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CHEMICAL DIETARY RECONSTRUCTION OF GRECO-ROMAN MUMMIES AT EGYPT'S DAKHLEH OASIS

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Abstract

At the Greco-Roman site of Kellis (Dakhleh Oasis, western desert of Egypt), about 20 km east of modern Mut is a burial site (Kellis-1 tomb group). Ceramic and cartonnage styles date these tombs from the end of the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. (Schweitzer, 2002). In 1993 the authors of this article examined and sampled 15 mummified bodies found in the first 12 tombs and in 1998 examined an additional 34 mummies from tombs 16-21. The details of this field work were present at the Dakhleh Symposium held in Melbourne, Australia in August 2000 and published in the proceedings of that conference (Aufderheide et al., 2003). The mummification methods identified by these mummy studies have been published as a separate article (Aufderheide et al., 2004). Herein we present results of reconstruction of the Kellis residents' diet by use of stable isotope (δ^{13}C and δ^{15}N ratio) methodology and coprolite studies.

Most individual members of ancient populations spent a major fraction of their time in the acquisition and processing of food. Since the principal goal of archaeological studies is the reconstruction of the daily life of ancient populations, information about the diet they consumed is of central archaeological interest. Indirect evidence about ancient diets can be acquired by examination of residual food items (e.g., bones) in middens or other site areas, detection of regional flora and fauna fossils and similar observations.   During the past several decades chemical methods that identify components unique to certain food classes have been developed, and these were applied to samples from our examined mummies. Additional information was derived from coprolite (dried feces) extracted from the mummies' intestine, and also from review of the entries in the ancient Kellis Agricultural Account Book found at the site.

Key Words
Kellis, Dakhleh Oasis, diet, coprolite studies, dietary reconstruction, pinworm

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF CHEMICAL DIETARY RECONSTRUCTION

Absorption of dietary carbon atoms are incorporated into compounds (carbohydrates, proteins and lipids) that make up the body's tissues. This synthetic process is an enzymatic

one, carried out principally by the liver. Plant carbohydrate formation is also an enzymatic one, driven by light energy in the photosynthesis mechanism. Finally, the burning of these compounds by the body's metabolic processes for energy produces carbonate, part of which becomes incorporated in bone mineral. The ultimate sources of this carbon is the atmosphere where about 99% of the carbon atoms are present in the form of the isotope ^{12}C and about 1% as ^{13}C. Chemical reactions tend to incorporate more of the lighter ^{12}C atoms than the heavier ^{13}C atoms. The degree of this relative rejection (discrimination) of the ^{13}C atoms varies among the different enzymes involved. Photosynthesis of plant sugars, for example, use one of two differing enzyme systems. While both discriminate against ^{13}C, the extent to which they do so differs substantially.

The first step in sugar synthesis by one (Hatch-Slack) of these systems produces a 3-carbon-containing sugar (C3 plants) whose carbon has been quite depleted of ^{13}C atoms. The other (Calvin) generates a 4-carbon-containing sugar (C4 plants) containing significantly more ^{13}C atoms, but still proportionately less than the 1% ^{13}C atoms in the atmosphere (Marino & McElroy, 1991). The $^{13}C/^{12}C$ ratio in tissue can be measured by ion ratio mass spectrometry, the results of which are predictive of the quantity of C3 and C4 sources in the diet. The values are expressed as the degree (delta or $\delta^{13}C$) to which they differ from that in a carbonate standard ore (PeeDee Belemnite). Since both photosynthetic enzyme systems discriminate against ^{13}C, the $\delta^{13}C$ values are always negative. Within the body synthetic enzyme systems will influence the ratio further. The difference between the $\delta^{13}C$ value of the food source and that of the body tissue into which the food source has been incorporated is termed the fractionation factor. Most C3 plants have $\delta^{13}C$ values that cluster in the -27‰ (parts per thousand or parts per mil: ppm) region while C4 plants average about -12‰ (Ambrose, 1993).

The $^{15}N/^{14}N$ of proteins is also expressed as $\delta^{15}N$, measured against that of atmospheric air whose $\delta^{15}N$ value is zero. Plant values can range from 0 to about +8 ‰ averaging about +4‰ but vary with the archaeological site. At every step of the food chain $\delta^{15}N$ is increased about +3‰ to 3.4‰ (Ambrose, 2000). Thus the long marine food chain can result in values as high as +30‰ in the larger fish or sea mammals such as sea lions.

METHOD

Full-thickness samples of cortical bone from the femur diaphysis was employed. After cleaning it was processed as described in Tieszen & Fagre (1993). In addition, braids from the hair of two mummies were separated at their junction with the scalp, washed and divided into 2 cm segments (about the length of scalp hair growth in two months). Each segment was tested separately for its $\delta^{13}C$ and $\delta^{15}N$ value.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results are listed in **Table 1**. The relatively low standard deviation (as well as the resulting values for the variance (C.V.) value reflect the fact that at Dakhleh the diet was common to most individual members. Experimental animal studies have indicated that the carbonate in bone mineral (apatite) is derived from plasma carbonate which, in turn, is the product of energy metabolism burning carbohydrates, lipids and even protein. Hence its value reflects all elements of the diet. Thus simply subtracting the fractionation factor (about

+9.4‰) from the bone mineral carbonate values will predict the $\delta^{13}C$ value for the whole diet; i.e., $\delta^{13}C_{whole\ diet} = d^{13}C_{apatite}$ -(+9.4‰). The +9.4‰ fractionation factor we use here is that found in animals (Ambrose & Norr, 1993). The value for humans has not yet reached consensus, but may be as much as 1‰ or more positive. For the Dakhleh mummies, $\delta^{13}C_{whole\ diet}$ = -14.8 -(+9.4) = -24.2‰. Modern relevant C3 plants, including wheat, barley, beans and fruit from Nubia and the Nile Valley have been measured and found to have a mean value of about -26.5 ± 2.9 (S.D.) ‰ (White, 1992). However, decades of burning fossil fuels has diluted atmospheric $\delta^{13}C$ values by about 1.5‰ (Marino & McElroy, 1991), and a step in the food chain enriches the $\delta^{13}C$ by about 1.0‰. Corrections for these factors would lead us to expect that ancient C3 plants by Dakhleh had a value of about -25.0‰ and that a food chain step with such a diet would produce a value of about -24.0‰. Hence our measured value would indicate that the diet our studied individuals at Dakhleh would have been close to a pure C3 diet. This C3 "label" could have been acquired from eating an exclusively C3 plant diet, an exclusively meat diet of animals that eat only C3 plants or any proportion of each of these.

White (1993) has studied stable isotope ratios in Nubian mummy hair samples and found very distinct fluctuations between C3 and C4 values along the length of the hair relating to seasonality. She attributed this to the consumption of wheat and barley (C3 plants) throughout most of the year, but millet and sorghum (C4 plants) when these matured during the summer. While the small standard deviation values of our samples suggested little variation in the Dakhleh diet, we did measure $\delta^{13}C$ values in two mummies whose braids were about 20 cm long. Growth of scalp hair is slightly in excess of 1 cm/month. The results of these were plotted and are displayed in **Figure 1**. As the standard deviation values had predicted, these $\delta^{13}C$ values indicate an essentially monotonous diet over a 20-month interval.

But at Dakhleh we have additional sources of information about foods grown there during the Greco-Roman Period. These include the Kellis Agricultural Account Book (KAB), a codex consisting of eight "pages," each one of which is a wood board about 33 x 11 x 2.5 cm with perforations through which cords were threaded to keep them intact and in order. The Greek inscriptions on these pages apparently represent payment and expenditure records by an agricultural property manager (Bagnall, 1997). Its value in reference to diet reconstruction lies in the fact that the exchanges were made largely in the form of food items. It is interesting, therefore, that the cereal grains wheat (*Triticum aestivum*: bread wheat) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*), both C3 plants, are among the most common; sorghum and millet (C4 plants) are never mentioned. Other items included fruits (figs and dates), wine (for which this oasis became well-known), vegetables including onions, turnips and radishes, olives and olive oil. All of these are consistent with a C3 diet. Although these entries reflect transactions, not ingestion, they at least document their availability at Kellis.

In addition to the KAB, numerous seeds have been identified in excavation soils from this site. These include cereal grains (bread wheat [*Triticum aestivum*], two-rowed barley [*Hordeum vulgare ssp. Disticum*] and six-rowed barley [*Hordeum vulgare ssp. vulgare*], dates, grapes, apricots, pomegranates, peaches, squash, beans and olives) (Thanheiser, 1999). All these are C3 plants. Grape seeds (*Vitis vinifera)* recovered from human (mummy) coprolites provide some direct evidence of ingestion (Horne, 2002--see below). Thanheiser

et al. (2002) note that hazelnuts, pistachio and walnuts were imported into Egypt and their distribution reached Kellis, and suggested that this remote site may not only have supplied its own botanical needs, but also used its surplus (olive oil, wine, wheat) to develop active trade activity. Though all this only indicates the site population "menu," not ingestion, it is nevertheless an impressive record.

Faunal skeletal elements found at Kellis indicate that the majority (77%) were those of pigs, cows, goats and chickens, supplemented by rabbits, dogs, ducks, geese, gerbils, ostrich, mice and camel (Churcher, 2002). This author also notes that the presence of Nile fish and oyster shells reflect trade with the Nile valley while marine snails at Kellis indicate more distant trade. Except for the latter, the plants and seeds consumed by most of these animals would have provided a C3 label. These remains also contribute to the "menu" list.

Apatite and collagen have different fractionation factors for $\delta^{13}C$. That of apatite, as noted above, is constant at about +9.4‰ in animals. The value in humans has not yet reached a consensus but may be as much as 1.0‰ higher. This is useful to estimate whole diet $\delta^{13}C$ value. That of collagen, however, is variable, depending on other dietary factors. However, in a monoisotopic diet in which the protein component and the whole diet $\delta^{13}C$ values are identical, the fractionation factor for $\delta^{13}C$ in collagen is +5‰. Thus, under such circumstances the difference between the collagen and the apatite $\delta^{13}C$ values is 4.4. Larger differences imply that the $\delta^{13}C$ of the dietary protein is more enriched in ^{13}C atoms in relation to the whole diet and vice versa (Ambrose et al., 1997). In our Dakhleh study the difference in $\delta^{13}C$ values between that of collagen and apatite was only 4.9, so close to 4.4 that this implies most of the protein carbon atoms' $\delta^{13}C$ values were quite close to that of the whole diet.

Schwarcz et al. (1999) list the $\delta^{15}N$ values of ancient animal remains at the Kellis site. That of cows, donkeys, pig and goat had $\delta^{15}N$ of +13.2‰; chickens and eggs had values of about 16.0‰. Since $\delta^{15}N$ has a trophic step value of +3‰, ingestion of such meat would result in collagen values of about $\delta^{15}N$ +16.2‰ for most animal meat and up to +19.0‰ for chickens. Since most of these animals would have ingested C3 plants, their meat would have a $\delta^{13}C$ label of C3 plants (about -24.0‰). Barley would have contributed a $\delta^{15}N$ label of about +17.2‰ in human collagen and wheat about +19.0‰. The mean measured value of $\delta^{15}N$ in the Dakhleh mummies was 18.4‰. Thus, except for chickens and their eggs, wheat would have made a more major contribution than did animal meat to the human $\delta^{15}N$ measured value. If the Kellis Account Book records reflect the Kellis population's diet, this would be consistent with a predominately plant source for dietary protein.

A word needs to be said about the distinctly elevated nitrogen levels in these samples. The mean $\delta^{15}N$ value for the Dakhleh mummies was +18.4 ± 0.95‰. Coastal populations consuming marine fish and sea mammals often present such high values. However, high $\delta^{15}N$ values have been found also in hyperarid deserts like the Sahara. Schwarcz et al. (1999) recently have addressed this question. Their database in that article included the values found in these Kellis mummies. In addition, they demonstrated $\delta^{15}N$ values of +12‰ to +16‰ in different animals (cow, donkey, pig, chickens) and even some higher values for some of the grains and fruits noted above. Explanations for the oft-reported elevated $\delta^{15}N$ values in humans and animals in desert areas have suggested that the excretion of $\delta^{15}N$ -

reduced urea, with intrarenal urea recycling would be expected to increase body tissue $\delta^{15}N$ values in arid regions, the +3‰ value for $\delta^{15}N$ trophic level resulting from the renal recycling. Animal experiments failed to confirm that proposed mechanism (Ambrose, 2000). Schwarcz et al. (1999) also point out that the $\delta^{15}N$ values found in Dakhleh animals are greater than can be explained physiologically. They suggest that the high $\delta^{15}N$ Sahara soil values may result at least partly from loss of ^{15}N-depleted ammonia gas formed in soils by bacterial action. In any event, they noted that at sites reported to date, soil $\delta^{15}N$ is inversely proportional to mean annual rainfall levels. At Dakhleh the values found in plants and animals are high enough to suggest that much of the high human values was derived, ultimately, from the suggested high soil values, though some minor inconsistencies remain. The high $\delta^{15}N$ levels of both plants and terrestrial meat at Dakhleh frustrate clear differentiation between these two protein sources. Using the few reference values available (Schwarcz et al., 1999) we can conclude that most of the dietary protein probably was derived from plants.

Finally the $\delta^{13}C$ difference in values between that of collagen and that of apatite is called "spacing." The spacing value for a carnivore is usually about 2 to 4‰ while that for an herbivore is commonly 5 to 7‰. The mechanism for these differences is controversial, but can be pragmatically useful. That value for the Kellis mummies is 4.92 ± 0.64. This is consistent with a principally C3 vegetal diet supplemented to only a minor degree with meat from a C3-eating terrestrial animal.

COPROLITE STUDIES

About one gram of coprolite (dried feces) material obtained by dissection from each of six of these mummies (No. 13, 101, 102, 103, 106 and 126) was rehydrated and examined microscopically. Many broken, undigested fragments of botanical fibers were identified, but no small animal bones were found. This is consistent with the biochemical isotope patterns. Numerous seeds were also noted, about half of which were grape seeds (*Vitis vinifera*). In addition coprolites of mummies 13 and 106 were found to contain ova of *Enterobius vermicularis* (pinworm) (**Figure 2**). To our knowledge, pinworms have not been reported previously in either ancient or modern Egypt. A detailed report of this finding and its significance has been published separately (Horne, 2002).

SUMMARY OF CHEMICAL RECONSTRUCTION FINDINGS

The chemical studies of the Dakhleh mummies indicate they survived almost entirely by consumption of C3 foods. This was derived principally from an intake of C3 plants such as wheat, barley and fruits. The protein dietary component had a value similar to that of the whole diet. Most of the protein probably was derived from these plants. The high $\delta^{15}N$ values of both plants and animals, probably reflecting high local soil $\delta^{15}N$ values, were most likely responsible for most of the similar increased $\delta^{15}N$ values in the humans. The fact that humans had a mean elevation of $\delta^{15}N$ values about +3‰ higher than plant and animal values suggests that the increment represents a trophic step fractionation due to ingestion of protein from plants or from C3-eating meat sources such as chickens and their eggs. These findings are consistent with the "menu" items represented by faunal (Churcher, 2002) and floral (Thanheiser, 2002) remains found at Kellis, with the items recorded in the Kellis Agricultural

Account Book and with the microscopic findings in the coprolite examinations. Hair braid studies indicate that in contrast to later Nubian practices in the Nile Valley, millet and sorghum were not among Dakhleh grain crops.

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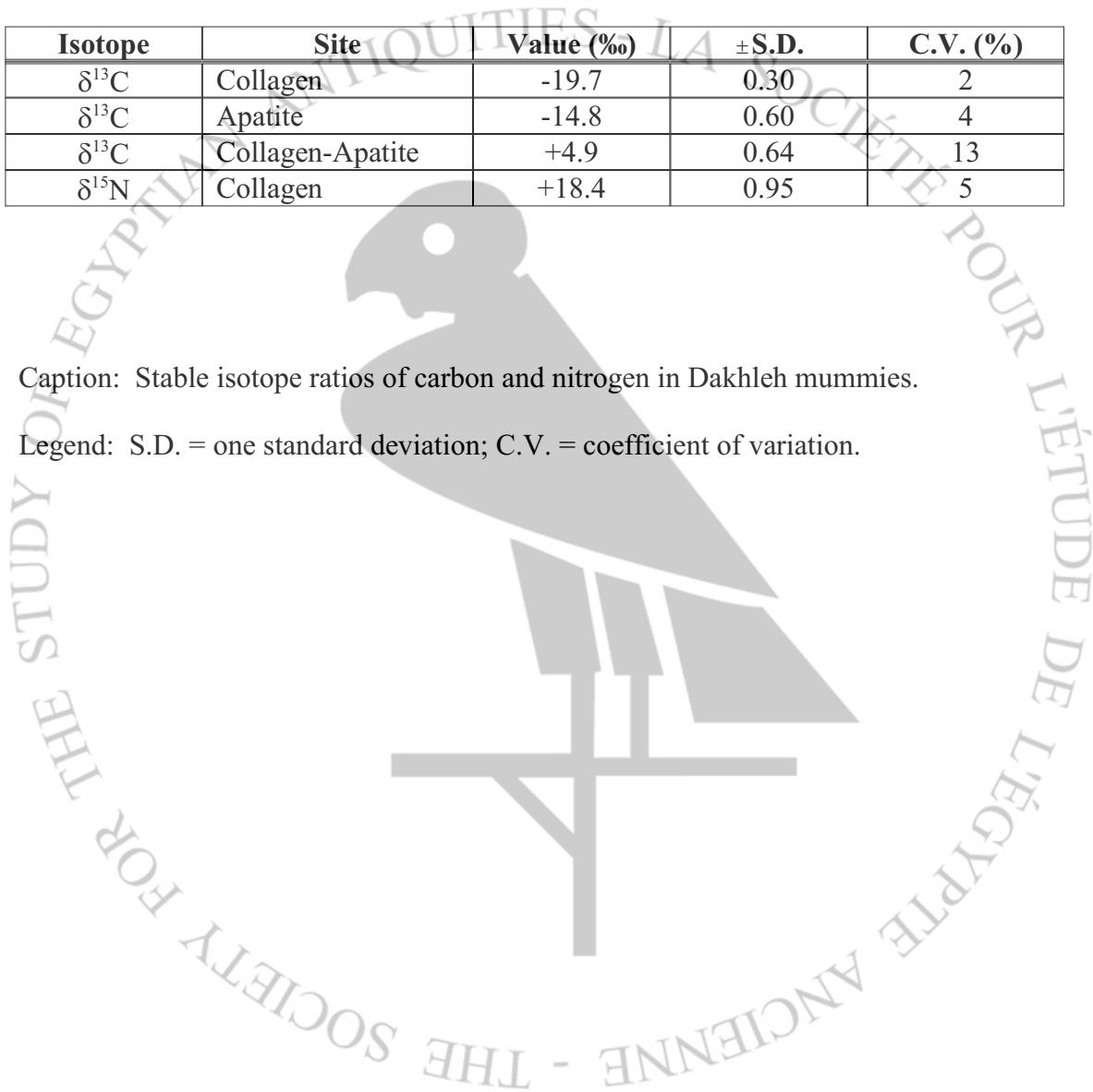
Table 1

Isotope	Site	Value (‰)	±S.D.	C.V. (%)
$\delta^{13}C$	Collagen	-19.7	0.30	2
$\delta^{13}C$	Apatite	-14.8	0.60	4
$\delta^{13}C$	Collagen-Apatite	+4.9	0.64	13
$\delta^{15}N$	Collagen	+18.4	0.95	5

Caption: Stable isotope ratios of carbon and nitrogen in Dakhleh mummies.

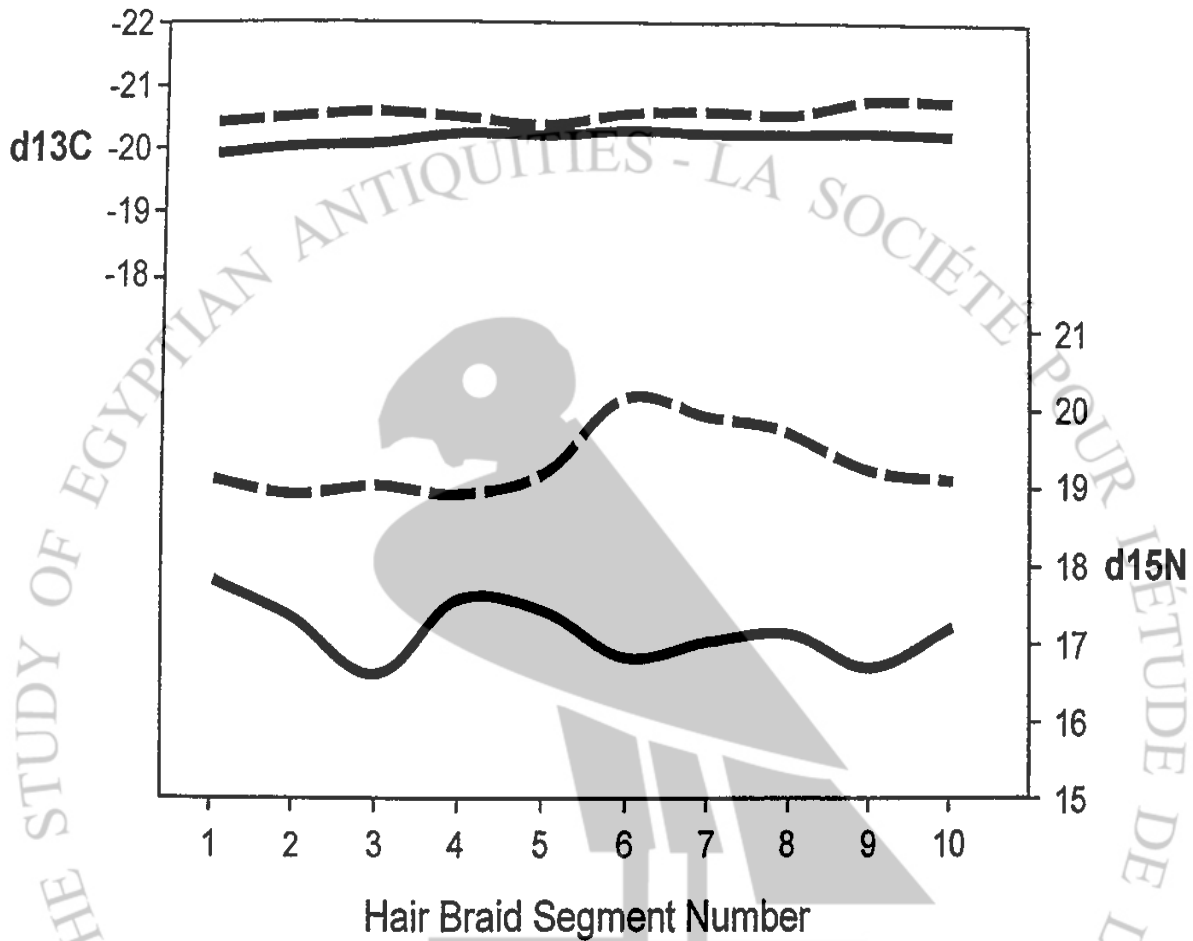Legend: S.D. = one standard deviation; C.V. = coefficient of variation.

FIGURE 1

Caption: Stable isotope ratios in linear hair braid segments.

Legend: $\delta^{13}C$ = delta carbon 13; $\delta^{15}N$ = delta nitrogen 15. The hair braid segment samples were each 2 cm long, representing about 2 months of growth of scalp hair. The dotted line represents values from mummy no. 4 and the solid line from mummy no. 10.

EG-98:A-106
(ova 6)
69.18 x 32.91 micron
(x250)

FIGURE 2

Caption: *Enterobius vermicularis* ova in coprolite.
Legend: Embryonated ova of pinworms were identified in coprolites retrieved from
mummies no. 13 and 106 at Dakhleh Oasis (Horne, 2002).

DIE EINGEWEIDEKRÜGE ODER KRÜGE DES LEBENSKEIMENS!

Sanaa Abd El Azim El-Adly

Abstract

Beim Alten Ägypter wird der Tod als eine Abstufung zu einem neuen Status des Daseins betrachtet. Um die Wende zur geschichtlichen Zeit hat der Ägypter sich an einer Mumifizierung des Leichnames versucht . Durch einen Schnitt an der linken Bauchseite des Toten werden die Eingeweide mit Ausnahme des Herzens herausgenommen und in vier Krügen beigesetzt. Die Mumifizierung garantiert dem Toten ein ewiges Krug. In den betreffenden Körperteile finden die ungründbaren Keimen des neuen Lebens im Jenseits statt.

Keywords
die Horuskinder, Amset, Hapi, Duemuetef, Kebehsenuef, Kanopengötter, Isis, Nephthys, Neith, die Osirismysterien, das Totengericht, das Mundöffnungsritual

Beim Alten Ägypter wird die Begriffsbestimmung vom Tod als Nicht-mehr Sein eher ausgeschieden zugunsten der Alternativdefinition vom Tod als Abstufung zu einem neuen Status des Daseins[1]. Der Tod ist keine Endstation, sondern ein Durchgangsstadium, das archäologisch seit der Vorgeschichte durch Bestattungsritten sowie Totenkult bezeugt ist. Seit den Pyramidentexten finden sich auch ausdrüklich[2] solche grundlegenden Formlierungen[3]:

"Du bist zwar weggegangen, aber nicht indem du Tot bist Indem du lebst, bist du weggegangen".

Da diese Vorstellung das systematische Denken des ägyptischen Totenglauben Theologen weitgehend beeinflußten, ergaben sich bald, daß der Tod ein Tor zu einem gesteigerten Leben im Jenseits war. Nur durch Nichtseiendes wird Schöpfung möglich. Der ägyptische Gläubige muß vor dem Totengericht Rechenschaft über seine irdischen Taten ablegen. Diese Rechtfertigung führte er in der Form verneinender Aussagen, in das berühmte Negative Bekenntnis des 125 Spruches im Totenbuch. Unter diesen verneinenden Mitteilungen ist der Satz: "Ich kenne das Nichtseiende nicht"[4].

Das Sein und Seiendes überhaupt! Ist nicht starre Dauer, sondern ständige Erneuerung. "Tote" werden seit alter Zeit nur die Verdammten, die im Totengericht verurteilten[5]. Totsein ist identisch mit Nichtsein. So hat Morenz darauf hingewiesen, daß für den Altägypter eine andauernde sowie beständige Regeneration zur Dauer hinzugehörte[6]. Die seligen Verstorbenen verjüngen sich durch ihren Tod, regnerieren sich an den Ursprüngen ihrer Existenz.

Um die Wende zur geschichtlichen Zeit hat der Ägypter sich an einer Mumifizierung versucht. Durch einen Schnitt an der linken Bauchseite werden die Eingeweide mit Ausnahme des Herzens herausgenommen und gesondert in vier Krügen den sog. Kanopen beigesetzt[7]. Dies war gerade zu einem Sicherungsmittel gegen die Gefahr des Verschmachtens geworden. Plutarch erzählt, daß man sie die Sonne gezeigt und dann als Träger und Verusacher alles

sündigen Wesens in den Fluß geworfen habe. Prophyries schreibt noch die Worte zu, mit denen der Balsamierer die Handlung führt, "wenn ich in meinem leben Unrecht tat, indem ich aß oder trank, was nicht recht ist, so ist das nicht meine sondern dieses Schuld"[8].

Die Mumifizierung gehört zu den Handlungen, die dem Toten dabei helfen, ihm zu einem Seligen zu machen und damit ein ewiges Seiende garantieren. Dadurch daß die Mumie im Grab ewig und unvergänglich bleibt[9].

Statt dem Ausdruck "leib" oder Leichnam gebraucht man Bezeichnungen mit Anspielungen auf höhere Sphäre. So spricht man von der Mumie als einem Sah, ein Wort, das den Edlen bezeichnet und die auf den Verklärten bezogen wird und im Gefolge des Gottes wandeln kann. Man nennt sie sogar einen Achom[10]. In einer mythologisierten Form des Begräbnisrituals werden die Ausführenden mit Göttermasken-Priester als Horuskinder angesprochen. In vier Krügen brachte man die Eingeweide, an deren jede man die Figur eines der Horussöhne heftete[11].

Die Aufbewahrungsbehälter für die Eingeweide, sind unter den Schutz von Osiris und Anubis vor allen aber der Horuskinder und der Kanopenschutzgottheiten:

> Isis ist Amset zugeordnet,
> Nephthys wird Hapi,
> Neith ist Duamutef und
> Selket ist Kebehsenuef gestellt[12].

Einige Hauptgesichtspunkte lassen sich bei Horuskinder und dem Toten absondern:

> 1. bei Horus haben wir die weitverbreitete Mythos des vaterlosen gefährdeten Kindgottes[13],
> 2. das Horuskind ist zugleich einsam und doch unter dem göttlichen Schirm behüttet sowie beschützet nicht nur von Isis auch vom Sonnengott und Thot[14].

Seine Wirkung ist vor allem die eines Retters, nach dem es selbst aus den durch Seth oder wilde Tiere drohenden Gefahren errettet worden ist[15]. Die ägyptische Verbindung zwischen Gott und Menschen gipfelnd in der Verkündigung des Antrittes des Verstorbenen im Totenreich durch vier angekleidet Götterboten, d.h. die Horuskinder nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen[16].

Durch die Horuskinder findet die förmliche Verkündigung des vorübergehenden Status sog. Sterbens eines Menschen nach den vier Himmelsrichtungen statt. Ebenfalls übernehmen sie den Schutz des Toten[17].

Als Erstes behandeln wir **den Amsty**–Krug, bzw. *imś.tj*[18]. Der menschenköpfige Schutzgott des Toten ist mit *imś.t* "Der med. Dill" verwechselt worden. Der Dill ist auf Grund seiner bekannten konservierenden Wirkung aufgenommen und bei der Mumfizierung Schutz und Erhaltung des Magens der Eingeweide anvertraut worden.

Amset ist mit der leber anvertraut und mit Isis als Schutzgöttin des Sarges verbunden[19]. Als Mutter and Amme des Toten ruft Isis seine Wiedergeburt hervor[20]. In der Balsamierungsstätte hat Isis zusammen mit Nephtyes folgende Handlungen auszuführen: Klage Verklärungen, jede Wiederherstellungsaktion (Aufrichten des Toten, Zufächeln von Luft, Belebungsakte des Gesichtssinnes sowie des Ba, Libation zusammen mit Schlachtung bei der Mundöffnung[21] und Begrüßung am Grab.

Die beiden angeblichen Horuskinder Amset und Hapi sind eigentlich dualische Paarbegriffe. Der aus der Beobachtung einer Geschlechterspaltung als Grundform natürlichen Daseins abgeleitete Dualismus fand in Ägypten eine Wirkungsvolle Unterstutzung auch in den dualischen Paarbegriffen Amset und Hapi. Dazu kommt die angeborene Vorliebe des Ägyptens für den gegenstädigen Aufbau aller religiöses Elemente.

Hapi ist dualisch gebildet. Nach dem Schriftbild soll er ein Entenpaar bezichnet[22].

Recht früh trägt er einen menschengestaltigen Kopf. Seit Senofru zur Zeit des AR hat Hapi ein affengestaltiges Wesen[23]. Als Schutzgott der Eingeweide ist Hapi der Milz zugeordnet[24], und Nephthyes ist ihm der anthropomorph weibliche Partner[25]. Sie verkörpert das Gefäß, Hapi jedoch den Inhalt. Seit dem NR ist Hapi oft paviangestaltig dargestellt. Er ist auch einer der Himmelsrichtungsvertreter, bzw. Norden[26]. Augenscheinlich hat Hapi eine so bedeutende Rolle in Spätzeit gespielet, als man ihn mit dem Herzen als einem der wesentlichen Bestandteile des Menschen knüpft[27]. Das Herz eines Mannes ist sein Gott selbst vgl. mit dem heutigen Ausdruck "Herz sprechen lassen" arabisch : استفتى قلبك .

Notes

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FOREIGN PHARAOHS:
SELF-LEGITIMIZATION AND INDIGENOUS REACTION
IN ART AND LITERATURE

Corey J. Chimko

Abstract

The author takes a new and integrated look at the treatment of the royal foreigner and the politics of race. Specifically examined is the inherent tension between the normally scathing view of the foreigner in Egyptian ideology and the necessity of deferring to him in times of foreign domination by the Hyksos, the Nubians and the Persians. Examined are both the image the foreign pharaohs wished to portray themselves, as well as the indigenous Egyptian reaction during and after periods of foreign domination. What emerges is a perhaps unexpected conclusion that foreigners were not hated as adamantly as is commonly held.

Keywords

foreigners, Hyksos, Nubians, Persians, Intermediate Periods, race, domination, legitimization, customs, art, literature

One of the most salient features of the depiction of foreigners in Egyptian art is the invariable subordination of the alien to the ideologically superior native Egyptian. Bestialization, feminization, infantilization and the spatial placement of foreigners on the lowest levels of stelae, monuments, temples and other structures are some ways in which the god-granted dominion over foreign lands and their inhabitants by the pharaoh are conveyed to the observer. History shows, however, that this domination was only a symbolic and ideal one in terms of Egypt's real world international relations. Egypt in fact found itself under foreign domination on several occasions throughout its history; indeed, increasingly so as time wore on and contacts with other ancient civilizations increased. One wonders, then, how the art of these periods could cope with the paradoxical situation of having persons traditionally regarded as sub-human occupy the highest positions of honor in Egyptian religion and government. This study aims to examine the art of some of these periods of foreign domination to determine just that. It will also determine what reaction, if any, is discernible in the art of the periods that follow each foreign domination, in which Egypt was able to restore indigenous rule. Subsequently, a comparison will be undertaken in order to determine whether any consistency or variation occurs in the ways in which foreign dynasties have themselves depicted and the Egyptian reaction to them, and to suggest possible reasons for similarities and/or differences.[1]

I will be focusing on 1) the period of Hyksos rule (XIV-XVth dynasties) during the Second Intermediate Period (2IP); 2) the period of Nubian rule (the XXVth dynasty) during the Third Intermediate Period (3IP); and 3) the first Persian dynasty (dynasty XXVII) in the Late Period.[2] After each of these three periods Egypt was able to restore native rule. Beginning with the second Persian occupation, Egypt was unable to do so again until modern times.

I. THE HYKSOS IN EGYPT

1) A Survey of Hyksos Royal Art

One of the problems encountered in a study of this kind is that foreign rule tends to occur in Egypt during periods of internal stress, when the indigenous government is weak, and the traditional administrative and religious infrastructure responsible for artistic production may not be at its most fertile. Coupled with the assumptions that foreign rulers would have found it more difficult to engender support, and that hate-motivated post-occupational destruction of monuments was likely a frequent occurrence, there exist less than favorable conditions for the survival of art from these periods. Nevertheless, it is surprising how much what little survives can tell us.

The Hyksos,[3] being the first (and perhaps therefore the most violently hated afterwards) foreigners to claim the Egyptian throne, have left us the fewest and most fragmentary remains of any of our periods. Indeed, the number and names of the kings of the period is still a matter of considerable debate.[4] This situation will hopefully ameliorate with the continuing excavations of M. Bietak at Tell el-Dabʿa,[5] but for now the gamut of Hyksos royal art may be listed and discussed without concern of taking up too much space.

Previously accepted reconstructions of the Hyksos royal dynasty[6] have recently been overhauled by K. Ryholt, who has placed *Mʿ-jb-rʿ* Sheshy and *Mr-wsr-rʿ* Yaʿkob-har within the XIVth rather than the XVth Dynasty.[7] Perhaps the two most important Hyksos pharaohs, *Swsr.n-rʿ* Khayan and *Nb-ḥpš-rʿ/ ʿ3-ḳnn-rʿ/ ʿ3-wsr-rʿ* Apophis remain within the 15th Dynasty, and it is they, together with Iannasi, that are the only kings to date for which we have any royal art save scarabs:[8]

Items of Khayan
Monuments:
a. Block of granite from Gebelein[9]
b. Usurped MK statue from Bubastis[10]
c. Unprovenanced basalt lion from Baghdad[11]
Vessels:
d. Alabaster lid from Knossos[12]
e. Obsidian vase fragment from Bögazköy[13]

Items of Iannasi
f. Stela fragment from Tell el-Dabʿa[14]

Items of Apophis
Monuments:
g. A granite architrave from Gebelein[15]
h. A piece of building inscription originally from Avaris, found at Bubastis[16]
i. A doorjamb of the Princess Tany and Apophis from Qantir (originally from Avaris)[17]
j. Usurped statue from Tanis (originally from Avaris) of one *Mr-Mšʿ* (a pharaoh of the XIIIth dynasty),[18] and two other Middle Kingdom sphinxes[19]
Furniture:
k. A reused XIIth dynasty offering stand with the name of the princess Tany and Apophis[20]

l. An offering table of black granite from Avaris[21]
Tools:
m. A scribal palette from Medinet el-Fayyum[22]
n. An adze blade from near Gebelein[23]
o. Sword of *nḥmn* in the grave of ʿ*3bd* at Saqqara (**Fig. 1**)[24]
Vessels:
p. A fragment of a stone jar with the name of Apophis and his daughter from the Tomb of Amenhotep I[25]
q. A fragment of a large jar from Memphis[26]
r. An alabaster vessel from Spain[27]
What, then, can this small corpus of material actually tell us about the nature of Hyksos rule?

2) Evidence for the Hyksos Adoption of Egyptian Custom

Taking the corpus of scarabs and the inscriptionally terse monuments of Khayan, one can already draw numerous conclusions. **a)** The Hyksos sphere of influence spread far and wide. The scarab distributions of Sheshy and Yaʿkob-har run from Nubia in the south to Palestine in the north. Items *a-e* of Khayan betray the maintenance of, at the very least, extensive trade networks as far as Anatolia, Crete and Mesopotamia, if not diplomatic contacts as well.[28] More recently, many scholars have contributed to a rapidly expanding knowledge of the character and extent of Hyksos trade relations throughout the ancient world.[29] Holladay gives evidence of Egyptian trade routes in the Hyksos period proceeding from economically important sites such as Tell el Dabʿa, Tell el-Maskhuta and Tell el-Yahudiya, and running the entire length of the Transjordan, east into Babylonia, north into Hittite territory and northeast into Cyprus, Anatolia and Greece.[30] There is also evidence for trade with the far East, southern Arabia and inner Africa, which led Holladay to characterize the Asiatic settlements in the Delta as "a major port-of-trade probably unequaled in the Eastern Mediterranean."[31]

b) There is at least some attempt by the Hyksos kings to cast themselves in the guise of the traditional Egyptian pharaoh. They adopt royal titulary, including the invocation of Horus (item *b*) and names with the theophoric element $R^ʿ$ (items *a*, *d*, and *e*). The names are written in the Egyptian language, and they use praenomens, a traditional practice of the preceding XIIIth dynasty. Redford suggests that "one might, with some reason, conclude that the Hyksos thus adopted forms they found ready to hand in Egypt, and suffered native mentors to counsel them."[32]

With Apophis, the proverbial sphere of influence can be seen throughout the whole of Egypt (Avaris, the Fayyum, Saqqara, Memphis, Gebelein, Thebes [items *l-q*]) and trade influences as far as Spain (item *r*). The gamut of revered Egyptian deities expands from Re and Horus (items *h*, *j*, *l*, *m*, *o-r*) to include the XVth Dynasty's favored Seth (items *h*, *j*, *l*) and also Sobek (item *n*). Items *p* and *r* have special significance for diplomatic relations and have led some to speculate about Hyksos princesses in the courts of contemporary political powers.[33]

As far as the royal image and administration at home was concerned, item *o* shows the king on the hunt, a typical representation for a pharaoh, and this interpretation is strengthened by the comparison of this sword with an axe of Ahmose, which shows the pharaoh in the familiar smiting scene, striking a personage with the same attributes as the one on the sword (**Fig. 1**). In the words of Daressy, "sans aucun doute c'est un personnage de même race qui est figuré dans les deux cas,

ici un chasseur, là un vaincu, et puisque selon toutes probabilités c'est un Pasteur qui est gravé sur le poignard, c'est aussi un Pasteur qui est terrassé par Aahmès."[34]

The usurpation of Middle Kingdom statuary (item *j*) betrays an attempt by Apophis to identify himself with the kings of the XIIth dynasty, and item *k* (together with a wealth of scarabs) shows that administrators in the employ of the Hyksos pharaohs also adopted traditional administrative titles, such as 'treasurer'.[35]

By Apophis' time, and somewhat ironically, the Hyksos kings also seem to have downplayed their foreignness by using traditional formulations that laud the pharaoh's dominance over other foreigners. Apophis has "all lands under his feet" (item *l*), his "might has reached the limits of the foreign lands – there is not a country exempt from serving him!" (item *r*), and he is even "protector of strange lands (3) who have never [even] had a glimpse of him" (item *m*). It is unlikely that this was actually the case, and far more likely that this is the same concept of the god-given dominion over all lands espoused by true Egyptian pharaohs from the earliest of times.

A growing body of evidence also suggests that Apophis' reign was in some sense one of cultural prosperity; the *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus* was recopied during his reign,[36] and some scholars believe we owe the survival of other important works such as the *Westcar Papyrus* and the *Admonitions of Ipuwer* to him as well.[37] On item *m*, Apophis is "the scribe of Re, whom Thoth himself taught, whom [ ] outfitted [...] to/of all things; multi-talented on the day when he reads faithfully all the difficult (passages) of the writings as (smoothly as [?]) flows the Nile", suggesting an interest in literature and the skills to pursue it. The contents of Papyrus BM EA 10475 suggests pushing back the date of the genesis of the compound genre of eulogy/narrative to the 2IP.[38] The *Rhind* papyrus also shows an adherence to the tradition of reckoning dates according to the regnal years of the king,[39] and there is a description of the dedication of a sistrum to the temple of Dendera by one ʿIpp, probably Apophis.[40]

Looking at the corpus of art as a whole, items *a*, *n*, and *p*, as well as the mention of Hyksos military presence on the two Kamose stelae (see below), show that attempts were at least made by the Hyksos to control or influence Middle and Upper Egypt.[41] Although such scanty remains cannot in themselves tell us very much about the nature of Hyksos rule in these regions, if it in fact existed to any appreciable degree, there are suggestions of heavy taxation from tax seals and scarabs[42] as well as the words of Kamose (see below).

Supporting information is gleanable from some of the archaeological evidence, as explained by Bietak, who tells us that "it is not clear [...] whether [the royal residence found among the MB sequence at Tell el-Dabʿa] had been a summer residence of an Egptian king of the XIIIth Dynasty or the palace of a Delta ruler of Asiatic origin.[43] Finds from the palace suggest the latter, although the architecture seems to be Egyptian."[44] A possible candidate is one ʿ3-zh-rʿ Nehesy, commonly held to be a member of the XIVth Dynasty,[45] who may have been a local ruler of some power before the actual Hyksos takeover. Two limestone doorpost inscriptions of this king were found in the religious sanctuary at Tell el-Dabʿa,[46] in thoroughly Egyptian style even at this early time, despite being surrounded by a thoroughly Canaanite settlement.

3) Evidence for Hyksos Resistance to and Disdain for Egyptian Custom

As it is unlikely that the Hyksos would flaunt their foreign nature for fear of inciting the indigenous populace to rebellion, their royal art betrays little in the way of foreign elements.[47] Some

scarabs and seals with Canaanite depictions of Baʿal-like deities and other near-eastern gods and goddesses appear to be the only evidence. The archaeology of their capital Avaris, however, suggests that the resident foreigners maintained a strictly Levantine culture,[48] and that the religion, although once again glossed over with an Egyptian finish, centered around the worship of Seth, who was identified with the Canaanite storm god Baʿal.[49] Ironically, one interesting conclusion that can be drawn from the confusion surrounding names on scarabs is that the Hyksos kings ruled through the use of local vassals, a practice that is much more Levantine than Egyptian in character. It has been suggested that these vassals may account for the proliferation of 'quasi-royal' names (i.e. those with the title *ḥḳȝ ḫȝswt*) on scarabs of the period.[50]

There are also scattered finds that indicate destruction of Egyptian royal and cultic property at Avaris, and general disdain for former institutions and rulers. Bietak[51] has found statues used as grinding stones and a defaced cultic plate. Middle Kingdom statuary scattered throughout western Asia is probably booty from the initial takeover.[52] The practice of pillaging monuments was certainly not one practiced by kings ascending the throne through legitimate means, and would have had a powerfully adverse effect upon the psyche of the Egyptians.[53] This is also a key piece of evidence in the discussion of whether the original takeover was peaceful or hostile, a consideration in the subsequent treatment of the Hyksos' memory, and a discussion we shall return to later when comparing our three periods.

II. REACTION TO HYKSOS RULE IN THE ART AND LITERATURE OF THE NEW KINGDOM

1) The Expulsion

Unfortunately, we have very little artistic or literary evidence relating to how the rest of contemporary Egypt regarded Hyksos rule in the Delta.[54] XVIth and early XVIIth Dynasty texts from Thebes are silent about the northern Hyksos regime, which is not surprising if one assumes that it was a source of embarrassment.[55] Legitimizing their own pretensions to kingship and avoiding the inherent shame of having to share the country (expressed so eloquently by Kamose later on), the Theban pharaohs likely saw fit to simply not mention it. Contemporary documents do, however, speak of great poverty and ruin that may have resulted from the turmoil of the 2IP and the Hyksos takeover.[56]

From the period of the expulsion, the two stelae of Kamose[57] are by far the most important sources we have, chronicling as they do the Theban sentiment at the beginning of the campaign, and the results of the campaign itself. It is the results which are probably the cause of the dearth of material we now have for this period. The relevant passages for the rationalization of the revolt and the subsequent damage done (I: 2-8; II: 11-14) are well known.

The first Kamose stela seems to suggest that there were many that were happy with the situation in Egypt, with a peaceful delineation of territory and benefits for Theban bureaucrats (such as fields to graze their cattle). In II: 14 the king refers to "they who had allowed themselves to hearken to the call of the Asiatics," presumably collaborators, suggesting again that not all Egyptians thought the Asiatics were as vile as that. Kamose seems to be motivated by a dissatisfaction with the fragmentation of Egypt, rather than any specific grievance concerning the governance of the Hyksos. This point might suggest that the foreign nature of the Hyksos may have simply been an

aspect to seize upon by the XVIIth and XVIIIth Dynasty kings to legitimize their rectification of a situation they were likely embarrassed to have let occur in the first place. Indeed, one scholar has seen the war between Kamose and Apophis as a theological one, in which foreign conquest itself is seen as a 'sin' or assault on Egyptian dignity that is worthy of punishment regardless of the quality of the foreign rule.[58] We will see that the hatred directed towards them in later times was not so vehement as generally thought.

If the destruction was as thorough as Kamose describes,[59] it is a small wonder that Bietak and his colleagues have uncovered no more than the foundations of buildings at Avaris and next to nothing in the way of monumental art. Some pertinent but very fragmentary art concerning the Hyksos expulsion on monuments of Ahmose has very recently been uncovered at Abydos. Stephen Harvey has published preliminary remarks on "small-scale narrative reliefs", or fragments thereof, which "although [they] may derive from a conventional scene of victory over foreigners, it is possible that [they] represent actual battles with the Hyksos occupiers."[60] This is also the first known depiction of what becomes traditional iconography in the New Kingdom, the horse and chariot warfare scene. Fragments of inscriptions mentioning Apophis and the Hyksos capital of Avaris have also been found, and may have been part of a larger historical narrative.[61] It is interesting to note that "no cartouche surrounds [Apophis'] name, but it is written elsewhere in Egypt with this spelling, and the enemy ruler's name may have been deemed unworthy of any special honour in the context of Ahmose's temple."[62] This might in fact constitute one of the first indignities to which the memories of the *ḥḳꜣ ḫꜣswt* were subjected in subsequent centuries.

2) The Defamation Tradition in the New Kingdom and Later

Manetho has long been the primary source for our knowledge of the Hyksos takeover, the Egyptians lamenting that "a blast of God smote us; and unexpectedly, from the regions of the East, invaders of obscure race marched in confidence of victory against our land."[63] Manetho's suggestions of burning, razing, hostility and massacring seem to be echoed in those of someone much less removed in time from the incident in question; on her temple at Speos Artemidos the female pharaoh Hatshepsut expresses similar sentiments, boasting of restoring "what was dismembered beginning from the time when Asiatics were in the midst of the Delta, (in) Avaris, with vagrants in their midst toppling what had been made".[64]

The last salient attempt to cast the Hyksos in a less than impressive light comes from *Papyrus Sallier I*, also known as the *Tale of Apophis and Seqenenre,* though in this tale the foul deeds have been attenuated to high taxation, worshiping gods inappropriately, and complaining of cacophonous hippopotami.[65]

The truth of this vilification is hard to substantiate. With regard to Hatshepsut, van Seters cautions us that "it may be doubted whether the Hyksos actually destroyed Egyptian temples as she implies. They may have usurped monuments and stone from previous building for their own constructions, but this practice was common enough and does not necessarily imply any condemnation of Egyptian religion."[66] In regards to *Papyrus Sallier I*, it should be said that high taxation and mocking behavior are not the exclusive ken of the Hyksos ruler, and we have already seen that they revered other gods than Seth.[67] Redford suggests that an influx of peaceful Asiatics into the Delta during the XVIIIth Dynasty may have resulted in attempts to define why the Hyksos were so hated.[68] Indeed, as we shall presently see, there is little actual evidence for the 'vile'

behavior ascribed to the Hyksos; in fact, although New Kingdom royalty may textually defame the Hyksos reign, other evidence indicates that it was commemorated and identified with.

3) The Sympathetic Tradition and Seth-Baʿal on Ramesside Stelae

Despite the much-espoused anti-Asiatic attitudes that are indeed apparent in much of the New Kingdom literature,[69] there is an undercurrent of identification and even veneration of Asiatic traditions in the Delta region. This is particularly so under the Ramesside dynasty, which originated in the north, established their capital Pi-ramesse at the same site as Avaris, and selected the Hyksos-friendly Seth as their dynastic ancestor.[70] In the words of Leibovitch, we have "d'un côté, des textes d'une animosité traditionelle et l'on peut dire conventionelle à l'égard des Asiatiques et d'autre part, les rois égyptiens s'exposant volontiers en association avec des divinités d'origine phénicienne."[71] It is rather the fact that the association itself was made that is worthy of attention rather than the choice of gods, for the mythologies of Egyptian and Levantine gods have been shown to run parallel in many respects.[72]

This is apparent most saliently on the somewhat confusing and often discussed 400-Year stela.[73] The stela seems to commemorate the 400th anniversary of the rule of Seth, which many scholars have identified as being reckoned from the installation of the cult of Seth at Avaris under the Hyksos.[74] There is debate as to whether the Seth referred to is a Delta-form of Seth-Baʿal or the Ombite version of the deity,[75] but whatever the case, the stela indisputably shows Ramses II worshipping a form of Seth with decidedly Canaanite attributes (**Fig. 2a**).[76] On a decorative scene at Medinet Habu, the end of the pharaoh's chariot pole is decorated with a scene showing the king receiving a sword from what appears to by a Syrian god (**Fig. 2b**). This obviously flies in the face of the defamation tradition discussed above, indeed "whatever may have been the hatred expressed by the Thebans towards the Hyksos, in the north the Ramessides could unabashedly espouse a god associated with their memory, and even go so far as to commemorate the period inaugurated by the Hyksos as still continuing under the guise of Seth's reign" and by so doing "unconsciously or intentionally"[77] keep alive the memory of the Hyksos.

It would seem that the northern origin of the XIXth dynasty (and hence, presumably, its proximity to Egypt's largest settled Asiatic population) loomed large in their political and religious program, so large in fact as to run completely opposite to what we are forced to believe was established and traditional hatred toward the occupation in official circles.

Other stelae confirm that this was not an isolated phenomenon, and Bietak speaks of the type as "Seth of the Ramses" who is ꜥꜣ pḥtj or "Great of Strength," and whose primary Asiatic associations concern his status as a weather god.[78] Similar depictions are found on a stela from Berlin (**Fig. 2c**) and on others of Amenophis II,[79] Merneptah,[80] and Usermare-Nakhtu (**Fig. 2d**), a military official under Ramses III.[81] Compared to similar depictions from Ugarit (**Fig. 2e**),[82] and Beth Shean (**Fig. 2f**) one can hardly miss the similarity.[83] Evidence that the type goes back to Hyksos times is evident from similar depictions on Hyksos period scarabs. Ramses II seems to have been particularly devoted to Anat. On an obelisk from Tanis he is mhr ꜥn tj, kꜣ n štš "companion of Anat, bull of Seth".[84] He is protected by her on a large number of works,[85] and he even gives his dog and horse names with Anat's theophoric element.[86] When Baʿal is mentioned by name, he is given the Seth animal as a determinative.

Though both Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II stylized themselves "smiter of the Hyksos who

had attacked him,"[87] even before the XIXth dynasty, we have the vessel from Amenhotep I's tomb (item *p*), and Tutankhamun's restoration of the temple of 'Seth of Avaris'. The temple is renewed in the reign of Seti I, 'he who belongs to Seth', "in order to dedicate a new residence to the god who represented the origins of royal ideology of the XIXth Dynasty."[88] Although they may not have conceived of it in these terms, it seems as though the pharaohs of the New Kingdom were indebted to the Hyksos for the innovations in warfare that lead to the success of the so-called 'Egyptian Empire'.[89]

The Asiatic syncretism of the period is equally well-attested in the New Kingdom literature, with characters such as El, Baʿal, and Anat showing up rather frequently, their attributes sometimes assimilated to those of native Egyptian deities.[90] Because of the now centuries-old Asiatic cultural presence in the Delta, one might expect signs of such multiculturalism in textual or epigraphic material, but the appearance of Levantine gods on the royal art of New Kingdom pharaohs, the same pharaohs that are proponents and heirs of the defamation tradition directed against the memory of the Hyksos, is an intriguing problem. This is especially so since there are a number of reasons to assume that the Ramesside form of Seth worship closely resembled that of the Hyksos period.[91]

Te Velde proposes an interesting cosmological solution. In the tales of Horus and Seth, Horus rules *kmt* while Seth rules *dšrt*, or the foreign places, and is associated with the *rḫyt*, or non-Egyptians.[92] Seth is revered as a 'frontier god,' counterpart to and cooperator with Horus during a time when the Egyptian 'Empire' ruled and interacted with foreign lands. He must be venerated, for "the divine foreigner makes positive forces available for the maintenance of the cosmos."[93] As that rule is eroded following the reign of Ramses III, the amicable relationship with the foreign likewise erodes and with it the worship of Seth. As te Velde puts it, "the close connection of Seth with foreign countries and with the God Baʿal was not only fatal to the cult of Seth, but also to the symbolism of the reconciliation of Horus and Seth."[94] This proposition is further supported by the fact that there are no representations of Baʿal in Egypt where he is not also Seth, and that in later periods Seth worship is confined almost exclusively to the periphery of Egypt, as the veneration of Seth-Baʿal occurred on the periphery at Avaris and Pi-ramesse.[95]

If we again accept that settled Levantines in the Delta were not necessarily identified with the Hyksos kings, and therefore were not driven out as vehemently as the foreign princes themselves, then we might look upon the portrayal of an easternized Seth on Ramesside stelae as a concession in ruling a Levantine population, for "rank and wild growth of exotic religions and religious needs could be counteracted and obviated by raising up Seth to be a state god by the side of Amon, Ptah and Re."[96] Conversely, it might also be the case that Asiatic elements had been present for so long in the Delta by this time, that they were not in fact considered non-Egyptian by the Ramesside kings; as van Seters puts it: "during the century and a half of their residence in Egypt, Hyksos cults and mythology were so firmly established that it was no longer possible for the Eighteenth Dynasty to eradicate them or even distinguish them as foreign cults."[97] Te Velde's explanation of the utility of the Seth cult in terms Egyption cosmology also provides a convincing ideological approach to the problem. Whatever the reason, it is certainly the case that "les pharaons à partir du début de la XVIIIe dynastie jusqu'à Ramsès II n'ont pas méprisé [le] panthéon phénicien. Bien au contraire, ils ont tous exprimé leur vénération pour ces divinités."[98]

III. THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD AND THE ART OF THE NUBIAN PHARAOHS

A comment should be made here concerning the nature of the dynasties designated 'Libyan', i.e. the rulers of the XXIInd through XXIVth Dynasties. Whereas it is true that these rulers were of Libyan descent (apparent from their distinctive Libyan names), and whereas certain facets of their rule (such as the maintenance of the traditional Libyan titles 'Great Chief of the Ma[shwesh]' and 'Great Chief of the Libu'[99]) do constitute ties with their Libyan heritage, the rule of these dynasts was obtained through traditional means in the various Delta centers that were their capitals, at least insofar as their power was derived from within Egypt itself.[100] Most likely descendants of the Libyan prisoners of war resettled during the campaigns of the New Kingdom pharaohs, it may be said that these dynasties were for all intents and purposes fully Egyptianized. Indeed, the XXVIth, or Saïte Dynasty, which marks the return to indigenous rule after the Nubian occupation, is likely also of Libyan stock. The Libyan dynasties, therefore, do not constitute a 'foreign' occupation in the same way that the Hyksos, Nubian, and Persian ones do, the latter's power being derived from abroad and having conquered Egypt through military force.

1) Traditional Artistic Production

In contrast with the Hyksos artistic repertoire, that of the Nubian pharaohs is substantially more proliferate. From the time of the institution of the cult of Amun in Nubia through the efforts of the Egyptian Empire in the New Kingdom, it seems as though a thoroughly Egyptianized religion was practiced in Nubia and the Napatan state. The chronology of Napatan rulers who had aspirations to the Egyptian throne reads as follows:

1) Kashta   (c. 760-747)
2) Pi(ankh)y   (747-716)
3) Shabako   (716-702)
4) Shebitku   (702-690)
5) Taharqa   (690-664)
6) Tantamani   (664-656)[101]

A complete inventory of the Nubian kings' artistic production is too lengthy to summarize here,[102] so I will be confining myself to the most important and representative works that relay most saliently the spirit of Nubian rule. Already in the reign of Kashta, who is unlikely to have penetrated into Egypt very far, we already have the adoption of royal titulary and a respect for native Egyptian deities.[103] An aegis of Mut wearing the double crown, of unknown provenance but very Nubian in style, also bears his name, suggesting the adoption of pharaonic ceremony at the Nubian court.[104]

The most important document for this period is the Victory Stela of Kashta's successor Pi(ankh)y,[105] which is written in Classical, not Late, Egyptian. On it, a mutilated Pi(ankh)y, who is "king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Piye beloved-of-Amun, ever living"[106] receives the homage of the conquered Egyptian rulers, backed by Amun and Mut. The stela narrates Pi(ankh)y's triumphant campaign into Egypt, and his observance of cult as he progresses steadily northward towards Memphis. Yet even before setting out, Pi(ankh)y expresses a wish to celebrate traditional

observances, then pays homage to the local deities of the towns he overtakes.[107] He continues to be hailed by the fallen princes as an incarnation of Horus and as son of Nut, he sacrifices to Sokar, and finally, after he succeeds in capturing Memphis, he is legitimized by Ptah.[108] These are certainly the actions of a pious Egyptian king; indeed it is interesting to note that the Libyan rulers whom Pi(ankh)y supplanted are cast as foreigners and are treated (on the top of the stela) in such a way as to suggest that he is a more legitimate successor to the throne than they.

