there are two almost identical texts which read as follows: 'The making of a monument for his father Khonsu-in-Thebes, Neferhotep, (namely) the fashioning of an image of electrum, glittering with every (kind of) real precious stone in order to uplift his beauty for the *rekhyt* people when he was upon three poles' (*irt mnw n* (*i*)*t.f Ḫnsw-m-wꜣst Nfr-ḥtp mst sšm*(*t*) *m ḏꜥm ṯḥn m ꜥꜣt nb*(*w*)*t mꜣꜥt r ṯsi nfr.f n rḫyt m wn.f ḥr nbꜣ 3*) (Kitchen 1996, 407–408).

While the above text only appears in the chapels of Khonsu and Mut, it is likely that there was a similar inscription also on the western wall of the Amun chapel, subsequently lost due to wear and/or erasure. The inscriptions clearly indicate that the *rekhyt* people not only had access to the forecourt, but also to the triple shrine. The text even talks about statues of the triad being lifted up on poles for the *rekhyt* people, clearly a reference to the barques of the gods being carried in procession by the priests during the festivals.

Further evidence of the triple shrine being used for public access comes from the central chapel of Amun, which contains an elaborately decorated double false door. Whilst it is not uncommon to find false doors at the back of chapels, the two giant images of the ram-headed standard of Amun are rare (Murnane 1985, 136). The ram's heads, with their customary *uraei*, are here surmounted by a disc, and rest, not atop the usual slender staff, but upon the head of a *djed*-pillar, complete with broad collar. The band of text that runs down the front of each of these pillars describes them as 'the Noble Staff (*mdw špsy*) of Amun, Great of Prestige (*wr-šfyt*) in the Temple of Ramesses II in the Estate of Amun' (Murnane 1985, 136). The exact meaning and function of the false door and the staffs is described by Murnane (1985, 148) as follows: '[l]ike many humbler cult foci in other Egyptian temples, it (scil. the false door) made the gods accessible to the common man who was not privileged to enter the temples, but had to make his petitions from the outside. The ram-headed standards that flank the false door also lent themselves to this purpose, since they functioned as portable icons of the god, one of whose uses was to "hear prayers"'. Bell (1998, 168) also suggests that it acted as a kind of 'telephone booth' where the people could contact the gods.

Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos

The temple of Ramesses II was built slightly to the north-west of the temple of Seti I. While the temple of Ramesses is not as architecturally complete as that of Seti's, it still retains much of its original plan. The temple was designed to serve the same purpose as Seti's cenotaph, although its design is more standardised, and is modelled after contemporary royal mortuary temples at Thebes. According to Nims (1957, 80), the temple is called 'a place of prayer, of hearing petitions by gods and men'. This would again suggest that the temple was accessible to the *rekhyt* people.

The temple is fronted by a pylon which leads into a forecourt surrounded on all four sides by Osiride pillars. Three of the faces of each of these pillars are decorated with a number of

different entities, including the *rekhyt* people (Zayed 1962, 115–6). Each face has two entities, side by side, which can be identified by their appearance, as in the case of some of the *rekhyt*, or by the hieroglyphs associated with them (Figure 4). Other than the *rekhyt* people, the entities depicted include the *Pat* (Patricians), *Henmemet* (Sun-folk), *Remetch* (Mankind), *nṯrw imyw pt* (The Gods who are in the Sky) and *nṯrw imyw tȝ* (The Gods who are in the Earth). These entities all take the appearance of kneeling humans, with arms upraised in adoration. It is difficult to determine what the meaning of these representations is, but it is possible that they indicate that the court was open to all classes of society.



Figure 4. *Kneeling rekhyt figure from the forecourt of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos. Note the lapwing crest on the figures head (Photograph by the author).*

Forecourt of the Khonsu Temple at Karnak
The forecourt of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak is also referred to as a *wsḫt ḥbyt* (University of Chicago and Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey 1981, 24, 29). The temple was started by Ramesses III, but it was Ramesses XI and the High Priest Herihor who decorated it. This forecourt is enclosed on three sides with a double row of papyrus columns. Each of the columns contains the *rekhyt* rebus with the cartouches of either Ramesses XI or Herihor placed in front of it. While there are no inscriptions mentioning the *rekhyt* people as having access to the court, Bell's (1998, 164) interpretation of the rebus upon the pillars suggests that they did.

The Hypostyle Halls

The hypostyle hall was normally located just behind the open forecourt where, it appears, the *rekhyt* people may have congregated. But were they allowed to penetrate into the hypostyle hall and possibly even further? There are a number of hypostyle halls from the New Kingdom temples which contain inscriptions mentioning the *rekhyt* people or depict the *rekhyt* rebus on their columns, which might suggest that they were. Refai (2003, 393) states that there is 'no specific name for the hypostyle hall', as indicated by the fact that the examples examined below use various names. Refai (2003, 395) also states that the 'hall served as an assembly point for the barques on their way to processions'. The scenes within the hypostyle halls at Thebes all contain depictions that pertain to the legitimacy of the king as well as depictions of the pharaoh performing various ritual acts in the presence of the gods. This would suggest that the hall was off limits to the *rekhyt* people. The exception to this decorative theme can be found in the hypostyle hall of Karnak where the barques of the gods are depicted in procession. The simple explanation for this anomaly could be the fact that the hypostyle hall was previously an open forecourt where depictions of the barques in procession are regularly depicted.

Temple of Seti I at Abydos
Arguably the most famous monument built by the pharaoh Seti I was his temple at Abydos. The exact purpose of the temple is debatable, and some scholars (Baines and Málek 1989, 117) refer to the temple as a cenotaph. However, the actual name of the temple is 'august mansion of millions of years' (*ḥwt šps*(*t*) *nt ḥḥ m rnpwt*) (Brand 2000, 171). The temple is fronted by two open courtyards which are unfortunately very badly damaged. The main temple, built behind the courts, is fronted by a portico of square columns. Originally the temple was intended to have seven entrances, one for each of the seven shrines within the complex, but during the reign of Ramesses II all the doorways except the central one were blocked up.

Beyond the two courtyards are two hypostyle halls: the first was begun by Seti I, but much of the decoration was completed during the reign of his son Ramesses II; while the decoration of the second was completed in the finest quality *bas*-relief before the death of Seti. The first hall contains two rows of twelve columns while the second hall contains three rows of the same number. This additional row is on a higher level than the previous two rows. All of the columns are decorated with eight representations of the *rekhyt* rebus which may suggest that the courts were used for public use (Teeter 1997, 5).

Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak

According to Brand (2002, 268) the great hypostyle hall at Karnak was called *ḥwt-nṯr*, 'temple' (Erman and Grapow 1971 III, 4), in its own right. This is only one of the many names of this hypostyle hall as recorded on the architraves. Perhaps the most interesting of the terms is *wbꜣ.* Brand (2002, 268) says that the meaning of this word is somewhat controversial and has been taken variously to mean 'forecourt', 'temenos', 'sanctuary' or 'all the land sacred to the god' (Erman and Grapow 1971 I, 291). However, Rondot (1997, 142–3) claims that the root of the word *wbꜣ* should be 'open' as opposed to certain locales termed *štꜣ,* 'closed' (Erman and Grapow 1971 IV, 553). This would fit into the belief that the hypostyle hall at Karnak was open to all. The hall was also called a *wsḫt ꜥꜣt,* 'great broad hall' a term similar to that of *wsḫt ḥbyt*. It must be remembered that the hypostyle hall at Karnak was originally an open forecourt which was subsequently roofed. At this time it is likely to have been accessible to the *rekhyt* people, as was indicated previously. The hall was also called 'the place of appearance', and Refai (2003, 395) suggests that 'not only the barques appear, but also the king appears' from the hall.

The hypostyle hall at Karnak is the largest ever built, and contains 134 papyrus columns. These columns once supported a roof, which has long since vanished, except for a few traces. The central 12 columns, which are slightly taller than the rest, were constructed during the reign of Amenhotep III, and formed a colonnade similar to that at Luxor Temple. The other 122 columns were constructed and decorated during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II, at the time when it was finally converted into a hypostyle hall. Only the 122 columns are decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus, which Brand (2006) believes is a clear indication that the public had access to this part of the temple during festivals.

Zivie-Coche and Dunand (2004, 112) state that a text from the reign of Ramesses II refers to the hypostyle hall as a 'place of acclamation by the people'. Unfortunately the authors do not state where this text is located, but it would appear to be the same one discussed by Nims (1957, 80) who states that Ramesses II calls the hypostyle hall 'a place where the common people extol the name of his majesty'. The location of this inscription can be found on one of the architraves above the columns in the hall. The inscription has been known for some time, and has been published by numerous scholars including Christophe (1960, 77), Kitchen (1996, 362) and Sadek (1987, 47). Recently all the architraves from the hypostyle hall were studied and published in two volumes by Rondot (1997). The architrave, labelled N^{o} 67, flanked the eastern side of the northern entrance of the hall, and this possibly suggests that the *rekhyt* people would enter the hypostyle hall through the northern entrance. The inscription reads as follows: 'He made his monument for his father, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost in Ipet-Sut, making for him an august temple of fine white sandstone, a place where the *rekhyt* people extol the great name of his majesty' (*irí.n.f m mnw.f n it.f ʾImn-rꜥ nb nswt tꜣwy ḫnty ʾIpt-swt irt n.f ḥwt-nṯr šps m inr ḥḏ nfr n rwḏt st swꜣš n rḫyt ḥr rn wr ḥm.f*) (Kitchen 1996, 362).

According to Rondot (1997, 79) this formula is rare, and possibly the only example of such a text. However, the inscription from Elephantine, discussed previously, shows tautology. Nims (1957, 80) believes that this text suggests that the hypostyle hall was built as a place where the *rekhyt* people would worship. Kitchen (1999, §728) suggests the inscription shows how the barques of the Theban Triad 'would assemble (from the hypostyle hall) to go forth in procession before the populace, on such festivals as those of *Opet* and the Valley'. Kitchen (1999, §728) also states that 'in terms of function, the hall was to be 'a place of appearance' of Amun and also 'a place of acclamation for the people'. Interestingly the hall was also referred to as the place 'in which Amun is manifest to the populace' (Nims 1965, 93; Teeter 1997, 4).

The third pylon, which forms the rear of the hypostyle hall, has another text describing the 'appearance' to the *rekhyt* people. The text, dating to the reign of Ramesses II, says 'one who has appeared in Thebes, making marvels in the entire land and an eternal seat for "Hidden of Name" (scil. Amun), a fine resting place for the Ennead, when he appears in it to the *rekhyt* people, when he has shone forth for the *henmemet*, in his festivals of [……], they jubilate in extolling his powers, they give praise to the Lord of the Two Lands, Usermaatre Setepenre' (Kitchen 1996, 379). A text from the reign of Seti I has a similar inscription, and is located on one of the architraves from the colonnade of Amenhotep III at Luxor (University of Chicago and Oriental Institute Epigraphic Survey 1998, 49, Pl. 196) It reads as follows: 'It is with pleasure of the ennead, within which Amun appears in glory (to) the *rekhyt* people' (*sḫmḫ-ib pw n psḏt ḥꜥ Ỉmn m-ḫnw.s* (*n*) *rḫyt*). While this inscription does not come from a hypostyle hall, it clearly demonstrates that the pharaoh and the gods would appear to the *rekhyt* people at least during festival times.

Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos

The temple of Ramesses II at Abydos contains two hypostyle halls, each of which contain eight square columns. As with the forecourt of the temple, these columns are decorated on their sides with various entities (Zayed 1962, 115–8). Similarly, as on the columns in the forecourt discussed previously, the entities depicted include the *rekhyt*, the *pat*, the *henmemet*, the *remetch*, 'All the Gods who are in the Sky' and 'All the Gods who are in the Earth'. Like on the columns in the forecourt there are two entities on each face (Teeter 1997, 5). The columns of the two hypostyle halls also see the appearance of additional entities. Each entity is depicted kneeling on the *nb* basket, with their arms raised in adoration, in a pose more familiar with the *rekhyt*. They include *nṯrw ḳrrtyw* (The Gods of the Underworld), *nṯrw ỉgrt* (The Gods of the Necropolis), *nṯrw ỉmyw t3 ḏsr* (The Gods who are in the Sacred Land), *nṯrw ỉmyw nỉwt* (The Gods who are in the City), *nṯrw ỉmyw 3bḏw* (The Gods who are in Abydos), *nṯrw ỉmyw R3-sṯ3w* (The Gods who are in Rosetau), *nṯrw št3yt* (The Gods of Shetayet), *3ḫw T3-wr* (The Glorified Spirits of Ta-wer), *ỉmntyw 3bḏw* (The Westerners of Abydos) and *ỉrt nbt* (all eyes).

What is interesting about these depictions is the fact that in both hypostyle halls the *rekhyt* figures are depicted side by side with the gods. One would not expect depictions of the 'common people' to be associated with higher entities. Furthermore, it would seem inconceivable to imagine the *rekhyt* people being allowed so far into the interior of the temple, especially as the second hypostyle hall is directly in front of the main holy of holies where the images of the god(s) were kept. Therefore, the depictions of the various entities, especially the *rekhyt* people, do not necessarily suggest that the 'common people' were allowed into this area.

Temple of Ramesses II at Antinoe

At the site of Antinoe (Sheikh 'Ibada) Ramesses II built a modestly sized temple which is unfortunately in a poor state of preservation. The temple was first published by Gayet in 1897, although no excavations were carried out. The temple consisted of an open courtyard with columns on three sides. Beyond the courtyard was a hypostyle hall and although Gayet was only able to see six columns in the hypostyle hall, recent excavations carried out by the University of Florence (Rosati 1998, 978; Gayet 1897) have concluded that there were originally four rows of six columns yielding a total of twenty four.

While the columns from the forecourt were not decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus those of the hypostyle hall were (Rosati 1998, 980). Unfortunately, due to the poor state of preservation of

the temple, no inscriptions concerning the *rekhyt* people are known from the site. However, if Bell's theory (1998, 164) holds true, then the presence of the *rekhyt* rebus on the columns within the hypostyle hall at Antinoe indicates that the *rekhyt* people did have access to this area. If the *rekhyt* people were allowed anywhere within the temple then surely the open courtyard which precedes the hypostyle hall would be accessible. Yet none of the columns in this area are decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus. Instead the area where the rebus is normally placed is decorated with large cartouches of the king which are surmounted by the solar disc. This same depiction is found on the columns on the western side of the open courtyard at Luxor. Yet Bell (1998, 164) suggests that the lack of the rebus on the western side of the courtyard indicates that the *rekhyt* people were confined to the eastern side during festival times. Were the *rekhyt* people expected to bypass the courtyard at Antinoe in order to gain access to the hypostyle hall where they were permitted? It seems clear that a reinterpretation of this decorative rebus is needed to determine its function.

The Shrines and Other Inner Sanctuaries

There are also a small number of shrines and inner sanctuaries decorated with depictions of the *rekhyt* rebus. These are normally located deep within the temple, in the area which would normally be restricted to the priests. Some of the rooms were the permanent houses of the gods, while others were used to house the barques of the gods during festival times. What exactly do the depictions of the *rekhyt* found within these rooms mean?

Red Chapel of Hatshepsut

Between 1922 and 1954, during excavations conducted by Lacau and Chevrier (1977) within the third pylon at Karnak, a large number of blocks belonging to the Red Chapel (*Chapelle Rouge*) of Hatshepsut were discovered. During the years that followed, the blocks were reconstructed, enabling the chapel to be displayed in the Open Air Museum at Karnak. The chapel, which is believed to have been situated originally in the area of Karnak now occupied by the shrine of Philip Arrhidaeus, contains a number of interesting depictions of *rekhyt* figures as well as a number of inscriptions (Gabolde 1992, 26).

The chapel is made up of two rooms which are identified as the 'vestibule' and the 'sanctuary' (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 265). Reconstructions of the chapel place the vestibule to the west of the axis of the temple. Depictions of *rekhyt* figures can be found in this vestibule, on the lower register of the northern wall, that consist of a row of twelve *rekhyt* birds, their arms raised in adoration. Each of the birds stands upon the *nb* sign, while the *dw3* sign is placed beneath their arms forming the rebus *dw3 rḫyt nbt*, 'all the *rekhyt* people are worshipping' (Lacau and Chevrier 1977, 266). While this row of birds appears only on the northern side of the vestibule, Lacau and Chevrier (1977, 267) believe they would also have been found on the southern side, though unfortunately none of these blocks have been discovered. Lacau and Chevrier (1977, 267) also point out that the heads of the *rekhyt* birds face east towards the sanctuary where the barque of Amun was housed.

Way Stations of Hatshepsut

Between the temples of Karnak and Luxor, Hatshepsut constructed six way stations for use during the *Opet*-Festival (Bell 1992a, 23). While all but one of these shrines are completely

destroyed, or remain to be discovered beneath the processional route, Bell (1985, 276) claims that a block, found reused within the central chapel of the Triple Shrine at Luxor Temple, comes from the sixth way station, dismantled by Ramesses II when constructing the Triple Shrine. The decoration of the block consists of three kneeling figures who, Bell (1998, 150) believes, are the adoring *pat* people. Between each of the figures are the hieroglyphs *ʿnḫ.sn* 'that they might live'. Bell (1992a, 24) also states that other blocks from the way station contain images of kneeling *rekhyt* figures in the form of birds. Although never stated by Bell, it is presumably the depictions of the *rekhyt* figures in bird form, as opposed to human, that led him to conclude that the block from the central chapel depicts the *pat* people as opposed to the *rekhyt*.

Unfortunately, because the way stations have not survived, it cannot be determined whether the depictions of the *pat* and the *rekhyt* people decorated the inner or the outer face of the station. It is possible that they formed a frieze on the inside of the station, as seen in the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut. It is also not known if the *rekhyt* or *pat* people were depicted on any of those of the other way stations which have not been found. Nonetheless, one would expect only the priests who carried the barques of the gods to have had access to the interior of the stations.

Temple of Seti I at Abydos

As discussed previously, all the columns from the two hypostyle halls in the temple of Seti I at Abydos are decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus. While it could be argued that the *rekhyt* people would have had access to these halls, the opposite could be said for access to the inner sanctuaries of the temple. Yet within the Osiris suite, arguably the most hallowed area of the temple, there are 14 columns, each decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus. Furthermore, the three columns from the Hall of Nefertem and Ptah-Sokar are also decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus. Surely depictions of the *rekhyt* rebus within these areas do not indicate that they were accessible to the 'common people', but instead demonstrate the need for a reinterpretation of the use and function of the monogram.

Temple of Seti I at Gurna

Seti I built his mortuary temple on the West Bank of Thebes, where the modern village of Gurna now stands. While the two open courtyards of the temple are destroyed, the inner rooms still retain the vast majority of their structure. In total, the temple contains 36 pillars, yet only four columns at the very back of the temple are decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus. Again it would be inconceivable to suggest that the *rekhyt* people would have had access to this particular area of the temple, especially as access to the room could only be gained through passing through the central shrine of Amun which precedes it.

Temple of Ramesses II at Abydos

At the very back of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos there are two small rooms, one in each corner. These rooms, which are symmetrical, contain two columns, each of which is decorated with *rekhyt* figures (Figure 5). It would seem highly unlikely that the *rekhyt* people would have had access to these two rooms, as they were probably sanctuaries to various gods whose statues are likely to have occupied the nine niches of each room. Therefore, an alternative explanation as to the function and meaning of the *rekhyt* rebus is needed.



Figure 5. Three kneeling rekhyt figures with the distinctive lapwings head from one of the inner shrines of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (Photograph by the author).

Conclusion

The key aim of this paper was to challenge the theory that the areas of the temple containing the *rekhyt* rebus are areas that were accessible to the *rekhyt* people. To achieve this aim the various parts of the temple which contain the rebus, that is, the forecourts, hypostyle halls and inner sanctums, were examined. The inscriptions mentioning the *rekhyt* people from within the temple were also examined. It seems clear from these inscriptions that the *rekhyt* people had access to the temple precinct. The inscriptions continuously speak of the *rekhyt* people 'seeing' either the appearance of the pharaoh or the gods. It was during the festivals when this act of 'seeing' is likely to have taken place, and one such inscription specifically mentions the *Opet*-Festival. This raises the question: were the temple precincts only accessible to the *rekhyt* people during the festivities?

The first areas of the temples to be examined were the forecourts. These forecourts were large open areas, suitable for mass gathering, which were located just within the temple proper. In total six forecourts were examined, four of which contained the *rekhyt* rebus. Furthermore, inscriptional evidence from the forecourts at Luxor Temple, Elephantine Island and Deir el-Bahari mention the *rekhyt* people having access to the forecourts, with the inscription from Elephantine stating that the forecourt was constructed specifically for the *rekhyt* people 'to see'. Luxor Temple also contains the 'people gate', *ka* statues and the triple shrine, all of which make it clear that the *rekhyt* people had access to this area. The presence of the *rekhyt* rebus on the eastern columns led Bell (1998, 167) to conclude that 'police and troops would have

cordoned off the people's area to restrain the enthusiastic crowd and keep the western half clear so the procession could move through it freely and in a dignified, orderly procession'.

The hypostyle hall was the second area of the temple to be examined. Of the four examples which contained columns decorated with the *rekhyt* rebus, only one, the hypostyle hall at Karnak, contained an inscription mentioning the *rekhyt* people 'seeing'. The reason why this inscription was carved in the hypostyle hall could possibly rest with its original function. In fact, unlike almost all other hypostyle halls from New Kingdom temples, the example at Karnak was originally intended to be a colonnade, and this function was later possibly changed to that of a forecourt which was accessible to the *rekhyt* people. I therefore argue that the inscription from this hall should not be used as credible evidence to suggest the *rekhyt* people had access to the hypostyle halls of the Egyptian temples.

Finally, the sanctuaries and inner rooms of the temples were discussed. None of the examples contained any inscriptional evidence mentioning the *rekhyt* people 'seeing' or having access to these areas, yet the examples discussed all have depictions of the *rekhyt* rebus. If Bell's theory holds true, then their presence would indicate that the 'common people' had access, yet surely it is not sensible to argue that the *rekhyt* people had access to inner sanctums of the temples. Therefore, the *rekhyt* rebus must not be used as sole creditable proof that the 'common people' had access.

If the function of the *rekhyt* rebus was not to signify the areas of the temple accessible to the *rekhyt* people, what was its function? There seem to be two possible answers. Firstly, it is possible that the rebus was no more than 'filler' used by the sculptors to occupy the gap between the leaves of the papyrus or lotus plants (Bell 1998, 164). However, it is hard to believe that the Egyptians would have gone to all the trouble of using this rebus if it was a mere 'filler', with no significance whatsoever. Furthermore, if the rebus was a simple 'filler', then why was it used to decorate the square columns at the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos, or the temple of Seti I at Gurna? Surely it would have been much easier, and more devout, to carve images of the gods or pharaoh onto these columns.

The other possible function of the rebus, and the one which I believe is much more likely, is that it signified that the *rekhyt* people were present within the temple metaphysically and not physically. This can clearly be seen in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos where the *rekhyt, pat, henmemet, remetch, akhw* and various gods are depicted on the columns. The Egyptian temple, representing the cosmos, needed to include all classes of society in order to maintain order (*mꜣꜥt*). Baines (1996, 371–2) states that the *rekhyt, pat* and *henmemet* 'form a quasi-mythological description of the peoples of the Egyptian cosmos, excluding non-Egyptians'. Indeed, in order to represent the entire cosmos (O'Connor 1989, 74) all classes of society, including the enemies of Egypt, needed to be depicted on the walls of the temples. These foreigners and enemies were frequently depicted being conquered by the pharaoh or brought before the gods as captives (Baines 1976, 10; O'Connor 1991, 183) in an act which helped maintain *mꜣꜥt* and banish chaos (*isft*).

Department of Classics, Ancient History and Egyptology
University of Wales, Swansea

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The Teaching of Ptahhotep: the London Versions

Alice Heyne

Introduction

The *Teaching of Ptahhotep: the London Versions* is the working title of the author's PhD Thesis. Since it is a work in progress, no final conclusions are given here, but rather a legitimization of the subject and an insight into the aims of the thesis.

The well known 37 maxims of Ptahhotep, who claimed to be a vizier to the 5th Dynasty king Asosi, are essentially the advice of a father to his son and successor. An artful prologue precedes the maxims, in which the hardships of old age and the necessity for the king to name a successor to the vizier are stressed. The text closes with a long epilogue about the importance of listening and learning.

As well as countless articles, numerous translations have been published. Some of the most recent being those by Kurth (1999), Vernus (2001) and Junge (2003). Given that this is one of the most quoted Old Egyptian texts, it might be inferred that the text has been wholly understood, but, as will be shown, this is not the case.

Extant versions of the Teaching of Ptahhotep

The text is known from 4 papyri, 1 wooden tablet (Carnarvon Tablet I [JE 41790]), dating to the 18th Dynasty and published by Jéquier [1911]), and 3 ostraca from Deir el-Medineh (IFAO O DM 1232, O DM 1233, O DM 1234, which preserve small sections of the text, dating to the Ramesside period, published by Posener [1972]), all versions being in hieratic. Only three papyri contain a significant amount of the text. These are: P. Prisse, the complete Middle Kingdom version, now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, published by Jéquier (1911); P. London 1 (P. BM EA 10371 and 10435), also of the Middle Kingdom, and which preserves the second half of the text, written in columns and also published by Jéquier (1911); and P. London 2 (P. BM EA 10509) of the 18th Dynasty in which is preserved the first half of the text, and which has been published in two parts by Budge (1910) and Caminos (1956). The Turin papyrus (CGT 54024) dating to the Ramesside Period, published only recently by Vernus (1996), is only a small fragment.

P. London 2 (P. BM EA 10509)

The version in P. London 2 (P. BM EA 10509) contains not only rubra, those words written in red which indicate the beginnings of the maxims, but also the red dots which mark the end of a verse. Both these features are very useful tools for delineating the text. This is a student copy, but a very carefully written one, which has been thoroughly corrected. Erroneous or missing hieratic signs have been crossed out or added in red. Missing lines have been added either above in correspondence of the place where they should have been, or at the bottom of the page (Figure 1) and referred to the correct place with a red cross.

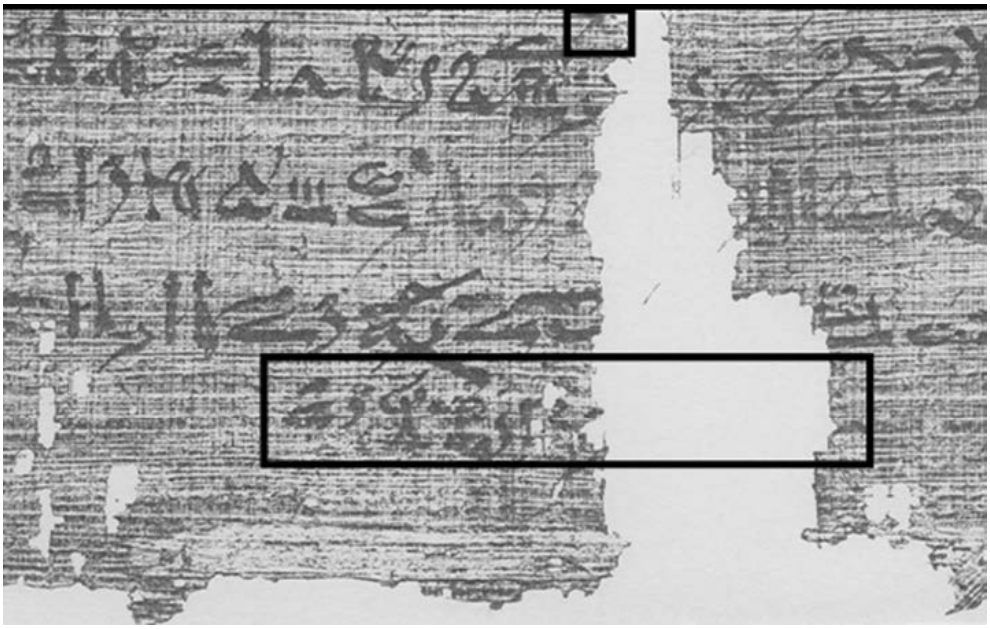


Figure 1. *P. London 2: Examples of corrections (indicated inside the boxes) (Modified from Budge 1910, Pl. XXXIV).*

The main reason why P. London 2 has been neglected until now is the rather fragmentary state of the papyrus after page six.

P. London 1 (P. BM EA 10371 and 10435)

P. London 1 (Figure 2), dating to the Middle Kingdom, is written in columns. This is particularly interesting as it has been shown (Burkard 1977, 68) that P. Prisse, written horizontally, is a copy of a text written in columns.



Figure 2. *Photograph of part of P. London 1 (After Jéquier 1911, Pl. XII).*

Although it is possible that P. London 1 is the oldest copy of the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*, and despite the fact that this is probably a copy of an original older than the one P. Prisse is copied from, this papyrus has so far been completely neglected. This is because, except for a few bigger fragments, P. London 1 looks more like a jigsaw puzzle than a literary document (Figure 3).

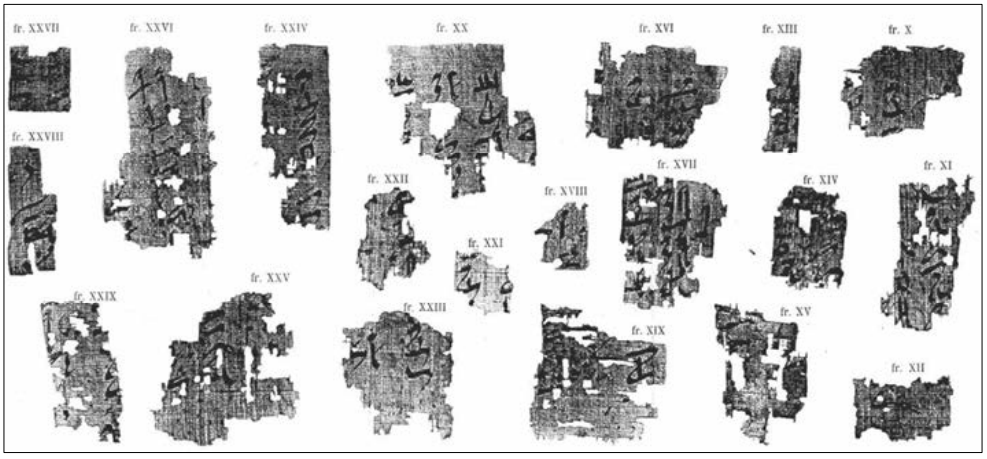


Figure 3. *Photograph of part of P. London 1 (After Jéquier 1911, Pl. XV).*

P. Prisse

Of all versions, P. Prisse (Figure 4), with its beautiful handwriting and without lacunae, is considered to be the oldest and closest to the original, and, therefore, the best copy.



Figure 4. *Photograph of part of P. Prisse (After Jéquier 1911, Pl. IX).*

But do we understand the P. Prisse version? The disparity of the translations seems to point towards a negative answer. An example of the different translations that two single lines of the version in P. Prisse have inspired will underline this:

Žába (1956, 29)

173 

174 

Burkard (1991, 203)

> ‘Es kann ein einzelner sein, den Gott fördert, und die Herrin eines ganzen Stammes möchte ihm folgen’ [(…) and the mistress of a whole tribe wishes to follow him].

Kurth (1999)

> ‘Und gerade ein einsamer Mann kann jemand sein, den der Gott sich gut entwickeln lässt, während der Herr einer ganzen Sippe jemand ist, der das Glück beim Gottesdienst erflehen muss’ [(…) whereas the lord of a whole clan is someone who has to pray for luck at the service].

