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Egypt and the Mediterranean World.
Studies in Memory of Sally L. D. Katary

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Foreword	v
Tabula Gratulatoria	vii
In Memoriam: Sally L. D. Katary	xi
Bibliography of Sally L. D. Katary	xvii
In Memoriam: Eugene David Cruz-Uribe	xxi

JOHANNES AUENMÜLLER

Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Prosopografie des Neuen Reiches (IV): Herkunft
„Hermopolis“ und Hermopolitaner außerhalb ihrer Stadt

pp. 1-28

MICHAEL BÁNYAI

„Sanherib“ in Herodot und Jesaja -
noch einmal um die Chronologie der 25. Dynastie

pp. 29-69

CARSON BAY

Religion, Ethnicity, and the Fashioning of Egyptian Identity
in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*

pp. 71-95

ARLETTE DAVID

When the Body Talks: Akhenaten's Body Language in Amarna Iconography

pp. 97-157

BENEDICT G. DAVIES

The Ignominy of Deir el-Medina and the Cleansing of the Necropolis
Workforce—a Re-examination of the Events of Year 17 of Ramesses IX

pp. 159-181

KELLY-ANNE DIAMOND

The “Supernatural” as a Marginalizing Force in the Fiction of
John Dickson Carr

pp. 183-204

KOENRAAD DONKER VAN HEEL

Delta Donation for Doorkeepers, Why?

pp. 205-218

EDMUND S. MELTZER

Sinuhe Yet Again: Sinuhe and Moses

pp. 219-224

KATE MINNITI

Aegyptiaca in Archaic Sicily

pp. 225-249

KATHLEEN L. SHEPPARD

On His Majesty's Secret Service: James Henry Breasted, Accidental Spy

pp. 251-272

STEVEN M. STANNISH

Papyrus Rollin 213 and the Aftermath of the Amarna Period

pp. 273-283

Book Reviews:

pp. 285-286

Susanne Beck, *Exorcism, Illness and Demons in an ancient Near Eastern Context, The Egyptian magical Papyrus Leiden I*

Stefan Bojowald

Guidelines for Contributors

About the SSEA

Editorial Foreword

First of all, we would like to introduce this volume of the Journal by welcoming our newly-designated Editors and Editorial Board members:

Sarah Ketchley PhD, Co-Editor and Technical Editor;

Sarah Schellinger PhD, Assistant Editor;

Simone Burger PhD, Dan Deac PhD, and Nikolaos Lazaridis PhD, Editorial Board Members;

and by expressing our thanks and gratitude to Prof. Jackie Jay for her sterling contribution as Co-Editor for vols. 40-43, her continued work on vol. 44, and her tireless efforts in ensuring a smooth and seamless transition when increased workload obligated her to step down from editorial duties. And we are also grateful that Jackie continues to serve on the Editorial Board.

The present volume is the Gedenkschrift for Prof. Sally L. D. Katary, and we offer it as a humble and heartfelt tribute to our close colleague and dear friend, in the hope that the contributions presented here would appeal to her wide-ranging interests, versatile command of knowledge, and lively curiosity. We thank the many colleagues who have come forward to be included, and very special thanks go to Narasim and Shannon Katary for their devoted support of this project.

Along with honoring Sally, we mourn the recent passing of our colleagues and friends Gene Cruz-Uribe, John Adams and James Hoch. Cruz was a long-time friend of and enthusiastic participant in the Society; he served as Editor of the Journal and head of the SSEA-USA chapter. He was also Editor of JARCE, author of many distinguished publications, and director of major field projects. Many Society members will recall that he volunteered to give the first Sally Katary Lecture in November 2016. John Adams was a founder of the Southern California Chapter of ARCE, a frequent contributor to *Kmt: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt*, and author of the acclaimed biography *The Millionaire and the Mummies: Theodore Davis's Gilded Age in the Valley of the Kings*. As this volume is being finalized to go to press, we have just been told of the passing of Prof. James Hoch, a long-time SSEA member and a former editor of this Journal. James was first and foremost a grammarian and philologist, and author of an outstanding *Middle Egyptian Grammar*, SSEA Publications 15 (1996). They are deeply missed.

- Edmund S. Meltzer and Sarah L. Ketchley

TABULA GRATULATORIA

Narasim Katary

Shannon Katary

Cynthia J. and Michael Lynne

Ruth Gerrity

Kokila Katari

Hadyn Butler

Mary Lou Fabbro

Edmund S. Meltzer

Allan Daoust

Jack Wolofsky

Steve Waldmann MD



Sally L. D. Katary
(1946-2016)

In Memoriam

Sally L. D. Katary

(1946-2016)

We are profoundly saddened by the sudden passing of our dear friend and colleague Dr. Sally L.D. Katary on Saturday, August 6, 2016 in Sudbury, Ontario. Her daughter Shannon and husband of 50 years Narasim honor her memory. A Celebration of Sally's Life was held in Sudbury on Saturday, August 13, 2016 at the Living With Lakes Centre at Laurentian University. For 30 years, Sally had been a Professor in the Ancient & Classics Studies program at Thorneloe College at Laurentian University, where she was appreciated as a committed and engaged teacher who went the extra distance for her students. A highly respected Egyptologist, she was also at home in the field of Classics, in which she did a great deal of her teaching; she also combined the two fields to achieve additional insight, as in her study of the Story of the Two Brothers in *JSSEA* 24 (1994, published 1997) and her final article which appeared in volume 42 of our *Journal*.

Sally Louise Dolan Katary was born in New Rochelle, New York, and grew up in and around Larchmont. She was the third of four sisters in a modest and resilient family. Her elder sisters were Penny Yesko and Ruth Gerrity, with Cindy Lynne completing the foursome. One of their neighbors was Ray Walston, the star of *My Favorite Martian* and *Damn Yankees*.

Following the advice of one of her high school teachers, Sally attended the University of Pennsylvania, taking courses with scholars such as James B. Pritchard, Samuel Noah Kramer, Moshe Greenberg, Alan R. Schulman and David O'Connor. During this period she became very interested in the field of religious studies and mythology, and it was with a major in Religious Thought that she graduated with an Honors B.A. degree, Summa Cum Laude, while being initiated into the study of ancient Egyptian, Arabic, Hebrew, and other languages ancient and modern. Her outstanding academic achievements also earned her the honors of membership in Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Gamma Mu (the Social Science Honor Society), and Valedictorian of the College for Women at the University of Pennsylvania. Throughout her undergraduate and graduate education, she received a stellar succession of scholarships, fellowships and awards.

For her graduate studies, Sally attended the University of Toronto, where she received her MA and PhD in Near Eastern Studies with a major in Egyptology, studying with Donald B. Redford and Ronald J. Williams. As a graduate student, she went to Egypt with Profs. Redford and Gerald E. Kadish as an epigrapher in the project to record the Chapel of Osiris Heka-Djet (Ruler of Eternity) in Kamak. In 1969, she was one of the founders of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, in which she played a number of important roles throughout her career. She was a long-serving Board member and remained an Honorary Trustee until her passing; she also served on the Scholars Colloquium Committee and Poster Session Committee. The *Journal* was one of her major areas of endeavor; she chaired the Book Review Committee (and her reviews are highly informative publications in their own right and models of what a review should be), and she served as Associate Editor for several volumes up through volume 42.

While she was an undergrad at Penn, at a Guy Fawkes Day party in 1966, Sally met her future husband Narasim Katary, who was a grad student there. Narasim fell in love with her and courted her. They were married on the first anniversary of the Moon Landing (July 20, 1970) in Madison, Wisconsin. Their life together was a well matched union with its share of highs and lows. The most arresting part of their fifty-year-long companionship was how much they shared in common in spite of their diverse backgrounds growing up in two different cultures, she in suburban New York, and he in Metropolitan Bengaluru, India. After Sally completed her doctorate, the couple had a baby girl, Shannon. They made more than one trip to India, to visit Narasim's family and to see the sights of another amazing civilization.

Sally's dissertation, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period*, was published by Kegan Paul International in 1989. This volume served as a centerpiece of a series of distinguished publications focusing on ancient Egyptian land tenure, administration and socio-economic history, as elucidated by the study of Papyrus Wilbour and other economic documents. In these publications she shows authoritative mastery of the relevant texts and scholarship covering three millennia of history, and of a rigorous statistical methodology through which she was able to glean important insights about ancient Egyptian society from these sources. Her interests and work were by no means limited to socio-economic and agrarian history, but also included Egyptian literature and its intercultural connections, mythology and folklore studies, gender in ancient Egypt and other ancient societies, and the recovery of how the ancient Egyptian people lived.

Sally was invited to contribute to a number of important reference works and edited volumes, including the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, the *Encyclopedia of the Ancient World* published by Wiley-Blackwell, *The Egyptian World* edited by Toby Wilkinson, and *Ancient Egyptian Administration* edited by Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia. One research project that afforded her particular pleasure was researching

the life of the beloved Toronto Egyptologist Winifred Needier, resulting in an article which was published in Barbara S. Lesko and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, eds., *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology*.

Sally was a frequent presenter at our SSEA Symposia and Scholars' Colloquia, and presented papers at ARCE meetings as well as the International Congress of Egyptologists which was held in Toronto in 1982. She presented many invited lectures covering subjects such as ancient Egyptian tomb robbery and economy, afterlife, urban communities and dreams, bringing ancient Egypt vividly to life for her audiences. In 2004, she headed back to Egypt for the filming of the National Geographic documentary "Ancient Tomb Robbers," which was part of the "Tales of the Tomb" series. She was a natural on film. She was invited to be a Visiting Scholar at the Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille 3 (funded by the Institut International Erasme/ Maison Sciences Humaines du Nord-Pas-de Calais), as part of the ongoing international research project *Le milieu rural du Proche Orient à l'Âge du Bronze Récent: économie palatiale/économie de l'espace et des activités productives* - in which her participation was facilitated by her fluency in French. This project involved travel in France, the Netherlands and Spain as well as work in Canada. She also received a travel grant from the British Academy to participate in the Symposium "Land, Settlement and Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times," which took place at Oxford. It was a particular source of joy that her daughter Shannon accompanied her on some of these travels.

Many students were grateful for Sally's commitment, selfless effort and generosity over the course of a teaching career that spanned more than four decades, including 30 years as a Professor in Thorneloe College at Laurentian University. Though most of her teaching responsibilities were in the field of Classics and general ancient studies, she also introduced students to the ancient Egyptian language, sometimes extending to them the hospitality of her home.

Despite daunting health problems, Sally's work if anything was accelerating during what tragically turned out to be the final years of her life. She had just recently lectured for the traveling Tutankhamun exhibition in Canada and had been recruited as one of the team writing commentaries to the *Ramesside Inscriptions* with Prof. Kenneth A. Kitchen and Benedict Davies, and she had other projects on the drawing board as well, including an edited volume on *Gold in Ancient Egypt*.

Along with her devotion to scholarship, Sally had a lifelong enthusiasm for music. In grade school, she and Cindy started violin and cello respectively, and then added piano and oboe. Sally matured into a talented performer; she played the viola in the Sudbury Symphony as well as smaller instrumental groups, and sang Baroque opera. As an excellent violist she took part in several community concerts, orchestras and quartets. She belonged

to a group of musicians that brought classical music to people who were unable to attend public performances; this gave her a great deal of satisfaction. When she played, her musical spirit filled the room, and she was an expert when it came to classical music and interpreting composers. She was always the teacher, and moreover her music came from the heart.

Sally was an indefatigable scholar and teacher of impeccably high standards and was always helpful and generous, and a devoted friend. She will be greatly missed and forever remembered by her family, friends and colleagues.

Poster presented by Shannon Katary at the SSEA Annual Meeting, November 2016

I met Sally and our friendship began in the 1970s, when we were both graduate students in Egyptology at the University of Toronto; in the following years, I was fortunate to be one of the editors of a volume for which she wrote one of her many excellent papers, in honor of her beloved teacher and mentor, our common teacher Ron Williams. I began working closely with Sally again when I joined the Book Review Committee of the Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities, which she chaired, and more so when I became one of the editors and she was Associate Editor. As we consulted on articles and book reviews, and correspondence with authors, and proofreading involving half a dozen or so languages and scripts, and all of the work that goes into producing a journal, I was constantly impressed by her amazing sense of responsibility, her mastery of the field, her teamwork, her exceptionally high standards, her indefatigable hard work even while she was struggling with serious medical problems. Now many people who have such high standards and such a powerful work ethic might be severe and judgmental and somewhat intimidating, but not Sally! She was unpretentious, unaffected, generous, helpful, approachable, always giving encouragement.

I also came to know her wide and varied interests and enthusiasms, many of which we shared, not only in Egyptology and the ancient world, but in music, literature, languages, and the types of books she enjoyed. And along with a sense of humor she had a profound and heartfelt sense of empathy. I was working with her on the editing of her last article, which she finished less than two weeks ago, in honor of our mutual friend, the gentle scholar of Egyptian poetry, Jack Foster. The article brings together her two fields, Egyptology and Classics, with the thoughtfulness, thoroughness and insight that she brought to everything she did. There are other projects that she was working on, that I hope very much will see the light of day, and I'll try to make that happen.

She encouraged and inspired everyone to be the best that they can be, but I don't think anyone can equal her. We have all been blessed by her presence, and we miss her terribly, yet something of her will always remain with us.

Thank you Sally!

Edmund Meltzer

Presented at the Living With Lakes Centre, Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario,
August 13, 2016

SALLY L. D. KATARY

PUBLICATIONS

“Concerning Bata and The Doomed Prince: Their “Afterlives” in the Classical Literature,” Gedenkschrift for John L. Foster, *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 42 (2015-2016): 25-41.

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“The Wilbour Papyrus and the management of the Nile riverbanks in Ramesside Egypt: Preliminary analysis of the types of cultivated land” in *Riparia, un patrimoine culturel: La gestion intégrée des bords de l’eau. Proceedings of the Sudbury Workshop, April 12–14, 2012/Actes de l’atelier Savoirs et pratiques de gestion intégrée des bords de l’eau – Riparia, Sudbury, 12–14 avril*, Ella Herman and Anne Watelet, eds. *BAR International Series* 2587, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014: 199-215.

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“Land and Landholding in Pharaonic Egypt”; “The Wilbour Papyrus”; “Agriculture in Pharaonic Egypt”; “Nilometers” In: Roger Bagnall, Kal Brodersen, Craige Champion, Andrew Erskine, and Sabine Huebner (chief eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Ancient World*. 12 volumes. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Online edition, 2010, print edition forthcoming.

“Taxation to the End of the Third Intermediate Period.” In Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (chief eds.), *The UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. Online edition, 2011, print edition forthcoming.

“Distinguishing Subclasses in New Kingdom Society on Evidence of the Wilbour Papyrus.” In: Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Élites et pouvoir en Égypte ancienne: épigraphie, littérature et archéologie*. Villeneuve d’Ascq: Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille. *Cahiers de Recherches d’Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille* 28 (2009-2010) = *CRIPEL* 28, 263-319.

“Land Tenure and Taxation.” In: Toby Wilkinson (ed.), *The Egyptian World*. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 185-201. Pb edition 2010.

“The *Wsf* Plots in the Wilbour Papyrus and Related Documents: A Speculative Interpretation.” In: Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia (ed.), *L’agriculture institutionnelle en Égypte ancienne. État de la question et perspectives. L’agriculture institutionnelle en Égypte ancienne. État de la question et perspectives interdisciplinaires*. Villeneuve d’Ascq: Institut de Papyrologie et d’Égyptologie de Lille, pp. 137-55.

“Ancient Tomb Robbers” in “Tales of the Tomb” series, National Geographic Television and Film Specials, filmed in Luxor, Egypt in the Valley of the Kings and the Workmen’s Village at Deir el-Medina, Sept. 2004, produced by Ann Conanan and David Ross Smith, directed by Peter Getzels.

“Winifred Ellen Needler”, the late Curator Emeritus of the Egyptian Department of the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Ontario, in Barbara S. Lesko and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, eds., *Breaking Ground: Women in Old World Archaeology* (volume 2 to Getzel M. Cohen and Martha Sharp Joukowsky, ed., *Breaking Ground: Pioneering Women Archaeologists* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); published online at www.brown.edu/Research/Breaking_Ground/bios/Needler_Winifred.pdf).

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“O. Strasbourg H 106: Ramesside Split Holdings and a Possible Link to Deir el-Medina.” In Robert J. Demarée and Arno Egberts (eds.), *Deir el-Medina in the Third Millennium: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen* [*Egyptologische Uitgaven* 14]. Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2000, pp. 171-208.

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Foreword to Hadyn R. Butler, *Egyptian Pyramid Geometry: Architectural and Mathematical Patterning in Dynasty IV Egyptian Pyramid Complexes*. Mississauga, Ontario: Benben Publications, 1998, xi-xiv.

“*The Two Brothers* as Folktale: Constructing the Social Context,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 24 (1994) [Papers Presented in Memory of Ronald J. Williams], pp. 39-70.

“*The Two Brothers* as Folktale: Constructing the Social Context,” Annual Meeting of the

American Research Center in Egypt, Toronto, April 29-May 1, 1994, abstract in program book, pp. 43-44.

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Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period [*Studies in Egyptology*] Preface by Jac. J. Janssen London: Kegan Paul International, 1989.

“Cultivator, Scribe, Stablemaster, Soldier: The Late Egyptian Miscellanies in the Light of P. Wilbour: A Study in Honour of Ronald J. Williams on the Occasion of His Retirement,” *Ancient World* 6 (1983), pp. 71-93.

Peace in the Ancient World collaborated with Matthew Melko and Richard D. Weigel and Michael McKenny. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, 1981.

“Egyptian Civilization: An Introductory Annotated Bibliography,” *Comparative Civilizations Bulletin* No. 11, Fall 1974, pp. 11-13.

Ongoing Research and Publications

Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated, Notes and Comments (RITANC), vol. VII with Benedict Davies and Hana Navratilova, eds. and Sally L.D. Katary, Associate. Wiley-Blackwell. Continuing in series begun by Professor Emeritus Kenneth Kitchen, University of Liverpool.

“Understanding the Intent and Purpose of the Wilbour Papyrus through an Analysis of the Assessment Rates of the Varieties of Land Cultivated,” requested contribution for the 45th Anniversary Volume, *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, Toronto, Canada. (This may go instead to the *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*).

In Memoriam
Eugene David Cruz-Uribe
(1952-2018)



It was with deep sadness that the SSEA community learned of the death of Eugene David Cruz-Uribe, who passed away on March 12, 2018 from injuries he had received that morning in a bicycling accident near his home in Richmond, Indiana. Gene (“Cruz”) is survived by his wife Kathy, Chancellor of Indiana University East, as well as their two daughters, Alicia (“Cici”) and Mariana (“Mari”), and granddaughter Sofia. He was 65 years old.

Gene’s association with the SSEA was long and rich. From 1998-2007 he was the editor of the JSSEA (a position I’m honored to have held as one of his successors). He also served as a trustee of the SSEA for many years and instituted SSEA USA in 1994. He was part of several initiatives to grant funding to students through both SSEA USA and the Missy Eldredge Fund. He loved traveling to Toronto every November for the annual Symposium weekend and to the end of his life was president of SSEA USA and an Honorary Trustee of the Society.

In fact, my first encounter with Gene was when he presented at a Symposium in the late 1990s. He drew wisdom advice from Insinger to inform the Clinton scandal - and pulled it off as only Cruz could, with signature bow-tie intact. He made every academic conference he attended a more lively event than it would have been without him. Particularly memorable for me was sharing some truly bad beer at the Paris Demotic Congress in 2005.

Gene's Egyptological interests were wide-ranging: he made a number of presentations on works of Egyptian literature, and his fascination with the god Seth was well-known. As a native of Green Bay, Wisconsin, his childhood interest in Egyptology naturally led him to the University of Chicago for both his undergraduate and graduate degrees. At Chicago, he was bitten by the Demotic bug, in large part because of the lure of so much still unpublished Demotic material. Gene received his PhD from the University of Chicago in 1983 and from there went on to teaching and administrative positions at Brown, Northern Arizona University, California State University at Monterey Bay, and Indiana University East, retiring from the last institution less than a year before his death.

Shortly after Gene's death, I read Koenraad Donker van Heel's *Mrs. Tsenhor* (The American University in Cairo Press, 2014). I was delighted to find at the top of the acknowledgements a mention of Gene's *editio princeps* of the Demotic memos P. Louvre 3231 B and C, and it was a joy to see how, throughout the book, Donker van Heel engaged with work stemming from the entire length of Gene's academic career. (For an excellent review of *Mrs. Tsenhor*, see the piece in *JSSEA* 41 [2014-2015] by Sally Katary, another of our sorely missed friends.)

Gene's later career focused most intensively on the study of Demotic graffiti: at Philae, Kharga, and the Valley of the Kings. He was most proud of the Fulbright Scholarship he received for the 2006-2007 year, which allowed him time in Egypt to work on all of these projects. It is with the VoK graffiti project that I am especially indebted to his generosity as a senior scholar seeking to mentor those newer to the field. When Gene and Steve Vinson were looking for a student to train in epigraphic techniques and help with the project, I was lucky enough to be taken along for the ride.

Gene was one of those people who genuinely loved life and lived every moment to the fullest; may we all follow his example. It was truly a privilege to count him as friend, colleague, and mentor. He is deeply missed. But, to paraphrase the Demotic formula, his good name will indeed remain forever!

Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Prosopografie des Neuen Reiches (IV): Herkunft ‚Hermopolis‘ und Hermopolitaner außerhalb ihrer Stadt

Johannes Auenmüller (Münster/München)

„O Thoth, place me in Khmun, thy city pleasant to live in, looking after me with bread and beer and guarding my mouth <in> speaking. Would that I had Thot behind me tomorrow!“ (pSallier I = pBM EA 10185, rt. 8,3)¹

Abstract: In this fourth article regarding New Kingdom Hermopolis and its social elites, the focus is shifted to (potential) Hermopolitans that are attested by various sources outside of their home town or place of office. In doing so, the territorial sphere of action of at least a certain local group of elite people – primarily those who are identifiable as members of the Hermopolitan religious administration – becomes visible. After considering problems of prosopographical identification in relation to the distribution of the local gods Thot and Nehemetoui, apparent members of the Hermopolitan elite attested beyond ancient Ashmunein are individually discussed in geographical order from the First Cataract to the Sinai. In some cases, a relation to Hermopolis can also be ruled out based on the available epigraphical evidence. Besides assessing the reasons for the elites' presence elsewhere, the contribution also addresses the relationships between these places and Hermopolis, as portrayed by the people themselves. The main aim of this article series is to establish an up-to-date 'regional prosopography' for Hermopolis in the New Kingdom.

Résumé: Dans cette contribution d'une série des articles sur Hermopolis et son élite sociale au Nouvel Empire, l'accent est mis ici sur les Hermopolitains qui pourraient être attestés en dehors de leur ville d'origine ou de leur lieu de travail, et ce, à travers plusieurs sources. La sphère territoriale d'action d'un groupe spécifique d'individus issus de l'élite de cette ville – qui ont été initialement identifiés comme appartenant à l'administration religieuse hermopolitaine – est ainsi mise au jour. Après avoir considéré les problèmes liés à l'identification prosopographique, notamment en ce qui concerne la diffusion des dieux locaux Thot et Nehemtaoui, les membres de cette élite potentiellement hermopolitaine connus en dehors de l'ancien Ashmunein sont étudiés individuellement de la Première Cataracte jusqu'au Sinaï. Dans certains cas, une relation avec Hermopolis peut être exclue à partir des informations épigraphiques disponibles. En plus de proposer un certain nombre d'explications sur la présence de cette élite en dehors de sa ville d'origine, l'article se penche sur les relations entre ces lieux et Hermopolis, telles que décrites par ces personnes. Le but principal de cette série d'articles est d'établir une « prosopographie régionale » actualisée d'Hermopolis au Nouvel Empire.

Keywords: New Kingdom/Nouvel Empire; Hermopolis Magna/Hermopolis Magna; Prosopography/ prosopographie; Local and Non-Local Elites/élites locales et extérieures; Territoriality/territorialité

¹ R. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, Brown Egyptological Studies I, London 1954, 321.

1. Einleitung

Zugehörigkeit zu und Herkunft aus einer Stadt waren für die Elite des Neuen Reiches Kriterien der Konstruktion und Thematisierung ihrer Identität.² Die regionale Prosopografie – zu gleichen Teilen als Methode und Forschungsrichtung verstanden – nimmt die Zugehörigkeit von historisch belegten Personen zu einer bestimmten Stadt oder Region in den Blick. Diese Zugehörigkeit kann sich in verschiedenen Formen und Medien äußern. Während in den vorangegangenen Beiträgen dieser Artikelserie zur regionalen Prosopografie des Neuen Reiches die Elitenekropole der Stadt³ und die lokalen Göttertempel⁴ nicht nur als ‚Fundorte‘ von prosopografischen Daten, sondern auch als Räume der Sichtbarmachung elitärer Anwesenheit oder Zugehörigkeit diskutiert worden sind, soll im vierten Teil eine anders gerichtete Perspektive auf die Elite dieser Stadt im Hinblick auf prosopografische Daten eingenommen werden. Waren zunächst die tatsächlichen oder zu erschließenden Fundorte ‚Tuna el-Gebel‘ oder ‚Hermopolis‘ die Kriterien für eine Diskussion, werden hier nun die epigrafischen Belege und Denkmäler von (potentiellen) Hermopolitanern außerhalb ihrer Stadt aus ganz Ägypten zum Sprechen gebracht.

Nimmt man diese Perspektive ein, wird nicht nur die Bedeutung der Stadt als der Herkunftsort von nur andernorts belegten – und agierenden – Elitemitgliedern sichtbar, sondern der Radius der Prosopografie dieser Region im Neuen Reich erweitert sich auch um die Personen, die – nach aktueller Beleglage – tatsächlich nur außerhalb der Stadt

2 Vgl. J. Osing, s.v. Heimatgebundenheit, in: W. Helck und W. Westendorf (Hgg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Bd. 2, Wiesbaden 1977, 1101-1104; D. Franke, Zur Bedeutung der Stadt in altägyptischen Texten, in: M. Jansen, J. Hooek und J. Jarnut (Hgg.), *Städtische Formen und Macht. Festschrift zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres von Werner Joel*, Veröffentlichungen der Interdisziplinären Arbeitsgruppe Stadtkulturforschung 1, Aachen 1994, 29-51; J. Assmann, *Herrschaft und Heil. Politische Theologie in Altägypten, Israel und Europa*, München 2000, 217-242. F. Hagen, Local identities, in: T. Wilkinson (Hrg.), *The Egyptian World*, London 2007, 242-251; C. Ragazzoli, Éloges de la ville en Égypte ancienne. *Histoire et littérature*, Paris 2008; W. Wendrich, Identity and Personhood, in: W. Wendrich (Hrg.), *Egyptian Archaeology*, Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology, Singapur 2010, 200-219; J. Auenmüller, *Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches – Eine Studie zu Raum und räumlichen Relationen im textlichen Diskurs, anhand prosopografischer Daten und im archäologischen Record*, Berlin 2013, 263-468 (stable URL: http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000099252).

3 J. Auenmüller, Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Prosopografie des Neuen Reiches (I): Die provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis, in: M. Flossmann, F. Hoffmann und A. Schütze (Hgg.), *Tuna el Gebel – Eine ferne Welt. Akten der Konferenz der Graduate School Distant Worlds vom 16.01.2014 – 19.01.2014 am Institut für Ägyptologie der LMU München*, Tuna el-Gebel, Vaterstetten 2017/18, im Druck; J. Auenmüller, Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Prosopografie des Neuen Reiches (II): Das Relief eines Oberrindenvorstehers aus Tuna el-Gebel?, in: *SAK* 46, 2017, 1-14.

4 J. Auenmüller, Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Prosopografie des Neuen Reiches (III): Auswärtige und lokale Eliten in Tempel und Stadt von Hermopolis, in: A. I. Blöbaum, M. Eaton-Krauss und A. Wüthrich (Hgg.), *Pérégrinations avec Erhart Graefe. Festschrift zu seinem 75. Geburtstag*, ÄAT 87, Münster 2018, 1-27..

und ihres unmittelbaren Umfelds in den epigrafischen Quellen erscheinen. Im Fall der Personen, die außerhalb zu greifen sind, treten Belege aller Art in den Blick, in denen eine Relation der genannten Person mit Hermopolis erkennbar wird. Dabei sind es dann auch genau diese Quellen, welche die im lokalen Datensatz vorhandenen prosopografischen bzw. funktionalen Lücken füllen. Ein kurzes Beispiel sei vorausgeschickt: Während sich in und um Hermopolis selbst nur eine gewisse Anzahl von Hohepriestern des Neuen Reiches nachweisen lässt,⁵ ermöglichen die Daten von außen, die Liste mit weiteren Einträgen zu ergänzen.⁶ Ob damit jedoch eine komplette Zusammenstellung ihrer Dossiers möglich ist, darf bezweifelt werden. Hier – und in dieses ‚hier‘ sind auch andere regionale oder provinzielle Zentren Ägyptens im Neuen Reich einzuschließen – scheinen dann doch größere Lücken in der Überlieferung vorhanden zu sein.

Im Folgenden sollen Personen mit sozialen bzw. genealogischen und funktionalen Relationen zu Hermopolis und der unmittelbaren Umgebung anhand ihrer epigrafischen Belege von außerhalb dieser Region diskutiert werden. Dies geschieht topografisch organisiert von Süd nach Nord und – wenn anwendbar – anhand einzelner Orte oder Regionen, sofern die Belege eine tatsächliche archäologische Provenienz haben oder sich mit einem Ort oder einer Region in Verbindung bringen lassen. Neben der Komplettierung der Prosopografie von Hermopolis Magna wird mit diesem Beitrag auch das Ziel verfolgt, etwas über die Beziehungen der jeweiligen Orte und Regionen zu dieser Stadt im Neuen Reich zu sagen, wie sie anhand der prosopografischen Daten zu greifen sind. Darüber hinaus wird bei der Betrachtung der gesamtägyptischen Belege auch der territoriale Aktionsradius der hermopolitanischen Elite des Neuen Reiches über die eigene Stadt und Region hinaus zumindest in Ausschnitten sichtbar.⁷

Bei der Identifikation der prosopografischen Belege sieht man sich mit dem Problem einer zweifelsfreien Zuordnung der mit ihnen assoziierten Personen zu Hermopolis und – als wichtiges Kriterium – zu den dort verehrten lokalen Gottheiten konfrontiert. Dabei ist klar, dass jemand mit einem Titel, der auf eine Verbindung mit einem Kult des Thot hinweist, nicht automatisch ein Hermopolitaner ist, ebenso wenig wie eine genealogische Relation zu einem tatsächlichen Hermopolitaner die Herkunft der betreffenden Person aus dieser Stadt beschreiben muss. Um hier zu fundierten Aussagen zu gelangen, müssen alle vorliegenden Daten zu den einzelnen Personen diskutiert werden.

5 Vgl. Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis.

6 Die einschlägigen Zusammenstellungen für das Neue Reich sind G. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929 - 1939. Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Hermopolis-Expedition in Hermopolis, Ober-Ägypten*, Pelizaeus-Museum zu Hildesheim, Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung 4, Hildesheim 1959, 195; D. Kessler, s.v. Hoherpriester von Hermopolis, in: W. Helck und W. Westendorf (Hgg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Bd. 2, Wiesbaden 1977, 1254-1256, und W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches (Teil II). I. Die Eigentümer b) Die Provinztempel und säkulare Institutionen*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur Mainz 10, Wiesbaden 1961, 956-958 (174-176); zu den Hohepriestern der Spätzeit und ihren Titeln vgl. G. P. F. Broekman, The „High Priests of Thot“ in Hermopolis in the fourth and early third centuries B.C.E., in: *ZÄS* 133, 2006, 97-103.

7 Zu Territorialität und den Eliten des Neuen Reiches ausführlich Auenmüller, *Territorialität*.

Das Problem der Zuordnung gilt vor allem dann, wenn die Denkmäler unprovenienziert sind und es sich um Quellen von außerhalb handelt. Hier verleiten dann gerade religiöse Titel, die mit Thot und Nehemetaui in Verbindung stehen und eine vermeintlich enge funktionale Beziehung mit den hermopolitanischen Stadtgöttern und den dortigen Kultorten implizieren, vorschnell für Hermopolis in Anspruch genommen zu werden.⁸ Andererseits ist aber auch bekannt, dass gerade im religiösen Milieu die lokale Bindung sehr stark war und die Titel daher hauptsächlich eine solche funktionale Verbindung anzeigen.⁹

Während die Göttin Nehemetaui im Neuen Reich vor allem inschriftlich in Theben belegt ist, treten jedoch ihre Herkunft aus und ihr besonderer Bezug zu Hermopolis in den Quellen gerade für die hier in Rede stehende Zeit deutlich hervor.¹⁰ Für Thot ist die Relation zu Hermopolis Magna / El-Ashmunein mehr als evident und bedarf daher keiner weiteren Diskussion.¹¹ Um einen eindeutigen Bezug der Titelträger zu Hermopolis

8 Vgl. z.B. den *ḥm-ntr-n-Dḥw.tj Nḥm-ḥy*, Besitzer der Schreiberpalette New York MMA 30.7.1 (W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1959, 275-276, Abb. 168), den Helck, *Materialien* II, 957 (175), mit Hermopolis Magna in Verbindung bringt. Die Nennung des *Bz-nb-dd.t* in einer der Opferformeln auf der Schreiberpalette verweist nach Mendes, während das Auftreten von *Dḥw.tj-wp-rḥ.wj* den Bezug zum Kult dieses Gottes in El-Baqlich im Delta herstellt (A.-P. Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis. Recherches sur la province du dieu Thot en Basse Égypte. I. Introduction et inventaire chronologique des sources*, BdE 66,1, Kairo 1975, 51-60, Doc. 6). Da es im Neuen Reich den bekannten Belegen nach keine eigene Priesterschaft für Nehemetaui in Hermopolis und auch andernorts gegeben zu haben scheint (vgl. J. Parlebas, *Die Göttin Nehmet-awaj*, Dissertation Tübingen 1984, 48-49), ist hier die problematische Situation der Zuordnung nicht vorhanden.

9 Hier sind u.a. städtische oder regionale Prosopografien wie D. Raue, *Heliopolis und das Haus des Re. Eine Prosopographie und ein Toponym in Neuen Reich*, ADAIK 16, Berlin 1999; S. S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des ‚Houses des Amun‘ in der 18. Dynastie*, Beih. SAK 7, Hamburg 2000, und M. Zecchi, *Prosopographia dei sacerdoti del Fayyum dall'Antico Regno al IV secolo a. C.*, Archeologia e storia della civiltà Egiziana e del vicino orientale antico, Materiali e studi 4, Imola 1999, zu nennen, in denen dieser enge Zusammenhang evident wird. Siehe auch H. Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, PdÄ 1, Leiden 1953.

10 Siehe u.a. J. Parlebas, *Das Pantheon der Statue des Siptah*, in: SAK 8, 1980, 227-232; Parlebas, *Göttin Nehmet-awaj*, bes. 8-10 und 41-45. Zu den textlichen Belegen für spätere Kultbauten dieser Göttin in Hermopolis vgl. Parlebas, *Göttin Nehmet-awaj*, 46-48. Weitere, auch archäologische Hinweise dafür werden von Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 38-39, S. R. Snape, *A Temple of Domitian at El-Ashmunein*, British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt, BMOP 68, London 1989, 3-5, und M. Barański, „Hajars“ from El Aschmunein, in: J. Aksamit, M. Dolińska, A. Majewska, A. Niwiński, S. Rzepka und Z. Szafranski (Hgg.), *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska*, Warschau 1997, 81, diskutiert.

11 Zur Forschungsgeschichte und zur Gottheit Thot siehe neben P. Boylan, *Thoth, The Hermes of Egypt. A study of some aspects of theological thought in Ancient Egypt*, London 1922, vor allem M. A. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir. Studien zu Vorkommen, Rolle und Wesen des Gottes Thot im ägyptischen Totenbuch*, ORA 1, Tübingen 2009, 11-35, sowie M. A. Stadler, Thoth, in: J. Dieleman und W. Wendrich (Hgg.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2012, <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002c4k99>. Vgl. daneben auch W. J. de Jong, Thot, god van wijsheid en wetenschap, in: *De Ibis* 15 (2), 1990, 32-59, und H. Spiess, *Der Aufstieg eines Gottes. Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des*

herzustellen, müssen aber in jedem Fall tragfähige epigrafische Belege zur Verfügung stehen. Dies gilt auch für die Zuschreibung von Thot-Priestern oder Sängerinnen zu anderen Orten und Tempeln. Fehlen eindeutige Belege, kann nur die Diskussion der vorhandenen Indizien (archäologisch, genealogisch, textlich) eine tentative Beschreibung der Herkunft ermöglichen, die dann Hermopolis sein, aber auch jenseits dieses Ortes liegen kann.

Es gibt bekanntlich neben Hermopolis und den beiden wichtigen Kultplätzen El-Baqlieh¹² und Mostai¹³ im Delta¹⁴ auch eine Vielzahl anderer Orte im ägyptischen und nubischen Niltal, mit denen Thot im Neuen Reich assoziiert war oder an denen er Tempel, Schreine oder auch Gastkulte besaß.¹⁵ Auf einem aus Theben stammenden Ostrakon, heute in Toronto, sind schließlich verschiedene Lokalformen des Thot vor allem für die Region um Hermopolis (Kusae und Nefrusi) gelistet.¹⁶ Sie können ergänzt werden mit

Neuen Reiches, Dissertation Hamburg, Hamburg 1991.

12 Zivie, *Hermopolis et le nome de l'ibis* Dem Kult des Thot in El-Baqlieh gehört neben dem *ḥm-ntr-n-Dḥw.tj Nḥm-ꜥy* (Schreiberpalette New York MMA 30.7.1) z.B. die *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.yt-n-Dḥw.tj-wp-(r)ḥ.wj T3-b3-s3* an, die auf der Stele London BM EA 312 (M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum* 10, London 1982, 41, Tf. 98) mit familiären Relationen auch zu Mendes belegt ist.

13 Nach Mostai gehört der *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Dḥw.tj-n-Msd Jmn-m-ḥ3.t* (D. Raue, Die sieben Hathoren von *Prt*, in: K. Daoud, Sh. Bedier und S. Abd El-Fattah (Hrg.), *Studies in honor of Ali Radwan*, CASAE 34,2, Kairo 2007, 247-261 (Nasosteile Hannover 1935.200.226 / London BM EA 473).

14 Zur Kulttopografie des Thot im Delta vgl. J. Yoyotte, Recherches sur la géographie religieuse de la Basse-Égypte: Les Hermopolis du Delta, in: *Annuaire EPHE Ve section, Sciences religieuses* 72, 1969-70, 178-185.

15 Boylan, *Thoth*, 159-163, listet neben Hermopolis und El-Baqlieh (*Wp-rḥ.wj*) u.a. die Orte Speos Artemidos, Abahuda, Theben (Karnak, Qurna-Tempel Sethos I.), Armant, Memphis, Abydos, Mostai, Ed-Derr und *Pr-W3dy* auf, an denen Thot entweder nur genannt ist oder einen eigenen Kult besitzt. In der Liste mehrheitlich kleiner und provinzieller Sanktuare im Tempel Sethos I. in Abydos tritt Thot als Herr eines solchen Heiligtums in den meist nur schwer lokalisierbaren Ortschaften *Sw.t-k3.w*, *Stp.t*, *Mḥ3.t*, *Wry.t* und *Pr-wꜥb.t* in Erscheinung (K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* I, Oxford 1975, 180-185; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* I, Oxford 1993, 123-125). In Elkab besitzt Thot einen Tempel in der Stadt direct neben dem Tempel der Stadtgöttin Nechet (L. Limme, Elkab, 1937-2007: seventy years of Belgian archaeological research, in: *BMSAES* 9, 2008, 17), während er auch in einer vom Vizekönig von Nubien Setau errichteten Kapelle im Wadi Hilal in Erscheinung tritt (Ph. Derchain, *Elkab I. Les monuments religieux à l'entrée de l'Ouady Hellal*, Publications du Comité des Fouilles Belges en Égypte, Brüssel 1971, 69-73, Tf. 28-33; Chr. Raedler, Zur Repräsentation und Verwirklichung pharaonischer Macht in Nubien: Der Vizekönig Setau, in: R. Gundlach und U. Rössler-Köhler (Hrg.), *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit: Voraussetzungen – Verwirklichung – Vermächtnis. Akten des 3. Symposions zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Bonn 7.–9.6.2001*, Wiesbaden 2003, 147-148, mit Abb. 9). Zu Thot in Hermopolis vgl. Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 163-169; zu Thot in Theben siehe auch G. Zaki und M. Boraik, L'avant-porte de « Thot qui réside à Thèbes » dans le quartier nord de Karnak, in: *BIFAO* 109, 2009, 516; zu Thot in Assiut schließlich J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut. The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*, The Asyut Project 1, Wiesbaden 2007, 53-54.

16 A. H. Gardiner, Part I. Hieratic Texts, in: *Theban Ostraca. Edited from the Originals, now mainly in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology, Toronto, and the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, London 1913, 15-16, und D. Kessler, *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Mallawi und Samalut*, Beih. TAVO,

den im pWilbour genannten Thot-Tempeln in El-Sheikh Abada (pWilbour A 37,44; A 54,38; A 73,11: [pr]-Dḥw.tj-hzj-jb-Mꜣꜥ.t-m-Nꜣy-(Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ-mrj-Jmn) | -ꜥnh-wdꜣ-snb, unter Ra. II. gegründet) und in Pr-Wꜣdy (u.a. pWilbour 38,7: pr-Dḥw.tj- <n> -Pr-Wꜣdy) wenig südlich von Tehna.¹⁷ Allerdings sind für die Mehrzahl dieser Orte jenseits der bedeutenderen Kultzentren – bis auf einige seltene Ausnahmen – keine Angehörige der lokalen Priesterschaften prosopografisch dokumentiert. In Nubien tritt Thot in Abu Simbel als ‚Herr von Ta-Seti‘,¹⁸ in Ed-Derr als ‚der im Tempel des Ramses ist‘ und in dem von Haremhab errichteten Speos am Gebel Adda als ‚in Abahuda befindlich‘ auf, während er in Buhen u.a. in einer Opferformel aus dem Neuen Reich in Bezug auf das Fest des Sonnenauges genannt ist.¹⁹ Für Thot von Abahuda und Abu Simbel kennen wir schließlich über Felsinschriften in unmittelbarer Nähe dieser beiden Orte dann sogar zwei wohl lokale – und daher lokal agierende – Priester.²⁰

Während die Assoziation von Personen mit den belegten Institutionen der

B30, Wiesbaden 1981, 148-149: [Hmn.]w (Hermopolis), Kjs (Kusae), Bꜣsy (ob Ort nördlich von Kusae in Mittelägypten oder doch Bubastis?); Nfrwꜣsy (Nefrusi); Jnbw (Lokalisierung unbekannt; wohl auch in Mittelägypten, wenn man das Ostrakon als kulttopografische Liste der Region begreift); Hw.t-kꜣkꜣ (Lokalisierung unbekannt; auch in Mittelägypten?). Zu weiteren Belegen für Thot und seine Kulttopografie Chr. Leitz et al. (Hgg.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Bd. 7, OLA 116, Leuven 2002, 639-650, zu neben den in den vorangegangenen Fußnoten genannten Orten: Jbn (Lokalisierung unbekannt) und (Pꜣ-)Jmꜣ (Lokalisierung unbekannt; in der Region Gebelein/Sumenu/Er-Rizeiqat zu vermuten).

17 A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus II, Commentary*, Oxford 1948, 54 mit Fn. 2; 139; 145; A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus III, Translation*, Oxford 1948, 39, 57 und 77. Die Institution des Thot-Tempels in Pr-Wꜣdy wird darüber hinaus in pWilbour A 33,4, 42,39 und 43,15 und B 10,16 und 17,5 genannt. Im pHarris I, 61b,8 wird dieser Tempel als pr-Dḥw.tj-n-Pꜣ-Wꜣdy bezeichnet (P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (BM 9999), Vol. 1, Kairo 1994, 311; P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I* (BM 9999), Vol. 2, Kairo 1994, 201). Auch der große Thot-Bezirk in Hermopolis ist in pWilbour A 93,8, 78,40 und 79,22 aufgezählt (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II, Commentary*, 155; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus III, Translation*, 83, 84 und 98). Zu beiden Orten vgl. auch Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, bes. 88 und 200-208.

18 Zur Kapelle des Thot in Abu Simbel vgl. W. Ramadan, La chapelle de Thot à Abou Simbel, in: Z. Hawass und L. Pinch Brock (Hgg.), *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cairo 2000, 1, Kairo 2003, 380-384.

19 E. Kormysheva, Kulte der ägyptischen Götter des Neuen Reiches in Nubien, in: M. Schade-Busch (Hrg.), *Wege öffnen. Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, ÄAT 35, Wiesbaden 1996, 144; M. El-Alfi, Ramesside Divinities of Nubia, in: *VA* 6, 1990, 162. Zum Beleg in Buhen H. S. Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen. The Inscriptions*, EES 48, London 1976, 101-102, Nr. 794+836. Siehe aus Buhen (Wadi Halfa) auch die Stele des Vizekönigs Usersatet BM EA 623 mit Opferszene an Thot (A. el-H. Zayed, La stèle du vice-roi de Nubie, Ousersatet, au British Museum, in: *Memnonia* 10, 1999, 213-23).

20 Felsinschrift des shꜣ.w-zḥ/hw.t(?)-ntr Mry n-pr-Dḥw.tj-m-Jmn[-hry-jb] in Tonqale: A. Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (First Cataract to the Sudan Frontier) and their Condition in 1906-7*, Oxford 1907, 113; I. Müller, *Die Verwaltung Nubiens im Neuen Reich*, Meroitica 18, Wiesbaden 2013, 235, Person G4 und 409, Beleg 27.8. Darüber hinaus gibt Nb-ntr.w, ein Bürgermeister (hꜣ.tj-ꜥ) eines nicht genannten Ortes, in seiner Felsinschrift in Abu Simbel (Lepsius Nr. V) an, hm-ntr-n Dḥw.tj (und jt-ntr) zu sein: Müller, *Verwaltung*, 211, Tabelle 2.5.2, Person 26; 428, Beleg 32.29; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 936, **BMNubien-04**.

Götterverehrung in Stadt und Region Hermopolis zumeist über ihre religiösen Titel sichtbar wird, und dadurch ihre Verbindung zu dieser Stadt auf dem Wege der Prosopografie in den meisten Fällen bestimmbar ist, verhält es sich für Personen ohne solche Titel vollkommen anders. Hier bieten dann folgenden Kriterien eine generelle Handhabe zur Diskussion: a) (sichere) Provenienz der Belege aus Hermopolis, b) die Belege können anhand textlicher oder ikonografischer Daten mit Hermopolis in Verbindung gebracht werden, oder c) es existieren genealogische Beziehungen der fraglichen Personen zu tatsächlichen Hermopolitanern.²¹ Zum Kriterium a), das hier keine Rolle spielen wird, ist anzumerken, dass die Provenienz eines epigrafischen Denkmals aus Hermopolis auch noch nichts über die tatsächliche Herkunft seines Besitzers aussagt. Auch die Kriterien b) und c) lassen sich nur im Kontext intensiver Diskussion der gesamten Evidenz als Indizien einer Herkunftsbestimmung heranziehen.

Alle anderen im prosopografischen Record des Neuen Reiches dokumentierten Personen ohne eine in ihren Dossiers sichtbare lokale Anbindung oder Verbindung mit Hermopolis (siehe Kriterien a-c) müssen dann naturgemäß durch das hier angesetzte Raster der Herkunftsbestimmung fallen. Im Kontext der religiösen Titel, die im vorliegenden Beitrag als Hauptkriterien einer möglichen Relation ihrer Träger mit Hermopolis in den Blick genommen werden, gibt es naturgemäß auch eine Anzahl von fraglichen Fällen, bei denen eine Verbindung mit Hermopolis zwar anhand des Titels möglich ist, jedoch erst eine umfängliche Diskussion eine Entscheidung *pro* oder *contra* Hermopolis ermöglicht. Fälle, in denen eine solch eindeutige Entscheidung aufgrund der Quellenlage nicht zu treffen ist, sind ebenfalls vorhanden. Im Folgenden werden nun die einzelnen Orte und Regionen diskutiert, wo (potentielle) Hermopolitaner auftreten oder nur genannt sind, von denen in ihrer Herkunftsregion in der Mehrheit der Fälle keinerlei Spuren mehr erhalten sind. Dabei wird Hermopolis einerseits als konkrete Stadt, andererseits auch als größere (kulttopografische) Region in Mittelägypten, die auch Orte wie z.B. Nefrusi einschließt, verstanden.²²

2.1 Hermopolitaner am Ersten Katarakt

Während in Nubien keine eindeutigen epigrafischen Belege für aus Hermopolis stammende Elitefunktionäre vorliegen,²³ haben drei Personen mit Verbindung nach

21 Zu all diesen Kriterien vgl. auch kurz Auenmüller, Beitrag (II): Relief eines Oberrindenvorstehers.

22 Zu Nefrusi und Hermopolis im Neuen Reich vgl. Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 140-151; C. Graves, The Problem with Neferusi: A Geoarchaeological Approach, in: C. Graves, G. Heffernan, L. McGarrity, E. Millward und M. S. Bealby (Hgg.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2012: Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Symposium, University of Birmingham 2012*, Oxford 2013, 70-83. Vgl. auch J. Bunbury und M. Malouta, The Geology and Papyrology of Hermopolis and Antinoopolis, in: W. Bebermeier, R. Hebenstreit, E. Kaiser und J. Krause (Hgg.), *Landscape Archaeology. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Berlin, 6th – 8th June 2012*, eTOPOI Journal for Ancient Studies, Special Volume 3, 2012, 119-122, und A. H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. Text*, Vol. II, Oxford 1947, 79*-92*, zu den Toponymen der Region.

23 Basierend auf Müller, *Verwaltung*.

Hermopolis am Ersten Katarakt Felsinschriften hinterlassen. An erster Stelle ist der Bürgermeister von Nefrusi *Jsm.w-nfr* zu nennen, der in seinem Dossier eine Vielzahl von Titeln mit Bezug zu Hermopolis aufweist. Er ist nicht nur Hohepriester des Thot und aller Lokalgötter (*wr-dj.w-m-pr-Dḥw.tj*, *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Dḥw.tj*, *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-ntr.w-nb.w-Ḥmn.w*), sondern auch Priestervorsteher (*jm.j-r'-ḥm.w-ntr-n-Dḥw.tj-nb-Ḥmn.w*) und Schreiber der Gottesopfer des Thot, des Herrn von Hermopolis (*shz.w-ḥtp.w-ntr-n Dḥw.tj-nb-Ḥmn.w*).²⁴ Sein Grab ist in Tuna el-Gebel zu lokalisieren,²⁵ sein Vater *Pz-ḥz.wtj* war ebenfalls Bürgermeister von Nefrusi.²⁶ Die beiden in Rede stehenden Felsinschriften sind südlich von Aswan in Mahattah dokumentiert worden.²⁷ Petrie 244 (DeMorgan 153) zeigt ihn gemeinsam mit seiner Frau *Mr.yt*, einer ‚Sängerin (*šm^c.yt*) des Thot, des Herrn von Hermopolis‘ und ‚Sängerin (*ḥs.t*) der Nehemetauī‘. In Petrie 245 (DeMorgan 150) führt er eine ausführliche Familiendarstellung an, wobei seine Identitätssignatur in eine *rdj.t-jz.w*-Preisformel an Amun und Re-Harachte eingebettet ist.²⁸ Werden in dem Familientableau primäre soziale Relationen in einer rituellen Matrix dargestellt, erscheint *Jsm.w-nfr* mit seiner Frau in dem anderen als der Opferempfänger. Als Rahmen, in dem die beiden Felsinschriften hier in Mahattah angebracht worden sind, lässt sich ein Festkontext denken, der mit Amun oder den Kataraktgöttinnen in Zusammenhang steht. So mag hier auch ein gemeinsamer Besuch des Königssohns *ʿz-ḥpr-n-R^c-snb* – der ja auf der Londoner Statue BM EA 1782 des *Jsm.w-nfr* genannt ist – zusammen mit dem *ḥz.tj-^c*-Bürgermeister von Nefrusi und Hohepriester von Hermopolis *Jsm.w-nfr* im Gebiet von Aswan z.B. im Rahmen eines Festes dokumentiert sein.²⁹

Auch ein Sohn des *Jsm.w-nfr*, *Sw-m-n'.t*, markiert seine Anwesenheit mit einer Felsinschrift am Ersten Katarakt, die auf Sehel lokalisiert sein soll.³⁰ Dank der dortigen Filiationsangabe *s3 n ḥz.tj-^c-n-Nfrwsj jm.j-r'-ḥm.w-ntr-n-Dḥw.tj-nb-Ḥmn.w Jsm.w-nfr* und auch den genealogischen Angaben in seinem Grab TT 92 in Theben lässt sich seine provinzielle Herkunft aus der Stadt Hermopolis eindeutig greifen.³¹ Ob *Sw-m-n'.t*

24 Zu seinem Dossier A.-P. Zivie, Une statue stéléphore au nom d'Imaounefer d'Hermopolis Magna, in: *BIFAO* 75, 1975, 321-342; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 888-889, **BMNefrusi-04**.

25 Zivie, Une statue stéléphore, 321-324; Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis.

26 Zivie, Une statue stéléphore, 341, Fn. 1; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 888, **BMNefrusi-03**.

27 W. M. F. Petrie, *A Season in Egypt. 1887*, London 1888, Tf. 8, Nr. 244; Tf. 9, Nr. 245; J. DeMorgan et al., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Première Série: Haute Égypte. Tome premier: De la frontière de Nubie a Kom Ombos*, Wien 1894, 37, Nr. 150 und Nr. 153. Zu beiden Felsinschriften vgl. auch Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 773-774; 888, **BMNefrusi-03c-d**.

28 Neben *Jsm.w-nfr* und *Mr.yt* erscheinen dort sechs Söhne und sieben Töchter mit ihren Namen.

29 Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 774, mit Fn. 5830.

30 A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, Paris 1892, Tf. 71, Nr. 46; DeMorgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 103, Nr. 46; Zivie, Une statue stéléphore, 337, Doc. 5. Nach A. Gasse und V. Rondot, Les inscriptions de Séhel, MIFAO 126, Kairo 2007, 173, ist diese Felsinschrift auf Sehel nicht (mehr) aufzufinden.

31 Er wird in der folgenden Rubrik Theben noch einmal kurz besprochen.

hier gemeinsam mit seinem Vater *J3m.w-nfr* oder in der Funktion als königlicher Butler Amenophis' II. am Ersten Katarakt verweilte, lässt sich nicht bestimmen. Auffällig ist dabei jedoch, dass er im bereits genannten Familientableau in Mahattah nicht unter den Kindern von *J3m.w-nfr* und *Mr.yt* auftritt.³²

Wiederum auf Sehel tritt uns der nächste Hermopolitaner am Ersten Katarakt entgegen. Die Felsinschrift SEH 302 dokumentiert die Anwesenheit eines *hr.j-pr-n-wr-n-md3.yw sh3.w Jmn-htp <n> Hmn.w*, des ‚Hausverwalters des(?) Großen der Medjscha-Leute, der Schreiber *Jmn-htp*, <aus> Hermopolis‘ auf der Kataraktinsel.³³ Hier ist der Grund der Anwesenheit und der Impetus für das Hinterlassen einer Felsinschrift wegen ihrer Lokalisierung auf Sehel leichter zu bestimmen als bei *J3m.w-nfr* in Mahattah: die Teilnahme an einem der überregional bedeutenden Feste für Satet oder besonders Anuket, wobei letzteres durch eine Flussbarkenprozession zwischen Elephantine und Sehel im April in Szene gesetzt wurde, und einen rituellen Rahmen wie öffentlichen Raum für die Visualisierung elitärer Anwesenheit und Teilnahme nicht nur der lokalen Beamten darstellte.³⁴ Wie auch *J3m.w-nfr* gehört *Jmn-htp* der mittleren 18. Dynastie (Thutmosis III.–Amenophis II.) an. *Jmn-htp* mag darüber hinaus mit einer in TT 74 genannten Person gleichen Namens identisch sein, die uns weiter unten noch begegnen wird.³⁵

2.2 Hermopolitaner in Theben

Theben – und hier besonders die thebanische Elitenekropole des Neuen Reiches – ist einer der Orte mit der größten Belegdichte für Hermopolitaner außerhalb ihrer Heimatstadt. Dies liegt einerseits in der Bedeutung der Stadt auch für die nicht-lokalen Eliten begründet, andererseits aber auch an der für diesen Ort besonders reichen Quellen- und Denkmälerüberlieferung. Der in TT 11 in Dra Abu el-Naga bestattete Schatzhausvorsteher der Hatshepsut *Dhw.tj* ist neben dem Amt eines ‚Vorstehers der Priester der Hathor, der Herrin von Kusae‘ (*jm.j-r'-hm.w-ntr-n-Hw.t-Hr-nb.t-Kjs*) auch mit den Titeln eines ‚Priestervorsteher in Hermopolis‘ (*jm.j-r'-hm.w-ntr-m-Hmn.w*) und wohl auch dem eines Hohepriesters des Thot (*wr-[dj.w-m-pr-Dhw.tj]*) ausgestattet. Schließlich ist er ebenfalls als ‚Großes [Oberhaupt] in Herwer‘ (*[hr.j-tp]-3-m-Hr-wr*) ausgezeichnet.³⁶ Diese Ballung

32 Petrie, *Season in Egypt*, Tf. 9, Nr. 245; DeMorgan, *Catalogue des monuments*, 37, Nr. 150.

33 Gasse/Rondot, *Inscriptions de Séhel*, 183 u. 507, SEH 302; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 360-361, **HKV 030**.

34 S. J. Seidlmayer, Frohe – und andere – Botschaften: Kult und Kommunikation im alten Ägypten, in: U. Peter und S. J. Seidlmayer (Hgg.), *Mediengesellschaft Antike? Information und Kommunikation vom Alten Ägypten bis Byzanz. Altertumswissenschaftliche Vortragsreihe an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Berlin 2006, 102-108; A. Herzberg, Felsinschriften und -bilder als Medium der Selbstrepräsentation lokaler Amtsträger des Neuen Reiches. Ein Befund aus der Aswaner Region, in: G. Neunert, A. Verbovsek und K. Gabler (Hgg.), *Bild: Ästhetik – Medium – Kommunikation. Beiträge des dritten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie* (MAJA 3), GOF/IV 58, Wiesbaden 2014, 137-154.

35 Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 361.

36 K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie IV*, Leipzig 1906, 421,7; 434,2-3; 441,5-6; Kees, *Priestertum*, 54-55; W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, PdÄ 3, Leiden 1958, 508; Auenmüller,

von gerade religiösen Titeln mit Bezug zu Hermopolis, Kusae, einem Kultort der Hathor ca. 40km südlich von Hermopolis, und Herwer, einer Kultstätte des Chnum wenig nördlich von Ashmunein, darf als ein Argument für die geografische Herkunft des *Dḥw.tj* aus der Region angesehen werden – auch wenn es sich bei diesen Titeln nur um ‚ehrenvolle Pfründetitel‘ handeln sollte.³⁷ *Dḥw.tj* gehört zu einer Gruppe hoher Beamter aus der Provinz, die sich im Laufe der 18. Dynastie in der Residenznekropole von Theben ein Grab anlegen durften.³⁸ Aus den fraglichen Städten und der hermopolitanischen Region selbst gibt es von *Dḥw.tj* jedoch keine Zeugnisse.

Dies gilt auch für *Mw.t-jry*, die Ehefrau des Armee- und Rekrutenschreibers sowie Generals *Tꜣnwnj*, der unter Thutmosis III.–IV. amtierte und mit dem sie in TT 74 bestattet wurde. Während es für *Tꜣnwnj* bis auf seinen fremdsprachigen Namen³⁹ keine weiteren Indizien für seine Herkunft gibt, lässt sich die Provenienz seiner Frau anhand der Titel, die sie in TT 74 trägt, bestimmen. *Mw.t-jry* ist dort im Grab als ‚Sängerin des Thot von Hermopolis‘ (*šmꜥ.yt-n-Dḥw.tj-nb-Ḥmn.w*) und der ‚Nehemet-ai, wohnhaft in Hermopolis‘ (*šmꜥ.yt-n-Nḥm.t-ꜥwꜣ.y-ḥr.jt-jb-Ḥmn.w*) ausgezeichnet.⁴⁰ Da es zu dieser Zeit in Theben keine Heiligtümer des Thot und der Nehemetaui gab⁴¹ und in den beiden Titeln eine explizite Referenz zu Hermopolis vorhanden ist, ist der Bezug zu dieser Stadt evident.⁴² Dieser wird darüber hinaus in der zweimaligen Nennung der Göttin Nehemetaui im Grab⁴³ ebenso sichtbar wie anhand der wohl aus Grab TT 74 stammenden Stele Turin C.1644, auf der *Mw.t-jry* auch als ‚Sängerin des Thot‘ erscheint.⁴⁴ In dieser Funktion dürfte

Territorialität, 887, **BMNefrusi-02?**. Zu seinem Grab vgl. T. Säve-Söderbergh, Eine Gastmahlsszene im Grabe des Schatzhausvorstehers Djehuti, in: *MDAIK* 16, 1958, 280-291; J. M. Galán, The Tombs of Djehuty and Hery (TT 11-12) at Dra Abu el-Naga, in: J.-Cl. Goyon und Chr. Cardin (Hgg.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6-12 September 2004*, OLA 150, Leuven 2007, 777-788.

37 Helck, *Verwaltung*, 222; Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 141-142. Bei Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 887, **BMNefrusi-02?**, ist *Dḥw.tj* als potentieller Bürgermeister von Nefrusi geführt. Ein weiteres Indiz für seine Herkunft aus Hermopolis (oder Umgebung) ist sein Name nach dem Hauptgott dieser Stadt.

38 J. Auenmüller, Individuum – Gruppe – Gesellschaft – Raum: Raumsoziologische Perspektiven einiger (provinzieller) *ḥꜣ.tj-ꜥ*-Bürgermeister des Neuen Reiches, in: G. Neunert, K. Gabler und A. Verbovsek (Hgg.), *Sozialisierungen: Individuum – Gruppe – Gesellschaft: Beiträge des ersten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie* (MAJA 1), 3. bis 5.12.2010, GOF IV,51, Wiesbaden 2012, 17-32.

39 T. Schneider, *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114, Freiburg (Schw.) 1992, 250-251, N 536.

40 A. Brack und A. Brack, *Das Grab des Tjanuni – Theben Nr. 74*, AV 19, Mainz 1977, 87.

41 Brack/Brack, *Tjanuni*, 88. Ab der Ramessidenzeit ist Thot in Theben gemeinsam mit Chons-in-Theben-Nefer-hotep als *Dḥw.tj-ḥr.j-jb-Jwn.w-šmꜥ* ‚Thot, wohnhaft im oberägyptischen Heliopolis‘ genannt Chr. Leitz et al. (Hgg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Bd. 5, OLA 114, Leuven 2002, 317. Damit scheint aber kein eigentlicher Kult verbunden gewesen zu sein. Vgl. auch Kees, *Priestertum*, 131, Fn. 7.

42 Brack/Brack, *Tjanuni*, 88. Vgl. auch Parlebas, *Göttin Nehmet-awaj*, 49-50.

43 Brack/Brack, *Tjanuni*, 26, Abb. 3, Text 5 und 32, Text 19, Tf. 24b.

44 Brack/Brack, *Tjanuni*, 57-58, Tf. 45c. Auch das im Vorhof des Grabes gefundene Stelenfragment Text

sie am Ritual- und Festgeschehen in ihrer Heimatstadt zu bestimmten Zeiten teilgenommen haben. Außerdem erweitert sie die Liste der bekannten Tempelsängerinnen des Thot neben *Mr.yt*, der Frau des *Jsm.w-nfr*, um einen neuen Eintrag.⁴⁵

Die Herkunft der *Mw.t-jry* bzw. das hermopolitanische ‚Kolorit‘ des Grabes TT 74 findet durch den Fund zweier Keramikgefäße in der Grabkammer der *Mw.t-jry* weitere Bestätigung. Beide sind mit einer umlaufenden Inschriftenzeile versehen, die einen ‚Großen der Schreiber *Jmn-ḥtp* aus Hermopolis‘ (*wr-shz.w Jmn-ḥtp n-Ḥmn.w*) nennt.⁴⁶ Nun ist nicht klar, wer dieser *Jmn-ḥtp* ist und wie er in Relation zur Frau des *Tznwnj* steht. In der Literatur wird allerdings vermutet, dass er der Vater der *Mw.t-jry* sei.⁴⁷ Darüber hinaus könnte er mit dem bereits auf Sehel in Erscheinung getretenen Schreiber *Jmn-ḥtp* identisch sein, der sich ja ebenfalls durch den Herkunftsvermerk *n-Ḥmn.w* charakterisierte.⁴⁸

Unter Amenophis II. tritt uns in und mit TT 92 der ‚Butler des Königs‘ (*wbš.w-nsw Sw-m-n'.t*) entgegen, der daneben noch in verschiedenen Funktionen am thebanischen Amun-Tempel tätig war und uns am Ersten Katarakt bereits mit einer Felsinschrift begegnete.⁴⁹ In Grab TT 92 macht *Sw-m-n'.t* Angaben zu seiner sozialen und geografischen Herkunft nicht nur in Bezug auf seinen Vater wie in der Felsinschrift. Dieser ist der Bürgermeister von Nefrusi *Jsm.w-nfr*, der selbst Sohn und Nachfolger eines lokalen Stadtverwalters war.⁵⁰ Auch seine Mutter *Mr.yt*, die in TT 92 und in den beiden Felsinschriftentableaus in Mahattah den Titel einer *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj* ‚Sängerin des Thot‘ trägt,⁵¹ verdeutlicht das provinzielle Milieu in der Region von Hermopolis, aus dem *Sw-m-n'.t* stammt.⁵² Er selbst ist von dort – so die Quellenlage – nicht bekannt, das Grabdenkmal seines Vaters (und damit wohl auch seiner Mutter) kann jedoch in Tuna el-Gebel lokalisiert werden und beweist die Herkunft und lokale Einbindung der Familie auch anhand eines archäologischen Belegs.⁵³

Die thebanischen Elitegräber stellen auch in der unmittelbaren Nachamarnazeit Quellen für die hermopolitanische Prosopografie bereit. In TT 166, der in Dra Abu el-Naga liegenden funerären Anlage des ‚Großen Schreibers des Amun‘ und ‚Leiters der Bauarbeiten‘ an einigen Tempeln der thebanischen Region namens *R^c-ms* werden seine

88, Fund 5/10A nennt die *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj Mw.t-jry* (Brack/Brack, Tjanuni, Tf. 53a).

45 Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis.

46 Brack/Brack, Tjanuni, 68-69, Fund 2/16 (Text 79) und Fund 2/17 (Text 80), Tf. 16a-b, 65; Auenmüller, Territorialität, 360-361, **HKV 029**.

47 Brack/Brack, Tjanuni, 87-89.

48 Auenmüller, Territorialität, 360-361, mit Fn. 2975.

49 Eichler, Verwaltung des ‚Houses des Amun‘, 314, Nr. 489, und Mariette, Monuments divers, Tf. 71, Nr. 46; DeMorgan, Catalogue des monuments, 103, Nr. 46; Zivie, Une statue stéléphore, 337, Doc. 5. Zur fraglichen Lokalisierung Gasse/Rondot, Inscriptions de Séhel, 173. Zum Grab vgl. B. M. Bryan, A work in progress: the unfinished tomb of Suemniwet, in: EA 6, 1995, 14-16.

50 Auenmüller, Territorialität, 888-889, **BMNefrusi-03** und **BMNefrusi-04**.

51 S. Whale, The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt. A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs, ACES 1, Sydney 1989, 175-178 (Case 69).

52 So auch Kees, Priestertum, 53.

53 Zivie, Une statue stéléphore, 321-342; Auenmüller, Territorialität, 888-889, **BMNefrusi-04**.

Eltern genannt. Dies sind sein Vater, der ‚sab und Hohepriester des Thot, des Herrn von Hermopolis‘ (*s3b hm-ntr-tp.j-n-Dhw.tj-nb-Hmn.w*) *Jpy* und seine Mutter, die ‚Große der Musiktruppe des Thot‘ (*wr.t-hnr.t-n-Dhw.tj*) *H3tj*.⁵⁴ Darüber hinaus hat auch die Frau des *R^c-ms*, *T3y*, mit dem (Fest-)Kult des Thot zu tun. Sie ist nicht nur Sängerin des Amun, sondern auch als *šm^c.yt-n-Dhw.tj* und *wr.t-hnr.t-n-Dhw.tj* bezeichnet.⁵⁵ Damit ist über epigrafische Evidenz in dieser Grabanlage einerseits ein Hohepriester des Thot in Hermopolis für die Nachamarnazeit identifiziert, andererseits lassen sich erneut auch die prosopografischen Dossiers des weiblichen Tempelkultpersonals über die in Tuna el-Gebel dokumentierten Personen hinaus erweitern.⁵⁶ Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Daten dürfte auch *R^c-ms* ein Hermopolitaner sein, der sich unter Haremhab–Sethos I. sein Grab TT 166 in Theben-West errichten liess. Vermutlich aus TT 236 in Dra Abu el-Naga stammt eine Gruppenstatue des *hm-ntr-sn.nw-n-Jmn Hr-nht* und der *wr.t-hnr.t-n-Jmn Ty* aus der 20. Dynastie, die daneben auch den Titel einer ‚Sängerin des Thot des Herrn von Hermopolis‘ trägt.⁵⁷ Hier ist zu vermuten, dass der Titel eine gewisse Relation mit dem antiken El-Ashmunein ausdrückt, die genauer zu bestimmen jedoch anhand des Fehlens weiterer Quellen nicht möglich ist.

Ein weiterer Hohepriester des Thot von Hermopolis der späten Ramessidenzeit ist epigrafisch aus Theben bekannt. Es handelt sich um den Vater des Hohepriesters des Amun *R^c-mss-nht* namens *Mr.y-B3s.tt*. Er wird in verschiedenen Inschriften seines Sohnes meist als (Ober-)Domänenvorsteher und Priestervorsteher bezeichnet.⁵⁸ Zweimal ist er jedoch auch mit spezifisch hermopolitanischen Titeln belegt: Das Dekorationsfragment KS 3678 aus K93.11, der funerären Anlage des *R^c-mss-nht* in Dra Abu el-Naga, nennt ihn ‚[Hohepriester] des Thot, des Herrn von Hermopolis (...) [Mry]-B3s.tt (...) den [man] *Hrj* nennt, aus Hermopolis‘ (*[hm-ntr-tp.j-n]-Dhw.tj-nb-Hmn.w (...) [Mry]-B3s.tt (...) [dd.w] n=f Hrj n Hmn.w*).⁵⁹ Sein zweites namentliches Auftreten findet sich auf der Statue Kairo CG 42162 seines Sohnes aus der Cachette von Karnak.⁶⁰ Dort wird er als ‚Vorsteher der Priester aller Götter von Hermopolis‘ (*jm.j-r'-hm.w-ntr-n-ntr.w-nb.w-n-*

54 E. Hofmann und K.-J. Seyfried, Bemerkungen zum Grab des Bauleiters Ramose (TT 166) in Dra Abu el Naga Nord, in: *MDAIK* 51, 1995, 35-36, Text 12; 37-39, mit Abb. 6, Text 13.

55 Hofmann/Seyfried, Grab des Bauleiters Ramose (TT 166), 33, 34 und 42.

56 Vgl. Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis.

57 A. Charron und Chr. Barbotin (Hgg.), *Khâemouaset. Le prince archéologue*, Ausstellungskatalog Arles 2016, 180-181, Kat.-Nr. 91.

58 K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical* VI, Oxford 1983, 12,5 (Wadi Hammamat CM 233) und 88,7 und 88,15-16 (Inscription Karnak 8. Pylon).

59 U. Rummel, A Second Name for Merybastet on a Block from Dra' Abu el-Naga in the Egyptian Museum, in: M. Eldamaty und M. Trad (Hgg.), *Egyptian Museum Collections Around the World. Studies for the Centennial of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo*, Vol. 2, Cairo 2002, 1025-1034; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 361-362, **HKV 031**.

60 G. Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers II (CG 42139-42191)*, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Kairo 1909, 29, Tf. 26, Vgl. auch <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/ba-ses/cachette/?id=9> (Zugriff 18.12.2016).

Wnw) bezeichnet. Ist damit *Mry-Bꜣs.t*'s Tätigkeit im antiken Aschmunein sowie gewiss auch seine hermopolitanische Provenienz zweifelsfrei bezeugt, bildet vor allem auch ein Türsturz seines Sohnes *Rꜥ-mss-nḥt* aus Hermopolis die familiären Beziehungen zu dieser Stadt archäologisch ab.⁶¹ Ein weiterer potentieller Hohepriester des Thot von Hermopolis der späten Ramessidenzeit mag in dem enigmatischen Wesir *Dḥw.tj-ms* erkennbar sein, der auf oCG 25339 aus dem Tal der Könige unter anderem als ‚Großer der Fünf des Ersten der Heseret‘ (*wr-djw-n-ḥnt.j-ḥsr.t*) gekennzeichnet ist, während ein möglicher Herkunftsvermerk ebenda auf Theben verweist.⁶²

Mit dem letzten Beispiel haben wir bereits den Bereich der monumentalen Repräsentation verlassen. Neben Grabinschriften und Statuen treten hier noch andere Textträger und -formate in den Blick. So wie die Felsinschriften des Neuen Reiches in Aswan und auf Sehel eine versteinerte Festgemeinde repräsentieren, zeugen auch Besucherinschriften oft von der Anwesenheit ihrer Verfasser in festlich-religiösen Kontexten. Unter den Graffiti im Tempel Thutmosis III. in Deir el-Bahari, die zum größten Teil von Besuchern und Pilgern dieser Kultstätte im Rahmen des ‚Schönen Festes des Wüstentals‘ während der Ramessidenzeit stammen, gibt es ein Selbstzeugnis eines potentiellen Hermopolitaners. In Graffito 47 (Sabek 70) dokumentiert ein ‚Stellvertreter [oder Arzt?] des Thottempels, des Herrn von Hermopolis‘ (*jdn.w* [bzw. *swn.w*?]-*n-pr-Dḥw.tj nb-Ḥmn.w*) *Mr.y-Rꜥ* seine Anwesenheit.⁶³ Da die anderen bekannten *jdn.w-n-pr-Dḥw.tj* des Neuen Reiches in Tuna el-Gebel bestattet sein dürften⁶⁴ und *pr-Dḥw.tj* entweder ‚Hermopolis‘ und/oder den lokalen Tempel des Thot bezeichnet,⁶⁵ dürfte hier von seiner Herkunft aus

61 J. Budka, *Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich*, BzÄ 19, Wien 2001, 158-159, Kat.-Nr. 93. Die Tempelstatue des Ramsesnacht aus Karnak (CG 42162) bildet diese Beziehung noch auf eine andere Art ab. Der Gott seiner Heimatstadt ist in Gestalt eines Pavians schützend auf und hinter dem Kopf des Hohepriesters dargestellt (so auch Kees, *Priestertum*, 126). Zur Familie des Ramsesnacht vgl. auch G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie*, Paris 1929, 263-266, §28; M. Abder-Raziq, Die Granitstatue des Ramsesnacht aus Hod Abu el-Gud, in: *ASAE* 70, 1984-1985, 13-17; und D. Polz, The Ramsesnacht Dynasty and the Fall of the New Kingdom: A New Monument in Thebes, in: *SAK* 25, 1998, 257-293, bes. 276-291.

62 G. Daressy, *Ostraca* (CG 25001-25385), Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Kairo 1901, 87-88; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 516-517, **W20-8**.

63 M. Marciniak, *Les inscriptions hiératiques du Temple de Thoutmosis III*, Deir el-Bahari 1, Warschau 1974, 102, Tf. 39, Nr. 47; Y. Sabek, *Die hieratischen Besucher-Graffiti *ḏsr-ḫ.t* in Deir el-Bahari*, IBAES 18, London 2016, 285, Nr. 70. Marciniak liest Titel und Name als *jdn.w* [...] *Mry-Rꜥ*. Sabek liest dagegen *swn.w* [...] *Rꜥw-Mry* und fügt noch die Filiationsangabe [*sꜣ*] *Tꜣ-nfr-trj* ein, die sich durch diesen über der eigentlichen Zeile geschriebenen Namen ergibt.

64 Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis.

65 H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* II, Kairo 1925, 141; P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne 2: La haute Égypte*, Paris 1961, 148; D. Kessler, s.v. Hermopolis magna, in: W. Helck und W. Westendorf (Hgg.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Bd. 2, 1977, 1137. Vgl. zum Begriffspaar *Ḥmn.w* und *pr-Dḥw.tj* auch J. D. Ray, Thoughts on Djeme and Papremis, in: *GM* 45, 1981, 58-59.

Hermopolis auszugehen sein. Ob dies auch für die *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj* mit Namen *šs.t-nfr.t* gilt, die in Graffito 56 in Erscheinung tritt, ist nicht zu entscheiden.⁶⁶ Obwohl die Mehrheit der über die Graffiti dokumentierten Besucher den Titeln nach aus Theben stammt, können einzelne Texte tatsächlich auch als Nachweise für Pilger und Reisende aus anderen Städten und Regionen wie dem Fayum, Memphis, Achmim und Armant gelten.⁶⁷ Der über Theben hinausreichende Einzugsradius ist – wie auch in Aswan und der Anuket-Festprozession – mit der Prominenz dieses Festes nicht nur für ein lokales Publikum zu erklären.

Auch dokumentarische Texte halten einige Informationen zu Hermopolitanern in nicht-hermopolitanischen Kontexten bereit. In den ‚Dockets‘ des pAbbott sind eine Reihe von Individuen mit Herkunftsvermerk neben solchen, bei denen auch Aussagen über ihren eigentlichen Wohnort getroffen werden, genannt. In Docket A,24 ist ein *Wsr-ḥz.t-nḥt* aus der Stadt Hermopolis, der (im) Garten von *ʿn* wohnt (*Wsr-ḥz.t-nḥt n dmj Ḥmn.w ḥms=f š n ʿn*) aufgezählt.⁶⁸ Weitere Informationen gibt es zu ihm jedoch nicht. Die Dockets selbst umfassen Auflistungen der Diebe, die im Kontext der Grabräuberprozesse in Theben am Ende der Ramessidenzeit zusammengestellt wurden.⁶⁹ Auch in den anderen Listen der Grabräuberpapyri tauchen immer wieder Personen auf, deren Anbindung an eine Institution und/oder einen bestimmten Ort vermerkt ist. Neben den üblichen genealogischen Referenzen dienen diese Herkunfts- bzw. Zugehörigkeitsangaben der genaueren Identifikation der Personen. Für das gesamte Korpus dieser Papyri ist Docket A,24 der einzige Verweis auf die Stadt Hermopolis, sonst ist von Orten in der Thebais, aber u.a. auch von Qau (*Tbw*),⁷⁰ Gurob (*Mr-wr*),⁷¹ und Moʿalla (*Hfzʷ*)⁷² die Rede.

2.3 Hermopolitaner in Abydos?

Abydos als überregional bedeutendes Kultzentrum und Austragungsort der ‚Osirismysterien‘ war bereits im Mittleren Reich das erklärte Ziel von Pilgern aus ganz Ägypten, die ihre Anwesenheit dort nicht nur, aber vor allem durch Votivstelen in den *m^cḥ^c.t*-Kapellen medialisierten.⁷³ Auch im Neuen Reich ist Abydos ein Ort der monumentalen

66 Marciniak, *Les inscriptions hiératiques*, 109, Nr. 56; Sabek, *Die hieratischen Besucher-Graffiti*, 333, Nr. 95. Marciniak liest ihren Namen *šs.t-(m)-ḥzḥb*. Sie mag darüber hinaus mit der ‚Sängerin des Thot‘ *šs.t* [...] identisch sein, die in Sabek, *Die hieratischen Besucher-Graffiti*, 349-350, Nr. 107 genannt ist.

67 Vgl. Marciniak, *Les inscriptions hiératiques*, 71-72, Nr. 12; 81-81, Nr. 23 und 24; 85-86, Nr. 28, und Sabek, *Die hieratischen Besucher-Graffiti*, 49-50.

68 T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*, Oxford 1930, Tf. 23, A24; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 765,11.

69 Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, 128-135.

70 Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, Tf. 7, pBM 10054 vs. 5,3; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 494,9-10.

71 Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, Tf. 17, pBM 10053, rt. 1,10; 1,15; 2,12, 2,13; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 507,1; 507,6; 508,6-7.

72 Peet, *Tomb-Robberies*, Tf. 23, Abbott Dockets A,9; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 764,12. Zu diesem Toponym Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica II*, 15*-17*.

73 W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*, PPYE 5, New Haven, 1974; D. O’Connor, The ‘Cenotaphs’ of the Middle Kingdom at Abydos, in: P.

Repräsentation der ägyptischen Funktionäre, sowohl der lokalen (Priester-)Eliten, als auch anderer hoher Staatsfunktionäre mit überregionalem Aktionsradius.⁷⁴ Mitglieder der höchsten hermopolitanischen Beamtschaft können hier jedoch nicht nachgewiesen werden. Es gibt nun aber eine auf einer abydenischen Stele genannte Person, deren Titel auf eine potentielle Verbindung mit dem antiken Ashmunein hinweist. Auf seiner Stele Louvre C 93 bildet der ‚Große der Goldarbeiter‘ des Abydos-Tempels Sethos I. *Njzny* seine Eltern ab. Sein Vater *Hj-m-Wss.t* wird dort als ‚Majordomus des Hauses des Thot‘ (*z-n-pr-n-pr-Dhw.tj*) apostrophiert.⁷⁵ Wenn man *pr-Dhw.tj* als Ortsname ‚Hermopolis‘ und als Bezeichnung des lokalen Thot-Tempels auffasste, sollte nicht an einer funktionalen Verbindung des *Hj-m-Wss.t* mit dieser Institution zu zweifeln sein. Allerdings mag hier *pr-Dhw.tj* auch als hermopolitanische Institution mit landesweiter Präsenz, die die „gedanklichen und tatsächlichen Territorien einerseits der großen Stadtgötter, andererseits der kleineren, an diese angeschlossenen oder eigenständigen Götterkulte umfasst“⁷⁶ zu verstehen sein. Daher muss sich der in den Titeln sichtbare institutionelle Bezug zu Hermopolis nicht immer in einer konkret lokalen Tätigkeit manifestieren. Mit *Hj-m-Wss.t* greifen wir darüber hinaus ja sowieso nur einen Funktionär, der in einer genealogischen Relation genannt ist und daher auch nicht automatisch zu den Pilgern und Besuchern von Abydos gehört.⁷⁷

2.4 Hermopolitaner in Assiut?

Für Assiut, das nur 75km südlich von Hermopolis liegt, gibt es keine eindeutigen Hinweise auf die Präsenz hermopolitanischer Eliten. Die Existenz eines lokalen Thot-Tempels ist vor allem für die Ptolemäerzeit belegt.⁷⁸ Dem Neuen Reich gehört nun der Besitzer des Ushebtis U644, der *jm.j-r'-pr-ḥd-n-Dhw.tj Htp* an, das auf dem Gebel Assiut el-Gharbi gefunden wurde und so wohl auch dessen Grab hier anzeigt.⁷⁹ Während für Thot in Hermopolis zwar auf prosopografischem Weg kein Schatzhaus belegt ist,⁸⁰ sollte vor dem Hintergrund der sonst für das Neue Reich bekannten lokalen Schatzhäuser der Stadtbezirke

Posener-Krieger (Hrg.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar II*, BdE 97,2, Kairo 1985, 161-177.

74 Für die Wesire in Abydos: Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 630-634.

75 Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 346,2.

76 Auenmüller, Beitrag (II): Das Relief eines Oberrindervorstehers.

77 Zu Thot in Abydos in Form eines spezifischen Kultbildes (*sh̄m*-Szepter) namens *sh̄m-ntr.w* und der mythologischen Rolle der (Priester-)Funktionäre beim Osirisfest vgl. Stadler, *Weiser und Wesir*, 233, Fn. 644, und 399-403.

78 Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, 53-54.

79 J. Moje, *The Ushebtis From Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut, Mainly by David George Hogarth and Ahmed Bey Kamal*, The Asyut Project 4, Wiesbaden 2013, 24, U644; J. Moje, *The Ushebtis from Tomb III and its Surroundings (Seasons 2004-2007)*, in: J. Kahl, N. Deppe, D. Goldsmith, A. Kilian, Ch. Kitagawa, J. Moje und M. Zöller-Engelhardt, *Asyut, Tomb III: Objects. Part 1*, The Asyut Project 3, Wiesbaden 2015, 272, U644 (S04/st306.1).

80 Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis.

eine Existenz auch dort anzunehmen sein.⁸¹ Wie das Verhältnis dieses ramessidenzeitlichen ‚Vorstehers des Schatzhauses des Thot‘ zur Stadt Hermopolis zu bestimmen ist, bleibt schwierig zu entscheiden.⁸² Zu denken wäre a) an seine eigentliche Herkunft aus Assiut, die im Ort seines Grabes Abbildung findet, b) an die tatsächliche – aber wenig wahrscheinliche – Existenz eines Thot-Schatzhauses in Assiut oder doch c) noch andere Möglichkeiten und Wege, wie dieses Ushebti nach Assiut gelangt sein könnte.⁸³

2.5 Hermopolitaner in der Region um Hermopolis

Die Stadt Hermopolis und ihr(e) Tempel stellen neben der Elitenekropole von Tuna El-Gebel den prominentesten Raum elitärer Sichtbarmachung von Anwesenheit und lokaler Zugehörigkeit dar. Wie bereits gezeigt werden konnte, sind dies jedoch nicht die einzigen Orte für prosopografische Daten von Hermopolitanern des Neuen Reiches. Tatsächlich tritt uns ein weiterer Hohepriester des Thot aus der Zeit Thutmosis' III. östlich gegenüber von Hermopolis, in Deir el-Bersheh, das auch zum Territorium des 15. oberägyptischen Gauces gehörte und Ort der monumentalen funeren Anlagen der Provinzgouverneure des Mittleren Reiches war, entgegen. Im Jahr 33 Thutmosis' III. dokumentiert der Hohepriester des Thot und *jm.j-r'-jh. w Sn-nfr* seine Anwesenheit hier mit einer Felsstele an der nördlichen Flanke des Wadi Nakhla direkt östlich der Gräber der Nomarchen des Mittleren Reiches an der Westwand eines Galeriesteinbruchs.⁸⁴ Ein aus der Felswand entferntes Fragment der Stele befindet sich heute im Nationalmuseum Krakau (MNK XI-984).

Der Text beginnt mit einer Datierung (Jahr 33, 4. Monat Schemu-Jahreszeit, Tag 4 Thutmosis' III.), gefolgt von einer Referenz auf das Sed-Fest dieses Königs und dessen Titelprotokoll. In der Preisformel an den ‚Großen Gott‘ Thot finden auch Re-Harachte, Min von Hermopolis, Schepsi, Maat, Seschat-Sothis und Chnum von Herwer Verehrung. Nach der ausführlichen Identitätssignatur des *Sn-nfr* wird erneut der Hauptnutznießer dieses Textes, König Thutmosis III., für den Opfer erbeten werden, genannt. In einer Anrede an die Leser und Betrachter dieser Stele – Bürgermeister, Schreiber, Vorlesepriester, Steinbrucharbeiter, ‚Menschen‘ und Domänenverwalter – wird darüber hinaus ein Opfer

81 K. A. H. Awad, *Untersuchungen zum Schatzhaus im Neuen Reich. Administrative und ökonomische Aspekte*, Göttingen 2002, bes. 3-8; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 713.

82 Spekulativ bleibt die Erwägung der Möglichkeit, die Inschrift auf dem Ushebti *jm.j-r'-pr-ḥd Dḥw. tj-htp* zu lesen, und das *n* als Fehlschreibung zu emendieren. Damit würde der institutionelle Bezug des Ushebti possessors zu einem Schatzhaus des Thot – wo immer dieses gelegen haben mag – wegfallen, während dann sein kurzer Name zu einem theophoren Namen mit hermopolitanischen Kolorit würde.

83 Eine nachantike Verbringung nach Assiut ist dabei am unwahrscheinlichsten, da das Ushebti während der modernen Grabungen zu Tage kam. Eine extrasepulkrale Deponierung wäre darüber hinaus auch möglich, scheint aber wohl ebenso unwahrscheinlich. Zum Phänomen vgl. F. Pumpenmeier, *Eine Gunstgabe von Seiten des Königs: ein extrasepulkrates Schabtidetpot Qen-Amuns in Abydos*, SAGA 19, Heidelberg 1998, 72-78.

84 U. Luft, Die Stele des *Sn-nfr* in Deir el-Bersheh und ihr Verhältnis zur Chronologie des Neuen Reiches, in: Z. Hawass und J. Houser Wegner (Hgg.), *Millions of Jubilees. Studies in Honor of David P. Silverman*, CASAE 39,1, Kairo 2010, 333-374.

für Thot in seinen verschiedenen regionalen Erscheinungsformen und Hathor, der Herrin von Kusae, zu Gunsten des Königs und des *Sn-nfr* eingefordert.

Nun interessieren uns hier besonders die Ämter dieses Funktionärs. Neben seiner Funktion als Rindervorsteher ist er einerseits Träger der höchsten Hofrangtitel (*jr.j-p^c.t h3.tj-^c*), andererseits ist *Sn-nfr* durch eine Reihe besonderer Titel charakterisiert, die seine funktionale Verbindung mit Hermopolis beschreiben: ‚Leiter der beiden Throne‘ (*hrp-ns.tj*),⁸⁵ ‚Priestervorsteher und Großes Oberhaupt des Hasengaues‘ (*jm.j-r'-hm.w-[ntr] hr.j-tp-^c3-n-Wn.t*), ‚Ober[...] seiner Denkmäler im Haus seines Vaters Thot‘ (*hr.j-[...]mn.w=f-m-pr-jtj=f-Dhw.tj*)⁸⁶ und ‚Großer der Fünf im Tempel des Thot‘ (*wr-djw-m-pr-Dhw.tj*).⁸⁷ Diese Angaben erlauben es, ihn als einen weiteren Hohepriester des Thot der 18. Dynastie zu identifizieren, der in der Stadt selbst nicht dokumentiert ist. Neben der Bedeutung dieser Stele für die Chronologie des Neuen Reiches⁸⁸ wird in der Person des *Sn-nfr* und in Form dieser Stele der lokale Aktionsradius der hermopolitanischen Hohepriester im Hinblick auf ihre religiösen Funktionen exemplarisch deutlich.

Anhand einiger oben diskutierter Priesterfunktionäre sind vielfältige kulttopografische und personale Verbindungen zwischen den regionalen Zentren Hermopolis, Nefrusi, Herwer und Kusae sichtbar geworden. Diesen Verbindungen kann in der Person des *T3y-t3y*, eines ‚Großen der Fünf im Tempel des Thot‘ (*wr-djw-m-pr-Dhw.tj*), ‚Leiters der Throne‘ (*hrp-ns.tj*)⁸⁹ und ‚Hohepriesters des Horus, des Herrn von Hebenu‘ (*hm-ntr-tp.j-n-Hr-nb-Hbn.w*), eine weitere mit Bezug zu Zawiet el-Meitin (Hebenu) hinzugefügt werden.⁹⁰ *T3y-t3y* ist Besitzer der Standstatue Berlin ÄM 17021, die entweder in Hermopolis im Thottempel⁹¹ oder – und das scheint auch wahrscheinlich – in Hebenu im Stadtgotttempel unter König Amenophis III. aufgestellt wurde.⁹² Darüber hinaus nennt *T3y-t3y* sich auch auf der Statuette Turin Cat. 3069 (N 130), die er seinem Vater, dem *hr.j-md3.jw P3-k3* stiftete und die möglicherweise aus Tuna El-Gebel stammt und dort dann das Grab des *P3-k3* anzeigen dürfte.⁹³ *T3y-t3y* amtierte also unter Amenophis

85 Vgl. dazu C. Vandersleyen, Un titre du vice-roi Merimose à Silsila, in: *CdÉ* 43, 1968, 234-258, bes. 235-245.

86 Der zweite Teil des Titels erinnert an die ‚private Weiheformel‘ (S. Grallert, *Bauen – Stiften – Weihen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie*, AVDAIK 18, Berlin 2001, 61-66). Mir sind jedoch außer den Titeln *hr.j-s^cnh.w-m-mn.w-^c3.w-wr.w-n-nsu-(m-pr-Jtn-m-3h.t-Jtn)* (J. A. Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Phrases & Epithets of the 18th Dynasty*, London 2001, §§1603-1604) keine Parallelen bekannt, die eine befriedigende Rekonstruktion des Titels ermöglichen.

87 Luft, Stele des *Sn-nfr*, 333-374.

88 Luft, Stele des *Sn-nfr*, 333-374.

89 Zu diesem Titel Vandersleyen, Un titre du vice-roi, 234-258, bes. 235-245.

90 Zu Hebenu siehe auch Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 209-224.

91 Vgl. auch Auenmüller, Beitrag (III): Auswärtige und lokale Eliten.

92 Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 889, **BMNefrusi-05?**

93 A. Fabretti, F. Rossi und R. V. Lanzone, *Regio Museo di Torino: antichità egizie*. Catalogo generale dei musei di antichità e degli oggetti d'arte raccolti nelle gallerie e biblioteche del Regno Torino, Turin

III. in Personalunion als Hohepriester des Horus in Hebenu und des Thot in Hermopolis.

2.6 Hermopolitaner im Memphitischen Raum?

Die Präsenz von Hermopolitanern in der Stadt Memphis ist vor dem Hintergrund der dort belegten Thot-Tempel⁹⁴ nicht ohne prosopografische Zuordnungsprobleme zu bestimmen. Am Beginn der Diskussion steht der ‚Königlicher Schreiber‘ (*sh3.w-nsu*) und ‚Scheunenvorsteher‘ (*jm.j-r'-šnw.tj*) Rꜥy, der von W. M. F. Petrie in die Zeit Amenophis III. datiert wird,⁹⁵ aber eher dem Ende der 18. Dynastie zugehört.⁹⁶ Von ihm ist eine Tempelstatue aus Memphis bekannt, auf der er zusätzlich zu den zwei bereits genannten Titeln auch als ‚Wahrer königlicher Schreiber, den er liebt‘ (*sh3.w-nsu-m3^c-mry=f*) und ‚Oberdomänenverwalter des Königs‘ (*jm.j-r'-pr-wr-n-nsu*) charakterisiert ist.⁹⁷ Diese Titel und die Aufstellung der Statue – wohl im Ptahtempel-Bezirk – in Memphis lassen keinerlei Verbindung mit Hermopolis erkennen. In der vierten Kolumne des Rückenpfilters finden sich jedoch die zu Beginn der Kolumne zerstörten Angaben: ‚[...] von/in Hermo]polis‘ ([...*Hm*]n.w) und ‚Festleiter des Thot‘ (*sšm-h3b-n-Dḥw.tj*). Bei der ersten Angabe sollte es sich um einen Priestertitel handeln, der jedoch nicht zweifelsfrei rekonstruierbar ist.⁹⁸ Der zweite Titel taucht hier das erste Mal im Repertoire der mit Thot und Hermopolis in Verbindung stehenden Funktionsangaben auf.⁹⁹ Mit Blick auf den in Memphis mindestens

1882, 421, Cat. 3069; Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 144-145, Dok. 19. Sollte die Provenienz Tuna el-Gebel (so bei Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 889) zutreffen, sollte P3-k3 der Liste der elitären Grabbesitzer des Neuen Reiches in Tuna El-Gebel in Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis, hinzugefügt werden.

94 Allerdings datieren die Textquellen für memphitische Thot-Tempel ausnahmslos in die Ramessidenzeit. Ramses II. gründet in Memphis den Thot-Tempel *pr-Dḥw.tj-n-(R^c-ms-sw-mrj-Jmn) | -nḥ-wd3-snb-hrw-jb-<hr>-m3^c.t-m-Mn-nfr* (A. Badawi, *Memphis als zweite Landeshauptstadt im Neuen Reich*, Kairo 1948, 26-27). Dieser Tempel ist dann auch in pTurin A vs. 3,2-3 und 3,6-7 genannt (Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellany*, 455). Weitere Erwähnungen finden sich in pWilbour B 7,9 (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II, Commentary*, 115, 176 und 215; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus III, Translation*, 113), pNorthumberland I, rt. 4 und vs. 2 (ohne den ausführlichen Namen, nur als *pr-Dḥw.tj*; J. Barns, *Three Hieratic Papyri in the Duke of Northumberland's Collection*, in: *JEA* 34, 1948, 35-38) und in pBologna 1086, I (als *pr-Dḥw.tj*) und II,1 (in etwas ausführlicherer Schreibung: *pr-Dḥw.tj-hrw-jb-m-Mn-nfr*; W. Wolf, *Papyrus Bologna 1086. Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, in: *ZÄS* 65, 1930, 88).