We have seen that the Nubian pharaohs were well versed in Egyptian custom prior to the takeover, and they seem to have taken genuine pride in fulfilling traditional obligations. The stela is complemented by a pair of blocks from the temple of Mut in Karnak, one showing Pi(ankh)y's fleet returning from a successful foreign trading mission, and the other part of a religious scene in a Theban temple.[109] Perhaps more significantly, Pi(ankh)y's stay at Memphis is probably behind the inauguration of the custom at El-Kurru of burying the Nubian pharaohs under pyramids.[110] This hearkening back to ancient and revered forms in religion and art is a trademark that the Nubians will employ over and over, interestingly enough most often in Nubia itself.[111] Pi(ankh)y returned to Napata after his Egyptian victories and added a temple wall, columned halls and forecourts, and an entrance pylon to the Amun temple at Gebel Barkal.[112] Again, it seems as though Egypt prospered under this rule and that deviations from traditional custom did not occur, but were followed and even enhanced.

The prosperity and piety of Egypt under Nubian rule is epitomized by Pi(ankh)y's successor Shabako, who is the first Nubian ruler to be named in Manetho's XXVth Dynasty, and who adopted a very archaizing titulary according to Old and Middle Kingdom style by using the praenomen 'Neferkare', known from the III[rd](?), VIth, VIIth, VIIIth, IXth and X[th] dynasties.[113] He not only followed custom but added significantly to the building programmes at Karnak,[114] Luxor,[115] and Medinet Habu.[116] Shabako is also the first Nubian pharaoh for which we have established portraiture, in statuary from Karnak, Memphis and El Kurru.[117] On his reliefs, as on his stelae,[118] Shabako is shown performing cult offering to various Egyptian deities, most notably Amun, Mut, and Osiris. He seems to have had a special relationship to Memphis, where he erected a chapel and naos stela. His reverence for Memphis is also apparent in his decision to have the *Memphite Theology* recopied onto a granite stela, the 'Shabako Stone', as a result of its deteriorated state on papyrus.[119] This is only one instance of the overall archaizing tendency already mentioned for this period, the Nubian rulers seeing fit to copy art, worship, and titulary from Old and Middle Kingdom models. Although "none of these were vast works, [...] they heralded a new era of royal building both within Thebes and throughout Egypt."[120] It might seem as though such activity might be an attempt at self-legitimization more than a genuine love for Egyptian culture, but other evidence of Nubian rule as well as the later celebration of Shabako's memory argue otherwise.[121]

This trend continues under the reign of Shebitku, who added to the temple of Osiris-Hekadjet and a chapel of Amun to the Karnak precinct,[122] as well as scenes at Luxor,[123] where he offers to Amon and Hathor. A stela dedicated to his cult has also survived.[124] Shebitku, however, decided to revert to a more imperial-style titulary, akin to the pharaohs of the New Kingdom. This is possibly because of his military initiatives in Palestine versus the Assyrians, defending Egypt through the use of his general Taharqa, who would succeed him as pharaoh.

Taharqa surpasses all Nubian pharaohs in the extent of his piety, having built extensively all over Egypt and Nubia.[125] Some of the more interesting of his works come from the reliefs and

painted scenes on the temple at Kawa, which show Taharqa trampling foreign enemies in a style copied directly from the tombs of the Vth and VIth dynasty kings at Abusir and Saqqara. Likewise, five Kawa stelae record his pious activities and the success he was granted as king because of them, and are good sources for unmutilated iconography.[126] Even on these stelae, lying in the heart of Nubia, the king talks of events in Egypt, of being crowned with the double uraeus, and of being one whose father is "Amon-Re of Karnak".[127] The colonnades he added to the temple of Amon-Re still stand. Indeed, many reliefs and buildings were dedicated co-jointly with the 'God's Wives' at Thebes, the institution re-inaugurated in the Libyan period on New Kingdom models and followed by the Nubian pharaohs. He seems to have had a hand in emphasizing the worship of Osiris as well, dedicating the temples of Osiris Lord-of Life and Osiris Lord-of-Eternity with Shepenwepet II, daughter of Pi(ankh)y. Also important was the sanctuary near the sacred lake, the cult center of the king and "a propaganda instrument of the highest order" where an elaborate ritual of regeneration took place that "endowed the king with the religious legitimization to exercise rule on earth as successor to the gods."[128] Taharqa was crowned and ruled in Memphis, apparent from the Serapeum Stelae in his name and the huge ashlar found bearing the inscription "Taharqa, beloved of Ptah".[129] An interesting problem that bears witness to the Nubian pharaohs' adeptness at copying traditional forms is the frequent misattribution of monuments to the Middle Kingdom and vice versa.[130] Trade also flourished under Taharqa, objects bearing his name having been found near Mosul, at Nimrud, Assur and Palymra.[131] His ambitions to be a great imperial pharaoh were to be his undoing, however. Despite victories over the Libyans, Taharqa was less successful against the Assyrians. Esarhaddon got to Memphis and Assurbanipal conquered Thebes, driving Taharqa into Napata for good. But the Assyrians left, allowing one last Nubian incursion into Egypt.

The last Nubian pharaoh, Tantamani, was not content to relinquish the Egyptian throne. His 'Dream Stela' reads like a typical *Königsnovelle,*[132] revealing his attempt to assert his legitimacy through the traditional granting of an oracle, which

> "was interpreted for him in the following way: 'Upper Egypt already belongs to you: conquer Lower Egypt, and you will wear the Double Crown, for you will be given the Land in its length and width, without anyone else sharing it with you.'"[133]

Tantamani decides that it is best not to ignore the oracle, and gathers his people for invasion. Besides following a well-established literary tradition for self-legitimization, Tantamani built in traditional style at Thebes, El-Kurru and Gebel Barkal.

2) Non-Egyptian Elements in the Art of the XXVth Dynasty

In light of the long-standing practice of Egyptian religion and reverence for ancient tradition in Nubia, it is not surprising that we find little in the way of deviation from traditional forms in the art of the XXVth Dynasty. One way in which the kings of the XXVth Dynasty do stand out, however, is in their personal iconography. Most conspicuous are the 'kushite cap', the tight-fitting skull-cap headdress worn by the Nubian kings, and its decoration, the double uraeus, which stands in contrast to the usual single uraeus of Egyptian pharaohs (**Fig. 3**). There has been much discussion regarding both traits. The cap has been seen as simply a representation of closely cropped hair, but it now seems as though it is attested marginally before the Nubian dynasty as an element in the worship of

Ptah. The double uraeus is also a pre-Nubian attribute of high-priestesses and goddesses, but never of a pharaoh. It would seem logical to conclude that this iconography has been adopted to symbolize the Nubian rulership over the 'Two Lands' of Nubia and Egypt.[134] The uraei themselves often wear the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt. This interpretation is also strengthened by the fact that the uraei fall prey to post-occupational iconoclasts (see below).

The modeling of the Nubian body is likewise an innovation that inaugurates a period of increased realism in Egyptian art. Chiseled musculature and fleshier 'Nubian' faces are the salient features of this new modeling. Other than this, however, very little seems to have been deviated from; indeed, it has even been suggested that Kushite religious theology prepared Egypt for the re-unity to be achieved under the Saïtes.[135]

IV. THE SAÏTE REACTION TO NUBIAN RULE

1) Psamtik I and the Nitocris Adoption Stela

The Saïte or XXVIth Dynasty has been determined to constitute somewhat of an archaistic revival, continuing perhaps the trend observed by the XXVth Dynasty, although there is a scarcity of material due to the "comprehensive plundering of the country at the time of the Persian invasion."[136] Nevertheless, what does survive enables us to draw several conclusions which are both unexpected and pertinent to this study.

One very important document is the Nitocris Adoption Stela of Psamtik I, founder of the XXVIth dynasty.[137] It records the installment of the king's daughter Nitocris into the college of priestesses at Karnak, under the tutelage of Taharqa's daughter Amonirdis, who herself is in the care of Shepenwepet, Taharqa's sister, the latter being the acting 'God's Wife of Amun'. On it, Psamtik states that as a lover of truth he will not expel an heir from his seat, but rather will give his daughter to Amonirdis in honor of pre-existing custom, as Amonirdis was given to Shepenwepet.[138] There is no indication of any animosity or desire to mar the memory of the Nubian pharaohs; quite the contrary: Psamtik is making sure we know what a pious man he is by respecting the succession of the Theban priestesses descended from them. In fact, the reverence for archaism exhibited by the Nubian pharaohs is also policy under the Saïtes.

Several other monuments show at least a respect for, if not an affinity with, the Nubian pharaohs on the part of Psamtik I: blocks from the temple of Mut at Karnak record his name alongside the celebrated Saïte general Somtutefnakht; a scene from the Wadi Gasous shows Psamtik I offering to Min in the presence of Nitocris and Shepenwepet, who is unashamedly labeled "daughter of king Pi(ankh)y, justified"; the funerary monuments of Shepenwepet II, which were modified by Nitocris for herself and her mother, maintain the designation of Amonirdis I as "daughter of king Kashta" and Shepenwepet II as "daughter of king Piankhy"; Shepenwepet II is also mentioned as "daughter of king Pi(ankh)y" in the tomb of Pabes, an attendant of Nitocris and on an offering table from the tomb of Montuemhat; and lastly, an Apis stela from Psamtik I's twentieth year records the Apis' birth in year twenty-six of Taharqa, a date that could easily have been reckoned in terms of the years of Psamtik's father Necho I if there had been any reason to defame the memory of the Nubian ruler.[139]

Psamtik himself would seem to have had no reason to hate the Nubian dynasty; it was not him, after all, but rather the Assyrians who were responsible for ousting the Nubians, and Psamtik

I therefore had no military prerogative against them. Psamtik II, however, is another story.

2) The Mutilation of XXVth Dynasty Monuments by Psamtik II

The Nubian campaign of Psamtik II has been convincingly pinpointed by Yoyotte as the source for the mutilation of the cartouches and uraei of the Nubian rulers, which is apparent on the majority of their monuments.[140] It had been previously believed that this mutilation occurred during the reign of Psamtik I following the expulsion of Tantamani,[141] but is now believed to be a politically motivated occurrence intended to de-legitimize subsequent Nubian pretentions to the Egyptian throne.[142] The Nubian campaign is well-known as the only significant occurrence in Psamtik II's reign, and the geographical distribution of the mutilations[143] is consistent with the path such an army would take, as well as the places in which they would have been stationed.   Additionally, a number of monuments show traces of Nubian cartouches that were replaced by Psamtik II's,[144] and others that were completely mutilated and replaced.[145] There are indications that "loin de constituer une opération sans importance, [les évenements militaires de l'an III] réprésentent très probablement une phase critique des conflits qui, depuis le milieu du VIIIe siècle, opposait la monarchie de Napata à celle de Saïs."[146] This is hinted at on a stela from Tanis which states that "le Pays des Nubiens (2) [...] médite de (?) combattre avec [toi(?)]," suggesting a possible pre-meditated attack.[147] If this was the case, and the Nubians were intent on retaking Egypt, we can see Psamtik's Nubian campaign and the accompanying mutilations as an effort to not only defend the frontier, but also to demolish, in the process, iconographic representations of Nubians rulers that might have boosted support for them or legitimized their pretentions. The Nubians are now relegated to the status of the 'other', in the same way as any hostile foreign force against which a true Egyptian pharaoh might wage war; in the words of Yoyotte:

> "les rois de la XXVe dynastie, considérées jusqu'alors comme légitimes, furent traités comme les usurpateurs et comme les individus coupables du crime de lèse-majesté. En effaçant leur souvenir [...] le Saïte dénonçait du même coup les droits que les princes de Kouch avaient acquis sur le trône d'Egypte et détruisait les manifestations extérieures qui pouvaient rappeler ces droits à leurs partisans"; [Psamtik's desire was to] "détruire le caractère proprement Nubien de ces effigies et de supprimer du même coup un symbole manifeste des prétentions du Kouchite à la double royauté sur l'Egypte et l'Ethiopie."[148]

Whether or not a Nubian attack was imminent, we can see that Psamtik's motivation for both the campaign and the mutilations was strictly political and not ideological. He destroyed their monuments because they were a political threat to the Saïte dynasty, not because they were foreign, or practiced a different religion (as we have seen, they did not!). This is further evident through his choice to install his own daughter in Thebes, supplanting the office of God's Wife, unlike his more reverent predecessor of the same name, and his usurpation of their monuments.[149]

Despite Psamtik II's efforts, however, some of the virtuous deeds and piety of the Nubian rulers was to survive. This is especially so for the memory of Shabako, who had a street named after him in Late Period Memphis, and whose inscriptions were restored in the Ptolemaic period. Even the Greek historians speak of him highly.[150] If there were any other attempts at defaming the memory of the Nubian pharaohs during the XXVIth Dynasty, they have not survived. It might be said

that the Saïtes had bigger problems to deal with, such as the Persian threat looming on the horizon.

V. THE PERSIANS IN EGYPT

1) Traditional Egyptian Art of the XXVIIth Dynasty

The Persians were certainly not as familiar with Egyptian religion and art as were the Nubians. Their takeover of the Egyptian throne might therefore be seen as ostensibly more illegitimate, and there is indeed a defamation tradition applied to the Persian rulers that shows up in Herodotus[151] and other classical sources.[152] The first Persian dynasty consisted of:

1. Cambyses (II)   (530-522) [Egypt after 526]
2. Darius I   (522-486)
3. Xerxes   (486-465)
4. Artaxerxes I   (465-424/3)
5. Darius II   (423-405)
6. Artaxerxes II   (405-359 [Egypt until c.399])[153]

The traditional take is that the Persians were considerably harder-handed towards the native populace than their conquering predecessors. On this point one must navigate the evidence with a certain degree of caution, however, for much of the written evidence for this view was put forth by parties having a vested interest in the posthumous vilification of the Persian dynasties. Artifactual evidence in fact paints a much rosier picture of Persian rule in Egypt, at least at first, although it is the extent to which the surviving contemporary indigenous art reflects the opinion of the masses versus what the ruling elite would have us believe that requires further examination.[154] What we do have indicates that the early Persian rulers were as eager to adopt Egyptian custom as were the Hyksos and the Nubians.[155]

From the reign of Cambyses we have two pieces of official art, the epitaph and sarcophagus of the Apis buried in the sixth year of his reign (524). On both, Cambyses is depicted no differently from any Egyptian pharaoh that has come before him. Similarly, the inscriptions sing the praises of indigenous custom; the epitaph records Cambyses' funeral offering to Apis as King of Upper and Lower Egypt, while the sarcophagus places Cambyses squarely in the divine hierarchy as son of Re and of Apis-Osiris, exalted and receptive of the gifts of eternal life, prosperity, health and happiness.[156] There is nothing artistically or textually 'un-Egyptian' here.

Similarly, we learn that his governance was equally adoptive of indigenous custom from the statue of one Udjahorresnet.[157] Udjahorresnet originally served as a naval general under Amasis and Psamtik III of the XXVIth Dynasty. After the conquest, Cambyses appointed him courtier, chief priest of Neith and chief physician, very noteworthy positions. Udjahorresnet seems to have held considerable sway with the foreign king. His statue is constructed in an entirely Egyptian style, with no hint of foreign artistic elements. In it he tells us of the invasion of Cambyses, calling the latter "Great Ruler of Egypt," "Great Chief of All Foreign Lands" and "His Majesty," and composing his royal titulary in his name of "King of Upper and Lower Egypt Mesitu-Re."[158] He tells also of the invasions of foreigners who had settled in the temple of Neith, and how he made supplication to Cambyses to have them expelled, and how Cambyses complied with his request. Cambyses then,

in traditional pharaonic form, has the temple purified, restored, and made offerings to the gods in Sais.[159]

What seems clear from the inscription is that despite the fact that Cambyses was foreign and did in fact conquer Egypt, that it was not he that was responsible for the desecration of the temple of Neith, indeed, quite the contrary. He seems to have heeded the pleas of his chief physician and expelled what were likely his own men from the sanctuary.[160] He even performed the sacrifices in the tradition of the pharaohs before him. Much has been made of the so-called 'collaboration' of indigenous officials, especially Egyptian officials, with the conquering Persians. What has always been considered conspicuous in such cases is the Egyptian acceptance of foreign domination with very little opposition. We have seen, however, that also in the cases of the Hyksos and the Nubians, the Egyptian conception of foreignness was not based on one's origins or skin color but on one's conduct. As long as the conquering king was Egyptian in deed, that was good enough. And this is the impression that Udjahorresnet gives us. He does not fail to mention the chaos that resulted from Cambyses' invasion, but also takes pride in being able to advise the pharaoh on Egyptian custom and from having won him over. Indeed, Udjahorresnet is even charged with the composition of Cambyses' official titulary. In the inscription itself, one can see that Cambyses' characterization changes from being a 'ruler of foreigners' to being a 'ruler of Egypt'. In the passage describing the calamities that befell Egypt as a result of the Persian conquest, Cambyses is 'Great King of All Foreign Lands', (*wr ꜥꜣ ḫꜣswt*) but upon his conquest becomes both 'Great Ruler of Egypt' (*ḥkꜣ ꜥꜣ n kmt*) and 'Great Chief of all Foreign Lands'. The deeds he performs as pharaoh are performed entirely by 'His Majesty', with no mention thereafter of his foreignness. Ujdahorresnet's collaboration seems to be contingent on the acceptance by Cambyses of Egyptian custom.

Imitating his predecessor, Darius I's Apis Epitaph and its inscription, from the fourth year of his reign, are close to identical with that of Cambyses, except that the cartouche his *nsw-bjty* name was supposed to go in was left empty.[161] Similarly, several other existing artworks, such as a pair of wooden naos shrines, a stela from the Fayyum, and the worship scenes from of the temple of Amun at Hibis, also show Darius as a quintessentially Egyptian pharaoh.[162] There is also evidence that Darius undertook construction at El-Kab,[163] Edfu, Abusir and Memphis, as well as a recodification of Egyptian law modeled on that of Amasis (i.e. in traditional Egyptian fashion).[164] Yet certain signs of deviation and indignation seem to be creeping into Darius' Egyptian art. At Hibis he is 'universal high priest', not pharaoh,[165] and as his reign wore on, Darius saw fit to have himself portrayed more and more as a foreign ruler, or at least to allow "official" depictions of him in and around Egypt to reflect his Persian background.

2) Non-Egyptian Elements in the Art of the XXVIIth Dynasty

The stelae Darius erected along his Suez canal,[166] as well as the statue of him found at Susa (see below) both probably date to the last third of his reign, based on the spelling of his name, and on the list of conquered peoples inscribed on them.[167] The first and most striking non-Egyptian trait of the Canal stelae is the fact that they are quadrilingual, i.e. they contain, in addition to the Egyptian hieroglyphs, translations in Old Persian, Babylonian and Elamite cuneiform. The inscription contains Persian place-names in cartouches, with Persia occupying the number one position in the list of twenty-four countries. Notably, the Egyptian inscription contains a verbatim translation of traditional Achaemenid titulary instead of Egyptian, and goes on to state:

(7) Saith Darius the King: I am a Persian; from Persia I seized Egypt; I ordered this canal (9) to dig, from the river by name Nile, which flows in Egypt, to (10) the sea which goes from Persia. afterwards this canal was dug (11) thus as I commanded, and ships went from Egypt (12) through this canal to Persia thus as was my desire."[168]

Darius still stands on the *šmꜣ* sign of unification, which in this case might stand for both his role as ruler of Upper and Lower Egypt and for the unification of disparate lands brought about by the construction of the canal. He also still stands under a thoroughly Egyptian winged disc, but he is in Achaemenid costume. One might argue that these modifications should be considered in light of the fact that the canal was constructed to facilitate trade, and that the stelae were decorated to facilitate comprehension by as many people as possible who might be using the canal. This is certainly plausible, however the fact remains that the canal lay in essentially Egyptian territory, and that blatant glorification of Darius' Achaemenid origins could not have been conducive to his acceptance as a thoroughly Egyptian king.

Similarly executed with mixed motifs is the statue of Darius discovered in context at Susa in 1972.[169] It is made of Egyptian granite with Egyptian techniques, and Darius stands in a typically Egyptian pose, the left leg forward, holding an Egyptian emblematic staff. His dress, however, is thoroughly Achaemenid with his flowing robe and strapless boots. In the hieroglyphic inscription, Atum of Heliopolis is Darius' patron deity, and it has been established that the statue, or at least a copy of it, once stood in the temple of Atum at Heliopolis. In the hieroglyphs, it asserts that it was erected

> "so that there should be a durable monument of Darius and so that he be remembered before his father Atum, Heliopolitan Lord of the Two Lands, Re-Herakhti, for the whole extent of eternity,"[170]

whereas in the same place in the cuneiform, we have an explicit statement that the statue was made *in Egypt* for the purpose of showing that a Persian had taken Egypt:

> "[Dariu]s, may he live for ever! The exalted, the greatest of the great, the chief of [the whole...] land, [son of the god's] father, Hystaspes, the Achaemenid, who has appeared as king of Upper and Lower Egypt on the Horus throne like Re, the first of the gods, forever."[171]

Like the canal stelae, this piece of official art is certainly outside the oft-cited policy of appeasement supposedly practiced by the Persian pharaohs. To set up so blatantly a foreign depiction of the pharaoh would be anathema to local religious zealots, especially if Darius deigned to set it up in the temple of Atum itself. Even if native Egyptians could only read the softened hieroglyphic inscription and not the cuneiform, they could at least have recognized the script as foreign and therefore as having no place in an Egyptian temple.

One final piece of official art that probably dates to the latter years of Darius' reign is the famous statue of Ptahhotep now in the Brooklyn Museum.[172] Unfortunately, the inscription contains no biographical details or historical facts, but it is the statue's appearance and Ptahhotep's accoutrements that identify it as exhibiting Persian influence.[173] Another inscription exists in Paris

of one Ptahhotep that dates to the thirty-fourth year of Darius' reign, suggesting that they might refer to one and the same person. If this is true, we might see Ptahhotep's willingness to have himself portrayed in Achaemenid style as a reflection of Darius' equal willingness to do so during the latter years of his reign. Ptahhotep wears a garment not unlike that of the Darius statue, and certainly reminiscent of Persian dress. Most strikingly, however, is the ibex-headed torque that he wears around his neck (**Fig. 4**),[174] a piece of art thoroughly Iranian in both form and decoration. As Cooney points out, this torque could not possibly have served any religious function in terms of Egyptian belief, and so its inclusion is extremely conspicuous. Cooney postulates that perhaps it was given to him as a gift from Darius, and that Ptahhotep was sufficiently proud of such a bestowal that he chose to have this symbol of divine favor portrayed in his funerary statue.[175]

Ptahhotep does not fit into the same collaborative framework as Udjahorresnet. Rather than attempting to fit himself and his ruler into an Egyptian framework, he chooses instead to celebrate his closeness to the foreign ruler and to do so by exhibiting foreign elements in his funerary statue. Such a radical departure from what has come before might suggest the existence of other collaborators that were so in a much truer sense of the word. Furthermore, political conditions may have somehow changed during the latter stages of Darius' reign, making the blatant exhibition of such foreign loyalty less dangerous, if not less conspicuous. These changes may be reflected in the statues of Darius and Ptahhotep, but the scarcity of any other such depictions might very well be a result of the opposition that did exist towards them. Indeed, the Ptahhotep statue is heavily damaged, and many other statues of the same style may very well have been destroyed completely.

VI. THE REACTION TO PERSIAN RULE

The last indigenous pharaohs of Egypt were forced by the circumstances of history to assert themselves to a greater degree than their predecessors into the winds of contemporary world politics. Political intrigue was the order of the day, and it seems as though the pharaohs busied themselves primarily with forging alliances to keep stronger powers outside Egypt's borders. Some of the pharaohs of Dynasty XXX built extensively, but their monuments seem to have focused on their own legitimization rather than the defamation of preceding monarchs. We have already mentioned the defamation tradition that shows up in Herodotus concerning Cambyses, and although not historic in a specific sense, it certainly conveys the post-occupational sentiment and disdain with which the Persians were remembered.

The scarcity of surviving Persian material speaks of the reaction more loudly than any renunciation. Nevertheless, I would like to examine two final monuments, which span the transition from the XXXth Dynasty to the second Persian occupation, and whose manner of dealing with it can perhaps shed some light on the anti-Persian sentiment at the time.

The first item is the Naples stela of one Somtutefnakht, another so-called 'collaborator'.[176] Note that this stela is devoid of any foreign influence. Somtutefnakht's involvement in the wars against Alexander on the Persian side have been inferred from historical references in the inscription; he is thought to have begun his career in the XXXth dynasty under a 'Great King', presumably of Egyptian origin and probably Nectanebo II. In contrast to Udjahorresnet's inscription, the new Persian overlord is never referred to as ruler of Egypt, only king of Asia:

> You (Harsaphes) gave me access to the palace,
> The heart of the Good God[177] was pleased by my speech.
> You distinguished me before millions,
> When you turned your back on Egypt.[178]
> You put love of me in the heart of Asia's ruler (*Ḫšryš*)[179]
> (...) You protected me in the combat of the Greeks,
> When you repulsed those of Asia.[180]

I have mentioned before that Persian sensitivity to indigenous custom began deteriorating after the reign of Darius,[181] and the harshness of the Persian kings of the second occupation is well documented and generally accepted. Somtutefnakht's reluctance to follow Udjahorresnet's usage, and his use of determinatives, are likely responses to the almost universally established hatred for the Persians by this time. Here, then, is a negative quantification of the hypothesis that acceptance of foreign rule was contingent on the foreigner's willingness to adopt indigenous custom.

The second official monument whose life spanned the period of the second domination is the tomb of Petosiris, high-priest of Thoth at Hermopolis, and his family. Its construction and decoration are thought to span the end of the fourth and beginning of the third centuries BC, Petosiris' grandfather having served under the kings of the XXXth Dynasty, and Petosiris and his brother having lived through the second Persian domination and the establishment of Macedonian rule.[182] A similar sentiment to that of Somtutefnakht is alluded to in Petosiris' biographical inscription (No. 81) from the tomb:

> "I spent seven years as controller for this god (Khmun),
> Administering his endowment without fault being found,
> While the Ruler-of-foreign-lands (*ḥḳȝ n ḫȝswt m nḏty-ḥr Kmt*)[183] was Protector in Egypt,
> And nothing was in its former place,
> Since fighting had started (30) inside Egypt,
> The South being in turmoil, the North in revolt;
> The people walked with 'head turned back',
> All temples were without their servants,
> The priests fled, not knowing what was happening."[184]

Here, Petosiris describes the rule in Egypt of a 'Ruler of Foreigners', likely a Persian ruler of the second occupation. Later in the text, after having become λεσονησ of Thoth, and after the temple is restored, his successes are ascribed to a 'Ruler of Egypt' (81, 88), likely one of the Macedonian liberators, perhaps Alexander himself or Ptolemy Soter. By contrast, his brother Djethotefankh, who let the temple crumble during the second Persian domination, "a laissé faire pour éviter, peut-être, des désordres plus grands mais, à l'arrivée des Macédoniens, il fut vraisemblablement associé aux méfaits perpétrés dans le temple de Thot," and "a sans doute été condamné à mort, dès l'arrivée des troupes d'Alexandre, pour son manque de prévision et d'autorité au moment des troubles, peut-être aussi pour son comportement de 'collaborateur.'"[185]

Both inscriptions associate leaders of foreign lands with a chaotic state of invasion, and subsequently, when that state has been rectified through the observance of traditional Egyptian

policy, the rulers are adopted as fully indigenous, and are associated with order. And, as with the works of Udjahorresnet and Somtutefnakht, the foreign influence seen in the Petosiris tomb is almost exclusively Greek, the only hint of Persian influence being the depictions of metalsmiths producing decorative arts of Iranian design.[186]

The overall impression one gets from examining the official art of the Persian occupation in Egypt is that the foreign pharaohs make a concerted effort to appear as indigenous as possible during the initial stages of the occupation. As time goes by, however, it seems as though that effort wanes, and that beginning about the time that the Achaemenid empire reaches its apogee in about the middle of the reign of Darius I, the Persian rulers hold fewer qualms about asserting their foreign nature. Perhaps this was simply a function of arrogance on the part of Darius; when one looks at the list of impressive achievements that occur around the time of the execution of those artworks that exalt him as Achaemenid, one can see how he might have deemed appeasement no longer necessary in an empire of such vast power.

Perhaps it is precisely such arrogance that initiates the cascade of anti-Persian sentiment that seems to plague the Persian occupants of Egypt to a much greater degree from this time forward. Rebellion becomes endemic following the Persian defeat at Marathon in 490, and we have seen from both artistic and textual evidence that the Egyptian opinion of the Persian rulers erodes around this time as well.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

1) Depictions: Relative Consistency

We can now answer several of our initially posed questions. In regards to whether any variation occurs in how foreign rulers have themselves depicted in Egyptian art over time, it would seem that for the most part official policy was unanimously to adopt indigenous customs. When one was not familiar with indigenous custom, one let Egyptian officials compose one's titulary or suggest appropriate actions (as in the case of the early Persian rulers). This is the most salient consistency. As for variation, the most conspicuous deviance from this norm is the physical modeling and accoutrements of the Nubian pharaohs, but this can be put down to simple physiognomic differences in the first case, and in the second we saw that the accoutrements had been used in Egypt before, although they may here have adopted a customized symbolism. As for the deviance that occurs in the late reign of Darius and the later Persian pharaohs, might I suggest that whereas the Hyksos and Nubians conquered (at least supposedly) primarily for the purpose of settling and/or governing in Egypt with little or no other expansionist pretensions, the Persians at the time of the conquest were already in the midst of attempting to rule a 'world empire', and their attentions were therefore of necessity divided. Perhaps if the Persian pharaohs had been content with the extent of their expansion at the time of the takeover of Egypt, and had expended more energy and time in Egypt, they too might have come to respect its art and religion to the same degree as, say, the Nubians did.

2) Reactions: The 'Hostile Takeover' Criterion and its Implications

It has been suggested by some that a criterion of the means by which power over the country was seized can be used to predict the native reaction to the conquering dynasty; Redford, for

example, believes that

> "the procedure adopted by the collective historical memory seems clear: an acclimatized foreigner who adopts the culture of the natives and tries to become one of them is accepted, and his origin forgotten. A foreign war-lord who reduces the country through war and rules it, not on the strength of traditional practice, but on the strength of his army, is never accepted as native, but forever after remembered as an alien."[187]

Redford is here discussing the Hyksos (and presuming that their takeover was military), but he himself admits that the evidence for this attitude is scarce, offering the suggestion that "there was no need to curse the Asiatic; everyone knew and agreed that he was evil."[188]

In my opinion, there is compelling evidence to suggest that foreign dynasts, even those who conquered through military force, were not subjected to any greater degree of hatred, slander, or post-occupational defamation than any other pharaoh against whom a predecessor had cause to revile. Yes, foreigners are characterized as vile and are the subjects of ridicule and disgust, but this characterization pertains to the 'otherness' displayed by those groups *in their native foreign lands*. It does not apply, according to the evidence, to foreign rulers who were either already Egyptianized or became so upon their ascension to the throne.

In every case of post-occupational derision, the derision can consistently be put down to political concerns rather than racial or ideological ones. In fact, we have seen that ideologically the foreign pharaohs were not only accepted but revered. In the case of the Hyksos, we have Ahmose's council members' conciliatory gestures, and, if we accept the dating of the 400-Year stela that argues for the commemoration of the beginnings of the Seth cult under the Hyksos, we have a clear instance of reverence for an institution inaugurated by the 'hated' foreign princes. In the defaming case of Hatshepsut, we might see a political motivation for a female pharaoh who had a greater need for legitimization than most, and then we have the Ramessides invoking the protection of Asiatic deities. In the case of the Nubian rulers, we have evidence of Psamtik I's cooperation with Nubian priestesses at Thebes in the accession of his daughter to the office of God's Wife, and the consensus that Psamtik II's mutilations were entirely politically motivated. In the case of the Persians, we have the positive testaments of Udjahorresnet and Ptahhotep, and a defamation tradition that can be put down to late and post-Darius political and administrative neglect. In sum, there is not a shred of evidence to suggest that any of the foreign rulers were hated specifically for their foreign nature while on the Egyptian throne.

The foreign pharaohs of Egypt recognized the benefits of ruling by traditional means, and many actually believed in their own legitimacy. So, apparently, did the Egyptians themselves. Under close scrutiny, the art and literature that these men have left us, as well as the reactions to it, reveal that this is true.

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Notes

1. The foreign dynasties discussed maintained contacts with lands outside Egypt during their reigns, and for this reason art of these dynasties occurs outside Egypt as well. For the purposes of the present study, I will be confining myself primarily to art found within Egypt, although occasional reference may be made to other items where appropriate.

2. The period of the Libyan dynasties (XXI-XIV) will be discussed below (§ IV); seeing as their rise to power took place within Egypt itself, the Libyan period will not be considered here as a 'foreign' occupation.

3. I will be using the term 'Hyksos' to refer specifically to the ḥḳꜣ ḫꜣswt, or 'foreign princes' that are assumed to have taken over the kingship, and not to the ꜥꜣmw, or 'Asiatics,' that is, the cultural group of Levantines now known to have established themselves in increasing numbers in the Delta as the Middle Kingdom drew to a close. I agree with those scholars that maintain the term should not be used to designate the cultural group as a whole but only a possible subset that claimed rulership, which may or may not have been previously associated with the ꜥꜣmw in the Delta or in Upper Egypt. (cf. Redford, 1992: 100; 1970: 17; 1986: 240-2; Oren, 1997: xxi). On the presence of Asiatics in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom, cf. Hayes, 1955; Albright, 1954; Gardiner, [1947] 1968.

4. For the reconstruction of the chronology, names and king list, see now, for example, Ryholt, 1997. Redford's opinion is that "the persons named here carry us back to the very generation of the conquest, and quite likely reflect the federated chiefs attending Shesy/Salitis on the morrow of his victory" (1992: 111, cf. also Redford, 1997: 25). The period, however, continues to engender debate.

5. Cf. Bietak, 1979; 1987; 1991, etc. The site is accepted as the ancient Hyksos capital of Avaris, and later that of the Ramesside kings, Pi-ramesse. Archaeological data indicates that the culture of Tell el-Dabꜥa, and of nearby sites such as Tell el-Maskhuta, is identical with that of Middle Bronze IIB culture in Palestine and Phoenicia (cf. Redford, 1992: 100).

6. See the reconstructions of Meyers (ed.): 133; Redford, 1992: 108-109; van Seters 1966: 160; Säve-Söderbergh 1951: 56.

7. Ryholt's XVth Dynasty reads 1. Samuqenu; 2. ꜥAper-ꜥAnati; 3. Sakir-Har; 4. Khayan; 5. Aphophis; 6. Khanudi. For his complete reconstruction of the 2IP, cf. Ryholt, 1997: 336-405, 408-410.

8. For scarab/monument references, cf. Ryholt, 1997; Redford, 1992: ns. 56-63. For finds of Hyksos seals at Kerma in Nubia, cf. Reisner, 1923: 28, fig. 168 nos. 56-60. For scarabs of Khayan and

Apophis, cf. Winlock, 1947: 147.

9. Daressy, 1893: 26; Helck, 1975: 54 [no.71]. Inscribed "[...] Sewoserenre [...] Khiyan, [given life] like Re, forever," Redford, 1997: 6 [no.27].

10. Helck, 1975: 54 [no.70]. Inscribed "Horus: he-who-embraces-the-lands (*ibdw*), son of Re, Khiyan, beloved of his *ku*," Redford, 1997: 6 [no.26].

11. *Pharaonen und Fremde,* 1994: 150, #125; BM 987 [340]; Helck, 1975: 55 [no.74]). Inscribed "The Perfect God, Sewoserenre," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.30]. Original provenance unknown.

12. Betancourt, 1997: 429; Hutchinson, 1962: 197; *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 149, #124; Helck 1975: 54 [no.72]. Inscribed "The Perfect God, Sweoserenre, Son of Re, Khiyan," Redford, 1997: 6 [no. 28].

13. Stock, 1963: 73-80; Helck, 1975: 55 [no.74]). Inscribed "[...Se]woseren[re...Kh]iyan, [given life] like Re forever," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.29].

14. Bietak, 1981: 63-71; *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 155-6, #133. Inscribed "[... Sweoser]en[re] ... Khiy]an, beloved [of...]; king's eldest son Yansas-oden," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.31].

15. Daressy, 1893: 26; Helck 1975: 56 [no.79]. Inscribed "Live the Perfect God, ꜥA-woser-re [...]," Redford 1997: 7 [no. 42].

16. Hall, 1914: pl. 18; Helck, 1975: 57 [no. 84]. Inscribed "(1) Horus: pacifier-[of-the-Two-Lands...], Son of Re, Apopi, given life. (2) [He made it as his monument for his father Seth (?), making] for him many flag-staves and a fixture (?) of bronze for this god," Redford, 1997: 7 [no. 35].

17. Simpson, 1959: 233 & figs. 18-19; *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 154, #130-1; Hein & Satzinger, 1993: 162-4; Helck 1975: 57 [no.83]. Inscribed "[...] {end of cartouche}; king's sister Ta-na, may she live! The ... Hura –(?) Apop," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.37].

18. von Beckerath, 1965: 274; Petrie, 1885: pl.3 [17c], 13 [6]; Helck 1975: 56 [no.77]. Inscribed "The Perfect God, ꜥAkenenre, Son of Re, Apopi, given life; beloved of [Seth]," Redford, 1997: 7 [no. 36].

19. Capart, 1914; Wolf, 1929: 67-79; Vandier 1958: 204-11. The Tanis sphinxes were once thought to represent Hyksos kings themselves because of the Apophis cartouches; it is now generally accepted that they are representations of Amenemhat III, thanks to the studies of Golenischeff (1893) and Evers (1929).

20. Simpson, 1959; *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 153, #129; Labib, 1936: 30, Tf. 6; von Beckerath, 1964: 129-274; Helck 1975: 57 [no. 82]. Inscribed "[...] Apopi, given life; king's sister Ta-na; the Treasurer Aper [...]," Redford, 1997: 7 [no. 38].

21. *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 153, #128; Kamal, 1909: 61 [no.23073]; Helck, 1975: 55 [no.76]. Inscribed "(A) Horus: pacifier-of-the-Two-Lands, the Perfect god, ꜥA-kenen-re, may he live! (This is) what he made as his monument for his father [Seth], lord of Avaris, affixing his flag-staves, that he might make 'given-life' like Re forever. (B) Horus: pacifier-of-the-Two-Lands, the Perfect God, ꜥA-kenen-re, may he live. (This is) what he made as his monument for his father, [Seth] lord of Avaris, when he placed all lands under his feet," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.33].   Van Seters, 1966: 171, believes that the table once stood in a temple of Seth in Avaris.

22. Helck, 1975: 57f. [no.85]. Inscribed (1) "Palette made by the king, the scribe of Re, whom Thoth himself taught, whom [ ] outfitted [...] to/of all things; multi-talented on the day when he reads faithfully all the difficult (passages) of the writings as (smoothly as [?]) flows the Nile (2) [...] with a great [...¬, [unique (?)¬ [...], stout-hearted on the day of battle, with a greater reputation than any (other) king, protector of strange lands (3) who have never (even) had a glimpse of him; living image of Re upon earth, solving (?) [......] people. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ꜥA-woser-re, Son of re, Apopi, given life every day like Re forever. (4) I was [......] to (?) his teaching, he is a judge (?) of the needy (?) commons – there is no false statement in that – there is indeed not his like in any land! (5) [.......] Son of Re, of his body, whom he loves, Apopi, given life. Palette given by the king to the scribe Atju," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.44].

23. James, 1961; Helck, 1975: 55 [no.73]. Inscribed "The Perfect God, ꜥA-woser-re, beloved of Sobek, lord of Su-menu," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.39].

24. Daressy, 1899: 115-20; van Seters, 1966: 71-2; Helck, 1975: 55 [no.75]. Inscribed (1) "The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, Neb-khopesh-re, son of Re Apop, given life; (2) his lord's retainer Nakhman," Redford, 1997: 7 [no. 32].

25. Carter, 1916: 147-54; Helck, 1975: 56 [no.80]. Inscribed "(1) The Perfect God, ꜥA-woser-re, (2) Son of Re, Apopi, (3) the king's daughter Arita," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.40].

26. Helck, 1975: 56 [no.78]. Inscribed "The Perfect God, ꜥAkenenre, Son of Re, Apopi, given life and dominion," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.34].

27. Gamer-Wallert, 1978: 39f.; Fajardo and Parcerisa, 1983-4: 284-7. Inscribed "A. (in rectangle) The Perfect God ꜥA-woser-re, Son of Re, Apopi; the king's sister Ta'awa, may she live." B. (around rim) "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, ꜥA-woser-re, Son of Re, Apopi; the king's sister Ta'awa, may she live. The Perfect God, Lord of the Two Lands, whose might has reached the limits of the foreign lands – there is not a country exempt from serving him," Redford, 1997: 7 [no.41].

28. van Seters, 1966: 164.

29. Cf. Bietak, 1997b, McGovern & Harbottle, 1997, Oren, 1997b, Betancourt, 1997, and Davies & Schofield, 1995.

30. Holladay, 2001: 147, 170.

31. Holladay, 1997: 209. Holladay even goes so far as to hypothesize that the desire for a 'Canaanite trading diaspora' with Avaris as a central node may have been a catalyst for a forceful Amorite establishment of the XVth Dynasty.

32. Redford, 1992: 116.

33. Redford, 1992: 120; Winlock: 147. The assumption here is that the vase was passed down to Amenhotep as an heirloom, a gift perhaps from the court at Avaris in peaceful times, or that Arita was married into the Theban court, van Seters, 1966: 168.

34. Daressy, 1899: 117.

35. This should be qualified by pointing out that in this case, the practice of adopting Egyptian names makes it more difficult to distinguish Asiatic officials from contemporary native Egyptian bureaucrats. Nevertheless, the point remains valid even if there was a variable ratio of Asiatic to Egyptian administrators in the Hyksos kings' employ. Some such officials, such as one *Ḥꜣr*, have scarab distributions as wide-ranging as the pharaohs themselves, Säve-Söderbergh 1951: 65; Stock, 1955: 68; van Seters, 1966: 159; Bietak 1997a: 114.

36. Helck, 1975: 56 [no.81]; Redford 1997: 7 [no.43]; *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 156-7, #134. On the papyrus' title page we read: "Now this book was copied in the year 33, month 4 of the inundation season [under the majesty of the] King of [Upper and] Lower Egypt, A-user-Re (*ꜥꜣ-wsr-Rꜥ*) given life, in likeness to writings of old made in the time of the King of Upper [and Lower] Egypt, [*Nj-mꜥꜣt-[Rꜥ*]. The scribe Ahmose writes this copy," Chace, 1979: 85.

37. Redford, 1986: 163; 1992: 122; Bietak, 1997a: 115; Säve-Söderbergh 1951: 65; Möller, 1909: 18. On the *Admonitions*, van Seters, 1966: 104-20; Albright, *BASOR* 179 (1965): 40f. We might mention in the same vein the survival of the king-list tradition despite the 'chaos' of the 2IP, in connection with which Redford believes that "whatever destruction attended the coming to power of this alien, West Semitic speaking dynasty in Egypt, it is clear that within half a century at the very least the 'barbarians' had assumed a respect for Egyptian culture and mores" (1986:163). For a further discussions on the role of literature in pharaonic policy, cf. Assmann (ed.), 1999.

38. Parkinson, 1999: 183, 186, 190. This 'Eulogistic Account of a King' shows parallels with many MK works, including the 'Loyalist Teaching' and the 'Teaching of Ptahhotep.' The recto of BM EA 10475 contains a tale involving the House of Life, further suggesting true literary as opposed to simply 'royal' or 'propagandistic' output. It seems to occur in a courtly setting, typical of MK narrative tales. Both sides of the papyrus are written in Late Middle Egyptian.

39. See above, n. 33.

40. Cf. Erman, 1901: 86ff.

41. Winlock, 1947: 145ff., suggests that Khayan may even have ruled Thebes, with the Hyksos in Gebelein by 1640 BC, but concedes to our stated problem that "anything else the Hyksos conquerors

might have left in Thebes would surely have been destroyed by the indignant upper Egyptians once they had thrown out the Asiatics". A tale from the time of Merneptah (the Tale of Apophis and Seqenenre), shows that when Seqenenre receives a note from Apophis claiming that he cannot sleep in Avaris because of the noise of the hippopotami in Thebes (an obvious post-occupational slight on the monarch's intelligence, or an assertion of his being an unreasonable ruler), his reply is conciliatory, suggesting that he was still under the sway of the northern king, Steindorff & Seele, 1957: 28.

42. Cf. Winlock, 1947: 146.

43. Cf. *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 42, fig. 30.

44. Bietak, 1987: 50.

45. Nehesy appears in the Turin canon after the XIIIth Dynasty. Other Asiatic rulers from this period we know of include *ꜥ-n-tj* and *bbnm,* possibly contemporary with Egyptian kings of the XIIIth Dynasty such as Neferhotep and Sobekhotep, Ryholt, 1997: 69-117.

46. O'Connor, 1997: 52, has suggested, in discussing the non-royal scarabs bearing the title *ḥḳꜣ ḫꜣswt*, that "because this title was consistently used by the members of the [XVth Dynasty], they were not likely to permit contemporary Canaanite leaders in Egypt to assume it. We can therefore conclude that these other 'rulers of foreign lands' antedate the Fifteenth Dynasty and formed either a dynasty controlling much of the eastern Delta or contemporaneous rulers each with his own 'slice of Egypt'". Perhaps Nehesy was a member of such a dynasty or one such ruler. If Nehesy does in fact antedate the XVth Dynasty, we can conclude that even at these early stages of assuming power, the 'foreign princes' were casting themselves in a very Egyptian light.

47. One possible exception is an intriguing little ivory sphinx discovered in a tomb at Abydos, Garstang, 1928: 46-7. The pharaoh depicted (suggested by Garstang to be Khayan), seems to have decidedly Asiatic features, and is shown trampling an Egyptian! Säve-Söderbergh, 1951: 66, believes the tomb to belong to a Hyksos 'sympathizer'.

48. Bietak, 1975; 1979; 1984: 312-49; Meyers, 1997: 134. On burial customs cf. esp. Brink, E.C.M., 1982.

49. An obelisk fragment of the aforementioned Nehesy from Tanis reads "[…], the king's son Nehsy (2) [He made it as] his monument for Seth, lord of *Rꜣ-ꜣḥt* … (3) […] the [king's] eldest son Nehsy, beloved of Seth, lord of *Rꜣ-ꜣḥt*," Bietak, 1990: 14. Van Seters, 1966: 103, believes that Nehesy's reign marks a break with the traditions of the XIIIth Dynasty and the adoption of a more foreigner-friendly regime. For more on Seth worship in Hyksos period Egypt cf. Bietak, 1990.

50. Speaking of a specific subset of these names, Redford, 1992: 111, maintains that "the fact that none displays any *Egyptian royal* epithets, but only an expression long used for *foreign* rulers, places them within a known political category: they are not kings of Egypt, but rulers of and from alien lands who have, however, come sufficiently within the penumbra of Egyptian culture and

government for someone to deem it appropriate to write their names in Egyptian." Cf. also above, n.3. This type of vassalage is consistent with what van Seters terms 'Amorite politics', allegiance being achieved through the taking of oaths. Further proof for the employment of this system is seen on *Kamose II* when in a letter from the Hyksos ruler to the Nubian one, the former refers to the latter as 'my son' (cf. van Seters, 1966: 168). For further discussion, cf. van Seters, 1966: 158, 170-1; Redford 1970: 18-19.

51. Bietak, 1979.

52. Redford, 1992: 121; Weinstein, 1974: 56; Weinstein, 1975: 9-10.

53. It should be said here that it is likely the army did more pillaging and destruction than perhaps the pharaoh would have liked. The same thing occurs in the reign of Cambyses, which we will examine later.

54. Redford, 1997: 8.

55. On this dearth of information, cf. Winlock, 1924.

56. Redford, 1997: 8; 1992: 104. The stela of Sânkhptah, chamberlain of the king Rahotep of the XVIIth Dynasty is a good example. Under the offering scene, the inscription reads: "Sânkhptah, justifié – [quand] Il sort en beauté lors de la Grande Sortie, lors de toute festivité du ciel, lors de la sortie d'Oupouaout et de Min-Horus-le-Victorieux, à l'occasion des travaux effectués au mur d'enceinte pendant la restauration du temple d'Osiris," translation in Clère, 1982: 65, and Redford, 1997: 8 [no.45]. Clère, 1982: 67-8, believes that "ainsi, il se confirme que Sêkhem-Râ-Ouah-Khâou Râhotep [...] eut à coeur de réparer les dommages causés aux sanctuaires de son royaume durant les temps difficiles de la Seconde Période Intermédiaire, et sans doute imputables en partie aux envahisseurs hyksos des deux dynasties précédentes". In his Karnak Stela, Seꜥnkhenre Montuhotpi speaks of having "drove back all foreign lands, and rescued his city in his might without [smiting (?)] people, as one who acts [........] (8) throughout the Two Banks like Sakhmet in the year of her pestilence," Redford 1997: 9 [no.50].

57. For translations see Redford, 1997: 13-14 [nos. 68-9].

58. Cf. Haran, 1998.

59. The inscription of Ahmose, son of Abana, suggests that the following the sack of Avaris, Ahmose pursued the Asiatics into the southern Levant, Redford, 1997: 15 [no. 70].

60. Harvey, 1994: 3; 1988: 302.

61. Harvey, 1994: 4; 1988: 325, 327, believes that "although no textual labels have been found which might specify the ethnic identity of these Asiatics, some indications exist which allow their provisional association with the Hyksos"; for example "it would seem extremely unlikely that the named figure is any other than a Hyksos, since the use of Apophis as an Egyptian personal name is

unattested during the New Kingdom."

62. Harvey, 1988: 325.

63. *Aegyptica*, fragment 42 from Josephus, *Contra Apionem* i.14, §§ 73-92.

64. II. 36-42; tr. in Allen, 2002: 5.

65. Redford, 1997: 17-18 [no.74].

66. Van Seters, 1966: 173.

67. In fact, in the papyrus itself, after insisting Apophis worshipped only Seth, the scribe goes on to concede that "he did not trust in any other god in the en[tire land], except Amunre, king of the gods," Redford 1997: 18.

68. Redford, 1970: 32.

69. For references to the 'vile Asiatic' during the Asiatic campaigns of the XIXth Dynasty, cf. Davies, 1977, and Lorton, 1973: 65-70. The praenomens with theophoric R^c elements were also omitted from the Turin Canon, (cf. Gardiner, 1959), and omitted altogether from the Abydos and Memphite king-lists (Redford, 1970: 34).

70. *Pharaonen und Fremde*, 1994: 287; Habachi, 1974: 95ff.; Vandier, 1969: 188f.; Weill, 1935: 14 & Pl. II.

71. Leibovitch, 1953: 103.

72. Bietak, 1990, has explained Egyptian identification in the delta with seafaring deities such as Baʿal-Zephon, Proteus, and a multitude of Canaanite gods. Mettinger, 2001, has chronicled the similarities between the Baʿal cycle and that of Osiris, while many others have shown similarities between the Baʿal cycle and Egyptian mythologies. cf. Schmidt, 1963; de Moor, 1971; Watuston, 1989. For more of the Baʿal Cycle cf. J.C.L. Gibson, 1984.

73. Cf. Bietak, 1990: 11ff.; Stadelman, *Lexikon der ägyptologie* VI: 1039-43; and von Beckerath, 1993, with references.

74. For translation, cf. Redford 1997: 18-19 [no.75].

75. Goedicke, 1981: 67, based on the annotation *Stḫ-n-rᶜmssw dj.f ᶜnḫ nb*, believes that "the deity is Ramesses II's own form of Seth and is not identical with the one whose 400th year is mentioned in the text. This refers unquestionably to the 'Ombite', i.e. Upper Egyptian Seth" and therefore maintains that the stela commemorates the cult of the Ombite Seth in Avaris *before* the arrival of the Hyksos (for more on the pre-Hyksos devotion to Seth, cf. von Beckerath, 1965: 263). Whether or not this is the case is a moot point for our artistic analysis; anyone observing the stela would be unable to dismiss its Asiatic character.

76. Bietak, 1990: 11-12, provides an excellent elucidation of the iconography.

77. Both quotes in Redford, 1986: 198-9.

78. Bietak, 1990: 12.

79. Badawi, 1943: 21.

80. This statue from Tanis was originally a monument of Sesostris III, re-inscribed by Merneptah in honor of Seth, in much the same way that Apophis usurped the statuary of Amenhotep III (cf. Weill, 1935: 14 & pl.II).

81. Habachi, 1954: 508. Interestingly, Seth's name has been obliterated from this stela, suggesting a subsequent antipathy towards Seth in this region (below, §V). Yet, Seth on this stela is remarkably similar to the depiction on the 400-Year Stela, suggesting to van Seters, 1966, 135-6, that they go together.

82. For further representations of Seth-Baʿal, cf. te Velde, 1967: 126, n.2.

83. Cf. Schaeffer, 1931: 10-11.

84. Montet, 1947: pl.7, no.44.

85. E.g., on a large statuary group, Montet, 1930: 21; on scarabs, Newberry, 1906: pl.21 #1; on numerous stelae, Prisse, 1847: pl. 37; Wreszinski, 1923: II 164a; Cledat, 1919: 207-8; Pleyte, 1863.

86. Wreszinski, 1923: II 41, where they are called "Anat protects me" and "Anat is sanctified", respectively.

87. Cf. Gardiner & Gunn, 1918: 39; Sethe, 1910: 84ff. Another possible allusion to the Hyksos occupation occurs on a stela of Tuthmosis I, *Urk. IV*: 102 and 651:10; Sethe, 1910: 73-4. Gardiner & Gunn, 1918: 55, believe that "there can be little doubt that the age of terror alluded to was the Hyksos period."

88. Bietak, 1997a: 125. The temple continues to be excavated.

89. Shaw: 2001.

90. See, for example, *The Contest of Horus and Seth for the Rule* (ANET, 14-17), *Astarte and the Tribute of the Sea* (ANET, 17-18), *The Deliverance of Mankind from Destruction* (ANET, 10-11), *Treaty Between the Hittites and Egypt* (ANET, 199-203), and *The Egyptians and the Gods of Asia* (ANET, 249-50); also Gardiner, 1933: 98; van Seters, 1966: 178f.; CT 581, 607, 631, 941, 1069, 1179 in Faulkner, 1973-8. For a discussion of Seth as Baʿal in the Coffin Texts, cf. Zandee, 1963: 144-56.

91. Cf. *Papyrus Sallier* IV: IX, 4. Interestingly, as Seth is depicted with a Baʿal-like head on Egyptian stelae, so "Anty, lord of the East" is depicted with the head of the Seth animal in the Sinai. Further evidence of his foreign associations comes from his mention as god of the Libyans on the Israel Stela of Merneptah, te Velde, 1967: 114, and that on the *Marriage Stela* of Ramses II it is Seth that gives him power over foreign lands: "I know that my father Seth has decreed me victory over every country…" (I.6, 12).

92. Te Velde, 1967: 132.

93. Te Velde, 1967: 66, 111.

94. Te Velde, 1967: 126; as an example see the iconography of Seth at Hibis, Capart, 1946: 29-31, fig. 3.

95. Te Velde, 1967: 119.

96. Van Seters, 1966: 176-7, points out that 1) there is no reason to suspect an interruption in Seth worship at Avaris (as confirmed by the 400-year stela); 2) many foreigners probably remained in the Delta after the expulsion; 3) there is ample evidence for the domestication of foreign deities (cf. Helck); and 4) scarabs show a wide variety of syncretic deities.

97. Van Seters, 1966: 180.

98. Leibovitch, 1953: 111.

99. Jacquet-Gordon, 1960: 23, believes that "by the time Osorkon II came to the throne, although 'Great Chief of the Ma' continued to be widely used among them as an honorary title, there was no real link binding them to their country of origin or to the related tribes which had remained behind there."

100. O'Connor, 1983: 235, agrees that "power was apparently amicably transferred from the Twenty-first to the Twenty-second dynasty." This seizure of power is in contrast to the military takeovers of the Nubians, Persians, and (possibly) the Hyksos (see below on this criterion, § VII.2). For an extensive survey of this period's history and art, see Fazzini, 1988.

101. Dates in Kuhrt, 1995: 624.

102. For excellent summaries of both monumental and popular arts, see Fazzini, 1988; Myśliwiec, 1998: 30-3.

103. Leclant, 1963: 75-8, fig. 1, a fragment of a sandstone stela from Elephantine mentions "Khnum-Re, lord of the Cataract" and "Satet, lord (of Elephantine)," as well as the titulary "Son of Re, lord of the Two Lands, Kashta."

104. Leclant, 1963: 77, 80, figs. 2-5. One other small item, a faience fragment with Kashta's cartouche, is known, cf. Dunham, 1950: 34, fig. 7c & pls. lxii-lxiii.

105. Grimal, 1981: pls. Vff. For Pi(ankh)y's throne names, cf. Von Beckerath, 1999: 206-7.

106. Pi(ankh)y may have modeled his titulary on that of Tuthmosis III, Morkot, 2000: 169.

107. Myśliwiec, 2000: 76.

108. Myśliwiec, 2000: 79.

109. Benson & Gourlay, 1899: 370, pls. XX-XXII.

110. Despite his burial there, his wife Peksater was buried at Abydos, Morkot, 2000: 176; Leahy, 1994: 171-92, pls. XXIV-XXV.

111. James, 1984: 742, characterizes this archaism as a "pious archaeology, inspired no doubt by a respect for the past which, as far as the Kushite kings were concerned, formed part of their general desire to be seen as acceptable rulers of Egypt." This is also highlighted by Pi(ankh)y's usurpation of several ram statues of Amenophis III, cf. Kitchen, 1986: 369.

112. One scene is an expansion of the stela scene, others show Pi(ankh)y running alongside the Apis bull or celebrating the Opet festival at Thebes, Morkot, 2000: 170.

113. Kitchen, 1986: 378, n.765.

114. The temple of Ptah *ḥb-sd* porch and temple of Re-Horakhti [blocks reused by Taharqa].

115. The temple entrance.

116. The temple at the second pylon entrance.

117. For a list of works, cf. Kitchen, 1986: 378-82.

118. Cf. the stela showing Shabako offering incense to Termuthis, *PM* II: 294.

119. Cf. Fazzini, 1988: 7, pl. XXXIV. For an attempt to redate the Shabako Stone to the Ptolemaic period (which for our purposes would suggest at the very least a respect for his attempt and his reign), cf. R. Kraus, 1999.

120. Kitchen, 1986: 382.

121. A seal of his has been found at Nineveh and an amphora handle from Megiddo also bears his name, suggesting he was adept at maintaining trading contacts with Assyria, an important prerogative of a good pharaoh and a trait maintained by the Hyksos earlier, cf. Myśliwiec, 2000: 89.

122. Leclant, 1965: 59-61, §16, pls. 36-7.

123. Leclant, 1965: 139-40, §40.

124. Inscribed "un prêtre pur (*wˁb*) du roi, le dieu bon Chabataka, justifié," Leclant, 1965: 269; cf. also Kitchen, 1986: 387.