Lichtheim (1973, 66)

> ‘It is the lonely, whom god fosters, while the family man prays for a follower’.

Parkinson (1997, 253)

> ‘It is the solitary whom God brings up; a lord who is prayed for by his kin comes second’.

Translations of the Teaching of Ptahhotep

There are over 50 different translations of the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*, all of them from P. Prisse. Despite the fact that all versions, except that of P. Prisse, are very similar, the latter is regarded as the standard version. Although P. London 1 dates to the Middle Kingdom (and is perhaps even older than P. Prisse as shown by the fact that it is written in columns), P. Prisse is considered to be the copy closest to the (lost) original. Everything unclear in P. Prisse is explained in terms of the age of the text; additional sentences in P. London 1 and 2 are considered to be ‘later additions’, while additional sentences in P. Prisse are deemed to be (erroneously) left out in later versions.

There are, however, three people who tried to translate the versions of P. London 1 and 2 (beside the attempts before Žába’s). Žába (1956) in his thesis, which is now the only complete edition of Ptahhotep, Brunner (1988), who claims to have used only P. London 2, and, most recently, Vernus (2001). Brunner, despite claiming to have translated P. London 2, used a mix of different versions, whereas Vernus, like Žába, translates all versions separately, but puts them in the order of P. Prisse.

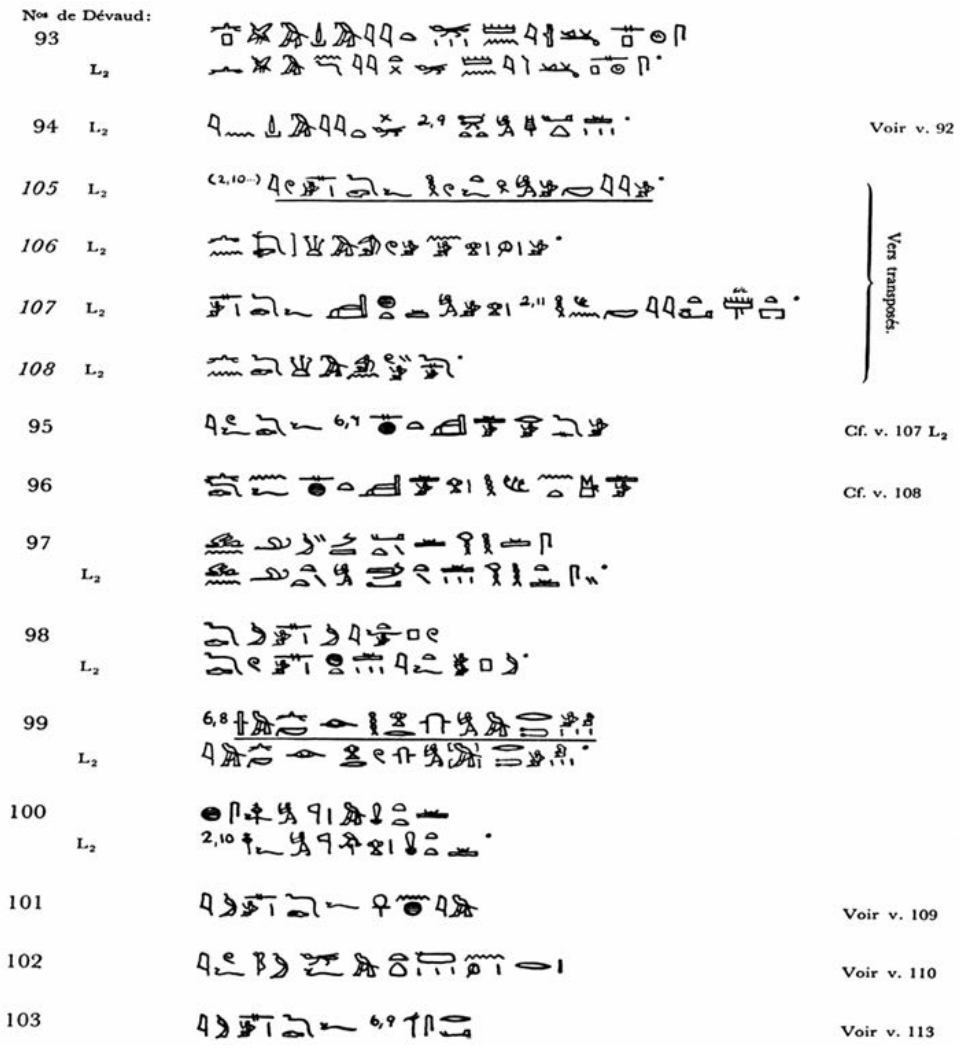


Figure 5. *One page from Žába (no siglum = P. Prisse) (After Žába, 1956, 24).*

Therefore, the only translation of P. London 1 and 2, as well as the only edition of the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*, remains that by Žába. However, it is quite problematic to work with this edition, as shall be illustrated in the following examples.

The order of the verses

Žába decided to follow the order of the verses used in P. Prisse, which means that their order in the other versions is disregarded and subsequently incorrectly organised according to P. Prisse (Figure 5). Therefore, the first task was to create a new hieroglyphic version of the London papyri (Figure 6), which sequence is quite different from that of P. Prisse and, consequently, from Žába's. A renumbering of the verses for the London versions will be unavoidable.

Lost and inexistent lines

One of the major problems with Žába's work is that he marks no clear difference between lines which were destroyed and lines which have never been there. One example of this is illustrated in Figure 7. Žába marks verse 313 in the version in P. London 2 as 'perdu' (lost), but at the same time makes one believe that there are traces of the beginning of verse 314 (of the eye-sign, see last line of hieroglyphs). If one consults the original, it seems clear that Zaba probably mistook the stroke of the hieratic road-sign (Gardiner sign-list N31) for the beginning of the eye-sign. The lacuna at the end of the second line in the original, which is much bigger than the lacuna where Žába restores the sign of the eye, is most probably where the missing verse 313 stood.



Figure 6. *New transcription of P. London 2*
(Žába's verse numbers are indicated in the squares) (Figure by the author).

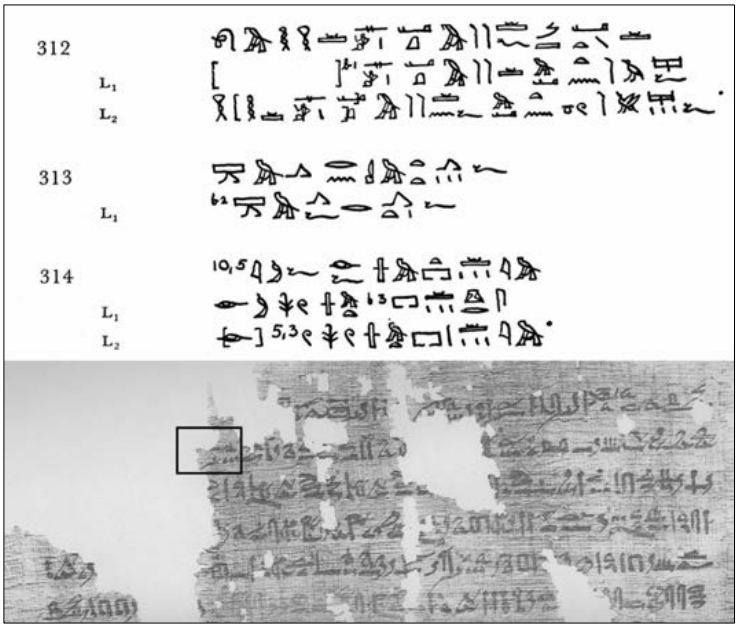


Figure 7. *Hieroglyphic transcription of the first 3 lines of page 5 of P. London 2 (After Žába 1956, 40 [L2 in his edition]) with the photograph of the corresponding passage in the original (Modified from Budge 1910, Pl. XXXVIII).*

Verses' organisation

Another problem with Žába's edition is the fact that the verses are not always put together appropriately. An example of this is illustrated in Figure 8. In view of the fact that P. Prisse has neither verse 131 nor 132, it would have been arranged more clearly if he had put verse 130 of P. Prisse together with verse 133 of London 2, as they seem to correspond to the same verse.

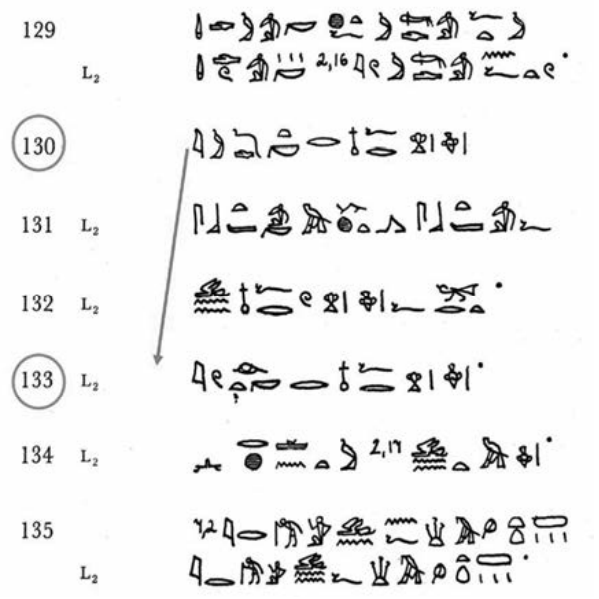


Figure 8. *Verses not put together (Modified from Žába, 1956, 26).*

References
Often the references on the right side of the pages in Zàba's publication are missing or wrong.

Rubra
The rubra which mark the beginning of each maxim, are, as indicated above, very important tools for analysing the structure of a text. However, Žába sometimes omits to mark them, or marks a maxim where there is none, as shown in Figure 9.

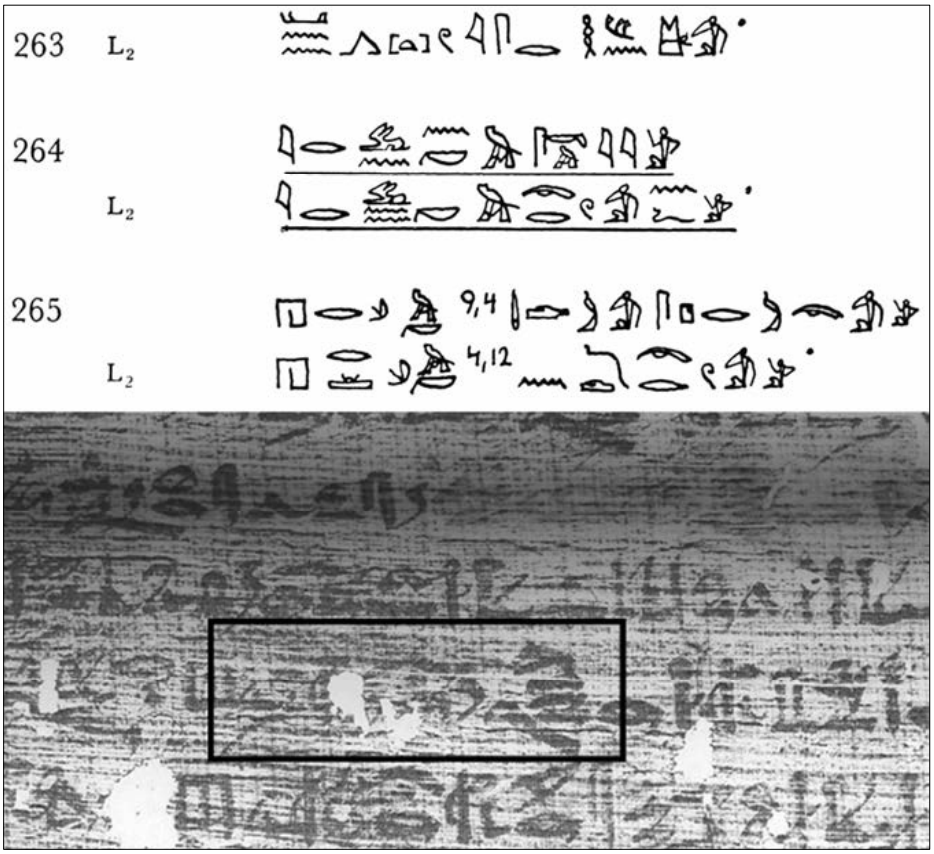


Figure 9. *Hieroglyphic transcription of P. London 2, with the underlined passage marked as a rubrum by Žába (After Žába 1956, 36), and a photograph of the original with the same line highlighted in the box showing no rubrum (Modified from Budge 1910, Pl. XXXVII).*

Omission of signs and verse dots
Furthermore, a lot of hieratic signs and many of the verse dots have been forgotten, as shown in Figure 10.

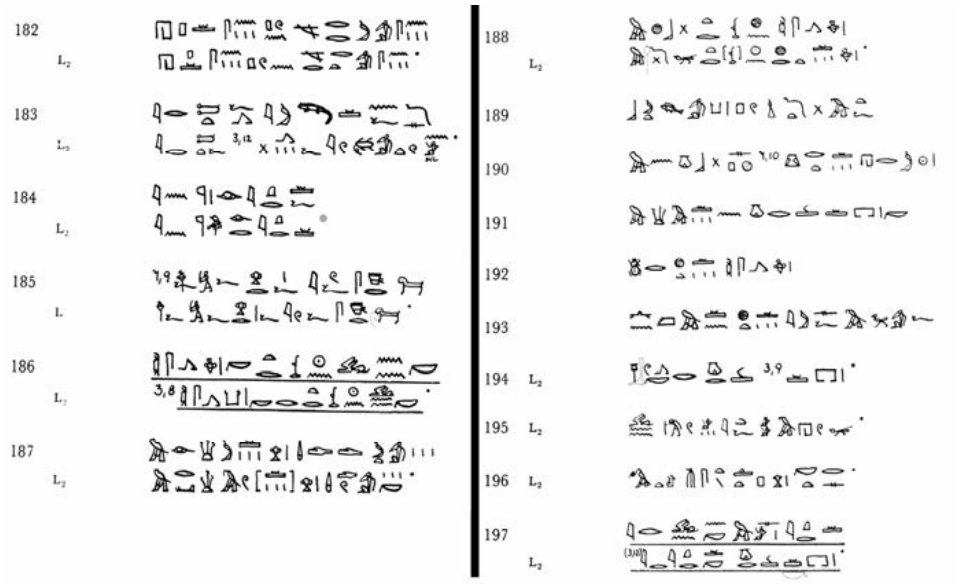


Figure 10. *Signs omitted by Žába (Modified from Žába 1956, 30–31).*

This can lead to erroneous conclusions. For example in verse 90 (Figure 11) the verse dot after *s* has been forgotten, so the *s* was moved to verse 91 to match the *sw3j* of P. Prisse, with the meaning 'keep away from/remove', but in reality the word in P. London 2 is written as *w3j*, meaning 'be far from (the face)' (scil. unknown), thus the sentence would read 'it/she (scil. maat or justice) is unknown to the one who knows nothing (scil. is uneducated)'.

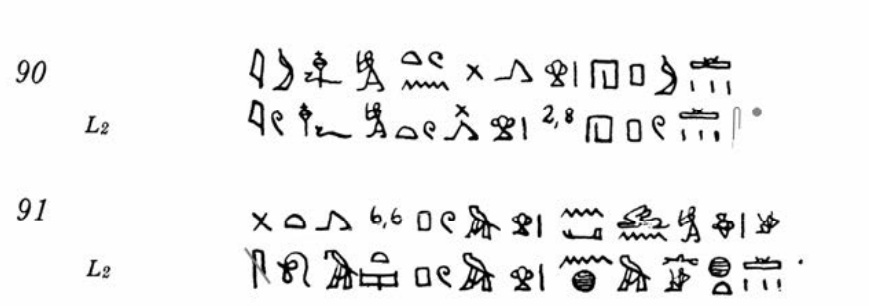


Figure 11. *Omitted verse dots (Modified from Žába 1956, 23).*

Reconstructions

Many of the reconstructions Žába suggested have now been proved wrong as illustrated in Figure 12. In some cases this may be unimportant, but in other instances it can change the meaning of the sentence.

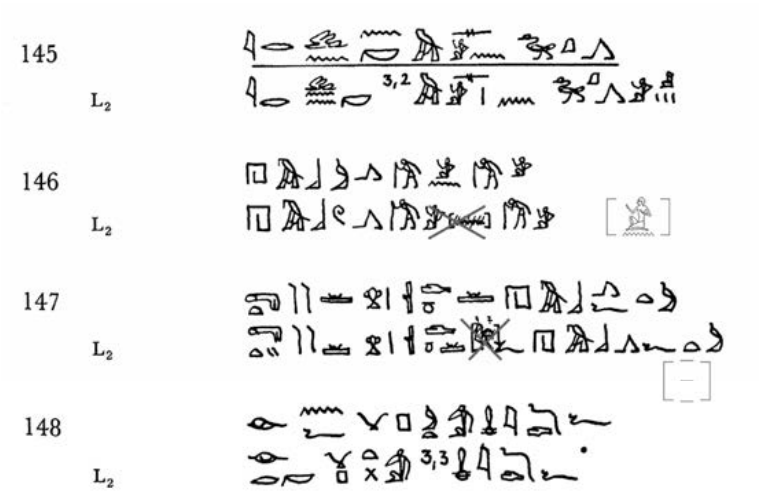


Figure 12. *Wrong reconstruction by Žába (Modified from Žába 1956, 23).*

Hieratic signs

None of the previous editions of these hieratic papyri has examined closely the hieratic signs. Well educated scribes like the author of P. London 2 distinguished different signs very carefully, but this is not always the case in Žába's work as Figure 13 shows.

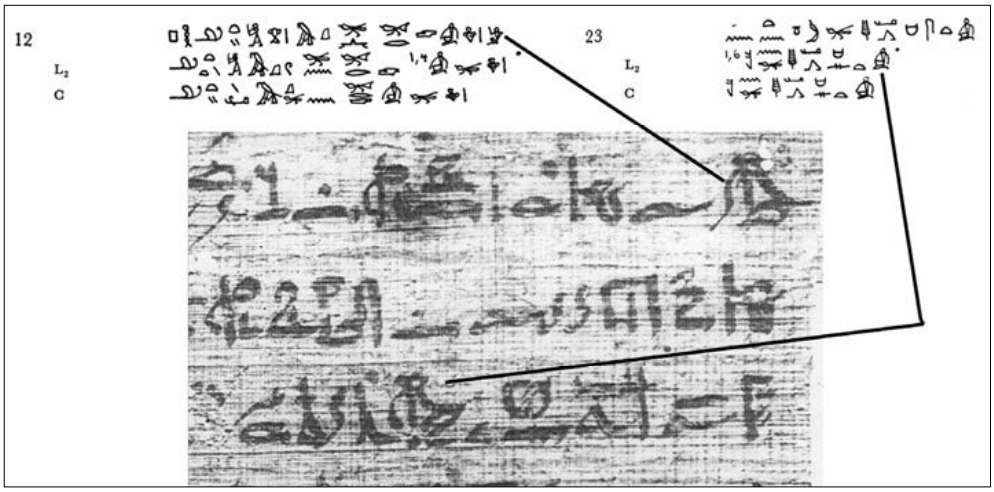


Figure 13. *Comparison between the hieroglyphic transcription by Žába (After Žába 1956, 16–17) where some of the transcribed signs are different from those on the original (After Budge 1910, Pl. XXXIV).*

Signs' grouping

Another common error encountered in Žába's edition is the wrong sequencing or grouping of the signs (Figure 14). Naturally, the Egyptians could group their hieroglyphs in different ways, but carefully written texts distinguish, for example, in the writing of a *sḏm.n=f*-form, 'he has listened', and a *sḏm n=f*-form, 'listen to him'.

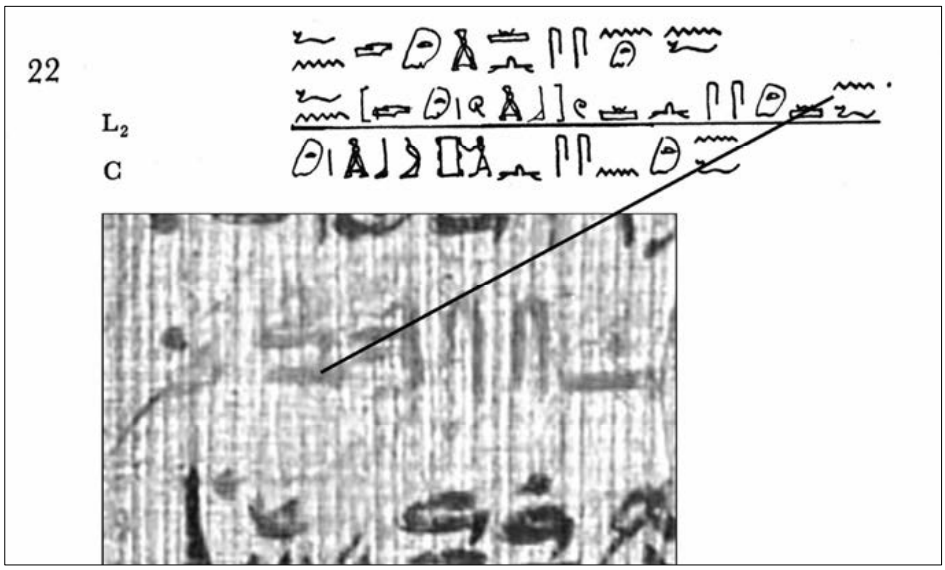


Figure 14. *Wrong grouping of signs in Žába*
(After Žába 1956, 17 [top] and Budge 1910, Pl. XXXIV [bottom]).

New approach

The well-known maxim on *how to treat your wife* is a good example of how to approach this text in a totally different way.

Until now, no real interest has been shown in the version of P. London 2, since, on the basis of Žába's edition, it seemed there were only four verses extant (circled in Figure 15). This section of the text, added subsequently by the author, is part of page six of P. London 2, one of the pages that Žába was not allowed to publish. This is mentioned in the foreword to his work, but he does not dwell on the importance of this point. The added numbers indicate the order of the verses in P. London 2, which is completely different from the order of the verses in P. Prisse.

The often quoted verse 338 in P. Prisse, literally translated as 'she makes a channel' (*mr*) (scil. 'she flows away' or similar) or 'make (for) her a channel' (scil. 'let her speak' or similar), is a good example. In the version of P. London 2 it says 'she should be punished if she has done something bad' (*qn*), thus one can conclude that *mr* in Prisse does not mean 'channel' at all, but *mr* 'bad' and that the writer of P. Prisse simply used the wrong determinative. Therefore, all references to water have vanished from this maxim. In view of these new insights, the whole maxim is endowed with a completely different meaning, as shown in Figure 16.

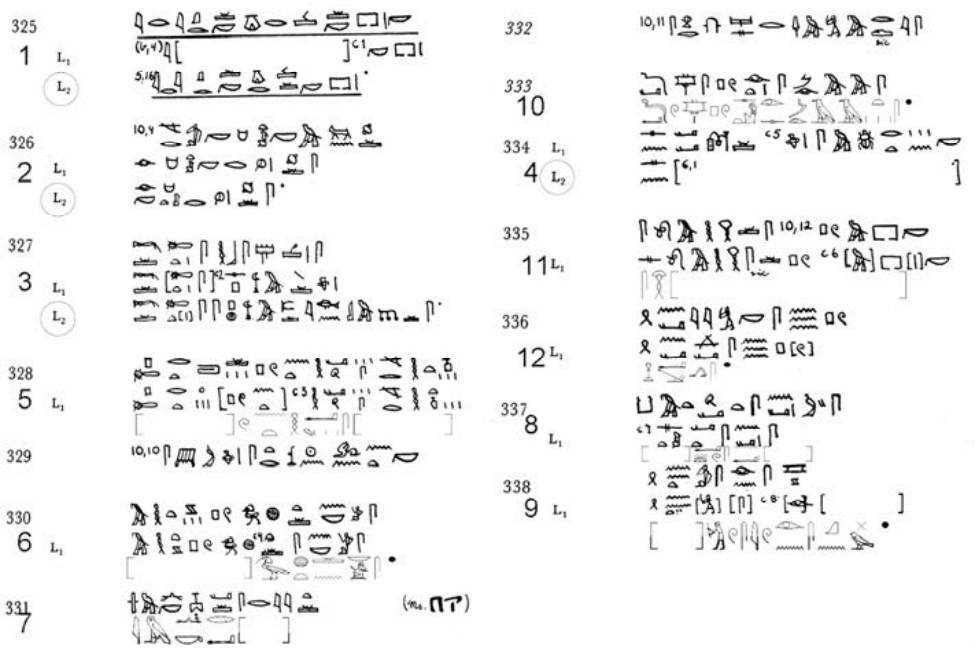


Figure 15. *Reconstructed maxim on how to treat one's wife (Adapted from Žába 1956, 41–43).*

Parkinson (1997, 257) P. Prisse:	*New (provisional) translation of P. London 2:*
If you are excellently well off you should establish your household, And love your wife with proper ardour: Fill her belly, clothe her back! Perfume is a restorative for her limbs. Make her joyful as long as you live! She is a field, good for her lord. You should not have her judged. Remove her from power, suppress her! When she sees anything her eye is a storm-wind to her. Restraining her is how to make her remain in your house; A female who is under her own control Is rainwater: When one enquires after her, she has flown away.	If you are successful and establish your household, And you take a wife *according to her rules* Smoo[th her heart with whatever belongs to you!] Fill her belly, cream her skin! [Perfume] is [a restorative] of her limbs. [Then she will be a field] useful for her lord. Don't let/give [ ] [A woman] who is left to [herself:] She should be punished if she has done something bad A storm-wind is a woman who does what she sees. [Making her] stay [in your house is the way] To restrain her.

Figure 16. *Comparison between the completely different meaning of some maxims following corrections by the author.*

The correct integration of both London papyri will allow the reconstruction of entire verses. For example, the originally incomplete verse 418 of P. London 1 (Figure 17), with which the next verse starts in Žába's publication, can now be completed with reference to P. London 2. The lacuna in P. London 1 begins at the end of verse 418, but a comparison between this and the corresponding line in P. London 2, where this section of the text is preserved, allows this line to be reconstructed with certainty.



Figure 17. *Hieroglyphic transcription showing how P. London 1 and 2 complete each other (Modified from Žába 1956, 49).*

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to show the need for a new edition of the *Teaching of Ptahhotep*, an undertaking which is already in progress by the author. It is hoped that this will highlight the importance of the versions preserved in the London papyri which, in the opinion of the author, are not only closer to the original than P. Prisse, but also seem to represent the standard version of the text throughout the New and probably also the Middle Kingdom.

University of Basel
Switzerland

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The Final Phase of Per-Ramesses: The History of the City in the Light of its Natural Environment

Anna Kathrin Hodgkinson

Introduction

This paper is based on my MA Thesis *Die Endphase der Ramsesstadt: Die Bedeutung und Geschichte der Stadt in der Späten Ramessidenzeit* (The Final Phase of Per-Ramesses: The Role and History of the City in the Late Ramesside Period) (submitted to the Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin in November 2005), and reviews the development of the city of Per-Ramesses during the high and late Ramesside Period, particularly with reference to its location on the ancient Pelusian Nile branch, and in the light of the political and military events.

Per-Ramesses disappears from the sources at the beginning of the 21st Dynasty and Tanis becomes capital of Egypt, where most of the stone blocks and colossal statues from Per-Ramesses were found in a secondary context. On the one hand this is connected to the silting-up of the weak lower stretches of the Pelusian Nile branch through which the Tanitic Nile branch was most probably strengthened, and which resulted in the loss of the city's natural protection. Furthermore, this process meant that the city's harbour dried up and so the connection with the Mediterranean was lost. The population's provisioning would have been cut through lack of irrigation and navigable water. On the other hand, the invasions by Libyans and Sea People, which threatened the Delta especially under Merneptah, played a major role in its abandonment as a capital of Egypt.

It is my opinion that there was a close connection between the military threat and the silting-up of the Pelusian Nile branch's lower stretches, which resulted in the lack of the manpower required to maintain the canals surrounding the city, and which would explain the decline of Per-Ramesses from a metropolis to a small settlement.

The Founding of the City of Per-Ramesses

The remains of the city of Per-Ramesses are situated in the north-eastern Delta in the district of Sharqiya, and cover an area of about 15km² (Figure 1) (Pusch forthcoming, 576). The ancient city-centre lies in the vicinity of the modern villages of Qantir in the north, Tell el-Dab'a in the south, Chatana in the west and Sama'na in the east. The Ramesside city itself was erected on the site of the Hyksos capital, Avaris, the centre of which lies under modern Tell el-Dab'a, in the area of the ancient XIVth Lower-Egyptian nome. The 19th Dynasty settlers adapted the city's excellent strategic location in the eastern Delta which had already been advantageous for the Hyksos, while there is no evidence for a settlement prior to the 19th Dynasty in the area of Qantir (Bietak 1975, 103).

The city was founded by Seti I who named it after his father, Ramesses I, although it was only under his son and successor, Ramesses II, that Per-Ramesses acquired the status of capital and gained the size and shape which it is known to have had. A settlement had probably existed at this site already during the reign of king Haremhab, and possibly even earlier, since his name

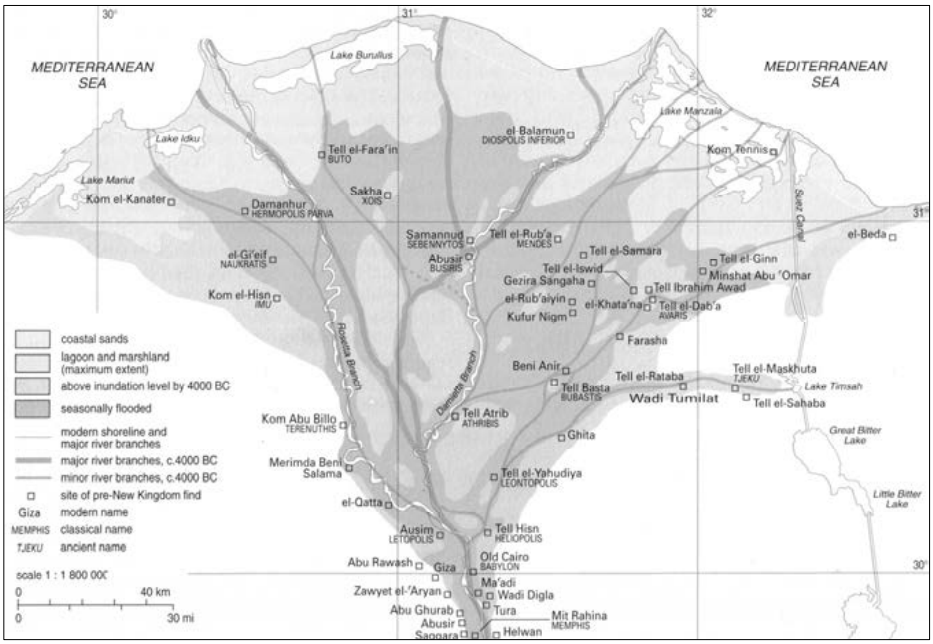


Figure 1. *Map of the Egyptian Delta (After Baines and Malek 1980, 18).*



Figure 2. *Geophysical Survey: Visible are the layout of the City with its orthogonal grid (Photograph courtesy of E. Pusch).*

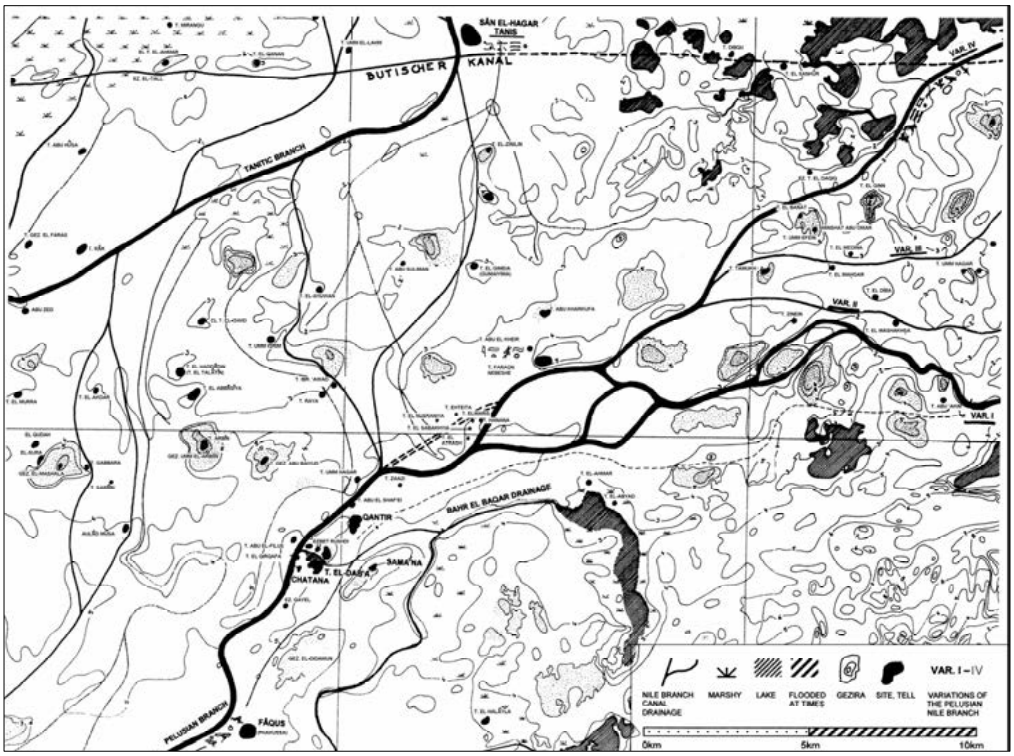


Figure 3. *Map of Per-Ramesses' surroundings showing the ground relief- and water-systems (Modified from Bietak 1975, Figure 10).*

can be found on a lintel from the Ramesside Temple of Seth, probably erected by Seti I, and which stood over an original one built by the Hyksos and dedicated to the same god. The names under those of Haremhab, though, had been deleted and replaced, so that another set of royal names from the 18th Dynasty, possibly those of Tutankhamen, could have originally stood here (Bietak 1975, 208).