95 So auch Helck, *Verwaltung*, 500.

96 B. Bohleke, *The Overseers of Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 1570-1085 B.C.*, Ann Arbor 1991, 239-243, datiert Rꜥy in die unmittelbare Nachamarnazeit. Vgl. zu Rꜥy und seiner Datierung auch S. Pasquali, *Topographie culturelle de Memphis Ia. Corpus. Temples et principaux quartiers de la XVIIIe dynastie*, CENiM 4, Montpellier 2011, 97, **B.78**.

97 W. M. F. Petrie, *Memphis I*, BSAE 15, London 1909, 8, Tf. 19; Bohleke, *Overseers of Double Granaries*, 242, Nr. 1, (Dublin 514.08; bei Pasquali, *Topographie culturelle*, 97, findet sich die äquivalente Inv.-Nr. 1908.514).

98 Die untersten vier Striche der üblichen Schreibung von Hermopolis sind erhalten. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 500, ergänzt den Titel [*jm.j-r'-ḥm.w-ntr-n-Dḥw.tj-nb-Ḥm*]n.w, was von Bohleke, *Overseers of Double Granaries*, 241, übernommen wird.

99 Zu solchen Titeln mit Bezug auf andere Götter Taylor, *Index*, §§2141-2154; A. R. Al-Ayedi, *Index of*

ab Ramses II., wenn nicht schon eher belegten Mond-Thot-Tempel¹⁰⁰ könnte man hier durchaus zunächst von einer funktionalen Relation des *Rꜥy* mit eben dieser Institution in der ‚zweiten Landeshauptstadt‘ ausgehen.

Es gibt jedoch weitere prosopografische Daten, die Hermopolis wieder dezidiert ins Spiel bringen. Von dort kennt man nämlich die Fragmente einer Tempelstatue eines ‚Schreibers der Gottesopfer aller Götter von Ober- und Unterägypten‘ (*shꜥ.w-ḥtp.w-ntr-n-ntr.w-nb.w-šmꜥ.w-Mḥ.w*) *Nḥm-ꜥwꜥy* im Typus eines Libationsbeckenträgers.¹⁰¹ Die Filiationsangabe auf diesem Denkmal führt aus, dass *Nḥm-ꜥwꜥy* der Sohn eines ‚Königlichen Schreibers und Vorstehers der Scheunen *Rꜥy*‘ sei. An einer Identität der beiden *Rꜥy*’s dürfte daher wohl kaum zu zweifeln sein.¹⁰² Da nun der Sohn des *Rꜥy*, *Nḥm-ꜥwꜥy*, wie gesehen in Hermopolis mit einer Tempelstatue in Erscheinung tritt und sein Personennamen auf die weibliche Stadtgottheit Nehemetaui anspielt, mag in *Rꜥy* ein Funktionär hermopolitanischer Herkunft erkannt werden. Wenn dies nicht zuträfe, dann würde man ihm anhand seiner beiden Titel ‚[... von/in Hermo]polis‘ und ‚Festleiter des Thot‘ und der Voraussetzung, dass sich diese auf das antike El-Ashmunein beziehen, immer noch eine besondere funktionale Relation zu diesem Ort zuschreiben.

Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, Ismailia 2006, §§1756-1770.

100 Zum Kult- und Dienstpersonal des Thot in Memphis als ‚Mond-Thot‘ (vgl. Pasquali, *Topographie cultuelle*, 87, B.47-49) gehören der *sꜥw.ty-n-pr-Jꜥh-m-Mn-nfr* [...]tꜥ (Doppelushebt aus Saqqara, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Egizio, Inv.-Nr. 55025, späte 18. Dynastie; J.-C. Grenier, *Les statuettes funéraires du Museo Gregoriano Egizio*, Rom 1996, 102-104, Kat.-Nr. 143, Tf. 65) und der *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Jꜥh Hꜥtꜥjꜥy*, ebenfalls aus späten 18. Dynastie, welcher das Grab des *Mr.y-Nj.t* in Saqqara usurpierte (M. J. Raven und R. van Walsem, *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*, PALMA 10, Turnhout 2014, 53-56). Ein weiterer Hohepriester des Mond-Thots, der in der mittleren 18. Dynastie entweder in Memphis oder in Theben am Chonstempel amtierte, ist der *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Jꜥh-Dḥw.tj wbꜥ.w-nsw(?)* [NN], der im Grab TT 63 des Schatzmeisters und Bürgermeisters des Fayum *Sbk-ḥtp* (E. Dziobek und M. Abdel Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep. Theben Nr. 63*, AV 71, Mainz 1989, 69, Text 20e) genannt ist. Ebenfalls in die 18. Dynastie datiert der wohl dem Chonstempel in Theben zugehörige *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Jꜥh Nfr-jꜥh*, dessen Grabkegel auf eine Grabanlage in Theben-West weisen (N. de Garies Davies und M. F. L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Oxford 1957, Nr. 107; W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches [Teil 1]. I. Die Eigentümer a) Die großen Tempel*, Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften und Literatur Mainz 10, Wiesbaden 1961, 844 [62]). Schließlich sind der in Pi-Ramesse unter Merenptah amtierende und in TT 23 bestattete *shꜥ.w-nsw-šꜥ.t-n-nb-tꜥ.wj Tꜥy* als *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Jꜥh* (K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical IV*, Oxford 1982, 111,1 und 5) und der Vizekönig von Nubien unter Siptah (Jahr 1-6), *Sthy*, als *ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Jꜥh-Dḥw.tj* (Felsstele Abu Simbel; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions IV*, 363,6-7; Müller, *Verwaltung*, 139-140, Nr. 25) zu nennen.

101 H. Balcz und K. Bittel, Grabungsbericht Hermopolis 1932, in: *MDAIK* 3, 1932, 40, Tf. 5; Roeder, *Hermopolis 1929-1939*, 304, Tf. 73a; Hermopolis Fundjournal Nr. 96 (69/III); D. Wildung, Die Kniefigur am Opferbecken. Überlegungen zur Funktion altägyptischer Plastik, in: *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 36, 1985, 28, Beleg 3. Die Statue wird in beiden Publikationen in die 19. Dyn. datiert. Zum Statuentyp des Libationsbeckenträgers siehe E. Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik. Die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung*, Philippika 27, Wiesbaden 2010, 68-71; 275-280; und K. Konrad, Der Ptah des Amenemhet: Zur theologischen Konzeption einer Kniefigur am Opferbecken, in: *SAK* 32, 2004, 255-274.

102 Von Bohleke, *Overseers of Double Granaries*, 239-243, wird diese genealogische Relation nicht erkannt oder diskutiert; Wildung, Kniefigur am Opferbecken, 28, Beleg 3, liest den Namen als ‚Niuti‘.

Der gerade geäußerten Idee seiner Herkunft aus Hermopolis mag jedoch die in der Literatur formulierte Vermutung entgegenstehen, dass *Rꜥy* mit dem in Dra Abu el-Naga über Grabkegel¹⁰³ und ein Uschebti aus Theben¹⁰⁴ bekannten (und also auch dort bestatteten) *shꜣ.w-nsw-mꜣꜥ-mry=f* und *jm.j-r'-šnw.tj-n-šmꜥ.w-Mh.w* *Rꜥ* identisch ist.¹⁰⁵ Wäre dies der Fall, könnte – unter der Voraussetzung der Stimmigkeit der obigen Identifizierung des *Rꜥy* der Tempelstatue aus Memphis mit dem Vater des *Nhm-ꜥwꜣy* – ein weiterer Hermopolitaner mit einem Grab in Theben postuliert werden. Es gibt jedoch epigrafische und archäologische Belege gegen die Identifikation des ‚thebanischen‘ mit dem ‚memphitischen‘ *Rꜥy*. Dies sind zwei Granitsarkophage und ein Uschebti aus Kalzitalabaster aus einem (Schacht-)Grab wenig südlich der Grabanlage des Haremhab in Saqqara.¹⁰⁶ Sie gehören einem weiteren *jm.j-r'-šnw.tj shꜣ.w-nsw Rꜥy*, der nicht nur aus territorialen, sondern auch chronologischen Gründen eher mit unserem *Rꜥy* identisch ist.¹⁰⁷ Mit seiner Bestattung in der Elitenekropole von Saqqara wird die räumliche Verbindung des *Rꜥy* zu Memphis, die sich ja bereits mit einer Tempelstatue von dort ausdrückte, noch einmal deutlich unterstrichen. Wie sein Verhältnis zu Hermopolis aussah, darüber kann nur anhand der oben diskutierten Titel und des möglichen Verwandtschaftsverhältnisses mit *Nhm-ꜥwꜣy* gemutmaßt werden. Auch wenn seine Herkunft aus Hermopolis nicht sicher nachweisbar ist, so scheint er doch in dieser Stadt am Ende der 18. Dynastie ein/die ‚Fest(e) des Thot‘ an- bzw. durchgeführt zu haben.¹⁰⁸

Während die elitären Grabanlagen in Theben-West eine Vielzahl von Personen aus und in Verbindung mit Hermopolis dokumentieren, sind Hermopolitaner in der großen Residenznekropole im Norden eher unterrepräsentiert. Ihr Auftreten in Saqqara beschränkt sich – abgesehen vom fraglichen *Rꜥy* – auf den ‚Hohepriester des Thot‘ (*hm-ntr-tp.j-<n>-Dhw.tj*) und ‚Großen Begünstigten des Schepsi, der sich in Hermopolis befindet‘ (*hsy-ꜥꜣ-n-špsy-jm.j-Hmn.w*) namens *Sꜣꜣ-m-kꜣ.w=f*, der im Felsgrab Bubasteion I.20 der Amme des Tutanchamun *Mꜥyꜣ* als Anführer einer Opferprozession auftritt.¹⁰⁹ Gemeinsam

103 N. de Garis Davies und M. F. L. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Oxford 1957, Nr. 429; J. M. Galán und F. L. Borrego, *Funerary Cones from Dra Abu el-Naga* (TT. 11-12), in: *Memnonia* 17, 2006, 207.

104 H. D. Schneider, *Shabtis. An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes with a Catalogue of the Collection of Shabtis in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* 2, Leiden 1977, 64, Nr. 3.2.1.27 (Leiden P 40).

105 Vgl. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 500; Bohleke, *Overseers of Double Granaries*, 239-243.

106 M. El-Ghandour, Report on Work at Saqqara South of the New Kingdom Cemetery. Seasons 1994, 1996, 1997, in: *GM* 161, 1997, 11 and 14, Nr. 6; M. El-Gandour, The anthropoid coffin of Senqed from Saqqara, in: B. Ockinga, *A Tomb from the Reign of Tutankhamun at Akhmim*, ACE Reports 10, 1997, 49-53, Tf. 66-74.

107 Zur Identität Pasquali, *Topographie culturelle*, 97, mit Fn. 328.

108 Zu einem in Hermopolis unter Merenptah belegten Fest des Thot G. Roeder, Zwei hieroglyphische Inschriften aus Hermopolis (Ober-Ägypten), in: *ASAE* 52, 1952/54, 315-442, bes. 326-352.

109 A. Zivie, *La tombe de Maia, mère nourricière du roi Toutânkhamon et grande du harem*. Les Tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara 1, Toulouse 2009, 48, Text 17, Tf. 28; Pasquali, *Topographie culturelle*, 97, **B.79**.

mit ihm sind noch ein ‚Schreiber und Vorsteher des Wirtschaftsbetriebs (eines Tempels)‘ (*sh3.w jm.j-r'-gs-pr*) namens *Ttj-nfr* und ein ‚Opfertischschreiber‘ (*sh3.w-wdh.w*) *Jḥ-ms* gezeigt. Alle drei Personen sind in Memphis anderweitig nicht belegt.¹¹⁰ In der Person des *Ss3-m-k3.w=f* könnte man eine Relation mit einem Tempel des Thot in Memphis annehmen, sein singuläres Epitheton mit Nennung des Schepsi verweist jedoch recht klar nach Hermopolis.¹¹¹ Damit ist in seiner Person ein neuer Hohepriester des Thot unter Tutanchamun – also direkt nach der Amarna-Episode – zu identifizieren. Wie sich dessen Relation zum in TT 166 dokumentierten *hm-ntr-tp.j-n-Dḥw.tj-nb-Ḥmn.w Jpy*, der in der Zeit um und vor der Fertigstellung dieses Grabes (Haremhab-Sethos I.) in Hermopolis amtiert haben sollte, darstellt, ist nicht sicher zu entscheiden. Sollte *Ss3-m-k3.w=f* direkt unter Tutanchamun das Hohepriesteramt inne gehabt haben, dürfte *Jpy* sein Nachfolger sein.

In der memphitischen Elitenekropole tritt uns eine letzte Person mit potentieller Herkunft ‚Hermopolis‘ entgegen. Der ‚Königliche Schreiber‘ (*sh3.w-nsw*), ‚Schatzhausvorsteher‘ (*jm.j-r'-pr-ḥd*) und ‚Hausvorsteher‘ (*jm.j-r'-pr*) *Jḥ-ms* ist über eine teilweise fragmentierte Statue, die ihn mit einem Begleiter kniend vor dem thronenden Osiris zeigt (Kairo CG 38411), und ein Relieffragment aus dem Serapeum, das ihn in Anbetung der memphitischen Stadtgötter Ptah und Sachmet abbildet, belegt.¹¹² Beide Denkmäler können nur auf stilistischem Wege und so allgemein in die 19. Dynastie datiert werden. Mit Hermopolis steht der Titel des ‚Großen der Fünf im Tempel des Thot‘ (*wr-djw-m-pr-Dḥw.tj*) in Verbindung, der auf beiden Denkmälern vorkommt. Besonders für jenes im Serapeum in sekundärer Verbauung aufgefundene Relieffragment kann als ursprünglicher Kontext eine funeräre Anlage angenommen werden, in der auch die Osirisstatue aufgestellt gewesen sein dürfte. Dieses Grab sollte dann in Saqqara zu lokalisieren sein, worauf auch die Präsenz von Ptah und Sachmet deutlich hinweist. Die Titel und Namen der auf der Statue genannten Mitglieder der Familie des *Jḥ-ms*, Frau und Sohn, bieten keine weiteren ortsbezogenen Anhaltspunkte.¹¹³ Vor dem Hintergrund des ramessidenzeitlichen *pr-Dḥw.tj* in Memphis wäre für den *wr-djw Jḥ-ms* auch eine funktionale Relation zu Memphis denkbar, die sich hier im Ort seines Grabes in Saqqara widerspiegelte.

Sonst gibt es im dokumentarischen Record der Briefe noch eine Reihe von Personen mit Beziehungen zu Thot und/oder einem *pr-Dḥw.tj*,¹¹⁴ das in Memphis lokalisiert werden

110 Ich danke Anne Herzberg, Berlin, für Informationen zur Prosopografie von Memphis im Neuen Reich.

111 Vgl. zu solchen Epitheta Taylor, *Index*, §1695-1699. Ein mit einem Ortsgott gebildetes vergleichbares Epitheton trägt der Bürgermeister von Djaroukha *Mry-M3̄.t*: ‚Großer Begünstigter des Min, des Herrn von Achmim‘ (*ḥsy-ḥ3-n-Mnw-nb-Jpw*): M. Gabolde, La statue de Merymaât gouverneur de Djâroukha (Bologne K.S. 1813), in: *BIFAO* 94, 1994, 261-275; Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 893, **BMDjaroukha-01a**.

112 G. Daressy, *Statues de Divinités* I, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Kairo 1906, 108-109, Tf. 22; Wildung, Kniefigur am Opferbecken, 33, Beleg 14; und M. I. Aly, New Kingdom Scattered Blocks from Saqqara, in: *MDAIK* 56, 229-230, Nr. 4, Tf. 31a.

113 Auf der Statue CG 38411 sind seine Frau *nbt-pr Mw.t-ndm.t* und sein Sohn *sdm-n-nb-f Bnj3-ḥss=f* genannt.

114 Der Adressat des Briefes pBologna 1086 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 78,14-16) war der

kann und somit eher über das Kultpersonal dieser Stadt als über die uns interessierende hermopolitanische Prosopografie Auskunft gibt. In pKairo JdE 52002, einem in das Jahr 15 Ramses' III. datierenden Text über den Bau eines Grabes in der memphitischen Nekropole, erfahren wir von einer *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj* namens *T3-rnn.wtt*, die sich um den Schutz des designierten Bauplatzes des Grabes eines Wesirs bemüht.¹¹⁵ Auch die beiden in pBologna 1094, 9,7 und 10,6 genannten *šm^c.yt*-Sängerinnen des Thot *Skt* und *Nn-nsw-m-ḥ3b*¹¹⁶ gehören dem Briefformular nach – sie rufen jeweils Ptah und die Götter (und Göttinnen) von Memphis an – eher zum *pr-Dḥw.tj* in Memphis als der Stadt Hermopolis.¹¹⁷

2.7 Hermopolitaner in Heliopolis?

In der von Dietrich Raue zusammengestellten Prosopografie der Stadt Heliopolis im Neuen Reich tauchen zwei ‚Sängerinnen des Thot‘ auf. Die *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj Hr* ist mit ihrem Mann, dem *šḥ3.w-n-t3-š^c.t-pr-ε3 M^cy*, auf einem Türsturz, der 1936 in Gebel el-Naam gefunden wurde und mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit aus dessen Grab stammt, belegt.¹¹⁸ Aufgrund stilistischer Vergleiche ist dieses Bauteil in die 20. Dynastie zu datieren. Raue möchte *M^cy* darüber hinaus tentativ mit einem anonymen Korrespondenzschreiber identifizieren, der in pWilbour A 29,29 und A 53,44 genannt ist und in der Felderverwaltung des Millionenjahrhauses Ramses' III. in Theben-West tätig war.¹¹⁹ So wäre dann eine funktionale Relation mit Theben hergestellt.¹²⁰ Nun führt Raue zu *M^cy* weiter aus, dass jener ‚zu einer kleinen Gruppe hochrangiger Personen gehört, die sich in Heliopolis bestatten

‚Priestervorsteher‘ (*ḥm-ntr*) *R^c-ms* ‚des Tempels des Thot‘ (*n-pr-Dḥw.tj*), welchen Badawi, *Memphis*, 27, und Wolf, Papyrus Bologna 1086, 89-97, mit dem Tempel des Thot in Memphis identifizieren. In pBologna II,1 wird dieser Tempel als *pr-Dḥw.tj-hrw-jb-m-Mn-nfr* bezeichnet. Da der Absender des Briefes pNorthumberland I und Schreiber *M^cḥw* in rt. 3-4 die Götter Amun, Ptah, Re-Harachte und alle Götter des *pr-Dḥw.tj* anruft und dieser Tempel und sein Hauptgott Thot in vs. 1-2 erneut erscheinen (*Dḥw.tj n n3-n-ntr.w-nb.w-pr-Dḥw.tj*), ist mit Barns, *The Hieratic Papyri*, 35-38, Memphis als Verfassungsort dieser Mitteilung zu bestimmen.

115 P. Posener-Kriéger, Construire une tombe à l'ouest de *Mn-nfr* (P Caire 52002), in: *RdÉ* 33, 1981, 47-58.

116 Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 26-27.

117 Desgleichen könnten einige der *šm^c.yt*-Sängerinnen des Thot, die in Auenmüller, Beitrag (I): Provinzielle Elite von Tuna el-Gebel und Hermopolis, lediglich aufgrund ihrer Titel für Tuna el-Gebel in Anspruch genommen wurden, ebenso mit Memphis in Verbindung stehen.

118 Raue, *Heliopolis*, 198-199, Personen-ID: *M^cj* (5) und 280-281, Personen-ID: *Hr* (1)# Kairo TR 07-07-37-38/07-07-37-39.

119 Darüber hinaus scheint *M^cy* in pWilbour A 29,29 und A 53,44 als anonymen ‚Korrespondenzschreiber in der Felderverwaltung des thebanischen Totentempels Ramses' III. - und wahrscheinlich auch Ramses' II. -‘ genannt zu sein: Raue, *Heliopolis*, 198, mit Fn. 7, und 199, mit Fn. 1.

120 Der über Grabkegel aus Theben-West (Davies/Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, Nr. 243) und die Statue Kairo CG 982 (L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten. Teil 4*, CG, Berlin 1934, 14, Nr. 982) belegte ‚Briefschreiber von Theben‘ (*šḥ3.w-š^c.t-n-n'.t-rs.jt*) und ‚Vorsteher der Felder des Amun‘ (*jm.j-r'-šḥ.wt-n-Jmn*) *M^cy* dürfte jedoch nicht mit dem heliopolitanischen *M^cy* identisch sein. Vgl. zur (problematischen) Identifizierung Helck, *Verwaltung*, 277-278.

ließen, ohne durch Titel oder Genealogien einen Bezug zur Stadt oder Domäne erkennbar zu machen“.¹²¹ Diese Aussage ist nicht nur für die Frage nach der Herkunft des *Mꜣy* von Bedeutung, sondern auch seiner Frau, die ja als *šmꜣ.yt-n-Dḥw.tj* apostrophiert ist.

Wolfgang Helck hat in seiner Charakterisierung der Aktenschreiber des Neuen Reiches auf deren berufliche Affinität mit Thot hingewiesen,¹²² so dass der Titel der *Hr* vor diesem Hintergrund keinen direkten Bezug zu Hermopolis thematisieren muss,¹²³ sondern vielleicht eher die Affiliation der *Hr* mit dem von Heliopolis nächstgelegenen Thot-Tempel in Memphis beschreibt. Hier fehlen also die weiteren Quellen, die Herkunft der *šmꜣ.yt-n-Dḥw.tj Hr* näher einzugrenzen. Die zweite Sängerin des Thot *Tꜣ(t)j* datiert ebenfalls in die Ramessidenzeit und ist auf dem Sarkophag ihres Sohnes, des ‚Großen Rindervorstehers im *pr-Rꜣ*‘ (*jm.j-r'-jh.w-wr-m-pr-Rꜣ*) *Dḥw.tj-ms* genannt. Dieser Sarkophag kann nicht nur aufgrund des Materials – es handelt sich um silifizierten Sandstein vom Gebel Ahmar – Heliopolis zugeschrieben werden, sondern auch aufgrund der Titel des *Dḥw.tj-ms* mit explizitem Ortsbezug, in denen seine administrativen Verantwortlichkeiten für die Viehherden des *pr-Rꜣ*-(*Jtm.w*) thematisiert werden.¹²⁴ Wenn der Titel seiner Mutter *Tꜣ(t)j* tatsächlich eine hermopolitanische Herkunft der Familie signalisierte,¹²⁵ dann könnte auch sein Name *Dḥw.tj-ms* auf diese Relation hinweisen.¹²⁶ Allerdings liegen keine weiteren prosopografischen Daten für eine wirkliche Substantiierung der Idee vor, so dass wir mit *Dḥw.tj-ms* tentativ einen Hermopolitaner fassen, der im Kontext seiner Laufbahn in Heliopolis oder für die Re-Atum-Domäne tätig wurde und als Konsequenz daraus auch in (einer) der Elitenekropole(n) seiner Amtsstadt bestattet wurde.

2.8 Hermopolitaner auf dem Sinai?

In der Ramessidenzeit (19./20. Dynastie) dokumentiert ein ‚Königlicher Schreiber und Großer der Fünf‘ namens *Sth-nḥt* ‚vom Ufer des Re-Tatenen von Theben‘ (*shꜣ.w-nsw wr-ꜣdjwꜣ-Sth-nḥt- <n> -ꜣPꜣ-rwd-n-Rꜣ-Tnn-n-Wꜣs.tꜣ*) seine Anwesenheit auf dem Sinai in Serabit el-Chadim mit einer Inschrift bzw. Stele, die sich heute im British Museum London befindet (Sinai 295 / BM EA 1831).¹²⁷ Im oberen Register ist *Sth-nḥt*

121 Raue, *Heliopolis*, 199.

122 Helck, *Verwaltung*, 278.

123 So auch Raue, *Heliopolis*, 198, Fn. 7.

124 I. E. S. Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* 8, London 1939, 43-47, Tf. 37-38 (BM EA 1642); Raue, *Heliopolis*, 260-261.

125 Ein eigenständiger Thot-Tempel o.ä. ist in Heliopolis nicht bekannt. Zum Auftreten des Thot in Heliopolis und einem Festauszug dieses Gottes vgl. jedoch J. Osing, Die Worte von Heliopolis (II), in: *MDAIK* 47, 269-279.

126 Tatsächlich lassen sich auch für den zweiten *Dḥw.tj-ms* in Heliopolis anhand der Texte Verbindungen in die mittelägyptische Provinz, jedoch nicht nach Hermopolis, ziehen: Raue, *Heliopolis*, 260.

127 A. H. Gardiner und T. E. Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* II, EES 45, Oxford 1955, 193, Nr. 295; M. L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum* 12, London 1993, 24, Tf. 84-85; T. Hikade, *Das Expeditionswesen im ägyptischen Neuen Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Rohstoffversorgung und Außenhandel*, SAGA 21, Heidelberg 2001, 179-180, Nr. 59.

in Adoration vor Hathor, der Herrin des Türkises gezeigt. Während der *wr-djw*-Titel die vermeintlich hermopolitanische Relation darstellt, bezieht sich der Vermerk bzw. die Titelerweiterung mit dem Toponym ‚Ufer des Re, Tatenen von Theben‘ auf einen nicht präzise lokalisierbaren Ort an der östlichen Deltagrenze.¹²⁸ Dieser könnte – sollte der Titel des *wr-djw* überhaupt richtig gelesen sein und der Ortsbezug zutreffen – als weiteres Kultzentrum des Thot identifizierbar sein. Im unteren Register der Stele sind schließlich zwei kniende Adorantinnen zu sehen, von denen die erste als *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj T3y-b3s* identifiziert ist. Der bereits gesehene Bezug des *Sth-nḥt* zu Thot findet dadurch Bestätigung. Darüber hinaus dürfte diese Tempelsängerin mit der *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj-wp-(r)ḥ.wj T3-b3-s3* identisch – oder zumindest verwandt – sein, die auf der Stele London BM EA 312 belegt und mit dem Tempelkult des Thot in El-Baqlich assoziiert ist.¹²⁹ In Konsequenz dieser Angaben ist erstens eine Herkunft des *Sth-nḥt* aus der Region von Hermopolis und auch sein Amt als Hohepriester dort höchstwahrscheinlich auszuschließen, während zweitens dann tentativ auch für Thot in El-Baqlich – oder einen anderen Ort im Nildelta (*P3-rwd-n-[p3]-R^c-[T3]-ḫnn-n-W3s.t*)? – die Existenz eines *wr-djw*-Hohepriesters im Neuen Reich anzunehmen wäre.

3. Abschließende Diskussion

Nach der vorangegangenen Besprechung der einzelnen Fälle gilt es, die für unsere Fragestellung bedeutsamen Sachverhalte noch einmal auf den Punkt zu bringen. Wie sich während der Diskussion gezeigt hat, konnten einzelne Hermopolitaner*innen außerhalb ihrer Stadt identifiziert werden. In anderen Fällen hat sich kein unmittelbarer Bezug zu El-Ashmunein ergeben. Die einzelnen Orte, an denen Personen aus Hermopolis aktiv in verschiedenen Kontexten – Festteilnahme, Grabbesitzer, Statuenweiheung – in Erscheinung treten, sind der Erste Katarakt (*J3m.w-nfr; Sw-m-n'.t; Jmn-ḥtp*), Theben (*Dḥw.tj; Sw-m-n'.t; Mw.t-jrj; R^c-ms* und *T3y; Mr.y-R^c*) und – eher fraglich – Memphis (*R^cy*). Darüber hinaus ist die Region um Hermopolis selbst natürlich Teil des Aktionsradius der lokalen Elite (*Sn-nfr; T3y-t3y*).¹³⁰

Der Handlungsraum der Personen, die in Gräbern oder auf Denkmälern anderer Personen genannt sind, lässt sich anhand ihres dortigen Auftretens naturgemäß nicht

128 Das Toponym *P3-rwd-n-p3-R^c-ḫnn-n-W3s.t* ist hier m.W. das einzige Mal belegt. In pAnastasi V, 25,2-27,3, dem Beginn eines Briefes eines Stellvertreters von Tjeku *M^cy* an den *wr-n-md3.jw Jn.j-ḥr.t-nḥt* und den *ḥr.j-pd.t Yy*, deren Ortsbezug durch die Angabe *n-P3-rwd-n-R^c* ‚vom Ufer des Re‘ angegeben ist (Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 269) wird deutlich, dass dieser letzte Ort an der östlichen Deltagrenze gelegen haben muss, wobei eine enge Verbindung mit Saft el-Henneh besteht (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire* III, Kairo 1926, 134). Den Ort mit dem Zusatz *ḫnn-n-W3s.t* möchten Gardiner/Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai* II, 193, Anm. f. jedoch nicht mit *P3-rwd-n-p3-R^c* identifizieren („undoubtedly different“).

129 Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts* 10, 41, Tf. 98. Eine weitere *šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj-wp-rḥ.wj* namens *Tl* ist anhand eines (Grab-?)Reliefs eines *wb3.w-nsu^c 3-n^c.t-n-nb-t3.wj R^c-mss-nḥt* in Schweizer Privatbesitz belegt (Zivie, *Hermopolis*, 68-70, Doc. 12).

130 Zur lokalen Dimension der Territorialität der provinziellen ägyptischen Eliten vgl. Auenmüller, *Territorialität, passim*.

bestimmen. Während die Familie des *Jꜣm. w-nfr* (*Mr.yt* und Kinder) am Ersten Katarakt an einem überregional bedeutenden Fest teilgenommen haben mag, treten Hermopolitaner in Theben meist im Kontext genealogischer Angaben auf (*Jmn-ḥtp*; *Jꜣm. w-nfr* und *Mr.yt*; *Jpy* und *Hꜣtj*; *Mry-Bꜣs.t*), selten jedoch auch in den dokumentarischen Texten (*Wsr-ḥꜣ.t-nḥt*). Während auch in Abydos eine familiäre Relation (*Hꜣj-m-Wꜣs.t*) bestimmend ist, scheint in Saqqara eine funktionale oder persönliche Beziehung abgebildet zu sein (*Sꜣꜣ-m-kꜣ.w=f*).¹³¹

Schließlich gibt es die Personen, deren Herkunft aus oder Relation mit Hermopolis nicht abschließend beantwortet werden kann. Dies gilt vor allem für *Htp* (Assiut), *Rꜣy* und *Jꜣh-ms* (Memphis), aber auch für die Sängerinnen des Thot *Hr* und *Tꜣ(t)j* (sowie *Dḥw.tj-ms*), die im prosopografischen Record von Heliopolis in Erscheinung getreten sind. Eine Verbindung mit Hermopolis des *Stḥ-nḥt* und der mit ihm assoziierten Tempelsängerinnen ist auszuschließen. Dies gilt ebenfalls für einige *šmꜣ.yt-n-Dḥw.tj*, die in Memphis zur Equipe der Tempel- und Kultmusikant*innen des unter Ramses II. gegründeten Thot-Tempels gehören. Im Gesamt ergibt sich ein bemerkenswerter Befund: der Erste Katarakt, Theben und die Region um Hermopolis sind Orte der monumentalen Präsenz hermopolitanischer Eliten einerseits, aber auch Orte ihrer dokumentarischen Evidenz. Damit sind einige ‚Hauptschauplätze‘ des Neuen Reiches genannt. Obwohl Heliopolis wie Assiut und Abydos in keinem Fall ein ‚Nebenschauplatz‘ ist, scheint hier jedoch nur sekundäre Evidenz vorzuliegen. Nichtsdestotrotz erkennt man im prosopografischen Record verschiedene Beziehungen, die sich wie ein Netz elitärer sozialer Relationen über Ägypten und zwischen seinen städtischen Zentren und Regionen aufspannen.¹³²

Das über die Nekropole von Tuna el-Gebel und in der Stadt selbst belegte hermopolitanische ‚urban social fabric‘ kann nun durch folgende Personen mit Belegen von Außerhalb ergänzt werden (Tab. 1). In der letzten Spalte der Tabelle, ‚(Hermopolis?)‘, ist der Versuch gemacht, die Relation der jeweiligen Person zu Hermopolis anhand von drei Kategorien – ja, wahrscheinlich, fraglich – kurz zu umreißen. Personen, deren Bezug zu Hermopolis in der Diskussion ausgeschlossen werden konnte, sind in der Tabelle dagegen nicht eigens gelistet.

131 Hier steht die Frage zur Diskussion: Warum ist – oder hat sich – ein hermopolitanischer Hohepriester im Grab der Amme des Tutanchamun abgebildet bzw. repräsentieren lassen? In Anbetracht der Tatsache, dass in der Grabdekoration explizit identifizierte Personen meist in einer sozialen Beziehung mit dem/r Grabherr(i)n stehen, dürfte hier eine solche Relation medialisiert sein. Ob man daraus auch auf eine Herkunft der *Mꜣjꜣ* aus der Region von Hermopolis schließen kann, bleibt spekulativ.

132 Vgl. zu solchen persönlichen und funktionalen Netzwerken auch D. Raue, Ein Wesir Ramses' II., in: H. Guksch und D. Polz (Hgg.), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens*, Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet, Mainz 1998, 340-351; Chr. Raedler, Die Wesire Ramses' II. – Netzwerke der Macht, in: R. Gundlach und A. Klug (Hgg.), *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, KSG 1, Wiesbaden 2004, 277-432, bes. 281-283; Chr. Raedler, Zur Struktur der Hofgesellschaft Ramses' II., in: R. Gundlach und A. Klug (Hgg.), *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches. Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*, KSG 2, Wiesbaden 2006, 39-87, bes. 73-83; Polz, Ramsesnakht Dynasty, 257-293, bes. 284-285.

Name	Titel	Belege	Dat.	Hermopolis?
<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>ḥr.j-pr-n-wr-n-md3.yw sh3.w Jmn-ḥtp <n> - Ḥmn.w</i>	Felsinschrift SEH 302; ob Scheingefäß aus TT 74?	Thutmosis III.-Ameno- phis II.	ja
<i>Sw-m-n'.t</i>	<i>wb3.w-nsw</i>	Felsinschrift Sehel?; TT 92	Amenophis II.	wahrscheinlich
6 Söhne & 7 Töchter	<i>s3=f bzw. s3.t=f</i>	Felsinschrift Mahattah; Söhne und Töchter des <i>J3m.w-nfr</i> und der <i>Mr.yt</i>	Thutmosis III.-Ameno- phis II.	ja
<i>Dḥw.tj</i>	<i>jm.j-r'-pr-ḥd</i>	TT 11	Hatshepsut	wahrscheinlich
<i>Mw.t-jrj</i>	<i>šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj-nb- Ḥmn.w šm^c.yt-n-Nḥm.t- ᶜw3y-ḥr.jt-jb-Ḥmn.w</i>	genannt in TT 74	Thutmosis III.-IV.	ja
<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>wr-sh3.w Jmn-ḥtp n-Ḥmn.w</i>	Scheingefäß aus TT 74; ob auch Felsinschrift SEH 302?	Thutmosis III.-Ameno- phis II.	ja
<i>R^c-ms</i>	<i>sh3.w-wr-n-Jmn jm.j-r'- k3.t-n-Jmn</i>	TT 166	Ende 18. Dy- nastie	wahrscheinlich
<i>T3y</i>	<i>šm^c.yt-n-Dḥw.tj wr.t- ḥnr.t-n-Dḥw.tj</i>	TT 166	Ende 18. Dy- nastie	ja
<i>Jpy</i>	<i>s3b ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n-Dḥw. tj-nb-Ḥmn.w</i>	HP der Nachamarnzeit, genannt in TT 166	Ende 18. Dy- nastie	ja
<i>Ḥ3tj</i>	<i>wr.t-ḥnr.t-n-Dḥw.tj</i>	genannt in TT 166	Ende 18. Dy- nastie	ja
<i>Mry-B3s.tt</i>	<i>[ḥm-ntr-tp.j-n]-Dḥw.tj- nb-Ḥmn.w jm.j-r'-ḥm.w- ntr-n-ntr.w-nb.w-n-Wnw</i>	HP ; u.a. genannt in Grab K93.11 und auf Statue CG 42162 aus Karnak	Ramses III.- IV.	ja
<i>Mry-R^c</i>	<i>jdn.w [oder swn.w?]-n- pr-Dḥw.tj nb-Ḥmn.w</i>	Graffito DeB 47 (Sabek 70)	Ramses III.	wahrscheinlich
<i>Wsr-ḥ3.t-nḥt</i>	<i>PN n dmj Ḥmn.w</i>	pAbbott, Docket A,24	Ramses IX.	ja
<i>Ḥj-m-W3s.t</i>	<i>ᶜ3-n-pr-n-pr-Dḥw.tj</i>	genannt auf Stele Louvre C 93 aus Abydos	frühe 19. Dy- nastie	fraglich
<i>Ḥtp</i>	<i>jm.j-r'-pr-ḥd-n-Dḥw.tj</i>	Ushebti U644 aus Assiut	Neues Reich	fraglich
<i>Sn-nfr</i>	<i>jm.j-r'-jh.w wr-djw-m- pr-Dḥw.tj</i>	HP , Felsstele Deir el-Bersheh	Thutmosis III.	ja
<i>T3y-t3y</i>	<i>wr-djw-m-pr-Dḥw.tj ḥm- ntr-tp.j-n-Ḥr-nb-Ḥbn.w</i>	HP , Statue Berlin ÄM 17021 (aus Hebenu?)	Amenophis III.	ja (und Hebe- nu)
<i>R^cy</i>	<i>sh3.w-nsw jm.j-r'-šnw.tj sšm-ḥ3b-n-Dḥw.tj</i>	Statue Dublin 1908.514 aus Memphis; Sarkopha- ge und Ushebti aus Grab in Saqqara	Ende 18. Dy- nastie	fraglich

Name	Titel	Belege	Dat.	Hermopolis?
<i>Ss3-m-k3.w=f</i>	<i>hm-ntr-tp.j- <n> -Dhw.tj</i>	HP, in Grab Bubasteion I.20 in Saqqara genannt	Ende 18. Dynastie	ja
<i>Jch-ms</i>	<i>sh3.w-nsw wr-djw-m-pr-Dhw.tj</i>	HP, Statue CG 38411 und Relief aus dem Serapeum von Saqqara	19. Dynastie	fraglich

Tabelle 1: Zusammenstellung der im Text diskutierten Personen mit (potentiellem) Bezug zu Hermopolis

Hier fallen vor allem die einzelnen Hohepriester des Thot, die den Zeitraum von der mittleren 18. Dynastie bis in die mittlere Ramessidenzeit abdecken, ins Auge.¹³³ Für diese Personen sollte – bis auf *Jch-ms* (Grab in Saqqara?) und *T3y-t3y* (Grab in Hebenu oder Balansura?)¹³⁴ – ein Grab in Tuna el-Gebel bzw. einer anderen heimatlichen Elitenekropole anzunehmen sein.¹³⁵ Ein genauerer Blick auf die sonstigen Titel ergibt keine grundsätzlich neuen Ämter als die bereits in Tuna el-Gebel oder Hermopolis gesehenen. Dem dortigen religiösen Repertoire sind ‚Vorsteher der Priester aller Götter von Hermopolis‘ (*Mry-B3s.tt*, K93.11; CG 42162), ‚Festleiter des Thot‘ (*Rcy*, Dublin 1908.514) und ‚Sängerin der Nehemetaui, die in Hermopolis ist‘ (*Mw.t-jr.j*, TT 74) hinzuzufügen. Der Verwaltung von Tempel-Liegenschaften gehört der Titel eines ‚Majordomus des Thot-Tempels‘ (*Hcj-m-W3s.t*, Louvre C 93) an, während ‚Hausverwalter des Großen der Medjscha-Leute‘ (*Jmn-htp*, SEH 302) die Oberaufsicht über die Besitzungen eines hohen Polizeifunktionärs – und dies wohl in Hermopolis – thematisiert.

Zum Abschluss ist noch einmal nach den Beziehungen zwischen Hermopolis und den Orten und Regionen zu fragen, an denen Hermopolitaner im Neuen Reich tatsächlich aktiv waren und so dort auch prosopografisch greifbar sind. In der 18. Dynastie ist offenbar der Erste Katarakt – und dies besonders im Rahmen der dortigen Götterfeste – ein Ziel von Hermopolitanern. Der territoriale Aktionsradius eines kleinen Ausschnitts der hermopolitanischen Elite über die eigene Stadt hinaus wird in Theben-West anhand der dort von Hermopolitanern angelegten Gräber und ihrer Festteilnahme sichtbar. Im Kontext von Statuenweihungen sind sie auch in Memphis anzutreffen. Dieser Befund zeigt einerseits einen über ganz Ägypten reichenden Aktionsradius. Andererseits ist bemerkenswert, dass tatsächlich nur so wenige Orte in Frage kommen bzw. definitiv nachweisbar sind. Hier wäre dann die Gegenprobe zu machen, wie es sich z.B. im Fall von memphitischen, abydenischen oder thebanischen Eliten verhält. Dabei sind jedoch stets der soziale Status und die Funktion der betreffenden Personen im Blick zu behalten – der territoriale Aktionsradius z.B. eines thebanischen Bürgermeisters war schon von seinen Aufgaben her ein ganz anderer als der

133 In Tabelle 1 als **HP** gekennzeichnet und mit entsprechender Datierungsangabe versehen.

134 Oder auch in Tuna el-Gebel? Vgl. Kessler, *Historische Topographie*, 144-145.

135 Vgl. J. Auenmüller, Bemerkungen zum Ort der Gräber von Hohepriestern des Neuen Reiches, in: *GM* 248, 2016, 39-52.

eines thebanischen Wesirs.¹³⁶

Dem vorliegenden Beitrag ist ein kurzes Zitat vorangestellt, das – aus der Perspektive eines Schreibers formuliert – eindringlich die Bedeutung von Gott und Stadt, Thot und Hermopolis, und die dort herrschenden annehmlichen Lebensbedingungen illustriert. Mit ähnlichen Gedanken mögen sich auch die Mitglieder der hermpolitanischen Elite getragen haben, die wir fern ihrer Heimatstadt in verschiedenen (Handlungs-)Kontexten angetroffen haben. Für diejenigen Hermopolitaner, die nur über sekundäre prosopografische Daten (genealogische Angaben etc.) in Erscheinung getreten sind, wird das im Zitat thematisierte Zugehörigkeitsgefühl jedoch ebenso gegolten haben.

136 Auenmüller, *Territorialität*, 775-807.

„Sanherib“ in Herodot und Jesaja - noch einmal um die Chronologie der 25. Dynastie

Michael Bányai

Abstract: The Sennacherib narrative in both Herodot and Iesaja provides an important synchronism for aligning the chronology of the Egyptian 24th and 25th dynasties with the biblical and the Assyrian ones. But is it possible to make a clue of the real historical events referenced in these sources? A detailed survey of the biblical sources shows, that the narrative might have been originally coined exclusively on Sargon II and may have had nothing to do with Sennacherib. It may have been later transformed in secondary stance to eventually fit the erroneous Herodot account, thus leading to confusion with Sennacheribs only campaign to Jerusalem of 701. A tentative identification of Tefnakht as the pharaoh opposing the Assyrian invasion of Egypt allows to reconstruct the main lines of the Egyptian chronology of this period. A more precise biblical chronology of the period following king Ahas also emerges thanks to the evidence of new synchronisms.

Résumé: La narration concernant Sennachérib contenu dans les livres de Herodot et Isaïe offre un important synchronisme permettant l'alignement de la chronologie des 24eme et 25emes dynasties égyptiennes avec la chronologie bibliques et la chronologie assyrienne. Mais est-il possible d'identifier les faits historiques réels cachés au fond de ces histoires ? Une étude en détail des sources révèle qu'à l'origine cette narration fut très probablement fixé seulement sur la figure de Sargon II. comme protagoniste. Sennachérib aurait peut-être remplacé la figure de Sargon dans ce récit probablement sous l'influence d'Herodot en causant confusion avec sa seule campagne a Jérusalem, 701. Une identification tentative de Tefnakht avec le pharaon s'opposant à l'invasion assyrienne dans le même récit permet l'identification des traits généraux de la chronologie Egyptienne de cette période.

Keywords: Tiglath-Pileser III/Teglath-Phalasar III, Shalmaneser V/Salmanasar V, Sargon II/Sargon II, Sennacherib/Sennachérib, Hezekiah/Ézéchiás, Isaiah/Isaïe, Herodot, Alara, Piankh, Piye, Shabaka/Chabaka, Shebtiku/Chabataka, Tefnakht, Bocchoris

Vorwort

Der vorliegende Artikel versucht von einer bekannten Erzählung über eine angebliche Niederlage des Königs Sanherib Gebrauch zu machen, um wesentliche Eckpunkte für die 24. und 25. Dynastie mit der assyrischen Chronologie zu synchronisieren. Diese Erzählung erscheint sowohl in Herodot 2.139.1-2.141.6 und ebenso in Form biblischer Parallelen in 2. Kön. 32, 2. Chron. 32, Jes. 36+37.

Zusätzlich zur kritischen Diskussion des Herodot Stoffs, wird sich als wesentlich dazu eine systematische historische Diskussion der unmissverständlich datierbaren Texte im Buch Jesaja 1-39 erweisen. Das Ergebnis dieser Diskussion ist die neue Erkenntnis, dass die Jesajas Texte trotz gelegentlicher späterer Editorial Eingriffe weiterhin in einer strikt chronologischen Folge geordnet sind. Die bisher zeitlich nur vage einzuordnenden Texte mit Bezug, sowie auch die Sanherib-Novelle können innerhalb dieses Ergebnis-neutralen zeitlichen Gitters erstmals relativ präzise datiert werden.

Es erweist sich, dass wie bereits von anderen Autoren (Becking¹, Goldberg², Jenkins³, Young⁴, usw.) vermutet, die Sanherib-Novelle fälschlich diesem assyrischen König attribuiert ist und die von manchen Historikern zum Zwecke der Synchronisierung seines 14ten Jahrs mit der bekannten Sanherib Kampagne von 701 bevorzugte künstliche Kürzung der Regierungszeit Hiskijas nicht haltbar ist. Das Ereignis wird stattdessen in der Regierungszeit Sargons II. identifiziert, mit der sämtliche Details der Erzählung (mit Ausnahme der späteren Jesaja-fremden historischen Glossen) in Einklang befindlich sind. Der besondere Verdacht liegt bei der Sargon II. Kampagne gegen Aschdod von 712, deren Bericht große Plausibilität Probleme aufweist.

Ich zitiere als Quelle für die ägyptische Version der Sanherib Geschichte Herodot:

„2.137.1-2: Diese waren die Taten des Asychis. Nach diesem, sagten sie, war König ein Blinder, ein Mann aus Anysis, und Anysis hieß er. Unter seiner Herrschaft zogen gegen Ägypten mit großer Streitmacht die Äthiopier und Sabakos, der König der Äthiopier. Dieser Blinde machte sich nun auf und floh in die Sümpfe, der Äthiopier aber war König in Ägypten, fünfzig Jahre lang...“

2.139.1-2.141.6: Endlich aber seien sie, sagten sie, den Äthiopiern auf folgende Weise losgeworden: Er habe ein Gesicht im Traum gesehen und sei dann auf und davon, und das Gesicht sei dies gewesen: Es dünkte ihm, ein Mann trat an ihn heran und gab ihm den Rat, die Priester in Ägypten zu versammeln und sie allesamt mitten durchzuschneiden. Als er dies Gesicht sah, sagte er, er habe den Eindruck, die Götter zeigten ihm dies als eine Verlockung, damit er sich vergehe an den Heiligtümern und so irgendetwas Schlimmes

1 B. Becking. „Chronology: a Skeleton without Flesh? Sennacherib’s Campaign as a Case-Study,” in L.L. Grabbe, (Hrsg.), *Like a Bird in a Cage: The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003: 46-72.

2 J. Goldberg. „Two Assyrian Campaigns against Hezekiah,” *Biblica* 80 (1999): 360–390.

3 A.K. Jenkins. „Hezekiah’s Fourteenth Year: a new interpretation of 2 Kings xviii 13–xix 37,” *Vetus Testamentum* 26:3 (1976): 284–298.

4 R.A. Young. *Hezekiah in History and Tradition, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

empfangen von Göttern oder von Menschen. Keinesfalls also werde er das tun, sondern er werde denn die Zeit, die er über Ägypten herrschen solle, sei um das Land verlassen. Nämlich als er noch in Äthiopien weilte, hatten die Orakel, deren sich die Äthiopier bedienen, ihm den Spruch gegeben, er solle fünfzig Jahre über Ägypten herrschen. Als also diese Zeit vergangen war und ihn das Traumgesicht beunruhigte, verließ dieser Sabakos von sich aus Ägypten.

Als nun der Äthiopier fort war aus Ägypten, regierte wieder der Blinde, der aus seinem Schlupfwinkel im Sumpf zurückkehrte. Dort hatte er sich eine Insel aufgeworfen aus Asche und Erde und auf der fünfzig Jahre gelebt. So oft nämlich Ägypter kamen und ihm zu essen brachten, der Reihe nach, wie es ihnen aufgetragen war, in aller Stille, dass der Äthiopier es nicht merkte, hieß er sie zu der Gabe auch Asche mitbringen. Diese Insel vermochte niemand aufzufinden, bis hin zu Amyrtaios, sondern mehr als siebenhundert Jahre waren die Könige vor Amyrtaios nicht imstande, sie aufzufinden. Der Name dieser Insel ist Elbo, und ihre Abmessung beträgt in Länge und Breite zehn Stadien.

Nach diesem habe der Priester des Hephaistos regiert, der Sethos hieß. Der vernachlässigte den ägyptischen Kriegerstand und tat nichts für ihn, in der Meinung, er werde ihn nie brauchen, und fügte den Kriegern allerlei Kränkendes zu und nahm ihnen auch ihre Äcker, die sie von den früheren Königen geschenkt bekommen hatten, Mann für Mann zwölf erlesene Äcker. Darauf aber führte gegen Ägypten ein gewaltiges Heer Sanacharibos (Sanherib), König der Araber und Assyrer. Nun waren denn also die Krieger der Ägypter nicht willens, ihm zu helfen. Und wie der Priester da bedrängt und hilflos war, ging er in die Halle, trat vor das Bild und klagte, was für Leiden ihm drohten. Wie er nun so jammerte, überkam ihn der Schlaf, und im Traum war ihm, als trete der Gott zu ihm und mache ihm Mut, er solle dem arabischen Heer nur entgegentreten, nichts Unangenehmes werde ihm widerfahren; werde er doch selber ihm Helfer senden. Auf dies Gesicht habe er gebaut und von den Ägyptern mitgenommen alle, die noch gewillt waren, ihm zu folgen, und habe sich gelagert in Pelusion - dort nämlich ist das Einfallstor Ägyptens. Es folgte ihm aber kein einziger von den Kriegern, nur Krämer und Handwerker und Leute von der Straße. Als die Gegner dort angekommen waren, fielen nachts Feldmäuse über sie her und zernagten ihre Köcher, zernagten ihre Bögen, dazu auch die Riemen ihrer Schilde, und so waren sie am nächsten Morgen wehrlos und flohen, und viele kamen ums Leben. Und jetzt noch steht dieser König im Heiligtum des Hephaistos, aus Stein, und hält auf der Hand eine Maus, und durch eine Inschrift spricht er: „Man schaue auf mich und sei fromm!“.

Anysis

Ich knüpfe an dieser Stelle an Kahns Analyse einiger Passagen in der Erzählung Herodots. Er führt den Beweis an, dass Herodots Sabako (ein pars pro toto für sämtliche Könige der 25. Dynastie) allein mit Pianchi gleichgesetzt werden kann, dem einzigen äthiopischen König, der sich bekannter Weise aus Ägypten freiwillig zurückzog.⁵ Auch

⁵ D. Kahn. „Piankhy’s conquest of Egypt in Greek sources: Herodotus II 137–140 revisited,” *Beiträge zur*

andere Details dieser Erzählung scheinen laut Kahn, auf dieselbe Periode hinzuweisen.⁶

Herodot erzählt von einem blinden König (namens Anysis) aus der Stadt Anysis, der bei dem Einfall des Äthiopiens auf eine Insel namens Elbo flüchtete, die erst zur Zeit der Revolte von Amyrtaios von Sais „wiederentdeckt“ worden sein soll. Es gibt in dieser Geschichte unzweifelhaft Elemente, die sich, wie Kahn erkannte, auf die Gestalt des Tefnacht, Begründers der 24. Dynastie von Sais, beziehen lassen. So ist die Flucht Anysis bei Ankunft des Äthiopiens, durchaus mit der in Pianchis Siegesstele bezeugten Flucht Tefnachts zu vergleichen. Ebenso dürfte die Insel Elbo, dessen Versteck, aufgrund des von Herodot hergestellten Zusammenhangs mit Amyrtaios von Sais (28. Dynastie) vermutlich in dem Delta zu suchen, in etwa die Fluchtgegend von Tefnacht umreißen.

Schwierig erweisen hingegen sämtliche andere Details die Herodot bezüglich dieses Anysis anbietet, sollte man versuchen sie alle dem Tefnacht aufzuzwingen. Als allererstes und wichtigstes ist da hervorstreichend, dass man Tefnacht nicht bereits vor der kuschitischen Invasion als Pharao bezeichnen kann. Sollte sich dabei Herodot ebenfalls auf Tefnacht beziehen, dann irrt er sich in diesem Punkt. Diese Machtposition konnte er erst nach dem Abzug Pianchis erreicht haben.

Ebensowenig kann man den von seinem Herrschaftsort von Herodot abgeleiteten Namen Anysis trotz der ausdrücklichen Feststellung Herodots, dass dieser Name gleichbedeutend mit dem seiner Stadt sei, mit einem demotischen Namen der Form $\epsilon n. w- st$, etwa „*Isis schützt ...*“ vergleichen.

Ebensowenig ist Kitchens Identifizierung dieser Stadt Anysis (Ανυσίος) mit Anytis (Ανύτιος) in Herodot 2.166 möglich.⁷ Dagegen spricht die vollkommen unterschiedliche Schreibung beider Namen im Text Herodots selbst, was gerade gegen eine Gleichsetzung beider durch Herodot spricht. Die vollkommene Bedeutungslosigkeit der Stadt Anytis in dieser Periode ist ein Argument gegen die Betrachtung dieser Stadt (Herakleopolis mikra polis) als dynastischer Sitz.

Es ist historisch jedoch vollkommen richtig, wenn Herodot einer Stadt Anysis gerade in dieser Periode eine derartige Bedeutung beimisst, zumal diese zur gleichen Zeit in Jes. 31:4 auch eine prominente Rolle spielt, als Zielort der Botschafter von Hiskijas. Zumal es eine Stadt des Namens Anysis gibt, die sämtlichen von Herodot geweckten Erwartungen

Sudanforschung 8 (2003): 49–58.

⁶ Kahn scheint geneigt eine wortwörtliche Auffassung bezüglich der Identifikation des Sabako zu vertreten, wobei er Sabako mit Schabako identifiziert. Dies ist aus meiner Sicht durch die inzwischen von ihm bevorzugten späteren Datierung der Ereignisse beschrieben in Herodot, in Zusammenhang mit der gescheiterten Kampagne Asarhaddons gegen Ägypten zur Zeit Taharqos. Seine Argumente scheinen aus meiner Sicht kein solches Szenario zu unterfüttern. Wie erwähnt, gibt es nicht den geringsten Beweis, weder, dass Taharqo jemals das Amt des Hohepriesters von Ptah bekleidet hätte, noch für die Asarhaddon Verbindung in der biblischen Parallelfassung. D. Kahn. „The War of Sennacherib Against Egypt as described in Herodotus II 141,“ *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6:2 (2014): 29.

⁷ K.A. Kitchen. *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt* (1100–650 B.C.). Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 3rd ed. 2004: § 333, N. 749. Diese Gleichung geht zurück auf E. Naville. *Ahnas El Medineh*. London: The Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894: 4.

entspricht, muss man diese damit identifizieren. Eine solche Stadt ist nämlich Herakleopolis magna, *Nny-nsw*, die von der Aussprache her dem Anysis Herodots entspricht. In der Form $\text{H}[\text{wt}n\text{ni}]n\text{sw}$ begegnet sie uns als Hanes in Jes. 31:4.⁸ Deren Herrscher Pef-tjau-awy-Bast spielte eine wesentliche Rolle während Pianchis Eroberung von Unterägypten und wurde von diesem auf gleichem Fuß als König, *Nsw*, neben Nimlot, Osorkon und Juput, anerkannt. Pef-tjau-awy-Bast reklamiert auf zwei Stiftungsstelen seines 10. Jahres (rückwirkend gerechnet?) königlichen Status und legt sich dabei den Vornamen Neferkare zu.⁹

Auch das weitere ungewöhnliche Detail in der Erzählung Herodots, welche diesen Pharaon als Blinden bezeichnet, wird meiner Meinung durch die ausschließliche Fixierung sämtlicher Angaben Herodots über Anysis auf Tefnacht unbefriedigend beantwortet.¹⁰

Pianchis Siegesstele scheint eher für Pef-tjau-awy-Bast die Aussage zu liefern, welche später als Aussage über dessen Blindheit konstruiert werden konnte, 71-74: „Hereinkam der König von *Nny-nsw*, Pef-tjau-awy-Bast, Tribut dem Pharaoh bringend: Gold, Silber, Edelstein, und die besten Pferde in seinem Stall. Er legte sich auf seinem Bauch flach vor seiner Majestät und sagte: Heil Dir, Horus, mächtiger König, Stier welcher Stiere angreift! Die Unterwelt trägt mich davon und **ich bin untergetaucht in Dunkelheit, (obwohl) auf (die Welt) das Licht scheint!** *Ich fand keinen Freund in den Tagen der Not, (einen) der stünde (bei mir) im Tag der Schlacht; jedoch Du, mächtiger König, Du hast die Dunkelheit von mir vertrieben.*“.

Selbstverständlich kann der von Pef-tjau-awy-Bast benutzte Ausdruck auch als eine Metapher betrachtet werden, die allerdings wortwörtlich den König Pef-tjau-awy-Bast als einen das Tageslicht nicht mehr erblickenden Blinden darstellt.

Es ist unleugbar, dass einige der Details Herodots nur auf Tefnacht zutreffen, andererseits gibt es andere, die auf Pef-tjau-awy-Bast hinweisen. Die naheliegendste Lösung wäre, anzunehmen, dass Herodot in seinem Anysis zwei unterschiedliche Herrschergestalten, Zeitgenossen der Invasion Pianchis, verschmolzen habe.

Pef-tjau-awy-Bast wurde von Pianchi als König bestätigt und dürfte eine Zeitlang, wie Herodot erzählt, auch nach dessen Abzug geherrscht haben, ehe sich Tefnacht zum Herrscher Ägyptens aufschwang. Dies bedeutet, dass Herodot den Fehler begeht, einige Nachrichten über den frühen Tefnacht (Flucht vor Pianchi, usw.) aus der Zeit als dieser gegen Pef-tjau-awy-Bast kämpfte auf den Letzteren zu übertragen.

8 Verreth schlägt die Identifikation des $\text{H}n\text{in}\text{š}i$ in Assurbanipals Liste der unterworfenen ägyptischen Städte mit Heracleopolis Magna vor. H. Verreth. „The Egyptian Eastern Border Region in Assyrian Sources,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119 (1999): 240, n. 56, 57.

9 Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 2004: §319.

10 Die Aussage, mit der Tefnacht - zu Pianchi zu kommen kann ablehnt recht banal mit dessen Scham besiegt worden zu sein verstanden werden. Siegesstele: „*Ich kann (nicht kommen) Dein Gesicht (zu) sehen in den Tagen der Scham.*“ Als Begründung für diese Weigerung sind die erwähnten „*Tage der Scham*“, während das nicht sehen können stellt Tefnachts unmittelbare Ablehnung der Einladung Pianchi Aufzuzuwarten dar. Daraus eine allgemeine Blindheit Tefnachts herzuleiten wäre daher etwas weit hergeholt, zumal die Siegesstele ansonsten den Tefnacht als einen hochaktiven Heeresleiter darstellt.

Asychis

Eine hervorragende Diskussion des von Herodot als Vorgänger Anysis genannten Asychis bietet Kitchen.¹¹ Er erkennt hier, einen ähnlichen Fehler Herodots wie im Falle Anysis, den letzten Pharaos der 4. Dynastie, Shepseskaf, mit einem Schoschenk zu verschmelzen, womit auch die chronologisch falsche Stellung der 4. Dynastie bei Herodot entsteht. Kahn erwägt die Gleichsetzung dieses Schoschenk mit Schoschenk V. dem vermutlichen Vater von Osorkon IV.¹²

Herodots Entscheidung Pef-tjau-awy-Bast als den relevanten Pharaos für die Zeit vor und nach Pianchi zu führen, obwohl dieser sowohl vor wie auch danach parallel mit Osorkon IV., dem vermutlichen Nachfolger Schoschens V. herrschte, erlaubt die Schlussfolgerung, dass Asychis wohl Schoschenk V sein dürfte, zumal die auf ihn folgende Generation mit Pef-tjau-awy-Bast / Anysis nun statt Osorkon IV. besetzt ist.

Sethos - der Priester von Hephaistos

Nicht nur die geschichtliche Position des Tefnacht, der sich erst nach dem Abzug von Pianchi zum Pharaos ausrief, sondern auch die Bezeichnung des Nachfolgers von Anysis - Sethos, Priester des Hephaistos legt die Gleichung zwischen den beiden nah. Der Name Sethos, Priester des Hephaistos, ist nur eine Verballhornung für eine der Bezeichnungen des Hohepriesters des Ptah von Memphis, setem-Priester des Ptah. Sie entspricht den Titeln des Tefnacht auf der Siegesstele von Pianchi: „*Großer Chef des Westens, Herrscher der Domänen des Unteren Ägyptens, der Prophet der Neith, Herrin von Sais, **der setem-Priester des Ptah, Tefnacht***“. Auch die andere (naiv klingende) Angabe des Herodot, wonach diesem Pharaos (nur) die „*Krämer und **Handwerker** und Leute von der Straße*“ gegen die Assyrer gefolgt seien, dürfte ein Missverständnis Herodots sein, entstanden wegen der Bezeichnung der Hohepriester des Ptah „*Oberste Vorsteher der **Handwerker***“ (meine Hervorhebung).

Zum Glück lässt sich die Liste der in Frage kommenden Hohepriester des Ptah, die zugleich die pharaonische Königswürde während der Periode der äthiopischen Herrschaft für sich reklamierten auf zwei Namen einschränken, nämlich auf Tefnacht und vermutlich seinen Sohn Bokchoris.^{13 14} Von einem weiteren Hohepriester des Ptah ist nach Tefnacht

11 K.A. Kitchen. „A Note on Asychis,” in J. R. Baines, Th. G. H. James, M. A. Leahy and A. F. Shore, (Hrsg.), *Pyramid. Studies and Other Essays Presented to I. E. S. Edwards*, Occasional Publications 7. London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1998: 148-151.

12 „Since Herodotus does not inform us about any other kings named Shoshenq (there existed at least six Libyan pharaohs by this name), it is possible that in this paragraph Asuchis embodies another king Shoshenq, namely Shoshenq V (c. 774-736 BC),” Kahn, „Piankhy’s conquest,” 2003: 50.

13 Zum ersten Mal ist Tefnacht in der Stele des Jahrs 38 (von Scheschonk V.) in der Kleidung der se(t)em Priestern von Ptah dargestellt. Die nächste Erwähnung als Hohepriester bietet die Pianchi Siegesstele.

14 B. el-Sharkawy, „A New List of the High-Priests of Ptah at Memphis (part 2)”, *Abgadiyat 4* (Alexandria, 2009), 78. Der Autor zitiert dabei zwei Uschebtis im Berliner Museum, Nr. 5829 und 7997, die einen *Bꜣk-nrn.f*, „*Hohepriester von Memphis*“ nennen. Zitatstelle „*Ausführliches Verzeichnis*“ Berlin 1894, 228. Sollte dieses Uschebti-Paar tatsächlich aus dieser Periode datieren, dürfte man davon ausgehen, dass Bokchoris,

und Bokchoris während der 25. Dynastie keine Spur erhalten.

Die Assoziation zwischen Memphis und Sais scheint sich nach Tefnacht und Bokchoris eingebürgert zu haben, sei es, weil die 26. saitische Dynastie mit der 24. ebenfalls saitischen Dynastie direkt verwandt war oder weil sie wenigstens darauf gründende rechtliche Ansprüche stellen konnte.¹⁵ So wurde Necho I. von Esarhaddon (und von seinem Nachfolger Assurbanipal) sowohl in Memphis wie auch Sais bestätigt, womit er für die assyrische Seite gewonnen werden konnte.

Das Hohepriester Amt scheint, offenbar auch aufgrund der von diesem Klerus angeführten Aufstände gegen die 25. Dynastie, in der Äthiopen-Zeit nicht mehr besetzt worden zu sein. Die Anwesenheit der Könige der 25. Dynastie in Memphis (bezeugt u.A. durch das berühmte Denkmal Schabakos der memphitischen Theologie), dürfte ein Grund für die Nichtbesetzung des Amtes in Memphis, der erwiesenermaßen eine gefährliche Konkurrenz darstellte, in der darauffolgenden Periode gewesen sein.

Eine Identifizierung dieses „Sethos“ mit Bokchoris ist eher auszuschließen, da sich in Herodots Schilderung kein Element wiedererkennen lässt, das man aus der relativ reichhaltigen Literatur von Bokchoris bereits kennt.

Ich gehe hier eher davon aus, dass Herodot eine tatsächliche kurze zusammenhängende historische Aufnahme der Vorgänge in Ägypten nach der Eroberung Ägyptens durch Pianchi anbot, in der Tefnacht eine maßgebliche Rolle spielte. Dies könnte u.U. erklären, warum sowohl Anysis wie auch „der Priester des Hephaistos“ von Herodot abweichend von seiner üblichen Praxis nicht bei ihrem Eigennamen genannt werden. Der „Priester

bevor er gegen die kuschitische Oberherrschaft revoltierte zunächst nur die Titel eines Hohepriesters des Ptah geerbt von seinem Vater für sich beanspruchte. Die Stele im Serapeum welche in sein 6. Regierungsjahr datiert ist, zu welcher sich wohl diejenige des Schabako später gesellt habe zeigt, dass er wahrscheinlich nach der Rückkehr der 25. Dynastie nach Ägypten unter Schebitko erst zu regieren kam. Er dürfte daher einige Jahre nach dem Tod Tefnakhts nur als Vasal der kuschitischen Herrscher gedient, ohne Anspruch auf den Königstitel erhoben zu haben, was mit der relativ bescheidenen Titulatur dieses *B3k-n-m.f* in Einklang steht.

Die Annahme, dass sein Aufstand gegen Schebitko und Schabako (nicht vergessen, dass die Kartusche Schebitkos in dieser Grabkammer ebenfalls gefunden wurde!) zu seiner überlieferten Verbrennung geführt habe, entbehrt nicht unbedingt eines Beweises. Die Bokchoris-Vase gefunden in Tarquinia, welche im unteren Register kniende und gefesselte nubische Gefangene darstellt, ist nach Ansicht von Bubenheimer-Erhart ein ägyptisches Erzeugnis und könnte daher für tatsächliche Konflikte zwischen Bokchoris und den Pharaonen der 25. Dynastie sprechen. *„Alle Gefäße - darunter auch die Bokchoris Vase - (meine Anmerkung) konnten als ägyptische Erzeugnisse bestimmt und im Rahmen der ägyptischen Keramikentwicklung beschrieben werden. Entsprechende Produktionszentren in Ägypten konnten zwar nicht nachgewiesen, aber doch mit mehr oder weniger starken Argumenten namhaft gemacht werden.“*

F. Bubenheimer-Erhart. Ägyptische Ritualgefäße und ihre Rezeption in Etrurien (forthcoming www.univie.ac.at/egyptology/ProjRitualgefasse.html [3.3.2014]).

15 Man stellt fest anhand der von Manetho überlieferten Namen der „Könige“ der proto-saitischen 26. Dynastie, die Vorgänger von Necho, dass es vermutlich eine gewisse Kontinuität zur 22. Dynastie in Sais gab. Der Name eines Stephinates über den sonst nichts bekannt ist, aber wohl einen Tefnakht II. darstellen muss, spricht dafür, ebenso wie derjenige eines Ammeris der Äthiopier, des ersten „Königs“ dieser Dynastie dafürspricht, dass Schabako seine Leute zunächst auch in Sais eingesetzt habe.

des Hephaistos“ dürfte als solcher in seiner Erzählung vor seinem Aufstieg zum Pharao vorgekommen sein – historisch gesehen der Zeitpunkt der Konfrontation zwischen der von Tefnacht geleiteten Armee und Pef-tjau-awy-Bast. Möglicherweise wollte der ägyptische Erzähler Herodot auch die Angabe zustecken, dass es einen Feldzug gegen den König von Gewährsmann gab, womit die Information vermittelt werden sollte, dass es zugleich neben dem einen Pharao in Anysis (Herakleopolis magna), es Pharaos in anderen Städte gab, wie z.B. in Tanis (Osorkon IV.), etc. Insofern wollte der ägyptische Erzähler, dessen Angaben Herodot so gründlich durcheinanderbrachte, alle Teilnehmer an den von Pianchi beschriebenen Bürgerkrieg zurück auf ihre Machtbasis zu diesem Zeitpunkt führen. So ist Tefnacht, der Hohepriester (und damit Herrscher) von Memphis und Pef-tjau-awy-Bast der in Anysis (Herakleopolis magna) ausgerufene Pharao. Nur die Komplexität dieses Bürgerkriegs, in dem Pianchi auf der Seite Pef-tjau-awy-Bast intervenierte, hätte die Anwendung solcher Epitheta anstelle von Eigennamen bedürft.¹⁶

Sanacharibos - ein potentieller Synchronismus

Die verblüffende Erzählung über den gescheiterten Eroberungsversuch Ägyptens durch Sanacharibos, den assyrischen König Sanherib, dürfte geschichtliche Substanz besitzen zumal sie mit der parallelen biblischen Geschichte von der wunderlich gescheiterten Belagerung Jerusalems durch denselben König zusammenhängt. Es werden keine Erwähnungen dieses Namens in der griechischen Historiographie, die Herodot vorausgehen, überliefert. Es ist auch aus diesem Grund davon auszugehen, dass Herodot eine genuin ägyptische, wenn auch stark verzerrte Erzählung, präsentiert.

Ein verwandter Bericht scheint auch von Berossos (zitiert von Josephus Flavius) überliefert worden zu sein. Zumal das Werk Berossos zur Zeit des Josephus noch zugänglich war, dürfte man eine Verfälschung seines Berichts durch Josephus eher ausschließen. Dennoch ist damit die Richtigkeit aller Details noch lange nicht bewiesen, wie z.B. dessen Identifikation des assyrischen Königs mit Sanherib. Berossos: *„Als nun Sanherib von dem Zuge gegen Ägypten nach Jerusalem zurückkehrte, fand er, dass die unter Rapsakes zurückgelassenen Truppen schwer an der Pest litten. In der ersten Nacht, da er gemeinsam mit diesen Truppen die Belagerung weiterführte, tötete die Seuche in seinem Heer hundertfünfundachtzigtausend Mann samt ihren Führern und Hauptleuten.“*¹⁷

Die meisten kritischen Würdigungen beider Narrationen legen Wert auf den Hinweis, dass die biblische Geschichte wohl nicht mit der Erzählung Herodots verwandt sein dürfte, zumal erstere von einer Belagerung Jerusalems handelt, während Herodot den assyrischen König nach Pelusion am Nil verlegt. Zumal Herodot diese Erzählung mit Sicherheit in

¹⁶ Es ist durchaus denkbar, dass gerade deswegen Herodot den ihm nicht berichteten Eigennamen des äthiopischen Eroberers einer anderen Quelle entnehmen musste und mit Sabako ziemlich danebentippte. Seine Primärquelle hätte sich auch diesbezüglich auf Herkunftsangaben beschränkt und keinen Eigennamen genannt. Es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass eine ägyptische Quelle sich im Namen des kuschitischen Pharaos derart getäuscht hätte.

¹⁷ Josephus Flavius, Jüdische Altertümer, übersetzt von H. Clementz, 10. Buch, Kap. 1, Abs. 5, S. 602.

Ägypten rezipiert hat, dürfte deren Bezug zu Ägypten sicherlich nicht falsch sein.

Solche Einwände erweisen sich auch bei näherem Hinsehen als falsch. Dem Jerusalem belagernden assyrischen König wird in Jes. 37:25 die Aussage unterstellt: „*Ich habe Wasser gegraben und fremdes Wasser ausgetrunken. Ich ließ unter dem Schritt meiner Füße alle Ströme Ägyptens vertrocknen!*“.

Das in Zusammenhang mit einem Feldzug in Richtung Ägyptens notwendige Graben von Brunnen, erwähnt auch Esarhaddon, allerdings verbunden mit einem glücklosen Eroberungsversuch Ägyptens im Jahr 671 v.Chr.: „*Für eine Entfernung von 30 Beru von Land, von Apqu, welches an der Grenze der Region von Samerina nach Rapihu an der Seite des Baches von Ägypten, wo kein Fluss ist. (Dort) ließ ich die Truppen aus Wassereimer trinken, gezogen aus Brunnen mit Seilen und Ketten.*“^{18 19} Deswegen könnte diese Stelle die genaue Wiedergabe eines assyrischen Briefs darstellen, in dem von einer bis jetzt unbekanntem assyrischen Durchquerung des Sinai berichtet wird.

Jes. 37:25 impliziert also, dass ein Teil der assyrischen Armee während der Belagerung Jerusalems Pelusion an der Grenze Ägyptens erreicht habe. Dies bedeutet, dass sich Herodot und Jes. 37:25 entsprechen und den gleichen Feldzug bloß aus einer unterschiedlichen Perspektive betrachten.

Die Umdeutung dieser Textpassage Jes. 37:25 als eine Rede über die bekannten Kanalisationspläne Sanheribs durch Weissert versucht für diese Textpassage einen Platz im Leben in der Zeit von Sanherib zu gewinnen.²⁰ Dies ist aus zahlreichen Gründen schwierig, wenn nicht gar unmöglich – mal abgesehen davon, dass damit Weissert den in Herodot gegebenen Pelusium Kontext unterschlägt. Lediglich eines der Wasserprojekte Sanheribs, das Kisiru Kanal Projekt lässt sich vor 701 (702) datieren. Sämtliche weiteren Projekte dieser Art von Sanherib, die Berg Musri Kanäle, das nördliche Kanalsystem, das Khinis System, sind ohne Ausnahme erst 694 v.u.Z. und noch später (690-688) in Angriff genommen worden.²¹ Damit dürfte die Bedeutung der Werke dieser Art, die Sanherib noch vor 701 in Angriff nahm, wesentlich geringer gewesen sein, als Weissert annimmt. Deren Bedeutung für Sanherib mal abgesehen, ist die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sie Platz in einer Drohrede gegen Jerusalem gefunden haben sollten, geradezu null, es sei denn Sanherib und Hezekija hätten einen Streit über landwirtschaftliche Themen ausgetragen. Die Tatsache, dass in den Inschriften Sanheribs solche Bauwerk Erwähnungen Seite an Seite mit der Erwähnung der Feldzüge vorkommt, liegt an dem ausschließlichen Charakter dieser Inschriften als Bauinschriften. In einer tatsächlichen Drohrede Sanheribs würde naturgemäß keine

18 K 3082+K 3086+SM 2027.

19 Für die Historizität solcher assyrischen Drohreden siehe, P. Machinist. „Assyria and Its Image in the First Isaiah,” *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 103:4 (1983): 729.

20 *רוצמ* wäre vom Wurzel *רוצ* in der *maqṭal* Form abzuleiten, mit der Bedeutung “Platz von tropfendem Wasser, E. Weissert. „Jesajas Beschreibung der Hybris des Assyrischen Königs und seine Auseinandersetzung mit ihr,” in J. Renger (Hrsg.), *Assur: Gott, Stadt und Land. Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011: 287–309..

21 J. Ur. „Sennacheribs Northern Assyrian Canals: New Insights from Satellite Imagery and Aerial Photography,” *Iraq* 67:1 (2005): 317-345.

Erwähnung des Kisru Kanals Platz finden, das sollte auch Weissert klar sein. Das würde assyrischerseits eine ungeheure Verwechslung zwischen den unterschiedlichen Literatur Genres voraussetzen. Der Ausdruck „Platz von tropfendem Wasser“, den Weissert glaubt an dieser Stelle zu rekonstruieren, findet sich so nicht in den Inschriften Sanheribs im Jahr 702. Er kann daher auch nirgends unabhängig anhand der Texte Sanheribs bestätigt werden.

So wie wir im Folgenden zeigen werden, hat die diskutierte gescheiterte Kampagne mit der historischen Belagerung Jerusalems im Jahre 701 nur wenig zu tun. Letztere endete nämlich mit einem assyrischen Erfolg und führte zudem nicht bis Pelusion. Der Zusammenstoß mit dem ägyptischen Heer erfolgte bereits bei Elteqeh. Es fehlt auch nur die geringste Ähnlichkeit zwischen diesem Krieg 701 und den beiden unabhängigen Berichten.

Eine Richtigstellung von Herodot

Die scheinbar konsequente zeitliche Reihenfolge im Buch Jesaja (Diskussion an späterer Stelle), lässt die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass die darin und in 2. Kön. berichtete gescheiterte Belagerung von Jerusalem sich auf Ereignisse aus der Regierungszeit Sanheribs bezieht äußerst gering erscheinen. Vielmehr scheint es, dass erst die irrtümliche Identifikation dieses Königs in Herodot als Sanherib zur Angleichung der ursprünglich unabhängigen biblischen Erzählung führte.

Man dürfte vielleicht mutmaßen, dass der biblische Bericht „korrigiert“ und mit den Ereignissen der einzigen tatsächlichen Kampagne Sanheribs gegen Jerusalem, welche wahrscheinlich vor diesem hellenistischen redaktionellen Eingriff korrekt berichtet wurden, zusammengemengt. Wenn der Name Sanheribs tatsächlich in irgendeiner Form Herodot von seinen ägyptischen Gewährsleuten genannt worden war, was man nicht ausschließen kann, dann sicherlich nicht in dessen Eigenschaft als regierender assyrischer König zum Zeitpunkt dieser Niederlage.²² Es ist allerdings gesichert, dass Sanherib bereits früh während der Regierungszeit seines Vaters, Sargons II., bedeutende Ämter innehatte.²³

Herodot scheint zudem in seiner Erzählung der Niederlage seines „Sanheribs“ äußerst großzügig mit den ägyptischen Quellen umgegangen zu sein. Die von ihm eingeflochtene Erzählung von den wundersamen Mäusen bei Pelusion, welche die Bogensehnen der assyrischen Armee zernagt haben sollten, ist ursprünglich gar keine ägyptische Erzählung, sondern eine gutbekannte griechische Erzählung des 7-ten Jahrhunderts, erstmals berichtet von Kallinos (Ael. NA. 12:5), welche in der Fassung des Kallinos nichts mit Ägypten, sondern stattdessen mit dem kleinasiatischen Hamaxitus zu tun hatte.

Die Erzählung des Kallinos, nacherzählt von Aelianus, handelt von der Gründung

22 Es ist ungesichert, ob Herodot den Namen Sanheribs einer anderen Quelle hätte entnehmen können. Ctesias Liste der assyrischen Könige kann ihm noch nicht zugänglich gewesen sein, da diese erst nach dem Tod Herodots verfasst wurde. Alle griechischen Historiker, die den Namen kannten, lebten nach Herodot. Der Name Sanheribs erscheint in keiner einzigen griechischen Quelle die Herodot hätte zugänglich sein können. Daher ist die Erwähnung des Namens von Sanherib von ägyptischen Gewährsmänner gegenüber Herodot bis zu einem gewissen Grad plausibel.

23 S. Parpola. *The Correspondence of Sargon II*, Part I. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987: 29-41.

der Stadt Hamaxitus von Kretern, die einen Orakel erhielten ihre Stadt dort zu gründen, wo die „Erdebornen“ mit ihnen Krieg anfangen sollten.²⁴ Daraufhin werden sie in der Region von Hamaxitus bei Nacht von einem zahllosen Mäuse Schwarm überfallen. Diese zernagen die (ledernen) Griffe ihrer Schilder und ihre (ledernen) Bogensehnen. Daraufhin lassen sich die Kreter in der Gegend von Hamaxitus nieder, da sie in den Mäusen die Erdebornen des Orakels erkennen, und errichten bei Hamaxitus einen Tempel des Apollo Smintheus.

Es ist davon auszugehen, dass Herodot, auf synkretistischer Weise die Statue des Sethos mit derjenigen des Smintheus mit einer Maus in der Hand, wie sie für Alexandria in Troas, das Zentrum dieses Kultes, überliefert ist, verglich und daraufhin das Hamaxitus Gründungsmythos als literarischen Kunstgriff einflocht.²⁵ Zumal Smintheus bekannterweise der Pestgott par excellence war, lag es an der Hand, dies als eine ägyptische Erzählung auszugeben.

Ähnlich urteilte diesbezüglich van Leeuwen, der allerdings die Hamaxitus Gründungsgeschichte nicht kannte, dafür aber die Smintheus Darstellungen in Alexandria Troas: *„Aussi est-il admissible qu’Hérodote en voyant une telle statue en Egypte, ait interprété en ce sens pour ses lecteurs grecs l’histoire égyptienne d’une délivrance miraculeuse causée par des mulots.“*²⁶

Chronologische Unstimmigkeiten des biblischen Berichts

Die Tatsache, dass Herodot vermutlich Tefnacht (Sethos, Priester des Ptah) als ägyptischen Heerführer in dieser Erzählung in Blick hatte, spricht für ein früheres Datum für diese assyrische Niederlage als die Zeit Sanheribs. Es gibt auch von Herodot unabhängige Quellen (Diodor, Plutarch), die die Annahme erlauben, dass Tefnacht (identifiziert als Vater von Bokchoris, also nicht mit Tefnacht II. = Stephinates zu verwechseln) tatsächlich an einem Feldzug an der östlichen Grenze in „Arabien“ teilnahm, worunter vermutlich nur die 14. (arabische) Nome oder die ägyptische Grenze zum Sinai verstanden werden sollte, auch wenn man keine Aussage auf dieser Grundlage treffen könnte, gegen welchen Feind Ägyptens sich dieser Feldzug richtete.²⁷

24 O. Hekster. „Of Mice and Emperors. A note on Aelian, De natura animalium, 6.40,“ *Classical Philology* 97:4 (2002): 365-370.

25 „Auf ein strenges Original ging wahrscheinlich die in Alexandria Troas befindliche und auf den Münzen kopierte Statue des Smintheus zurück...Derselbe ist abweichend von dem sonst Üblichen mit dem Mantel bekleidet, der die rechte Brust frei lässt, auf dem Rücken der Köcher, in der Linken Bogen und Pfeil, auf der Rechten Schale oder Maus... Später bildete Skopas einen Smintheus, der den Fuß auf die Maus setzte...“ W.H. Röscher. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Band 1. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1886: 457.

26 C. van Leeuwen. „Sanchérib devant Jerusalem,“ *Old Testament Studies* 14 (1965): 245-272.

27 Diodor, I:45: „Als nämlich viele Zeitalter nach ihm des weisen Bokchoris Vater, Pharao Tnephachthos, einen Kriegszug nach Arabien unternahm, und in dem wüsten und wilden Land der Lebensmittel ermangelte, ward er genötigt, nach einem Tag des Mangels, mit geringer Kost bei geringen Leuten sich zu befriedigen...“, ähnlich Plutarch, Isis und Osiris, 8:38-39.

Wie bereits Becking angezeigt hat, enthält die biblische Erzählung klare chronologische Hinweise auf einen früheren Konflikt Hiskijas mit Assyrien in dessen 14. Regierungsjahr. Diesen Konflikt setzt Becking hypothetischer Weise, wegen der von ihm angenommenen Chronologie der Regierung Hiskijas, 715 an.

Der Versuch das 14. Regierungsjahr Hiskijas mit 701 gleichzusetzen ist fehlgeleitet, weil dies u.A. die ad-hoc Annahme von Koregenzen für Hiskija oder für seine Nachfolger oder eine arbiträre Kürzung seiner Regierungszeit erfordern würde. Ebenso auch, weil der Zeitpunkt dieser Niederlage, sich sonst nicht mit einem angeblich danach stattgefundenen Besuch einer Delegation des Marduk-apla-iddina II. in Jerusalem (2 Kön.20:13) in Übereinstimmung bringen lässt.²⁸ Ich werde an späterer Stelle weitere Gründe darlegen, warum die u.A. von Na’aman vertretene „kurze“ Chronologie Hiskijas verworfen werden müsse.²⁹

Einen klaren Hinweis, dass die Belagerung Jerusalems im 14. Jahr Hiskijas nicht in Deckung zu bringen sei mit Sanheribs Belagerung im Jahr 701, als dieser u.A. Lachisch eroberte und zerstörte, bieten fiskale Bullen für Güter aus Lachisch, die vermutlich aus der Zeit Hiskijas (siehe N. 26) stammten. Diese Bullen sind unbekannter Herkunft und wurden nicht in einer kontrollierten Ausgrabung gefunden. Sie bilden stilistisch eine zusammenhängende Gruppe und belegen ein Jahr 14 (13?), 19 und 21 für Lachisch. In dieser Zeit kann Lachisch daher nicht von Sanherib zerstört worden sein. Die Stadt wurde jedoch nach ihrer Zerstörung durch Sanherib, 701, erst nach einer etwas längeren Unterbrechung wiederaufgebaut.³⁰ Dies schließt eine Überlagerung des 14. Jahrs von Hiskija mit dem

28 J. Goldberg, „Two Assyrian Campaigns against Hezekiah,” *Biblica* 80 (1999): 363-364. Goldberg weist auf die Unmöglichkeit einer Datierung des 14. Jahrs Hiskijas nach 710, das Jahr in dem Marduk-apla-iddina II. von Sargon II. ein erstes Mal abgesetzt wurde, hin. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass sich 2 Kön.20:13 auf die spätere Amtszeit des Marduk-apla-iddina II. in Babylon bezieht ist äußerst gering, zumal es kaum Texte Jesajas diese große Textlücke zu füllen gibt.

Selbst die Annahme, dass diese Stelle sich auf eine Gesandtschaft des Marduk-apla-iddina II. im Jahre 703 bezieht, kann nicht über den chronologischen Widerspruch hinweghelfen, dass diese Gesandtschaft der Niederlage „Sanheribs“ in allen Bibelberichten ursächlich und erzählerisch hinterher folgt und ihr nicht, wie bei der Annahme, dass sich die Niederlage auf die Ereignisse 701 bezieht, notgedrungen vorausgeht.

29 N. Na’aman. „Hezekiah and the Kings of Assyria,” *Tel Aviv* 21 (1994): 235–254.

30 Ussishkin geht so weit den Wiederaufbau von Lachisch II erst unter Josia zu datieren. Unabhängig von der Genauigkeit seiner Festlegung dürfte die Besiedlungslücke laut Ussishkin beträchtlich gewesen sein. Die Tatsache, dass er eine „squatter“ Besiedlung für die Periode zwischen Lachisch III und Lachisch II identifizierte, bedeutet nicht, dass in Lachisch eine Verwaltung in dieser Zwischenzeit existierte, die offizielle Siegel in Gebrauch hatte. Auch um die ökonomische Aktivität des ehemaligen Zentrums aufzunehmen fehlt in dieser Periode die ausreichende Bevölkerung. Mit gutem Grund, zumal sich ein Aderlass von 200.150 abgeführten Gefangenen und einer ungenannten Zahl von Toten sich nicht so schnell heilen ließ. Die Zahl von 200.150 ist glaubwürdig zumal sie der Zahl der im syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg aus der gleichen Gegend abgeschleppten (und retournierten) Gefangenen entspricht (2. Chron. 28:8). D. Ussishkin, G. Bachi, and J. Miller. *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish (1973 – 1994)*, Band I. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, 2004: 91.

Ussishkin zitiert die Feldstudie durchgeführt von Dagan, welche den drastischen Rückgang der Siedlungen in der Schefela mutmaßlich infolge des assyrischen Feldzugs von 701: „*The intensive archaeological*

Jahr der Zerstörung von Lachisch durch Sanherib 701 aus. Lachisch wurde zudem nach 701 von Sanherib an die Philister abgetreten. Es können daher keine judäische Fiskalbullen aus Lachisch bestehen, welche kurz nach 701 datieren sollten. Die eben erwähnten Bullen würden im Falle einer kurzen Chronologie für Hiskija jedoch gerade kurz nach (!) der assyrischen Eroberung datieren.

Die Tatsache, dass dem prophetischen Text von Jes. 37 nachträglich der ursprüngliche historische Bericht der Belagerung Jerusalem im Jahre 701 als Glosse aufgestülpt wurde, darf nicht darüber hinwegtäuschen, dass die Prophezeiungen Jesajas selbst ausschließlich die frühere (damit nicht verwandte) Belagerung Jerusalems in Blick haben.

Im Allgemeinen scheint das Problem dieser Glosse zu sein, dass sie als nachträglicher editorischer Eingriff an keiner Stelle im genuinen Text Jesajas eine Parallele findet. Es gibt nämlich Bereiche dieser Glosse die sich bei näherem Hinsehen als unhaltbare chronologische Spekulation erweisen. Eine subjektive zeitgenössische jüdische Wahrnehmung z.B., welche die Ermordung Sanheribs 680 als göttliche Strafe für dessen Belagerung Jerusalems 701 betrachtete, wandelte sich im Laufe der Zeit zu einer Gewissheit, dass diese göttliche Strafe Sanherib unmittelbar nach der Belagerung Jerusalems traf. Dies führte zu einer wesentlich verfälschten chronologischen Betrachtung dieser Belagerung als wäre sie kurz vor 680 stattgefunden, womit automatisch Taharqo (Regierungszeit 689-664) in die Narration eingeführt wurde. Es gibt jedoch kein Zeichen, dass Taharqo 701 in führender Position gegen Sanherib trat (und schon gar nicht als König von Kusch)³¹. Eine weitere dadurch verschuldete chronologische Spekulation betraf Jesajas selbst, von dem apokryphe Traditionen behaupten, von König Manasseh ermordet worden zu sein. Dies liegt im

survey carried out in the Shephelah by Yehuda Dagan indicated a drastic reduction in the number of settlements from the eighth to the seventh centuries B.C.E.“. Daher konnte es wäre zutiefst rational von Seiten Sanheribs gewesen sein, Lachisch an die Philister zu übertreten, die, die Gegend sowohl bewirtschaften und verteidigen konnten. D. Ussishkin. „Sennacherib’s Campaign to Judah: The Archaeological Perspective with an Emphasis on Lachish and Jerusalem,“ in I. Kalimi and S. Richardson, (Hrsg.), *Sennacherib at the Gates of Jerusalem; Story, History and Historiography*. Leiden: Brill, 2014: 75-103: 99 ff.

Sanheribs Behandlung der eroberten Städte Hiskijas in der Schefela, wie sie z.B. in der Stier Koloss Inschrift festgehalten wird: „*Ich gab es (das eroberte Gebiet Hiskijas) an die Könige von Aschdod, Aschkelon, Ekron und Gaza.*“, oder das Taylor Prisma: „*Ich nahm von seinem Land seine Städte, die ich geplündert habe, und ich gab (sie) an Mitinti dem König von Aschdod, Padi dem König von Ekron, Šilli-Bēl, dem König von Gaza, und machte dabei sein Land kleiner.*“ schließen vollkommen aus, dass Lachisch nach 701 Lieferungen an den König von Jerusalem leisten konnte.

D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, Oriental Institute Publications 2. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1924: 70:30.

31 Kahn bietet aus meiner Sicht eine Erklärung, die sich nur mit einem Teil der merkwürdigen narrativen Anachronismen in 2. Kön. 18:13-19:37 und Jes. 36-37 befasst. Da zahlreiche Details dabei ausgeklammert werden, scheint mir dies eine nicht so überzeugende Erklärung zum Treiben Taharqos zu liefern. Zumal sämtliche Anachronismen deutlich chronologisch zusammenhängen, ist eine solche Erklärung, die Teilaspekte auslässt, im Nachteil.

D. Kahn. „Tirhakah, King of Kush and Sennacherib,“ *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 6:1 (2014b): 29-41.

Sinne derselben chronologisch falschen Spekulation, denn mit dem Jahr der Ermordung Sanheribs, 680, befindet man sich weit in der Regierungszeit von Manasseh. Dies dürfte nach Occams razor Prinzip die einfachste mögliche Erklärung der zahlreichen in den Glossen befindlichen historischen Aussagen sein. Deshalb scheint es unerlässlich alle explikativen Glossen zu Jes. 36-37 von der historischen Betrachtung auszuklammern.

Die Angaben der assyrischen Boten gegenüber Hiskija lassen sich eindeutig auf Sargon II. beziehen, sodass die Glossierung des Jerusalem belagernden Königs als Sanherib ignoriert werden muss. Man beachte dazu die Städteliste in der Ansprache des Rab Šāqēh in 2 Kön. 18:31–34: *„Hat denn einer von den Göttern der anderen Völker sein Land vor dem König von Assur gerettet? Wo sind die Götter von Hamat und Arpad? Wo sind die Götter von Sefarwajim, Hena und Awa? Haben sie etwa Samaria vor mir gerettet?“*

Sämtliche anfangs aufgezählte Städte sind bekanntlich von Sargon II. erobert worden. Grundsätzlich gehört auch die Ansiedlung von Leuten von *Sefarwajim, Hena und Awa* in Samaria zu den Taten die Sargon II. zugeschrieben werden müssen. Man sehe dazu, die neuerdings von Na’aman dafür erbrachten Beweise.³²

Wenn man diese Ungereimtheit dahingehend korrigieren möchte, dass es sich dabei um Taten handelte, an die sich Sanherib möglicherweise persönlich während der Regierungszeit seines Vaters beteiligt hätte, was ihn dazu veranlasst hätte, damit zu prahlen, so gibt es hier ein Problem. Warum fehlt jeglicher Hinweis darin auf die frisch vor 701 erfolgte Vertreibung Marduk-apla-iddina II. aus Babylon, die Sanherib sich unstreitbar zuschreiben konnte? Die Tatsache, dass der assyrische König sich deren Eroberung zuschreibt weist eher weg von Sanherib als assyrischer König in 2 Kön. 18:31–34. Dies zwang Gallagher z.B. zu der Bemerkung: *„However the rab-shaqeh is careless in his presentation of previous conquests. His asking which gods had saved other countries from “my hand” (18:34-5) attributes the military feats of earlier kings to Sennacherib.“*³³

Sollten noch Zweifel bestehen bleiben, dass der assyrische König sich da eindeutig selbst und nicht seinen Vorgänger die Unterwerfung dieser Städte zuschreibt, werden diese Bedenken durch eine separate und davon abweichende Liste in 2 Kön. 19:12 zerstreut, welche Völker aufzählt, die diesmal ausdrücklich von den Vorgängern des Königs unterworfen wurden: *„Sind denn die Völker, die von meinen Vätern vernichtet wurden, von ihren Göttern gerettet worden, die Völker von Gosan, Haran und Rezep, die Söhne von Eden, die in Telassar wohnten?“*.

Daraufhin folgt erneut ohne apparenten Wechsel, die vorausgegangene Liste: *„Wo ist der König von Hamat, der König von Arpad, der König der Stadt Sefarwajim, wo sind die Könige von Hena und Awa?“*. Dies ist jedoch syntaktisch gesehen ein vom vorausgehenden Paragraph (2. Kön. 18:33) distinkter Satz und muss daher nicht von der Zeitangabe „von

32 N. Na’aman. „Locating the sites of Assyrian deportees in Israel and southern Palestine,” in J. MacGinnis, D. Wicke, and T. Greenfield, (Hrsg.), *The Provincial Archaeology of the Assyrian Empire*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 2016: 275-282.

33 W.R. Gallagher. *Sennacherib’s Campaign to Judah: New Studies (Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East)*. Leiden: Brill, 1999: 155.

meinen Vätern vernichtet“ bestimmt werden.