125. He is attested at Memphis, Coptos, Karnak, Luxor, Medinet Habu, Deir el-Medina, Asphysis, Qasr Ibrim, Buhen, Semna West, Sedeinga, Kawa, and Gebel Barkal. For a complete list of items, cf. Fazzini, 1988; Myśliwiec, 1988: 31-3 and Kitchen, 1986: 388-92.

126. The stelae from years 2-8 and 8-10 record his gifts to the temple of Gematen, Macadam, 1949: 4-14; 32-41. One from year 6 records his pious building activities, Macadam, 1949: 14-21, and another from the same year the high Nile inundation that resulted, Macadam, 1949: 22-32; Griffith, 1938: 423-30. This event is also recorded on the Nile texts at Karnak, an important textual source for the chronology of this period, cf. von Beckerath, 1966: 52, and also on other copies at Tanis and Coptos, Myśliwiec 2000: 93. A fifth stela commemorates the opening of Taharqa's temple at Gematen, Macadam, 1949: 41-44.

127. 2nd stela of Year 6, lls. 6, 10, 18; Griffith, 1938: 428-9.

128. Myśliwiec, 2000: 95-6.

129. Myśliwiec, 2000: 93.

130. Cf. Myśliwiec, 2000: 97.

131. Myśliwiec, 2000: 106.

132. Loprieno, 1996: 277, 287, explains the *Königsnovelle* as "a form of Egyptian narrative which focuses on the role of king as recipient of divine inspiration or as protagonist of the ensuing decision making process," which is an "ideal setting for a politically motivated use of history." Having a long tradition in Egyptian literature, in the 3IP and Late Period, it is manifested in the form of oracular decrees, such as those on the stela of Taharqa (above, n. 129), and the Tantamani Dream Stela (see below). As such, it constitutes the employment of a traditional literature for the legitimization of the Nubian kings, as well as a reverence on their part for traditional Egyptian forms of literature.

133. Lines 2-7, tr. in Loprieno, 1996: 288. Interestingly, Loprieno also discusses the 400-Year stela in conjunction with the concept of the Königsnovelle, cf. 292.

134. Myśliwiec, 2000: 87-8. On the iconography of the XXVth dynasty kings, cf. esp. Russman, 1974 and Myśliwiec, 1988.

135. O'Connor, 1983: 245.

136. Cf. der Manuelian, 1994: 297-322, pl. 13; Caminos, 1964: 74-5.

137. James, 1984: 743. No study of the XXVIth dynasty would be complete without P. der Manuelian's (1983, 1994) studies on archaism in the Saïte artistic and literary program. For a summary of archaism in all periods, cf. Josephson, 1997a. For sculpture see Josephson, 1997b and 1997c, and Baines, 1989. For archaism in the 3IP cf. Fazzini, 1988.

138. Tr. in der Manuelian, 1994: 298-306; Caminos, 1964: 74-5. There has been some confusion regarding under whom exactly Nitocris was placed. If Nitocris is seen as being placed under the tutelage of Shepenwepet and not of Amonirdis, the passage might be construed as showing that Psamtik was supplanting Amonirdis' legitimate claim to the office of God's Wife rather than respecting it. Psamtik's declaration of uprightness, however, coupled with his open use of Taharqa's name and respectful titulary (the mutilation came after, as we will see), as well as Caminos's convincing argument show rather conclusively that a respectful interpretation is the correct one.

139. On these items, cf. Yoyotte, 1951: 232-4, a-g.

140. For a complete list of mutilated monuments, cf. Yoyotte, 1951: 217-24; for mutilated inscriptions cf. Gauthier, 1916: IV, 10-57.

141. Cf. Champollion in Yoyotte, 1951, n.2.

142. Yoyotte, 1951: 216.

143. With the exceptions of three monuments of Piankhy from Sanam and Gebel Barkal (whose mutilations were partially reconstructed), all of the mutilations occur within Egypt, and the majority of the Nubian rulers' monuments at Gebel Barkal, Sanam, Kawa, and Nuri remained untouched. We also read on a stela from Karnak that "l'armée de Ta Majesté a envoyée contre la Nubie, elle a atteint la région de Pnoubs, [intacte (?)] et sans {pertes (?)]...," col.5, tr. in Yoyotte, 1951.

144. Yoyotte, 1951: 235-6, a-f, fig.2.

145. Yoyotte, 1951: 236-7, a-d.

146. Yoyotte, 1952: 160.

147. Yoyotte, 1952: 174. If we accept the iconography of the double uraeus as signifying rule over Egypt and Nubia, then the appearance of this trait on royal Napatan statuary after the XXVth Dynasty (cf. the statues of Senkamaniskeñ, Anlamani, and Aspelta [Dunham, 1970: pls. XII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXII, XXXII] and the stelae of Aspelta and Harsiotef [Grimal, 1981a]) would lend credence to this possibility.

148. Grimal,1981a: 192-3. This interpretation is further strengthened by the usurpation of a monument of Sheshonq I which highlights Nubian victories, cf. *PM* II, 35. It might also be noted here that some Saïtes also mutilated the cartouches of Necho II, who was not Nubian, cf. de Meulenaere, 1968: 184.

149. This politically motivated hatred is in the same vein as previous Egyptian pharaohs who took similar actions against their political enemies. That this was a function strictly of politics and not of ethnicity is evident, for example, on the reliefs of Mentuhotep during the first intermediate period when the symbolic smiting of Egyptians is shown iconographically in place of where foreigners would normally have been.

150. Cf. Myśliwiec, 2000: 90.

151. III.27-29, principally Cambyses was accused of murdering the Apis bull. We will see, however, that this is highly unlikely, cf. Devauchelle, 1995: 69-70. This seems to have been a standard accusation railed against any hated ruler at this time as it is applied to Artaxerxes Ochos and Alexander later on. For a discussion of the discrepancy between Herodotus' account and the Egyptian sources, cf. Spiegelberg, 1990. Herodotus seems to have been in Egypt c. 450 BC; as he himself relates: "When Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, marched against Egypt, vast numbers of Greeks flocked thither, some, as was likely enough, to engage in trade, others to take military service, and others again merely to see the country" (III.139).

152. Cf. for example, *Diodorus Siculus*, I.95. For Egyptian sources, there is the *Demotic Chronicle* (ll. D6-12) recording the maltreatment of temples in Egypt.

153. E. Cruz-Uribe's (2003) recent article is a step in this direction. He has put forth a detailed examination of the sources for this vilification and weighed them against the evidence from all quarters, not just the artistic. The artistic evidence presented here would seem to agree with his assessment that Cambyses was unfairly treated by Herodotus and others, based on a desire to posthumously vilify him and present pretexts for his conjectured 'madness' (2003: 44ff.). He also suggests that Cambyses may have been the victim of an effort on the part of Darius to cast himself in a greater light than his predecessor (2003: 50).

154. There is somewhat of a watershed at the end of the reign of Darius in regards to the Egyptian attitude towards Persian rule. Cambyses and Darius seem to have been the only rulers to have invested any effort in the governance of Egypt. Xerxes had his own problems with the Greeks, and indeed it was the defeat at Marathon toward the end of Darius' reign that precipitated rebellion in Egypt. It was at that time that the Persian policy switched from one of appeasement to one of dictatorship, and this from a group of rulers (after Darius) that never even set foot on Egyptian soil. For example, in the Stela of the Satrap, which records hostilities towards Xerxes for his revocation of land from the temple of Buto, his name is not even in a cartouche, Gyles, 1959: 41ff. It is likely for this reason that very little survives from this period after the reign of Darius, and the defamation tradition was likely a product solely of the latter reigns. Therefore, I will be discussing primarily the nature of Persian rule in Egypt under Cambyses and Darius.

155. In fact, it seems as though a degree of tolerance and assimilation was a matter of Achaemenid political policy in all areas of the Empire, cf. Root, 1991; Briant, 1987. On Cambyses and Darius in Egypt, cf. esp. Atkinson, 1956.

156. Tr. in Posener, 1936: 31-3.

157. For discussions of Udjahorresnet and his tomb, cf. Cruz-Uribe, 2003: 10-15; Bareš, 1996: 1-9; Bareš, 1999.

158. Lloyd, 1982: 169-70.

159. Lloyd, 1982: 169-70.

160. A similar sentiment is expressed by Amasis on his Apis stela when he says "j'ai mis la crainte que l'on a de toi dans le coeur des Egyptiens, et (dans celui) des étrangers de tous les pays étrangers qui étaient en Egypte étant donné que j'ai fait dans ta Ouabet," Vercoutter, 1962: item H: 61, pl.VII. Cruz-Uribe, 2003: 39-40, has argued that perhaps the expulsion of these men from the sanctuary may have been the result of motives other than the pleas of Udjahorresnet, though historically the result is the same. For a deeper examination of this question, cf. Menu, 1995a. It is likely that these were military men, for some evidence exists for acculturated and respectful Persian settlers. A number of funerary stelae depicting Persians settled in Egypt at this time have been found in the Serapeum at Memphis, possibly from this same group, cf. von Bissing, 1930; Devauchelle, 1986, 1994a, 1994b and 2000; Johnson, 1999: 213-14. There is also the process of Egyptianization delineated by the letters of the brothers Atiyawahi and Ariyawrata, cf. Johnson, 1999: 213-14; Posener, 1936: 178, and the temple at Aswan constructed by a Persian garrison chief, cf. Lemaire, 1991. For more on this, cf. Sternberg-el Hotaby, 2000.

161. Cf. Posener, 1936: 36-41.

162. Cf. Winlock, 1941; Cruz-Uribe, 1986: 166; Root, 1979: 126ff. Cruz-Uribe's work at Hibis has revealed that Darius remodeled the temple begun during the Saite Dynasty, that he did in fact adopt a traditional Egyptian titulary, and that he certainly adopted traditional iconography, although he may never have actually visited the temple, 2003: 36; personal communication. For a number of stelae from the Serapeum bearing his name and depicting him performing cult see Vercoutter, 1962: items K, L, N and possibly M, O, P, and Q, 78ff. & plates.

163. Cf. Clarke, 1922: 27.

164. *Demotic Chronicle*, ll. C8-16; tr. in Devauchelle, 1995: 74-5; confirmed in *Diodorus Siculus*, I.XCV.4-5. Cruz-Uribe's examination, 2003: 48, of this codification has revealed that the *hp* that Darius codified may not have been laws per se, but rather a series of administrative practices allowing a better government of Egypt on the local level. Again, the results historically would have been the same, that Darius here was making an effort to codify Egyptian practices rather than imposing Persian ones.

165. Winlock, 1941: 7, maintains that one of the prenomens used is only applied during the historic coronation ceremony, suggesting Darius was in fact coronated in Egypt. Cruz-Uribe has also maintained that Darius adopted a traditional titulary (personal communication).

166. For an excellent summary of the sources and arguments for the various stages of construction of the Red Sea Canal, cf. Redmount, 1995 and Tuplin, 1991. It is apparent that Darius completed a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, though various sources refer to similar efforts by Sesostris I, Necho II, and Ptolemy II. In Redmount's opinion, the canal was probably begun by Necho II and completed up to Tell el-Maskhuta. Darius was likely responsible for its reexcavation and/or completion to the Red Sea.

167. The traditional view of a changed version of Darius' name later in his reign has been challenged by Cruz-Uribe, 1992-3.

168. Tr. in Kent, 1942: 419.

169. Cf. Kervran, et.al., 1972; Root, 1979: 68ff.

170. Tuplin, 1991: 244.

171. Tr. in Kuhrt, 1995: 668, with refs.; cf. also Herodotus, II.110.

172. Cf. Cooney, 1954a; von Bothmer, 1960: 76-7.

173. For another example of this dress, and a discussion of the motif, cf. von Bothmer, 1960: 83-4.

174. An interesting parallel can be seen around Darius III's neck on the famous Alexander mosaic.

175. Cooney, 1954a. For more discussion of Ptahhotep, cf. Bareš, 1999.

176. Cf. Tresson, 1930.

177. Presumably Nectanebo II.

178. Presumably a reference to the reconquest of Egypt by Artaxerxes III.

179. This word is followed by the same determinative used for the word "enemy" (1) in other parts of the stela, cf. Devauchelle, 1995: 77.

180. Presumably a reference to the battle between Alexander and Darius III, tr. in Lichtheim, 1980: 42.

181. So Menu, 1994: 319: "La seconde domination perse a laissé de mauvais souvenirs en Égypte: Ochos et Bagoas auraient pillé et profané les temples, cependant, il faut faire la part de la propagande anti-perse développée par les Grecs." See also Lefebvre, 1923-4: 11; Briant, 1989. The institution of God's Wife, honored by the Nubians, was also abolished at this time, Ankhnesneferibre being the last God's Wife to hold the office, cf. de Meulenaere, 1968: 187, Ayad, 1995: 1-3. Ayad has convincingly described the fall of the God's Wives of Amun as a direct result of the status of women in Achaemenid society. An almost total absence of political power-wielding on the part of Persian women in any capacity, royal or otherwise, resulted in a lack of training and expectation that women

hold such powerful positions. This thesis is especially convincing in light of the fact that the office was so powerful before the Persians' arrival, and especially pertinent since it represents what would have been a marked deviation from a policy of customs adoption.

182. Cf. Lefebvre, 1923-4. On the dating esp. 10ff. For a more recent reexamination cf. Menu, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1998, and 1999.

183. Menu, 1994: 319, 326.

184. Cf. also references to "a man of a foreign country being the governor in Egypt" (*rmṯ ḫꜣswt m ḥḳꜣ Kmt* [59, 2] and *rmṯ ḫꜣswt m ḥḳꜣ Bꜣkt* [62, 3]).

185. Tr. in Lichtheim, 1980: 46.

186. There was, as is to be expected, a larger adoption of Persian motifs in the minor arts that had to do more with trade than with political sympathy. For more on the influence of Persia on the minor arts in Egypt, cf. Roes, 1952; Cooney, 1954b.

187. Redford, 1970: 10.

188. Redford, 1970: 32. One could still maintain that the Egyptian use of the term 'foreign princes' speaks volumes for a disdainful attitude towards the Hyksos. Let us not forget, however, that this was the first time in Egypt's history that a foreign occupation had occurred. I would suggest that the term was employed initially, and possibly derisively, as a way to distinguish them from a native Egyptian pharaoh, but that as they showed themselves to be respectful rulers, the derision subsided while the designation stuck. The post occupational evidence, at any rate, argues for this interpretation.

Fig. 1 Comparison of a Hyksos king on the sword of *nḥmn* (left) with a man, presumably of the same race and possibly a Hyksos himself, being smitten by the pharaoh Ahmose (right, from an axe head).

A

B

C

D

E

F

Fig. 2 Comparison of Canaanite-like depictions of Seth from Egypt (a-d), and ones from the Levantine area (e-f).

Fig. 3 A block from the Temple of Re-Herakhti, showing the Nubian pharaoh Shabako with a rare, unmutilated double-uraeus.

Fig. 4 Ptahhotep's Persian torque.

THE FUNCTION OF "EMBLEMATIC" SCENES OF THE KING'S DOMINATION OF FOREIGN ENEMIES AND NARRATIVE BATTLE SCENES IN RAMESSES II'S NUBIAN TEMPLES

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Abstract

The decorative programs of all eight Nubian temples constructed during Ramesses II's reign include relief-carved representations of the pharaoh dominating foreign enemies. Although these images share a common theme, certain differences in the content of these tableaux and their patterns of distribution within the eight temples suggest that they can be classified as two distinct scene types and that each type has a specific form and function. These scene types are: 1) abbreviated, "emblematic" scenes that lack historical specificity and depict the pharaoh smiting foreign enemies or leading bound captives; and 2) complex narrative battle scenes, many of which can be correlated to real historical events. The primary purpose of the present article is to define the formal characteristics and examine the programmatic patterning of images of conquered foreigners in this selected group of temples. In addition, the significance of these patterns and the function of each scene type will be explained by means of a discussion of the cosmological and cosmographic values the ancient Egyptians accorded to their temples.

Over the course of five decades, Ramesses II built eight archaeologically known temples in Nubia. Seven of these temples, Beit el-Wali, the Great and Small Temples of Abu Simbel, Derr, Wadi el-Sebua, Gerf Hussein, and Aksha are located in Lower Nubia; and one temple, Amara West, is located below the Third Cataract in Upper Nubia. All of these temples have decorative programs that include relief-carved depictions of the pharaoh dominating foreign enemies. Despite the fact that these scenes share a common theme, there are notable, if sometimes subtle, differences among these images that suggest that they can be classified as distinct types. This article will demonstrate that the scenes of conquered foreigners in this assembly of Nubian temples can be grouped into two main categories—"emblematic" representations of defeated foreigners and full, narrative battle scenes—each of which exhibit significant formal and functional variations and, consequently, have distinct patterns of inclusion and of distribution within the temple.

The primary purpose of this study is to clearly define the formal characteristics and examine the programmatic patterning of the representations of conquered foreigners in this selected group of temples. That the monuments discussed here form a compact body of data—having been built during a single reign and in a specific region—facilitates this aim. To achieve this end, I will first define the characteristics of "emblematic" and "narrative battle scenes"; and I will briefly describe the occurrence (and, where relevant, the subject matter) of one or both scene types in each of the eight temples. I will then demonstrate that

both scene types follow a consistent patterning; show that this patterning is determined by the function of the temple as a microcosmic representation of both the terrestrial world and the greater cosmos; and demonstrate that scenes in which the king defeats foreigners function as a symbolic and ritual defense of the temple. I also wish to show that the symbolic function of the narrative battle scenes have a "real world" dimension that is evoked by the quotation of historical events and relates to the temples' function as microcosms of the terrestrial world and as mirrors that equate terrestrial events to the maintenance of order in the larger cosmos.

Among the most important sources cited here is A. J. Spalinger's 1980 *JEA* article.[1] Although Spalinger is primarily concerned with the dating of the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, he discusses all of the narrative battle scenes in Ramesses II's Nubian temples. He further suggests that many, if not all, of the battle scenes in these temples can be linked to real historical events—military campaigns initiated by Ramesses II or ones in which he participated as a junior partner with his father, Seti I. Spalinger uses these correlations, among other dating criteria, to establish the sequence in which the temples were built. Other valuable sources include S.C. Heinz's study of New Kingdom scenes of foreign domination[2] and I. Hein's overview of the architectural features and chronology of the Nubian temples discussed here.[3]

I. Defining the Categories

1) "Emblematic" Scenes of Defeated Foreigners

I define "emblematic" scenes here as essentially abbreviated representations of the defeat of foreign enemies as they appear in Ramesses II's Nubian temples. They contain all of the basic visual elements that convey the notion of the foreigners' defeat rendered in highly standardized, repetitive, and stereotyped patterns. Emblematic scenes have a relatively simple, uncluttered compositional structure; include a limited number of figures in restricted poses; are populated, with the exception of the foreign victim or victims, by beings of the highest social/cosmological order; and lack historical specificity, a notion reinforced by the placement of the figures in geographically and temporally indistinct settings. These scenes also tend to appear on architectural elements that have relatively small, circumscribed surface areas.

Moreover, these tableaux can be divided into two subtypes—those in which the pharaoh directly interacts with the foreigners in the two-dimensional picture plane, and those in which he does not. The first subtype (**Figure 1**) depicts the pharaoh (sometimes accompanied by his *ka*, a lion, or a queen[4]), usually in the presence of a deity (or deities), expressing dominance by smiting a foreign enemy (or enemies) or pulling a group of bound foreign captives on a leash. The second subtype consists of images of bound foreigners or anthropomorphic foreign name rings, which represent subjugated foreign towns, lands, and peoples (**Figure 2**). The king's dominance is conveyed vis-à-vis the second subtype by the placement of a large relief-carved figure of the king on a higher register—as though he were standing on the reliefs of foreign entities. Alternately, reliefs of bound foreigners are sometimes used as a decorative element on plinths where the king, in the form of a statue or sphinx, is literally on top of the foreigners (**Figure 3**).

2) Narrative Battle Scenes

One of the most salient characteristics of narrative battle scenes (and associated presentation scenes)[5] in the Nubian temples of Ramesses II is their high degree of compositional complexity (**Figure 4**). These scenes tend to utilize a relatively large number of figures depicted in a wide range of poses, exhibit a greater freedom in the repertoire and arrangement of pictorial elements, and are populated by a more socially diverse group of people than are the emblematic tableaux. In addition to the invariable presence of the king in narrative battle scenes, the repertoire of personnel consists of any (or all) of the following: the king's sons; elite Egyptian officials; common soldiers (both foreign troops and, frequently, Egyptian soldiers, too); foreign leaders; foreign civilians; and various species of animals (the royal lion being the only animal that appears in both emblematic and narrative battle scenes). Royal women and deities, who are present in emblematic smiting scenes, however, are not pictorially included in narrative battle scenes (although associated texts in narrative battle scenes sometimes evoke the names of gods and equate the king with gods).

Narrative battle scenes are not constrained by the strict compositional rules that govern the more hieratic, stylized emblematic tableaux. Figures in narrative battle tableaux frequently overlap, and foreigners are sometimes shown in severely contorted positions. Moreover, the figures in these scenes convey a greater sense of dynamic movement. In addition, narrative battle scenes often depict specific geographical settings (sometimes explicitly representing a named town) for the action, including foreign villages and towns, natural topographical features, and buildings.

II. The Nubian Temples of Ramesses II

1) Beit el Wali

The temple of Beit el-Wali[6] (**Figure 5**) is the northernmost (and one of the earliest) of the Nubian temples. It dates to the beginning of Ramesses II's sole reign or to the end of his co-regency with Seti I and appears to have been built as a commemoration of a Nubian battle that took place during the eighth or thirteenth regnal year of Seti I.[7] The battle scenes are located on the lateral (notional[8] north and south) walls of the entrance hall. In accordance with the real geographic location of the peoples and places represented, scenes involving Nubian enemies are located on the (notional) south wall and northern battles are located on the temple's (notional) north wall. The east half of the south wall depicts Ramesses II charging toward a Nubian village in his chariot and mowing down a tumbling wave of Nubians in the process,[9] while the west half represents the outcome of the event—the presentation of Nubian tribute and prisoners to the king.[10]

The five vignettes on the north wall depict the pharaoh engaged in a chariot charge against the Shasu;[11] attacking an anthropomorphized Syrian fortress while two Syrians fall from its battlements[12] (**Figure 6**); executing a Libyan prisoner, who is being bitten on the buttocks by the king's dog,[13] and two tableaux in which the pharaoh receives bound Asiatic prisoners.[14] Spalinger believes that the Shasu and Libyan scenes may have been based on campaigns conducted by Seti I, but that Ramesses II may have played a part (however small) in the Shasu campaign.[15]

Two emblematic smiting scenes appear on the north and south sides of the (notional) east wall of the second hall, where they flank the doorway leading from the entrance hall to

the vestibule. The king dispatches a Nubian before Amun-Re[16] on the south side of the doorway and a Libyan before Re-Horakhty on the north side.[17]

2) Abu Simbel: Great Temple

The Great Temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel (**Figure 7**) was constructed after the Battle of Qadesh, which took place in Ramesses II's fifth regnal year.[18] The temple was completed early in Ramesses II's reign, dating somewhere between the fifth and tenth regnal years.[19]

The narrative battle scenes appear on the lateral walls of the first hall. The entire surface of the notional north wall is devoted to a large-scale representation of the Battle of Qadesh,[20] which occurred during the king's fifth regnal year. This large, complex tableau is divided into two registers by a line of Egyptian and Hittite charioteers meeting head-on in the middle of the wall, and it includes depictions of the fortified Hittite town of Qadesh, the Orontes River, and the king's camp[21] (**Figure 4**). It is one of several representations of this battle (others are at Abydos, the Ramesseum, and Luxor). The Qadesh battle is the best-documented event in the repertoire of Ramesside battle scenes, and the historicity of this event is beyond question (although the event was more of a stalemate than the ultimately resounding—if hard won—Egyptian victory depicted).

The rest of the narrative battle scenes fill the lower register of the (notional) south wall (the upper register is devoted to offering scenes). These scenes are organized into three tableaux in which the king:

> 1) leads a chariot-charge against a Syrian fortified town while accompanied by three of his sons;[22]
>
> 2) tramples one Libyan underfoot while he prepares to thrust an arrow into a Libyan chief;[23] and
>
> 3) drives two rows of bound Nubian prisoners forward while he rides in a chariot, accompanied by his lion and an Egyptian archer.[24]

Spalinger believes that the Syrian and Libyan scenes in Abu Simbel can be correlated to military conflicts that occurred during Seti I's first regnal year, while the Nubian scenes relate to the same Nubian conflict depicted at Beit el-Wali, which Spalinger dates to Seti I's eighth regnal year.[25]

Emblematic tableaux occur on both the exterior and interior of the temple. An exterior emblematic smiting scene appears on the north gateway of the enclosure wall in which the king, accompanied by his *ka* and a lion, kills a group that includes Nubian, Hittite, Syrian, and Aegean enemies in front of Amun[26] (**Figure 8**). Emblematic scenes of foreign prisoners also appear on the temple's façade, where they decorate the lateral (north and south) surfaces of all of the bases of the colossi.[27] The plinths of the two south colossi depict Nubian enemies[28] (**Figure 9**), while bound northerners decorate the lateral surfaces of the bases of the two north colossi[29] (**Figure 10**). A row of bound Nubians and northerners also appears on the exterior east wall of the northern Re-Horakhty chapel. Here, a horizontal register of bound captives is directly underneath two back-to-back scenes in which Amun (south) and Re-Horakhty (north) give the king life and jubilees.[30]   Nubians are depicted underneath the south scene,[31] while Asiatics,[32] Hittites,[33] and Libyans[34] are depicted underneath the north scene (**Figure 11**).

Emblematic representations also appear inside the temple, on the (notional) east and

west walls of the first hall. The two east wall scenes are emblematic smiting tableaux that flank the entrance doorway. On the north half of the east wall the king smites Libyans before Re-Horakhty,[35] and on the south half of the east wall, the king kills Nubian captives before Amun-Re.[36] The emblematic scenes on the west wall flank the doorway at the rear of the hall. On the south half of the west wall, in an apparent sequel to the adjacent Nubian scene (on the west quadrant of the south wall), the pharaoh presents two rows of bound Nubian captives to Amun-Re, the deified Ramesses II, and Mut.[37] The corresponding scene on the north half of the west wall appears to be aftermath of the Battle of Qadesh. Here, the king presents two rows of bound Hittite captives to Re-Horakhty, the deified Ramesses II, and Iusas.[38]

3) Abu Simbel: Small Temple

The Small Temple of Abu Simbel[39] (**Figure 12**), dedicated to Queen Nefertari and Hathor of Ibshek, appears to have been built around the same time (or before) the Great Temple.[40] The temple's decorative program has no narrative battle scenes, but it has two emblematic scenes on the interior of the short (notional) east wall of the first hall, flanking the entrance doorway. On the notional south half of this wall, the king, followed by Nefertari, smites a Nubian before Amun-Re (**Figure 1**).[41] The corresponding scene on the notional north half shows the king, also followed by Nefertari, smiting a Libyan captive before Horus of Maha[42] (**Figure 13**).

4) Derr

The temple at Derr,[43] (**Figure 14**) which has a north-south axis, was built after the construction of the temples at Abu Simbel[44] perhaps sometime between Ramesses II's fifteenth and twenty-fifth regnal years.[45] The narrative battle scenes are located on the now heavily eroded lateral walls of the first hall, and the scenes on each lateral wall are arranged into two registers. The bottom register of the west (notional south) wall depicts a Nubian conflict,[46] which is similar in both composition and content to the Beit el-Wali Nubian battle scene, and the top register of this wall shows the king returning with prisoners.[47] Spalinger suggests that these scenes can be correlated to a Nubian battle from Ramesses II's fifteenth regnal year.[48] The bottom register of the lateral east (notional north) wall shows a chariot charge against a northern enemy group[49] whose precise ethnic identity is not verifiable due to relief erosion and a lack of inscriptional specificity.[50]

Two emblematic smiting scenes[51] occur on the rear wall of the first hall and flank the doorway to the second hall. The king, in each instance accompanied by his lion and his *ka*, smites an ethnically balanced group of northern and southern enemies (two Nubians, a bearded Asiatic, and another northern type[52]) before Amun-Re on the west (notional south)[53] and Re-Horakhty (**Figure 15**) on the east (notional north).[54] Two emblematic presentation scenes are located on the lateral walls. One scene, located on the bottom register of the (notional) north wall, on the (notional) east end (i.e. nearest the rear wall) shows the king offering captives of indeterminate ethnicity[55] to Re-Horakhty[56] (**Figure 16**). The other scene, located on the (notional) east half of the upper register of the (notional) south wall shows the king presenting a group of prisoners of war[57] to Amun-Re.[58]

5) Wadi el-Sebua

The temple of Wadi el-Sebua[59] (**Figure 17, 18**) dates to the period between Ramesses II's thirty-eighth and forty-fourth regnal years,[60] which makes it one of the last Nubian temples built during his reign. Setau, Ramesses II's last Viceroy of Nubia[61] was responsible for directing its construction. The program of this temple contains no narrative battle scenes (the first court is decorated instead with offering scenes[62]), but it does contain emblematic scenes. Bound foreigners are depicted on the rear and lateral sides of the bases of the first six sphinxes flanking the axial approach to the temple. Nubian captives are shown on the bases of the three (notional) south sphinxes[63] (**Figure 19**) and northern enemies are shown on those of the three (notional) north sphinxes[64] (**Figure 20**). In addition, the north and south halves of the exterior surface of the pylon fronting the first court contained two (now heavily eroded) emblematic scenes of the king smiting a symbolic group of nine foreigner prisoners (representing all foreign lands) with an axe before Amun-Re on the south side (**Figure 21**) and Re-Horakhty on the north side[65] (**Figure 22**).

6) Gerf Hussein

The temple at Gerf Hussein (**Figure 23**) was also constructed by Setau and around the same time as (or slightly later than) the temple at Wadi el-Sebua.[66] Like Wadi el-Sebua and the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Gerf Hussein has no narrative battle scenes. The court at Gerf Hussein was decorated instead with two superposed registers of offering scenes.[67] Its two emblematic smiting scenes are located on the rear wall of the first hall and flank the doorway to the offering hall. The texts of both scenes are badly eroded, and the ethnicity of the captives is not clear. To the south of the doorway, the king smites captives before Horus of Buhen on the south (**Figure 24**) and before Re-Horakhty on the north[68] (**Figure 25**).

7) Aksha

The temple at Aksha (**Figure 26**) has been dated, at the earliest, to a period between the co-regency of Seti I and Ramesses II and sometime after the fourth year of Ramesses II's sole reign.[69] It has also been dated between Ramesses II's fifth and fifteenth regnal years.[70] This temple has both emblematic and narrative battle scenes, all of which are heavily damaged. An emblematic scene of the king killing a Nubian occurs on an exterior lintel fragment that may belong to the south half of the temple's pylon.[71] Inside the court, a fragment from the north half of the east wall seems to represent the king smiting Asiatic[72] prisoners while followed by a queen.[73] Another emblematic scene on the south half of the east wall shows the king slaying two Nubians.[74] On the south half of the court's west (rear) wall, there are anthropomorphic Nubian name rings adorning the dado (**Figure 27**),[75] while Syrian name rings appear on the dado of the north half[76] (**Figure 28**).

The fragmentary battle scenes occur on the north and south (lateral) walls and all seem to represent Asiatic battles,[77] which Spalinger correlates to campaigns early in Ramesses II's military career.[78] A fortress (possibly the town of Tunip[79]) and a prone Asiatic crushed under the wheel of a chariot are shown on east quadrant of the south wall,[80] directly adjacent to the emblematic Nubian scene. A scene in the middle of the north wall of the first hall shows a prince with foreign prisoners and a battle with Asiatic enemies.

8) Amara West

At Amara West (**Figures 29, 30**), the battle and emblematic scenes are located on the interior of the hypostyle hall and on the exterior west side gate. Narrative battle scenes are usually found in the first hall or court of Ramesside temples, but their unusual placement in the hypostyle hall might be explained by the significant changes the temple underwent during its construction. The temple, begun by Seti I, was originally planned with a north-south axis and a southern entrance.[81] Sometime before (or soon after) decoration was begun the layout of the temple was reversed—possibly by Ramesses II, who was chiefly responsible for the decoration—and the entrance was placed in the north.[82]

Emblematic scenes at Amara West take two forms—anthropomorphic name rings and smiting scenes. The name rings of captive Nubian and Syrian settlements (**Figure 2**) encircle the entire hall in a continuous dado-level register.[83] Syrian name rings, which outnumber the Nubian name rings, occur on the dado of the lateral west wall,[84] the east wall,[85] the east half of the rear (south) wall, and the east half of the north wall.[86] Nubian name rings occur on the dado of the west half of the south wall[87] and the west half of the north wall.[88] Fragments of emblematic smiting scenes appear on the east and west halves of the rear (south) wall of the first (peristyle) court and flank the doorway to the second court.[89] The text on the east side refers to Hittite victims, and the text on the west side refers to all foreign lands.[90] Additionally, larger scale emblematic scenes of the king smiting foreigners occur on the south wall flanking the doorway to the vestibule. The west half of the south wall shows the king, followed by a queen, smiting captives before Amun-Re.[91] A pendant (and heavily damaged) scene without a queen is on the east half of the wall.[92] Overall, there is a tendency to depict Nubians on the west half of the temple, and the motif of Syrian defeat is given greater emphasis than are representations of Nubian defeat.

There are certain anomalies in the layout of battle scenes here. The interior (heavily damaged) depiction of battle with Syrians, including a siege of the Arqata fortress, extends from the short west half of the north wall to the south end of the west lateral wall.[93] Oddly, there does not appear to be a corresponding battle scene on the east lateral wall. Instead, the scenes on this wall show the king with deities.[94] An additional anomaly is the placement of a full narrative Nubian battle scene (complete with chariot charge) on either side of the west gate.[95] The chariot charge against the Nubian enemy is shown on the south side of the gate, while the north wall shows the king returning victoriously from battle.[96] Spalinger believes that this scene was added after the completion of the temple and represents the Nubian war in Ramesses II's fifteenth regnal year (as at Derr).[97]

III. Interpretation

The significance of scenes that depict the domination of foreigners can be directly related to the cosmography of the Egyptian temple. On one level, the temple functions as a microcosmic representation of the larger cosmos as well as the entire terrestrial realm (Egypt and foreign lands)—a notion developed by, among others, D. Arnold,[98] R.B. Finnestad,[99] E. Van Essche-Merchez,[100] and borne out in D. O'Connor's cosmological analyses of Egyptian temples.[101] In the Nubian temples of Ramesses II, one of the ways in which the decorative program evokes and mirrors the terrestrial world is through the placement of northern enemies in the northern quadrants of temples and Nubians in the

southern parts,[102] effectively using the decorative program to create a microcosmic expression (or "map") of the world the ancient Egyptians knew.

Even when the ethnicity of the enemies shown is not a clear indicator of north and south, other aspects of the decorative program can perform that function and evoke the terrestrial cosmos. For example, in scenes where the king smites a mixed group of northern and southern foreigners before a god on both the notional north and south sides of a temple (e.g. Wadi el-Sebua), the geographical placement of the scene in north or south is indicated by the king's crown and/or by the deity depicted. In the latter instance, Amun or a Nubian avatar of Horus represents the south and Re-Horakhty represents the north.

Because the macrocosmic and microcosmic realms mirror each other, the pharaoh's subjugation of foreign foes conceptually replicates and metaphorically represents the gods' subjugation of chaos in the divine realm.[103] Moreover, it reinforces the notion that Egypt and the pharaoh are entities that embody and ensure order in the terrestrial realm. Emblematic and narrative battle scenes, while sharing the common overarching theme of the suppression of chaos (manifested in the form of foreign enemies) are distinguished from each other in several ways: frequency of inclusion, different patterns of distribution within the temple, and significant formal differences, all of which point to a distinction in function.

1) Inclusion and Exclusion of Battle Scenes

Emblematic and narrative battle scenes are not always employed together in the Nubian temples of Ramesses II. Emblematic scenes appear to have been an indispensable component in the decorative programs of these temples, while narrative battle scenes seem to have been an optional feature. All eight temples, without exception, have programs that contain emblematic representations; five of the temples (Beit el-Wali, the Great Temple at Abu Simbel, Derr, Amara West, and Aksha) contain both emblematic scenes and narrative battle scenes. The three remaining temples (the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Wadi el-Sebua, and Gerf Hussein) have emblematic scenes, but no battle or battle-related presentation scenes.

What factor or factors determined the exclusion of narrative battle scenes from three of the Nubian temples? In the case of the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, rules of decorum[104] vis-à-vis the temple's feminine foci of cult (Hathor of Ibshek and Queen Nefertari) might explain the lack of narrative battle scenes, since it was built during a period when the programs of other Nubian temples (including the temple next door) incorporated battle scenes. This hypothesis, however, does not explain the absence of battle scenes from the temples of Gerf Hussein and Wadi el-Sebua. In these cases, the historical milieu may have influenced the choice to omit battle scenes. Spalinger has convincingly argued that many of the battle scenes represent historical events from the reign of Ramesses II, or that they represent battles that occurred earlier in his military career in which he played a junior role with his father.[105] Gerf Hussein and Wadi el-Sebua, however, are roughly contemporary, and they appear to have been the last two Nubian temples built by Ramesses II (between his thirty-eighth and fiftieth regnal years). The second half of Ramesses II's reign was a time of relative peace, one in which no major battles were fought.[106] Therefore, the need to represent Egypt's and the pharaoh's subjugation of foreign, chaotic force could have been satisfied by the employment of emblematic representations alone without a specific reference to a real historical event.

2) Patterns of Distribution

Each scene type has a specific pattern of distribution. Almost all of the emblematic scenes have a heraldic quality. They usually appear on the short walls that flank areas, such as doorways, deemed vulnerable to the intrusion of negative or chaotic supernatural force, and they appear on the bases of statuary that line the central axes of temples. When they show up on lateral walls (e.g. Derr), they occur in the first court and in close proximity to emblematic tableaux on the short, rear walls.

In all the temples with narrative battle and presentation scenes (except the anomalous Amara West), these scenes are located in the first hall or court. This corresponds to the notion that the first court (which is the interior temple space closest to the outside world) represents the terrestrial realm of cosmos in a more explicit and literal way than do the inner parts of the temple, which tend to be decorated with scenes of cultic ritual and the interaction of the king and the gods, and which indicate geographical location in the terrestrial world in ways that are more subtle (to the modern viewer).[107] Further, by placing these scenes in the first hall, the chaotic elements (i.e. foreigners and foreign lands) are kept at a physical remove from the more ritually charged (and vulnerable) temple sanctuary[108] where the cult statue of the temple deity "lives."[109]

While emblematic scenes in Ramesses II's Nubian temples tend to equally balance the representation of northern and southern enemies, this is not always the case with full battle scenes. In some temples, the narrative scenes highlight the defeat of one type of foreign enemy. One way this emphasis manifests itself in the devotion of more wall space to the king's defeat of the "special" enemy. At Beit el-Wali, for example, the relative importance of the Nubian war and its outcome is emphasized by its placement on the entire south wall of the first hall, while battles with three different northern enemy groups are shown on the north wall. Similarly, at Derr, the Nubian battle and its outcome are given particular emphasis by being shown on both registers of the (notional) south wall, while the northern battle is shown only on the bottom register of the (notional) north wall. At Aksha, the extant battle scenes represent a conflict with Asiatic enemies, while the domination of Nubians seems to be expressed solely through the emblematic representations on the south halves of the east and west walls.

When one type of enemy is highlighted, this can lead to the "displacement" of scenes ordinarily found on the (notional or actual) north wall to the (notional or actual) south wall and vice-versa. At Abu Simbel, for example, the Battle of Qadesh is highlighted not only by its layout on the entire (notional) north wall, but also by the way it seems to "displace" scenes involving the Libyan and Syrian conflicts from the north wall to the (notional) south wall, which they then share with the expected scene of Nubian defeat. Another indication of the greater importance of the Hittite battle scene relative to scenes involving other types of enemy groups is that the south wall battle scenes were allotted only the bottom register (offering scenes fill the upper register). This asymmetrical representation of foreigners is meaningful when contrasted with the balanced representation of northerners and southerners (each group on the appropriate north and south walls) in the Great Temple's emblematic tableaux.

When one keeps in mind that the Hittites were Egypt's greatest (and newest) foreign military threat at the time that Abu Simbel was built and decorated, it seems reasonable to suggest that contemporary historical circumstances propelled the decision to highlight one

enemy group over others in the depiction of narrative battle scenes. If true, this reinforces a notion already implied by the absence of battle scenes from Wadi el-Sebua and Gerf Hussein, namely, that the two temples were built during a period of relative peace.

The anomalous placement of the Amara West Nubian battle scene on the western exterior doorway appears to be another example of "displacement" and may relate directly to the greater emphasis given to Asiatic campaigns in the temple interior.

3) Formal Differences and the Relative Diversity of the Actors

Emblematic tableaux and narrative battle scenes have clear formal distinctions and differ in the diversity of the actors included in the scene types. Emblematic smiting and presentation scenes have relatively simple and static compositions. The smiting scenes tend to be heavily framed by both the architectural setting (since they are usually placed on the short walls that flank doorways) and the figure(s) positioned around the king. The weapon-bearing arm that the king swings upward tends to form a diagonal line that is reinforced by the king's striding legs. The king's body is the dynamic component that visually links two static, vertical elements (the borders of the scene or the royal woman and deity standing in front of and behind him). Emblematic presentation scenes are even more static. The king, who is the primary actor, pulls foreigners on a leash and presents them to a deity or deities, but the dramatic diagonal line created by the king's smiting arm is not present. The number and type of actors involved in these scenes is highly restricted; aside from the foreigners, emblematic smiting and presentation scenes can only be populated by the king, a deity (or group of deities), a royal woman, the royal *ka*, or the king's lion. In two instances (Great Temple of Abu Simbel, Derr), two sexually segregated groups of nine princesses and eight princes are depicted on registers below (but never on the same plane as) emblematic smiting scenes.

The bound foreigners and anthropomorphic name rings that comprise the second subtype of emblematic tableau have very little formal variation. The first group appear as full-figure representations of foreign enemies who are usually bound in such a way that they appear as a series of individual links on a long tether. The anthropomorphic name rings usually appear as ovals with the name of the town or people inscribed inside the oval while the head and torso of the represented foreign group emerges from the top. This second subtype usually appears on the most circumscribed surface areas, namely, statue plinths and, as at Amara West, on a narrow, dado-level horizontal register that encircles a courtyard.

Narrative battle scenes are relatively large compositions that teem with the frenzied activity of humans and animals engaged in warfare and its aftermath, as opposed to the limited number of formalized and standardized poses assumed by the figures in emblematic scenes. That narrative battle scenes are populated by a large cross-section of people adds to their dynamic quality. Unlike the emblematic tableaux, narrative battle scenes are not governed by rigid rules of composition. Figures overlap with great frequency. Foreigners, in particular, are shown running away from the pharaoh in tumbling waves, falling from the battlements of a fortified town, trampled underfoot, crushed under the wheels of a chariot, or running with their heads turned backwards while they flee so they can see the pharaoh coming up behind them. While emblematic scenes usually take place in the presence of one or more deities, and royal women can be included in these tableaux, the narrative battle scenes are a largely male world populated by Egyptians and foreigners of diverse social rank

and by the animals of war and tribute. The only women in the battle scenes are foreigners who are subject to Egyptian attack (e.g. the Nubian village women shown in Beit el-Wali and Derr) (**Figure 31**) or tribute bearers (e.g. Beit el-Wali, south wall).

IV. Conclusion

Emblematic and narrative battle scenes in the Nubian temples of Ramesses II are outwardly differentiated from each other in two key ways. First, there are significant formal differences between the two categories. Emblematic scenes are abbreviated, shorthand, hieratic, fairly static, and highly standardized depictions of foreign domination, while narrative battle scenes have more complex, dynamic compositions and involve a greater number of figures in a greater variety of poses. Second, each scene type shows significant differences in their patterns of inclusion and distribution. Emblematic scenes are a necessary element in the decorative program of all the Nubian temples, and they tend to act as heraldic devices that flank doorways and central approaches to temples. This stands in contrast to narrative battle scenes, which appear to be an optional scene type—the inclusion of which seems to have depended upon the historical milieu, and, in the case of the Small Temple of Abu Simbel, gender based rules of decorum. When they are included, battle scenes tend to appear in the first hall of temples on the lateral walls.

Another indication that emblematic tableaux and narrative battle scenes each have a diverse character is the difference in the types of beings that inhabit them. Moreover, these variations in form, content, and distribution suggest a functional distinction between the two types. Emblematic scenes are a vital apotropaic and symbolic element of decoration that succinctly portrays the crucial theme of the king's continual maintenance of cosmic order through the subjugation of chaotic force—an act that is timeless, endlessly repeated, and thus set in a temporally and geographically indistinct setting. Full battle scenes (and associated presentation scenes) have an apotropaic function, but also serve as an explicit representation of the terrestrial cosmos in the temple by quoting real historical events set in actual geographical settings—a synthesis of "real" and "ideal" conditions. They thus imbue the suppression of chaos with a "real world" specificity that demonstrates the conceptual interpenetration of the temple, the larger cosmos, and the terrestrial world.

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Notes
[1] A.J. Spalinger, "Historical Observations on the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia," *JEA* 66 (1980), pp. 83-99.
[2] S.C. Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches: Eine Bildanalyse* (Vienna, 2001), discusses many of the scenes I address in this paper, but she defines these scenes differently from the approach taken here. For example, she has broken down the scenes that I define as "narrative battle scenes" into subdivisions such as "kampf," "marsch," and "präsentation," scenes. Scenes that I categorize as "emblematic" smiting scenes, Heinz defines as "einzelkampf" scenes. Heinz does not deal with those vignettes that I refer to as "emblematic" scenes of bound foreigners when they appear in relatively obscure locations (e.g. on the surfaces of plinths beneath the sphinxes at Wadi el-Sebua).

[3] I. Hein, *Die Ramessidische Bautätigkeit in Nubien* (Wiesbaden, 1991).

[4] A royal woman accompanies the king in emblematic smiting scenes in three temples: the Small Temple at Abu Simbel, Aksha, and Amara West. Only the figures of the queen in the Small Temple's emblematic smiting scenes are clearly depictions of Nefertari. The figure of the queen depicted in the Aksha and Amara West emblematic smiting scenes may also have represented Nefertari, but the associated inscriptions have been eroded beyond legibility or destroyed.

[5] The presentation scenes, when they occur in conjunction with battle scenes can be envisioned as the "result" of the battle.

[6] Reliefs and texts published in H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, and E. Wente, *The Beit El-Wali Temple of Ramesses II* (Chicago, 1967).

[7] For the dating of this battle to Seti I's thirteenth regnal year see K. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II, King of Egypt* (Warminster, 1982), pp. 5, 31. For an alternate dating of this battle to Seti I's eighth regnal year see Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 90-91.

[8] Temple orientation is controlled by a number of conditions and relationships, including natural phenomena such as the direction of the Nile and the cyclical movement of the sun; by local conditions such as the geography and geology of the temple site; and by ritual concerns and relationships with other temples. The "notional" orientation is an "ideal" directional orientation, which is sometimes at variance with the actual physical location and orientation of the temple.

[9] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 7, 8; KRI II, p. 198.

[10] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 7, 9; KRI II, p. 199.

[11] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 13; KRI II, p. 195.

[12] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 12; KRI II, p. 196.

[13] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 14; KRI II, p. 196.

[14] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pls. 10, 11, 15: KRI II, pp. 196-197.

[15] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 90, envisages the Libyan execution scene as a copy of a vignette from Seti I's Libyan War scene at Karnak.

[16] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pl. 27; KRI II, p. 200.

[17] Ricke, Wente, Hughes, *Beit El-Wali*, pl. 24; KRI II, p. 199.

[18] Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 62.

[19] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 91-93; Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 109. L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Glückstadt, 1969), p. 8, opines that it may have been completed as late as Ramesses II's thirty-fifth regnal year.

[20] PM VII, p. 103 (40)-(41).

[21] See J. A. Wilson, "The Texts of the Battle of Kadesh," *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, XLIII (1927), pp. 266-283. For a discussion of the narrative structure of this scene see H. A. Groenewegen-Frankfort, *Arrest and Movement: An Essay on Space and Time in the Representational Art of the Ancient Near East* (Cambridge and London, 1987), pp. 137-138, figs. 30-32, a, b.

[22] KRI II, p. 206; K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated Translations II: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1996), p. 67; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.2.

[23] KRI II, pp 206-207; RITA II, p. 67; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.1.

[24] KRI II, p. 206-207; PM VII, pp. 102-103, (39)-(40); RITA II, pp. 67-68; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.3.

[25] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 92.

[26] KRI II, p. 205; RITA II, p. 66.

[27] While Porter and Moss describe the inner surfaces of the two colossi that flank the doorway, they do not mention that the lateral surfaces of all the colossi bases are also decorated with representations of foreign prisoners. See PM VII, p. 100 (25), (26).

[28] M. Maher-Taha and G.A. Gaballa (ed.), *Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel I: La façade* (Cairo, 2001), p. 90, pl. LXXIX [D.8a, D.9a]; PM VII, p. 100 (25) only discuss the north surface of the innermost south colossus bases and erroneously describe this base surface as decorated with representations of a bedouin, two Nubians, and a Hittite.

[29] Maher-Taha and Gaballa, *Le grand temple d'Abou Simbel I*, pp. 104-105, pls. XCII [D.10a, D.11a], XCIII [D.10a, D.11a]; PM VII, p.100 (26), only discuss the south surface of the inner north colossus and refer to the prisoners only as "Asiatics."

[30] I. Badawy, J. Černy, L. El-Tanbouli, G. Moukhtar, and A. Abdel Hamid Youssef, *Abou Simbel VI: La chapelle de Re-Horakhty* (Cairo, 1989), pls. XIII, XIV (A), XIV (B), XV (A), XV (B).

[31] Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XIV (A).

[32] Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XIV (B), XV (A).

[33] Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XV (A).

[34] Badawy, et. al., *Abou Simbel VI*, pl. XV (B).

[35] PM VII, pp. 101-102 (37).

[36] PM VII, p. 102 (38).

[37] PM VII, p. 104 (43); KRI II, pp. 207-208; RITA II, p. 68; Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 252, fig. I.4.

[38] PM VII, p. 104 (44).

[39] Published by C. Desroches-Noblecourt and C. Kuentz, *Le petit temple d'Abou Simbel.* Vols. 1, 2 (Cairo 1968).

[40] Although Habachi doubts that the Great Temple was built during the first decade of Ramesses II's sole reign, he believes that the Small Temple was constructed and perhaps completed during the early years of this reign. One indicator of this early date is the presence of a stele aligned with the Small Temple's north façade dedicated by Iuny, the Viceroy of Nubia during the last years of Seti I's life and the early years of Ramesses II's reign. For a discussion of the stele, see PM VII, pp. 117-118. For a discussion of Iuny and the orientation of the stele towards the Small Temple, see Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 66. For Habachi's use of the stele as an indicator of the temple's early date, see Habachi, *Deification*, p. 11.

[41] Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple* II, pls. 32 (photo), 33 (line drawing); KRI II, p. 209; *RITA* II, p. 70.

[42] Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple* II, pls. 35 (photo), 36 (line drawing); KRI II, p. 209; RITA II, pp. 69-70.

[43] A.M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr* (Cairo, 1913).

[44] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 94.

[45] See chart in Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 112.

[46] Blackman, *Derr*, pp. 17-22, pls. 13-20; KRI II, p. 203.

[47] KRI II, pp. 203-204.

[48] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 94-98.

[49] Blackman, *Derr*, pp. 5-8, pls. 3-5; KRI II, p. 202.

[50] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 93, rules out the Hittites.

[51] Blackman, *Derr*, pp. 8-17, pls. 6-12.

[52] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 94; Blackman, *Derr*, p. 94.

[53] PM VII, p. 86 (8).

[54] PM VII, p. 85 (6).

[55] Blackman, *Derr*, p. 7, notes that the reliefs are too eroded to discern the ethnicity of this group of foreigners.

[56] PM VII, p. 85 (2)-(3); KRI II, p. 202; RITA II, p. 64.

[57] Blackman, *Derr*, p. 18, notes that they are not identifiable, but judging from the context, it is reasonable to assume that they represent Nubian prisoners.

[58] Blackman, *Derr*, p. 18, pls. XIII, XX; *PM* VII, p. 85 (4)-(5); KRI II, pp. 203-204; RITA II, p. 65.

[59] H. Gauthier, *Le temple de Ouadi Es-Sebuâ*, Vols. 1,2. Les temples immergés de la Nubie I (Cairo, 1912).

[60] A stele of Setau, the contemporary Viceroy of Nubia, dates the building of the temple Ramesses II 44th regnal year, W. Helck, "Die Große Stele des Vizekönigs *Stꜣw* aus Wadi Es-Sabua," *SAK* 3 (1975), pp. 85-112, especially p. 100. Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 112. R. Gundlach, "Sebua (Wadi es-)," *LÄ* V, pp. 768-769, dates the temple to between regnal years 35-50.

[61] Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, pp. 136-138.

[62] PM VII, pp. 58-59, (47)-(54).

[63] Gauthier, *Ouadi Es-Sebuâ* II, pl. VII.

[64] Gauthier, *Ouadi Es-Sebuâ*, II, pls. V, VI A, VIII A.

[65] Gauthier, *Ouadi Es-Sebuâ* I, pp. 59-67, II, pl XIV A; KRI II, pp. 200-202; PM VII, p. 58, (30), (31). PM VII, p. 58 (38)-(39) and p. 59 (61)-(62) erroneously identifies kneeling *rekhyt* figures on the doorjambs of the first pylon and the doorway between the inner court and the vestibule as kneeling foreigners.

[66] Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 112.

[67] M.A.L. El-Tanbouli and A.F. Sadek, rev. by C. Kuentz, *Garf Hussein II. La cour et l'entrée du speos* (Cairo, 1974), pls. XXXIX, XLI.

[68] J. Jacquet and H. El-Achirie, *Gerf Hussein* I (Cairo, 1978), plate XVIII a-b; RITA II, pp. 62-63; KRI II, p. 200.

[69] P. Fuscaldo, "Aksha (Serra West): La datación del sitio," *REE* (1992), pp. 5-34, especially p. 13, suggests that this temple was decorated during the co-regency of Ramesses II and Seti I and was finished sometime after the fourth year of Ramesses II's sole reign with later additions in the decorative program.

[70] Hein, *Ramessidische Bautätigkeit*, p. 109; Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 95.

[71] J. Vercoutter, "Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentine Archaeological Expedition, 1961," *KUSH* 10 (1962), pp. 109-117, especially pl. XXXIVc, facing p. 112.

[72] Fuscaldo, "Aksha," p. 9.

[73] Fuscaldo, "Aksha," pp. 8-9, 21-22, fig 8a. Fuscaldo compares this smiting scene to those in the Small Temple of Abu Simbel.

[74] PM VII, p. 127 (8); KRI II, p. 210; Fuscaldo, "Aksha," p. 9.

[75] PM VII, p. 127 (11); KRI II, pp. 211-212; Kitchen, RITA II, pp. 71-72; Fuscaldo, "Aksha," fig. 7.

[76] PM VII, p. 127 (12); KRI II, pp. 210-211; Kitchen, RITA II, p. 71; Fuscaldo, "Aksha," fig. 6.

[77] Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, pp. 39-40, 256-257.

[78] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 95, 99.

[79] RITA II, p. 70.

[80] PM VII, p. 127 (9); Heinz, *Feldzugsdarstellungen*, p. 257, fig. III.6.

[81] P. Spencer, *Amara West I. The Architectural Report* (London, 1997), p. 27. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 44, ascribes the reversal in orientation to the new Viceroy of Kush, Iuny.

[82] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 27.

[83] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39 and pls. 34-37.

[84] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39; PM VII, p. 161 (30)-(31); KRI II, p. 213 (a, c, d).

[85] KRI II, pp. 214 (a), 215-216. PM VII, p. 161 (24)-(25) has (incorrectly) "Nubians."

[86] Spencer, *Amara West* I, p. 39; KRI II, p. 217; PM VII, p. 161 (23).

[87] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 40; PM VII, p. 161 (32) (33); KRI II, p. 214 (b).

[88] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 39; KRI II, p. 220. PM VII, p. 161 (29) has (incorrectly) "Asiatics."

[89] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 36, pl. 29c-d; PM VII, p. 159 (13-4); KRI II, pp. 212-213; RITA II, p. 72.

[90] KRI II, pp. 212-213; RITA II, p. 72.

[91] PM VII, p. 161, (32)-(33).

[92] PM VII, p. 161, (26)-(27).

[93] KRI II, p. 213; RITA II, pp. 72-73.

[94] PM VII, p. 161 (24)-(25).

[95] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 18, pls. 11-12.

[96] Spencer, *Amara West I*, p. 18; RITA II, p. 77.

[97] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," p. 98.

[98] D. Arnold, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches* (Berlin, 1962).

[99] R.B. Finnestad, *Image of the World and Symbol of the Creator: On the Cosmological and Iconological Values of the Temple of Edfu* (Wiesbaden, 1985).

[100] E. Van Essche-Merchez, "Pour une lecture "stratigraphique" des parois du temple de Ramsès III à Médinet Habou," *RdÉ* 45 (1994), pp. 87-116; and "La syntaxe formelle des reliefs et de la grande inscription de l'an 8 de Ramsès III à Médinet Habou," *CdÉ* 67 (1992), pp. 211-239.

[101] D. O'Connor, "The Interpretation of the Old Pyramid Complex," in H. Guksch and D. Polz (eds.), *Stationen: Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens: Rainer Stadelmann Gewidmet* (Mainz, 1998), pp. 135-144; "The Dendereh Chapel of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: A New Perspective," in A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of H.S. Smith* (London, 1999), pp. 215-220; and "Egyptian Architecture," in D. Silverman (ed.),

Searching for Ancient Egypt: Art, Architecture, and Artifacts from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Ithaca, 1997), pp. 155-161.

[102] Van Essche-Merchez, "Pour une lecture 'stratigraphique,'" especially 114 and 115, fig. 16.

[103] See Finnestad*, Image*, pp. 14-16, for a discussion of the function of the "enemy" mythologem in the temple cosmology of Edfu and the foreign enemy as chaos metaphor.

[104] For a definition of decorum, see J. Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster and Chicago, 1985), pp. 277-305.

[105] Spalinger, "Military Reliefs," pp. 90-92.

[106] A. H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1961), p. 270; Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, p. 206.

[107] For example, the presence of a particular god or goddess can evoke the town where that deity's cult center was located.

[108] Van Essche-Merchez, "Pour une lecture 'stratigraphique,'" especially pp. 100-101 and note 43.

[109] Finnestad, *Image*, pp. 7, 96-110.