Important surveys of this area took place in the 1940s, under the direction of Habachi, that helped to locate the city of Per-Ramesses at Qantir–Tell el-Dab'a. The city is currently being jointly excavated by the German mission of the Roemer- und Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, directed by E. Pusch, and the Austrian Archaeological Institute (ÖAI) in Cairo directed by M. Bietak. Because of the city's vast extent, the mission has been using magnetic prospection since 1996 to detect buried features (Figure 2).

The city was situated on the inside of a large meander of the Pelusian branch (Figure 3; see also Bietak 1984, 138), that provided an excellent settlement ground on the riverbanks, and which had been further enlarged in order to protect the buildings from flooding (Bietak 1975, 56). The augmented riverbanks are still visible on the modern ground relief. In the Ramesside Period the elevated banks were especially popular as building ground among the elite. Habachi proved this in the 1940s during the digging of the modern el-Didamun Canal when at least 28 house-portals belonging to members of the elite were rescued and examined (Habachi 1954).

Furthermore, the city was encompassed by the Bahr el-Baqar drainage system in the east, and the Wadi Tumilat to the south-east. Several canals and lakes cut through the City centre, and thus provided excellent means of travel and a stabile connection to the Mediterranean and the trade routes. In addition, a lake which was over 1km long and about 500m broad (Bietak 1984, 134), fed by the Pelusian branch through a number of channels, formed a border for the southern part of the city (modern Tell el-Dab'a).

Therefore, food and drink supplies would have been ensured by the existence of these waterways. The whole extent of the city, similar to many other settlements in the Egyptian eastern Delta, was built on so-called *Geziras*, sand-mounds which stood higher than the level of the annual Nile flood. These mounds are formed by the remains of silt sediments which were deposited during the Pleistocene Period. They had the shape of low hills that proved suitable for settlement and can nowadays be made out as gently sloping prominences on the surface, hence their name 'turtlebacks'. In the Ramesside Period, possibly even as early as the Second Intermediate Period, they were artificially enlarged to increase the amount of building land. At the same time, this also provided increased safety and protection from the Nile floods (Dorner 1999, 81). The *Geziras* of Qantir and Tell el-Dab'a can be located at circa 500–1000m to the east of the Pelusian branch, where the settlement extended over one large, or several smaller, turtlebacks (Figure 3). Slightly further east, the Nile branch is split into a number of sub-variations, marked on the map, which relevance will be discussed below. The southern part of the city was dominated by the large temple of Seth (Bietak 1975, 193), while the northern part was taken over by an enormous palace measuring about 500 x 400m (Bietak 1975, 39–40; Hayes 1937).

A significant distance from the ancient city centre, now under modern Qantir, to the east, were located the military quarters (Figure 4). The route to Syria and Palestine being so accessible, the city served as a base for the king's troops and the royal chariotry. The area of the royal stables and chariotry has, in fact, been recently excavated, and well-preserved stables and equipment have been discovered (Herold and Pusch 1999). The proximity of the city to Egypt's foreign territories would have meant the easy control of these areas during the early Ramesside Period (Figure 5). Furthermore, it can be presumed that Ramesses II would have departed for his famous battle of Qadesh in year five of his reign from Per-Ramesses, since at this time the city had already been established as the royal residence and army base (Bietak 1975, 115). In addition, it can be supposed that the above-mentioned waterways surrounding the city would have formed a good natural barrier against invaders from outside (see Figure 3). The eastern part of the city was protected by the Bahr el-Baqar drainage system, which, together with the Pelusian branch, formed a secure entrance into the north-eastern Delta. Per-Ramesses, with its troops, lay directly behind this gateway so that access could be blocked at any time with little effort. Finally, the Wadi Tumilat in the south-east provided extra security.

Additionally, Per-Ramesses' strategic position in terms of expeditions and warfare was enhanced through the fork-shaped gateway formed by the Pelusian branch and the Bahr el-Baqar drainage system described above, which allowed access to Palestine through an overland route via the Isthmus of Qantara. To the east of the fertile land there were further *Geziras* and stretches of desert which could be used as supply points or meeting and camping places for the Egyptian army, for instance when preparing for, or travelling to, a battle.

The extensive network of surrounding rivers, and the lakes within the city borders, represented one of its most advantageous characteristics and an important requisite for its continued existence. This can be observed to have been the case in many other ancient settlements, especially in the Middle East, such as the cities of Mari and Babylon on the Euphrates, and Nineveh and Assur on the Tigris, amongst others. These waters functioned as

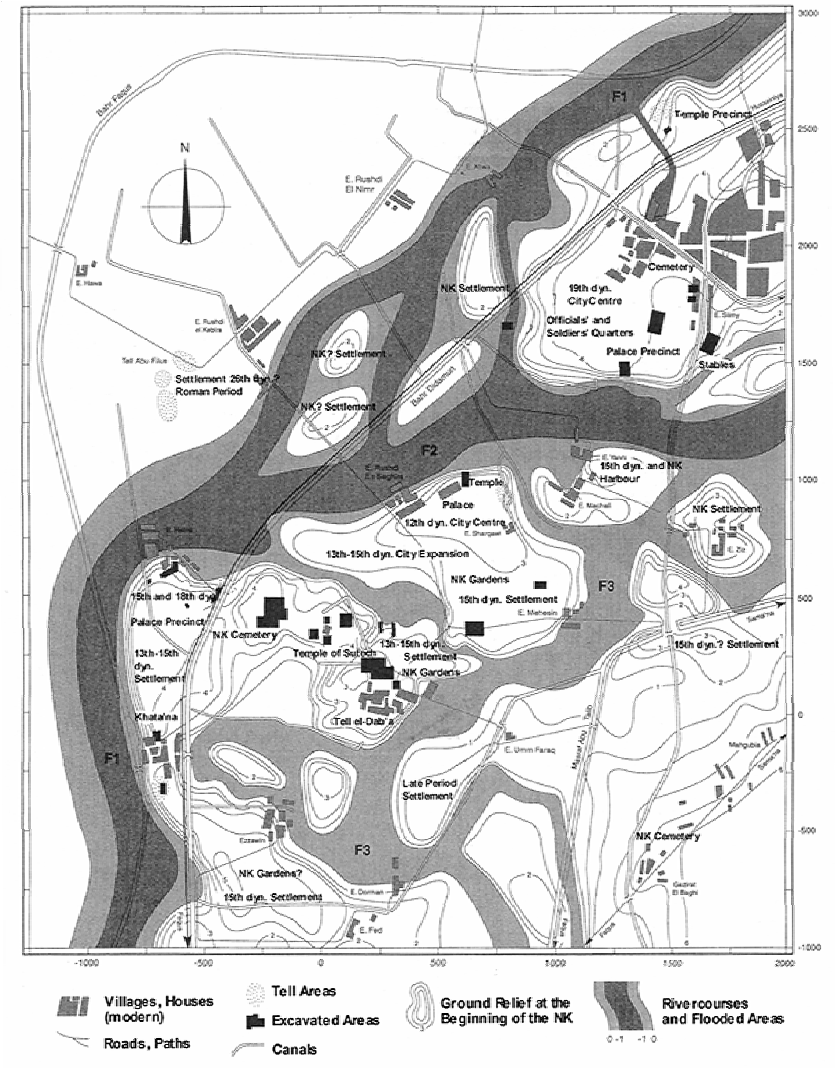


Figure 4. *Reconstruction of the city's layout in ancient times (Modified from Hein 2004, Figure 1).*

the main traffic routes. Most importantly, Per-Ramesses was situated on the Pelusian branch, the course of which can be easily reconstructed in the regions of Qantir–Tell el-Dab'a (Bietak 1975, 75), and was also connected to the waters of the Shi-Hor waterway. In addition, another large and centrally located lake that functioned as a harbour for a vast number of ships, can be detected in the archaeological record. This second lake was connected to the Pelusian branch and the Bahr el-Baqar drainage through a system of canals (see Figure 4). A number of smaller lakes also existed within the City, as indicated by P. Anastasi III (2,7–8) that mentions a large



Figure 5. *Egypt's Neighbours and Territories in the New Kingdom (After Baines and Malek 1998, 21)*

variety of fish in the surrounding waters (Caminos 1954, 74). Furthermore, the region of Qantir–Tell el-Dab'a provided excellent conditions for vineyards as suggested by P. Anastasi III which writes '*Sweet srmt-brew of Great-of-Victories; its dbyt-drink is like šȝ, its syrup(?) is like the taste of ỉnw, surpassing honey; (and there is) beer of Kedy of the port, and wine of the vineyards*' (lines 3,5–6) (Caminos 1954, 75). The produce of those vineyards would have been used especially to supply the Upper-Egyptian temples as shown by inscriptions on wine-jars that have been found in the Ramesseum at Thebes (Dorner 1999, 78).

It is clear, therefore, that Per-Ramesses became a capital city during the reign of Ramesses II because of its excellent strategic position on the Pelusian branch (see Figure 3). The Egyptian territories in the north and the south, as well as the Mediterranean, were readily accessible via both land and water routes, while the city was easily defensible thanks to an elaborate natural protective layout (Figure 5). Furthermore, the provisioning of the population did not present a problem because of the city's fertile surroundings. In essence, the existence of the city was critically dependent upon the existence of these waters.

Problems with the City's Natural Surroundings

In order to understand the possible reasons for the abandonment of the city of Per-Ramesses at the end of the 20th Dynasty, it is necessary to analyse the geological settings in which the city is located. Bietak has furthered the understanding of its natural surroundings in antiquity through the observation of the ground's relief and structure, and the reconstruction of the old waterways' layout (Bietak 1975).

In Pharaonic times, because of the presence of high sediment deposits on the riverbeds, the Delta Nile branches were generally far shallower than those in Upper-Egypt, and, therefore, tended to alter their course more frequently and were, consequently, less reliable (Bietak 1975, 59). These Delta branches also tended to dry up more easily, especially during periods when the water levels of the Mediterranean Sea were high, and they can be seen to have undergone significant changes. On the other hand, during periods of low flood-waters and levels, the waterways were able to cut deeper into the beds, in a similar way to that of the main Nile branch. Thus they would have held more constant water courses (Bietak 1975, 62). In the New Kingdom, and especially during the Ramesside Period, the presence of a fairly constant course of the Delta branches can be demonstrated as well. Yet the origins of the Pelusian branch can be dated back only to the Old Kingdom (Bietak 1975, 99–105), and therefore one must assume, especially in view of its many sub-branches in the eastern Delta, that its bed would not yet have been as deep as that of other Nile branches. In particular, in the lower stretches of variation I the Pelusian's sub-branches (see Figure 3) would have had to wind their way through a large number of *Geziras* (Bietak 1975, 82), resulting in the less frequent sedimentation along the riverbanks.

In general we can observe that the riverbeds became shallower towards the coast of the Mediterranean. In fact, with the heavier sediments having been deposited alongside the main Nile and the upper and middle stretches of the Pelusian branch, the lower stretches of this branch would have only had to transport and deposit the smaller and lighter sediments. The problem in this context would have been that the numerous small and weak sub-branches of the Pelusian branch were not capable of transporting even small sediments, which then would have been deposited on the riverbed thus leading to blockades. To prevent the riverbeds from blocking, and thus keep them navigable, it would have been important to have a well-organised

administration that could deal with this problem and, it can be speculated, that would provide workmen to clear the riverbeds of the sediments, thus fulfilling an important role (Hodgkinson 2005, 50). It is evident that the silting-up of the lower stretches of the Pelusian branch did take place and this may well have been one of the main reasons why the Egyptian capital was moved to Tanis at the beginning of the 21st Dynasty (Bietak 1975, 103).

To summarise, because of the shallower riverbed in the Delta, the power of a large and deep body of waters is divided between several smaller branches, which would naturally be weaker than the main branch. Therefore, these smaller branches were faced with both the problem of a change in their course, as well as with that of silting-up and blocking (Figure 6). For the lower stretches of a shallow branch the threat will have been particularly significant, because its mouth would be even shallower. Therefore, the large sediments in the Upper Egyptian Nile would present no problems as they would be simply transported by the water and automatically deposited along the riverbeds.

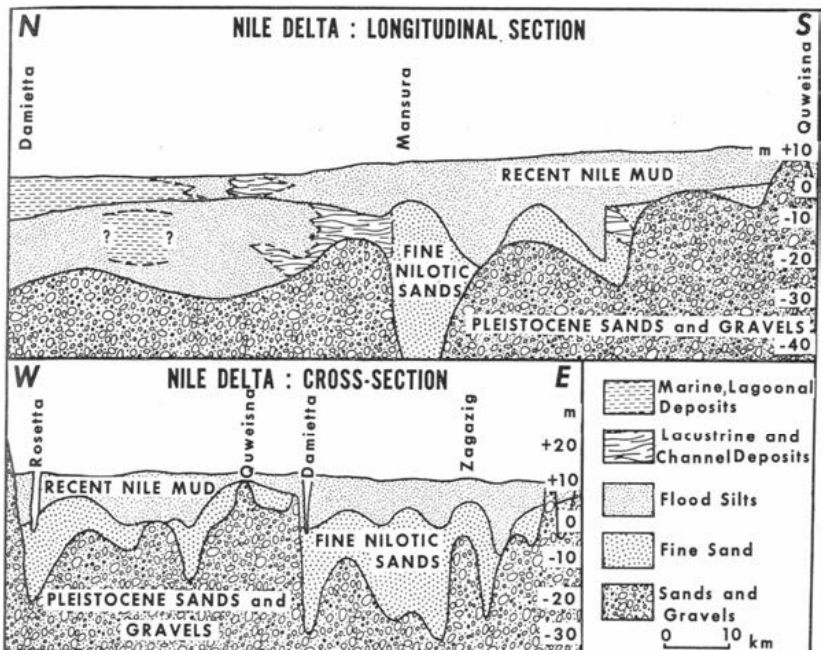


Figure 6. *Sections through the Delta: Deposits from Nile branches (After Butzer 1975, Figure 1).*

However, the smaller sediments would be carried northward by the river until the stream was too weak to do so. Once these small sediments reached the Delta, they would become a serious problem and block the smaller branches (van Wesemael 1988, 126–30). In the 1980s the University of Amsterdam undertook a survey with the aim of reconstructing old settlement patterns in the north-eastern Delta using geological maps (van den Brink 1988; van Wesemael 1988, 126), and was based on the observation of the geophysical sedimentation of the ancient river branches and of the modern waterways. The survey showed that Bietak's theory was correct, and that the area of Qantir bore no settlement later than the New Kingdom (Figures 7 and 8; van Wesemael 1988, 134).

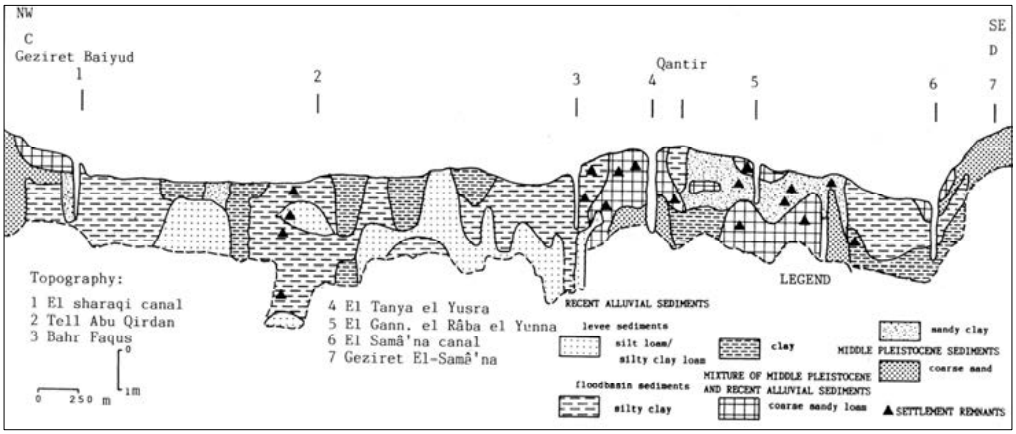


Figure 7. *Part of the area covered by the Amsterdam Survey (After van Wesemael 1988, Figure 2).*

It is possible that this silting-up already threatened the lower stretches of the Pelusian branch from the early New Kingdom onward, especially in the area of its easternmost variation, the above-mentioned variation I, between Qantir, Tell el-Dab'a and Pelusium (see Figure 3). Therefore, it was necessary for the administration to focus on this region and prevent its silting-up. This was achieved in part through the artificial enlargement of the riverbanks, using the riverbeds which had been dug out as previously described. Once enlarged, they would have also provided safe space for the high officials' houses along the banks of the Pelusian branch, as shown by the presence of the house-portals discovered by Habachi (Bietak 1975, 56, see above).

However, it is possible that in the course of the Ramesside Period there were periods during which these activities were of secondary importance to military and political events (Hodgkinson 2005, 20, 50). Looking at the military burden of the time, it is likely that the silting-up began in the reign of Ramesses II and would afterwards not be controllable by the simple digging-out of the blocking sands. The affected stretch of the Pelusian branch had a length of over 70km and the constant digging-out of such a stretch must have required a large deployment of workforce and materials, which, in the reign of Merneptah, when the Delta was under the threat of incursions by the Libyans and the Sea People, would have been impossible to maintain. Although military expeditions or warfare would have usually covered only relatively short periods of time, the security of Egypt's borders could not have been neglected. The focal point during these times would have been the brief, but impact-laden, military events, and the political situation in the Delta would have needed the same amount of administration as the waters would have done in times of peace. Therefore, one can assume that the silting-up of variation I (see Figure 3) of the Pelusian branch took place on the one hand because of natural causes, and on the other because of the difficulties in maintaining efficient land management during foreign attacks in the Delta.

The waters of the Pelusian branch that could not continue their natural course would have reached the Mediterranean Sea via the neighbouring Tanitic branch, as will be explained in the following section, which had not actually been in existence during the 19th Dynasty (Bietak 1975, 106). It is quite certain that the two Nile branches ran together for a very short stretch

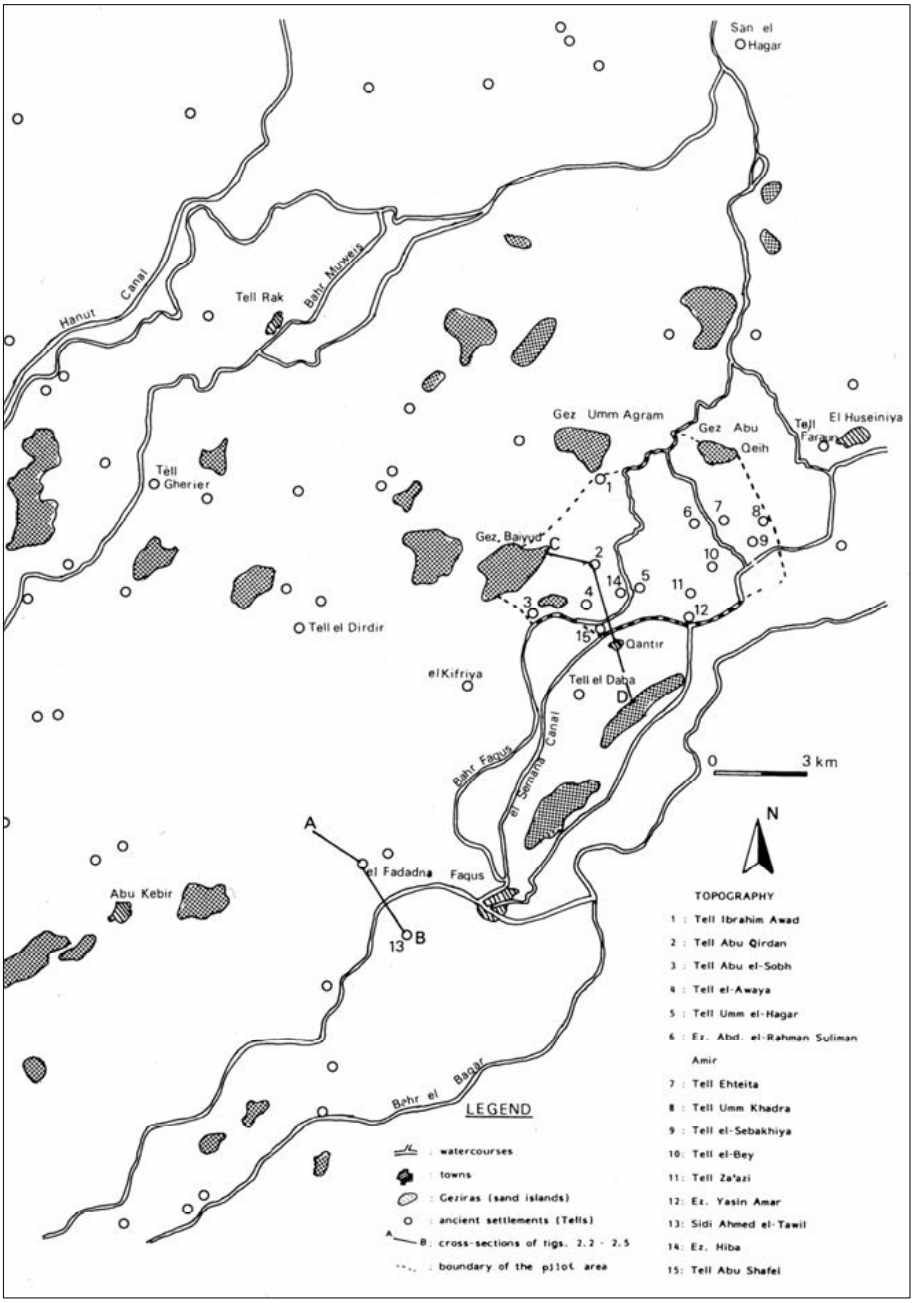


Figure 8. *Section through some waterways in the Delta: Sedimentation (After van Wesemael 1988, Figure 5).*

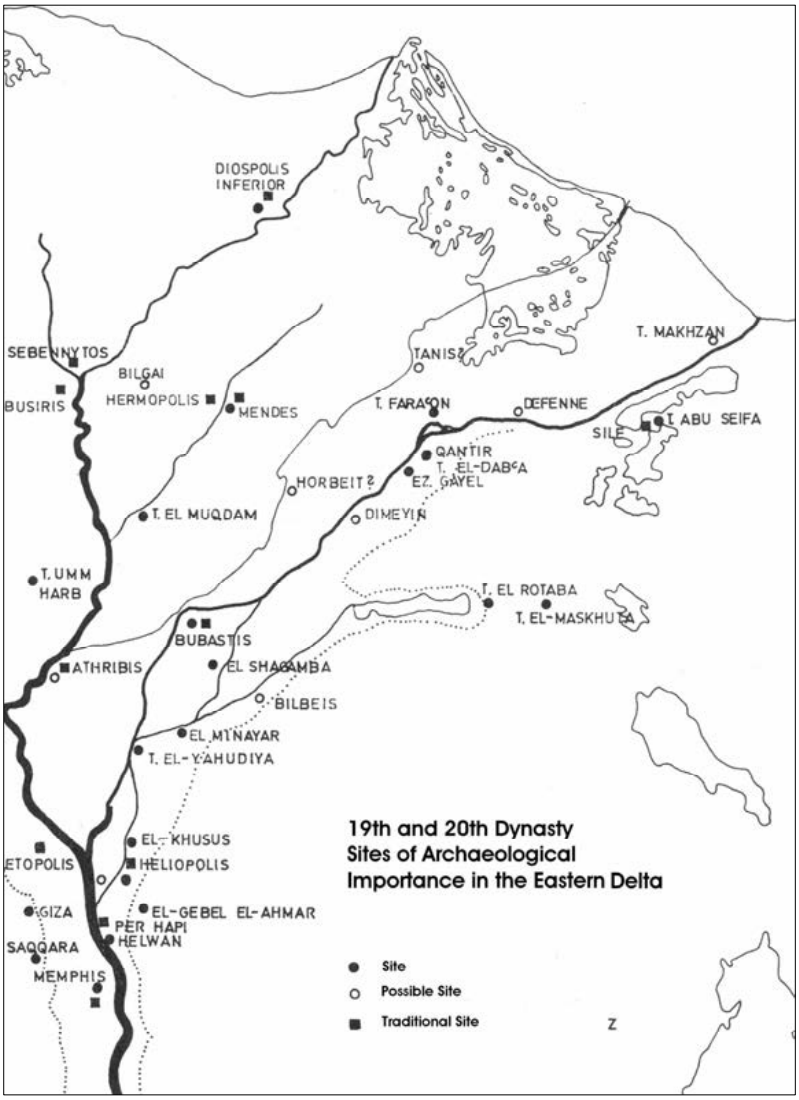


Figure 9. *Map of sites dating to the 19th and 20th Dynasties showing the Pelusian and Tanitic Nile branches linking at Bubastis (Modified from Bietak 1975, Figure 17).*

near the city of Bubastis, and it is most likely that the Pelusian branch lost part of its waters there (Figure 9; see also Bietak 1975, 80, 215). The remaining waters probably left their original bed via the canal which ran north of Qantir to Tanis, so that, by the 21st Dynasty at the latest, the water level of the Pelusian branch up to Pelusium would have been a mere rivulet. The above-mentioned canal between Qantir and Tanis must have held enough water to provide a passage for large ships loaded with blocks and colossal statues from Per-Ramesses, since we know that these were removed for re-use elsewhere. In fact, there is no evidence for any settlement between Qantir, Tell el-Dab'a and Pelusium from the Third Intermediate Period



Figure 10. *The Israel-Stela from the Mortuary Temple of Merneptah (After Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, No. 212).*

onward, while at Tell el-Dab'a itself, substantial architectural remains of settlement can still be found (Bietak, personal communication). This shows that, by the beginning of the 21st Dynasty at the latest, the lower stretches of the Pelusian branch were completely silted-up. However, the existence of a canal between Per-Ramesses and Tanis indicates that there was still enough water for the fields and that the provisioning of the townspeople would have not been too affected.

During the reign of Merneptah, who had to fight against the Libyans and the Sea People, the lack of water around the city would have become a serious problem for the city's very existence. The foreign army entered the Delta by force and attempted to settle there. Merneptah succeeded in fighting them back and in forcing them to leave for a period of time, as can be read in his Israel-Stela (Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, 212; Figure 10). If in fact the Pelusian branch was weakened to such an extent, the logical consequence would have been the removal of the most important institutions from Per-Ramesses. The traditional capital city of Memphis,

which had been of great importance from the Predynastic Period, would have been an optimal place for such a retreat, and for the protection of the city's institutions (Bietak 1975, 215).

The consequence of this silting-up was, therefore, both the loss of the city's protection and of its harbour. The Pelusian branch formed a natural protective barrier in the west, which also included the Bahr el-Baqar drainage system. The riverbed must have become increasingly shallow through sedimentation and the lessening of its waters. Consequently enemies could enter the city by crossing any stretch of water through wading or swimming.

Another of the main reasons for founding Per-Ramesses here was the accessibility of the Mediterranean through the city's large harbour. Through the silting-up of the lower stretches of the Pelusian branch, the city lost its connection to many of Egypt's trade partners. In this context the Egyptian Delta city of Bubastis would have played a major role, as it would have been protected after the silting-up of the Pelusian branch's lower stretches. Via the Tanitic branch, which gained strength from the Pelusian branch's waters at this point, one would have been able to access the Mediterranean from Bubastis. This city had a large population, especially in the Late Period, and was extended during the 22nd and 23rd Dynasties. However, Tanis, located further north, was a more suitable capital. Finally, it is important to mention that the Tanitic branch was connected to the Pelusian branch by two canals, one dating to the late Ramesside period, the other to the beginning of 21st Dynasty (see Figure 3; Bietak 1975, 107). These canals presumably received some of the Pelusian branch's waters, as they were probably the means of transport of the monuments and colossal statues from Per-Ramesses to Tanis.

The Political situation during the High and Late Ramesside Periods

The political changes which took place especially in 20th Dynasty are widely known and shall not be discussed in detail here (van Dijk 2000, 302–9). In addition, my research indicates that these events did not have great bearing on the abandonment of Per-Ramesses.

During this period the High Priests of Amun at Thebes gained power and, during the reign of Ramesses XI, the office of High Priest of Amun became hereditary (Figure 11; van Dijk 2000, 207). Habachi (2001, 115, 199) argued that the abandonment of Per-Ramesses as Egypt's capital was due to the presence of a cult of the god Seth in this area. However, this argument has to be rejected as it cannot be proved that the destruction of this god's name took place before the 21st or even the 22nd Dynasty (Bietak, personal communication; Uphill 1984, 211; Bietak 1975, 215). In addition, it is necessary to mention that, due to internal administrative difficulties, the state collapsed at the end of the 20th Dynasty, which may have played a minor role in the abandonment of Per-Ramesses as capital.

With regard to the military situation in the late Ramesside Period, there is some indication that the king had become weaker, and that many of the Egyptian territories had been lost during the reigns of Ramesses III's successors. However, even before this, the presence of a threat from foreign invaders was already present during the reign of Ramesses II, as shown by the remains of fortifications on the western border with Libya (van Dijk 2000, 298). The so-called Israel-stela, dating to year 5 of Merneptah, and erected in his mortuary temple at Qurna, gives an account of his battle against Libyans and Sea People. During this time, the Egyptians must have feared loosing their own territories and in particular the Delta, the focal point of these attacks. This meant that Per-Ramesses needed protection. These large groups of people, the Libyans and the Sea People, were too dangerous for one to rely solely on Per-Ramesses' waterways for protection, since substantial manpower was needed in the Egyptian army (Spalinger 2005, 249).