Gallaghers Annahme, dass der 2-te Brief „Sanheribs“ (2.Kön. 19) die Angaben des ersteren (2. Kön. 18) korrigieren würde und mit diesem in Widerspruch stünde, scheint mir daher spekulativ.³⁴ Insgesamt hat, meiner Meinung nach, die von Stade aufgestellte These – in deren Tradition auch Gallagher steht - wonach zwei Kompositionen unterschiedlichen Datums, genannt B1 und B2, Pate für die zwei Briefe des Königs „Sanherib“ gestanden haben, keine Verwurzelung in der Realität.³⁵ Beide Texte sind – meiner Meinung nach - nichts anderes als das, was sie tatsächlich zu sein vorgeben: zwei assyrische Propagandatexte, die voneinander getrennt, Feldzüge des die Belagerung führenden Königs, beziehungsweise seiner Vorgänger auflisten. Auch die neuere Untersuchung von 2. Kön. 18-19 durch Evans³⁶ weist auf den sehr eingeschränkten Wert der Argumente erbracht zur Untermauerung der quellenkritischen Hypothese von Stade-Childs hin, auch wenn er nicht gänzlich darauf zu verzichten bereit ist.

Hamat, Arpad und Samarien sind bekanntlich die beim Tode Salmanassars V, also im ersten Regierungsjahr Sargons II. rebellierenden Städte, welche Sargon II. erneut unterwerfen musste. Unter Sanherib fand kein Feldzug gegen diese Städte mehr statt. Sefarwajim, Hena und Awa gehören hingegen zu den Völkerschaften, die in Samaria angesiedelt wurden (2. Kön. 17: 24).³⁷ Sie müssen daher zu den Völkerschaften gehören, die Sargon II. in Zusammenhang mit dem Wiederaufbau Samariens umsiedeln ließ. Insofern handelt es sich hier ausschließlich um Ereignisse des letzten Feldzugs Sargons in der Region.

Die zweite Liste, diejenige der von Sargons Vorgänger unterworfenen Völker, lässt sich ebenfalls als akkurat bezeichnen und muss zwingenderweise zeitgenössisch mit der Tätigkeit des Jesaja sein, zumal es sich überhaupt nicht darstellen lässt, aus welcher Quelle man nachträglich die Information über die assyrischen Feldzüge hätte zusammentragen können.³⁸ Gosan-Guzana wurde im Jahr 808 von Adad-nīrārī III. erobert und als Provinz

34 Gallagher, *Sennacherib's Campaign*, 1999: 156.

35 Seine These hat mit der logischen Inkonsistenz zu fechten, dass er keinen ausreichenden Charaktermerkmal für eine zeitlich getrennte Entstehung der zwei Texte nennen könnte, welcher sie von zwei gewöhnlichen von „Sanherib“ hintereinander gesendeten Botschaften unterscheiden würde. Childs stellte zudem fest, dass eine dieser angeblich getrennten Kompositionen, B1, einen Abschluss ermangelt, der sie zur eigenständig funktionierenden Erzählung machen könnte. Er versuchte dafür 2. Kön. 19:36-37 zu nennen. Dieser Vorschlag ist jedoch ebenso spekulativ, wie die gesamte These.

B. Stade. „Miscellen. 16. Anmerkungen zu 2 Ko. 15–21. Zu 18,13–19,37,“ *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 4 (1886): 172–186; B.C. Childs. *Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis*. London: SCM Press, 1967.

36 P.S. Evans. *The Invasion of Sennacherib in the Book of Kings: A Source-Critical and Rhetorical Study of 2 Kings 18–19*, Supplements to the Vetus Testamentum, 125, Leiden: Brill, 2009.

37 Die Ansiedlung einer neuen Bevölkerung in Samaria erwähnt die Prisma Sargons aus Kalhu IV 37-38: „Die Stadt Samaria stellte ich wieder her und machte sie mehr als früher. Menschen (anderer) Länder; die Beute meiner Hände, brachte ich hinein.“

38 Siehe dazu auch S. Holloway. „Harran: Cultic Geography in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and Its Implications for Sennacherib's 'Letter to Hezekiah' in 2 Kings,“ in S. Holloway and L. K. Handy, (Hrsg.), *The Pitcher is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gosta W. Ahlstrom*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995: 311, N.124.

dem assyrischen Reich einverleibt. Rezev-Rasappa ist zumindest seit dem Jahr 840 unter einem assyrischen Gouverneur erwähnt. Eden-Bit Adinu wurde im Jahr 856 von Salmānu-ašarēd III. erobert und der Provinz Harran einverleibt. Telassar ist vermutlich identisch mit Til-Baschir, erobert 857.

Originell ist Na'aman These, wonach der Sitz im Leben der Rede der Boten „Sanheribs“ (genannt B2), durch neobabylonische Feldzüge nach Nord-Mesopotamien und Syrien, 612-605 v.u.Z. bestimmt sei.³⁹ Nach Occams Razor Prinzip, muss man diesen Vorschlag verwerfen, zumal er nicht überzeugend erklärt, womit die Annahme 100 Jahre späterer babylonischer Feldzüge anstelle assyrischer Feldzüge, die aus dem Erzähler Blickwinkel zeitlich „korrekt“ sind, überlegen sein soll.⁴⁰ Ebenso schwer wiegt die Tatsache, dass Na'amans These der Nabopolassar attribuierten Eroberungen systematisch gegen die Formulierung von 2. Kön. 19 läuft, welche von „*meinen Vätern*“ stets in der Mehrzahl redet. Hätte der Text den Fehler gemacht in der Singular-Form zu berichten, also wäre er inkonsistent mit der Attribution dieser Eroberungen den Vorgängern des assyrischen Königs, wäre Na'amans Harmonisierungsversuch durchaus verständlich. Die Behauptung, dass die Erwähnung zweier aufeinanderfolgender Botschaften Sanheribs zum Aufbau alternativer Deutungen ausreicht, leidet daran, dass sie nicht falsifizierbar ist und dadurch ein wesentliches Merkmal wissenschaftlicher Argumentationsweise entbehrt. Zu allem Überfluss hält kein zeitgenössischer prophetischer Text der Bibel auch eine entfernt ähnliche Aussage Nebukadnezars fest, die Na'aman meint, ihren Weg in die Texte Jesajas gemacht haben soll. So scheint Jer. 25:19-26 nie eine Liste dieser Form wahrgenommen zu haben.

Die entdeckten Ähnlichkeiten zur neobabylonischen Periode wiegen gar nichts gegen die Tatsache, dass Eden - Bit Adinu in derselben Liste historisch nicht mehr für

39 N. Na'aman. „Updating the Messages: Hezekiah's Second Prophetic Story (2 Kings 19,9b-35) and the Community of Babylonian Deportees,“ in L.L. Grabbe, (Hrsg.), *Like a Bird in a Cage: The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*. JSOT 363. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003: 201-220.

40 Typisch für Na'amans Wechsel des Schwerpunkts von Kontext konformen neoassyrischen zu Kontext fremden neobabylonischen Feldzügen ist die Diskussion der Eroberung der Stadt La'ir in 2. Kön. 19:12 (La'ir fehlt in der Septuaginta Fassung der Bibel).

La'ir ist das Akkadische Laḫiru, eine von Tiglat-pileser III. annexierte Provinz nordöstlich von Babylonien. 615 wurde Laḫiru / La'ir nun, als sich das Schicksal in der Konfrontation zwischen Assyrien und Babylon wendete, von den Babyloniern ebenfalls erobert.

Obwohl die Eroberung von Laḫiru / La'ir durch Tiglat-pileser III. bestens in die in 2. Kön. 19 aufgestellte Liste der von den Vorfahren des Jerusalem belagernden Königs passen würde, soll dies laut Baruchi-Unna im Sinne der These von Na'aman ein Beweis für die neo-babylonische anstatt einer neoassyrischen Quelle dieses Berichts sein.

„It is therefore possible that much like the names of the other cities on the list, the mention of La'ir / Laḫiru in the list of 2 Kgs 19.13 preserves the memory of one of the early victories of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, over Assyria.“

A. Baruchi-Unna. „The Story of Hezekiah's Prayer (2 Kings 19) and Jeremiah's Polemic concerning the Inviolability of Jerusalem,“ *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 39:3 (2015): 286-287.

diese späte Periode attestiert ist. Die letzte Erwähnung des ehemals illustren Namens in einer Chronik findet man in den Inschriften Sanheribs (Sanherib 22 v47 und 23 v33). Über dieses Detail springt Na'aman hinweg und umspielt es mit der Aussage: „*In the following year (611) Nabopolassar marched against the city of Rugulittu, captured it and killed its inhabitants. Rugulittu is mentioned in the annals of Shalmaneser III as an important city of the kingdom of Bit Adini, which captured and annexed to Assyria (856 BCE)*“.⁴¹ Die letzte feststellbare Bezeugung von Bit Adinu zur Zeit Sanheribs, darf als Datum ante quem für diesen Text betrachtet werden.

Die zeitliche Reihenfolge der Texte Jesajas

Die neueste Untersuchung des Jesaja durch Aster⁴², konzentriert sich glücklicherweise auf die literarische Widerspiegelung der zeitgenössischen neoassyrischen Imperial Ideologie in dessen Texten und weist das Ausmaß dieses bisher wenig diskutierten Einflusses auf die spezifische Ausdrucksweise des ersten Jesaja. Auf seine Erkenntnisse gründend, darf man Jes. 1-39 im Sinne eines literarisch und entstehungsgeschichtlich zusammenhängenden prophetischen Textes behandeln.

Paul ging einen Schritt weiter bezüglich der Entstehungsgeschichte von Jes. 18-20 mit der aus meiner Sicht richtigen Annahme, dass diese Texte grundsätzlich während der tatsächlichen Zeit Jesajas entstanden seien und eine erkennbare chronologische Reihenfolge verfolgten: „*composed of independent literary units, evince a discernible chronological sequence stemming primarily from the very time of the prophet*“.⁴³ Ich muss an dieser Stelle lediglich seine Methodologie bemängeln, zwischen genau chronologisch datierbaren Angaben und solchen, die wegen der spekulativen Natur der Chronologie der 3. Zwischenzeit weniger zuverlässig sind, nicht ausreichend zu unterscheiden. Aus diesem Grund kann seine Untersuchung nicht als chronologische Hilfe zur Lösung strittiger Fragen der 3. Zwischenzeit dienen.

Ähnlich verhält sich Ginsberg bezüglich der Texte Jes. 1-12: „*Isa 1–12 . . . is arranged, in principle, chronologically . . . and consequently reads, in the light of history, like a prophet's journal. It ends with the year 715.*“⁴⁴

Man kann anhand der Texte des ersten Jesajas aufzeigen, sofern man darin chronologisch auswertbare Informationen vorfindet, dass diese mit einem durchgängigen chronologischen Reihenfolge Prinzip vereinbar sind. Obwohl dieses Ordnungsprinzip

41 Na'aman, „Updating the Messages,“ 2003: 209.

42 S.Z. Aster. *Reflections of Empire in Isaiah 1-39: Responses to Assyrian Ideology*. Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017.

43 S.M. Paul. „Isaiah 18–20: A Chronological Sequence of Oracles in Light of Akkadian and Egyptian Sources,“ in A. Baruch-Unna, T. Forti, S. Ahituv, I. Eph'al, and J. Tigay, (Hrsg.), *Now It Happened in Those Days: Studies in Biblical, Assyrian, and ANE Historiography*. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2017: 623-643.

44 H.L. Ginsberg. „Reflexes of Sargon in Isaiah after 715 b.c.e.,“ in W.W. Hallo, (Hrsg.), *Essays in Memory of E. A. Speiser*, AOS 53. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1968: 47.

bei der Entstehung einer prophetischen Schriftrolle logischerweise zugrunde liegt, wurde dieses bisher mehrfach in Frage gestellt, weswegen eine solche Untersuchung unerlässlich ist.

Das Vorgehen besteht darin, einen zeitlichen Raster für die Texte Jesajas zu kreieren anhand historischer Plausibilitätskriterien. Gleichzeitig adressiert man wesentliche alternative Datierungsvorschläge für die Entstehung der jeweiligen Texte, solange diese eine objektive historische Basis aufweisen können und nicht exzessiv spekulativ sind.

Leider ist die Forschung zu Jesaja weitgehend in der Tradition der assertorischen Quellenkritik des 19. Jahrhunderts entstanden. Diese charakterisiert Roberts, wie folgt: *“The confidence with which many modern scholars reconstruct hypothetical redactors living at particular periods, who make particular editorial changes in the service of some equally hypothetically reconstructed theological interest, strikes me as extreme hubris.”*⁴⁵ Ich verwerfe als Argumente solche, die harmlose äußere Textmerkmale, die par-excellence nicht chronologischer Art sind (z.B. gruppieren von Texten aufgrund in solchen enthaltenen in 3ter Person gemachten biographischer Angaben, künstliches Aufspalten des Berichts über die zwei aufeinanderfolgenden Briefe Sanheribs) chronologisch interpretieren. Die Senkung der Beweishürde im Umgang mit Text kann gefährliche Folgen haben bezüglich dessen, was künftig ein Argument sein darf oder eben nicht als solches zugelassen wird.

Die Tatsache, dass die chronologisch fragwürdigsten Texte Jesajas, welche sich auf die Zustände in Ägypten beziehen, hier chronologisch vollkommen neutral behandelt werden, erlaubt die Ausdehnung von Schlussfolgerungen bezüglich des Datums der sie umgebenden unzweifelhaft datierbaren Texte auf die ersteren selbst.

- Jes. 1-5: prophetische Texte, die offenbar dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg vorausgehen

- Jes. 6: Tod des Königs Usija (vermutlich bereits unter Ahas), daher frühestens 734 v.u.Z. vor Beginn des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges welches noch immer nicht erwähnt wird.

- Jes. 7: Erwähnung Ahas erste deutliche Erwähnung des syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriegs, daher 733 v.u.Z.

- Jes. 8: Erwähnung Rezins und des Sohns Remalijas, also Zeit des syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriegs, 733-732 v.u.Z. Der Eindruck eines internen Widerspruchs zwischen Jes. 8:1-4 und 8:9-10, woran z.B. De Jong glaubt, hat keine objektive Grundlage.

⁴⁶ Der Eindruck entsteht bloß durch die möglicherweise falsche Segmentierung des Textes von Jes. 8 durch De Jong. Der erste Teil (Jes. 8: 1-7) handelt von der Zerstörung der Staaten der syrisch-ephraimitischen Koalition durch Assyrien. Ich sehe stattdessen den Text folgendermaßen segmentiert. Der zweite Teil fängt mit Jes. 8:8 und nicht erst mit Jes. 8:10-11 und handelt von der anschließenden Bedrohung, welcher das Land Juda widerstehen

45 J.J.M. Roberts. *First Isaiah (Hermeneia: A Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible)*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2015: 3.

46 M.J. De Jong. *Isaiah Among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets: A Comparative Study of the Isaiah Tradition and the Neo Assyrian Prophecies*. Leiden: Brill, 2007: 67-73.

wird. Juda würde den „Völkern“, das heißt: sowohl Assyrien, wie auch dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Bündnis, trotzen.

- Jes. 9: Zeit des syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriegs, daher 733-732 v.u.Z.
- Jes. 10:9 zeigt Spuren nachträglicher Edition: *Ging es nicht Kalne genauso wie Karkemisch, Hamat wie Arpad, Samaria wie Damaskus? Wie meine Hand die Königreiche der Götter erobert hat, deren Götterbilder die von Jerusalem und Samaria übertrafen, wie ich es mit Samaria und seinen Göttern gemacht habe, so mache ich es auch mit Jerusalem und seinen Göttern.*“.

Es ist offenbar, anhand der Anmerkung, dass die Götterbilder der vom assyrischen König eroberten Königreiche diejenigen von Jerusalem und Samaria übertroffen haben sollen, dass die ursprüngliche Rede Samaria noch nicht unter den eroberten Städten einreichte. Samarien muss wohl nachträglich in die Liste der eroberten Städte vor Damaskus eingefügt worden sein, sonst würde die rhetorische Frage zu einem unsinnigen Vergleich der Götterbilder von Samarien mit denselben einladen.

In der Urfassung lautete deshalb die Stelle korrekterweise etwa: *Ging es nicht Kalne genauso wie Hamat wie Arpad wie Damaskus? Wie meine Hand die Königreiche der Götter erobert hat, deren Götterbilder die von Jerusalem und Samaria übertrafen, wie ich es mit Samaria und seinen Göttern machen werde, so mache ich es auch mit Jerusalem und seinen Göttern.*“.

Ebenso macht die dem assyrischen König attribuierte eigenhändige Eroberung von Kalne (Kullania – verschrieben als Kunalia in TP III 12: 6', 11' und 14: 4), Arpad (TP III 12: 2), Hamat (TP III 13: 10; 31: 5; 35 ii: 9'), Damaskus (TP III 20: 17', 35 ii: 9') dessen Gleichsetzung mit Tiglat-pileser III. naheliegend.

Es ist nicht ganz klar in welchem Zusammenhang eine Drohung Tiglat-pilesers nach dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg, Samarien zu erobern, ausgegangen sein kann, zumal keine nachträgliche Feldzüge Tiglat-pilesers in dieser Region dokumentiert sind. Sie könnte allerdings während der Vorbereitungen für Salmanassars Invasion von Samarien, 727 (siehe nachträgliche chronologische Diskussion und auch Na'aman⁴⁷) als Salmanassar die Unterwerfung Hoscheas annahm, passiert sein. Diese Invasion fand im Akzessionsjahr Salmanassars V. (Babylonische Chronik) dürfte daher bereits unter seinem Vater vorbereitet worden sein, der kurz zuvor starb. Wenn sich also ein assyrischer König in Jes. 10 auf seine eigene bereits erfolgte Eroberung von Kalne, Hamat, Arpad, Damaskus bezieht, kann dieser nur Tiglat-pileser III. sein, der das kurz vor seinem Tod, 727 tut.

Die Editionsspuren könnten auf Jesaja selbst zurückgehen, der die Prophezeiung nachträglich auf die spätere Belagerung Jerusalems durch „Sanherib“ bezog.⁴⁸ Damit wären sinnwidrig Samarien und unter Umständen auch Karkemisch zur Liste der bereits eroberten Städte dazugekommen. Karkemisch hatte bis 717 unter einer lokalen Dynastie

47 N. Na'aman. „The Historical Background to the Conquest of Samaria (720 BCE),“ *Biblica* 71 (1990): 206-225.

48 Suggestiert, dass Jesaja selbst Teile seiner älteren Prophezeiungen editierte, um sie auf neueren in etwa ähnlichen Situationen zu beziehen. Roberts, *First Isaiah*, 2015.

noch eine gewisse Autonomie genießen können. Samarien wurde erst 720 von Sargon II. erobert (Na'aman, 1990).⁴⁹

Hoffnung auf die Rückkehr der Gefangenen Israeliten, Jes. 10:21: *„Ein Rest kehrt um zum starken Gott, ein Rest von Jakob. Israel, wenn auch dein Volk so zahlreich ist wie der Sand am Meer - nur ein Rest von ihnen kehrt um.“* Eine der Inschriften Tiglat-pileser zeigt, dass er derjenige gewesen ist, der sämtliche Bevölkerung Israels mit Ausnahme Samariens in die Gefangenschaft abgeführt habe⁵⁰. Daher dürfen sämtliche Klagen Jesajas über einen assyrischen König, der die Gefangenen nicht entließ, usw. sich zwingend auf Tiglat-pileser III. beziehen.⁵¹ Auch Jes. 8:23 spricht ausschließlich von den von Tiglat-pileser III. dabei annektierten Regionen: *„Einst hat er das Land Sebulon und das Land Naftali verachtet, aber später bringt er die Straße am Meer wieder zu Ehren, das Land jenseits des Jordan, das Gebiet der Heiden.“*

- Jes. 11: Hoffnung auf die Rückkehr der Gefangenen Israeliten: *„er schwingt in glühendem Zorn seine Faust gegen den Euphrat und zerschlägt ihn in sieben einzelne Bäche, sodass man in Sandalen hindurchgehen kann. So entsteht eine Straße für den Rest seines Volkes, der übrig gelassen wurde von Aššur, eine Straße, wie es sie für Israel gab, als es aus Ägypten heraufzog.“*

Kahn glaubt hier einen wesentlich späteren Text identifizieren zu dürfen, welcher besser der Zeit nach der Mitte des 7. Jahrhunderts entspräche als der Zeit Hiskijas.⁵² Das darin gezeichnete Bild von der *Verteilung* der israelitischen Diaspora, *„von Assur und Ägypten, von Patros und Kusch, von Elam, Schinar und Hamat und von den Inseln des Meeres“*, entspräche nicht der Situation vor 700 v.u.Z., die sich aus der Ausdehnung des damaligen assyrischen Reiches erschließen ließe. Meiner Meinung nach überstrapaziert er damit die bestehenden Möglichkeiten, eine zuverlässige Aussage über die Verteilung einer israelitischen Diaspora zu machen. Vor allem scheint mir eine ausschließliche Betrachtung der Geschichte des Nahen Ostens als eine Geschichte der Großmächte fehlerträchtig.

Als Illustration der Schwierigkeit der Bestimmung einer israelitischen Diaspora im 8. Jahrhundert, möge man die Stelle, *„die Insel des Meeres“* in Jes. 11:11 betreffend,

49 A. Fuchs. *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*. Göttingen: Cuvillier Verlag, 1994: 88, 316.

50 However, one of Tiglath-pileser's summary inscriptions (P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III.* (Leipzig: E. Pfeiffer 1893): 38, lines 227-228; N. Na'aman, *Borders and Districts in Biblical Historiography: Seven Studies in Biblical Geographical Lists* (Jerusalem: Simor 1986): 72 and n. 5.) may help resolve this matter. The inscription is badly broken, but may safely be restored thusly: “[The land of Bit Ḥumri, which] in my former campaigns I razed [to the ground all its cities, all its people and] its [ca]ttle I had carried away as booty, the town of Samaria I le[ft] alone. [Pekah], their king, [they ...]” N. Na'aman. „Population Changes in Palestine Following Assyrian Deportations,” *Tel Aviv* 20 (1993): 105.

51 Sargon II. führte vergleichsweise wenig Gefangene ab – lediglich 27.000 aus Samaria. Wenn man diese Zahl mit derjenigen der später von Sanherib z.B. aus Juda 701 abgeführten 200.150 Gefangenen vergleicht, dann dürfte man infolge dieses Vergleichs davon ausgehen, dass die Zahl der von Sargon abgeführten Gefangenen wesentlich kleiner als die Zahl der von Tiglat-pileser abgeführten Gefangenen gewesen sein dürfte.

52 D. Kahn. „Egypt and Assyria in Isaiah 11:11–16,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 12 (2016): 9-20.

betrachten.

Joel 4:6 betreffend Tyrus und Sidon und die Philister *„Ihr habt Judas und Jerusalems Söhne an die Jawaniter verkauft, um sie aus ihrer Heimat zu entfernen.“*, lässt die mögliche Komplexität der Ursachen dieser Diaspora erkennen, die nicht nur auf die Interaktion Israels und Juda mit Assyrien oder Babylonien reduziert werden darf. Leider ist die Tätigkeitsperiode Joels nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen. Ähnliche Anschuldigungen erhebt aber auch Amos 1:9 gegen Tyrus: *“ So spricht der Herr: Wegen der drei Verbrechen, die Tyrus beging, wegen der vier nehme ich es nicht zurück: Weil sie Verschleppte scharenweise an Edom auslieferten und nicht mehr an den Bund mit ihren Brüdern dachten...“*.

Wenn jedoch sich sowohl Amos wie auch Joel auf gleiche historische Ereignisse beziehen, die auch in Jes. 8:23 und Jes. 11:11 durchscheinen, dann dürften sich diese lediglich kurze Zeit vor der Mission Jesajas als Prophet ereignet haben und daher Jesaja gut im Gedächtnis gelegen haben.⁵³ Es ist daher zwecklos sich auf assyrische oder babylonische hypothetische Deportationen als Begründung für Jesaja 11:11 *„die Insel des Meeres“* zu beschränken.

Auch das Datum als eventuell israelitische Gefangene nach Elam verschleppt wurden, könnte durchaus korrekt in der Zeit vor Jesaja liegen und müsste unter Umständen gar nicht in weiter zeitlicher Ferne gesucht werden. Die assyrischen Deportationen erfolgten unter Anderen aus logistischen und praktischen Gründen mehr oder weniger in beiden Richtungen gleichzeitig. Deswegen, wenn man Spuren von Elamitern in Khirbet Kusiya an der *Via Maris* entdeckt, kann man davon ausgehen, dass in umgekehrten Sinne Israeliten aus dieser Region nach Elam verschleppt wurden.⁵⁴ Da die Küstenregion an der *Via Maris* bereits von Tiglat-pileser III. annektiert wurde, dürfte man mutmaßen, dass die Deportationsmaßnahme mit der Zeit von Tiglat-pileser III. zusammenfällt und nicht mit derjenigen Sargons II., als sich diese neue assyrische Provinz weitgehend aus dem Aufstand von Samarien heraushielt und keine assyrische Repressalien rechtfertigt hätte.

- Jes. 14: Tod eines Königs von Babel (Jes. 14:1-23) gefolgt offensichtlich bald darauf vom Tod des Königs Ahas von Juda (Jes. 14:28-32). Da Tiglat-pileser III. auch den Titel eines Königs von Babylon führte, ist es anzunehmen, dass er dieser König von Babel, *„der die Gefangenen nicht nach Hause entließ“* (Jes. 14:17) ist. Diese Anspielung bietet den Anknüpfungspunkt an die vorausgehenden Prophezeiungen, die sich mit der erhofften Rückkehr der Kriegsgefangenen Israeliten beschäftigen. Großmaßstäbliche Deportationen von Israeliten fanden jedoch nur während der Regierungszeit des Tiglat-pileser III.

⁵³ Es könnte sich dabei durchaus um Ereignisse handeln rund um die Annexion der Küstenregion durch Tiglat-pileser III. Bei Jes. 8:21: *„Einst hat er das Land Sebulon und das Land Naftali verachtet, aber später bringt er die Straße am Meer wieder zu Ehren, das Land jenseits des Jordan, das Gebiet der Heiden.“*

⁵⁴ Ein Name den auch Na’aman (2016, 277) als vermutlich elamitisch bezeichnet: *„Only one name, possibly Elamite (Menani) survived.“*. Menanu ist die übliche assyrische und babylonische Schreibweise des elamitischen Namens -numena (wie in Humban-numena). W. Horowitz, T. Oshima, and S. Sanders. *Cuneiform in Canaan. Cuneiform Sources from the Land of Israel in Ancient Times*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society & Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006: 100-101.

Jes. 14: 18-21 wurde als Hinweis auf Sargons Tod betrachtet: *„Alle Könige der Völker ruhen in Ehren, jeder in seinem Grab, du aber wurdest hingeworfen ohne Begräbnis, wie ein verachteter Bastard. Mit Erschlagenen bist du bedeckt, die vom Schwert durchbohrt sind, wie ein zertretener Leichnam. Mit denen, die in steinerne Grüfte hinabsteigen, bist du nicht vereint im Grab.“* Über die Umstände seines Todes ist man dank Sanheribs Opferschau wegen der „Sünden von Sargon“ gut informiert. Allerdings dürfte ein solches Schicksal häufiger assyrischen Königen angesichts des militaristischen Charakters des neoassyrischen Staates widerfahren sein, auch wenn wir über die anderen Fälle nicht entsprechend informiert sind.⁵⁵ Deswegen könnte sich die Stelle ebenso gut auch auf Tiglat-pileser III. beziehen. Nichtsdestoweniger könnte Jes. 14:18-21 zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt in den Text eingearbeitet worden sein, gemäß der erkannten Gewohnheit Jesajas sein eigenes Material gelegentlich aufzufrischen, bzw. zu aktualisieren (siehe dazu Diskussion zu Jes. 10). Ich sehe dennoch keinen Grund für eine Umarbeitung an dieser Stelle, zumal die für den zeitgenössischen Leser wesentlichen Identifikations Marker beibehalten wurden und daher weiterhin gegen eine veränderte Deutung des Textes gewirkt hätten.

Viel interessanter chronologisch für die Identifikation des Königs und die Datierung des ursprünglichen Texts sind die Epitheta, die Jes. 14:5-6 für ihn benutzt: *„Der Herr hat die Knüppel der Frevler zerbrochen, den Stock der Tyrannen, der in seinem Zorn die Völker erschlug, sie schlug ohne Ende, der die Völker in seiner Wut zertrat und sie verfolgte ohne jedes Erbarmen.“* Diese findet man identisch wieder in Jes. 10: 5 jedoch eindeutig auf Tiglat-pileser III. angewendet: *„Weh Assur, dem Stock meines Zorns! / Es ist der Knüppel in meiner wütenden Hand.“*

Erschwerend kommt hinzu, dass dieselben Epitheta auch in Jes. 14: 29 vorkommen: *„Im Todesjahr des Königs Ahas erging folgender Ausspruch: Freu dich nicht, Land der Philister, weil der Stock zerbrochen ist, der dich schlug...“*. Nach einem Akzessionsjahr System der Berechnung der Königsjahre könnte Ahas 726 gestorben sein. Da die Königsjahre von Tischri zu Tischri gerechnet werden kann es durchaus verständlich sein, wenn scheinbar der Tod Ahas ein Jahr später nach Tiglat-pileser III erfolgte. Es gibt kein anderes Todesdatum eines assyrischen Königs, welches auch nur annähernd in der Nähe eines möglichen Todesdatums Ahas fallen würde. So z.B., sollte man annehmen, dass Ahas 715 starb, damit man die Gleichung zwischen dem 14. Jahr von Hiskija und dem Eroberungszug Sanheribs 701 aufgehen kann, findet man gar keine Synchronisierungsmöglichkeit mehr für Jes. 14:28-29.

Was für unsere Analyse wesentlich ist, ist die Feststellung, dass die Position der Prophezeiung innerhalb des Buchs Jesaja ebenso wie im Falle von Jes. 10, selbst nach einer potentiellen Umarbeitung unverändert die ursprüngliche chronologisch bestimmbare geblieben ist. Daher kann sie weiterhin als chronologischer Gitter für die Bestimmung des Entstehungszeitpunkts anderer in weniger Massen chronologisch bestimmbarer Texte Jesajas.

⁵⁵ H. Tadmor, B. Landsberger, and S. Parpola. „The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib’s Last Will,” *Bulletin (State Archives of Assyria)* 3 (1989): 3-51.

- Jes. 17: Zerstörung von Damaskus (Jes. 17:1) vermutlich eher durch Sargon 720 oder Salmanassar V. Da der Aufstand Samariens und von Damaskus 722 bereits unter Salmanassar anging, könnte die Eroberung von Damaskus u.U. auch in einer früheren Phase der Revolte unter Salmanassar 722 erfolgt sein. Eine erste Eroberung Damaskus und die Abführung seiner Götterbilder durch Tiglat-pileser III. ist in Jes. 10 erwähnt worden. Das Fehlen jeglicher Erwähnung der Götterbilder von Damaskus im Zusammenhang von Jes. 17 scheint eher auf das spätere Datum nach Tiglat-pileser III. hinzuweisen.

- Jes. 18: Erste Erwähnung der Kuschiten (wegen des wahrscheinlichen Datums von Jes. 17 nach 720!).

- Jes. 19: Bürgerkrieg in Ägypten. Die wichtigsten Städte sind Zoan (Osorkon IV.) und Memphis (Tefnacht), wobei allerdings nur für Zoan ein Pharaon erwähnt wird (Jes. 19: 11). Der Text sollte in zeitlichem Umfeld des Jahres 716 gelegen sein, als Osorkon IV tatsächlich prominent von Sargon II. als Šilkani, König von Musri erwähnt wird.⁵⁶

- Jes. 20: Belagerung von Aschdod durch einen Feldherrn Sargons II. Der Aufstand des Azuri von Aschdod lässt sich nicht mehr genau bestimmen, zumal seine Absetzung nicht im Rahmen eines königlichen Feldzugs, sondern (laut Jes. 20) durch seinen Turtān stattfand. Diese Belagerung hat nichts mit der späteren Niederschlagung der Revolte von Jamani von Aschdod zu tun und wird ohne genaue Zeitangabe nur nachträglich von Sargon II. erwähnt. Im 11. palu, 712/711, hat sich Sargon II nach eigenen Angaben an der Absetzung Jamani selbst beteiligt.⁵⁷ Die hier in Jes. 20 erwähnte Belagerung muss daher irgendwann vorher stattgefunden haben.⁵⁸ Den genauen Zeitpunkt hierfür liefert Wincklers Übersetzung⁵⁹ der Prisma a+b, Winckler t44 DZ. 1 ff.: „Im neunten meiner Regierungsjahre

⁵⁶ Siehe die Argumente gegen die Gleichsetzung von Šilkani (im Jahr 716) mit Pir'ū (im Jahr 715 bezeugt noch einmal 712/711) in M. Bányai. „Die Reihenfolge der Kuschitischen Könige,” *Journal of Egyptian History* 8 (2015): 134-135; E.F. Weidner. „Šilkan(he)ni, König von Šilkani, König von Musri, ein Zeitgenosse Sargons II; nach einem neuen Bruchstück der Prisma-Inschrift des assyrischen Königs,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 14 (1941–1944): 40–53; Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II*, 1994; H. Tadmor. „The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study,” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12:1 (1958a): 22–40.

⁵⁷ Befürwortet eine Datierung des 11. Palu in das Jahr 711. A. Fuchs. *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr. nach Prismenfragmenten aus Ninive und Assur*, State Archives of Assyria Studies, Band 8, Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 1998. Meint hingegen dafür das Jahr 712 in Anspruch nehmen zu müssen. H. Tadmor. „The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur: A Chronological-Historical Study (Conclusion),” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 12:3 (1958b): 77–100.

⁵⁸ Für Fuchs antwortet Assyrien auf das Hilfesuch des Jamani an den Pir'ū, im 11 palu mit der Absendung des Turtān in Begleitung einer bloß kleinen Streitmacht. Dies ist jedoch eine unbegründete Mischung zwischen Jes. 20:2 und den Annalen Sargons II, Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II*, 1994, 451-452.

Es besteht ein grundsätzlicher Unterschied zwischen den in den Texten beschriebenen Handlungen: das erste spricht von einer Belagerung durch den Turtān, die zweite Textgruppe von einer Belagerung durch Sargon selbst. Dieselbe Haltung bei Tadmor, 1958b, 79. Da es als gesichert gilt, dass es auch zwei Jahre vorher, zu Konflikte rund um Aschdod kam, und Jes. 20 keine Auskunft darüber gibt, um welchen der beiden Konflikte es darin geht, ist es einfach unvorsichtig, trotz der Unterschiede auf denselben Konflikt zu schließen.

⁵⁹ H. Winckler. *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen*, Band I. Leipzig:

(...) *Azuri, König von Aschdod, um zu (...)*“.⁶⁰ Die Ereignisse um Aschdod dürfen sich also zeitlich folgendermaßen abgespielt haben.

1. 714-Aufstand und Absetzung des Azuri von Aschdod durch einen Turtān Sargons II. Da sich der König nicht persönlich daran beteiligt hat (die Eponymen-Chronik notiert für dieses Jahr richtigerweise „*in dem Land*“, dass also der König Assyrien nicht verlassen habe) und es zudem ein wenig bedeutendes Ereignis darstellt, wird dies zunächst nicht veröffentlicht. Tadmor ist allerdings der Meinung, dass dieser Eintrag formhalber zu einem eigenen Feldzug im 9 palu Sargons berechtigt.⁶¹

2. 712/711-Jamani, der den eingesetzten Aḫimiti vertrieben hat, verstärkt die Befestigung Aschdods und tritt eine Koalition ein mit Philistää, Judäa, Edom und Moab. Diese Koalition schickt Boten zu Pir’ū schickt, diesen für die antiassyrische Seite zu gewinnen. Insofern dürfte dies auf eine der verschiedenen in Jesaja für diese Jahre erwähnten nach Ägypten gesandten Botschaften zutreffen. Bemerkenswert ist, dass dieser Pir’ū, König von Mušri in einem Kontext mit Aschdod auftritt, das ursprünglich scharf zwischen ägyptischen und kuschitischen Königen getrennt haben muss. Der im gleichen Kontext mit Aschdod agierende Schebitko wird nicht mit dem Titel eines Königs von Mušri adressiert, sondern als König von Meluḫḫa. Dies bedeutet, dass der Pir’ū aus Sicht

Verlag von Eduard Pfeiffer, 1889: 187.

Da bis zu Frames (1999) neuen Lesung der Tang-I War Inschrift mehr als ein Jahrhundert lang die Ansicht vorherrschte, dass sämtliche in Zusammenhang mit Aschdod berichteten Ereignisse in dasselbe Jahr zu verfrachten seien, versuchte auch Winckler (1889, XI) den scheinbaren Widerspruch zwischen der Nennung des 9. palu Sargons und der sonst wo in Zusammenhang mit der Jamani Affäre genannte 11. palu auf eigentümliche Art zu lösen: „der einzige einigermaßen vollständig erhaltene Bericht ist der über den Zug gegen Asdod, der nach S 2022 von diesem Prisma in das neunte palu gesetzt wird, während die Annalen für ihn das elfte angeben, am besten wird diese Unregelmäßigkeit wohl mit Schrader so erklärt, dass hier vom limmu Sargons (719) an gerechnet wird, während die Annalen vom Regierungsantritt an zählen. Freilich scheinen die - übrigens meist wohl ausführlicheren - Berichte der Prismen oft von den Annalen abgewichen zu sein.“

G. Frame. „The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var,” *Orientalia* 68 (1999): 31-57.

Dies ist natürlich eine vollkommen arbiträre Meinung zumal gerade die Prismen detaillierter sind und daher wohl eher der Ausgangspunkt der Annalen Texte.

Ähnlich sieht die von Fuchs (1994, 85-86) angebotene Behandlung des Problems aus. Nicht nachvollziehbar ist die Begründung für die Förderung das 9. Jahrs Sargons II in diesem Prisma zu ignorieren. Demnach soll die Zuweisung bestimmter Ereignisse in Aschdod in das 9. Jahr nur durch den Wunsch bestimmt gewesen sein, für dieses Jahr königlicher Untätigkeit, einen Feldzug zeitlich umzuwidmen. Ich kann da seine Argumentation nicht nachvollziehen.

Gerade die ausführlichen Angaben des Prismas (Z. 26-28) zu Jamanis Bemühungen die Befestigungen Aschdods zu verstärken zeigen, dass zwischen der Absetzung Azuris und Jamanis eine beträchtliche Zeit liegen dürfte: „x+20 Ellen in die Tiefe (...) er erreichte das Grundwasser, zu (...)“. Aus diesem Grund können die Absetzung Azuris, die Absetzung Aḫimitis, und die Absetzung Jamanis nicht im gleichen Jahr Sargons II. liegen.

60 So Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte*, 1889: 186-187. Bei Tadmor, „The Campaigns of Sargon II,” 1958b: 79, hingegen: „in meinem 9. palu gegen... das große Meer im W[esten...] [die Stadt] Aschdod [...]“

61 Tadmor, 1958b, „The Campaigns of Sargon II,” 79.

des Sargon II. kein kuschitischer König gewesen sein kann.

3. ca.707- Extradition des Jamani durch Schebitko, die als ein großer assyrischer Erfolg gefeiert wird und zur ersten Veröffentlichung der Geschehnisse um Aschdod führt.

Die Kuschiter dürften sich mittlerweile,714, bereits in der Delta befunden haben, Jes. 20:4-5: „*Dass mein Knecht Jesaja drei Jahre lang nackt und barfuß umherging, ist ein (warnendes) Zeichen und Sinnbild für Ägypten und Kusch: So werden die gefangenen Ägypter und die aus ihrer Heimat vertriebenen Kuschiter, Jung und Alt, vom König von Aššur nackt und barfuß weggeführt - mit entblößtem Gesäß, zur Schande Ägyptens. Dann wird man erschrecken und sich schämen, weil man nach Kusch Ausschau gehalten und mit Ägypten geprahlt hat.*“. Kusch ist demnach bereits Ziel der Botschafter Hiskijas. Nach Auskunft von Jes. 18 scheint Kusch jedoch noch gerade unterwegs „*zu dem Volk, das kraftvoll alles zertritt, dessen Land von den Flüssen durchschnitten wird.*“, also Ägypten zu sein. Zwischen Jes. 18 und Jes. 20 findet also ein Herrschaftswechsel in Ägypten statt, dem ein Bürgerkrieg im Delta zwischengeschaltet wird.

Die dreijährige Nacktheit des Propheten Jes. 20:4-5, die im Jahr der Belagerung Aschdods, 714 endete, dürfte die ganze Zeit der vorausgegangenen Versuche mit Ägypten und Kusch eine Allianz gegen Assyrien zu bilden decken.⁶² Daher dürften Jes. 18, der früheste solcher Versuch, und natürlich auch der unmittelbar vorausgehende Jes. 19, in die Zeit 716-714 gehören, eine dreijahres-Periode endend 714.

- Jes. 21: Prophezeiungen in Zusammenhang mit Arabien. Das vermutliche Datum des Textes ist 714 (9. palu), dasselbe wie die vorhergehende Prophezeiung, als laut ARAB 2,23⁶³ Sargon II. „die Länder Uiadaue, Bustis, Agazi, Ambanda, Dananu, ferne Provinzen an der östlichen Grenze von Aribi“ angriff.⁶⁴

Jes. 21:9: „*Gefallen ist Babel, gefallen, und all seine Götterbilder hat man zu Boden geschmettert.*“ ist insofern irreführend. Es muss sich kontextbedingt, da die Nachricht von den Spähern als erstes im Negev abgefangen wird, wie der ganze Rest entweder um eine Ortschaft im inneren Arabien handeln oder um eine Fortschreibung des Textes durch Jesajas selbst im Sinne der Bemerkungen von Roberts (2015), wobei der Text auf den späteren Fall

62 „It is clear that the two temporal expressions with which the passage begins cannot be understood as implying that everything in the account took place in the same year that the tartan came to Ashdod. The reference to the three years of Isaiah’s weird prophetic behavior rules that out. The dating of this extended process to this particular year is rather similar to the Assyrian practice of dating extended historical actions to the particular year in which a relative climax is reached,“ J.J.M. Roberts. „Egypt, Assyria, Isaiah, and the Ashdod Affair: An Alternative Proposal,“ in A.G. Vaughn and A.E. Killebrew, (Hrsg.), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology - The First Temple Period*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004: 277.

63 D.D. Luckenbill. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926–1927. Reprinted, New York: Greenwood, 1968.

64 Die Lage dieser Länder ist ungewiss. Sie dürfen jedoch weiter östlich gelegen sein als die im 7. palu niedergerungenen arabischen Stämme der Tamud, Ibâdidi, Marsîmani und Haiapâ gelegen gewesen sein. Die letzteren, die Haiapâ, identifiziert mit dem biblischen Ephah, der Sohn Midians, F.V. Winnett. „The Arabian Genealogies in the Book of Genesis,“ in H.T. Frank and W. L. Reed, (Hrsg.), *Translating and Understanding the Old Testament: Essays in Honor of Herbert Gordon May*. Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1970: 191..

Babylons, 710 bezogen sei. Dennoch scheint eine Fortschreibung nicht gerade die beste Erklärung für die Nennung von Babel, weil der Umstand des falschen Kontexts dürfte ebenso, wenn nicht auch noch eher dem Zeitgenossen von Jesaja aufgefallen sein, womit jeder Versuch der Täuschung gescheitert wäre. Man würde im Falle einer Fortschreibung eine größere Sorgfalt bei der Beseitigung verräterischer Details erwarten. Nichtsdestoweniger befindet sich der Text, ob in Jes. 21:9 editiert oder nicht, nach wie vor an chronologisch ursprünglicher Stelle entsprechend dem Feldzug des 9. Palu. Das bedeutet, dass eine Fortschreibung, sollte sie denn hier stattgefunden haben, keinen Einfluss auf den Ausgang dieser Untersuchung hätte.

- Jes. 22: Verstärkung der Befestigungen Jerusalems, Vorbereitungen auf eine Belagerung (Jes. 22:9-11), Absetzung von Schebna und Einsetzung von Eljakim gefordert. Diese wird in Jes. 36:3 tatsächlich widerspiegelt. Ahistorische Erwähnungen Elams in Jes 22:6 lassen keine klare Deutung zu und sind nur zusammen mit denen von Elam und Medien im vorausgehenden Jes. 21:2 zu betrachten. Daher gehören Jes. 21 und 22 eher in einem gemeinsamen Entstehungszusammenhang.⁶⁵

- Jes. 23: Versuch der Babylonier Sidon zu erobern (Jes. 23:13) daher vor der Vertreibung von Marduk-apla-iddina II. aus Babylon und zwischen 720-710 zu datieren, die einzige Periode als eine solche Initiative von Babylon her hätte ausgehen können.

- Jes.28: geschichtlich nicht ganz durchsichtige Anspielung auf die „*stolze Krone der betrunkenen Ephraimiten... auf dem Gipfel über dem fruchtbaren Tal*“, die kaum in den Zusammenhang mit Samarien selbst zu bringen ist. Wahrscheinlich spielt die Stelle auf den Tempel auf dem Berg Garizim, der sich zu diesem Punkt erneut als religiöse Alternative zu Jerusalem aufbaut. Diese Stelle erinnert an das wesentlich spätere qumranische Apokryphon des Joseph (4QapocrJoseph^{a-c}, 4Q371-373) mit dem klaren Hinweis zum späteren Tempel auf dem Berg Gerizim: „*Irre wohnend in deren Land, die für sich einen hohen Ort (bāmā) auf einem hohen Berg bauten*“. Insofern datiert Jes. 28 einige Jahre bereits nach 720.

- Jes.30: Botschaften nach Zoan (Osorkon IV) und Hanes (Pef-tjau-awy-Bast) versuchen ein Bündnis gegen Assyrien aufzubauen. Von nun an keine einzige Erwähnung mehr der Kuschiten obwohl der König von Kusch, die zentrale Figur der Allianz war, die den Assyrern bei Elteqeh 701 später begegnete. Offenbar handelt es sich bei Jesaja, weder um den gleichen König, noch um die gleiche Allianz wie bei Elteqeh.

- Jes. 31: Warnt vor einem Bündnis mit Ägypten gegen Assyrien. Jerusalem soll sich stattdessen auf die göttliche Hilfe gegen Assyrien verlassen, da Ägypten unzuverlässig sei (ähnliche Töne bezüglich des nutzlosen ägyptischen Verbündeten in Jes. 36 entdeckt man in Sargons eigenen Texten: „*Pir ’ū, den König von Ägypten, einen Fürsten, der sie*

⁶⁵ Es ist dennoch möglich, dass Babel, Elam, Medien, Aram später, 710 in den Text, in den sie überhaupt nicht hineinpassen, editiert wurden. Der Text befasst sich ausschließlich mit Ereignissen in der arabischen Wüste, die Späher in der „Wüste am Meer“, dem Negeb dem Propheten meldeten. Es ist undenkbar, dass der Prophet erst über diesen Umweg die Nachricht vom Fall Babylons hätte erfahren können. Das Verfahren würde sich mit dem von Roberts, 2015, Phänomen decken, bei dem ältere Prophezeiungen Jesajas später vom Propheten selbst recycelt wurden. Die Tatsache jedoch, dass sowohl Jes. 21 wie auch 22 eine Ähnlichkeit in Form der Erwähnung Elams teilen, mahnt zur Vorsicht in diesem Fall.

nicht retten konnte“). Keine Erwähnung mehr von Kusch.

De Jong glaubt erneut den Text zwischen einem Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts, der sich einem antiassyrischen Aufstand widersetzen würde (Jes. 31:1-3) und einem Propheten des 7. Jahrhunderts (Jes. 31: 4 ff.) teilen zu können.⁶⁶ Dafür besteht keine Veranlassung im Text, zumal Jes. 31: 1-3 nicht als grundsätzliche Stellungnahme gegen einen antiassyrischen Aufstand betrachtet werden könnte. Selbst 701 während des Feldzugs von Sennacherib trat Ägypten lediglich als Verbündeter von Ekron auf, während sich Hiskija, wie merkwürdig das auch klingen mag, allein ohne Absprache mit den Ägyptern gegen die Assyrer stellte. Senn. 4 42-43: „(Was) die Statthalter, die Adeligen und das Volk von Ekron (anbetrifft)... sie bekamen Angst wegen ihrer bösen Taten, die sie begangen haben. Sie schlossen einen Bund mit den Königen von Ägypten (und) die Bogenschützen, Wagen (und) Pferden des Königs von Meluhha...“⁶⁷ Dieses unkoordinierte Auftreten der Aufständischen, das wohl als logische Folge von Jesaja 31 zu betrachten ist, führte, wie zu erwarten, zum Scheitern des antiassyrischen Aufstands. Die Deutung des De Jong ist also zu beanstanden, weil sie sich von der Vorgabe der assyrischen historischen Quellen zugunsten einer abstrakten logischen Konstruktion freimacht. Die assyrischen Quellen sind es ja, die gerade diese in Jesaja beschriebene Strategie, die er nicht für möglich hält, für die Zeit des antiassyrischen Aufstands belegen. Man sehe dazu auch die getrennte Ablehnung durch Aster: „*The problem with this view is that some of the passages assigned to the late seventh century contain motifs that clearly react against Assyrian imperial ideology, and are therefore difficult to assign to a period when this ideology lost its relevance, and when there was no longer any need to engage with it intellectually.*“⁶⁸ Dies scheint ein allgemeines Problem einer ausschließlich auf exegetischer Ebene erfolgender Diskussion von Jesaja zu sein.

- Jes. 36: Erste Gesandtschaft „Sanheribs“ im 14. Jahr Hiskijas, die vor Bündnis Judäas mit Ägypten warnt. Erneut keine Erwähnung von Kusch.

- Jes. 37: zweite Gesandtschaft „Sanheribs“. Der assyrische König behauptet (Jes. 37:25) bis Pelusion marschiert zu sein. In der offiziellen assyrischen Geschichtsschreibung ist der erste bekannte Versuch Ägypten zu betreten erst unter Assarhaddon unternommen worden.

- Jes. 39: Gesandtschaft des Marduk-apla-iddina II. Man kann hierfür entweder ein Datum vor 710 v.Chr (erste Vertreibung von Marduk-apla-iddina II. aus Babylon) annehmen oder 703 v.Chr als Marduk-apla-iddina II. für ein paar Monate nach Babylon zurückkehren konnte.

Diese Untersuchung legt einige bisher unbekannte interessante chronologische Aspekte frei:

—der Tod des Königs Usija kurz vor 734 (vor dem Ausbruch des syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriegs)

66 De Jong, *Isaiah Among the Ancient Near Eastern Prophets*, 2007, 161-162.

67 A.K. Grayson and J. Novotny. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC)*, Part 1. University Park: Eisenbrauns, 2012: 64.

68 Aster, *Reflections of Empire*, 2017: 36.

—der Tod des Königs Ahas kurz nach einem König von Babel, am wahrscheinlichsten Tiglat-pileser III., 727 oder 726 – dies widerlegt Na’amans Datum für Hiskijas Thronbesteigung 715/714

—die Reihenfolge: Bürgerkrieg in Ägypten, Einfall der Kuschiten in das Delta, Räumung des Deltas von den Kuschiten, widerspiegelt die vorhandene Reihenfolge in historischen Quellen der Pianchi-Periode (und auch in Herodot) allerdings sind die ersten zwei Stufen dieser Reihenfolge zwischen den Eckdaten 720 (Jes. 17 – Sargons II. Zerstörung von Damaskus) und 714 (Jes. 20 Absetzung von Azuri von Aschdod) eingepfercht. Für die Räumung Unterägyptens durch die Kuschiten bleibt nur das Jahr 714 als früheste Option

—Das zeitlich letzte belegte Ereignis im Buch Jesaja ist der Besuch der Gesandtschaft des Marduk-apla-iddina II. in Jerusalem nach der gescheiterten assyrischen Belagerung. Dies kann am ehesten vor 710 passiert sein, da die andere Option, 703 v.u.Z. eine unerklärlich große zeitliche Lücke in das prophetische Werk des Jesaja reißen würde.

Wann kann der gescheiterte Feldzug gegen Jerusalem und Ägypten nach Aussage assyrischer Quellen stattgefunden haben?

Da die erkannte Zeitschiene der Prophezeiungen in Jesaja für die berühmte gescheiterte Belagerung Jerusalems lediglich ein Zeitfenster während der Regierungszeit Sargons II. zwischen 714-710 bereithält, sollte man grundsätzlich in dieser Periode nach versteckten assyrischen Hinweisen auf einen schwer missglückten Feldzug Ausschau halten.

Man kann zwar davon ausgehen, dass die offizielle assyrische Geschichtsschreibung eine derart schwere Niederlage unter den Deckmantel des Schweigens versteckt habe. Es besteht ebenso eine gewisse Möglichkeit, dass Sargon II. stattdessen einfach seine Niederlage in einen assyrischen Sieg umgedichtet habe. Wer hätte ihm widersprechen können?

Da lediglich die Absetzung Jamanis von Aschdod, 712/711, Sargon II. während des besagten Zeitraums in die Region führte, könnte man diese Schilderung auf solchen verräterischen Spuren untersuchen, die u.U. auf eine beschönigte Niederlage schlussfolgern ließen.

Es gibt einige Details, die durch ihre fehlende Plausibilität tatsächlich die Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen sollten. Laut Sargon II. soll er zu einem Zeitpunkt als nach Ausweis der Jesaja Prophezeiungen gerade eine mächtige Allianz zwischen Jerusalem, der Philisterküste, Moab, Edom, und Ägypten entstanden war, gegen Aschdod allein in Begleitung seiner Leibgarde losgezogen sein, Jamani abzusetzen: „ (97-101) *In der Wut meines Herzens sammelte ich nicht erst die Masse meines Heeres und brachte auch nicht mein Heerlager zusammen, sondern zog gegen Asdūdu (allein) mit (denjenigen von) meinen Kriegern, die mir in Freundes- (wie in Feindes)land nicht von der Seite weichen. (101-104) Und kaum hörte jener Jamani in der Ferne von meinem Heereszug, da floh er zur Grenze Ägyptens im Bereich des Landes Meluh̄ha, und sein Aufenthaltsort war nicht zu finden. (104-107) Asdūdu, Gimtu (und) Asdudimmu-umzingelte und eroberte ich, seine Götter; seine Frau, seine Söhne, seine Töchter; das Hab und Gut, den Schatz aus seinem*

Palast, rechnete ich zusammen mit den Bewohnern seines Landes zur Beute.“

Dies kann man einfach nur als Bluff bezeichnen, zumal eine solche Aktion in der assyrischen Geschichte vollkommen präzedenzlos ist und zudem, wenn sie dennoch wahr sein sollte, man nur als leichtsinnig bezeichnen könnte. Diese Beschreibung versucht auf diejenige seines Siegs über Urzana von Muṣaṣir, einem vergleichsweise kleinen Gegner, noch eins draufzutun. Dabei gibt er im Falle des Angriffs auf Muṣaṣir noch zu, zumindest außer seiner Leibgarde auch noch die (unentbehrliche) Unterstützung der Fußtruppen gehabt zu haben: *„so ermutigte mich Assur, mein Herr, so dass ich mit (nicht mehr) als meinem als dem einzigen Streitwagen, sowie 1000 (Mann) von meiner kampfeswütigen Gardereiterei und meinem schlachtenerprobten Fußvolk die schwer zugänglichen Berge Sijak, Ardiksi, Ulājū (und) Alluria überquerte, in leichtem Gelände auf einem Pferd reitend und in schwierigem zu Fuß.“*

Die Beschreibung der Einnahme von Muṣaṣir scheint vergleichsweise militärische Plausibilität zu besitzen. Diese geht jedoch mit der Beschreibung der Kampagne 712/711 vollständig verloren. Allein schon der Vergleich zwischen dem kleinen Gegner von Muṣaṣir (aus dem er 6.170 Einwohner abführt), den er erst nach dem Sieg über Urartu angriff, mit der Koalition aus Philistäa, Judäa, Edom, Moab hinkt.

Obwohl keine Bevölkerungszahlen für Aschdod vorliegen, dürfte diese Zahl nicht wesentlich unter derjenigen von Samaria gelegen sein, aus der er 27.290 Bewohner abschleppte. Laut Finkelstein betrug die Fläche von Samaria insgesamt etwa 8 Hektar, ebenso viel wie die Oberstadt von Aschdod.^{69 70} Dieser Flächenvergleich geht eher zugunsten von Aschdod aus (da es die Unterstadt, welche diese Fläche auf 35 Hektar erhöht nicht berücksichtigt) gegenüber Samaria und Muṣaṣir.⁷¹ Davon abgesehen erfolgte die Eroberung Muṣaṣirs erst nachdem die regionale Koalition auf deren Unterstützung es vorher bauen konnte, in der Hauptsache Urartu, bereits von der Hauptarmee Sargons II. vernichtet worden war. Im Falle Aschdods verhält es sich genau umgekehrt als im Falle Muṣaṣirs. Die regionale antiassyrische Koalition ist nicht im Geringsten angerührt, aber Sargon wagt angeblich einen Angriff mit wesentlich unterlegenen Kräften.

Das Vorhandensein einer gewaltigen Allianz in Palästina wird von Sargon II. selbst zugegeben.⁷² Genau zu diesem Zeitpunkt werden von ihm der antiassyrischen Koalition Philistäa, Judäa, Edom und Moab zugerechnet (unter Umständen auch Ägypten), Zeilen 29-36: *„von Philistäa, Judäa, Edom, Moab, welche am Meere wohnen (und) Tribut und Geschenke an Aššur, meinen Herren (gewöhnlich) bringen, welche Feindseligkeiten pflanzen nicht (...) Bosheit gegen mich, um ihn feindlich zu stimmen an Pir ’ū, den König von Ägypten, einen Fürsten, der sie nicht retten konnte, brachten sie ihre Friedens Geschenke*

69 I. Finkelstein. „Observations on the Layout of Iron Age Samaria,” *Tel Aviv* 38:2 (2011): 194-207.

70 Gallagher, *Sennacherib’s Campaign*, 1999: 263.

71 Ob Samaria ebenfalls eine bisher noch nicht entdeckte Unterstadt besaß, bleibt dahingestellt.

72 Sanherib konnte 701 allein aus den Reihen der von ihm in Judäa abgeschleppten Bevölkerung nach eigenen Angaben eine Truppe von 10.000 Bogenschützen und 10.000 Schildträger aufstellen. Grayson, Novotny, 2012, Sanherib 4, 59-60.

und ersuchten ihn um ein Bündnis.“

Während seines 7. Regierungsjahrs hatte ihm der Pir'ū (Pharao), König von Mušri, 715 v.Chr., noch Geschenke geschickt. In der Zwischenzeit scheint derselbe Pir'ū einen vollständigen Linienwechsel vollzogen zu haben und bereitwillig aufständischen assyrischen Untertanen Unterschlupf zu gewähren.⁷³

Die Aussage Sargons II. klingt nicht wesentlich anders als die Ramses II. im Alleinkampf gegen die Hethiter den Sieg davongetragen zu haben. So präzedenzlos, wie sie ist, könnte dies wie die Aussage eines Königs klingen, der ohne Armee nachhause zurückgekehrt, und hinterher in allem Ernst behauptet ohne Armee in die Schlacht gezogen zu sein.

Wenn man von der Absurdität des Textes Sargons II. spricht, dann sollte man auch darauf hinweisen, dass der Art nach wie dieser nachträgliche Siegestext formuliert ist, so verrät es, dass es Sargon II ursprünglich um die Unterwerfung der gesamten Koalition bestehend aus Philistää, Juda, Edom und Moab ging. Er bedient sich angesichts des später abgespeckten Umfangs des Feldzugs solcher Ausdrücke, die der behaupteten Kriegsabsicht, die Eroberung von Aschdod, nicht gerecht sind, wie etwa seine Anspielung auf „den König von Ägypten, einen Fürsten, der sie nicht retten konnte“. Wenn ihm nicht um einen Generalangriff auf Juda, Moab und Edom ging, sondern nur um Aschdod ging, wieso hätten die anderen Staaten Rettung gebraucht? Diese aufgeblähte Rhetorik ist für Assyrien unüblich, sollte es zu keinem Zeitpunkt zu einem Zusammenstoß mit diesen Staaten gekommen sein. Sie spiegelt in Wirklichkeit den ursprünglichen Umfang der beabsichtigten militärischen Operation wieder. So ist es jedoch unersichtlich, wie der Rest der Allianz Schaden genommen hätte.

Der Text spricht zudem von einer Belagerung, die keine Truppe von 1.000 berittenen Leibgardisten durchführen kann: „*Asdūdu, Gimtu (und) Asdudimmu-umzingelte und eroberte ich.*“ Abgesehen von der Unwahrscheinlichkeit des nachträglich präsentierten Szenarios hätten die durch die Aktion unverändert gebliebenen antiassyrischen Mehrheiten

⁷³ Pir'ū wird in diesen assyrischen Texten irrtümlich als Eigenname interpretiert. Deswegen kann man nicht von einer Identität dieses Pir'ū mit dem mit Eigennamen Šilkani identifizierten Pharao ausgehen. Die Erwähnungen des Pir'ū gehen der Erwähnung des Šilkani nach und man kann logischerweise nicht annehmen, dass die Assyrer dessen Namen erstmal richtig als Šilkani aufgefasst hätten, um später auf das falsche Pir'ū zu kommen. Wie ich bereits in meinem 2015 Artikel (N. 8) schrieb: „Der Name Pir'ū dürfte als ägyptische Glosse zum assyrischen šar nach Art der kanaanitischen (und ägyptischen) Glossen in der Amarna-Korrespondenz geschrieben worden sein. Daher das Missverständnis (NAME) pir'u šar ^{KUR} Muššuri,“ S. Izre'el. „The Amarna Glosses: Who Wrote What for Whom? Some Sociolinguistic Considerations,“ *Israel Oriental Studies* 15 (1995): 104.

So konnte Jamani in Ägypten bleiben und Sargon II. Probleme verursachen, bis ihn Schebitko bei seinem Einmarsch nach Ägypten als Geschenk Assyrien auslieferte. Zu dem Zeitpunkt der ersten Kontaktaufnahme mit Sargon II. war Schebitko noch weit im Süden im Oberägypten – genannt bei Sargon II. Uriššu, (abgeleitet von einer gemeinsamen Wurzel mit PĐ-tĐ-rsy, Paturisi). Beachte die Unterscheidung in Jes. 11:11 zwischen Mušri, Paturisi und Kush: „*An jenem Tag wird der Herr seine Hand von neuem erheben, um den übrig gebliebenen Rest seines Volkes zurückzugewinnen, von Assur und Ägypten, von Patros und Kusch, von Elam, Schinar und Hamat und von den Inseln des Meeres.*“

in der Region dem assyrischen Vorgehen unter normalen Umständen lediglich kurzen Bestand gegönnt.

Nimmt man nun an, dass obwohl Sargon II. die Wahrheit verbiegt, es nicht deswegen täte, weil diese Kampagne unter dem Strich betrachtet ein Misserfolg gewesen sei, sondern bloß aus Effekthascherei, so spricht gegen diese Auffassung das Fehlen jeglicher Angaben Sargons II. betreffs Tribut oder Gefangenenzahlen aus diesem Feldzug. Das bedeutet schlussendlich, dass mit dem Feldzug im Jahr 712 Abnormales geschehen ist, das uns nicht erlaubt diesen Feldzug genauso wie die anderen des Königs zu betrachten.

Es gibt auch markante Ähnlichkeiten zwischen der Aussage Sargons II. auf dem Prisma a+b, Winckler t44 DZ. 1 ff: „**Pir'ū, den König von Ägypten, einen Fürsten, der sie (Philistäa, Judäa, Edom und Moab) nicht retten konnte**“ und Jes. 36:6: „*Du vertraust gewiss auf Ägypten, dieses geknickte Schilfrohr, das jeden, der sich darauf stützt, in die Hand sticht und sie durchbohrt. Denn so macht es der **Pharao (der Pir'ū), der König von Ägypten, mit allen, die ihm vertrauen.***“.

Jes. 36:6 scheint eine getreue Widergabe der typischen Konfusion Sargons II. zu sein, welche Letzteren dazu führte in den Jahren 715-711 den Titel (*Pir'ū*) mit dem Eigennamen des Pharaos zu verwechseln. Der feste Ausdruck in Jes. 36, „Pharao, der König von Ägypten“ ist eine Tautologie und kommt daher selten in dieser Form in der Bibel vor, es sei denn nur als Glosse, wenn der biblische Autor Zweifel haben könnte, dass der Leser über die Bedeutung des Ausdrucks Bescheid wusste. Diesen Gebrauch erkennt man an der anschließenden Verwendung im Verlauf solcher Texte der einfachen Bezeichnung, Pharao, ohne dem Komplement „*der König von Ägypten*“. Im Buch Jesaja allerdings gehen sämtliche Stellen, in denen der Pharao unglossiert angesprochen wird der „glossierten“ Form in Jes. 36 vor (z.B. Jes. 19, Jes. 30). Darum sollte man die Stelle in Jes. 36 eher auf die Übernahme einer assyrischen Originalvorlage aus der Zeit Sargons zurückführen, und nicht als eine von Jesaja selbst beabsichtigten Glosse betrachten. Die Zitatform des Satzes, der auch an anderer Stelle auf denselben Text Sargons zurückgeführt werden muss, berechtigt zu der Annahme, dass dieses „Pharao, der König von Ägypten“ direkt auf die von Sargon benutzte Bezeichnung „*Pir'ū, den König von Ägypten*“ zurückgeht.

Der Ausgang des Feldzugs dürfte so mager gewesen sein, wie man eben aus ägyptischen und biblischen historischen Quellen weiß. Keine Unterwerfung Hiskijas, Edoms und Moabs, oder der Philister Region südlich von Ashdod. Keine nach Assyrien in Triumphschau heimgeführte Gefangenen trotz der anfänglich unleugbaren Erfolge.⁷⁴ Sogar in Ekron wurde der von Sargon II. eingesetzte Padi zu einem unpräzisierten Zeitpunkt später von den Offizieren von Ekron an Hiskija ausgeliefert und somit stellte sich Ekron

74 Abgesehen von den in den eigenen Texten gemeldeten anfänglichen Erfolge, kann man das Erfolg Sargons II. in Ashdod an der grausigen Entdeckung von Massengräbern in der Schicht VII von Ashdod messen. Etwa 3000 Menschen wurden vergraben allein in der Zone D entdeckt (Mattingly, 1981, 52). Viele dieser Bestattungen zeigten Spuren ihrer Hinrichtung durch Enthauptung, G.L. Mattingly. „An archaeological analysis of Sargon's 712 campaign against Ashdod,” *Near East Archaeological Society Bulletin* 17 (1981): 47-64.

erneut unter den Schutz Judas, wie vor dem Feldzug Sargons II. Wahrscheinlich bloß die Rückkehr Schebitkos 707 nach Ägypten, zunächst freundlich gegenüber Assyrien, und die zu diesem Zeitpunkt überlieferte Seuche, bremsten eine weitere Verschlimmerung der Situation im Westen für eine Weile. Man kann von einem begründeten Verdacht sprechen, dass die 712 Kampagne anders abgelaufen ist, als von Sargon II. dargestellt.

Der sogenannte Azekah-Brief, BM 81-3-23,131, (ein Brief des assyrischen Königs an den Gott Assur) welcher die Einnahme der jüdischen Grenzfeste Azekah in der Nähe von Lachisch durch einen unbekanntes assyrischen König und seine anschließende Hinwendung gegen Philistää beschreibt, wird u.A. von Tadmor, 1958b, 81 überzeugend in Zusammenhang mit dieser Expedition 712/711 gebracht.⁷⁵ Vor allem die Erwähnung im Azekah-Brief 11': „[die Stadt von ?] eine königliche [Stadt] die H[isk]ija erobert und für sich befestigt hat...“ kann nur mit 2 Kön 18:7-8 parallel gelesen werden: „So fiel er vom König von Assur ab und war ihm nicht länger untertan. Auch schlug er die Philister bis Gaza und den Umkreis dieser Stadt, vom Wachturm bis zur befestigten Stadt.“⁷⁶ Dies legt einen frühen Zeitpunkt in der Regierungszeit Hiskijas unter Sargon II. nahe.

Ich werde nachfolgend den Azekah-Brief unter der Voraussetzung diskutieren, dass er tatsächlich die Situation 712/711 reflektiert, obwohl sicherlich eine faire Chance besteht, dass er auch anders datiert werden könnte. Insofern können darauf basierende Deutungen auch nur zu einem gewissen Grad als gesichert betrachtet werden.

Wenn diese Textdatierung stimmen sollte, zeigt der zeitgenössische Azekah-Brief im Gegensatz zu den späteren beschönigten Schilderungen, dass der König es ursprünglich auf einen regionalen Krieg angelegt hatte und sich nicht auf die Einnahme Aschdod beschränkte. Laut Na'amans Ergänzung des Azekah-Briefs führte ihn der Feldzug als allererstes gegen das Königreich Juda allerdings in nächster Nähe zu Ashdod, wie die dabei erwähnten Städte, Ekron (?), Azekah zeigen.⁷⁷

75 Schlägt eine Datierung ins Jahr 715 vor, aufgrund seiner diesbezüglichen chronologischen Berechnungen. Ähnlich wie Tadmor (1958b) urteilen Spalinger (1973), Cogan und Tadmor (1988), Galil (1992), Galil (1995), Goldberg (1999). Na'aman, (1994) schlug stattdessen das Datum 701 v.u.Z. vor. Mittlerweile soll er jedoch ebenfalls Galil recht zu geben. Lawson Younger, 2004, 239, N. 14; Becking, „Chronology: a Skeleton without Flesh?“, 2003: 56-57; M. Cogan and H. Tadmor. *II Kings*, Anchor Bible, 11. New York: Doubleday, 1988; G. Galil. „Conflicts between Assyrian Vassals“, *Bulletin (State Archives of Assyria)* 6:1 (1992): 55-63; K. Lawson Younger Jr. „Assyrian Involvement in the Southern Levant at the End of the Eighth Century B.C.E.“ in A.G. Vaughn and A.E. Killebrew, (Hrsg.), *Jerusalem in Bible and Archaeology - The First Temple Period*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004: 235-264; Na'aman, „Hezekiah and the Kings of Assyria“, 1994: 235-254; A. Spalinger. „The Year 712 B.C. and its Implications for Egyptian History“, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 10 (1973): 95-101; Tadmor, „The Campaigns of Sargon II.“ 1958b: 77-100.

76 Becking, „Chronology: a Skeleton without Flesh?“, 2003: 70.

77 „[With the mig]ht of Ashur, my lord, the province of [Hezek]iah of Judah like [.. .]:‘ The city of Azekah, his stronghold, which is between my [bo]rder and the land of Judah [.. .“ 10-11:„[The city Azekah I besieged,] I captured, I carried off its spoil, I destroyed, I devastated, [I burned with fire ... [The city of ?], a royal [city] of the Philistines, which H[ezek]iah had captured and strengthened for himself[... ,” N. Na'aman. „Sennacherib's 'Letter to God' on His Campaign to Judah,“ *Bulletin of the American Schools of*

Wenn Galil mit seiner Identifizierung Ekrons in dem Azekah Brief recht haben sollte, dann dürfte man auch die Ekron darstellenden Reliefs Sargons II. in Khorsabad 712 datieren, in Zusammenhang mit dem ebenfalls dargestellten Feldzug gegen Aschdod. Es ist diesen Reliefs eigen, Ereignisse unterschiedlichster Kampagnen Sargons II. nebeneinander darzustellen.⁷⁸

Dabei scheint der assyrische König gegenüber der Grenze von Juda im Gebiet bei Aschdod zu lagern und mithilfe einer großen Truppenkonzentration die Grenzbefestigungen Hiskijas systematisch zu belagern.⁷⁹

Damit bestätigt der Azeka-Brief - sofern es tatsächlich in dieses Jahr datieren sollte - die Angaben des Prismas a+b, Winckler t44 DZ. 1, wonach dieser Feldzug ursprünglich gegen Philistää, Judää, Edom und Moab geplant gewesen sei und mit großem Truppenaufwand geführt wurde.

Die Chronologie des Reiches von Juda und ihre Synchronisierung

Sollte die hier vorgeschlagene Identifizierung der gescheiterten assyrischen Belagerung Jerusalems mit dem Feldzug Sargons II. 712 stichhaltig sein, würde diese erlauben die Thronbesteigung Hiskijas auf Grundlage der synchronistischen Angabe (Jes. 36:1, 2. Kön. 18:13), welche diese Belagerung mit Hiskijas 14. Regierungsjahr gleichsetzt, 725 zu datieren.⁸⁰

Wenn man die synchronistische Angabe in 2. Kön. 18:10, wonach die Eroberung Samarias nach einer dreijährigen Belagerung im 6. Jahr von Hiskija erfolgte, als richtig akzeptiert, könnte sich dann diese Angabe nur auf die Einnahme der Stadt durch Sargon II. 720 beziehen. Diese Ansicht wird auch von Na'aman vertreten, der die Angaben von 2. Kön. 18 zwischen Salmanassar (2. Kön. 18:8) und Sargon II. (2. Kön. 18:9) aufteilt.⁸¹

Oriental Research 214 (1974): 26-27. 4-5.

78 „If indeed the text describes the campaign of 712 (as we shall try to show below), then the royal city was probably Ekron, which was explicitly mentioned in the reliefs of Sargon as a city conquered by the Assyrians,” G. Galil. „A New Look at the ‘Azekah Inscription’,” *Revue Biblique* 102:3 (1995): 325; „The siege of Ekron is difficult to date, possibly relating either to the campaign of 720 BCE or to that of 712 BCE.“ N. Franklin. „A room with a view: Images from Room V at Khorsabad, Samaria, Nubians, the Brook of Egypt and Ashdod,” in A. Mazar, (Hrsg.), *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*, Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001: 274.

79 Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, rev. ed., trans. A. F. Rainey (Philadelphia: Westminster John Knox Press 1979): 391, lines 18-19. „I caused the warriors of Amurru, all of them, to carry earth[...] against them.“

80 Das von Tadmor angebotene Datum von 712 scheint besser mit den biblischen Synchronismen zu funktionieren. Das von Fuchs stattdessen für denselben Feldzug betrachtete Datum von 711 v.u.Z. führt zu einem Jahr 724 als erstes Regierungsjahr Hiskijas und folglich einem Beginn der Belagerung durch Salmanassar V. in Hiskijas 4. Regierungsjahr, 721. Dies ist jedoch nicht möglich. Die Zahl von Tadmor lässt 725 v.u.Z. als erstes Regierungsjahr Hiskijas erscheinen, mit der Folge, dass die Belagerung Samariens 722 v.u.Z. beginnen würde, also durchaus noch unter Salmanassar V.

81 “Only one Assyrian king is called by name in this passage (v. 3). It is, however, clear that the reference is to two different kings, Shalmaneser V and Sargon II. According to the latter’s inscriptions, he had deported

Vermutlich ist der Eintrag in der Babylonischen Chronik über das „verwüsten“ Samariens durch Salmanassar V. wie Na’aman in dem gleichen Artikel suggeriert zeitlich korrekt entsprechend der Stelle des Eintrags in dieser Chronik, 727, (Akzessionsjahr Salmanassar V.), „*Am 25. Tebet setzte sich Salmanassar auf den Thron (...). Er zerstörte Samarien.*“ wiederherzustellen. Er ist ferner mit der Angabe von 2. Kön. 17:3 zu synchronisieren: „*Gegen ihn zog Salmanassar, der König von Assur. Hoschea musste sich ihm unterwerfen und Abgaben entrichten.*“. Damit entfällt allerdings die Möglichkeit das letzte 9. Jahr Hoscheas mit absoluter Sicherheit zu synchronisieren, da der König von Israel von Salmanassar schon vor Beginn der Belagerung Samariens festgenommen wurde (2. Kön. 17:4).

Es gibt einige Hinweise daraufhin, dass die jüdische Zeitrechnung auf Grundlage eines Akzessionsjahr Kalenders erfolgte:

- Die Angabe von Bruchzahl Regierungsjahren, 3 Monate für Joahas und Jojachin macht lediglich unter der Annahme einer Akzessionsjahr Zeitrechnung Sinn. Eine solche Angabe, ähnlich wie vergleichbare in den assyro-babylonischen Königslisten, bedeutet, dass der jeweilige König einige Monate während seines eigenen Akzessionsjahrs regiert habe, jedoch noch vor dem 1. Tishri des nächsten Regierungsjahres gestorben ist (in Assyrien, bzw. Babylonien jeweils Nissan). Eine solche Angabe bedeutet, dass die Regierung dieses jeweiligen Königs chronologisch als null betrachtet werden muss. Nach dem non-Akzessionsjahr Datierungssystem würde man dies als Jahr 1 bezeichnen und ebenfalls chronographisch ignorieren müssen.

- Wie bei den meisten Kulturen, welche ein Akzessionsjahr Zeitrechnung System führen geht dies mit der Praxis der Jahresnamen einher. Listen von Jahresnamen vergangener Könige erlauben nachträglich das berechnen von Zeitspannen. In Juda scheint diese Praxis recht rudimentär gewesen sein. Mit Ausnahme des Todesjahrs des Königs – genannt das Todesjahr von König X (Jes. 6, Jes. 14), scheinen nur recht banale Jahresnamen, nach Art „*Jahr X von König Y*“ im Gebrauch gewesen zu sein. Die Beschränkung der Jahresdaten des Typs „im Todesjahr von...“ in Jesajas auf solche betreffs Todes von Usija und Ahas scheint übrigens die Zeit seiner Tätigkeit strikt auf die Periode der Könige Ahas und Hezekija einzuschränken (Usija sei dann während der Regierungszeit Ahas verstorben).

Ein sich auf Basis der synchronistischen Gleichsetzung seines 14. Regierungsjahrs mit dem Feldzug Sargons II. 712 ergebender Regierungsbeginn Hiskijas 725, lässt sich hervorragend mit der Nachricht vom Tod seines Vorgängers, Ahas, nicht allzu lange nach Tiglat-pileasers eigenen Tod, 727, (Jes. 14) in Einklang bringen. Sollte Ahas z.B. 726 gestorben sein, muss man von einer Berechnung der Regierungsjahre Hiskijas mit Berücksichtigung eines Akzessionsjahrs ausgehen. Der Tod Ahas 725 würde uns von einer solchen Annahme befreien. Allerdings sieht es wie bereits gezeigt so aus, dass die Könige von Juda zumindest

27,290 of the inhabitants of Samaria. The deportation of the Israelites to northern Mesopotamia and Media as mentioned in v. 6b is, doubtless, the same as that undertaken by Sargon after his campaign to the west in 720 BCE. Thus, whereas v. 3 refers explicitly to Shalmaneser, v. 6b implicitly refers to Sargon II, his successor to the throne,” Na’aman, „Conquest of Samaria,” 1990: 206.

ab Hiskija bis zur Eroberung Jerusalems ihre Regierungsjahre nach einem Akzessionsjahr System rechneten. Sämtliche chronologische Forderungen, die sich aus der Untersuchung von Jesaja und aus allen genannten Synchronismen ergeben, entsprechen daher gänzlich der anhand der sonstigen Angaben ergebenden Rekonstruktion der Daten der Könige von Juda. Zumal an keiner Stelle während der Untersuchung von Jesaja Rücksicht auf konkrete Jahreszahlen für die Regierung von Ahas oder Hiskija genommen wurde, kann dies als eine chronologische Verifizierung der gemachten Annahmen gelten.

Dieser bedeutende Synchronismus befreit den Historiker von der Notwendigkeit ungerechtfertigtes Vertrauen den biblischen Regierungszeit Angaben zu schenken. Ihre Richtigkeit erweist sich dank des neuen Ahas-Tiglat-pileser Synchronismus, sodass die Aussage von Becking: *„my basic assumption is that the numbers for the reigns of the kings of Israel and Judah in the Book of Kings are not to be assessed as a deliberate and meaningful ‚invention‘ by the redactors of the Book. Until they are falsified by contemporaneous evidence I take them as historically trustworthy...The observation that the dating-formula is phrased in a different way in 2 Kgs 18.3 does not supply a falsification of my theses.“* ihre Richtigkeit durchaus behält.⁸²

Die synchronistischen Angaben, welche die Könige von Juda mit denen von Israel verbinden, müssen allerdings sämtlich als Ergebnis später Interpolation verworfen werden. Sie sind vermutlich ebenso wie z.B. die assyrische synchronistische Chronik ein Ergebnis nachträglicher gelehrter Versuche die Geschichte beider Königreiche miteinander zu verknüpfen.

Die Schlussfolgerung dieser Untersuchung ist, dass sämtliche Vorschläge einer Thronbesteigung Hiskijas 715 ebenso wie diejenige, die ihn als Koregent seines Vaters Ahas ab 727-725 vorschlagen, von der weiteren Diskussion künftig ausgeklammert werden können.⁸³

Ahas	16 Jahre	-726
Hiskija	29 Jahre	725-697
Manasse	55 Jahre	696-642
Amon	2 Jahre	641-640
Joschija	31 Jahre	639-609
Joahas	3 Monate	609
Jojakim	11 Jahre	608-598
Jojachin	3 Monate	598

82 Becking, „Chronology: a Skeleton without Flesh?“, 2003: 53..

83 G. Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah*, Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill 1996): 100-101.

Zedekia	11 Jahre	597-587
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Die Chronologie der 24. Dynastie von Sais und deren Synchronisierung

Angesichts der vorgeschlagenen Identifikation des Sethos, Priester des Hephaistos, in Herodot mit Tefnacht und der Verlegung des Datums der in Herodot berichteten assyrischen Niederlage ins Jahr 712, kommt die Frage auf, was die ägyptische Chronologie über Tefnacht aussagen kann und ob diese Aussagen damit harmoniert werden können.

Die 24. Dynastie von Sais lässt sich nur auf zwei Arten datieren: entweder anhand des Synchronismus zwischen Bokchoris und Schabako oder anhand der Angaben Manethos über die 26. Dynastie, deren ersten bedeutungslosen Könige offenbar mit dem einzigen Zweck von Manetho aufgelistet wurden, eine zeitliche Brücke zwischen den „nationalen“ späteren Könige dieser Dynastie und der ihr vorausgehenden ebenfalls in Sais beheimateten Dynastie zu kreieren.

Da gerade die Frage der Länge der 25. Dynastie und der Koregenzen und zeitlichen Überlappungen zwischen ihren Herrschern hier zur Debatte stehen, kommt eine Synchronisierung der 24. Dynastie von Sais auf diesem Umwege nicht in Frage.

Die Informationen Manethos zur proto-Saitischen 24. Dynastie hingegen erlauben zumindest theoretisch, ausgehend von den bekannten Eckdaten der Regierungszeit Necho I. rückwärts die Anfänge der 26. Dynastie zu bestimmen. Sollte die Annahme, dass für Manetho die zwei saitischen Dynastien fortlaufend hintereinander geschaltet gehörten stimmen, erhielt man darüber Anhaltspunkte für die Datierung von Tefnacht I.

Africanus	Syncellus	Eusebius	Buch Sothis
-	Ammeris 12 Jahre	Ameres 18 Jahre	Amaes 38 Jahre
Stephinatês 7 Jahre	Stephinatis 7 Jahre	Stephinates 7 Jahre	Stephinatês 27 Jahre
Nechepsôs 6 Jahre	Nechepsôs 6 Jahre	Nechepsos 6 Jahre	Nechepsus 13 Jahre

Da man keine epigraphischen Zeugnisse für die Existenz, Identität, usw. des Ammeris (der Äthiopier) besitzt, kann man zwischen den zwei verschiedenen Angaben zu seiner Regierungslänge nicht entscheiden. In der Annahme, dass die für ihn in Eusebius Fr. 69 und dem Buch Sothis angegebenen Zahlen 18 und 38 auf ein verschriebenes 18 zurückgehen, kann man auf zwei unterschiedliche mögliche Anfangsdaten der 24. Dynastie (Bokchoris) vorschlagen:

Necho I	672-664
Nechepsos ⁸⁴	678-672

⁸⁴ Ryholt identifiziert einen Pharaon Nechepsos, Nḏw-kḏw pḏ šš, mit Necho II. in den Tebtunis-Papyri P. CtYBR 422 verso und P. Lund 2058 verso, im Papyrus Wien D 6286, im Papyrus Mag.LL, im Papyrus Berlin P.13588 und zuletzt im Papyrus Carlsberg 710 recto. Damit hat er zweifellos Recht. Dies ist jedoch kein Grund, mit ihm anzunehmen, dass Manethos Nechepsos unhistorisch gewesen sei und Manethos protosaitische Pharaonenliste unzuverlässig. Tatsächlich hat es zwei Pharaonen des Namens Nechepsos

Stephinatis (Tefnacht II.)⁸⁵ 685-678

Ammeris der Äthiopier 697-685

oder

703-685

Die Regierungsdaten Bokchoris wären in diesem Fall 702-697 oder 708-703.

Gleichgültig welche rechenweise der Regierungsdaten Bokchoris, würde man wählen würde eine assyrische Niederlage 712-711, nur die Regierung Tefnachts involvieren. Die Verfolgung des Namens des in diesem Jahr in assyrischen Quellen bezeugten „*Pir 'ū*“, welcher darin als persönlicher Name missverstanden wurde, zeigt an, dass dieser König erst 715 aufgetaucht ist und ihm 716 noch ein Šilkani (Osorkon IV) vorausgegangen war. Es spricht alles dafür, diesen *Pir 'ū* mit Tefnacht zu identifizieren und somit seine effektive Annahme der Königstitulatur in das Jahr 715 anzusetzen.

Unter dieser Konstellation erscheint es sinnvoll einem Datum Bokchoris 702-697 und einem Datum Tefnachts 715/714-702 unter den möglichen Kombinationen der „Alten Chronik“, des Eusebius und des Syncellus, den Vorzug zu geben. Alternativ könnte man, wenn man nicht bereit sein sollte die „Alte Chronik“ für die Daten des Tefnacht heranzuziehen, sich auf die Aussage der Athenstele stützen, mit Ihrer Angabe eines 8. Jahrs eines Shepesre Tefnacht.⁸⁶ Damit könnte man eine Thronbesteigung Tefnachts vor

gegeben, deren einer Necho II. war; K. Ryholt. „New Light on the Legendary King Nechepsos of Egypt,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 97 (2011): 61–72.

In den meisten uns überlieferten Versionen Manethos ist allerdings der Name Nechos II. entsprechend der vorherrschenden Überlieferung dieses Namens korrigiert worden. Eine einzige Version Manethos bewahrt uns die ursprünglichen Namen der beiden Pharaonen der 26. Dynastie namens Nechepsos, also Nechepsos I und Nechepsos II. Dabei handelt es sich um den kaum bekannten Auszug al Bîrûnîs, kompiliert um 1000 u.Z.

A.R. al Bîrûnî. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations. (Athâr-ul-Bâkiya)*. Übersetzung, C.E. Sachau. Lahore: Hijra International Publishers, 1983: 102.

⁸⁵ Es ist absolut ausgeschlossen den von Assurbanipal eingesetzten Fürsten Tefnacht von Per-inbu mit dem Tefnacht der saitischen Dynastie gleichzusetzen. Per-inbu hat nichts mit Sais selbst zu tun, welches zur gleichen Zeit Necho I unterstellt war. Vielleicht stellt er eine Kadettenlinie der Herrscher von Sais dar.

⁸⁶ Die genaue Regierungslänge Tefnachts ist weitgehend unbekannt, auch wenn es Anhaltspunkte gibt anzunehmen, dass sie länger als 8 Jahre dauerte. (Stele des 8. Regierungsjahrs von Shepesre Tefnacht. Kitchen, TIP, 142.). Die Argumente für die Attribution der Monumente dieses Königs teilen sich zwischen Perdu 2004 (Stephinates) und Kahn, 2009 (Tefnacht); O. Perdu. „La Chefferie de Sébennytos de Piankhi à Psammétique Ier,” *Revue d'Égyptologie* 55 (2004): 95-111; D. Kahn. „The Transition from Libyan to Nubian Rule in Egypt: Revisiting the Reign of Tefnakht,” in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée and O.E. Kaper, (Hrsg.), *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007*. Leiden: NINO, 2009: 139-148.

Es gibt jedoch Anhaltspunkte, dass die Regierung des Tefnacht, welche von Manetho scheinbar vergessen wurde, in der sogenannten „Alten Chronik“ berücksichtigt wurde. Die „Alte Chronik“ bietet zwar nur gesamte Dynastielängen und die Anzahl der dazugehörigen Dynasten. Auf eine Vertauschung der Angaben zwischen der 24. und der 23. Dynastie weist die darin angegebene Länge und Anzahl der Pharaonen der 24. Dynastie, „3 Könige, 44 Jahre“, die genau den Daten Eusebius für die 23. Dynastie entsprechen.

Sollte diese Vertauschung in umgekehrten Sinne die Regierungsdaten der 24. Saitischen Dynastie ebenfalls involviert haben, dann würde sich der Eintrag „2 Könige, 19 Jahre“ auf diese Dynastie, statt auf die 23.

709 voraussetzen. Nahe genug um anzunehmen, dass er 712 tatsächlich Sargon II. an der ägyptischen Grenze entgegentrat. Unabhängig von den konkreten auswertbaren Daten zur Länge der Regierungszeit Tefnachts ist es vollkommen plausibel 712 als ein Datum, welches innerhalb seiner Regierungszeit fiel zu betrachten.

Die innere Chronologie des Buchs Jesaja spricht für dieselbe Chronologie. Wie bereits angemerkt gibt es darin Zeichen für einen Bürgerkrieg in Ägypten, und für den Einfall der Kuschiten in das Delta. Diese lassen sich durch die flankierenden im Buch Jesaja datierbaren Ereignisse grob zwischen 720 (Jes. 17 – Sargons II. Zerstörung von Damaskus) und 714 datieren (Jes. 20 Absetzung von Azuri von Aschdod). Da an keiner Stelle der Wunsch eine Senkung der ägyptischen Daten zu erreichen eine Rolle bei der Erstellung des Datengitters in Jesaja gespielt hat, muss der Einwand, dass die Ergebnisse höher aussehen müssten, sich zwingend mit der Datierung dieser Ereignisse in Jesaja auseinandersetzen und kann nicht als eine Kritik an der Objektivität der vorliegenden Untersuchung verstanden werden.

Man kann zwar Herodots Angabe einer 50-jähriger äthiopischer Herrschaft angesichts seiner zahlreichen Fehler – in erster Linie die Nennung eines einzigen kuschitischen Pharaos - durchaus anzweifeln. Diodor Siculus scheint allerdings viel genauer sogar als Manetho darüber Bescheid gewusst zu haben und dessen Angaben addieren sich zeitlich zu einer Dynastielänge von etwas weniger als 53 Jahre.⁸⁷ Nimmt man aufgrund des Kontexts bei Diodor an, dass er diese Periode mit Psammetichs I. Thronbesteigung, 664, als beendet sah, dürfte aus dessen Sicht die Eroberung Ägyptens durch Pianchi 716 stattgefunden haben, in perfekter Übereinstimmung mit den bisherigen Zeugnissen.⁸⁸

Das einzige mir bisher bekannte Argument gegen dieses späte Datum für die Eroberung Ägyptens stellt die Darstellung mutmaßlicher Äthiopier (Bányai, 2015⁸⁹, stellt in Frage diese Identifikation) in den Reliefs Sargon II. bei Khorsabad. Die Deutung dieser Szenen dürfte jedoch in Zusammenhang mit der neuen Chronologie der 25. Dynastie geändert werden, weil sie selbst in der alternativen Version dieser Chronologie, wie vertreten von Payraudeau⁹⁰, zeitlich mit der Eroberung Unterägyptens durch Pianchi zusammenfallen würde. Pianchi ist jedoch nie soweit nach Norden mit seinen Armeen gezogen und hat sich

Dynastie beziehen. In diesem Fall würde die „Alte Chronik“ die 24. Saitischen Dynastie als aus Tefnacht und Bokchoris bestehend berücksichtigt und dem ersteren 13 Regierungsjahre zugestanden haben.

87 Diodor Siculus, Buch I 44.6: „Etwa vier Äthiopier regierten zwar nicht unmittelbar hintereinander, sondern mit Unterbrechungen, für etwas weniger als insgesamt 36 Jahre.“ Damit scheint Diodor Kenntnis von Pianchi zu nehmen, der in allen Fassungen Manethos fehlt.

Die Unterbrechungen werden in Diodor Siculus, Buch I 66.1 auf 15 Jahren zusammenaddiert.

88 Diodor Siculus, Buch I 66.1 rechnet zunächst 2 Jahre Anarchie „Er (Sabako) trat also endlich den Ägyptern die Regierung wieder ab und kehrte nach Äthiopien zurück. Ägypten blieb hierauf zwei Jahre lang ohne Oberhaupt; das Volk fing Unruhen an, und die Bürger mordeten einander.“ Diodor Siculus, Buch I 66.6 lässt auf diese Periode 15 Jahre bis Psammetich vergehen, während welcher Zeit in Ägypten sich mehrere Könige die Macht geteilt hätten.

89 Bányai, „Die Reihenfolge der Kuschitischen Könige,“ 2015:115-180.

90 F. Payraudeau. „Retour sur la succession Shabaqo-Shabataqo,“ *Nehet* 1 (2014): 115-127.

nach übereinstimmender Meinung auch aus dem Delta bald darauf zurückgezogen. Daher wäre ein kuschitischer Kontingent in Gaza 720 v.u.Z. sehr erklärungsbedürftig. Man sollte daher in Betracht ziehen, dass die Identifikation dieser Krieger als Nubier, welche von der unzweifelhaften Darstellung von Nubier in den Reliefs Assurbanipals massiv abweicht, einfach falsch ist.

Es scheint wichtig darauf hinzuweisen, dass keine Möglichkeit besteht Tefnacht mit dem assyrischen Fiasko des Jahres 712 zu synchronisieren, wenn man jegliche Koregenzen und Überlappungen zwischen den Königen der 25. Dynastie ausschließen sollte.

Beispielsweise setzt der Vorschlag von Payraudeau voraus, dass sich die Rückeroberung Ägyptens durch Schebitko (714-705) und die Vertreibung Bokchoris (718-712) ausgerechnet im Jahr 712 während dieses assyrischen Feldzugs ereigneten.⁹¹ Auch die Tatsache, dass die einzige E einer kuschitischen Präsenz in Unterägypten in der Periode abgedeckt von dem Buch Jesaja sich auf eine punktuelle Notiz für die Zeit um ca. 716 beschränkt, woraufhin diese erneut aus den Texten verschwinden (die allernächste Erwähnung der Kuschiten datiert erst einige Jahre nach dem mutmaßlichen Ende der prophetischen Mission von Jesaja, 707, in Tang-I Var) schließt ein höheres Datum der Eroberung von Ägypten durch Pianchi aus.

Man dürfte zudem auf dieses Datum 716, als dasjenige der Erwähnung des Šilkani (Osorkon IV.) hinweisen. Es ist unzweifelhaft, dass Osorkon IV. ein Zeitgenosse von Pianchi gewesen ist. Dass Osorkon IV. sich zeitlich auch mit Schebitko überschneidet, ist etwas, was erst bewiesen werden müsste. Auch die sich in Jesaja verändernde Machtkonstellation in Ägypten (konform Jes. 19: Tanis unterstützt von Memphis, Jes. 31: Tanis teilt sich die Macht mit Hanes (Herakleopolis magna)) entspricht deutlich derjenigen der politischen Umwälzungen während der Eroberung Unterägyptens durch Pianchi. Angesichts der bewiesenen strikten zeitlichen Reihenfolge der Texte Jesajas, lässt sich diese Eroberung deren Echo in Jesaja zu vernehmen ist, nicht vor 716 datieren.

Eine dafür notwendige Verkürzung der Dauer der 25. Dynastie wäre natürlich nur unter Annahme von Koregenzen und Regierungsüberlappungen zu erreichen.⁹²

91 Payraudeau, „Retour sur la succession Shabaqo-Shabataqo,“ 2014: 115-127. Man muss allerdings zugeben, dass auch eine Regierungszeit Bokchoris 708-704 mit dem Vorschlag Payraudeaus verträglich wäre, die eine Senkung der Regierungsdaten Tefnakhts ihrerseits erlauben würde.

Allerdings setzt die Rekonstruktion Payraudeaus zugleich auch eine Eroberung Ägyptens durch Pianchi 723 voraus, zu einem Zeitpunkt als in Jesaja kein Echo dessen zu vernehmen ist.