Figure 1. Small Temple at Abu Simbel: south wall emblematic smiting scene. King, followed by Nefertari, smites a Nubian captive before Amun-Re. After Desroches-Noblecourt & Kuentz, *Le petit temple II*, **pl. XXXII.**
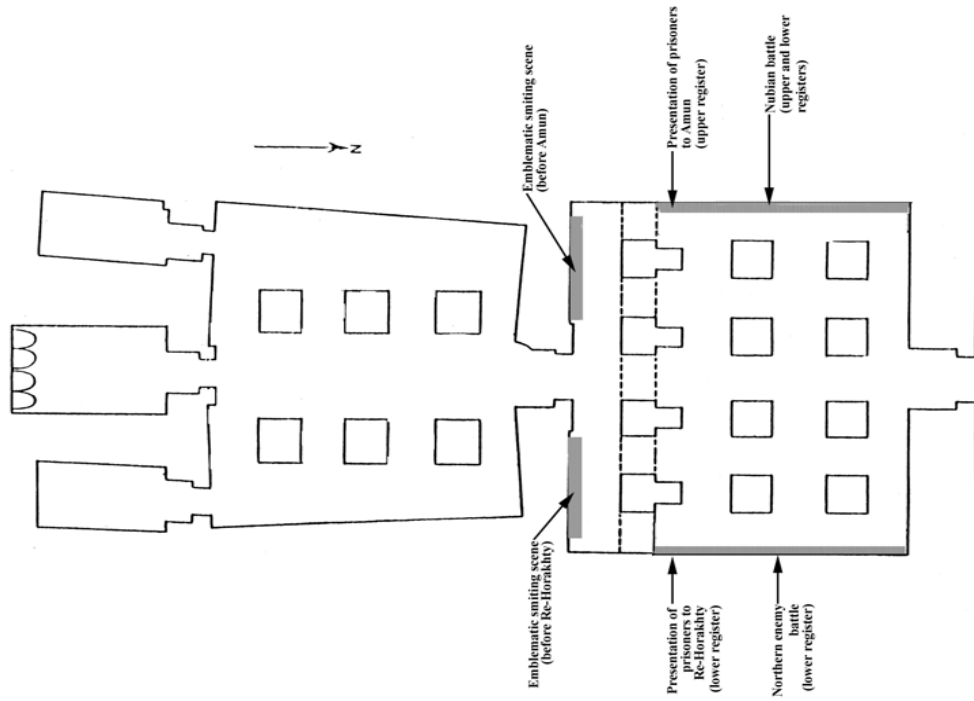

Figure 2. Detail of horizontal, dado-level register containing emblematic name rings of northern towns from the Amara West temple. After Spencer, *Amara West*, **pl. 34 (c).**

Figure 3. Emblematic depiction of bound Nubians on the base of a southern sphinx at Wadi el-Sebua. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.

Figure 4. Detail of Qadesh battle scene from the Great Temple at Abu Simbel. After Groenewegen-Frankfort, Arrest and Movement, fig. 32 a.
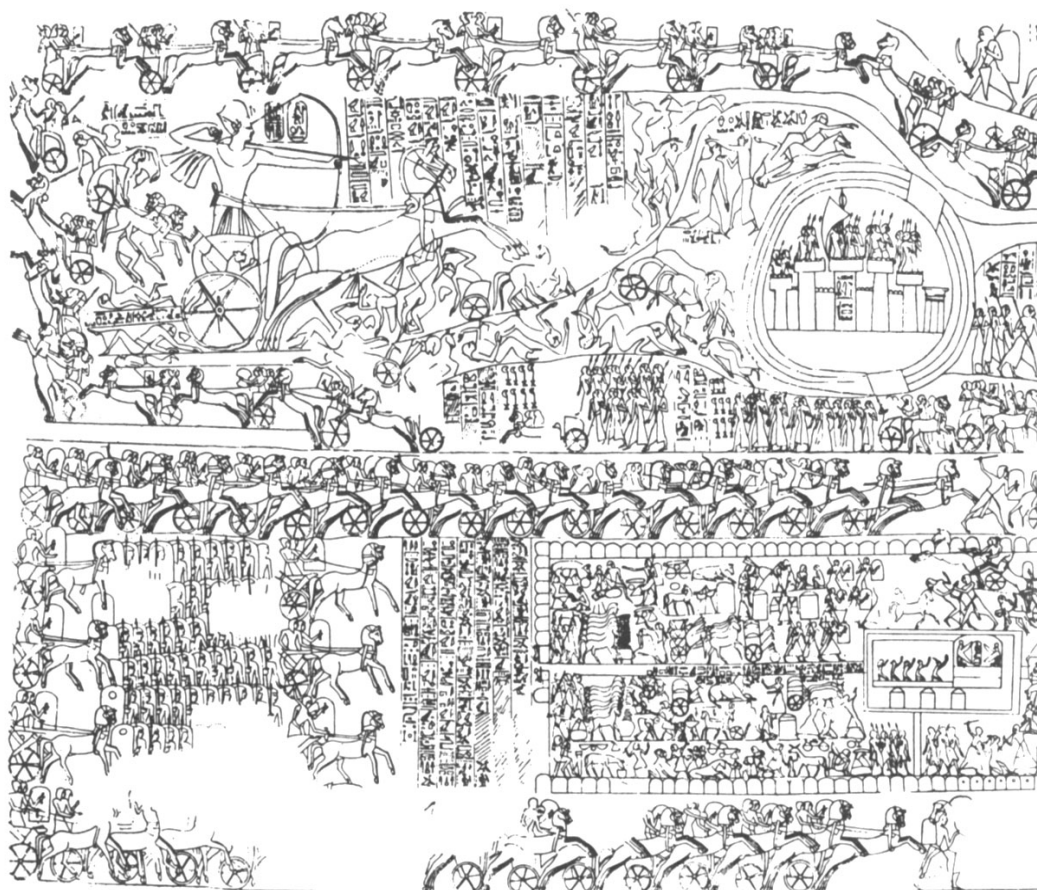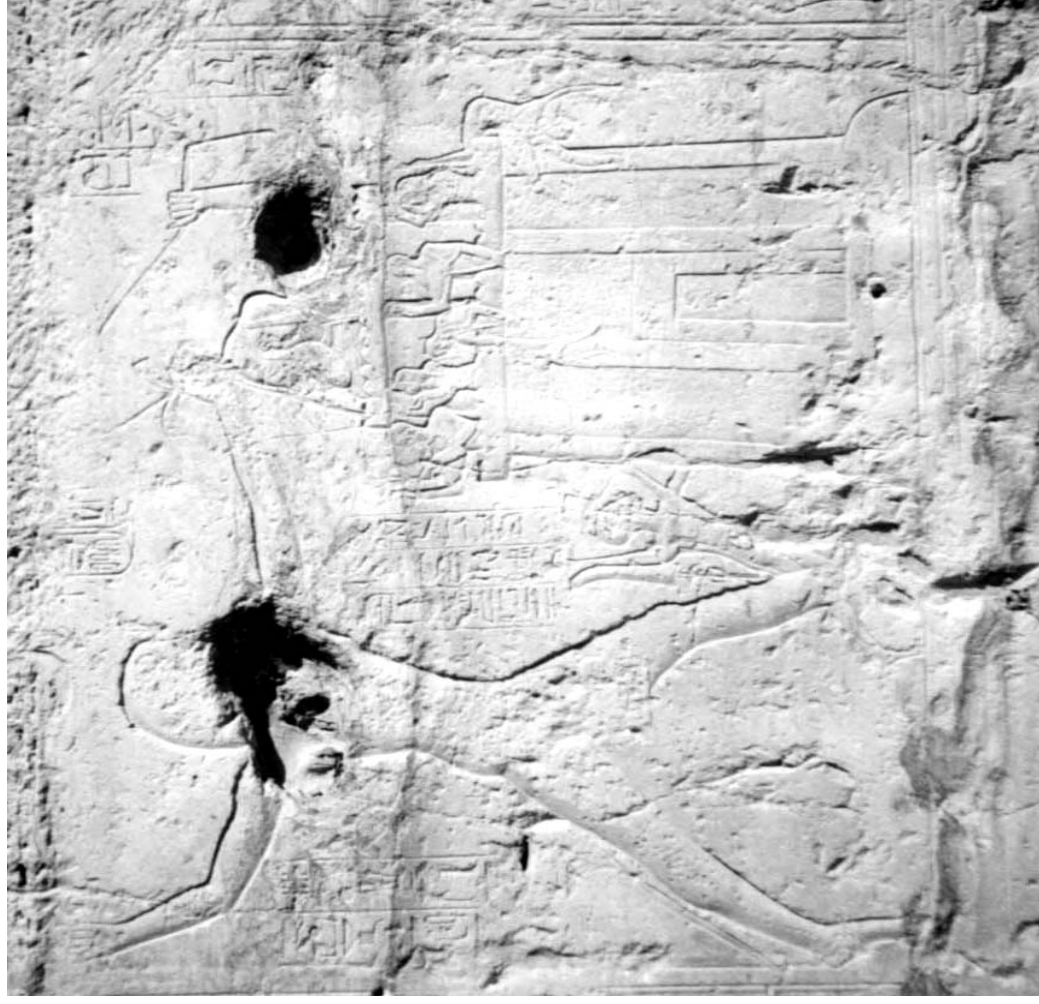
Figure 6. Beit el-Wali: Ramesses II attacks Syrian fortress. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.
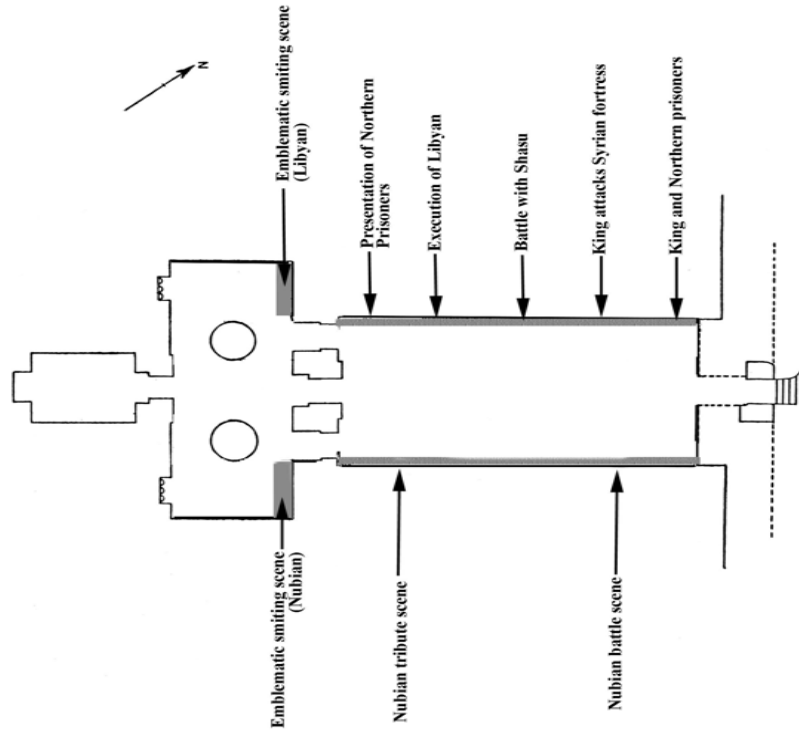
Figure 5. Plan of Beit el-Wali temple with emblematic and battle scenes indicated. After PM VII, p. 22.

Emblematic presentation scene
(Hittites)

Emblematic presentation scene
(Nubians)

Driving Nubian prisoners (lower register)

Libyan battle (lower register)

Battle of Qadesh
(entire wall, both registers)

Syrian battle (lower register)

Emblematic smiting scene (Nubians)

Emblematic smiting scene (Libyans)

Emblematic bound
Nubians and Northerners
(dado level)

Emblematic bound
Nubians

Emblematic bound
Northerners

**Figure 7. Plan of Great Temple at Abu Simbel
with emblematic and battle scenes
indicated. After PM VII, p. 96.**

Emblematic smiting scene

Gateway

Figure 8. Emblematic smiting scene on north gateway of Great Temple at Abu Simbel. Photo by H. L. McCarthy
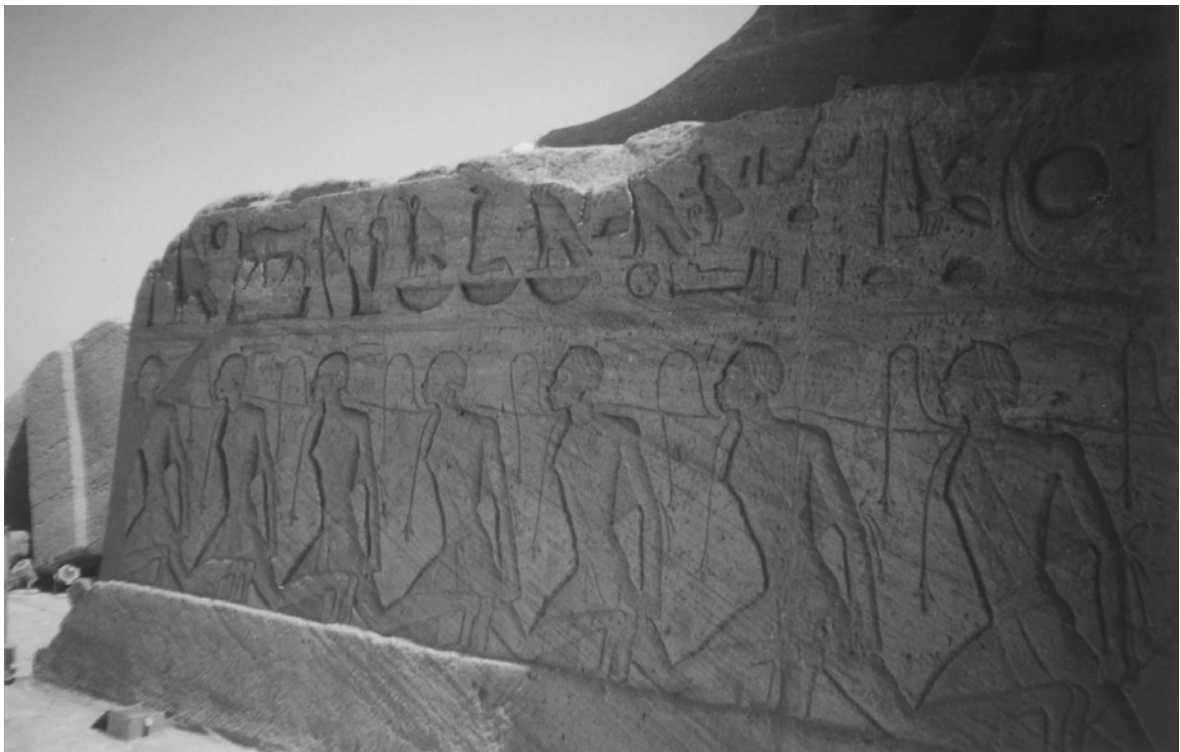
Figure 9. Nubian prisoners on plinth of inner south colossi at the Great Temple of Abu Simbel. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.

Figure 10. Northern prisoners on plinth of inner north colossi at the Great Temple of Abu Simbel. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.

Figure 11. Great Temple at Abu Simbel: Asiatic prisoners from north half of east exterior wall of Re-Horakhty chapel. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.
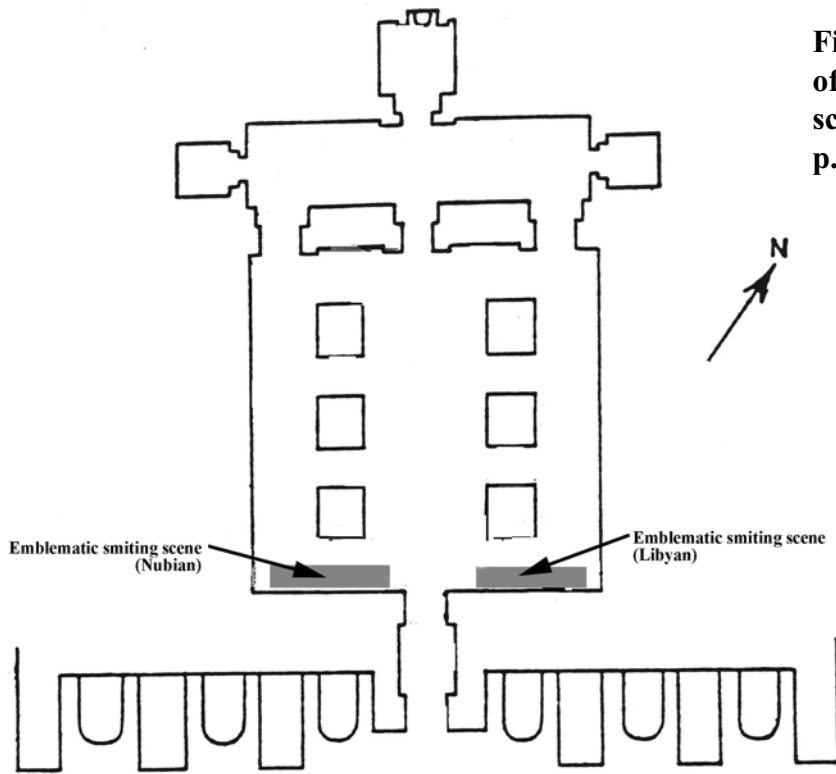
Figure 12. Plan of Small Temple of Abu Simbel with emblematic scenes indicated. After PM VII, p.112.

Figure 13. Small Temple at Abu Simbel: emblematic smiting scene. King, followed by Nefertari, smites Libyan captive before Horus of Maha. After Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz, *Le petit temple II*, pl. XXXV.

McCarthy

Figure 15. Emblematic smiting scene before Re-Horakhty on north half of rear wall of first court. After Blackman, *Derr*, pl. VII (1).

Figure 14. Plan of Derr with emblematic and battle scenes indicated. After PM VII, p. 74.

Figure 16. Derr: North lateral wall presentation scene (lower register). After Blackman, *Derr*, Pl. V (1).
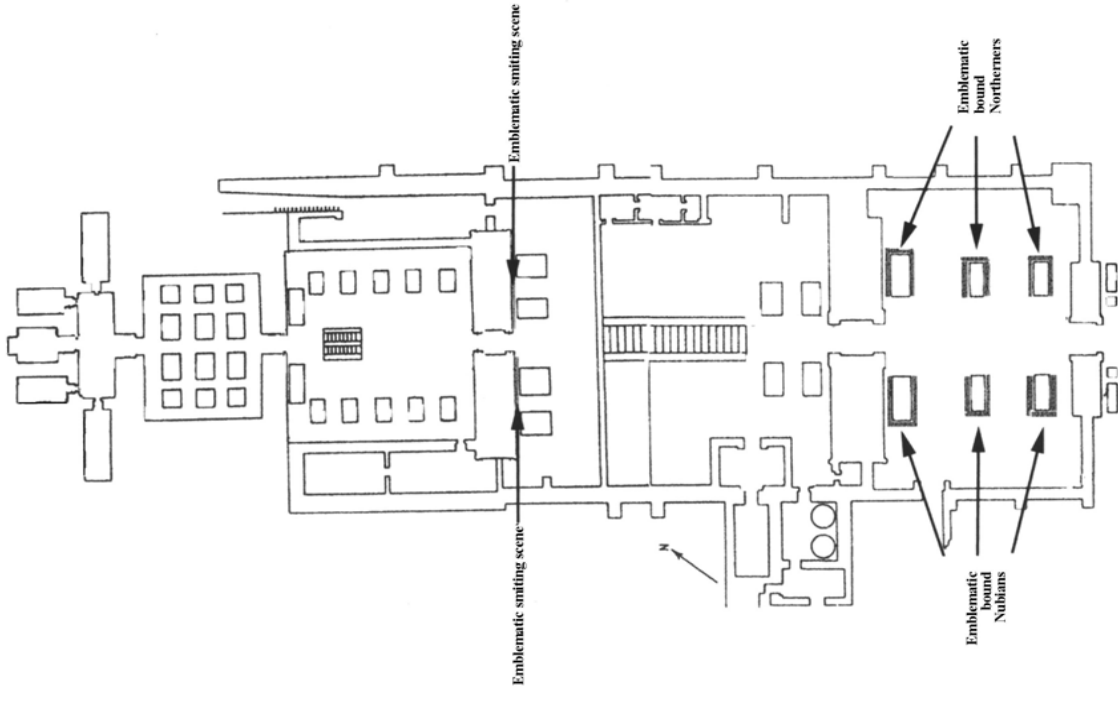
Figure 17. Plan of Wadi el-Sebua showing emblematic scenes. After PM VII. pp. 54, 56.

Figure 18. Photo of Wadi el-Sebua (reconstructed on New Sebua). Photo by H. L. McCarthy.

Figure 19. Wadi el-Sebua: View of base of a southern sphinx with bound Nubians carved in relief. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.

Figure 20. Wadi el-Sebua: View of base of a northern sphinx with bound northerners carved in relief. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.
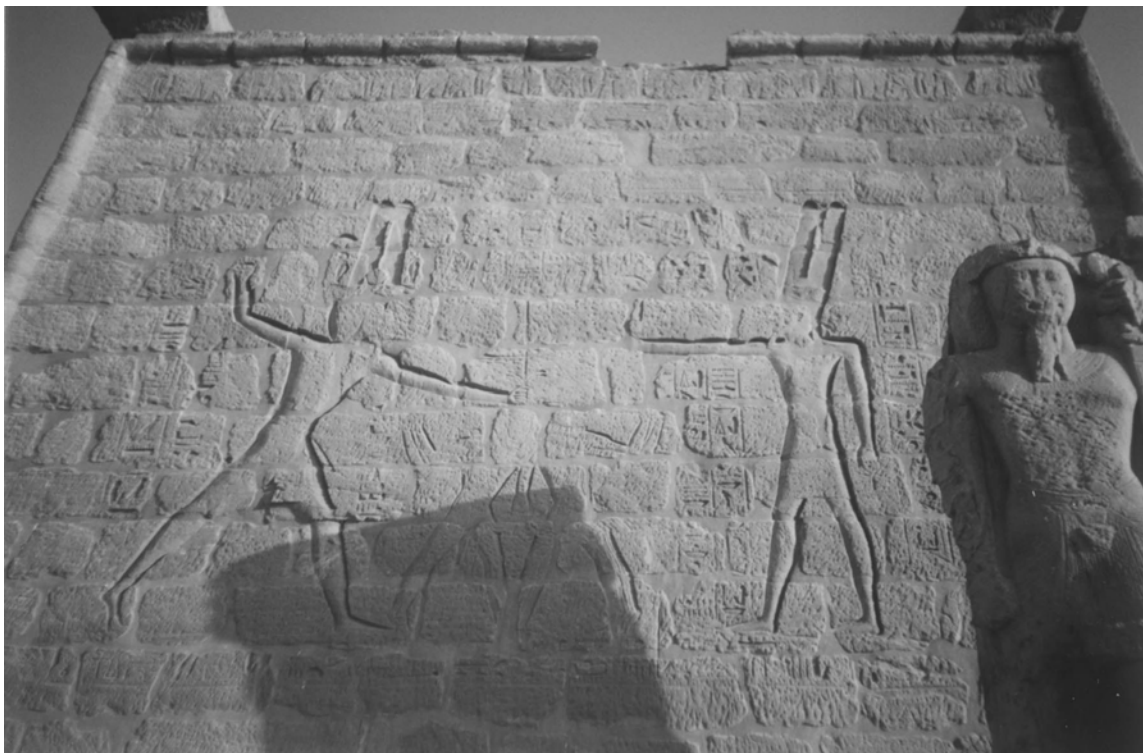
Figure 21. Wadi el-Sebua: south half of pylon showing king smiting foreigners before Amun-Re. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.

Figure 22. Wadi el-Sebua: north half of pylon showing king smiting foreigners before Re-Horakhty. Photo by H. L. McCarthy.
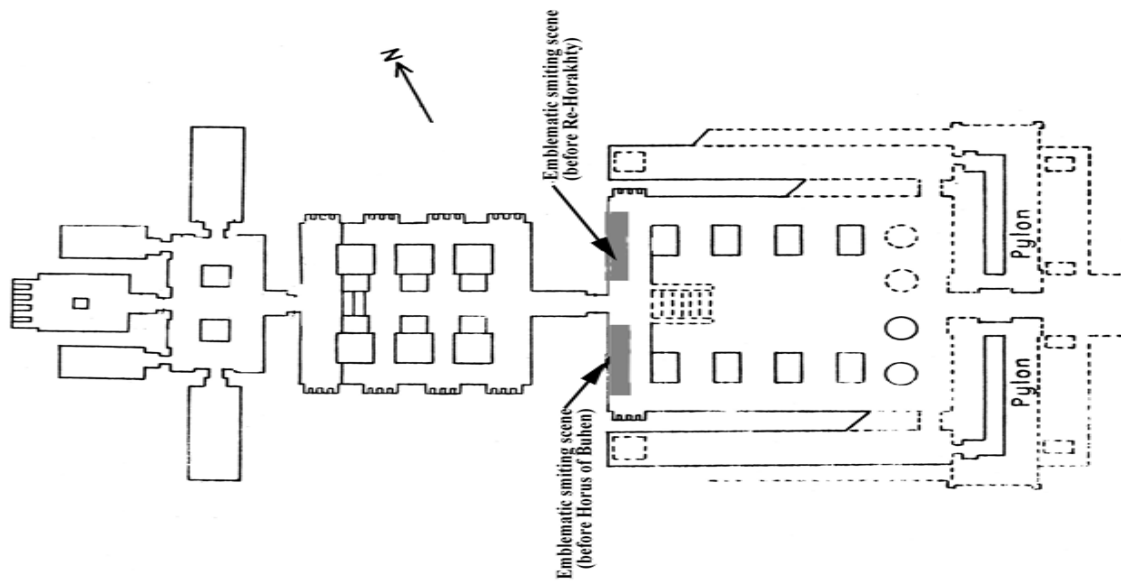
Figure 23. Plan of Gerf Hussein showing emblematic smiting scenes. After PM VII, p. 32.
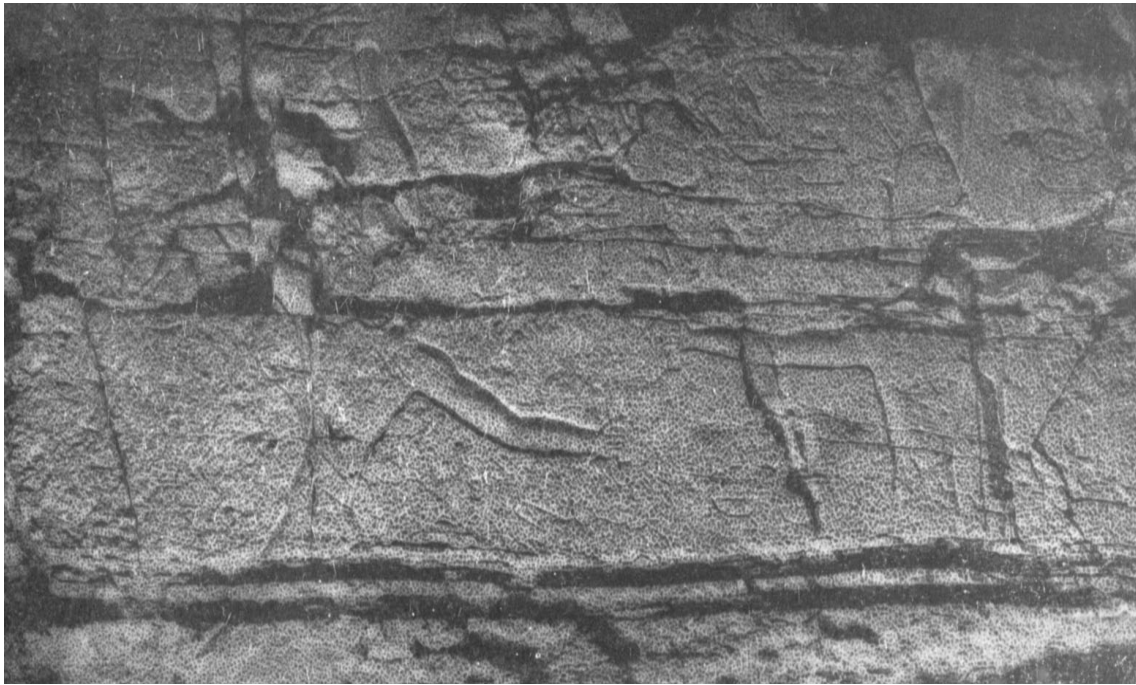
Figure 24. Gerf Hussein: south emblematic smiting scene showing king smiting foreigner before Horus of Buhen. After Jacquet and el-Achirie, *Gerf Hussein I*, pl. XVII (a).

Figure 25. Gerf Hussein: north emblematic smiting scene showing king smiting foreigner before Re-Horakhty. After Jacquet and el-Achirie, *Gerf Hussein I*, pl. XVII (b).
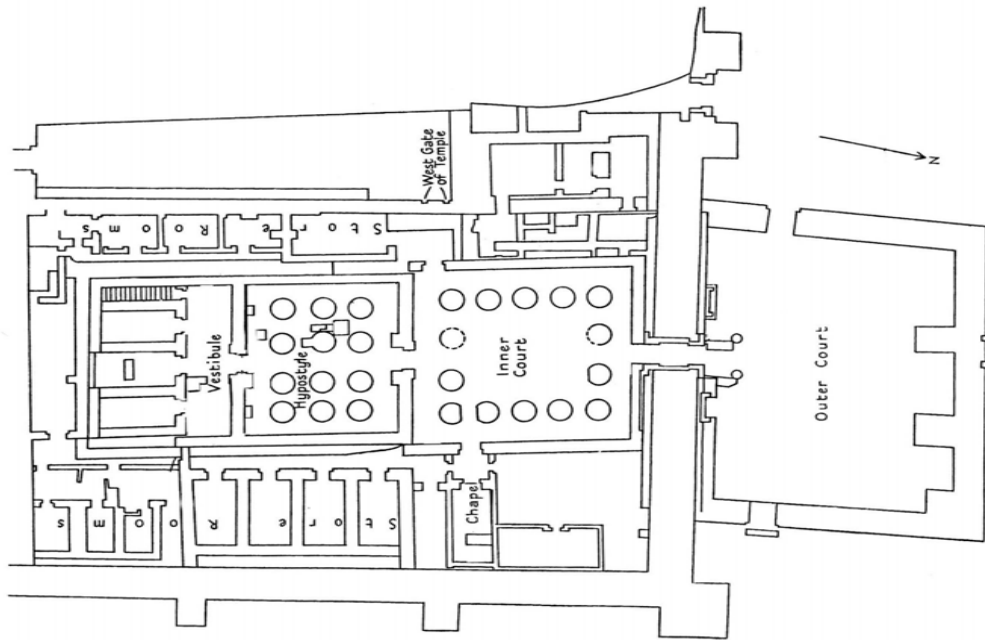
Figure 29. Plan of Amara West. After PM VII, p. 160.

West Gate of Temple

Vestibule

Hypostyle

Inner Court

Chapel

Outer Court

N
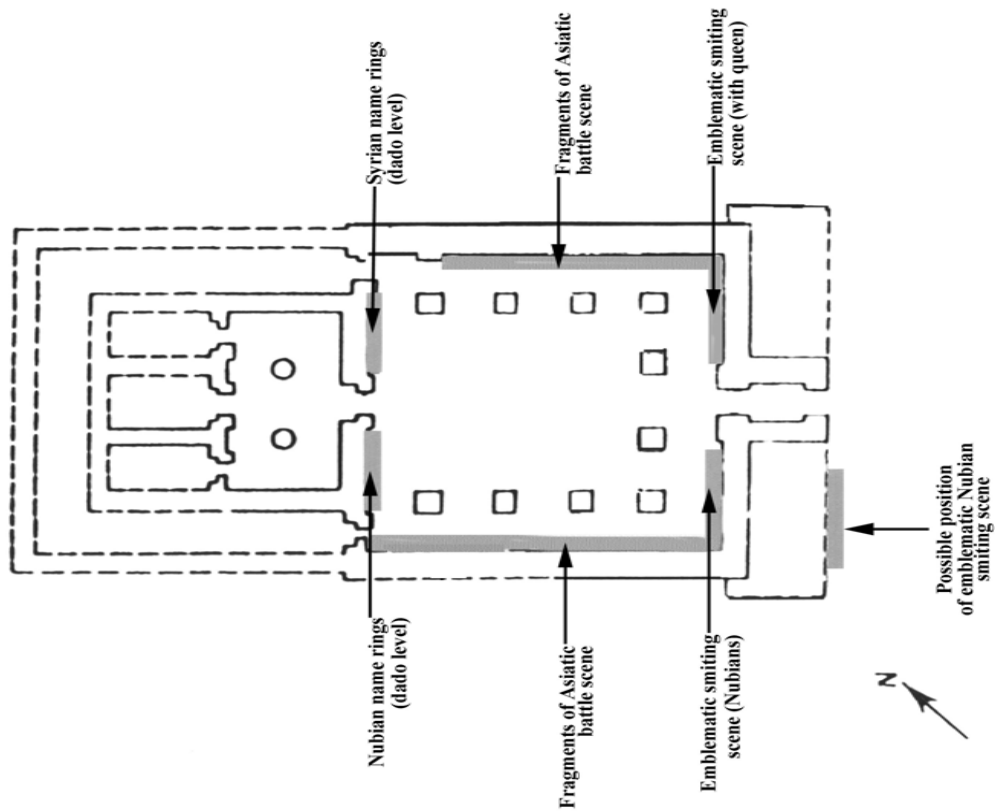
Figure 26. Plan of Aksha Temple showing battle and emblematic scenes. After PM VII, p. 120.

Syrian name rings (dado level)

Fragments of Asiatic battle scene

Emblematic smiting scene (with queen)

Nubian name rings (dado level)

Fragments of Asiatic battle scene

Emblematic smiting scene (Nubians)

Possible position of emblematic Nubian smiting scene

N
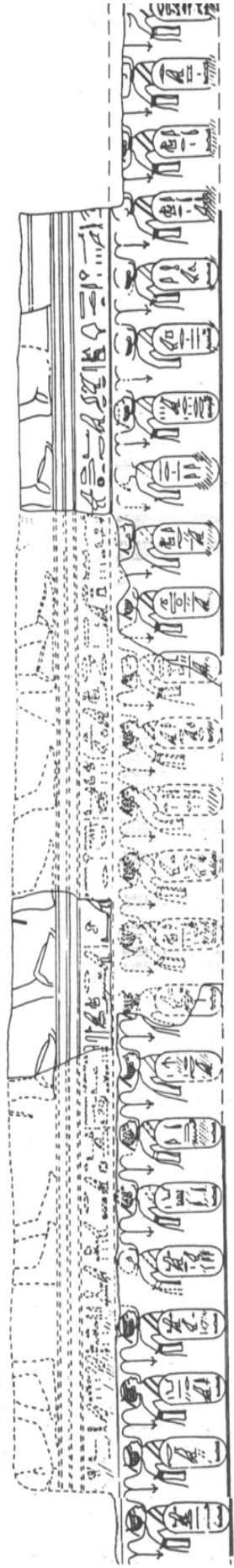
Figure 27. Aksha: Nubian name rings. After Fuscaldo, "Aksha," fig. 7.
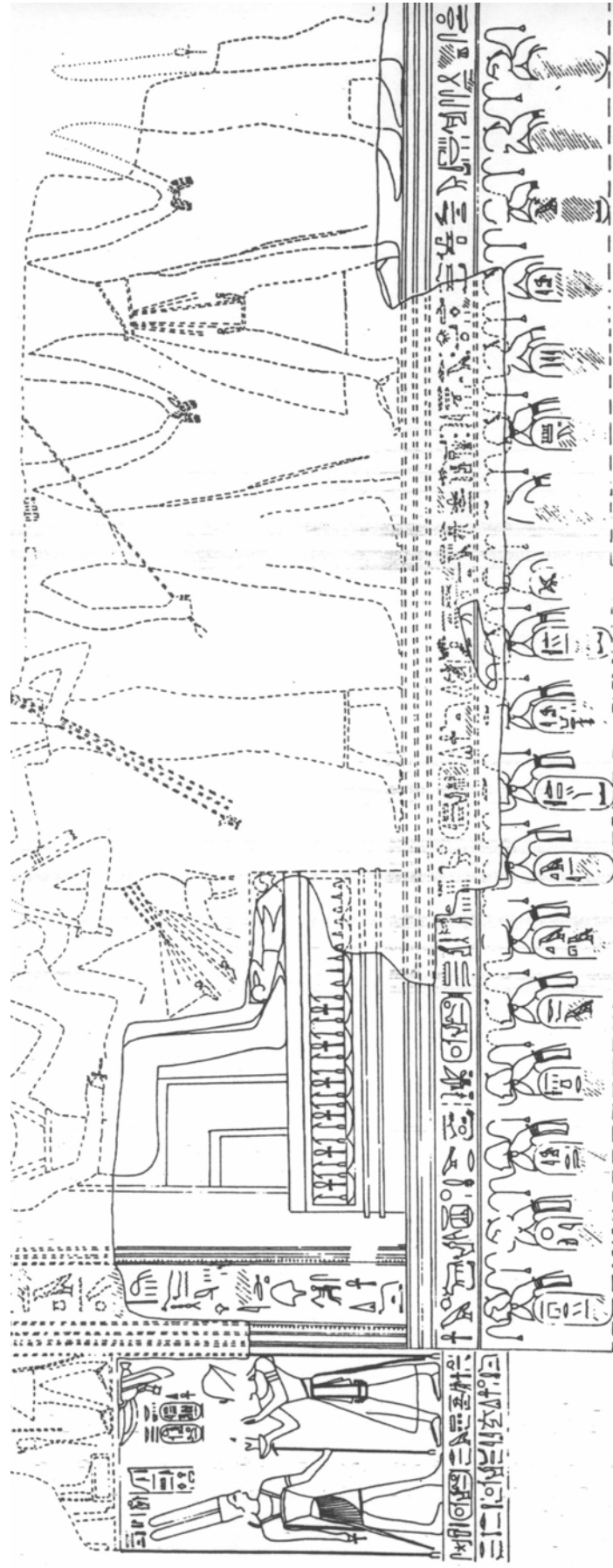
Figure 28. Aksha: Syrian name rings. After Fuscaldo, "Aksha," fig. 6.
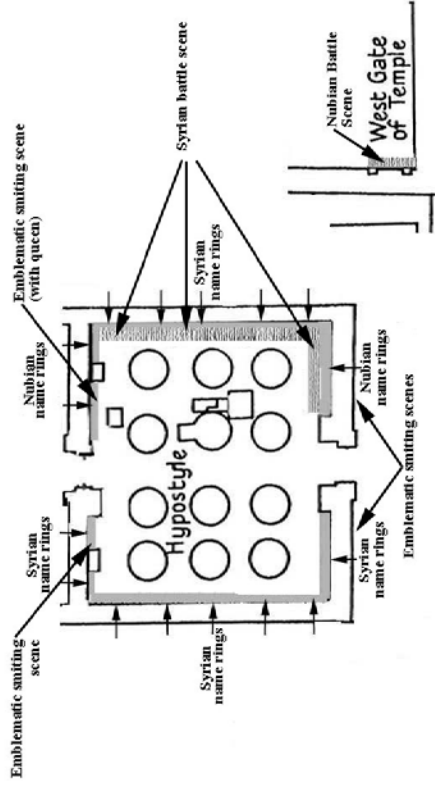
Figure 30. Detail of Amara West Plan showing emblematic smiting scenes and battle scenes on rear wall of peristyle, walls of hypostyle hall, and west gate. After PM VII, p. 160.

Figure 31. Derr, south wall: Nubian village woman from Nubian battle scene. After Blackman, *Derr*, pl. XVIII.

THE WOMEN OF THUTMOSE III IN THE STELAE
OF THE EGYPTIAN MUSEUM

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Abstract

New epigraphic analyses of two well-known stelae in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, reveal queenly females of Thutmose III whose names were erased and reinscribed with those of other queens. Specifically, in stela CG 34013, the name of God's Wife Neferure was replaced with that of Satiah. In CG 34015, the name of Great Royal Wife Merytre was replaced with that of Isis. Explanations are offered for each usurpation.

The purpose of this study is to examine a series of palimpsest inscriptions on a pair of stelae of King Thutmose III in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, namely CG 34013 and CG 34015.[1] Each stela depicts Thutmose III and a female standing before a deity worshiping and presenting offerings. What makes the inscriptions historically interesting is that while the figures of the women, in one case a queen, are mostly intact, and their titles are preserved as originally carved, the names inside their cartouches have been altered. In each example, they were erased on at least two successive occasions, carved and recarved at least a total of three times. Complicating the issue is that during the Amarna Period, the figures and texts were erased then subsequently restored under Sety I. Here Sety I's restorers shifted the original texts and decorative scheme to include restoration inscriptions and formulae.

At issue is the specific identity of the women, since the original names beneath the erasures are still open to some question. Because the titles were never altered, they appear with the later names. Therefore, an analysis of the titles together with a close study of the surface of the stone and the traces of the cuts of the earlier inscriptions will hopefully reveal the original names inscribed in the cartouches. These names would then provide some basis for interpreting the position and function of these women in the Egyptian royal family. While these stelae have been discussed by scholars over the years, no epigraphical drawings of the inscriptions and palimpsests have been published previously.

Catalogue Général 34013

Cairo Catalogue Général 34013 (JdE 34642) is a black granite, round-top stela originally erected by Thutmose III in the small temple of Ptah, South-of-His-Wall-in-Thebes, located in the Karnak temple complex. It was first published and translated by Maspero (1900) then by Legrain (1902), Breasted (1906), Sethe (1907), and Lacau (1909).[2] Over the years it had been discussed by many scholars, including an illuminating commentary by Vandersleyen (1971).[3] Only recently, it was republished as part of a larger study by Andrea Klug with a complete bibliography.[4] The purpose of the stela was to commemorate the king's rebuilding and rededication of the temple ca. year 23 or 24.[5]

The overall design of the decoration is typical of royal stelae of the New Kingdom.[6] At the top of the lunette, a winged sun disk arches over the scene and inscriptions (see **Plate 1**). The decoration is laid out symmetrically with nearly identical offering scenes on the right and left sides as mirror-images of each other. On the right side, Thutmose III faces left and presents ḥnw-jars of wine to a statue of Ptah, Lord of Maꜥat, King of the Two Lands, while behind him a queenly figure offers jars of oil. On the left side, Thutmose III faces right and offers jars of cool water to a statue of Ptah, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, while the queenly figure behind him presents oil. The statues of Ptah are situated back-to-back of each other, and situated vertically between them, at the center of the lunette, is a column of the restoration text of Sety I. The remains of gold paint are found in many of the figures and hieroglyphs. Below the lunette are twenty-seven horizontal lines of the dedicatory inscription.

Very clear in the lunette are the effects of the Atenist erasure and subsequent restoration. Close inspection reveals that Sety I replaced the scene nearly exactly, since clear traces of the original Thutmosid scene and the bases of the cuts of the original carving are still evident on the surface of the stone, especially the buttocks and back of the legs of each Ptah-figure and the legs of the king on the right. The Atenists had erased nearly the entire lunette, attacking the figures of Ptah and the king and their inscriptions.   However, they left intact the winged sun disk and much of the bodies of the queenly figures, and the two areas behind them. Those areas of the ladies that they did erase were later restored, although only partially or in a defective manner. So, the headdresses on both sides are incompletely sculpted and without much detail. Still, enough remains to recognize the vulture cap commonly worn by queens of the New Kingdom.

The abraded surface of stone in the lunette continues partially into the dedication inscription below (see **Plate 1**). This surface abrasion extends through the left half of the top seven lines of the text; however, the hieroglyphs here are still original. They were not erased and recarved. Furthermore, this abraded area is outlined on the right and bottom by a crack in the stone running vertically and curving to the left. Although some natural erosion cannot be precluded, the overall impression is that the Egyptians started to sand back the inscription beginning at the left but then quickly abandoned the effort. Interestingly, while the Atenists did attack the name of Ptah in the lunette (since Theban Ptah was identified with Amun), they left the names of both Ptah and Amun undisturbed in the dedication inscription below. The pattern of partial abrasion lead us to question if some physical obstruction once stood in front of the stela where it was erected in the temple and which blocked the Atenists from fully proscribing the names of the gods in the text.

For the most part, as the stela now stands, the figures of the king are much taller than the royal lady and only slightly taller than the statues of Ptah. The restored Ramesside figures represent Ramesside artistic proportions, specifically, and not Thutmosid, since they are taller and slightly thinner than the original Thutmosid, whose traces are clear.[7] On the other hand, the bodies of the queenly lady appear original and not recarved (except for the head and face on the left). They conform to the earlier Thutmosid proportions, for which reason the later king's figures tower over them in a manner uncharacteristic of Eighteenth Dynasty royal inscriptions.[8] Also, the Ramesside figures have been shifted slightly outward and away from the center of the lunette to accommodate space for Sety's renewal inscription. In this regard, the later king's figures are pushed closer to the earlier lady's figures, slightly crowding the corners of the lunette.

As the stela was reinscribed in the Nineteenth Dynasty, the text of the royal lady behind the

king on each side reads (see **Figures 1-2**):

ḥm.t nṯr [*S3.t-iʿḥ*] *ʿnḫ.ti*

God's Wife, [Satiah], may she live.

Satiah was the earliest recorded Great Royal Wife (*ḥm.t nswt wr.t*) of King Thutmose III. Actually, in each cartouche two versions of Satiah's name exist. The first was carved by the original usurpers and was erased by the Atenists. The second and final version was restored under Sety I. In the two cartouches, traces of the first version of the moon-sign (*iʿḥ*) are still clear. In addition to the name of Satiah, traces still exist of the original female's name that was first inscribed in the cartouches. Thus, we detect three generations of inscriptions in the two cartouches. Over the years, scholars have been divided in their opinions as to whose name was originally written beneath that of Satiah. Some have argued for Queen Merytre-Hatshepsut, last wife of Thutmose III, others for Princess Neferure. Still others could make no determination.[9] In 1902 Legrain, who first discovered and examined the stela, wrote, "Le cartouche de la reine derrière Thotmès n'était pas primitivement ( ). On lit ( )|."[10] However, in 1909 Lacau was less assured of the reading:

right side: Ce cartouche a dû contenir primitivement un autre nom: au-dessous du croissant on voit les trace d'un ⊙ mal effacé; de même devant l'oiseau il y a des traces d'un creux indistinct. . . .
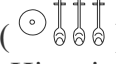
left side: Ce cartouche, comme celui de droite, a dû contenir d'abord un autre nom: on voit très nettement sous la croissant un disque ⊙ et sous l'oiseau le trace d'un signe indistinct. Il n'a pas pu y avoir ( )| primitivement.[11]

Although neither Legrain nor Lacau distinguished the three episodes of inscribing, they were mostly correct in their analyses, even if incomplete. The usurpers' intent was to convert the ⊙ to a by adding a crescent to it. In the original usurpation, the specific alteration of the sun disk (*rʿ*) into a moon-sign (*iʿḥ*) occured in both cartouches, when the usurpers cut a simple crescent through the center of the sun disk, and then apparently plastered smooth the upper half of the disk.[12] However, during the Nineteenth Dynasty, in the left cartouche the restorers placed the moon-sign entirely separately and above the sun disk (**Figure 1**), while in the right cartouche they carved the crescent above and touching the original sun disk to form the moon-sign (**Figure 2**).

As for Legrain's single *nfr*-sign, actually, the bottoms of three *nfr*-signs (*nfrw*) are distinct in both cartouches. They are plainly evident through the legs and bodies of each duck (*s3*-hieroglyph), and they are generally centered below the sun disk. In the left cartouche, the sun disk is shifted slightly left of center, while in the right cartouche, it is fully centered. The right cartouche also reveals the vertical stem of the first *nfr*-sign ( ) situated to the left of the neck of the duck. Similarly, Vandersleyen reported detecting two *nfr*-signs by the touch of his finger in the right cartouche.[13] Just below the left cartouche are additional traces of the earlier inscription, where two nearly circular signs like large round beads (or the bottoms of *nfr*-signs?) are nearly vertically aligned with the *nfr*-signs in the cartouche above them. Their reading and meaning are uncertain.

It is clear according to the epigraphical traces in the cartouches, together with the title *ḥm.t*

nṯr, God's Wife, that originally the name (⊙↓↓↓)| Neferure was inscribed on the stela and then subsequently replaced with that of Satiah. Historically, Queen Satiah never carried the title God's Wife in her lifetime, while it was standard for Princess Neferure, the daughter of Hatshepsut. The orthographic traces in the cartouches do not fit the name of any other God's Wife from the reign of Thutmose III, including Queen Merytre and Princess Meritamun. In addition, Neferure was regularly depicted performing queenly rituals during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, despite that apparently, she did not carry the title *ḥm.t nswt wr.t*, Great Royal Wife.[14] Almost certainly, the usurpation was conducted under Thutmose III.[15] Reconstructing Neferure's name in the cartouches is significant for history and chronology, since it reveals that Neferure was still alive around year 23 or 24 of Thutmose III, the date of the stela,[16] and evidently still performing the same queenly functions that she exercised in the reign of Hatshepsut while bearing only the title *ḥm.t nṯr*, God's Wife. Prior to this stela, the highest known regnal-year date for Princess Neferure was year 11, and until recently it was thought that she died before year 16.[17]

Catalogue Général 34015

Cairo Catalogue Général 34015 (JdE 27815) is a fragment of a red quartzite round-top stela (dimensions: ca. 56 cm. x 54 cm.). It was discovered in 1905 by Arthur Weigall in his excavations of the mortuary temple of Thutmose III named *Ḥw.t Mn-ḫpr-rˁ Ḥnk.t-ˁnḫ* at Sheikh abd el-Qurna in Western Thebes, where the stela was originally erected.[18] Later Lacau published it more fully, after which it was discussed by Legrain.[19] More recently, it was republished by Klug with full bibliography.[20]

Of the entire stela, only the right half of the lunette survives today. The surface has a shiny brown patina, and it is painted in colors that are still fairly vibrant.[21] Enough of the stela exists to indicate that the decorative scheme conforms closely to stela CG 34013 above, and it also was partially erased in the Amarna Period then restored under Sety I. The Atenists did not erase the lunette entirely. They removed the figure and titulary of Amun-Re, while they left intact the name of Thutmose III and the figures of the king and the queen. However, they did erase the cartouche and the name of the queen, which were subsequently restored in Dynasty 19.

Thutmose III faces left and stands before Amun-Re in a pose of worship, his arms extended downward, palms turned backward. Standing behind him is a queen presenting two jars of wine. Her titulary reads (see **Figure 3**):

ḥm.t nswt wr.t mry.t.f ḥnw.t Šmˁw Mḥw [*Ȝst*] *ˁnḫ.ti ḏt*
Great Royal Wife, beloved of him, the Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt [Isis], may she live forever.

Weigall was the first to describe the palimpsest in the queen's cartouche:

The cartouche of the queen has been erased and it seems the name of Aset has been

superimposed over another sign, of which the first sign ⊙ is visible under ⌐⌐ .[22]

Examination of the stela reveals that a wide area of surface surrounding the cartouche, as well as its interior, was ultimately erased. This wide erasure beyond the bounds of the cartouche seems to be the work, specifically, of the Atenists, since the abrasion of the stone here is similar to the

erasure around Amun-Re. It does not appear to be the work of Thutmose III's agents, who apparently limited their excision to the interior of the cartouche, similar to stela CG 34013. Also, the depth of the erasure inside the cartouche is 1.5 mm or more, while the area outside is only 1 mm deep, suggesting two separate incidences of erasure inside the cartouche. However, unlike stela CG 34013, it is not possible to *clearly* detect the first (i.e. Thutmosid) version of Isis' name, although enough errant traces exist in the cartouche to suggest its presence.

Historically, Isis was not a Great Royal Wife during her lifetime. She was the mother of Thutmose III, and in the reign of Thutmose II, she was merely a minor wife of the king. With a sun disk (⊙) inscribed at the top of the cartouche, the only viable possibilities for the original name are writings of *Nfrw-rˁ* and *Mry.t-rˁ*. In 1908, Legrain advocated reading the name as Merytre,[23] but scholars were skeptical that she could have been proscribed here, when she otherwise survived so successfully into the reign of her son, Amenhotep II.[24] Based on Weigall's description, I once believed the name was *Nfrw-rˁ*.[25] However, after examining the original, I conclude the pattern of traces cannot support that reading.

Close study of the cartouche shows that the sun disk is not centered at the top of the cartouche, as one would expect for *Nfrw-rˁ*. Rather, it is shifted well to the left to accommodate another sign on the right which appears to be the back of the 𓄂 -hieroglyph (*ḥȝt*). Below this group, a curving line and vertical stroke could fit the traces of 𓀻 (*šps*), followed by 𓌻 (*mr[y]*) further below. These traces do conform to known spellings of the name of *Mry.t-rˁ Ḥȝt-šps(w).t*.[26]

The historical circumstances of the stela also argue against the name of Neferure here. Since the stela dates to later in the reign of Thutmose III, commensurate with the date of his mortuary temple, it is unlikely that Neferure ever appeared here (and bearing the only surviving example of the queen's title), while in the intervening years other queens of Thutmose III are so clearly documented.

What is known of Merytre-Hatshepsut? She succeeded Satiah as Thutmose III's Great Royal Wife. Gitton and Leclant have suggested that she was the daughter of Huy, Divine Votaress of Amun and Atum.[27] She was the first Eighteenth Dynasty queen of non-royal blood to carry the title God's Wife. Ultimately, she also bore the title God's Hand. She is depicted in the famous tableau in the tomb of Thutmose III in which three royal wives and a daughter stand behind the king in reverse chronological order.[28] Each queen is titled "royal wife" (*ḥm.t nswt*). The latest wife stands first behind the king; the earliest wife stands last among the wives. Thutmose III heads the line, and he is described as *mȝˁ-ḫrw*, "justified" (i.e., deceased). The first queen after him is Merytre with the epithet *ˁnḫ.ti* ("living" or "may she live"). The second queen is Satiah with the epithet *mȝˁ.t-ḫrw*. The third queen is named Nebtu, epithet uncertain, possibly *mȝˁ.(t)-ḫrw*.[29] Finally, a king's daughter, Nefertiru, justified, appears behind the three wives. Hence, this specific sequence would indicate that Nebtu predeceased Satiah, who predeceased Merytre, and the latter survived Thutmose III. It is also significant that Neferure's name does not appear here.

Merytre enjoyed a prominent status late in the reign of Thutmose III, so in the stela of Neferperet, her titulary and epithets include:

iry.t pˁt wr.t ḥsw.t šms.t. sn.s nṯr nfr mrr.t nb tȝwy mȝ n.s ḥm.t nswt wr.t Mry.t-rˁ Ḥȝt-špsw.t ˁnḫ.ti mi Rˁ . . . nb.t ḥsw.t m ḫn(r).t iˁḥ ḥnw.t n.t ḥmw.t nswt tm.t tš r-gs nb tȝwy

Hereditary princess, great of favors, who follows her husband, the Good God, she whom the Lord of the Two Lands loves when (he) looks at her, the Great Royal Wife, Merytre-Hatshepsut, may she live like Re forever. . . . possessor of favors in the private apartments

of the palace, mistress of the king's wives, who is never (lit. "not") absent from beside the Lord of the Two Lands.[30]

She was also important as the mother of Amenhotep II, and she was prominent in his early monuments, especially those dating from the coregency with Thutmose III. On these she also carried the titles *ḥm.t nṯr* and *ḏr.t nṯr*, God's Wife, God's Hand.[31] In the sole reign of Amenhotep II, Merytre was exalted even further, e.g., in a decorated doorway at Karnak North:

lintel: *ḥm.t nswt mwt nswt wr.t ḥnw.t tȝwy.* . .

king's wife, great mother of the king, mistress of the Two Lands . . .

left jamb: *iry.t pʿt wr.t ḥsw.t bnr.t* [*mrw.t*] *ḥm.t nswt* [*wr.t*] . . .

hereditary princess, great of favors, sweet of [love], [great] royal wife . . .

right jamb: [*ḥm.t nswt ḥnw.t tȝwy*] *ẖnm.t nfr ḥḏ.t*

[great royal wife, mistress of the Two Lands], she who is joined to the White Crown.[32]

In the tomb of Amenhotep II, she also bore the title *nb.t tȝwy*, Lady of the Two Lands.[33] Hence, her presence on stela CG 34015, dating to later in the reign of Thutmose III, was consistent with her general importance at that time.

Given Merytre's prominence, the nature of her palimpsest inscription on stela CG 34015 leads us to ask the obvious question. Why on a stela from Thutmose III's mortuary temple, from the latter part of his reign, would Thutmose III excise the name of his living wife - the mother of his heir who enjoyed high status at court and continued to do so into the next reign - and replace it with the name of his almost certainly deceased mother, Isis, who was only a minor wife of his father?

The only other erasures that Thutmose III clearly expedited late in his reign were directed against the memory of Hatshepsut who was already dead more than twenty years by this time. In 1966, Charles Nims first argued that this proscription had to begin after regnal year 42, and Peter Dorman has also convincingly demonstrated a date late in the reign for the start of these attacks.[34] As a result, many scholars now accept a date as late as year 46 or 47.[35] Precipitating this proscription was Thutmose III's concern for a crisis looming in the royal succession. Previously, the only other known heir to the throne was Prince Amenemhat, a "king's eldest son," mentioned in an inscription of years 23-24, when, apparently as a boy or a teenager, he was appointed overseer of the cattle and milk cows of Amun.[36] By ca. year 42 or so, he was probably dead, requiring Thutmose III to designate a new heir, the future Amenhotep II.

The proscription began about 4 to 9 years before the coregency, and Amenhotep II would have been 7 to 14 years old at that time.[37] The character and timing of the proscription suggests that in promoting the ascendency of his paternal lineage over Hatshepsut and her line, Thutmose III was seeking to stabilize and guarantee the succession for his young son, who probably was being groomed as heir-apparent. At nearly the same time, Thutmose III promulgated his retrospective account according to which Amun personally designated him future king - while still a boy - in the presence of his father during a festival procession at Karnak.[38] This story could serve no useful purpose so late in the king's reign, unless he felt a need to redefine his own position and origins retroactively to further safeguard the succession for an immediate heir.

The palimpsest on stela CG 34015 can be interpreted in the same light. By replacing his living wife's name with that of his mother, Thutmose III was elevating Isis retroactively to the status of great royal wife. These actions would have been part of his program to reposition his lineage and

legitimize his succession independently of Hatshepsut's mentoring, and so protect the coming accession of his own son. As he often replaced Hatshepsut's name with that of his father and grandfather, so in a limited context, he could commensurately replace his current wife's name with that of his mother. In this act, he was directing no personal animosity against Merytre, only dispassionate political expediency. Presumably, Merytre would have cooperated willingly in this endeavor to enhance her own son's hold on the royal succession.

In Cairo Museum stelae CG 34013 and CG 34015, two different motivations are clear in the usurpations of the original female figures. In CG 34013, the name of God's Wife Neferure was replaced with that of Satiah. Nowhere else does Satiah carry the title of God's Wife, which indicates that inscribing her name was not part of a larger plan to promote her to that title. Therefore, the usurpation of this stela was probably prompted by the death of Neferure sometime after year 23 or 24 and the simple need to replace her in the iconography. On the other hand, in stela CG 34015 a more significant motivation prompted the usurpation of Merytre's title, i.e., the need to rewrite dynastic history by promoting King's Mother Isis to Great Royal Wife. Here the king's purpose was to protect his son and enhance the royal succession for the heir apparent. In neither case was Thutmose III led by any emotional considerations. Rather, in both stelae, his concern was to do whatever was necessary to maintain the family enterprise. It was nothing personal, just business.