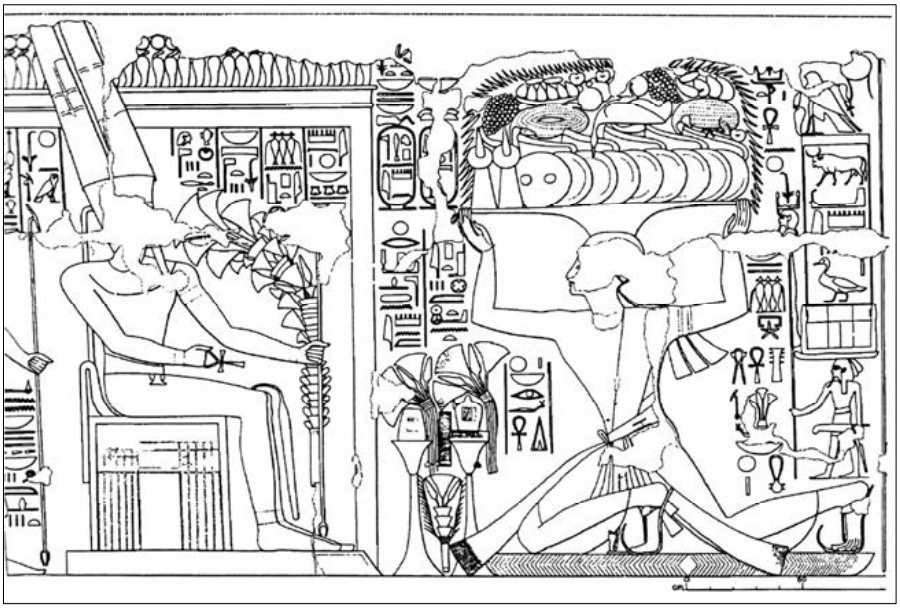


Figure 11. *The High–Priest Herihor offering to Amun; relief in Karnak (After Myśliewiec 1998, Figure 4).*



Figure 12. *A pair of feet from a colossal statue of Ramesses II in Qantir (Photograph courtesy of E. Pusch, Qantir Excavation).*

In my opinion, this manpower was most probably the same as that normally used for keeping the lower stretches of the Pelusian branch free of silt. Presumably, this and other civic works would have been usual tasks for soldiers at times of peace, a practice still found nowadays. We can say that the decline of Dynasty 20 began after the reign of Ramesses III, who also had to fight back the invading Sea People.

From the 21st Dynasty onward only small remains of settlement in the region of Qantir–Tell el-Dab'a can be detected in the archaeological record (Bietak 1975, 103), and, as a result of the removal of monuments to Tanis, only small remains of stone architecture and statuary remain of the Ramesside capital today (Figure 12). Tanis was located at the strong Tanitic branch, which was probably even strengthened as described above by the silting up of the Pelusian branch and, therefore, the Tanitic branch provided excellent conditions for the formation of a new capital city, along similar lines, and in close proximity, to its predecessor.

Conclusion

The lower stretches of the Pelusian branch were naturally very weak and had a high tendency to silt up. Therefore, an organised workforce was needed to keep the 70km stretch of its sub-branches, between Per-Ramesses and Pelusium, silt-free. In general, it can be assumed that at times of military activity manpower would have been diverted into the army and work on the river branches would be suspended. This process would result in the neglect of the natural protection in order to strengthen the country's military force. Eventually, it would also have resulted in the need to move the most important administrative institutions and the royal residence to a different location.

With regard to the dating of these events, I argue that the silting up of the lower stretches slowly began under Ramesses II's military activities, and reached its full extent under Merneptah. This was when the invasion of the Delta took place, with all the reserve workmen who provided a militia being called up to join the army. I assume that the city at the time of Merneptah was probably no longer protected by its surrounding water branches, but that it could be kept reasonably safe through the military, and therefore the city did not have to be completely abandoned, but could still function as capital next to Memphis.

The existence of Per-Ramesses depended very highly on its location on the Pelusian branch of the Nile and the functioning of these waterways. The blocking of this branch's lower stretches meant for the city a lack of protection and the isolation from the Mediterranean, but control over the silting-up process was only possible in times of peace.

It is my opinion that the Pelusian branch was especially at risk because of its numerous sub-branches between Qantir, Tell el-Dab'a and Pelusium, all of which were very shallow. After briefly linking to the Tanitic branch, the sedimentation would have been particularly high, and it is possible that the latter branch lost some of its sediments to the Pelusian branch, thus strengthening one but weakening the other, although there is no evidence for this. The silting-up of the Pelusian branch should, therefore, be dated to the reigns of Ramesses II and Merneptah.

From the reign of Ramesses III onwards, who without doubt is the last king of the 20th Dynasty to have achieved great military victories, the functioning of the Pelusian branch was not restored. It is my opinion that the failing of the country's inner structure, as well as the lack of need to protect Per-Ramesses, since there were no more genuine threats from outside the Egyptian borders, would have prevented the restoration of the Pelusian branch. Furthermore, the branch's remaining water level would probably have been sufficient for the population's

provisioning, while the canals between Per-Ramesses and Tanis provided excellent means of transport for the Ramesside city's monuments.

Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

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Migratory Spirits: Remarks on the Akh Sign

Jiøí Janák

Introduction

Most of the publications that deal with ibises in ancient Egypt concentrate on the sacred ibis (*Threskiornis aethiopicus*), usually considered to have been the most important ibis for the ancient Egyptians. Though the sacred ibis was connected with the god Thoth and the moon, and thus held sacred, mummified and buried, it was not the only ibis in Egypt, and in some texts it was not even the most important one. It is known that the glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*), and the northern bald ibis (*Geronticus eremita*) were present in Egypt in ancient times too (For more information on these birds and their current population, see Bird Life International website). This article focuses on the latter bird which stands for the hieroglyphic sign *akh*.

The Akhs

The term *akh* is often translated as 'spirit' or 'blessed dead'. It is a divine manifestation of the dead in the afterlife. It represents a mighty and mysterious entity that is part of the divine world and yet still has some influence upon our world. The *akh* could visit the living or interact with them. According to some texts (especially the Pyramid texts), the *akhu* are 'born' and dwell in the *akhet*, a concept translated as 'horizon'. It was considered to be a place, or area, in the midst of three cosmic spheres, the earth, the sky and the *duat*, where the sun is born and rises into the sky at the dawn of the new day. Thus, the *akhet* is the place of resurrection and transfiguration. The term was originally linked to the eastern horizon, but later also to the western one. The *akhet* was a place of light and of mysterious activity of the sun (For the various notions of *akh* and *akhet*, see Allen 1989; Bonnet 1952, 4; Englund 1978; Leprohon 1994; Loprieno 2003; Friedman 2002, 7–9). A recent theory by K. Jansen-Winkeln (1996) suggests the *akhet* was an area where the sun dwells immediately before its rising, and after sunset. The solar disk is (still) invisible, although its light saturates the horizon in a mysterious way.

The sign *akh* is a depiction of a northern bald ibis, also known as the waldrapp (See Figure 1). For a long time, scholars connected the root *akh* with the term *iakhu* (meaning light, radiance or glow). In this case, the *akh* was translated as 'enlightened spirit', and the *akhet* as the 'land of light'. The waldrapp as a hieroglyphic sign for *akh* was much harder to explain. It has been suggested that the 'glowing' feathers on the wings of this bird are its link to the idea of light (Kumerloeve 1983, 213). However, according to some scholars (for example Jansen-Winkeln 1996 and Allen 1989), it is important to reappraise the theory that the word *akh* was primarily connected with light and glare. This connection may have been a secondary one, while the original concept might have been linked to the idea of a mysterious, invisible force and to the efficacy of the sun at the horizon. But if there were no primary connections between the notion of *akh* and light, how can the waldrapp sign be explained? For the time being, the

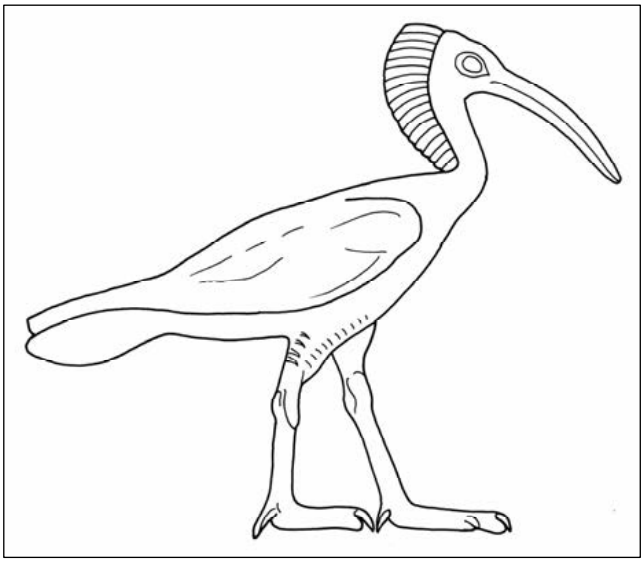


Figure 1. *Hieroglyphic akh sign from the mastaba of Hetepherakhty, Dynasty V, Saqqara (Houlihan 1988; Mohr 1943) (Drawing by Jolana Malátková).*

debate about the words *akh* and *iakhu* remains open, although what is certain is that the link between the waldrapp and the idea of light is a very weak one.

Let us turn our attention to the colouring, the biotope and the feeding habits of the waldrapp. This bird has a reddish head, long curved red bill and red legs, with the typical dark crest covering the back of its head. The main colour is black, with iridescent tints of blue, green and copper in sunlight. There is a purple and green 'shoulder patch' on the wings of the bird, and it is this mark that was seen as a link to the idea of light. The waldrapp lives in an arid or semi-arid environment, with cliffs for breeding and nesting, and always in the proximity of human settlements. These birds feed during the day in adjacent dry fields and along rivers or streams by pecking on the ground. Thus they need areas with short vegetation (arid, but preferably cultivated places), where they can find the worms, insects, lizards and other small animals on which they feed.

During the night, the waldrapps stay together in the roosting and breeding places. By day they spread throughout the region in search of food, although one of the couple stays in the nest with the eggs. When the birds wake up, or when they come together at sunset, this is always marked by high activity, with lots of greeting and aggressive behaviour. Waldrapps have a spectacular greeting display. It is a sequence of moves that starts with raising the head and bill up, and is finished by a deep lowering of the head. The crest is erect during this performance, and the greeting display is accompanied by the 'chrup' call. Some studies on the sacred ibis show that the Egyptians were aware of such bird-dances (Dautheville 1922).

For at least 200 years, a waldrapp colony was located in a small Turkish town called Birecik (ancient Birtha), on the east bank of the Euphrates. The nearby landscape is very Egypt-like with limestone cliffs on both sides of the river. The waldrapp colony used to breed on the eastern bank, near to the town, from February/March to July. The arrival of these birds (locally know as *kelaynak*) was celebrated as a sign of the coming of the spring. Some observers even state that the bird was considered semi-sacred in Birecik. It was a symbol for

spring and life, transmigrating souls, the end of the Biblical flood and the pilgrimage to Mecca. Unfortunately, the colony is nowadays extinct (Kumerloeve 1962; Serra *et al.* 2003; Lawton 1989; Fritz 2004; Fritz *et al.* 2005).

Waldrapps are migratory birds. They spend about 4 months in a breeding area, which is the time needed to lay eggs and raise the offspring. Then the birds travel to a wintering region, a journey that can take a month, or even longer, because waldrapps make many stops of one or two days. The wintering period lasts between 5 and 6 months. Interestingly, the waldrapps fly in a V-formation, thus, we can say that, as in the *Pyramid texts*, there is only one at the head of the *akhu*, the transfigured king.

In ancient times Egypt was probably a breeding area for the waldrapps who migrated there once a year, possibly at the same time as in Syria. The birds would have arrived in Egypt in February or probably March, with the rising temperatures, and stayed there until July before migrating southwards, along the Nile, towards Ethiopia. If this was indeed the case, then they would have left just before the Nile inundation arrived. The arrival of the waldrapps could have been seen as a sign of the coming 'spring' or the harvest season, as was the case at Birecik. The birds nested on rocks and cliffs, probably to the east of the Nile. This was both the symbolic and the real horizon, the region of *akhet*. Every morning, half of the colony flew to the Nile in search for food descending on the fields, the settlements and possibly the cemeteries. The waldrapps disappeared in July, just before the inundation came and the beginning of a new year. There are further aspects of the waldrapp that could have been important for the Egyptians as, for example, the above-mentioned glittering colours on its wings, its calling, or the greeting dance. In addition, there are further instances where the *akh*-bird features in ancient Egypt that still need to be interpreted. This is largely so in the case of several distinctive Old Kingdom diadems, and the mysterious ceremony of the *Vogellauf* (Kees 1912). The diadems are decorated by discs composed of two opposed papyrus umbels with a waldrapp ibis on top of each of the blossoms, and an *ankh* sign in between them. According to some theories, the diadems were meant to ensure the transfiguration of the deceased (Dunham 1946; Staehelin 1966). In the ritual of *Vogellauf*, the king runs to a deity with a *akh*-bird in his left hand and three rods or sceptres in the right one. The oldest evidence for this cultic activity dates back to the time of Hatshepsut, the latest one is attested in the Temple of Dendera and comes from the Roman Period. The two topics are still under research, and the present author believes that a better understanding of both the bird's behaviour and its possible meaning within the cultural context of ancient Egypt may reveal secrets of the diadems and the mysterious ritual run.

Conclusion

The *akh*-birds (northern bald ibises, waldrapps) visited ancient Egypt once a year. They probably nested on rocks or cliffs in the area that represented both the real and the symbolic horizon (*akhet*), they also visited the Nile valley, human settlements and cemeteries in search for food. In the evening, the birds flocked together and returned to the horizon. Though the Egyptians did not hold the northern bald ibises sacred, there could have been a kind of taboo on them. There is no evidence for the keeping, hunting, killing, mummifying or sacrificing of the *akh*-birds in ancient Egypt. They could have been viewed as visitors and messengers from the other world, manifestations of the blessed dead (*akhu*).

Czech institute for Egyptology
Charles University, Prague

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Cattle Petroglyphs in the Eastern Desert of Egypt

Tony Judd

Introduction

The first major survey of the Eastern Desert rock art was made by Winkler in 1936–37 (Winkler 1938). After the Second World War there was for some time little interest and only a few sites were investigated (Fuchs 1989, Redford and Redford 1989). It was only in the last decade of the 20th century that more systematic surveys were resumed (Rohl 2000; Morrow and Morrow 2002). The resulting publications have made a large amount of the hitherto inaccessible data available for study, and this paper offers a tentative exploration of one aspect of this corpus.

In the Eastern Desert there are very few rock paintings (or at least only a handful have been found so far) but petroglyphs (images cut into the rock surface) are numerous. Most of these appear to represent animals, both wild (such as giraffes, elephants and antelopes) and domestic (mainly cattle). There are representations of people (or anthropomorphic beings), a few geometric and abstract patterns or symbols, and also hundreds of images of what appear to be boats. This paper is concerned with the images of cattle, and in particular with three types of images that occur in the Eastern desert but not, or only rarely, elsewhere.

Cattle Petroglyphs

This paper is based mainly on the Eastern Desert petroglyph images published by Rohl (2000) and Morrow and Morrow (2002). These publications include all the images given by Redford and Redford (1989) and Fuchs (1989) and almost all of those published by Winkler (1938). Petroglyphs in the Nile Valley have not been included, and neither have those in the southeast in the region of the Wadi Hodein recorded by Frobenius and published in part by Resch (1967) and Červíček (1974). Images from the published sources have been supplemented by unpublished images observed by the author in the region south of the Wadi Barramiya. The Eastern desert sources cover 355 petroglyph sites, 151 of which have between them about 323 cattle images. The number is somewhat uncertain because a few of the images are ambiguous.

The nomenclature for petroglyph sites is that used by Morrow and Morrow (2002, 230–31). Unpublished sites east of Kom Ombo recorded by the author are denoted by the prefixes ‘SH’ for those in the Wadi Sha’it, ‘MU’ for the Wadi Muweilhat and ‘SB’ for the Wadi Sibrit.

In general we cannot know what a rock art image was intended by the artist to represent. While recognising this, it is the author’s contention that, in the case of the Eastern Desert petroglyphs, it is most probable that an image that looks to us like, say, a cow, was intended to look like a cow. This view is taken because of the nearness, in both time and space, of the Eastern Desert rock art to the art of the Old Kingdom, which was clearly intended to be representational.

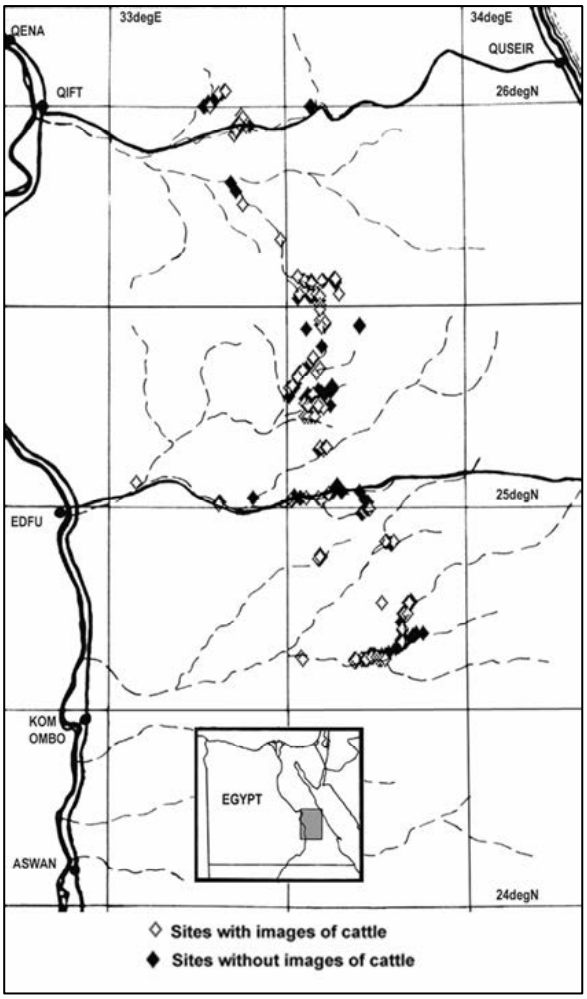


Figure 1. *Petroglyph sites in the Eastern Desert (Drawing by the author).*

Distribution

Cattle are the next most commonly depicted animals, after ibexes, among the Eastern Desert petroglyphs. They are to be found at several sites in the Wadis Hammamat and Mineh and their tributaries, and there are rather more in the vicinity of the Wadi Umm Salam. In the wadis that lead down to Kom Ombo they are ubiquitous, and in the Wadi Sha'it in particular there are many sites consisting only of petroglyphs of cattle. In places there seems to be one on almost every suitable rock. Figure 1 shows the locations of the 355 petroglyph sites referred to in this study, indicating those at which there are cattle images. Figure 2 gives an indication of the number of cattle images. There are five main concentrations. From north to south they are found in the Wadi Hammamat, in and around the Wadi Abu Wasil, in the Wadi Umm Salam and nearby, in the Wadi Barramiya, and in the Wadi Sha'it.

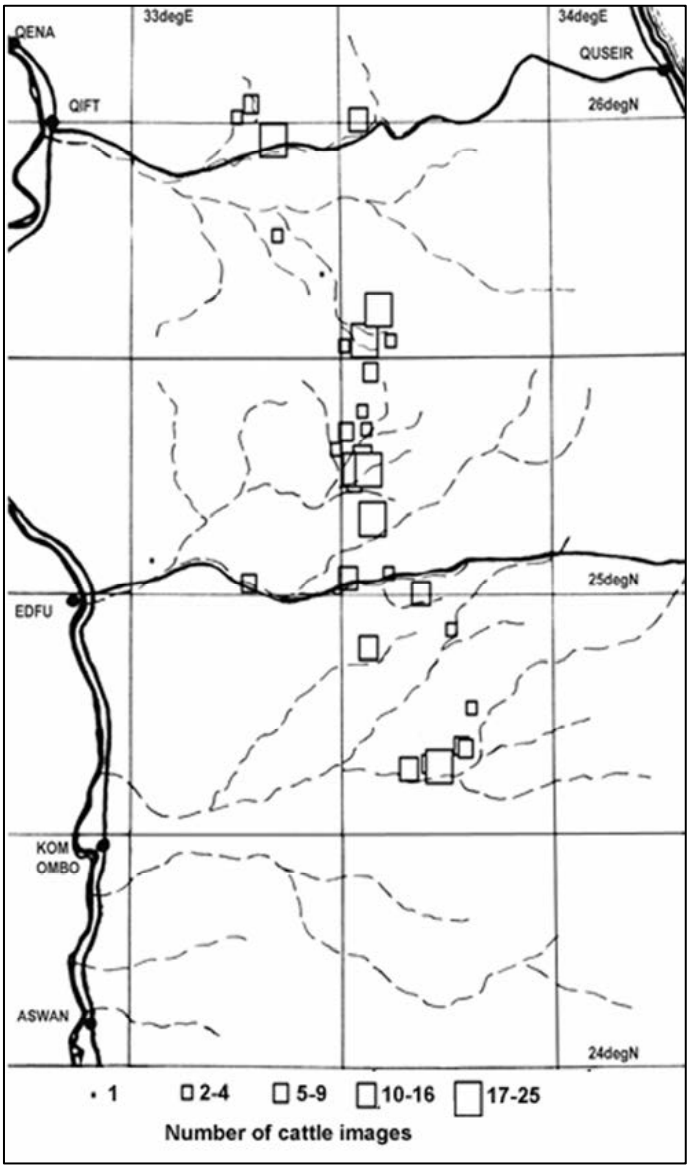


Figure 2. *Distribution of cattle images (Drawing by the author).*

Style

Most of the images are quite realistic and differ in this respect from the way wild animals such as giraffes or ibexes are drawn. Many of these appear, to modern eyes, crude and diagrammatic, the animals' prominent characteristics such as the neck of a giraffe or the horns of an ibex being grossly exaggerated in the manner of a caricature. By contrast among the cattle images only the horns are sometimes exaggerated, and these rarely to a great extent.



Figure 3. *Wadi Sha'it site SHL (FH4.147) (Photograph by the author).*

In some cases the markings on the animal are represented. Some seem to have a band round the girth, which may be shown as a vertical stripe half-way along the body or as a broad band or panel occupying about a third of the body length. In a few cases this panel is marked only by vertical lines but more usually it is filled (Figure 3). In some cases the entire outline of the animal is filled, in others it is speckled, but in most it is left empty. A few animals are shown with a reticulated pattern (Figure 4).

Few of the cattle images have any indication of sex. Occasionally the tuft of hair at the end of the tail is represented by a circular blob (Figure 5) but more often it is absent. Sometimes the hooves are shown as blobs and in a few cases they are cloven. In general there is little attempt to depict anatomical details.

Most images are about 30 or 50 centimetres long. The images are usually pecked in the northern part of the region, but in the south most are incised. In some of the latter the outline is cut deeply and the enclosed space is filled by hammering or pecking to form a contoured surface giving some indication of the shape of the animal's body. The result appears as a form of sunk relief (Figure 5).

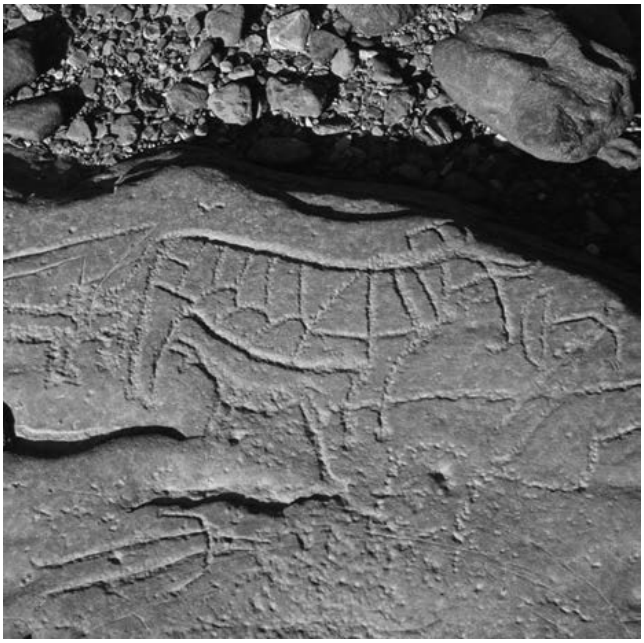


Figure 4. *Wadi Atwani site MH2 (FH2.199) (Photograph by the author).*

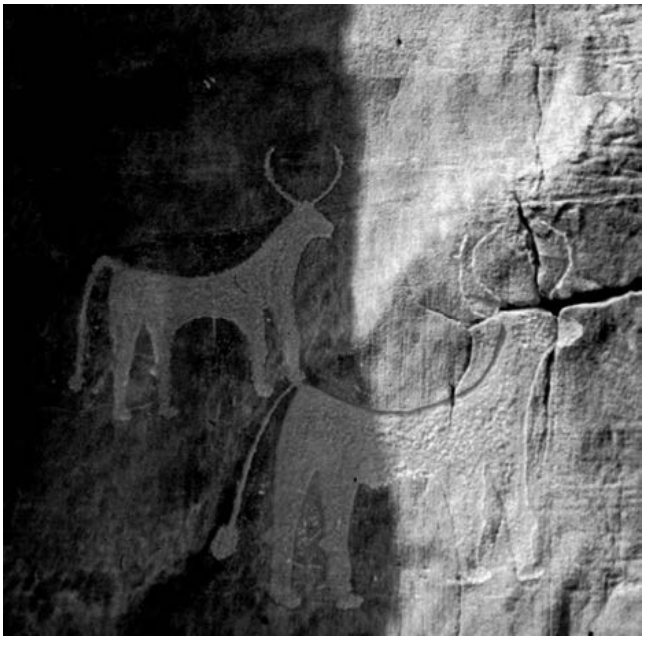


Figure 5. *Wadi Muweilhat site MUA (FH4.188) (Photograph by the author).*

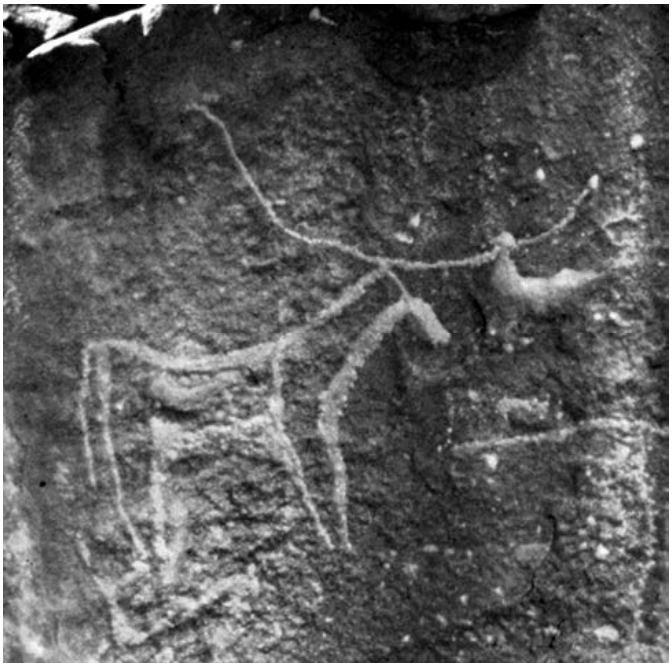


Figure 6. *Wadi Dunqash site DUC (FH4.258) (Photograph by the author).*

Most of the cattle have long horns, the length of which is sometimes exaggerated. They are usually displayed as if seen from the front, even though the body of the animal is always shown in side view (Figure 6). Most turn outwards at the ends, often in a graceful curve that in some cases is spreading and in others is shaped like a lyre. One, standing in a boat, appears to have a disc between its horns (Figure 7). A minority turn inwards, and in a few cases they are shown meeting, thus forming a closed curve above the head. An image in the Wadi Mineh seems to have been modified to close the gap between outward-curved horns to make a complete circle (Figure 8). Some 5% of the animals have short horns.

Herds

The cattle often appear in groups or small herds in which the members are drawn in a similar style. At a site in the Wadi Miya there are at least 11 animals, mostly shown as bulls, mostly with bands round their girths, and all with long horns. They are drawn in outline and have been overlain by several images of camels and horsemen that appear to be more recent (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 166). In the Wadi Mineh there are three realistic cows with differently-curved long horns (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 191). In the Wadi Abu Iqaydi there is a herd of rather less realistic animals, all drawn in a similar style but with different patterns and flamboyant horns (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 136). There are several groups of cattle in the Wadi Sha'it. One at site SHX is unusual in that, while clearly intended as a herd with all the animals facing the same way and drawn in the same style, one animal stands out because it has long horns



Figure 7. *Wadi Umm Hajalij site GP1 (FH4.269) (Photograph by the author).*

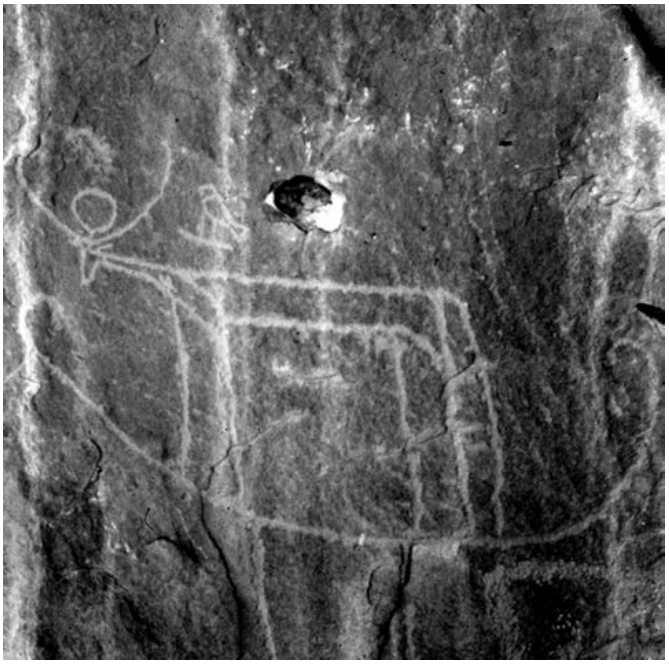


Figure 8. *Wadi Mineh site JAW1 (FH3.159) (Photograph by the author).*

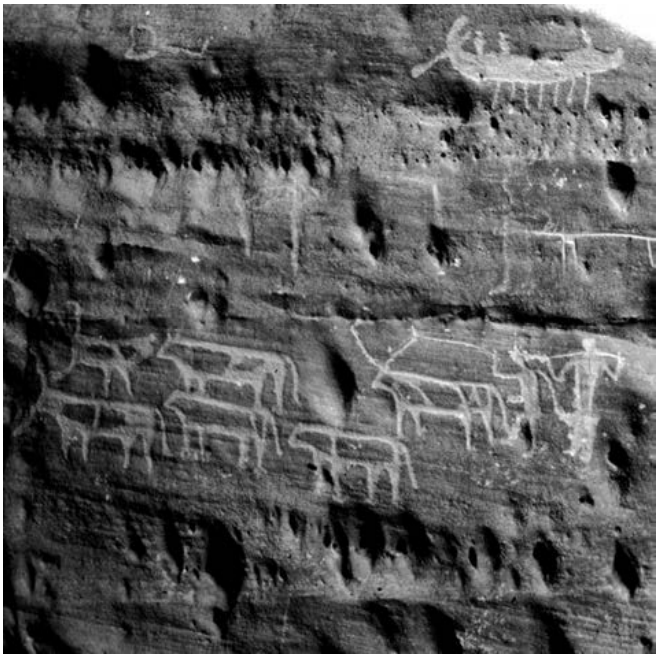


Figure 9. *Wadi Sha'it site SHX (FH4.184) (Photograph by the author).*



Figure 10. *Wadi Muweilhat site MUD (FH4.195) (Photograph by the author).*

while all the others have them short (Figure 9). Another consists of four animals patterned differently but drawn in the same style so that they appear to have been drawn by the same artist (Figure 10). In all these cases the patterns on the hides of individual animals and the shapes of their horns are different. It seems that the artists recognised the variety of the individual animals' characteristics. It is noticeable that the individual animals of these groups or herds do not overlap. This contrasts to the way wild animals are often depicted. Images of giraffes, for example, are often crowded together and run over each other (Judd 2006, Figure 6).