92 Eine Koregenz Schabako-Schebtiko kann mit Mariettes Fund einer Kartusche Schebitkos im gleichen verschlossenen Raum des Serapeums, der die Stelen aus dem 2. Jahr Schabakos und dem 6. Jahr des Bokchoris enthielt, begründet werden. Mariette „J'ai copié dans la chambre ou la stèle précédente a été trouvée la fin d'une légende royale dont ce fragment de cartouche (X X - KA- KA) était seul lisible. Je n'ai pas osé, sur un document si incomplet, attribuer un Apis au règne de l'Éthiopien Schabatoka, successeur de Sabaco,“ A. Mariette. *Le Sérapeum de Memphis*. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1882: 184.

Da die Grabkammer für einen einzigen Stier benutzt wurde, müsste unter normalen Umständen eine Koregenz zwischen Schabako und Schebitko angenommen werden. Sollte diese merkwürdige Kartusche Schebitkos nicht ebenfalls mit der Stierbestattung unter Bokchoris und Schabako zusammenhängen, wäre der

Grund ihrer Erscheinung im Serapeum schleierhaft, zumal sonst gar kein Begräbnis im Serapeum mit der Regierungszeit Schebitkos zusammenhängt.

Leider widerspricht sich Mariette in seinem Werk bezüglich des Fundorts der Stele aus dem Jahr 6. In dem Plan vermerkt er vermutlich korrekt den Fund der Stele im Raum S zusammen mit der Stele des 2. Jahrs von Schabako. Im Haupttext vermerkt er allerdings – vermutlich irrtümlich dessen Fund in Raum R zusammen mit dem Apis des Jahres 37 von Scheschonk V.: „*que l'Apis mort l'an 37 de Scheschonk IV, dernier roi de la XXIIe dynastie, et l'Apis meurt l'an 6 de Bocchoris, l'unique roi de la XXIVe, furent ensevelis dans la même chambre*“. Da sich die Annahme zweier voneinander getrennter Apisstiere begraben in den Jahren 6 des Bokchoris und 2 des Schabako aus chronologischen Gründen verbietet, muss man den Widerspruch zu Recht vermerkt von K. Jansen-Winkeln. *Inschriften der Spätzeit*, Teil III: Die 25. Dynastie. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009: 2 im klassischen Sinne auflösen.

Der Versuch Payraudeaus (2014, 11) einer Überlagerung der Regierungszeiten Bokchoris und Schebitkos durch den Hinweis auf eine zeitweise Kontrolle Unterägyptens durch Bokchoris, bzw. Schebitko zu widersprechen, greift nicht. Er übersieht, dass nichts auf eine gleichzeitige Kontrolle Unterägyptens durch Bokchoris, bzw. Schebitko hinausläuft. Man könnte auf dieser arbiträren Grundlage jeder Form eines Wechsels eines „*contested territory*“ zwischen Schebitko und Bokchoris widersprechen, weil nun mal, wie zu erwarten bei einem „*contested territory*“ beide Parteien als zeitweilig in Besitz des Territoriums angezeigt werden können. Payraudeau schenkt sich selbst den notwendigen Beweis für die Annahme einer ununterbrochenen Kontrolle Unterägyptens während der gesamten Regierungszeit Bokchoris, bzw. Schebitkos.

Zudem irrt Payraudeau, diese Notiz von Mariette als zu einer Stele gehörig zu bezeichnen. Laut Jansen-Winkeln (2009, 39): „*Aus Mariettes Text... geht nicht hervor, ob es sich um eine Wandinschrift oder eine Stele handelt*“. Daher laufen sämtliche Spekulationen Payraudeaus bezüglich einer Attribution der Stele datiert ins 2. Jahr Schabakos an Schebitko, etc. an den Tatsachen vorbei.

Ich muss allerdings Payraudeau recht geben bezüglich seiner Kritik meiner bisherigen Rekonstruktion der anschließenden Daten der 22. Und 23. Dynastie, wo sich eine zeitliche Abweichung von ca. 10 Jahren angestaut hat.

Für die Angelegenheit einer möglichen Regierungsüberlappung Taharqos mit seinem Vorgänger, die bereits von Macadam vermutet wurde, dürfte man die Andeutungen Taharqos in KAWA V, Sedeinga, etc. bezüglich eines ihm überlegenen Kontrahenten (in Analogie zur Situation während der Regierungszeit seines Ahnen Alara) heranziehen, M.F.L. Macadam. *Temples of Kawa I. The Inscriptions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1949: 149..

So in Sedeinga z.B.: „... *Er (Amon) handelte für ihn, der für ihn handelte ... als er erschien als König von Ober- und Unterägypten auf dem Horusthron, ewiglich*“. Dass Taharqo hier Schritt für Schritt dem Vorbild von Alaras Transaktion mit Amon folgt, beweisen sowohl der stetige Rückverweis zu Alara, aber auch die nachvollziehbare parallele Handlung zu Alara, wie z.B. die jeweils Amon als Gottesgemahlin gestiftete königliche Schwester.

Alara: „*Oh trefflicher Gott, der mit schnellen Schritten zu dem kommt, der ihn angerufen hat, schau auf meine Schwester für mich, eine Frau, mit mir zusammen in einem Leib geboren. **Handle ihretwegen, wie Du für denjenigen handelst, der für Dich handelte, in Form eines unbekanntes Wunders, nicht erwartet gegen sie von nachdenkenden Menschen** [ein Wunder gegen den man sich nicht zu Wehr setzen kann]. **Bereite demjenigen, der—nachdem Du mich zum König eingesetzt hattest—Böses plante, ein Ende***.“

Osorkon IV.	716-?				
		Pianchi	735-708	Tefnacht I.	?-702
		Schebitko	708-696	Bokchoris	702-697
		Schabako	698-684	Ammeris	697-685
		Taharqo ⁹³	689-664	Tefnacht II.	685-678
				Nechepsos	678-672
				Necho I.	672-664

Da Taharqo es recht undurchsichtig hält mit der Offenbarung dessen, was er selbst als Gegenleistung Amons für die Weihung seiner Schwester als Gottesgemahlin **während seines 5. Regierungsjahres erwartete, ist hier etwas Raum für Deutungen offen, auch wenn die Deutung naheliegt, dass er dasselbe wie Alara erwartete.**

Dennoch: die Ermordung seines Vorgängers, Schabako, ist bei Hieronymus notiert. *„Dieser (Taharqo) führte eine Armee heraus aus Nubien, tötete Sebio und regierte die Ägypter (an dessen Stelle) selbst.“*. Beziehungsweise im Manuskript Oxford Merton 315: *„Tarachus Sebicho interfecto Aegyptiis regnavit“*.

93 Das klassische Krönungsjahr Taharqos, 690, welches anhand der Daten auf der Serapeum Stele (Louvre SIM 3733, Cat. Nr. 192) aus dem 21. Jahr von Psammetich I. errechnet wird, ist falsch und muss zu 689 korrigiert werden. Die diesbezüglichen Argumente werden ausgebreitet, M. Bányai. „Ein Vorschlag zur Chronologie der 25. Dynastie in Ägypten,“ *Journal of Egyptian History* 6 (2013): 86-89.

Religion, Ethnicity, and the Fashioning of Egyptian Identity in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*

Carson Bay

Abstract: The late ancient novel by Heliodorus of Edessa, the *Aethiopica*, is a vivid account of identity, religion, and change, in many ways mirroring the diverse late antique cultural milieu of which it forms a part. The present article approaches the *Aethiopica* with the understanding that the novel, as a particular form of literature and cultural artifact, is an important medium for reading broader cultural discourses. In particular, this article explores the *Aethiopica*'s construction of Egyptian identity through the narrative rhetoric of religious practice. Such an approach shows not only how Egyptian-ness is constructed by Heliodorus through the portrayal of embodied religion in his narrative, but also explores why such a construction in the form of a novel, within the later Roman Empire, constitutes a significant moment of cultural discourse. By describing the Egyptian identity which Heliodorus fashions in his novel, and by discussing that identity within the context of cultural movements in late antiquity, this essay seeks to provide a framework for comprehending how the late ancient novel, and the *Aethiopica* in particular, can help us think about Egyptian identity as it was perceived and expressed within the social thought-world of the late ancient Mediterranean.

Résumé: Le roman ancien d'Héliodore d'Edessa, l'*Aethiopica*, est un témoignage saisissant de l'identité, de la religion et du changement, reflétant à bien des égards le milieu culturel de la fin de l'Antiquité dont il fait partie. Le présent article aborde l'*Aethiopica* en partant du principe qu'une nouvelle, en tant que forme particulière de littérature et d'artéfact culturel, est un médium permettant d'identifier des discours culturels plus larges. Cet article explore plus particulièrement la construction de l'identité égyptienne présente dans *Aethiopica* à travers la rhétorique narrative de la pratique religieuse. Une telle approche montre non seulement comment l'égyptianité est construite par Héliodore à travers la représentation de la religion incarnée dans son récit, mais explore aussi pourquoi une telle construction sous la forme d'un roman, dans l'Empire romain tardif, constitue un moment important du discours culturel. En décrivant l'identité égyptienne qu'Héliodore façonne dans son roman, et en discutant de celle-ci dans le contexte des mouvements culturels de l'Antiquité tardive, cet essai cherche à fournir un cadre, nécessairement imparfait, pour comprendre comment le roman ancien et l'*Aethiopica* en particulier, peut nous aider à réfléchir sur l'identité égyptienne telle qu'elle a été perçue et négociée dans le monde social de l'ancienne Méditerranée tardive.

Keywords: Heliodorus/Héliodore, *Aethiopica*, Egyptian identity/identité égyptienne, religious practice/pratiques religieuses, late antiquity/Antiquité tardive, novels/nouvelles

Introduction

In scrutinizing the imperial and colonial relationships between modern (nineteenth- and twentieth-century) empires and other cultures, Edward Said’s cogent book *Culture and Imperialism* marks the novel as a particularly appropriate cultural form through which to view ways of thinking endemic to particular peoples, times, and places.¹ And although Said’s work has a very particular historical object of inquiry—the ideology emerging from the literary cultures of 19th-20th century France, Britain, and America—his insight that novels, or a given culture’s narrative fiction, embody both aesthetic value and powerful social ideas, is much more broadly applicable.² Here I demonstrate the utility of Said’s analytic by applying it to one of the greatest extant novels of late antiquity, Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*. Scholars have long appreciated the centrality of diverse ethnic identities to the narrative mechanics of this novel,³ which has a great deal to say about, for example, Greek-

*I would like to dedicate this article to the late Dr. Sally L. D. Katary, in keeping with this journal issue’s theme. I did not know Dr. Katary, but laud and appreciate her teaching, which helped to cross disciplinary boundaries such that Classicists, Egyptologists, and others of different specializations could come together in a common scholarly enterprise. My hope is that this article, that touches upon issues of social history and identity, constitutes something that would have been of some interest to her. My thanks are also due to the anonymous reviewer, whose many suggestions were on-point, detailed, and extremely helpful.

1 Speaking of both *Culture and Imperialism* and his earlier book, *Orientalism*, Said frames his general approach, and then explains how the novel fits into such cultural analysis: “In both books I have emphasized what in a rather general way I have called ‘culture.’ As I use the word, ‘culture’ means two things in particular. First of all it means all those practices, like the arts of description, communication, and representation, that have relative autonomy from the economic, social, and political realms and that often exist in aesthetic forms, one of whose principal aims is pleasure. Included, of course, are both the popular stock of lore about distant parts of the world and specialized knowledge available in such learned disciplines as ethnography, historiography, philology, sociology, and literary history. Since my exclusive focus here is on the modern Western empires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, I have looked especially at cultural forms like the novel, which I believe were immensely important in the formation of imperial attitudes, references, and experiences. I do not mean that only the novel was important, but that I consider it *the* aesthetic object whose connection to the expanding societies of Britain and France is particularly interesting to study.” Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (New York: Vintage, 1993), xii.

2 Said maintains that “[c]ulture and the aesthetic forms it contains derive from historical experience,” and thus he examines novels “first as great products of the creative or interpretative imagination,” and then “as part of the relationship between culture and empire” (*Culture and Imperialism*, xxii). What he means by “culture” here is important, and he speaks about it as both “a source of identity, and a rather combative one at that” and as “a sort of theater where various political and ideological causes engage one another” (xiii). His method stems from the idea that novels are generally understood in reference to literary aesthetics, and that their relationship to larger political and ideological systems (often problematic) is generally ignored (in his case this refers to imperialism, cultural domination, racism, etc.); instead, he suggests that “rather than condemning or ignoring their [i.e., novels and novelists] participation in what was an unquestioned reality in their societies, I suggest that what we learn about this hitherto ignored aspect actually and truly *enhances* our reading and understanding of them” (xiv).

3 In addition to works cited elsewhere in this article, see O. Dilke, “Heliodorus and the Color Problem,”

ness, Egyptian-ness, and Ethiopian-ness. Scholarship has also begun to recognize religious practice as a crucial interpretive lens through which the *Aethiopica* must be viewed.⁴ Thus, I am saying nothing so very new when I illustrate how religious practice becomes for Heliodorus an important narrative feature for framing Egyptian culture as distinct and complex,⁵ although I think the exercise worthwhile in and of itself. Beyond this, however, I would like to suggest, following Said's lead, that such cultural coding is significant beyond its contribution to great literature; and indeed, the *Aethiopica* has long been recognized as great literature. The fashioning of Egyptian identity with which the novel occupies itself

PP 35 (1980): 264–71; Judith Perkins, “An Ancient ‘Passing’ Novel: Heliodorus’ *Aithiopika*,” *Arethusa* 32.2 (1999): 197–214; J. R. Morgan, “Heliodorus the Hellene,” in *Defining Greek Narrative*, eds. Douglas Cairns and Ruth Scodel (Edinburgh Leventis Studies 7; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 260–78; Ellen Finkelpearl, “Refiguring the Animal/Human Divide in Apuleius and Heliodorus,” in *Cultural Crossroads in the Ancient Novel*, eds. Marília P. Futre Pinheiro, David Konstan, and Bruce Duncan MacQueen (Trends in Classics Supplements 40; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2018), 251–62.

4 I say “has begun to” because a central, authoritative, relatively comprehensive body of work on religion in Heliodorus – which is undeniably important within the work – has yet to emerge. Thus, “religion in Heliodorus” is still a nascent field (not unlike scholarship on the *Aethiopica* in general). Studies in the area glimpse fragments of the *Aethiopica*'s religious significance and valence from restrictive angles (priesthood and its literary characterization, religion as philosophy). Other than work cited elsewhere in this essay, see (e.g.) initial, sometimes ad hoc and passing, forays in Graham Anderson, “Two notes on Heliodorus,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 99 (1979): 149; J. J. Winkler, “The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodorus’ *Aithiopika*,” *YCS* 27 (1982): 93–158; J. Pouilloux, “Delphes dans les Éthiopiennes d’Héliodore: la réalité dans la fiction,” *Journal des Savants* 4 (1983): 259–86; Ken Dowden, “Pouvoir divin, discours humain chez Héliodore,” in *Discours et débats dans l’ancien roman*, eds. B. Pouderon and J. Peigney (Lyon: Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen), 249–61 (Dowden is the prominent figure writing on religion [from some angles] in Heliodorus); Manuel Baumbach, “An Egyptian Priest in Delphi: Kalasiris as *theios aner* in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,” in *Practitioners of the Divine: Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, eds. Beate Dignas and Kai Trampedach (Hellenic Studies Series 30; Cambridge, MA: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2008), 167–83; Alain Billault, “Holy Man or Charlatan? The Case of Kalasiris in Heliodorus’ *Aithiopika*,” in *Holy Men and Charlatans in the Ancient Novel*, eds. Stelios Panayotakis, Gareth Schmeling, and Michael Paschalis (Ancient Narrative Supplementum 19; Groningen: Barkhuis, 2015), 121–32, and in the same volume see Ken Dowden, “Kalasiris, Apollonios of Tyana, and the Lies of Teiresias,” 1–16 (in general, the journal *Ancient Narrative* and its supplementary volumes are driving the lion’s share of current research in Heliodorus).

5 One undeniable feature of this complexity is the heterogeneity of the novel and of its Egyptian context, a theme studied by David F. Elmer, “Heliodorus’s ‘Sources’: Intertextuality, Paternity, and the Nile River in the *Aithiopika*,” *TAPA* 138.2 (2008): 411–50. Characteristic of this study’s extrapolation of the (literary) polyvalence of Egypt is its note on Book 10: “It is worth emphasizing, given the intense ‘literariness’ of Egypt in ancient literature generally and especially in the context of the novel, that the three primary strands of Heliodorus’s intertextual web are interwoven on Egyptian soil. Egypt is the space of intertextuality. Ethiopia, standing beyond this space, has the potential to resolve the tension of a mixture in suspension. In principle, such a resolution could come in two possible forms, characterizable as *transcendence* or *synthesis*: transcendence being a movement beyond heterogeneity toward a ‘truer’ or ‘higher’ purity, synthesis a more perfect fusion of the discrete parts” (429). Salient to the present essay is Elmer’s point that Hydaspes finds that “religious customs and beliefs are culturally relative” at *Aethiopica* 9.22.7, where Egypt and Ethiopia are presented as competitors for claiming fundamental religious epistemology (435).

may also be understood to embody larger cultural understandings about ethnicity, religion, and identity current within the cosmopolitan literary milieu (informed by Hellenism) of which the *Aethiopica* is a part, and probably the novel's broader cultural context. Therefore, I will argue that in reading Egyptian identity through Heliodorus—a reading mediated by religious practice—we obtain a concrete example of late antique thinking about Egypt and Egyptian-ness (albeit a way of thinking in certain respects unmistakably present in Herodotus, already an ancient, canonical writer by Heliodorus' time and well-known to him).⁶ Inasmuch as novels qua narrative fiction portray the historicizing imagination of their respective cultural ferments, to the same extent Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* may be said to convey implicit conceptions of Egyptian identity in late antiquity: the novel tells us how late antique peoples, at least sometimes, 'saw' Egyptian identity.⁷

⁶ However, the present study's demonstration of a *late antique* conception of Egyptian identity, manifest in fictional narrative, does not depend upon that conception's being dramatically different from, or independent of, Herodotus or other of Heliodorus' predecessors. As a matter of fact, given the emphasis upon *mimesis* and *aemulatio* within ancient Greek writing generally, it would be unusual to find something *completely* novel and somehow singular (whatever that might mean) in the *Aethiopica*. This essay's argument is *not* that Heliodorus' treatment of Egyptian identity is something new; his fixation upon Egyptian-ness is any many ways obviously anticipated by the great Halicarnassian. But this does nothing to refute the fact that Heliodorus still represents a particularly late antique presentation of Egyptian identity *because his text is a product of late antiquity*, whether or not it emits ideas of Egyptian identity already in Herodotus (or even if, as is *not* the case, Heliodorus' 'Egyptology' were identical to Herodotus'). Indeed, no late ancient work could escape Herodotus' shadow in this regard. Speaking of "Egyptosophy," which Pieter van der Horst has described as "the mystification of anything Egyptian," Erik Hornung has illustrated how with Herodotus "there began the construction of a concept of Egypt that has taken on a life and a fascination of its own; it has become ever more unlike Pharaonic Egypt, its model, and it has been a part of every esoteric movement down to this day." Erik Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Egypt: Its Impact on the West* (trans. David Lorton; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 190. See Pieter W. van der Horst, "Review of Erik Hornung, *The Secret Lore of Egypt*," *BMCR* (2002.04.18). Heliodorus takes at least some part of what Herodotus had started according to Hornung. Tim Whitmarsh remarks that Elmer ("Heliodoros' 'Sources,'"") has checked scholarly enthusiasm for Homer's *Odyssey* as a source/intertext for Heliodorus, and also that Elmer notices "that the importance of Herodotus for the novel's final third has not been fully recognized by scholarship." Tim Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity in the Ancient Greek Novel: Returning Romance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 113n31. Also on Herodotus and Heliodorus see Sylwester Dworacki, "Peculiarities of the Non-Greek World in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," *Symbolae Philologorum Posnaniensium Graecae et Latinae* XIX (2009): 135–41; and look for further (print?) extensions of Megan, Bowen, "Irresistibly Alluring: Heliodorus' Nilotic Digression and Herodotus," paper presented at the *Classical Association of the Middle West and South Annual Meeting*, Williamsburg, VA, USA, March 18, 2016.

⁷ Based upon Said's insights, a premise of this work is that novels communicate a great deal about the world(view) surrounding their author and immediate readers inasmuch as they are cultural products emerging from a particular *habitus*. Novels *do* communicate things about what we are wont to call 'the real world,' the question is how; see the helpful discussion on "The Sociology of Literature" in Mary Frances Rogers, *Novels, Novelists, and Readers: Toward a Phenomenological Sociology of Literature* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 13–16. We may also stop here to note that ancient novels, like the *Aethiopica*, have not always been considered novels, at least in the modern sense. Whereas today scholarly consensus has become comfortable with this terminology, ancient novels collectively had previously been referred to as romances, proto-novels, or excluded from the genre novel, on which respectively see Northrop

An initial requirement here is to proffer an entrée to the study of the *Aethiopica*, a text still on the margins of scholarly inquiry. To this end, I borrow the eminently useful summary of the novel's narrative trajectory (albeit in artificial order) given by Tim Whitmarsh:

The *Aethiopica* is the tale of a girl born white to black parents, the queen and king of Ethiopia. Fearing suspicion, Queen Persinna instructs one of the court philosophers, the Gymnosophists, to hide the child. This Sisimithres passes the child on to a priest at Delphi, Charicles, who is wandering in Egypt. Charicles rears the child as his own at Delphi. Time passes, and the child, now named Charicleia, learns to exalt virginity as she enters adolescence. An Egyptian priest, Calasiris, arrives at the same time as a deputation from Thessaly, led by the handsome Theagenes. The two fall in love, and Calasiris engineers their escape from Delphi. Calasiris has read a band which was exposed with Charicleia, signaling in Ethiopian script the provenance of Charicleia, and explaining that her white skin was due to Persinna's having looked upon a painting of Andromeda at the moment of Charicleia's conception. Gradually, despite trials and separations (including Calasiris' death from old age and a dangerous brush with the wife of the Persian satrap of Egypt), the pair make their way to Ethiopia, where Charicleia is eventually acclaimed as the daughter of the royal couple. Charicleia and Theagenes are both tested for their virginity on a magical 'grid', and their marriage is approved.⁸

Thus, the *Aethiopica* is a novel about love and coincidence and religion spanning cultures, ethnicities, and geographic regions. The above summary suffices for the reader to understand the following interpretive work within the context of the larger novel. Other introductory data that will prove important include the work's date—the *Aethiopica* is generally dated to the third- or fourth-century CE;⁹ provenance—the text apparently hails from Emesa in Syria;¹⁰ and authorship—"a Phoenician man of Emesa, one of the race of Helios, the child of Theodosius."¹¹

Frye, *The Secular Scripture: A Study in the Structure of Romance* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976); A. Heiserman, *The Novel before the Novel: Essays and Discussions* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977); Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959). All discussed in Gareth Schmeling, "Preface," in *The Novel in the Ancient World*, ed. Gareth Schmeling (Mnemosyne Supplementum 159; Leiden: Brill, 1996), at 1, who also notes that Margaret Doody maintains "that the novel is in fact a product of the Graeco-Roman mind;" see Margaret Doody, *The True Story of the Novel* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1996).
8 Tim Whitmarsh, "The Writes of Passage: Cultural Initiation in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," in *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity*, ed. Richard Miles (New York: Routledge, 1999), 16–40, at 17–18. Whitmarsh further notes how his coherent summary misrepresents "Heliodorus' complex narratological technique" (18).

9 Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity*, 109–10.

10 Whitmarsh, *Narrative and Identity*, 109.

11 Heliodorus *Aethiopica* 10.41.27–28: ἀνὴρ Φοῖνιξ Ἐμισσηνός, τῶν ἀφ' Ἡλίου γένος, θεοδοσίου παῖς

Before proceeding to this article’s treatment of the text of the *Aethiopica*, I provide a brief introduction explaining the position and import of both religious practice and ethnic identity as literary features of the novel. As pertains to religion, scholars have long recognized that the divine sphere, and the human interface with it, compose hallmark features of the ancient Greek novel in general,¹² and of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica* in particular.¹³ In late antiquity, the novel constituted almost a kind of ‘sacred genre,’¹⁴ and the *Aethiopica* is in many ways the late ancient novel *par excellence*. I have argued recently that it is the lived, embodied, material aspects of religion—‘religion on the ground’—as much as the philosophical or ‘theological’ aspects that comprise the warp and woof of religious significance within Heliodorus’ storyline.¹⁵ As a literary exercise in cultural meaning making, the *Aethiopica* is particularly interested in religious *praxis* (as opposed to *doxa*).¹⁶ And so religious practice—embodied ritual consisting of physical action and material culture—becomes interwoven with ethnic markers of Egyptian identity in Heliodorus, along with notions of Egyptian ‘wisdom.’ I therefore use religious practice and its attendant vocabulary of Egyptian ethnicity or identity—a central motif in the narrative—to trace out some of the contours of Heliodorus’ conception and presentation of Egyptian identity.

That ethnic diversity looms large in Heliodorus’ novel is deducible from the work’s title, and patently obvious even from the brief narrative overview quoted above. The plot is fundamentally an extended play on the paradoxical identity—an Ethiopian girl born

Ἡλιόδωρος.

12 See, e.g., Robert L. Cioffi, “Seeing Gods: Epiphany and Narrative in the Greek Novels,” *Ancient Narrative* 11 (2014): 1–42; Froma Zeitlin, “Religion,” in *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel*, eds. Tim Whitmarsh (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 91–108, who surveys that “[t]he novels are full of: temples, shrines, altars, priests, rituals and offerings, dreams (or oracles), prophecies, divine epiphanies, aretalogies, mystic language and other metaphors of the sacred (not forgetting, in addition, exotic barbarian rites)” (91).

13 Whitmarsh discusses the novel in terms of religious mysticism, even “pilgrimage,” with a kind of initiatory and teleological vocabulary (see *Narrative and Identity*, 111–12), but generally stresses the philosophical or worldview components of the text’s religious meaning, such as its potential engagement with “Christian moralism” and its development of ideas previously extant in “third-century neoplatonist theology” (112). Cioffi emphasizes certain divine-human ambiguities in Heliodorus’ characterization (“Seeing Gods”).

14 On which see Karl Kerényi, *Die griechisch-orientalische Romanliteratur in religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung* (2nd ed.; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1962); Reinhold Merkelbach, *Roman und Mysterium in der Antike* (Munich: Beck, 1962). Note also Reinhold Merkelbach, *Isis Regina – Zeus Sarapis: Dei griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt* (München: K.G. Saur, 2001), who discusses novels often; note especially §572 (on 341) concerning how novels function vis-à-vis myth: “Die Beziehungen zwischen den Mythen und den Ereignissen im Roman spiegeln die Beziehung zwischen den Mythen und den Ereignissen des wirklichen Leben. Dem Leben wurde vom Mythos her Sinn verliehen.”

15 Carson Bay, “Religion on the Ground: Lived Religion in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,” paper presented at the *Classical Association of the Middle West and South Annual Meeting*, Williamsburg, VA, USA, March 18, 2016.

16 This in contrast to certain work which has located the religious sentiments of the novel within a philosophical (Platonic) discourse; see, e.g., Gerald N. Sandy, “Characterization and Philosophical Décor in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,” *TAPA* 112 (1982): 141–67.

white—of Charikleia: “her identity is the riddle which it is the work of the plot to (re) solve.”¹⁷ In addition, the Greekness of Theagenes, Charicleia’s protagonist-partner in the story, is central to his character, and thus to the story’s ethnic-ideological fabric.¹⁸ One could go on about the other significant characters in the narrative—Cnemon, Calasiris, the Gymnosophists, and even, as we will see, unnamed characters—and would find, in each case, that ethnic labels and connotations not only accompany each character throughout the novel, but that these are in fact central to the novel’s construction of identity and social reality.¹⁹ Religious practice and diverse ethnic identity are among the most prominent motifs of the *Aethiopica*, and aid not a little in a nuanced reading of the narrative.

Thus, one may do no better than to pay close attention to matters of religion and ethnic identity in Heliodorus when attempting to comprehend the novel’s cultural valence within the context of late antiquity. Contra Morgan, religion is much more in the *Aethiopica* than an instrument of novelistic technique;²⁰ it is a fundamental category of thinking that lies deep within the fictive world which Heliodorus imagines. One of the most significant

17 Marla Harris, “Not Black and/or White: Reading Racial Difference in Heliodorus’s *Ethiopia* and Pauline Hopkins’s *Of One Blood*,” *African American Review* 35.3 (2001): 375–90, here 375; Whitmarsh remarks that “[t]he narrative turns, as is well known, on the amazing paradox of an Ethiopian girl born white,” and discusses the visual paradoxism endemic to the *Aethiopica*’s (and the ancient novel’s generally) “central preoccupation with the fluidity of identity;” Tim Whitmarsh, “Written on the Body: Ekphrasis, Perception and Deception in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,” *Ramus* 31 (2002): 11–25, here 111 and 122.

18 He is remarkably attractive and descended, apparently, from Achilles (see, e.g., 2.35; 3.3); see discussion in Marília P. Futre Pinheiro, “Heliodorus, the *Ethiopian Story*,” in *A Companion to the Ancient Novel*, eds. Edmund P. Cueva and Shannon N. Byrne (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 76–94, at 82. In general, race/ethnicity and, indeed, appearance and skin color signal Heliodorus’ fascination both with human physical diversity and with the literary mechanics of spectacle, preferring “‘to show’ rather than ‘to tell;’” see Marília P. Futre Pinheiro, “Estruturas técnico-narrativas nas Etiópicas de Heliodoro” (PhD Dissertation, University of Lisbon, Portugal, 1987), 411–13.

19 On Calasiris, see J. J. Winkler, “The mendacity of Kalasiris and the narrative strategy of Heliodorus’ *Aithiopia*,” *YCS* 27 (1982): 93–158; Marília P. Futre Pinheiro, “Calasiris’ story and its narrative significance in Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,” *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel* 4 (1991): 69–83. On Cnemon, see J. R. Morgan, “The Story of Knemon in Heliodorus’ *Aithiopia*,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 109 (1989): 99–113. Another feature of Heliodorus’ multicultural storyline revolves around language: “In his novel *Aethiopica*, Heliodorus treats situations involving the initial encounter of members of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds, with special attention to the language barrier...” Donna Shalev, “Heliodorus’ Speakers: Multiculturalism and Literary Innovation in Conventions for Framing Speech,” *BICS* 49 (2006): 165–91, at 165.

20 For Morgan the *Aethiopica* is not religious but “religiose,” since “[i]n a work of fiction Providence is only Plot in disguise,” and therefore instead of instructing “its readers in the ways of god” “the whole divine apparatus” exists merely as “a literary device to give the plot a sense of direction, purpose, and eventual closure.” J. R. Morgan, “Heliodorus: An Ethiopian Story,” in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, ed. B. P. Reardon (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 349–588, at 350–51. Ken Dowden, who quotes this treatment by Morgan, is inclined to disagree, yet still speaks of the religion of the *Aethiopica* in solely philosophical terms, which I would argue are at best only a part of religious significance per Heliodorus’ portrayal, and not the most significant part; see Ken Dowden, “Heliodorus: Serious Intentions,” *CQ* 46.1 (1996): 267–85, at 268.

identities to populate that fictive world—an identity whose social perception in late antiquity the *Aethiopica* helps us to construe—is Egyptian identity.

Textual Analysis²¹

In the following, rather than a drawn-out and semi-comprehensive survey of the *Aethiopica*, I discuss a number of key episodes, in order of their appearance, that combine to create an overarching concept of Egyptian identity throughout the narrative, one with both ‘religious’ and ‘ethnic’ angles. The end of this section brings these pericopae into conversation with one another and offers some suggestions as to how these episodes communicate (or ‘mean’). This denouement provides a foundation for the discussion in this article’s conclusion, where I expand Heliodorus’ manifest conception of Egyptian identity to reflect upon the more widespread cultural ideas that his fiction refracts.

To begin with, one must note that, before anything happens in the narrative, the setting evokes Egypt. At the story’s beginning, as “Day had begun to smile as the sun touched the top of the hills” (1.1), this occurs upon the mouth of the Nile, κατ’ ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Νείλου. Thus, before the story begins the reader is cued to an Egyptian motif that is to course through the subsequent narrative.

By 2.22, the Egyptian protagonist-priest Calasiris—whose name has a solid Egyptian etymology²²—and the Greek protagonist youth Cnemon are deeply ensconced in discussion. During this discussion, in which Calasiris clarifies his history with the novel’s protagonist couple (Charikleia and Theagenes), the reader finds conveyed numerous aspects of Heliodorus’ construct of Egyptian-ness. Eventually, it is suggested that Calasiris and Cnemon take a break from conversation in order to eat. But, Calasiris states, there is something they must do even before that:

21 I utilize the critical edition of Aristides Colonna, ed., *Heliodori Aethiopica* (Rome, 1938), and follow its line numbering within chapters, which allows for greater specificity than does following Rattenbury and Lumb; however, consult also R.M. Rattenbury and T.W. Lumb, R.M. Rattenbury and T.W. Lumb, eds., *Les Éthiopiennes* (Théagène et Chariclée), (Collection Budé; 2nd ed.; Paris, 1960). For accessibility and consistency, I adapt the translations of J.R. Morgan (2008). Compare other English, German, French, and Italian translations to be found in the concise bibliography of Tomas Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 240. I have included only that Greek text which signals ethnicity and/or religion via vocabulary, as this constitutes the textual evidence germane to the present argument.

22 *gl-šr* in Egyptian: Erich Lüddeckens, et al., eds., *Demotisches Namenbuch: Band 1, Lieferung 14: krdrms—td-šr.t-šmn* (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1996), 1033; Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen, Band 1: Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), 352, #13. Herodotus speaks of this type of soldier (Καλασίριες at 2.164.2), on which further see the chapter on “Egyptian Literature and the Greek Novel” (293–344) in Jacqueline E. Jay, *Orality and Literacy in the Demotic Tales* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 81; Leiden: Brill, 2016), at 329. See further – and in general, especially the footnotes – Richard H. Pierce, “Egyptian Loan-Words in Ancient Greek,” *Symbolae Osloenses* XLVI (1971): 96–107; see 103, where Pierce discusses kalasiris as “a branch of the military caste in Egypt; a long Egyptian garment,” only the former being attested in Egyptian texts (103), citing further Wolja Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar: Volume 1* (Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1954), 588.

“But first we must make our libation to the gods according to the custom of the wise men of Egypt (ὡς νόμος Αἰγυπτίων σοφοῖς ἐπεισθῶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς). Even hunger could not induce me to neglect this observance. May my grief never be so great as to make me forget my duty to the divine (μνήμην τὴν εἰς τὸ θεῖον).” With these words he poured from his drinking bowl a libation of water, unmixed with wine, that formed his drink, and said: “Let us make this offering to the gods of this land and of Greece (θεοῖς ἐγγωρίοις τε καὶ Ἑλληνίοις), particularly Pythian Apollo, and also to Theagenes and Charikleia, the noble and fair, for they count as gods in my book.” And as he spoke, he wept, and his tears were like a second libation (ἐτέραν σπονδὴν) as he poured them.

Heliiodorus *Aethiopica* 2.22.36–2.23.6

Here Calasiris self-identifies by articulating a distinctly Egyptian religiosity, which operates in concert with Hellenistic religion more broadly, and thus embodies a kind of religious cosmopolitanism. We can begin by noting that none of the features of religious practice here is unique or even strange, either in late antique Hellenism or in the *Aethiopica* itself: there is nothing inherently unusual about pouring libations, referencing Egyptian wise men, engaging local and Panhellenic gods simultaneously.²³ Nevertheless, the ‘lived religion’ portrayed here, with its specific combination of features, is explicitly connected to Egyptian identity, and thus bears further scrutiny. Since we are analyzing the *Aethiopica* qua novel as a representative artifact of late antique cultural ideologies, we must ask how

23 Calasiris, though an Egyptian priest, in his religious practice falls firmly within the bounds of acceptable Hellenistic practice (‘Hellenistic’ in the broad sense), and in fact in the novel shares particular proximity to Pythian Apollo, whom he consults in 4.16.1ff when trying to escape with Theagenes and Charikleia. Apollo and Artemis had appeared to him earlier in a vision in 3.11–12. Calasiris also joins a group of *xenoi* who in 4.16 have been “offering the festal sacrifice to Herakles” (ἔθοο δὲ ἄρα σὺν αὐλήμασιν Ἡρακλεῖ τὴν εὐωχίαν); Calasiris, along with these, offers incense (τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ λαβῶν ἀπέθυσσα) and libations (ὔδατος ἔσπεισα). In many ways Calasiris’ religious practice is typically Hellenistic (belonging to Hellenism as a cultural movement extant through late antiquity, not the period from 332–30 BCE). Morgan (“Ethiopian Story,” 439) translates Calasiris’ engagement with the group sacrificing to Herakles: “Join our libations, sir!’ called a group of strangers, who were offering a festal sacrifice to Herakles, to the accompaniment of flute music. On hearing this, I checked my haste, for it would have been wrong for me to pass by and ignore a religious summons. I took incense and offered it in sacrifice, then poured a libation of water; the strangers seemed taken aback by the lavish scale of my oblations, but nevertheless they invited me to join them in their feast.” Morgan suggests that Calasiris’ comment about his own libations is “[s]arcastic, of course. Kalasiris, as we have seen, abstains on religious grounds from animal sacrifice and libations of wine” (439n118); but, of course, Calasiris is not offering *animal* sacrifice nor pouring libations *of wine*, but rather offers incense and pours water (on the latter see Elmer, “Heliodoros’ ‘Sources,’” 445). Morgan’s comment, to my mind, misreads the sense of the story. This story serves to illustrate Calasiris’ serious religious devotion and his adaptability to various religious contexts.

and why the cultural meanings encoded in this statement are deployed.

The fact that, for Calasiris, this piety must come first (πρῶτον), even before eating—and that it must be done ‘in the Egyptian way’—signals that Heliodoros stresses this aspect of Egyptian-ness, merely by including it in the story. The suggestion is that Egyptian-ness carries with it a distinctly serious attitude toward religious νόμος. I will argue that this is precisely one of the ways in which the *Aethiopica* casts Egyptian identity; that is, as ‘distinctly religious.’²⁴ Another interesting feature of this episode is the nature of Calasiris’ *modus operandi* regarding libations: he pours/offers (ἀποχέω/σπένδω) his libation in the form of “water, unmixed [with wine]” (ἄκρατον τὸ ὕδωρ). It hardly needs to be said that in late antiquity offering libations or sacrifices were “gestures not in any way distinctive in Egyptian religion.”²⁵ Nor are all of Calasiris’ libations mentioned in the *Aethiopica* specified as being of unmixed water, though elsewhere we learn that he neither drinks wine nor eats “any creature that is endowed with a soul.”²⁶ The mention of such a ‘pristine’ and particular form of libation in this instance—something not foreign to Egyptian tradition in antiquity²⁷—adds texture to the picture of Egyptian religiosity being painted

24 Again, this Hellenic perspective on Egyptian-ness was well-established long before Heliodoros, but the point of this essay is to say something about *how Heliodoros thought and communicated*, not to argue that this was completely original with him. For accessible and multivocal treatment of this issue’s complex variations, see essays in Roger Matthews and Cornelia Roemer, eds, *Ancient Perspectives on Egypt* (Encounters with Ancient Egypt; London: Routledge, 2016); and Kathrin Kleibl, “Greco-Egyptian Religion,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Greek Religion*, eds. Esther Eidinow and Julia Kindt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 621–35; and the unfathomable depth of scholarship that accompanies such essays.

25 David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 24.

26 Thus, Calasiris’ are implicitly non-wine libations, since in 3.11 Charikles must explain to Theagenes, offended by Calasiris’ unwillingness to take part in his “toast of friendship,” that Calasiris “does not drink wine nor eat any creature that is endowed with a soul.” Theagenes, on hearing this, becomes “filled with joy.” Such abstinence finds near contemporary expression (to Heliodoros) in Porphyry of Tyre’s (233–305 CE) *de Abstinence*; see Gillian Clark, ed., *Porphyry: On Abstinence from Killing Animals* (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London: Bloomsbury, 2000). Also, Pythagoreanism is the most famous champion, in terms of philosophical systems, of such abstinence in antiquity, and it is no coincidental that Pythagoras had strong Egyptian ties: “Pythagoras of Samos... was said to have visited Egypt, in order to be initiated by the priests there into the local customs and cultural achievements... Pythagoras [according to an ancient anecdote] imported from Egypt many of the ritual rules that sometimes struck Greek eras as alien.” Christopher Riedweg, *Pythagoras: His Life, Teaching, and Influence* (trans. Steven Rendall; Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002), 7–8 (see also 36–37, 67–69). Suffice to say that, among ancient Greeks, a stereotypical link between Pythagoreanism, Egypt, and vegetarian-type habits was present.

27 Note examples recorded in Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): a certain slender “hes-vase” apparently served as the tree goddess Nut/Hathor’s vessel to “pour water to refresh the dead or make a libation” (52); water libations are also poured out to Horus and Thoth (188); also, a funerary mask attests to “libations” and mentions purification via “*menu*-vessels with “the water which purifies all the gods” (271); likewise, Osiris was connected to water offerings as attested by a Demotic column (286, 291). Other evidence appears in Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume III: The Late Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006): water is a/the substance offered to Amun (19); water is linked to funerary ritual

in the *Aethiopica*: here Egyptian religious practice is specific in its operation and carries connotations of ‘natural’ and ‘pure,’ like the water it insists on using for libations. Calasiris, as one major embodiment of Egyptian identity and religious action in the *Aethiopica*, helps paint Heliodorus’ picture of Egyptian-ness, a picture thrown into sharpest relief when religious action comes to the fore in the narrative.

Embodied and material religion and Egyptian religious thought both figure later on in the conversation between Cnemon and Calasiris just after Calasiris has described how the gods Apollo and Artemis had appeared to him with a message (3.11–12). Cnemon is confused with the story, and asks:

“you said that the gods demonstrated to you that they had not come in a dream but had manifested themselves in physical form. How?”

Heliodorus *Aethiopica* 3.12.6–8

Calasiris, citing Homer’s *Iliad* 13.71–72, shows that gods are “conspicuous” (ἀρίγνωτοι).²⁸ When Cnemon confesses ignorance to such religious knowledge, Calasiris prepares to instruct his student²⁹ by pausing momentarily “until he had achieved the exalted state of mind appropriate to the contemplation of holy mysteries” (3.13.1–2).³⁰ Here, as elsewhere, the embodied religious practice which Heliodorus invents has a certain mystical quality to it, necessitating time and concentration of the mind. Calasiris goes on to explain that gods “generally take human shape” and are recognizable by their inability to blink and because they glide instead of walking. This is why, Calasiris avers, Egyptians fashion their statues of the gods with their feet together.³¹ Here the material manifestation of Egyptian piety finds support in “Homer, the wise poet,” whom the Egyptian in this conversation,

(55, 77); literature describes Horus pouring water libations (120). Lichtheim further points out that “[b]eing on someone’s water was a frequent metaphor for devotion and loyalty” (57). It is helpful to note here that a the ‘choachyte’ (Egyptian *wzh-mw*), “water-pourer,” was a well-known iteration of ancient Egyptian priesthood. “They were responsible for providing mortuary rituals, including offerings, at the tombs of the deceased,” among other things; see discussion in Stephen Vinson, “Demotic Dictionary Project,” in *The Oriental Institute 1997–1998 Annual Report*, 99–102, at 101. In step with these facts, the common Egyptian hieroglyphic word for “(purificatory) priest” may contain a vessel for pouring out liquid; see E. A. Wallis Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary, Volume I* (London: John Murray, 1920), xcix (#47), where it appears right after the similar glyph meaning “to pour out water” (#46). A more generic term for priest (*uāb*) appears at ci (104) and is almost identical to the following term (105) meaning “to pour out water, make a libation.” I am grateful to the anonymous editor of this essay for pointing this complex of information out to me.

28 Calasiris here is speaking in apparent reference to both θεοί and δαίμονες (see 3.13.2).

29 The student-teacher (or initiand/initiator) relationship is also cued by Cnemon’s vocative ὦ πάτερ (3.12.5), and Calasiris’ ὦ τέκνον (3.12.8).

30 μικρὸν οὖν ἐπιστήσας ὁ Καλάσιρις, καὶ τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὸ μυστικώτερον ἀνακινήσας.

31 διὸ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα τῶν θεῶν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ πόδε ζευγνύοντες καὶ ὥσπερ ἐνοῦντες ἰστᾶσιν (3.13.12–14).

and not the Athenian, understands.³² For, according to Calasiris, the wise Homer had “been instructed in the Egyptian curriculum for his religious education.”³³ Thus again we have a cultural-religious blending, this time where Egyptian wisdom undergirds and explicates Hellenic tradition and thus justifies its own practice of divine statue-building. Egyptian religion is ancient, multicultural, and in some cases more rightly-oriented than Greek religion. Yet, as we will see, Egyptian religion—and through it Egyptian identity—are polyvalent concepts in Heliodorus.

Throughout his conversation with Cnemon, Calasiris makes clear to the reader of the *Aethiopica*, and to Cnemon, that he “is acutely aware of a negative prejudice against Egyptian hocus-pocus.”³⁴ And indeed, briefly after the portion of the conversation just discussed, Calasiris takes time to disabuse Cnemon of any notion that Egyptian religion is cheap, what is sometimes called ‘magical’ or ‘superstitious’ or ‘folk.’³⁵ Yet, as becomes clear as one moves through the *Aethiopica*’s plotline, Heliodorus as author is by no means clear about the character and propriety of Egyptian religion. Indeed, in his defense of Egypt’s reputed religiosity, Calasiris is allowed by Heliodorus to construct a binary, presenting a kind of apology for the ‘right side’ of a bipartite ‘Egyptian approach’ to religious practice. He refers to:

the common misapprehension that the wisdom of Egypt is all of one and same kind. On the contrary: there is one kind that is of low rank and, you might say, crawls upon the earth; it waits upon ghosts (εἰδῶλων θεράπαινα) and skulks around dead bodies (περὶ σώματα νεκρῶν εἰλουμένη); it is addicted to magic herbs (βοτάναις προστετηκυῖα), and spells are its stock-in-trade

32 Sandy refers to Calasiris’ explanation as being comprised of “philosophical elements,” which he relates to ideas in Iamblichus’ *On Egyptian Mysteries* and Porphyry’s *On the Cult of Statues* (the latter in Eusebius’ *Gospel Preparation* 3.7–13); Sandy, “Characterization and Philosophical Décor,” 160–61.

33 ἂ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος εἰδῶς, ἅτε Αἰγύπτιος καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν παιδευσιν ἐκδιδαχθεῖς (3.13.14–15).

34 Sandy, “Characterization and Philosophical Décor,” 161. See further Plutarch *Isis and Osiris* (in the *Moralia*) and K. A. D. Smelik, “Who Knows Not What Monsters Demented Egypt Worships? Opinions on Egyptian Animal Worship in Antiquity as Part of the Ancient Conception of Egypt,” *ANRW II, Principat*, 17.4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), 1852–2000.

35 For an idea of what is meant by ‘magic’ in ancient Greek discursive contexts (e.g. plants, curses, prayers, dreams—all things mentioned in the *Aethiopica*), see the collected studies in Christopher A. Faraone and Dirk Obbink, eds., *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic & Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991). G.E.R. Lloyd (*Magic, Reason and Experience: Studies in the Origin and Development of Greek Science* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979]) showed how ‘magic’ was very much a rhetorical category deployed by ancient Greek authors in order to delegitimize beliefs/practices deemed aberrant and dangerous. For a recent discussion of categories and problems, see the chapter on “Rethinking boundaries: the place of magic in the religious culture of ancient Greece” (90–122) in Julia Kindt, *Rethinking Greek Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). Magic, superstition, and folk religion are categories that have historically been influenced to varying extents by anthropological and theological categories and usually have carried connotations of primitiveness, the ‘irrational,’ intentional or unintentional chicanery. Needless to say, the use of these terms by modern scholars has been rightfully problematized at numerous junctures.

(ἐπὶ δαΐς ἐπανεχούσα); no good ever comes of it; no benefit ever accrues to its practitioners; generally it brings its own downfall, and its occasional successes are paltry and mean-spirited—the unreal made to appear real, hopes brought to nothing; it devises wickedness and panders to corrupt pleasures. But there is another kind, my son, true wisdom, of which the first sort is but a counterfeit that has stolen its title; true wisdom it is that we priests and members of the sacerdotal caste practice from childhood; its eyes are raised towards heaven; it keeps company with the gods and partakes of the nature of the Great Ones; it studies the movement of the stars and thus gains knowledge of the future; it has no truck with the wicked, earthly concerns of the other kind, but all its energies are directed to what is good and beneficial to mankind.

Heliiodorus *Aethiopica* 3.16.10–26

Calasiris acknowledges that there is a kind of religious practice that *is Egyptian* which is, for him, frankly ‘bad religion.’ It is wrong, useless, and altogether unhelpful. To this Calasiris juxtaposes a true, wise Egyptian religion that appears to be restricted to a priestly class, astrologically-inclined, and humanitarian in nature. For readers of the novel, Calasiris’ statement is incredibly helpful. It gives explicit voice to the idea that Egyptian religion is multifarious, is used on various levels by different kinds of people, and is widely misapprehended as being of the “bad” (κακῶς) variety. One thing this statement tacitly contributes to Heliiodorus’ overall presentation of Egyptian-ness is the assumption that Egyptian identity is, if not inherently religious, one that at least carries a penchant for the religious *and* is stereotyped thus. In general, the *Aethiopica* bears out this stereotype. So ubiquitous is the expectation that Egyptian-ness brings with it religious potency in the world of the *Aethiopica* that Calasiris can pass off a few exaggerated bodily gestures as a manifestation of spiritual power. In the middle of Book 4, the main character Charikleia finds herself suffering from lovesickness, though she herself does not know the nature of what ails her. Neither, in fact, does Calasiris know, but he is called upon to heal the girl because of the ‘magical’ prowess he is assumed to possess (he is Egyptian, after all). In response to this summons, he describes his process:

“I launched into a sort of stage performance (ἐπὶ σκηνῆς τῆς ὑποκρίσεως), producing clouds of incense smoke (τόν τε λιβανωτὸν ἐθυμίων), pursing my lips and muttering some sounds that passed for prayers (τινα δῆθεν ψιθύροις τοῖς χεῖλεσι κατευξάμενος), waving the laurel up and down, up and down, from Charikleia’s head to her toes, and yawning blearily, for all the world like sold old bedlam. I kept this up for some time, until, by the time I came to an end, I had made a complete fool of myself and the girl, who shook her head again and again and smiled wryly as if to tell me that I was on quite the

wrong track and had no idea what was really wrong with her.
Heliodoros Aethiopica 4.5.16–24

Shortly hereafter Calasiris recounts to Charikles, Charikleia’s guardian at the time and the one by whom Calasiris’ healing had been commissioned, that his “healing” had taken “a great deal of my magic art” (τέχνη πολλῆ καὶ σοφία τῆ ἐμῆ). Charikles may be fooled, but the reader is not supposed to be. Rather, one gathers that, not only is Calasiris’ reputation as an Egyptian sufficient to pass off anything unusual as miraculous, but Calasiris is willing to do this should circumstances require it. And indeed, Calasiris’ efforts to protect and move Charikleia throughout the middle of the novel amounts to a sort of ‘long con’ in which he has recourse more than once to feign the exercise of religious power. In the very next chapter another turn of events merits a similar performance. There, Charikleia has become the captive of Calasiris’ house-guest and acquaintance Nausikles. Calasiris decides that he must somehow free Charikleia, and she furtively lets him know that she has a valuable necklace that might do the trick (5.11). Calasiris then decides to use this accoutrement to dupe Nausikles, who turns out to be rather small-minded and mercenary at any rate, and thus “was anxious that Nausikles should have no idea of the truth” (5.12.1–2), or of the treasures that Charikleia had about her person. That is, Calasiris plans on pretending to conjure the necklace from the altar during a sacrifice. And so it happens that, after some pre-sacrificial banter, Calasiris and company prepare for the Egyptian priest’s (that is, Calasiris’) faux ritual:

They arrived at the temple of Hermes, whom Nausikles considered as his patron god, since of all gods he is the most concerned with markets and commerce, and to whom therefore the sacrifice (θυσίαν) was being offered. The rite (τὰ ἱερὰ) was quickly performed. Calasiris briefly inspected the entrails (τὰ σπλάγχνα): the play of expressions on his face showed that the future he saw foretold was one of alternating joy and sorrow. Then he passed both his hands over the altars (τοῖς βωμοῖς), all the while pronouncing an invocation (ἐπιφθεγγόμενος), and drew—or pretended to draw (δῆθεν)—from the altar fire what he had had in his hand all along. “This is the price of Charikleia’s release, Nausikles,” he said, “which the gods convey to you by way of me.”

Heliodoros Aethiopica 5.13.10–20

Here Calasiris invents a religious ruse for practical purposes: to free a young woman whose best interests he has at heart. The product of the sacrifice does indeed appear miraculous (παράδοξον) to Nausikles, and has the desired effect. Here again we find Calasiris embodying this confused space between pious, practicing priest and magic-hocking trickster. And again, as the quintessential Egyptian and religious practitioner in the narrative of the *Aethiopica*, Calasiris provides the reader important information for

understanding the portrayal of Egyptian identity that Heliodorus paints. In this case, as both Egyptian and holy man Calasiris assumes the authority to act as mediator between divine and human spheres, ‘communicating’ a divine gift to Nausikles. Apart from this social role, the reader is once again faced with a complex vision of Calasiris’—and, by proxy, Egyptian—religiosity. It carries a kind of automatic authority, but can be pretended, fabricated completely. Yet we know from the rest of the narrative that Calasiris does possess religious power, and knows the difference between a pious trick and the genuine article. Egyptian religion, and Egyptian-ness with it, accrues a manifold character at Heliodorus’ authorial hand. But if Calasiris’ Egyptian brand of religious practice can be shady at times, it is nevertheless not dark. For the ‘dark side’ of religion in the *Aethiopica*, we must look to another character, an old Egyptian woman that appears at the end of Book 6.

Easily one of the most exciting parts of Heliodorus’ already action-packed narrative begins at 6.12, when Calasiris and Charikleia are travelling together, disguised as beggars, and have just come to the outskirts of Bessa. There they encounter an Egyptian woman mourning her dead son upon a fresh battlefield. From her Calasiris solicits information about the battle, which involved, among others, Theagenes (the male portion of the novel’s protagonist couple)(6.12–13). After ascertaining what he could, Calasiris returns to Charikleia from talking with the woman, and puts some distance between them and the woman. Then Calasiris falls promptly asleep, while Charikleia’s anxieties keep her awake. Her anxiousness affords her quite a spectacle:

Supposing herself now secure against any intrusion or observation, the old woman began by digging a pit, to one side of which she lit a fire. After positioning her son’s body between the two, she took an earthenware bowl from a tripod that stood beside her and poured a libation (ἐπέσπενδεν) of honey into a pit, likewise of milk from a second bowl, and lastly of wine from a third. Then she took a cake made out of fine wheat flour and shaped it into the effigy of a man, crowned it with bay and fennel, and flung it into the pit. Finally, she picked up a sword and, in an access of feverish ecstasy (ἐνθουσιῶδες σοβηθεΐσα), invoked the moon by a series of grotesque and outlandish names (πρὸς τὴν σεληναίαν βαρβάροις τε καὶ ξενίζουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὀνόμασι κατευξαμένη), then drew the blade across her arm. She wiped the blood onto a sprig of bay and flicked it into the fire. There followed a number of other bizarre actions (ἄλλα τε ἅττα τερατευσαμένη), after which she knelt over the dead body of her son and whispered certain incantations (ἐπάδουσα) into his ear, until she woke the dead man and compelled him by her magic arts (μαγανείᾳ) to stand upright.

Heliodorus *Aethiopica* 6.14.13–29

Once revived, the old woman converses with her son’s reanimated corpse, and is

forced to revive him again, upon his collapsing, with a repeated “string of incantations” (ταῖς κατανάγκαις). Eventually she elicits an answer from the body, but certainly not the one she was looking for. In 6.15, the revived corpse suspends the laws of filial piety and lambastes its once-mother for her “transgression of the laws of human nature” (παρανομοῦσαν εἰς τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν), “her affront to the ordinances of destiny” (τοὺς ἐκ μοιρῶν θεσμοὺς ἐκβιαζομένην), and her “use of black arts to move the immovable” (τὰ ἀκίνητα μαγγανείαις κινουσαν ἠνειχόμεν) (6.15.4–6). This is one of several literary strategies Heliodorus uses to denounce such religious practices (practices which he may well represent imperfectly or misconstrue).³⁶ One might also read the wrongness of the woman’s ritual in Charikleia’s response—she being in many ways a standard of measure within the novel—which moves from “alarm” (οὐδὲ ... ἀδεῶς) to “horror” (ἐκδειματωθεῖσα) to “trembling with fear” (ὑπέφριττε) in observation of the “appalling ritual” (γινομένων ἀήθων). The clearest condemnation, however, comes from Calasiris, in response to Charikleia’s pleas to go over and ask the woman, post ritual, about her love interest Theagenes:

But he refused, saying that the mere sight of such things was unclean (οὐκ εὐαγῆ) and that he could only tolerate it because he had no alternative; it was not proper for a priest either to take part to be present at such rites (εἶναι γὰρ οὐ προφητικὸν οὔτε ἐπιχειρεῖν οὔτε παρεῖναι ταῖς τοιαῖσδε πράξεσιν); the prophetic powers of priests proceeded from legitimate sacrifices and pure prayer (τὸ μαντικὸν τούτοις μὲν ἐκ θυσιῶν ἐννόμων καὶ εὐχῶν καθαρῶν παραγίνεσθαι), whereas those of the profane were obtained by crawling upon the ground and skulking among corpses (τοῖς δὲ βεβήλοις καὶ περὶ γῶν τῷ ὄντι καὶ σώματα νεκρῶν εἰλουμένοις), as the accidents of circumstances had permitted them to see this Egyptian woman doing.

Heliodorus *Aethiopica* 6.14.52–59

36 Though not integral to this study, it is worthwhile to note Susan Stephens’s findings that, in general, Heliodorus “expresses a superficial assimilation of Egyptian ideas to Greek modes of thought,” especially as regards religion as it is expressed in Egyptian priesthood, and particularly here in the story of the old woman (this essay’s object is not to gauge Heliodorus’ relative superficiality in this regard). It is particularly puzzling for Stephens that Calasiris’ response is contrived. She explains: “The manipulation of ... ‘energy’ constituted a sophisticated system of practical theology, a theurgy in which the priest performed the ‘power of the gods.’ ... To the extent that the old Egyptian woman was successful, she was no different from the priests, and her knowledge and theirs would, in principle, have been the same and, despite Calasiris’ abhorrence of the practice, the rite is efficacious – it is from this source that he learns of the fate of his own sons. – Egyptian magic is a technology with an inherent logic that made it effective; but the rituals Heliodorus describes are over-determined if not nonsensical, and as a priest he should have understood the technology as well as, or better than, the old woman.” She notes further how “[p]robably a genuine Egyptian ritual underpins these examples [of necromancy]” and how “Heliodorus’ old woman thus employs three types of necromancy – the first to recall ghosts, the second to provide a body for a specific ghost and the last to reanimate a specific body,” the effective reanimation of a “dead person’s *ka* (soul).” Susan Stephens, “Fictions of Cultural Authority,” in *The Romance Between Greece and the East*, eds. Tim Whitmarsh and Stuart Thomson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 91–104, at 98–100.

Here Calasiris makes an object lesson corresponding to his previous dichotomizing of Egyptian religion. There is good and bad Egyptian religious practice. What the old woman had just done was religion done wrong. Yet the reader cannot ignore two other aspects of the old woman's necromancy. First, Heliodorus does not present it as unusual; bizarre, maybe, but such religious action constitutes "a performance which, abominable as it may be, is common practice among the women of Egypt" (6.14.12–13). Second, the woman's elaborate ritual works! There is undeniable power, of a sort, in the old woman's secret process—and her extreme anger at discovering that she was being watched clues us in to the secret nature of the rite—despite its apparently uncontrollable and half-cocked nature. Thus, this sub-narrative of the old woman contributes substantially to Heliodorus' overall picture of Egyptian religion and Egyptian identity. Even the sort that is (for Calasiris) illegitimate has power, and is, in fact, for Egyptian women (ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις) at least, common practice (ἐπιχωριαζούσης). The Egyptian identity, therefore, that the *Aethiopica* forges through the description of religious practice in its narrative, is not an easy one to comprehend. Its dynamics are diverse, its presentations paradoxical.

In Book 7, following upon the heels of the episode involving the old woman, Calasiris again assumes the mantle of religious authority, creating a proximate foil to the old woman's 'low' form of religious practice. At 7.8, Calasiris' two sons have just concluded a feud that could have ended in tragedy, but this is avoided.³⁷ After effecting a peaceful settlement, Calasiris enters a shrine (ἐντὸς ... τῶν ἀνακτόρων; 7.8.50)—a shrine where he had previously (before the *Aethiopica*'s beginning) been priest—and prostrates himself, embracing the cult statue's feet (ρίπτει μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τοῖς δὲ ἴχνεσι προσφύς τοῦ ἀγάλματος). He then offers a libation and prayer to the goddess (σπείσας τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ κατευξάμενος), before placing the "crown of priestly office" (τὸν τῆς ἱερωσύνης στέφανον) on his son Thyamis' head (7.8.50–56).³⁸ Here Heliodorus uses several narrative devices to place a stamp of approval on Calasiris' religious action. First, as is Heliodorus' habit, he exaggerates Calasiris' devotion through hyperbolic action: Calasiris' prostration before the cult statue lasts for so long that "he very nearly expired there" (ὀλίγου μὲν καὶ ἐκθανεῖν ἐδέησεν). Second, Calasiris' crowning of his son meets with the uproarious approval of the surrounding crowd (ἐκβοήσαντος δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τοῦ δήμου καὶ συγκατατίθεσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπαίνων παραδηλούντων; 7.9.1–2). Mass approbation is a narrative technique Heliodorus several times employs as a way of signaling that something has been done right or well. In this case, it contributes to the coloring of Calasiris' character as not only distinctly devoted, but widely recognized as such as well. Here we have, in stark contrast to the old Egyptian

37 7.8 begins: "So this sinful war between brothers was at an end, and the struggle, which had seemed to be settled by the spilling of blood, changed at its denouement from tragedy to comedy."

38 He passes the priestly mantle to Thyamis because he "was legally entitled to the insignia of priesthood and had the spiritual and physical strength to perform the duties of that office" (χρεωστεισθαι τε τὰ σύμβολα τῆς προφητείας ἐκ τοῦ νόμου καὶ ἰκανῶς γε ἔχειν ψυχῆς τε ἅμα καὶ σώματος πρὸς τὰς τῆς ἱερωσύνης λειτουργίας; 7.8.59–61); the reference to spiritual and physical strength underscores the significance of embodied, materially-mediated religion in the *Aethiopica*.

woman of Book 6, an official, elite—indeed, hereditary—manifestation of ‘right religion’ which is sanctioned by the crowd (and, presumably, by Heliodorus and his reader as well). In large part, it is this ‘high’ example of Egyptian religion that Calasiris comes to embody; but Heliodorus, as is his habit, does not allow a simple stratification of Egyptian religion to stand. As we will see, even Egyptian priests can be mistaken.

One final story adds an additional layer of nuance to the presentation of Egyptian-ness made by Heliodorus through religious action in his narrative. In the *Aethiopica*’s penultimate book, the Ethiopian king Hydaspes has occasion to “prove” to some Egyptian priests that the origins of the Nile are in Ethiopia, and thus that *that* land should be their object of worship (σεβάσμα) as the mother of their gods (μήτηρ ὑμῖν γινομένη θεῶν). The response is positive:

“Then worship (σέβομεν) it we do,” exclaimed the priests, “especially since it is responsible for the epiphany of you, our god and savior!”

Heliodorus *Aethiopica* 9.22.47–49

At this point, however, Hydaspes must exhort the priests that their “compliments ought to fall short of blasphemy” (εὐφήμους εἶναι προσήκειν τοὺς ἐπαίνους). It would appear that here Heliodorus, through the character of Hydaspes, must correct an Egyptian proclivity to ‘wrong religion.’ Just as the Egyptian priests were misled in their veneration of the Nile as a purely Egyptian thing,³⁹ so they are mistaken to treat a human being as “god and savior” (σωτήρα καὶ θεόν). We may recall here the earlier scene in which Calasiris is inclined to treat Charikleia and Theagenes the same way.⁴⁰ Also, in both the episode

39 After showing Hydaspes some Egyptian curiosities with which the king is underwhelmed and unimpressed, they describe their Nile worship: “Next the priests claimed that their festival was celebrated in a god’s honor (ὥς δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἐξεθείαζον), for to such status did they exalt the Nile, to which they gave the title of Horos, Giver of Grain and Giver of Life, Lord of all Egypt, Savior of the South, Father and Creator of the North (Ὠρόν τε καὶ ζειδωρον ἀποκαλοῦντες, Αἰγύπτου τε ὅλης τῆς μὲν ἄνω σωτήρα τῆς κάτω δὲ καὶ πατέρα καὶ δημιουργόν), who each year brings fresh silt (in Greek *nea ilys*, which, they suggested, is the origin of the name *Neilos*, or Nile), who marks the seasons of the year—the summer by its flooding, the autumn by its recession, and the spring by the flowers that bloom on its banks and the hatching of the crocodiles’ eggs; the Nile, they said, is actually the year incarnate, as is confirmed by its name—for if the letters in its name are converted to numerals, they will total 365, the number of days in the year. They ended by describing the peculiarities of the local fauna and flora, and much else besides” (9.22.29–42). (The factoid concerning the Nile’s numerical value is accurate.)

40 Calasiris’ “second libation” is poured to Theagenes and Charikleia *as if they were gods* (ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοῦτους εἰς θεοὺς ἀναγράφω). In this episode, of course, there is no correction of this action, but in concert with the episode mentioned above it creates a trend in Egyptian (priestly) religion in Heliodorus according to which Egyptians tend to deify inappropriate things, whether of the human sphere or of the natural world. In a related episode, Cnemon refers to Calasiris himself as θεϊότατε and considers his teaching on the gods to have been a kind of initiation for him (με ... μεμύηκας). Thus, in the *Aethiopica* Calasiris in some way represents Egyptian ‘mysteries.’

involving Calasiris' libation and the episode of the Egyptian priests mentioned above, we find Egyptian religion cast as flexible enough to conform to the contours of other religious systems, whether Hellenic or Ethiopian.⁴¹ Thus, in Heliodorus we find what is in ways a complex, religious Egyptian identity which, for the author, is inclined to 'aim' its religious practice at questionable objects—and, indeed, is prone to explicit *misuse* as illustrated by the episode involving the old Egyptian woman—and at the same time boasts a cosmopolitan openness that renders it readily adaptable to pluralistic contexts of religious practice.

Nor does Heliodorus allow Hydaspes the Ethiopian king's correction of Egyptian religion (embodied in Egyptian priests) to envelop the religious power that has, both geographically and ideologically, a firmly *Egyptian* identity. Rather, en route back to Ethiopia, Hydaspes himself stops at the cataracts to sacrifice to the Nile and the Egyptian gods (θύσας τῷ Νεῖλῳ καὶ θεοῖς ἐνορίοις; 10.1.9–10). Even at novel's end, once Heliodorus has moved to a firmly Ethiopian context and provides an interesting cultural snapshot of that ethnic identity, the religious significance of Egypt remains.

The above episodes evince a certain ambivalence that does characterize Heliodorus' presentation of Egyptian-ness, when viewed through the lens of religious practice or ritual. Egyptian religion is ancient, yet still operative; conducive to cultural pluralism, yet sometimes correcting, sometimes corrected by, Hellenistic or Ethiopian viewpoints inscribed within literary representation; it has, to borrow a metaphor from George Lucas, a 'light side' and a 'dark side'; it is manifest in both specialist and everyday contexts, by both specialists and non-specialists;⁴² most importantly, it is, despite its pluriformity, firmly Egyptian. Calasiris, other Egyptian priests, the old Egyptian woman, are all tapped by Heliodorus as narrator and by other characters to 'be religious' in important ways. As all of these characters make manifest, there is a genetic connection between the land, river, gods, habits, and people of Egypt, and a certain religiosity, sometimes called "wisdom," sometimes θεολογία (e.g. in regard to Calasiris' interpretation of Homer), and often manifest in many forms of religious habits that involve the embodied, material, 'lived' form of religion that I am calling 'religious practice.' Heliodorus' overall portrait, therefore, of Egyptian identity, is something that I suggest can best be gauged by an analysis of how he presents Egyptian religiousness. Understood together within the literary-cultural form that this presentation takes—the late ancient Greek novel—I think this literary fashioning

41 In the latter case we might even call Egyptian religiosity malleable, inasmuch as the Egyptian priests are ready to accept Hydaspes' religious authority and adjust their rites, or at least the ideas undergirding those rites, accordingly.

42 It is not completely clear from the narrative whether Heliodorus sees religion as something 'for the masses,' and if so in what sense, or 'for priests and prophets.' Svetla Slaveva-Griffin has said of Heliodorus, an author "provokingly taciturn about his stand on religion," that his novel "is built upon co-existent polarities, often mutually instructive while mutually destructive. One of these polar axes is the relation between the elite 1% and the remaining 99%, otherwise known respectively as the *pepaideuomenoi* and the *hoi polloi*." Svetla Slaveva-Griffin, "Panem et Circenses: The 99% in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," paper presented at the *Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting*, San Diego, CA, November 23, 2014, as part of the panel entitled, "From Within the Ivory Tower: Religious Experts and the 99%."

of Egyptian identity has much to tell us about perceptions of Egyptian-ness that likely circulated in the time of the *Aethiopica*’s writing.⁴³ To the explanation of this “cultural biography” that the *Aethiopica* allows us to read—to borrow Andrew Jacob’s term—I turn in conclusion.⁴⁴

Conclusion

I have argued that Heliodoros evinces a rather particular idea of Egyptian religiosity, albeit one multifaceted and slippery to grasp in stereo. I have also suggested that Heliodoros’ presentation of Egyptian religiousness has a great deal to say about his conception of Egyptian-ness. No reader can miss that religion and ethnic identity play critical roles within the fictive fabric of the *Aethiopica*. Indeed, it is reasonable to posit that exploring identity, in large part by means of religion, is what the *Aethiopica* is about. Margaret Doody offers a succinct hermeneutic for the novel: “Identities have to be discarded, rediscovered, reinterpreted.”⁴⁵ Suzanne Lye has contributed to this rediscovery, this reinterpretation of identities in Heliodoros by highlighting gender and ethnicity as *performative* identities.⁴⁶ What I suggest is that religious practice and Egyptian ethnicity are combined in Heliodoros’ fashioning of Egyptian identity—and, in fact, this fashioning is explicitly gendered as well⁴⁷—and that they allow for a stereotyped understanding of Egyptian identity to be gleaned from the *Aethiopica*. First and foremost, Egyptian identity carries with it a powerful religious undercurrent for Heliodoros: not to put too fine a point on it, Egyptian = religious potency. To be Egyptian in the *Aethiopica* is to be assumed to possess ‘potent mana.’⁴⁸ Further, Egyptian identity is adaptable to multicultural, pluralistic

43 Perceptions which, once more, had many antecedents in ancient Greek (and Mediterranean) culture.

44 Jacobs, whose book treats the fourth-century Christian ‘heresiologist’ Epiphanius of Cyprus, explains concerning his project: “One of my goals in this book is to broaden the framework within which we seek to understand Christian late antiquity. I begin from the simple premise that if Epiphanius was influential in his own time, we should take that influence seriously. I then use Epiphanius to reimagine certain core cultural concepts of late ancient Christianity.” He further defines his project such that “I call this project a ‘cultural biography’ because I argue that, by studying the life and times of Epiphanius, we can gain a new, very different understanding of Christian culture in the pivotal last decades of the fourth century.” Andrew S. Jacobs, *Epiphanius of Cyprus: A Cultural Biography of Late Antiquity* (Christianity in Late Antiquity; Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 5. Similarly, the present article seeks to read Heliodoros’ *Aethiopica* as potentially representative of much broader cultural ideas current in his time.

45 Margaret Doody, “Comedy in Heliodoros’ *Aithiopika*,” in *The Construction of the Real and the Ideal in the Ancient Novel*, eds. Michael Paschalis and Stelios Panayotakis (Ancient Narrative Supplementum 17; Groningen: Barkhuis, 2013), 105–26, at 126.

46 Suzanne Lye, “Gender and Ethnicity in Heliodoros’ *Aithiopika*,” *CW* 109.2 (2016): 235–62.

47 The old Egyptian woman’s ‘bad religion’ is a common practice among Egyptian women, whereas Calasiris’ hereditary, male, institutionalized Egyptian religion becomes the norm for male Egyptian religiosity.

48 I borrow this term as one apropos for current discussion from Wende E. Marshall, *Potent Mana: Lessons in Power of Healing* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2011); Marshall is adapting earlier discussion of Marcell Mauss (*The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* [New York: W.W. Norton, 1990], 8, 38, 75), who talked of ‘mana’ as “magical force,” and Clifford Geertz (“The

contexts. ‘Elite’ and ‘common’ are categories within Egyptian identity discernible from their respective religious modes and operations. Egyptian identity has a claim to antiquity, but does not hold the monopoly on wisdom and religious knowledge; it is one of numerous identities with ties to esotericism (along with, e.g., Ethiopian). Using religious practice as a hermeneutical lens, one can paint this picture of Egyptian identity from Heliodorus.

This brings me to the contribution of this article, not only to scholarship on Heliodorus,⁴⁹ but to our knowledge of Egyptian identity as it was understood by Hellenism’s multiculturalism of late antiquity. “Late antiquity” as an artificial era may be a problematic concept,⁵⁰ but however it is defined or discussed today, scholars often attach to it an implicit multiculturalism under late Roman Empire where East and West met and did ideological business, not least in the literature of emerging ‘others’ from out-of-the-way territories like those in Syria (like the *Aethiopica*).⁵¹ As a part of this cultural moment, Heliodorus’ novel

Way We Think Now: Toward an Ethnography of Modern Thought,” in *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* [New York: Basic Books, 1983], 157), who understood it as an anthropological category of cross-cultural understanding. The constructions of all three authors contribute to my enlistment of the term here.

49 One thing that this approach helps the reader of Heliodorus do is to table the extensive scholarly bibliography that deals with a host of ‘traditional’ scholarly issues for which there are rarely satisfactory answers and, even if there were, which are simply, in my mind, not quite as interesting as the kinds of scenarios the present inquiry can conjure. For an example of traditional discussions, Clinton Walker Keyes (“The Structure of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*,” *Studies in Philology* 19.1 [1922]: 42–51) is interested in demonstrating that the *Aethiopica* has a certain originality despite its use of sources and conventional patterns. I am more interested in examining what, and the ways in which, that originality (or not) might mean.

50 See discussion in Arnaldo Marcone, “A Long Late Antiquity? Considerations on a Controversial Periodization,” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1 (2008): 4–19; Edward James, “The Rise and Function of the Concept ‘Late Antiquity,’” *Journal of Late Antiquity* 1.1 (2008): 20–30. The ‘invention’ of ‘late antiquity’ is always necessarily linked with the name of Peter Brown, and has, perhaps not coincidentally, always carried with it a certain intellectual electricity. Brown, for example, speaks of the first writing of his *The World of Late Antiquity* (in 1970) in an afterword of a later edition, and he marks how it “concentrated, with gusto, in the cultural and religious history of the period, and on the social changes which seemed to me, at the time of writing, to offer a context for the remarkable ferment of the age,” Peter Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1993), 7; see also Peter Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978).

51 Thus the editors of the second volume of *Transformations of Late Antiquity* discuss the “peoples of Late Antiquity” as those who were able to effect transformation of their own cultural inheritance (variously construed) “even beyond the bounds of their own culture,” Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papoutsakis, “Editor’s Preface,” in *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown, Volume 2*, eds. Philip Rousseau and Manolis Papoutsakis (New York: Ashgate, 2009), ix–xii, here ix. It is from late antiquity that the famous E. A. Judge “traces the origins of the modern dilemmas of multiculturalism and toleration,” Alanna Nobbs, “Introduction,” in E.A. Judge, *Jerusalem and Athens: Cultural Transformation in Late Antiquity*, ed. Alanna Nobbs (WUNT 265; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 1–8, at 2. Moreover, the cultural context of late antiquity is very often viewed through religious and ethnic lenses; see the short section on “Late Ancient Identities: Ethnic, Cultural, and Religious” (5–9) within the introductory chapter on “Identity Politics in the Later Roman Empire” in Jeremy M. Schott, *Christianity, Empire, and the Making of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Divinations—Rereading Late Ancient Religion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania

provides a look into ways in which Egyptian identity was understood between the third and fifth centuries of the Common Era. And it is no surprise that the features of the Egyptian identity Heliodorus fashions match very well certain features of late antique cultural shifts: cultural confluence, flexible religiosity, ethnic affiliations, claims of antiquity, epistemological contest. The Egyptian-ness constructed in the *Aethiopica* reflects in many ways cultural shifts and values of its chronological provenance in late antiquity. But it is not only the idea of Egyptian identity that Heliodorus proffers that interests me here, but also the medium of that presentation.

The novel, as a literary genre, has and does provide a distinctive means of contributing to cultural discussions. For however much ancient (and modern) prose genres like historiography and biography shared features and forms of social and cultural capital with novels, the novel always offered a platform for creativity and imaginative exploration. It was fiction. I submit that the literary genre within which the *Aethiopica* appears lent itself particularly to discussions of ethnic and religious identity, particularly what may have been somewhat 'marginal' identities (like those of Egypt and Ethiopia), because characters, actions, and plot trajectories could be fabricated to fit any worldview. Moreover, the fashioning of something like Egyptian identity in novel form would have been very different than a similar fashioning in another literary context. Heliodorus was not making historical or social claims, which could have major political and socio-economic ramifications; even if he does take positions that make historical and social implications, these are understood to have been invented. Yet, I would submit that Heliodorus' portrait of Egyptian identity is all the more potent for this. He constructs a picture of what 'Egyptian-ness' looks like that is not prone to contradictions to historical veracity or contesting accounts of known events. His is a fictive portrait, yet realistic,⁵² and containing a number of features that were real features of identity, often Egyptian identity, in antiquity. The construction of identity through the novel is at once disarming and permanent, as it creates a memorable impression of identity 'essence' without saying it is doing so and in an aesthetically appealing, entertaining mode. It does not take a John Searle to conclude that "fiction can convey important messages, even though it is based on pretense." But it is important to note the idea

that fiction is a social rather than a linguistic phenomenon, even if the medium of a fiction can certainly be linguistic. Fiction ... is not a relation between

Press, 2008).

52 "...although Heliodorus is not an accurate reporter of a historical moment, his posture of historical authenticity nevertheless requires constant reference to authentic toponyms, learned onomastics, credible—if bookish—ethnography, civic customs, and social protocols, along with the rhetoric of historiography: mannered claims of scrupulous research, of claimed limitations on precision, and other 'credential ploys.' In scenes set in Egypt and Ethiopia, at Athens and at Delphi, Heliodorus takes pains to represent genuine rituals and priestly regalia, accurate topography and customs, actual names, monuments, and institutions known to earlier ages or to his own age—that is, to himself and to his educated audience." Donald Lateiner, "Abduction Marriage in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*," *GRBS* 38.4 (1997): 409–39, at 418.

words and objects (it is not a semantic relationship) but a relation between humans beings who willingly engage in a practice that involves make-believe and suspension of disbelief.⁵³

Thus, if the *Aethiopica* uses religion and other ethnic markers to form a picture of Egyptian identity—and it does—this is a contribution to *social* life. The cultural discourses of late antiquity were carried on by people in various forms of media. These discourses were interested in religious and ethnic identity. Inasmuch as Egyptian-ness was a significant identity in the thought-world of late antiquity, the *Aethiopica*, in both form and content, constitutes an important contribution to that thought-world.

It might reasonably be objected that Heliodorus' perspective on Egyptian culture appears to resemble in large part a milieu of Greek thinking that had already existed for centuries by his time of writing ; conceding this point, explaining Heliodorus on Egyptian religion, ethnicity, and identity might approach truism or pedantry, an unexceptional and therefore insignificant locus of study. My reply to such an objection would be threefold. First, even if an essay such as this aimed only to establish Heliodorus, via the details of his text, within this milieu, that in itself would be a valuable contribution in terms of categories (and philology). Yet that is not this essay's point. Second, any author or text, the latter of which is at the same time a cultural artifact, is in some sense unique;⁵⁴ Heliodorus' perspective can hardly be *exactly* that of Herodotus or Plutarch or Lucan. Moreover, it is in the combination of Heliodorus' presentaiton of Egyptian religion—the many details, in particular order, which he both includes *and excludes* from the novel—that one may glimpse a singular perspective. However, this is not the central contribution of this study either. Thirdly, and finally, and in place of the first and second points above, *how* a perspective is communicated is as important as what is communicated, and thus I see the significance of the present study not in Heliodorus' having invented a distinctive ethno-religious Egyptian-ness—as noted throughout this essay, anything truly original in such an ethnographic enterprise effectively disappeared with Herodotus a millennium before—but rather in the fact that Heliodorus communicates such conceptions by means of a novel *and in idiosyncratic ways*. Novelistic fictional realism provides a particular communicative template on which to inscribe ideas of culture, distinction, and identity.

To return to where we began, Edward Said argued masterfully that novels written within nineteenth- and twentieth-century empires were not detached from that imperial

53 Peter Melville Logan, ed., *The Encyclopedia of the Novel* (2 vols.; Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 1.304, discussing Peter Lamarque and Stein Haugom Olsen, *Truth, Fiction, and Literature: A Philosophical Perspective* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

54 However, saying so does not really say much of anything, and work that attempts to demonstrate singularity, or to establish significance via comparison, must watch out for methodological pitfalls; these have been expertly discussed in the chapter “On Comparison” by J. Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (Jordan Lectures in Comparative Religion XIV; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990), 36–53. To call something ‘unique’ says nothing *eo ipso* interesting or meaningful at all.

context. Rather, they contributed powerfully, and subtly, to larger cultural ideas about peoples and places—that is, identities—and how they interacted with authority and power. And while this has not been a study undertaken within the confines of post-colonial theory, that discourse is impossible to ignore when one is dealing with literature produced in the world of the Late Roman Empire. Thus, as we think about how Heliodorus and the late ancient novel could enter cultural discussions about identity, ethnicity, and religion, empire should always be in our minds as a broader context. Aaron Johnson provides a helpful entrée into thinking about how literature functioned within the identity discourses of late antique empire:

Even as Roman soldiers and governors sought to constrain and order the diversity of the conflicting social and ethnic forces of their empire, so intellectuals under that empire were attempting to delimit, classify, and bring order to the unruly diversity of indigenous knowledge in a culturally and scientifically imperializing project. The hegemonic forces behind such research and investigation need not have been explicitly articulated or even consciously accepted by its performers. A tacit collaboration could be maintained without the overt acceptance of those seeking to make sense of their worlds and to codify its peoples within their textual labors.⁵⁵

Johnson is talking about the historical, ethnographical, and/or geographical work of authors like Diodorus Siculus and Strabo here, but his point has a much broader application. Authors of any time and place need not be aware of the effects of their literature to be, in effect, complicit in larger cultural movements. For an author like Heliodorus, such movement necessarily implicated empire, the Roman Empire. Thus, I think it important to take into account that Heliodorus, in a particular literary form, is constructing an Egyptian identity for consideration (or, perhaps, 'use') within an ancient Mediterranean context in which Egyptians, and virtually everyone else, existed within the limits of Roman Empire. Could it be that the *Aethiopica*, like the novels Said surveys, contains and communicates certain cultural values and ideologies 'under the radar,' ideas and perceptions that simply *are* within the world whence it comes? Is the Egyptian which Heliodorus portrays simultaneously a product of, and a person *under*, empire? The question is by no means unreasonable. Certainly there are many reasons why Heliodorus might portray Egyptian identity, through religion, as culturally malleable and conducive to change, correction, and multiformity; but one implication in doing so is that Egyptian identity becomes culturally fluid in a way that is conducive to empire. Problematizing Egyptian religion by giving it 'light' and 'dark' sides makes for a very interesting narrative, and even provides literary balance, but also institutes the kind of intercultural contest that colonizing discourses of empire have been known to utilize as a means of control. I am not arguing that Heliodorus is willfully contributing to the project of empire in his novelistic project. I am arguing that

⁵⁵ Aaron P. Johnson, *Religion and Identity in Porphyry of Tyre: The Limits of Hellenism in Late Antiquity* (Greek Culture in the Roman World; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 286.

certain ideologies that may well be operative within his narrative are arguably products of cultural thinking endemic to specifically *imperial* contexts (not necessarily *necessarily*, but *in fact*). His portrayal of Egyptian-ness is formed by religious practice in the narrative of the *Aethiopica*. The fact that such a portrayal exists in the form of a novel has major implications for the way in which such an identity construct would have been received in the late antique world. Moreover, both Heliodorus' production and his work's reception will have been influenced by the imperial contexts they inhabited. After all is said and done, my argument is, at its simplest, only that we should keep such factors in mind when reading the *Aethiopica*, and in trying to understand the part it played in the social construction of Egyptian identity in the late ancient Roman Imperial world.⁵⁶

56 'Writing culture' is a very difficult thing. This essay, in large part, is a close look at one literary manifestation of larger streams of cultural, social 'thinking' operative in late antiquity. A broader theoretical framework for thinking about these things, which an article of this size and content could not well exploit, comes from the disciplines of anthropology. Consider the introduction to the essays in the anthropological collection on *Writing Culture*: "The essays collected here assert that this ideology has crumbled. They see culture as composed of seriously contested codes and representations; they assume that the poetic and the political are inseparable, that science is in, not above, historical and linguistic processes. They assume that academic and literary genres interpenetrate and that the writing of cultural descriptions is properly experimental and ethical. Their focus on text making and rhetoric serves to highlight the constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts." This last sentence in particular embodies the way that the present author views this project: text-making as part of a larger discursive construction of society. James Clifford, "Introduction: Partial Truths," in *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, eds. James Clifford and George E. Marcus (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 1–26, at 2.

When the Body Talks: Akhenaten's Body Language in Amarna Iconography*

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Abstract: This study of royal gestures and postures in the Amarna private tombs' iconography aims at characterizing and interpreting royal nonverbal communication during Akhenaten's reign. Akhenaten's imagery is a selective repertoire of movements, each of special significance in its iconographic context, as opposed to the vast range of movements in real life. Nonverbal communication theory together with the lexico-semantic information encoded in the ancient Egyptian iconic scripts may be used to analyze how the royal body communicates visually, what is communicated, and the specificity of royal communication in Amarna iconography, in order to provide insights into Atenist kingship and evaluate the tension between semiotic and representational aspects of the king's image.

Résumé: cette étude de la posture et des gestes royaux dans l'iconographie des tombes privées amarniennes a pour objectif d'identifier et d'interpréter la communication non-verbale d'Akhénaton. L'iconographie de ce pharaon offre un répertoire distinctif de mouvements d'une signification particulière dans leur contexte pictural, à l'opposé du large éventail de mouvements de la vie réelle. La théorie de la communication non-verbale jointe aux informations lexico-sémantiques encodées dans les écritures iconiques de l'Égypte ancienne peut être utilisée afin d'analyser la façon dont le corps royal communique dans l'image, la teneur de cette communication et sa singularité dans l'imagerie amarnienne. Cette analyse offre des indications précieuses quant à l'essence de la royauté aténiste et permet d'évaluer les tensions qui s'exercent entre les aspects sémiotiques et figuratifs de l'image royale.

Keywords: Amarna, gestures/gestes, iconography/iconographie, king's image/imageroyale, lexico-semantic information/information lexico-sémantique, movement/mouvements, nonverbal communication/communication non-verbale, semiotics/sémiotique

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'And as for gestures, they are as transitory hieroglyphics, and are to hieroglyphics as words spoken are to words written,' asserted Francis Bacon in 1605 (*The Advancement of Learning*, Book II, XVI 3), treating gestures and hieroglyphs as having 'an affinity with the things signified' by 'similitude or congruity', thus communicating by virtue of their iconic quality. Although the analogy with Egyptian pictograms is certainly apposite (even if it ignores the phonetic aspects of the hieroglyphic system), it is the communicative power of gestures that holds our attention. In ancient Egyptian royal iconography it is the king's body, represented in motion on a static medium, that commands center stage. Beyond the *mise en scène* of the royal show, its props and ideology, the king communicates nonverbally by the way he stands or sits, gestures and acts. Like Egypt's iconic scripts, the iconography is a complex system of movement notation for a variety of activities. In carefully encoded corporal language, the king entertains a lively dialog with the divine, his officials, his subjects, and his enemies. But what does the royal body say, how does it convey the message? Can we comprehend his body language without a genuine knowledge of this ancient nonverbal code?

Research has been done on ancient Egyptian gestures and postures, mainly on Old and Middle Kingdoms representations of non-royal gestures and stances,¹ with general overviews² and specific discussions of (non) royal stances.³ Though important changes in the royal body presentation and its language were introduced by Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten (Dynasty 18, c. 1350-1330 B.C.), no extensive study has been made of Akhenaten's attitudes. Atenist royal iconography (relating to Akhenaten's politico-religious reform, centered on the cult of the god Aten) is best observed in the tombs of Akhetaten (Tell el-Amarna)⁴ since they offer the only surviving extensive corpus of imagery in an original coherent context.

I propose to use the theoretical framework of nonverbal communication to study:

- (a) How the royal body communicates visually;
- (b) What is communicated through motion;
- (c) The specificity of Akhenaten's nonverbal communication.

This study offers a new paradigm for the analysis and understanding of gestures and postures in the ancient Egyptian representational system. When dealing with ancient and incomplete cultural material, not firsthand evidence of actual motions and attitudes,

1 Dominicus (1994).

2 Brunner-Traut (1977); Nascimento (2012); Wilkinson (1994: chapter 9; 2001).

3 See, e.g., Brunner-Traut (1958); Cummings (2000); David (2011); Demisch (1984); Dunand (1987); Eaton (2007; 2013); Hermann (1963); Hickmann (1958); Hornemann (1957); Jong (1993); Luiselli (2007); Lurson (1998); Radwan (1974); Schoske (1994); Teeter (1997); Volokhine (2008); Westendorf (1991); Wilkinson (1992: 15-29, 33-5, 49-55).

4 Davies (1903-1908); Martin (1989).

the procedure inevitably involves multiple caveats,⁵ since even the interpretation of immediately observed communication situations is a complex process.⁶ But since ancient iconography is a communication system in a stable format and ancient Egyptian literature and script provide additional information about significant gestures depicted in art, the study of nonverbal communication in ancient Egypt benefits from an abundance of integrated material offering rich research avenues.

Nonverbal communication and Egyptian iconography

Human postures (still positions), gestures (arms, hands, head movements), and facial displays/expressions embody complex cultural codes⁷ and are ‘a form of language and a mode of communication in their own right’.⁸ The body creates visual signs, a ‘scripture in space’⁹ that ‘communicates, characterizes, and socially places individuals’.¹⁰ Nonverbal communication studies body language – *kinesics*,¹¹ tactile communication – *haptics*,¹² and the use of spatial interaction – *proxemics*;¹³ it has been applied, among other disciplines, by linguistic and cultural anthropology,¹⁴ social psychology,¹⁵ and semiotics.¹⁶ These studies provide a useful theoretical background for our analysis. Ancient Egyptian iconography does not encode random, meaningless attitudes; at the time of their creation, images imparted shared informative value for a set of encoders and decoders, delivered with at least a certain level of intent to communicate. Though the intention behind live nonverbal communication may be irrelevant when judging the communicative power of the behavior,¹⁷ the purpose of ancient Egyptian royal iconography was certainly to deliver messages, even if not all were deliberate, and figuration used specific gestures and stances to express part of them. Nonverbal communication theory may help us to understand how the royal body communicates nonverbally because it offers a theoretical framework, comparative material, typological distinctions of gestures, and addresses the relation between verbal and nonverbal communication.

The iconographic presentation of gestures and postures is not a precise reflection of real-life motion, dynamically varied and slovenly; as secondary evidence of culturally-encoded

5 See, e.g., Calabro (2014).

6 Krauss, Chen & Chawla (1996: 395 ff.).

7 See already Mauss (1936).

8 Martinez-Ruiz (2009: 1).

9 Martinez-Ruiz (2009: 3).

10 Masségia (2015: 1).

11 See, e.g., Birdwhistell (1970); Efron (1941); Ekman & Friesen (1969); Kendon (1981); Ekman (2004); Knapp, Hall & Horgan (2014: 199-230).

12 See, e.g., Paterson (2007); Knapp, Hall & Horgan (2014: 231-57).

13 See, e.g., Hall (1959; 1966).

14 See, e.g., Farnell (1996); Haviland (2004).

15 See, e.g., Bull (1987).

16 See, e.g., Sonesson (2014).

17 Kendon (1981: 9).

body language, art depicts conventionalized, ritualized attitudes¹⁸ obeying restrictive rules:

- The visual repertoire of attitudes is limited by the rules of canon and decorum governing what may be represented and how it should be depicted;¹⁹
- The static medium by its nature 'arrests movement'²⁰ and inevitably transforms dynamic motion into static posture;²¹
- The interactive dynamics of word and gesture is lost in silent pictures, though formulaic speeches may be recorded in the vicinity of figures addressing them;
- The context in which depicted motions are presumed to take place in a scene and the architectural environment for which the representations are conceived (funerary, cultic, domestic, palatial) are culturally defined, imposing their own constraints;
- The Egyptian concept of image as an immutable, socially constructed sign,²² eliminates part of nonverbal communication, such as facial expressions, as irrelevant;
- Only postures and gestures significant for an Egyptian observer are depicted (e.g., when foreign rulers are represented performing an Egyptian gesture of respect,²³ it does not necessarily mean that they actually performed it in life, but the gesture speaks to Egyptian viewers).

To decode ancient Egyptian iconographic gestures and postures, two systems of reference are generally used: Egyptian texts and iconic scripts, both strictly encoded productions not primarily concerned with a realistic description of Egyptian experience.

Textual mentions of gestures in specific contexts and texts accompanying representations of gesturing figures are also indicative of the nature, function, and conditions of the nonverbal signs. The unique text of an artist named *Ḳrtysn* (stela Louvre C 14 from Abydos, Dynasty 11)²⁴ distinguishes lexically traditional typologies of postures: *šmt twt* 'stride of male statue', *nmṯt rpwt* 'step of female statue',²⁵ *ḥw nw ʒpd* 'stance of bird', *ks n skr wty* 'bent (pose) of striking down a captive', *nmṯt pḥrr* 'running step', the specific gesture *fʒt-nt ḥʒc* 'arm lifting of harpooning'. It mentions the artist's ability to capture the *ssnd ḥr*

18 Gombrich (1966); Kendon (2004: 28-32).

19 Baines (2007: 15-6, 166-7).

20 Gombrich (1966: 395); Durand (1984: 30) 'gestes iconiques.'

21 For rare decorated kinetic objects imparting an external movement to the representation, see Emery & Saad (1938); Saleh & Sourouzi (1987: 90).


22 Tefnin (1992).

23 See, e.g., both representations of the ruling couple of Punt in the temple of Deir el-Bahari (Smith 1962: 61).

24 Recently, Mathieu (2016).

25 Distinctions maintained on 4th century BC papyrus Berlin 10472A (Cauville 1995: 44-5, 57; Hoffmann 2012).

‘display of fear (on a) face’, rarely achieved in Egyptian art. No specific word for ‘gesture’ is used, only ‘arm’(-motion) (*dit-ꜥ* ‘giving the arm, signaling’; *fꜣt-ꜥ*, an *upward* gesture; *ḥwt-ꜥ*, an *extension* gesture,²⁶ etc.).

A large part of the repertoire of basic, standardized ‘stock gesture in a stock situation’²⁷ is inscribed in the hieroglyphic/hieratic scripts.²⁸ Most of these signs function as categorizing elements of the words they are attached to as classifiers. They shed light on the attitudes depicted in the statuary and iconography because they attach a lexico-semantic value to images of standardized gestures and postures. Thus the depiction of a New Kingdom Pharaoh smiting his enemies relates, in terms of stance, to the hieroglyph  which may function since Dynasty 18 as the classifier of the word *šḥr* ‘to drive away (evil)’, thus orienting our reading of the smiting scene with a lexico-semantic value²⁹ (see also descriptive *ks n škr wꜥty* on *Ḥrtysn*’s stela). A distinction must certainly be made between gestures featured in the iconography (contextualized during the reign of Akhenaten in tableaux with architectural landmarks) and non-contextualized scriptural icons. It has been noted recently that a detailed graphic and semantic analysis of the gestures encoded in the hieroglyph script is still lacking.³⁰

Akhenaten’s body language and nonverbal communication

On the walls of the Amarna tombs, the king and his family act in a limited repertoire of motifs that follow an analogous but never exactly identical scheme: rituals (offering, censuring, libation, greeting to Aten), driving the chariot, feasting (consuming food/beverages), patronage (attending festive events, bestowing offices, honors, gifts), mourning (Royal Tomb). The royal visual language *in the depicted communication context* may be identified with specific types of attitudes and gestures discussed in nonverbal communication studies, minding the specific cultural constraints of ancient Egyptian communication. Nevertheless, the transformation of a real-life gesture into a prototypical, unambiguous sign *in the iconographic code* (art/script) must be evaluated in the framework of this ancient semiotic system. Both levels of analysis are necessary to decrypt the encoded message, as the following examples from the Amarna tombs demonstrate; they are presented under typical communication situations involving speech-related, practical, ritual, and intimate gestures.