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Notes

1. I began work on this topic some years ago as part of a larger study on the genealogy of the royal family in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. On several occasions over the last few years, I was permitted to examine and photograph the stelae and to document them epigraphically. I extend my sincerest thanks to the officials of the Egyptian Museum for kindly permitting me to study them, especially at the time, the Director of the Museum, Dr. Mamdouh el-Damaty, and his assistant, Mr. 'Âdil Mahmud, who directly facilitated my work and cheerfully accommodated every professional need.

2. G. Maspero, "La consécration du nouvel temple de Ptah thébain par Thoutmôsis III," *CRAIBL* 1 (1900): 113-123; G. Legrain, "Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes," *ASAE* 3 (1902): 39-42, 107-111; J. H. Breasted, *ARE* 2 (University of Chicago Press, 1906), 243-248, §§ 609-622; Sethe, *Urk.* 4, 763, 12-772, 7; *PM* 2², 198 (6); Lacau, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* 1, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, nos. 34001-34189, vol. 45 (Cairo: IFAO, 1909), 27-30, pl. 9.

3. C. Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis fondateur de la XVIIIᵉ Dynastie*, MRE 1 (Brussels: FERE, 1971), 219-223.

4. *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*. Monumenta Aegyptiaca 8. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2002, 137-146 (G.8); for bibliography, see 511f.

5. This date is based on a reference in the inscription (line 9) to the king's apparently recent return from Canaan and Syria on his first occasion of victory (i.e., year 23); including a reference to the

siege of Megiddo (*Urk.* 4, 766f.); for a date of year 22/23, see Peter Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology* (London: KPI, 1988), 78f. Similarly, Klug, *Königliche Stelen*, 146, argues that year 23 must be a *terminus post quem* for the stela.

6. E.g., the Abydos stela of Ahmose (CG 34002), the Victory Stela of Thutmose III (CG 34010), the Armant stela of Thutmose III (JdE 67377), and the Dream Stela of Thutmose IV.

7. So the earlier right knee of the king on the right is lower than the corresponding Ramesside knee, and the buttocks of both Ptah-figures are higher than their Thutmosid antecedents. Also Ptah's scepter on the left is longer and higher than the original, and it extends further away from the body than the original scepter.

8. When Eighteenth Dynasty royal stelae employ hierarchic proportion in rendering the king and queen, generally, the queen is still proportionately larger than the royal lady on this stela, e.g., stelae CG 34015 and Leipzig 2429 (Klug, *Königlichen Stelen*, pls. 13, 18); cf. Epigraphic Survey, *Tomb of Kheruef*, OIP 102 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1980), pls. 42, 49.

9. See now Klug, *Königlichen Stelen*, 143-144, for a recapitulation of this debate.

10. Legrain, *ASAE* 3 (1902): 108.

11. *Stèles*, 27.

12. Subsequently, during the Atenist erasures, the plaster would have fallen away, revealing the entire disk again.

13. *Les guerres d'Amosis*, 222, no. 4.

14. For a discussion of the queenly role of Neferure as a function of her position of God's Wife, see G. Robins, "The God's Wife of Amun in the 18th Dynasty in Egypt," in *Image of Women in Antiquity* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 75-76.

15. A very unlikely possibility is that it was ordered later by Amenhotep II; however in this case, we would expect him to have inscribed his mother's name, Merytre, instead.

16. Also noted by Dorman, *Monuments of Senenmut*, 78-79.

17. A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2 vols. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1955), vol. 1 pl. 58 (7); vol. 2, 151f. See Peter Dorman's arguments overturning the date of year 16: *The Tombs of Senenmut: The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*, PMMA 24 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991), 162; *Monuments of Senenmut*, 77-79.

18. "A Report on the Excavation of the Funeral Temple of Thoutmosis III at Gurneh," *ASAE* 7 (1906): 134-135 [23]; *PM* 2², 428.

19. Lacau, *Stèles*, 31-32; G. Legrain, *Répertoire généologique et onomastique du Musée du Caire: Monuments de la XVIIe et la XVIIIe dynastie* (Geneva: Soçiété Anonyme des Arts Graphiques, 1908), 222, no. 113.

20. *Königliche Stelen*, 147f. (G.9), 558, pl. 13; for bibliography, 512.

21. The paint in the lunette dates from the restoration of the stela or later. Traces of a blue pallor are found on the skin of Amun, while his crown, blouse and kilt are painted gold. The skin of Thutmose III is a well preserved reddish umber; his *šndy.t*-kilt and tail are gold, as is his uraeus (apparently); the blue of his *ḥprš*-crown is also clear. The body of the queen is gold; her crown and wine jars are red. Blue paint also survives in many of the hieroglyphs in the text of the lunette.

22. Weigall, *ASAE* 7 (1906): 135.

23. Legrain, *Répertoire généologique*, 222, no. 113.

24. Similarly, Edward F. Wente, "Genealogy of the Royal Family," in *An X-Ray Atlas of the Royal Mummies*, ed. James E. Harris and Edward F. Wente (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 131f.

25. See Wente, "Genealogy," 131.

26. E.g., the stelophorous statue of Neferperet in the Cairo Museum, Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 42001-42250, vol. 1 (Cairo: IFAO, 1906), pl. 71; Sethe, *Urk*. 4, 603; for additional spellings of Merytre's name, see *Urk*. 4, 603, notes a-c.

27. "Gottesgemahlin," in *LÄ* 2:803, cited by Wente, "Genealogy," 132.

28. Paul Bucher, *Les textes des tombes de Thoutmosis III et d'Aménophis II*, MIFAO 60 (Cairo: IFAO, 1932), pl. 24.

29. Some scholars transcribe this name as Nebetta. According to Sethe, *Urk*. 4, 602, (9, note a), the short horizontal sign at the end of the queen's name is the irrigated land-determinative (Gardiner N23) written partially in hieratic. However, this explanation does not account for the vertical stroke before the quail chick-*w* of *Nbt.w*. Rather, the vertical and horizontal signs might represent a defective hieratic writing of *m3ʿ.(t)-ḫrw* employing graphic transposition in the placement of the vertical *ḫrw*-oar.

30. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* 1, 69-71, pl. 71; Sethe, *Urk*. 4, 603 (4-10).

31. E.g., in the tomb of Rây, Theban tomb 72, dating to the coregency, she is depicted enthroned with the young Amenhotep II, K. Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, vol. 3 (Berlin: Nicolai, 1849-1856), pl. 62.; Sethe, *Urk*. 4, 1368.

32. Clément Robichon, *Karnak-Nord* 4, FIFAO 25 (Cairo: IFAO, 1954), 53-55, pls. 50, 51. For a discussion of this doorway, see now Betsy Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 98f.

33. Inscribed on her cane found in the tomb, Georges Daressy, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois (1898-1899)*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire 24001-24990, vol. 3 (Cairo: IFAO, 1902), no. 24119.

34. C. Nims, "The Date of the Dishonoring of Hatshepsut," *ZÄS* 93 (1966): 97-100; Dorman, *Monuments of Senenmut*, ch. 3, passim.

35. E.g., Betsy Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period," in *Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*, ed., I. Shaw (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 248.

36. W. Helck, *Urk*. 4, 1262 (1-2); A. H. Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun," *JEA* 38 (1952): 15, pl. ii-ix, col. 57. See also D. Redford, "The Coregency of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II," *JEA* 51 (1965): 108, and Wente, *X-Ray Atlas*, 132.

37. The coregency began in year 51 of Thutmose III, when Amenhotep II was probably in his sixteenth year of age, so E. Wente, "The Age of Death of Pharaohs of the New Kingdom Determined from Historical Sources," in *X-Ray Atlas*, 252. If the proscription began in year 42, Amenhotep would have been 7-9 years old. If it began in year 47, he would have been 12-14; hence, on the outside, he would have been 7-14 years old.

38. Sethe, *Urk*. 4, 157-159.

Plate 1. Photo: Stela CG 34013, lunette.

Figure 1. Drawing: Stela CG34013, lunette, left side.
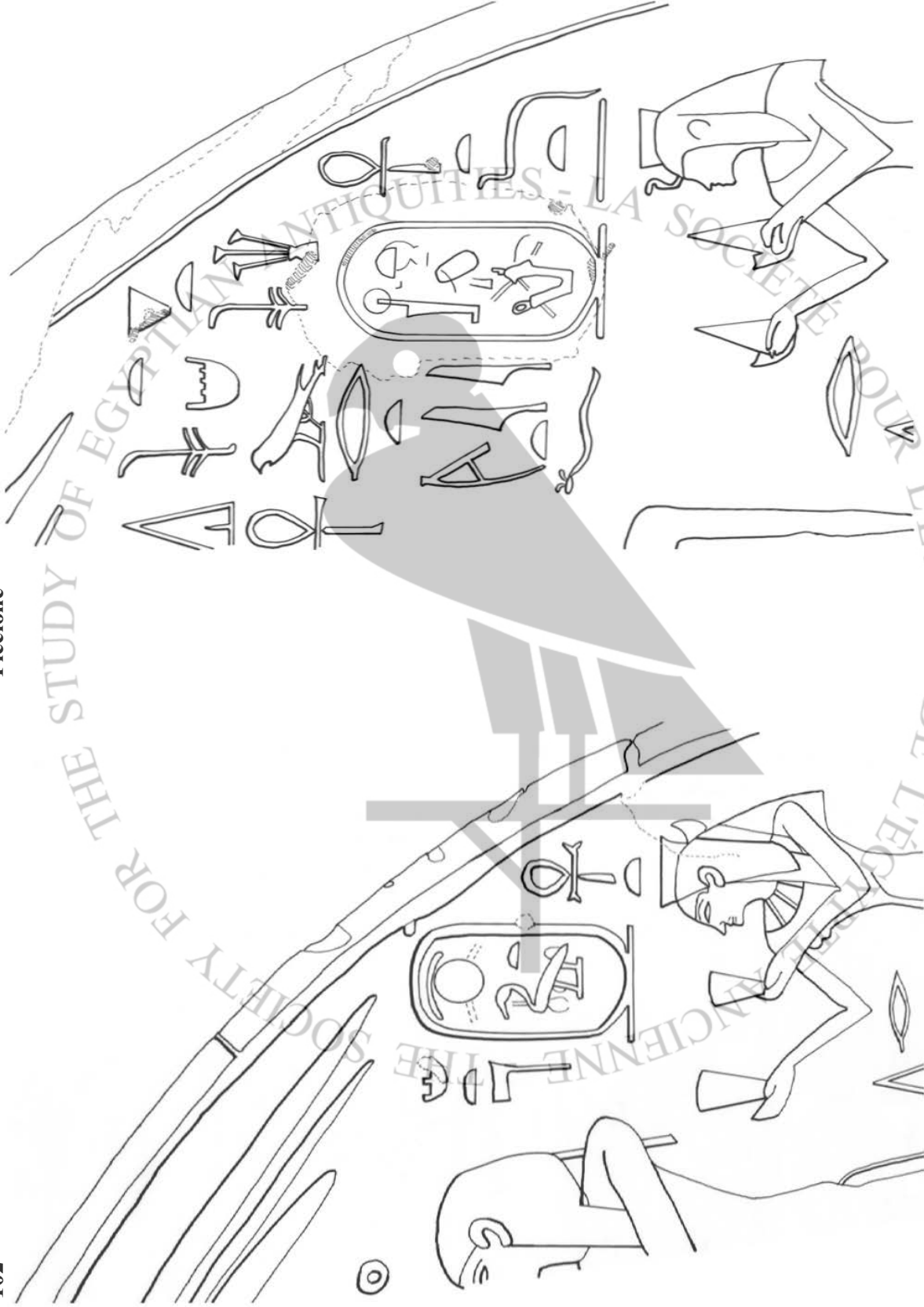
Piccione

Figure 2. Drawing: Stela CG34013, lunette, right side.

Figure 3. Drawing: Stela CG34015, fragment.

BLACK WARE IN TELL ER RUB'A (MENDES)

Alicia D. de Rodrigo

Abstract

The University of Toronto 1992-1997 Tell er-Rub´a (Mendes) Excavations produced a small number of black ware vessels of the Ptolemaic period. Described as a "prestige pottery", black ware is not of frequent occurrence in Egyptian sites. A limited number of local centres are known to have produced this kind of ware imitating imported prototypes. The question of the origin of the Tell er Rub´a black ware is discussed in this paper.

Key words

pottery, black ware, Tell er Rub'a, Ptolemaic, Mendes

H. Jacquet-Gordon[1] has pointed out, in her article published in memory of Martha Bell, to the existence of a black ware of Hellenistic date produced in workshops in Egypt. The 1967 and 1968 excavations of Tell El-Farâ'în-Buto had first provided the concrete evidence of a large industrial area with kilns, some of which were found associated with black ware.[2] In the excavations of Tell Atrib (Athribis) imitations of Greek pottery have been found.[3] Small kilns dated to the third century B.C. prove a local production of a variety of Greek forms and of a group of vessels with a black polished surface, fired in a reducing atmosphere. Black ware is also present at Tebtynis (Fayum) in levels dated from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period.[4] Sites in the Delta (Naucratis, Tanis, Mendes, Tell Timai) and other places, such as Memphis, Quseir, Karnak and Nubia (Qasr Ibrim), have also produced examples of Ptolemaic black ware.[5]

It is frequently stated that black ware made in Egypt is distinguished from the Greek and Italic imports by the fabric (Nile clay) and by the finish of the vessels (polished or burnished black, sometimes matt[6]). The Buto workshops, that functioned from the third century B.C. to the first century B.C., produced in the earlier levels, fine black and red pottery with a burnished surface and, in the later levels, coarser wares. The high temperature required for the thick, fine, black glaze was incompatible with the clay employed by the Egyptian potters.[7]

Jacquet-Gordon points particularly to: 1) the reduced number of examples reported in the ceramic typologies of the sites where the black ware has been found, a fact which is considered to be an indication of a limited production of imitations of an imported "prestige pottery"; and 2) the high percentage of bowls and plates in the forms reported. At Karnak North, these constitute approximately 76% of the black ware, while other forms (jars, flasks and bottles), illustrated in **Figure 4**, are less common.[8]

Black burnished ware is reported as "common" by the New York University excavations in Mendes (Tell er Rub'a)[9] although only one incurving rim bowl with no decoration is illustrated from a surface find.[10] Three examples of a large plate and two bowls from Tell Timai, the Hellenistic-Roman site south of Tell er Rub'a, are illustrated and dated by the excavator[11] to the second century B.C.

In the course of a study on the Hellenistic ointment vessels found by the Akhenaten Temple Project of the University of Toronto 1992-97 excavations in Tell er Rub'a[12], a small number of

examples of black fragments of *unguentaria*, *lekythoi*, juglets and small ring bases were noticed. The provenience of the vessels is:

>   1) the harbor (12);
>   2) field BJ (10);
>   3) the "sacred lake" (5); and
>   4) field AL (1).

The fabric is fine clay. The surface is, in most cases, black burnished or with a matt finish. Unusual is the decoration, in four fragments, of parallel, vertical furrows round the upper body (1069, 1065) and up from the base (94194, 1064).

Inv. Nº 9354. HAR C I, 2 (**Figure 1**): *Unguentarium*. Clay 5 YR 4/1. Oval body, solid short foot, disk base, matt surface. PH: 6.8 cm; BD: 1.5 cm.

Inv. Nº 9367. HAR A IV, 9 (**Figure 2**):   Squat *lekythos*. Clay 5 YR 5/1. Everted rim, handle missing, ring base, matt surface. H: 6.8 cm; RD: 1.5; BD: 3.4 cm.

Inv. Nº 947. HAR A V, 10 (**Figure 1**): *Lekythos*. Clay 2.5 YR 5/0. Rim, neck and handle missing. Oval body, ring base, traces of burnishing. PH: 4.7 cm; BD: 1.8 cm.

Inv. Nº 94158. HAR A VII, 7 (**Figure 2**):   Juglet, Clay 5 YR 4/1, lower body missing, black burnished surface 7.5 YR 2/0. PH: 9.2 cm; RD: 2.5 cm.[13]

Inv. Nº 94194. HAR A V, 16 and Inv. Nº 1064. BB-C 5 (**Figure 3**): Lower body with a decoration of vertical furrows, ring base. Clay 5YR 3/2 (dark reddish brown), black burnished surface. PH: 1.5 cm; BD: 2 cm.

Inv. Nº 94212. HAR C I, 19 (**Figure 2**): *Lekythos* (?) body sherd with root of handle, micaceous clay 5 YR 3/1, black glazed (?) surface 5 YR 2.5/1. PH: 5.1 cm. Possible import.

Inv. Nº 94372. HAR D VII, 9 (**Figure 2**): Bottle. Clay 5 YR 5/1. Broad shouldered, no handle, ring base, burnished surface. PH: 5.1 cm; BD: 1.9 cm.

Inv. Nº 1024. BJ-A II, 8 (**Figure 1**): *Unguentarium*. Clay 7.5 YR 4/2 (dark brown), long neck with everted rim and inner ledge. Matt surface. PH: 4 cm; RD: 2.3 cm.

Inv. Nº 1026. BJ-A I, 14 (**Figure 1**): *Unguentarium*. Lower body, solid short stem, offset foot, disk base. Clay 5 YR 4/1, reddish brown core, worn surface. PH 5 cm; BD: 1.7 cm.

Inv. Nº 1027. BJ-A I 14 (**Figure 1**): *Unguentarium*. Lower body, solid short stem, offset foot and disk base, clay 5 YR 4/1. Matt surface. PH: 4.5 cm; BD: 2.3 cm.

Inv. Nº 1028. BJ-A III, 6 (**Figure 1**): *Unguentarium*. Hollow stem, set off from base by a groove, disk base. Clay 7.5 YR 5/4, traces of burnishing. PH: 1.9 cm; BD: 1.7 cm.

Inv. Nº 1058. BJ-A II, 8 (**Figure 2**): Everted rim of juglet. Clay 10 YR 3/2 (very dark greyish brown). Black slipped surface, possibly burnished. PH: 2 cm; RD: 1.8 cm. Type as Nº 94158.

Inv. Nº 1065. Prov. AL-L IV, 16[14]: Shoulder and upper body with scar of handle. Nile silt, 5 YR 4/1. Black burnished surface with a decoration of thin vertical furrows below the shoulder. PH. c. 2 cm. NA tested.

Inv. Nº 1069. BJ-A II, 8 (**Figure 3**): Body sherd. Very fine, thin. Clay 10 R 5/1 (reddish grey), brown thin core, no visible inclusions. Black burnished surface with parallel vertical furrows.

Numbers 97180 (BB-B I, 7); 1061 (BJ-A I, 9); 1062, 1066 (BJ-A II,4); 1063 (BB-C 5); 1067 (AT-A I 11), 1068 (BJ-A II, 8) and 1070 (BC-B I, 9) are small ring bases (2 cm to 3.4 cm) that cannot be assigned to a form (**Figure 3**).

The following black ware bowls and a beaker fragment also have been registered from the harbor area:

Inv. Nº 94159. HAR C I, 16 (**Figure 4**): Bowl, incurving rim, with a decoration of three stamped palmettes around the inside of the base[15] and a black glossy interior and exterior rim. H: 4.5 cm; RD: 10.6 cm; BD: 5.7 cm.

Inv. Nº 9353. HAR C I, 2 (**Figure 4**): Bowl, outsplayed, carinated side, unstamped with a ring base. H: 3.5 cm; RD: 8.9 cm; BD: 4.5 cm.

HAR A IV 5[16] (Pl. V 32): Bowl, incurving rim and upper section of body. Nile silt, 7.5 YR 3/2, brown core, dense, very fine mineral inclusions, burnished surface. PH: c. 2.5 cm; RD: c. 14 cm. NA tested.

HAR A V 4[17]: Bowl base. Nile silt, 7.5 YR 3/2, red core, dense, hard. BD: c. 5.5 cm. NA tested.

HAR C[18] (Pl. V 26): Beaker base. Nile silt, hard, dense, 7.5 YR 4/4 thin black core, no obvious inclusions, black surface. BD: c. 6.5 cm. NA tested.

Going back to H. Jacquet-Gordon's view on black ware as "prestige pottery", it can be said that it agrees well with the scarce number of pieces found in Mendes and particularly with the special types represented at the site. However, the main question in connection with the above listed ware is where it was manufactured.

Imported pottery, particularly ointment vessels, are not uncommon at the site[19] and it is a known fact that black ware was made, in the Ptolemaic period, in many places along "the whole extent of Greek trade and influence".[20]

The characteristic of the examples found, particularly the surface finish - burnished or matt and not glazed - suggests an Egyptian or a foreign, non Attic origin. The Neutron Activation (NA)

results of four Tell er Rub'a black ware samples tested, indicate an Egyptian origin (Nile silt).[21]

It has been suggested that the Egyptian Hellenistic black ware was a production of Delta workshops under the influence of Alexandria.[22] The ongoing Tell er Rub'a excavations have not, so far, given indication that black ware was made in this site. The Buto workshop is a possible source of, at least, some of this Tell er Rub'a ware, particularly the bowls. *Unguentaria* also were made in Buto.[23]

Because the information on the Egyptian black ware is still so scarce, the question of the number of local workshops remains, for the time being, open.

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Notes

1. 'An Indigenous Black Ware of the Ptolemaic Period', in J. Phillips (ed.) *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean and the Near East. Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*, II, 1997, 287-295. See also P. French, 'A Preliminary Study of Pottery in Lower Egypt in the Late Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods', *CCE* 3 (1992), 83-93.

2. M. V. Seton Williams-D. Charlesworth, 'The Tell el-Farâ'în Expedition', 1967, *JEA* 53 (1967), 146-155; D. Charlesworth, 'Tell el-Farâ'în: The Industrial site', 1968, *JEA* 55 (1969), 23-30.

3. A. Poludnikiewicz, 'Local imitations of Greek Pottery found in Tell Atrib', *CCE* 3 (1992), 95-101.

4. S. Marchand, 'La céramique du IVe siècle av. J.-C. découverte à Tebtynis', *CCE* 4 (1996), 186.

5. Jacquet-Gordon, 'An Indigenous Black Ware', 287-295.

6. Jacquet-Gordon, 'An Indigenous Black Ware' 287-295; French, 'Pottery in Lower Egypt', 83-93; P. Ballet-M.Vichy, 'Artisanat de la céramique dans l'Égypte hellenistique et romain', *CCE* 3 (1992), 110-112; P. Ballet, 'Peluse. Le Thêatre Romain,' *CCE* 5 (1997), 115, 21; P. Ballet-Th. von der Way, 'Exploration archéologique de Bouto et de sa région', *MDAIK* 49 (1993), 4.

7. Ballet-Vichy, 'Artisanat de la céramique', 110.

8. Jacquet-Gordon, 'An Indigenous Black Ware', 294.

9. S. Allen, 'The Pottery', 18, in K. Wilson, *Cities of the Delta, II. Mendes. Preliminary Report on the 1979 and 1980 Seasons*, Malibu, 1982 (ARCE Reports 5).

10. S. Allen, 'The Pottery', Pl. XIII, 1.

11. E. Ochsenschlager, 'The Excavations at Tell Timai', *JARCE* 6 (1967), 32-51.

12. D. B. Redford *et alii*, 'The first season of excavations at Mendes (1991)', *JSSEA* XVIII (1988), 49-79; 'Interim Report on the Second Campaign of Excavations at Mendes (1992)', *JSSEA* XXI-XXII (1991-92), 1994, 1-12.; R. Hummel-S. Shubert, 'Preliminary report on the ceramics from the

1992 season at Mendes', *JSSEA* XXI/XXII (1991-1992), 13-19; 'Ceramic Report: Mendes 1992-95', in D. B. Redford *et alii*, *Mendes I*, to be published; R. Hummel-A. Rodrigo, 'Preliminary Report on the Mendes Ceramics from the Area of the Sacred Lake, 7/1-8/15/1997', unpublished.

13. A larger similar Nile silt form with a red finish from Saft el Hennah in J. Bourriau, *Umm el Ga'ab*, 170, p. 81.

14. R. Hummel-S. Shubert, 'Ceramic Report: Mendes 1992-95', Plate T 12.

15. Note 7.

16. R. Hummel-S. Shubert, 'Preliminary report', Plate V 32.

17. R. Hummel-S. Shubert, 'Preliminary report', Plate V 27.

18. R. Hummel-S. Shubert, 'Preliminary report', Plate V 26.

19. A. D. Rodrigo, 'Ointment vessels found at Tell er Rub'a (Mendes)', to be published.

20. Charlesworth, *JEA* 55 (1968), 29.

21. E. P. Kremer, 'Neutron Activation Analyses Estimating the Provenance of Pottery Sherds found at Mendes', to be published. The NA tests were performed in the University of Toronto Slowpoke Facility. Rexine Hummel, personal communication 8/29/02.

22. Ballet-Vichy, 'Artisanat de la céramique'.

23. Ballet-von der Way, 'Exploration archéologique', 4; Ballet-Vichy, 'Artisanat de la céramique', fig 5. For grey *unguentaria* of diverse provenience: S. Rostoff, 'The origin and chronology of Hellenistic gray unguentaria', *AJA* 88 (1984), 258; P. Hellstrom, *Labraunda*, II, 1, 23-27; 65-67 ; H. Thompson, *Two centuries of Hellenistic Pottery*, Princeton, 1987, 368 (C 76-77).
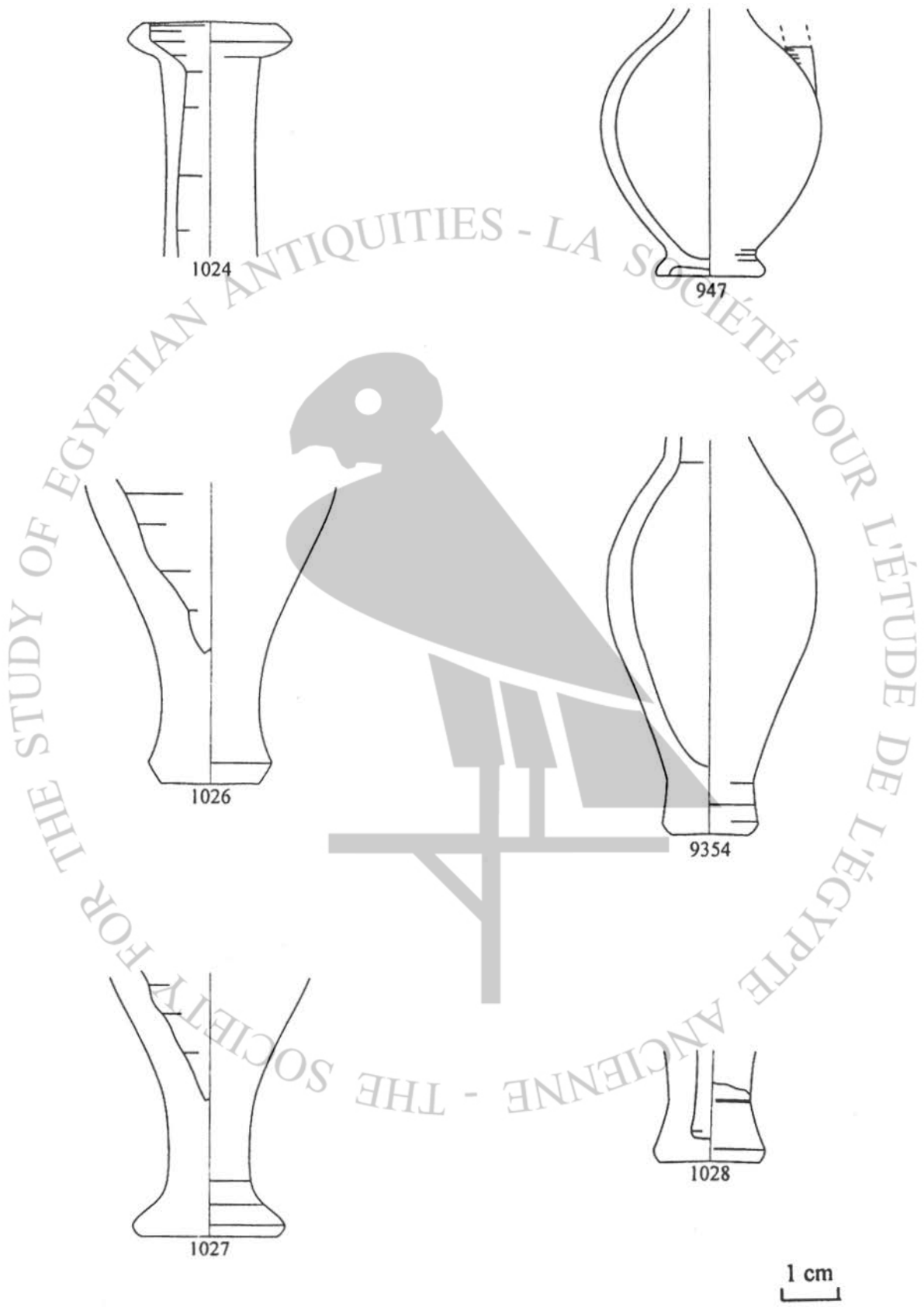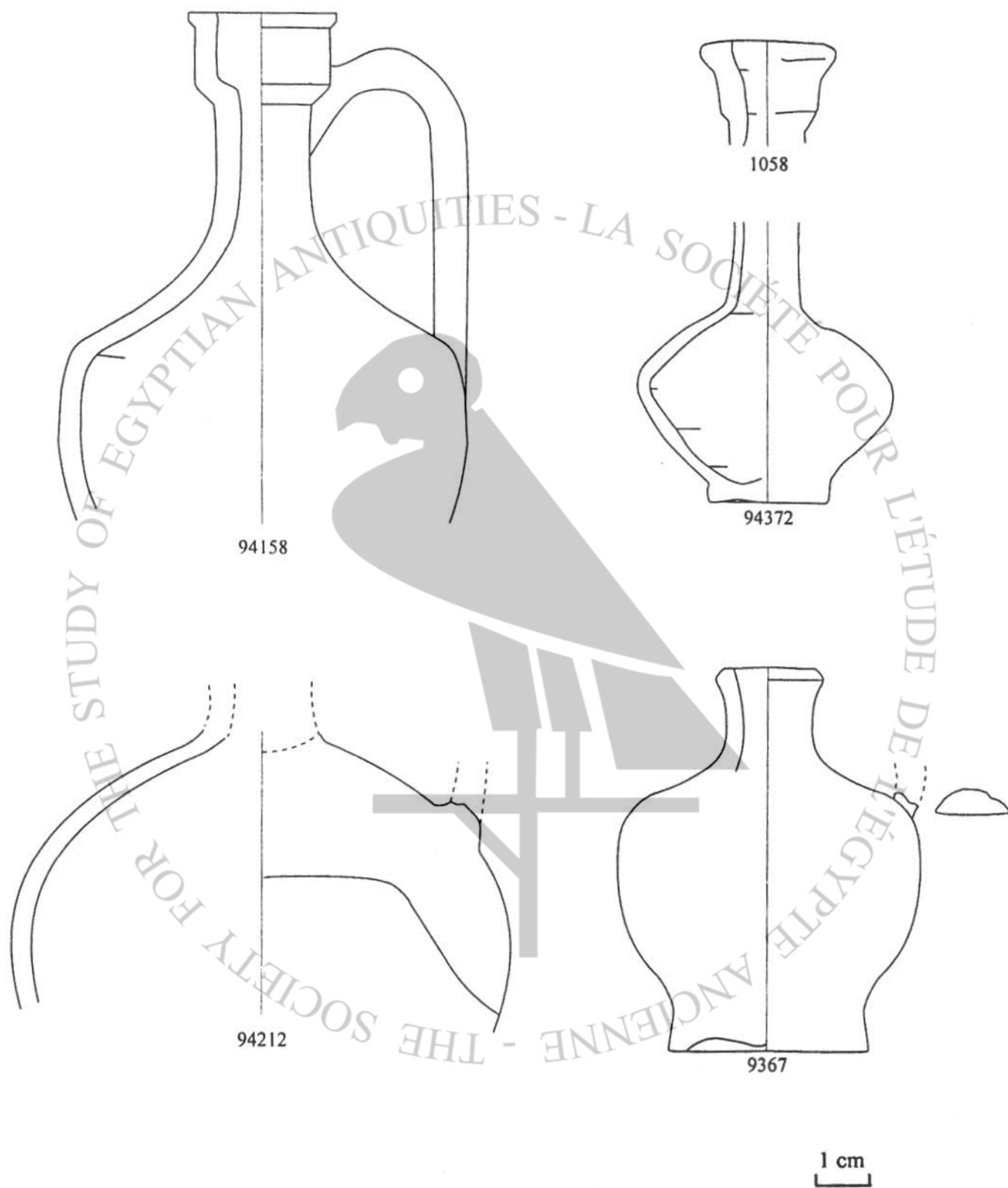
Figure 1

94158
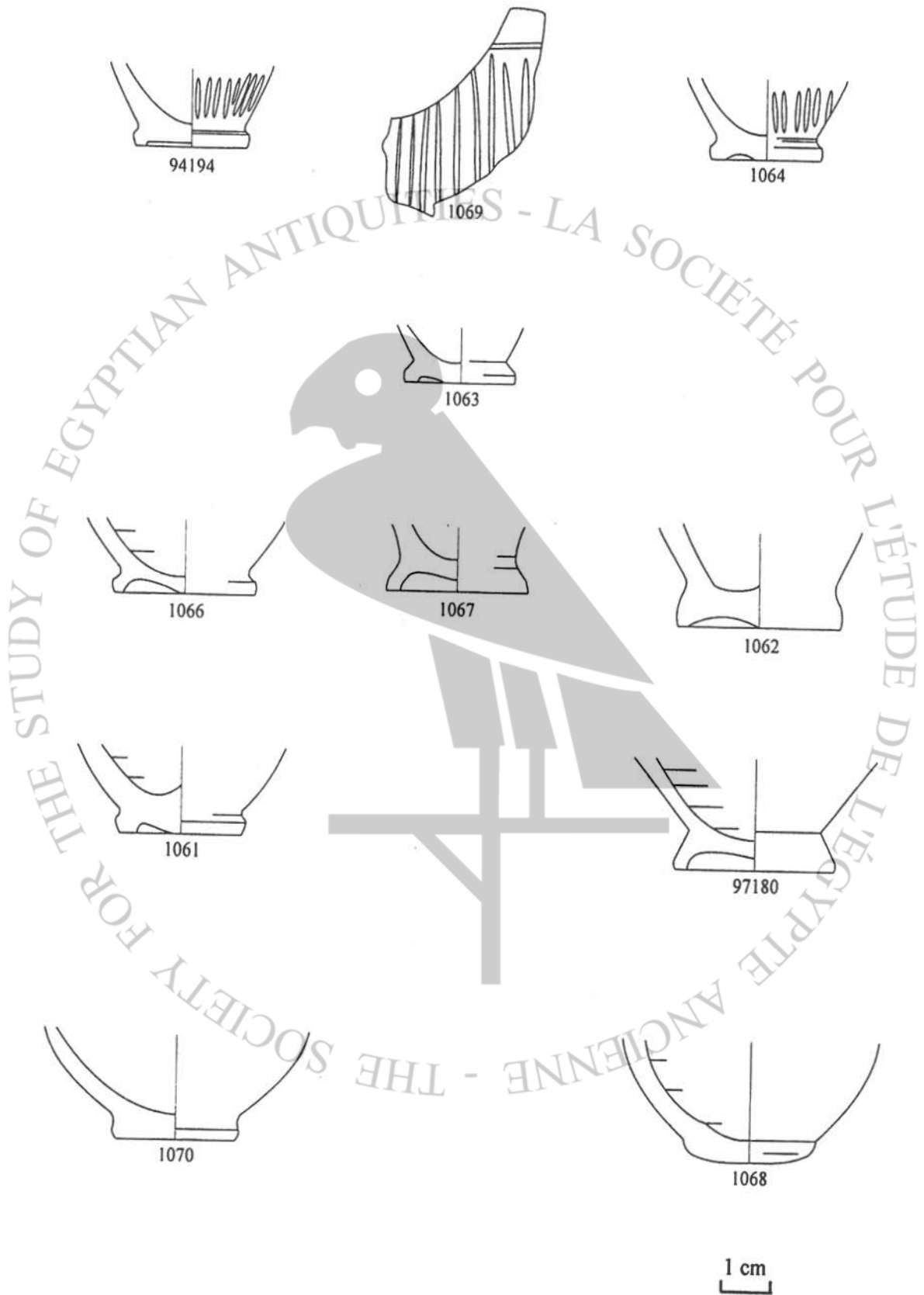
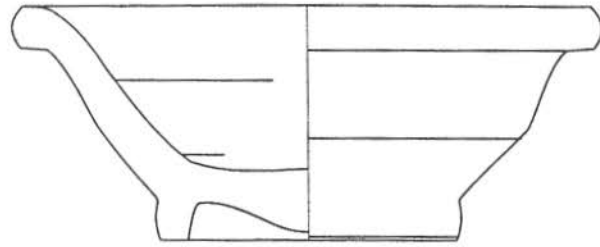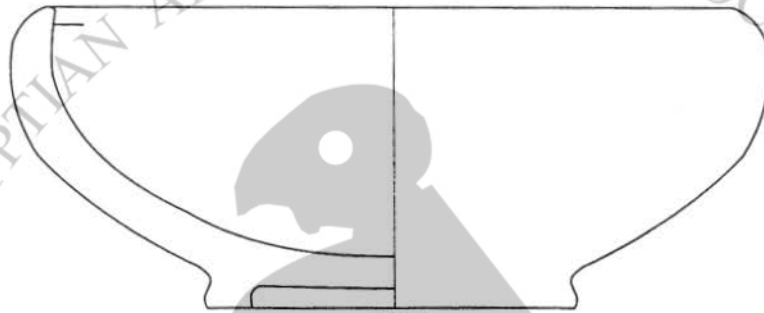1058

94372

94212

9367

1 cm

Figure 2

Figure 3

9353

94159

94159 (top view)

1 cm

Figure 4

Réflexions sur quelques scènes d'offrande du nom du roi

Cathie Spieser

Abstract

Cet article étudie en détails trois scènes d'offrande du nom du roi qui font partie d'un corpus réuni dans l'ouvrage *Les noms du Pharaon*, (OBO 174), Fribourg, 2000, qui traite plus largement du thème de l'image des noms du roi au Nouvel Empire. Le rite d'offrande du nom du roi a donné lieu à diverses interprétations iconographiques qui témoignent de l'imagination féconde déployée par leurs concepteurs. Les trois scènes présentent un agencement subtil de détails qui les rend chacune spécifique. Elles montrent que le rite d'offrande du nom pouvait prendre des connotations supplémentaires se rapportant: au Heb-Sed -mais pas de façon systématique- (**Figure 1**); à l'offrande de nourriture aux dieux où les signes du nom du roi sont figurés de manière iconique; à des objets composites porteurs de significations (**Figures 2 et 3**); de manière générale et essentielle, à l'offrande de la Maât. Ces significations supplémentaires données à l'offrande du nom du roi pouvaient aussi se combiner entre elles.

Key Words

Iconographie, rite, nom du roi, Nouvel Empire, objets composites, Heb-Sed, Maât

La présente contribution respond au souhait de donner mon interprétation de trois reliefs classés parmi les « scènes d'offrande du nom du roi » dans mon ouvrage qui abordait un thème plus général intitulé *Les noms du Pharaon* (2000) où j'avais examiné près de 300 documents répartis selon une typologie variée et définie[1].

Le classement de ces trois documents (voir **Figures 1, 2, et 3**) dans la catégorie des scènes d'offrande du nom du roi -qui en compte au total plus d'une quarantaine[2]- a été contesté dans le cadre d'une recension parue précédemment dans *JSSEA*[3]. Comme l'essentiel de la critique reposait sur ces trois images, je propose de résumer mes arguments et le cas échéant, de les développer davantage.

Quelques points de repères pour les scènes rituelles de l'offrande du nom du roi

Auparavant, je rappelle ici quelques points essentiels relatifs à mon étude consacrée, entre autres, à une nouvelle approche du rite de l'offrande du nom, lequel s'est développé au Nouvel Empire et dont l'origine trouve des antécédents durant le règne d'Hatchepsout et surtout durant la période amarnienne[4]. Ce rite est représenté de différentes manières dans les Temples, à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur de leurs murs: il n'existe pas de « modèle » unique d'image prévalant pour la représentation de ce rite. Parmi les variantes relevées: les scènes d'offrande du nom du roi inclus dans un cartouche; les scènes où le nom du roi est inclus parmi d'autres offrandes, essentiellement alimentaires ; les scènes d'offrande du nom du roi et de la *Maât* qui se trouve déjà incluse dans le nom du roi; il existe aussi quelques statues du roi offrant son nom.

L'une des deux idées avancées par mon étude est que l'offrande des noms du roi faisait partie des instruments de la divinisation du souverain, dans la mesure où cette offrande était représentative

de sa personnalité de nature divine. Certaines scènes d'offrandes du nom montrent que le roi s'offre lui-même en miniature[5], en plus de son nom, ce qui rappelle l'équivalence de l'autel et du trône perceptible vers la fin de la 18e dynastie, lorsque des images du roi figuré en taille réduite se trouvent sur les autels: ce détail signifiait que les offrandes qui se trouvaient sur l'autel devaient se comprendre comme étant consubstantielles au roi[6]. En raison de l'équivalence du nom offert et de la personnalité divine du roi, on retrouve encore cette analogie offrande – roi dans les scènes d'offrandes du nom, de manière générale. Le second point important lié à ce rite est que la *Maât* se situe au coeur de cette offrande, même si dans certains exemples, elle est interchangeable avec le hiéroglyphe du dieu Rê ou encore d'Amon (voir **Figure 4**)[7]. Ces scènes s'apparentent fortement à l'offrande de la *Maât* qui était d'abord celle que le souverain avait accomplie et souhaitait poursuivre sur terre, en accord avec les dieux. Elle représentait la garantie de l'accomplissement de son règne, mais aussi du règne des dieux auxquels elle était offerte, en l'occurrence, essentiellement Amon-Rê, le dieu dont le roi détenait le pouvoir royal.

Les inscriptions qui accompagnent les représentations laissent assez peu supposer que le roi offre autre chose que la *Maât*. La plupart des légendes commencent par « Offrir la *Maât* à son seigneur / à son père / à sa mère »[8]. Ceci conduit à penser que le nom du roi vaut pour la *Maât*, dont le souverain et les dieux sont garants[9]. Cependant, l'image rappelle par sa propre rhétorique que ce qui est offert n'est pas tout à fait la même chose que la *Maât*.

C'est au Temple de Khonsou, où les scènes d'offrande du nom tendent à occuper une place particulièrement importante à partir du règne de Ramsès IV, que le rite s'accompagne plus volontiers d'inscriptions qui ne laissent plus planer d'ambiguïté ou de mystère à propos de ce qui est véritablement offert aux dieux. Le roi y offre son nom à Amon-Rê et le proclame clairement : « je te donne le grand nom (...) »[10]. Déjà Ramsès II se voyait octroyer en retour la faveur d'Amon-Rê «d'exister en son nom et de demeurer durablement et fermement à Karnak »[11]. Ces allusions claires au nom du roi laissent transparaître son importance, quand bien même seule l'image plaidait en ce sens.

Ma conclusion, pour la catégorie de scènes la plus représentative de ce rite, c'est-à-dire celle où le nom du roi est le début de son nom de trône (les trois premiers signes) composé autour du signe de la *Maât*[12], est que nous sommes en présence d'une double offrande: d'une part, le nom de trône du roi est offert au dieu, d'autre part, la *Maât* déjà incluse dans le nom est également offerte par le biais du nom du roi. J'étais tentée de qualifier ces scènes de « *Maât* déguisée en nom du roi ». Ce qui m'amena à parler en termes de « *Maât* personnalisée » dans le sens où le roi offrait une contribution personnelle de la *Maât* présente et à venir, qu'il avait la charge de maintenir pour le fonctionnement du monde terrestre et divin, en résumé, pour la maintenance de la vie[13].

Il serait réducteur de vouloir associer ce rite uniquement à celui des jubilés royaux qui serait pour lui comme une sorte d'appendice. Certes, comme je l'avais indiqué[14], le roi peut bénéficier en retour des années de règne liées aux jubilés *Heb-Sed*. Lorsque l'on passe en revue chaque don reçu par le roi de la part des dieux en retour de l'offrande de son nom[15], on peut constater que les années de règne et jubilés concernent 11 documents sur les 45 réunis[16]. Les années de règne sont parfois davantage « les années d'Atoum » et, plus souvent, il est question de « durée de vie de Rê », ce qui montre que les jubilés ne sont pas la finalité unique ou essentielle de ce rite et par conséquent, je ne saurai être en accord avec l'idée d'une « substitution possible de la scène d'offrande du nom à celle de l'inscription du nom royal sur l'arbre *ished* »[17]. Ce rite devait assurer l'éternité du souverain et

par la même occasion, celle des dieux. Nous avons affaire à un rite d'un genre particulier, s'exprimant -comme il est habituel pour les Egyptiens anciens- dans une variété de représentations, et qui avait ses raisons d'être bien spécifiques.

Trois scènes en discussion : interprétation et nouveaux arguments

L'importance d'une scène, jusqu'alors inédite, mérite, à mon sens, une approche plus détaillée. Ce relief, qui constitue mon document nr. 235 (voir **Figure 1**), montre Ramsès IV offrant son nom de trône et son nom de naissance à une divinité féminine qui était probablement Hathor: son nom est lisible dans le coin droit de la partie basse du mur particulièrement lacunaire à cet endroit du sanctuaire de la barque du temple de Khonsou. Cette légende faisait probablement référence à la déesse figurée dans l'image.

La déesse tient dans ses mains deux palmes crantées du même type que celles que peut tenir le génie des Millions d'années Heh –la palme est le hiéroglyphe de l'année *rnpt* et les entailles figurent « les millions », soit la multitude d'années accordées au roi- et de fait, le message inscrit dans ces lignes verticales formées par les deux palmes est en rapport avec un don de millions d'années qu'effectue la déesse à Ramsès IV[18]. Les palmes ont fourni au sculpteur une occasion de mettre en scène, de manière très habile, un échange subtil entre le roi et la déesse. Elles renferment l'inscription suivante: « De nombreux jubilés au Roi de Haute et Basse Egypte (nom de trône). Des millions d'années au Fils de Rê, Maître des Apparitions (nom de naissance)[19]. En plus des palmes qui ont fourni au sculpteur la mise en scène des deux bandes de l'inscription, un second jeu iconique dans l'image est à relever: il concerne précisément les noms de trône et de naissance ceints de cartouches et inclus dans le signe des jubilés qui sont offerts par le roi qui effectue le geste typique de l'offrande[20]. Contrairement à ce qui a été affirmé[21], le roi offre son nom à la déesse qui, en retour, lui fournit les millions d'années de règne éternel escomptées. Un argument allant en ce sens est constitué par l'orientation des hiéroglyphes des deux cartouches, vers la droite, c'est-à-dire en direction de la déesse. Si les deux cartouches faisaient partie uniquement de l'inscription qui constitue en fait les paroles prononcées par la déesse, les hiéroglyphes suivraient le même sens que le restant de la phrase. Ces subtilités iconiques des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques ont été notamment étudiées par P. Vernus à travers diverses publications[22]. L'orientation des signes d'écriture signale le dialogue entre deux protagonistes, en l'occurrence ici, l'échange qui a lieu entre le roi et la déesse. Ce principe montre dans le cas de notre exemple (**Figure 1**) que le nom du roi est l'élément commun appartenant à la fois à l'acte d'offrande du roi et aux paroles de la déesse. De plus, les noms ceints dans des cartouches et reposant dans la coupe des jubilés en lieu et place de l'habituel motif du trône royal en symétrie –signe hiéroglyphique pour désigner la fête Sed, *tjentjat*, qui correspond au pavillon d'apparition du roi en tant que souverain de Basse et Haute Egypte- forment un troisième motif de nature iconique mêlant image et écriture[23]. Cette image, subtile à plus d'un titre, se trouve donc, à mon sens, bien classée parmi les scènes d'offrande du nom du roi.

Examinons maintenant les deux autres scènes dont le classement parmi les scènes d'offrande du nom a été critiqué[24]. Le premier relief (**Figure 2**)[25] provient d'un bloc de Karnak et montre Amenhotep III agenouillé face à une divinité trônante en grande partie lacunaire et dont le nom est perdu. Ce relief est fort connu et a fait l'objet de plusieurs publications[26]. Le roi tient dans sa main gauche repliée un sceptre *flagellum* ainsi que le crochet *héqa* dont on ne perçoit plus que le manche[27]. Fermement tenu dans sa main droite tendue vers le dieu, nous trouvons représenté ce que

je considère comme un objet qui a peut-être bien existé et a pu être utilisé dans le cadre d'un rituel[28]. Cet « objet » est composé d'un pilier *djed* qui sert de « manche » à l'objet, ce *djed* est lui même surmonté d'une figurine du dieu Heh tenant en ses bras écartés des palmes d'éternité, et sur ce dernier figure les deux cartouches royaux incluant le nom de trône abrégé et le nom de naissance d'Amenhotep III. Les hiéroglyphes des deux cartouches sont orientés vers le dieu et tout porte à croire, comme dans l'exemple précédent, que le roi tend cet objet au dieu. Cependant, la figure du génie des Millions d'années est orientée vers le roi et je suis tentée de voir dans cet objet également une composition iconique où les orientations traduisent un échange subtilement agencé, tel qu'on a pu le percevoir dans la **Figure 1**. La **Figure 2** constitue, à mon sens, un rite où intervient un objet qui traduit les échanges entre le roi et le dieu: d'une part, les noms du roi sont offerts, d'autre part, le roi reçoit l'éternité et la durée de vie escomptées.

La **Figure 3** se rapproche de la **Figure 2** dans la mesure où nous retrouvons une attitude quasiment identique chez le roi: agenouillé, portant des sceptres dans sa main gauche repliée vers l'arrière et tenant dans sa main droite un « objet composite » comparable à celui de la **Figure 2** au dieu. Cette fois-ci, le contexte du *Heb-Sed* –le rite de renouvellement du roi devant assurer la pérennité de son règne par-delà les générations- et de l'inscription des noms du roi sur les feuilles et fruits de l'arbre *Ished,* qui lui est lié, se sont mêlés à l'iconographie[29]. Lors du rite jubilaire, si celui-ci peut parfois avoir pour conséquence un changement dans la titulature du roi, il n'est pas l'occasion de remettre la titulature royale au souverain: cette remise n'a lieu qu'au moment de l'intronisation du roi ou des cérémonies de confirmation du pouvoir royal [30]. Cependant, le rite du *Heb-Sed* est l'occasion de renouveler la durée de vie du roi et de lui assurer son éternité, d'où l'inscription, par les dieux qui sont généralement Thot et Seshat, mais parfois d'autres dieux, du nom du roi sur les feuilles ou les fruits de l'arbre sacré *Ished.*

Les scènes de l'inscription des noms du roi sur les feuilles et fruits de l'arbre *Ished* ne comportent, dans aucun autre exemple connu, une quelconque offrande de la part du roi[31]. Le roi est généralement figuré agenouillé devant le dieu, tenant ses insignes royaux, sans être véritablement actif. Dans quelques scènes, il tient dans ses mains les fruits de l'arbre inscrits à son nom, ou encore il reçoit le hiéroglyphe – don nominal des jubilés[32]. Dans le cas présent, le roi reçoit ou tend tout à la fois un « objet composite » proche de celui de la **Figure 2**, à ceci près, que le *djed* est remplacé par le signe des jubilés et que l'orientation des hiéroglyphes du nom n'est pas celle à laquelle on s'attendrait dans une scène d'offrande du nom du roi.

Le nom réduit aux trois premiers signes du nom du trône n'est pas inclus dans un cartouche, mais il est encadré de deux serpents *uraei* à disques solaires. Dans la main du roi, repose la coupe du signe –mot *heb* « fête ». Cette coupe sert de support au génie des Millions d'années qui est lui-même surmonté de la version abrégée du nom du trône sans cartouche. L'absence de cartouche confère au nom un supplément de qualité iconique et divine[33]. Les signes hiéroglyphiques du nom agissent telles des divinités à part entière, un peu à la manière du génie des Millions d'années. Enfin, l'iconographie fait que le roi s'offre lui-même au dieu, dans la mesure où sa personne est placée dans une immense coupe en forme de signe *heb*[34]. Cette idée trouve une sorte de résonance dans la composition symbolique tenue en main droite par le roi, où le nom du roi agit à la manière d'un substitut de sa personne[35].

Reste la question posée par l'orientation des hiéroglyphes du nom. Le corpus que j'ai eu l'occasion de réunir pour la catégorie des scènes d'offrande du nom comporte 45 scènes et

l'orientation des signes des noms royaux offerts se vérifie dans tous les 44 autres exemples, c'est-à-dire que les signes ont bien la même orientation que le roi qui fait l'offrande et font donc face à la divinité qui les reçoit. Ces orientations se font, comme indiqué plus haut, en fonction du dialogue et des échanges entre les partenaires ainsi mis en scène. Or, la **Figure 3** a ceci de particulier : elle est associée au motif de l'arbre *Ished* où le souverain reçoit l'éternité par l'inscription de son nom sur les feuilles et fruits de l'arbre et probablement ce contexte a dû primer sur la manière de représenter l'objet et l'orientation des hiéroglyphes des noms royaux. Cet objet, de nature composite, comme celui de notre **Figure 2**, exprime à nouveau un échange ente le roi et le dieu: d'une part le don de la personne du roi représenté par le nom de trône encadré d'*uraei*[36], d'autre part, les dons escomptés par le roi: l'éternité de son nom également représentée par le nom encadré d'*uraei* –ce qui pourrait expliquer l'orientation des hiéroglyphes- du fait que le nom fait aussi l'objet d'une inscription éternelle sur l'arbre *Ished*, enfin, les millions d'années de règne et d'éternité exprimés par le génie Heh et la coupe de fête *Sed*. Comme l'avait démontré P. J. Frandsen, l'offrande qui est faite est non seulement consubstantielle à son récepteur, le dieu, mais encore à celui qui l'offre, c'est-à-dire le roi et en affirmant ceci, Frandsen se référait à notre **Figure 2**. Basée sur un échange, la différence réside dans le fait que le dieu possède à l'infini ce que le roi souhaite obtenir[37].

Lorsque j'ai regardé pour la première fois cette image, mon réflexe a été de penser qu'elle n'appartenait pas aux scènes d'offrandes du nom, mais aux scènes décrivant le rite de l'arbre *Ished* lié au contexte du *Heb-Sed*. Mais ce rejet m'a laissée longtemps pensive, car aucune autre scène de l'arbre *Ished* ne montrait un souverain tenant en main un quelconque symbole ou objet. Ma conclusion pour la **Figure 3** a été qu'elle appartient à deux contextes : celui de l'offrande du nom du roi et celui du rite de l'arbre *Ished* lié au jubilé royal.

Toutes ces raisons expliquent mon choix de classer également cette dernière image parmi les scènes d'offrandes du nom, même si celle-ci dénote une variante un peu particulière. Cette variante n'a rien d'étonnant. Parmi les scènes d'offrande du nom du roi se trouvent de nombreuses variations iconographiques qui témoignent chacune de la fécondité extraordinaire des artistes égyptiens de l'époque et surtout, de leur érudition. Je cite ici quelques « fleurons », comme la célèbre offrande du nom et de la *Maât* qui orne le fronton du Temple d'Abou Simbel, où le roi offre son nom de trône au dieu Rê-Horakhty auquel est consacré le temple. Le dieu est représenté pour lui-même, mais il sert encore d'élément divin du nom de trône de Ramsès II ainsi monumentalisé, si l'on tient compte des signes hiéroglyphiques *wsr* et *Maât* tenus discrètement en mains par le dieu (**Figure 5**)[38]. On peut également citer cet autre type de scène d'offrande du nom, où le nom du roi se glisse parmi un tas d'offrande porté à bras le corps par le roi pour le tendre à un dieu[39]. Ces reliefs sont apparentés aux scènes d'offrandes de nourriture très communes dans les temples du Nouvel Empire: la présence des offrandes composées de végétaux, fruits, oies rôties, pains etc., n'est pas à négliger. Le nom du roi, dans tous les exemples de scènes de ce type, est écrit d'une manière très particulière : le mot « *Maât* » s'écrit avec la plume placée tel un objet parmi les victuailles. Ce détail plaide pour une ascension iconique de la *Maât* ainsi offerte à travers le nom. En fait, il faut tenir compte du fait que la *Maât* était elle-même conçue comme une nourriture pour le roi comme pour les dieux: « Rê s'en nourrit »[40]. De plus, dans le rituel journalier des temples, les offrandes de nourriture, de bière, d'encens se trouvaient directement associées avec la *Maât*, comme le faisait remarquer E. Hornung « im täglichen Ritual der Tempel werden die materiellen Gaben wie Brot, Bier, Weihrauch usw. mit Maat gleichgesetzt »[41]. Pour terminer, d'autres « objets composites » que ceux dont nous venons de

discuter en **Figures 2 et 3** peuvent être présentés aux dieux par le roi, comme ce plateau surmonté de sa propre figure anthropomorphe rampante et poussant devant lui son nom de trône abrégé (*Héqa-Maât-Rê*) (**Figure 6**)[42]; dans un autre exemple, publié par E. Teeter, Ramsès IV tient un plateau sur lequel se trouve le roi en sphinx et devant lui une figuration symbolique du nom de trône de Ramsès IV: un jeune roi, portant le doigt à la bouche, porte sur la tête un emblème solaire et dans sa main gauche repliée, un sceptre *Héqa* et une plume *Maât*[43].

Toutes ces raisons m'amènent à conclure que le rite de l'offrande du nom, lourdement chargé de significations, n'oblitérait pas la *Maât* au seul profit du nom du roi, mais au contraire, la *Maât* était au coeur même du rite. Elle est celle qu'un roi déterminé offrait en gage de tout ce qu'il avait accompli en son nom durant son règne. Il s'agit en quelque sorte d'une « *Maât* personnalisée » vouée à la *Maât* tout court. C'est aussi la raison pour laquelle le rite n'excluait pas les scènes conventionnelles d'offrande de la *Maât*. Ainsi, l'offrande d'un nom « déguisé » en *Maât* permettait au roi d'offrir une parcelle divine de son être dans le but d'accroître son éternité, tout en oeuvrant pour renouveler celle du monde. Elle permettait encore au roi d'affirmer qu'il possédait sa royauté des dieux et qu'elle lui était inaliénable, sans quoi le monde retournerait au chaos. A en juger des temples où apparaissent ces scènes : temples des Millions d'Années tels que Médinet Habou, ou celui de Séthi I à Gourna, temples commémoratifs royaux comme par exemple ceux de Ouadi es-Seboua, Abou Simbel etc, ce rite jouait un rôle important dans le monde d'éternité. Il possédait son utilité dans l'Au-delà et servait le roi après sa mort. Il faisait partie intégrante des dispositifs rituels royaux qui avaient leur résonance dans le domaine funéraire et leur présence devait assurer au roi, après sa mort, un règne éternel venant s'inscrire dans la chaîne ininterrompue des règnes royaux, dont l'ensemble traduisait la cohérence du fonctionnement du monde, selon l'ordre de la *Maât*.

Notes

[1] Mes remerciements vont au Professeur John Baines, de l'Université d'Oxford, qui a relu avec beaucoup d'attention cet article. *Les noms du Pharaon* (OBO 179), Fribourg 2000, 398 pages; pour les reliefs, se reporter à *ibid.*, doc. nr. 233, 234, 235 et aux p. 133- 147. Pour une recension plus complète : P. J. Brand, *BiOr* LVIII 3-4, mai-août 2001, 360-363.