Specific Images

Captive cattle

A common image north of the Wadi Barramiya is that of a man apparently holding a rope attached to the base of the animal's horns. The man is almost always behind the animal, but at SHA3 there are two men, one in front and one behind. There are similar images farther south. At SHE, SH7 and SHX in the Wadi Sha'it the man stands behind the animal while at MUO and MU3 in the Wadi Muweilhat he is in front. In most cases the 'rope' is attached to the base of the animal's horns. In two cases in the Wadi Sha'it there is a second individual, but it is not certain that he or she was intended to be part of the ensemble. There are 26 such images, about 14% of the total number of cattle images. Figure 11 shows tracings of some of them, and Figure 12 shows their locations.

It is not clear what these images refer to. One possibility is that they are hunting scenes, the rope being a lasso. At a site in the Wadi Abu Wasil one of the figures holding the 'rope' has a bow in his other hand, possibly indicating that he is a hunter (Rohl 2000, 104 no. 14). On the other hand it has to be noted that if these are hunting scenes they are unlike any of the other such scenes, all of which involve several hunters with bows or dogs or both and usually several quarry animals. Hunting scenes involving cattle are very rare. Apart from the case mentioned above there is only one other, at site DR1 in the Wadi Barramiya, where an animal is confronted by a man with a bow.

If the image of 'captive cattle' is not of hunter and hunted it is possible that the rope is a leash or tether by means of which the man is controlling the animal. While this may be possible it seems unlikely since in most cases the man is following rather than leading, although it may be that the artists did not adopt the conventions of perspective that are familiar to us.

It is possible that the line connecting the man to the animal does not represent a rope at all. It might be an indication of an abstract relationship, a statement or assertion of ownership or possibly a wish for it. But while in some cases the 'rope' appears to be a continuation of the arm, running smoothly from the shoulder of the man to the horn of the animal, in others there are pronounced angles at the elbow and the wrist, as if the artist had in mind something physical gripped in the hand. This would be consistent with ownership.

The overall impression is that these images of 'captive' cattle denote a strong relationship between person and animal, possibly one of ownership, either actual or desired. The 'rope' may be either a physical or an imagined bond.

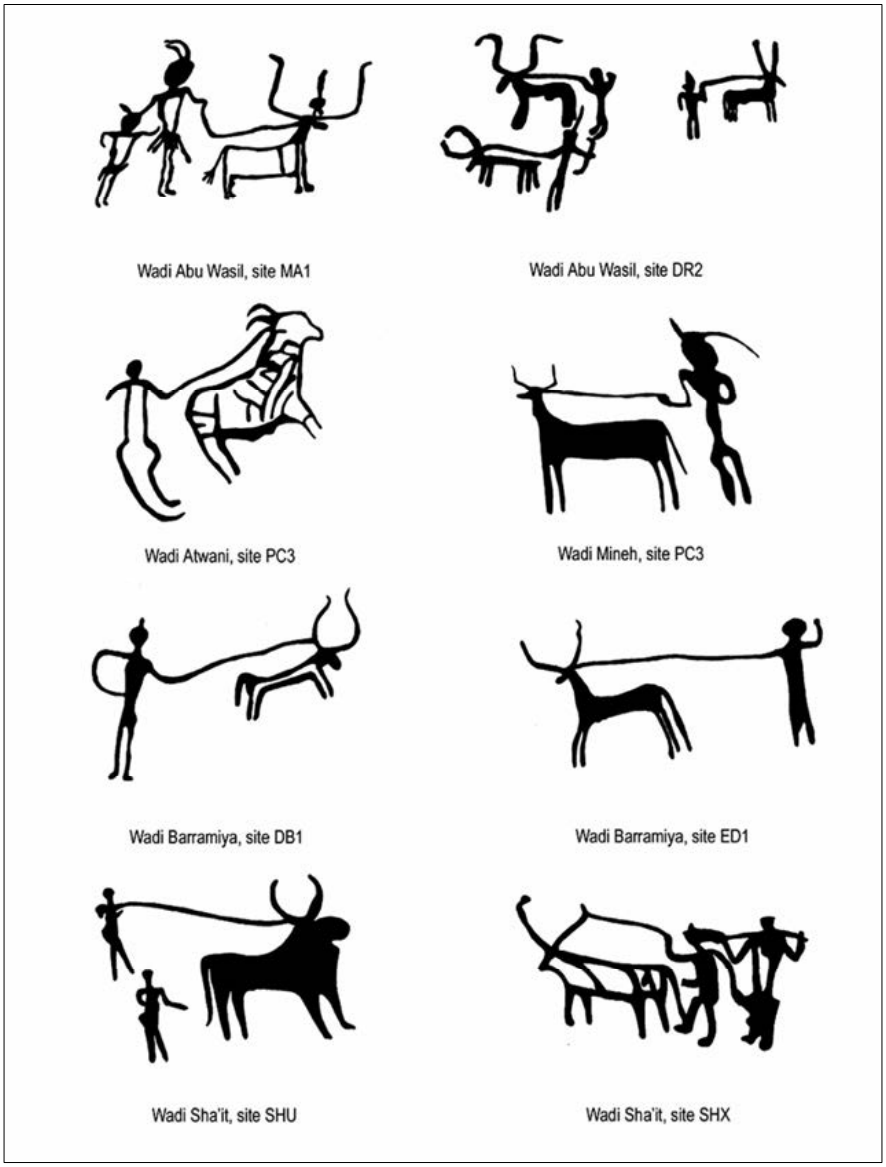


Figure 11. *Captive cattle (Tracings by the author).*

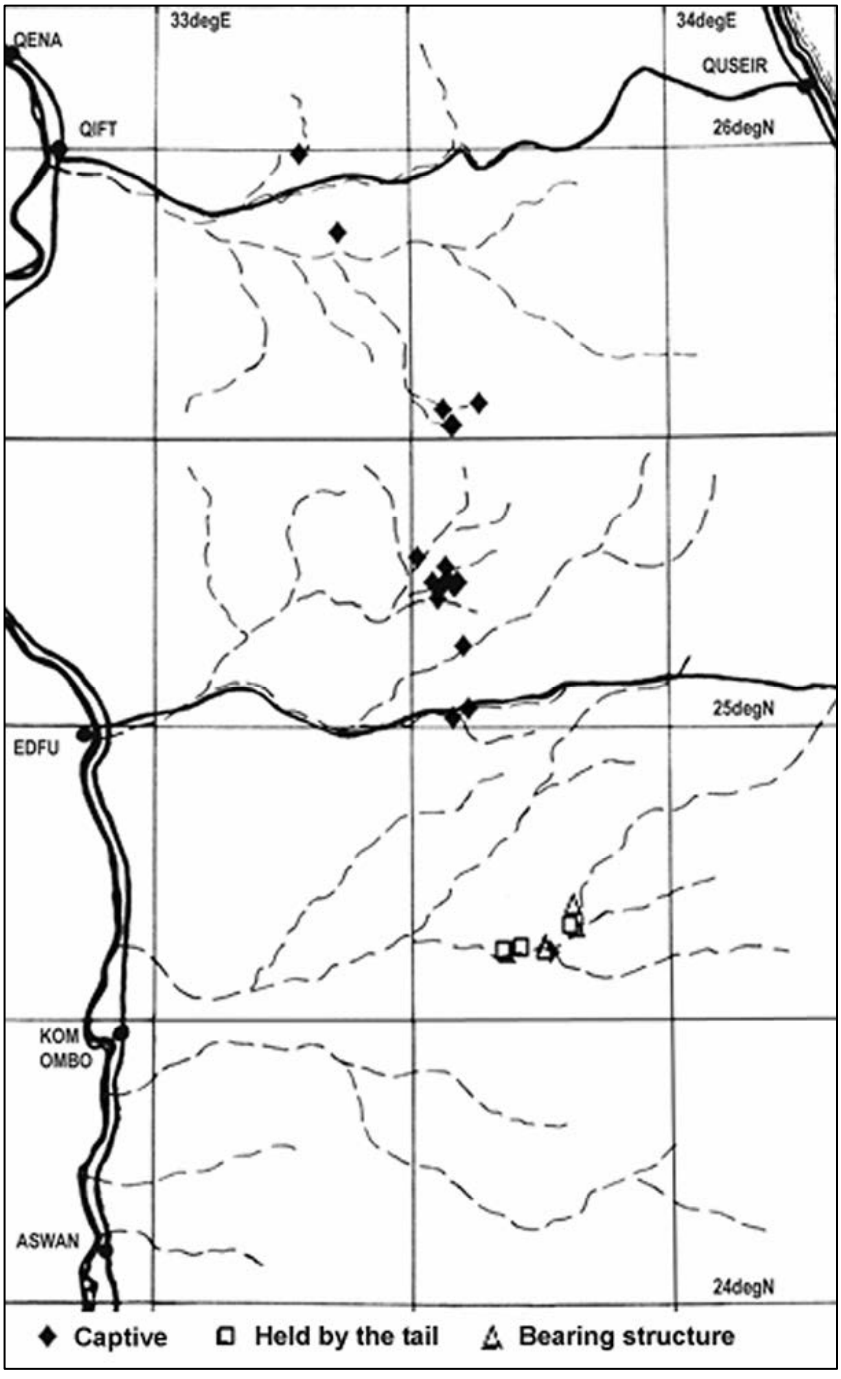


Figure 12. *Specific cattle images (Drawing by the author).*

Cattle held by the tail

Another possible ownership image is that of a person holding an animal's tail. Five instances have been found, all in the Wadi Sha'it or nearby. Tracings of them are shown in Figure 13, and Figure 14 is a typical example. All the animals face to the right, all have long diverging horns and three of them are banded. One is a cow while the sex of the other four is not indicated, and one of the people is clearly male. In three cases the person holds the end of the tail while in two he or she holds it at about the mid-point. In three cases, possibly more, the person holds an object in the other hand.

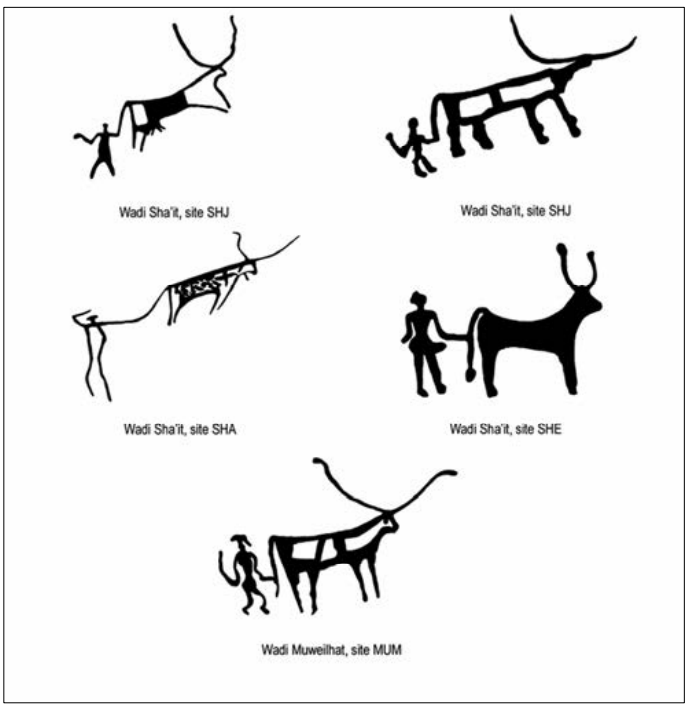


Figure 13. *Cattle held by the tail (Tracings by the author).*

It seems most unlikely that these images refer to hunting as one would hardly attempt to catch a wild animal by grasping its tail. The image appears to involve a relationship between an individual and a domesticated animal. It might depict a real pastoral practice, or alternatively it might be a symbolic representation of a relationship of ownership. The fact that the images are confined to a small area indicates that the relationship to which they refer, or the artistic convention by which that relationship was represented, were very local. The obvious differences of style show that they were not all drawn by the same artist and indicate that this practice, or this imagery of the practice, was peculiar to a group or a locality, but not to a single individual.



Figure 14. *Wadi Sha'it site SHJ (FH4.134) (Photograph by the author).*

Cattle bearing structures

A third and even more remarkable image is one found, again, only in the Wadi Sha'it and nearby, where there are eight examples of cattle that appear to bear structures of some sort on their backs. They are shown in Figure 15.

In its simplest form this apparent structure consists of two vertical lines rising from the animal's back, either converging at the top (MUO) or diverging (SH7). In two cases there is a third object behind these lines (SHE, Figure 16, and SHU). This object might be a small person, maybe a child, but in both cases it is unclear. In two further cases the third object lies between the two vertical lines, which appear to be decorated with round attachments (MU3, Figure 17, and MU17). Finally two animals at the same site in the Wadi Sha'it both have the vertical lines diverging at the top, joined by a cross-member and bearing large round objects in front and behind (SB4). Six of the eight animals appear to be controlled by people holding ropes. Sometimes the rope is attached to the midpoint of the horns, sometimes it also seems to be attached to the animal's muzzle, and sometimes it crosses the structure on the animal's back. Three of the animals are 'controlled' by a person behind them, two by a person in front, and one animal has two 'controllers', one in front and one behind. Five of these seven people are men. The similarity between the two animals at site SB4 indicates that they were been drawn by the same artist.

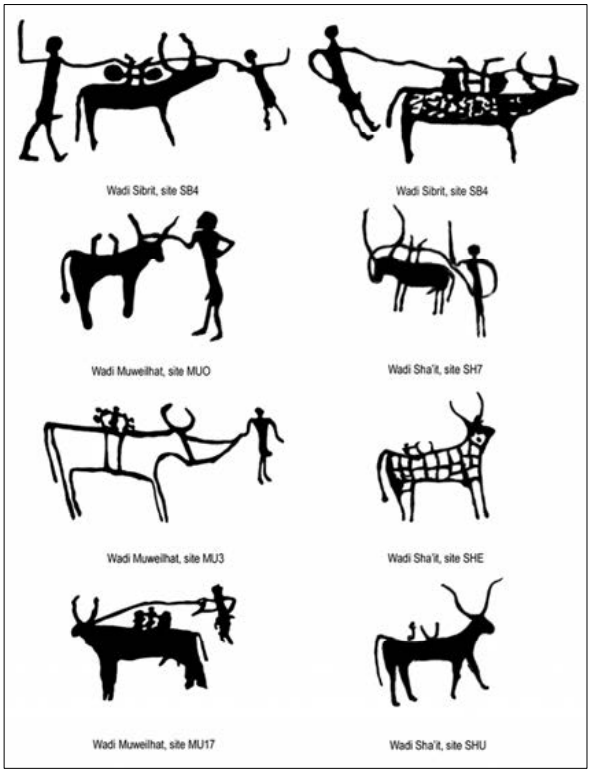


Figure 15. *Cattle bearing structures (Tracings by the author).*



Figure 16. *Wadi Sha'it site SHE (FH4.122) (Photograph by the author).*



Figure 17. *Wadi Muweilhat site MU3 (FH4.192) (Photograph by the author).*

These structures might be saddles or frames for carrying freight. It is possible that one of the artistic conventions of dynastic Egyptian art may be at work here, in that in a single image side and frontal views are mixed, the important features being displayed to best advantage without regard for the conventions of perspective that are familiar to us. This seems quite likely because in all the cattle petroglyphs the horns are always shown as if seen from the front even though the main part of the image is a side view. The structures might be represented in the same way, so that in the case of the two animals at SB4 what is shown as a structure lying along the animal's back might in fact be a frame resting across it, carrying a load on each side.

It seems unlikely that the animals were being ridden. Apart from the two very doubtful examples that might be of children there is little emphasis on a rider. If the animals were being used for riding it seems most likely that the rider rather than the practicalities would be emphasisied. Another possibility is that the structures are some form of decoration indicating that the animal is distinguished in some way or has been prepared for some sort of ceremony. Yet again the 'structure' might not be a 'real' object at all, but an abstract indication of some perceived spiritual distinction.

Whatever these 'structures' are it seems clear that they indicate close relationships between the animals and the people. This implies that the cattle are domesticated in some sense. However the nature of any such domestication is not clear. Among all the cattle images in the Eastern Desert there is only one indication of an animal being used as a source of food. This is at site SHL in the Wadi Sha'it where a cow seems to be suckling a human figure (Figure 18).



Figure 18. *Wadi Sha'it site SHL (FH4.146) (Photograph by the author).*

Dating

In the absence of evidence based on ^{14}C analysis of organic inclusions in the patina (a method that has been used on petroglyphs from the Nile Valley [Huyge *et al.* 2001]) it is impossible to date individual images with confidence. However some information can be gained by comparing petroglyph images with images on datable artefacts. In addition, if images are sufficiently close to one another, it can sometimes be inferred that any difference in patina is due to difference in age and not to different exposure. Some petroglyphs lie on top of each other and in these cases it is usually possible to tell which was cut first. Using these methods it is possible to draw the following tentative conclusions.

Some cattle images seem to date to the Naqada II period or earlier. At site SAL35 in the Wadi Umm Salam an animal, possibly being held on a 'rope' by a multi-plumed person, is part of a group that includes at least two figures in the 'orant' posture (that is, with arms raised over the head as if in prayer) similar to figures of Naqada II pottery and Naqada I terracotta figurines (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 17). A darkly-patinated bovid at site SHI in the Wadi Sha'it stands over an orant figure. At site DR1 in the Wadi Barramiya a bovid is grouped with several 'flared' boats (Rohl 2000, 43) of a type usually assigned to the predynastic period (see, for example, Červiček 1986, 80). This animal is a rare example of a bovid apparently being hunted by an archer (see above). At site SHR two animals seem to be associated with an ostrich hunt.

These apparently early images are rare. Cattle that are associated with images, particularly of boats, of an apparently dynastic style, are more common. There are several at site DR2

(Winkler's site 26), both on the main rock face where a large boat carries five plumed figures (Rohl 2000, 102), and on an adjacent boulder (Rohl 2000, 104). The latter are all images of cattle being restrained by people holding 'ropes' attached to their horns. At site GP1 in the Wadi Umm Hajalij there is a bovid with what appears to be a sun-disc between its horns standing in a boat.

Some cattle appear to have been drawn later than nearby boats. At site CT2 in the Wadi Abu Wasil one horn of a bovid crosses over part of the decoration of a boat (Rohl 2000, 109). Both images are very crude. At TJ1 in the Wadi Mineh a particularly realistic bovid appears to have been added to a sickle-shaped boat (as has a small falcon on its prow), which in turn has been drawn over another outlined bovid (Rohl 2000, 82). At SAL 44 in the Wadi Umm Salam a bovid lies over two 'square' boats (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 94). At site SB1 in the Wadi Sibrit a bovid is clearly more recent than a nearby boat.

There are many cattle images that, judging from significant differences of patina colour, are older than images of camels and horses, for example at sites MUA10 (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 107E), IQA14 (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 146B) and MIY5 (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 166A). On the other hand there are no examples of cattle contemporary with camels or horses. By contrast at sites MIN7 (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 188C), MIN9 (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 191K and L) and HAM3 (Morrow and Morrow 2002, 208J) cattle appear close to and patinated similarly to various wild animals.

None of these indications of dating is by itself conclusive, but taken together they suggest that some cattle images were drawn in the Naqada I and II periods (with some indication that wild cattle were being hunted at the time), while others date to later periods and are contemporary with images of boats. Cattle do not, however, appear to have been drawn at the same time as camels or horses.

The large number of cattle images seems to indicate that they were actually present in what is now the desert at the time when they were drawn. Stable-isotope analysis of remains of cattle from the predynastic and Old Kingdom sites at Mostagedda and El-Badari (both in the Nile Valley some 100 km northwest of the main concentrations of cattle petroglyphs) has recently given support to this conclusion. They show that cattle, the remains of which were found in these locations, had been fed on vegetation characteristic of an arid, as opposed to a temperate, environment (Thompson *et al.* 2005). The absence of cattle images contemporary with images of camels and horses supports this view, because by the time these animals were introduced into Egypt (the mid-second millennium for horses, later for camels) the Eastern Desert region was too arid to support cattle grazing.

This implies that the cattle were drawn in the late predynastic and early dynastic periods. The similarities with the imagery of Naqada artefacts and dynastic funerary art suggests that, throughout these periods, the artists who drew the cattle were using the artistic conventions of their times. This in turn suggests that the cattle, and the associated images (such as some of the boats), should be seen, among other images, as immediate predecessors of the mainstream imagery of the dynastic period, and that they should be interpreted in the same way as Old Kingdom art. The Eastern Desert seems to have been one of the sources of dynastic Egyptian art.

Conclusion

The conclusions of this study can be summarised as follows. There are many petroglyphs in the Eastern Desert that apparently represent cattle. Among the animal images they occur with the

second-highest frequency, after ibexes. The large numbers of cattle petroglyphs suggests that they were drawn at a time when cattle were actually present in what is now the Eastern Desert. This in turn suggests that they date from the early third millennium BC at the latest, the period before and during the beginning of the Old Kingdom, the last time when the climate was wet enough to support vegetation on which cattle could graze. Stable isotope analysis of cattle remains supports this conclusion.

There are several ambiguous images, widespread throughout the region, that might possibly show cattle being caught with lassoes, implying that they were drawn by hunters. If, on the other hand, these images indicate cattle being controlled in some way by an 'owner' they were drawn by pastoralists. The paucity of unambiguous hunting images makes the latter more likely.

The image of a person holding the tail of an animal is confined, in the Eastern Desert, to the vicinity of the Wadi Sha'it. While its meaning is unclear it is a further indication of close association between cattle and people and seems hard to reconcile with hunting. The image of an animal with some sort of structure on its back is confined almost entirely to the same region. It may represent some form of saddle or harness but there is no clear indication of the nature of a rider or load. It is possible that it refers to some sort of decoration or emblem, possibly with a religious significance. If there was such a 'cult', the Wadi Sha'it was its centre.

These points lead to the general conclusion that most of the Eastern Desert cattle petroglyphs were drawn by pastoral people who grazed their stock in what were then the grasslands of the region at some time before or during the fourth and early third millennia BC or a little later. Close connections between images of cattle and other petroglyph images indicates that they were drawn by people who shared artistic conventions with people in the Nile Valley, in both predynastic and early dynastic times. This in turn indicates that the Eastern Desert petroglyphs should be seen as part of the mainstream artistic tradition of Egypt and interpreted as such.

School of Archaeology, Classics and Egyptology
University of Liverpool

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Meroitic Pottery from the Fourth Cataract, Sudan (c. AD 100–300): New Findings from the SARS Winter 2005 Field Season

Eric McCann

Introduction

Since the winter of 2003, seasonal survey and archaeological projects have been undertaken in the Fourth Cataract in the Sudan (Figure 1) where a large hydroelectric dam and reservoir will soon be completed. The ongoing survey in this concession has been directed by the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (SARS) and the British Museum. The brevity of the time available to work in the Fourth Cataract echoes the constraints of the field-work carried out at the time of the enlargement of the Aswan High Dam and the UNESCO salvage campaigns of the 1960s in Lower Nubia (North Sudan). However, despite the time limitations, it is hoped that our investigation of the region and its material culture will provide a useful body of data for future scholarly study. This paper focuses on the site of Umm Muri, a settlement and cemetery dating to the Meroitic period (300 BC–AD 300) (Umm Muri is located in Figure 1 at the right hand side of the map).

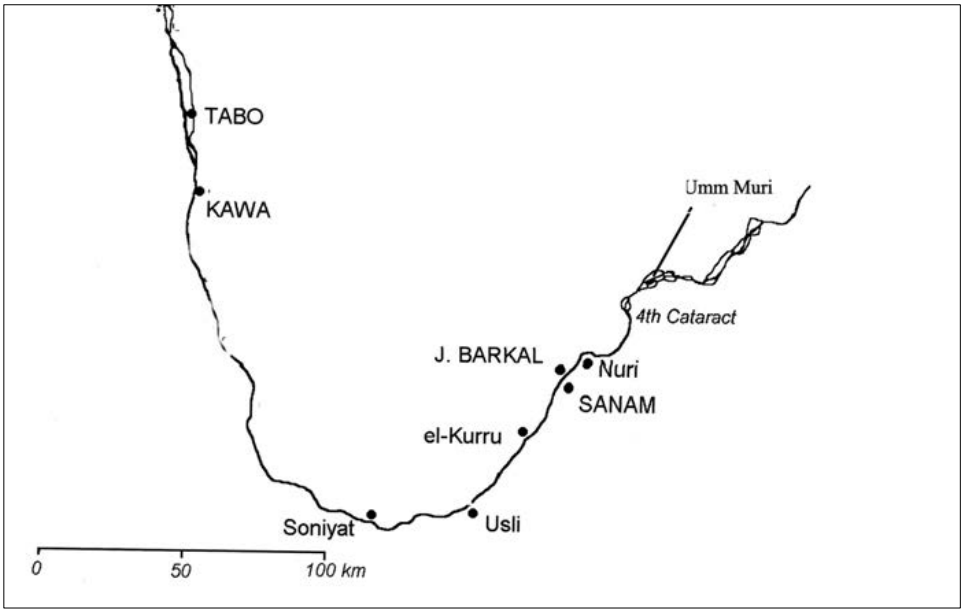


Figure 1. *Map of the Fourth Cataract region of the Sudan, with the nearby sites of Barkal, Nuri and Kawa (After Edwards 2004, 123, Figure 5.3).*

The Fourth Cataract Region in Antiquity

Knowledge about the Sudan in Hellenistic and Roman literature is extremely limited, focusing primarily on sites of religious or administrative character, such as Meroe City, Kerma, Napata or sites in Lower Nubia under foreign jurisdiction. In addition, such limitations in ancient literature did heavily influence the early excavations and surveys in the Sudan in preparation for the building of the Aswan High Dam in the first half of the last century.

Excavators working in Lower Nubia or in the far south areas of Meroe City, Hamadab and Sennar were confronted with local cultures and artefacts that did not show a strong Egyptian influence. The apparent lack of both a working knowledge of cultural horizons and of Nubian history meant a slow development of Nubian archaeology and, consequently, of the adequate understanding of the region's position alongside Egypt and the Roman World.

In particular, the vast area between Napata and Meroe along the river, known as the Fourth and Fifth Cataracts, was overlooked until very recently. During the last five years, excavations at the Meroitic site of Dangeil, at the Atbara–Nile Rivers juncture, have produced convincing evidence for the presence of a Meroitic settlement with a lavish temple dating to around the period of the Roman invasion of Sudan under the first Prefect of Egypt, Gaius Cornelius Gallus (30–27 BC). With the annexation of Egypt into the Roman Empire in 31 BC, the Sudan became the focal point of military incursions by Rome with the interest of securing trade routes to the African interior for items such as resin, incense, spices and ivory. An ensuing war between Roman troops based in Egypt and the rulers of the Sudanese area (based at Barkal and Meroe) continued from 29 BC until 20 BC when a delegation met on the island of Samos in the Aegean to create a peace treaty. In effect, Rome recognized that it would not be able to seize the Sudan and subsequently created its southernmost border at Maharraqa just south of Philae and Aswan, in Egypt. Soon afterwards, the Meroitic rulers based at Meroe and Barkal began settling new towns and renovating ancient temples all the way down the Nile to Aswan. This flourishing of Meroitic populations in north Sudan stimulated trade with Roman Egypt and created the stimulus for artist workshops which created many goods for local markets, such as the ceramics mentioned in this article.

Recent Fieldwork in the Fourth Cataract Region

The area of the Fourth Cataract has just recently been given adequate attention due to the building of the Hamdab-Merowe Dam, which is located upstream from the Napatan pyramids at Nuri. Brief survey of the cataract region at Mograt Island, near the Abu Hamed bend, was undertaken by E. Kleppe in the 1970s (Kleppe 1982, 147–150). In this survey, evidence for Meroitic occupation, including inscriptions and ceramic sherds were collected. However, little mention of this region was made again until the late 1990s when the motion to build the Merowe Dam was finalized, to start and be completed by 2008.

Since the year 2000, ongoing survey work in the Dongola Reach area has found evidence of limited Meroitic ceramics at Kawa (Welsby-Sjoström 2001, 251). Further evidence for ceramic traditions in the Meroitic and influential Napatan periods was also discovered by the Polish missions working southwards from Old Dongola to Barkal around the same time (Phillips 2003, 387–437). The more significant findings in this region are a possible 'proto-Kushitic' (Napatan) ceramic tradition, uncovered south of Dongola, which represented a strong local artistic style that continues into the Meroitic period (Klimaszawska-Drabot 2003, 438–441). Furthermore, a temple found at Sonyiat seems to correspond to one of the temple sites visited

during coronation rites by the Napatan kings based at Gebel Barkal, until the cemetery at Nuri closed around 300 BC. Further renovations at Sonyiat were carried out in the Meroitic period by King Natakhamani and Queen Amanitore, who were contemporaries of the Emperor Augustus (Orzechowska 2003, 442–457). Renovations such as these can be seen as a symbolical and religious 'stamp' on the landscape to reaffirm the Meroitic presence in the areas so close to Roman Egypt (see, for example, Edwards 2004).

In 2003 work began in the Fourth Cataract under the auspices of the National Museum in Khartoum and other European museums including the British Museum. The British Museum mission, directed by D. Welsby, began work on the project based in the most central portion of the concession from Amri to the Kirbekan Islands. It is also at this time that I joined the mission. In the first field season preliminary excavations were carried out on the seasonal island of Umm Muri, which is joined to Mis Island during periods of low Nile levels. Although the time spent at Umm Muri in the first season was limited, due to other smaller projects that were to be carried out elsewhere, test pits were opened on the site which confirmed that the settlement there had both Meroitic and Christian occupational layers. This contrasted with the survey results obtained during the 2003 survey directed by D. Welsby which mainly noted medieval Christian artefacts (Welsby 2003, 5–6). While the evidence for Meroitic ceramics was present, the absence of immediate Meroitic ceramic studies for this region meant parallels would have to be taken from Lower Nubia and Meroe in the south.

The most obvious choice of Meroitic pottery would be the celebrated fine 'eggshell' wares that were first uncovered from 1909–1930s at various cemeteries of Lower Nubia, such as Karanog, Faras and Shablul, and at elite centres such as Meroe City, Hamadab and Abu Geili in south Sudan. Beside the presence of Meroitic script at a given location, this specific artefact type was taken as the most secure way of dating a site to the Meroitic period. However, the obstacle we faced in the Fourth Cataract was the fact that fine wares were present but in smaller amounts of more varied assemblages than those found in Lower Nubia, while utility and handmade ware predominated.