26 David (2016: 94-5).

27 Groenewegen-Frankfort (1951: 42).

28 For a brief introduction to gestures in the scripts, see Morenz (2012).

29 David (2011: 84-6).

30 Meeks (2015: 64-5).

a. Speech-related gestures

Gestures implying interpersonal (mainly face-to-face) verbal interaction.³¹

Address

(Figure 1)

The scene appears in the tomb of *Twtw*, on the west wall of the main decorated hall. Associated motifs appear on the left of the same wall (departure of the tomb owner for the temple to public ovation), right (depiction of the palace), and beneath the scene (owner standing in salute facing the text of his hymn to Aten and Akhenaten). Similar scenes appear in other Amarna tombs;³² in Karnak, the king is making the gesture at the window of appearance of the *tnymnw* in the context of the presentation of Aten’s cartouches,³³ and in the tomb of *Rcms* TT 55, with a royal speech.³⁴ A recorded royal speech is addressed from the palatial window of appearance for the investiture of *Twtw* who answers with a eulogy, both addresses in an interlocutive (1st-2nd person) form; the spatial configuration involves two participants in an etiquette-controlled interaction, placed at a meaningful distance (visual contact) in an up-down relation, Akhenaten above *Twtw* who stands in front of the window. This pattern is repeated in the similar scenes mentioned above, with slight variations.

Though the royal performer was not originally alone at the window (see the titles above the cut-out relief), he is not interacting with his family. He leans forward on the window sill cushion, orientated for interaction towards his right, face downwards (nose-and-chin-tips line angled at 60° on the facsimile, eye almost horizontal). His right arm is extended away from the body (large span), right hand in downward gesture, open palm facing outside the picture, thumb above (which may translate in the depiction code to a palm-up gesture). His left arm is held against the body and bent at the elbow, hand palm-down, fingers curled over the cushion. Motion is suggested by the arm gesture and the general diagonal upper body axis. There is no sequencing suggesting a process, no instrument used; the gesture seems feasible, even if the body’s unnatural pose is the product of the Egyptian canon (but some rules have been tampered with, allowing the bending, clipped royal body). The address gesture is usually performed with the right hand, thumb up, even when Akhenaten is turned in the opposite direction (codified gesture showing



31 Kendon (1981: 17).




32 Davies (1903: pl. 30 with royal speech; 1905: pls. 38, 41, no speech; 1905b: pls. 16-17, no speech; 1906: pl. 29, no speech; 1908b: pls. 4 no speech, 17 with speech) and probably also Davies (1903: pl. 6; 1906: pl. 8 north wall) since royal speeches are noted in front of the king whose hands are damaged; perhaps also Davies (1906: pl. 7) but no royal speech survives on the damaged relief.

33 Vergniew (1999: pl. 3 Assemblage A0011; probably pl. 31 Assemblage A0018 with address gesture of the right hand and a text); but talatat 26/075 (unpublished) shows the king making the address gesture at the window without a presentation of the cartouches.

34 Davies (1941: pls. 34-6).

prototypical right-hand dominance). Only the king performs the speech-related gesture at the window (gender/function-specificity), and interacts exclusively with the addressee; but other figures may perform this gesture,³⁵ even in similar Amarna scenes.³⁶ Space is used to define status or ontological separateness and the interpersonal communication with the tomb's owner: isolated from non-royal figures at the window of the palace, above the crowd, the 'dialogue' between Akhenaten and *Twtw* takes the form of a royal edict to a subordinate. The addressee performs a jubilation gesture beneath the window, in much smaller size, with another man bowing and presenting a necklace. Though neither visibly speaking nor performing a gesture of address, his formulaic answer is revealed in the accompanying text. Inferiority to Akhenaten is manifest in distance, position, height, and speech, but the same factors reveal *Twtw*'s comparatively high social status compared to other figures in the scene. The address gesture is performed by kings before Akhenaten's reign, the addressee being a divine/royal figure (see e.g. King *Ṛḥms* addressing Queen *Ttšri* on stela Cairo CG 34002).³⁷

Akhenaten's gesture recalls the sign  (A26 in Gardiner's list),³⁸ classifier of *nš*,³⁹ *š*, *dwi*, *dsw* 'to call, summon',⁴⁰ *snmh* 'to make a supplication,' interjection *i* ,⁴¹ etc. Contrary to the modern hieroglyphic font, Akhenaten's address gesture is always performed thumb up,

conforming to the address classifier used in the tombs: see, e.g., .⁴² Orality is classified in the script by , the classifier of the [MOUTH-LINKED ACTIVITIES] category, while the more specific classifier  refers to the [DIRECT ADDRESS] category. Textual evidence for this is suggested by Dominicus:⁴³ 'Then his [the king's] person extended his arm, bent his hand/arm,⁴⁴ (and) made a summon (*dš.f š.f kih.f drt.f ir.f ns*)' (Dynasty 18 Cairo CG 34002 stela of King *Ṛḥms*).⁴⁵

The level of semiotic (sign-like) vs. representational quality of the royal figure in relation to the script must be assessed. Well-known is the traditional iconographic opposition between a main figure in a formal attitude resembling a hieroglyph (the static Subject)

35 Dominicus (1994: 77, 91, 94-5).

36 In the tombs of *Mryr*, *Pznhšy*, and *Mḥw* (Davies 1903: pl. 6; 1905: pl. 10; 1906: pl. 22) the anonymous non-royal figure closest to the king is performing the gesture, without noted speech.

37 Lacau (1909: pls. 2-3).

38 Dominicus (1994: 77-94).

39 In Amarna tombs of *Hwyš* and *Pntw*: Davies (1905b: pl. 2; 1906: pl. 3); Sandman (1938: 34 line 5).

40 Wilkinson (1992: 24-5).

41 For morphological and functional parallels between interjections and gestures: Kendon (1992: 95-6).


42 Davies (1906: pl. 3).


43 Dominicus (1994: 86).

44 Hannig (2003-6: 2510).

45 *Urk.* IV, 28 line 16 - 29 line 1.

and less formal secondary figures it looks upon whose postures are not to be found in the script (the dynamic Objects).⁴⁶ Since the basic repertoire of corporal attitudes associated with Pharaoh and his subjects is represented in the script as anthropomorphic signs, these signs provide a reference group of attitudes. The schematic opposition semiotic-static-limited (script) vs. representational-dynamic-boundless (art) evolved over the course of Egyptian history. Tefnin noted that Dynasty 18 artists became conscious of the difference in the nature of iconographic and scriptural pictures, contrary to the earlier confusion between the two pictographic systems.⁴⁷ Dynasty 18 saw the main figure transformed in scale, clothing, and attitude in private tombs, subtly masking the semiotic quality of the representation under the veil of more ‘naturalistic’ depictions.⁴⁸ Despite the long graphic history of the address gesture,⁴⁹ compared with the surrounding small figures, the partially invisible royal body leaning on the window’s cushion is not reduced to an iconic script sign. The attitude and motif of the window of appearance are new in the royal iconographic repertoire. Atenist iconography plays on the tension between script and representation to further isolate Akhenaten from other actors. His figure seems to be striving to transcend its hieroglyphic state to enter the representational system; his nontraditional body, in contrast with the standard royal icon, is shown in a stance never presented before. When close to other actors, his figure stands out in opposition to the diminutive, repetitive, more sign-like secondary figures,⁵⁰ an inversion of the traditional confronting Subject-Objects scheme.

Traditional regal classifiers are used in the Amarna tombs,⁵¹ the  icon (immobility suggested by the limbs’ invisibility except for one hand) not reflecting Akhenaten’s image.

In nonverbal communication theory, our motif and the sign  depict a speech-related gesture with a ‘communicative function in the social world’,⁵² a *conversational gesture*.⁵³ The extended arm directed to the addressee bridges the distance (proxemic conditioned ‘social distance’),⁵⁴ and involves him, pointing to him (spatial deixis) or to the speech situation itself (a delivery gesture, semiotically motivated, acknowledging the exchange of information).⁵⁵ This typical interactive gesture⁵⁶ (unrelated to the topic

46 Smith (1949: 273-332).

47 Tefnin (1991: 75, 80).

48 Tefnin (1997: 3-5); Angenot (2015: 100-4).

49 See, e.g., PT 794c (Spell 437-P) in Allen (2013 IV: 22) *dsw*  ‘summon’.

50 Uspensky (1973: 163).

51 See, e.g., Davies (1905: pl. 7).





52 Bavelas & Chovil (2006: 102); Kendon (1981: 28).

53 Ekman & Friesen (1969: 68) ‘illustrator’; Krauss, Chen & Chawla (1996: 393-4); Bavelas & Chovil (2000: 165); Knapp, Hall & Horgan (2014: 214).

54 Hall (1966: 122-3).

55 Knapp, Hall & Horgan (2014: 215).

56 Knapp, Hall & Horgan (2014: 214).

of the conversation,⁵⁷ the investiture) is spatially addressee-orientated⁵⁸ (performed downward in the scene contrary to the decontextualized  sign). Metaphoric components depicting ‘abstract intangibles’⁵⁹ may be assumed in this type of conversational gesture: if the intention was to suggest a *palm-up gesture* (an empty version of ) , it may imply metaphorically an offered object, the speech (conduit metaphor);⁶⁰ a spatial link between participants of unequal status (Akhenaten up at the window – the other figures down) indicates hierarchical level (orientational metaphors HIGH STATUS IS UP/LOW STATUS IS DOWN). This specific gesture is represented in the graphic system in isolation from a wealth of complex ‘improvisational’⁶¹ nonverbal signs that would be concurrent in the flow of live conversation; it has become a conventionalized gesture of direct address in the iconography and the script. Though speech-related gestures are often iconically and indexically motivated,⁶² they also have a symbolic (conventional)⁶³ aspect since they function as significant substitutes for something other than the movement itself;⁶⁴ the address gesture functions in the graphic system as an *emblem*⁶⁵ (quotable,⁶⁶ semiotic gesture).⁶⁷ Emblems are head, face, and hand displays, also performed in real life, learned motions of a standard form,⁶⁸ for which there is a lexical expression, evincing a specific agreed-upon meaning and conscious, deliberate communicative usage. Nowadays some emblematic gestures have been translated into widely used graphic icons (e.g. , ) ; but emblems are essentially culture- and context-specific,⁶⁹ as are representations of gestures in art.⁷⁰ Emblems are more likely to be encoded in visual material because they speak without words to the community in which they are produced.⁷¹ Emblematic gestures and their graphic translation are signs;⁷² both seem to derive their meaning from an arrested position (‘stroke’ or meaningful apex), not from an entire movement, the preparatory and post-arrest phases being irrelevant to the gesture’s understanding.⁷³ Many emblems are metaphoric gestures, allowing to experience

57 Bavelas & Chovil (2000: 171); Bavelas & Gerwing (2007: 291-2).

58 Bavelas & Chovil (2006: 102).

59 Bavelas & Chovil (2000: 174-5); see also Cienki & Müller (2008); David (2011).

60 McNeill (1992: 14-5 ‘Metaphoric: Hands rise up and offer listener an “object”,’ with illustration; 2014: 84).

61 Kendon (1992: 92).

62 Müller (2014: 133).

63 McNeill (2014: 91).

64 Bavelas & Chovil (2000: 171-2).

65 Efron (1941); Ekman (2004); Ekman & Friesen (1969).

66 Kendon (1992).

67 Barakat (1973).

68 McNeill (2014: 76).

69 Ekman & Friesen (1969).

70 Gombrich (1989).

71 Morris (2001).

72 Arasse (1981); Sonesson (2014).

73 Kendon (2004:111-2); Sonesson (2014: 1997); Wilkinson (2001: 21) for the Egyptian image.

‘one thing in terms of something else’⁷⁴ (e.g. ☩ and ☪ represent visually GOOD IS UP/BAD IS DOWN). Emblems are *performative gestures*, ‘magic’ gestures that create,⁷⁵ likely to be encountered in ancient Egyptian iconography whose pictures may be ‘activated’ to magically fulfill their function. The performativity of the discourse and its gesture are evident here: royal investiture speeches create a new situation, an office, and a 1st person present form is used by the king, the competent performer, to ‘do things with words’.⁷⁶ The same can be said of Akhenaten as a sphinx performing an address gesture that points to Aten’s cartouches:⁷⁷ by pronouncing Aten’s name he vocally activates it.⁷⁸ In our investiture scene the gesture’s ritualization is essential in an exchange marked by rules of etiquette, performed in a public ceremony spatially organized to emphasize its solemnity and hierarchical distribution of roles, the speeches’ genre, the performative nature of the royal discourse, and the conventional attitude of *Twtw* belonging to a recurrent formula. The spontaneous speech-related motion has been culturally standardized, ‘emblemized,’⁷⁹ codified in form and usage for the graphic systems⁸⁰ in keeping with McNeill’s suggestion that ‘emblems are the end-points of gestures with speech.’⁸¹

Specific address: oath

(Figure 2)

Located on the right side of the east wall and the south wall of the decorated hall of *Mḥw*’s tomb, a unique tableau offers a double scene of Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and their eldest daughter *Mrtitn* traveling in the royal chariot. Situational icons of buildings provide the links with the adjacent scenes and reveal the origin and purpose of the journey: the family travels from the great temple of Aten to a fortified, crenellated outpost⁸² (upper part of the south wall) and, as proposed by O’Connor,⁸³ to the large boundary stela represented on the right; the lower register depicts their way back. The journey is thus rendered in a

74 McNeill (2014: 77).

75 Arasse (1981: 14-6); Haviland (2004: 212-3). Luiselli (2007: 95); McNeill (2014: 92-3).

76 Austin (1970); for Egyptian performative see, e.g., Vernus (1985); David (2016b).

77 See, e.g., Pendlebury (1951: pl. 41); probably also Smith & Redford (1976: pl. 8 No. 2).

78 Spieser (2010: 77-9): ‘«toucher» des noms divins’.

79 McNeill (2014: 81, 91).

80 An anonymous reviewer suggested that depicting a gesture for a speech is a synecdoche taking ‘into consideration semiotic typicality and representativeness’; I fully agree, but consider that beyond their immediate iconicity, the use of emblematic address gestures in the iconography has other communicative functions.

81 McNeill (2014: 93).


82 The north riverside palace for Kemp (1976: 97) and O’Connor (1987: 42), but palatial structures are never represented in a non-ornamented way in Amarna iconography, even in abbreviated depictions and there is a second representation of the typical garrison post on the west wall.

83 O’Connor (1987).

boustrophedon composition over two registers.

Though the king's legs, belly, and right breast are turned forward as he drives the chariot, his face and neck are turned backwards in a complete 180° torsion to bring his face close to Nefertiti's, both shoulders facing the external viewer with arms open frontally on both sides of his body (see also **fig. 18**). The attitude is completely unconventional for a king;⁸⁴ in spite of its rotation, Akhenaten's vertical body axis remains unaffected. The address gesture is exceptionally performed with the left hand since the right hand (pictured as a left hand) is busy driving the chariot. No royal speech is recorded; the chariot motif is not associated with a typical discursive genre in Amarna.

Three main explanations of the gesture may be proposed:

- The stela on the right⁸⁵ recalls a situation described in the first boundary stelae of Year 5, when Akhenaten takes an oath (*ḥh* )⁸⁶ while executing an upward gesture at the site of Akhetaten, promising to found Aten's domain: 'Then His Person lifted his arm to heaven (*ḥḥ.n f3.n ḥm.f ḥ.f r pt*), to the one who birthed him, Aten, saying....'.⁸⁷ Since oaths are ritual verbal performances, performative speeches that create binding situations, their importance is often marked by typical agreed gestures,⁸⁸ here an upward gesture taking Aten as witness. Later boundary stelae note that Akhenaten took another oath in Year 6, standing on his chariot on the southeastern mountain of Akhetaten, describing the limits of Akhetaten, renewed again in Year 8. The oath gesture on the chariot fits O'Connor's understanding of the scene as a Year 6 visit to the stela represented on the south wall of the tomb.⁸⁹ Though the royal oath is not inscribed in the scene, *Mḥw* addresses Akhenaten with a salute gesture as 'the builder of Akhetaten (*p3 kd 3ḥttn*) whom the sun himself made', referring explicitly to the city's foundation.⁹⁰ The depiction does not show the high-held arm, hand pointing to Aten in the sky as one would expect, perhaps due to the desire to add another layer of meaning to this complex scene
- The address gesture seems to point to the closest anonymous figure on the same ground line, who is also making an address gesture without recorded speech. It is not the owner of the tomb, already represented and named several times around the chariot, including above the addressing figure; it may be an official in charge of protocol, verbally directing

84 For a similarly unconventional Nefertiti, see Davies (1905: pl. 10-1).

85 A classical feature of the transversal hall in Dynasty 18 Theban tombs, opposed to a false door at the other end (Kampp 1996: 53).

86 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 21 lines 18-20); on the later stelae, with verb *dd* 'to speak an oath' p.88 lines 17-24, mostly without classifier; 90 lines 1-10; 94 lines 15-21 with on the next lines the verb *iri* 'to take an oath'; 96 lines 16-24; 97 lines 18-9 again with *dd*.




87 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 23 lines 4-5).

88 Dominicus (1994: 94-5); for solemn gestures in legal situations see David (2010: 9, 225-6).

89 O'Connor (1987).

90 Monnier (2014) notes the depicted knotted cords as foundation implements in the scene.

the king’s public appearances.⁹¹ The king is not looking at him, which is strange in the context of such a typical conversational gesture

- Akhenaten’s arms, though bent, reflect the angle and direction of Aten’s luminous rays shining above him. All around Akhenaten bowing men hold up their hands in salute, as is customary in Atenist imagery. The royal gesture and the crowd’s answering salute  and bowing () recall *PT* 579 § 1541c-1542b⁹² in which the king is addressed with the following words: ‘Should you put your arm toward the gods (*di.k ˆ.k ir ntrw*), they would salute you and come bowing to you (*di.sn n.k iz iwt.sn n.k m ksiw*) as they would salute the sun and come bowing to him (*mi dit.sn iz  n rˆ iwt.sn n.f m ksiw*).' The king is ‘putting his arm toward’ the crowd in a symbolic gesture expected of a solar body like his father Aten, the response to which is saluting and bowing, an attitude adopted before celestial bodies, including the king as ‘a star to whom gods bow’.⁹³ The ‘radiating’ gesture, mimicking the idea of Aten’s rays, suggests the light of the sun (*simile*) and also points to the adoring crowd target (deictic gesture). Akhenaten in his chariot possesses the visual features of an aster and texts compare this image to the rising sun.⁹⁴ The royal arms and torso frontality may also imply a power that transcends the image, an intervention in the world of the external observer, his extraction from the internal narrative; it dissociates Akhenaten from the surrounding figures by proclaiming the king’s luminous potency inside and outside of the visual narrative.

This rather unusual picture offers a conflation of significant gestures, the address of the oath and a gesture of solar omnipotence on top of the driving activity, Akhenaten’s multitasking aptitude being the ultimate sign of his divine omnipotence. We will see infra that, far from having exhausted the image’s semantics, another important attitude is recorded in this extraordinary scene.

b. Practical actions: instrumental activities

Activities performing a practical task with the appropriate instruments, not necessarily in interactive situations.

Driving the chariot

(Figure 3)

The large tableau covers the west and north-west walls of *Mryrˆ*’s tomb main

91 See also Davies (1903: pl. 6; 1905: pl. 10).


92 Allen (2013 V: 93); signaled by Dominicus (1994: 23).

93 *PT* 328-9 §§ 537b T, M and 538b T; also *PT* 614 § 1740c M.

94 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 19, 86; variants of Year 8 p. 97 and boundary tablet L pl. 16); Redford (1982: pl. 3, columns 8-10; 1988: 2, pl. 35).

decorated hall, explicitly joined by a wide frame. The driving motif is contextualized by two architectural features, a palace in the upper left corner and the Aten temple complex on the north-west wall, the journey's ritual objective. Akhenaten is presented driving his chariot in three other tombs,⁹⁵ the motif already attested in Karnak⁹⁶ and also known outside of the funerary realm in Amarna.⁹⁷ A pattern is established, with significant variations. Akhenaten interacts in our scene only with his horses, but an important cortege surrounds him and a welcome party waits before the temple (Nefertiti and the princesses follow on their own chariots). The spatial configuration involves participants placed at a respectful distance (visual contact); Aten shines on Akhenaten and on the eastern side of the sanctuary. The chariot scenes are the most dynamic tableaus of the Amarna tombs, with chariots in motion, running figures, departure and destination points, repeated Aten icons indicating a royal progression, and pyramidal composition in *Mryr*'s scene. The related texts are identifying labels for the main actors, including a group welcoming the king in a damaged address.

Akhenaten looks straight ahead, his far upper leg slightly advanced; he stands in a vertically unperturbed axis despite pulling the reins and the horses rearing in a *cabré fléchi*, incompatible with a gallop,⁹⁸ which should have provoked a backward motion of the torso. Akhenaten holds the reins with both hands, the far arm extended translating a symmetrical hold. He grips the straight reins short, arms bent but not tensed close to the torso; his hold on the reins, the reins' tension, his body axis, and the horses' pace do not match and Akhenaten's position is unnatural. He holds a whip in his right hand, not using it. Though his stance is also adopted by Nefertiti and their daughters, its specificity resides in the contrast between Akhenaten's hieratic stance (control) and the high rearing of the horses (the rearing height diminishes hierarchically with Nefertiti, the princesses, and the other chariots). Driving a chariot is either class-specific (elite) or function-specific (chariotry). The king's saliency is marked by size, deeper relief, upright stance, distance from the crowd (separateness and blank zone around his figure, the proxemic 'public distance'),⁹⁹ labeling, central position on the west wall, Aten's spotlight, and the successful handling of the large, unruly horses.

The hieroglyphic ¹⁰⁰ is only known in the Ptolemaic Period. Akhenaten's body is partly hidden behind the chariot, again a more representational than scriptural feature. His activity is noted as 'holding the reins' *t3i hnr*¹⁰¹ since Dynasty 18, and he is mentioned driving on the boundary stelae: 'His person appeared (teaming his horses) on a great chariot

95 Davies (1905: pl. 13; 1905b: pls. 32-32A; 1906: pls. 20, 22, see **fig. 2**).

96 See, e.g., Smith & Redford (1976: pl. 12); Redford (1988: pls. 18, 35, 37).

97 See, e.g., Weatherhead (2007: 243-9).

98 Rommelaere (1991: 75-6).


99 Hall (1966: 123-5).

100 Meeks (2005: 52).

101 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 1281 line 17 (Amenhotep II's sphinx stela).

(*hꜥy hm.f (hr ḥtri) hr wrryt ʿzt*) of electrum like Aten when he rises from his horizon.¹⁰²

In nonverbal communication theory, *practical/instrumental* actions (‘activities of the hands in the material world’)¹⁰³ are not communicative gestures; they perform a practical task and are not about expressing meaning.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, activities ‘may be performed in ways that can be highly expressive’,¹⁰⁵ and their depiction transforms them into significant, communicative gestures. The journey on the chariot extols a certain facet of Akhenaten’s control, outside the traditional military or hunting victory frame of chariot scenes. This ability is highlighted by the opposition between his undeviating corporal vertical axis and the rearing horses (anomaly functioning as an indexical sign that indicates a need for interpretation).¹⁰⁶ See the contrasted attitude of anonymous chariot drivers in the same scene (**fig. 4-5**).¹⁰⁷

Officials driving their chariots are also presented upright, which means that the upright stance is a status marker and a scalar index of control as a function of the rearing height of the horses. Indeed, the boundary stelae refer in Year 6 to Akhenaten’s appearance on the chariot *hr ḥtri*  ‘teaming horses’.¹⁰⁸ The lexeme *ḥtr* refers to union by subjugation: teaming is effected *sub iugum*, as ‘the horse enters under his yoke (*ʿkw ḥry nḥbw.f*)’,¹⁰⁹ the effect of the vehicle and the driver’s control on the powerful animals. Vernus has noted that royal ideology often uses *ḥtr* instead of *ssmt* ‘horse’ to highlight royal prestige;¹¹⁰ the chariot is not only a vehicle of transport but one of control, the king being the ultimate jugulating commander (compare with the pre-Atenist motif of the king driving with his hips while shooting arrows). The horses’ power is emphasized by their extended pace and very large bodies dwarfing all other figures and covering a large part of the wall. They rise high above other actors, their rearing (emblematic power attitude) an ascension above earth, carrying a solar sovereign in apotheosis (astral culmination);¹¹¹ the solar connotations of the king on his chariot have often been noted.¹¹² In Dynasty 18 the swiftness of the horse is associated with the flying gallop (another emblematic attitude),¹¹³ the wind,¹¹⁴ the ostrich feathers of their headdress being exponents of luminosity and motion. An inscription of

102 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 19, 86; variants on Year 8 addition p. 97, and boundary tablet L pl. 16).

In Karnak: Meltzer (1988: fig. 7); Redford (1982: pl. 3, columns 8-10; 1988: 2, pl. 35).

103 LeBaron & Streeck (2000: 119); Bavelas & Chovil (2006: 102).

104 Kendon (1986: 24-5).

105 Kendon (1986: 26).

106 On visual anomaly as semiotic modality marker in Egyptian art, see Angenot (2015: 114-5).

107 Davies (1903: pl. 20).

108 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 86 lines 17-8, 21, 23-4).

109 *pAni* B 23,3 in Quack (1994: 334).

110 Vernus (2009: 23, 25).

111 L’Orange (1982: 64-5); divine incarnation for Chappaz (1985: 113).

112 Hoffmeier (1988: 41); Calvert (2013: 58).

113 See, e.g., UC 26936 in <http://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx#39720>.

114 *Urk.* IV, 1541 line 13 (Thutmose IV).

Amenhotep III on the 3rd pylon in Karnak had already conjured this image: ‘[running like Aten], swift when he moves, a star of electrum when he flashes by teaming (his) horses (*sšd.f hr ḥ[t]ri*).’¹¹⁵ Aten and the king on his chariot are amalgamated, as later Helios and Apollo, to ensure harmonious guidance of the visible world by the latter:¹¹⁶ Akhenaten ‘halted on his chariot in the presence of his father Aten given life forever and ever (...), the rays of Aten upon him as life and dominion, rejuvenating his flesh daily.’¹¹⁷ Thus what appears at first glance as a functional activity operates in the iconography as a symbolic stance used to communicate Akhenaten’s solar essence.

Eating and drinking

(Figures 6-7)

The scenes are carved on both sides of the doorway on the south wall of the decorated hall of *Hwyꜣ*’s tomb, the eating scene on the left and the drinking party on the right. The adjacent walls feature a visit to a cultic abode on the left and a tribute scene on the right, apparently unrelated. Similar examples appear in other tombs¹¹⁸ with varying details, in Karnak¹¹⁹ and on the unfinished stela Berlin 20716 (private domestic context).¹²⁰ The outdoor context of the drinking/eating party is unspecific, no major architectural structure being indicated under the sky, except for an enclosure with drink and food provisions on the lower register. The royal family is seated, Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and two princesses facing queen Tiy and princess *Bꜣktitn*; no public is admitted except for the service personnel and musicians. Akhenaten does not interact with other figures, no speech is recorded, no address gesture performed. In the eating scene, Aten touches a burning offering placed for him; his icon is absent in the other scene (night scene),¹²¹ but his framed cartouches attest to his immanence. The sole related texts are the main actors’ identifying labels.

Akhenaten brings meat or a cup to his lips, as do both queens. He is sitting, looking straight ahead, legs together, the far foot slightly advanced, leaning on the back of the chair. His right arm is bent and held upward, hand gripping the bone of a meat shank or cupping a

115 *Urk.* IV, 1723 lines 13-4.

116 Hansen (2005).

117 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 88 lines 9-24).



118 Davies (1905: pl. 32 drinking; 1905b: pl. 34 eating; 1906: pl. 10 eating (?); 1908b: pl. 6?).

119 Vergniew (1999: Assemblage A0071 on pl. 17a, eating a bird); blocs 27-538 and 31-112 from the *Rwdmnw* (unpublished, drinking). I thank Robert Vergniew for authorizing me to use the Archeogrid Talatat database.

120 Seyfried (2012: 413). See also a princess with poultry on relief Cairo JE 48038 (from the North Palace) in Arnold (1996: 111); perhaps also on fragmentary slabs Wien 8038 in Komorzynski (1961: no. 77) and BM EA 24431 + 63778 in http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=108983&partId=1&museumno=24431&page=1.

121 Davies (1905b: 7).

chalice, the left arm either above the thigh (not touching it) or hanging along the back of the throne (left hand depicted as right). The position of the empty hand and arm is obviously the acceptable version of the same gesture when the king faces the opposite direction. The king’s specificity is marked by size, position closest to the center of the tableau, the dimension and quality of his food (meat shank, large table), and his distinctively elegant cup.

There is no hieroglyph of a king eating or drinking; eating (*wnm*) and drinking (*swr*) are usually classified by the  icon in the [MOUTH LINKED ACTIVITIES] category, though a man drinking from a cup  may be associated with *swr*.¹²² The hieroglyphs indicate prototypical right-hand dominance and seated performance. No textual expression of the motif is to be found in the Atenist repertoire and the image of a feasting king is not attested before Atenism¹²³ (but Middle Kingdom Queen *K3wit* is presented eating and drinking on her sarcophagus);¹²⁴ traditional rules of decorum did not permit images of a king grabbing a chunk of meat (and still do not allow depicting Akhenaten taking a bite) or putting a cup to his lips as his subjects would rarely do on tomb walls.¹²⁵ The king is not passively seated in front of his offerings as a cultic image, but grabs and lifts consumables. In contrast, the owner of an Amarna tomb is rarely depicted in front of a table, never putting food or a cup to his mouth,¹²⁶ not even mimicking eating or drinking with his fingers to the lips, no food/cup involved¹²⁷ (*iconic gesture* referring to an implied object acted upon);¹²⁸ his eternal meal is not a musical banquet. Food is offered to Akhenaten’s *k3* everywhere¹²⁹ and the deceased expects food from him¹³⁰ that he wishes to consume beside his god,¹³¹ an echo of the ancient offerings reversion motif.¹³² The visual anomaly of Akhenaten bringing food or a cup to his lips, breaking an iconographic taboo, hints at the importance of a motif not confined to the funerary context in Karnak and Amarna. Even if no other guest is admitted to the feast, the formality of the ‘banquet’ cannot be dismissed, the seating arrangement clearly

122 See, e.g., *Urk.* IV 413 line 4.

123 Green (2004: 204).

124 Cairo JE 47397, Dynasty 11 (Naville & Hall 1907: pl. 20).

125 See, e.g., Vandier (1964: figs. 87.2-7, 88.2, 89), Baines (2014: fig. 4), Tefnin (1997: pl. 1.1). From Amarna, see stele of *Mnn3* and *ʿIsi3* San Diego Museum of Man 14881 with a drinking man and another holding a cup (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: no. 175); stele of *Trwr* drinking through a straw Berlin 14122 (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: no. 114).

126 See *P3nh3sy*’s and *Any*’s shrine (Davies 1905: pl. 23; 1908: pl. 9) and the stelae found in *Any*’s tomb (Davies 1908: pls. 21-3).

127 As in Vandier (1964: fig. 88.1).

128 McNeill (1992: 78).

129 Sandman (1938: 38 line 17 to p. 39 line 1).

130 Sandman (1938: 101 lines 3-4, p. 41 lines 1-8, p. 32 lines 5-6).

131 Sandman (1938: 100 lines 11-2) in tomb of *ʿIy* (see Dynasty 18 statue Florence 1803 of *Mry* and *Twy* for an earlier similar formula in Schiaparelli 1887: 212-5 no. 1513).

132 *CT* Spell 195; *BD* 135-136A; Assmann (1989: 145-6).

governed by etiquette, with Tiy's high ceremonial crown, burning offerings to Aten,¹³³ visual parallelism of the family banquet and Aten's tables,¹³⁴ prestige food, the attendance of fan bearers and two orchestras. Again the representation of practical activities has symbolic aspects implying far more than a casual tableau of familial intimacy.

Major texts relate to royal meat feasts and drinking outside the Atenist repertoire. The ancient *Cannibal Hymn* of the Pyramid Texts indicates that the dead king eats meat – the gods' magic and their *ꜥḥw* – to absorb and wield their power (*PT* 403c Spell 274) and become a solar god;¹³⁵ the text also refers to day and night meals and to burnt offerings. Eating/drinking metaphors are used in *PT* as images of power acquisition (RESOURCES ARE FOOD)¹³⁶ and transfer of divine kingship.¹³⁷ Similarly, in *CT* I, 149 (Spell 37), the deceased fills his belly and quenches his thirst with magic. The jubilee rituals also involved ceremonial banquets and meat feasts,¹³⁸ as was the case for Amenhotep III,¹³⁹ the king appearing in his palace of the House of Rejoicing (*pr ḥꜥy*) and the crowd being fed 'with food of the king's breakfast (*ꜥbw-r*): bread, beer, oxen, and fowl'. The images illustrating jubilee ceremonies do not show the actual banquets, with perhaps one exception: Amenhotep IV's jubilee scenes from the *Gmpꜣitn* of Karnak may have included some of the banquet scenes found on *talatat*.¹⁴⁰ Unfortunately, the scenes showing the couple eating¹⁴¹ and the king drinking¹⁴² cannot be properly contextualized. In view of these sources, the practical activities of eating and drinking are transformed into symbolic gestures of power acquisition, Akhenaten's meat feast and nightcap perhaps alluding to ancient Heliopolitan imagery related to the solar cycle.

Akhenaten's banquets are musical events: there are Egyptian female musicians and a foreign orchestra¹⁴³ with various instruments, including lyres (giant and smaller size), which may reinforce this interpretation in connection with foreign sources:

- Green signals¹⁴⁴ Hittite texts (KUB 30.24/39.27 and KBo 39.292)¹⁴⁵ from about the period of Akhenaten's reign that mention a ritual orchestra with a great lyre (the *hunzinar*)¹⁴⁶

133 Attested in Dynasty 18 tombs, see Eyre (2002: 108).

134 Spieser (2010: 98).

135 Eyre (2002: 118); see the related *CT* VI, 177-83 Spell 573.

136 David (2011: 92).

137 Eyre (2002: 141).

138 Degreeef (2009: 30-1, 33).

139 Tomb of *Srwf* in Nims (1980: 43, pl. 28 line 7).

140 Smith & Redford (1976: 134 pls. 63-5).

141 Assemblage A0071 in Vergniew (1999: pl. 17).

142 *Talatat* from the *Rwdmnw* Nos. 27/538, 31/112 (unpublished).

143 Also depicted in non-funerary contexts in Amarna and Karnak (Manniche 1971; 1975: 88-91; De Vos 2004).

144 Green (1993: 58).

145 Kassian, Korolëv, Sidel'tsev (2002); van den Hout (2014: 78-9).

146 Hazenbos (2012: 726-8).

used in a funerary party complete with servicing personnel, echansons, musicians, and singers; the dead king (i.e. his statue, since he was cremated) eats and drinks, addressing libations to the gods of the day and night suns, storm, a tutelary deity, ancestors, and his soul. The statue of the enthroned king with his raised cup is placed in a tent at least for part of the libations, thus seated among the living and representing the sun god on earth, becoming a god at death.¹⁴⁷

- the Ugaritic psalm RS 24.252¹⁴⁸ mentions the Levantine and North Syria deified ritual lyre (the *kinnâru*)¹⁴⁹ in connection with a royal ancestor cult and the celebration of a banquet in the Netherworld. The instrument is mentioned in a non-ritual context 150 years after Akhenaten’s reign¹⁵⁰ as a West Semitic import *knnr*.¹⁵¹

Not only a symbol of Akhenaten’s cosmopolitan way of life, of his involvement in the international musical network facilitating the exchange and travel of professional musicians,¹⁵² as a divine instrument of communication on an otherworldly level¹⁵³ the lyre would serve for the celebration of the royal cult. Since various foreign pictorial and literary motifs found their way into Egypt during Akhenaten’s reign¹⁵⁴ and given the 14th century BC revival of banquet scenes throughout the Near East,¹⁵⁵ these images could have contributed to Akhenaten’s own version of royal power-feasting. In Atenist iconography the *instrumental activities* of eating and drinking had become *metaphoric gestures* of acquisition by the king of powers to be used for the benefit the deceased.

Bestowing gifts

(Figure 8)

The scene decorates the right side of the doorway in the north-west wall of *Ṭy*’s tomb main hall; on the left is a representation of the palace with its enlarged window of appearance above a courtyard in which *Ṭy* and his wife are standing under the ovations of the crowd, and on the right, beyond the entrance of the courtyard, *Ṭy* is being congratulated by the public. Similar scenes appear in other Amarna tombs,¹⁵⁶ and perhaps one example

147 van den Hout (2014: 75).

148 Margulis (1970); Franklin (2009: 17-20).

149 Franklin (2009: 3) who signals the lexical relation between *zinar* and *kinnâru* and the probable Sumerian origin of the deification of the lyre (Franklin 2007: 33-4).

150 *LEM* 47 No. 18 = *pAnastasi* IV 12, 2-3 and V Ib, 1-2.

151 Hoch (1994: No. 467).

152 Franklin (2007); Saretta (2014: 559-61).

153 Manniche (1997: 33).

154 Bickel (2007); David (2017).


155 Collon (1992: 26).

156 Davies (1905: pls. 10, 33?; 1905b: pl. 17 with address gesture; in 1906: pls. 7-8 the traces are not decisive).

in Karnak.¹⁵⁷ The reward scene involves the bestowing or dropping by Akhenaten of a *šbyw* necklace, a reliable indicator of the ‘gold of honor’ reward.¹⁵⁸ Nefertiti and several princesses are involved in the transfer of necklaces. The spatial configuration is the same as for the address gesture at the window, but no royal speech is recorded here.

Akhenaten is leaning forward on his left forearm on the window sill cushion, holding the necklace loosely or dropping it with the right hand depicted as a left hand; his torso is supported by two hands of Aten.¹⁵⁹ He is leaning toward his left, face turned downward (nose-chin-tips line angled at 128°, eye invisible on the plaster cast from the tomb) for interaction. The right arm is extended, palm down; Davies draws the thin necklace string above Akhenaten’s middle finger, but the detail does not appear on the Berlin plaster cast.¹⁶⁰ Motion is suggested by the downward gesture, diagonal corporal axis, the floating necklace, and other objects thrown from the window towards *ʿy*. Akhenaten does not interact with Nefertiti; the gesture is not specific to the king. The remarks about the space and interpersonal communication made for the address gesture at the window are valid here too.

The addressees are *ʿy* holding a necklace and his wife *Ty* behind him (probably standing by his side) in salute beneath the window, no speech recorded. Related texts are identifying labels and commenting dialogues above four guards of standards’ platforms outside of the palace courtyard. The speaking figures make address gestures and identify the addressees and the circumstances: *ʿy* and *Ty* are ‘made people of gold’ (*iry m rmt n nbw*), and Akhenaten’s activity is qualified as ‘giving a golden reward’ (*dī fzy nbw*).¹⁶¹ No textual evidence relates to a casting gesture from the window.

The hieroglyph script has no sign of a figure handing out/dropping a necklace; the hieroglyph related to the verb ‘to give’ is the  icon, the palm-up gesture with the bread not reflecting the iconography. The high level of representational quality of the scene is again to be noted.

The practical/instrumental activity of ‘giving gold reward’ is staged as a public casting of golden items from above, a lavish shower of precious artifacts that transforms their beneficiaries in ‘people of gold.’ The gold dispensed from above is visually associated with Aten casting light on the royal family, the hands of the royal couple mimicking Aten’s hands holding life signs, ‘giving gold’ as an echo to ‘giving life.’ The scene in *ʿy*’s tomb is especially well-conceived, the high columns of the porch before the window at *ʿy* and his wife’s backs accenting their diminutive stature. The elevated position of the family at the window, its scale, and the downwards gesture of the couple and of Aten’s rays provide

157 Talatat 26/075, unpublished.

158 Binder (2008: 36).

159 Davies indicates three hands, but see the corrected scene in Krauss & Loeben (2003: 240).

160 Krauss & Loeben (2003: 240).

161 Sandman (1938: 96-7); *Urk*. IV, 2000 line 8 and 2001 line 6.

an image of abundance (visual metaphor GOOD IS UP) corresponding to the recurrent ḥt rh di.w p3 Itn ‘rich of assets that the Aten is known to give’¹⁶² mentioned by Binder¹⁶³ as a key element of these scenes implying Aten and Akhenaten’s generosity. Thus the *metaphoric* quality of the gesture in its public context accentuates the benefactory nature of Atenist kingship.

c. Ritual gestures

These are formalized, repetitive, meaningful gestures performed in a public ceremonial context, organized in patterns of ‘formulaic spatiality’ (with a journey, sequence, directionality, positioning), and conforming to some kind of rule.¹⁶⁴ Rituals are ‘fundamentally made up of physical action (...) having a distinctive potential for performative imagination’.¹⁶⁵ Not every ritual gesture is a cultic one; the following attitudes address or benefit Aten (divine cult), deceased royalty (mourning ritual/cult of the dead), and the public attending the ceremonial of kingship.

Ceremonial salute in the divine cult

(Figure 9)

The representation is part of the upper scene on the north wall of the decorated hall in the tomb of *Pntw*; associated motifs appear on the left (chariots waiting for the royal family) and on the right (reward scene before the sanctuary of the temple). One cannot totally dismiss an erroneous reconstruction of the damaged hands of the king by Davies; Akhenaten is rarely presented in the same attitude in Amarna,¹⁶⁶ only once more in a tomb in the guise of two statuettes beside Aten’s cartouches elevated by Akhenaten in *Ipy*’s tomb (**fig. 13**). Akhenaten salutes Aten in front of the entrance pylon of the temple, two officials greeting the royal family on arrival. The royal chariots are waiting behind the cortege; the tableau represents the logical outcome of a journey on the chariot from the palace to the temple in front of which a welcome party performs a greeting salute.¹⁶⁷ In another visit to a cultic structure depicted in the tomb of *Hwy3*,¹⁶⁸ Akhenaten leads his mother by the hand; thus no pattern can be defined here. The first official may be *Pntw*, first servant of Aten in his temple in Akhetaten; the space before him may have held his name and titles. Both officials are bowing and performing a gesture similar to Akhenaten’s, the first extending the arms further ahead, their shoulders and arms presented in profile, which is not the

162 See, e.g., Sandman (1938: 1 line 13).

163 Binder (2008: 191-4).

164 Parkin (1992: 12-8).

165 Parkin (1992: 11-2).

166 See the micro-stela UC012 (Stewart 1976: pl.7, 12), obviously not an official document, and the faience knob Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek AEIN 1791 (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: n. 97).

167 Davies (1903: pls. 10-10A; 1905: pl. 13; 1905b: pls. 30-2A probably intended as a departure from the palace).

168 Davies (1905b: pl. 8).

case for the king. Much smaller than the royal couple, they stand with their backs to the monumental entrance of the temple, their height and attitude being hierarchical markers; they stand relatively close to Akhenaten, a fact that isolates them from the other figures in the scene. No related text has survived, except for a few traces of identifying labels for the main protagonists.

The spatial configuration involves participants placed in an etiquette-controlled interaction at a meaningful distance (visual contact): since the temple entrance is depicted frontally and Aten is shining through the portal, we should understand the depiction as a view of Akhenaten facing the entrance of the temple (turning his back to the external spectator, his retinue, which does not participate in the exchange) in front of two officials with their backs to the portal, the sun in the background. Since a king does not salute inferiors in this attitude, the greeting scheme is of the type [officials → king → Aten]. The spatial-temporal context is clear: due to the west-east orientation of the temples in Amarna, we are witness to a morning scene, Aten shining through the entrance of the temple in front of Akhenaten. The royal salute to the rising sun is represented in the statuary in Amarna at the site of the boundary stele A, facing east, though the arms of the royal couple are extended as on the relief of the stela (a stance¹⁶⁹ never depicted in the tombs). Aten is fanning his hands towards the offerings, the broken lintels of the portal, and the royal couple. Nefertiti behind or beside Akhenaten is not gesturing.

Akhenaten is facing right, rigid vertical body axis, looking straight ahead, stance conventionally dynamic with left leg outstretched ahead,¹⁷⁰ frontal shoulders, arms bent at different angles, and hands (both pictured as left hands) held up apart, palms facing ahead at neck-chin level. The Egyptian depiction code translates an attitude in which both hands are held at the same level, as evidenced by statuary.¹⁷¹ The gesture is not presented as part of a process; no object is involved and Akhenaten's sole interaction is with Aten, with none suggested between Akhenaten and his family.



Akhenaten's erect body, his height, his leading position at the head of the cortege, and his exclusive relationship with Aten are hierarchic markers. The fact that a similar attitude is addressed to him by the two officials highlights the common essence of Aten and Akhenaten. The addressee of the royal gesture is Aten; his interaction with the king is limited to bringing the life sign to his nose, perhaps touching the king's right hand (damaged) while two other hands are placed close to his left forearm and elbow; Aten's body is remote in the sky.¹⁷²


169 Collombert (2011).

170 The 'stride of a (male) statue' mentioned above.

171 See, e.g., statue of baboon above *Imnḥtp* II (?), Vienna ÄS 5782 in Hölzl (2014: 78-9).

172 See, e.g., Davies (1905b: pl. 18).

The attitude is encoded as  (A30)¹⁷³ in the script, the classifier or logogram of *dwꜣ* ‘to adore’ and *iꜣi* ‘to salute’. Like its sitting counterpart  (A4),¹⁷⁴ the classifier refers to the semantic category of [AWE] which relates to the respect due by an inferior to a superior: from salute to homage and adoration (*iꜣi*, *dwꜣ*, (*s*)*wꜣš*¹⁷⁵), elevation (*bwꜣ*), allegiance (*tri*, (*s*)*šwꜣ*), imploration (*twꜣ*, *snm(h)*), and hiding for fear ((*s*)*dgꜣ/i*, *imn*, (*s*)*dh*), all of which already attested before Akhenaten’s reign. Awe involves both admiration and fear. In the Old Kingdom, when classified, *iꜣi* is always associated with palms facing outward, but those of *dwꜣ*¹⁷⁶ and (*s*)*dh* ‘to hide’ may face outward¹⁷⁷ or inward¹⁷⁸ (protecting the face, hiding). The stance involves the protection of the face in an upward gesture inherited from an original morning solar ritual (it later lost this exclusive connection).¹⁷⁹ The relationship between *iꜣw* and *dwꜣ* in Amarna reflects a different usage of the lexemes:

- *iꜣw* characterizes the *attitude/gesture*: it is not used with a direct object but with the proposition *n/r* for the addressee of the gesture, as in *rdi/iri iꜣw n.k* ‘giving/making a salute to you;’ the fact that it represents the gesture is ascertained by entries such as ‘their arms/wings are (extended) in salute (*ꜣwy.sn/dnhwy.sn (pdw) m iꜣw*)¹⁸⁰ to your *kꜣ*/the Aten’) or the mention of another attitude: ‘giving a salute to the Aten, a breathing-the-ground to his son’ (*rdi iꜣw n pꜣ Itn sn-tꜣ n sꜣ.f*).¹⁸¹ The hieroglyph used to classify *iꜣw* may vary in the same Amarna context (‘graphic dissimulation’); e.g. in *Mryrꜥ*’s antechamber the adoration of Akhenaten beside *Mryrꜥ* depicted as  on both sides of the south wall (**figure 10**).¹⁸²
- *dwꜣ* represents the *ritual*:¹⁸³ it is always used with a direct object (‘to adore Aten’) or a relational expansion (*dwꜣ Itn* ‘adoration of Aten’ on the classical model of *dwꜣ ntr* ‘adoration of god’).

Textual evidence of the attitude is already attested in Dynasty 5 (relief labeled *rdit*

173 Dominicus (1994: 25-37); Luiselli (2007).

174 See, e.g., Davies (1903: pl. 34).

175 Since the Middle Kingdom, alternates with .

176 See, e.g., *PT* 254 § 285c; Hannig (2003: 1467).

177 See, e.g., *PT* 446 § 825b Nt.

178 See, e.g., *PT* 302 § 459a N.



179 Meeks (2000: 11-2).

180 See, e.g., in the tomb of *Mryrꜥ*, Sandman (1938: 13 lines 5-8; 15 lines 13-4).

181 Tomb of *ꜣy* in Sandman (1938: 97 line 10); see also in earlier tomb of Ramose in Thebes (Davies 1941: pl.34) with depiction and text naming the attitudes and referring to the rising sun.

182 Davies (1903: pl. 38).

183 Barucq (1962: 31-7) sees *dwꜣ* as an adoration formula, *iꜣw* as a ‘louange’ (not a gesture); for Meeks (2000), *dwꜣ* is the codified prayer in hymnic form, and *iꜣw* a thanksgiving following its granting by the divinity.

i3 [*n Szḥwr*'] attached to a saluting figure¹⁸⁴ and *PT 579* § 1541c-1542b quoted above). Amarna texts mention that when Aten rises in the morning, the arms of the people salute his appearance¹⁸⁵ and the people of all lands greet Akhenaten with *ʿwy.sn n.k m i3[w] n k3.k* 'their arms being for you in salute to your *k3*.' A *dw3* ritual performed with an *i3w* gesture is extensively evidenced in the Amarna tombs: their owners wish to see the first rays of the sun shining at the entrance of the tomb;¹⁸⁶ their *i3w* gesture in spaces of transition (corridors, doorways) indicates their quest for light on their way out of the tomb. The icons  and  represent two metaphoric facets of awe/respect, often combined in non-royal figures: worship as an ascending motion (GOOD IS UP) and humility as a downwards motion (LOW STATUS IS DOWN). As for the level of semiotic/representational quality of the royal stance, it remains 'hieroglyphic' in spite of the specific Atenist body and dress; the two officials bowing and saluting, shoulders and torso in profile, arms almost completely overlapping, are depicted in a more 'representational' mode than Akhenaten. In this very ancient attitude Akhenaten reintegrates the semiotic tradition, which may have motivated the creation of the extended-arms version in which his torso and arms are presented in profile, although he finally discarded both attitudes.

Among the ritual gestures discussed by nonverbal communication studies, *interpersonal greeting* is recognized as an expression of respect regulated by etiquette and viewed as status-defining.¹⁸⁷ Access greetings (at the opening of a meeting) are *conversational* gestures,¹⁸⁸ their situation involving significant elements for our study: the inferior status of one of the parties is often marked by a respectful pose, distance, specific approach, adopted tone in the formal vocal message, general deference in the designation of the addressee and of his rank, and message content combining invocation, well-wishing, petition, gratitude, adoration, social references, and performative incantation.¹⁸⁹ The adoration hymns accompanying the saluting tomb owners in the entrance corridors amply manifest most of these features. Timing is also crucial for proper greeting in formal contexts and gifts may be involved in the exchange (e.g., life sign on the part of Aten and offering tables for his benefit).

The royal morning salute to Aten is a cultic act of greeting and adoration, probably accompanied by hymnic chanting for the perpetuation of new risings,¹⁹⁰ a performative ritual act that 'does things' through gestures, their directionality and positioning.¹⁹¹ Ritualization is revealed by the formality, conventional attitudes, repetitive behaviors, and public practice in a specific cultic locus at a specific time of day; the spatial organization and orientation

184 Borchardt (1913: pl. 12).

185 Sandman (1938: 94 line 5; 13 lines 5-8; 33 lines 14-5; 52 line 17).

186 Sandman (1938: 100 lines 7-8).

187 Goody (1972).

188 Kendon (1981: 19-20).

189 Goody (1972: 40-1).

190 Meeks (2000: 19); Luiselli (2007).

191 Parkin (1992: 12).

of rituals and the relation between gestures and space¹⁹² are also expressed in Amarna iconography.¹⁹³ Petra Vomberg¹⁹⁴ has shown that the ritual performed by Akhenaten in the great temple of Aten is conceived as a journey on a linear axis, with a clear directionality from west to east through the various parts of the complex, with meaningful cultic stops.

Akhenaten’s *i3w* gesture represents a highly-formalized, conventional communicative *emblematic gesture* of salutation/adoration, awe and respect towards the divine. The attitude is in itself emblematic, functioning as a sign of upward hierarchical relation (HIGH STATUS IS UP) to Aten. The open-palm gesture facing outward is a gesture of protection against the light (its emotional aspects will be explored infra) and may also refer to a ‘conduit’ metaphor forwarding ideas put into words (containers) to a recipient as an object along a conduit (IDEAS ARE OBJECTS, INFORMATION IS CONTENTS and COMMUNICATING IS SENDING/TRANSFER),¹⁹⁵ though the attitude does not automatically imply a verbal act. The attitude was finally discarded, like its extended-arms version, perhaps because it visually suggests Akhenaten’s inferiority toward Aten; the following greeting gesture does not imply such hierarchy.

Morning greeting of Aten with the scepter

(Figure 11)

More frequently represented in the Amarna tombs than the preceding attitude, the extension of the arm with the *ḥ3* scepter has been traditionally viewed as a gesture of ‘consecration.’¹⁹⁶ Though the representation of the gesture itself did not significantly change during the reign of Akhenaten, its spatial-temporal context became explicit, revealing its Atenist meaning: a ritual designed to ‘greet the face’ of Aten in the morning,¹⁹⁷ staged to present Akhenaten as a radiant being, reflecting with his scepter a gift of light and life to the creation, acting in the image of his father Aten.¹⁹⁸

Censing, libation, elevation

(Figures 12-14)

Lumped together as different types of cultic gestures,¹⁹⁹ these scenes are depicted

192 Parkin (1992).

193 See infra and David (2016).

194 Vomberg (2014).

195 Lakoff & Johnson (2003: 16) ‘conduit metaphor’ revisited by Grady (1998); McNeill (2014) for metaphorical gestures.

196 See, e.g., Egberts (1995).

197 Sandman (1938: 23 lines 15-7; 91 lines 6-7).

198 For the full analysis, see David (2016).

199 For an analysis of the cultic gestures in their paradigmatic context and their commutation in a morning

above the kneeling deceased in *iszw* attitude with a hymn in the entrance corridor, west wall, on the right when leaving the tombs of *Mḥw* (fig. 12) and *ʿIpy* (fig. 13), and on the façade lintel of the tomb of *Pḏnhṣy* (fig. 14). Well-known are similar scenes of Akhenaten:²⁰⁰ *censing* by pouring a substance (probably *snṯr* pistacia resin)²⁰¹ on cup-burners with a thin instrument as in fig. 12;²⁰² *censing with elevation* of an arm-censer as in fig. 14 (left side);²⁰³ *making a libation with elevation* of the vessel (tilted vessel, liquid outpouring) as in fig. 14 (right side);²⁰⁴ *elevating* objects apart from those mentioned above (vessels,²⁰⁵ bouquets and nymphaea,²⁰⁶ trays of perishables,²⁰⁷ Aten's cartouches with figurines as in fig. 13,²⁰⁸ living ducks).²⁰⁹ In these cultic scenes, specific objects, present or not on the offering tables, are distinguished and elevated (the pouring of incense on burners is a separate act); the ritual is performed in a nondescript cultic environment (offering stands/tables are fixtures of cultic locations), except for a scene of royal censing in the temple complex of Aten.²¹⁰ Nefertiti collaborates by holding objects in a mimetic performance and princesses are often playing the sistrum; attendants may be depicted, but their action is directed to Akhenaten, not Aten.²¹¹ A pattern emerges, with variations: the participants are involved in an etiquette-

cult pattern observed in the entrance corridor on the right side wall facing the exit, see David (2016: 97) and a forthcoming study revisiting royal iconography in the Amarna tombs.

200 On Atenist offerings, see Spieser (2010).

201 Stern, Heron, Corr, Serpico & Bourriau (2003: 467): no other resin was used in Amarna.

202 Spieser (2010: 55-6); Vomberg (2014: 56-77); Davies (1903: pl. 22 and 1905: pls.18-9); *Pḏnhṣy*'s domestic shrine Cairo JE 65041 (Saleh & Sourouzian 1987: n.165); block Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim 5440 (Vomberg 2014: 56-96, figs. 33-5); perhaps also Karnak talatat 30-496, unpublished (Vergnieux ArcheoGRID database).

203 See, e.g., Davies (1905: pl. 8; 1906: pl. 35 and 1908: pls. 3, 15); block from Karnak Louvre E 13482 (Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999: 56, fig. 38); Karnak talatat (Tawfik 1979: 337, fig. 3); Maru Aten relief Ashmolean 1922.141 (Shaw 1994: pl. 10.1); *Bṣk* graffito in Assuan (Habachi 1965: 86, fig. 11); relief Penn Museum E 16230 (Aldred 1973: 58, fig.35).

204 See, e.g., *Pḏnhṣy*'s domestic shrine Cairo JE 65041; Tiy's sarcophagus (Gabolde 1998: pl. 18a).

205 See, e.g., Davies (1905: pl. 6; 1908: pls. 15; 1908b: pl. 16); Karnak talatats (Tawfik 1979: 337); Cairo RT 30.10.26.12 from Amarna palatial context (Saleh & Sourouzian 1987: n.164).

206 See, e.g., Davies (1905: pl. 11?); Karnak talatat ATP 2023-060102504, Luxor Museum (De Meulenaere 1975: 98); block Cairo RT 10.11.26.4 from the royal tomb (Saleh & Sourouzian (1987: n.166); stela Kestner Museum 1970.22 (Munro 1971: 27 [19] fig. 19).

207 See, e.g., Davies (1905: pl. 20; 1906: pl. 23); Karnak talatats (Vergnieux 1999: pl. 13, Assemblage A0005); Hermopolis talatat (Roeder 1969: pl. 185 PC91).

208 See, e.g., Karnak talatats with a window of appearance of the *tnymnw* (Vergnieux 1999: pl. 1, Assemblage A0011); relief Penn Museum E 16230 from Amarna cultic context (Aldred 1973: 58, fig.35); probably Brooklyn 41.82 parapet from great temple in Amarna (Petrie 1894: pl. 12, 1-2); tablet Berlin ÄM 2045 (Seyfried 2012: 237); tridimensional cartouches on tray held by hands MMA 21.9.431 and BM EA 58471 from Amarna temple context (Seyfried 2012: 229); Akhenaten as sphinx presenting the divine cartouches on relief MFA 64.1944 (Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999: 231, n. 89); Sa'ad & Traunecker (1970: 169-71) and Krauss (1994: 108) for more offered cartouches.

209 Johnson (2015), from Aten temple complex, not depicted in the Amarna tombs.

210 Davies (1905: pl. 18).

211 See, e.g., Davies (1903: pl. 22).

controlled interaction, Akhenaten standing by his family, isolated from an often invisible crowd at a distance permitting visual contact but emphasizing the royal performance. No related text addresses the cultic acts in the scenes, the labels identifying the main actors.

Akhenaten is always presented in an upright position (no deviation from his vertical axis), looking straight ahead, stance conventionally dynamic with left leg outstretched when facing right, right leg outstretched when facing left. When pouring incense on the burners, right hand upheld and bent, he holds the tool between thumb and index,²¹² palm facing the burners. The arm hanging by the side is depicted differently depending on the figure’s orientation: when turned to the left (**fig. 12**), the left arm appears behind the back, parallel to the body axis (hand depicted as the right one); when turned to the right,²¹³ the left arm is held in front of the body, forearm and hand at a slight angle from the body axis (readability conventions). For the elevation, arms are upheld and bent, curved palms up beneath the object(s) (**fig. 13**; small vessels)²¹⁴ or in an enveloping gesture, thumbs around the object (**fig. 14**; ‘two-handed tilt’).²¹⁵ Libation *ḥnḥ*-vases²¹⁶ are held with the right hand,²¹⁷ *nmst*-vases²¹⁸ in the enveloping gesture of both hands. Arm-censers are held with both²¹⁹ or in one hand, the other holding another object²²⁰ or upheld with palm facing the burning incense for protection²²¹ (**fig. 14**), or in an address gesture.²²² Akhenaten raises the objects higher than is customary in front of a deity (in his statuary, the tray is held much lower for solidity):²²³ his elbow is generally well above his nipple (upper arm almost horizontal or even tilted higher), hand from mouth/nose to frontal cobra level, or at least one elbow level with the underside of the breast, hands at chin level.²²⁴ Compared for example to Hatshepsut’s cultic gestures on her Karnak Red Chapel,²²⁵ her hands rarely rise above the shoulder line; the traditional gesture is more a presentation by extension than by elevation. There is a general tendency in Amarna to depict cultic elevations: Nefertiti holds objects slightly lower than Akhenaten, still in an erect posture;²²⁶ bouquets and vases presented to

212 See Tiy’s similar gesture on her shrine in Spieser (2010: 183 fig. 7).

213 Davies (1903: pl. 22).

214 See, e.g., Davies (1908b: pl. 16).

215 Eaton (2013: 146).

216 Spieser (2010: 65-6).

217 Saleh & Sourouzian (1987: n.165).

218 Spieser (2010: 58-61).

219 Davies (1905: pl. 8).

220 Tawfik (1979: fig. 3).

221 Eaton (2013: 149-50).

222 Davies (1908: pl. 3).

223 Cairo JE 43580 in Saleh & Sourouzian (1987: 160); Ashmolean AN 1924.162 in Griffith (1931: pl. 23).

224 Davies (1905: pl. 12; 1906: pl. 23).





225 See, e.g., censuring on bloc 293 (KIU 1361): Burgos & Larché (2006: 107); Karnak project at <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/archives/?n=138046>.

226 See also Tiy (on her shrine Cairo JE 57175) and Kiya (Vomberg 2014: 56-96) using the thin censuring instrument.

seated non-royal deceased by standing non-royal men in the Amarna tombs are also held relatively high, directed to the deceased's nose, though the near upper arm is not held horizontally as Akhenaten's often is (Aten is not represented here, the deceased being the cult's recipient).²²⁷

No sequence is depicted to suggest a process. As for the addressee of the cult, Aten, his position implies a vertical relationship with Akhenaten instead of the traditional position facing the cultic statue; reciprocity may be indicated by the sustaining hand of Aten beneath the king's arm (**fig. 12**), the life sign under the royal nose, and the rays approaching the offering tables or elevated objects.

The context of the performance is barely suggested: sky hieroglyph for an open-air ceremony, offering tables and stands for a generic cultic space with no architectural features. A daily ritual is alluded to by the presence of shining Aten (though libations were performed at dawn and sunset as suggested by a Karnak libation bowl inscription);²²⁸ there is a marked preference in the funerary iconography for the depiction of the morning cult, especially in the corridor on the right when leaving the tomb (tomb owner in morning salute, hymn, Akhenaten extending the scepter, etc.) and on the façade (scenes theoretically turned towards the east and the morning sun, the composition of **fig. 14** clearly emphasizing Aten's rising above the entrance of the tomb).

The attitude of Akhenaten censuring with the thin implement has no scriptural parallel; the instrument makes a short iconographic appearance during his reign and vanishes after its representation in Luxor²²⁹ (painted draft during Tutankhamun's reign, carving under Seti I).²³⁰ Fumigation (*k3p* , *iri sntr*,²³¹ by pouring incense resin on lighted censer bowls or by elevating an arm-censer )²³² is traditionally represented in the script by the instruments used in the cult. Hieroglyph signs of figures performing libation appear only much later,²³³ while   icons are used since the Old Kingdom as logogram or classifier of *kb(h)* 'libation (vase)'.²³⁴ Elevation of offerings, performed standing, is not documented in the script: an exceptional hieroglyph of a king holding a *htp* sign as a tray (for *htp di*

227 Davies (1905: pl. 23; 1908: pls. 9-10, 21-3).

228 Habachi (1965: 71, fig. 1).



229 Dorman (1994: pls. 63 lower right and 67); Bell (1990: 122 n.193) but her reference to *Urk.* IV, 639 (5-9) shows dishes, not our instrument.

230 Dorman (1994: xvii).





231 Chappaz (1983: 24-5, Karnak blocks XO 1, XE 33 and 49): *irt sntr ir.f di ʿnh* 'making fumigations so that he may perform "giving life".'

232 Fischer (1963: 28-34).



233 *Wb* V, 27.5.

234 See, e.g., Davies (1903: pl. 39 right jamb); see also *wdht*  *kbhw*  'to pour libation' in *PT* 685 2067b.



ni-swt offering)²³⁵ shows a presentation by extension, not an elevation. General elevated position may be classified by the anthropomorphic  and  signs (e.g. *kzi* ‘to be high, elevated, raised,’ *bwz* ‘to be elevated,’ supra),  (e.g. *fzi* ‘to carry, lift up’),²³⁶ none reflecting Akhenaten’s gestures. Ritual offering (*hnk*, *drp*, *hṭp nṯr*,²³⁷ *wdn*,²³⁸ *wzh*,²³⁹ *smz* *ʿzbt*²⁴⁰) may use as classifier a prototypical object of offering (e.g., bread, long stem papyrus flower) or the gesture of presentation with *nw* vase  (D39).

Though his gestures are not represented in the script, the level of representational quality of Akhenaten elevating the offerings is reduced by his ‘hieroglyphic’, rigid stance shared with the other members of his family.

Textual evidence of these cultic acts is manifold. The Karnak fumigation formula *irt snṯr ir.f di ʿnh* ‘making fumigations so that he may perform “giving life”’²⁴¹ alludes to a *vital exchange* between Akhenaten and his god through incensing. Though the label does not appear in Amarna, it may still be assumed to sustain the image. Spieser discusses the purifying function of incense in the Atenist cult and the fact that it transmits the offerings to Aten.²⁴² In the tombs, censing is sometimes accompanied by a verbal utterance suggested by his address gesture with the other hand.²⁴³ As for Atenist ritual libation, it is referred to as ‘libation (*kbh*) of wine and milk on the offering table’,²⁴⁴ *stz/ttf mw* ‘pour, sprinkle water’,²⁴⁵ *iri kbh*  ‘to make a libation’,²⁴⁶ *hrp kbhw* ‘offer libation’.²⁴⁷ A direct reference to the elevation of Aten’s name (**fig. 13**) appears in Akhenaten’s epithet ‘one who elevates Aten, amplifying his name’ (*wts*  *ʿItn sʿz rn.f*, later boundary stela proclamation),²⁴⁸ ‘one

235 Stela of *Kzrs* during the reign of *Imnḥtp* I, *Urk* IV, 46 line 6 (Cairo CG 34003 in Lacau 1909: pl. 4); Fischer (1977: 16).

236 On Karnak talatat, see Meltzer (1988: fig. 3.45); as a doubtful term for offerings elevation, see Eaton (2013: 129).

237 Title of Akhenaten’s Karnak offering list reconstructed by Saad & Manniche (1971: 70 n.9).

238 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 24 lines 10-1).

239 See, e.g., Saad & Manniche (1971: pl. 31A, line 12); Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 29 line 10).

240 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 20 line 4); in Karnak since the jubilee, it is ‘by far the most common term for offering’ for Redford (1980: 29).

241 Chappaz (1983: 24-5, blocks XO 1, XE 33 and 49).

242 Spieser (2010: 50-6, 103-4).

243 Davies (1908: pl. 3).

244 Sandman (1938: 178, CCXI lines 9-10); for Karnak’s earliest monument, Chappaz (1983: 25-6 block XE 8).

245 Sandman (1938: 178, CCXI lines 9-10).

246 Sandman (1938: 101 last line); Habachi (1965: 71, fig. 1) on a bowl from Karnak.

247 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 20 line 8).

248 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 85 lines 9-16).

who elevates the name of Aten' (*wṯs rn n ṯtn*, his later Golden Name), on the model of *PT* 264 § 348c with the four gods of the sky who elevate the king's name (*wṯs rn.f*) to *Hrꜣḥti*. Thus textual evidence for Akhenaten's elevation gesture revolves around *wṯs*, already used by him in Karnak and Heliopolis,²⁴⁹ but never classified by an anthropomorphic sign in Atenist texts.

These ritual gestures are *instrumental activities* belonging to cultic practices, using objects symbolically to communicate religious meaning. Streeck paraphrased Austin in suggesting 'how to do (symbolic) things with (material) things',²⁵⁰ using objects to create reality; even though he studied very different types of situations, one can benefit from his insight to grasp the religious concept behind cultic gestures in Atenist iconography. For instance, ritual *emblematic elevation gestures* are a well-known topos in visual arts; Barasch has shown their symbolic aspects in Christian iconography beyond the practical intention to increase the objects' visibility.²⁵¹ For Atenist elevation, a direct relationship between Akhenaten and the god *ꜥw* has been proposed, based on the homophony of *šw* 'light' and 'to elevate';²⁵² but the verb *šw* is never used in relation to cultic elevation in Atenist texts and the wordplay is meaningless when Nefertiti raises objects. Instead, it is the position and essence of the cult's addressee that demanded the adaptation of the traditional model of royal presentation towards the cultic statue: in the vertical communication between Akhenaten and Aten, the elevation gesture places the cultic objects in the halo of Aten's rays, performing an *illumination* (*shḏ*) of the object. Atenism makes the point clear: '*Wꜥnrꜥ*, image of Ra forever, who uplifts Ra and satisfies Aten (*wṯs Rꜥ shṯp ṯtn*) (...) may you illuminate his name (*shḏ.k rn.f*) for the people.'²⁵³ The elevation draws the god's attention to the object for his *reception* by illumination and reciprocal extension of life, since all that is in Akhetaten 'is offered to his *kꜣ* and his bright rays receive it' (*stwt.f ꜥnw hr šsp. sn st*).²⁵⁴ The cult being performed in hypaethral spaces, the illumination by Aten is never impeded; a positive GOOD IS UP metaphor reinforces the elevation-illumination gesture. Furthermore, the first text relates to the public being present at the elevation of Aten's cartouches (cf. **fig. 13**), in which bringing them to the light, into the rays of Aten, is to proclaim, extol, render visible Aten's essence. The first image of presentation of Aten's cartouches depicted in Karnak is at the window of appearance for the benefit of the public standing in the court of the *tnymnw*, the king leaning forward and simultaneously making a verbal proclamation to the crowd as shown by his address gesture.²⁵⁵ At this early stage of Atenism, it is not an elevation gesture but the choice of an elevated stage to present the god's cartouches to the public that does the job.

249 Redford (1980: 23); Meltzer (1988: 90).

250 Streeck (1996).

251 Barasch (2003).

252 See, e.g., Seyfried (2012: 236).

253 Sandman (1938: 81 lines 8-10).

254 Murnane & Van Siclen (1993: 98 lines 12-3).

255 Vergnieux (1999: pl. 1, Assemblage A0011).


Mourning ritual

(Figure 15)

The royal tomb of Amarna encompasses exceptional scenes of royal mourning, unfortunately badly damaged, including the double register in room alpha, south-east wall F (**fig. 15**).²⁵⁶ Around it, the large walls are decorated with a morning greeting of Aten (see **fig. 11**). A similar scene appears in room gamma, east wall (A);²⁵⁷ a related scene of mourning in front of the enshrined statue of *M^cktitn* is sculpted in the same room, south wall B.²⁵⁸ The double scene of royal mourning is contextualized inside a small building or delimited space enclosing the bier on which a corpse lies; mourners stand outside among rows of offerings. The space depicted may be part of an embalming structure located in the vicinity of the temple represented on the two large walls of the room. In the upper register, Aten is visible above the structure, but not in the lower one (it has been suggested that they relate to different deaths).²⁵⁹ In the room gamma scene, no traces of Aten are visible; it remains unclear if his absence implies night scenes as in the drinking party studied above. Originally the main actors had identifying labels (traces are still visible in the upper part and in the room gamma scene in which the deceased is labeled *M^cktitn*).

In both registers the royal couple stands, feet slightly apart, at the head of the bier by the entrance of the room and perform together a typical mourning gesture while Akhenaten, standing in front of the queen (she is probably standing by his side), holds her left forearm, Nefertiti’s left hand hanging down. The couple is leaning forward towards the corpse, right arm held up bent in front of the face, hand palm down above the cobra of their headdress.²⁶⁰ Only this attitude is allowed and repeated in a type of scene hitherto unknown in royal iconography. Other mourners in the scenes perform the same gesture, but the mourning crowd also exhibits other attitudes. Remarkably expressive, apart from the arm in front of the face, are the disturbance of the usually rigid royal body axis and Akhenaten’s gripping hand showing the couple’s union in grief. Separateness from the other mourners is marked by their position inside the room at the head of the bier. The three mourning scenes mentioned above exhibit a similar formulaic scheme, with some variations.

The right hand gesture in front of the face is apparently reflected only once in the script:

izkbyt ‘female mourner’ is classified by , a sitting female figure performing this gesture



256 See also Martin (1989: pls. 58-61); Gabolde (1998: pl. 4).

257 Martin (1989: pls. 63-7); Gabolde (1998: pl. 5).

258 Martin (1989: pls. 68-71); Gabolde (1998: pl. 6).

259 Vandersleyen (1993: 192); Gabolde (1998: 109).

260 See also the fragments of a panel from Amarna, London UC 410/Cairo JE 64959 on which two princesses perform the gesture in front of a sitting Akhenaten as reconstructed by Gabolde (1998: pl. 24), but not yet in Gabolde (1990: 46 fig. 10) nor in Martin (2009: fig. 1a).

in chapter 145 of *Nw*'s BD (*pBM EA* 10477.25, Dynasty 18).²⁶¹ Mourning (e.g., *i(z)kb*) is mainly classified by the hair sign ²⁶² or by the classifier  of the [MOUTH-LINKED ACTIVITIES] category as it is an emotional state usually accompanied vocally by wailing. As noted by Polotsky, the gesture of the 'arm(s)/hand(s) to the face' recorded in *CT* II, 234b as *ꜥwy r hr* is a 'geste de honte, de déception, de désespoir'.²⁶³

In our scene grief unites all figures with the same representational quality, even though royalty is permitted only one type of mourning attitude. A conventional expression of grief, this attitude is an *emotional expression*, a bodily movement signaling emotion. Studies of the nonverbal communication of emotions are usually tied to facial expression, but corporal stances and motions also provide information about the nature and intensity of emotions;²⁶⁴ public affective displays are culturally encoded, (in)appropriate in defined social settings,²⁶⁵ and subject to manipulation. In the iconography, the bodily emotional expression used to represent grief becomes an *emblematic* attitude, a kind of gestural *emoticon*. The expression of emotions is totally unexpected in Egyptian royal iconography; rules of decorum were a powerful obstacle to emotional facial display in Egyptian art, even when tears are indicated on a mourner's face.²⁶⁶ From the gamut of gestures expressing grief in Egyptian iconography, Akhenaten chose the gesture of covering the face, body leaning forward in involvement and pain as the main emblematic conveyors of royal mourning,²⁶⁷ his gripping hand a display of solidarity in grief and grief management (haptics, the power of touch in nonverbal communication).²⁶⁸ Akhenaten and Nefertiti are not gripping handfuls of hair or covering their face with it (the crowns are primary visual indicators of royal status, thus retained), not falling on their knees (which the royal couple does in the cult of Aten). In a scalar perspective, their stance is at an appropriate level between traditional royal impassivity and the disordered, disheveled exposure of grief of (paid) mourners. The covering of the face is well-known in the iconography,²⁶⁹ and later abundantly used in the representation of Isis and Nephthys mourning Osiris, thus suited to express divine grief. Royal iconography uses emblematic attitudes of mourning which convey conceptual metaphors: covering the face to veil emotions (EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS, TO KEEP UNKNOWN IS TO KEEP INVISIBLE, an emotional control metaphor²⁷⁰ clearly confirmed by *ꜥwy r hr* in *CT* II, 234b), bowing (BAD/EMOTIONAL IS DOWN,²⁷¹ LOSS OF

261 Lapp (1997: pl. 72 columns 28-9); Wilkinson (1992: 35) generalizes the use of the sign.

262 Beaux (2012: 1567-8).

263 Polotsky (1976: 33); Dominicus (1994: 70).

264 Ekman & Friesen (1969: 50); Ekman (2004: 45).

265 Ekman & Friesen (1969: 77).

266 Beaux (2012: 1575).

267 For other possible depictions of a mourning Akhenaten, see Desroches-Noblecourt (1947: 189-90).

268 Andersen & Guerrero (2008: 158).

269 Dominicus (1994: 66).

270 Pérez Rull (2001-2: 185).

271 Lakoff & Johnson (2003: 19-20).

EMOTIONAL CONTROL IS LOSS OF VERTICALITY),²⁷² and physical grip (IDEAS/EMOTIONS ARE OBJECTS).

Holding scepters: kingship ceremonial

(Figure 16)

The scene occupies the west wall of *Hwyꜣ*’s decorated hall, between the night cap scene on the left and a window scene on the right. The royal couple is sitting in a sedan, the procession departing from the palace (depicted in the upper left corner) to arrive at an ensemble of pavilion and altars (upper right). The event depicted in the scene is dated to Year 12 and labeled as a tribute scene (with labels identifying the main actors, no royal speech recorded), the motif of the royal couple in the sedan being conceived as an epiphany: ‘Rising (*ḥꜥ*) of the king (...) and the great royal consort (...) on the great elevated chair of electrum to receive tribute (*šsp inw*)’.²⁷³

The same event is also represented in *Mryrꜥ* II’s tomb,²⁷⁴ but at another point in time, when the couple, holding hands (and Akhenaten performing an address gesture), are sitting under the canopy of the pavilion, two palanquins beside them. There is no other depiction in the Amarna tombs of the king sitting with his scepters held against the chest. In Karnak, the gesture is depicted on the standing colossi of the *Gmpꜣitn* and on talatat (king beside or seated in a palanquin during the *sd*-festival).²⁷⁵ The performance takes place on the occasion of a specific event, during the day, and on the way to a space including the pavilion and nearby altars.²⁷⁶ Journey and sequence are paramount in this ceremonial, a fact that becomes clear when *Hwyꜣ* and *Mryrꜥ* II’s scenes are combined. The public event is attended by a large crowd and tightly controlled by armed forces, a fitting occasion for the kingship parade.

Akhenaten is the sole performer, even though Nefertiti accompanies him in the sedan (only visible are the outer lines of her dress, legs, and feet) and two princesses follow on foot; he has no interaction with the surrounding figures, except with Aten’s rays. The addressee of the show is the crowd with its Egyptian and foreign contingents in various stances of humility, salute, and exultation. Akhenaten is sitting erect, facing right, feet together, his posture a rigid reminder of the traditional ‘Osirian model’ adopted during the royal jubilee. His fists are opposed at chest-level, auriculars touching, the right one holding the *nhꜣ* or *nh(ꜣ)ḥ(ꜣ)*, the left one possibly the *ḥkꜣt* crook (though in the classical model

272 Pérez Rull (2001-2: 188).


273 Sandman (1938: 36 last line-37 first line); the hapax *ḥtꜣyt* is probably misspelled, from *ḥꜣi* ‘high’.

274 Davies (1905: pl. 37).

275 See, e.g., Smith & Redford (1976: pls. 38, 58, TS 235); also adopted by the royal children in their sedan or standing during the same event (pls. 41, 44, 52). For palanquins similar to the one in the scene studied here, see pls. 24, 26.

276 Perhaps the desert altars close to the north tombs (see in Kemp 2012: 253 fig. 7.24).

the scepters are usually inverted).²⁷⁷ The arms are presented frontally against the chest, translating what was actually visible from the front of the sedan. The attitude suggests immobility; it is specific to kings and to certain gods (but adopted by the royal children on the Karnak talatat), a mark of functional/ontological specificity of the persona *en majesté*. The scene in the sedan is clearly built on the model of Akhenaten's imagery in Karnak. A bowed and labeled *Hwyꜣ* walks in the cortege. Though isolated from the crowd by its elevated position and the protective fans and sunshades, the couple remain visible to the surrounding crowd.

A hieroglyph of the king sitting with the scepters held at chest-level  is not attested before the Ptolemaic Period, though the attitude is known in royal iconography since Dynasty 2.²⁷⁸ Explicit textual references are attested since the Ramesside Period: *BD* 182, 14 and *BD* 183, 31 (hymns to Osiris) mention *ꜣmm ḥkꜣt nhḥ* 'fisting *ḥkꜣt* and *nhḥ*;²⁷⁹ in Medinet Habu, Ramses III is rising like Ra, seated on the high throne like Atum, his hands grasping (*ḥꜣ*) *ḥkꜣt*, carrying *nhḥ*.²⁸⁰

The archaic royal posture is a clear identifying sign, putting forward the ultimate symbols of kingship, the 'ruler' (*ḥkꜣt*) and the 'shaker' (*nhḥ*); the gripping of the scepters at chest-level (frontally), as if protecting the royal body, is a highly-formalized *emblematic* gesture. The stillness of the hieratic pose may reflect kingship in life and death, evinced by the ancient association of the attitude with the *ḥb-sd* ritual and with Osiris, the dead king. It is not specifically associated with speech. The pose was struck during public ceremonies as part of the royal show; the archaic highly characteristic royal pose was thus kept by Akhenaten, though rarely depicted in Amarna.

d. Conventional gestures of public intimacy

Behavior communicates: the type of relationship, the level of intimacy, and the hierarchy between partners in a relationship may be deduced from the way they touch (*haptics*) and the distance between them (*proxemics*).²⁸¹

Holding hands, embracing

(Figure 17)

The scene on the left side of the entrance corridor (north wall) when entering *Pꜣrnnfr*'s tomb provides a transition between the façade's tableau and the décor of the tomb's main

277 Fischer (1977: 516)

278 See, e.g., statuette of King *Ninṯr*, in RMO, Leiden (hands one above the other) in Simpson (1956); Dreyer & Josephson (2011: 59 fig. 20).

279 Naville (1971: pl. 207 Af pBM EA 10010; pl. 209 Ag pBM EA 9901.2).

280 *KRI V*, 38 line 12.

281 Pettijohn et alii (2013).

chamber, completing the exterior reliefs by showing the royal family entering the tomb, having left the chariots and performed cultic acts at the entrance. This configuration is occasion for a royal narrative centered on *Pꜣrnnfr*’s tomb, the goal of the royal family’s visit. The scene in which the actors face the inside of the tomb is unique in this location and in the funerary repertoire of Amarna. Related texts identify the main actors.

It is unclear from the damaged relief if Akhenaten holds the long staff in the left hand²⁸² or is leaning on it as in *Mryr*’s tomb (main hall, east wall).²⁸³ Akhenaten embraces Nefertiti’s shoulders with his right arm, holding her hand as is often the case in Amarna,²⁸⁴ but their intertwined fingers are exceptional, with possibly another case on a talatat from Hermopolis showing fingers tips.²⁸⁵ There are no intertwined fingers for the embraced princesses²⁸⁶ or royal pairs (including Akhenaten/Nefertiti and Amenhotep III/Tiy).²⁸⁷ Nefertiti’s left arm embrace around Akhenaten (her left hand not protruding from behind his body) belongs to a large corpus of female figures in various embraced/embracing positions with a male companion.²⁸⁸ The physical intimacy of the royal couple, mimicked by *Mrtitn* and *ꜣḥsnpꜣitn*, is a public display of affection at visual distance from the suite of attendants, sunshade bearers, and guards; the couple are isolated in a space defined by the king’s staff, the high sunshades, Aten’s rays, and the separate registers of the cortege. Davies suggested that the anonymous man holding a vase and a napkin in the lower register should be recognized as *Pꜣrnnfr*²⁸⁹ accompanying the royal family to visit his tomb. The unexpectedness of the intimate bond between the king and the queen in a public and funerary context combined with the unusual orientation of the figures and topic of the scene highlight the importance of the image. The royal performance is the fruit of a collaborative effort: beside the mutual embrace, Nefertiti clasps Akhenaten’s right hand under her breast, palm up, her hand beneath his, interlocking fingers, right arm bent at the elbow. These gestures are performed while the couple stand rigidly erect, looking straight

282 With the right hand on Karnak talatat in Vergniew (1999: pl. 23, Assemblage A0085).

283 Davies (1903: pl. 30).

284 See, e.g., the groups Louvre E 15593 (Aldred 1973: 63 figs. 39-40), UC 004 (Aldred 1973: 64 fig. 41), and the hands of Berlin 20494 may also be theirs (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: 254 no. 171).

285 Roeder (1969: block 370-VIII).





286 See, e.g., tomb of *Pꜣnḥsy* in Davies (1905: pl. 10); Hermopolis talatat 455/VII in Roeder (1969: pl. 8); ‘princesses panel’ in the Ashmolean Museum AN1893.1-41 (267) (Weatherhead 2007: fig. 62); relief MMA 1985.328.6 (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: 120, 220 no. 54).

287 Tomb of *Hwyꜣ* (Davies 1905: pl. 18); stela Berlin 17813 (couple unnamed and variously identified); BM EA 57399 (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: 179 and 254 no. 169); wooden ‘mini stela’ lost during WW2, Berlin ÄM 17812 Bayer (2014: 315-8, pl. 74).

288 See, e.g., Cherpion (1995) for the Old Kingdom; the group of *Mmi* and *Sꜣbw*, Dynasty 4, MMA 48.111 (Roehrig 1999: 295) as with the group of queens *Htpḥrs* II and *Mrsꜣnḥ* III MFA 30.1456 (Markowitz, Haynes & Freed 2002: fig. 32); Dynasty 5 couple MFA 13.3164: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/fragmentary-pair-statuettes-140616>; Dynasty 18 couple in Whale (1989: pl. 8 XIV); Amarna group MMA 11.150.21 (Freed, Markowitz & D’Auria 1999: 8, 255 no. 174).

289 Davies (1908b: 2).

ahead in spite of the embrace, left leg outstretched in a conventional advancing step. Motion is suggested by the strong diagonals of the staff and sunshades, the procession of bowing attendants, and the absence of interrupting activities. The frontality of Akhenaten's shoulders, not 'softened' by a foregrounded arm,²⁹⁰ his much higher stature, and the effort to preserve the vertical axis of the bodies and overall paratactic scheme have caused an awkward elongation of his right arm. In spite of its rigid global stance, the representational quality of Akhenaten's figure comes from his new gestures and helps isolate the royal couple from the more 'hieroglyphic' surrounding figures.

The royal group's posture has no direct parallel in the hieroglyphic script: the king holding a long *mdw*-staff²⁹¹ reflects the official  hieroglyph; embrace (*iw (...) inḳ(.i) tw m ʿwy(.i)* 'come (...) so that I may embrace you in my arms')²⁹² is linked to the classifier  of the [BENT ARMS ACTIONS] category which covers enclosing (*hpt, kni, kmz, shn, inḳ* 'to embrace,' *krf* 'to contract') and spreading (*pgz*) gestures, as well as a bent-arm gesture of respect (*hzm, hzm*).²⁹³ A hieroglyph  depicting hands holding each other (for much later  or same sex)²⁹⁴ is attested in *PT 373 § 655c T (ndr ʿ)*.²⁹⁵ Various types of hand holding gestures are mentioned in texts, none relating to interwoven fingers: e.g., 'to lay down the hand in the hand (of someone else)' (*wzḥ drt hr drt*) in Dynasty 20 will of Naunakhte, indicating mutual benefit and support;²⁹⁶ 'to grab the arm' (*ndr ʿ*)²⁹⁷ in situations implying the superiority of the one holding the arm, even with helpful intent (such as a god leading the king to the sky).

Public displays of affection and intimacy by way of touch are analyzed as *interpersonal haptic behaviors* addressing the 'social significance of touch' and the messages it communicates.²⁹⁸ Patterns of touch are studied as conventional, culture-bound ways to mark closeness and/or dominance in a relationship. Akhenaten's attitude communicates dominance: beyond his higher stature, primary relation with Aten, and leading/central position in the scene, the way his downturned hand covers Nefertiti's upturned palm is quite revealing. Nonverbal communication studies have demonstrated that clasped hands with intertwined fingers ('coalescent handholding') are usually characterized by the upper position of the man's hand, a nonverbal cue signaling 'relational power distribution.'²⁹⁹

290 Thompson (1997: 86-91).

291 Fischer (1978: 18).

292 Davies & Gardiner (1915: pl. 10).

293 Dominicus (1994: 22-3).

294 Cauville (2001: 18 A80 two men *snsn*).

295 Pierre (1997: 358, 362 fig. 34).

296 David (2010: 62, 67).

297 Dominicus (1994: 36).

298 Andersen & Guerrero (2008: 155).

299 Bodie & Villaume (2008: 243).

Research has shown that gender plays here a more determinant role than height.³⁰⁰ Intimacy reciprocation is also an important factor in the study of couples’ public behavior and it is displayed here by Nefertiti in her equivalent (but not similar) responding embrace and open palm, showing a level of intimacy characteristic of modern Western married couples’ behavior.³⁰¹ Nevertheless, since the representation of intimacy in art is regulated by decorum, we cannot infer from the scene any social data or model outside the artistic sphere. The symbolic aspects of touch are exploited in the artistic composition; the couple’s interlocked fingers tell of an affective and sexual bond, the princesses’ mimicking gestures evoke sisterly bonding through affection, the intimate gesture of the clasped hands being avoided. As for the embrace, it reduces the distance between partners to the level of the *intimate sphere* (proxemics index) at which sensory input is the highest (touch, sight, sound, smell, feeling of heat and breath).³⁰² This is the distance of maximal awareness and emotional involvement. The nature of their involvement, suggested by the fact that they are not facing each other but progressing together towards the interior of the tomb, their heads oriented forward, does not imply an intimate conversation or an erotic encounter, but a common focus on their destination.

The context of the touch and the identity of its performers are essential to determine its meaning.³⁰³ this royal public display (never precisely encountered in private or other royal representations)³⁰⁴ intentionally communicates closeness beyond Akhenaten’s dominance, adding an important component to the scene and its environment, perhaps a subtle allusion to the couple’s divine union.³⁰⁵ Since the topic of the scene – a royal visit to the tomb – and its physical context are one and the same, the intent is to imbue an eternal royal presence in *P3rnnfr*’s tomb with a strong affective overtone. The closeness of the family functioning as a unit may well be reflected on *P3rnnfr* as a gift of perpetual intimacy with his royal protectors, even after death.

Face-to-face breathing

(Figure 18)

For a last example of intimate stance, let’s return to the depiction of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in the chariot in *M’hw*’s tomb (**figs. 2 and 18**). We have analyzed the left-hand

300 Pettijohn et alii (2013).

301 Andersen & Guerrero (2008: 159).

302 Hall (1966: 116-9)

303 Knapp, Hall & Horgan (2014: 249).



304 See, e.g., relief Munich ÄS 1621 for Mentuhotep II (Cherpion 1995: pl. 7c); Nims (1970: pl. 640) for Ramses III; mural of *’nhrh3w* in TT 359, Dynasty 20, couple with partly intertwined fingers (Cherpion & Cortegiani 2010: 53, 67, 117).

305 Compare with the motif of the queen in the king’s lap and its interpretation as a divine apparition and erotic symbol imported from an ancient Mesopotamian model later attested in the Levant (David 2017).

gesture of the king as a foundation-oath address and gesture of solar omnipotence; we need now to concern ourselves with the issue of the couple's intimate face-to-face.

A similar face-to-face may be observed in various scenes: standing in the royal chariot in the same tomb (upper register, **fig. 2**) and in the tomb of *Ḳhms*;³⁰⁶ Akhenaten sitting on the throne;³⁰⁷ in unclear context.³⁰⁸ The attitude is also acknowledged between the couple and the princesses.³⁰⁹ No example has been found in Karnak.

Akhenaten and Nefertiti's faces are barely apart, even though his body is facing forward while the queen holds at least one handle of the chariot's frame in an embracing gesture behind him. At such close range they may communicate with all their senses. Their collaborative face-to-face attitude is traditional between gods and kings³¹⁰ and rarely depicted between (deceased) mortals.³¹¹ Clearly the high status and ontology of the partners (divine, royal, deceased) imbues the performance with a special meaning beyond affection or sexual attraction. Though the face-to-face is often called a 'kiss,' the lips do not touch;³¹² only one complete image of lips-on-lips contact is known in ancient Egyptian iconography, between Nefertiti and *Mrtitn* on relief Brooklyn 60.197.8,³¹³ while other candidates are either damaged³¹⁴ or unfinished.³¹⁵

As noted by Anselin,³¹⁶ this typical closeness is explicitly depicted in the writing of the lexeme *sn* in the *Pyramid Texts*: (*sntymnwtf*) *i.sn.f*  *tw rnn.f tw* 'he shall breathe (life into) you, he shall nurse you' (Spell 373 § 656b T), used by Hatshepsut in her Deir el-Bahari temple for Amun holding her (*sn*  *s(t) hpt s(t) rnn s(t)* 'breathe (life into) her, embrace

306 Davies (1905b: pl. 32A).

307 Stela Berlin 14511 (Arnold 1996: fig. 98); seal Berlin 21331 (Roeder 1958: 48 fig. 1; Krauss 2007: 299-300 figs. 3, 4 a-b; Seyfried 2012: 370-1); statue Cairo JE 44866, probably with Kiya on his lap (Arnold 1996: fig. 96; Eaton-Krauss 1981: 257-8; Tassie 2009: 470; Bayer & Eaton-Krauss 2012: 28-9); we are leaving the enigmatic stela Berlin 17813 outside of this discussion (Arnold 1996: fig. 84).

308 Plaque Fitzwilliam E.GA.4606-1943 = FM 59058 (Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999: 246 fig. 138; Bayer & Eaton-Krauss 2012: 27); Amarna block Brooklyn 34.6052 (Bayer & Eaton-Krauss 2012).

309 Seated Akhenaten and *Mrtitn* held up in his arms on stela Berlin 14145 (Krauss 1991: 13 for Amun holding *Ḳmnhpt* III in a similar, though stylistically traditional, way in the Luxor theogamy cycle); seated Nefertiti and *Mrtitn* in her lap on block Brooklyn 60.197.8 (https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3700/Relief_of_Queen_Nefertiti_Kissing_One_of_Her_Daughters); seated Nefertiti and *Ḳhnsnpꜣitn* on relief Cairo JE 66715 (Bayer & Eaton-Krauss 2012: pl. 3 fig. 5); Nefertiti and *Ḳhnsnpꜣitn* standing on the cushion of the window of appearance in *Ḳy*'s tomb (Davies 1908b: pl. 29).

310 Schlichting (1980: 901); Bayer & Eaton-Krauss (2012: 27).

311 Moussa & Altenmüller (1977).




312 Schlichting (1980: 901).

313 Schlichting (1980: 901).

314 Fitzwilliam E.GA.4606-1943 = FM 59058 (Freed, Markowitz & D'Auria 1999: 246 fig. 138).

315 Amarna statue Cairo JE 44866; Old Kingdom relief of two adults in tight embrace from Giza in Abu-Bakr (1953: 91 fig. 77 and pl. 53).

316 Anselin (2013).

her, raise her);³¹⁷ *sn* ↓  KN *pt m bik* ‘the king will breathe the sky as a falcon’ (Spell 467 § 891c P and M). Evidently ↓  does not evoke a kiss on the lips; the classifier  of the [BREATHING] category excludes the mouth, focusing on the nose, as clearly expressed by *sn r fnd* ‘to breathe (life) into the nose’ used above a representation of Amun face-to-face with baby Hatshepsut.³¹⁸ Thus *sn* relates to the proxemic *intimate distance* (a breath away, breath-to-breath)³¹⁹ at which smelling and exchanging breath with a partner is possible. The meaning is also clear in *CT* III 39c-d, esp. M5C (Spell 170): ‘May the river-banks join for me (and) a god fraternize with a god for me (*snsn* with a wordplay on *sn* brother and *sn* breath-close), face-to-face, nose-to-nose (*hr r hr fnd r fnd*).’ Mouth-kissing may not have been practiced in ancient Egypt, as in other societies with ‘traditions of close face-to-face contact involving sniffing, licking or rubbing’;³²⁰ indeed, the love song of *pHarris* 500 r^o 5 declares that ‘only a whiff of your nose (*hnm fnd.kwi*) is what my heart lives for’³²¹ and *oDM* 1266 asserts that ‘it is while her lips are open that I breathe her in’ (*i.snny.i sw spty.st wn*).³²² We have mentioned that *intimate distance proxemics* implies high sensory input, the breathing distance emphasized in the motif. No facial expression is displayed in Atenist royal iconography to reveal emotions or patterns in dynamic interaction,³²³ but, the position and closeness of the faces function here as an *emblematic stance of focused interaction* negotiated jointly by the partners.³²⁴ They are shown at an equal distance to Aten’s life sign, their faces symmetrically arranged around it (in *M^chw*’s tomb above their noses, in *I^chms*’ tomb between them). Their extreme facial closeness depicts an *involvement* phase in their interaction, but not of an erotic type since there does not appear to be any touching (though in the chariot scene of *I^chms*’ tomb Nefertiti embraces Akhenaten with her left arm). Their intimacy involves Aten in his role of *dyw t3w r s^cnh* ‘giver of breath to enliven’,³²⁵ as in the traditional image of god/king embrace.