[2] *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. nr. 233 à 279.

[3] B. Lurson, *JSSEA* 29 (2002), p. 118-120.

[4] Ce rite a fait l'objet d'une étude par E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maât, ritual and legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, Chicago 1997 à laquelle mon livre fait référence, p. 138-147. Se reporter aussi à *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 133-147 et doc. 233-279; on peut dire que le rite (toutes variantes confondues) fait son apparition sous Amenhotep III et se maintient au moins jusqu'à la fin de l'époque ramesside ; concernant les origines du rite, p. 140-2: un rapprochement est possible avec les scènes d'offrandes du nom du dieu Aton par le couple royal amarnien, dont l'un des exemples montre d'ailleurs le couple de souverains offrant leur propre image en miniature en plus des deux cartouches du nom d'Aton. Ces motifs offerts s'apparentent fortement, à mon sens, aux scènes de vénération

des noms royaux et divins par les fonctionnaires, que l'on retrouve principalement au niveau des linteaux de porte des maisons privées amarniennes. Celles-ci trouvent notamment quelques « antécédents » datant du règne d'Hatchepsout. L'iconographie des scènes de vénérations des noms royaux par des fonctionnaires a fait l'objet d'une étude dans *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. 1 à 145, et chapitre V.

[5] *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. nr. 237, 264, 268, 269.

[6] J. Baines, Trône et dieu, *BSFE* 118 (1990), p. 5-37; id. *Fecundity Figures*, Oxford 1985, p. 330-338, fig. 190; P. J. Frandsen, Trade and cult, dans *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, *Cognitive Structures and popular expressions*, (Boréas 20), Uppsala 1989, p. 85-108; voir également en fin d'article.

[7] La **Figure 4** montre un exemple « classique » du rite de l'offrande du nom. Cette variante est typiquement ramesside. Elle offre de nombreux parallèles : *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. 240 à 277 et p. 263 à 276 ; les doc. nr. 242, 246, 248, 249, 252, 253 et 257 ont pour signe « central » Rê à tête de faucon et les doc. nr. 262 et 263, le signe du dieu Amon. Une plume *Maât* leur est souvent adjointe au niveau des genoux, pour maintenir la lisibilité : à ce sujet, cf. *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 143.

[8] *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. nr. 242, 243, 247, 252, 258, 259, 260, 265, 274, 275.

[9] E. Teeter, Observations on the presentation of the Ramesside prenomen, *VA* 2 (1986), p. 175. Le pouvoir royal et la Maât figurent ensemble la solidarité et l'harmonie de la société, cf. J. Assmann, *Stein und Zeit*, *Mensch und Gesellschaft im alten Ägypten*, Munich 1995, p. 190 *sqq*.

[10] *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. nr. 271.

[11] *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. nr. 254.

[12] *Les noms du Pharaon*, voir partie « 6.1.3. Offrande du nom et de la Maât » : doc. 240 à 277.

[13] Voir conclusion de cet article.

[14] *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 138 et 145 (entre autres).

[15] *Les noms du Pharaon*: tableau indiquant, entre autres, les dons reçus par le roi: p. 133 à 138.

[16] *Les noms du Pharaon*, selon le tableau que j'ai établi à partir des textes accompagnant les scènes, ne mentionnent les années de règnes et les jubilés que les doc. nr. 234, 235, 237, 256, 259, 260, 262, 263, 268, 274, 277.

[17] Lurson, *JSSEA* 29 (2002), p. 118-120.

[18] Comme je l'ai déjà indiqué dans la notice accompagnant l'image: *Les noms du pharaon*, notice nr. 235, p. 261; concernant la palme: cf. M. A. Bonhême, A. Forgeau, *Pharaon, les secrets du pouvoir*, Paris 1988, p. 289.

[19] Pour la traduction de cette inscription : Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p, 261.

[20] Comme je l'avais déjà remarqué, *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 138, note 779.

[21] Lurson, *JSSEA* 29 (2002), p. 118-120.

[22] P. Vernus, Espace et idéologie dans l'écriture égyptienne, Actes du Colloque international de l'Université de Paris VIII, *Ecritures, systèmes idéographiques et pratiques expressives*, Paris 1982, p. 102-112: lorsque deux personnages s'affrontent, les légendes le font aussi; idem, Des relations entre textes et représentations dans l'Egypte pharaonique, dans *Ecritures II*, éd. A.M. Christin, Paris 1985, p. 45-66 ; idem, L'ambivalence du signe graphique dans l'écriture hiéroglyphique, dans *Ecritures III*, *Espaces de lecture*, éd. A.M. Christin, Paris 1987, p. 60-65. Se reporter aussi à H. G. Fischer, *L'écriture et l'art de l'Egypte ancienne*, Essais et conférence, Collège de France, Paris 1986, p. 63-64: les inscriptions en concordance (orientation d'un texte vers la droite, d'un autre vers la gauche) expriment la confrontation d'un roi à un dieu; l'orientation des hiéroglyphes se conforme à l'image.

[23] Il y avait d'abord l'emploi des palmes de jubilés comme lignes de démarcation des paroles prononcées par la déesse et ensuite, l'orientation différente pour le nom du roi montrant qu'il y a échange entre le roi et la divinité.

[24] Lurson, *JSSEA* 29 (2002), p. 118-120.

[25] *Les noms du pharaon*, doc. nr. 233 et p. 260-1.

[26] Cl. Vandersleyen, *BSFE* 111 (1988), p. 19; P.J. Frandsen, Trade and Cult, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, Cognitive structures and popular expressions*, (Boreas 20), Uppsala 1989, p. 103, fig. 2; J. Berlandini, Amenhotep III et le concept de Heh, *BSEG* 17 (1993), p. 14, fig. 4; E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maât*, pl. 16.

[27] Il y a deux bâtons qui formaient les manches des sceptres du roi, dans la main gauche du roi.

[28] On trouve, au Musée du Caire, bon nombre de ces objets composites qui ont pu servir au moment de rites, comme par ex. des vases *ankh* en fritte émaillée bleue (pas de numéro d'inventaire); dans le cadre des rites de confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An, se trouve le don d'amulettes *oudjat* et en forme de génie Heh pour la conjuration des dangers de l'année: J.-Cl. Goyon, *Confirmation du pouvoir royal au Nouvel An*, Le Caire 1972, p. 29; un objet en faïence bleue combinant les signes *ankh* et *ouas* était utilisé lors d'un cérémonial de vêture – purification, cf. idem, p. 20; à ce sujet, voir aussi R. Engelbach, *ASAE* 21 (1921), p. 70-71.

[29] Pour le rite du *Heb-Sed*, se reporter à M. A. Bonhême, A. Forgeau, Pharaon, *Les secrets du pouvoir*, p. 287-306 ; E. Hornung, E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest*, Genève 1974. Pour la cérémonie de l'arbre Ished: W. Helck, Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), p. 117-140; L. Kákosy, « Ischedbaum », *LÄ* 3, 182-183.

[30] Ces cérémonies de confirmation du pouvoir royal ne distinguent pas des rites d'intronisation : M. A. Bonhême, A. Forgeau, *Les secrets du pouvoir*, p. 245-306.

[31] W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), p. 117-140: roi tenant des fruits ou feuilles inscrits à son nom, ou présence d'un dieu inscrivant les noms dans l'arbre sacré -et non pas le roi qui tient son nom dans sa main, comme l'indique Helck- : nr. 2 (fig. 2), nr. 3 (fig. 3), nr. 7 : cf. H.H. Nelson, *The great Hypostyle hall at Karnak,* 1, Chicago 1981, pl. 79; roi reçevant le signe des jubilés (sans le nom): nr. 7 (à ajouter ici), nr. 9, nr. 15, nr. 16, nr. 17. Dans les autres scènes le roi est simplement agenouillé, portant les sceptres royaux. L'unique scène mêlant le signe des jubilés aux noms du roi est notre **Figure 3** qui correspond au nr. 4 chez Helck.

[32] Au mieux, le roi (Séthi I), figuré agenouillé, tient dans sa main un fruit gravé de son nom, comme dans l'exemple du Temple de Karnak, Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), p. 117-140, nr. 3; Ramsès II est simplement figuré trônant au Ramesseum, nr. 8.

[33] Cela se vérifie pour d'autres types iconographiques utilisant le nom du roi de manière iconique : *Les noms du Pharaon*, p. 29-32.

[34] P. J. Frandsen, Trade and cult.

[35] Que le nom du roi pouvait remplacer sa représentation humaine afin de mieux traduire la nature divine du pharaon, est attesté par de nombreuses représentations dont les principaux types ont fait l'objet de ma thèse de doctorat, cf. note 1.

[36] Ce don est lui-même rappelé par l'image anthropomorphe du roi dans la coupe de fête.

[37] P. J. Frandsen, Trade and cult, p. 95-108 : l'auteur fait notamment référence à notre **Figure 2** où le roi tient un « objet composite » mêlant le pilier djed, le génie Heh, le nom du roi (sa fig. 2 p. 103), très proche de « l'objet composite » de la fig. 3, objet de la présente discussion.

[38] *Les noms du Pharaon*, doc. 243.

[39] B. Lurson, L'offrande du nom au Nouvel Empire : l'importance du sphinx de Karnak-nord, inv. 839, *ZÄS* 126 (1999), p. 55-60: l'auteur souhaite rattacher ce type de relief à un sphinx d'Amenhotep III présentant une table d'offrandes surmontées de deux divinités accroupies sur un signe *nb* formant le rébus de son nom de trône.

[40] J. Assmann, *Maât*, *l'Egypte pharaonique et l'idée d'une justice sociale*, Paris 1989, p. 119-122 : roi et dieu se nourrissent de la Maât pour se confondre dans une identité commune.

[41] E. Hornung, Pharao Ludens, *Eranos* 51 (1982), p. 495.

[42] *Les Noms du pharaon*, doc. 268.

[43] *Les Noms du pharaon*, doc., nr. 269 ; Teeter, *Presentation of Maat*, p. 112, H2, pl. 11.

Figure 1 : Ramsès IV au Temple de Khonsou, Karnak. *Les noms du Pharaon*, **doc. 235 (photo de l'auteur).**
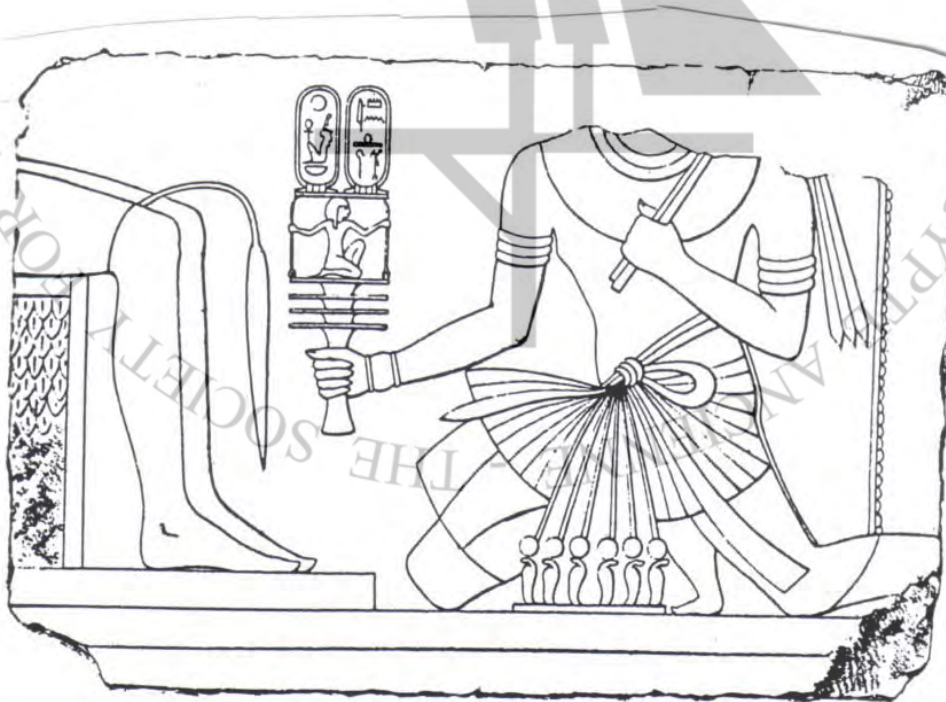
Figure 2 : Amenhotep III, bloc provenant de Karnak. D'après E. Teeter, *The Presentation of Maât*, **pl. 16. (***Les noms du Pharaon***, doc. 233).**

Figure 3 : Séthi I au temple d'Abydos. Dessin d'après J. Capart, *Le temple de Séthi Ier à Abydos***, pl. IX, (***Les noms du Pharaon***, doc. 234).**

Figure 4 : Ramsès III au pavillon royal de Médinet Habou. D'après *The Temple of Medinet Habu VIII, The eastern high gate***, (OIP 94) 1970, pl. 617B, (***Les noms du Pharaon***, doc. 263).**

Figure 6 : Ramsès IV au Temple de Khonsou à Karnak. *Les noms du Pharaon,* doc. 268, (photo de l'auteur).
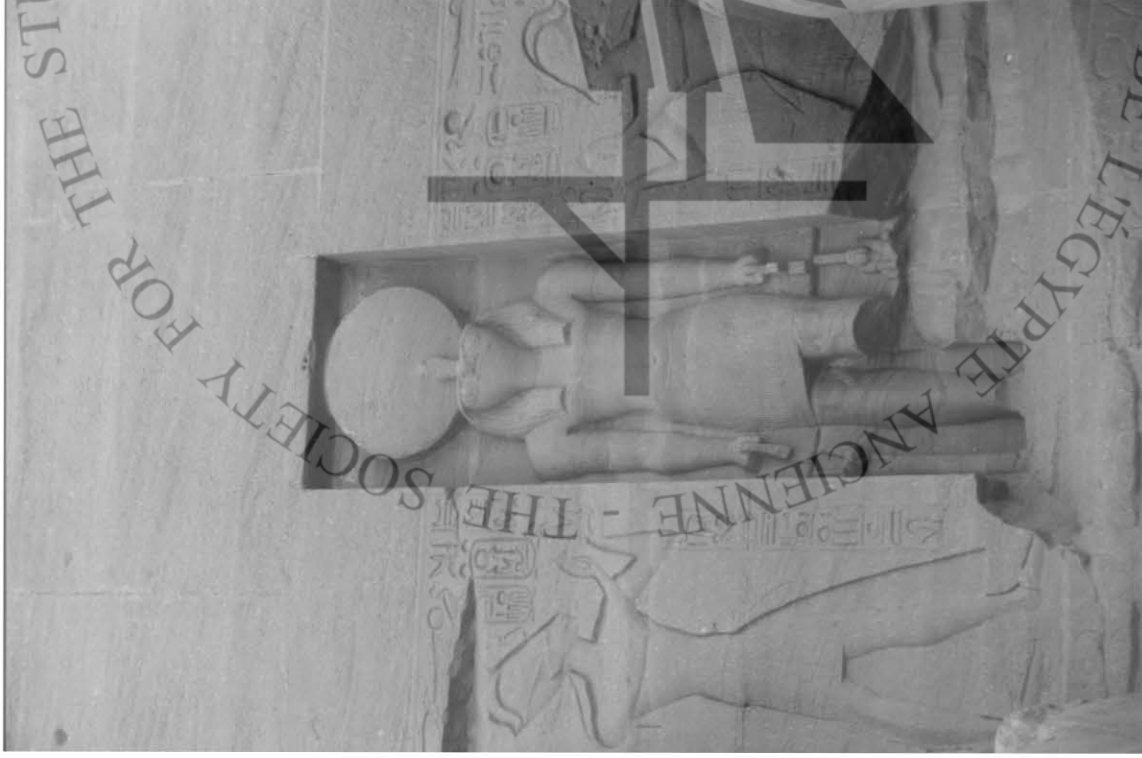
Figure 5 : Ramsès II à la façade du grand Temple d'Abou Simbel. *Les noms du Pharaon,* doc. 243, (photo de l'auteur).

THE GREAT GODDESSES OF THE LEVANT

Johanna H. Stuckey

Abstract

During the Bronze Ages, circa 3100 to 1200 BCE, the people of the Levant worshipped many goddesses, but only three "great" ones; Anat, Astarte and Asherah. These goddesses were worshipped well into the Israelite period and Asherah may have been the consort of the god Yahweh. Evidence for goddess veneration comes from the written mythical and cultic material from Ugarit and the Hebrew Bible, as well as the myriad of visual images excavated all over the Levant and the evocative images they display. Possibly the most significant is the "sacred tree," which almost certainly represented a female deity, perhaps even the great goddess Asherah. Over time, the three Levantine great goddesses gradually merged into one another, but their worship persisted well into the Greco-Roman period, during which time they continued their existence as the composite "Syrian Goddess" Atargatis.

During the Bronze Age, from about 3100 BCE to 1200 BCE, polytheism was the norm in the ancient Levant.[1] The peoples of this region worshipped a number of goddesses, but only three, Asherah, Anat, and Astarte, fit the category of powerful or "great goddesses." Their worship was prevalent before, during, and after the settlement by the Israelites in southern part of the area, the land of Canaan (Dever 1996: 207,208; Finkelstein 1988: 16; Dever 1987: 233; Ahlström 1963: 25). There is some evidence that the Israelites may have revered Asherah, possibly as consort of their special god Yahweh (Toorn 1998: 88-91; Binger 1997: 125-126; Pettey 1990: 220-221; Olyan 1988: 33; Dever 1984: 255). Furthermore, the worship of the three goddesses continued, in one form or other, well into our era.

In presenting these great goddesses, I write both as a Religious Studies scholar, with a particular interest in comparative religion and comparative mythology, and as a Women's Studies scholar. Indeed, feminist theory informs all my work. In this paper, I examine the two main textual sources for the ancient Levantine goddesses: mythic poetry and cultic texts from the ancient Syrian city of Ugarit, as well as Hebrew and Christian scriptures. I also explore important Levantine artifactual material pertaining to ancient goddesses.

Problems and Assumptions

Before surveying the great goddesses of the ancient Levant, I want to point out three major problems, as well as two often unexamined assumptions. The first problem lies in the fact that goddesses were integral to male-dominated cultures and religions that had both male and female deities. Goddesses were definitely not the principal deities in such cultures, nor can we speak, with anything approaching certainty, of 'goddess religions' or 'goddess

cultures' as having existed in ancient times (Tringham and Conkey 1998: 37; Westenholz 1998: 63; Frymer-Kensky 1992: vii).

Second, most of the written evidence about ancient goddesses comes from elite sources and usually refers to state and temple deities and practices, not those of the general populace, though there is normally some overlap (Bowker 1997: 350). Religious scholars generally agree that there usually exists in a given culture two kinds of religion: 'elite' or 'official,' religion comprising state and temple cults, and 'folk' or 'popular,' religion that embodies the practices of the common people. However, what they describe as popular or folk religion can be, in actuality, the way that many who think of themselves as "belonging to mainstream religion" practise it. Such practices sometimes vary greatly from those of 'official' religion (Bowker 1997: 350).

Typically, scholars have investigated the elite religious forms of a culture, since there is usually substantial documentary evidence for them. Often they have dismissed popular religion as a corrupted form of religion (Toorn 1998: 88). The result has been that we know little about the religious practices of a general populace, despite the fact that they were the majority of a culture's worshippers. Another problem has been that, with rare exceptions, popular religion leaves little documentary trace, but can be detected in archaeological evidence, particularly artifacts (Holladay 1987: 268-269).

A third problem is that students of religion, and especially of ancient Levantine or Syria-Canaan religions, have a tendency to concentrate on texts almost to the exclusion of the vast body of visual material now available: "Anyone who systematically ignores the pictorial evidence that a culture has produced can hardly expect to recreate even a minimally adequate description of the culture itself. Such a person will certainly not be able to describe the nature of the religious symbols by which such a culture oriented itself" (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: xi).

A concomitant problem is the often careless way in which many non-scholarly writers on goddesses, as well as, regrettably, some goddess scholars, use such visual material. As to assumptions that are rife in ancient-goddess studies, the first is what I call the 'myth of the fertility cult.' Both scholars and non-scholars seem satisfied to describe most ancient goddesses as fertility deities, 'Mother Goddesses,' the implication being that goddesses all fit into the same category (Westenholz 1998: 64, 81; Day 1992: 181; Hackett 1989: 65). The usual understanding is that they represent earth or are firmly fixed in 'Nature' and, often, that they are the focus of sexually based 'fertility' cults (Day 1991: 141; Hackett 1989: 65). Indeed, the "designation 'fertility goddess' … has allowed predominantly male scholars to dismiss … the role of goddesses in ancient religions" (Fontaine 1999: 163-164). Close examination of the evidence, however, shows ancient goddesses to have been complicated entities with their own powers and realms and with functions just as often pertaining to culture as to nature (Goodison and Morris 1999: 16, 18). Further, though many ancient goddesses functioned as channels of fertility (Day 1992: 185), actual responsibility for fertility, especially in the male-dominated cultures of the ancient Levant, normally lay with male deities (Hackett 1989: 68; Miller 1987: 59; Perlman 1978: 85).

Another assumption is that goddesses are all aspects of a single great goddess, 'the Many in the One, the One in the Many' (Stuckey 1998: 141-143; Eller 1993: 132-135). This position seems to be the result of their examining both ancient and modern polytheistic

traditions through monotheistic lenses and overlooking the marvellous and liberating diversity that polytheism offers (Stuckey 1998: 151; Westenholz 1998: 63). Ancient goddesses were all very different one from the other, while still, occasionally, overlapping in functions and powers and even blending into one another. The great goddesses of ancient Syria-Palestine appear to be a case in point (Hadley 2000: 42; Miller 1987: 55; Moor 1965: 228). These Levantine great goddesses appear to their full glory in the textual and visual material from ancient Ugarit (modern Ras Shamra) on the coast of Syria.

Great Goddesses of Ancient Ugarit

In the Ugaritic documents of the second-millennium BCE, Anat, Astarte, and Asherah seem, for the most part, to have been separate goddesses, though there "is a great fluidity in [their] characteristics…" (Hadley 2000: 42). Their names occur in tablets containing mythic poetry and also in cultic texts, that is, in records of rituals and offerings and in deity lists (Coogan 1978: 10). The cultic texts deal with contemporary ritual practices, but the mythic material probably dates from an earlier period (Tarragon 1980: 184). While numerous, the Ugaritic tablets are often badly damaged and fragmentary (Binger 1997: 27-28; Coogan 1978: 75). Added to the fragmentary nature of many of the tablets, there are problems with their decipherment (Binger 1997: 27; Maier 1986: 45). Even specialists in the Ugaritic language and script often have considerable difficulty in understanding the texts, and some of them have tended to overindulge in textual emendation and reconstruction, a practice that Tilde Binger calls "the scourge of Ugarit scholarship" (Binger 1997: 27). Consequently, interpreters of Ugaritic texts regularly differ on the material they *are* able to read. The result is that the scholarly literature presents varied and sometimes opposed pictures of the deities. For instance, the opinions of specialists on whether the goddess Anat was sexually active vary, depending, primarily, on the interpretation of one or at most two very fragmentary texts (Day 1999: 37; Day 1992: 184; Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 173; Coogan 1978: 108; Lipinski 1965: 45-73; Eaton 1964: 90-93; Ginsburg 1938: 1-11).

The "Virgin" Anat

In Michael Coogan's translation of most of the mythic texts, *Stories from Ancient Canaan*, the young and impetuous Anat (Ugaritic *'nt*) has a very active role in the aspirations of Baal, the "Master." As the god of storm and rain, he seems to have been Anat's half-brother (Coogan 1978: 94; Eaton 1964: 79). To help Baal acquire his own palace/temple, Anat does not hesitate to threaten even the venerable ruler of the cosmos El: "I'll smash your head, / I'll make your gray hair run with blood, / Your gray beard with gore (Coogan 1978: 95). El refuses to give in to her threats and pronounces that "there is no restraint among goddesses" (Coogan 1978: 95).

After Mot, the god of drought, sterility, and death, has swallowed Baal (Coogan 1978: 14, 107), Anat, with the assistance of the sun goddess Shapash, searches for Mot, finds him, and then ruthlessly destroys him (Coogan 1978: 112). Soon afterwards, Baal returns to earth, and, as El predicts, "the heavens rain down oil, /… the wadis run with honey" (Coogan 1978: 112). This story clearly indicates that at Ugarit, it was the male storm deity Baal, not a goddess, who had responsibility for fertility (Olmo Lete 1999: 28). Despite her seemingly masculine nature, Anat did have a soft, almost motherly side, especially with regard to Baal.

When she pleads with Mot to return Baal to her, the poem describes her as very maternal in feeling: "Like the heart of a cow for her calf, /like the heart of a ewe for her lamb, /so was Anat's heart for Baal" (Coogan 1978: 111). Such supportive motherliness might suggest that her role as warrior originated in a function as a protector deity.[2] In the Ugaritic text *Kirta*, El blesses a king so that he will have a son and promises: He "… will drink the milk of Asherah, /suck the breasts of the Virgin Anat, /the two wet nurses of the gods" (Coogan 1978: 66). The fact that the prince was to suckle at Anat's breasts does not imply that Anat was a mother. Rather it refers to her close connection with royalty (Day 1999: 37; Walls 1992: 154). Anat might have been taking the potential royal heir to her breast to validate him, as, in Egypt, Isis was wont to do with the new pharaoh (Winter 1983: 396-397, #408, #410). Excavations at Ugarit, produced some beautiful ivory panels. One of the panels depicts a winged female figure suckling two male figures (Pritchard 1969: Supplement, #829; Pope 1977: Plate XI). Anat may have been "the only Ugaritic goddess known as ailed [winged]" (Loewenstamm 1982: 121; Walls 1992: 155; Fensham 1966: 159). Thus, the suckling goddess on the panel is probably Anat (Day 1992: 190, note 63; Ward 1969). Another Ugaritic image of a winged goddess, again possibly Anat, occurs on a sealing which shows both a clothed female deity seated on a bovine and a naked goddess standing on lions (Patai 1990: Plate24; Barrelet 1955: 250). The naked goddess is a figure that is very prevalent in the iconography of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, and, throughout the same area, the lion is often associated with goddesses (Marinatos 2000: Chapter1; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 47, 86).

At Ugarit, Anat was certainly a warrior goddess. In a passage from one of the mythic tablets, Anat wades deep in the blood of the battlefield. Like the Hindu goddess Kali, she suspends severed hands and heads about her person (Walls 1992: 54-59; Pope 1968). Enthusiastically, the poem records her exultation in fighting and killing.

> She battled violently, and looked /Anat fought, and saw: /her soul swelled with laughter, /her heart was filled with joy, /Anat's soul was exuberant, /as she plunged knee-deep in the soldiers' blood, /up to her thighs in the warriors' gore … (Coogan 1978: 91).

On an impressive image from Ugarit that may depict Anat as warrior, the "Anat Stela," a gowned and enthroned goddess, wearing the royal Egyptian crown, wields weapons and a shield (Cassuto 1971: frontispiece; Wyatt 1985: 328). Not only did Anat delight in warfare, but she also liked hunting (Coogan 1978: 50; Day 1991: 143). In one of the poems, Anat asks a young prince, Aqhat, to give her his beautiful hunting bow in return for riches and "eternal life" (Coogan1978: 36-37). It is possible, as some argue, that the prince denies Anat his bow because the weapon represents his manhood: "… the bow is a common, practically unequivocal symbol of masculinity in ancient Near Eastern texts …" (Hillers 1973: 73; Hoffner 1966: 330). However, Aqhat refuses Anat the bow in such an insulting way that she has the foolhardy youth killed. Indeed, his refusal may offer a clue to Anat's nature and function in Ugaritic myth: "… bows are for men! / Do women ever hunt?" (Coogan 1978: 37). But Anat does hunt! In doing so, as the poem makes clear, she acts as if she were male, not female. It is no wonder that her usual epithet was "Virgin," Ugaritic *btlt* (Coogan 1978: throughout; Day 1991: 144). However, Anat was not a virgin in our

sense, for the Ugaritic word does not refer to her lack of sexual experience. Rather, as Peggy Day argues, it indicates that she was a young, nubile, and marriageable woman who had not yet borne a child (Day 1991: 145). Thus, she was a perpetual member of late adolescence (Day 1991: 144; Walls 1992: 48). Adolescence is a transitional period in which " … male and female are not fully distinct" (Day 1992: 183). As a teenager who was approaching the brink of adulthood, Anat could delight in activities "that [were] culturally defined as masculine pursuits" (Day 1991: 73). More important, she could cross sex-role boundaries precisely because she was not "a reproductive 'fertility' goddess" (Day 1991: 53).

The cultic texts make clear that Anat was still venerated at Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age (about1550-1200/1150 BCE). She was clearly one of the great goddesses of ancient Ugarit and of the north-west Semitic speaking area (Day 1999: 36). She also had a later, if a somewhat ambiguous role in other areas of the ancient Levant (Toorn 1998: 85-88; Patai 1990: 65-66; Bowman 1978: PartV; Oden 1976: 32; Porten 1969: 116-120; Eaton 1964: 42-52).

Astarte, "Baal's Other Self"

Another equally important goddess from the ancient Levant was, Astarte. Her name was written as Athtart, *'ttrt*, and appears forty-six times in Ugaritic texts, but relatively rarely in the mythic material (Wyatt 1999b: 110; Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 171). These texts hold the goddess up as a model of beauty (Coogan 1978: 61,65) and usually associate her closely with Baal, often designating her "Name-of-Baal" or, as Coogan puts it, "Baal's Other Self" (Coogan 1978: 74, 116). When she speaks, it is to support Baal (Coogan 1978: 89). At least five times the mythic texts pair her with Anat, perhaps an indication that the two goddesses were already beginning to meld into one another (Wyatt 1999b: 110; Walls 1992: 113, note 36). Nevertheless, her name occurs quite often in the cultic material, which makes clear that she had an important, if not central place in ritual and sacrifice (Olmo Lete 1999: 71; Perlman 1978: Chapter 4; Tarragon 1980). To date, no scholar has identified any of the many female images from Ugarit as undoubtedly representing Astarte. Though a deity of note at Ugarit in the Bronze Age, Astarte was to become a much more significant goddess in the ancient Levant of later periods (Wyatt 1999b: 111-112; Patai 1990: 56).

Lady Asherah of the Sea

The most important goddess in the Ugaritic cultic texts was Asherah, but her name does not occur in texts "as often as one would expect" (Binger1997: 88). However, when it does appear, it usually comes near the top of deity and offering lists (Binger 1997: 89; de Tarragon 1980). Further, one of the largest statues found at Ugarit was probably of Asherah (Caquot and Sznycer 1980: 25). In both mythic and cultic texts from Ugarit, the goddess's name takes the form Athirat, *`trt*. In the poems about Anat and Baal, Asherah does not have the central role that Anat has. Nonetheless, in the Ugaritic mythic texts as a group, Asherah plays a critical part and has "sufficient power for El to be willing to take her advice concerning Baal's successor" (Hadley 2000: 39; Coogan 1978: 111).

Most scholars of Ugaritic agree that her usual title meant "Lady Asherah of the Sea" or "She Who Treads the Sea" (Coogan 1978: 97, 116; Hadley 2000: 50; Pettey 1990: 7). There are, however, other plausible interpretations of the title (Hadley 2000: 49-51; Binger1997: 43-50). Asherah is certainly the most likely candidate of all the Ugaritic

goddesses for the role of mother goddess, since one of her epithets was "Creatrix, or Progenetrix, of the Gods" (Coogan 1978: 97) and she had seventy sons (Coogan 1978: 104). However, the "only goddess explicitly called *um*, 'mother,' in Ugaritic myth was [the sun goddess] Shapsh [sic]" (Walls 1992: 89, note 10). Indeed, there is one serious suggestion that Asherah was a solar deity and might have been identified with Shapash (Wyatt 1985: 337). The generally accepted view is that Asherah was a goddess of fertility. She was one of two goddesses with whom the god El had sexual intercourse as is indicated in a strange text usually referred to, from its first line, as "The birth of the gracious and beautiful gods" (Hadley 2000: 43; Tubb 1998: 74; Lipinski 1986: 210; Pettey 1990: 15-16; Segert 1986: 217; Gaster 1946: 49-76). That Asherah is one of the two goddesses is indeed possible, for, in her roles as "Creatrix" and "wet nurse" of the gods, Asherah was "somehow related to birth and fertility" (Hadley 2000: 43). However, given her authority and her sometime role as power broker in the poems, it is unlikely that she was primarily a fertility goddess.

The Ugaritic texts do not explicitly name Asherah as El's consort (Yamashita 1963: 80). However, the usual assumption is that she was wife of El (Hadley 2000: 38; Pettey 1990: 10, 11; Coogan 1978: 116). As Elat, "Goddess," one of her epithets at Ugarit, she was, arguably, the female counterpart of El, the head of the pantheon. In the mythological texts, Asherah and El seem to function as a "supreme couple," whose offspring include "all the other deities *in the first generation*" (Olmo Lete 1999: 47). A bronze female figurine from Ugarit may represent Asherah (Negbi 1976: 114-115, #129, #1630). One of the reasons for this identification is analogy: Like some figures usually interpreted as El, the dignified bronze lady holds her arm up in a gesture of blessing. Like El, Asherah was primarily a figure of authority, not of action (Wiggins 1995: 94-95). However, in her secondary role, Asherah wielded only the authority that a patriarchal culture accords to the feminine. It is significant that she, alone of Ugaritic goddesses, carried and used that very feminine of implements, the spindle (Coogan 1978: 97; Hadley 2000: 39; Binger 1997: 68-69; Hoffner 1966: 329; Yamashita 1963: 65-68).

One of Asherah's functions seems to have been to act as mediator between the other deities and El. Indeed, in the poems, the approach of the brother-and-sister pair Anat and Baal terrifies her at first (Coogan 1978: 98). However, after they bestow sumptuous gifts on her, Asherah undertakes to persuade El to let Baal build a palace/temple (Coogan 1978: 99-101). Despite her initial fear of the half-siblings, Asherah is clearly higher in rank than they and condescends to approach El on their behalf (Hadley 2000: 39; Pettey 1990: 9).

Asherah could also be fierce in defence of her prerogatives. In one poem, her punishment of a human vow-breaker, the king Kirta, is both swift and severe (Coogan 1978: 67; Hadley 2000: 41). It is the *Kirta* poem that mentions her supreme position at two other major cities of the ancient Levant, cities that she seems to have ruled well into the Roman period (Hadley 2000: 42). The pertinent passage in *Kirta* calls her "Asherah of Tyre" and "the goddess [*elat*] of Sidon" (Coogan 1978: 63). It also uses the word *qdsh*, usually vocalised as *Qudshu*, which some translators render as "shrine" (Coogan 1978: 63; Hadley 2000: 47), but others give as "Holy One." The latter interpret the word as an epithet of Asherah (Hadley 2000: 47; Maier 1986: 37). The fact that El promises Kirta that Asherah will join Anat in suckling the royal heir suggests that Asherah too was a "divine guarantor of the throne" (Pettey 1990:16). Both the mythic and cultic documents provide ample evidence that Asherah was the highest in rank of the Ugaritic goddesses and next to El in

authority (Olmo Lete 1999: 47-48; Maier 1986: 43-44). Unquestionably, Asherah was a great goddess of Ugarit and she was also revered in other parts of the eastern Mediterranean (Wyatt 1999a: 100-101).

Images and Symbols of the Great Goddesses

A vast amount of iconographic material from the ancient Levant depicts females, many of whom are probably goddesses. Much of this evidence shows varying degrees of influence from the great powers of Mesopotamia, Egypt and Hittite Anatolia. Although writers identify large numbers of these images as representing the great goddesses of the area, there is normally no indication on the artifacts as to whom they portray. Unless we know that the object came from a temple or shrine clearly dedicated to a certain goddess, we need to be very cautious in assigning particular images to specific deities. Of the many images of females from Ugarit, most are undoubtedly of goddesses, for they are often surrounded with symbols of deity. However, which goddess they depict is usually impossible to ascertain. Some writers have identified as Astarte certain naked female figures that occur on pendants from Ugarit and elsewhere in the Levant. They make this identification mainly because they consider Astarte to have been a "fertility" goddess (Marinatos 2000: 89; Tubb 1998: 65, #31; Patai 1990: 60, Plate16). Others classify the naked figures as examples of the "Holy One," *Qudshu*, which was more likely to have been an epithet of Asherah than of Astarte or Anat (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 68; Negbi 1976: 99).

Hathor Locks

One gold pendant from the port of Ugarit shows a naked goddess standing on a damaged lion and holding an animal (a ram?) in each hand (Negbi 1976: 99, #118, #1700). Her hair is in the style which scholars have named "Hathor locks," a coiffure such as the Egyptian goddess Hathor wore, consisting of shoulder-length hair or a wig with two large, spiral curls at the ends (Hadley 2000: 191; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 66). The Ugaritic figure bears horns on each side of her Egyptian crown-like headdress, and there is a star above it. She is flanked by tree-like plants. The symbols accompanying her undoubtedly designate her as a deity, but which one? A bronze pendant, also from Ugarit, shows a goddess holding plants (lotuses?). Below her feet are a crescent and two stars (Negbi 1976: 99, #118, #1699). She too wears the Hathor curls, which, in the Late Bronze Age, may have become one of the attributes marking a female figure as a goddess (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 97).[3]

Accompanying Lions

In the Levant and elsewhere in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, one of the symbols that often marked a figure as a deity was an accompanying lion. Certain kinds of goddesses were regularly associated with lions, which they sometimes appeared to be dominating (Hestrin 1987a: 67-68). Indeed, Keel and Uehlinger go so far as to identify the lion as belonging "exclusively to the sphere of the [Levantine] goddess" (Keel and Uehlinger 1998:86). In many sealings, pendants, and plaques, a goddess stands on a lion. On yet another pendant from Ugarit, a female figure with Hathor locks uses a lion as a pedestal and clutches two small animals (gazelles?) in her hands, while two snakes cross behind her waist

(Negbi 1976: 100, #119, #1701; Pritchard 1969: 161, #465). This figure looks very like the goddess the ancient Greeks called "Mistress of the Wild Animals," *potnia theron* (Marinatos 2000: 112; 141 note 23). William F. Albright and others have identified the goddess standing on a lion as Asherah, from an epithet which possibly refers to her, "Lion Lady" (Wiggins 1991: 385; Maier 1986: 167; Cross 1973: 33-34; Albright 1968: 121-122; Albright 1954: 26).

Snakes

The snake is another symbol that often accompanies goddesses. As on the Ugaritic pendant discussed above (Negbi 1976: 100, #119, #1701), snakes often curl behind, wind around, or flank goddesses' bodies. On what may have been a cult standard from Hazor, discussed below, snakes flank a female figure and curl sinuously above her head (Negbi 1976: 192, Plate 55, #1706). It is not surprising that, throughout the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, snakes had close connections with goddesses (Stuckey 2001: 96-97). First, in their self-renewing sloughing of their skins, snakes epitomise the mystery of the cycle of birth, death, and rebirth (George 1999: 99; Neumann 1970: 30; Campbell 1965: 9). Seemingly immortal, they accompany the immortal goddess who supervises the eternal cycle of nature. Second, snakes symbolise perfection, for, in being able to bite their own tails, they form a circle, a symbol of totality and completion (Handy 1992; Jung 1964: 38). Third, in many ancient cultures, snakes were the companions of earth goddesses (Jung 1964: 154). Capable of moving easily from the earth's surface to the underworld and also at home in the waters, they functioned as mediators (Jung 1964: 152). As such, they represented the transformation and change that many goddesses supervised (Handy 1992; Neumann 1970: 30). Fourth, snakes were oracular, their behaviour interpreted in answer to queries and as guide to action. Snakes often inhabited earth-goddess shrines to which worshippers applied for oracles. The best known such oracle is, of course, Delphi on the Greek mainland; the site was originally sacred to the earth goddess Gaia, whose snake, Python, Apollo had to destroy when he took over the shrine (Campbell 1965: 20). According to the Hebrew Bible, one of the cult objects removed from the Jerusalem temple by Hezekiah during his reform was a bronze serpent, Nehushtan (II Kings 18: 4). There is general agreement among scholars that this snake was "a hated symbol of Canaan's Baal religion" (Buttrick 1991: III, 534; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 274), but some interpreters of the Nehushtan passage suggest that the bronze serpent may have been sacred to Asherah (Binger 1997: 44, 124; Patai 1990: 48; Pettey 1990: 128-130; Olyan 1988: 70-71).

The Sacred Tree

Throughout the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, a focally important goddess symbol was the sacred tree, which may also have symbolised the World Tree or World Axis (Campbell 1965: 486-489). In iconography, the tree is described as "sacred" when "it is set upon a base or elevation or placed in a position of prominence" (Hestrin 1987b: 214). It is usually flanked by feeding animals (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 51, 126). An elaborate Mesopotamian example occurs on an "Assyrian seal-impression (ninth or eighth century B.C.)" (Gray 1982: 56). It depicts "the fertility-goddess Ishtar, characterised by her lion," and a sacred tree "flanked by two griffin-genii and two caprids [goat-like beasts]" (Gray 1982: 57). A Syrian seal dating from early in the second millennium BCE depicts two goat-

like creatures stretching up as if to feed on its leaves (Keel 1998: Part I, #13). Another second millennium Syrian seal shows two figures standing on either side of a palm-like sacred tree. One is a goddess wearing a Mesopotamian flounced garment and high, horned crown of deity. The other figure is probably a king (Muscarella 1981: 245).

Othmar Keel argues that, in the Levant, people worshipped both living trees and "artificial trees" as manifesting "a single female deity or of a number of different ones" (Keel 1998: 16). Pendants from Ugarit display a simple, but stylised tree as growing from the pubic area of a goddess (Weiss 1985: 285). One of these pendants, in gold, has a roughly sketched tree flourishing between the navel and pubic triangle of a highly stylised image consisting only of a head with Hathor locks, breasts, navel, and pubic triangle (Weiss1985: 285, #131; 314, Plate 131). On yet another gold pendant from Ugarit, a simply drawn tree grows out of a prominent pubic triangle, the focal point of a stylised figure with breasts (Negbi 1976: 96, #108, Plate 53, #1661). In both cases, the goddess's body contains the tree.

The Naked Goddess

Despite local differences, artifacts exhibiting female images from elsewhere in the Levant demonstrate similar patterns and use many of the same symbols as those found at Ugarit and the "naked goddess" is much in evidence (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 26-29; Winter 1983: 93-134). Sometimes she holds her breasts, sometimes draws back her robes to expose her pubic area, and sometimes just stands with arms at her sides (Marinatos 2000: 1-7, #1.3, #1.8, #1.5).

From early in the second millennium BCE three nude goddesses holding their breasts appear on a schist mould from Syria (Muscarella 1981: 238, #208). Two of the three figures wear a Mesopotamian style of multi-horned crown, in this case topped with birds. The birds support a crescent-disc symbol that rests on the headdress of the small, middle figure. One suggestion is that they represent the storm god Baal's three daughters or wives (Muscarella 1981: 240; Coogan 1978: 94). Interpretations of the holding or offering of the breasts by nude goddesses vary from its being a motherly, nurturing gesture (Gadon 1989: 50) to its serving as either a sign of fertility or erotic enticement (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 35). Whatever the meaning of these intriguing goddesses, it is clear that "the three figures constitute an indissoluble triad" (Muscarella 1981: 238). Could they be the three Levantine great goddesses?

The "goddess who lifts her skirt" has pride of place on numerous seals, where she usually exhibits her genitals to a god or a king. Although it does appear elsewhere in the ancient Eastern Mediterranean, this "type of representation is mostly found in Syria" (Marinatos 2000: 5). A typical example occurs on a Syrian seal, again dating from the second millennium BCE. Between a male deity and a worshipper, the goddess stands on a bull and opens her robes to reveal her genital area. Since the male deity is probably the storm god Baal/Hadad or his local equivalent, this enticing goddess may be Anat or Astarte (Marinatos 2000: 6, #1.10).

On other seals, a naked goddess stands, frontally displayed, with arms folded across her chest or at her sides, and on one Syrian seal from the second millennium BCE, she stands between two males, one of whom is a worshipper, the other probably a deity. She is the same size as the males and so is their equal. Further, she is obviously the focal point of the scene. Her pubic triangle is her most significant feature, and her head is turned toward the

god (Marinatos 2000: 4, #1.5). It is as if she were confronting the god, as well as the viewer, with her femaleness. Some seals depict both types of naked goddess (Marinatos 2000: 7), so that we may conclude that they represent two different goddesses or, possibly, two aspects of the same goddess. These naked goddesses in their different manifestations may be fertility figures, but they do not appear motherly. Rather the deity either crosses her arms beneath her breasts or holds her breasts in a gesture of display. She is sexually inviting, or she is simply confrontational, femaleness deified (Marinatos 2000: 5; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 26). The naked goddess could represent any of the three great goddesses or some other Levantine goddess.

Other Similar Images

Almost all Canaanite archaeological sites in modern Israel have yielded female figurines, as well as objects displaying female images, that look, in general, much like those from further north. From Megiddo of the Middle to Late Bronze Age (about 2000-1200/1150 BCE) came a moulded clay figure of a crowned goddess with a prominent pubic triangle and hands cupping her breasts (Patai 1990: Plate11). Various sites, such as Megiddo and Hazor, have produced stylised pendants in gold and bronze, dating mainly to the Late Bronze Age (Negbi 1976: 95-99, Plate 52). Most of them are similar to either the pendants from Ugarit or the sheet-metal figures from Nahariyah (see below), and at least one of them sports a small sacred tree between pubic triangle and navel (Negbi 1976: 98, Plate 52, #1680).

A cult object from the thirteenth-century BCE temple area at Hazor takes the form of a plaque "cast in solid bronze and coated with sheet silver" (Negbi 1976: 192, Plate 55, #1706). Since it has a "tang for attachment at the bottom," it was probably used as "a cult standard" (Negbi 1976: 101, 192) that was attached to a pole to be displayed in the shrine or carried in a procession. Though there has been considerable damage to the plaque, it is possible to discern a frontally posed female figure flanked by two snakes, with a crescent and another snake over her head and yet another snake near her pubic region (Negbi 1976: 192). Which goddess the image on the Hazor plaque represents is, of course, an enigma.

"Astarte Plaques"

"Astarte plaques," as they are called, are clay artifacts dating to Late Bronze Age (about1550-1200/1150 BCE) and have been unearthed in large numbers. Typically, they take the form of a flat oval of clay "bearing the impress (from a pottery of [sic] metal mold)" of a naked female figure standing in what seems to be a doorway (Patai 1990: 59). As she is depicted on a plaque from Beth Shemesh in Israel, she often holds plants in outstretched arms and wears Hathor locks (Patai 1990: Plate 13). An ornate version from the same site in Israel shows her holding and festooned in plants or, possibly, snakes (Patai 1990: Plate 12). These images may picture Astarte, but they could be of another goddess all together. The Astarte plaques disappeared in the southern Levant by the early Iron Age about 1200 BCE, the period to which the emergence of the Israelites is usually assigned (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 97-108; Finkelstein 1988: 352; Tadmor 1982: 171-172).

Other Astarte plaques (Patai 1990: Plates 14, 17) do not feature plants, nor is it clear that the figures in them are wearing Hathor locks. Further, the arms of the figures are at their sides. Since this type of plaque has little or no evidence of divine symbolism, Miriam

Tadmor has argued that they represent human women on beds and are the Canaanite equivalent of Egyptian images known as "concubine figures." She interprets them as associated with mortuary beliefs and funerary practices and points out that they continued to be used into the early Israelite period (Tadmor 1982: 144, 149, 170-171).

Nahariyah, a Goddess Shrine

South of Tyre lies Nahariyah, possibly an open-air Canaanite goddess sanctuary, situated near a fresh-water spring (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 29-33). The shrine was established in the Middle Bronze Age and used into the Late Bronze (Tubb 1998: 76; Dothan 1981: 74-81). At the cult installation, archaeologists found a large number of naked female figurines in silver and in bronze, some on the "high place" of the shrine, many more in a pottery jar under the plaster pavement (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 31; Negbi 1976: #1525-1534). One of these exciting finds was a soap-stone (steatite) mould for casting metal figurines (Patai 1990: Plate 9; Negbi 1976: 64, #78, Plate 39, #1532). The slim figure is naked, with small breasts and protruding navel. With hair flowing to her shoulders, she stands with her arms at her sides and hands framing her pubic area. She wears a tall, conical hat, with a horn sticking out on each side. To date, no figurine that was produced from this mould has come to light (Negbi 1976: 178). The other female images from Nahariyah, "were poured solid, of the type that one could produce using the steatite mold" [Negbi 1976: 65, #77, #79], while others were cut out using sheet-silver or sheet-bronze" (Keel & Uehlinger 1998: 31; Negbi 1976: 81-82). Although one of the cut-out metal figures, intended to be worn as a pendant, wears a short skirt, the others are naked. The figurines were probably made in the workshops at the shrine (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 29, 31). The figurines indicate that the shrine was dedicated to a goddess, but to which one? Those who argue for Asherah base their case on Nahariyah's "seacoast location near Tyre and Sidon, where Asherah was the local deity" (Pettey 1990: 179; Dothan 1981: 80). Others think, because of the mould figure's horns (Patai1990: 65) or because of the Hathor locks of many of the figurines (Gray 1982: 81), that she was Astarte. At least one scholar claimed she was Anat (Cross cited in Dothan 1981: 80).

Great Goddesses in the Hebrew Scriptures

Another major body of textual evidence for the Levantine great goddesses is the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament).[4] Despite their negativity about Canaanite religion and polytheistic practices, the Hebrew Scriptures make a number of useful references to Canaanite deities, shrines, and patterns of worship. Although all three Levantine great goddesses receive mention in the Hebrew Bible, the texts are, in general, hostile witnesses that either vilify the goddesses or obscure them. Nonetheless, the Hebrew Bible constitutes a valuable source of information on the great goddesses.

On forty occasions in nine books, the Hebrew Bible mentions the goddess Asherah. However, a number of these references occur either as a singular form with the definite article, *ha'asherah* "the asherah," or as a Hebrew masculine plural form *asherim*, also with the definite article, "the asherahs" (Binger 1997: 110; Pettey 1990: 41; Pritchard 1944: 110). As for Astarte, aside from references in place-names, the Hebrew Bible mentions the goddess nine times, both in the singular *ashtereth*, "Astarte," and in the plural *ashteroth*, and usually with the definite article, "the Astartes." On the other hand, the texts almost ignore

the goddess Anat, who "is never directly mentioned by name" as a deity, but appears rarely in place and personal names (Day 2000: 132; Buttrick 1991: I, 125; Patai 1990: 62; Bowman 1978: Part V, Chapter II).

Anat, Goddess of Warriors

It seems very likely that, in the Iron Age in the southern part of the Levant, Anat was not worshipped. Only three "place names record 'Anatu's presence in Israel, 'Anathoth, Beth 'Anath, and Beth Anoth [sic]" (Bowman 1978: 209). The Hebrew Bible refers, at least once, to each of the three (Day 2000: 132-133; Buttrick 1991: I, 125, 387; Bowman 1978: 209-211). In all probability, these names indicate that, in the well-known city Anathoth, meaning "Anats," and perhaps in the town Beth Anath, meaning "house of Anat," may have been important Canaanite temples to the goddess Anat (Day 2000: 133; Buttrick 1991: I, 125), and the village Beth Anoth, meaning "house of Anats," may have contained a noted shrine to the goddess (Day 2000: 133; Buttrick 1991: I, 387). Anathoth also occurs in the Hebrew Bible possibly as a personal name (Bowman 1978: 209-210) and as a clan or tribal designation, meaning "the Anathothite, the one from Anathoth" (Day 2000: 133).

The Hebrew Scriptures also record another personal name, that of the "judge" Shamgar ben Anat, "a champion in Israel" (Judges 3: 31). The name occurs a second time in the "Song of Deborah" (Judges 5: 6). The scholarly literature contains much discussion of the meaning and significance of the phrase "ben Anat" (Day 2000: 133-135; Buttrick 1990: IV, 306-307; Bowman 1978: 214-216). At least one theory has it that Shamgar was "the son of a sacred prostitute of an 'Anat cult in Palestine" (Graham and May in Bowman 1978: 216). Another writer is tempted to conjecture that "… in the brief notice [about Shamgar] there is a residue of an old myth about a son of the goddess Anath who inherited his mother's warlike qualities" (Patai 1990: 63). Most convincing, however, is the hypothesis that "ben Anat" was "an honorific military title," since a number of Canaanites, "known to have been warriors," also carried the title "*bn 'nt*, 'son of Anat,'" who, as warrior goddess, was probably their tutelary deity (Day 2000: 134; Day 1999: 38; Milik 1956: 6).

Astarte of the Two Horns

The Hebrew form of Astarte's name *ashtereth*, which occurs only three times in the Hebrew Bible, resulted from the deliberate replacement of the vowels in the last two syllables of the goddess's name with the vowels from the Hebrew noun *bosheth*, "shame" (Day 2000: 128; Buttrick 1990: I, 255; Holladay 1987: 242-243, note 40). The plural *ashteroth*, meaning "Astartes," is a normal Hebrew form. In statements about Canaanite religion, the Biblical texts often couple the *ashteroth,* "the Astartes" with the *baalim*, "the Baals," an indication that the writers knew that many local versions of these deities existed. This repeated connection of Astarte and Baal has led some to conclude that Astarte was Baal's consort (Day 2000: 131; Patai 1990: 57). If she were his consort, she too should have associations with fertility. According to Patai, the "original meaning of the name Astarte ('Ashtoreth) was 'womb' or 'that which issues from the womb,'" an appropriate title for a fertility goddess (Patai 1990: 57). He cites several passages in Deuteronomy that use the phrase "the *'ashtaroth* of your flock," the word *ashteroth* being translated "the young" (Day 2000: 131). He remarks that it normally occurs in parallel with the phrase "the increase of your kine" (Patai 1990: 302, note 24). The appearance of the goddess's name in a context

referring to fertility probably indicates that the phrase is "a hangover" from a time when Astarte was responsible for the fecundity of sheep (Day 2000: 132; Delcor 1974: 9).

Astarte's name also occurs in the Hebrew Bible as part of a place name, Ashteroth Karnaim, *karnaim* meaning "of the two horns" (Genesis 14: 5). Ashteroth Karnaim may be the "full old name of the city" Ashtaroth (Patai 1990: 57), the home of one of the legendary, "giant" kings of Canaan and later "one of the Israelite cities of refuge" (Buttrick 1991: I, 254, 255). The city was probably a cult centre where Astarte was worshipped as a two-horned deity. In support of this suggestion, Patai points to at least one female figurine, represented by a mould from the cult site of Nahariyah in Israel, that depicts a goddess with two horns, discussed above. Dated between the eighteenth and the sixteenth centuries BCE, the mould shows a naked goddess in a high, conical hat and with two horns, one protruding from each side of her head (Patai 1990: 57, Plate 9).

The Asherah of Early Israel

Until the discovery and deciphering of the tablets from Ugarit solved the problem, scholarly controversy raged about the nature of the *asherah/asherim* mentioned so often in the Hebrew Bible (Buttrick 1991: I, 250; Pettey 1990: 42-43). The general conclusion was that they were either wooden poles, cult objects from the worship of Baal, or groves of trees (Reed 1949: 37; Danthine 1937: #862; Ward 1902-1903: 33). Further, there was general scholarly denial that the Hebrew Bible knew anything at all of a deity called Asherah (Day 2000: 42; Hadley 2000: 4). The brave few claiming that the Hebrew Bible recognised that a goddess Asherah existed appealed to one or two instances in the Scriptures that present Asherah as a deity (Day 2000: 42-43; Binger 1997: 111; Yamashita 1963: 126). The clearest refers to the "prophets of Asherah" who were supported by Queen Jezebel (I Kings 18). The first detailed study of Asherah in the Hebrew Bible after the Ugaritic discoveries concluded that the *asherim/asherah* of the Hebrew Bible were/was both a cult object and a goddess (Reed 1949: 37, 53), a position that many have held since (Hadley 2000: 4-11; Binger 1997: 111; Hestrin 1991: 50; Smith 1990: 16; Yamashita 1963: 126-129).

With few exceptions (Lipinski 1972: 111-112), modern scholars have abandoned the "grove" explanation. However, many of those writing after the deciphering of the Ugaritic tablets have continued to understand "the *asherah*" as some form of wooden "cult pole," whatever the phrase means, or tree trunk, both presented as symbol of, but distinct from the goddess (Hadley 2000: 77; Wyatt 1999a: 99, 101-102; Frymer-Kensky 1992: 155; Perlman 1978: 184; Hestrin 1991: 52; Bernhardt 1967: 170). Mark Smith thinks that the asherah, though "named after the goddess," did not represent her, but was "a wooden object symbolising a tree" (Smith 1990: 16, 81-85).[5] Nonetheless, as the Hebrew Bible makes evident, both the *asherah* and the *asherim* were usually wooden; they were erected and stood upright, often beside altars and in the company of standing stone pillars. In at least eight instances, they are described as carved (Pettey 1990: 45) and thus, instead of being merely wooden "cult poles," they were probably quite large, carved images (Kletter 1996: 79).

If, as seems likely, the *asherim* were wooden cult statues in temples and shrines, devotees would have understood and worshipped such images as the goddess herself, as her potent presence in her sacred place. Almost certainly, as was the case with cult statues in other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, the *asherah/asherim* that stood in sacred places had been "animated" ritually and thus did not just represent, but actually manifested the

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presence of Asherah herself (Walker and Dick 1999: 57). Indeed, a statue of Asherah stood in the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem for about two-thirds of its existence or for around 236 of its 370 years (Patai 1990: 50). Therefore, Asherah "must have been a legitimate part of the cult of Yahweh" in both Israel and Judah (Olyan 1988: 13).[6]

It is significant that forms of Asherah's name, especially *asherim*, were often paired with Baal's, a fact that has set some scholars to wondering whether Asherah was also Baal's consort (Perlman 1978: 187; Yamashita 1963: 47). In the 1960s, Tadanori Yamashita was the first to note that most of the references to Asherah in the Hebrew Bible, including the texts that paired Asherah with Baal, came from, or were influenced by, only one source, but he did not carry the idea further (Yamashita1963: 123-137) and it fell to Saul Olyan to examine the significance of this observation.

In his book *Asherah and the Cult of Yahweh in Israel*, Olyan argues very convincingly that the Biblical attacks on Asherah are "restricted to the Deuteronomistic History" or to texts which exhibit the influence of "deuteronomistic language and theology." For instance, the numerous pairings of Baal with Asherah's "cult symbol," which he calls "the asherah," are part of this reformist, monotheistic "anti-asherah polemic" (Olyan 1988: 1, 3). He thinks that the passages meant to discredit "the asherah" by associating it with Baal and Astarte (Olyan 1988: 13-14). As a result, a number of writers concluded that, despite the fact that, in Canaanite religion of the Iron Age, Astarte was Baal's "'major consort" (Olyan 1988: 10), Asherah had, in the Hebrew Bible, become the consort of Baal (Olyan 1988: 38). The polemic against Asherah was necessary, Olyan says, because the goddess was actually a legitimate element in the worship of Yahweh: Asherah "had some role in the cult of Yahweh … not only in popular Yahwism, but in the official cult as well" (Olyan 1988: 74). Even though the reformist polemic might lead us to think so, Olyan argues, Asherah was definitely not the consort of Baal, but rather she was part of the veneration of Yahweh, though he stops short of stating that Asherah was Yahweh's consort (Olyan 1988: xiv, 74).