Recent excavations of the Early and Terminal Meroitic cemetery at Gabati, near Meroe, has provided useful parallels for many of the coarse utility ledge rimmed bowls and cups which have either a polished red slip or fired to a pink hue. This pottery class includes serving trays, lids for pots, and drinking sets like cups and bowls, which were commonly used in both settlement and cemetery contexts. Storage jars were found upturned and reused as rubbish bins or incinerators, and no fabric parallels can be found at present. Handmade wares at Umm Muri made use of few forms beside the closed pots. Most often lips of vessels were folded and roughly smoothed, with little surface treatment added. An exception would be an ornate pot (not shown) which came from floor fills of the second Meroitic levels of a house. For the most part, ceramic manufacture and decorative schemes at Umm Muri mirror strongly the tradition found in the southern Dongola Reach and can be said to be the 'local tradition', like contemporary traditions from Lower Nubia, Meroe and Abu Geili at this time.

While work continued at Umm Muri during the 2004 winter season, no Meroitic cemetery was found. As is often the case in Nubian archaeology, a cemetery or a settlement will be found, but rarely are the two found together at any archaeological site. This understandably makes comparing contemporary ceramic consumption at settlements and their cemeteries more difficult. Our luck was to change in 2005 when clearance of Christian cemeteries on Mis Island would uncover both Meroitic and Post Meroitic burials which were in use during the Meroitic phases at Umm Muri.



Figure 2. *Meroitic necked pot with stylized papyrus and lotus buds. The style mirrors that of finewares found at Faras and Karanog (Photograph by the author).*



Figure 3. *Meroitic cylindrical jar with stylized ankh–design on body, and sorghum plants painted on neck region (Photograph by the author)*

The fascinating finds from last season included an earlier Meroitic burial which held an assortment of ceramic fabric types and varied decoration schemes. Handmade wares with roulette decoration were found alongside fine jars (Figures 2 and 3) like those of Karanog and Faras cemeteries, as well as glass vessels and faience items of regional manufacture. The discovery of an earlier Meroitic grave nearby Umm Muri, clarifies the position of ceramics which did not fit late Meroitic typologies but could not be dated with certainty.

Further findings of Late/Terminal Meroitic graves nearby also have shed light upon the later ceramic traditions at Umm Muri, the mainland and other islands. Black burnished bowls as well as unslipped or red slipped ledge bowls closely parallel those at Umm Muri. Such large assemblages of these types of wares at this site, and in other cemeteries in the region, suggests either a proximity to a production centre, or an ease of trade with Lower Nubia or another producer further down-stream (Figures 4, 5 and 6). Unfortunately fabric sourcing has not been undertaken until now. A more thorough knowledge of ceramic producers during the Meroitic period, as well as the extent of their trade contacts within a region, must be gained in order to understand more fully the scale of ceramic production in this region before the Christian period.

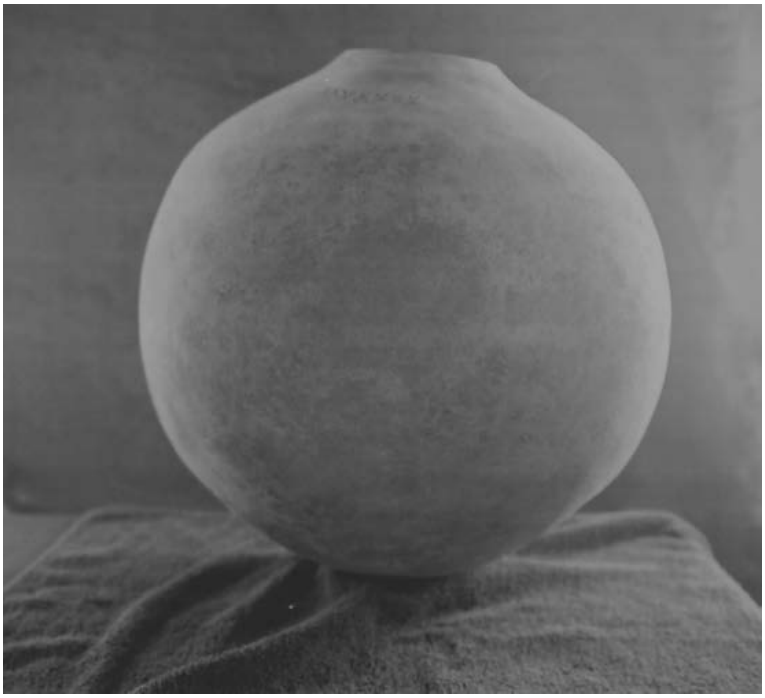


Figure 4. *Handmade globular pot with incised x pattern, reminiscent of forms and decorations found at the Royal Cemeteries at Meroe (Photograph by the author).*



Figure 5. *Assemblage of bowls dating to the Late Meroitic period: handmade black bowl with impressed decoration flanked by two red fired plain bowls (Photograph by the author).*

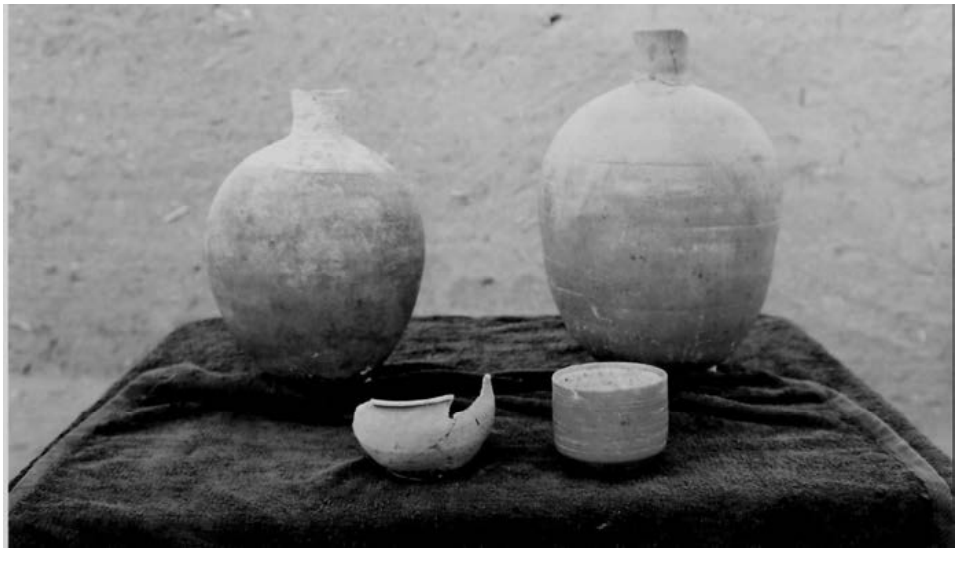


Figure 6. *An assemblage from two graves at Umm Muri showing typical Late Meroitic jar forms with basic red slip and white collar and two carinated cup types (Photograph by the author).*

Conclusion

During the Post-Meroitic period, many changes occurred which caused a decline of the ruling power at Meroe or Barkal. From these events, noticeable changes occurred both in the development of Lower Nubian local elite families, and a moving away from elite funerary customs once based on pyramids at Meroe and Barkal. Similar changes in ceramic traditions in the Fourth Cataract also mirror events occurring in the region of Meroe. The majority of the ceramics now found for this cataract region show more of an emulation of south Sudan wares of the Post-Meroitic tradition. What is clear is that most ceramic workshops in use during the Meroitic period ceased. Private producers did make specific ceramic forms for either domestic or funerary usage. This potting tradition again changed drastically once Sudan converted to Christianity, and people looked to more regional generalized decorations and forms for ceramic inspiration.

The work at Umm Muri is currently ongoing, but I hope to be able to analyze, in the near future, the Meroitic ceramics in more detail, and to address issues such as fabric sourcing, the social significance of the imports of both wares, and the outside influences upon handmade traditions at Umm Muri and the surrounding region during the Meroitic period.

Institute of Archaeology
University College London

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The Locational Significance of Scatological References in the Coffin Texts

Peter Robinson

Introduction

The Ancient Egyptians made extensive provision for an eternal and successful Afterlife insofar as their personal means would allow. Such provisioning, which took place from the earliest times, often included the placing of food and drink within the grave or tomb as a burial feast, the inclusion of images of food and offerings upon the tomb walls, and, in the religious writings of the Pyramid and Coffin Texts, mention of the foodstuffs required by the deceased to exist for his or her anticipated eternity. In addition, during the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, provisioning of the deceased took on a number of forms, including model foodstuffs, models of agricultural activities and food preparation and of soul-houses and offering-trays, buried with the deceased, in or around the burial chamber (Tooley 1995, 12–17). This was also a time when the use of spells written upon the inner and outer surfaces of coffins belonging to high status individuals presented a further opportunity for the deceased to obtain nourishment throughout the Afterlife.

The coffin itself was seen as a 'house of life' and identified as the womb of the sky goddess Nut, as she bore the deceased. As well as housing the deceased, it also functioned as protection of the deceased from destruction. The texts written upon the coffin surfaces performed a number of functions. Amongst other roles, they provided for the deceased eternally, ensuring an eternity of life-giving foodstuffs (Willems 1988, 238–239).

The Coffin Texts, however, as well as indicating a means for eternal sustenance for the deceased, also attempted to steer the deceased away from various foul elements that might be encountered in the Afterlife. Some of these elements were personifications of bad spirits or environments, such as the *mrwty* recorded in CT441 to 448 and elsewhere (Bianchi 1987, 206–207) (References to individual Coffin Text spells refer to the transcriptions in de Buck volumes II to VII, 1938–1961, and to translations in Faulkner 1973–1978). Sections of the Coffin Texts also attempted to indicate the sort of matter that the deceased should not confuse with life-giving sustenance. Thus mention is regularly made of three especial substances the deceased should attempt to avoid (Table 1). These were the *ḥs*, translated as 'faeces' or 'excrement' (Faulkner, 1991, 177), and the *wssṯ* with its orthographical variants *wššst* and *wssš*, meaning 'urine' (Faulkner, 1991, 69). Finally, bodily functions are often referred to euphemistically, as in the case of the *ḥtp-kȝ*, 'ka's satisfaction', used as a euphemism for 'filth' (van der Plas and Bourghouts 1991, 217).

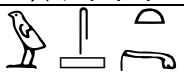
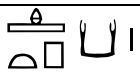
Phrase	*Transliteration*	*Translation*
	*ḥs*	Faeces
	*Wsšt*	Urine
	*ḥtp k3*	Ka's satisfaction (euphemistically 'filth')

Table 1. *Scatological terms.*

The Egyptians saw the tomb and its contents as having a ritual cardinality, in which specific wall decorations, for instance, represent aspects not necessarily of geographical space, but of ritual actions and orientations within a metaphysical landscape (Kamrin 1999, 146–148). Within the tomb, indeed within the coffin, the 'house of life', the deceased lay facing the east and the world of the living, the Akhet, and the rising sun (Raven 2006, 41). In the Old Kingdom tomb decorative scheme, this was the location of agricultural scenes, while in the Coffin Texts it was the location of images of offering tables piled high with foodstuffs and close by the false door (Figure 1).

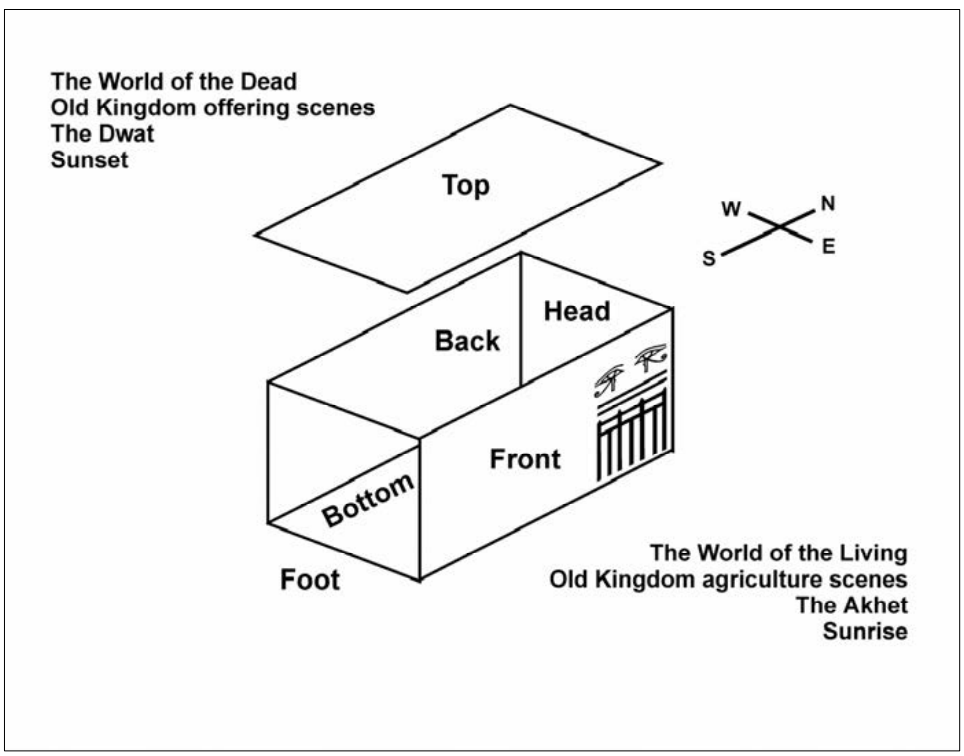


Figure 1. *Ritual cardinality in the Middle Kingdom Coffin (Drawing by the author).*

Furthermore, there are instances of images of food near the deceased's hands, implying that the deceased only had to stretch out to receive nourishment from the foodstuffs depicted upon the coffin's side (Willems 1988, 228–229). The western side, the back of the coffin, faced the land of the Dead, the Dwat and the dark of sunset, and represented the necropolis and its tombs (Willems 1988, 233).

In the following sections aspects of this cardinality with respect to the location of scatological phrases and references amongst the various spells of the Coffin texts will be considered.

Source documents

Middle Kingdom Coffin Text documents are known from a number of necropolis sites throughout the Nile Valley (Figure 2). These sites cluster in certain key regions, namely around the *Residenz* at Lisht in the north, in the middle Nile Valley, and in a southern group found in the Theban area and around Aswan (Hoffmeier 1996, 47). References to scatological themes within the Coffin Texts occur in a number of coffins found in several of these locations. The main coffin documents that will be considered for the remainder of this paper come mainly from two sites, Asyut and Bersha, both of which are located in the middle Nile valley region. Both of them were the necropolis site for their respective Upper Egyptian nome capital: Asyut, located in the XIIIth nome, and Bersha, near Hermopolis in the XVth nome. In addition to a number of specific examples from Asyut and Bersha, a survey of other coffins will also be included since the texts inscribed upon their inner surfaces contain a number of relevant scatological references.

From an initial brief survey of Coffin Texts a number of points emerge about scatological references. The first thing to note about these references is that they are found in clusters within sections of the spells CT155 to CT1014, which are found amongst the various texts in a number of the coffins under analysis. Such references can be sporadic, such as in CT160, which is rubricated as a spell for *'Living long upon the Earth, not eating filth in the realm of the dead (…)'*. This spell occurs on a number of Bersha and Asyut examples and later becomes a 'mound spell' in Chapter 149 of the Book of the Dead (Allen 1974, 236). The main theme of the spell is one of *'knowing the souls of the Westerners'*. However, in the majority of cases, it follows a spell for *'going in and out from the eastern gates'*, and is, in turn, followed by spells of different themes. Thus, the scatological reference included in the spell's rubric is used in isolation and bears no relation to the themes of the preceding and following spells.

On the other hand, references can also fall into blocks or sequences of spells, sharing common themes or even phraseologies (although these are unlikely to be dittographies or repetitions of spell elements, rather more of a *Leitmotiv*). Therefore, CT 194, a *'recitation for not eating faeces'*, follows *'O filth, I will not eat you with my mouth'* (CT193), and precedes *'What N doubly detests, he will not eat'* (CT195).

In addition to the groupings of scatological references, allusions to consuming faeces, filth or urine present a series of recognisable ideas and associations within their texts. Such references include warnings against eating the wrong foods, such as in spell CT184 which indicates to the deceased that faeces are a foul substance and should not be eaten. It could be argued that a subset of this theme is represented by CT181 in which the deceased is represented as standing upright and therefore will not consume the detritus laying on the ground. Similarly, CT194 suggests that the deceased could potentially eat the earthy dust of the threshing floor thus indicating that it must be avoided.

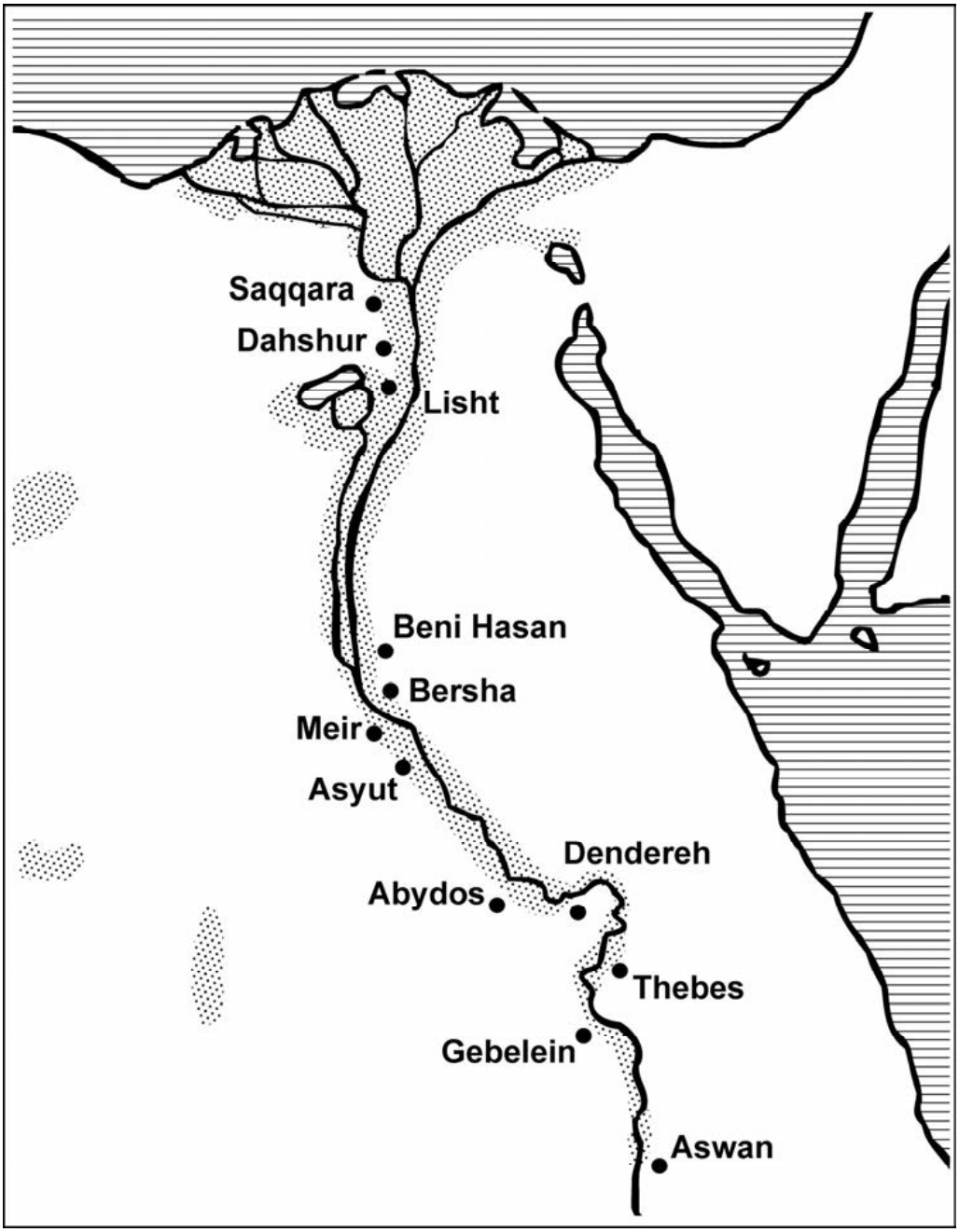


Figure 2. *Locations of Middle Kingdom cemeteries mentioned in text (Drawing by the author).*

A great number of the texts not only suggest that the deceased was expected to avoid putrefying substances and detritus, but also offer an indication of the correct foods the deceased was expected to consume. Hence CT190 suggests that the deceased has the knowledge to eat white emmer in the eastern corner of the sky, and drink water issuing from springs. Elsewhere the deceased is nourished by bread in the Field of Offerings (CT184), red emmer (CT187), cakes (CT188), white emmer beer (CT203), cucumbers, figs, *wnšw* ('currants', according to van der Plas and Bourghouts 1998, 71) and grapes (CT205), amongst other foods.

Finally, a number of these texts also include a theme in the form of a dialogue, whereby the deceased, often in conversation with divinities, is interrogated regarding the sorts of sustenance to be consumed in the afterlife. There are also a number of references here to divine locations where these meals are to be taken, such as in the sky, or on the horizon, and the deceased is directed to join various divinities, such as Orion (CT192), to enjoy such meals.

Methodology

As noted above, the layout of the coffin and its main themes were highly significant to the 'meaning' of the coffin's protective power. Researchers, such as Willems, have begun to analyse the location of specific spells within the decorative schema of individual coffins in an attempt to identify the purpose of such texts within the context of the funerary ritual (see, for example, Willems 1996, 85–86). However, the value of identifying the location of particular spells within specific coffin documents had already been realised by Lesko who, as a result, published his Index of the Spells on Egyptian Middle Kingdom Coffins (Lesko 1979, viii). Structures and sequences of groups of spells, too, can help identify proto-texts and source handlists of spells, available to the workshops constructing the coffins in the first place, and a number of scholars have used these to construct stemmae of coffin 'families' (see, for example, Jürgens 1996, 57–60). This paper will follow such an approach in 'mapping' individual and grouped spell locations within the various source coffins, in an attempt to identify the function of such spell sequences.

The Coffin Text Word Index (CTWI) of van der Plas and Bourghouts (1998) provides a link between specific words from amongst the 106,000 words recorded within the Coffin Texts and the seven volumes of de Buck's manuscript of the Coffin Texts (de Buck 1935–1961). The CTWI allows the user to consult the word(s), under study within their Coffin Text contexts, since each reference includes a note of the page reference within the appropriate de Buck's volumes. The latter can themselves act as a concordance, indicating in which coffins such words appear. Thus it is possible to identify all instances of individual words, both within specific Coffin Text spells, and also within specific published coffins. Furthermore, de Buck's transliteration can be used to check for variants of orthography or grammatical context, if required, but for the purposes of the present study this was not carried out in detail.

Once the coffins and spells in which a word appears are known, Lesko's index can be used to locate the particular surfaces, and text columns within each coffin where the word can be found. Thus it is possible to quickly identify the locations of particular words or phrases within the currently published corpus of coffin documents. For this present study, therefore, any spells containing references to 'faeces', 'urine' or 'filth' were noted, which resulted in the identification of 66 individual spells that contained one or more of these phrases. Further, these references were found to appear on 68 individual coffins, tomb walls, papyri and other funerary objects, such as canopic chests (for a select list of the various coffins and other funerary contexts referred to in this study, see Appendix, Table 1).

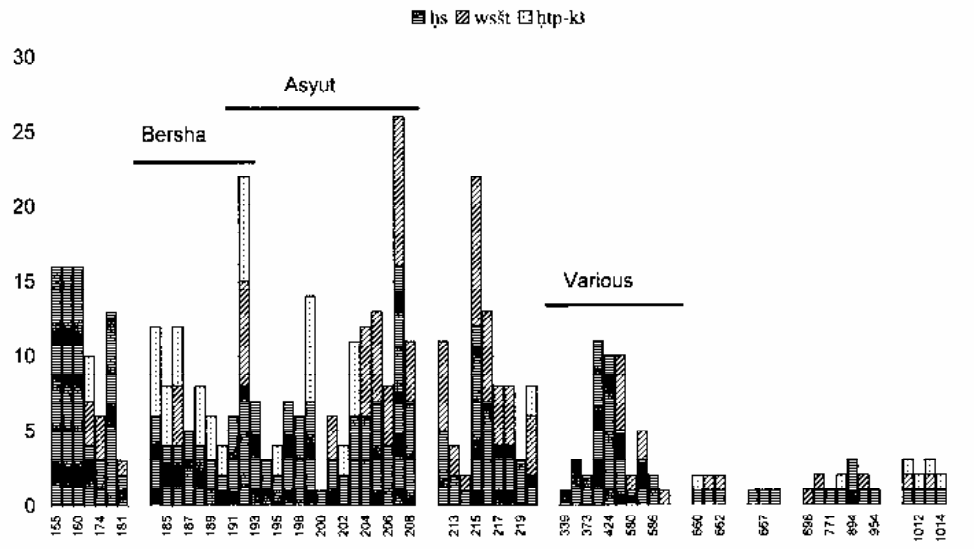


Figure 3. *Frequencies of scatological terms within the Coffin Texts*

Results

Once the data were gathered, it was clear that sequences of spells existed and that some texts within the genre appeared to be more popular than others (Figure 3). The first spells were scattered from CT155 to CT184. Then came a continuous run of some 24 spells in sequence, sharing a common theme, and included the two most popular sections, spells CT192 and CT207. Another near continuous sequence occurred from CT211 to CT220. After that, again the spells become more scattered and diverse in nature, until the final examples occur only on the Coffin Texts included in the papyri Gardiner II and III, which de Buck included as source material in his manuscripts of the Coffin Texts (de Buck 1961, 225–233).

In order to investigate further any spatial significance of the texts within the coffins, two groups of them from the first continuous run (CT184–CT195 from Bersha; CT191–CT211 from Asyut) and a selection from the scattered section (CT339–CT586) were chosen (see Appendix, Table 2, which gives a list of the spells used in these groups). Having identified the sequences of spells from Bersha and Asyut, it was then necessary to locate the spells within the layout of the various coffins. Spells CT184 to CT195 occur in five Bersha examples, belonging to the nomarchal family of Hermopolis who were interred at Bersha, and to the chief physician Gwa (Figure 4).

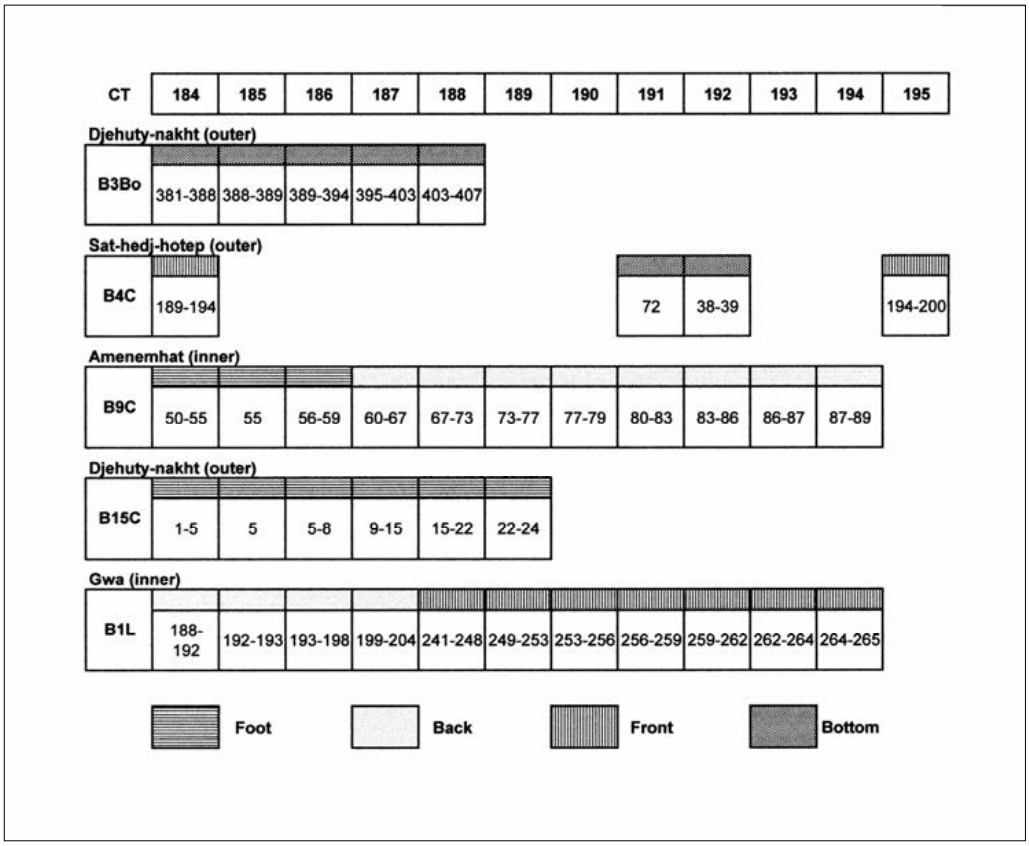


Figure 4. *Coffin Text spell sequences CT184–CT195 (Bersha). Numbers in each coffin represent text registers on relevant inner surface.*

Two of the examples were from inner coffins, while the other three were from outer coffins. Plotting each text in turn, it is noticeable that the spells run in sequences of registers. Indeed, that of Amenemhat (B9C) runs in a continuous sequence across the foot of the coffin and thence up the lower part of the back, behind the legs of the mummy. Also notable is the fact that Gwa's coffin (B1L) contains sections of text behind his legs, which then continue up the front around the lower torso of the mummy. The floor of the coffin of Djehuty-nakht (B3Bo) also includes texts, although it accompanies the inner coffin B4Bo, whose version of the Book of Two Ways, normally found on the bottom of coffins, is recorded on the coffin back behind the deceased (Lesko 1979, 21; Willems 1988, 233). It may be, then, that both inner and outer coffins had their texts transposed from bottom to back and vice versa for some reason no longer apparent.