An ancient divine model conveyed by funerary texts implied that the son of the solar creator, breezy *‘w*, was created from *Tm*’s nose and inhaled back by his father every day (*CT* II 44a-c, Spell 81): ‘It is from his nose that he [*Tm*] birthed me [*‘w*] and it is from his nostril that I came out, while he pressed me against his neck so he could breathe me in every day.’ In this myth, a cosmic cycle of exhalation and inhalation is exchanged between the sun and his son as an ongoing process of revivification; having been given birth, the son is breathing life back into his father. Even if Akhenaten might not identify himself with

317 Naville (1896: pl. 52) and *Urk.* IV 229 lines 3-5.

318 Naville (1898: pl. 56) and *Urk.* IV 243 line 6.

319 Hall (1966: 118-9).

320 Wlodarski & Dunbar (2013: 1415); Harst (2004: 28-41 and esp. 39-41).

321 Mathieu (1996: pl. 12 line 2).

322 Mathieu (1996: pl.19 line16 and p. 173).

323 Kendon (1981b: 321-2).

324 Kendon (1981b: 343).

325 Sandman (1938: 94 line 12), Great Hymn, 7.

ḥw, and Aten remains a remote god,³²⁶ such type of father-son relationship may be implied through the couple's sharing of the breath of life then passed on to selected members of the royal family. Indeed, the king is 'the breath for all noses from which one breathes (*tꜣw n fndw nb ssn.tw [i]m.f*).'³²⁷ The breath of life is shared in specific contexts, suggesting a pattern in which the chariot, the window of appearance, and the throne commute: these are 'elevated positions'³²⁸ in which a royal epiphany (solar rising) takes place. The nexus mobility/intimacy was already observed in the scene from the tomb of *Pꜣrnnfr*, though in another form; the royal outings provide public exposure and guarantee Aten's presence and participation as a life-giving force.


The use of nonverbal communication in the analysis of royal iconography offers new insights into the concept of divine kingship envisioned by Akhenaten and his embodiment of major Atenist concepts through gestures and attitudes. It has enabled a fresh outlook on various issues: the nature of the depicted gestures, their performative and metaphoric quality, and their relation with the iconic script; Akhenaten's multitasking involving complex conceptual patterns; control and dominance issues resolved in unconventional visuals; practical activities performed in an expressive way to symbolize power acquisition, solar omnipotence, and apotheosis; the status-defining value of gestures; the spatial-temporal staging illuminating the etiquette-controlled ceremonial; the evolution in the choice of attitudes; the importance of cultic elevation gestures for divine reception by illumination and public proclamation; the exceptional intrusion of public displays of emotion and physical intimacy in the royal repertoire. Encountered in real life, the conversational, practical, ritual, and conventional gestures of intimacy studied here have acquired an emblematic quality in their graphic representation that some of them did not otherwise possess. Strong metaphoric components have been acknowledged, even in instrumental activities, to symbolize particularly telling facets of Akhenaten's rulership. By 'recycling' archaic motifs, importing foreign ones, playing on the tension between script and representation, and creating new images previously forbidden by traditional rules of decorum, Akhenaten has enriched the repertoire of royal corporal attitudes and refocused attention on the royal body. Beyond the 'semiotic shock' caused by the curvaceous royal body, Atenism offers intriguing new attitudes designed to revisit and reactivate a depleted traditional model of royal presentation and to emphasize a specific message eternally performed by Akhenaten's emblematic gestures.

326 Sandman (1938: 15 lines 1-6).

327 Sandman (1938: 24 line 7).


328 Kuhlmann (2011: 2, 4) for the throne before Amarna (*st wrrt*) and in Amarna (*isbt ḥꜣt, Hwytꜣ's tomb*, in Sandman 1938: 37 line 2); the chariot is called *wrryt* in Amarna.

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Figures

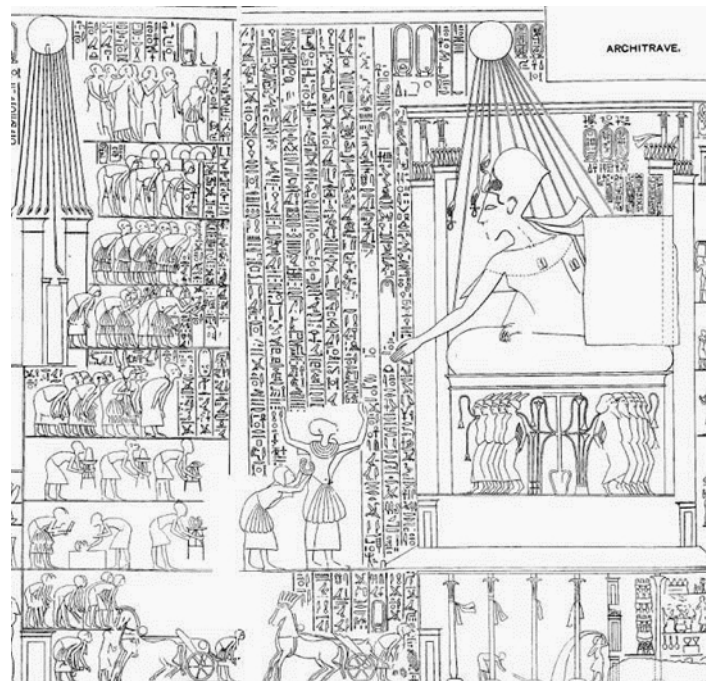


Fig. 1 after Davies (1908b: pls. 19-20)

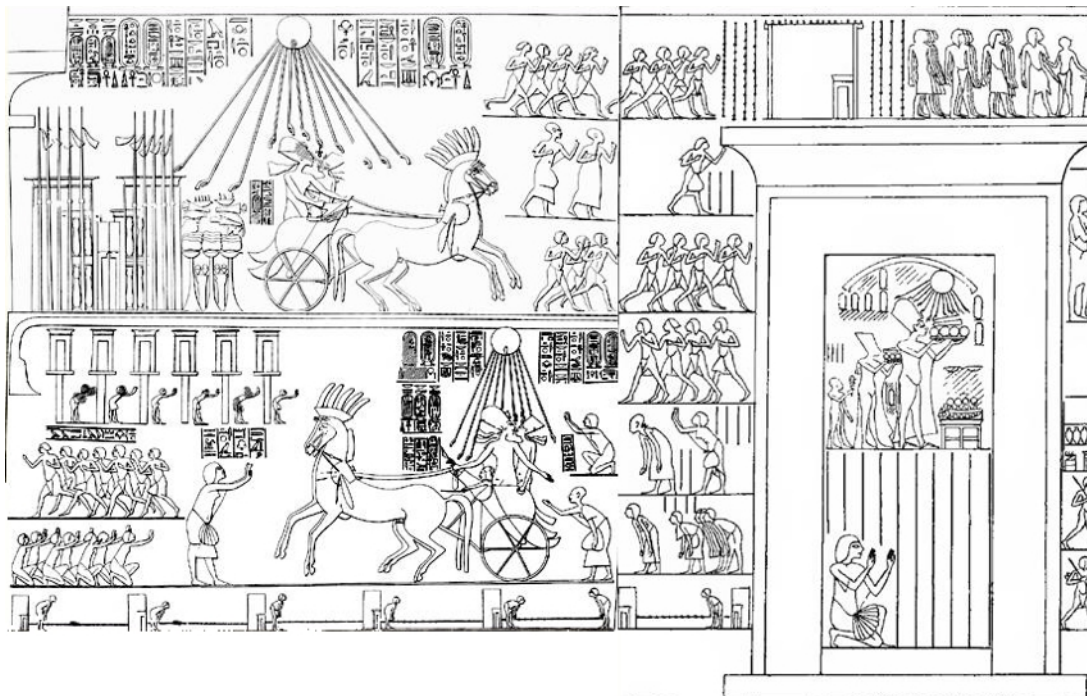
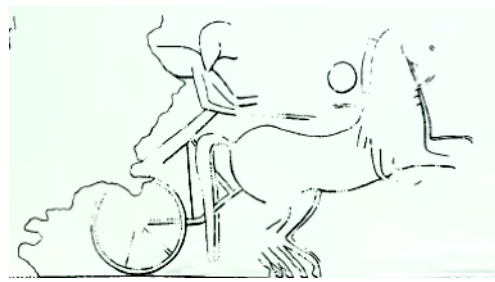
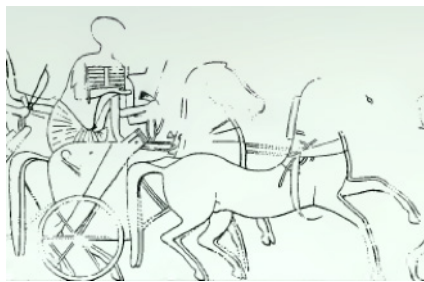


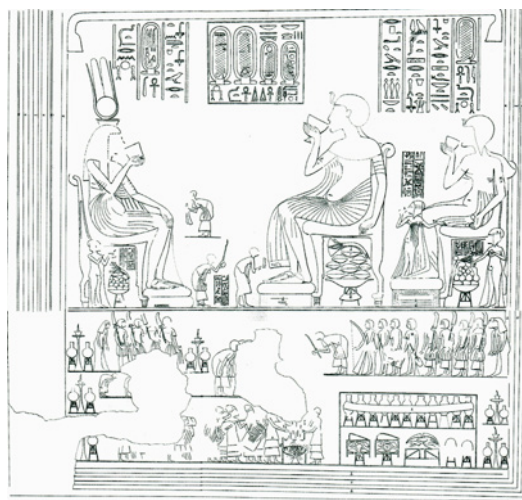
Fig. 2 after Davies (1906: pls. 20-2, 28)



Fig. 3 after Davies (1903: pls. 10-10A)



Figs. 4-5 after Davies (1903: pl. 10)



Figs. 6-7 after Davies (1905b: pls. 4-7)

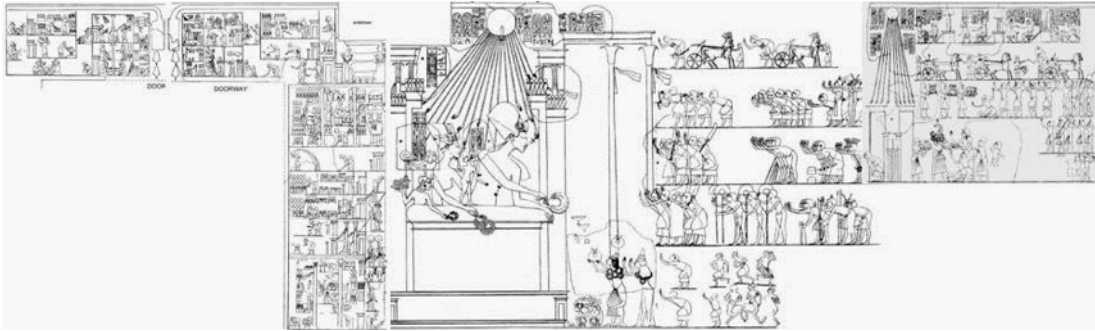


Fig. 8 after Davies (1908b: pls. 28-30)

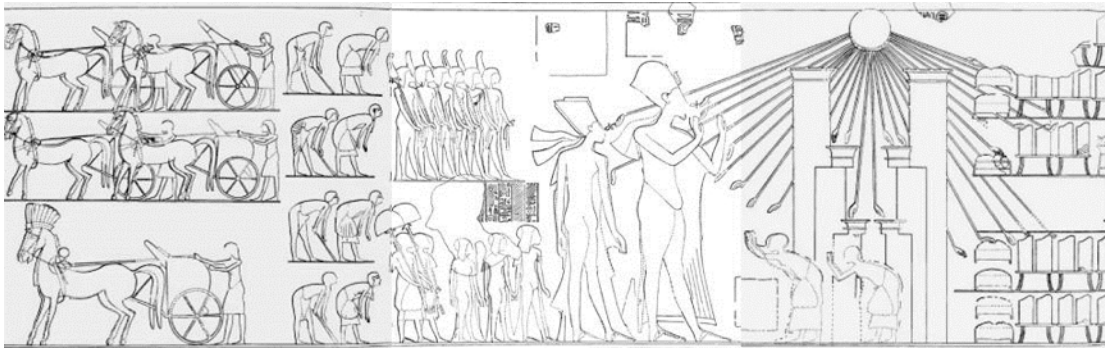


Fig. 9 after Davies (1906: pls. 5-6)

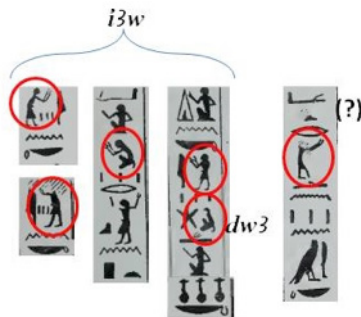


Fig. 10

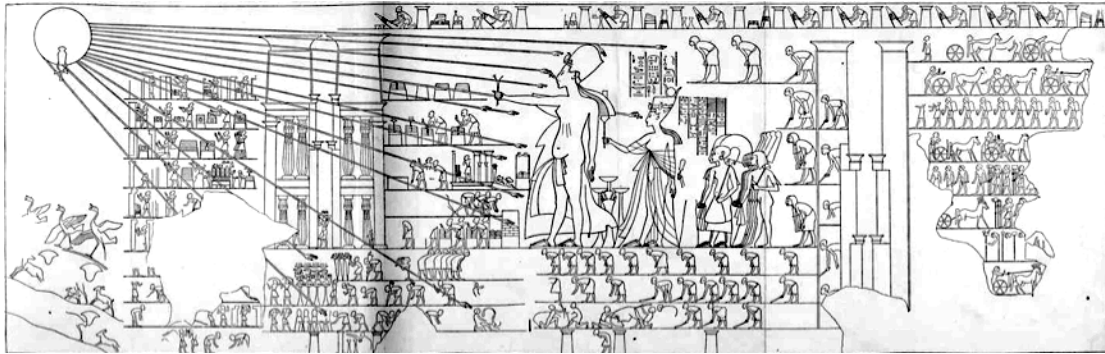
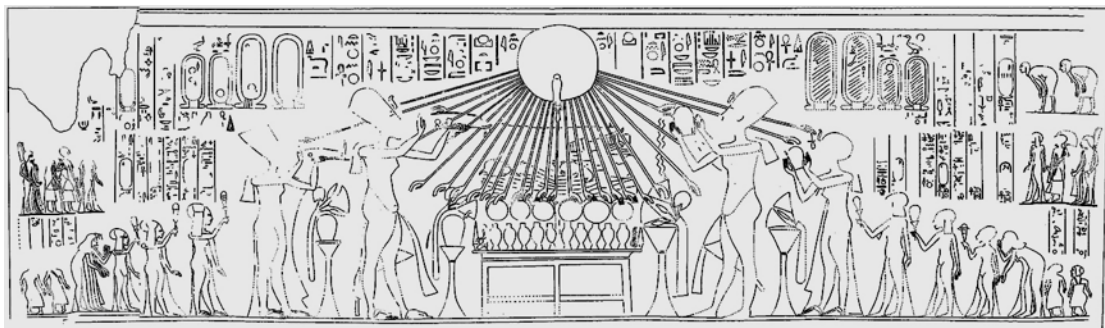
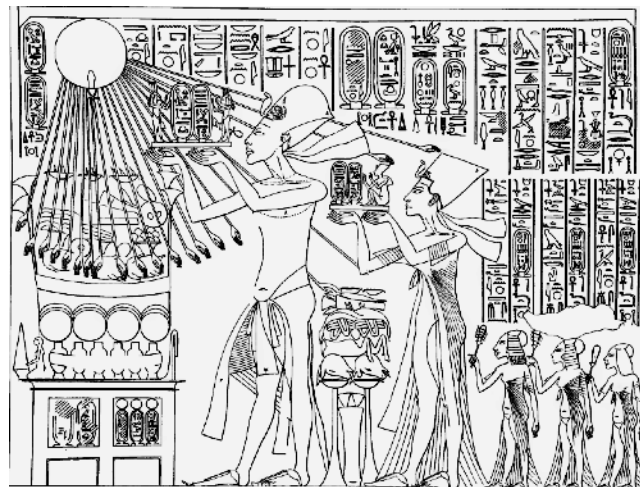
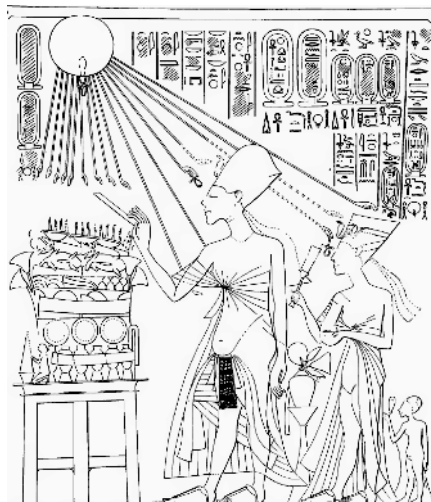


Fig. 11 after Bouriant, Legrain & Jéquier (1903: pl. 1)



Figs. 12-14 after Davies (1906: pls. 15 and 31; 1905: pl. 5)

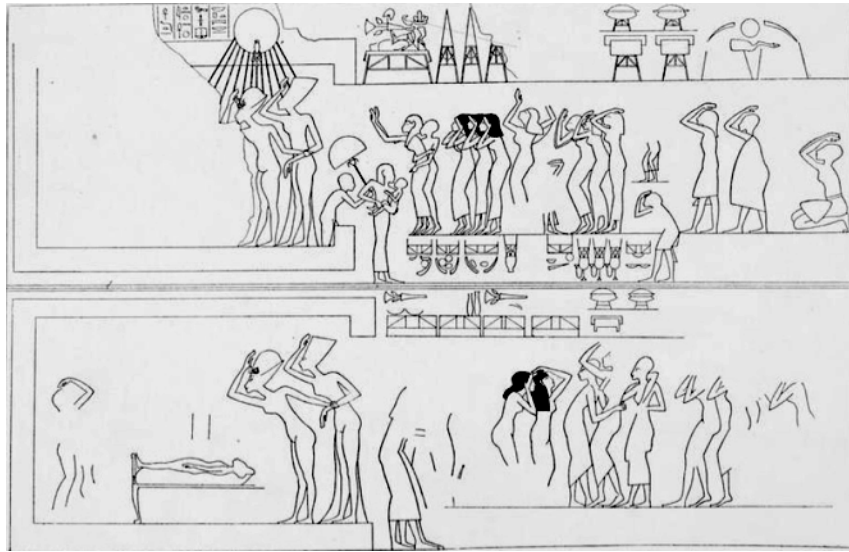


Fig. 15 after Bouriant, Legrain & Jéquier (1903: pl. 6)

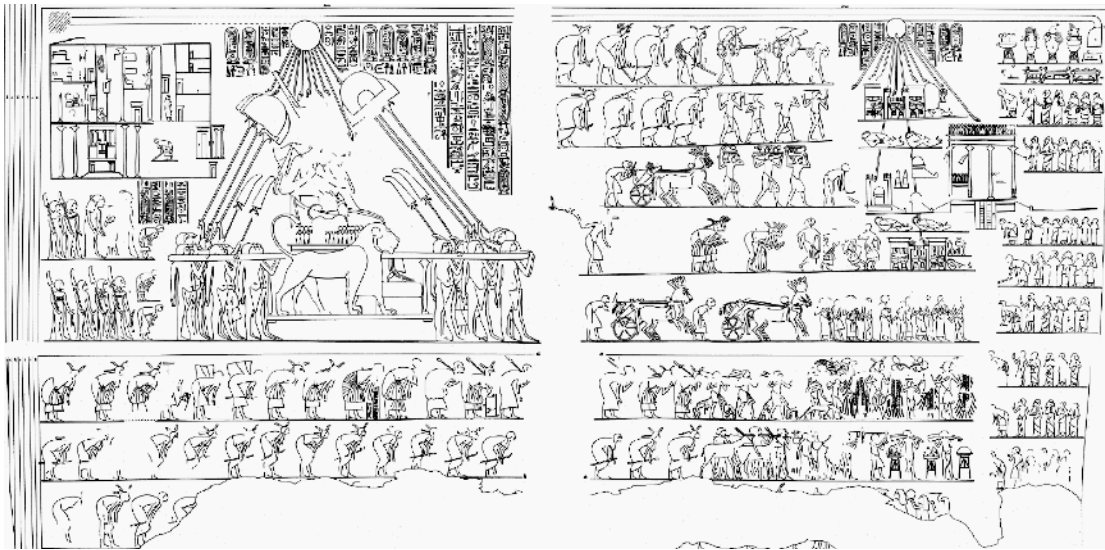


Fig. 16 after Davies (1905b: pl. 13)



Fig. 17 after Davies (1908b: pls. 3, 7)

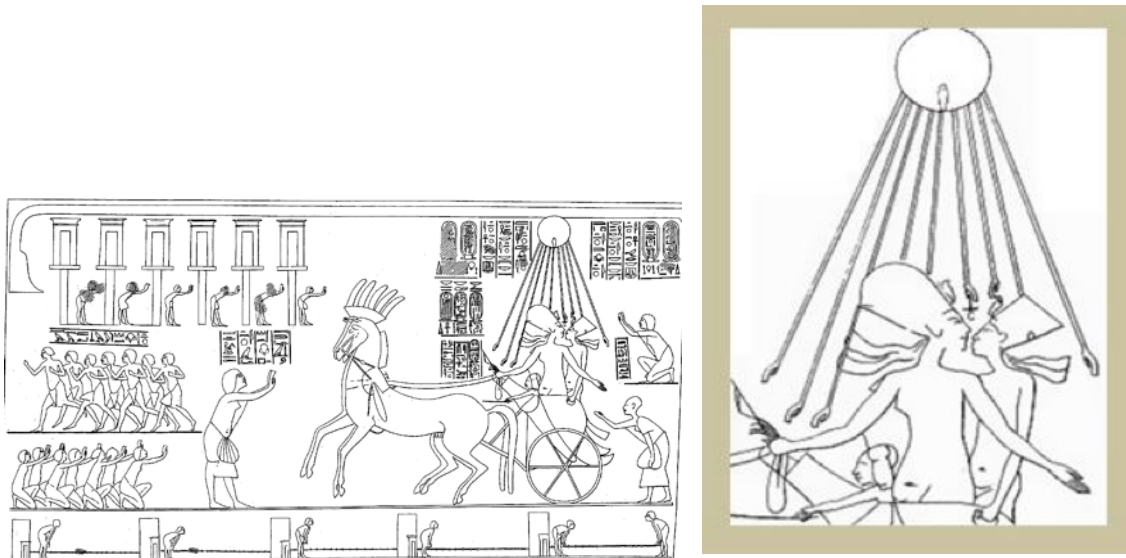


Fig. 18 after Davies (1906: pl. 22)

The Ignominy of Deir el-Medina and the Cleansing of the Necropolis Workforce — A Re-examination of the Events of Year 17 of Ramesses IX

Benedict G. Davies

Abstract: This article presents a re-assessment of the events surrounding the plunder of the tomb of queen Isis in the Valley of the Queens by a gang of eight necropolis workmen resident at Deir el-Medina. Based on contemporary official reports (Pap. BM 10053 rto; Pap. BM 10068 rto), in combination with necropolis journals, it investigates the immediate impact of the ensuing scandal on the Deir el-Medina community, the decision of vizier Khaemwaset to reduce dramatically the strength of the workforce, and the identification of those men who lost their jobs. The division of the spoils amongst the eight thieves and their association with local accomplices will also be explored. Finally, the possibility that the gang paid with their lives for their crime will be considered.

Résumé : Cet article constitue un réexamen des événements entourant le pillage de la tombe de la reine Isis dans la Vallée des Reines par un groupe d'ouvriers de la nécropole résidant à Deir el-Medineh. En se fondant sur des rapports officiels contemporains (Pap. BM 10053 rto; Pap. BM 10068 rto), en combinaison avec les journaux de la nécropole, l'impact immédiat du scandale sur la communauté de Deir el-Medineh et la décision du vizir Khâemouaset de réduire substantiellement l'étendue de la main-d'oeuvre sont étudiés alors que les hommes qui ont perdu leur travail sont identifiés. La division du butin entre les huit pilleurs et leur association avec des complices locaux seront également examinées. Enfin, la possibilité que le groupe ait payé leur crime de leur vie sera considérée.

Keywords/mots-clés: Tomb robbery/pillage de tombes; queen Isis/la reine Isis; Valley of the Queens/Vallée des Reines; QV 51; necropolis journal/Journal de la Nécropole; Ramesses IX/Ramsès IX; Deir el-Medina/Deir el-Medineh; prosopography/prosopographie; Theban necropoleis/nécropole thébaine; vizier Khaemwaset/vizir Khâemouaset; judicial process/procedure judiciaire

In the seventeenth year of the reign of Ramesses IX, the village of Deir el-Medina — home to the royal necropolis workforce — was shaken by the revelation that eight of its residents were facing accusations of having looted one of royal tombs in the Valley of the Queens. Not since the nefarious activities of the infamous chief workman Paneb¹ at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty had the reputation of the workmen as trusted officials of pharaoh faced such serious allegations. In fact, the impropriety of the eight thieves — and their accomplices — would have far-reaching repercussions for this tight-knit community for years to come.

No single narrative giving chapter and verse on the village scandal has survived. The main source of evidence is represented by records from the official state archives which contain quite detailed accounts of the depositions of the thieves.² Complementing these texts are a number of papyri which formed part of the so-called necropolis journal kept by the Deir el-Medina scribes.³ The journal was the equivalent of a modern-day diary in which the local scribes reported all manner of notable events connected with the on-going work of constructing tombs in the royal necropoleis. As such they present a different perspective on the pivotal events of year 17, though one that is no less important than that given in the official governmental records. Through a combination of jejune, somewhat innocuous observations and the more detailed accounts that are concerned with the arrests and depositions of thieves and the ensuing recovery of their spoils, the necropolis journal serves both to corroborate,

1 Paneb’s alleged criminal activities are recorded in the famous Pap. Salt 124 (= BM 10055) (J. Černý, “Papyrus Salt 124 (Brit. Mus. 10055)”, *JEA* 15 (1929), 243–58, pls. 42–46; *KRI* IV, 408–14; *KRITA* IV, 291–4; A. Théodoridès, “Dénonciation de malversations ou requête en destitution (Papyrus Salt 124 = Pap. Brit. Mus. 10055)”, *Revue Internationale des Droits de l’Antiquité* 28 (1981), 11–79; P. Vernus, *Affaires et Scandales sous les Ramsès* (Paris: 1993), 101–21; B. G. Davies, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions of the Nineteenth Dynasty* (Jonsered: 1997), 343–54; idem, *RITANC* IV, 356–60; partial translation in A. G. McDowell, *Village Life in Ancient Egypt. Laundry Lists and Love Songs* (Oxford: 1999), 190–2 (No. 146).

2 These are: Pap. BM 10053 (“Pap. Harris A”), rto (T. E. Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* I (Oxford: 1930), 102–11, 185, II, pls. XVII–XIX, cf. pl. XXXIX; *KRI* VI, 506–14; *KRITA* VI, 379–83); and Pap. BM 10068, rto (Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies* I, 79–102, 184–5, II, pls. IX–XII; *KRI* VI, 497–505; *KRITA* VI, 374–8).

3 Most notably Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078, rto = Giornale 17-A rto (G. Botti & T. E. Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe (I Papiri Ieratici del Museo di Torino)* (Turin: 1928), 14–15, 19–21, pls. b, 8–13; T. E. Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 72–74; H. W. Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka, Papyri und Graffiti von Deir el-Medineh*, *ÄA* 63 (Wiesbaden: 2002), 521–3; *KRI* VI, 567–570; *KRITA* VI, 420–422); Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 + 2005 + 2029 + 2078, vso = Giornale 17-A vso (Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale*, 27–29, 39–41, pls. b, 44–48; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 525, 527–8; *KRI* VI, 595–8; *KRITA* VI, 435–7); Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083, rto = Giornale 17-B rto (Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale*, 15–18, 22–27, pls. b, 14–26; Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 74–79; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 523–9; *KRI* VI, 570–81; *KRITA* VI, 422–8); Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 + 2073 + 2076 + 2082 + 2083, vso = Giornale 17-B vso (Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale*, 15–18, 27–39, pls. b, 27–43; S. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit* (Tübingen: 1973), 331–5; Helck, *Die datierten und datierbaren Ostraka*, 510–1, 516–21; *KRI* VI, 581–94; *KRITA* VI, 428–35); Pap. Turin Cat. 2016 + 2017 = Giornale 17-C (Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale*, 41–42, pl. 49; *KRI* VI, 598 (duplicated in error on pp. 868–9); *KRITA* VI, 437 (and p. 592).

in part, the official record and as a channel for new information. Also worthy of mention is the journal's importance in revealing that certain members of the village elite were heavily involved in the official investigations into the illicit activities of their colleagues.

Unsurprisingly, the existence of multiple, contemporary chroniclers, each driven by different motivations, has resulted in a fragmented and incomplete body of evidence. Naturally, when faced with the task of piecing together exactly how these events unfolded, this poses a real challenge — one that is further compounded by the fact that certain pieces of evidence bear no dateline. Yet in spite of the irregular nature of the evidence at our disposal, an attempt will be made to present what we believe to be a convincing reconstruction of the most shameful episode in the history of Deir el-Medina.

The earliest securely dated episode in this scandal is reported in the text written on the recto of Pap. BM 10053. Dated to I Peret 8 of year 17 of Ramesses IX, the text tells how eight workmen from Deir el-Medina had (at some point) been apprehended by the local authorities somewhere within the west Theban necropolis, and duly escorted across the river to the main city of Thebes. Here they were committed to the temple of Maat in the great precinct of Karnak, where they would face questioning in relation to the pillaging of a royal tomb in the “The Place of the Beautiful Ones” (*t3 st nfrwt*), that is, the Valley of the Queens — the “Beautiful Ones” in this case being the women (queens) of the royal household and their offspring.⁴ Whilst the identity of the tomb in question was not reported here, we know from an independent source that its owner was a queen Isis, most probably the chief wife of Ramesses III, and that the pillaged sepulchre was QV 51.⁵

The content of Pap. BM 10053 rto contains the official transcript of the personal testimonies given in turn by each of the eight accused men from Deir el-Medina before a high-powered tribunal presided over by vizier Khaemwaset and the High Priest of Amun Amenhotep. Referred to in unequivocal terms as “thieves”, the eight men were identified as follows:

Amenwa, <son of> Hori (rto 1:8–15)
 [Pentaweret, son of Amennakht] (rto 1:16–2:10)
 Nakhtmin, son of Pentaweret (rto 2:11–3:15)
 Amenhotep, son of Pentaweret (rto 3:16–4:8)

4 J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen in the Ramesside Period*, BdE 50 (Cairo: 1973), 88–89; C. Leblanc, *Ta set neferou. Une nécropole de Thèbes-Ouest et son histoire I* (Cairo: 1989), 18–20.

5 For QV 51, see PM² I:2, 756, 750 (plan); KRI VI, 345–7; E. H. Cline and D. O'Connor (eds), *Ramesses III: The Life and Times of Egypt's Last Hero* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 2012), 285–6; Leblanc, *Ta set neferou*, 32, 35, 37, 44. It has been identified as the tomb whose internal measurements are to be found recorded on O. BM 8505 (C. Rossi, “The identification of the tomb described on O. BM 8505”, *GM* 187 (2002), 97–99). On the identification of this Isis as the queen of Ramesses III, see J. Monnet, “Remarques sur la famille et les successeurs de Ramsès III”, *BIFAO* 63 (1965), 210–4; cf. E. F. Wente, “A Prince's Tomb in the Valley of the Kings”, *JNES* 32 (1973), 228–9.

Mose, son of Pentaweret (rto 4:9–5:3)

Paysen, son of Amenwa (rto 5:4–5:16)

Hori, son of Amenwa (rto 5:17–6:12)

Pa-(an)qen, son of Amenwa (rto 6:13–7:12)

Rather than discussing the goods that they kept for their own personal profit, their depositions exclusively deal with the identity of local citizens who came to be in possession of a share of the spoils, along with the value of those goods. Overall, the lists of “receivers” are extensive and include not only work colleagues of the thieves and other inhabitants of Deir el-Medina, but also a whole host of predominantly Theban-based people, which included the likes of scribes, soldiers, sailors, tradesmen, craftsmen, and even the occasional priest. In view of the fact that their value was also cited for the record, we can only conclude that the thieves had used part of their loot to conduct business with members of neighbouring communities. Furthermore, the scope of this network of trade would further suggest that the thieves had probably spent weeks, if not months, passing on the stolen goods through these black-market channels.

According to the text’s preamble, the compilation of the inventories had been specifically ordered to serve as a written *aide-memoire* in the tracking down of “receivers” known to the authorities, and the recovery of the booty. Responsibility for this job was to be entrusted to a team of local dignitaries led by the Mayor (of West Thebes) Pawer^{ca}; the team would also receive assistance in the discharge of its duties from the chief workman Usikhopesh, one of the Deir el-Medina leaders.

There are several reasons for believing that this was not the first time that the eight workmen-thieves had been questioned by the authorities about illicit activities in the royal necropolis. Firstly, had this been the first round of cross-examination, then surely one would expect the spotlight of the investigation commission to focus chiefly upon the culpability, motives and *modus operandi* of the thieves, rather than pursuing the less pressing matters of identifying the “receivers” and recovering the stolen property. Secondly, and of even more relevance to the argument, is the fact that all eight men are referred to in Pap. BM 10053 as “thieves” — a label which insinuates that their guilt had already been established through prior rounds of interrogation. In any case, such decisive matters as the initial detention of the thieves and the recovery of loot still in their possession form the subject of the first three columns of the recto text of Pap. BM 10068. Moreover, a damaged section of text in lines 8–10 of column 1 seems to suggest that the thieves were currently being detained within the temple of Maat, precisely where the interrogations of Pap. BM 10053 are known to have been conducted. Regrettably the dateline relating to this section of Pap. BM 10068 is fragmentary, and only the prenominal cartouche of Ramesses IX and a damaged day-numeral have been preserved. What is beyond question is the fact that these events preceded II Peret 21 of year 17 of Ramesses IX, the dateline of column 4 of the papyrus. Whilst the evidence remains circumstantial, it is sufficiently compelling to suggest that the arrest of the eight thieves along with the seizure

of their ill-gotten gains, as described in the opening columns of Pap. BM 10068, had most likely taken place either in the days leading up to I Peret 8, or even on that date itself. It was only following their incarceration in the temple of Maat that the thieves were subjected to a further round of cross-examination, designed with the aim of coercing them into giving up the identities of those persons to whom they had passed on part of their loot (Pap. BM 10053).

The opening section of Pap. BM 10068 relates how it had been the west Theban authorities — that is, the Mayor Pawer⁶ and the district scribe Wenennefer — who had first heard rumours of the skulduggery in the Valley of the Queens by the scheming necropolis workmen. Precisely how they had come by such knowledge is not divulged, suffice it to say that once cognizant of the situation Pawer⁶, in accordance with due legal process, immediately relayed the information onto vizier Khaemwaset, pharaoh’s prosecutor-in-chief. Without further ado, Khaemwaset dispatched a delegation to the west bank with orders to round up the eight suspected workmen and have them brought across river along with any loot they still had stashed in their homes. The men were to be detained in the temple of Maat, whilst the recovered goods were to be placed under the seal of the vizier and the High Priest of Amun, presumably also within that temple’s confines.

The remainder of columns 1–3 of Pap. BM 10068 contains a series of inventories listing details of all of the stolen items found in the possession of the eight workmen. As Peet was keen to observe,⁶ the compilation of these booty lists had in all probability been undertaken immediately upon the gang’s arrival at the temple of Maat. The composition of the gang matches perfectly the names reported in Pap. BM 10053, with all eight men being introduced by the pejorative label *itzy hrw ʕ3*, “thief and great criminal”, whilst also being accorded the title of *rmṯ-ist*, the official designation used to describe ordinary members of the Deir el-Medina workforce (rto 1:11–3:28). Interestingly, the text makes no differentiation between Amenhotep and Pa-anqen — the two deputies (*idnw*) — and their co-conspirators, their subordinates.

Essentially the composition of the lists all follow the same pattern, starting with the most valuable items — namely the precious metals recouped from the workmen (see Table 1). Recorded by their weight as measured in *deben* and *qite*,⁷ these metals have been broken down between “pure gold” (*nbw nfr*), “white gold” (*nbw ḥd*), and “silver” (*ḥd*), with a combined total given at the end. The inventories also include details of other valuables which the thieves had removed, typically consisting of utilitarian items such as garments, lengths of linen, and metal vessels.

Immediately following the eight individual inventories, the scribe provides a summary overview giving the grand total of each of the precious metal groups recovered during the investigation (col. 3:16–20). In fact, two (slightly differing) sets of figures were

⁶ *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 82.

⁷ The *deben*, equivalent to 91 grammes, was sub-divided into 10 *qite* (J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period. An Economic Study of the Village of Necropolis Workmen at Thebes* (Leiden: 1975), 101).

recorded for each entry:

Pure gold: 9 *deben*, 2 *qite*. Found, 9 *deben*, 5 *qite*.

White gold: 39 *deben*, 1 *qite*. Found, 41 *deben*.

Silver: 188 *deben*, 5 *qite*. Found, 190 *deben*.

Total (of) pure gold, white gold and silver: 236 *deben*, 8 *qite*. Found, 240 *deben*, 5 *qite*.

Surplus, 3 *deben*, 7 *qite*.

One can only assume that the presence of two sets of numbers refers to a process in which the metal retrieved had been weighed by the investigating commission on two separate occasions. This would mean that the first set refers to a weighing performed immediately after the stolen goods had been recovered from the properties of the thieves, perhaps at Deir el-Medina itself. Introduced by the word “found”, the second set of numbers refers to the goods when they were re-weighed and entered into the official register upon their deposit in the temple of Maat, where they were kept under the seal of the vizier and the High Priest of Amun. The variance between the two grand total figures (*ḥꜣw*, the “surplus”) — just 3 *deben* and 7 *qite*, a mere 1.5 % — is relatively minor, and can probably be attributed to the use of slightly different counterweights at the two separate weigh-ins.

Following immediately after the summation of the precious metals is a short list of miscellaneous items that could easily be mistaken for additional goods recovered by the Theban administration during the reclamation programme (3:21–28). However, closer inspection actually reveals that these already appear catalogued as part of the individual inventories of the eight thieves earlier in the text. The first entry, the four gold inlaid “corner pieces” (3:21), were part of the share received by (Pa)-anqen, son of Amenwa, as were the ivory and ebony pieces that once belonged to royal anthropoid coffins⁸ (3:24–26).

The very next entry (3:22) speaks of 48 *deben* of copper recovered from various vessels which were said to have been “scrap” metal (*knkn*).⁹ Again, it is not instantly obvious how this is connected with the plunder previously cited. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that this figure refers to the three copper objects from the earlier lists that together amounted to 48 *deben* — namely Pentaweret’s 12 *deben* of copper from a *srdd* (2:6), Mose’s copper *kbw*-vessel of 25 *deben* (2:19), and Paysen’s copper spittoon weighing a further 11 *deben* (2:29).

The next notation concerns the 63 (items) of “royal linen, *mk*-linen and fine quality thin cloth”.¹⁰ Again, this number corresponds perfectly with the tally of garments

8 For the identification of *wṯ* as a wooden, anthropoid coffin, see K. M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death. The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 22 (Leiden: 2007), 18–21; cf. G. Neunert, *Mein Grab, mein Esel, mein Platz in der Gesellschaft. Prestige im Alten Ägypten am Beispiel Deir el-Medine* (Berlin: 2010), 135 ff.

9 Other examples of “scrap” copper can be found in O. BM 5633, 10 (J. Černý & A. H. Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca I* (Oxford: 1957), pl. 86:1); O. BM 5649, rto 8 (Černý & Gardiner, *ibid.*, pl. 86:2); and Pap. Vienna 34, 8 (= KRI VII, 173:14).

10 That *šmꜥ* was “thin cloth”, see J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tutankhamūn* (Oxford: 1965), 10 n. 3; cf. J. J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 256 n. 35.

purloined from the royal tomb by the necropolis workmen, which were as follows:

Nakhtmin — 22 lengths of cloth for various garments (1:15);
 Amenwa — 17 assorted garments (1:20);¹¹
 Pentaweret — 5 assorted garments of *mk*-linen (2:7);
 Amenhotep — 2 *mss*-tunics of *mk*-linen (2:13);
 Mose — 2 sheets of fine quality thin cloth; 6 lengths of *mk*-linen; 2 *idg* of *mk*-linen (2:20–22);
 Paysen — 5 lengths of *mk*-linen (2:30);
 (Pa)-anqen — 2 lengths of *mk*-linen (3:10).

Whereas the two *kbw*-vessels filled with sweet oil (*ꜥd ndm*, *kbw* 2; 3:27) obviously came from Amenhotep's haul (2:14), it remains unclear which of the thieves took home the final item on the list — the *šst mhꜣy I* (3:28), possibly a skein of yarn.¹² Could this possibly be the entry missing in line 1:15a of Nakhtmin's inventory, now no longer visible?

As events continued to unfold, we pick up the story from the necropolis journal — first-hand evidence as seen through the lens of the village community. The names of some of the thieves appear as recipients of what appears to be a distribution of grain to the workmen in the badly damaged opening four columns of the recto of Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +. Bearing the designation *sꜣw* prisoner, suggesting that they were still languishing in custody across the river in the city of Thebes, they are:

[Deput]y Pa-anqen, [son of A]menwa (1:3)
 Amenwa, son of Hori (1:4)
 Nakhtmin, son of Pentaweret (1:6)
 Pentaweret, son of Amennakht (1:8)
 Hori, son of Amenwa (1:12)
 Seramun, son of Amenwa (2:9)
 Deputy Amenhotep, son of Pentaweret (3:4)¹³

Although the dateline of the distribution is lost, it had probably taken place not

11 Since the entries for both Nakhtmin and Amenwa are partially incomplete because of damage suffered by the papyrus, it is impossible to establish unequivocally the material from which their shares of cloth had been manufactured. Be that as it may, given that none of their co-conspirators received items made from royal linen (*byssus*) undoubtedly draws the conclusion that the share of either or both men included the items made from this type of fabric.

12 For this identification, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 289.

13 Note that the word *sꜣw* in front of the name of Qaydjoret, son of Penpamer (4:8), was this man's official title "guardian", and not an indication of his arrest in connection with the tomb robbery. The same man occurs in a later journal entry along with two of his colleagues from Deir el-Medina, the Tomb scribe Khaemhedjet and the deputy Amennakht (Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 1:2)

much earlier than the events of column 6, the earliest date of which was I Peret 14 of year 17. One of the most fascinating facets of this saga is that, no matter the heinous nature of their alleged crimes, the Deir el-Medina leaders still looked favourably upon their colleagues by choosing to continue to pay their grain rations. After all, the dependants of the eight men would still have been reliant upon them for their basic daily needs.

A comparison of this list of men with the composition of the gang of thieves from earlier sources immediately throws up a couple of interesting anomalies. Firstly, two names are missing from the original list of thieves arrested and imprisoned in the temple of Maat — namely those of Mose, son of Pentaweret, and Paysen, son of Amenwa. And secondly, a new name enters the frame in the guise of Seramun, son of Amenwa. Of course, it is quite conceivable that the extensive damage suffered by this section of the papyrus could have resulted in the unfortunate loss of the names of both Mose and Paysen. However, the presence of the name of Seramun is more difficult to reconcile. It could be argued that Seramun had been arrested in lieu of his brother Paysen, who had subsequently been released. However, such a scenario is simply not possible, not least for the reason that Paysen makes a further official deposition confirming his involvement in the tomb robbery at a later date.¹⁴ Three possible explanations for the sudden appearance of Seramun are: (i) he was mistakenly identified as a prisoner (*sꜣw*) by the author of Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +; (ii) Seramun and Paysen are one and the same man; (iii) Seramun had been brought in temporarily as a suspect, in which case he had presumably been found innocent of any culpability in the matter since later references to the gang invariably speak of the presence of eight thieves/prisoners.¹⁵

The picture is further complicated by a subsequent episode in which an outside dignitary of some status — quite possibly vizier Khaemwaset (see further below) — read aloud the following eight names during an address to the village leaders (*ḥwtyw*) and the entire Deir el-Medina work crew:¹⁶

Amenwa, son of Hori
 Pentaweret, son of Amennakht
 Nakhtmin, son of Pentaweret
 Deputy Pa-anqen, son of Amenwa
 Deputy Amenhotep, son of Pentaweret
 Hori, son of Amenwa
 Nekhemmut, son of Amenwa
 Mose, son of Pentaweret

Given that the identity of these men as the eight thieves is beyond dispute, who then was this Nekhemmut whose name appears to replace (again) that of the

14 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 5:1 ff.

15 E.g. Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 1:22.

16 Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, rto col. 5.

conspicuously absent Paysen? Clearly, in order to preclude the need for elaborate hypotheses, the most straightforward explanation would be to recognise him as Paysen.¹⁷ If right, then there would be little opportunity for Seramun to also be synonymous with Paysen/Nekhemmut, meaning that his role was merely as a suspect brought in by the authorities for questioning, but later released without formal charge. The rationale for the meeting between this unidentified dignitary (Khaemwaset) and the workforce is made clear soon enough. Firstly, the Deir el-Medina captains are coerced into swearing an oath to ensure that none of their workmen would be permitted to take the road out of west Thebes. Perhaps the central administration wanted to effect a full lock-down of Deir el-Medina whilst it continued to pursue various lines of enquiry both within the village and further afield in the neighbouring communities. Such measures were surely designed to prevent any other villagers who might have been involved in the tomb robbery from being given the opportunity to escape the long arm of the law. In fact, a certain Anhurkhou, son of Sethy, is reported to have fled (*w^cr*) from the village in the days leading up to the vizier's visit, perhaps sensing the growing official presence in the area and fearing that justice was fast approaching.¹⁸

In the ensuing lines it becomes apparent that there was another purpose to the vizier's visit — namely to publicly denounce the gang of thieves before their fellow workers. But much worse was to follow since, given the gravity of their crimes, the central administration had elected to undertake a thorough shake-up of the necropolis staff.¹⁹ This meant that the entire workforce was to be summarily dismissed and replaced by a new crew, vastly reducing the number of workmen. During this period, we know that the crew was sixty-six men strong, consisting of the three “chiefs” (*hry*) — the two chief workmen and the Tomb scribe — plus the chief draughtsman and a main corps of sixty-two workmen; in addition they were supported in their duties by two porters (*iry-^c3*).²⁰ Under the terms of the new edict, the re-configured work crew would be reduced by precisely one third, and would now be composed of just forty-four men, split equally between the two sides (right and left). Each side would contain twenty workmen, with the right side under the command of two chiefs — one of which was the Tomb scribe — whilst the left side would be supervised by a single chief workman and a (chief) draughtsman.

Since only the vizier, as *de facto* head of the necropolis workmen, held sufficient authority to take such extreme, far-reaching action, we contend that the bearer of these ominous tidings would have been none other than Khaemwaset. It is unfortunate that the date of his meeting with the workmen has not been preserved though, in view of the date of subsequent

17 Cf. M. L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300–664 B.C.)* (Warminster: 1975), 126 n. 126.

18 Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, rto 4:4.

19 Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, rto 5:11–13.

20 Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, rto 4:9–12; cf. B. G. Davies, “Variations in the size of the Deir el-Medina workforce”, in *The Cultural Manifestations of Religious Experience. Studies in Honour of Boyo G. Ockinga*, ed. C. Di Biase-Dyson and L. Donovan, ÄAT 85 (Münster: 2017), 209.

events reported here, it most probably had occurred on I Peret 13, or even a day or two earlier.

Regrettably, the motives for the cull are not reported here, but it would seem unimaginable had it not been linked to the arrests of the eight thieves and the on-going enquiries into their collusion with their work colleagues and other inhabitants of Deir el-Medina. Understandably, it is not possible to identify the names of the twenty-two men who lost their jobs as a result of this major restructuring exercise. Needless to say, the ramifications of facing up to the loss of their livelihoods would have been a terrifying experience for the men, and one that would be further compounded by their banishment from the community along with their families, since only active workmen were permitted to reside at the village.

It is almost indubitable that the eight thieves, who were still languishing in jail, were amongst the twenty-two sacked men. In actual fact, we need look no further than a memorandum from the necropolis journal dating to II Peret 6 of year 17, or not much earlier,²¹ for one nugget of evidence to support this assumption. Here we learn that Amennakht (xii), son of Hay (vii) — who can be identified as an ordinary member of the necropolis work crew earlier in that year²² — is now working as a deputy, having replaced one of the two former deputies — Pa-anqen or Amenhotep — now disgraced because of their crimes.²³ The eventual fate awaiting the eight men will be discussed further below.

One anomaly for which no obvious explanation is immediately forthcoming concerns events that took place on I Peret 10 either at Deir el-Medina or one of the official work sites. According to the necropolis journal,²⁴ it was on that day that both deputies Pa-anqen and Amenhotep, appear to have been going about their daily business at a time when they are believed to have been in custody in the temple of Maat in Thebes. In fact, both men are shown to be making payments on behalf of the men under their charge in exchange for a bull, which had been supplied to the workforce by a certain underling of the High Priest (of Amun). Since this was official business, it is possible that the authorities had deemed it safe enough to release the two men on temporary licence in order for them to carry out obligations that only they were able to perform. If so, then their liberty was short-lived since subsequent events confirm that they were later returned to prison (discussed below).

But what of the remaining fourteen men who got their marching orders in the fall-out from this saga? The statements made under cross-examination by the eight thieves are punctuated throughout with the names of Deir el-Medina inhabitants who had come into possession of various items from their ill-gotten gains — though whether this proves their wilful collusion with the gang, or simply that they had come by these goods through honest barter-exchange, we simply cannot say. The following individuals have been identified from the testimony as reported in Pap. BM 10053:

21 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 1:1–2.

22 Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, rto 3:5.

23 See B. G. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina. A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 13 (Leiden: 1999), 70–71, where it has been suggested that Amennakht (xii) was reinstated as deputy following the discrediting of Pa-anqen and Amenhotep, having held the same post earlier in the reign.

24 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, vso 9:2 ff.

Workman Userhatmer (rto 2:17)²⁵
 Citizeness ʿAref, wife of workman Hori (rto 2:18)
 Citizeness Takiry (rto 2:19)
 Workman Sennedjem (rto 3:3, 3:18)
 Workman Kysen, <son of> Amennakht (rto 3:12)
 Citizeness Tamit, by the hand of the Workman Nehsy (rto 3:15)²⁶
 Workman Pawonesh (rto 2:19)²⁷
 Citizeness Tareria, wife of the thief Mose (rto 5:6–7)²⁸
 Workman Prehotep (rto 5:6–7)²⁹
 Citizeness Tasent, wife of the thief Paysen (rto 5:10)
 Workman Paynefer, son of Pahemmeter (rto 6:14)
 Workman Paysen, son of Pahemmeter (rto 6:15)
 Workman ʿAdjed-nedjem, son of Paykuriy (rto 7:2)³⁰
 Citizeness Mutamun, wife of the Deir el-Medina carpenter Amenrekh (rto 7:8)

All of these people are said to have been receivers, whereas Nehsy and Pawonesh are accused of acting as “fences”, passing on stolen goods to people outside of their village community on behalf of two of the thieves, Nakhtmin and Mose, two of the sons of Pentaweret. In any case, one can only assume that the authorities prosecuting this case took a dim view of the scheming of so many of the Deir el-Medina villagers — whether innocent or otherwise — and had made it their prime concern to have these people tracked down post-haste in order that the stolen property be recovered and returned to the state treasury.

It is entirely conceivable that even the mere act of being in possession of part of the loot may have been deemed unlawful, and hence subject to some measure of punishment. With the village community facing reprisals from the state and their integrity called into question, these workmen could easily have ended up being summarily dismissed from their jobs on the necropolis crew. Altogether the names of no fewer than nine workmen appear on this list, identified as either accessories or fences by their colleagues: Userhatmer, Sennedjem, Kysen, Nehsy, Pawonesh, Prehotep, Paynefer, Paysen and ʿAdjed-nedjem. Another workman who may have given up hope of further employment on the necropolis workforce was Anhurkhau, son of Sethy. His desertion from the village right

25 Identified in the necropolis journal as being the son of Maani-nakhtuf (Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, 2:5).

26 It would appear that Tamit was not a resident of Deir el-Medina, but that she lived across river in east Thebes (cf. Pap. BM 10053, rto 4:12). In fact, this woman may well be synonymous with the wife of a laundryman in the employ of the High Priest of Amun (Pap. BM 10053, rto 5:15).

27 Pawonesh is actually implicated by Mose’s testimony as having been a “fence”, having passed on certain stolen items to a brewer employed by the estate of the Adoratrix of Amun.

28 Cf. Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 5:3.

29 Cf. Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 5:4.

30 Cf. Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 6:8.

in the midst of these troubles perhaps suggests some complicity with the gang of thieves. Whether guilty or not, the decision to abscond at a time when the village would have been rife with fear and rumour may well have incriminated Anhurkhau in these crimes.

Similar reprisals may have befallen relatives of the three Deir el-Medina ladies who received some of the trappings from the theft — ʿAref, Takiry and Mutamun. Note, the husbands of Tarteria and Tasent — Mose and Paysen — were members of the gang and would have had very little chance of returning to the workforce. Could it be the case that the husbands of these three women also lost their positions on the crew through association — their families facing ostracism from their community as they would no longer have been considered trustworthy? The final dismissal may have been that of Seramun, son of Amenwa. Although detained for questioning during the official inquiries, he had been fortunate enough to have been released, thus escaping the punishment that awaited his father and two brothers. Nevertheless, as the subject of such unwelcome scrutiny, Seramun’s reputation could not have escaped entirely untarnished, and he may well have fallen foul of the administration’s desire to purge the workforce of all members of this undesirable family.

With the exception of the appointment of Amennakht, son of Hay, as a direct replacement for one of the two disgraced deputies, there is no hard evidence to substantiate that these were the actual men who lost their jobs in fallout from these investigations. However, it is interesting to note that no trace of any of these men, nor their descendants, can be found in the records of the village after year 17 of Ramesses IX. Admittedly the documents at our disposal from this period are reasonably limited in number, but had these workmen still been employed by the necropolis administration, we would certainly expect to have found some of their names amongst the well-preserved list of men of the right side of the gang from the reign of Ramesses X.³¹ Under Ramesses XI a more detailed picture of the composition of the crew emerges. The main source of evidence is an accounts papyrus, which contains a series of grain distribution lists from years 8–10.³² Collating this data, it is possible to establish that the Deir el-Medina crew had been further reduced in number to just twenty-two men — comprising the four “captains” (two chief workmen and two Tomb scribes), their two deputies, fourteen workmen (seven on either side), and two porters (*iry-ʿ3*), whose principal role it was to convey messages between the workmen and the central administration. However, not a single name mentioned in these accounts can be linked with the villagers who are known to have been embroiled in the ransacking of the tomb of queen Isis.

A month or so on from the purging of the workforce, the necropolis journal reveals that the eight thieves were still languishing in custody within the inner granary of the temple of Maat on II Peret 10 and again on II Peret 17.³³ Meanwhile, the inquiry headed up by vizier Khaemwaset and the High Priest of Amun Amenhotep had been making solid progress in seizing that part of the loot passed on by the gang of Deir el-Medina

31 Pap. Turin Cat. 1932 + 1939, vso.

32 Pap. Turin Cat. 2018 = *KRI* VI, 851–63; translated in *KRITA* VI, 583–9.

33 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 1:10, 17.

thieves to third parties. An inventory of the “gold and silver” recovered during this phase of the investigation is recorded in columns 4–6 on the recto of Pap. BM 10068, dated to II Peret 21. For reasons unknown, the recipients of the stolen goods were divided into two principal groups: (i) “traders of every institution” (4:2); and (ii) “men of the City (of Thebes) and of the west of the City” (4:22). These inventories raise two important points — firstly, that the majority of the people named here were not mentioned in the initial lists of receivers given in the testimony of the thieves in Pap. BM 10053; secondly the value of the goods found in their possession is infinitely greater than the amounts given in those earlier depositions. Patently new information had come to light in the intervening period, presumably as a result of further rounds of interrogation of the thieves and through wider inquiries within the communities of western Thebes.

Following the inventory of “receivers” comes a tally of all the precious metal found in the possession of the eight thieves (5:18–26). Firstly, the totals of pure gold, white gold and silver — reported earlier in the text (3:17–20) — are repeated:

Pure gold: 9 *deben*, 2 *qite*. Found, 9 *deben*, 5 *qite*.

White gold: 39 *deben*, 1 *qite*. Found, 41 *deben*.

Silver: 188 *deben*, 5 *qite*. Found, 190 *deben*.

Then there are the amounts of additional treasure which had come to light during the subsequent inquiries (lit. “brought in afterwards”):

(Pure) Gold: 5 *deben*, 8 1/2 *qite*.

Silver: 36 *deben*, 7 *qite*.

Although the heading of this section would have us believe that these additional amounts were part of the loot found in the possession of the thieves, these figures actually correspond with the total of gold and silver recovered from the “receivers”, as reported in lines 13–14 of col. 5. Finally, the totals of all the recovered precious metal during these operations are presented as follows:

Silver: 225 *deben*, 2 *qite*. Found, 226 *deben*, 7 *qite*.

Grand total (of all metals): 279 *deben*, 3 1/2 *qite*. Found, 283 *deben*, 1/2 *qite*.

Surplus, 3 *deben*, 7 *qite*.

The text also reveals (4:1 and 5:18–19) that the entire haul of spoils was to be transferred from the temple of Maat in Thebes, “to the storehouse in the estate of Usimare Meriamun (Ramesses III)” *r wd3 m pr Wsr-m3't-r Mry-Imn*, unfortunately, this modest statement says nothing further as to the location of this storage facility. For a possible clue as to its whereabouts we must return to the local version of events — the necropolis journal — and to a memorandum reporting the activity of the workforce on that same day, II Peret

21.³⁴ The whole workforce once again downed tools and made their way across river in response to a summons from the vizier. Upon arriving in the city, they headed straight to the temple of Karnak, where they were to be greeted in the entrance courtyard (*wb3*³⁵ *n* *Imn-r*) by both vizier Khaemwaset and Amun’s High Priest (Amenhotep). Judging from what transpires, Khaemwaset had intentionally gathered the workmen here specifically for them to learn news concerning the fate of the eight thieves, their erstwhile colleagues. Following the recent, systematic recovery of the stolen goods, as part of much wider investigations throughout the communities of the Theban west bank, it had been determined that the entire hoard of plunder currently in storage within the temple of Maat was to be loaded up immediately and transferred to *w* *wd3 m t3 hwt Wsir, nsw Wsr-m3t-r* *Mry-[I]mn* “a storehouse in the temple of Osiris, King Usimare Meri[a]mun”. It could be argued that this was one of the two small temples which Ramesses III had built at Karnak. However, the idea of re-locating the treasure such a short distance makes little sense. The only logical candidate for this location would have been Ramesses III’s memorial temple at Medinet Habu in western Thebes, the principal administrative centre for the entire west bank. In some measure this identification is corroborated by Khaemwaset’s announcement that the eight thieves were to be entrusted into the custody of the Mayor of west Thebes (Pawer^a), the district scribe (Wennefer) and the two *w* *rtw*-officers of the west bank. Certainly, the most secure site for the continued detention of the Deir el-Medina thieves, and the deposit of the recovered booty, would have been the fortified enclosure of Medinet Habu.

In the absence of new evidence, we may never fully understand the motivation as to why the authorities deemed it necessary to transfer the thieves and their loot to Medinet Habu at this point. One explanation may have been local issues over security in light of the prevailing political and economic challenges facing the Theban administration at that time, making the decision a judicious one. Another possibility would be the supposition that the men had been moved to Medinet Habu to await formal sentencing in the presence of Ramesses IX. Given the capital nature of this crime, perhaps the presence of the king — as supreme arbiter of moral probity (*Maat*) — was required to deal the final *coup de grâce* to the Deir el-Medina men. Under such circumstances the gang of thieves had been sent to languish in the gaol of Medinet Habu until pharaoh had either cause to visit from the north to pass judgement or had arranged for an emissary to come south with his verdict.³⁶

34 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 1:21–25.

35 For the interpretation of *wb3* as the point of entry into a temple, see O. Goelet, “A New ‘Robbery’ Papyrus: Rochester MAG 51.346.1”, *JEA* 82 (1996), 112–3, note (c).

36 In fact, support for this interpretation of the king’s role in capital offences of this nature is to be found in the report of the criminal proceedings brought against a contemporary gang of tomb robbers who had been active within the Theban necropolis just a year earlier (Pap. Leopold II – Amherst: J. Capart & A. H. Gardiner, *Le Papyrus Léopold II. aux Musée Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire de Bruxelles et le Papyrus Amherst à la Pierpont Morgan Library de New York: reproduits en fac-simile avec une transcription hiéroglyphique, une introduction et une traduction* (New York: 1939); *KRI* VI, 481–9; *KRITA* VI, 367–70). In one extract of this fascinating case we learn that “(A record) of their examination and condemnation was set down

Following their arrival at Medinet Habu, the local authorities once again cross-examined the eight men, along with their wives, on II Peret 24.³⁷ The same section of the necropolis journal sets on the record a further series of depositions made by the gang.³⁸ Four columns of text preserve the names of the recipients of stolen goods as given up to the authorities by seven of the eight thieves, in the following order:

Pentaweret, son of Amennakht (rto 3:1–9)
 Amenhotep, son of Pentaweret (rto 3:10–16)
 Mose, <son of> Pentaweret (rto 4:1–4)
 Pakhuru, son of Pentaweret (rto 4:5–12)
 Pa(y)sen, son of Amenwa (rto 5:1–11)
 Hori, son of Amenwa (rto 5:12–18)
 Pa-(an)qen, son of Amenwa (rto 6:1–7:b)

There is some correspondence between these inventories and the lists of names to whom the thieves passed on their ill-gotten gains, which were previously reported in Pap. BM 10053. However, this report is far from being a copy of that earlier document. In fact, the differences are somewhat pronounced. Many names from those initial lists of “receivers” are now no longer present, whilst new ones appear, and revisions have been made to some of the values of the goods in question.

Unfortunately, none of the seven testimonies is explicitly dated, though it is very possible that they had been written up very shortly after III Peret 14,³⁹ the date of the final entry on the previous page (column 2) of the journal. In fact, they were undoubtedly composed after II Peret 25, since this was the date by which all of the items sold by Hori had been recovered and entered into safekeeping (rto 5:18). Furthermore, it seems highly probable that these “new” inventories were actually working check-lists of stolen items that the west Theban authorities were able to seize following the extraction

in writing and word concerning it was sent to Pharaoh, L·P·H, by the vizier, the cup-bearer, the herald and the mayor of the City” (3:19 = *KRI* VI, 487:12–4; *KRITA* VI, 369). Undoubtedly the man charged with prosecuting these criminals — vizier Khaemwaset — had felt it incumbent upon himself to send an immediate report of the outcome of the trial to his king. Further on in the papyrus, the fate of certain thieves who had gone to ground during the official investigation is described as follows: “The thieves of this pyramid (*mr*) of this god who were missing and whom the High Priest of Amen-Re, king of the gods, had been entrusted to have them brought back in order to have them made prisoners in the keep of Amen-Re, king of the gods, together with their fellow thieves, until Pharaoh, L·P·H, our Lord, can decide (*wḏꜥ*) their punishment (*sbꜣy.t*)” (4:10–11 = *KRI* VI, 489:3–8; *KRITA* VI, 370). Thus, there can be no doubt that in at least some, if not all, of the Theban tomb robbery trials of the late Twentieth Dynasty, the actual degree of punishment was decided by the king (J. Capart et al. “New Light on the Ramesside Tomb-Robberies”, *JEA* 22 (1936), 190; T. E. Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies* I, 26–27).

37 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 1:30.

38 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto cols. 3–6.

39 Cf. Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 76.

stolen items that the west Theban authorities were able to seize following the extraction of new information from the eight thieves during their interrogation on II Peret 24.

One final point worthy of mention is the apparent new name that appears amongst the Deir el-Medina thieves cited here, namely that of Pakhuru, son of Pentaweret. It is possible that he may have been a newly identified thief, whose name had only recently come to the attention of the investigating authorities. Yet, closer scrutiny of the available evidence suggests that this may not have been the case. Fortuitously a further deposition made by Pakhuru is preserved in another section of the necropolis journal.⁴⁰ This section contains a register of those local people who had received items from his share of the tomb plunder. It bears such strong similarities to the deposition of Nakhtmin, son of Pentaweret, (discussed earlier)⁴¹ that we can only conclude that the two men were, in fact, one and the same person.

Shortly afterwards a quite unexpected development in this shameful tale occurs.⁴² On III Peret 21, vizier Khaemwaset, in company with his official entourage, arrived on the west bank to escort the entire Deir el-Medina workforce to the Valley of the Queens in order to inspect the tomb of queen Isis (QV 51). Upon entering the sepulchre, the dispirited workmen would have been confronted with a scene of total devastation, which had been the doing of their treacherous former colleagues as they indiscriminately stripped the queen’s funerary assemblage of everything of value.⁴³ Unless the criminal activity of the Deir el-Medina gang inside the Theban necropoleis was more widespread than we are led to believe, the tomb of Isis must undoubtedly have been the target for the eight thieves and the subject of these enquiries.⁴⁴ If that was true, then this was clearly not the first time that the tomb had been inspected by the authorities, since it had been more than two months since the break-in had come to their attention.⁴⁵ So, with (most of) the loot recovered, the thieves safely incarcerated to await justice, and with the investigation entering its final phase, it is quite conceivable that the whole exercise was something of a publicity stunt on the part of vizier Khaemwaset, designed both to humiliate the remaining workmen, whilst also serving as a stark warning of the consequences of similar future transgressions.

Just two days after their visit to the Valley of the Queens, on III Peret 23, the workmen were back on official duty in the “Great Tract” (*shꜣt ʿꜣt*), that is the Valley of the Kings.⁴⁶ Once again, they received a further visitation from vizier Khaemwaset along with a high-powered delegation consisting of the High Priest of Amun Amenhotep, a royal

40 Pap. Turin Cat. 2001 +, vso col. 2.

41 Recorded in Pap. BM 10053, rto 2:11–3:15.

42 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945+, rto 8:2 ff.

43 Cf. E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton: 1966), 269.

44 Another fragmentary deposition, attributed to the thief Nakhtmin, son of Pentaweret, appears to contain a first-hand account of how the gang had gone about breaking into the tomb (Pap. Turin Cat. 2016 + 2017: Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale*, 41–42, pl. 49).

45 Peet, *Great Tomb-Robberies*, 77.

46 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, rto 9:6 ff.

butler, the chief of the Treasury and a royal scribe. It was during this meeting that the workmen are said to have complained “we are weak and we are hunger, for we have not received the rations (*htri*)”.⁴⁷ The workmen’s protestations also appear to contain a vague reference to the seizure and imprisonment (*ddh?*) of their colleagues (lit. “brothers”). If our interpretation proves to be correct, then these “colleagues” could only have been the eight thieves from Deir el-Medina, thus confirming that they were alive, though still under arrest in the cells at Medinet Habu. Interestingly, this passage also reveals a compassionate side to the workmen whose sympathies still lay with the plight of their former colleagues in spite of their crimes and the ignominy that they had brought upon their community.

The identity of the eight thieves, and their fate

In view of the severity of their crime, and the potential consequences at stake should their plot come to light, it would have been vitally important for all eight of the thieves to be able to rely upon their co-conspirators not to spread word of their deeds around the small community. Such a bond of trust would have been even more necessary given the tight-knit society that was Deir el-Medina, where the rumour mill would have been perpetually whirling. This need for secrecy would clearly be best served by a gang whose members were exceptionally well-known to one another, and one where trust would not be an issue in keeping the details of their conspiracy under wraps. For these reasons, it seems highly likely that the eight thieves originated from just two of the village families — led by the patriarchs Amenwa, son of Hori, and Pentaweret, son of Amennakht — and seemingly also associated by marriage. That these two men acted as ringleaders in this venture is suggested by a fragmentary deposition in which Nakhtmin, the son of Pentaweret, tells how his father and Amenwa had instructed the rest of the gang on how to find the targeted tomb by locating stone-markers which they had left beside it.⁴⁸

In all probability, Amenwa is synonymous with the draughtsman Amenwa (i), son of Hori (ix).⁴⁹ One of the crew’s virtuoso artists, this man is also probably the same as the “draughtsman of the Lord of the Two Lands” Amenwa who is named as a “son” (*s3*) of the deputy Hay (vii) in the latter’s village tomb.⁵⁰ The relationship term *s3* here refers to the fact that Amenwa was simply a son-in-law of the deputy by virtue of his marriage to the lady Nubiyi (i), daughter of Hay (vii).

47 Delays in the payment of the workmen’s rations, and the resulting complaints of hunger, are constant themes running through the narrative of year 17 of Ramesses IX. However, it is not clear whether these problems were symptomatic of wider economic difficulties facing the local administration. After all, the non-payment of rations had led to a series of walkouts by the necropolis workmen in year 29 of Ramesses III, and had continued to be a recurrent cause for concern at Deir el-Medina in the years to follow. Whilst it might be argued that by withholding these rations the authorities were punishing the entire community for the crimes of a few individuals, there is no hard evidence to substantiate such a claim.

48 Pap. Turin Cat. 2016 + 2017; cf. E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, 270.

49 Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 168 ff., with genealogical charts 8, 12 and 34.

50 Davies, *ibid.*, 171.

It is quite by happenstance that we appear to know more about the nefarious activities of Amenwa (i) than we ever learn about his contribution to the decorative work of the royal tombs of this period. Thirteen years earlier, in year 4 of the reign of Ramesses IX, he appears to have stood accused of another theft, quite possibly within the village of Deir el-Medina itself. Residing amongst a series of indictments recorded in a group of long-overlooked papyrus fragments is an entry claiming that Amenwa had abetted the scribe Hori, son of Pentaweret, in the theft of certain (cultic) objects belonging to (a building/temple of) the deified Amenhotep I, patron god of the Deir el-Medina community.⁵¹ Whilst he may not have participated in the actual theft itself, Amenwa is identified as Hori’s accomplice. Not only was he responsible for loading a boat with the stolen objects, but he also assisted in the removal of any royal names that might betray their provenance, presumably in preparation for selling them on the black market. It is regrettable that the text does not report whether the accusations against the pair of men had been successfully prosecuted. It is quite possible that on this occasion Amenwa escaped sanction entirely. However, if the charge against him had been proven, then any punishment he did receive would have been sufficiently lenient to have allowed him to continue with his work on the necropolis crew.

The first of Amenwa (i)’s sons to have assisted their father in the attack on Isis’ tomb was Pa-anqen (i), who is known to have aspired to the lofty heights of deputy for the right side of the Deir el-Medina workforce, an office he occupied from at least year 15 of Ramesses IX until the time of his arrest two years later.⁵² Although he appears to have been married to lady Isis (xi), and had one daughter called Henut-mefek (i), almost nothing else is known about his career within the necropolis administration. The duration of the tenure of his brother Paysen (ii) on the crew is even less well-known.⁵³ Whilst his identification with Nekhemmut, son of Amenwa, is far from certain, his testimony under cross-examination shows him to have been married to the village lady Tasent (i).⁵⁴ The career of the last of the three brothers who were involved in the theft — Hori (xii), son of Amenwa (i) — is marginally better understood. He is firmly attested as an ordinary workman between years 9 and 17 of the reign of Ramesses IX.⁵⁵ It is quite feasible that one of the receivers of the items from the loot taken from the tomb of queen Isis — the citizeness ‘Aref⁵⁶ — was his wife.

The second family which participated in the ransacking of Isis’ tomb was led by

51 Pap. Milan RAN E 0.9.40126, rto II:x+2–3: R. J. Demarée, “Ramesside Administrative Papyri in the Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche di Milano”, *JEOL* 42 (2010), 57. Note that Dr Demarée’s contention (p. 59) that Hori, son of Pentaweret, may have been a member of the gang of thieves that plundered the tomb of queen Isis is incorrect. Clearly he has confused this individual with the thief Hori, son of Amenwa.

52 Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 173, with genealogical chart 8.

53 Davies, *ibid.*, 172, 174, with genealogical chart 8.

54 Pap. BM 10053, rto 5:10.

55 Pap. Turin Cat. 2072/142, vso 1:12; Pap. Turin Cat. 1913 +, rto 3:9; Davies, *Who’s Who at Deir el-Medina*, 174, with genealogical chart 8.

56 Pap. BM 10053, rto. 2:18.

Pentaweret (viii), the son of Amennakht.⁵⁷ Together with his wife Hunero (xiii) his name is mentioned in the *Stato Civile* — the famous Deir el-Medina house list — in an entry detailing the occupants of the home of his son Nakhtmin (vii), also involved in this sordid affair (SC 3:4–7).⁵⁸ This extract carries particular evidential value in that it proves that the workman-cum-thief Pentaweret (i)/(viii) is not to be mistakenly identified with the closely-contemporary draughtsman Pentaweret (iv), a son of the Tomb scribe Amennakht (v), whose wife happened to be the lady Taweretherti (ii).⁵⁹ This entry proves to be of further significance since it demonstrates that the association that bound these two families to one another was far more than just a professional one. In addition to citing his parentage, the *Stato Civile* passage also shows that Nakhtmin (vii) was married to the lady Henuttawy (i), the daughter of Nubiyti (i). And given the rarity of the name Nubiyti at Deir el-Medina, this woman is highly likely to have been the wife of the thief Amenwa (i).⁶⁰ Consequently, this means that Nakhtmin (vii) was not only a work colleague of Amenwa's, but also his relative by marriage.

Apart from his involvement in this affair, the name of Nakhtmin (vii) is completely absent from the necropolis records of the late Twentieth Dynasty. That said, it was earlier suggested that his name was probably interchangeable with Pakhuru, in which case he is likely to be identified as the workman of the left side who occurs in a text dated also to year 17 of Ramesses IX.⁶¹ Furthermore, this could well be the Kharu who is attested in another Deir el-Medina document from three years earlier.⁶²

Nakhtmin's (elder?) brother, Amenhotep (iv), also served on the left side of the workforce, where he would eventually rise to the higher-ranking position of deputy. The earliest attestation of his name occurs in a text dating to year 9 or 10 of the reign of Ramesses IX.⁶³ Although he is here untitled, he had yet to receive promotion as deputy since that office was already in the hands of Amennakht (xii), son of the deputy Hay (vii), in year 11 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁴ The precise date of Amenhotep (iv)'s appointment as deputy is unknown, though he can be found incumbent in that role in year 15 of Ramesses IX.⁶⁵ Apart from his indictment in this crime, Mose (xii) — the third brother who assisted his father Pentaweret (i)/(viii) in the raid on the tomb of Isis — is otherwise unknown in the village records.

57 Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 241–3, and genealogical chart 34. In the same publication, the same man is also designated as Pentaweret (i) (p. 111).

58 Davies, *ibid.*, 242–3 n. 513; now R. J. Demarée & D. Valbelle, *Les Registres de Recensement du Village de Deir el-Médineh (Le «Stato Civile»)* (Leuven-Paris-Walpole: 2011), 13–14, pl. 3/3A.

59 For Taweretherti, see KRI VI, 379:10–12; Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 111, 249, with genealogical chart 9.

60 Davies, *ibid.*, 171, 242–3 n. 513, with genealogical charts 8 and 34; Demarée & Valbelle, *Les Registres de Recensement du Village de Deir el-Médineh*, 7, 21 (SC 5, I:2).

61 Botti & Peet, *Il Giornale della Necropoli di Tebe*, pls. 36:6, 38:3; cf. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 199–200.

62 O. CGC 25820, rto 2.

63 Pap. Turin Cat. 2072, vso 1:4, 2:14.

64 Davies, *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina*, 70–71.

65 Pap. Turin Cat. 1945 +, vso B2a:7 (= KRI VI, 582:9).

Without doubt, the repercussions of this tomb robbery scandal would have been a traumatic experience for the entire Deir el-Medina community. As a result of their admission of guilt and the ensuing wholesale recovery of the stolen plunder, the eight workmen-cum-thieves had been relieved of all official duties, suffered untold social indignities, and put behind bars to await final sentencing by pharaoh. Similarly, it is possible that some of their nearest kin, who were unwittingly incriminated by the testimonies of the thieves, may also have lost their necropolis jobs. Furthermore, their removal from the crew would also have meant the banishment of their families from the village. It is, therefore, little wonder that the eight men disappear from the necropolis records in the immediate aftermath of these enquiries. We last catch sight of them whilst they awaited final sentencing in the cells of Medinet Habu. It is a cause of great regret that no records covering the final phase of these tomb robbery investigations have survived. For this reason, there can be no absolute certainty about the ultimate fate of the gang of eight. That said, contemporary sources from western Thebes confirm that criminals convicted of the desecration of royal tombs would have been sentenced to death — the typical means of which was impalement upon a stake.⁶⁶ Thus, it is far from unreasonable to assume that it was this same end that awaited the eight Deir el-Medina thieves.

⁶⁶ D. Lorton, "The Treatment of Criminals in Ancient Egypt through the New Kingdom", *JESHO* 20/1 (1977), 31–32.

NAME OF THIEF	PURE GOLD	WHITE GOLD ⁽¹⁾	SILVER	TOTAL OF PRECIOUS METALS	OTHER GOODS RECEIVED
Nakhtmin, son of Pentaweret	[combined total of 8 <i>deben</i>] ⁽²⁾		34 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	42 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	linen; 22 lengths of cloth
Amenwa, son of Hori	[combined total of 7 <i>deben</i> , 6 <i>qite</i>] ⁽²⁾		27 <i>deben</i>	[34 <i>deben</i>], 6 <i>qite</i>	17 assorted garments
Pentaweret, son of Amennakht	5 <i>qite</i>	2 <i>deben</i>	14 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	17 <i>deben</i>	12 <i>deben</i> of beaten copper from a <i>srd</i> ⁽³⁾ 5 assorted garments of <i>mk</i> -linen ⁽⁴⁾
Amenhotep, son of Pentaweret	1 <i>deben</i> , 1 <i>qite</i>	7 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	34 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	43 <i>deben</i> , 1 <i>qite</i>	2 <i>mss</i> -tunics ⁽⁵⁾ of <i>mk</i> -linen 2 <i>kbw</i> -jars ⁽⁶⁾ of sweet oil
Mose, son of Pentaweret		1 <i>deben</i> , 9 <i>qite</i>	20 <i>deben</i> , 3 <i>qite</i>	22 <i>deben</i> , 2 <i>qite</i>	1 copper <i>kbw</i> -vessel ⁽⁶⁾ , 25 <i>deben</i> 2 sheets of good quality thin cloth 6 lengths of <i>mk</i> -linen 2 <i>idg</i> ⁽⁷⁾ of <i>mk</i> -linen
Paysen, son of Amenwa	2 <i>deben</i> , 2 <i>qite</i>	4 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	12 <i>deben</i> , 2 <i>qite</i>	18 <i>deben</i> , 9 <i>qite</i>	1 copper spittoon ⁽⁸⁾ , 11 <i>deben</i> 5 lengths of <i>mk</i> -linen
Pa-anqen, son of Amenwa	1 <i>deben</i> , 1 <i>qite</i>	6 <i>deben</i> , 7 <i>qite</i>	29 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	37 <i>deben</i> , 3 <i>qite</i>	4 corner-pieces inlaid with fine gold 1 ivory <i>wꜣt</i> ⁽⁹⁾ of an anthropoid coffin (<i>wꜣt</i>) ⁽¹⁰⁾ 1 ebony cover(?) of an anthropoid coffin 1 ivory face from a small coffin 2 lengths of <i>mk</i> -linen
Hori, son of Amenwa	1 <i>deben</i> , 7 <i>qite</i>	3 <i>deben</i> , 5 <i>qite</i>	16 <i>deben</i>	21 <i>deben</i> , 2 <i>qite</i> ⁽¹¹⁾	
TOTALS	9 <i>deben</i>, 2 <i>qite</i>	39 <i>deben</i>, 1 <i>qite</i>	188 <i>deben</i>, 5 <i>qite</i>	236 <i>deben</i>, 8 <i>qite</i>	

TABLE 1 · Breakdown of the loot recovered from the eight Deir el-Medina thieves (Pap. BM 10068, rto, cols. 1–3)

NOTES TO TABLE 1

- ¹ Given its position in these lists, white gold (*nbw ḥd*) was clearly less valuable than pure gold (*nbw nfr*) but worth more than silver (*ḥd*). It also occurs in Pap. Harris I (P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*, vol. II (Cairo: 1994), 77 n. 266), and is to be differentiated from electrum (*d^cm*), a naturally occurring alloy of gold and silver.
- ² Note that the amounts of pure gold and white gold received by the thieves Nakhtmin and Amenwa have not been preserved. However, we can deduce from the sub-totals of each man, together with the grand totals, that Nakhtmin received a combined total of 8 *deben* of pure and white gold, whereas Amenwa received 7 *deben* 6 *qite*. Furthermore, based on the grand totals, it can be established that between them the pair received 2 *deben* 6 *qite* of pure gold and a further 13 *deben* of white gold; precisely how these amounts break down is impossible to say.
- ³ The *srdd* was an unknown (wooden) object, perhaps a piece of furniture (cf. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 431 n. 147).
- ⁴ It has been suggested that *mk* may have been “tapestry weaving” (J. J. & R. M. Janssen, “*mk*. An Obscure Designation of Cloth”, *Lingua Aegyptia* 7 (2000), 177–82).
- ⁵ The *mss* has been identified as a tunic, the typical price of which was 5 *deben* of copper (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 259–64; idem, *Daily Dress at Deir el-Medina. Words for Clothing*, GHP Egyptology 8 (London: 2008), 34–37; idem, “Three Mysterious Ostraca”, in *Ramesse Side Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. M. Collier & S. Snape (Bolton: 2011), 256).
- ⁶ *kbw* is merely a variant spelling of *ḳbw*, a common type of jar, and one of the most popular in use at Deir el-Medina (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 412–5; idem, “Three Mysterious Ostraca”, in *Ramesse Side Studies*, 268; E. Frood, “The Potters: Organisation, Delivery, and Product of Work”, in *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers. Service Personnel of the Deir el-Medina Workmen*, ed. Jac. J. Janssen et al., Egyptologische Uitgaven 17 (Leiden: 2003), 54–57; N. Cherpion & J.-P. Corteggiani, *La Tombe d’Inherkhâouy (TT 359) à Deir el-Medina I* (Cairo: 2010), 290 n. 74).
- ⁷ The *idg*-garment was most probably a kerchief (J. J. Janssen, “A Twentieth-Dynasty Account Papyrus (Pap. Turin no. Cat. 1907/8)”, *JEA* 52 (1966), 85; idem, *Commodity Prices*, 282–4; D. Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt. Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom*, OBO 151 (Fribourg-Göttingen: 1997), 149 n. 426; P. Grandet, *Catalogue des Ostraca Hiéroglyphiques non Littéraires de Deir el-Médîneh IX* [Nos. 831–1000], DFIFAO 41 (Cairo: 2003), 120).
- ⁸ A *pgs* was a spittoon (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 429).
- ⁹ It is quite conceivable that *w3t* was synonymous with *w3t*, a mummy mask (K. M. Cooney, “An Informal Workshop: Textual Evidence for Private Funerary Art Production in the Ramesse Side Period”, in *Living and Writing in Deir el Medine*, ed. A. Dorn & T. Hofmann, AH 19 (Basel: 2006), 47 n. 31; idem, *The Cost of Death*, 28–30).
- ¹⁰ For the identification of *wt* as a wooden, anthropoid coffin, see K. M. Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, 18–21.
- ¹¹ It is to be noted that the total precious metals received by Hori, son of Amenwa, is erroneously reported by the scribe of the text as 21 *deben*, 8 *qite* when, in fact, it should have been 21 *deben*, 2 *qite*.

c. I Peret 8	Arrest of the eight thieves, along with loot, and their incarceration in the temple of Maat in eastern Thebes
I Peret 8	Deposition of the eight thieves in which they provide details of how they disposed of part of their loot to local third-parties
I Peret 10–11	Deputies Pa-anqen and Amenhotep at liberty and conducting their daily business at Deir el-Medina
c. I Peret 13	Purge of the necropolis workforce, reducing its strength from sixty-six to forty-four men
c. II Peret 6	New deputy of the workforce Amennakht, son of Hay, in office as a direct replacement for either Pa-anqen or Amenhotep
II Peret 10–17	Thieves remain incarcerated in the inner granary of the temple of Maat at Karnak
II Peret 21	<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; gap: 10px;"> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">Updated inventories made of the loot recovered both from the eight thieves and the third-parties</div> <div style="border-left: 1px solid black; padding-left: 10px;">The eight thieves are committed into the custody of the Mayor of Western Thebes; loot taken with them and deposited in the temple of Ramesses III (Medinet Habu)</div> </div>
II Peret 24	Further interrogation of the eight thieves
c. III Peret 15	Additional inventories made of the stolen goods recovered from the third-parties
III Peret 21	Deir el-Medina workmen attend official inspection of the tomb of queen Isis (QV 51) in the Valley of the Queens
III Peret 23	Thieves remain in custody, presumably at Medinet Habu, awaiting sentencing

TABLE 2 · Timeline of the events of Year 17 of Ramesses IX

The “Supernatural” as a Marginalizing Force in the Fiction of John Dickson Carr

Kelly-Anne Diamond

Abstract: With the discovery of King Tut’s tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, all things Egyptian permeated the 1920s and 30s. Egyptomania became a western phenomenon (again), manifesting in many areas such as art and architecture. Even detective fiction was not immune to this spectacle. Anglo-American novelist, John Dickson Carr (1906-1977), wrote two particular detective stories that utilize Egyptian symbolism: *The Lost Gallows* (1931) and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* (1945). Carr is notorious for writing about the supernatural in his novels, or mixing the genre of detection and horror. In these cases the variety of supernaturalism he employs is Egyptology. Interestingly enough, Egyptology is used to marginalize two of his male characters, those who are already considered to be the “Other,” in order to authorize his two detectives. Nezem El Moulk and Alim Bey, respectively, are modern Egyptians connected to the mysteries of ancient Egypt through their study of ancient Egyptian religion and magic.

Stylistically, this invocation is useful as it generates a red herring that detracts the reader’s attention away from the real criminals, thus creating a variation on the “impossible crime,” the sub-genre for which Carr is famous. Like conventional detective fiction, Henri Bencolin (*The Lost Gallows*) and Sir Henry Merrivale (*The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*) prove that the supernatural, ancient Egyptian religion and magic, is not the culprit and they solve the real crime and restore order and justice to the world. Simultaneously, these revelations expose the true evil of humankind, which is much scarier than the preternatural.

Résumé: Avec la découverte en 1922 de la tombe de Toutankhamon par Howard Carter et Lord Carnarvon, la culture des années 1920 et 1930 se voit imprégnée de motifs égyptiens. L’égyptomanie devint (encore une fois) un phénomène du monde occidental se manifestant dans divers domaines tels que l’art et l’architecture. Même les romans policiers sont emportés par cette vague. Le romancier américain John Dickson Carr (1906-1977) écrivit deux romans à symbolisme égyptien : (*The Lost Gallows*, 1931) et *L’habit fait le moine* (*The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*, 1945). Carr est célèbre pour l’inclusion du surnaturel dans ses romans ainsi que le mélange de genres littéraires comme la détection et l’horreur dans ses œuvres. Dans ces cas, il emploie l’égyptologie à des fins surnaturalistes. Curieusement, l’égyptologie est utilisée pour marginaliser deux de ses personnages masculins principaux, ceux qui sont déjà considérés comme étant ‘Autre.’ Nezem El Moulk et Alim Bey sont des Égyptiens modernes reliés aux mystères de l’Égypte ancienne par leur étude respective de la religion et la magie égyptienne.

Stylistiquement parlant, cette stratégie est utile car elle crée une fausse piste qui détourne l'attention du lecteur des vrais vilains du roman. Ainsi se crée une variation du 'crime impossible,' le sous-genre pour lequel Carr est reconnu. Comme dans les romans policiers de type conventionnel, Henri Bencolin (*Le secret du gibet*) et Sir Henry Merrivale (*L'habit fait le moine*) prouvent que le surnaturel (soit la religion et la magie de l'Égypte ancienne) n'est pas coupable et résolvent le mystère, rétablissant l'ordre et la justice. Simultanément, ces révélations mettent à jour le vrai mal de l'humanité, ce qui est bien plus épouvantable que le surnaturel.

Keywords/Mots clés: Supernaturalism/surnaturalisme, Egyptomania/Égyptomanie, the Other/l'Autre

Introduction

With the discovery of King Tut's tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon, all things Egyptian permeated the 1920s and 30s. Egyptomania emerged as a western phenomenon (again),¹ manifesting in many areas such as fashion, film and architecture. Even detective fiction was not immune to this spectacle. Anglo-American novelist John Dickson Carr (1906-1977)² wrote several detective stories that employ Egyptian symbolism, two of which are *The Lost Gallows* (1931) and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* (1945) (Figure 1).³ His work exemplifies the western perspective on the East during this formative period. Carr, the master of the locked-room mystery and a major talent of the 1930s, devoted his writing to producing the impossible crime. Detractors have criticized Carr for sacrificing the development of his characters for the "trick" of the story, but because Carr maintained the omniscient detective in all of this work, a specific and precise hierarchy of masculinities emerges among the male characters. Furthermore, the artificiality of the typical Golden Age story permits an assessment of the gender constructs particular to the time and place of Carr's writing. Carr is notorious for writing about the supernatural in his novels, or mixing the genres of detection and horror.⁴ In these cases the variety of supernaturalism he employs is ancient Egypt. Interestingly enough, Carr uses Egyptology to marginalize two of his male characters, and uses these "Egyptologists" as

1 This should be considered the third wave of Egyptomania to hit the west. The first volumes of the publication of *Le Description de l'Égypte* in 1809 sparked the first wave of Egyptomania. This was followed by the decipherment of hieroglyphs in 1822 and the release of the second edition of *Le Description de l'Égypte* in 1830. In America, the first Egyptian revival was expressed through the creation of architecture, mostly monumental and funerary. The second wave of Egyptomania hit America in the 1870s after the civil war. In this period, Egyptian motifs appear on furniture and in smaller decorative arts. (http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/erev/hd_erev.htm).

2 He also published under the name Carter Dickson, among other pseudonyms.

3 The former is part of the Henri Bencolin series and the latter belongs to the Sir Henry Merrivale series.

4 D. Green, *John Dickson Carr: The Man Who Explained Miracles* (New York: Otto Penzler, 1995), 85.

foils for the conventional masculinity of the detectives in his stories. Nezem El-Moulk and Alim Bey are contemporary Egyptians connected to the mysteries of ancient Egypt through their study of ancient Egyptian history, religion and magic. Structurally, this invocation generates a red herring that detracts the reader's attention away from the real criminals, thus creating a variation on the impossible crime, the sub-genre for which Carr is famous. Like conventional detective fiction, detectives Henri Bencolin from *The Lost Gallows* and Sir Henry Merrivale from *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* prove that the supernatural, ancient Egyptian religion and magic, is not the culprit and they solve the real crime and restore order and justice to the world. Simultaneously, these revelations expose the true evil of humankind, which is much scarier than the preternatural.

Both detectives, Bencolin and Merrivale, are counter-posed similarly to occult-identified Egyptologists. The detectives act as the dominant males, while the Egyptians are the strange, exotic "Other."⁵ They are the ones who move the plot along and at the same time provide the stories with a lurid and horrifying ambiance. The detectives diverge from the Egyptians in a variety of ways. Bencolin and Merrivale are white Europeans (French and British, respectively) while Nezem El-Moulk and Alim Bey are dark Egyptians. The detectives are both functioning with a home-court advantage, while the two Egyptians are foreigners abroad. Bencolin and Merrivale embody the aristocracy and have professions related to the law. Nezem El-Moulk and Alim Bey do not fall into either of these categories; although Nezem El-Moulk does appear to have wealth, he is not part of the *European* aristocracy. Both detectives work their cases unofficially but are allowed extra-legal space to accomplish their tasks. According to Scott Bunyan, "extra-legal space" gives a detective the authority to impose his own type of morality and direct the re-establishment of order in his own way.⁶ These detectives operate outside of the police investigations.⁷ Furthermore, when both of these novels were written Britain was occupying Egypt as a colonizing force. Finally, while Bencolin and Merrivale represent law and order, Nezem El-Moulk and Alim Bey represent the supernatural through their invocation of ancient Egyptian religion and magic (Figure 2). For Carr, Egyptology belongs to the occult and is not recognized as an academic discipline when associated with his marginalized Egyptian characters.

First, I provide an introduction to the author John Dickson Carr and then I contrast the two hegemonic male characters with the two marginalized male characters, looking first at *The Lost Gallows* and then at *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*. This is followed by comments on the significance of Britain's colonization of Egypt, the dichotomy of the Eastern world and the Western world, the Supernatural, and the restoration of order and justice in traditional detective fiction.

5 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

6 Scott Bunyan, "No Order from Chaos: The Absence of Chandler's Extra-Legal Space in the Detective Fiction of Chester Himes and Walter Mosley," *Studies in the Novel* Fall (2003): 339-365.

7 Bunyan, "No Order from Chaos: The Absence of Chandler's Extra-Legal Space in the Detective Fiction of Chester Himes and Walter Mosley," *Studies in the Novel*, 341.

John Dickson Carr

John Dickson Carr was born on November 30, 1906 in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. He spent his young adult life in Haverford, Pennsylvania and then studied in Paris. From 1930-1933 Carr lived in New York City, but he made several trips to England during this time. He eventually moved to England more permanently (1933-1948), whereupon he became an Anglophile and fashioned himself an Anglo-American author. Carr's most productive period of writing was from 1930-1941 when he published thirty-six novels.

It was during this productive period when our first detective was created. Henri Bencolin was one of Carr's earliest detectives and features in his first four novels. Bencolin was the result of Carr's college years at the Sorbonne in Paris, where he moved in 1928. *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* was written during his unproductive period, from 1942-1949, when he was working for the BBC during WWII.⁸

Carr belongs to the "Golden Age" of detective fiction, publishing his first book at the end of the 1920s. More precisely, Carr is associated with the 30s when the detective story became more popular and a flood of new works emerged after World War I.⁹ He is considered to be a "British-style" mystery writer and the best at the "trick" story;¹⁰ the impossible crime or locked-room-mystery was his specialty.¹¹ Carr wrote an average of two to three books each year with untiring dedication to one form or another of the locked-room mystery.¹² Edgar Allan Poe and G. K. Chesterton were influential in Carr's writing, and for the first twenty years of his career his creativity was limitless. One of the major critiques of Carr's writing was his lack of characterization in his stories. According to Symons, after his first half dozen books there was little genuine feeling present in his work.¹³ Despite Carr's lack of development of his fictional characters, his stories have been extremely popular because they were written around a puzzle. The superficiality of Carr's characters actually worked well with his plot lines since the reader does not feel badly about the murderers or the victims. This lack of characterization was typical for Golden Age detective fiction, as the detective story's trivial nature insulated it from life.¹⁴

The nature of the crime story detective changed over time, in that more recent detectives are ordinary people, capable of making mistakes, but Carr's detectives preserve the "omniscience" of the traditional detective.¹⁵ The "Great Detective" of the Golden Age

8 S. T. Joshi, *John Dickson Carr: A Critical Study* (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990), 3.

9 J. Symons, *Bloody Murder. From the Detective Story to the Crime Novel: A History* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 118.

10 Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 130.

11 Two precursors to Carr's work in this genre are Edgar Allan Poe's "The Murders in the Rue Morgue" and *The Moonstone* by Wilkie Collins.

12 Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 119-120.

13 Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 120.

14 Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 130.

15 Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 123.

possessed a mythical quality, which was expressed through hegemonic masculinity. This makes Carr's stories particularly useful for understanding the contemporary dynamics between the European aristocracy and the colonized Other.