"The Queen of Heaven"

Before leaving the Hebrew Bible, we should examine its testimony, in two passages in the Book of Jeremiah (Jer.7: 17-18; 44: 15-19), as to the worship by the ancient Israelites of "the Queen of Heaven," one of the many titles of the Mesopotamian goddess Inanna-Ishtar. The texts under discussion provide very rare glimpses of ritual practices in Judahite popular religion. Israelite exiles in Egypt celebrated the rituals in question around the turn of the seventh century BCE, and, according to the passages, so did their ancestors, kings, and officials in Jerusalem, as well as "the people of the land," that is, elsewhere in Israel (Jer.44: 21). Whole families, with women in the lead, were involved in making offerings, pouring libations, building fires, and baking "cakes for the Queen of Heaven" (Jer.7: 18). When Jeremiah warned them that, if they continued in these practices, they would bring disaster upon themselves, "all the women present … and all the people" who lived there refused to listen to him and vowed to go on sacrificing to the "Queen of Heaven" (Jer. 44: 15-17). Who was this "Queen of Heaven"? Perhaps she was Anat, Astarte, Asherah, or a new goddess who incorporated two or all three of them (Toorn 1998: 83-88; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 338-341; Brenner 1992: 53; Patai 1990: 64; Ackerman 1989: 109-124; Olyan 1987: 174; Tigay 1987: 182, note 20; Weinfeld 1972: 133-154)?

Goddesses in Ancient Israel: Images and Inscriptions
    Israelite "Pillar Figurines"
        Over the years archaeologists have found an appreciable number of small, clay,
female statuettes, called "pillar figurines," which date from the late Iron Age II period, 900-
539 BCE, the period of the Israelite monarchy (Tubb 1998: 116, 122; Kletter 1996: 4). They
first appear in eighth-century archaeological sites, a little earlier in sites of the northern
kingdom Israel than in those of the southern kingdom Judah (Holladay 1987: 280). They
continue in early seventh-century sites (Kletter 1996: 40-41).[7] Further, "they have been
found in almost every Iron Age II excavation" (Kletter 1996: 10). They have come from
several types of sites: a minority from graves, many from domestic areas of buildings, and
others from varied contexts (Kletter 1996: 27, 58; Holladay 1987: 257, 259). So many have
been excavated in the heartland of what was ancient Judah that they are often regarded as
"a characteristic expression of Judahite piety" (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 327; Kletter 1996:
45).

        Pillar figurines were made in the round and have a lower half which is either hand
formed and solid or, rarely, "turned on a wheel and hollow" (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 325).
Usually described as a pillar or a pedestal, the lower part is shaped somewhat like a flared
skirt, with no indication of legs or genitals (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 332; Mazar 1990: 501,
#11.25). Despite the shape, the lower half of the figurine is regularly described as
"schematic" and "pole-like" (Kletter 1996: 28; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 332). The heads
are of two kinds (Kletter 1996: 29): mould made and quite sophisticated, attached to the
body by a pin (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 330, #325; Kletter 1996: #4.2; Patai 1990: Plate
1; Gadon 1989: 172, #96) or simple and hand made as part of the solid body, with a face
pinched by the potter to indicate eyes and prominent nose (Kletter 1996: 86, #4.1; Patai
1990: Plates 6, 7). The pillar figurine depicts a female naked to the waist with prominent,
usually heavy breasts, which she supports or cups with her hands. The nakedness of the
pillar figurines, though striking, is considerably more decorous than that of the earlier
"Naked Goddess" images (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 332-333). The backs of most of pillar
figurines are rough, and their unfinished look perhaps indicates that they were to be viewed
from the front, maybe in a household shrine (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 332).

        Pillar figurines are usually explained as either toys, as representations of human
women, as "magical artifacts," or as cult objects (Toorn 1998: 91-94; Kletter 1996: 27). The
"toy" explanation is rare, though strongly defended (Toorn 1998: 92; Goodison and Morris
1998: 206, note 31). Archaeologist Carol Meyers is one of a few experts who argue that they
represent humans not deities (Meyers 1988: 162). She does, however, count the figurines
as evidence of "female religious expression" (Meyers 1988: 163). Another scholar, Tikva
Frymer-Kensky, sees them as non-divine and calls them "a kind of tangible prayer for
fertility and nourishment" (Frymer-Kensky 1992: 159). In addition, Meyers describes them
as probably "some sort of votive objects expressing the quest for human fertility" and so
appears also to be putting them into the third category, "magical objects" (Meyers 1988:
162). Other experts who take a similar position interpret them as having been used in
sympathetic magic or as talismans (Bloch-Smith 1992: 100; Dever 1983: 574).

        In the past twenty-five years, a number of researchers have suggested that the pillar

figurines may depict the goddess Asherah (Toorn 1998: 95; Kletter 1996: 81; Hestrin 1991: 57; Holladay 1987: 278; Dever 1983: 573-574). Some of them base their arguments on seeing the lower part of the figurine as resembling a pole, a description which suggests that they understand the figurines as "small clay counterparts of the larger wooden Asherah poles which were set up by implanting them in the ground" (Patai 1990: 39). However, such a suggestion seems unlikely, since the flared bases of the figurines are not "pole-like," but look more like long skirts. Still, the clay figurines could have been "popular, domestic copies of some larger Asherah image" from an important shrine (Hadley 2000: 202).

Archaeologist John Holladay, Jr., also thinks that the pillar figurines probably represented Asherah (Holladay 1987: 278). In his important and thorough review of known and probable cultic sites from the monarchical period in Iron Age Israel and Judah, he singles out two locations -- a cave outside the walls of Jerusalem and "a moated island of rock" outside the capital city of Israel, Samaria – as standing "significantly apart" from the others he discusses. Holladay theorises that both locations had been focal points of Israelite popular religion, what he called "tolerated nonconformist worship" (Holladay 1987: 269). Both are characterised by female figurines mainly of the pillar type, as well as other kinds of artifacts not usually occurring "in statistically significant numbers" in the rest of the surveyed sites (Holladay 1987: 251, 265). These two excavations yielded sixteen and twenty-three female figurines, respectively (Holladay 1987: 290, note 105) and it is possible that both shrines were dedicated to a goddess, perhaps to Asherah.

Asherah, Consort of Yahweh?

Was Asherah the consort of Yahweh, either in popular or in official religion or in both? Recently, a few startling discoveries in Israel have strengthened the arguments that she was. Several early Hebrew blessing inscriptions seem to be mentioning Yahweh in close, even intimate connection with Asherah. Even more exciting are drawings, full of rich symbolism, that accompany some of the inscriptions (Toorn 1998: 88-89; Dever 1983: 576). The blessings contain the controversial phrase *Yahweh w'šrth*, possibly to be translated "Yahweh and his Asherah."   For our investigation, the pertinent inscriptions, both accompanied by drawings, originate from two different locations. One was excised from a pillar in a family burial cave at Khirbet el-Qôm (750-700 BCE) in the heartland of Judah (Zevit 1984: 39-47), while the potsherds displaying the others were recovered from the remains of a structure at Kuntillet 'Ajrud (800-750 BCE) in the northern Sinai (Meshel 1986: 237-240).

The Khirbet el-Qôm inscription is accompanied by a crude drawing of what looks like a hand (Hadley 2000: 85, #1; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 238, #236; Binger 1997: 94-101). The Early Hebrew text is fragmentary and "has eluded a completely satisfactory decipherment" (Hadley 2000: 84; Binger 1997: 94; Maier 1986: 173). Nevertheless, it appears to contain the phrase: "Yahweh and his [its] asherah" (Hadley 2000: 86; Toorn 1998: 88; Olyan 1988: 23-24). To whom or what does the pronoun "his[its]" refer, and what or who is the "asherah" mentioned? Judith Hadley provides a detailed survey of the various arguments in the controversy (Hadley 2000: 86-102) and an increasing number of scholars now accept that the pronoun refers to Yahweh. Many also agree that "asherah" means the goddess and that she belongs with or to Yahweh (Zevit 1984). The hand drawing below the inscription may have served as a guardian or fulfilled a "warding-off" function (Hadley

2000: 85, #1; 102-104).   Several interpreters have seen it as the hand of the goddess
Asherah, generous and life giving (Hadley 2000: 104). Binger combines the two ideas and
suggests that it is "a symbol of Asherah in her role as a protective goddess" (Binger 1997:
100).

  Unearthed at Kuntillet ʿAjrud, pieces of broken pottery from two large storage jars,
also called "pithos," bore not only similar and equally shocking inscriptions, but also several
possibly relevant, but exceedingly controversial drawings (Hadley 2000: 116-119, #4, #5,
#6, #7). Archaeologist William Dever describes the material context of the inscriptions as
"Israelite-Judean" (Dever 1983: 576), but most writers think that the Kuntillet ʿAjrud site
probably belonged to the northern kingdom, Israel (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 247; Toorn
1998: 89). Explanations of its function vary from a religious centre (Meshel 1986: 237;
Dever 1983: 576); a fortress-like structure (Chase 1982: 63); a travellers' inn (Hadley 2000:
112; Frymer-Kensky 1992: 156; Dever 1982: 37); to "a trading post" (Toorn 1998: 89).
Whatever its function, Kuntillet ʿAjrud appears to have been used by "a diversity of peoples"
(Hadley 2000: 111, 119).

  The general scholarly consensus is that the writing in the three inscriptions is Early
Hebrew script (Hadley 2000: 108; Meshel 1986: 238). One of them reads: "I bless you by
Yahweh of Samaria and his[/its] Asherah," while the two others use the formula: "I bless
you by Yahweh of Teman (the South) and his[/its] Asherah" (Toorn 1998: 89). Discussion
of the meaning of the phrase "by his/its Asherah" has led to much of the same type of
disagreements as with the Khirbet el-Qôm inscription.[8] In the Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscriptions,
the phrase's meaning is complicated by two place names, which make the pronominal
reference ambiguous and the reading "its" quite possible. Therefore, some translators argue
that the pronoun should be translated "its" and read as referring, respectively, to Samaria and
Teman.   Thus, the blessings would be appealing both to Yahweh, possibly in his
manifestations at Samaria and Teman (Binger 1997: 107-108), and to the famous cultic
installations, the "asherahs" of Samaria and Teman (Binger 1997: 108; Frymer-Kensky
1992: 155, 157). Others translate the pronoun as "his," and understand its antecedent as
Yahweh, and so render the phrase as either "Yahweh and his asherah [cult object]" (Hadley
2000: 124; Frymer-Kensky 1992: 158; Olyan 1988: 33; Maier 1986: 171, 172) or "Yahweh
and his Asherah [goddess]" (Toorn 1998: 90; Binger 1997: 108; Patai 1990: 53; Freedman
1987: 248; Dever 1984: 255). However, it is important to note that, whatever the translation
of the phrase, the writer(s) did not present "his/its asherah" as an autonomous entity, but as
dependent on, or secondary in status to Yahweh (Toorn 1998: 91; Keel and Uehlinger 1998:
236; Frymer-Kensky 1992: 158).

  When we turn to the drawings associated with the Kuntillet ʿAjrud blessings, some
of them provide support for understanding "asherah" as a goddess. Although drawings
appear on both sides of pithos A and on one side of pithos B (Beck 1982: 4), they do not
appear to constitute "a coherent composition." Rather they present "a series of motifs,"
many of which are already familiar to us (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 212).   One of the
pictures, occurring on pithos A, depicts a cow suckling a calf, two standing figures, and one
seated figure playing a lyre (Hadley 2000: 115, #3; Beck 1982: 9, #5). The blessing "by
Yahweh of Samaria and his/its asherah" overlaps the headdress of the larger of the standing
figures.

  Some scholars, including the excavator of the site, consider the inscription to be

connected to the drawing (Meshel 1986: 239). A few of them then interpret the standing figures as possibly Yahweh and Baal and the seated lyre player as possibly Asherah (Coogan 1987: 119; McCarter 1987: 146-147). Indeed, historian Baruch Halpern has suggested that the drawing "may be the only portrait of YHWH as yet recovered from an ancient context" (Quoted by Schiff 1985: 8). However, another interpretation of this drawing seems more likely: Beck's carefully developed and widely accepted conclusion that the standing figures represent male and female Egyptian deities and the lyre player a temple musician (Hadley 2000: 137-144; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 218; Beck 1982: 4, 27-36). William Dever, who thinks the writing and the drawing are related, but also accepts Beck's interpretation of the two standing figures, nonetheless understands the seated figure to be Asherah (Dever 1984: 30; Dever 1982: 38).

Whatever our interpretation of the seated figure, a goddess certainly appears in this picture in the form of the cow suckling a calf (Hadley 2000: 115, #3). This image, which had wide distribution in the ancient Near East, was "one of the most popular motifs of the first millennium in Western Asia." It appears on many seals and on an "enormous quantity of ivory plaques," beautifully carved by Phoenician artists of the eighth and seventh centuries BCE (Beck 1982: 120). Such plaques have been found in a number of excavations all over the Near East (Beck 1982: 11, #7; Mallowan 1978: 56, #65). The cow-and-calf motif is usually connected with the symbol system of goddesses (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 215). Indeed, R.D. Barnett thought that it "was a symbolic substitution for the actual representation of the suckling goddess" (cited by Beck 1982: 12). Another drawing of the cow-and-calf motif, this time unfinished, occurs on pithos B (Beck 1982: 4; 10, #6).

Just around the shoulder of pithos A there is another drawing that has very strong goddess implications: a sacred tree with animals eating from it (Hadley 2000: 117, #5; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 211, #219; Beck 1982: 7, #4). In its details, this tree has obvious "parallels in the iconography of the sacred trees in the ancient Near East" (Beck 1982: 13, 14-15). Beck considered that interpretation of such symbolic scenes "remains precarious," but remarked that the motif might have had a fertility significance (Beck 1982: 16). Recently, scholars have come to different conclusions about the sacred tree's meaning, and many accept that it has some relationship to goddesses and their worship (Hadley 2000: 152; Keel 1998: 16; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 51, 126; Gray 1982: 57). The person who did the Kuntillet 'Ajrud sacred tree almost certainly intended it to represent a goddess, for he or she emphasized the goddess content by placing the tree on a lion's back, a position similar to that of goddesses in a number of images. As we saw above, the lion had a clear and time-honoured association with goddesses (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 86; Hestrin 1987a: 67-68).

Whoever did the drawings on pithos A understood the symbolic tradition of goddesses very well and, probably intentionally, brought goddesses into the pictures by using three of the most prominent and potent goddess allusions: cow and calf, lion, and sacred tree. However, the drawings may or may not depict the goddess Asherah, either in person as the lyre player or symbolically. Beck, among others, thinks that it is "doubtful if [the] scenes [on pithos A] were connected to any particular deity" (Beck 1982: 16). On the other hand, those who argue that the drawings show or allude to Asherah also use that possibility as support for interpreting the inscriptions as referring to her (Hadley 2000: 152, 153; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 236; Freedman 1987: 245; Dever 1984: 255). For them, Asherah was the consort of Yahweh both in Israel and in Judah.

Goddesses and Sacred Trees

Was the Syro-Palestinian Sacred Tree the Goddess Asherah?

A good deal of evidence points to the likelihood that one or all Levantine goddesses had an association with trees. Such an association would not be surprising, given that the Levant was heavily influenced by the great civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia. In Egypt, a goddess, most often Isis or Hathor, whose locks became almost the sign of female deity in the Levant, manifested herself as the sacred sycamore or palm tree (Keel 1998: 36-38; Part I, #53-62; Hestrin 1987b: 218-219, #5). In Mesopotamia the sacred tree was closely related to goddesses, especially the great goddess Inanna-Ishtar (Stuckey 2001: 101; Keel 1998: 20-21; Part I, #2-8). Indeed, the relationship between trees and goddesses was "widespread … in the ancient Near East" and dated "from at least the third millennium" (Keel 1998: 19; Hestrin 1991: 54). A few scholars have even suggested that people of the Levant worshipped "real and artificial trees" and "as manifestations of a single female deity or a number of different ones" (Keel 1998: 16; Hestrin 1987b: 222-223). Is there any evidence that trees were especially sacred to the goddess Asherah? Some scholars answer in the affirmative and argue that the goddess Asherah was symbolised by the sacred tree or even embodied by it (Hadley 2000: 153; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 153, 233).

An important piece of evidence that may indicate Asherah's relationship to the sacred tree was excavated in the Late Bronze Age Canaanite city of Lachish (Tubb 1998: 79-80). Though some were found separately, the pieces of pottery fit neatly together to form the shoulder of a decorated cult vessel– the Lachish Ewer (Keel 1998: Part I, #49). The ewer is usually dated to "the late thirteenth century B.C.E" and understood as Canaanite (Hestrin 1987b: 212). Above the decoration, which consists of a row of animals and trees, there is an inscription: "Mattan. An offering to my Lady `Elat" (Hestrin 1987b: 211, 214). This probably means that a person named Mattan presented the ewer and its contents to the temple of the goddess Elat ((Hadley 2000: 159).

Significantly, the word for goddess, `lt, is positioned right over one of the stylised trees (Hadley 2000: 156; 157, #8). Since the inscription was done by the same person who executed the drawings (Hadley 2000: 160), it seems likely that the placing of the word was "not by chance" (Hestrin 1987b: 220). Indeed, the ewer "links the tree and the goddess" (Smith 1990: 82). Thus, the word `Elat was probably placed so as to designate the tree as goddess, to indicate that it "represented her presence" (Smith 1990: 82).

However, to which of the Levantine goddesses did `Elat refer? In the Hebrew Bible, *elah*, an orthographically predictable feminine form of `*el*, occurs seventeen times, but is always translated as "oak or "terebinth," that is, a living tree (Binger 1997: 135) and "all occurrences of the word can be understood as tree" without damaging the text. However, in some places, the translation equally could be "goddess" (Binger 1997: 135). One scholar concluded that Elah and Asherah were "the same …, even if one seems to be a living tree," the other a wooden object (Binger 1997: 137). In the Ugaritic texts, though `*elat*, the grammatically feminine form of `*el*, can mean "goddess in a rather general way," it can also be one of Asherah's titles or epithets, "nearly a name" (Pettey 1990: 13). As a result, a number of scholars think that the `Elat of the Lachish Ewer named the Canaanite goddess Asherah (Hadley 2000: 159-160; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 72; Pettey 1990: 181; Smith 1990: 82; Hestrin 1987b: 220; Maier 1986: 166). However, this identification does not

prove conclusively that in the ancient Levant the sacred tree always represented Asherah, though it is clear that goddesses and trees were closely associated, and the sacred tree could represent any one or all of them.

Another artefact recovered from the excavations at Lachish adds to the latter conclusion: a goblet decorated with "two ibexes facing each other, repeated four times" (Hestrin 1987b: 215). They are flanking not a sacred tree, but "an inverted triangle strewn with dots" (Keel 1998: 34; Part I, #50; Hestrin1987: 215, #2; 216, #3). The inverted figure has been interpreted as a pubic triangle (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 72; Hestrin 1991: 55; Hestrin 1987b: 215). In this well-known image pattern, then, scholars see the replacing of the sacred tree with the vulva symbol making it highly likely "… that the tree indeed symbolises the fertility goddess …" (Hestrin 1987b: 215). In response to critics of this interpretation, Keel has put forward recently published evidence from three different sites in Israel that may confirm that the triangles on the Lachish goblet do represent pubic triangles (Keel 1998: 34-35; Part I, #51, 52). He concludes: "… this configuration cannot be relegated to the status of a secondary motif" (Keel 1998: 35).

The Taanach Cult Stand

Whatever position scholars take on the theory that the sacred tree was Asherah's symbol, the majority recognise that the powerful image signals the presence of a goddess (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 233). An elaborate clay cult stand from ancient Taanach in northern Israel is full of goddess symbols (Hadley 2000: 170, #13; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 159, #184; Gadon 1989: 174, #97; Metropolitan Museum 1986: 162, #79). The ornate stand, just over 53 centimetres in height, dates to the tenth century BCE (Hadley 2000: 169). On its front and sides, its four levels or registers bear elaborate decorations, modelled in high relief (Metropolitan Museum 1986: 161). The reliefs are representations of animals and one human. In the centre of the bottom register stands a naked goddess, controlling, one with each hand, two flanking lions. The second register contains an empty, door-like space flanked by winged sphinxes wearing Hathor locks. On the next register, two ibexes nibble at a sacred tree, a scene which is flanked by lions. The top register is occupied by a quadruped, either a bull calf or a young horse (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 158, 160). It strides between two volutes, with what looks like a rayed or winged sun disc on or above it (Beck 1994).

Explanations of the symbols on the Taanach cult stand are still very much in dispute and vary from its belonging totally to Canaanite worship to its being an Israelite cult object dedicated to Yahweh and his Asherah (Hadley 2000: 169-176). There is general agreement that the piece is a model of a temple belonging to the deities or deity depicted on the façade, with the tiers displaying temple scenes (Hadley 2000: 171-172; Hestrin 1991: 57; Hestrin 1987a: 65; Beck 1994: 358). Interpreted strictly as a Canaanite cult object, the Taanach cult stand depicts the main Canaanite deities, and a female deity clearly appears on two of the levels, the naked goddess at the bottom and the sacred tree on the third level from the bottom. Those arguing this position usually identify the goddess as Asherah (Hestrin 1991:57; Hestrin 1987a:78; Dever 1983:573). The empty space on level two is a doorway into the shrine (Hestrin 1991:57; Hestrin 1987a:75,78). The door-post volutes on level four frame either a temple entrance (Hadley 2000:172) or the "holy of holies" (Beck 1994: 375). Between the volutes, the Canaanite storm god Baal Hadad manifests himself in the form of

a bull calf (Hadley 2000: 172-173; Hestrin 1991: 57). Thus, Baal is "certainly the centre of the whole composition" (Hestrin 1987a: 75). Another view has the Canaanite god El manifest as the bull, "the usual symbol for El in the Canaanite pantheon" (Pettey 1990: 183).

Yet another interpretation sees the animal in the top register not as a bull, but as a horse. Thus, the stand depicts Canaanite goddesses only, with the naked goddess being the "Mistress of the Wilderness" and the quadruped in the top register manifesting Astarte or "Anat-Astarte" in the form of a horse (Keel 1998: 41; Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 160). Levin understands the cult object as dedicated to a single female fertility deity. The four levels present "two views of the same scene: a two room temple," of which the top two levels are "the entrance area" and the two bottom ones the "holy of holies." The empty space would have held a figurine of the goddess, and the quadruped at the top is not a bull or a horse, but a lamb, an animal closely associated with "female fertility deities"(Levin 1995: 28).

According to those who see the stand as an early Israelite cult object devoted to Yahweh and his Asherah, it shows Asherah on level one, with the tree as Asherah or the asherah, her symbol, appearing on level three. The invisible deity Yahweh is understood in the empty door on level two and again, on level four, by either his bull symbol or his empty bull-calf dais (Hadley 2000: 173-174; Smith 1990: 19-20). However, since all symbols and symbolic objects often can have a number of meanings, the Taanach cult stand could be both Canaanite and Yahwistic, in much the same way as, in African American religions, for example, a sacred image can signify both an African deity and a Christian saint (Paper 1997: 220).

Undoubtedly, a goddess is central to the symbolism of the Taanach stand, and I would argue that the cult stand lays out symbolic correspondences on four levels: a goddess is there also in the door on level two and the animal on level four. The symbolism of the cult stand suggests that this Levantine goddess is very much like the Mesopotamian great goddess Inanna (Stuckey 2001: 92-94). The female figure on the bottom register underpins everything; she is the foundation of all and so queen of heaven, earth, and underworld. She is both life and death, the latter obvious in the menacing lions which she controls. Above her looms the door to her shrine and the mystic entrance to her realm both on earth and in the underworld. More important, it is the symbol of her essential nature, which, like that of Sumerian Inanna, is transformation, change (Stuckey 2001: 95; Friedrich 1978). To enter into her realm is to undergo change: whether it is to die on the battlefield, to be born, to fall in love, to engage in sexual activity, or to leave the ordinary and through ritual enter sacred time and space. The tree on level three is yet another statement of the goddess's presence, and, like her, it has its branches in the heavens, its trunk on the earth, and its roots reaching toward the world beneath the earth (Stuckey 2001: 101). The animal on the fourth level, which I think may be a bull calf, perhaps represents her consort, the storm god, whose function it is to bring rain, to fertilise the earth so that the life cycle can go on. Given what we know about Canaanite religion in the first millennium BCE, I would assign the Taanach stand not to Asherah, but possibly to Astarte, who, at that time, was consort of the storm god Baal (Patai 1990: 56-57; Pettey 1990: 25; Smith 1990: 20, 89; Olyan 1988: 49).

Goddess as Sacred Tree
Evidence suggests that, in the Bronze Age Levant, the sacred tree was all but

synonymous with goddesses. Not only do pendants depict goddesses with trees growing up from their vulvic triangles and seals and other artifacts show sacred trees, complete with browsing animals next to goddesses, but one of the most beautiful objects from Ugarit presents a goddess as a tree.[9] On a fragment of a carved ivory lid of a small box, a goddess takes the position normally held by the sacred tree and feeds caprids that lean forward and upward to take the vegetation out of her hands (Keel 1998: Part I, #43; Patai 1990: Plate19; Pritchard 1969: 160, #464). Despite this exquisite Late Bronze Age testimony to the identity of goddess and tree, Keel demonstrates that by the Iron Age, the figure of the goddess "is to a large extent replaced by the tree flanked by caprids" (Keel 1998: 35). Gradually, throughout the Iron Age, the image of sacred tree with caprids became rare in Israel and Judah (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 399-400), though it continued as an important symbol in surrounding ancient Eastern Mediterranean cultures (Gray 1982: 59-61). The tree symbol, however, may have survived even in Judah in the form of "the seven-branched lampstand of the priestly tradition" (Keel 1998: 56).

The Goddesses Outside the Levant

Anat may once have been worshipped throughout the Levant, although she was probably more important in the north than in the south. However, by the Late Bronze Age her cult seems to have begun to die out as her attributes and functions were taken over by the other great goddesses. Nonetheless, it was in the Late Bronze Age that Anat made her greatest impact, as an Egyptian war goddess, important to the Ramesside pharaohs. Indeed, the warrior king Ramses II (1304-1237 BCE) regarded her as his patron deity (Patai 1990: 62; Bowman 1978: 225) and some Egyptian reliefs of the Ramesside Age (1300-1200 BCE) are dedicated to Levantine goddesses and mention Anat by name (Pritchard 1969: 352, #830). At the bottom of one, there is a depiction, with inscription, of an offering ritual to Anat (Westenholz 1998: 80, #28; Pritchard 1969: 163, #473; 304).

Although not as important at Ugarit as Asherah and Anat, Astarte was also a war goddess of the Egyptians in the second millennium BCE (Patai 1990: 56). She became even more important in the first millennium BCE and held a central position in the pantheon of the Phoenicians (Patai 1990: 56-57; Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 170). As a result, her worship spread with the Phoenicians throughout the Mediterranean (Mayer and Rodà 1986: 293; Marin Ceballos 1978: 21). In Cyprus, where the Phoenicians arrived in the ninth century BCE (Yon 1997: 9), Astarte was identified with Greek Aphrodite (Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 186; Fitzmyer 1966: 288; Meurdrac 1941: 50). Eventually, Astarte too became absorbed into the "Syrian Goddess" of Roman times (Lucian 1976: 4).

Even in Ugaritic times, the roles of the three great goddesses melded into each other (Hadley 2000: 42). This process is evident in a group of Egyptian reliefs dating to the Late Bronze Age; the name usually given to them is "Qudshu" plaques, from the Egyptian title of a goddess portrayed on them (Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 174; Maier 1986: 81-83). Wearing the Hathor locks she usually stands, naked, on a lion, her arms spreading out to either side, snake(s) in one hand, flower(s) in the other. The reliefs divide into two kinds: one displaying the goddess alone, with or without worshippers (Patai 1990: Plate 25; Pritchard 1969: 163, #471, 472; 304), the other depicting the goddess between two male deities (Westenholz 1998: 80, #28; Pritchard 1969: 163, #470, 473, 474; 304-305). Inscriptions accompany number of these reliefs, most of them calling the goddess "Qudshu," Semitic *Qdsh*, "Holy

One." However, one inscription gives three names: "Qudshu-Astarte-Anat" (Pritchard 1969: 352, #830; 379; Pettey1990: 29). Though Astarte and Anat are closely associated in Ugaritic mythic material, this trinity of goddesses does not occur in any Levantine text (Bowman 1978: 245) and may have been an Egyptian development. Who, then, was Qudshu? Because the Ugaritic texts apply the epithet *qdsh* to Asherah by process of elimination most interpreters understand Qudshu to be Asherah (Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 174; Maier 1986: 42, 90-91; Betlyon 1985: 55).

In the Iron Age the Israelite military colony on the island of Elephantine in Upper Egypt seems to have revered Anat (Bowman 1978: 249-258; Porten 1969: 120). At the end of the fifth century BCE, a member of that community wrote letters mentioning Anat along with "Yaho," that is, Yahweh (Patai 1990: 65-66). Indeed, Anat may have been Yahweh's consort at Elephantine (Toorn 1998: 85). Some Phoenician evidence from Cyprus refers to Anat and suggests that she was venerated on the island (Hvidberg-Hanson 1979: 133) and later, she seems to have been identified with Athena (Bowman 1978: 219-220; Oden 1976: 32). Otherwise, Anat seems not to have survived as a separate deity, but may have been assimilated into the "Syrian Goddess" of Roman times (Lucian 1976: 4).

Asherah was chief goddess of Ugarit, as well as of the cities of Tyre and Sidon and continued to be an important goddess in the Levant during the first millennium BCE (Olyan 1988: 39: Betlyon 1985: 53-54). Further, it is highly likely that she was, for a time, consort of Israel's god Yahweh. However, it was her fate to disappear as a separate entity (Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 170).

Devotion to the great goddesses of the Levant was prolonged by Phoenicians who lived along the Syro-Lebanese coast in the first millennium BC and were great seafarers and traders. They ventured far into the western Mediterranean and even reached Cornwall in England (Tubb 1998: 140-141). Wherever they went, they took their religion with them when they established trading posts and founded colonies, including Carthage, the north African rival of Rome in the third and second centuries BCE (Tubb 1998: 142-145). It is generally agreed that Asherah survived through Tanit, the chief deity of the Phoenician colony of Carthage in north Africa (Pettey 1990: 32; Olyan 1988: 66; Maier 1986; 96, 115). With the Carthaginians, Tanit/Asherah worship spread far from her original Levantine homeland into western Europe (Maier 1986: 118).

Conclusion

For close to two millennia, the polytheistic peoples of the Levant revered a number of goddesses as part of their male-dominated pantheon. Although Anat, Asherah, and Astarte may be considered "great goddesses" none of them was supreme. Neither were any of them popular in all of the Levant at all times. The three goddesses had a tendency to share attributes, roles, and functions, and to meld together, as they probably did by Greco-Roman times as the goddess Atargatis (Maier 1986: 119; Marin Ceballos 1978: 29). Her name may have come from a combining of the names Astarte and Anat (Hvidberg-Hansen 1986: 175). On the other hand, she may have been the result of a fusion of all three Levantine great goddesses (Pettey 1990: 32-33; Olyan 1988: 39). In the second century of the our era, there appeared an account of the "Syrian" Goddess," *De Dea Syria*, which tradition has attributed to Greek satirical writer Lucian (Lucian 1976). Though Lucian gives Greek names for the deities he describes in the work, the goddess of the title is clearly

Atargatis (Maier 1986: 66; Lucian 1976: 4). The worship of Atargatis spread from Syria across the Mediterranean and lasted well into the third century of our era (Maier 1986: 79, note 75, 76; Weiss 1985: 371, #72; Godwin 1981: 150-152, 158, #124). Thus, long after their independent identities were lost, the three Levantine great goddesses lived on in composite form as the "Syrian Goddess."

Notes

1. The Levant is a name for the area that is the equivalent of "the modern states of Israel, Transjordan, coastal Syria (including Lebanon) and southern inland Syria" (Tubb 1998: 13).
2. Protector or tutelary deities are usually war deities, but their warrior function probably originated in their tutelary function, not vica versa. Greek Athena, tutelary deity of Athens, and Roman Mars, originally guardian of boundaries or perimeter, are cases in point.
3. It is interesting that the shape of the Hathor coiffure is similar to "an Ω-shaped mark" used on Levantine seal "amulets" dating to the Middle Bronze Age, c.1750-c.1550 BCE. It is possible that the "Ω-shaped mark … may have symbolized a mother's womb" (Keel and Uehlinger 1998: 26).
4. All quotations from the Hebrew Bible come from *Tanakh* 1988.
5. Unlike most other scholars, Mark S. Smith distinguishes between *asherah* and *asherim*. He thinks that the former was a "cult symbol," whereas the latter were "religious items collectively called the asherim" (Smith 1990: 80).
6. It was in the latter part of the seventh century BCE that Josiah, King of Judah, began his drastic religious reforms. Josiah was "one of the great heroes of the Deuteronomists" (Binger 1997: 117). It is also noteworthy that the Hebrew Bible reached its final form in Judah (Friedman 1987: 223).
7. A few scholars have put forward what is clearly a minority view: the word "asherah" means "sacred place"; so they translate the critical phrase as "Yahweh of Samaria [or Teman] and his sanctuary" (Olyan 1988: 26, n.16, n.19; Maier 1986: 169, 182, n.42).
8. A few scholars have put forward what is clearly a minority view: the word "asherah" means "sacred place"; so they translate the critical phrase as "Yahweh of Samaria [or Teman] and his sanctuary" (Olyan 1988: 26, n.16, n.19; Maier 1986: 169, 182, n.42).
9. The object looks Late Mycenaean in style, but the "symmetric arrangement is purely Mesopotamian and Syrian …" (R.D. Barnett cited in Keel 1998: 31).

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POTTERY FROM THE PREDYNASTIC SETTLEMENT
AT HALFIA GIBLI (DIOSPOLIS PARVA)

Sally Swain

Abstract

This article outlines the nature of an assemblage of pottery excavated at the Predynastic Egyptian site of Halfia Gibli in Upper Egypt, within the context of its relative dating. The nature of the assemblage is examined, which appears to have the characteristics of that from a settlement. The ceramic technology is also discussed, ware groups are defined and described, and a detailed description is given of all diagnostic sherds.

Introduction

During July-August 1991 an ephemeral Predynastic settlement was excavated near the modern village of Halfia Gibli, in the area of Diospolis Parva (Hu), on the west bank of the Nile ca. 60 km southwest of Qena (Bard 1992). Fieldwork was directed by Kathryn Bard (Boston University), with funding provided by the National Geographic Society.

Earlier surveys had revealed evidence of a Predynastic settlement in the area, which was first investigated by Flinders Petrie in 1900-01 (Petrie 1901: 1-2; Bard 1990). The site was threatened by a new irrigation project and the fieldwork was in the nature of a rescue excavation. Previous cultivation had caused serious disturbance to the archaeological deposits, which were, in any case, very deflated. The pottery did not come from well stratified contents and does not represent a secure, chronological sequence, but it has value in representing an assemblage of material from a Predynastic settlement.

Dating

All pottery found dated to the Predynastic period. It was dated to the period between Naqada Ic and IIb-c in Kaiser's chronology (Kaiser 1957), using criteria of shape and ware. One sherd of Petrie's White cross-lined class could be dated very precisely to Naqada Ic. Other material in the assemblage suggested the terminus postquem of Naqada IIc. The remaining material fitted into this date range.

Description of the material

The material consisted of some 150 rims, 50 bases, a handle, a jar stand, and a large quantity (ca. 76 kilos) of undiagnostic body sherds of identifiably Predynastic type. Among the body sherds were a single example of painted White cross-lined class and three pieces with incised or punctate decoration, also seen on some rims.

The majority of the body sherds came from large, hand-made storage vessels and were of Nile silt C, an open-textured Nile clay containing a large quantity of coarse straw (Nordström and Bourriau 1993). Other fabrics represented at the site were: Nile silts A, B2,

D and E. There were no sherds of marl clay vessels at the site.

Vessels of Nile silt C were well made and left untreated or smoothed with wet hands. Vessels of Nile silts A, B2, and D were finished in red and/or black, with a slipped and burnished surface. Many of these were extremely well made and finished with walls as thin as 2 mm at the rim. One rim of coarse clay containing many rounded sand grains (Nile E) has been identified as being from a flat tray. A base and a number of body sherds of the same fabric were also identified.

Technology

The ceramic technology was typical of the period, which included coil-built and hand pinched bodies, some of which may have been formed over a mold. Rims were turned or hand-made and bases hand-pinched, and in some cases they were scraped or cut to shape. These were either flat or more rarely pointed. Only a few, tiny pieces remain from pointed bases. A number of rims were thickened either by squeezing up excess clay into a thickening, or, more usually, by folding or rolling the rim back on itself to make a rounded lip. No wheel-made wares occurred either from bodies or bases. It was clear that many vessels were made in pieces. Joins could be seen where turned rims had been added to coil-made bodies. It was also possible to see the addition of coils to bases consisting of flat cups or cakes or clay. Bases were not turned.

Part of a handle was identified. It had been made by hand, using the pulling technique in which a lump of clay is wetted and then pulled between the potter's thumb and fingers until a uniform length of clay is obtained. Drag marks which are characteristic of this technique were left on the handle. A tiny ring-form jar stand may also have been made by this technique. It has a diameter of 5.4 cm and had been formed into a ring, with the two ends smoothed together. The top had been tapered to allow the stand to support a small jar in a stable position.

All vessels showed evidence of careful manufacture and finishing. Those made of fine Nile silts, and with slipped and burnished finishes, showed special attention to detail, but vessels made from coarser clay and with less elaborate finishes also displayed considerable attention to detail. They were well and sturdily made, carefully smoothed with neatened joints, and then well fired. It is apparent from the care taken to finish vessels that even domestic pottery was a valuable commodity. This view is further enhanced by the presence of repair holes on a number of vessels where breakage had occurred.

The material as a settlement assemblage

The pottery from the site showed evidence of considerable use: many pieces were smoke-stained and worn inside as a result. Vessel types were dominated by storage jars and simple bowls, which suggest that domestic activities were of primary importance at the site. The scarcity of painted pottery, and scarcity or absence of marl clay, are also characteristic of a settlement site, although the absence of marl clay could be due in part to the early date of the site. The assemblage also contained a number of vessel types and styles of decoration which belong more to the repertoire of a settlement than that of a cemetery. The pottery bears a number of resemblances to assemblages of settlement pottery known from other sites in Upper Egypt.

Perhaps the best comparative material comes from settlements excavated in the

Hierakonpolis region (Hoffman 1982). The pottery from Predynastic sites at Hierakonpolis shows some striking resemblances to that from Halfia Gibli, and may also be placed in a broadly similar time range.

Predynastic ceramics from Hierakonpolis include a preponderance of storage jars of varying size with narrow mouths and an in-turning, rolled rim. These are of a very characteristic type which also occur in some quantity at Halfia Gibli, but are rare in funerary contexts. A large quantity of pottery from Hierakonpolis also takes the form of open bowls and dishes. Painted material is rare at Hierakonpolis (as it is at other settlement sites such as Armant and Hemamieh), but some sherds of White cross-lined class do occur. There is a large quantity of material in both unslipped Nile silt C and in slipped and burnished red and/or black finer Nile silt fabrics.

Trays of the type described above and in a similar fabric also occur at Hierakonpolis, but are not known from funerary contents.

The pattern of settlement pottery at Hierakonpolis does, therefore, seem to accord well with what is known of the material from Halfia Gibli. The material also fits with what is known of settlement pottery from the nearby sites of Armant and Hemmamieh (Mond and Myers 1937: Pl. 64; Brunton and Caton Thompson 1928: Pl. 76), especially the presence of large quantities of coarse, straw-tempered storage vessels and bowls, and dishes and smaller vessels in slipped and burnished finishes. The use of roll-rimmed jars, a lack of painted pottery, and the use of types of decoration seem to be characteristic of settlements but not burials. Particularly important in this last group is the occurrence of pottery which has been burnished without being slipped. This burnishing is often found on the rim of even quite large vessels and is done in decorative bands. These traits are also known to occur in the settlements of both Armant and Hemmamieh.

Also important is the use of incised or punctate decoration, which is especially well represented at Armant. This kind of decoration is extremely rare in funerary pottery, but seems to be well represented in settlements, including Halfia Gibli.

Ware Groups

Twelve ware groups were identified at the site. Ware is defined here as being the overall combination of fabric, surface treatment, color, and decoration, which gives each class its characteristic appearance. The ware groups comprise the following:

1. Uncoated Surface. This ware includes vessels of Nile silts A, B2, C, D, and E.   The surface varies from a pale buff (7.5Yr 6/4) to reddish brown (between 5YR 4/4 and 5YR 3/2), to red (10R 4/4) and dense black. There is a great variation between the color readings given here. The surface is self-slipped or wet-smoothed. This is often irregular over the surface of the vessel and seems in many cases to have been incidental rather than a deliberate slip. It probably resulted from the potter running wet hands over the vessel surface, although this is not always the case. This type of surface is undecorated. This ware group may be identified with Petrie's R class (Petrie 1901: 10) and with the straw-tempered ware identified at Hierakonpolis (Hoffman 1982: 68).

2. Uncoated with burnished surface. Vessels of the Nile silts in 1 above also occur in this ware. The color ranges between buff (7.5YR 6/4) and black. The coloration is due to the type and firing of the clay and not to the use of a slip (this is also true of ware group 1). The

burnish does not produce a fine, even gloss but occurs in wide bands on the inner and/or outer surface usually at the rim, although this is not always the case. The burnish is done in wide bands which are either concentric or which form a criss-cross effect. It may have been felt that this treatment reduced porosity, but when it occurs on the outer rim of a closed form, it can only have served a decorative function.

3. Red-slipped and burnished inside and outside. This treatment was used exclusively for vessels of Nile silts A, B2, and D. The finish, achieved by using an iron rich slip, varied from a deep, plum red (10R 3/6) to a weak reddish-brown (between 7.5R 4/4 and 2.5YR 4/4). It was enhanced by careful burnishing the whole vessel (on both surfaces in the case of open forms). Some closed forms also have a band of burnishing on the inner surface of the rim. This gives the surface a compact and characteristic sheen, which may have helped to reduce porosity, but acted mainly as a decorative device. Although the fabric is, in many cases, tempered with fine sand and straw, this ware group is identified with Petrie's P class, and with the untempered plum-red ware at Hierakonpolis (Hoffman 1982: 68 ff.).

4. Red-slipped and burnished outside. This treatment resembles that described above (3), but was used only on the exterior of a closed form where the interior was inaccessible.

5. Red-slipped and burnished inside. This treatment resembles that described above (3), but was used only on the exterior of a closed form where the interior was inaccessible.

6. Red-slipped and burnished inside and outside. This treatment was used only for vessels of Nile silt A and B2. The color was probably achieved by the reduction firing of an iron rich slip (Hodges 1982). The color is a characteristic, intense black with a fine, high burnish that often results in a metallic appearance. In some cases, black rim sherds may well be remnants of bi-chrome red and black vessels. One sherd from the base of a vessel was black, and burnished inside and outside, indicating that monochrome black-burnished vessels did exist. This ware was used for open and closed forms. Some closed vessels have a band on the inner surface of the rim.

7. Black-slipped and burnished outside. This treatment resembles that described above (6), but in this case the treatment is used only on the exterior of the vessel. Petrie (1901: 9) ascribes black-burnished pottery to the category of fancy forms. It is quite evident, however, that it forms a separate although small ware-group related to the red and black and red bi-chrome material which occurs much more commonly in the Predynastic repertoire.

8. Bi-chrome red- and black-slipped with burnishing. This is the ware described by Petrie as "black-topped red ware" (Petrie 1901: 8). As the name implies, the vessels usually have a red body which can be identified with ware groups 3, 4, and 5. In addition, they have a black band (ware groups 6 and 7), encircling the mouth. The surface is burnished, often to a high sheen. This style only occurs on closed vessels and in fabrics Nile silt A, B2, and D.

9. Black-slipped inner and red-slipped outer surface with burnishing. This is a variant of the preceding ware group found only on open forms where the inner surface is black-slipped and burnished, and the outer, red-slipped and burnished. The surfaces resemble those of groups 3-5 and 6-7. Nile silts A and B2 are the only fabrics which occur in this ware. The term bi-chrome has been preferred for both these ware groups since two colors have been deliberately combined to give a particular effect.

10. White cross-lined Ware. This ware, also defined by Petrie is the characteristic decorated pottery of the Naqada I phase (Petrie 1901: 9). The decorated surface, which could either be the inner surface of an open form, or the outer surface of a closed form, was red-slipped

and burnished in the manner of Ware group 4. This surface was then decorated with geometric and other designs in white, cream, or pink paint. Only one sherd of this type was found at Halfia Gibli. It took the form of a rim from a deep, steep-sided bowl. The profile was preserved to a height of 6.2 cm. It flared widely to a direct rim with a rounded profile (**Figure 8c**). The decoration was painted on the interior surface and consisted of a group of concentric semicircles running across the top section of the rim, and a group of five parallel, diagonal lines in the middle of the vessel's interior.

11. Incised Ware. Vessels of this ware group have a finish which is identical to that of ware group 1, except that an incised decoration was added while the clay was still damp. This was probably before the clay reached the leather hard stage, as the edges of the incisions show no sign of chipping or flaking. A pattern was cut into the surface of the clay using a sharp tool. The most common motifs were criss-cross lines. Sherds of this type are rare at Halfia Gibli, where only three body sherds from closed forms were excavated.

12. Punctate Ware. Vessels of this ware group have a finish which is identical to that of Ware group 1, except that an impressed decoration was added while the clay was still damp. This decoration was made by pressing a pointed or patterned tool into the wet clay, which left behind a series of impressions. Two sherds of this ware from Halfia Giblia come from the rims of roll-rimmed jars. In both cases the design had been impressed with a tool which has left ring marks in the clay. One sherd seems to be covered with random dots, while the other is patterned with a zig-zag design.

Conclusions

It is apparent that the pottery from Halfia Gibli relates very closely to that of other known Predynastic settlements. If the quality of different ware groups is considered, it is clear that the assemblage is dominated by uncoated and uncoated burnished wares of Nile silts B2 and C. About 83% of the material from the site belonged to these two ware groups, the first being by far predominant. (No detailed statistical work has been attempted with the pottery from Halfia Gibli because of the deflated nature of the site.)
This is exactly what would be expected at a settlement site, and it is also the pattern present at Hierakonpolis. The types of vessels present in this ware group are mainly roll-rimmed jars of varying types and sizes (**Figures 3; 4, 4b, 4c; and 5**), and open bowl forms also in a variety of shapes and sizes. This again reflects the pattern at Hierakonpolis where, "roll-rimmed jars are by far the dominant vessel type, accounting for about 70% of all identifiable rim sherds. The next most common type is shallow bowls/dishes/lids" (Hoffman 1982: 72).

The Halfia Gibli site also reflects the pattern at Hierakonpolis in that the next most dominant group of material belongs to the ware groups which include a red- and/or black-slipped surface with a burnished finish. The remaining 17% of the material is almost all of these ware groups, the exceptions being the very small number of decorated sherds. Of the sherds in these ware groups the vessel types are, as far as it is possible to tell, evenly divided between open and closed forms. Monochrome black material is much less common than red. There are only two definite examples of bi-chrome red and black vessels, both of a type commonly found in burials as well as in settlement material. It is, however, very likely that some of the apparently monochrome black rim sherds were from vessels of this type.

Painted pottery is extremely rare in all known Predynastic settlement assemblages, although one sherd of White cross-lined Ware was found at Armant (Mond and Myers 1937:

Pl. 54:6), and the ware is also known as Hierakonpolis (Hoffman 1982: 16, 66-85). It is, therefore, consistent to see it represented at Halfia Gibli by a single sherd. Its scarcity is suggestive of the possibility that painted pottery of this type had a much more important role as a mortuary offering than as a domestic ware, especially as it occurs with much greater frequency in funerary contexts.

Sherds decorated with incised and punctate design are also extremely rare, being represented by only five pieces from the entire Halfia Gibli assemblage. Still, their presence is significant in suggesting that this material has a character which is different from that of mortuary assemblages, since this type of decoration does not occur in graves, but is known from various settlement sites, with Armant being especially important.

The presence of Nile silt E, a porous clay containing large quantifies of rounded sand grains, is also significant, since this type of clay is not known in funerary contexts, nor was it identified by Petrie. But it does occur at Hierakonpolis, where it is designated "grit tempered ware." At Hierakonpolis, as at Halfia Gibli, its presence is rare. At Halfia Gibli, it seems only to have been used for large, open platters, similar to types found at Hierakonpolis, but unlike material found in graves.

The relative quantity and type of sherds from Halfia Gibli would appear to fit into the overall pattern of ceramics from other settlement sites in Predynastic Egypt. The dominant presence of undecorated vessels made from coarse Nile silt clays, the use of particular vessel shapes, especially roll-rimmed jars and flat trays, the scarcity of decorated pottery, and the use of incised decoration all suggest that such is the case. Although the site was badly disturbed, the material is both valuable and significant.

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List of sherds

Rim-sherds, bases, and other significant finds from Halfia Gibli are listed as follows, according to the number of the excavated unit. The list is selective, but includes all the rims which were found. They were recorded and drawn at the site and are included here. Of the bases, those which could be drawn are included, although others were also found that have been described above. The bases shown here reflect the material as a whole, except that no pointed base was found which was complete enough to draw. Other pieces include the jar stand, handle and decorated body sherds. The material is divided into the ware groups described above and subdivided into open and closed forms. The numbers after each entry indicate the number of the drawing in the figures. Diameters are given in centimetres. All the drawings are to the same scale, indicated on the figures.

Uncoated wares Figure 1 (pages 172 - 173)

HG NW 01A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 24 cm. Rim of a bowl. Smoke stained. 1

HG 1.1.1. 13 RC. Nile Silt C. Diameter 10 cm. Rim of a bowl. 2

HG 1.1.1.N. Nile Silt C. Diameter 13 cm. Rim of a bowl. 3

HG 1.1.1. P. Nile Silt C. Diameter 23 cm. Rim of a bowl. 4

HG 1.2.1.J. Nile Silt E. Diameter 20 cm. Rim of a bowl. 5

HG 1.3.2.0. Nile Silt C. Diameter 20 cm. Rim of a bowl. 6

HG 1.3.3.C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 26 cm. Rim of a bowl. 7

HG 1.3.3.L. Nile Silt E. Diameter 32 cm. Flat base of a bread tray.

HG 1.3.3.Li. Nile Silt E. The diameter is uncertain as the sherd is very worn. Rim of a bread tray. This sherd and the preceding one do not come from the same vessel, but have been conflated to reconstruct a hypothetical profile for a bread tray. 8

HG 1.3.3.S. Nile Silt C. Diameter 26 cm. Thickened rim of a bowl. Smoke stained. 9

HG 1.3.3.Y. Nile Silt C. Diameter 28cm. Carinated rim of a bowl. Smoke stained. 10

HG 1.3.4.I. Nile Silt C. Diameter 38 cm. Rim of a bowl. 11

HG 1.3.4.M. Nile Silt C. Diameter 13 cm. Rim of a bowl. 12

HG 1.3.4.N. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Rim of a bowl. 13

HG 1.3.4.O. Nile Silt C. Diameter 15 cm. Rim of a bowl. 14

HG 1.3.4. RA3. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Rim of a bowl. Smoke stained. 15

HG 3 185/77/62B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 21 cm. Rim of a bowl. Thickened internally. 16

HG 187/165/162/C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 27 cm. 17

HG 199/157/F42A. Nile Silt C. diameter 21 cm. Rim of a basin, wall thickness very irregular. Heavily smoke stained. 18

HG 199/159/F42B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 30 cm. Rim of a bowl. 19

HG 199/159/F43C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 25 cm. Rim of a bowl. 20

HG 199/159/F43E. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Rim of a deep bowl. 21

HG 9 203/73/L2A/C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 26 cm. Rim of a bowl. 22

HG 5.0.1.A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 21 cm. Carinated rim of a bowl. 23
HG 5 196/157/F41/A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 17 cm. Rim of a bowl. 24
HG 5 4A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 22 cm. Rim of a bowl. 25

Uncoated and unburnished closed forms Figure 2 (pages 173 - 177)
HG 1.1.1.K. Nile Silt D. Diameter 15 cm. Direct, in-turned rim of a jar. 1
HG 1.3.4.K. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Direct, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 2
HG 1.3.3.A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 7 cm. Direct, out-turned rim of a small, oval bodied jar. 3
HG 1.4.4.F. Nile Silt C. Diameter 9.5 cm. direct, flaring rim of a small jar. Smoke stained. 4
HG 3 185/77/L1B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 9 cm. Direct, out-turned rim of a jar. 5
HG 9 202/74/L2A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 7 cm. Direct, flaring rim of a small jar. 6
HG 6 1.3.3.F. Nile Silt C. Diameter 40 cm. Thickened rim of a very large storage jar. 7
HG 6 NW 2B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Thickened in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim on coil-made body. Smoke stained. 7a
HG 1.1.1. RA (1). Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Thickened (folded) in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 8
HG 1.1.1.C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 9
HG 1.1.1.D. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 10
HG 1.1.1.H. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Direct, upright rim of a jar. Turned rim on a coil-made body. 11
HG 1.1.1. I. Nile Silt C. Diameter 17 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 12
HG 1.1.1.O. Nile Silt C. Diameter 24 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 13
HG 1.2.1.E. Nile Silt C. Diameter 22 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 14
HG 1.2.1.G. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 15
HG 1.2.1.H. Nile Silt C. Diameter 20 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to a coil-made body. Smoke stained. 16
HG 1.2.1.I. Nile Silt C. Diameter 17 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 17
HG 1.2.1.K. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 18
HG 1.1. Nile Silt C. Diameter 16 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. Smoke stained. 19
HG 1.3.1.A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 15 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 20
HG 1.3.1.D. Nile Silt C. Diameter 15 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 21
HG 1.3.1.H. Nile Silt C. Diameter 13 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 22
HG 1.3.2.F. Nile Silt C. Diameter 26 cm. Thickened (folded) rim. Turned rim joined to hand-made body. Smoke stained. 23
HG 1.3.2. H. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in turned rim of a jar. 24
HG 1.3.2.M. Nile Silt C. Diameter 21 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 25
HG 1.3.2.N. Nile Silt C. Diameter 16 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned

rim joined to coil-made body. 26

HG 1.3.2.P. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 27

HG 1.3.1.Ai. Nile Silt C. Diameter 10 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 28

HG 1.3.3.B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 20 cm. Thickened, upright rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 29

HG 1.3.1Bi. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 30

HG 1.3.3.D. Nile Silt C. diameter 29 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 31

HG 1.3.3G. Nile Silt C. diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 32

HG 1.3.3.H. Nile Silt D. Diameter 24 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 33

HG 1.3.3.J. Nile Silt C. Diameter 17 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 34

HG 1.3.3.K. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 35

HG 1.3.3.N. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 36

HG 1.3.3.R. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 37

HG 1.3.3.T. Nile Silt C. Diameter 22 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 38

HG 1.3.3.V. Nile Silt C. Diameter 22 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 39

HG 1.3.3.W. Nile Silt C. Diameter 10 cm. Thickened, (folded) in-turned rim of a jar. 41

HG 1.3.3.X. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Thickened, out-turned rim of a jar. 42

HG 1.3.3.Z. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Direct, upright rim of a jar. 43

HG 1.3.4.C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 13 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 44

HG 1.3.4.F. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Direct, upright rim. Smoke stained. 45

HG 1.3.4.H. Nile Silt C. diameter 11 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 46

HG 1.4.1.B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 47

HG 1.4.1.C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 48

HG 1.4.4.D. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 49

HG 1.4.1.Di. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 50

HG 3 184/161/L1A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 17 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 51

HG 3/185/177/LA. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 52

HG 8/195/165A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. Smoke stained. 53

HG 9/203/73/L1A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Direct, upright rim of a jar. 54

HG 4.1.1.A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 26 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 55

HG 1.3.3.Di. Nile Silt C. diameter 16 cm. Flat base of a jar. Hand-made, pinched and cut to shape. Scraped finish in and out. 56

HG 1.3.4.L. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Flat base of a jar. Hand-made, pinched and cut to shape with coils built on to form vessel body. Scraped finish out. Smoke stained.