In the case of the Asyut coffins, eight contained spells within the CT191 to CT211 sequence, belonging to seven individuals (Figure 5). Although Willems saw coffins from Asyut as 'representing local types differing markedly from comparable material from the rest of Egypt', he suggests they show some affinities with coffins, from places such as Bersha

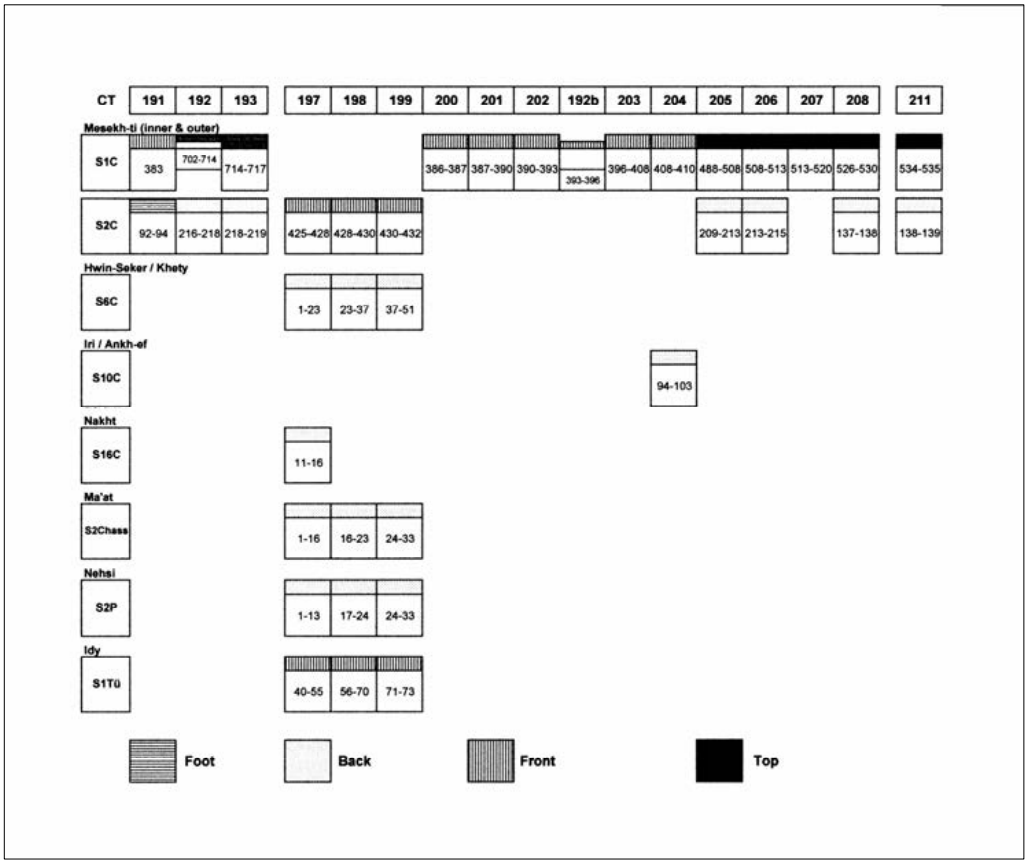


Figure 5. *Coffin Text spell sequences CT191–CT211 (Asyut).*

(Willems 1988, 102–103). Looking at the scatological sequence we see that the inner and outer coffins of Mesekh-ti (S1C and S2C) provide a continuous run of spells, mostly on the front and top panels of the inner coffin and on the back panel of the outer coffin. Most of the other coffins only contain spells CT197–CT199. Again, these three spells appear in a logically connected sequence in all cases. Furthermore, apart from the outer coffin of Mesekh-ti and the coffin of Idy (S1Tü), these spells occur in the first few text registers at the rear of the coffins, perhaps tying the spells to the actual act of defecation by the deceased. Both spells CT197 and CT198 include the only examples of the phrases *'my anus is on me, it being attached. I eat with my mouth, I defecate with my anus'* (Faulkner 1973, 161–162) that occur within the 66 spells studied. This spell sequence was maybe used to reinforce the direction of digestion within the deceased from mouth to anus, as well as to emphasise the deceased's wholeness through mastery of his or her bodily functions.

The final set of spells that needs considering in this analysis is a series of isolated texts that occur in some 15 coffins from Bersha and Asyut, and also from Meir and Dahshur (Figure 6). These spells, CT339, 368, 373, 404, 424, 473 and 586, when located within their respective

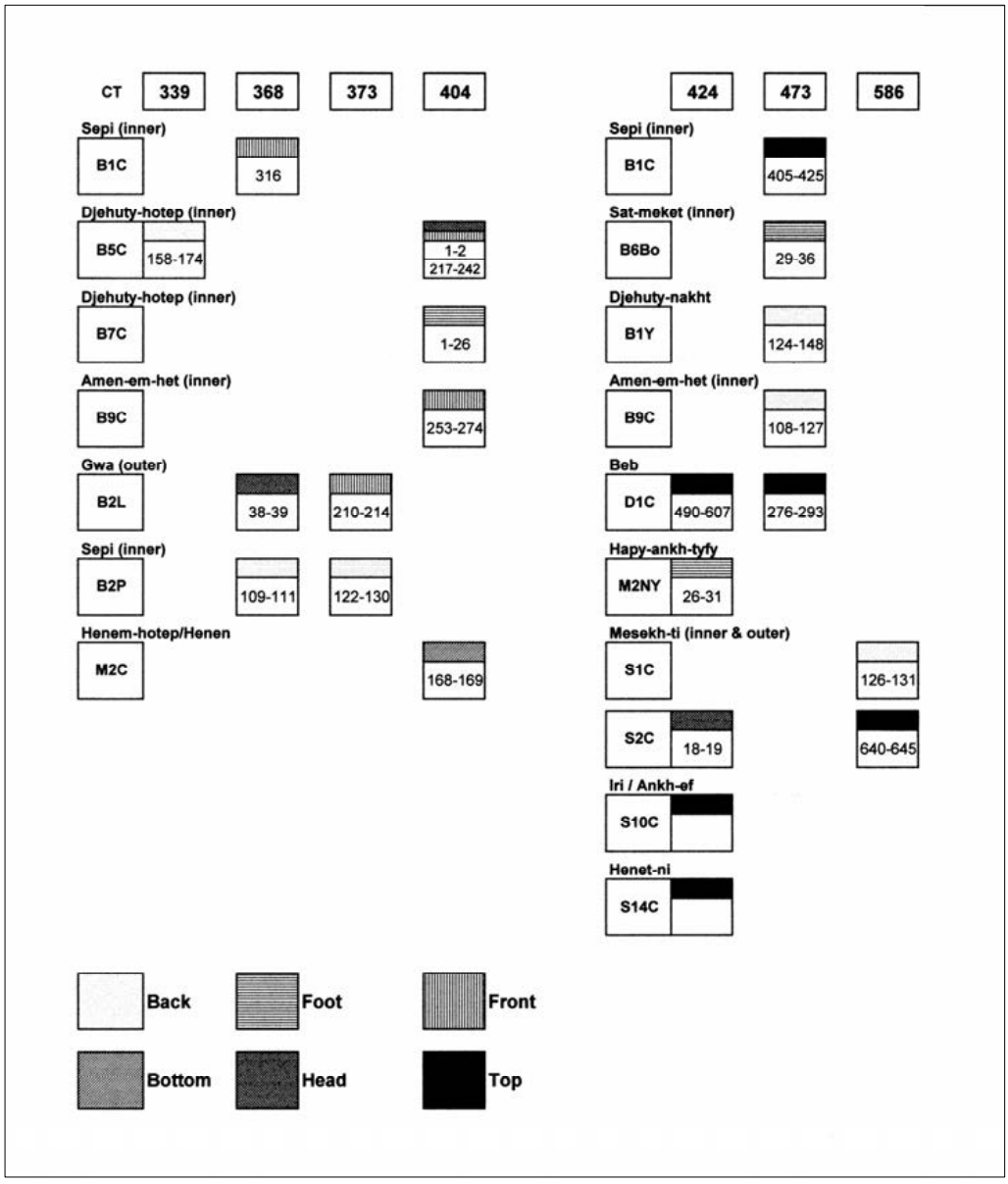


Figure 6. *Coffin Text spell sequences CT339–CT586 (Various cemetery sites).*

coffins, appear to be scattered on all of the various inner surfaces of the coffins. Furthermore, there appears to be no logic behind the choice of surfaces used. CT404, for instance, can be found on the head and front of B5C, on the foot of B7C, on the front of B9C and on the floor of M2C. Clearly, the significance of these spells is different from those we have discussed in the previous two selections.

Conclusion

What conclusions, therefore, can be drawn from this analysis of the locations of scatological references within the various coffins studied? Are there any significant reasons why the various spells that contain such references occur where they do within the coffins' inner surfaces?

In the first place, it is interesting to note that the majority of references concern faeces, with a total of 66 occurrences. There are, however, few explicit references to drinking urine, which is surprising given the dry climate and desert environment of Egypt, and the potentially thirst-quenching nature of any liquid for the deceased. References to urine occur in only half of the texts under study. CT193, in the version in coffin B2Bo, is rubricated as a spell for not drinking urine, yet, despite this, none of the eight versions of this text contain any other reference to drinking any liquid, as Faulkner has pointed out (Faulkner 1973, 160). There is, perhaps, a logical reason for this imbalance of urine references within the various texts. Liquids readily drain away in the sands of the desert edge, and rapidly evaporate in the hot dry atmosphere, so there is little standing water that could potentially pollute the funerary environment. On the other hand, solid waste is apt to remain for longer periods in the dry conditions of the Egyptian desert before breaking down, so that it may be possible that the ancient Egyptians assumed faecal residue would persist to pollute the deceased for an eternity.

The euphemism 'ka's satisfaction' occurs in little over a third of the references studied, and so perhaps fulfilled a less significant function. In fact, to modern minds it is tempting to think of a 'satisfaction' as something more pleasant than the actual meaning of the phrase, and maybe it was so also in Egypt where any potential confusion for the deceased might have been minimised by leaving out the phrase from the funerary texts.

The position of the scatological texts discussed appears to have also been of significance to their roles. Those spells that contain a scatological reference naturally occur either in sequences or as isolated instances within the various textual schemata of the individual coffin examples. Within those coffins under study from Bersha and Asyut, the sequences of spells occur mostly on the mid front, lower back or foot surfaces of the various coffins' inner panels. Such texts, therefore, tend to concentrate in the section of the coffin where the deceased's feet and legs are normally located. These sequences of spells usually also refer to the consumption of food, as opposed to the consumption of faeces, and are, therefore, indicative of a nourishment/avoidance instruction for the deceased. That they are close to the feet of the deceased may also be significant in that they help orientate the deceased within a three-dimensional space. They could also represent the dirt on the ground surface, and, therefore, indicate the potentially impure nature of an Afterlife landscape inhabited by all manner of divinities, good and bad. In addition, they may have helped to indicate the dangers of being upturned and disorientated in the Afterlife, as pointed out by those spells that refer to the breathing of dust or walking upside down.

By contrast to sequenced spells, many isolated references to scatological themes appear scattered on all the available inner surfaces of the coffins. This might be due, however, to their use within spells unconnected with scatological themes or with the provisioning of the deceased, but rather concerned with other themes. Furthermore, many of these isolated references do not to attempt to ward off the deceased from faecal material or foul matter, but instead refer to divinities and demons encountered by the deceased, or who inhabit areas of the Afterlife. Hence CT424 is a spell for driving away a number of crocodiles *'who steal magic'*. These demons appear to inhabit the four corners of the Cosmos as each is referenced to one of the four cardinal points, perhaps within the evening sky. This is indicated by the fact that one (in the west) lives on the Unwearying Stars and another (in the north) the twilight in the midst of the distant stars. The Eastern crocodile lives upon mutilations. The fourth crocodile,

however, is one that lives on stinking faeces. In the case of CT373, Faulkner has suggested that various random words including 'faeces' had been used to fill up a lacuna within the text on Gwa's outer coffin (B2L), since he found the text at that point incomprehensible (Faulkner 1977, 10 note 10).

It is clear, therefore, that scatological references within the Coffin Texts fulfilled various purposes, and may have been included within their respective coffin text documents for a number of reasons. Non-sequenced or isolated references mostly appear to be of the nature of what can perhaps be regarded as 'recognition spells'. The purpose of these was perhaps to indicate to the deceased the presence of demonic or dangerous demons, to inform him or her of their nature and, perhaps, on how to avoid them whilst journeying through, or existing in the afterlife.

Sequenced spells, however, may have had a number of functions. Primarily, these spells appear to act as an indicator of foulness, especially within foodstuffs. This might have had a purely practical origin, since the living, as well as the deceased, always had to be wary of polluted food for health reasons. Many tomb reliefs from the Middle and New Kingdom, which regularly depicted agricultural activities, give a clear indication of how food could become corrupted, hence polluted. Here, beside the planting of seed and the growing of cereals, the various activities involved in harvesting and processing of ripened grain are regularly depicted. The purpose of such imagery, of course, was to provide the eternal supply of grain for food production and funerary feasts in the afterlife (Kamrin 1999, 72), but these images may also show us the day-to-day actions considered by the Egyptians as commonplace and widespread. In these images, once the grain is harvested, it is threshed by the use of animals trampling upon the grains to remove the tough outer husks prior to winnowing by hand. It is obvious that dirt and detritus could be introduced at this stage via the animals and their hooves, and undoubtedly the cleaning of the grains was a major concern for food producers and processors. Indeed, CT194 specifically refers to the eating of *'the earthy dust with which the threshing-floors are covered'*. Although tokenised foodstuffs made of sub-standard materials were incorporated as simulacra of real meals within the tomb appurtenances (Taylor 2001, 95), one can envisage that the deceased expected, or at least assumed, that any foodstuff offered from the living world, or through tomb reliefs, should have been as appetising and nourishing as possible, and therefore one aspect of the scatological spells within the Coffin Texts was possibly meant to help differentiate between these foods made of clean ingredients and foodstuffs incorporating foul substances from the production process, and maybe even helped purify the food metaphysically.

Dirt is essentially an aspect of disorder and chaos in some societies, and the environment of the tomb as well as the sacred nature of the Egyptian Afterlife should have been protected from befoulment (Douglas 1966, 7). The Egyptians saw the tomb as a pure environment and therefore the introduction of any source of impurity (*bwt*) into the tomb was prohibited (Frandsen 2001, 143–145). Faeces were seen as 'death' within the tomb environment and therefore the theme of rejection of faecal material may be interpreted as an attempt by the deceased to prevent 'death a second time'. But in order to reject such potentially destructive materials, the deceased had to be able to recognise them. Thus the deceased was expected to acquire detailed knowledge of evil, and these Coffin Text spells may well have played a significant part to this end. Hays has shown how, between the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom, the focus of Afterlife texts was changed into one of knowledge, especially of knowing what was known by the gods (Hays 2004, 190). The Coffin Texts show an intense concern over what was arcane and metaphysical about the anticipated afterlife that the deceased was expected to inhabit. The Field of Rushes, for example, was no longer just the

place of purification that it had been within the Pyramid Texts, but was now transformed into a place of offerings. Indeed, the Coffin Text spells descendents of the Pyramid Text utterance PT210 were as much concerned with the deceased being able to recognise and reject scatological substances as they were with providing good food and drink for the deceased (Hays 2004, 198–199).

Frandsen suggests that one route to acquiring such knowledge of the Afterlife and its various divine and demonic inhabitants and situations was through repeated, cyclical contact with the forces of non-existence and Chaos (Frandsen 2001, 167). As well as experiencing non-existence, the deceased also had to combat that same non-existence. With its constant use of duality, therefore, the apparent paradox of good and evil, and of Maat and chaos, the breaching of the sanctity and purity of the funerary complex becomes clear. The deceased must know the difference between the forces of good and those of bad. In order to enter the sterile world of a pure tomb, with its good food and ordered Cosmos, the deceased must also be able to know, recognise and ultimately reject the pollutants of *bwt* and of faecal foodstuffs, as well as any demonic forces that were allied with such pollution and chaos.

Therefore, the use of references to eating faeces and drinking urine within the Coffin Texts, and their placement around the legs and feet of the deceased within the coffin, possibly with the scope of indicating and referencing the correct foods to consume, ultimately would have been considered more than simply the means of eternal sustenance, they would have represented a powerful weapon against the forces of Chaos, preserving the deceased and his or her personal Cosmos for all eternity.

Appendix

No.	de Buck Siglum	Find location	Current location	Museum catalogue no.	Owner	Inner/ Outer/ Type
1	B3Bo	Bersha	Boston	21.962–65	Djehuty-nakht	Outer
2	B6Bo	Bersha	Boston	21.810–11	Sat-meket	Fragment
3	B1C	Bersha	Cairo	CG 28083	Sepi	Inner
4	B4C	Bersha	Cairo	CG 28086	Sat-hedj-hotep	Outer
5	B5C	Bersha	Cairo	JdE 37566	Djehuty-hotep	Inner
6	B7C	Bersha	Cairo	JdE 37567	Djehuty-hotep	Inner
7	B9C	Bersha	Cairo	CG 28091	Amenemhat	Inner
8	B15C	Bersha	Cairo	CG 28123	Djehuty-nakht	Outer
9	B1L	Bersha	London	BM 30840	Gwa	Inner
10	B2L	Bersha	London	BM 30839	Gwa	Outer
11	B2P	Bersha	Paris	E10779B	Sepi	Inner
12	B1Y	Bersha	Yale	1937.5903	Djehuty-nakht	Coffin
13	D1C	Dendera	Cairo	CG 28117	Beb	Tomb Chamber
14	M2C	Meir	Cairo	JdE 42947	Henem-hotep	Coffin
15	M2NY	Meir	New York	12.183.11A	Hapy-ankh-ty	Coffin
16	S1C	Asyut	Cairo	CG 28118	Mesekhti	Coffin

17	S2C	Asyut	Cairo	CG 28119	Mesekhti	Coffin
18	S6C	Asyut	Cairo	JdE 36320	Hwin-Seket/Khety	Coffin
19	S10C	Asyut	Cairo	JdE 44980	Iri/Ankh-ef	Coffin
20	S14C	Asyut	Cairo	JdE 44981	Henet-ni	Coffin
21	S16C	Asyut	Cairo	CG 28128	Nakht	Coffin
22	S2Chass	Asyut			Ma'at	Lid
23	S2P	Asyut	Paris	11936	Nehti	Coffin
24	S1Tü	Asyut	Tübingen		Idy	Coffin

Table 2. *Coffins including references to faeces, urine or filth included in this study (After Willems 1988, 20–29).*

CT Spell	Main coffin sources	de Buck references	References to foul substances
184	Bersha	III, 79 – 80	TO NOT EAT FAECES IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD, NOT TO WALK UPSIDE DOWN (…) what I detest is faeces and I will not eat it
185	Bersha	III, 84	What I doubly detest I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth (…)
186	Bersha	III, 85	What I doubly detest I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth, I will not go to you upside down, I will not drink urine for you (…)
187	Bersha	III, 87 – 89	What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth (…) I will live on those three portions which were made for Osiris (…)
188	Bersha	III, 92	What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth. I will not go up for it with my hands, I will not tread on it with my sandals, I will not partake of it with my fingers.
189	Bersha	III, 96 – 97	What I detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation, and I will not eat; I will not consume filth; I will not tread on them with my feet, I will not partake thereof with my fingers. I have ploughed, I have reaped, I have made dough in the Island of Fire (…)
190	Bersha	III, 98	What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth. I will not go up to it with my fingers, I will not tread on it with my toes (…) I will live on white emmer…
191	Bersha; Asyut	III, 99	SPELL FOR NOT EATING FAECES IN THE WEST. O child of faeces, do not bring your faeces to me (…) I am the owner of five great portions with Osiris (…)'
192	Bersha; Asyut	III, 102 – 108	NOT TO EAT FAECES AND NOT TO DRINK URINE. What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my

			detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth. I will not go up to it with my fingers, I will not tread on it with my toes, filth shall not enter my belly. 'On what will you live? (…) Four portions are in the sky with Orion (…) NOT EATING FAECES IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.
193	Bersha; Asyut	III, 110 – 111	O filth, I will not eat you with my mouth, I will not go up for you with my hands, I will not tread on you with my feet (…) Be far from me, oh bearer of faeces!
194	Bersha; Asyut	III, 112	Recitation for not eating faeces. Even if Re is very hungry and Hathor very thirsty, I will not eat the earthy dust with which the threshing-floors are covered (…)
195	Bersha; Asyut	III, 113	What N doubly detests he will not eat. Faeces is N's detestation, N will not eat; N will not partake of filth. N will not eat it with his mouth, this N will not partake of what is on his fingers (…) This N will live on these seven portions (…)
197	Asyut	III, 116 – 118	NOT TO EAT FAECES IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD. (…) I will not eat faeces for you, I will not walk upside down for you (…) I will depart upstanding (…) my anus is on me, it being attached. I eat with my mouth, I defecate with my anus (…)
198	Asyut	III, 120 – 121	(…) I will not eat filth for you (…) I depart upstanding (…) my anus is on me, it being attached. I eat with my mouth, I defecate with my anus (…)
199	Asyut	III, 123 – 124	What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; I will not consume filth, I will not approach it with my fingers, I will not tread on it with my toes. What will you live on? (...) On a *sꜣšrt*-cake of red emmer, on a loaf of twisted barley (…)
200	Asyut	III, 125	NOT TO GO UPSIDE DOWN. O Faeces, 'I will not befoul her' is your name (…)
201	Asyut	III, 126 – 127	(…) What I doubly detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; the *ssnnw* of my father are urine and I will not drink them. I go upstanding, for to be upside down is my detestation (…) Impurities are my detestation, and I will never eat them, faeces being cast away (…)
202	Asyut	III, 128	What I detest, I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation and I will not eat; filth shall not enter into my belly, I will not go up to it with my hands, I will not tread on it with my sandals (…) I will not walk upside down (…)
203	Asyut	III, 130 – 136	SPELL (…) NOT TO EAT FAECES AND NOT TO WALK UPSIDE DOWN. O you who reject faeces (…) be far from me (…) What I doubly, detest I will not eat. Faeces is my detestation, and I will not eat; filth shall not enter into my body. I will not go up to it

			with my hands, I will not tread on it with my sandals (…) I will live on bread (…) and beer (…) what I detest, I will not eat…
204	Asyut	III, 140 – 142	RECITATION FOR NOT EATING FAECES OR WALKING UPSIDE DOWN IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD (…) efflux is my detestation and I will not eat; discharge, and I will not drink. I will not go up with my fingers, I will not tread on it with my sandals, I will walk on my feet, I will not be upside down.
205	Asyut	III, 143 – 151	Not to walk upside down (…) Faeces is my detestation, and I will not eat for you; urine is my detestation, and I will not drink for you; walking upside down is my detestation (…) I will live on cucumbers, figs, *wnšw* and grapes (…)
206	Asyut	III, 153 – 154	NOT TO WALK UPSIDE DOWN. (…) I will not eat faeces, I will not drink urine, I will not walk upside down (…)
207	Asyut	III, 159	(…) NOT TO EAT FAECES NOR DRINK [URINE] IN THE REALM OF THE DEAD.
208	Asyut	III, 162	(…) Faeces is my detestation, and I will not eat; urine is my detestation, and there is none with me (…)
211	Asyut	III, 168	(…) Faeces and urine are my detestation; I live on the sweet things which are issued from the shrine of Re (…) I walk on my feet, I am not upside down in the presence of Re.

339	Various	IV, 338 – 339	…As for him who knows this spell (…) he will never eat faeces (…)
368	Various	V, 30	‘Get back, Faeces!’ ‘But Faeces is not my name (…)’
373	Various	V, 36	‘(…) Faeces’ (Faulkner 1977, 10 note 10)
404	Various	V, 195	(…) ‘Tell me my name says the riverbank (…) “He who eats putrefaction in darkness”’ (…)
424	Various	V, 265–266	SPELL FOR DRIVING AWAY THE CROCODILES WHO STEAL MAGIC. (…) Get back, you crocodile of the South, living on stinking faeces (…)
473	Various	VI, 13 –15	(…) my bread is in the Field of Rushes, my supper is in the field of Flood; I will not eat faeces for you, I will not drink urine for you, I will not walk upside down for you, but I will live there on red emmer, I will eat there of white emmer (…)
586	Various	VI, 206	‘(…) land of faeces (…)’ (Faulkner 1977, 189 note 7)

Table 3. *Coffin Text references used in the study (Translations after Faulkner 1973 and 1977).*

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The Localization of the Shasu-Land of Ramses II's Rhetorical Texts

Alexandre Vassiliev

Introduction

This paper deals with an Egyptian word, *ṯst* 'hill, ridge', showing, during the New Kingdom period, a plural form with definite article, *nꜣ ṯswt* 'the ridges/the hills'. I suggest that the term *nꜣ ṯswt* is not a general topographical designation, but that, in all cases, it represents a proper geographical name of a certain Asiatic region which can be localized on the ground.

nꜣ ṯswt in rhetorical 'universalist' texts of Ramses II

In most cases the designation *nꜣ ṯswt* appears together with reference to Shasu, the Egyptian term for Bedouin of Sinai or Southern Palestine. According to the rhetorical 'universalist' texts of Ramses II, *nꜣ ṯswt*, 'the ridges', are situated in the Shasu-land. In these texts the latter is contrasted to Libya, as east is to west, and it is said to be located on 'the ridges' (*nꜣ ṯswt*), where the Libyan soldiers were settled in Egyptian strongholds (*nḫtw*) and settlements (*dmi̯w*) bearing the name of the pharaoh (*ḥr rn.f*), as indicated in the following extracts.

Tell er-Retaba, Rhetorical Stela (Giveon 1971, D. 32; KRI II, 304):

> 'Making great slaughter in the land of Shasu (*tꜣ n šꜣsw*), he plunders their ridges (*ṯswt*), slaying them, building with settlements (*dmi̯w*) in his name (*ḥr rn.f*), forever'.

Abu Simbel, Great Temple (Giveon 1971, D. 16; KRI II, 206–207):

> 'Carrying off the land of Nubia to the Northland, and the Asiatics to Nubia. He has placed the Shasu in the Westland, he has settled the Libyans on the ridges (*nꜣ ṯswt*). Filling the strongholds which he has built (*nḫtw nt qd.n.f*) with the plunder of his sturdy arm, one who slays Khurru with his sword, Retenu having fallen to his slaughtering'.

Compare also the inscription on a block from Suez (Giveon 1971, D. 34; KRI II, 406):

> '[Resettling the] Libyans in settlements bearing his name (*dmi̯w ḥr rn.f*) (…) [Seizing] the Shasu by valour, (they being) carried off to Egypt'.

and Tanis Obelisk XXI (KRI II, 426):

> '[settling] the East with Libyans (…) [placing Eastern]ers [in] the Western country'.

Where exactly were 'the ridges' of the Shasu-land with the Egyptian forts situated? According to Egyptian documents the Shasu-land lies outside the land of Canaan (= Khurru/Retenu), which represents the north, as indicated by the Pithom Stela (Giveon 1971, D. 31; KRI II, 404) which states:

> 'You plundered Khurru and Kush, the Libyans and the Shasu, and the isles in the midst of the Great Green'.

Therefore, the Shasu-land is situated to the east from Egypt, between the southern border of Canaan, that is, the line from the southern end of the Dead Sea to Wadi el-Arish (= Brook of Egypt), and the eastern border of Egypt, marked by the fortress of Sile in the eastern Delta.

Seir as a main centre of the Shasu-land

The most detailed source for the localization of the Shasu-land is represented by the list of toponyms of the Shasu-land from the geographical list of Soleb and Amara West (Giveon 1971, D. 6a and 16a; KRI II, 217). Only one toponym can be securely identified. It is *t3 š3sw sʿr,* the Shasu-land Seir, that is, the biblical Mount Seir/Edom, the hill-country west and east from Wadi Arabah. By contrast to the rest of the Shasu-land toponyms on Soleb and Amara West geographical list, Mount Seir/Edom appears also in other Egyptian documents as a home-land of the Shasu (See, for example, Tanis Obelisk I: KRI II, 408–409, Giveon 1971, D. 25; Gebel esh-Shaluf Stela II: KRI II, 303–304; Giveon 1971, D. 33; Weippert 1974, 271, n. 3; P. Harris I, 76, 7: Giveon 1971, D. 38; P. Ananstasi VI, 51–61/LEM 76–77: Giveon 1971, D. 37), where it is undoubtedly perceived as the main centre of the Shasu-land. However, does this mean that 'the ridges' of the Shasu-land were situated in the hill-country of Seir/Edom? This is the localization proposed in '*Notes and Comments*' to KRI (Kitchen 1999, 94–95, 182–183; Compare, however, 1999, 118–119: 'the east Delta turtlebacks or hills of Canaan'). One of the weak points of this theory is that the identification of 'the ridges' with Seir/Edom cannot explain the emphasis on the building of Egyptian settlements on 'the ridges', since it is hardly a place where we expect to find Egyptian forts and strongholds.

n3 ṯswt of the Karnak reliefs of Seti I

Moreover, there is another Egyptian document which locates 'the ridges' in northern Sinai. In the Karnak reliefs of Seti I the term *n3 ṯswt* is used twice in the account of the Shasu-war to designate the location of the enemies, as shown in the following extracts.

Karnak, Campaign from Sile to Pa-Canaan, Year 1 (Giveon 1971, D. 11; KRI I, 9):

> 'Now, one came to tell to [His] Majesty: 'The fallen ones of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united together, standing on the ridges (*n3 n ṯswt*) of Khurru'.

KRI I, 7:

> 'The ridg[es (*n3 ṯs*[*wt*) of the] rebels, none could [pas]s them because of the fallen ones of Shasu who were attacking [him?]. His Majesty cap[tured th]em totally, [down] to the very last one'.

KRI I, 8:

> ‘The destruction, which the sturdy arm of Pharaoh, LPH, made (among) the fallen ones of Shasu from the fortress of Sile to Pa-Canaan’.

The relief, on which the scenes of the Shasu-war are depicted, represents a kind of map of the North Sinai military road from Sile to Raphiah and Gaza (= Pa-Canaan), marked by Egyptian forts and wells, and known also from the description of this route in P. Anastasi I (Gardiner 1922). Of note is the fact that the map contains the same names of Egyptian forts (*dmi̯w* and *nḫtw*) bearing the same name of the ruling Egyptian king as the rhetorical texts of Ramses II. The topography of the campaign makes it clear that it is along this coast-road that the battle with the Shasu people had taken place. According to the scene of the battle with the Shasu, its place may be localized somewhere in the eastern part of the North Sinai coastal plain. On the relief the fleeing Shasu are shown climbing up a mountain or a hill, which is apparently identical with ‘the ridges’ (*nꜣ ṯswt*) mentioned in the text (Figure 1). Hills populated with Shasu people are also depicted near the town of Pa-Canaan, where the rest of the Shasu were defeated (Figure 2). Therefore, it follows from these reliefs and the texts that ‘the ridges of Khurru’ must be looked for in the same region from Sile to Gaza, along the military road between Egypt and Palestine.

Thus, the Egyptian sources contain very explicit information concerning the localization of ‘the ridges’: they lie between Sile and Gaza, along the road from Egypt to Canaan. In fact, the only logical explanation of the Egyptian evidence on *nꜣ ṯswt* of the Shasu seems to be the identification of the military outposts (*dmi̯w* and *nḫtw*) built on ‘the ridges’ in the Shasu-land according to the rhetorical texts of Ramses II, with Egyptian forts and wells located along the North Sinai road from Egypt to Canaan mentioned in the Karnak map of Seti I and P. Anastasi I, and the localization of ‘the ridges’ on this road.

This simple conclusion, however, was not proposed until now. Apparently, the main difficulty for this localization of ‘the ridges’ is the fact that the Egyptian military road to Canaan passed through the North Sinai maritime plain, which in no way may be characterized as a mountainous region, and, therefore, the use of the term ‘ridges’ in connection with this area is not understandable. But what kind of hills or ridges were these *ṯswt*? If the term refers to mountains, ‘the hills’ of the Shasu cannot be located directly on the Egyptian route to Canaan, since, as mentioned above, it passes through the coastal plain. It has also been suggested that ‘the foothills which the Shasu had rendered impassable would be those bordering the road between Egypt and Palestine, lying south of this road as far as Raphiah and following the coastal plain northeast into Palestine’ (Murnane 1985, 56–57, note 8), and that the Shasu defeated on the hills near Pa-Canaan were located on ‘the foothills well east from the plain of Gaza’ (Kitchen 1993, 13). However, the text and reliefs create the strong impression that the Shasu, as well as their ‘ridges’, were situated exactly on the Egyptian road to Canaan and in the immediate vicinity of Pa-Canaan/Gaza. Moreover, the usual term for mountains in Egyptian is *ḏw*, as in the case of the Egyptian name for Seir (*ḏw n sʿr* = biblical ‘Mount Seir’). The word *ṯst* used in the Karnak account of Seti I and in the rhetorical texts of Ramses II for the location of Shasu, is a rather specific term for hills which is not very common in Egyptian texts. In fact, the designation *nꜣ ṯswt* with the plural definite article is found mostly in connection with Shasu.