Several of Carr's stories are set in England, as he lived there for many years. Carr went back and forth from England to the US, until he finally settled in Greenville, South Carolina in 1965. His dissatisfaction with the Labour Party in England resulted in his preference for a more conservative environment; Pennsylvania was too liberal in the sixties so he did not return home. S. T. Joshi, one of Carr's biographers, points out that his political views are reflected in his detective heroes.¹⁶ Carr died of cancer on February 27, 1977 with a total of seventy-one published novels.

Masculinity in Carr's Novels

All societies have culturally constructed ideas of gender. Today, the term "masculinity" is used in relation to "femininity," however, these terms move beyond actual sex difference and point to the ways men differ among themselves and the ways women differ among themselves.¹⁷ Normative definitions of masculinity note these differences among men, and in turn offer a standard that suggests how men should act.¹⁸ R. W. Connell's pioneering theory on hegemonic masculinity realizes a hierarchy of masculinities, which consists of hegemonic, subordinate, complicit and marginalized masculinity.¹⁹ In other words, this is a study of gender relations among men. Carr's two novels, *The Lost Gallows* and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*, exemplify the relations between two particular forms of masculinity: hegemonic and marginalized. To avoid the notion of a fixed character type, hegemonic masculinity should be seen as the type of masculinity that occupies the dominant position in a specific pattern of gender relations at a certain place and time.²⁰ Class and race are integral parts of the dynamic between hegemonic masculinity and marginalized masculinity.²¹ It is this dichotomy that exists in the relationships between Henri Bencolin and Nezem El-Moulk in *The Lost Gallows* and between Sir Henry Merrivale and Alim Bey in *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* (Figure 2).

The Detectives and the Egyptians

The Lost Gallows (1931)

The plot of *The Lost Gallows* is rather complex and convoluted. The novel begins

16 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 3.

17 R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 67-69.

18 Connell, *Masculinities*, 70.

19 Connell, *Masculinities*, 76-81.

20 Connell, *Masculinities*, 76.

21 Connell, *Masculinities*, 80.

with the detective M. Henri Bencolin, the narrator Jeff Marle and their colleague and friend, Sir John Landervorne visiting in the lounge of the Brimstone Club in London, when a toy gibbet is found lying on a nearby chair. It is soon brought to their attention that a "ghostly" hangman, Jack Ketch, is hunting down victims for his own private gallows. He is tormenting fellow resident Mr. Nezem El-Mouk for his role in the death of J. L. Keane ten years ago in Paris.

The persecution began nine months earlier when Mr. El-Mouk moved to London with his personal staff, Graffin, Joyet, and Smail. Mr. El-Mouk, a modern Egyptian, is a devotee of ancient Egyptian religion and magic and is terrified by "Jack Ketch." He believes that these lurid events are fulfilling an ancient Egyptian curse. This fear is exacerbated by the ancient text Mr. El-Mouk is translating, which he believes foretells *his* future. The plot gets under way when Mr. El-Mouk's chauffeur Smail is murdered, but appears to drive his car around town with a slashed neck. Then, Mr. El-Mouk goes missing and is presumed dead. Eventually, Miss Colette Lavern, the Egyptian's French mistress, is also kidnapped, and the policeman guarding her is murdered.

M. Henri Bencolin, Jeff Marle, Sir John Landervorne and Inspector Talbot work to solve the case by setting a trap for "Jack Ketch." In the course of events, the men discover the truth behind the ten-year old death of J. L. Keane and the secret room hidden in the Brimstone Club, in which Nezem El-Mouk and Colette Laverne are being held. In the end, it is Bencolin who controls the situation, makes clear the events and exposes the real murderer.

Bencolin embodies hegemonic masculinity within this story, and holds a leading position in social life and is esteemed by his male peers. Bencolin works for law enforcement as the Prefect of the Paris Police, which augments his hegemonic position.

Bencolin is involved unofficially in *The Lost Gallows* mystery since he is a Parisian and works in France. However, he is situated prominently to solve any crime, in that he is trained in law enforcement and has status and power. In fact, a passage in *The Four False Weapons* (1937) presents Bencolin as someone who functions in extra-legal space: "'My dear young lady,' said Bencolin very gently, 'I can tamper with the law when, where, and how I like, I have tampered with the law when, where, and how I liked; and I will do it again.'"²² According to Scott Bunyan's ideas of extra-legal space, Bencolin is afforded the authority to solve the case in his own way and to impose his own style of justice, which is essential to his hegemonic masculinity.²³ In a revealing passage from *The Lost Gallows* Bencolin suggests withholding information about the case from Inspector Talbot, at which Jeff Marle asserts, "You've taken over this investigation with a vengeance, haven't you?"²⁴ Bencolin's dominance is further exposed when he snaps, "Sit down, Inspector!...Sit—down! If you are advised by me, you will do nothing of the sort."²⁵ Bencolin's equals defer

22 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 18.

23 Bunyan, *Studies in the Novel*, 339-365.

24 John Dickson Carr, *The Lost Gallows* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1931), 41.

25 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 111.

to him in criminal matters and he is at the center of the investigation, clearly at the top of the detective hierarchy. When Jeff Marle asks Bencolin of the whereabouts of Inspector Talbot, Bencolin replies, “He also is obeying orders.”²⁶

Bencolin has clear principles of detection, as Joshi points out, and does not utilize intuition.²⁷ Through the series of novels in which Bencolin appears there are some inconsistencies in how he solves crimes; sometimes he relies on science but other times not.²⁸ In *The Lost Gallows* it appears that Bencolin leans more toward forensic science, but he also relies on his intellect and imagination. This reliance on science separates Bencolin from Merrivale (see below) who “sits and thinks” in order to solve crimes.²⁹ Bencolin’s exacting methodology is enhanced by his harsh appearance. He is generally described as an unlikable Parisian who is eccentric, intelligent and full of contempt, and who inspires respect, as well as dread. Another one of Carr’s novels, *It Walks by Night* (1930), provides a physical description of this character:

You felt you could tell him anything however foolish it sounded, and he would be neither surprised nor inclined to laugh at you. Then you studied the face, turned partly sideways—the droop of the eyelids, at once quizzical and tolerant, under hooked eyebrows, and the dark veiled light of the eyes themselves. The nose was thin and aquiline, with deep lines running down past his mouth. A faint smile was lost in a small moustache and pointed black beard—the black hair, parted in the middle and twirled up like horns, had begun to turn grey. Over the white tie and white shirtfront, it was a head from the renaissance in the low light of the lamps. He rarely gestured when he spoke, except to shrug his shoulders, and he never raised his voice; but whenever you were in this man’s company in public you felt uncomfortably conspicuous.³⁰

Because of Bencolin’s moustache, goatee and black hair parted in the middle and twirled up like horns, he resembles Mephistopheles, one of the seven chief devils and the tempter of Faust and is considered “the most dangerous man in Europe.”³¹ And he terrifies people:

His jaw was shadowed and lined harshly; in the dead-black dressing-gown he seemed to soar against the curtains of black-and-gold, and the flare of the gas threw high upon them the shadow of a horned head. Now the hooked eyebrows were drawn low over glittering eyes....³²

26 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 118.

27 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 14.

28 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 11.

29 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 44; Carter Dickson, *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1945), 164.

30 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 10.

31 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 5.

32 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 155.

Joshi points out that religious language is used to describe Bencolin's character in *Castle Skull* (1931), "That Bencolin...could have crucified a certain Man we've heard about, and taken only an artistic pride in the way he drove in the nails."³³ In *The Lost Gallows*, Inspector Talbot remarks, "I think, sir, [...] that it might be bad enough to be chased by Jack Ketch...But if *I* had committed a crime, I would rather have the devil after me than Henri Bencolin."³⁴

The form of hegemonic masculinity embodied by Bencolin is ineffective without the marginalized form of masculinity embodied by the Egyptian. Nezem El-Moulk, as a foreigner, attempts to function in a British environment, but is marginalized by his dark complexion and lack of aristocratic blood. Mr. El-Moulk also speaks with an accent, which further identifies him as different.³⁵ He is also marginalized because of his connection to ancient Egypt, both in his capacity to rouse ancient Egyptian magic, and as a representative of an eastern, non-Christian religion. He is an Egyptologist of sorts (although Carr never uses this term to describe him), who lives at the curious Brimstone Club in a room filled with Egyptian antiquities. He can read hieroglyphs, and the reader is told that he has an understanding of ancient Egyptian magic.

The reader's introduction to Nezem El-Moulk is set in the context of a ghost story:

Bencolin had been looking sideways at the darkened window. He whirled round suddenly. "...I imagined I saw a ghost myself, in that window there." ... "I think he was starting into the room here, but he changed his mind when he saw us... It was a man I once knew. An Egyptian named Nezem el Moulk."³⁶

This comment is met with scorn by Bencolin's associate Sir John Landervorne, who replies that the Brimstone Club, where they are all residing, is not very choosy with its guests.³⁷ Shortly thereafter, Bencolin and Sir John discover a toy gibbet lying on a lounge chair. When Bencolin asks the steward to whom it belongs, he replies, "I believe it belongs to the Egyptian gentleman, sir—Mr. El Moulk."³⁸ This contrast in titles made by the steward is meant to indicate that Mr. El-Moulk has not earned the honorific address of "Sir" and is not in possession of the appropriate distinctions. This is immediately contrasted with Sir John's who is with Bencolin. Our next encounter with Mr. El-Moulk occurs when the narrator, John Marle, stumbles upon him in the hallway of the Brimstone Club:

There was a gasp, a choking and unearthly gasp, from the other person. I cried,

33 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 10.

34 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 112.

35 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 15.

36 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 8.

37 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 8.

38 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 11.

“Who’s there?” For a queer instant we stood there, trying to see each other, so that I heard his heavy, labored breathing. Then he shoved past me, and we both emerged into the lights of the hallway.

He was a small, thin man in a dressing-gown of flowered silk. His skin had a brown tinge, his nose was beaked, and the thick black hair fell in disorder on his forehead. But what struck me was the strange expression of his eyes. They were of a staring, bestial shade of yellow, opened so wide that a ring of white showed entirely round the iris. They remained transfixed, motionless, like the eyes of a wax figure, although the man was panting thickly. They were hypnotic, and seemed to grow larger in that dead cold stare.³⁹

This description implies that Mr. El-Mouk appears feminine in his flowered dressing gown, is animal-like in his stare, and is not of this earth. None of these qualities are analogous with the manners in which the detective is described.

Mr. El-Mouk is a man, but is doing something feminine, i.e. wearing a flowered dressing gown. He is not identified as gay, despite the fact that Carr describes him effeminately. Nezem does not associate with men but instead enjoys the company of women, spending plenty of time and money on his mistress Colette Lavern, according to Bencolin, “El Mouk has never been stingy with his mistresses.”⁴⁰ Carr’s depiction of Mr. El-Mouk comes from the perspective of a dominant character and coincides well with David Halperin’s theory on effeminacy.⁴¹ Nezem El-Mouk, as a “soft” man, could be considered “womanly” or a “womanizer,” as he deviates from masculine gender norms. He does not keep the company of men, but prefers the company of women and a life of pleasure and luxury.⁴² Nezem El-Mouk’s flowered dressing gown subverts the masculinity exhibited by his character and projects on to him gentleness and placidness.

At the end of the novel, when Mr. El-Mouk is finally discovered in the secret suite of rooms above the fourth floor of the Brimstone Club, Carr portrays him as a snarling animal tied with a steel rope and crouched against the wall. Teddy is heating the irons to brand him like an animal. Carr describes his animal-like behavior as follows, “His yellow eyes were distended; he writhed on the ottoman, horribly, as though he had more than one pair of arms and legs...”⁴³ and “(w)e were watching him as he panted...”⁴⁴ Through all of this commotion Nezem El-Mouk’s English becomes increasingly incoherent and his words indecipherable, like an animal.

These characteristics are meant to marginalize Mr. El-Mouk and to culturally

39 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 14-15.

40 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 40.

41 David Halperin, “How to do the History of Male Sexuality,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 6:1 (2000): 93-94.

42 Halperin, “How to do the History of Male Sexuality,” *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*: 93.

43 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 155.

44 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 156.

subordinate him as the "Other."⁴⁵ He is dehumanized in this novel, and considered an object of mystery, not a real person. There is constant attention drawn to his devilishness, and his darkness is threatening (both physically and emblematically). It was not enough for Carr to point out his differences (dark, plebeian, foreign and pagan), but he further marginalizes him by associating him with the occult, through ancient Egyptian symbolism.

Moreover, Nezem El-Mouk exists in a liminal space between the colonizers and the colonized and between the police and the criminals. This space is disempowering as it does not grant him any authority, and Nezem El-Mouk is consistently at a disadvantage. He displays a marginalized form of masculinity in relation to other masculinities, especially the hegemonic form exhibited by Bencolin, who is the leader of the dominant group. Race is an integral part of the dynamic between masculinities and, in the case of Nezem El-Mouk, it marks him as part of a subordinated ethnic group in the novel.⁴⁶ The particular social, cultural and historical context narrated in *The Lost Gallows* generates this specific configuration of masculinities, and is typical of the Golden Age detective story with its snobbishness and pomposity.⁴⁷

The Curse of the Bronze Lamp (1945)

This novel was most likely inspired by the discovery of King Tut's tomb in 1922 by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon. The story begins at the Continental-Savoy in Cairo, where the patron John Loring the Fourth Earl of Severn, Lady Helen Loring, and Egyptologist Sandy Robertson relax after having just finished excavating the tomb of the High Priest Herihor. While at the hotel, word spreads that Professor Gilray has suffered a deadly scorpion bite. This, coupled with the news that Lord Severn is too ill to travel home, exasperates a rumor already circulating in the newspapers. From Herihor's treasure, the Egyptian government has gifted a bronze lamp to Lady Helen as a souvenir for her family's work in the tomb. This sets the stage for the Egyptian prophet Alim Bey to predict that a curse will befall anyone who takes the bronze lamp out of Egypt. Thus, Lady Helen concocts an elaborate scheme for publicity, where she plans to take the lamp home and voluntarily disappear, according to Alim Bey's prediction. After the commotion she intends to reappear and prove the curse does not exist. In Cairo, Sir Henry Merrivale witnesses Alim Bey's prophecy at the Railway Station and takes an interest in the case.

Subsequently, back in England, while everyone is searching for Lady Helen, the bronze lamp claims its next victim—Lady Helen's father, Lord Severn. Shortly thereafter, Sir Henry Merrivale himself disappears after he comes into contact with the bronze lamp. Enter Leo Beaumont—a famous American fortune-teller and head of the Temple of Sakhmet in California. He has come to Severn Hall to purchase a gold dagger and a gold perfume box from Herihor's tomb. According to the Egyptian Government, these items were smuggled out of Egypt to be sold on the black market. Scotland Yard promptly arrives

45 See Said, *Orientalism*.

46 Connell, *Masculinities*, 80-81.

47 Symons, *Bloody Murder*, 168.

at Severn Hall to recover the missing artifacts.

Despite the bronze lamp's apparent malevolence that leaves death in its wake, Merrivale reappears and dispenses with this supernatural nonsense. He exposes that no murders were actually committed (although one was attempted!) and reconstructs exactly what happened for all involved. The supernatural ordeal is a hoax perpetuated by Helen Loring and Lord Severn, and acts as a red herring to detract from the real criminal—Sandy Robertson.

Our second detective Sir Henry Merrivale also embodies hegemonic masculinity within his story. He is a crafty old devil from the War Office whose reputation precedes him. He has just a little malignancy like Bencolin in *The Lost Gallows*.⁴⁸ Merrivale appears in twenty-two of Carr's novels and he is the Chief of the Military Intelligence Department in the War Office. Because *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* is set ten years earlier in 1934-35 we do not hear much about his occupation. He, like Bencolin, solves the mystery in an unofficial capacity, as this case has absolutely nothing to do with espionage. Therefore, Merrivale, like Bencolin, functions in extra-legal space and can muddy the law.⁴⁹

Merrivale is a qualified barrister and physician, a Baronet and a socialist. Merrivale's socialism contrasts Carr's personal conservatism; however, the detective has a Baronetcy two to three hundred years old that places him in the upper echelons of society.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, he speaks with terrible grammar and is well known for his colloquialisms and vulgar stories.⁵¹ While Merrivale is at the Railway Station in Cairo on his way to Alexandria, well outside his jurisdiction, the following happens when Merrivale does not want to pay the taxi driver the amount he is asking:

...But the Eastern mind has refinements of craft and guile. The taxi-driver's eyes had already been fixed—almost with an expression of greed—on H. M.'s bright-coloured necktie. And now he leaned forward, smiling, and with one deft chop of the scissors cut off H. M.'s tie just below the knot. ... A large left hand shot out and grasped the taxi-driver by what passed for his collar. From his pocket H. M. whipped out the tube of glue. Before the hysterical driver quite realized what was happening, his fate was upon him.

With a fiendish expression, and using the tube as a kind of squirt-gun, H. M. sent a stream of liquid glue spurting into the driver's left eye. Then, with a slight twist of the wrist, he sent an equal stream with unerring aim into the right eye. In conclusion, as a kind of flourish, he drew across the driver's face a design rather suggestive of

48 Carter Dickson, *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1945), 53, 77.

49 Bunyan, "No Order from Chaos: The Absence of Chandler's Extra-Legal Space in the Detective Fiction of Chester Himes and Walter Mosley," *Studies in the Novel*: 343; Joshi, *Critical Study*, 44.

50 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 42.

51 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 42.

the Mark of Zorro. ...H. M. replaced the glue tube in his pocket, and fished out instead an English five-pound note. He plastered the bank-note fairly and squarely, with a hand like a government stamp, over the driver's face.⁵²

This is clearly a ridiculous scene and it is our first glimpse into the absurdity of Merrivale's character. Merrivale is in Cairo fighting with an Egyptian, but in the end he gets the upper hand and the driver flees the scene, we are told, so that he can get away with the five-pound note. Our initial impression of Egyptians, even before the introduction of the marginalized Alim Bey, is that Egyptians are devious, sly and contemptible. In fact, the reader is told that Sir Henry Merrivale must leave Cairo earlier than expected because the constant swindling is bad for his health.⁵³

Another way Carr characterizes Merrivale is through a description of his appearance:

This was a large, stout, barrel-shaped man in a white linen suit and a Panama hat. From under the brim of the hat, which was turned down all round like a bowl, there peered out behind shell-rimmed spectacles a face of such terrifying malignancy that even Cairo beggars might have hesitated. He sat bolt upright, his arms folded in **majesty**.⁵⁴ On the seat beside him lay a large leather-bound volume with the small gilt letters Scrapbook.⁵⁵

Slightly later in the novel, during the scene with Alim Bey and the reporters, Merrivale is sitting in the train car waiting to depart for Alexandria, "surveying the scene in **majestic**⁵⁶ silence."⁵⁷ Even though Carr portrays Merrivale like a clown and gives him a harmless appearance, there is no doubt that Merrivale is the intellectual superior and is imposing. During the attack of the press at the train station Carr describes Merrivale's air as follows:

Observing that one of the attendant pressmen was about to take another photograph, he removed his hat—revealing a large bald head—and glowered ahead into vacancy with a stern, stuffed, heroic look, until the flash-bulb glared and the camera shutter clicked. Then he became (reasonably) human again.⁵⁸

The omniscience of the Golden Age detective is clearly present in Sir Henry Merrivale. Another facet of his character is tinged with fright and is seen in following passages like,

52 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 15-16.

53 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 10.

54 Bold font is my own.

55 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 13.

56 Bold font is my own.

57 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 22.

58 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 18.

“(h)e breathed with an evil satisfaction,”⁵⁹ and “(a) spasm of ghoulish amusement crossed H.M’s face.”⁶⁰

Several passages in the novel reveal the extra-legal space in which Merrivale functions. Early in the novel Merrivale says to Inspector Masters, “I’m going to tell you exactly what to do” and he takes charge of the investigation. A little later, Masters speaks of Merrivale’s “orders” and seems to follow them.⁶¹ Near the end of *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* Merrivale solicits testimony from a certain Leo Beaumont in exchange for immunity. When Masters, the real police officer in the group, hears this, he jumps up and shouts that Merrivale has no authority and that he, as a police officer, cannot help compound a felony.⁶² Merrivale is cagey with Masters and not willing to quickly divulge his answers, and he laughs at him for his mistakes the night before in attempting to search the house for secret hiding places.⁶³ Masters exhibits a complicit form of masculinity and takes charge in Merrivale’s absence, but he fails. In the end, everything works out according to Merrivale’s plan.

Both Bencolin and Merrivale are empowered and feel no obligation to the law. Instead, they want to solve the crime from their extra-legal space. Both use their own moral judgment to solve their cases and only reveal information to the police when they wish.⁶⁴ Of course, in traditional detective fiction, this is the function of the detective—he restores order and justice.

Carr’s description of the antagonist in *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* Alim Bey, mirrors the characterization of Nezem El-Moulk in *The Lost Gallows*, in that he is a modern Egyptian operating in a British environment. We first meet Alim Bey in Cairo but he reappears in England to further his prophecies. He is marginalized by his dark complexion and his lack of aristocratic blood and is further ostracized because of his connection to ancient Egypt, both in his capacity to summon the power of an ancient Egyptian priest and as representative of an eastern, non-Christian religion. Alim Bey is a scholar and a seer who invokes an ancient Egyptian curse to punish Lady Helen Loring for removing the bronze lamp from Egypt, in retribution for excavating Herihor’s tomb, or from Alim Bey’s point of view for disturbing the dead.

Alim Bey experiences a different reality from Merrivale and from the beginning of the novel Carr is careful to construct a macabre atmosphere for the presentation of Alim Bey. One cannot help but imagine someone similar to Imhotep from the 1932 film *The Mummy* (Figure 3).

Alim Bey’s introduction embodies a combination of eastern and western

59 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 77.

60 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 126.

61 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 134.

62 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 183.

63 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 153-154.

64 It is interesting how similar Bencolin and Merrivale are to Philip Marlowe in *The Big Sleep*. See Bunyan, “No Order from Chaos: The Absence of Chandler’s Extra-Legal Space in the Detective Fiction of Chester Himes and Walter Mosley,” *Studies in the Novel*: 342-343.

characteristics:

He was a very thin man of indeterminate age, perhaps forty, perhaps less. Though well over middle height, he seemed less by reason of his stooped shoulders. On his head he wore the red tarbush, with tassel, which used to be a sign of Turkish citizenship. But his shabby suit of European cut, his white necktie, his French accent in pronouncing English words, all were as indeterminate as a complexion between white and brown.... A desperate appeal shone out of the little black eyes, and animated his whole cadaverous body.⁶⁵

This description implies many aspects of Alim Bey are unknown: his age, his height, his citizenship and his race. His "unknowability" equates him with mystery, and the choice of the word "cadaverous" alludes to the dreadful prophecy he announces, and this establishes the atmosphere in which to view his character. Alim Bey describes himself in the following terms, "I am a poor scholar of—shall we say?—mixed blood."⁶⁶ Here Alim Bey marginalizes himself with his self-deprecating comment and influences his place in the hierarchy of masculinities.

The interaction between Alim Bey and Lady Helen Loring at the Railway Station in Cairo sets up the east-west contrast, with Alim Bey invoking an ancient Egyptian curse on behalf of the dead priest Herihor, and Lady Helen preparing to depart for England in possession of the ancient bronze lamp. It is at the Railway Station where Alim Bey publicly utters the dreaded curse to Lady Helen in the company of the detective, Sir Henry Merrivale:

By the light of that lamp, in the black night, a high priest of Ammon saw the dead and wove the spells. This body you tore from its sarcophagus, '—his hands described a gesture of desecration, a brutal and vulturish bit of pantomime,—'this body you tore even from its wooden coffin, was no mere king. No. Let me repeat that he was a high priest of Ammon, skilled in arts beyond your comprehension. He will not be happy.⁶⁷

An evil grin spreads across his face as he says, "But you will return to me...when this young lady is blown to dust as though she had never existed.... She will never...reach that room alive."⁶⁸ Merrivale immediately assesses Alim Bey as an escaped lunatic.⁶⁹ Like Carr's characterization of Mr. Nezem El-Moulk, he also compares Alim Bey

65 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 20.

66 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 20.

67 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 21.

68 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 22.

69 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 23.

metaphorically to an animal, “Suddenly he lifted a hand, fingers outspread like claws. . . .”⁷⁰ Moreover, it is not just Alim Bey, but also all Egyptians. Merrivale sees his taxi driver as an “eager-eyed dog looking for approval”⁷¹ and calls him “the offspring of a dissolute camel.”⁷² As the cabbie frantically drives away after his confrontation with Merrivale, Carr writes, “he swung himself like a monkey to the car’s roof.”⁷³ Egyptians are dehumanized. Carr advances his characterization of the “Other” by emphasizing Alim Bey’s differences (dark, plebeian, foreign and pagan—just like Mr. El-Moulk), and further subordinates Alim Bey through his ability to summon the supernatural. Furthermore, Alim Bey exists in the same liminal space as Mr. El-Moulk; he is from a colonized country but travels to the land of his colonizers, and he is working with the aristocracy to perpetrate a hoax for which he is a suspect. Race and privilege, or lack thereof, come into play, as he exhibits a marginalized form of masculinity. This space is disempowering and marginalizing because it does not grant Alim Bey authority and the more dominant characters repeatedly manipulate him. His style of masculinity is at the bottom of the hierarchy of masculinities.

The Supernatural

Carr’s detective stories are filled with occult references, and supernatural powers are regularly perceived to be responsible for the crimes in many of his books.⁷⁴ Carr was not a religious man, and in the opinion of Joshi, he was probably an agnostic and a skeptic.⁷⁵ Both Nezem El-Moulk and Alim Bey claim to have knowledge from beyond the grave via their experience with ancient Egyptian religion and magic.

When Bencolin begins to investigate the murder of Mr. Nezem El-Moulk’s chauffeur, he asks Grafton, Mr. El-Moulk’s secretary, what Mr. El-Moulk studies. Grafton replies, “Devilishness, I tell you! That’s what he studies. You’ll see, when you look at his rooms. Devilishness, and believes in it.”⁷⁶ Upon entering Mr. El-Moulk’s large suite of rooms on the fourth floor of the Brimstone Club, the detective and his cohorts are confronted with a room of death:

On the mantel-shelf stood four *canopes*, vases of blue enameled earthenware with lids in the form of armed heads; I judged them, from an imperfect knowledge of Egyptian pottery, to be of the second Theban dynasty. Above the mantel stretched a large mural in hollowed wood (the *cavo-rilievo* which is distinctive of the New

70 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 162.

71 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 14.

72 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 15.

73 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 17.

74 D. Green, *John Dickson Carr: The Man Who Explained Miracles* (New York: Otto Penzler, 1995), 164.

75 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 88.

76 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 37.

Kingdom), depicting the Judgment of the Soul. The colours were amazingly preserved: on a pale background, the god Horus, with the black hawk's head and yellow body, was weighing in immense scales the heart against the truth; Maat, white-clad goddess of truth, watched from her throne, and Thoth of the ibis head, the god's scribe, stood by recording the judgment...and the light caught dull colours on a painted sarcophagus standing upright in the corner.

This whole place was oppressive with the smell of dead flowers—I could see withered stalks in vases of red porphyry—of dust, parchment, spices, and that indescribable embalming reek which clings to the tombs at Abydos.⁷⁷

This passage is intended to further the association between Mr. El-Mouk and the mysteries of ancient Egypt, but in a demonic way.

It is clear that Carr is equating his marginalized characters with ancient Egypt, but more specifically with an ancient, pagan religion. In a way, Carr is making fun of early eastern wisdom traditions, and to this end, his Egyptian characters take on the role of "fake medium." More specifically, Carr chooses which type of knowledge is appropriate for each of his characters, in that he distinguishes between Egyptological knowledge, i.e. archaeology and science, and ancient Egyptian occult wisdom.⁷⁸ Jeff Marle,⁷⁹ the narrator in *The Lost Gallows*, and Professor Gilray, Lord Severn, Lady Helen Loring and Sandy Robertson in *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* have scholarly knowledge about ancient Egypt. In fact, it is in reference only to Sandy Robertson that Carr employs the term "Egyptologist."⁸⁰ In contrast, Nezem El-Mouk and Alim Bey invoke ancient supernatural wisdom. Knowledge is power and Carr uses this dichotomy to allocate different measures of power to his specific characters. Scientific knowledge is appropriate for Westerners and occult, or hocus-pocus knowledge, is suitable for Easterners. This is best discerned in the following quote where Carr contrasts the scholar with the seer, "Alim Bey describes himself as a scholar. But, if we can believe the newspapers, he's actually a kind of glorified fortune teller. He makes his living by prophesying the future according to what he calls ancient Egyptian magic."⁸¹ Both Merrivale and Kit Farrell, Helen's friend, also ridicule Leo Beaumont for his belief in ancient Egyptian religion.⁸² With his interest in curses and perilous prophecies, he is belittled and considered a joker. Beaumont's line of hocus-pocus is not considered devilish and under unholy influences, because as a white American his

77 Carr, *Lost Gallows*, 77.

78 Today the philology or history of ancient Egypt may fall into this latter category.

79 Jeff Marle is comparable to the "Dr. Watson" character in the Sherlock Holmes stories by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. Marle is the friend and associate of Bencolin just as Watson is to Sherlock Holmes. Marle also narrates in the first person and his deductive skills never match those of Bencolin (communication by Edmund Meltzer).

80 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 8.

81 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 78.

82 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 103.

affront to Christianity is just a joke—a joke for profit. This is considered more practical than an actual belief in mummies and magic.⁸³

When Lady Helen Loring, her father and Professor Gilray finish excavating Herihor's tomb in *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*, Professor Gilray experiences a death similar to that of Lord Carnarvon,⁸⁴ but instead of a mosquito bite, Professor Gilray dies of a scorpion bite.⁸⁵ In the following pages Lady Helen ruminates about a supposed curse connected with the opening of Herihor's tomb. This again reflects the 1922 discovery of King Tut's tomb by Howard Carter and Lord Carnarvon. This simulation highlights the idea of white men afflicted by ancient Egyptian magic, emphasizing the binary relationship of the Eastern world and the Western world. Here, Egypt is clearly set apart from Britain as a "secret land."⁸⁶

Severn Hall is imagined as an infernal house with its Egyptian activities and its ability to hide both the dead and the living. Mrs. Pomfret, the housekeeper, describes Lady Helen's home just before she disappears, "It's a horrible house... Full of nasty things... and all about being dead."⁸⁷ Mrs. Pomfret is referring to the archaeological artifacts that have been brought back by the owner of the house from his excavations in Egypt.⁸⁸ As a servant, Carr suggests that Mrs. Pomfret cannot appreciate the value of these cultural relics and sees only death and the devil in them, but more significantly she connects these artifacts to a pagan religion. As in *The Lost Gallows* there is a house full of Egyptian antiquities that sets the scene for mystery. Immediately after the housekeeper describes the setting, lightning flashes, and Lady Helen apparently disappears.

Later in the story this otherworldly ambiance is repeated in preparation for the disappearance of Lord Severn and Audrey Vane sets the stage for more eerie activity when she remarks that today is April 13th, "May Day Eve," when the evil spirits walk:⁸⁹

Subdued light showed them the long, rather low-ceilinged room, so crowded and overflowing with archaeological relics that at first the eye could not take in details. You were caught, of course, by the three mummy cases, one large and two smaller, the sort known to archaeologists as wooden coffins, fully painted in black and gold and blue and brown with a lifelike image of the swathed dead inside. The eyes of these figures, brown and staring eyes sharply outlined with black, gave some semblance of life in a room where there was no life. You noticed the pottery ornaments, dull brown or greenish. You noticed the ibis

83 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 124.

84 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 10. George Herbert, the Fifth Earl of Carnarvon, was the financial backer of Howard Carter's expedition into the Valley of the Kings in 1922 when he discovered King Tut's tomb. He died on April 5, 1923 in Cairo, probably after shaving an infected mosquito bite.

85 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 11.

86 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 12.

87 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 33.

88 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 47.

89 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 135.

head over the fireplace. You noticed the framed photographs on the walls, the little cat figure on the writing table. But always you came back to the brown staring eyes of the mummy figures, eternally penciled out in black.⁹⁰

Lord Severn's study and Mr. El-Moulk's rooms at the Brimstone Club oddly resemble one another. The ancient Egyptian artifacts in these rooms exude evil and devilishness; however, these rooms are not crime scenes, but the focal point of supernatural horror in the stories.

In *The Lost Gallows*, Sir John Landervorne victimizes Mr. El-Moulk in revenge for the death of his son, with whom Mr. El-Moulk was previously entangled. In *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*, Merrivale interprets Alim Bey's original prophecy at the Railway Station as a modest stunt to get free publicity and divulges that Lord Severn, aware of his daughter's hoax, asked Alim Bey to further perpetuate the curse with two additional prophecies.⁹¹ No murders were ever committed and Merrivale reveals that Alim Bey was not responsible for the disappearance of Lady Helen or Lord Severn, and he makes clear that the ancient Egyptian magic was pure "old-fashioned hokey-pokey."⁹² He also solves the mystery of the gold dagger and the gold perfume box, implicating Sandy Robertson in the conspiracy.

Detectives Bencolin and Merrivale cannot be the hegemonic characters that Carr wants them to be without the marginalized characters and the superimposition of the supernatural. According to Douglas Green, another of Carr's biographers, Carr's stories have the detectives acting as exorcists that expunge the devil and anything else that is perceived as supernatural. They are supposed to prove that humans categorically committed the crimes and that everything mysterious can be logically explained.⁹³ Joshi, on the other hand, suggests that with the resolution comes the revelation that human evil is pervasive.⁹⁴

Egyptology

Archaeology in Egypt began with Napoleon's invasion in 1798. Shortly thereafter, the discovery of the Rosetta Stone in 1799 proved pivotal in the deciphering of the hieroglyphic script in 1822 by Champollion. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the upper echelons of European society provided the patronage for Egyptology, with the French, English and Germans crucial in its development as an academic discipline. The French, under Auguste Mariette (1821-1881), founded the Antiquities Service and the first national Museum in Egypt.⁹⁵ However, Mariette understood European scholars and tourists as the

90 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 116.

91 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 184. Both plots are rather complicated and this paper does not have the space to present each detail.

92 Dickson, *Bronze Lamp*, 184.

93 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 96.

94 Joshi, *Critical Study*, 115.

95 The Egyptian Antiquities Service was dominated by the French between 1858-1952. See Table 12 in Donald Malcolm Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from*

main audience for his collection of antiquities, not the native population.⁹⁶ Carr's novels emphasize this belief through the allocation of certain types of knowledge to certain characters: the Europeans engage in serious Egyptology, while the native Egyptians understand it only as a pagan religion.

The Anglo-French geopolitical rivalry was integral in establishing western interest in Egypt, but regrettably, imperialism was accompanied by racism, which stressed the notion that only Europeans were fit for the pursuit of "science."⁹⁷ Europeans were far more involved in early Egyptology than were native Egyptians, as the façade of the Cairo Museum would later honor the founding fathers of Egyptology in 1902: six French Egyptologists, five Britons, four Germans, three Italians, a Dutchman, a Dane and a Swede.⁹⁸ There were no Egyptians commemorated. Native Egyptians were left out of the study of Egypt's ancient past, as most archaeological reports were published in English, French or German, and foreign teams conducted all field expeditions.⁹⁹ There were few opportunities for Egyptians to participate in Egyptology other than as laborers.¹⁰⁰

There were some attempts made to encourage Egyptians to embrace their ancient past. Under Khedive Ismail (r. 1863-1879) three Egyptian pioneers stand out: Rifaa al-Tahtawi (1801-1873), Ali Mubarak (1823-1893) and Ahmad Kamal (1851-1923). As beginning steps, Al-Tahtawi, an Azhari shaykh, wrote a history of ancient Egypt in Arabic (1868), and Ali Mubarak, the Minister of Education, set up a school of Egyptology for Egyptians.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century, native Egyptians identified more with their Arab-Islamic heritage rather than their Pharaonic past.¹⁰¹ Over time, interest among native Egyptians increased slightly, but the pyramid and sphinx as national symbols of Egypt (appearing on the postage stamp between 1867-1914) reflected the European view of Egypt, rather than how the Egyptians self-identified.¹⁰² Egyptology was an instrument of imperialism and domination and activity in the field must be considered in conjunction with the French in Egypt and the 1882 British invasion of Egypt.

A defining break came in 1910 when Ahmad Kamal suggested that Egyptians be trained in archaeology, in order to understand and administer their own land, and it is only at this time that Egypt revamped the museums and the Antiquities Service, opened a state university, initiated training programs for Egyptian Egyptologists and emphasized Pharaonic history in schools.¹⁰³ Egypt's semi-colonial status lasted until 1952 when Gamal Abd el-Nasser assumed power.

Napoleon to World War I (Berkeley/Los Angeles/ London: University of California Press, 2002).

96 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 92.

97 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 120.

98 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 3-4, 113.

99 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 10.

100 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 172.

101 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 63, 117.

102 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 118-119.

103 Reid, *Whose Pharaohs?*, 204.

Therefore, it is not surprising that Carr associates the mysteries of ancient Egypt with his two Egyptian characters since historically they would still have had relatively little to do with the scientific endeavor that was Egyptology during the 1920s and 30s. In fact, it was a pursuit still reserved for elite European, and now American, men. However, the employment of Egyptology by Carr was not for historical purposes, it was to create the atmosphere of mystery and secrecy surrounding his marginalized characters. With mortuary evidence abounding it is quite easy to associate ancient Egypt with death and malevolence. It is this malignant force that Detectives Bencolin and Merrivale seek to eradicate. They are the restorers of order and the regenerators of justice.

Among the many filters with which Europeans viewed ancient Egypt, Carr's novels regard Egypt as the chief source of occult wisdom, and it was this perception that shaped Carr's Egyptian characters in juxtaposition to his hegemonic European detectives.

Conclusion

Nezem El-Mouk and Alim Bey embody evil in *The Lost Gallows* and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*, respectively. They are the obvious choices for the embodiment of the paranormal, in that their ethnicity, class and profession already marginalize them. This marginalization empowers the detectives, Bencolin and Merrivale, and promotes their hegemonic masculinity. The Egyptians are the scapegoats within the hierarchy of the masculine and are easily manipulated by the more dominant males. The detectives' extra-legal status allows them to travel freely through the territories of the "criminals" and the police because they possess a certain type of knowledge. Their powerful status is distinguished from the Egyptians' disempowered status in these two novels, and is reflected in the form of masculinity each embraces.

Traditional detective fiction and horror work well together, as the supernatural suggests a crime and the detectives can then restore order by decrypting the paranormal activity. Accordingly, Egyptology is not a recognized academic discipline for Mr. Nezam El-Mouk and Alim Bey, but instead is associated with the occult, the supernatural and the devil.

Figures

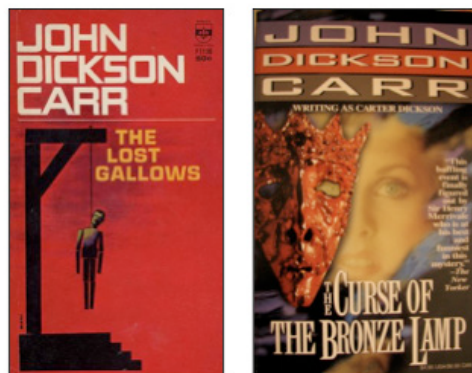


Figure 1: Book covers of *The Lost Gallows* (cover from 1965 edition) and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp* (cover from 1997 edition). Photo by author.

Fictional Characters

Detectives	Egyptians
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • White • European • Aristocrat • Law Profession • Colonizer • Order and Justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dark • Foreign • Non-Aristocrat • Unknown • Colonized • Supernatural

Figure 2: Table showing essentialist characteristics of the hegemonic detectives and the marginalized Egyptians.



Figure 3: Image of the character Imhotep from the film *The Mummy*, 1932.

	<i>The Lost Gallows</i> 1931	<i>The Curse of the Bronze Lamp</i> 1945 (Set in 1934-35)
Hegemonic Masculine Detective	M. Henri Bencolin	Sir Henry Merrivale
Marginalized Egyptian (Connection to Ancient Egypt)	Mr. Nezem El-Mouk	Alim Bey
Other Characters	Sir John Landervorne Graffin (Secretary to El- Mouk) Jeff Marle (Narrator)	Lady Helen Loring Lord Severn (Helen’s Father) Prof. Gilray Mrs. Pomfret (Housekeeper at Severn Hall) Leo Beaumont Kit Farrell

Table 1: Characters appearing in the *The Lost Gallows* and *The Curse of the Bronze Lamp*

Delta Donations for Doorkeepers, Why?

Koenraad Donker van Heel

Abstract: Starting from Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439 from Hannover, a Dyn. 26 donation stela from the region of Sais, this article takes a fresh look at the abnormal hieratic and early demotic evidence from Thebes (Dyn. 25-26). The main conclusion is that the so-called private donations (person to person) of fields to choachytes from Thebes to finance a mortuary cult may in reality have been only the second stage of a two-stage procedure, in which a field would be donated to the divine domain (which is almost never recorded in the papyri), after which choachytes would be assigned to it. This suggests these private donations were—in spite of the terminology used—in reality just a guarantee that these choachytes had the right to the usufruct of the field, without becoming the actual owner, which would still be the divine domain. As is shown by abnormal hieratic P. Louvre E 7858 and P. Turin Cat. 2121, the Theban donation system may have been very similar to the donation system in the Delta.

Résumé: En prenant d'abord pour exemple la stèle no. 1935,200,439 du Musée Kestner à Hanovre, une stèle de donation provenant de la région de Saïs et datant de la 26e dyn., cet article souhaite jeter un regard nouveau sur le hiératique cursif et les attestations de l'ancien démotique à Thèbes (25e et 26e dyn.). La conclusion principale est que les prétendues donations privées (de personne à personne) de terres aux choachytes thébains afin de financer un culte mortuaire constitueraient, en réalité, seulement la seconde étape d'une procédure en deux phases, par laquelle une terre était donnée au domaine divin (ce qui n'est presque jamais consigné sur papyri), les choachytes lui étant assignés par la suite. En dépit de la terminologie employée, cela suggère que ces donations privées constituaient, dans les faits, uniquement une garantie que ces choachytes avaient droit à l'usufruit de la terre sans pour autant en être propriétaires effectifs, celle-ci appartenant au domaine divin. Comme les P. Louvre E 7858 et P. Turin Cat. 2121 en hiératique cursif le montrent, le système de donation thébain pourrait avoir été très semblable au système ayant cours dans le Delta.

Keywords/Mots-clés: Abnormal hieratic/Hiératique cursif, choachytes, donation stela/stèle de donation, doorkeepers/portiers, Dyn. 25-26/25^e-26^e dyn., endowment field/dotation de terre, early demotic/ancien démotique, mortuary cult/culte mortuaire, Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439/Stèle du Musée Kestner 1935,200,439, Theban donation system/système de donation thébain.

Introduction

Sally I only met a few times through email, but as a Leiden Deir el-Medina student I naturally grew up with her work on land tenure. We got along fine—which makes sense, because we were both interested in agriculture in Ancient Egypt, and especially in the systems behind it. The fact that she suddenly was no longer there anymore came as a great shock, but somehow I trust that she will see and hopefully enjoy this. My contribution came about through a little rediscovered stela from (the region of) Sais.

This article will look at Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439 from Hannover,¹ dated to the reign of Psamtik I, several abnormal hieratic papyri from the reigns of Taharqa, Psamtik I and Necho II, and some early demotic papyri from the reigns of Amasis and Darius I.

The first question is: why do we have so many donation stelae from the Delta and so very few from Thebes, suggesting that the donation system represented by these stelae may essentially have been a northern practice? Or were the northern and southern donation systems basically the same, and was the only difference actually the Delta custom to mark these donations in stone? The legal system from the Delta did indeed differ from the system in the south, in part even being instrumental in the creation of two different writing systems (or vice versa), viz. abnormal hieratic in the south and demotic in the north. The latter would, however, win the day in the second part of the reign of Amasis.² It is very easy to point out the differences between the abnormal hieratic and early demotic legal documents such as land leases, marital property arrangements, sales, etc., clearly reflecting a different outlook on things legal. In short, early demotic took standardisation and flexibility of legal phrasing to the limit, whereas abnormal hieratic did not, so that the latter has once been very aptly described by Agut-Labordère as “Neanderthal-demotic”. This issue will not be pursued further here.

The donation stelae from the Delta were presumably used to mark the borders of a donated field.³ One would have expected to find just as many stelae in and around Thebes, if not more, but there are actually only few that can be ascribed to this region with certainty.⁴ Also, some of the legal terms used in these Theban stelae—*smn* “to establish”

1 I am very grateful to Christian Loeben of the Kestner Museum (Hannover), who readily gave permission to republish this stela.

2 See e.g. K. Donker van Heel, “The lost battle of Peteamonip son of Petehorresne,” *EVO* 17 (1994), 115-124, and C.J. Martin, “The Saite Demoticisation of Egypt,” in K. Lomas – R.D. Whitehouse – J.B. Wilkins (eds), *Literacy and the state in the ancient Mediterranean* (London: Accordia Research Institute UCL, 2007), 25-38.

3 The essential introduction to donation stelae is still D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples dans l’Égypte du I^{er} millénaire avant J.-C.,” in E. Lipiński (ed.), *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II. *Proceedings of the International Conference organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 10th to the 14th of April 1978* (Leuven: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1979), 605-687. Cf. J.C. Moreno García, “Land Donations,” *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology* (2013), 1-11, and esp. 6-7. Note that since the publication by Meeks the number of donation stelae has grown considerably.

4 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 611-613.

and *šh nmḥ* “private field”—never occur in the donation stelae from the Delta.⁵

The abnormal hieratic and early demotic (papyrological) evidence suggests that a donation system similar to the one from the north existed in Thebes as well, as one would expect, the perfect parallel being the donation effectuated through abnormal hieratic P. Turin Cat. 2121 (see below).⁶ Stone boundary markers for private fields from Late Period Thebes, however, are strangely absent. This is surprising, because these were the perfect tools to delineate the boundaries of fields, for instance, to prevent disputes after the inundation had subsided and people came to inspect their fields. The evidence from a number of New Kingdom Theban tombs shows that these boundary stelae actually did exist in the south and played a vital part in the land measuring and tax collecting procedure for private fields, when the measurers came, and a designated official—the village elder?—armed with a *wꜣs* sceptre inspected the position of these stelae, pronouncing under oath that it had not been tampered with.⁷ The *Instructions for the Vizier* suggest that moving such a stela was a serious offence that warranted the attention of the highest judicial authority, namely the vizier himself.⁸ If the *Wisdom of Amenemope* sternly warns against meddling with someone else’s boundary stela (for instance, a widow), one would expect warnings such as these to be addressed to Egyptian society *as a whole*, not just part of it, and something that each and every landowner in the north and south of the country would be very much aware of.⁹

Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439 measures 29 x 19 cms. It is a limestone donation stela—that is, if we define donation stela in its widest possible sense—and it is not of the best craftsmanship. The lower part has suffered damage, presumably from its use as boundary marker.¹⁰ Spiegelberg discovered the stela in an antiquities shop in 1903, publishing a transcription and cursory description in 1920.¹¹ Since the inventory *fiche* mentions “Slg. Bissing”, the stela was acquired from Friedrich Wilhelm Freiherr von

5 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 613 and n. 24-25. For the *šh nmḥ*, the most recent survey is J.C. Moreno García, “Temples and agricultural labour in Egypt, Late New Kingdom–Saite Period,” in J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Dynamics of Production in the Ancient Near East 1300-500 BC* (Oxford & Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2016), 232ff.

6 For P. Turin Cat. 2121, see M. Malinine, *Choix de textes en hiéroglyphes anormal et en démotique*, I (Paris: Bibliothèque d’étude de l’École des Hautes Études, 1953) – II (Cairo: IFAO, 1983), doc. 18. This document and the archive to which it belongs will be (re)published in the foreseeable future by Robert Kade (Berlin).

7 S. Berger, “A Note on Some Scenes of Land-Measurement,” *JEA* 20 (1934), 54-56 and pl. X.

8 G.P.F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom* (London & New York: Kegan Paul International, 1988), 185 (R20).

9 See e.g. H.O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum* (Copenhagen: A.F. Høst & Søn, 1925), 47-48. More recent editions include J.R. Black, *The Instruction of Amenemope. A Critical Edition and Commentary—Prolegomenon and Prologue* (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Wisconsin, 2002 ; non vidi).

10 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 608-609 and n. 9-11.

11 W. Spiegelberg, “Neue Schenkungsstelen über Landstiftungen an Tempel,” *ZÄS* 56 (1920), 58-59 § IV and pl. VI. Cf. K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit, IV. Die 26. Dynastie. Band 1. Psametik I. – Psametik III.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2014), 36 no. 60. It is no. 26.1.23 on page 675 in Meeks, “Les donations aux temples”.

Bissing, who sold his private collection to the museum in 1935.

The lunette shows the winged sundisk with uraei and several captions denoting the actors. Below these the king, wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, is seen on the right. He is walking to the left towards Osiris, while holding a vessel in both hands. Osiris is wearing a feather crown and sits on a throne, looking right. Behind the throne is Isis standing with a *wꜣs* sceptre in her outstretched left hand, her right hand hanging down holding an *ꜥnh* sign. The scene is bordered on the left and right by a *wꜣs* sceptre. Below the lunette there are six lines of a hieroglyphic text running from right to left. As will be seen below, the fact that this donation was made to the temple of Osiris is probably not a coincidence.

What Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439 is about

It is something of a mystery why our stela has never attracted any attention from authors studying the activities of the choachytes before (including me), because it mentions a choachyte and donated fields (perhaps 3 + 5 aruras, for which see below) situated near Sais, which is the first-ever attestation of a choachyte from this region (that is, for a demotist used to working with choachytes).¹² The transcription published by Spiegelberg still stands today (see figure 1).¹³

However, whether Spiegelberg’s interpretation of this text is correct seems open to debate. According to him, the choachyte Smendes son of Tefnakht had donated 7(?) aruras¹⁴ of land to a temple in year 23 of Psamtik I. The stela only lists the southern and eastern boundaries of the field, presumably because its northern and western boundaries were a watercourse (*dixit* Spiegelberg), although the evidence from several abnormal hieratic papyri from Thebes appears to suggest that mentioning just one neighbour (or none at all) would suffice to ensure that *everybody* would know which field were meant.¹⁵ One could presume that there was a second stela, if the owner planned to cover both sides not bordered by the water, although we seem to not to know exactly what this second neighbour was, viz. an *ꜣth-šd*(?), which is listed as the southern border (if this was a permanent structure of

12 Choachytes are actually found all over Egypt, and probably went under many other designations; see K. Donker van Heel, *The Archive of the Theban Choachyte Petebaste son of Peteamunip (Floruit 7th Century BCE). Abnormal Hieratic Papyrus Louvre E 3228 A-H* (forthcoming), Chapter I § 3.

13 H.-W. Fischer-Elfert of the ZÄS gracefully authorised the reproduction of Spiegelberg’s transcription.

14 Note that *šꜣ* ‘arura’ is not mentioned on the stela.

15 In abnormal hieratic P. Louvre E 7847 from year 19 of Amasis (552 BCE) the field ‘owned’ by a *sdm S.t Mꜣꜥ.t* is said to be bordered on the south by *pꜣ rꜣ n pꜣ ꜣh dr.t-ntr* “the entrance to the field of the Hand of God (the Divine Adoratrice)”, which was apparently enough to understand where it was located. For this text, see K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts Collected by the Theban Choachytes in the Reign of Amasis. Papyri from the Louvre Eisenlohr Lot* (Ph.D. dissertation: University of Leiden, 1995), I-II, doc. 8. In abnormal hieratic P. Louvre E 7851 from year 26 of Taharqa (665 BCE) the text on the recto mentions only one neighbour, whereas the text on the verso mentions no neighbour at all, but does specify the nature of this particular field: *tꜣy dni.t ꜣh n tꜣ htp Wsir nty Pꜣ-hnn n rn N. sꜣ N.* “this share of a field of the endowment of Osiris which is in (?) *Pꜣ-hnn* in the name of N. son of N. (presumably the deceased)”. For these texts, see K. Donker van Heel, “Papyrus Louvre E 7851 Recto and Verso: Two More Land Leases from the Reign of Taharka,” *RdE* 50 (1999), 135-144 and pl. XIII-XIV.

some sort, one may not have needed a second stela after all).¹⁶ The final clause is damaged, but it is probably about the donation being legally valid forever.

If Spiegelberg's interpretation were correct, this donation stela—in which a choachyte *donates* fields to a temple—would be another first of its kind, whereas in the material from Thebes one is used to meeting choachytes actually *receiving* fields to pay them for their mortuary services. As can be seen on the photograph (figure 2), the exact amount of land that was donated is a problem. According to Meeks, in his fundamental article on the Late Period donation stelae (cited in n. 3), there may have been 8(?) aruras in play instead of Spiegelberg's 7(?), which would be more in agreement with the usual amount of land that people would donate (or receive), almost invariably a multiple of 3 or 5 aruras. The 8 could then be explained as 3 + 5 aruras, in other words, perhaps two separate, but adjoining fields.¹⁷

The reason for donating land to a temple could ultimately be 'just' moral satisfaction for practising *mꜣꜥ.t*, although a donor would generally expect a reciprocal service, such as mortuary offerings by the priests after his death, as is exemplified by Statue Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg E 78 (there are many more examples, also from earlier periods). The inscription of the Copenhagen statue relates how the owner of the statue—the same *Hrbs* son of *P(ꜣy)=f-tꜣw-ꜥ.wy-šw* known from Stela Cairo JdE 28171 (see below)—donated 60 aruras to the temple of Osiris in Busiris, explicitly stating that the priests were to bring him daily offerings after his death.¹⁸

There may be an alternative explanation of Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439, however, which would be more in line with the Theban evidence, namely that the choachyte mentioned on it had indeed *received* the fields, instead of donating them.

In that case the text would read:

(1) *Hꜣ.t-sp 23 ntr nfr Psmtk ꜥnh d.t. Hnk n wꜣh-mw* (2) *Ns-bꜣ- <nb> -dd.t sꜣ T(ꜣy)=f-nht ꜣh.t* (3) 8(?) [*hr*] *pꜣ imntꜣ Sꜣ.t. Pꜣy=w* (4) *rsy: ꜣth-šd(?) pꜣy=w iꜣbtꜣ* (5) *nꜣ (ꜣ)h.t n(?) it-ntr P(ꜣy)=f-tꜣw-ꜥ.wy)-Ni.t ... [...]* (6) ... *mn nhh d.t*

(1) “Regnal year 23 of the Good God Psamtik (I), living forever. Donated field of the choachyte (2) Smendes son of Tefnakht. Fields: (3) 8(?) <aruras(?)> [to] the west of Sais. Their (4) south: the *ꜣth-šd(?)*, their east: (5) the fields of the god's father Payftjauawyneith ... [...]. (6) ... established for ever and ever.”

The fact that Osiris and Isis are shown in the lunette would in that case not be a

16 It may have been some contraption to pull out water from a stream or pond, as was suggested by Spiegelberg, which seems corroborated by the online *Chicago Demotic Dictionary*, Letter Aleph, 112. Since the reading is uncertain and the nature of this neighbour is not vital to our understanding of the text itself, the problem is evaded here.

17 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 610 n. 15, and 646 n. 187.

18 E. Iversen, *Two Inscriptions Concerning Private Donations to Temples* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1941), 18-21. See also W. Helck, “Opferstiftung,” *LA* IV, 590-594.

problem still,¹⁹ because the field would have been situated on their divine domain, therefore rendering it liable to a perpetual 10% domain tax after each harvest.²⁰ A similar system existed in Thebes, where choachytes clearly acting as private landlords still had to pay their harvest-tax to the Domain of Amun.²¹ But how do you donate land to a temple and a choachyte at the same time? Was it nominally donated to the temple, but only on the understanding that it would be transferred to, for instance, a choachyte after that? Was it donated directly to the choachyte on the understanding that he (or she) would come to some agreement with the priests of the temple about the division of the annual harvest, meaning not just the harvest tax, but also their share of the bounty? In the end it would probably have been safest to entrust one's fields to a reputable institution, especially in the volatile political climate of the Delta in the Libyan Period, and hope for the best. In fact, if we put our faith in the suggestion by Meeks, in the Late Period land donations were—by definition—made to a temple, which will become highly relevant once we arrive at the papyrological evidence.²²

In the case of our stela the day to day management was obviously put in the hands of the choachyte Smendes son of Tefnakht. Since he would take care of the field and the mortuary service for the original donor, and would pay his annual 10% harvest-tax to the temple while keeping the rest for himself, or—and this happens very often in the Theban papyri—Smendes could have opted to act as a landlord only and lease out the land to someone else (meaning that he would have an annual income without having to work the field himself), this was really a win-win-win situation in which every stakeholder profited, viz. the temple, the deceased and Smendes himself. Indeed, this seems to have been the most favoured strategy, which would then, however, warrant a fresh look at some of the Theban papyrological evidence, viz. the seemingly private person to person donations made to the Theban choachytes.

The stela from Hannover does not record any donor (although the lunette shows Psamtik I as the theoretical benefactor), nor does it mention the middleman that some believe surfaces at times in other donation stelae.²³ Stricto sensu this is therefore probably not a donation stela, but may be 'just' a boundary marker stating that this donated land 'belonged' to the choachyte Smendes.

Meeks has recapitulated that the technical term *hnk* is the standard term for "to donate" (next to (*r*)*di* "to give"), but that it can also refer to a donated field itself.²⁴ From

19 W. Spiegelberg, "Neue Schenkungsstelen," 59, stated that the land was donated by Smendes to a temple.

20 See e.g. B. Muhs, *The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 104 (New Kingdom) and 149-150 (Third Intermediate Period).

21 K. Donker van Heel, "Papyrus Louvre E 7851 Recto and Verso," 142 n. VI and 31.

22 D. Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 649 and n. 199. Note that J.C. Moreno García, "Land Donations," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, 6, appears not to rule out person to person donations: "(...) donations could be royal or private and bestowed on temples, statues, and individuals."

23 H. de Meulenaere, "Quelques remarques sur les stèles de donation saïtes," *RdE* 44 (1993), 14-15, very much doubted whether there were ever such middlemen in the stelae from the Saite Period.

24 D. Meeks, "Les donations aux temples," 625 and n. 71 ; for this term, see also F. Labrique, "Brèves

this one may take it that our stela from Hannover is in the end probably not about a field donated *by* a choachyte, but about a field donated *to* this choachyte (that is, the field was actually donated to the temple, after which the choachyte was assigned to it), so that we should translate accordingly: “Donated field of the choachyte Smendes son of Tefnakht”.²⁵ Although no mention is made why Smendes had received the land, the most obvious reason would be that he would have to make libations to some deceased person in return.

Some of the abnormal hieratic evidence from Thebes (Dyn. 25 and 26)

The abnormal hieratic evidence from Dyn. 25 Thebes consists of allusions to fields managed by choachytes and seemingly clear-cut donations, both evidently in return for mortuary services. By allusions I understand sources such as abnormal hieratic P. Louvre E 7851 from year 26 of Taharqa (665 BCE). The papyrus is written on both sides. In these two texts we see women leasing out land to choachytes. On the recto the leased out field is referred to as *ꜣḥ-ḥtp Wsir* “endowment field of Osiris”,²⁶ and on the verso it is called *ꜣḥ n tꜣ ḥtp Wsir* “field of the endowment of Osiris”. The terms used by the scribe to describe the fields—the same scribe on both sides—seem interchangeable, referring to a field that apparently had the exact same legal status as the 8(?) aruras from Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439. So if in P. Louvre E 7851 the landlords are actually women, and they were in a position to lease out these fields, it naturally follows that they managed the fields, and one presumes this was because they were performing the mortuary service for the deceased in whose name these fields had been donated. It does not necessarily mean that they owned these fields, even if we know that such fields could be transferred to others (e.g. early

communications,” *RdE* 53 (2002), 244. The demotic evidence suggests that the term sometimes read as *ḥm-kꜣ*, which would of course suit admirably in the context of funerary services, may have been a way to actually write *ḥnk*, as is seen in W. Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar* (Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1954), 315 (cf. Labrique, *op. cit.*). The literature on *ḥnk* is extensive. See e.g. E. Iversen, *Two Inscriptions*, 8-9 n. 17 and 14-15 ; A.H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, II. *Commentary* (Oxford: The Oxford University Press, 1948), 111-113 ; D. Kessler, “Eine Landschenkung Ramses’ III.,” *SAK* 2 (1975), 108 ; B. Menu, “Brèves communications,” *RdE* 46 (1995), 214 n. a, and J.-L. Chappaz, “Une stèle de donation de Ramsès III.,” *BSEG* 27 (2005-7), 13 n. e. For the demotic evidence, see e.g. M. Smith, “Lexicographical Notes on Demotic Texts II,” *Enchoria* 13 (1985), 109-111, and P.W. Pestman, *Les papyrus démotiques de Tsenhor (P. Tsenhor). Les archives privées d’une femme égyptienne du temps de Darius I^{er}*, Volume I. *Textes*. Volume II. *Paléographie et planches* (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), I, 37, in P. Louvre E 10935 line 12 (year 15 of Amasis; 556 BCE): *ḥnk(=i) st n=k (n) ḥtp r rꜣ N*. “I have donated them (the field consisting of 11 aruras) to you as an endowment for the mouth of N.,” and 98 n. x.

25 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 630 n. 96. Cf. M. von Falck, “Eine Landschenkungsstele des Königs Bokchoris,” in A.I. Blobaum – J. Kahl – S.D. Schweitzer (eds), *Kulturwissenschaftliche Studien zu Ägypten, dem Vorderen Orient und verwandten Gebieten. Donum natalicium viro doctissimo Erhartho Graefe sexagenario ab amicis collegis discipulis ex aedibus Schlaunstrasse 2/Rosenstrasse 9 oblatum* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2003), 119 n. 27 and plate IV.

26 For the most recent explanation of *ꜣḥ-ḥtp*, see G. Vittmann, *Der demotische Papyrus Rylands 9. Teil II. Kommentare und Indices* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1998), 292-295.

demotic P. Louvre E 7843)²⁷ or inherited (e.g. early demotic P. BM E 10120 B).²⁸

Such endowment fields could go under other names as well, as is seen in P. Louvre E 7847, in which a *sdm S.t Mꜣꜥ.t* “a servant of the Place of Truth (the necropolis)” states that his business associate—a choachyte—has given him his share of the harvest (he had probably leased out his field to this business associate). The field is described by him as *pꜣ ꜣḥ sdm S.t Mꜣꜥ.t* “the field of the servant of the Place of Truth”, in other words, it was probably a field that had been donated to finance a mortuary endowment. Note that elsewhere it has been suggested that the title *sdm S.t Mꜣꜥ.t* may in reality have been a fancy description of this man being a choachyte after all.²⁹

In P. Turin Cat. 2121 from year 47 of Psamtik I (618 BCE) a Theban widow and her children donate 10 aruras to the temple of Osiris in Abydos to serve as a mortuary endowment for her deceased husband and the father of her children. But the document also stipulates which choachyte will be responsible for the day to day management of the field, which would include the funerary cult for the deceased. This to me is the clearest example of how the Theban mortuary donation system may have worked in Thebes all the time, even if some donations appear to have been made directly to a choachyte (for which see below).

From the reign of Necho II comes a final abnormal hieratic donation, P. Louvre E 7858—although technically this is probably not a donation directly to the choachyte involved. She is actually being paid in advance for her future services at the tomb of the person for whom the mortuary endowment was established (the mother of the donor ; this is a complicated and somewhat ambiguous case). It reminds one very much of the system underlying our stela from the Kestner Museum. A professional funerary worker is being rewarded with (the usufruct of) a field, the proceeds from which should ideally be diverted to the object of the mortuary cult, although all parties involved were probably very well aware that this was never going to happen. In practice, we often see the choachytes leasing out endowment fields to others (abnormal hieratic P. Louvre E 7851 referred to above, and early demotic P. Louvre E 7836 and 7839 below). In the case of P. Louvre E 7858,³⁰ there is a third party involved in the donation, it seems, who had ‘established’ (*smn*)³¹ this foundation for the donor. Who does what seems muddled in this papyrus, which happens more often in donations.³² The basic facts are these: a man called *Pꜣ-di-Is.t* son of *Pꜣy-s-ḥnf*

27 K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, I-II, doc. 18.

28 P.W. Pestman, *Tsenhor*, I-II, doc. 4.

29 See K. Donker van Heel, *Djekhy & Son. Doing Business in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo – New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2012 (hardcover) and 2014 (paperback)), 98.

30 For P. Louvre E 7858, see K. Donker van Heel, “P. Louvre E 7858: Another Abnormal Hieratic Puzzle,” in B.J.J. Haring – O.E. Kaper – R. van Walsem, *The Workman’s Progress. Studies in the Village of Deir el-Medina and Other Documents from Western Thebes in Honour of Rob Demarée* (Leuven – Leiden: Peeters – Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2014), 43-55.

31 K. Donker van Heel, “P. Louvre E 7858: Another Abnormal Hieratic Puzzle,” 54 n. V.

32 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 624, and M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft in Ägypten am Ende des Neuen Reiches. Ein religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen und seine sozialen Grundlagen*

gives (*di*) 5 aruras to the choachyte *ʿIr.t=w-r=w* daughter of *P3-di-ʿImn-ʿIp* as an endowment (*hṭp*) for his mother, whose name is lost. This field had been established (*smn*) for him by a priest called *P3-tnf*. The problem resides in the clause *i.smn n=i N*. “which N. established for me (i.e. *P3-di-ʿIs.t*)”, unless we assume that this meant *P3-tnf* had donated the 5 aruras to a temple in the name of *P3-di-ʿIs.t*, after which *P3-di-ʿIs.t* was left to wrap up the business end, viz. to appoint a choachyte for the day to day management of the field and the mortuary cult for his mother.

This leaves the problem of the side by side occurrence of *P3y=s-tnf*, the father of *P3-di-ʿIs.t*, and *P3-tnf*, who established the endowment on behalf of *P3-di-ʿIs.t*’s mother. It may well be that *P3y=s-tnf* and *P3-tnf* were one and the same person, which would go a long way to explain why *P3-tnf* set up this endowment, since in that case *P3-di-ʿIs.t*’s mother would have been his own wife.³³

Some of the early demotic evidence from Thebes (Dyn. 26)

The early demotic evidence from Dyn. 26 Thebes once more consists of allusions to donated land and clear-cut donations, both evidently in return for mortuary services. P. Louvre E 7836 was written in year 35 of Amasis (536 BCE). Here we see a choachyte leasing out his field to a cattlekeeper of the Domain of Mont. This field is described by the lessee as *p3y=k 3h-hṭp i.di=w n=k i r3 hm-ntr ʿImn-R^c-nsw-ntr.w N*. “your endowment-field that was given to you for the mouth of the god’s servant of Amunrasonter N.”, referring to the offerings the landlord-choachyte would have to bring to the deceased in whose name he had received the field.³⁴ The field is said to be located in “the highland of The Stable of the Milk Can of Amun”, and the harvest-tax is to be paid to the Domain of Amun. In P. Louvre E 7839 (534 BCE) the same choachyte—the text was written by the same scribe who wrote P. Louvre E 7836—leases out his field to a beekeeper of the Domain of Mont. Since the lessee will not receive anything from this transaction, he is clearly working off a debt. Here the leased out land is described by the lessee as *p3y=k 3h-hṭp r.di=w n=k i r3 t3 [hw.t] n hm-ntr ʿImn N*. “your endowment-field that was given to you for the mouth of the [tomb] of the god’s servant of Amun N.”, who happens to be a member of the famous Late Period Besmut family.³⁵ There is no mention of a divine domain (where this field would be located), but again the harvest-tax is payable to the Domain of Amun. Both texts clearly state that the choachyte had been *given* a field, presumably as payment for future funerary services. Does this mean there existed in Thebes a person to person donation system after

(Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 319ff. § 351ff.

33 In Stela Cairo JdE 28171 a man called *Hrbs* donates 79 aruras to the temple of Osiris, but the manager of this field is to be the choachyte *P(3y)=f-t3w-^c.wy-šw*, who happens to be his own father. The stela is too damaged to draw solid conclusions though. For this stela, see C.M. Zivie-Coche, *Giza au premier millénaire. Autour du temple d’Isis Dame des Pyramides* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1991), 118-121 and pl. 24.

34 See K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, I-II, doc. 17.

35 See K. Donker van Heel, *Abnormal Hieratic and Early Demotic Texts*, I-II, doc. 21.

all?

The *pièce de résistance* is P. Louvre E 10935, which was written in year 15 of Amasis (556 BCE).³⁶ In this document 11 (10 + 1) aruras are transferred to a choachyte by a private person. The field is to finance a mortuary service for the mother of the donor. On the surface one would be inclined to believe that this was really the case. In line 2 the donor states: *dī(=ī) n=k tzy stz 10 zḥ ... n ḥtp i r z N*. “I have given to you these 10 aruras of field ... as an endowment for the mouth of N.” This impression is only reinforced by line 5: *mtw=k s tzy=k stz 11 zḥ nty ḥri ḥnk(=ī) st n=k (n) ḥtp r r z N*. “They are yours, these 11 aruras of field that are above. I have donated them to you as an endowment for the mouth of N.” Both Malinine³⁷ and Pestman³⁸ suggested that this was indeed a person to person donation, but this would be at odds with the suggestion by Meeks that Late Period donations were made exclusively to divine domains.³⁹

The granddaughter of this choachyte struck a similar deal in year 25 of Darius I (497 BCE) in P. Louvre E 3231 A.⁴⁰ The mortuary cult is—again—to be performed for the mother of the donor. The clauses are similar as well. Lines 1-2 read: *dī(=ī) n=t t z stz 4 [zḥ] ... n t z [ḥtp n] N*. “I have given to you the 4 aruras of [field] ... as the [endowment for] N.”; and in line 3: *mtw=t t z (stz) 4 zḥ nty ḥri ... mn mtw(=ī) md nb p z t z r-^c.wy=w* “To you belong the 4 (aruras) of field above ... I have no issue on earth at all concerning them.” Again, this looks like a person to person donation.⁴¹

Looking at the evidence, it seems that in spite of the different legal systems in the north and the south, people resorted to very similar strategies for seeking out other people to care for their afterlife across Egypt, and were ready to donate fields to a temple—in the case of P. Turin Cat. 2121 specifying in the document of transfer which choachyte was to perform the funerary service connected with the field that was donated—to ensure that this was done. In Thebes the ultimate beneficiaries were therefore often choachytes, and as was seen above, the same was the case with our Saite choachyte from Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439.

One has the impression, however, that the establishment of these Late Period Theban mortuary foundations could in reality have been a two-stage transaction of which *only one stage was recorded* in the Theban papyri such as P. Louvre E 10935, namely the transfer of the (usufruct of the) field to the choachyte involved—except possibly in P. Louvre E 7858, which records the establishment (*smn*) of an endowment and the subsequent transfer (*dī*)

36 Exemplary publication in P.W. Pestman, *Tsenhor*, I-II, doc. 1; but see also K. Donker van Heel, *Mrs. Tsenhor. A Female Entrepreneur in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo – New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2014 (hardcover) and 2015 (paperback)), 31-42.

37 M. Malinine, *Choix*, I, 125.

38 P.W. Pestman, *Tsenhor*, I, 36, and 38 n. III.

39 See D. Meeks, “Donations aux temples,” 649 and n. 199. M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 325 § 355, seems equally convinced that these so-called person to person donations conceal the fact that the donation had, in fact, been made to a temple.

40 P.W. Pestman, *Tsenhor*, I-II, doc. 14.

41 Thus P.W. Pestman, *Tsenhor*, I, 82, and 83 n. II.

of the donated field to finance this to a female choachyte—and that, although the Theban choachytes acted as private owners, the fields they disposed of had actually been donated to the Domain of Amun (which is not recorded in the papyri), granting them perpetual usufruct or only for as long they performed the mortuary service for the deceased donor, which is not quite the same as becoming the owner of the land.⁴² Either that, or we must assume that there were various donation systems in the Theban region—varying between a system much like in the Delta (P. Turin Cat. 2121) and person to person donations—granting the donor every choice. In that case one may well wonder whether the deal that resulted in Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439 was maybe also the result of a person to person donation (which I do not believe), meaning that in this case the image in the lunette would have been just a formality not reflecting what had really happened. I have little doubt that Sally would have been prepared to give this problem some serious thought and come up with a solution. In any case, if a choachyte did not perform up to standard, a person to person donor (if such a person ever existed) would most probably have had a hard time retrieving his or her field, whereas a divine domain would have had sufficient power to enforce a reimbursement.

On a final note, it may perhaps have struck one as odd that in the north the *iry-ꜥ* “doorkeeper” was rather often the ultimate beneficiary of field donations,⁴³ although it has been suggested that in spite of their apparently low status from the New Kingdom onwards their role in the temple economy became more important, including the collection of taxes. In this role they would have been excellently suited to the management of the fields that were donated to the temple.⁴⁴ In other words, there seems to have been a slight change in the tasks performed by these doorkeepers over time, or, just like with the *ihwt* and the *mr-ꜥh* (and even the *wꜥh-mw*), there were actually two kinds of functionaries bearing the same title, but performing at entirely different levels. Doorkeepers could even be branded slaves, forming part of the inventory of a pious foundation.⁴⁵

42 This much can also be gathered from a hidden note by B. Menu, “Brèves communications,” *RdE* 46 (1995), 214 n. 13: “Les transferts, quel que soient les protagonistes: roi, temples, personne privée, groupe sociale ou ethnique, portent sur les droits issues de la propriété du sol, non sur la propriété elle-même dont seuls le roi et les dieux sont titulaires au plus haut niveau.” But see already B. Menu, “Questions relatives à la détention des terres,” in S. Allam, *Grund und Boden in Altägypten (rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse). Akten des internationalen Symposions Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990* (Tübingen: Selbstverlag, 1994), 140; M. Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 317 § 349 and 333-334 § 366, and M. Fitzenreiter, “Statuenstiftung und religiöses Stiftungswesen im pharaonischen Ägypten. Notizen zum Grab des Pennut (Teil V),” in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Das Heilige und die Ware. Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie* (London: Golden House Publications, 2007), 241.

43 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 645 and n. 181; cf. E.A. Jelínková-Reymond, “Recherches sur le rôle des “gardiens des portes” (*iry-ꜥ*) dans l’administration générale des temples égyptiens,” *CdE* 28 (1953), 51-53 (to be consulted with caution), and M. von Falck, “Eine Landschenkungsstele des Königs Bokchoris,” 117 and n. 19.

44 D. Meeks, “Les donations aux temples,” 647-648.

45 See E. Graefe – M. Wassef, “Eine fromme Stiftung für den Gott Osiris-der-seinen-Anhänger-in-der-Unterwelt-rettet aus dem Jahre 21 des Taharqa (670 v. Chr.),” *MDIK* 35 (1979), 103-118, and esp. 114.

According to several authors the Theban choachytes liked to refer to themselves as *wn-pr n Imn-Ipy* “shrine-opener of Amenophis” in official documents, whereas they were just a *w3h-mw* “choachyte” in daily life. However, recently the reading *wn-pr* has been contested by Hoffmann and Quack,⁴⁶ who proposed *iry-ꜥ3* instead. It follows that these Theban choachytes combined the titles of *iry-ꜥ3* and *w3h-mw*, as, for instance in early demotic P. BM EA 10120 B (P. Tsenhor 4), in which a choachyte appoints his daughter as his heir, describing his professional occupation in line 5. She will inherit all kinds of items *hnꜥ n3y(=i) shn.w n w3h-mw n iry-ꜥ3* “and my commissions as choachyte and doorkeeper”.⁴⁷ We may therefore have to look at the donation stelae from the Delta with a fresh eye again. They generally served a funerary purpose. If the ultimate recipients (or day to day managers) of donated fields in the Delta often acted as *iry-ꜥ3* “doorkeeper”, does this mean that in reality they worked as a *w3h-mw* “choachyte” in the Delta too? It would add just another designation to the already long list of functionaries responsible for the mortuary service for private persons in Ancient Egypt, not just in Thebes, but also in the Delta.

46 J.F. Quack – F. Hoffmann, “Pastophoros,” in A.M. Dodson – J.J. Johnston – W. Monkhouse (eds), *A Good Scribe and an Exceedingly Wise Man. Studies in Honour of W.J. Tait* (London: Golden House Publications, 2014), 127-155.

47 Interestingly, Pestman’s transcription looks suspiciously much like *iry-ꜥ3*, but he still opted for a reading *wn-pr*. The reading *iry-ꜥ3* with a house determinative seems to present no problem at all, for which see J.F. Quack – F. Hoffmann, “Pastophoros,” 139-140. The definitive study on the *iry-ꜥ3* in the New Kingdom—when they were not yet part of the funerary business—is M. Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern’ von Deir el-Medine,” in J.J. Janssen – E. Froid – M. Goecke-Bauer, *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers. Service Personnel of the Deir el-Medina Workmen* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2003), 63-153.

Postscript: After collation of the original in 1985, Dimitri Meeks was convinced that the number of aruras is (a damaged) 10. (Personal Communication).

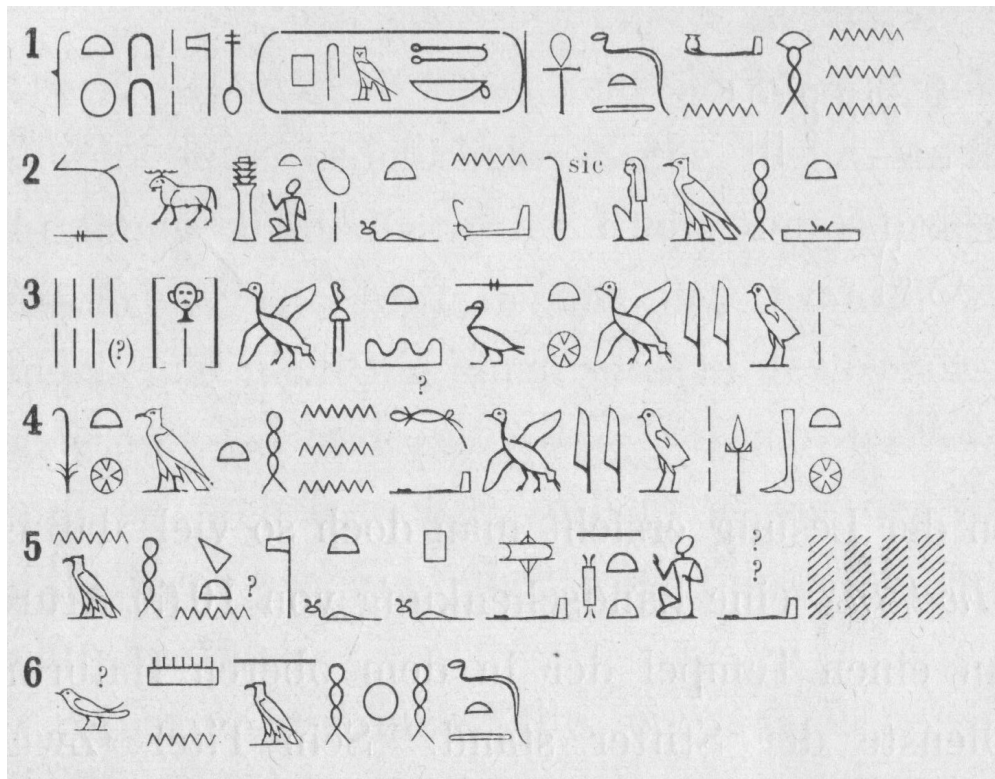


Figure 1. Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439 after W. Spiegelberg, “Neue Schenkungsstelen über Landstiftungen an Tempel,” *ZÄS* 56 (1920), 58-59 § IV and pl. VI

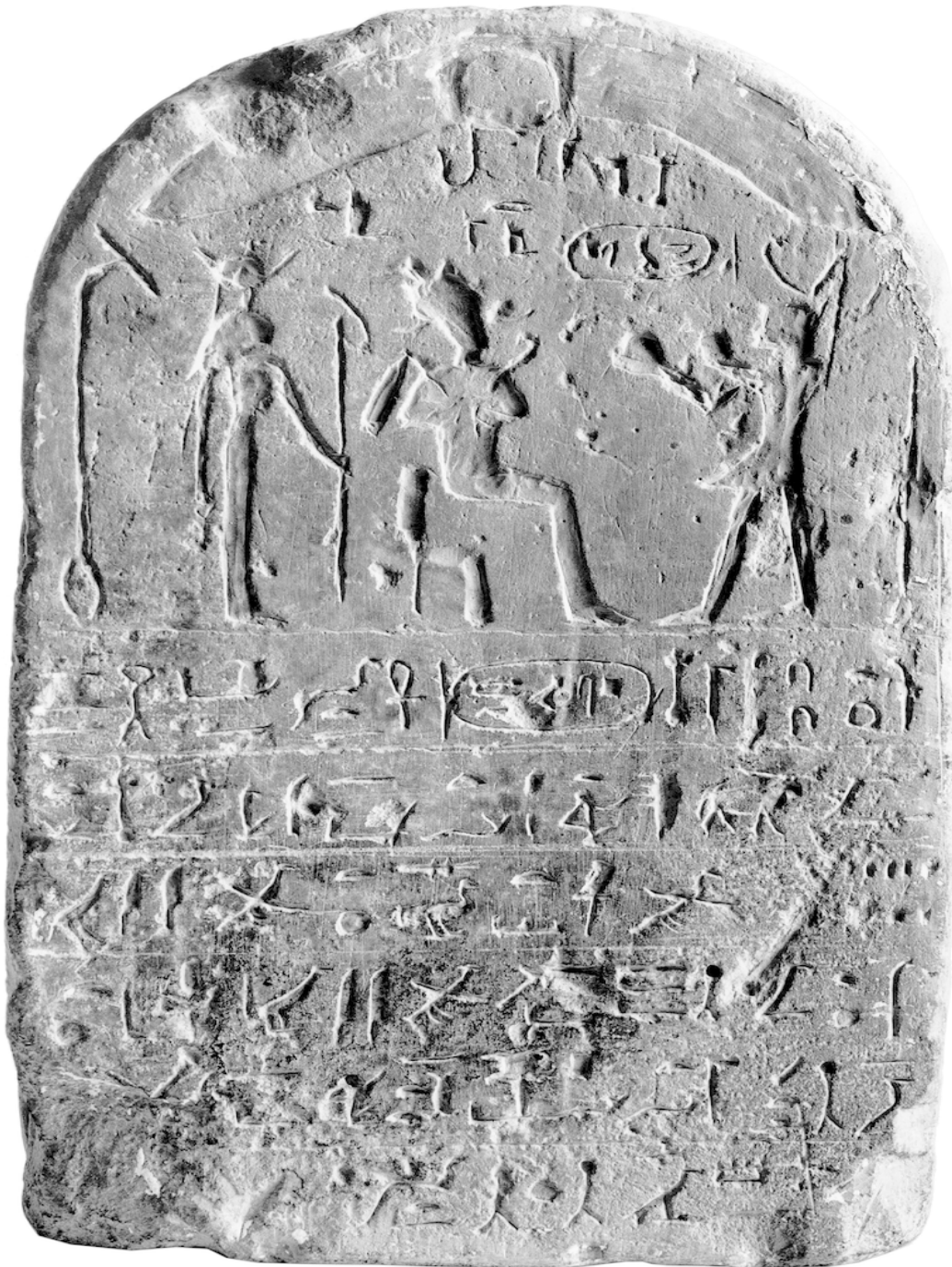


Figure 2. Stela Kestner Museum 1935,200,439
(c) Kestner Museum, Hannover)

Sinuhe Yet Again: Sinuhe and Moses¹

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Sally Katary in memoriam

Abstract: A discussion of the common elements of the ancient Egyptian story of Sinuhe and the narrative of Moses in the Hebrew Bible, and the appearance of similar motifs in folklore and in other works of ancient and modern literature.

Résumé: Cet article constitue une discussion sur les éléments communs entre le conte de Sinouhé et le récit de Moïse dans la Bible hébraïque et sur la présence de motifs similaires dans le folklore et autres oeuvres de la littérature ancienne et moderne.

Keywords/mots clés: Sinuhe/Sinouhé, Moses/Moïse, Hebrew Bible/Bible hébraïque, Joseph, Two Brothers/Conte des Deux frères, Homer/Homère, *Odyssey/L'Odyssee*, folklore, comparative literature/littérature comparée, H. Rider Haggard, Shakespeare, *Hamlet*

Sally Katary was very interested in ancient Egyptian stories, their intercultural connections and folkloric aspects. This was among many interests that we shared, and I dedicate this hypothetical reflection on two literary masterpieces, Sinuhe and the Bible – with a little Shakespeare thrown in, as well as the Classical literature that she loved so much and several modern novels – to her memory, in the hope that she would have enjoyed it, and enjoyed discussing it.

In two earlier papers² I have noted comparisons between Sinuhe and the Biblical Joseph narrative. There are also significant resonances with Moses. In Exodus 2:11-15, Moses sees an Egyptian beating a Hebrew, and, when he thinks no one is watching, he kills and buries the Egyptian. When Moses encounters two Hebrews fighting and remonstrates with the aggressor, the latter says to him, “Do you mean to kill me as you killed the Egyptian?” whereupon “Moses was frightened, and thought : Then the matter is known !” According to the text, he then “fled from the face of Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of

1 This is a revised version of a paper presented at the SSEA Scholars' Colloquium in Toronto, in November 2016.

2 E. S. Meltzer, “Sinuhe, Jonah and Joseph: Ancient ‘Far Travelers’ and the Power of God,” in J. Harold Ellens, *et al.*, ed., *God's Word for Our World (Simon John De Vries Fs.)*, vol. 2 (London: Clark/Continuum, 2004) 77-81, and *idem*, “In Search of Sinuhe: What's in a Name?” in *Apuntes de Egiptología*, New Series (online) 2 (2006).

Midian."³

The elements of furtiveness, guilt or guilty knowledge, fear, flight to a distant land, and killing are all reminiscent of Sinuhe. As Sinuhe is fleeing, to quote Jack Foster's translation, "I encountered a man who stood in my path, / and he showed me respect, for he was afraid."⁴ I thank Prof. Ronald J. Leprohon for pointing out that the Ashmolean Ostrakon gives *snd.n.i n.f* "and I was afraid of him."⁵ The likeness is affirmed by subsequent developments, when Moses is adopted into the Midianite family of the priest Jethro, one of whose daughters he marries, and he has a son (Exodus 2:20-22). As is the case with Sinuhe and the Asiatics he encounters, Moses, a product of the Egyptian court, appears to the Midianites as "an Egyptian" (v. 19).

After this paper was already written and submitted, it belatedly came to my attention that the basic resemblance between the plot of Sinuhe and the Moses narrative had already been briefly noted by Thomas E. Levy in the Foreword to Miroslav Bárta, *Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs*:

"Sinuhe's story is remarkably similar to that of Moses who fled Egypt after killing an Egyptian to the desert region of northern Arabia to live with the Midianites (Exodus 2: 11-12) and marry one of their daughters, Zipporah (Exodus 2: 15-22) enabling him to ascend to prominence."⁶

Since Prof. Levy does not go into any greater detail, I think that it is worthwhile to present a more extensive exploration of the ramifications of these observations, and of the convergences, divergences and ironies revealed by a comparison of the two works, as well as interfaces with other literature.

All three stories referenced thus far – Sinuhe, Joseph and Moses – embody recognizable folkloric elements. All of them are literary texts and the products of sophisticated literary activity, but this in no way precludes the incorporation of folklore, as is also the case with the Late Egyptian stories which Sally illuminated with her insights.⁷ It is also possible that we are seeing an instance of what both Georges Posener⁸ and Ronald J. Williams⁹ described as the role of Egypt as a creative force in the realm of folklore.

Having sketched out the essentials of my proposal, I shall now proceed to connect some of the dots and fill in some of the blanks. First, let us look at some major shared thematic and folkloric elements encompassing all three of the abovementioned stories (as

3 Quotations from the Hebrew Bible in this paper are taken from *Tanakh: A New Translation of the Holy Scriptures According to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 5746/1985).

4 John L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe* = MÄB 3, pp. 6, 41.

5 John W. B. Barns, *The Ashmolean Ostrakon of Sinuhe* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1952), recto, line 13.

6 Thomas E. Levy, Foreword in Miroslav Bárta, *Sinuhe, the Bible, and the Patriarchs* (Prague: Set Out, 2003), p. 5.

7 E.g., Sally L. D. Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale: Constructing the Social Context," *JSSEA* 24 (1994, published 1997= *R. J. Williams Gs.*) 39-70; *idem*, "Concerning Bata and the Doomed Prince: Their 'Afterlives' in the Classical Literature" *JSSEA* 42 (2015-2016 = *J. L. Foster Gs.*) 25-41.

8 "Literature," in James R. Harris, ed., *The Legacy of Egypt*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: OUP, 1971) 238.

9 "Ancient Egyptian Folk Tales," *UT Quarterly* 27.3 (April 1958) 256-272.

well as other major literary works, ancient and modern).

One very evocative motif is the return or reappearance of the protagonist after a considerable time interval, vastly changed or unrecognizable. When Sinuhe returns to the Egyptian court after many years have passed, he no longer resembles the Egyptian official who left; he returns looking like, or rather being, an Asiatic, prompting the incredulous exclamation, “It isn’t really he!”¹⁰ Another well-known example of this motif is the return of Odysseus to Ithaca in the *Odyssey*, in which Athena changes his appearance and gives him the semblance of advanced age to prevent his being recognized.¹¹ This is in addition to the natural aging which has taken place during his twenty years’ absence.

In the Joseph story, Joseph does not return to his childhood home in Canaan, but his brothers unknowingly follow his path abroad and encounter him as a powerful Egyptian official. They do not recognize him until he reveals himself to them.¹²

This motif is also utilized by H. Rider Haggard in his extremely interesting novel *Cleopatra* (which shows intriguing flashes of its author’s Egyptological knowledge), in which the Queen’s lover and nemesis, the Egyptian claimant Harmachis, returns, years later and much changed, as her physician Olympus.¹³ She does not recognize him until she has taken the poison and he exhorts her, “Look upon me, woman! . . . Look! Look! Who am I?”¹⁴ Another familiar example from modern literature is the novel by A. Dumas père, *The Count of Monte Cristo*, in which Edmond Dantès escapes from the Château d’If and returns with a new persona and identity.

A different elaboration of this motif appears in another Haggard novel, *Ayesha: The Return of “She.”* In this sequel, Ayesha – who, at the end of *She*, aged 2000 years in moments and apparently died when she entered the flame of immortality a second time – reappears as a withered ancient crone, but transforms back to the fullness of her beauty after Leo Vincey affirms his love and commitment to her and chooses her over her rival Atene, who is the reincarnation of his ancient lover Amenartas.¹⁵

10 Foster, *Thought Couplets*, pp. 33, 60.

11 Herbert Bates, trans., *The Odyssey of Homer*, School Edition (NY-London: Harper & Brothers 1929), pp. 178-179, 411.

12 Genesis 45:3-4.

13 Olympus was an actual historical personage (e.g. Duane W. Roller, *Cleopatra: A Biography* [Oxford: OUP 2010], index, s.v. “Olympos of Alexandria”), as was Harmachis, though his name is now read Harwennefer and Haggard has dislocated him chronologically to make him contemporary with Cleopatra; see Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt After the Pharaohs: 332 BC-AD 642* (U. of California 1986), p. 30; and Karl-Theodor Zauzich, “Neue Namen für die Könige Harmachis und Anchmachis,” *GM* 29 (1978) 157-158.

14 H. Rider Haggard, *Cleopatra: Being an Account of the Fall and Vengeance of Harmachis the Royal Egyptian as Set Forth by His Own Hand* (London: Harrap 1924) p. 307.

15 H. Rider Haggard, *Ayesha: The Return of “She”* (London: Ward, Lock & Co., n.d.), pp. 205-212. One cannot help raising one’s eyebrow at the book-jacket blurb that describes *Ayesha* as “a narrative as enthralling and realistic [*sic*] as anything that Haggard ever wrote.” One might be pardoned for thinking that works such as *A Farmer’s Year* and *A Gardener’s Year* are better candidates for the epithet “realistic.” For a comprehensive account of Haggard’s writings, see Morton Cohen, *Rider Haggard: His Life and Work*, 2nd ed., London: Macmillan 1968.

Turning now to Moses, when he returns to the Egyptian court, also after many years have passed, it is as an Asiatic, not recognizable as the Egyptian who had left Egypt and first encountered the Midianites. With regard to Moses' Egyptian persona, one aspect of the Biblical description that strikes me as very interesting is Moses' characterization of himself as "slow of speech and slow of tongue" (Exodus 4:10). This could well describe someone who grew up speaking Egyptian and learned Northwest Semitic/Hebrew as a second language – like Count Cavour, the great statesman of Italian unification, who grew up a Francophone and learned Italian as a second language.

This motif of the protagonist who returns many years later, much changed or unrecognizable, is tantalizingly reminiscent of the apparently analogous one of the protagonist who is repeatedly killed and returns transformed and resurrected, as Bata does in the Tale of the Two Brothers.¹⁶ After each resurrection, the transformed Bata reveals himself,¹⁷ though in the final instance – when he is born to his treacherous wife, now the queen of Egypt – he waits many years to do so, until he himself has succeeded as king.¹⁸ Following the common threads of the journeys of Sinuhe and Moses, it can be observed that in both cases, when the protagonist returns home (i.e., to Egypt), he is invited or summoned by a god. In Sinuhe's case, he is invited by the divine king Senwosret I, while Moses is called to return to Egypt by the God of Israel. Sinuhe and Moses both have profoundly heartfelt and visceral encounters with the deities who call them to return "home" and to fulfil their destinies – Sinuhe in his nearly desperate prayer to "whichever god decreed this flight"¹⁹, or, with Foster, "Lord of the gods, who occasioned this flight"²⁰ to hear his plea and bring him home, and his correspondence with the Good God, the divine king Senwosret I, and Moses in his harrowing encounter with the God of Israel in the theophany of the burning bush (Exodus 3:2ff).

Both Sinuhe and Moses have to undergo intense self-examination and severe soul-searching, and achieve the realization that they are ready and able to follow their destiny. Both of them experience powerful self-doubts that have to be surmounted. Sinuhe experiences this as he prepares for his combat with the Champion of Retjenu (which has often been compared to another Biblical episode, the fight between David and Goliath),²¹ and his rather Shakespearean soliloquizing betokens what Goedicke calls his "self-

16 For the latter, see Sally Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale," 41, 50-52, 64 n. 8; and *idem*, "Concerning Bata and the Doomed Prince," 33-35; Susan Tower Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers": The Oldest Fairy Tale in the World* (Norman-London: U. of Oklahoma 1990), 17, 21, 184 n. 13, 185 n. 31, 187 n. 70, 247 n. 155; to which should be added R. J. Williams, "Ancient Egyptian Folk Tales."

17 Sally Katary, "The Two Brothers as Folktale," 50-51.

18 E.g., Edward F. Wente's translation in W. K. Simpson, ed., *The Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 3rd ed. (New Haven-London: Yale U. Press 2003), pp. 88-90.

19 Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, p. 228.

20 J. L. Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe* = MÄB 3, pp. 20, 51.

21 E.g., Günter Lanczkowski, "Die Geschichte vom Riesen Golith und der Kampf Sinuhes mit dem Starken von Retenu," *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 214-218.

realization”.²² Sinuhe seems to reach a point of resolve, acceptance and readiness that to me at least resembles Hamlet’s reflections as he prepares for his fencing match with Laertes²³:

“Not a whit. We defy augury. There’s a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, it is not to come. If it be not to come, it will be now. If it be not now, yet it will come. The readiness is all.”

This seems to me to resonate strongly with Sinuhe’s reflection,²⁴

“Is God ignorant of what he has started (or ordained – ESM)?
It is a matter of ‘How can one know?’”

Sinuhe is now ready for the combat and for the unfolding of the rest of his drama. Moses expresses self-doubt after self-doubt and protests his unfitness and unpreparedness for the challenges and contingencies that he will face (Exodus 3-4). In fact, he comes across as one who “protests too much” -- a characterization that Vincent Tobin and I have both suggested can apply to Sinuhe.²⁵ Before Moses has the inner readiness to proceed, his God has to address all of his objections and “what ifs.”

Although this is a more minor point, or it may be “pushing it” to point to it as a parallel, both the Sinuhe and Moses narratives involve a royal succession or transition between two Egyptian kings. The narrative portion of Sinuhe begins with the death of Amenemhet I and succession of his son Senwosret I, which is perhaps underscored by the use of flying falcon imagery to describe both the death/ascent of Amenemhet and the hurried and secret departure of Senwosret with his followers, unbeknownst to the rest of his army.²⁶ In the Exodus narrative, while Moses is living in Midian, the reigning Pharaoh

22 Hans Goedicke, “Sinuhe’s Self-Realization (Sinuhe B 113-127),” *ZÄS* 117 (1990) 129-139.

23 *Hamlet*, Act 5, scene 2, lines 157-161, *The Norton Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (2008), p. 1779. For a very insightful and informative discussion of Hamlet’s internal conflicts, and how these evolved with Shakespeare’s revisions of the play, see James Shapiro, *A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare: 1599* (NY: HarperCollins 2005), Chapters 14-15.