57
HG 3/183/79/L1A. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 10 cm. Flat base of a jar. Hand-made, pinched and cut to shape with coils built on to form vessel body. Scraped finish inside and out. 58
HG 203/174/L2B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 10 cm. Flat base of a jar. Hand-made, pinched and cut to shape. Scraped finish out. Smoke stained. 59
HG 1.3.4.D. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 9 cm. Complete profile of a ring-form jar-stand. Pinched from a circular coil of clay. Irregularly shaped. 60
HG 1.3.4.H. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Flat base of a jar. Hand-made, cut and pinched to shape. Cut down after breakage for re-use as a pot stand. 61
HG 1.3.4.J. Nile Silt B2. Small handle, pulled to shape from wet clay. 62

Uncoated ware, burnished outside Figure 3 (page 177)
HG 1.1.1.A. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 11 cm. Rim of a small bowl. 1
HG 1.1.1.G. Nile Silt C. Diameter 20 cm. Rim of a large, deep bowl. 2
HG 1.3.2.B. Nile Silt C. Diameter 37 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a large storage jar. 3
HG 1.3.2.G. Nile Silt C. Diameter 8 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 4
HG 1.3.3.E. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. Smoke stained. 5
HG 1.3.3.P. Nile Silt C. Diameter 12 cm. Direct, upright rim of a small jar. Smoke stained. 6
HG 97/187/165/L2A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 11 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 7

Uncoated ware, burnished inside Figure 4 (page 178)
HG 1.1.1.J. Nile Silt C. Diameter 17 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. **(Figure 3)** 8 (page 177)
HG 1.1.1.M. Nile Silt C. Diameter 24 cm. Rim of a bowl. 1
HG 1.2.2.F. Nile Silt C. Diameter 24 cm. Carinated rim of a bowl. 2
HG 1.2.1.O. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 10 cm. Rim of a small bowl. 3
HG 1.3.1.F. Nile Silt C. Diameter 26 cm. Rim of a large bowl. 4
HG 1.3.2.I. Nile Silt C. Diameter 23 cm. Rim of a carinated bowl. Rim trimmed to shape with a tool. Smoke stained. 5
HG 1.3.4.A. Nile Silt C. Diameter 15 cm.   Rim of a small bowl. Smoke stained. 6
HG 1.3.4.P. Nile Silt C. Diameter 9 cm. Rim of a small bowl. 7
HG 3/185/77/L2A/C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 14 cm. Direct, upright rim of a jar. Smoke stained. **(Figure 3)** 9 (page 177)

Uncoated ware, burnished inside and out Figure 4b (page 178)
HG 1.1.1.L. Nile Silt C. Diameter 21 cm. Rim of a steep-sided bowl. 1
HG 1.3.2.L. Nile Silt C. Diameter 21 cm. Rim of a bowl. Smoke stained. 2
HG 1.3.3.C. Nile Silt C. Diameter 34 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a large jar. Turned rim joined to a coil-made body. 3

Uncoated ware with surface decoration Figure 4c (page 178)

HG 1.2.1.A. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Dotted design impressed with a small pointed tool in wet clay before firing. 1

HG 1.3.3.I. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 12 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Dotted design impressed with a small pointed tool in wet clay before firing. Smoke stained. 2

Red slip and burnished outside Figure 5 (page 179)

HG 6 NW 04 A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 17 cm. Direct, flared rim of a trumpet jar, cf. Petrie *Corpus*, Pls. III-IV. 1

HG 6 NW 5A. Nile Silt A. diameter 15 cm. Direct, flared rim of a trumpet jar. Coil-made with hand-made coiled rim. Rim pinched and trimmed to shape. 2

HG 5 SW 01 A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 16 cm. Direct, flared rim of a trumpet jar. 3

HG 1.2.1.H. Nile Silt A. Diameter 5 cm. Direct, flared rim. Restricted, probably from a bottle, or jar with a long neck. Coil made, including the rim which was pinched to shape. 4

HG 1.2.1L. Nile Silt A. Diameter 7 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. Turned rim joined to coil-made body. 5

HG 1.3.1.E. Nile Silt A. Diameter 22 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 6

HG 1.3.2.A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 13 cm. Direct, flared rim of a trumpet jar. Coil-made, including rim. Petrie *Corpus*, P1.XIII, 70. 7

HG 1.3.2.D. Nile Silt A. Diameter 9 cm. Direct, upright rim of a jar. The burnished surface is extremely fine and compact. 8

HG 1.3.3M. Nile Silt A. Diameter 10 cm. Direct rim of a small, oval bodied jar, cf. Petrie Corpus P1. XI, P. 41A. 9

HG 1.3.4.E. Nile Silt A. Diameter 11 cm. Direct, in-turned rim of a jar. 10

HG 1.4.1.E. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 16 cm. Direct, in-turned rim of a jar. The burnishing lines are coarse and not compact. Smoke stained. 11

HG 3/184/176/1L1B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 11 cm. Direct, flared rim of a jar. Petrie *Corpus,* P1. XIII, 68A. 12

HG 187/164/1L2c. Nile Silt A. Diameter 10 cm. Direct, flared rim of a jar. Smoke stained. 13

HG 5 196/159/F4 2A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 11 cm. Direct, flared rim of a jar. Rim turned and joined to hand-made body. 14

HG 198/159/F3A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 18 cm. Direct upright rim of a jar. 15

HG 199/159/F42C. Nile Silt A. Diameter 12 cm. Complete profile of a small dish. Finger pinched. 16

HG 199/159/F43D. Nile Silt A. Diameter 21 cm. Direct, flaring rim of a large trumpet jar. The interior was scraped heavily. 17

HG 501 B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 14 cm. Direct, flared rim of a trumpet jar. 18

HG 501 C. Nile Silt D. Diameter 16 cm. Direct, flared rim of a trumpet jar. 19

HG 97/187/164/L2A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 8 cm. Flat base of a small jar. Scraped inside and out. 20

HG 501 D. Nile Silt A. Diameter 18 cm. Flat base of a large jar. The base was formed from a flat disk of clay with coils built up to form the vessel wall. Base and body were trimmed to shape and scraped inside and out. Smoke stained. 21

Swain

HG 18/165/L2A. Nile Silt D. Body sherd of a closed form, re-cut for use as a gaming piece. 22

Red slip and burnished inside Figure 6a (page 180)
HG 1.1.1.13. RA2. Nile Silt A. Diameter 28 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 1
HG 1.2.1.D. Nile Silt D. Diameter 17 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 2
HG 1.2.1.N. Nile Silt A. Diameter 21 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 3
HG 1.3.2.A. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 32 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. Burnishing is very careless and done in broad bands. 4
HG 1.3.2. Nile Silt A. Diameter 28 cm. Direct rim of a carinated bowl. Rim cut to shape with a tool. 5
HG 4.1.1. Nile Silt A. Diameter 22 cm. Thickened rim of a bowl. Hand-made, trimmed and pinched to shape. Smoke stained. 6

Red slip and burnished inside and outside Figure 6b (page 180)
HG 96/NW/2A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 16 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 1
HG 1.1.1.F. Nile silt A. Diameter 16 cm. Direct, in-turned rim of a bowl. 2
HG 1.2.1.B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 18 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 3
HG 1.3.1.C. Nile Silt A. Diameter 14 cm. Direct rim of round-bottomed bowl. 4
HG 1.3.4.C. Nile Silt A. Diameter 8 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 5
HG 1.4.1.A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 18 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 6
HG 7/187/165/L2B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 22 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 7
HG 199/159/F43B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 18 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. Repair holes drilled through the body of the sherd after firing. 8
HG 200/159/F8A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 15 cm. Direct rim of a deep bowl or basin. 9

Black slip and burnished outside Figure 7a (page 181)
HG 1.3.1.G. Nile Silt A. Diameter 8 cm. Direct, upright rim of a small jar. Rim hand-made and cut to shape with a tool. 1
HG 1.3.4.B. Nile Silt B2. Diameter 18 cm. Thickened, in-turned rim of a jar. 2
HG 188/164/L2D. Nile Silt A. Diameter 6 cm. Direct rim of a narrow jar neck. 3
HG 199/159/F43A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 14 cm. Direct rim of a trumpet jar, perhaps from a black-topped, red vessel. 4
H9 203/74/L2A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 11 cm. Direct rim of a trumpet jar, perhaps from a black-topped, red vessel. Coil-made, including rim. 5
HG 1.3.3.O. Nile Silt A. Diameter 9 cm. Flat base of a jar. 6

Black slip and burnished inside and outside Figure 7b (page 181)
HG 1.1.1.E. Nile Silt A. Diameter 14 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 1
HG 1.3.2.K. Nile Silt A. Diameter 15 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 2
HG 7/187/164/L21B. Nile Silt D. Diameter 16 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 3
HG 199/159/F43F. Nile Silt A. Diameter 25 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. Repair hole drilled through the body of the sherd after firing. 4
HG 1.1.1.B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 17 cm. Direct, in-turned rim of a bowl. 5
HG 187/164/L2A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 11 cm. Direct, upright rim of a jar. Two repair

holes drilled through the body of the sherd after firing. 6

Black-topped red and burnished outside Figure 8a (page 182)
HG 1.3.1.1.B. Nile Silt A. Diameter 9 cm. Direct, upright rim. From a small, oval bodied jar cf. Petrie *Corpus,* Pl. VI. 1
HG 1.3.4.G. Nile Silt A. Diameter 10 cm. Direct, upright rim. From a small, oval bodied jar cf. Petrie *Corpus,* Pl. VI. 2

Red slip and burnished outside, black slip and burnished inside Figure 8b (page 182)
HG 1.3.2.E. Nile Silt A. Diameter 18 cm. Direct rim of a bowl. 1

White Cross-lined class. Red burnished inside and outside. Figure 8c (page 182)
HG 5/200/159/F43A. Nile Silt A. Diameter 14 cm. Direct, out-turned rim of a jar, Petrie *Corpus*, P1. XXXIV, 76R. 1

Surface finds of decorated body sherds Figure 8d (page 182)
1. Surface find, no number. Uncoated Nile Silt A with criss-cross, linear, incised decoration. Hand-made body sherd. Decoration incised into wet clay with a pointed tool. 1
2. Surface find, no number. Uncoated Nile Silt B2 with tear-drop decoration. Hand-made body sherd. Decoration done by gouging the damp surface of the vessel with a tool. 2
3. Surface find, no number. Uncoated, burnished Nile Silt B2. Hand-made body sherd with geometric pot-mark scratched in the surface after firing. 3
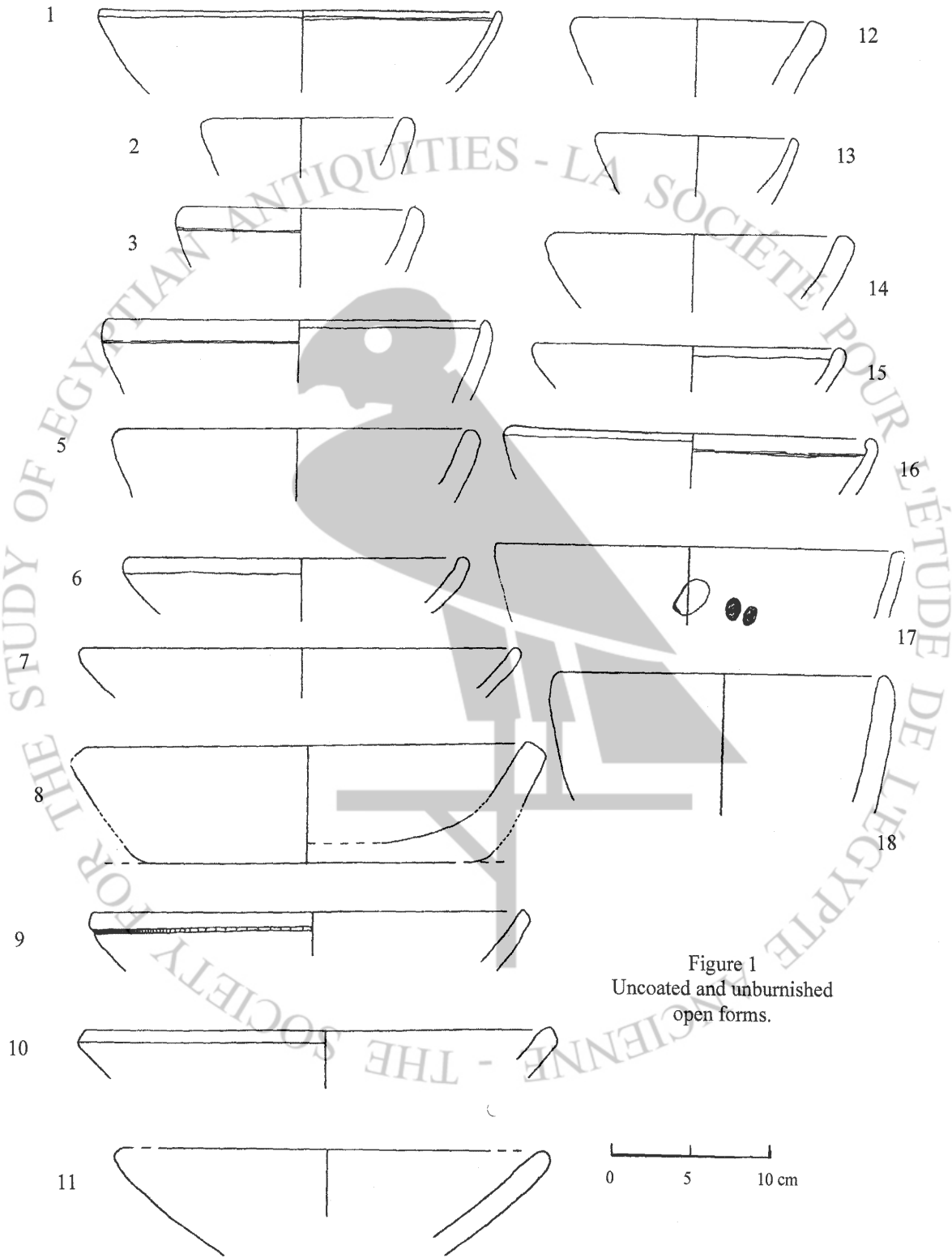
Figure 1
Uncoated and unburnished
open forms.

Fig 1 cont.
Uncoated and unburnished
open forms
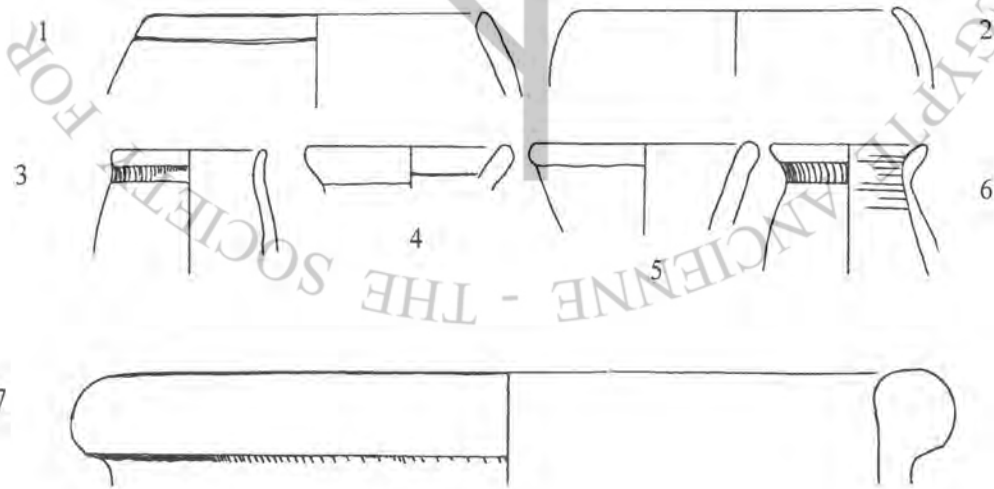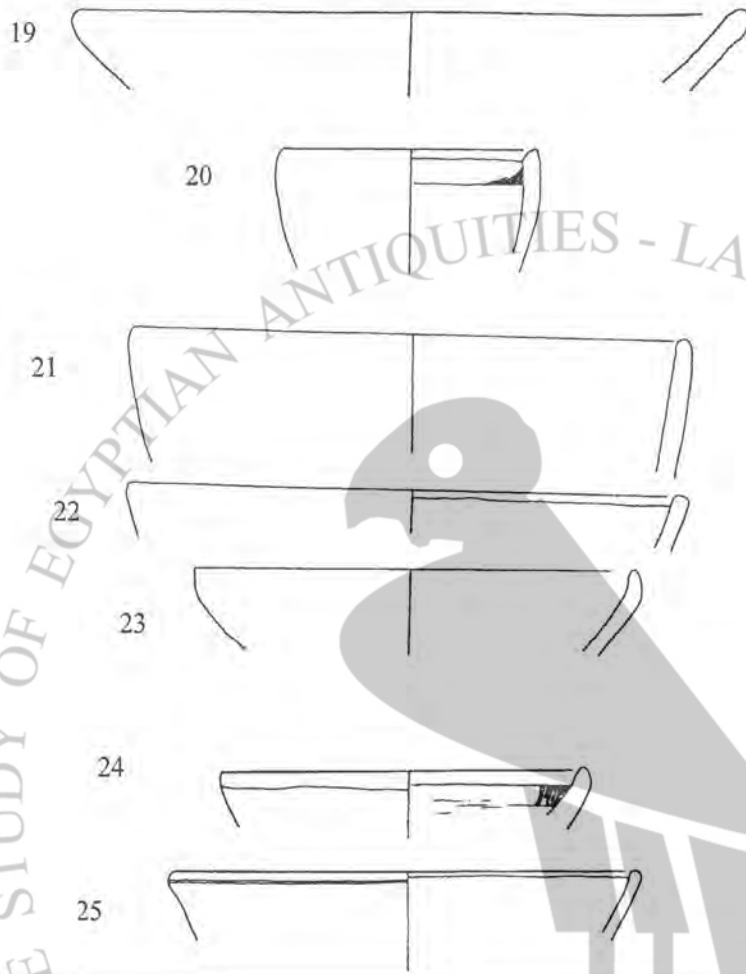
Fig 2
Uncoated and unburnished
closed forms.
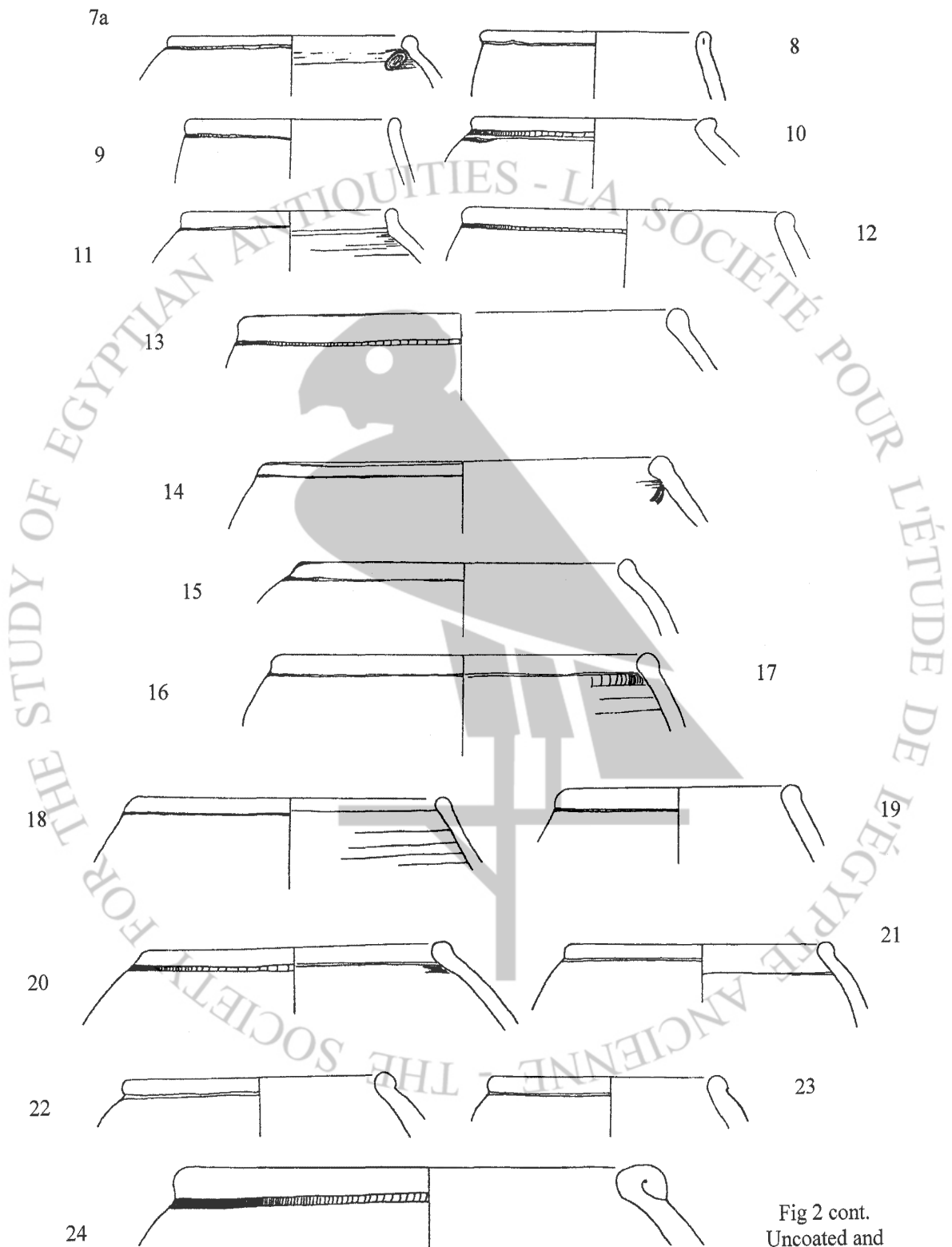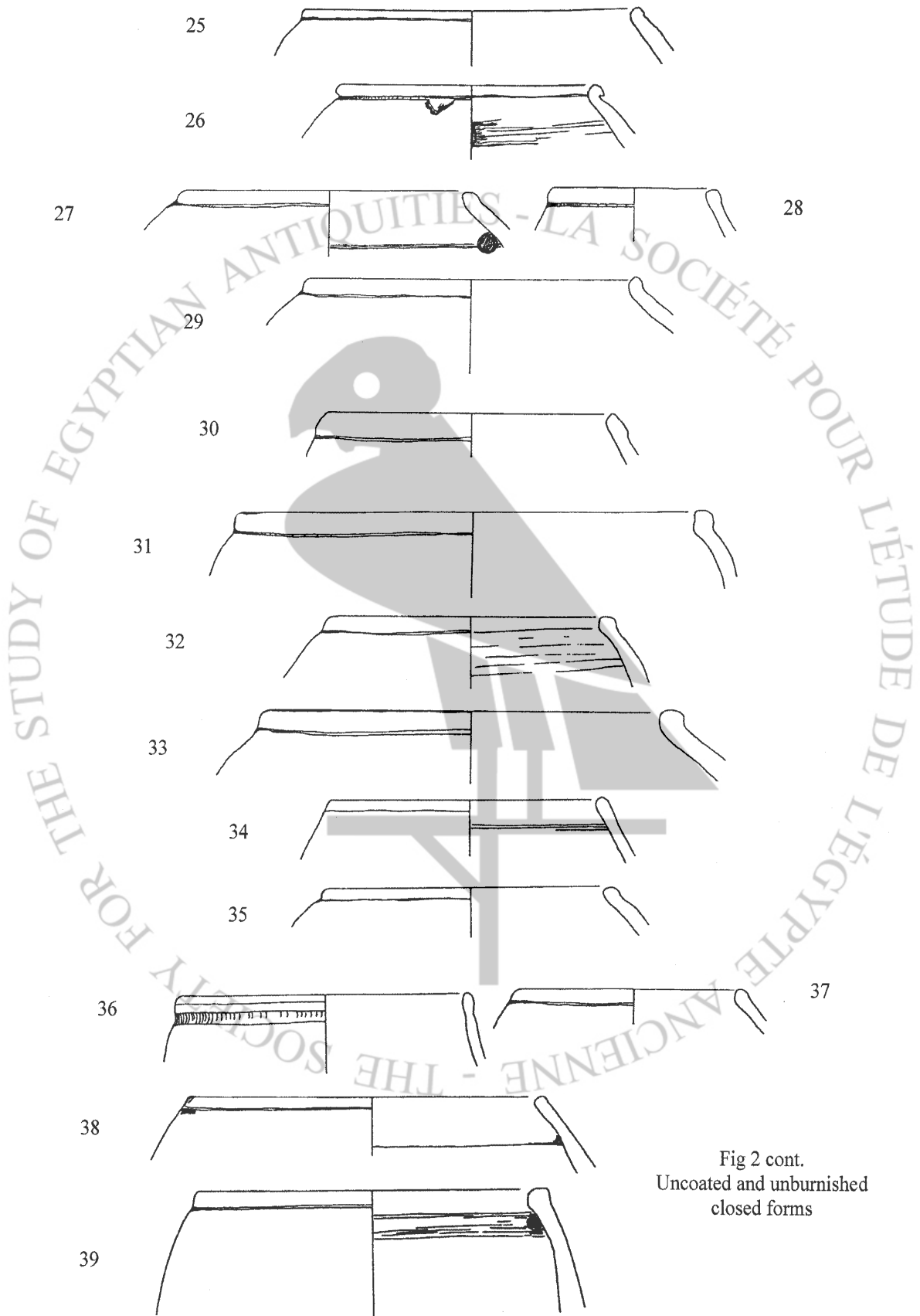
Fig 2 cont.
Uncoated and
unburnished
closed forms

Fig 2 cont.
Uncoated and unburnished
closed forms
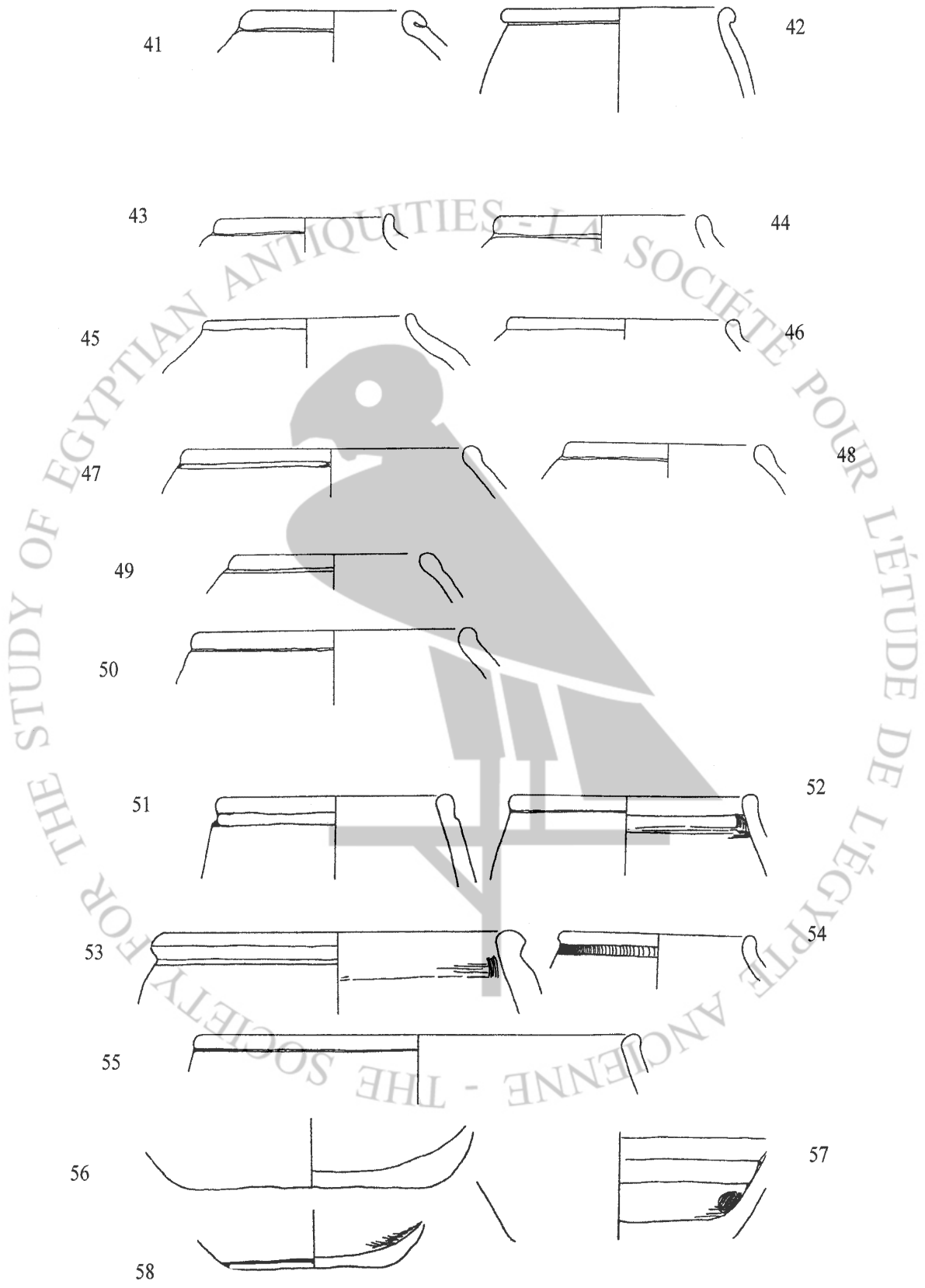
Fig 2 cont.
Uncoated and unburnished
closed forms.

Fig 2 cont.
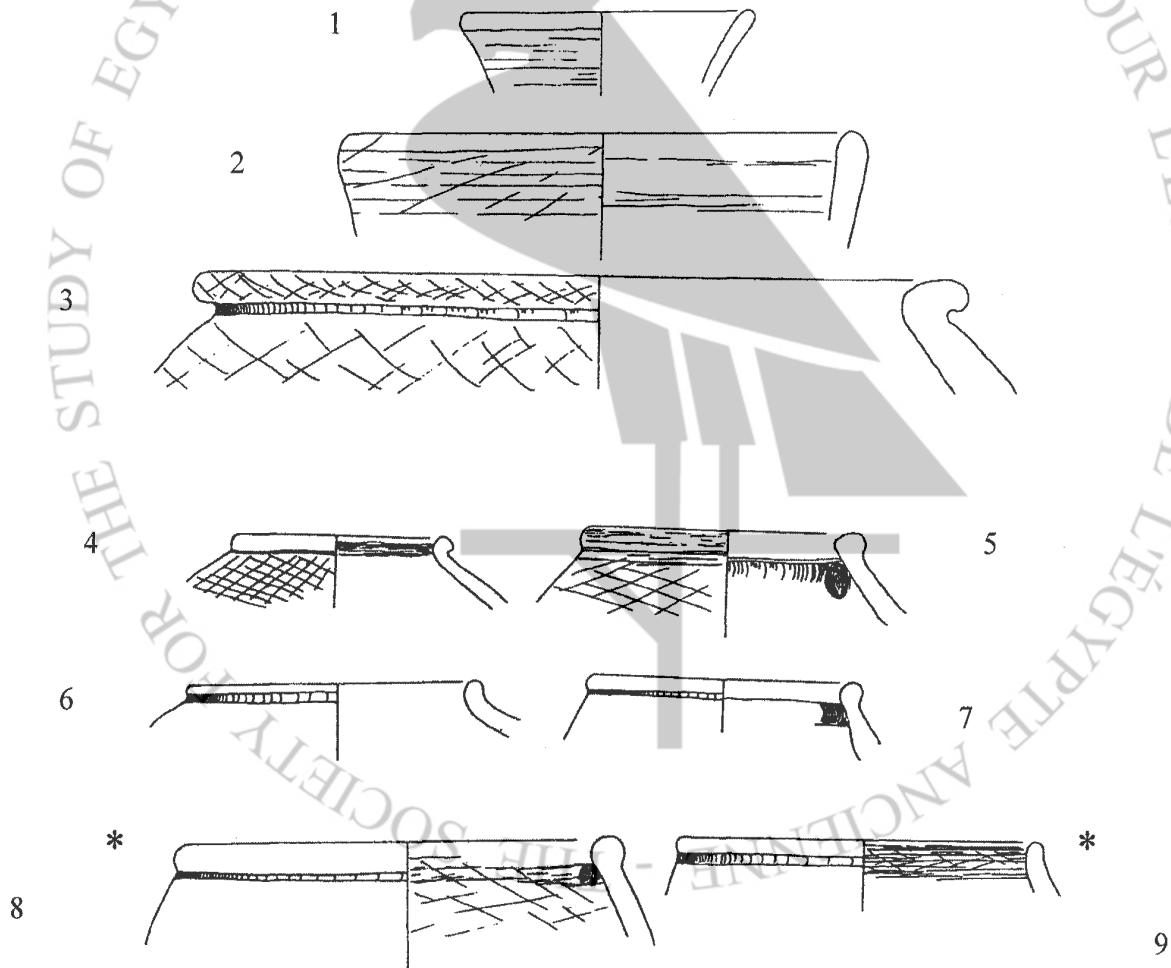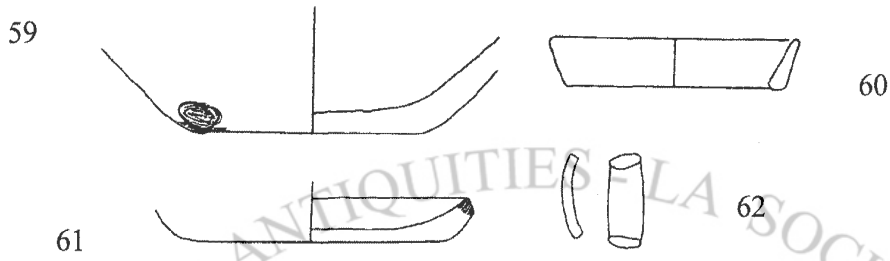Uncoated and unburnished
Ring stand and pulled handle

59

60

61

62

Fig 3.
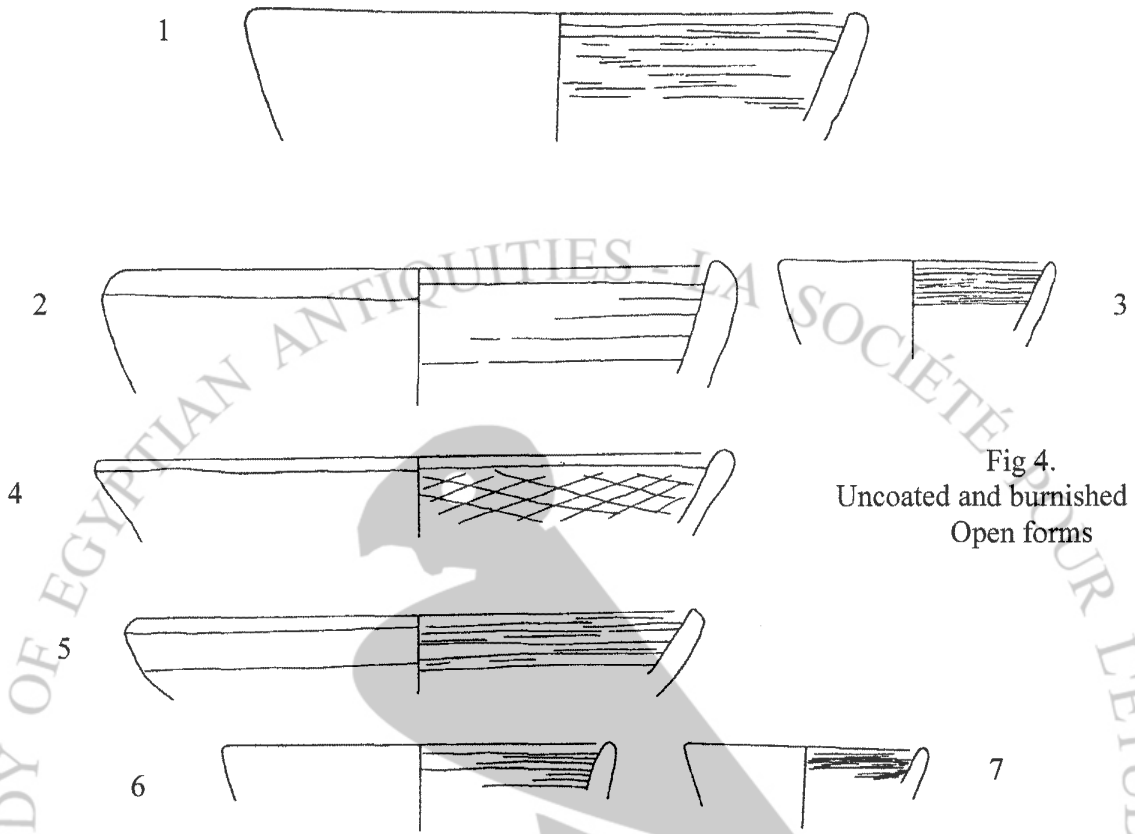Uncoated and burnished outside
closed forms.

* burnished inner lip

Fig 4.
Uncoated and burnished inside
Open forms
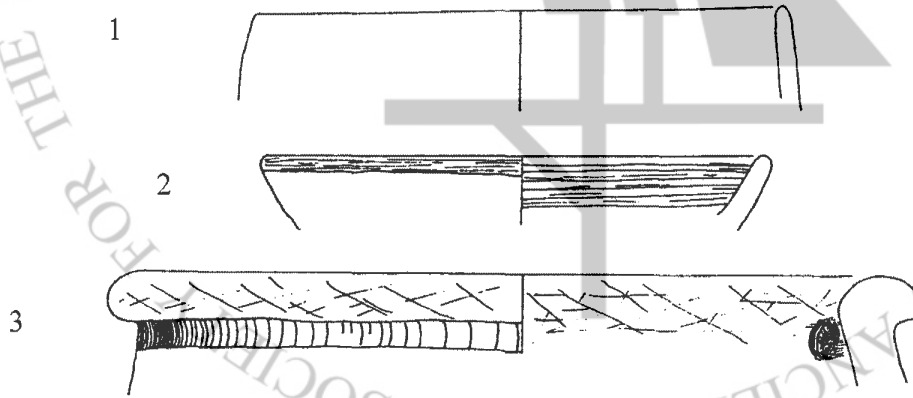
Fig 4b
Uncoated
and
burnished
inside and
out
closed forms
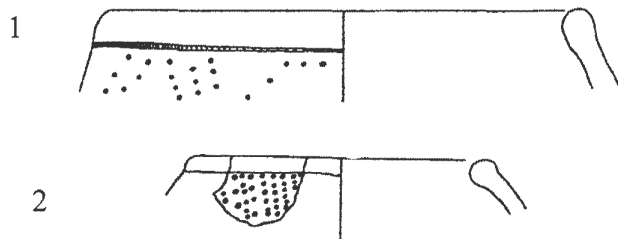
Fig 4c
Uncoated and unburnished
with punctuate decoration
closed forms
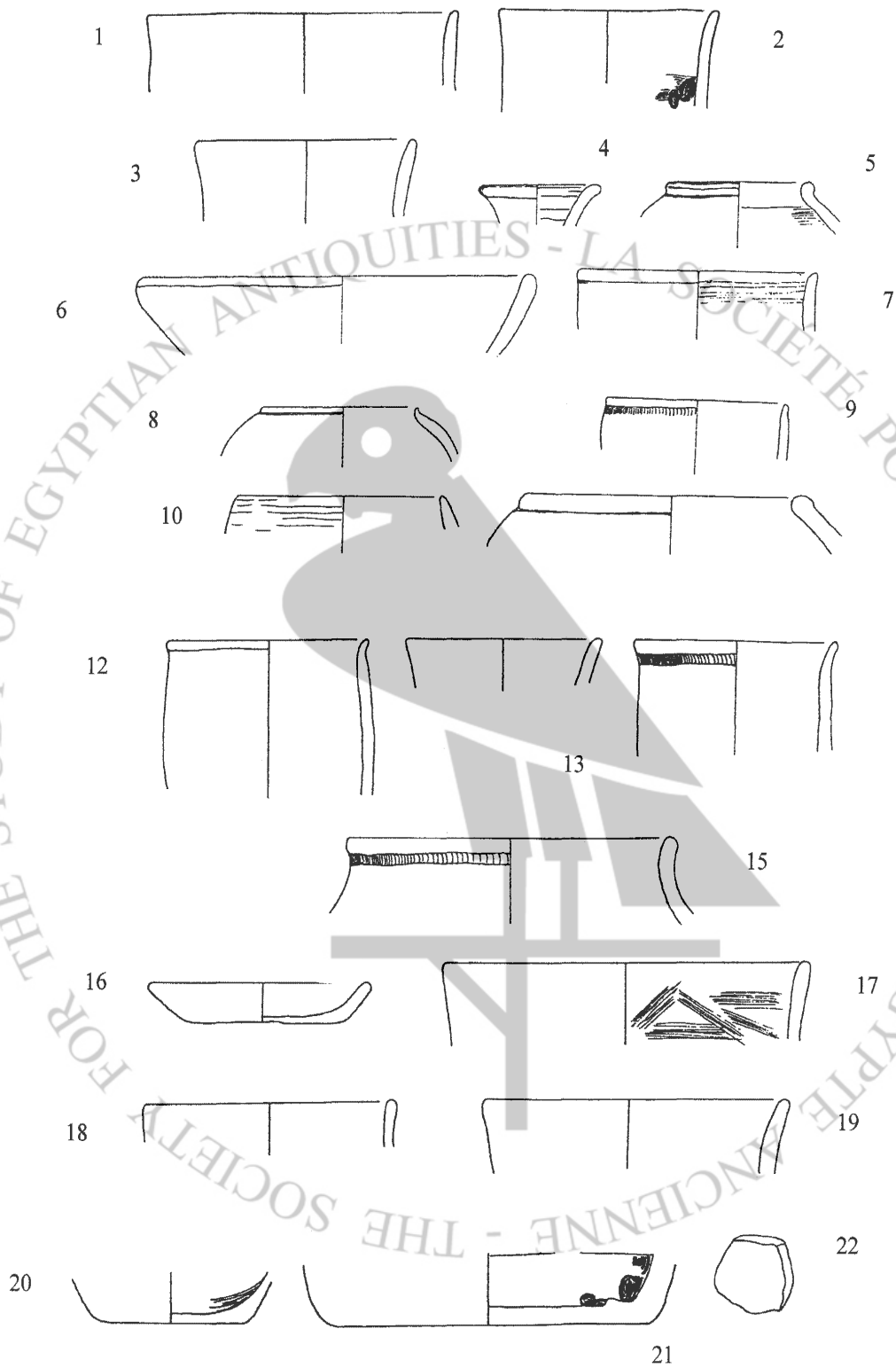
Fig 5
Red slipped and burnished outside. Open and closed forms.

1
Possible lid 6, complete profile 16,
gaming counter made from re-cut sherd, 22

Fig 6a

1

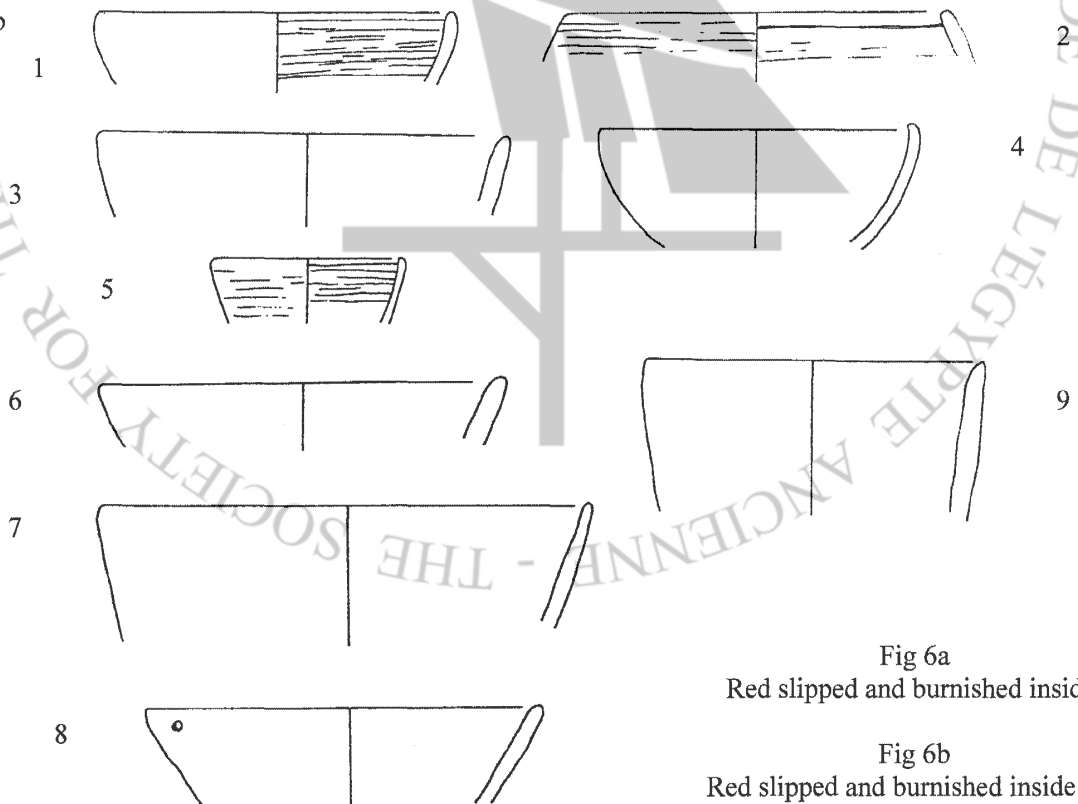2   3

4

5

6

Fig 6b

1   2

3   4

5

6   9

7

8
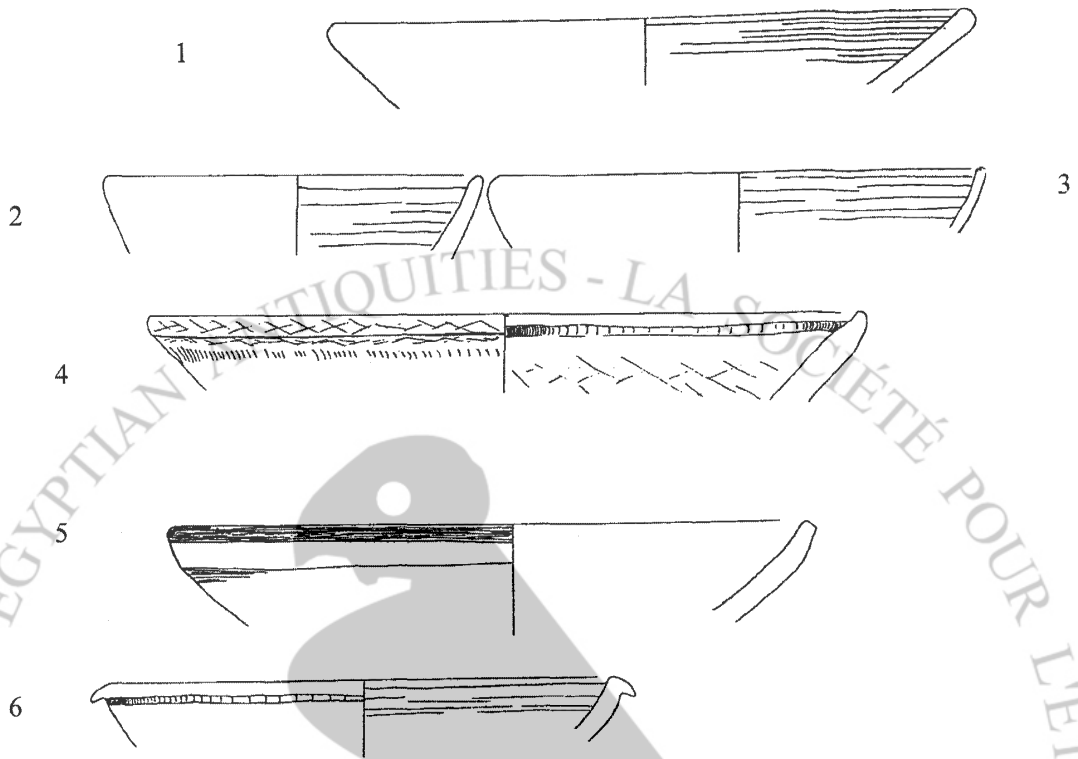
Fig 6a
Red slipped and burnished inside.

Fig 6b
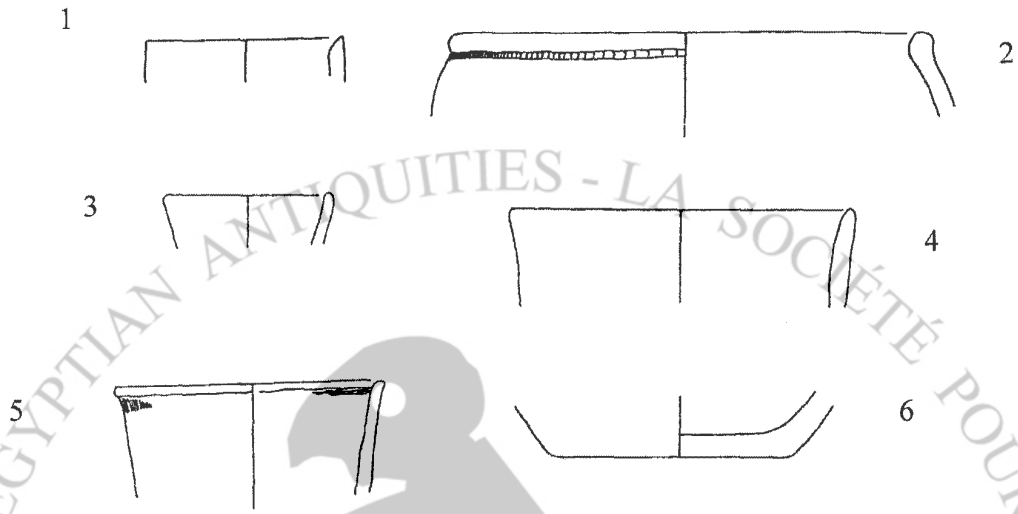Red slipped and burnished inside and
outside.
Open and closed forms

Fig
7a.

1

2

3
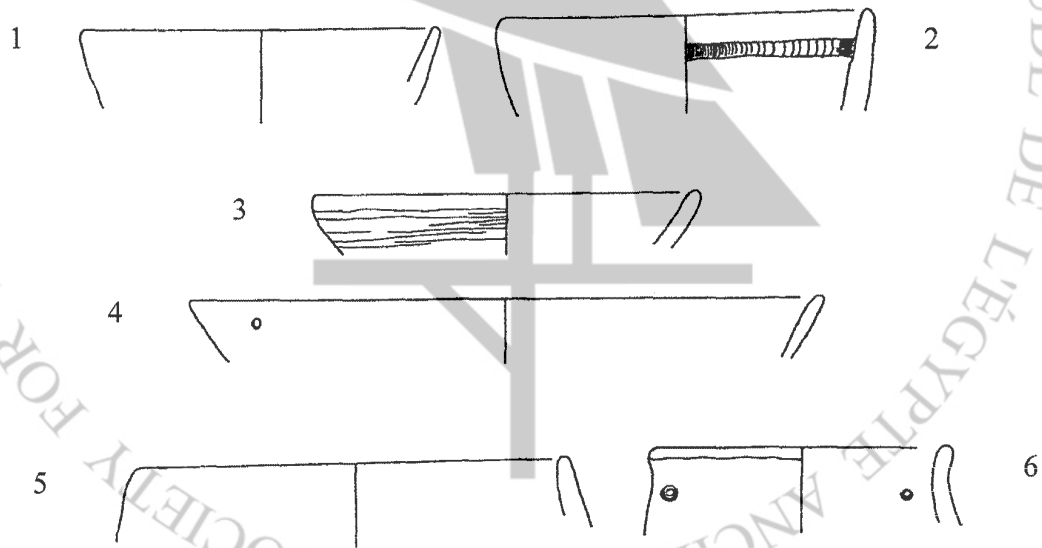
4

5

6

Fig
7b.

1

2

3

4

5

6

Fig 7a.
Black slipped and burnished outside
closed forms.

Fig 7b.
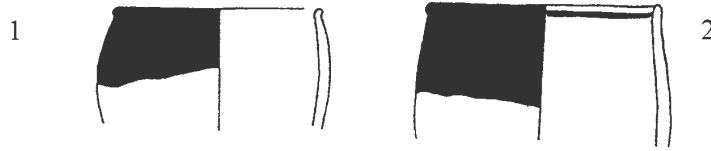Black slipped and burnished inside and outside
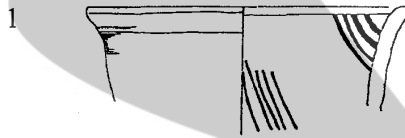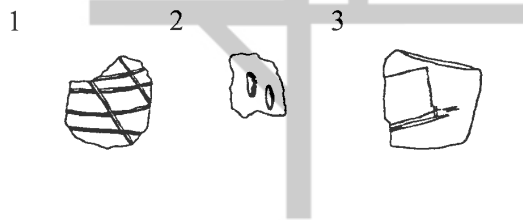open and closed forms

Fig
8a.

Fig
8b.

Fig
8c.

Fig
8d.

Fig 8a. Black and red slipped and burnished outside
closed forms

Fig 8b. Black slipped and burnished inside red slipped and burnished outside
open form.

Fig 8c. Red slipped and burnished inside and outside with white painted decoration inside
open form.

Fig 8d. Decorated body sherds of closed forms
uncoated and unburnished with pre firing incised decoration.

Book Reviews

Karol Myśliwiec, The Twilight of Ancient Egypt: The First Millennium B.C.E., translated from the German, *Herr Beider Länder*, by David Lorton. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2000. 211 pages, bibliography, index, chronological chart, colour and B&W photographs. Cloth $55.00 USD / Paperback $24.94 USD. ISBN: 0-8014-8630-0.

Reviewed by Robert Chadwick.

Despite the vast selection of books currently available for Egyptophiles, few are devoted to the thousand year period which spans the first millennium BC known as the Third Intermediate Period. Normally, ancient Egypt brings to mind the Old Kingdom and the pyramids, or the New Kingdom with its empire building pharaohs and religious upheavals. Fewer people are familiar with the period between the repulsion of the Sea Peoples and the arrival of Alexander the Great and the exploits of Cleopatra.[1] In the Third Intermediate Period there were no great pyramids, only small ones, and no religious upheavals but still the constant undermining of royal powers by the religious establishment. *The Twilight of Ancient Egypt* goes a long way to stimulate the reader's interest in this period by providing an excellent synthesis and overview of an otherwise somewhat neglected period of Egyptian history. The book is carefully conceived and crafted, and thanks to an excellent translation by Egyptologist David Lorton, is very readable in excellent English. To set the stage for the last thousand years of its history, the author begins with a brief discussion of the dualistic nature of Egyptian thought and its manifestations in the geography, religion and iconography of the Two Lands.

The story of the Third Intermediate Period is one of decline and foreign conquest. Underlying this decline is the competition for power between priests and kings that ultimately weakened the Two Lands making it easy prey for powerful and unified neighbours such as the Assyrians and the Kushites. Myśliwiec uses the story of Wenamun to illustrate this decline and considers it "an authentic witness to the collapse of the state into two independent entities already in the reign of the last Ramesses" (p. 22). Chapter Two concentrates on Dynasties XXI to XXIV. Starting in Dynasty 21, there were two Egyptian capitals, one at traditional the city of Thebes, the other in Lower Egypt at Tanis (ancient Djanet). While explaining the demise of Egypt Myśliwiec weaves into the story the many archaeological discoveries, such as the famous mummy caches at Deir el Bahri, and the UNESCO salvage operations of the 1960s.

Next, follows a chapter on the Kushites (Nubians) of the XXVth Dynasty from extreme Upper Egypt. This family of black Africans ruled most of the Two Lands for a century, and were a valuable stabilising force in a time of division and uncertainty. Under earlier Egyptian hegemony, the Kushites had taken up the worship of Amun, and adopted the written and spoken forms of the Egyptian language. As Egypt weakened, Kush, the former colony, extended its power north over the rest of the Nile River Valley. Archaeological research includes recent explorations at Gebel Barkal and the inscription left there by Pharaoh Taharqa commemorating his victory over the Libyans and Asiatics. Poor Taharqa, the Kushite who did so much to reunify Egypt, and yet was chased out of Lower

Egypt by the Assyrians.

Much of the history and polemics of Third Intermediate period revolved around the position of the high priestess of Amun at Thebes, and this problem was particularly acute during the XXI to XXIVth Dynasties when Egypt was divided between northern and southern kingdoms. With the XXVIth or Saite Dynasty and King Psammetichus I, Egypt was once again reunited for a short time.

Throughout the last half of the First Millennium BC, during Persian and Greek domination, Egyptian culture continued to flourish, and numerous examples show the Persians incorporating Egyptian motifs into their art. Examples can be seen at the Hibis temple whose wall reliefs show the Persian king wearing the traditional sidelock of a boy while being nursed by the goddess Mut. This clearly shows the power Egyptian culture had over the conquering Persians. The same was true during the three centuries of Ptolemaic rule. Repeatedly we see examples of respect and admiration for Egyptian art and religion such at Luxor, the temple of Isis at Philae, and the Chapel of Hathor at Dendera. In addition, during the Ptolemaic period financial support and donations of land were made to the priesthood, and in official decrees, including the Rosetta Stone, and the Canopus Decree, were written in three languages, two of them dialects of Egyptian. Even in defeat the conquerors emulated and maintained the cultural legacy of the Two Lands when the Nile dwellers themselves were incapable of protecting Egypt from invaders.

The final chapter is dedicated to "Polish Archaeology on the Nile", and gives the reader a welcome opportunity to learn about the valuable contributions made by Poland in the field of Egyptology. This book is very readable and contains a number of good photographs. Combined with Professor Myśliwiec's vast knowledge of this period, this book is one of the classics of the Third Intermediate Period, and will remain so, for years to come.

Notes
1. Barbara Mertz, the author of the ever popular *Temples, Tombs and Hieroglyphs*, (1964, Dodd, Mead, New York) referred to some of the ruling families of the first millennium BC as "Miscellaneous Dynasties" (p. 300), hardly worth mentioning.

Zahi Hawass, *The Mysteries of Abu Simbel. Ramesses II and the Temples of the Rising Sun*. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000. 88 pp. $15.95 USD. ISBN: 9774246233.

Reviewed by Thomas D. Gilroy.

This volume is similar to Dr. Hawass's (bilingual – Arabic and English) *The Secrets of the Sphinx* (1998). It is portable, concise, and easily readable, and is an ideal companion for the visitor to Ramses II's Abu Simbel temples, particularly one with little or no Egyptological background.

A forthcoming large-format picture-book on the temples will be published by AUC Press, but the many illustrations (colour photographs and reproductions of David Roberts lithographs) in Hawass's present work are themselves impressive for a book of this format.

Hawass first examines Nubia's history in relation to Egypt, then discusses the Aswan

High Dam project and the UNESCO campaign to save the temples from being flooded, by dismantling them and moving them to higher ground; this is followed by a list of the small Nubian temples donated by the Egyptian government to other nations in return for their financial and technical support during the project. Hawass then describes the current nocturnal audio-visual show at the Abu Simbel temples. The next segment is an overview of the reign of Ramses II, and is followed by a room-by-room description of his temple, with explanations of the significance of certain scenes and texts; the smaller temple of Queen Nofretiri is treated in the same manner. Hawass concludes his book with brief descriptions of other Nubian temples built by Ramses.

Along with the correction of a few minor typos, a second edition of this book would benefit from the addition of a map of Western Asia; good maps of the Nile Valley and a more detailed one of Nubia are included, but those unfamiliar with ancient Near Eastern geography would be aided immensely by the presence of a West Asian map when reading the section dealing with Ramses's foreign affairs.

Hawass's book contains that rarest of commodities in Egyptological volumes aimed at a general audience: a bibliography of scholarly works, comprising two pages. However, the significance of some of these works, and their relation to topics discussed in the text, will not be readily apparent to the average reader; direct references to them within the text would rectify this problem, and would facilitate further research by any interested individuals.

Aidan Dodson, *Monarchs of the Nile* (second, revised edition). Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2000. Pp. xviii + 238. $19.95 USD. ISBN: 9774246004.

Reviewed by Thomas D. Gilroy.

This volume is aimed at a general audience, and Dr. Dodson stresses that he does not intend it to be viewed as a detailed history of Pharaonic Egypt. It is concisely written, and focuses, in biographical style, on the lives of a broad selection of individual kings. Dodson wisely mentions in his Preface that, for the sake of brevity and readability, in most cases it is his own interpretation of evidence alone that is presented, and he does not digress into historical or archaeological controversies. This book is a revision of the first edition, incorporating the results of recent research; the line-drawings of the first edition have largely been replaced by black-and-white photographs, and a number of different illustrations have been selected.

After brief introductory chapters – one dealing with the geography and social organization of ancient Egypt, and another with the institution of the Egyptian monarchy – Dodson proceeds in chronological order to examine the lives of a number of rulers from each period of Pharaonic history, up to the time of the Persian conquest. These chapters are followed by a useful king list and chronology, which is in turn followed by a table of royal cemeteries, with lists of the kings buried therein. Maps of Egypt, Nubia, the Near East, Thebes, and Abydos are also included. The Guide to further reading is organized by chapter, and the significance and value of the works cited are discussed. The index is nicely arranged and quite comprehensive.

One criticism of the book is Dodson's use of the Greek transcriptions of royal names (mentioned on p. 8), which is liable to confuse the general reader. Dodson is conscientious enough to render "Montjuhotpe" (the "-hotpe," rather than "-hotep" based, of course, on the Akkadian vocalization of *Imn-ḥtp*) in one instance, but he uses "Amenophis" in another. A consistent use of the "Egyptian" forms, combined with his initial explanation for writings such as "Amenophis" and "Tuthmosis" – so often encountered in other, particularly older, works – would better serve those readers with no Egyptological background.

This book, used in combination with a "social" history, such as Barry Kemp's *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization*, would be a suitable text for the Ancient Egypt segment of a Near Eastern History survey course (Dodson's annotated bibliography helps a great deal in this regard).