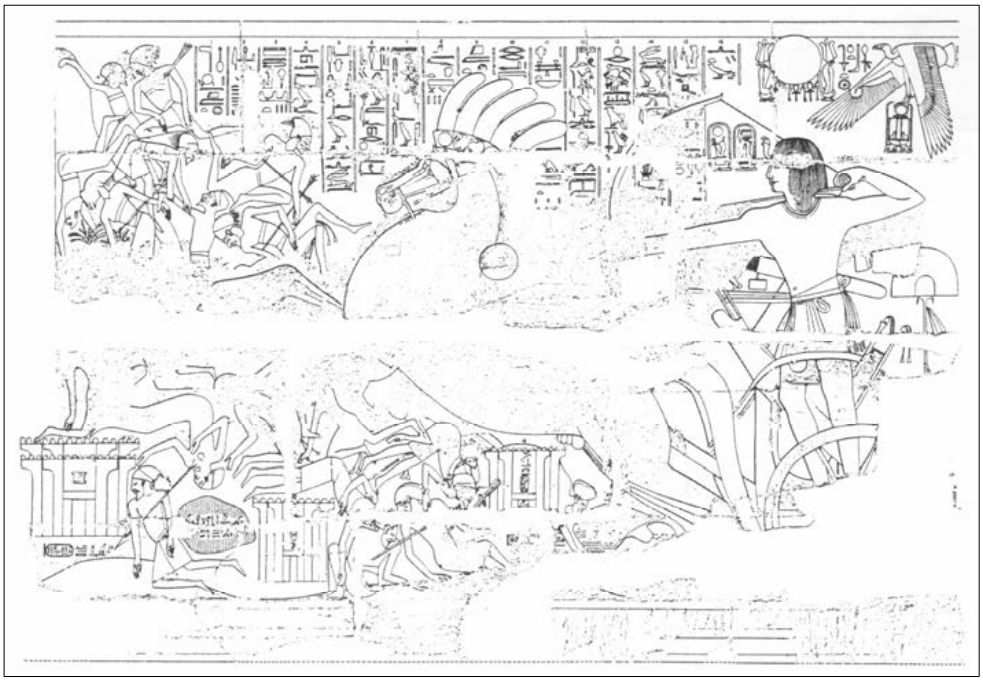


Figure 1. *Battle with the Shasu People on the Ways of Horus (North Sinai) (After Heinz 2001, 242 Figure I.1).*

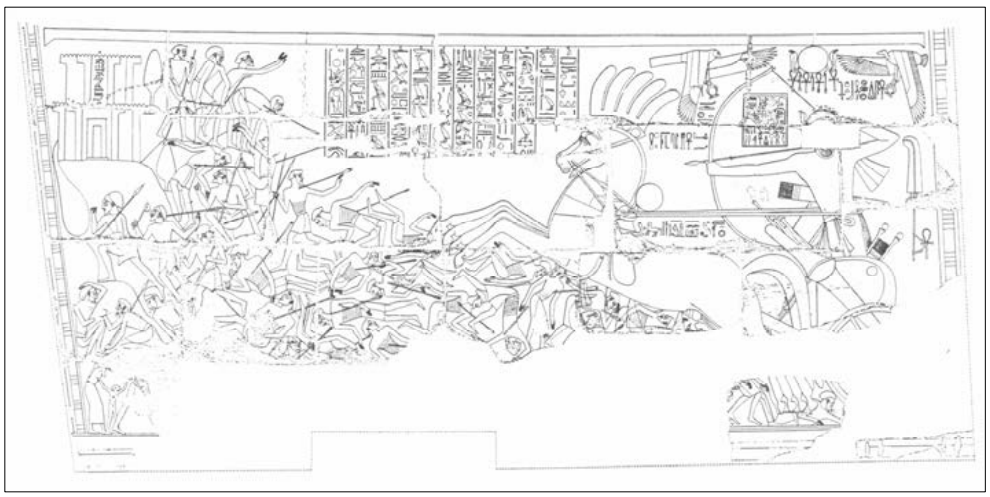


Figure 2. *Battle with the Shasu People near Pa-Canaan (Gaza) (After Heinz 2001, 243 Figure I.3).*

n3 ṯswt in other Egyptian documents

The references to 'the ridges' without Shasu, make it clear that in all cases the name *n3 ṯswt* refers to the same district.

The Journal of a frontier Official, P. Anastasi III, vs. 6, 4–6, 5 /LEM 31–32:

> 'Regnal-year 3, first month of Shomu, day 17. Arrival of the commanders of troops of the Wells of Merenptah Hotep-her-Maat, which are (on) the ridges (*n3 ṯswt*) for an investigation in the fortress which is in Sile'.

It was suggested that 'The Wells of Merenptah Hotep-her-Maat which are (on) the ridges' were situated in the hill-country of Canaan (Caminos 1954, 111), but they can be identified with the wells on the military road to Canaan of the Karnak map. This assumption is supported by two versions of the Ramesside narrative on the hardships of the soldier's life.

P. Anastasi III, 5, 9–5, 11/LEM 26, 9–13 (= P. Anastasi IV, 9, 7–9, 10/LEM 44, 12–16):

> 'Come, (let me describe) to you his going to Khurru and his marching upon the ridges (*n3 ṯswt*), his bread and his water are upon his shoulder like a load of an ass, whilst his neck is forming a ridge like that of an ass. The vertebrae of his back are bent, while he drinks of brackish/putrid water'.

P. Lansing 9, 9–10, 2 /LEM 108, 8–12:

> 'He is called up for Khurru, and he cannot rest. There are no clothes and no sandals. The weapons of warfare are mustered to the fortress of Sile, his marching is high up on the ridges (*n3 ṯswt*). After three days he drinks water which is brackish like the taste of salt'.

The context leaves no doubt that 'the ridges' in question are identical with those of Khurru/Shasu. The soldier obviously follows the same military road to Khurru/Canaan through the North Sinai plain which the Shasu had rendered impassable under Sety I. The description of his sufferings during the marching fits exactly the North Sinai road, which passes through a desert region with only a small supply of water from wells, which is saline and bitter to the taste.

Conclusion

Thus, according to all Egyptian evidence, the term *n3 ṯswt* represents the name of a certain district in North Sinai and it always occurs in connection with the Egyptian military road to Canaan. The important conclusion that follows from the sources is that these 'ridges' were situated in no other place than precisely *on* this road, where no mountains can be found.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this evidence is that *n3 ṯswt* cannot be understood as referring to real mountains. The Egyptian designation obviously refers to another geographical feature of northern Sinai, the ranges of sand-hills or dunes. The hills of the Karnak relief of Seti I can, apparently, be identified as sand-dunes. The latter constitute a prominent geographical feature of the North Sinai coastal plain (along with the brackish water of its wells), and the use by the Egyptians of a special geographical term for its designation, which may be understood accordingly as 'the (sand-)hills' or 'the ridges (of sand-dunes)', is

quite natural and can be seen as the characterization of the region of northern Sinai *par excellence*.

In the description of the North Sinai road by the traveler Ludwig Salvator (1881, 14) we find a good parallel to the Egyptian texts:

> 'The road alternatively rises and descends over bare sand ridges and then passes down a declivity overgrown with rushes and grass to Bir el-Aafin, 'the stinking well', which contains but little water, and that is almost putrid. In the distance we saw several flocks of goats in the charge of Bedouins who inhabit the whole tract of country right up to the sea'.

On the other hand, the localization of *nꜣ ṯswt* of Shasu in northern Sinai makes the Egyptian reports on the building of new settlements bearing the name of Pharaoh in the Shasu-land perfectly understandable. This activity is obviously identical with the Pharaonic building along the Egyptian military road to Canaan: on the Karnak reliefs forts K and P are designated as *dmi ḳd n ḥm.f m mꜣwt*, 'settlements which his Majesty built anew'; forts J and Q are 'strongholds' (*nḫtw*). It is in these military outposts that the Libyans were settled. 'The Wells of Merenptah which are on the hills' mentioned in P. Anastasi III can be identified with a group of wells L, M, N, O, P in the proximity of where the Shasu People were defeated on their 'hills' (Figure 3).

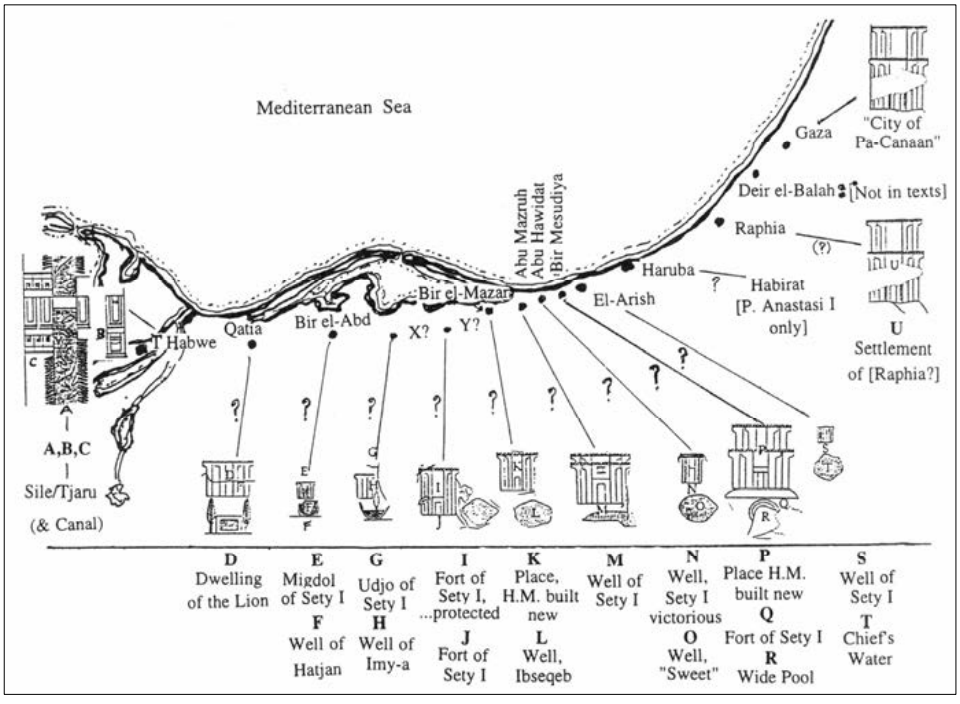


Figure 3. *Egyptian forts and wells on the route from Sile to Gaza (Modified from Kitchen 2003, 632, Pl. XXX, Figure 32A).*

Department of Ancient Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations
The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

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Libraries and Archives: the Organization of Collective Wisdom in Ancient Egypt

Katharina Zinn

> We are what we remember, which is another way of saying that we are nothing other than the stories we can tell about ourselves and our past (Assmann 2002, 9).

Introduction

In our times of multimedia networking, libraries are important service institutions. However, libraries are certainly much more than merely an aid for academic research and teaching. The recent multimedia revolution has brought back into focus a traditional function of libraries that has been largely neglected, or considered secondary, since the beginning of the 20th century: the important role that libraries play in the preservation of the collective wisdom and knowledge of a society, as well as in the transmission of its cultural inheritance to both the present and the future. Books in libraries are storage space for writings, and as such they are at all times representatives and mediators of what the Egyptologist Assmann has called the 'cultural memory' of a community.

It is revealing that it was not a scholar of librarianship, but the philosopher Karl Reimund Popper who presented the following two thought experiments at a congress on Logic, Methodology and Philosophy of Science:

> *Experiment 1*. All our machines and tools are destroyed, and all our subjective learning, including our subjective knowledge of machines and tools, and how to use them. But libraries and our capacity to learn from them survive. Clearly, after much suffering, our world may get going again.
>
> *Experiment 2*. As before, machines and tools are destroyed, and our subjective learning, including our subjective knowledge of machines and tools, and how to use them. But this time, all libraries are destroyed also, so that our capacity to learn from books becomes useless.
>
> (…) In the second case there will be no re-emergence of our civilization for many millennia. (Popper 1972, 107–108).

The neglect of the traditional function of libraries was not only part of the academic discussion in Library Science, but also in Egyptology. While Egyptological scholarship on libraries has, so far, taken only such sources into account that promised to contribute to an institutional topography of archaeologically verifiable libraries, it is time to take a different approach. In addition to archaeological evidence, this new approach should utilise insights of

the media-sciences, as well as Assmann's ideas about 'cultural memory' and its transmission. In this way it is possible to describe and systematically analyse the existence, function, and working of libraries in Ancient Egypt in its whole social and religious context. This analysis forms the basis for a social and cultural history of how the ancient Egyptians managed their tradition, and circulated traditional knowledge. Moreover, focusing on one of the earliest library traditions in the world allows us to extend the time frame of library studies beyond Graeco-Roman antiquity, thus contributing to the general history of libraries. In this paper I will address the question of how ancient Egyptian libraries operated as a place for keeping and circulating written knowledge, by providing a clear definition of the distinctive, yet complementary, functions of libraries and archives.

Libraries in Ancient Egypt? A new approach

In addition to material that refers to libraries directly, either in the form of archaeological evidence, or in the form of texts that use one or more of the known terms for library/archive in connection with a specific location, I base the study of libraries on a significantly extended range of primary sources from nearly all periods of Ancient Egyptian history. These sources include official titles and tomb inscriptions from the Old Kingdom, offering formulas from all periods, king novels (*Königsnovelle*) and other literary texts from the Middle and New Kingdom, as well as religious papyri of the Late Period and Graeco-Roman times, to name just a few. In this way the theoretical approach of the 'traces, messages and memories' adopted by Assmann is brought to life (Assmann 2002, 8–9). This approach involves three alternative interpretative strategies: the archaeological, the epigraphic/iconographic and the mythological. The *traces*, the archaeological evidence, are the type of evidence most Egyptologists have taken into account so far. Only Burkard starts to take a broader approach in the sense of Assmann's *messages* and *memories*, by collecting and systematising both archaeological and written indications (Burkard 1980). The *messages* describe the meaning of events, ideas or institutions for the contemporaries of the past culture. The *memories* express how the past is actually remembered. Only by including all three types of sources and interpretative strategies, does it become feasible to reconstruct a coherent picture of the ancient Egyptians knowledge management, both in the sense of remembering traditional wisdom, and in making it accessible to the present. To realise the significance of all possible sources is more important than the attempt to find a concrete historical library, which would be employing the archaeological method alone, the search for the traces, according to Assmann.

The new approach is called for by the dearth of archaeological evidence. Most libraries or archives were built as mud-brick-structures, for instance the *pr-ᶜnḫ* (Burkard 1980, 80). Such buildings have mostly been destroyed, or are difficult to excavate. The few excavated libraries, which are in temples built of stone, are small special libraries, exclusively used in the daily cult-ritual. After a long period of meagre archaeological evidence for libraries, there are a number of interesting recent excavations which promise new insights and information concerning libraries and archives. In Tanis a French excavation led by Brissaud and Zivie-Coche brought to light a brick building containing traces of papyri, potsherds of limestone and other fragmentary objects. This building could be either an archive, or a library (on the destination see below). As of now, the archaeological report affords no specific identification. Furthermore, Bouvier and Le Blanc excavated small rooms, perhaps once used as offices, in the Ramesseum between palace and northern repository. They identified these rooms as *pr-ᶜnḫ*, the house of life.

Close scrutiny of all material, nearly 300 different sources, revealed a significant number of new terms that were used synonymously with library/archive. The large number of official titles and epitheta associated with libraries and archives further suggests the existence of a developed library/archive system in Ancient Egypt. Finally, sifting through the available evidence, I brought to light phrases, topoi, and intertextual links that do not necessarily include any explicit reference to a library or archive, but clearly constitute a shared discourse centring on the preservation and transmission of knowledge. Because these textual passages stem from the same historic and/or semantic context, I call this group of evidence 'cognate sources'. This is a slightly modified interpretation of the original definition given by the Sinologist Richter who defines cognate texts as texts 'which derive from a common source or tradition' (Richter 2000, 549). To the group of cognate texts belong such observations as correlations in copies and master-copies and their transmission. For example, on a false-door in the British Museum (BM 682) from the mastaba of *Ptḥ-špss* at Abusir, there are otherwise unknown titles of priests, which are possibly also found in the list of gods in the hall of Sokar and Nefertem, as well as in the chapel of Sokar in the temple of Sethos in Abydos. There is only one further monument where this title sequence is written down, in the tomb of *sꜣbw* (*Jbbj*) from the reign of Teti, 75–100 years later. The use of a common title sequence suggests the existence of an underlying pattern, or a somehow accessible blueprint (Baines 1988, 127–128; Baines 1990, 7–8; Kees 1915, 58–61; Kloth 2002, 258, 15 with further references).

A large number of cognate texts can be found in the so-called '*Findeformeln*'. This term was coined by the German Egyptologist Morenz in allusion to the Egyptian lexeme *gmj*, to find (Morenz 1996, 14–15 note 60). However, the *Findeformel* is usually only applied to those cases where a scripture or any other ancient writing, the *zḫ jsw*, has been found. In the tomb of the Vizier *Wꜣš-ptḥ* (Sakkara D 38) from the 5th Dynasty (reign of Sahure/Neferirkare) (Kloth 2002, 14), is found inscribed a letter of the pharaoh which reports of a bodily harm that befell the tomb's owner (Inscription B = Kairo CG 15691 + Aberdeen 1558a = now Aberdeen 1558a). The inscription relates that after the collapse of the Vizier the pharaoh sent for the lector priests and chief physicians to bring their writings: 'Thus His Majesty had the sheath of the writings brought to him' (Urk.I 42: *rd.jn ḥm=f jṯ.t n=f ꜣʿw n*(*j*) *mḏꜣ.*(*w*)*t*). Nowhere is it indicated from where these writings are coming, but from the parallel composition of another example of the 'Findeformel', the stela of king Neferhotep (13th Dynasty) from Abydos, it seems to be clear that they too are brought from the library, the *pr-mḏꜣ.t*. In the Neferhotep stela the king declares his desire to see the writings of the primeval times of Atum. His courtiers answer him 'May your Majesty proceed to the Houses of Writings (*pr.w n zḫ.w*) and see the words of God (*mdw-nṯr*)' (Pieper 1929, 13–14, Pl. II, line 6 and 7, §6; Pieper gave the wrong transliteration *pr-jsw.t*, maybe following the term 'ancient writings' *zḫ.w* (*n*) *jsw.t*). The king and his courtiers proceed to the House of Books and open the writings, where *pr-mḏꜣ.t* is used as a term for the temple library (Parkinson and Quirke 1995, 58). In this text the institution 'library' is named twice with synonymously used terms.

Libraries in Ancient Egypt: an attempt to a functional definition

Including the cognate texts explicated above, I consider four kinds of sources:

1. Archaeological sources: few in number and often researched in former studies;
2. Named or appellative sources, which use one of the possible terms in a concrete context;

3. Cognate texts: They do not name the institutions in question, but they are associated with the context of storing knowledge and writing so strongly that their correlation with my topic is very clear. They have intertextual relations and include meaningful hints concerning libraries;
4. Titles, which comprise the name of one of the institutions for archive or library (in terms of a named source) as well as depending spheres (in terms of cognate texts).

To solve the problem of understanding the ancient Egyptian institutions of storage of knowledge, libraries and archives, a gateway must be formed between library, science and Egyptology. To deal with this, the state of research concerning both disciplines must be analysed, the groups of sources have to be categorised, and my own approach has to be clarified. The only way to define library in an efficient and useful way is the presentation of a functional definition of libraries and books as the *conditio sine qua non* for the inclusion of ancient libraries. This approach becomes apparent when contrasted to the currently predominant service-based definitions of library, which focus on the service function. This is especially important for Egyptology and related areas, because this methodology will include ancient institutions for the first time. Based on this awareness I want to propose a new and broader definition of the term library:

> *A library is an institution designed for the storage of any written text of general significance, in order to save and impart relevant knowledge by way of filing, keeping, preserving, and arranging it, with the aim of handing down the cultural memory of a community or society, and of ensuring the continued availability of its knowledge and skills.*

A social and cultural history of the management of tradition beyond the mere search for the archaeological remains of libraries is a desideratum. To write it, it is first necessary to analyse the procedures concerning the transmission of knowledge, the uses of this knowledge and its connection to the institution of the *library* in ancient Egypt. Ancient Egyptian libraries are part of the all-embracing cosmic and divine order of Maat. They hold a particular position and fulfil a particular function within this order. To describe this position and their unique function, it is necessary to scrutinise the several existing terms for *library* and *archive*, and to determine their differences and applications. This is essential because there existed different institutions that fulfilled this function of transmission of tradition, the so-called '*Überlieferungsfunktion*'. As to Egyptian terms that could be translated as 'library' I found *pr-mḏ3.t*, *pr-mḏ3.t-nṯr*, *pr-mḏ3.t-nṯr pr-ꜥ3*, *pr-ꜥnḫ*, *pr-mdw-nṯr*, *pr-n.w-zḫw*, *ḥw.t-jrj.w* and *js n zḫ.w*. All these terms are attested in documents of all kinds, with different frequency, and for different periods. They are to be differentiated from the words I will translate as 'archive': *ꜥrry.t*, *jz n ḫrj-ḥtmw*, *js.t*, *pr-ꜥnswt*, *pr-ḥrj-wḏb*, *ḫ3 n zḫ.w*, *ḫnt / ḫnr.t ḏśr.t*, *ḥtm n p3 ḫr qr p3 ḫtm*, *s.t-zḫ.w* and *sm3y.t.*

In this context, it is important to briefly delineate the differences between archive and library, both of which existed from the Old Kingdom onwards. In Egypt the differentiation does not result from the different character of the stored documents. Today, a library stock consists of material of a scientific, didactic, or diverting nature, whilst documents of an archive are economically, politically or historically relevant. In Ancient Egypt only the relatedness to daily affairs is important. Therefore, all documents that were not or no longer related to the business of everyday life were stored in a *library*. Although these documents were no longer relevant for the administrative concerns of the day, they nevertheless retained their significance as records and events that confirmed Maat. On the other hand, *archives* collected documents

concerning everyday administrative affairs in order to save them as official files for later reference, for instance in case of juridical or tax conflicts. They have no primary religious or political meaning.

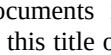
Overlap between archives and libraries is thus possible and their stock could sometimes be the same, especially in minor (cult-)places. We have to assume that both institutions could store the same documents. Sometimes documents are transferred from the archives to the library when they are not longer needed as reference for an ongoing case. Furthermore, sometimes clean-copies are given to the library while the original document remained in the archive. On the basis of the P. Cairo CG 58030 and P. Turin CG 54041, the German Egyptologist Tacke (2000) points out that these two ritual books, each a half of one ritual for Amenophis, are real books, intended to be read aloud, probably from the temple-library of the temple of Amun in Karnak. He contrasts these two papyri to P. Chester Beatty IX in the British Museum (inscribed on the verso with ritual texts, and on recto with religious texts) which he interprets as a reference scripture of a temple library. The books to be read aloud, P. Cairo CG 58030 and P. Turin CG 54041, were probably stored in a *pr-mḏꜣ.t*, possibly located at Karnak where these papyri come from, and where they were used during the rituals; whilst P. Chester Beatty IX, according to Tacke, and my own definition, rather belongs to a *pr-ꜥnḫ*.

Libraries and cultural memory: references and indications

Furthermore my different approach includes the consideration of different titles with the several terms for library and archive. I will give an example for titles including the term *pr-mḏꜣ.t*. The owners of titles including this word are known from the Old Kingdom onwards. However, we know that literature in the narrow sense did not exist until the Middle Kingdom. From this it follows that these libraries of earlier Egyptian periods (until the Middle Kingdom) should not be understood in the modern sense as libraries with a literary and scientific stock, and as having a reading public as their main users. The written documents of administration, bureaucracy and temple-cult, which are collected in ancient Egyptian libraries, are not those in daily use. They are no longer representative of ongoing cases, and thus of no interest as regards the day-to-day business of bureaucracy and administration. Ancient Egyptian libraries store these papers to document the progress of *mꜥꜣ.t*, the right routine and rules, truth, justice and cosmic order. Superficially they correspond to our present archives. In the view of the ancient Egyptians they were beyond daily routine and its self-evidence. This, of course, leads to the logical conclusion that the *pr-mḏꜣ.t* of the Old Kingdom are libraries in their function, but archives in our present meaning concerning the nature of the stored documents. However, they were distinguished from other institutions like *ꜥrry.t*, *smꜣy.t* or *s.t-ꜥ*, which I would translate as *archive*. For instance, in the tomb of *sšm-nfr* III (G 5170) there are both *zḫ ꜥ-nswt* and *zḫ pr-mḏꜣ.t*. Furthermore, the *jrj-mḏꜣ.t*, which I would translate as *archivist*, is distinguished from the *zḫ pr-mḏꜣ.t*, for example in the tomb of *Kꜣ-nj-nswt* (G 2155).

A case study: Amunwahsu and his family

One of the interesting tasks of dealing with this topic is the attempt to bring to life the people and duties behind official titles. This is the case of the biographies of Amunwahsu (*Jmn-wꜣḥ-sw*) and his family who were a kind of 'historic librarians'. It is always problematic to describe ancient phenomena with modern concepts, the following example should show the practicability of the adaptation of this modern occupational title. Amenwahsu, as well as his son *djꜣ* and his grandson *ḫꜥ-m-jp.t*, bear the titles 'Scribe of the House of Life, Scribe of the

Sacred Books in the House of Amun' (*zḫ pr-ꜥnḫ, zḫ-mḏꜣ.t-nṯr-m-pr-Jmn*). In his tomb (TT 111) Amenwahsu bears the additional title of 'God's Father of Re-Atum' (*jt-nṯr n Rꜥ-Jtm*) as an abbreviation of the very rare title 'God's Father of Re-Atum in the House of Life' (*jt-nṯr n Rꜥ-Jtm m pr-ꜥnḫ*), held by his son on another stela depicting both (Stela Tübingen 471), and the epithet 'Scribe who copies out the annals of all the gods in the House of Life' (*zḫ sphr gnw.t nṯr.w nb.w m pr-ꜥnḫ*) (Gardiner 1938, 161, numbers 9 and 10). Furthermore, the inscription closes with the statement that 'this writing was written down in this tomb by the scribe of the House of Life Amenwahsu with his own finger(s)' (*sphr zḫ pn m js pn jn zḫ pr-ꜥnḫ Jmn-wꜣḥ-sw m ḏbꜣ(.w)=f ḏs=f*) (KRI III, 303,9; Gardiner 1938, 161 number 9). Therefore, it is possible to conclude that the quoted titles were office titles, and not simply honorary titles conferring status without substance. Amenwahsu could read and write at all levels, he was not just partially literate. Due to his literacy and his strong connection to the House of Life, proved by his titles, it is conceivable that he brought documents or master-copies from the House of Life to embellish his tomb in west Thebes (Barthelmeß 1996, 21–22, especially note 26). His activity as copyist scribe who records the annals of the gods in the House of Life (*zḫ sphr gnw.t nṯr.w nb.w m pr-ꜥnḫ*) is also documented on stela Tübingen 471, where the editors abbreviated this title to '*Hofchronist*', court chronicler (Stela Tübingen 471: Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 103). Amer, who dealt extensively with Amenwahsu and his family, assumes that the short form of this job description is the title *zḫ pr-ꜥnḫ* (Amer 2000, 2). However, it is my opinion that copying annals could not be the exclusive function of the *zḫ pr-ꜥnḫ* as the equation of the two titles by modern scholars suggests, since copying is one of the usual jobs in the House of Life. Amenwahsu is possibly depicted also on another stela, now in the Louvre Museum (Louvre C210), which owner may be his father-in-law *Ptḥ-m-ꜣy*, father of his second wife. If this identification is correct, Amenwahsu would be depicted together with his father *sꜣ-mw.t* below the cornice, and holds here the title of 'Scribe of the tracking-records(?) in the House of Life' (*zḫ ṯꜣj n pr-ꜥnḫ*) (Pierret 1878, 119–120; KRI III 306,6 [entire stela 306,5–307,13]). The word *ṯꜣj* is unknown in this combination and has sparked several animated discussions. Von Känel regards the word as an abbreviation of *ṯꜣj-mḏꜣ.t*, referring to an engraver or to relief sculpture (Känel 1984, 47–48). Although at first this seems to be correct, it is important to note that on this stela there is a further title that use *ṯꜣj*, written as *ṯꜣj-ꜥ*. All entries of this term employ an unusual determinative sign (Gardiner list D56), the crooked leg, instead of the one for the term 'relief sculpture' with the signs 'finger laying horizontally' or 'forearm with hand holding a stick' (Gardiner list D51 and D40). Amer suggests understanding *ṯꜣj-ꜥ* as 'tracker', basing his interpretation on the term , with the meaning of 'track' or 'trace', and on P. Anastasi I (Amer 2000, 4; P. Anastasi I, 20:5–6. Compare Fischer-Elfert 1986, 169; Hannig 1995, 123). This would require the reading of *zḫ ṯꜣj n pr-ꜥnḫ* as 'scribe of the tracking-records of the House of Life', which Amer understands as documents concerning the festival-routes through the necropolis (Amer 2000, 4). If this interpretation is accepted, it provides evidence for the existence of a man responsible for a special department for the storing of old documents in the House of Life, a notable partition within the *pr-ꜥnḫ*. Amenwahsu holds this title on a further stela too, the unpublished stela Lausanne 3378, where another son of his holds the title *zḫ pr-ꜥnḫ* (mentioned by Känel 1984, 47; PM I,2, 806; on Amenwahsu see Känel 1984, 45–51). Given that Amenwahsu, his sons and a grandson hold such titles, it can be argued that these titles were hereditary. Otherwise, although less likely, the mention of these titles could be simply due to the self-representation of a literate and educated family with the aim of transmitting their knowledge (on this family see Amer 2000, 2–5).

Education could have taken place in the House of Life from father to son (Amer 2002, 2). The titles of Amenwahsu and his son Khaemipet are divided into two groups: concerning the

ability to write and read, as well as concerning religious and ritual activities. The title 'God's father of Re-Atum in the House of Life' (*jt-nṯr n Rᶜ-Jtm m pr-ᶜnḫ*) seems to connect these two spheres. It is a special kind of title and is, furthermore, only known from Heliopolis in the 19th Dynasty, written on stela London BM 309, found at Abydos. However, the owner of the London stela operated in Heliopolis, where the *pr-ᶜnḫ*, mentioned in the title, must be situated. Raue (1999, 183) assumes a duplication in the creation of official titles in Thebes and Heliopolis, reflecting a dependence of the Heliopolitan tradition on the Theban. The tomb of Amenwahsu and the stela of Khaemipet though definitely belong to the Theban tradition (see Raue 1999, 187, note 1). In this respect we can assume that the House of Life Amenwahsu worked in was situated in the temple of Amun in Karnak. The two further stelae, Lausanne 3378 and Louvre C210, suggest a Memphite provenience. When Amenwahsu maybe served for a time in Memphis, where the family of his second wife came from, his title was 'Scribe of the tracking-records(?) in the House of Life' (*zḫ ṯ3j n pr-ᶜnḫ*). So a further *pr-ᶜnḫ* seems to exist in Memphis, which was large enough to have a library devised in sections. Amenwahsu's son Khaemipet was sent to the residence at Piramesse where a House of Life existed, as shown by his titles (Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 103). Therefore, we know from this family and their titles that several Houses of Life should have existed during the 19th Dynasty.

Conclusion

In order to write a cultural history of the storage of knowledge in ancient Egypt and the ancient Egyptian library tradition, it is essential to bring together a large number of neglected, sometimes fragmentary, sources. This tradition stands at the beginning of the memory culture of our western world, the so-called Occident, and thus extends into our present. Modern library science highlights the service function of libraries, which is why modern library definitions regard public access as the essential feature of this institution. By offering an alternative, functional definition of libraries (and books), which emphasises their crucial role in the preservation and transmission of collective wisdom, and thus able to accommodate pre-modern libraries, new comparative perspectives on the institutions central to the management of memory are opened.

Ägyptologisches Institut /Ägyptisches Museum
Fakultät für Geschichte, Kunst und Orientwissenschaften
University of Leipzig

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