24 Foster, *Thought Couplets in The Tale of Sinuhe*, pp. 17, 49, lines 274-275.

25 Vincent Arie Tobin, “The Secret of Sinuhe,” *JARCE* 32 (1995) 161-178; E. S. Meltzer, “In Search of Sinuhe,” *Apuntes NS* 2 (2006). A provocative reading in which Sinuhe and Senwosret are complicit in the events of the succession and “Senwosret is implicated in the reasons for Sinuhe’s flight” has been proposed by Cory L. Wade, “Sinuhe and Senwosret: A Tale of Shared Secrets,” paper presented at the Annual Meeting of ARCE in Portland, OR, April 2014, abstract in the program book, p. 84.

26 For the importance of this *inclusio* in the literary structure of Sinuhe, see Foster, *Thought Couplets*, pp. 3-5, 39-40, 98; E. S. Meltzer, “Jack Foster – A Continuing Conversation,” *JSSEA* 42 (2015-2016 = *Foster Gs.*) 20 with n. 16. We are not dealing here with the question of a coregency, which, if it existed, would mean that Senwosret I succeeded to sole rule. For a view favoring a coregency, see Wolfram Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt* (London: Duckworth 2006), pp. 33-34; for a skeptical view, see Gae Callender, “The Middle Kingdom,” in Ian Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: OUP

dies and a new Pharaoh succeeds to the throne (Exodus 2:23).

As Sinuhe and Moses pursue their respective destinies, their paths, though parallel in some ways, diverge ironically in others. Both protagonists return to Egypt for an encounter with a Pharaoh, one to profess his loyalty and devotion and to be reunited with the royal family he abandoned, the other to express defiance and to announce the opposition of the will of another god to that of Pharaoh. And ultimately, Sinuhe's sovereign grants him the gift of a fine tomb in the royal necropolis and a statue overlaid with gold and electrum,²⁷ while Moses is denied entry into his Promised Land.

2000), p. 160.

²⁷ In this connection, some mention should be made of the intriguing proposal that when Sinuhe returns, or is returned, to Egypt, he is already dead: Strother Purdy, "Sinuhe and the Question of Literary Types," *ZÄS* 104 (1977) 12-37, though I do not personally find it convincing. This would make the Sinuhe story an ancient counterpart to Ambrose Bierce's "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge" and Robert W. Chambers' "The Key to Grief."

Aegyptiaca in Archaic Sicily

Kate Minniti

Abstract: Between the eighth and the sixth centuries BCE, the Western Mediterranean was fervent with activities, as traders and settlers coming from the eastern part of the sea started sailing those waters. In this complex system of networks, the circulation of goods and people was also accompanied by the spreading of ideas and practices. My research analyzes how certain types of small Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts were functionally embedded in the social and religious life of Sicilian settlements during the Archaic Period, the objects' provenance, and the different ways in which they were used in Phoenician and Greek contexts. I have restricted my analysis to three of the wealthiest cities that had well-established trading relationships with the Near East, and that also housed some important sanctuaries of Greek and Phoenician deities: the powerful Greek city of Syrakousai on the east coast; the westernmost of the Greek *poleis*, Selinous; and the Phoenician city of Motya, on the western side of the island.

Résumé: Entre le huit et le sixième siècles av. J.-C., la Méditerranée occidentale était fervente avec les activités. Dans cette époque, les commerçants et les colons venant de la partie orientale de la mer ont commencé à naviguer dans ces eaux. Dans ce système de réseau complexe, la circulation des biens et des personnes il accompagnait également par la diffusion des idées et de pratiques. Ma recherche analyse comment certains types d'artefacts égyptiens étaient fonctionnellement intégrés dans la vie sociale et religieuse des établissements siciliens pendant la période archaïque, la provenance des objets, et les différentes façons dont ils ont été utilisés dans les contextes phénicien et grec. J'ai limité mon analyse à trois des les villes plus riches qui avaient des relations commerciales bien établies avec le Proche-Orient, et qui et qu'abritaient également des sanctuaires importants des divinités grecques et phéniciennes. Ces sont la puissante ville grecque de Syrakousai sur la côte Est; la plus à l'ouest du *poleis* grecques, Selinous; et la ville phénicienne de Motya, du côté ouest de l'île.

Keywords: Sicily/Sicile, Archaic Period/Époque archaïque, trade/commerce, Egyptian imports/importations égyptiennes, faience/faïence, Syrakousai, Selinous, Motya.

Trading networks and routes in the Western Mediterranean.

By the 7th century BCE Sicily had become a focal point for trade, as it was at the center of two major commercial routes that crossed the sea between Carthage, Sicily, and Sardinia (Figure 1). One was the northern route, which followed the coast of Turkey, touched the Cyclades and Greece, and proceeded to Sardinia and the Balearic Islands, after touching Southern Italy and Sicily. The other was the southern route, running along the northern coast of Africa from the Nile Delta to the Levant, and bifurcating from Carthage to the Balearic Islands on one side, and to trading ports beyond Gibraltar on the other.¹ Sicily was in a pivotal position for both routes, as the primary currents in the Mediterranean make it one of the main landing points during the crossing of the sea in both directions.²

Trading routes and cities were frequented by people of different ethnicities who came into contact with one another. These relationships were quite heterogeneous: different groups could cooperate with each other, limit their contacts to the exchange of goods, or be openly at war. However, the three scenarios were not mutually exclusive: it would have been more advantageous for all the parties involved to initially benefit from one another through trade, alliances, and intermarriage, in a “middle ground” of sorts,³ which is plausibly the main reason why early Greek settlers were able to establish cities in Sicily that were flourishing within a century from their foundation.⁴ Consequently, Greek and Phoenician settlements on the coasts of Sicily became numerous and prosperous, being gateways for the distribution of goods throughout the rest of the Mediterranean.⁵

In this system of networks, that lasted roughly until the 6th century BCE,⁶ the

1 The existence of a route connecting Egypt to Carthage through Cyrenaica was proposed by J. Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1954) and recently doubted by Cyprian Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 446-447 and 504-505.

2 Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies, and Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 156-158.

3 Richard White, *The Middle Ground* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), xxvi defines the middle ground as ‘the place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages.’ See also p. 52: ‘The middle ground depended on the inability of both sides to gain their ends through force. The middle ground grew according to the need of people to find a means, other than force, to gain the cooperation or consent of foreigners. To succeed, those who operated on the middle ground had, of necessity, to attempt to understand the world and the reasoning of others and to assimilate enough of that reasoning to put it to their own purposes.’

4 Franco De Angelis, “Re-assessing the earliest social and economic development in Greek Sicily”, in *Bullettino dell’Istituto Archeologico Germanico* (Rome: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 2010), 116, 21-22 and 42; Jonathan Hall, *Hellenicity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 97-103.

5 Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, “Storia sociale”, in *Sikanie, storia e civiltà della Sicilia greca* (Milan: Garzanti, 1968), 13-15; Maria Eugenia Aubet, *The Phoenicians and the West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 138; Vincenzo Tusa, “Sicily”, in *The Phoenicians* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2000), 186-187.

6 Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea*, 601-605; Michael Sommer, “Shaping Mediterranean economy

circulation of goods and people was also accompanied by the spreading of ideas and practices. Greeks, Phoenicians, and natives seem to have blended together to a certain extent, resulting in new material culture and religious practices that integrated elements from all of the originating groups.⁷ Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts may be an interesting addition to this phenomenon: they belong to none of the groups involved, and yet they had been imported since the time of the foundation of the first permanent settlements in Sicily, and have been found in Greek, Phoenician, and native sites alike (Figure 2).

The city of Motya functioned as a sorting center from which Egyptian and Egyptianizing artifacts could go to Carthage on one side, and to Sardinia and the Balearic Islands on the other.⁸ However, the Phoenicians' involvement does not fully explain the presence of said objects in the eastern part of Sicily, so that it is plausible that the Greeks had links to Egypt and the Aegean as well. It follows that they must have had their own sorting center on the eastern side of the island; the most plausible candidate is undoubtedly Syrakousai, which was not only importing *aegyptiaca* since the seventh century BCE but was also spreading them in its area of commercial influence, which included both Greek and indigenous cities (such as Villasmundo and Monte Finocchito, in whose necropoleis archaeologists have discovered around 25 imported scarabs).⁹ A similar role seems to have been played by Selinous, whose privileged position in between Phoenician and Greek zones of influence allowed the city to increase its wealth by becoming a gate for trade between the two worlds.¹⁰ It was only in the sixth century BCE that a production of Egyptianizing objects started in Carthage and found its way to Sicilian markets.¹¹

The main purpose of this article is then to investigate how Egyptian artifacts were

and trade”, in *Material culture and social identities in the ancient world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 134.

7 Sommer, “Shaping Mediterranean economy”, 129-130; Carla M. Antonaccio, “(Re)defining ethnicity: culture, material culture, and identity”, in *Material culture and social identities in the ancient world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 34-36; Hall, *Hellenicity*, 90-124; Irad Malkin, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 143-171; Corinne Bonnet, “Greeks and Phoenicians in the Western Mediterranean”, in *A companion to ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean* (Chichester, West Sussex: Blackwell, 2014), 329-336; David Mattingly, “Cultural crossover: global and local identities in the classical world”, in *Material culture and social identities in the ancient world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 287-288; Bernard Knapp and Peter van Dommelen, *Material Connections in the Ancient Mediterranean: Mobility, Materiality and Identity* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 4-5.

8 Sabatino Moscati, “Fenici e Greci in Sicilia: alle origini di un confronto”, in *Kokalos* (Pisa-Roma: Serra, 1984), 30-31, 18-19; Sabatino Moscati, “Dall’Egitto a Cartagine”, *Dall’Egitto a Cartagine. Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (Pisa: Giardini, 1985) 356-357.

9 Gunther Hölbl, “I rapporti culturali della Sicilia orientale con l’Egitto in età arcaica visti attraverso gli Aegyptiaca del territorio siracusano”, in *La Sicilia antica nei rapporti con l’Egitto. Atti del Convegno intern., Siracusa 1999* (Siracusa: «Quaderni del Museo del Papiro» X, 2001), 33; Manuel Martinez, *I manufatti egizi ed egittizzanti in Sicilia* (PhD diss., Alma Mater Studiorum-Università di Bologna 2013), catalogue nn. 530-542 and 565-567.

10 Pugliese Carratelli, “Storia Sociale”, 14.

11 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 30-31.

functionally embedded in the social and religious life of three major settlements in Sicily. An underlying question could be whether the imports were used in different ways in Phoenician and Greek cities, and whether they were indicators of changes in religious practices.

Given the considerably broad horizon of the topic, I have chosen to restrict my analysis to only three settlements in Sicily: the Greek *polis* of Syrakousai, the Phoenician city of Motya, and Selinous. These cities were nodal points where people from different cultures came into contact and exchanged goods, practices, and ideas, and worshipped together. This also implies that different realities and cultures were interconnected on a complex level inside the same cities. Consequently, cults, practices, and objects belonging to specific ethnic groups opened to others as well: Greeks, Phoenicians, and locals were sharing at least some temples and objects, especially luxury goods (e.g. pottery and gems). At the same time, they seem to have also imported objects from foreign cultures, such as Egyptian scarabs and amulets.

Methodology

In this study I examine scarabs, vessels, amulets, amulet cases, bronze figurines, gems, and funerary figurines (shawabtis). One class of objects that are not man-made but need to be included are Cypraea shells. Their use as amulets is documented since the Predynastic period in Egypt,¹² where they seem to have been connected with the protection of women,¹³ and later in Carthage, where amulets imitating the shape of the shells have also been found.¹⁴

Statues, larger objects, and terracotta figurines (such as those from the Motya *tophet*) will not be treated in this study, as they do not belong to the typical ‘set’ of luxury imports that has parallels almost everywhere around the Mediterranean during the Archaic period.¹⁵ Whenever the ‘objects’ or *aegyptiaca* are referred to, they belong to the aforementioned types, unless otherwise specified.

Of a total of 120 artifacts dating from the Egyptian nineteenth dynasty (ca. 1292-1189 BCE) to the last years of the sixth century BCE, there is at least some information about the findspot and context of 102 objects (Figure 3). While the percentage seems reasonably high, approximately 85%, the degree of precision for such data is much lower (Figure 4). Some pieces and their contexts have been accurately measured, described, compared with other pieces, and when possible photographed which were published both in the original reports and in later studies. Others have no record of their original context, or of other

12 Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1994), 4, 102, 107.

13 William M. Flinders Petrie, *Amulets: Illustrated by the Egyptian Collection in University College, London* (London: Constable, 1914), 27-28.

14 Jean Vercoutter, *Les Objets Égyptiens et Égyptisants du Mobilier Funéraire Carthaginois* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1945), 201-204, 279.

15 Corinna Riva, “The Culture of Urbanization in the Mediterranean c.800–600 BC”, in *Mediterranean Urbanization 800-600 BC* (Oxford: British Academy, 2005), British Academy Scholarship Online, 2012. doi: 10.5871/bacad/9780197263259.003.0010.

objects found in the same spot that might have helped the analysis. Scarabs account for roughly 45% of the artifacts, followed by amulets, ca. 37.5%, and by vessels and shawabtis accounting for 8% each, while the number of other objects is decidedly lower (Figure 5).

The degree of precision of the documentation varies between eastern and western Sicily. The modern city of Siracusa is directly on top of the ancient settlement, so that there are limited possibilities for excavating without disrupting the life of the city, which results in less information about the broader context, a problem already stressed by Orsi in 1918 in his publication on the Athenaion.¹⁶ On the other hand Motya, which is uninhabited, has been extensively excavated and published since 1906, first by J. Whitaker and then by several European institutions. Similarly, Selinous has been excavated since 1809. However, I have chosen to include Syrakousai in my analysis because it provides evidence for the presence and use of Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects in large Greek cities on the Eastern side of Sicily, and it will help to build a more complete picture of the variations or common patterns in the use of the artifacts between the two sides of the island.

The objects

Motya

The distribution in Motya shows a prevalence of amulets among the objects (31 in total, 47%), followed by scarabs (26 total, 39.5%), four shawabtis, two vessels, two silver pendants and an amulet case (Figure 6). Almost all the scarabs, apart from one recovered in a votive pit in the area of the sacred basin, the so-called *Kothon*, have been discovered in the two necropoleis of Motya, one on the land on the coast of Sicily, in the district of Birgi, and one on northern part of the island, where the shawabtis and the vessel have been unearthed as well (Figure 7). The preferred materials for the scarabs are faience and steatite, along with some examples made of jasper, talc paste, and fritware. The dates of the scarabs vary from the seventh to the sixth century BCE: the one discovered in the *Kothon* area seems to be the earliest, while the pieces from Birgi are all slightly later, and the scarabs from the northern necropolis date to the full sixth century BCE.

The amulets seem to have been produced in the sixth century BCE as well, and they consist of a variety of the most common Egyptian and Egyptianizing themes. There are Egyptian gods such as Anubis, Taweret, Horus, and Ptah; symbols for protection, like hands or the eye of Horus; and animals, including rams, baboons, falcons, and cobras.

The one scarab discovered in the *Kothon* area has been found in association with sixth century BCE pottery, especially wine amphorae, imported from the Eastern Mediterranean (Cyprus), so it is tempting to interpret it as part of a series of ‘exotic’ votive offerings interred in the sacred area to please the local deities, in this case Baal ‘Addir (Poseidon)

16 Paolo Orsi, “Gli scavi intorno all’ Athenaion di Siracusa negli anni 1912-17”, *Monumenti antichi* XXV (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1918), 353. For a summary of previous excavations, see Giuseppe Voza, *Siracusa 1999: lo scavo archeologico di Piazza Duomo* (Palermo-Siracusa: Arnaldo Lombardi, 1999), 7-9.

and Ishtar.¹⁷ However, the other objects whose context is known show a different use. The tombs in the archaic necropolis consist of the ashes of the deceased, contained in an amphora or between stone slabs, and a set of grave goods that seem to have been standardized. All of the scarabs have been discovered together with locally-made oinochoai, bottles, stone vases, plates, chalices, and in one case with items of jewelry as well.¹⁸

There are no other imported objects in the specific burials containing the scarabs, but Protocorinthian pottery has been discovered in coeval tombs in the same necropolis, so that we cannot rule out the possibility that Greek and Egyptian imports may have been together in assemblages of grave goods in tombs that have not been documented. Moreover, all the scarabs found in the necropolis on the island were mounted on silver rings, while the ones coming from the Birgi necropolis seem to have been used as amulets instead.

Selinous

The situation is different in Selinous, where the core of the objects consists of amulets and figurines, followed by scarabs and a single faience vessel (Figure 8). The amulets comprise representations of animals, namely a falcon, a rooster, a bull, five shell-shaped pendants (imitating the appearance of *Cypraea* shells), and anthropomorphic beings (e.g. Isis lactans and a double flute player). Of the two scarabs, one is made of white steatite, while the other one is a faience scaraboid. All the artifacts are not later than the first half of the sixth century BCE, and most of them, apart from the scarabs and three amulets, have been identified as dating to as early as the seventh century BCE.

Almost half of the objects (the Isis pendant, the falcon, the rooster, the auletes, and the vessel) have been discovered in the extra-urban sanctuary of Malophoros, near to the Archaic and Classic necropolis of Manicalunga (in which the scarabs have been found). In the first publication of the sanctuary of Malophoros, Gabrici noted that there were numerous fragments of faience vessels and amulets, so that the number of imports was certainly higher than the current data indicates.¹⁹ Another Archaic necropolis, Galera-Bagliazzo, was placed north-east of the Manuzza hill, and it is the findspot of the five shell-shaped pendants, discovered in the tombs of female individuals.²⁰ Lastly, in 2012 a faience

17 Ingrid Melandri, "Uno scarabeo in Egyptian blue dalla Favissa F.2950 nell'area sacra del Kothon", in *Alle sorgenti del Kothon. Il rito a Mozia nell'Area sacra di Baal 'Addir - Poseidon* (Rome: Missione Archaeologica a Mozia, 2012), 18.

18 Vincenzo Tusa, "La Necropoli Arcaica e Adiacenze. Lo Scavo Del 1970", in *Mozia - VII. Rapporto Preliminare Della Missione Congiunta Con La Soprintendenza Alle Antichità Della Sicilia Occidentale (Studi Semitici, 40)* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1972), tomb 24. Vincenzo Tusa, "La necropoli arcaica e adiacenze. Relazione preliminare degli scavi eseguiti a Mozia negli anni 1972, 1973, 1974", in *Mozia - IX. Rapporto Preliminare Della Missione Congiunta Con La Soprintendenza Alle Antichità Della Sicilia Occidentale (Studi Semitici, 50)* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1978), tombs n. 69, 95, 98, 115, 118, 143.

19 Ettore Gabrici, "Il santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte", *Monumenti Antichi XXXII* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1927), 377-379.

20 Giulia Sfameni Gasparro, *I Culti Orientali in Sicilia* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), 198-199; Martinez, *I Manufatti*

pendant in the shape of an Apis bull has been unearthed on the acropolis, in the Archaic phase of Temple R (Figure 9).²¹

The context in which the artifacts have been discovered is quite interesting. The sanctuary of Malophoros was the most important extra-urban religious center, and it was used not only by the culturally Greek inhabitants of Selinous, but also by indigenous people. The plethora of objects discovered in the sanctuary is vast: there are terracotta figurines, both Greek and locally manufactured, jewels, weapons, and ivory pieces, some imported from the Eastern Mediterranean, along with imported alabastra. The array of pottery is even greater: scholars have found vessels coming from Ionia, Attica, the Peloponnese, Corinth, Rhodes, Chalkis, and even Naukratis, along with examples of indigenous vases coming from the hinterland.²² The same classes of objects and pottery have been found also in Temple R, on the acropolis, along with some examples of Etruscan bucchero.²³ The tombs in the necropoleis have sets of grave goods containing Greek, locally produced, and oriental objects as well. *Aegyptica* in Selinous are then part of a variegated plethora of objects coming not only from different parts of Sicily and Italy, but also from the Eastern Mediterranean.

Syrakousai

Lastly, Syrakousai has yet another distribution pattern. Scarabs are prominent again, with a total of 25 examples (Figure 10). Almost half of them have been discovered in the Fusco cemetery, situated in the district of Achradina in the north-western part of the city, which includes tombs dating from the eighth to the second century BCE (Figure 12). Two of the scarabs are made of steatite, while the others are equally divided between faience and ‘pastiglia’, three of which were mounted on silver rings. The objects associated with them²⁴ and stylistic analysis have resulted in dates from the second half of the eighth to the first of the sixth centuries BCE.

In addition, three seventh century BCE faience vessels have been found in the necropolis, and, roughly from the same time period, are scarabs and faience vessels discovered in the foundation pits of two major temples of the city, the Athenaion and the Artemision. Additionally, a white faience scarab from the Achradina agora, an amulet case, and three shawabti, whose exact findspot is unknown, were discovered. Another shawabti,

Egizi ed Egittizzanti, 176-181, 192-193.

21 IFA Excavations at Selinunte. Summary of Excavation Results, 2012, 3.

URL: <https://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/academics/selinunte/selinunte-report-2012.htm>

22 Gabrici, *Malophoros*, 203-379.

23 Clemente Marconi-Valeria Tardo-Caterina Trombi, “The Archaic Pottery from the Institute of Fine Arts Excavations in the Main Urban Sanctuary on the Akropolis of Selinunte”, in *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption: Networking and the Formation of Elites in the Archaic Western Mediterranean World. Proceedings of the International Conference in Innsbruck, 20th–23rd of March 2012* (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2015), 332.

24 Paolo Orsi, “Gli scavi nella Necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa”, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Roma: Monumenti Antichi dell’Accademia dei Lincei, 1985), 164, 145, 147.

whose date seems to be the thirteenth century BCE, is currently exhibited in the local museum, but its findspot is unknown.²⁵ One more scarab in ‘pastiglia’, dating to the sixth century BCE, has been discovered in the Giardini di Spagna necropolis in Achradina.²⁶

The scarabs and vessels were the only *aegyptiaca* found in otherwise completely Greek contexts. The artifacts discovered in the Athenaion and Artemision going from pre-Hellenic times to the Archaic Period included lithic objects, Geometric Greek pottery, of which some pieces were imported from the Aegean, local undecorated pottery, Protocorinthian pottery, terracotta figurines, bronze and iron jewelry, weapons, and ivory and bone artifacts.²⁷ The situation is the same for the tombs, which are all burials in which the bodies have been arranged in sarcophagi or stone slabs, following Greek customs. The scarabs were part of assemblages of grave goods which usually included Greek pottery (mainly Protocorinthian and Corinthian), fibulae, and some jewelry.²⁸

Production, comparanda, common patterns

Although the context of many objects has been lost and it is not possible to determine the exact location of production for every piece, it is nevertheless possible to make some general observations based on the evidence collected thus far. For example, there seems to be a prevalence of imported goods, since most of the objects have close parallels discovered in Egypt (particularly in Naukratis) and in the Levant.²⁹ Some artifacts do not seem to have comparanda from the Near East, but the absence of evidence does not make a strong enough argument in favour of local production. It is also possible that molds were imported from Egypt (Naukratis), but for now there is no evidence of such production in the Western Mediterranean.

Although it has been argued that the majority of scarabs discovered in Sicily were not actually Egyptian products but rather Phoenician imitations,³⁰ other studies suggest

25 Sfameni Gasparro, *I culti Orientali*, 183.

26 Andree Feghali Gorton, *Egyptian and Egyptianizing Scarabs: A Typology of Steatite, Faience and Paste Scarabs from Punic and other Mediterranean Sites* (Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2000), 10, 36, 47; Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 314-332.

27 Orsi, *Athenaion*, 500-603.

28 See Orsi, “Gli Scavi nella Necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa”, 458; “Nuove Scoperte nella Necropoli del Fusco”, in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Roma: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1894), 152; “Gli scavi nella necropoli del Fusco a Siracusa: nell’anno 1893”, in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Roma: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1895), 109-192; “Di Alcune Necropoli Secondarie di Siracusa”, in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Roma: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1897), 471-473; “Siracusa”, in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Roma: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1915), 187-189; “Nuova Necropoli Greca dei Secoli VII-VI”, in *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (Roma: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, 1925).

29 Lorenzo Guzzardi, “Importazioni dal Vicino Oriente in Sicilia Fino all’Età Orientalizzante”, *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Rome: Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo Antico, 1991), 941-942, 950-952; Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 30-31.

30 Gunther Hölbl, “Problemi fondamentali della ricerca degli Aegyptiaca nell’Italia arcaica”, in *L’Egitto in Italia dall’Antichità al Medioevo* (Roma: N. Bonacasa u.a., 1998), 271-272; Hölbl, “I rapporti culturali”, 36-37.

that the opposite may be true, and that Sicily had more importance in the trade of Egyptian objects than previously assumed.³¹ The main identifiable groups of artifacts are the ones possibly coming from the workshops of Naukratis, along with scarabs produced elsewhere in Egypt, and several Levantine and Aegean imitations of Egyptian types.³²

Some notable examples of these can be found in the three cities considered in this study. The two scarabs unearthed in Selinous seem to be of Naukratite production, according to the analysis of their iconography and the comparison with similar examples from Rhodes.³³ Other imports seemingly coming from Naukratis are one scarab discovered in the Giardini di Spagna necropolis in Syrakousai,³⁴ as well as several others unearthed in the archaic necropoleis and the *Kothon* area in Motya.³⁵ Objects possibly produced in other Egyptian locations include scarabs from the agora, the Athenaion and the Fusco necropolis in Syrakousai,³⁶ and the necropoleis at Motya.³⁷ The last category is represented by some faience scarabs whose design indicates that they were inspired by Egyptian motifs but crafted in the Levant, the Aegean, or even Carthage.³⁸

All the faience vessels seem to be imported: the ovoidal ones found in Motya and Syrakousai could be Cypriot productions, while the unguentarium from Selinous and the two from Syrakousai were plausibly imports from Naukratis. Out of the three shawabti from Motya, the one in terracotta could be an imitation of types produced in Egypt during the Saite Period.³⁹ To the same style belong the other two faience statuettes from Motya,

31 Sabatino Moscati, *Problematica della civiltà fenicia* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1974), 15-47; Adriana Fresina, "Amuleti del Museo J. Whitaker di Mozia", in *Sicilia Archeologica* 43 (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1980), 29; Guzzardi, "Importazioni dal Vicino Oriente", 949-950; Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 59-62.

32 Feghali Gorton, *Scarabs*, 1-5; Guzzardi, "Importazioni dal Vicino Oriente", 944-948; Hölbl, "Problemi fondamentali", 271-272.

33 Cfr. Giulio Jacopi, "Scavi nelle necropoli Camiresi, 1929 -30", in *Clara Rhodos IV* (Bergamo: Officine dell'Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche, 1931), 325 n. 1 and 326 Figure 362.

34 Guzzardi, "Importazioni dal Vicino Oriente", 946.

35 Gabriella Matthiae Scandone, "Materiali Egizi ed Egittizzanti del Museo di Mozia", in *Rivista di Studi Fenici*, vol. 3 (Roma: Serra, 1975), nn. 1, 2, 6; "Gli Scarabei della necropoli Arcaica", in *Mozia - IX. Rapporto Preliminare Della Missione Congiunta Con La Soprintendenza Alle Antichità Della Sicilia Occidentale (Studi Semitici, 50)* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1978), nn. 2, 5, 6, 8; Melandri, "Uno scarabeo in Egyptian blue".

36 Guzzardi, "Importazioni dal Vicino Oriente", 945-950.

37 Gabriella Matthiae Scandone, "Gli Scarabei Egizi ed Egittizzanti delle Necropoli di Mozia", in *Mozia - VII. Rapporto Preliminare Della Missione Congiunta Con La Soprintendenza Alle Antichità Della Sicilia Occidentale (Studi Semitici, 40)* (Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1972), nn. 1-5; "Materiali Egizi ed Egittizzanti del Museo di Mozia", nn. 4-5; "Gli Scarabei della necropoli Arcaica", n. 4

38 Matthiae Scandone, "Gli Scarabei Egizi ed Egittizzanti delle Necropoli di Mozia", nn. 6-7; (1975) n. 3; "Gli Scarabei della necropoli Arcaica", n. 7.

39 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 71; Matthiae Scandone (1975), "Materiali egiziani ed egittizzanti del Museo di Mozia", 72-73; cfr. Luana Poma "Amuleti, scarabei e statuette ushabti", in *Il Museo Regionale "A. Pepoli" di Trapani. Le collezioni archeologiche* (Bari: Edipuglia, 2009), 293-294 n. 19-20.

along with three more shawabtis from Syrakousai, as indicated by their features and the fact that the inscribed hieroglyphs are correct.⁴⁰

Some amulets seem not to have been necessarily imported from Egypt.⁴¹ The features of some examples, inspired by pharaonic prototypes but extremely simplified and not as skillfully executed, need an explanation. One possibility might be that these less refined objects were produced by Phoenician craftsmen for patrons who lived in the zones of Carthaginian influence,⁴² but up to this day there is no definitive archaeological evidence for factories of *aegyptiaca* in Phoenician cities in the Western Mediterranean. On the other hand, we cannot completely rule out the evidence in favor of an Egyptian production, such as the presence of direct parallels discovered in the Near East.⁴³

It is worth mentioning that in Syrakousai, among the seventh and sixth-century objects, there seem to be a few authentic Egyptian antiquities. A faience shawabti belonging to the *wab*-priest⁴⁴ Teti,⁴⁵ as well as a steatite scarab inscribed with the crown name of Ramesses II,⁴⁶ and a globular vase decorated with a scene depicting the same king presenting offerings to the goddess Hathor,⁴⁷ can all be dated to the nineteenth dynasty (ca. 1292-1189 BCE).

To sum up, there are comparanda in Egypt and the Near East for all types of artifacts analyzed in this study. The fact that some of them appear to be less refined than others suggests that they might have been mass-produced in Egypt by factories in the Delta, which hegemonized the production and export of faience objects between the seventh and sixth centuries BCE.⁴⁸ In particular, it has been noted how Sicily was a pivotal point for the distribution of objects coming from the eastern Mediterranean (especially from Naukratis), and that Egyptian themes had already arrived in Motya independently from the cultural filter of Carthage.⁴⁹ Even though it seems plausible that at a later point in time Phoenician craftsmen may have started a conveniently cheaper local production of *aegyptiaca* to answer a growing demand between the inhabitants of Western Sicily, the evidence for the Archaic Period strongly suggests that there was direct contact between Sicily and Egypt.

40 Matthiae Scandone, “Materiali Egizi ed Egittizzanti del Museo di Mozia”, 72-73; Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 326-329; cfr. Percy E. Newberry, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire [vol.86]. N° 46530-48273 Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi. Fasc. I.* (Cairo: Le Caire Impr. de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1930), and William M. Flinders Petrie, “Funeral figures in Egypt”, in *Ancient Egypt* 3 (London: EES, 1916), 151-162.

41 *Contra*: Vercoutter, *Les objets égyptiens et égyptisants*, 282-283.

42 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 34-35.

43 *Idem*, 30-31.

44 The lowest-ranking title for priests entrusted with taking care of the temple complex and performing basic rituals or mundane tasks. See Mark, J. J. (2017, March 07). “Clergy, Priests & Priestesses in Ancient Egypt.” *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. Retrieved from <https://www.ancient.eu/article/1026/>.

45 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 329, cat. 476 (with bibliography).

46 Feghali Gorton, *Scarabs*, 22, n. 8.

47 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 312-313, cat. 442 (with bibliography).

48 *Idem*, 30-31.

49 Fresina, “Amuleti del Museo J. Whitaker”, 27-29.

The aforementioned results are the outcome of studies based on stylistic and iconographical analyses and comparison with objects discovered in Egypt and the Levant. There have not been, to my knowledge, any scientific studies focusing on the analysis of the Sicilian materials in order to identify the places of production of *aegyptiaca* found in the Western Mediterranean. Further research is necessary to reach a better understanding of the trading routes and economy of the region during the Archaic Period.⁵⁰

If we compare figures 7, 9, and 11, it is clear that the distribution of the objects follows a well-defined pattern. Figure 12 sums up the data and shows the total distribution of the objects in the three cities. Excluding the artifacts whose precise findspot is unknown, around 73% of the objects have been unearthed in funerary contexts, while artifacts found in religious buildings constitute the second highest percentage, which is however remarkably lower (10%). The distribution of objects in the different findspots is illustrated in Figure 13, and the results show that there was no noticeable difference in the types of objects used in the two main contexts: scarabs, amulets, and vessels were present both in necropoleis and sanctuaries. The only exceptions are represented by the shawabtis, which are found only in funerary contexts, and two scarabs, one unearthed in a votive pit in Motya and the other from an unspecified spot in the agora of Syrakousai. There is a certain degree of uncertainty about the original context of the few shawabtis examined in this study. The very nature of such objects was so inextricably linked to the world of the dead that it seems unlikely for them to have been used in any other context given that the shawabtis from Moya and Syrakousai have also been discovered in tombs. However, it has also been suggested that in certain instances shawabtis could be used as offerings in sanctuaries and appreciated for their sheer aesthetic qualities.⁵¹ Even though up to this day there have not been any discoveries proving that this practice was performed in Sicily as well, the possibility should not be ruled out.

Furthermore, *aegyptiaca* have been discovered in religious contexts sacred to female deities. The examples in Sicily are not only the temples of Athena and Artemis in Syrakousai, but also the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros and Temple R, plausibly dedicated to Demeter as well,⁵² in Selinous. There is only one scarab coming from a supposedly religious context in Motya (the favissa in the area sacred to Ishtar and Baal ‘Addir), but there are examples of this practice both in Sicily (for instance the sanctuary

50 The British Museum has attempted something similar for Naukratite and Rhodian objects: see Andrew Meek, *et al.*, “Discerning differences: Ion beam analysis of ancient faience from Naukratis and Rhodes.” From *Euartech to Charisma and Iperion: European Research Programmes on Cultural Heritage. Assessment of the TransNational Accesses*, TECHNE: La science au service de l’histoire, de l’art et des civilisations, 43: 94-101.

51 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 70; Kathryn Howley, “Does Size Matter? The Materiality of Shabtis”, *American Research Center in Egypt Meeting* (Kansas City, MO), 21st April 2017.

52 Clemente Marconi and Rosalia Pumo, “Selinunte, Sicily”, in *IFA Archaeology Journal 2015-2016, issue 4* (December 2015), 5. DOI: https://www.nyu.edu/gsas/dept/fineart/pdfs/publications/IFA_Archaeology_Journal_2015-2016.pdf.

of Aphrodite/Ishtar in Eryx)⁵³ and southern Italy (the temple of Persephone in Lokroi Epizephirioi)⁵⁴ There is also evidence of the same practice in Eastern Mediterranean sites, such as the Heraia in Samos, Argos and Perachora,⁵⁵ the temple of Athena in Rhodes,⁵⁶ the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Zeytin Tepe,⁵⁷ and the Artemision of Ephesos.⁵⁸

As for the objects discovered in tomb contexts, along with the assemblage of grave goods to which they belonged, have been lost, especially in the case of the necropoleis in Motya.⁵⁹ However, the pieces for which the original context has been preserved do show similarities. The most common element is the fact that most *aegyptiaca* employed in funerary contexts have been discovered in tombs of women and children, not only in the Sicilian sites examined here, but also in other settlements in southern Italy,⁶⁰ Etruria, Spain,⁶¹ and North Africa.⁶²

Moreover, the kind of objects fall into the same categories. For instance, Cypraea shell-shaped pendants have been found in Selinous, while in Motya actual Cypraea shells have been discovered in tombs; the anthropomorphic vessels discovered in Syrakousai and Selinous belong to the same type, as do the ovoidal unguentaria from Motya and Syrakousai; there are even comparanda among the scarabs, such as the case of two of them decorated with goats coming from Motya and Syrakousai.

Discussing the evidence

As it has been pointed out, some of the archaic *aegyptiaca* found in Motya, Selinous, and Syrakousai seem to have been imported from Egypt.⁶³ The products of Naukratite factories are prevalent after the last quarter of the seventh century BCE (the city was founded around 620 BCE),⁶⁴ but there are also several pieces imported from other Egyptian cities, as well as Aegean and Phoenician imitations. The data does not give any information about the identity of the people who physically imported the objects across the Mediterranean;

53 Sfameni Gasparro, *I Culti orientali*, 92-93

54 Hölbl “Testimonianze della cultura egizia in Italia meridionale e nella Sicilia greca in Età Arcaica”, *L’Egitto tra storia e letteratura*, Serekh 5 (Turin: AdArte, 2010) 106.

55 Feghali Gorton, *Scarabs*, 166-173.

56 Hölbl, “Testimonianze della cultura Egizia in Italia Meridionale”, 106; Panagiotis Kousoulis and Ludwig D. Morenz, “Ecumene and Economy in the Horizon of Religion: Egyptian Donations to Rhodian Sanctuaries,” in *Das Heilige und die Ware: Eigentum, Austausch und Kapitalisierung im Spannungsfeld von Ökonomie und Religion*, (London: Golden House Publications, 2007), 179-92.

57 Catherine Saint-Pierre, “Offrir l’Orient aux déesses grecques”, in *Le donateur, l’offrande et la déesse: systèmes votifs dans les sanctuaires de déesses du monde grec* (Liège: Centre International d’Étude de la Religion Grecque Antique, 2009), 117-120.

58 Feghali Gorton, *Scarabs*, 173.

59 Sfameni Gasparro, *I Culti Orientali*, 94-95; Fresina, “Amuleti del Museo J. Whitaker”, 28.

60 Hölbl, “Testimonianze della cultura Egizia in Italia Meridionale”, 106.

61 Feghali Gorton, *Scarabs*, 159-164.

62 Jean Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations entre Égyptiens et Préhellènes* (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1954).

63 Feghali Gorton, *Scarabs*, 158; Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 30-31.

64 Astrid Möller, *Naukratits*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 91.

however, scholars have tried to identify the traders.

Until recently there was the tendency to attribute most of the trading activity and import of Egyptian objects found in Sicily to the Phoenicians,⁶⁵ but more recent studies suggest that not only the Phoenicians, but also the Greeks were actively trading with Egypt and the Aegean. This claim is supported by evidence coming from Phoenician sites where the material indicates direct contact with Egypt, without Carthaginian mediation,⁶⁶ as well as coming from Greek and indigenous settlements in which objects from Egypt were most plausibly imported from Greek traders instead of Phoenicians.⁶⁷ At other sites, such as Pithekoussai, it is possible that the *aegyptiaca* had been imported by all of them, maybe even in joint expeditions.⁶⁸ An involvement of Egyptian traders in these routes was postulated a few years ago, a possibility that could indeed open intriguing avenues of research and help rethinking the dynamics of the Mediterranean network in the Archaic Period.⁶⁹

It is then necessary to ask why these objects were imported (or produced) and, consequently, how they were used. The key to start answering these questions lies in the way in which the *aegyptiaca* were employed, and where. Figures 7 and 11 show the use of the objects in two cities, one in the Greek sphere of influence, the other one in Phoenician territory. It can be noted that, in general, in Sicily there are different uses of *aegyptiaca*: in the eastern part of the island they were used not only as grave goods, but also as offerings to female deities, while this practice seems to have been less common (but not totally absent, one notable exception being the temple of Aphrodite/Ishtar in Eryx) in the western side.⁷⁰

To sum up, virtually all the objects in Motya seem to have been used as jewels or amulets in life and as grave goods after death, whereas in Syrakousai they have also been found in votive deposits of important sanctuaries, the Athenaion and the Artemision. The inhabitants of Motya then used *aegyptiaca* mainly as personal ornaments as well as grave goods, a habit shared by the citizens of Syrakousai, who used them also as offerings to their goddesses. Selinous, situated at the western limit of the Greek territories in Sicily, had a close relationship with the Phoenician sphere of influence; as shown in figure 9, the number of artifacts used in funerary and religious contexts are identical.

Finally, the distribution and ratio of the objects among the three sites are different: Motya shows a prevalence of scarabs and amulets, both used as grave goods; Selinous has more amulets and figurines than any other category of artifacts, and the objects are almost equally divided between the sanctuary of Malophoros and the two necropoleis. Lastly, in Syrakousai scarabs are the main type (of artifact present at the site?), but a certain number of them have been found in votive deposits of two temples, a practice absent at Motya.

65 Richard Fletcher, "Sidonians, Tyrians and Greeks in the Mediterranean: The Evidence from the Egyptianizing Amulets", in *Ancient West and East* 3 vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 51-52.

66 Fresina, "Amuleti del Museo J. Whitaker", 29.

67 Hölbl, "I rapporti culturali della Sicilia orientale con l'Egitto", 38.

68 Fletcher, "Sidonians, Tyrians and Greeks in the Mediterranean", 62-66.

69 Damian Robinson and Andrew Wilson, *Maritime Archaeology and Ancient Trade in the Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford Centre for Maritime Archaeology, 2011), 3.

70 Martinez, *I manufatti Egizi ed Egittizzanti*, 32, 35.

***Aegyptiaca* in society and culture**

The fact that Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects were so widespread, and were also used for different purposes beyond their original purpose among people who were not Egyptians deserves some attention. In the past, the importance of the *aegyptiaca* discovered in Sicily was overlooked, while the ones found in the Near East were regarded as important markers of Egyptian culture being exported. It is then necessary to reconsider the role and impact that these artifacts had on the foreign people who used them by analyzing the social and cultural environment in which they were embedded.⁷¹

The Phoenicians had documented relationships with Egypt since the third millennium BCE.⁷² They integrated Egyptian gods into their pantheon, something that Egyptians did too with Levantine deities,⁷³ and seem to have also started using Egyptian amulets and scarabs from an early date.⁷⁴ The objects were used for their protective properties (the power of Egyptian magic was renowned in the ancient world) as grave goods with the purpose of protecting the deceased in the afterlife⁷⁵ and as votive offerings in sanctuaries of female deities.⁷⁶ Greek people were doing something similar, as demonstrated by the scarabs and amulets discovered in necropoleis and sanctuaries not only in Sicily, but also in the Aegean, Asia Minor, and Greece.⁷⁷ However, it has been noted how in Phoenician contexts *aegyptiaca* may have become part of religious practices and everyday life from as early as the 10th century BCE,⁷⁸ losing the character of exotica that they seem to have maintained instead in Greek contexts.⁷⁹ Reality, of course, is never as clear-cut: plausibly not all *aegyptiaca* discovered in Motya were used only by Phoenicians, or those in Syrakousai

71 Hölbl, “Problemi fondamentali”, 269-70.

72 Sergio Pernigotti, “Phoenicians and Egyptians”, in *The Phoenicians* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2000), 522.

73 See for example the Phoenician gods Anath, Ishtar, and Reshpu that were worshipped in Egypt. Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1973) 235-243; David Silverman (1991), “Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt”, in *Religion in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca (NY): Cornell University Press, 1991), 57-58.

74 Marianne E. Bergeron, “Death, gender, and sea shells in Carthage,” *Pallas* [Online] 86 (2011), 13. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/pallas/2143>.

75 Serge Lancel, “Les Niveaux funéraires,” in *Mission archéologique française à Carthage, Byrsa II, Rapports Préliminaires sur les Fouilles 1977-1978, Niveaux et Vestiges Puniques* (Rome: École Française Rome, 1982), 263-364.

76 Enrico Acquaro, “Scarabs and Amulets”, in *The Phoenicians* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, 2000), 394.

77 See for example John D. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca: A Catalogue of Egyptian Objects in the Aegean Area* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1930) and more recently the *Aegyptiaca Project: Ecumene and Economy in the Horizon of Religion*, URL: <http://www.aegyptiaka.gr>

78 Bergeron, “Death, Gender, and Sea Shells”, 13.

79 Gunther Hölbl, “Die Problematik der spätzeitlichen Aegyptiaca im östlichen Mittelmeerraum,” in *Ägypten und der östliche Mittelmeerraum im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), 122.

and Selinous by Greeks. On the contrary, there is evidence for these settlements to have had a somewhat mixed population from at least the fifth century BCE, so it is not impossible that this could have been the case in earlier times as well.⁸⁰ It is also possible that foreigners worshipped in their sanctuaries.⁸¹

Moreover, *aegyptiaca* in Archaic Sicily were not used precisely how they would have been in Egypt. For instance, the deposition of animal figurines, vessels, and scarabs in foundation pits of temples to magically protect the building is well attested in Egypt since the Old Kingdom.⁸² However, the Sicilian deposits are not foundation pits, but rather dedications to local deities, which can be interpreted as belonging to the practice of offering oriental exotica by the elites of Greece and Asia Minor from the eighth century BCE onwards.⁸³ Some of these dedications could be looted or reused,⁸⁴ which would explain the presence of Egyptian antiquities in Sicily.

Moving on to scarabs, while the ones deposited in foundation pits in Egyptian temples usually were inscribed with the cartouche of the reigning king, the objects found in the Greek temples of Syrakousai and the scarab from the *Kothon* in Motya have either names of long-dead kings or Egyptian gods, or hieroglyphs with decorative functions that cannot be read as sentences or even single words.⁸⁵ These scarabs were not vehicles of political and religious propaganda anymore, but became instead protective ornaments with alleged magic powers tied to the hieroglyphs inscribed on their back.⁸⁶ The latter class probably was made of, or descended from, types created during the seventh century BCE Saite revival. When an Egyptian dynasty freed the country from Assyrian domination, craftsmen in the Nile Delta (especially Naukratis) produced scarabs with the names of powerful pharaohs, such as Tuthmosis III or Ramesses II, in an attempt to proclaim the renewed greatness of Egypt under pharaohs who were as glorious as their illustrious predecessors.⁸⁷ However, it

80 Diodorus of Sicily, *Library of History* XIII 53, 2;

81 Clemente Marconi, Valeria Tardo and Caterina Trombi, "The Archaic Pottery from the Institute of Fine Arts Excavations in the Main Urban Sanctuary on the Akropolis of Selinunte," in *Sanctuaries and the Power of Consumption* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 332.

82 Barry Kemp, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a Civilization* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 75; Ian Shaw, *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 103. There are also examples of *aegyptiaca* used in the foundation deposits of temples of Phoenician deities in Byblos and Lachish, see Acquaro, "Scarabs and Amulets", 394.

83 Panagiotis Kousoulis and Ludwig D. Morenz, "Ecumene and economy in the horizon of religion: Egyptian donations to Rhodian sanctuaries," in *Das Heilige und die Ware Zum Spannungsfeld von Religion und Ökonomie* (London: Golden House Publications, 2006), 180-183; Riva, "The Culture of Urbanization in the Mediterranean," 210.

84 Ann C. Gunter, *Greek Art and the Orient* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 150-151; Marian H. Feldman, *Communities of Style*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2014), 160.

85 See for example Orsi, *Athenaion*, 585-586; Hölbl, "I Rapporti Culturali", 36, n.24; Martinez, *I Manufatti Egizi*, 314, cat. 446-448.

86 Acquaro, "Scarabs and Amulets", 394-396.

87 Francesca Gazzano, "L'Egitto e le Leggi di Atene: a Proposito del Viaggio di Solone," in *Fides Amicorum. Studi in Onore di Carla Fayer* (Pescara: Opera Editrice, 2001), 226; Jan Assmann, "Sapienza e Mistero. L'Immagine Greca della Cultura Egiziana," in *I Greci. Storia Cultura Arte Società*. Vol. 3 (Torino: Einaudi,

is doubtful that the Sicilian users of these scarabs could read the inscriptions, when present, on their backs. Their power probably came from them being carriers of 'Egyptian magic'.

The most notable difference is in the use of *aegyptiaca* as grave goods. Cypraea shells were used in Egypt as protective amulets for women, worn in life and in death since the Old Kingdom.⁸⁸ The custom gained popularity in Carthage as well,⁸⁹ so it is no surprise that some of them have been unearthed in tombs in the necropoleis of Motya, a Phoenician stronghold. Four more (scarabs?) have been found in Syrakousai, which indicates the presence of people who either knew of this custom or were Phoenicians. Two of the shawabtis examined in this study were been found in tombs, which is consistent with their original function. However, their type and use varied between the two cities. They are single objects as opposed to the higher number of shawabtis found in Late Period Egyptian tombs.⁹⁰ The ones from Motya are inscribed with pseudo-hieroglyphs instead of the appropriate formula and the name of the deceased, or are anepigraphic. The shawabtis from Syrakousai appear to be authentic and have the right spells, but the names of the deceased are clearly Egyptian.⁹¹ Although it would be fascinating to postulate the presence of Egyptians in Syrakousai, it is more plausible that these objects had been looted and sold on the market.⁹² While the shawabti-tomb might have reached Sicily, the most significant element for Egyptians - the magic formula containing the name of the deceased - had lost its meaning to the Sicilian patrons. Alternatively, it is possible that the shawabtis were considered exotica just as any other class of Egyptian objects and included in grave goods for the same reasons.⁹³

Scarabs and amulets are the objects whose use was modified the most. Scarabs mounted on jewels were common in Egypt. However, there were two types of scarabs, heart and winged, usually inscribed with magic spells, whose function was strictly funerary, as they were placed over the deceased's chest after mummification.⁹⁴ These types are virtually absent from Sicilian tombs, as are purely funerary (and royal) amulets like the headrest, vital organs, the red and white crowns, or Isis' knot.⁹⁵ In Egypt, scarabs and amulets do not seem to have served preeminently funerary functions.⁹⁶

Lastly, what other objects accompanied the *aegyptiaca*? The analysis of the context

2001), 405-407.

88 Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 102, 107.

89 Bergeron, "Death, Gender and Sea Shells", 17-18.

90 Stephen Quirke and Wolfram Grajetzki, "Shabtis," in *Digital Egypt for Universities* (London: University College London, 2003), URL: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/museums-static/digitalegypt/burialcustoms/shabtis.html>

91 Martinez, *I Manufatti Egizi*, 326-329, cat. 473-476.

92 *Idem*, 70; Feldman, *Communities of Style*, 160.

93 Martinez, *I Manufatti Egizi*, 70.

94 Andrews, *Ancient Egyptian Amulets*, 56-59.

95 Vercoutter, *Essai sur les relations*, 359; Fresina, "Amuleti del Museo Whitaker", 8; Acquaro, "Scarabs and amulets", 396.

96 The total number of *aegyptiaca* currently accounted for in Sicily is high enough for us to claim that if royal and funerary amulets were indeed imported, they might have been a minority.

and objects with which Egyptian imports were discovered has shown that in Syrakousai the artifacts were a foreign addition to otherwise Greek tombs and deposits in temples, while in Selinous they were mixed with Greek, local, Eastern Mediterranean, and even Etruscan offerings, both in the sanctuary of Malophoros and Temple R. Lastly, in Motya only one scarab was found in a votive pit along with Greek and Eastern Mediterranean imports, while the scarabs from the archaic necropoleis belonged to sets of grave goods composed of Phoenician and Greek pottery.

This overview allows some questions concerning the meaning of the presence of the *aegyptiaca*, and their influence, or lack thereof, on the customs of Sicilian patrons to be addressed. As aptly asked by Osborne, “Did [patrons] simply acquire the *kudos* of owning an exotic item, or did they acquire some form of social or cultural knowledge? Did acquiring a particular [import] mean also assuming certain (...) habits?”⁹⁷ The inhabitants of Sicilian cities, be they Greeks, Phoenicians, or indigenous Sicilians, imported Egyptian objects, but whether they also imported the beliefs and practices that came with them and whether the objects might have somehow influenced their new patrons remains unknown.

By looking at the data presented in this study, it appears that the use of *aegyptiaca* in Sicily was not necessarily informed by how they were previously conceived and used in Egypt. Amulets and scarabs were likely worn in life to protect their owners, which is consistent with Egyptian customs; however, it seems that in Sicily the objects were mostly used by women and children, whereas in Egypt there was no real gender or age distinction. When deposited in tombs, the *aegyptiaca* likely worked as protective charms because of their Egyptian nature, so that there were not specifically funerary scarabs or amulets. The magic that was intrinsic to all things Egyptian must have been enough for Sicilian patrons with no need for specialized amulets or scarabs inscribed with magic spells that, in any case, referred to an afterlife that was radically different. The association between shawabtis and tombs remained as well, but the element that was essential in Egypt, namely the spell containing the name of the deceased, was not deemed important. However, it is also possible that these objects were deposited in tombs not because of their alleged magical powers, but because they were aesthetically pleasing and still rare-to-obtain exotica, in which case their original meanings would have been completely lost. Lastly, *aegyptiaca* were used as votive offerings to female deities, a custom that was more widespread in areas of Greek culture and influence than among others, although the pilgrims dedicating the objects could have easily been Phoenicians or indigenous people conforming to the customs of specific sanctuaries.

The evidence then suggests that not only Sicilian patrons adopted the amulets that appealed to their beliefs and aesthetics, but that they also chose and adapted some of these artifacts by creating new uses and meanings for the same objects, while maintaining others. For instance, an amulet in the shape of a falcon could rest with the dead in Motya, but it could also be deposited to appease the Malophoros goddess in Selinous, and at the same

97 Robin Osborne, “What Travelled with Greek Pottery?” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22 (Abingdon-on-Thames: Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2007), 86.

time Cypraea shells protected women and girls on both sides of the island.

This allows us to reflect not only on the concept of 'Middle Ground', but also on the so-called 'biography of objects' or "the ways meaning and values are accumulated and transformed"⁹⁸ as artifacts are exchanged and moved around. In the case of *aegyptiaca* in Sicily, it is clear from their context that some elements of their original meaning and function had been retained and adapted to local uses, while others were lost. Although the Phoenicians may have regarded Egyptian amulets and scarabs as part of their own set of practices and beliefs from an earlier date, there are nonetheless differences in the use of *aegyptiaca* between the city of Motya, whose population was largely made of Phoenician people, and Egypt itself. Similarly, Syrakousai and Selinous employed the artifacts in their own way, for instance choosing scarabs over amulets as grave goods, and offering arbitrarily selected *aegyptiaca* to their deities, a practice that was as common in the Aegean as it was unusual in Egypt.

The adoption of selected foreign objects and its relationship with the adoption of customs to which said objects were originally linked in regard to the Archaic Mediterranean and its networks has been much debated.⁹⁹ In the past there has been a double standard regarding the type of objects imported, and the practices they allegedly carried with them. For example, Greek vessels were interpreted as signs of Hellenization, as they were coming from a 'superior' culture, even when their numbers were negligible (to the overall corpus of vessels found?).¹⁰⁰ Should we then read the hundreds of *aegyptiaca* found in Sicily as indicators of an *orientalization* of the island, considering Egypt was more ancient and eastern than...¹⁰¹? Given that Sicily was physically in the center of a network of exchanges between people who all participated into the so-called Orientalizing *koine*,¹⁰² then the answer could be a cheeky *yes*.

People from Motya, Selinous, and Syrakousai clearly had a preference for *aegyptiaca*, whether they knew of the objects' actual meaning, and considered them magical because of their exotic provenance, or valued them because of their price and rarity. The arrival of the first oriental trinkets likely did not give Sicilian patrons a lesson in Near Eastern religion and magic, but rather an acuity for things that looked Egyptian.¹⁰³ Some of them, such as the Phoenician inhabitants of Motya, might have also already known and used *aegyptiaca* in their daily life. These objects might then be interpreted as part of the sets of artifacts that signaled the status of their owners in the context of the pan-Mediterranean Orientalizing

98 Chris Godsen and Yvonne Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects." *World Archaeology* 31 (London: Routledge, 1999), 169.

99 For a short summary of some of the earlier and current models see Michael Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter," in *Studies in Cultural Contact* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), 295-298, and Godsen and Marshall, "The Cultural Biography of Objects," 172-174.

100 Dietler, "Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement," 296.

101 For an overview of the problem of *Ex Oriente Lux*, see Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea*.

102 Riva, "The Culture of Urbanization in the Mediterranean," 204-205.

103 Osborne, "What Travelled with Greek Pottery?" 91; Martinez, *I Manufatti Egizi*, 70.

koine, either as grave goods or votive offerings in sanctuaries. In addition, the presence of a zone of Phoenician influence explains the difference in the use and types of *aegyptiaca* in certain contexts.

It remains then the question of whether the adoption of foreign elements in religious and funerary practices also entailed a change in the identity of the people using the *aegyptiaca*. It has been argued that the Orientalizing *koine* “provided new forms of sociability and identity” to Mediterranean elites during the Archaic period,¹⁰⁴ as cultural encounters restructured existing identities and formulated new, hybridized ones.¹⁰⁵ Earlier studies promoted the idea that the Greeks had colonized Sicily, subjugated the local populations, and kept a strong and immutable Greek identity since their arrival,¹⁰⁶ and that the Phoenicians had done the same on the opposite side of Sicily. However, more recent studies have convincingly challenged the colonization model and the concept of a Greek identity in western cities during the eighth and seventh centuries BCE.¹⁰⁷

Moreover, Greeks, Phoenicians and indigenous people were not only trading and occasionally getting married, but some of them also lived and likely worshipped together in certain sanctuaries,¹⁰⁸ and adopted foreign objects, such as the *aegyptiaca*, that appealed to particular religious and funerary beliefs. Other studies have convincingly argued that Greek and Phoenician identities were less monolithic than previously assumed.¹⁰⁹ We can then theorize that the presence of *aegyptiaca* among other elements might indicate that if the citizens of Motya, Selinous, and Syrakousai were open to embedding foreign elements and renegotiating their meaning, perhaps their identity was somehow fluid, and gradually changed to fit into the cultural pan-Mediterranean *koine* to which they aspired to belong.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article was to trace an overview of the Egyptian and Egyptianizing objects discovered in Motya, Selinous, and Syrakousai, and to analyze the different ways in which they were employed in the social and religious life of the cities. The results are limited as the present study is based only on three cities. Broadening the analysis to the

104 Riva, “The Culture of Urbanization in the Mediterranean,” 226.

105 Knapp and van Dommelen, *Material Connections*, 5.

106 For a review of the previous scholarship promoting the colonization model see Jonathan Hall, ‘Early Greek settlement in the West: the limits of colonialism’, in *Theater outside Athens. Drama in Greek Sicily and South Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 19-20, notes 4-5.

107 Osborne, “Early Greek Colonization?”, 251-252, 268; Hall, *Hellenicity*, 90-124; Hall, “Early Greek settlement in the West”, 19-28.

108 Claudia Antonetti, Stefania De Vido, “Cittadini, non cittadini e stranieri nei santuari della Malophoros e del Meilichios di Selinunte”, in *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci* (Atti del convegno internazionale, Udine, 20-22 novembre 2003) (Florence: Le Monnier, 2006), 410-451; Bonnet, “Greek and Phoenicians”, 330; Marconi-Tardo-Trombi, “The Archaic Pottery from the Institute of Fine Arts Excavations”, 326-332.

109 See for instance Sommer, “Shaping Mediterranean Economy and Trade”, 130-131 (with previous bibliography).

whole of Sicily would allow for the discernment of common patterns and differences with more certainty. It would also be interesting to compare the results with the study of *aegyptiaca* in other contexts, such as Magna Graecia or the Aegean. Nevertheless, the results can be summed up in a few points:

1. *Aegyptiaca* were used indiscriminately in the three cities, so that Greeks, Phoenicians, and indigenous people might have all used them.
2. The ways in which the objects were used might not have necessarily been informed by their original function in Egypt. For instance, some traits that were essential for their magic to work in Egypt were left out, and amulets with funerary functions are absent.
3. There is one major difference in the use of *aegyptiaca* in Motya, Selinous, and Syrakousai: in the first city they have been found mainly in funerary contexts, while in the latter two they were also used as votive offerings in sanctuaries of female divinities.
4. The other major difference concerns the type of *aegyptiaca*: Motya has mostly amulets; Syrakousai has mostly scarabs; Selinous has equal numbers of objects.

The most interesting aspect of *aegyptiaca* lies in the fact that often they were not used for their original functions or meanings, but rather they were adapted to the beliefs and practices of the ethnically different patrons in Sicily. They were embedded in the religious life of the three cities with new meanings and ways of being used, in a process of negotiation and re-interpretation of goods and practices. Simply put, the presence of *aegyptiaca* does not mean that Sicilian patrons knew anything (or even cared) about the precise meaning and use that said objects had in Egypt. Rather, they employed them as they saw fit for their own customs: as protective amulets for the living and the dead, dedications to the gods, or indicators of status and participation into the Orientalizing *koine*.

Figures

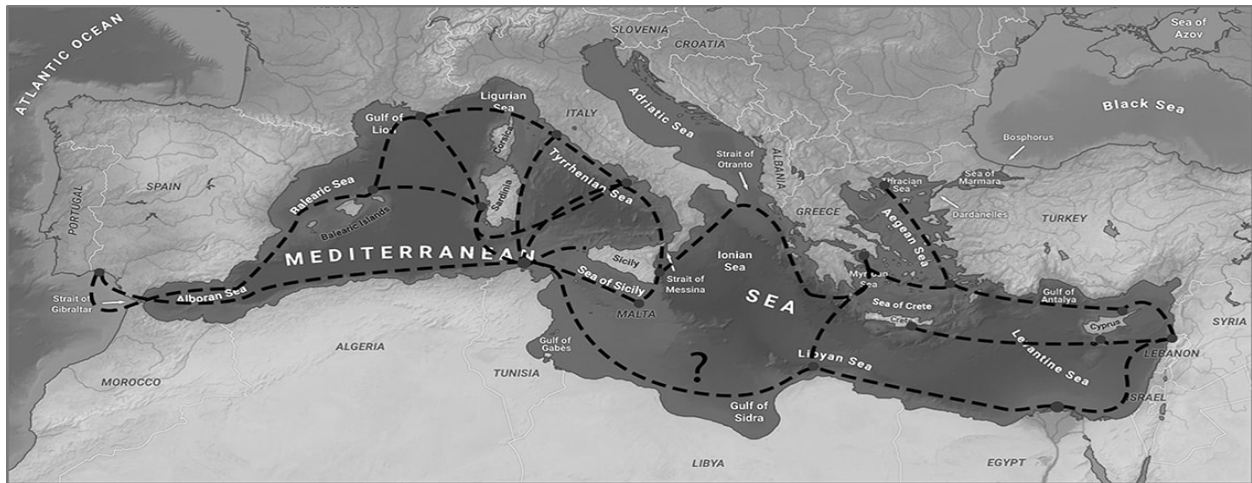


Figure 1. Map of the principal Greek and Phoenician trading routes in the Mediterranean Sea. Adapted by the author from O H 237. *Map of the Mediterranean Sea with subdivisions, straits, islands and countries.* Wikimedia Commons.

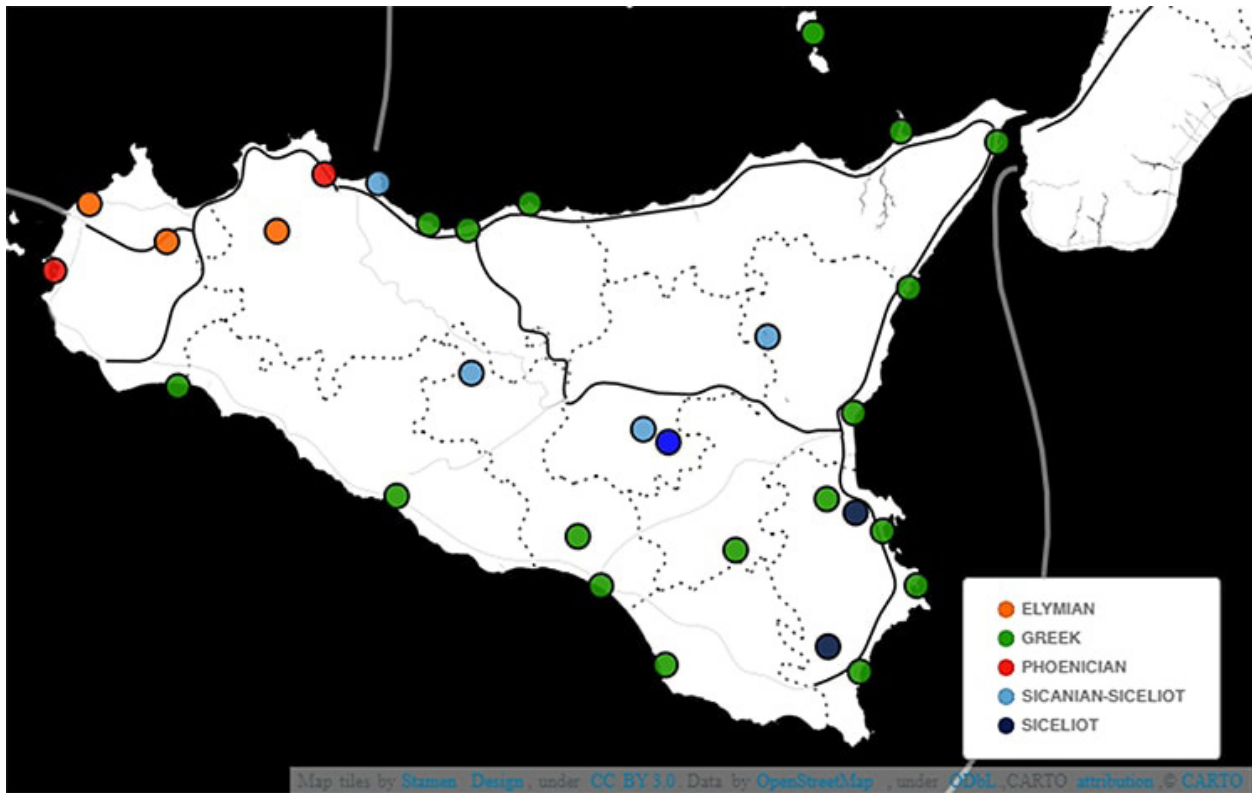


Figure 2. Map of settlements in Sicily where scarabs and faience figurines have been discovered.

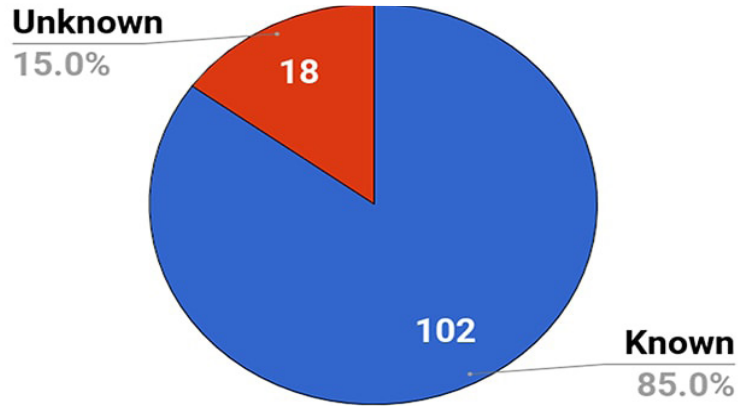


Figure 3. Pie chart of the information about findspots.

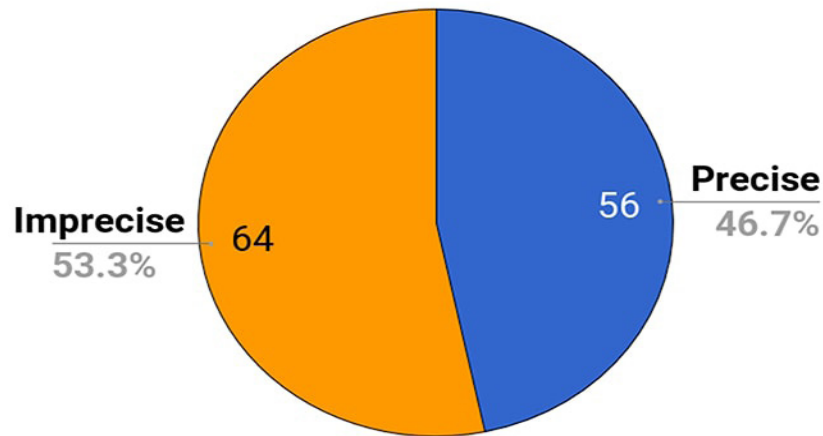


Figure 4. Pie chart of the accuracy of information about findspots.

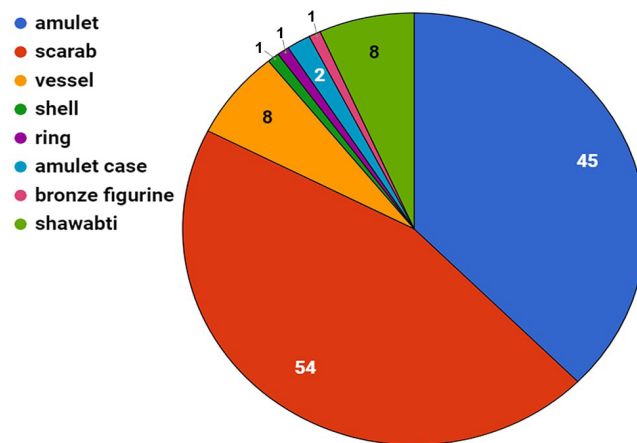


Figure 5. Total count of the objects from Motya, Selinous, and Syrakousai.

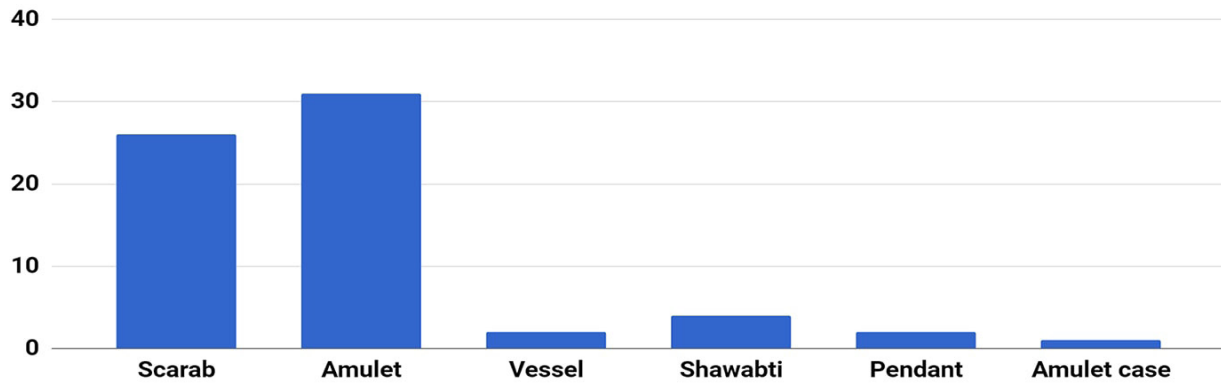


Figure 6. Bar chart of the objects found in Motya

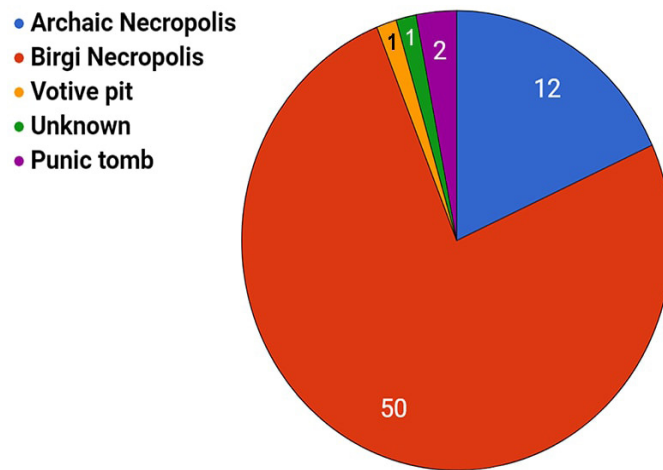


Figure 7. Pie chart of the finding spots in Motya.

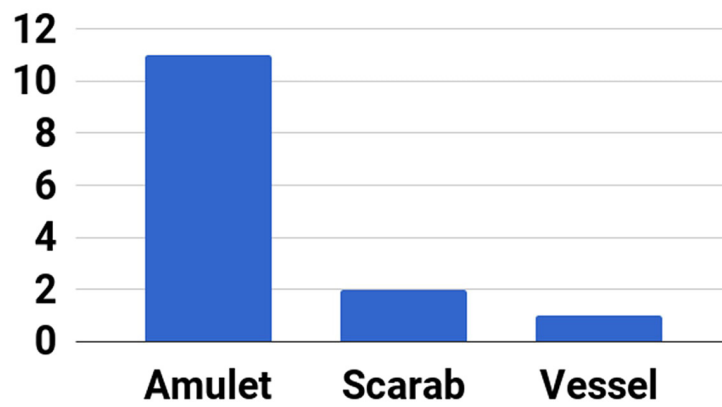


Figure 8. Bar chart of the objects found in Selinous.

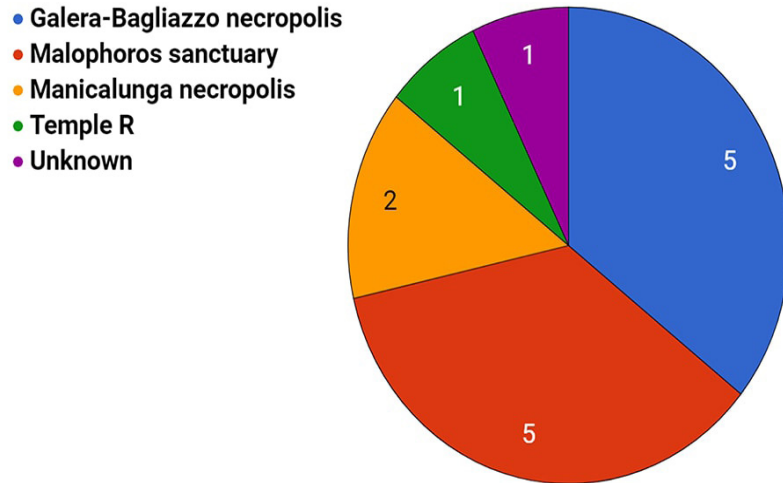


Figure 9. Pie chart of the finding spots in Selinous.

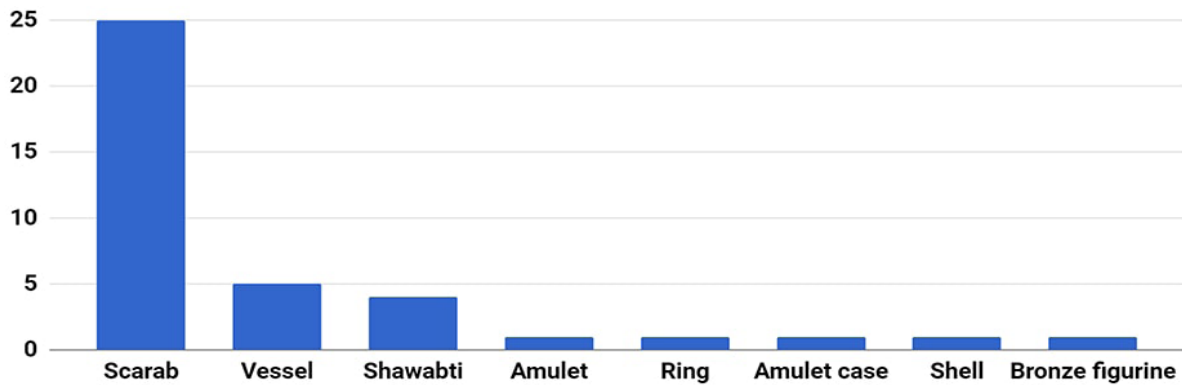


Figure 10. Bar chart of the objects in Syrakousai.

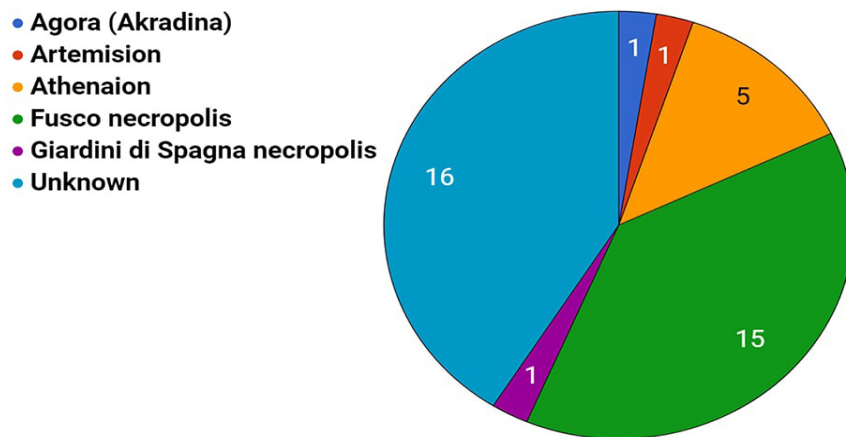


Figure 11. Pie chart of the finding spots in Syrakousai.

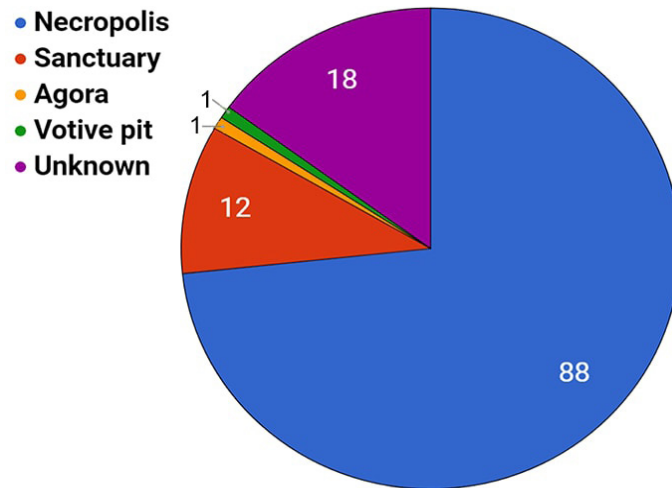


Figure 12. Distribution of objects in the different findspots in the three cities.

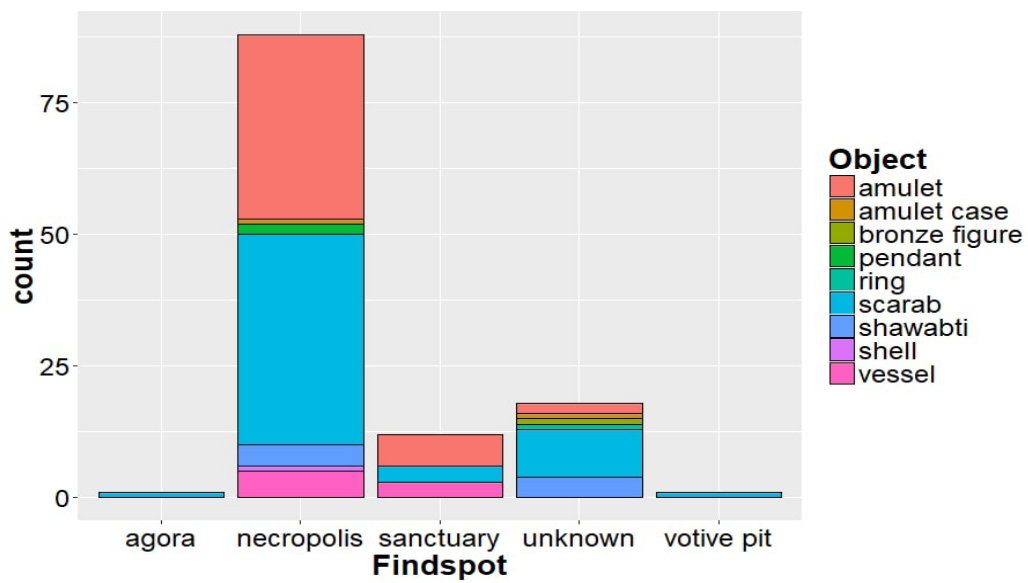


Figure 13. Distribution of the types of objects in the different findspots.

On His Majesty's Secret Service: James Henry Breasted, Accidental Spy

Kathleen L. Sheppard

Abstract: James Henry Breasted and his crew arrived in Cairo in 1919 to begin the first of many seasons in the Near East for the newly-founded Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago. Breasted and his crew aimed to cross the Mesopotamian desert to Syria to seek out surviving sites, and the British took this opportunity to gather intelligence. They gave Breasted and his crew special protections, arranged transportation and accommodations, as well as providing special access to military outposts in exchange for gathering information from native groups. Breasted's situation as an archaeologist-turned-spy was not unique, but the fact that he was an American gathering intelligence for the British was indeed unexpected. Using archival correspondence, this paper traces Breasted's expedition from Cairo, through Mesopotamia and back. I argue that although Breasted's intelligence reports were well-researched and supported by native leaders, they went unheeded, therefore hindering diplomatic efforts in the area. This episode in the history of Egyptology is significant because, even though others have mentioned this part of his expedition, no one has yet examined his intelligence and covert activities exclusively.

Résumé: James Henry Breasted et son équipage sont arrivés au Caire en 1919 pour commencer le premier de plusieurs saisons dans le Proche-Orient au nom de l'Institut Orientale nouvellement fondé à l'Université de Chicago. Breasted et son équipage avaient l'intention de traverser le désert Mésopotamien pour chercher des sites archéologiques subsistants, et les Britanniques ont profité de l'occasion pour faire de l'espionnage. Ils ont donné à Breasted et à son équipage des dispositions particulières, et ils ont organisé le transport et l'hébergement. De plus, ils leur ont accordé un accès privilégié aux postes militaires en échange de collecter du renseignement des groupes autochtones. Le rôle d'archéologue devenu espion n'était pas unique à Breasted, mais le fait qu'il était américain à la solde des Britanniques était vraiment extraordinaire. Utilisant la correspondance archivistique, ce papier suit l'expédition de Breasted à partir du commencement au Caire, à travers la Mésopotamie, jusqu'à la rentrée au Caire. Je maintiens que, bien que les rapports de renseignements de Breasted étaient compétents et appuyés par des chefs indigènes, ils sont restés lettres mortes. Les efforts diplomatiques étaient donc empêchés. Cet épisode dans l'histoire de l'Égyptologie est significatif parce que, quoique des autres chercheurs ont mentionné l'expédition, personne n'a pas encore porté sur la question des activités cachées de Breasted et de ses renseignements.

Keywords: Intelligence/l'espionnage, James Henry Breasted, World War I/Première Guerre mondiale, Mesopotamia/Mésopotamie, History of Egyptology/histoire de l'Égyptologie, Oriental Institute/Institut Oriental, Great Britain/Grande Bretagne.

Upon his arrival in Cairo in November 1919, James Henry Breasted met with the General Sir Edmund Allenby at the British Residence for dinner.¹ After dinner, the two spoke at length about the post-war political situation in the Near East. Breasted wrote to his wife about it that evening:

...I had taken the first opportunity to say that I hoped to further the establishment of cordial cooperation between his country and mine in the future control of the Near East, and for that reason I would be glad of an opportunity to learn all the facts regarding the situation which it might be proper for me to know. He made no response whatever, but he at once began to talk.²

This was the beginning of a long and difficult journey in which Breasted and his crew—Daniel Luckenbill, Ludlow Bull, William Edgerton, and William Shelton—became the first non-Arab people to cross the Mesopotamian desert since the founding of the new state.³ The expedition had begun as a scientific expedition in 1919, but had almost immediately been swept up into the British intelligence gathering mission. Breasted's situation as an archaeologist-turned-spy was not unique: the British had been using archaeologists as spies since the 1870s. However, the fact that he was an American gathering intelligence for the British was indeed extraordinary. First, and most obviously, it shows that Breasted was not only a well-respected scholar, but also someone with careful diplomatic skills. It also demonstrated that the British were willing to use whatever resources they had at hand in order to advance their station in the Middle East during this crucial rebuilding period. That the United States did not take advantage of Breasted's position that year also meant that they were not prepared to move into the Atlantic world in the tumultuous period after the First World War. Although it is not clear whether or not Breasted knew of the British Army's expectation of covert duties and meetings before he traipsed across a still-war-torn desert, it is obvious that he had a clear agenda of gathering intelligence for the British in exchange for their protection and freedom of travel throughout his expedition.

Many who are familiar with the career of James Henry Breasted—the first American Egyptologist, the founder of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, and

1 I would like to thank the editors of this journal for their patience and kindness, and everyone who has given advice along the way, including members of the Midwest Junto for the History of Science who heard a version of this paper in 2015; Juliette Desplat, Head of the Modern Overseas, Intelligence & Security Records at the UK National Archives; and the anonymous reviewers for their thoughtful comments and suggestions. Any mistakes are my own.

2 The University of Chicago has recently transcribed and published an online volume of all of these letters. I have been to the Oriental Institute to view these letters, but I will be using the publication for quoting Breasted's words. John A. Larson, ed. *Letters from James Henry Breasted to his Family, August 1919-July 1920: Letters Home During the Oriental Institute's First Expedition to the Middle East*. Oriental Institute Digital Archives, No. 1 (Chicago, 2010). 30 November 1919; *Letters*, 101. From this point, all letters will be cited according to the preceding truncated format.

3 John A. Larson, "Introduction," *Letters from James Henry Breasted to His Family, August 1919-July 1920*, ed. John A. Larson (Oriental Institute Digital Archives, Number 1, 2010), 11.

former president of the American Historical Association as well as the History of Science Society—do not know about his time as a spy for the British just after World War I. There have been two full-length biographies of Breasted, one by his son Charles Breasted (1943) and the other recently published by Jeffrey Abt (2011).⁴ Each author tells of the important journey, but neither analyzes Breasted's intelligence gathering activities as such. Other recent work, published in conjunction with the 2010 "Pioneers to the Past" exhibition at the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, also discusses Breasted's expedition and the archaeological ramifications of it.⁵ James Gelvin's chapter "The Middle East Breasted Encountered, 1919-1920," reveals many of the delicate political situations he encountered along his journey; and an extensive chapter outlining the expedition's itinerary in detail also reveals his intelligence mission, but remains focused on the archaeological aspects.⁶ It is to be expected in scientific narratives and biographies of scientists, especially those who have been particularly influential in their field, that the practice of science will outweigh the non-scientific parts of their careers, so it is necessary to pay specific attention to this part of Breasted's career in a shorter piece of scholarship. The episode is significant for historians because, even though others have mentioned this part of his expedition, no one has yet examined his intelligence and covert activities exclusively. Further, it is important because it simply does not fit within the established narrative of his life.

The analysis I present is not exhaustive and is meant to be a preliminary discussion of this part of his career. It is important to note that I rely largely on the collection of 55 letters Breasted sent to his family during this expedition.⁷ As Larson notes in the introduction to the publication of this one-sided correspondence, in writing these missives, Breasted continued the tradition he and Frances had started on their honeymoon in Egypt in 1894-95: writing long and detailed letters to family with the expectation that the letters would serve as a travelogue, as well as source material for his later work.⁸ Because I can reasonably assume that his letters are truthful, I am able to build a detailed biographical sketch of his activities during this 1919-20 expedition. I will use these letters in order to analyze Breasted's brief intelligence career and reconnaissance mission for the British

4 Charles Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past: The Story of James Henry Breasted, Archaeologist, Told by his Son, Charles Breasted* (New York, 1943); Jeffrey Abt, *American Egyptologist: The Life of James Henry Breasted and the Creation of His Oriental Institute* (Chicago, 2011). *Pioneer to the Past* even directly quotes from Breasted's letters (240-322).

5 Geoff Emberling, ed. *Pioneers to the Past: American Archaeologists in the Middle East, 1919-1920* (Chicago, 2010).

6 James Gelvin, "The Middle East Breasted Encountered, 1919-1920," in *Pioneers to the Past: American Archaeologists in the Middle East, 1919-1920*, ed. Geoff Emberling (Chicago, 2010), 21-29; Geoff Emberling and Emily Teeter, "The First Expedition of the Oriental Institute, 1919-1920," in *Pioneers to the Past: American Archaeologists in the Middle East, 1919-1920*, ed. Geoff Emberling (Chicago, 2010), 31-84. *Pioneers to the Past* includes several beautiful photographs from the expedition.

7 I have not had access to or used government archives in the United States, the United Kingdom, or France for corroboration of this information, again, because the purpose of this article is to provide a foundation for further research in this area.

8 Larson; *Letters*, 11.

government.

During the 1919-1920 expedition, Breasted did concentrated work to gather intelligence on the state of the peoples and political environments as he traveled, all the time being supported and protected by the British Army, and sometimes by loyalist local groups. Along the way, he met major figures in post-war Middle Eastern politics and in British Intelligence. He escorted a number of them to important Egyptian archaeological sites, dined with them on a regular basis, and continued friendly relationships with them long after this mission. American officials, however, were seriously lacking in their roles in this story as well as in their helpfulness. With his unique perspective as a cultural heritage expert and as an American with (seemingly) no vested interest in the area, Breasted's intelligence work in Mesopotamia and Syria was a situation of opportunity and defiance. The local groups were used to dealing with European and American archaeologists, so Breasted's group was in no real danger as a scientific expedition. Local leaders assumed that Breasted and his crew likely had the support and therefore the ear of European and American powers and took the chance and let their situations be known. In the end, however, both Britain and the United States ignored the information he reported about the troubled area. When viewed in light of the ignored King-Crane report, it is clear that Breasted's cultural and political insights matched what the Commission found, that is, that indigenous peoples wanted some initial help from the United States in order to gain their full, long-term independence.⁹ These conclusions should have been critical to British decisions about their actions in the Middle East, if not in practice, then in theory. Breasted's position as a well-paid, trusted scientist allowed him special access into an unstable post-war environment in which he could gather profitable objects for museums who had money as well as profitable information for almost anyone who wished to move into the area. The British Army knew this and took special advantage, but in the end, the United States and the United Kingdom ignored both reports.

The History of Intelligence in Britain and the United States

The history of espionage and covert acts is not often included in scholarship outside of the field of intelligence for a few reasons. First, finding proof of covert operations in the archives is difficult, due to many of the documents and activities being classified. Second, even if it is possible to find written evidence, it is even more difficult to definitively prove that spy activity affected political, economic, or military proceedings.¹⁰ And third, related to the second reason, while the intelligence world has had a clear impact on history, the episodes associated with them are not as visible as other events such as revolution, war, or groundbreaking legislation (although they are arguably more exciting). In spite of these

9 The King-Crane Commission archive is located at the Oberlin College Archives, in Oberlin, Ohio. It is the main collection of resources on the Commission. <http://www.oberlin.edu/library/digital/king-crane/> It presents maps, letters, and analysis for scholars and the general public.

10 Throughout this article I use the words spy, operative, and agent interchangeably to mean one who gathers intelligence covertly.

difficulties, there are a number of histories of the intelligence world that attempt to bring these bureaus and their operatives into the larger narrative and demonstrate their historical agency. For the United States and Britain, these histories run parallel and even intersect at some major points. Each country tended to focus their intelligence gathering operations on lands that were within or near their respective spheres of influence. Early in the twentieth century, this tended to be Mexico and Central and South America for the United States, and Europe and the growing Empire for Great Britain. Literature in the history of espionage tends to focus on military and governmental groups as opposed to any operatives specifically; in doing so, authors omit some major characters from the story.¹¹

The main works in early intelligence in the United States focus on military attachés and other military personnel, as they were the people heavily involved in setting protocol and had the training and skill to perform delicate tasks involving covert operations. Jeffrey Dorwart's definitive two-volume work on intelligence focuses on the development of the Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI), which he calls "America's first intelligence agency."¹² The first volume covers the period from just after the end of the Civil War in 1865 up to the end of the First World War. He clearly shows the fledgling ONI as having budget issues, personnel problems, and general issues of support from Navy officers as well as the Secretary of State and the President. During Woodrow Wilson's time as President (1913-1921), the intelligence world in the United States, which had been growing in scope and size, began to shrink. Furthermore, the focus of this intelligence was not primarily Europe, but instead on domestic issues and on the fledgling new states in Central and South America. The US wanted to make sure that European powers stayed out of the Western Hemisphere, and to maintain American access to trade agreements, natural resources, and government control.

During the same time in British Intelligence, because Great Britain itself was so small, yet the Empire so vast, they needed to make sure they had the means to gather information about their colonies as well as other European powers. Christopher Andrew wrote the two definitive histories of British Intelligence which demonstrate that they had early frustrations similar to the ONI in the United States.¹³ Intelligence was a small operation

11 The major sources I focus on here are classic works in the genre, such as Christopher Andrew, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5* (New York, 2009); Jeffery M. Dorwart, *The Office of Naval Intelligence: The Birth of American's First Intelligence Agency, 1865-1918* (Annapolis, Md., 1979); Jeffery M. Dorwart, *Conflict of Duty: The U. S. Navy's Intelligence Dilemma, 1919-1945* (Annapolis, Md., 1983); G. J. A. O'Toole, *Honorable Treachery: A History of US Intelligence, Espionage, and Covert Action from the American Revolution to the CIA* (New York, 1991); John M. Tidd, "From Revolution to Reform: A Brief History of U.S. Intelligence," *The SAIS Review of International Affairs* 28:1 (2008): 5-24. As O'Toole notes (4), there is scarcely a word to be found about espionage in most traditional narratives of American history, and it is missing from most historical analysis of wartime, peacetime, and policymaking. Tidd's article outlines more intelligence history and focuses on the cryptographic side of intelligence; I will not talk about cryptographic work. There are so many aspects to intelligence work, I have chosen two of the main agencies working in this period for Britain and the US—MI5 and the ONI, respectively.

12 Dorwart, *The Office of Naval Intelligence*.

13 Christopher Andrew, *Her Majesty's Secret Service: The Making of the British Intelligence Community*

within the government, conducted by underfunded military departments. As the ONI did, British Intelligence expanded up to and through the Great War. There was government support for intelligence operatives during the War because of their proximity to conflict as well as the opportunity for imperial gains after the fighting had ended. During the War the budget for intelligence in Britain was about £100,000; by 1919 it was cut by two-thirds; by 1921 the budget was just ten percent of its wartime height.¹⁴ Even though British forces were not prepared to move into the Atlantic world and the Middle East in this tumultuous time, they were heavily interested in the resources and land available there; unfortunately, Andrew and others gloss over discussion of that important covert battleground.

During and after the First World War, Britain gained political control over much of the Middle East and the Levant, but indeed they had relatively little knowledge of the areas or the peoples who lived there. They needed to work as closely as possible with the inhabitants of those areas in order to control them easily and to maintain a peace. For both the US and Britain, the financial and moral issues were challenging and many of these agencies could not spare the money or the personnel to cover every area. To solve the problem, they counted on civilians who were already in place to uncover and report information. The ONI hired trusted, known entities such as bankers, lawyers, merchants, and other men who "came from old Yankee stock, carrying ties to some of New York's oldest and wealthiest families."¹⁵ These men, such as Ralph Pulitzer and banker Reginald C. Vanderbilt, could be trusted, and, as a bonus, would have had access to international trade and therefore international information. Throughout the First World War, these operatives kept German spies from fully infiltrating or destroying American ports. They also hired archaeologists, such as the Mayanist Sylvanus Morely, who had cultural connections and perspectives on local activities that wealthy businessmen did not.¹⁶ Likewise, the British Intelligence Bureau and the British War Office relied on the people who knew the most about these areas, culturally as well as historically, so they called on archaeologists. These offices recruited and trained historians, linguists, and archaeologists in gathering and reporting intelligence from the field. This practice was so well known among intelligence operatives that by 1917, ONI Director Roger Welles was discussing with William Sims, then-commander of US Naval forces operating from Britain, that the British had a "corps of grey-haired Oxford Professors, Egyptologists, Cuneiform Inscription Readers, etc., who break ciphers with great facility..."¹⁷ In fact, from the earliest days of archaeology

(New York, 1986); Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*. See also, Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones, *In Spies We Trust: The Story of Western Intelligence* (Oxford, 2013).

14 Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, 117-8.

15 Dorwart, *The Office of Naval Intelligence*, 109.

16 Charles Harris and Louis Sadler, *The Archaeologist was a Spy: Sylvanus G. Morley and the Office of Naval Intelligence* (Albuquerque, N. M., 2003). The US and Britain had used anthropologists to deal with native populations for decades. See, for example, Henricka Kuklick, *The Savage Within: The Social History of British Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, 1993).

17 William Sims to Roger Welles, 10 October 1917, file 21500-610, ONI Official Correspondence, quoted in Dorwart, *The Office of Naval Intelligence*, 123.

in the Middle East, the British understood that archaeologists made exceptionally good intelligence agents and were expected to report “anything of military interest that they saw.”¹⁸ They had well-established relationships with indigenous peoples because of on-site work; they had insight into the history and cultures of the peoples they encountered; and, most importantly, archaeologists were able to travel discreetly as scientists while gathering sensitive information for the government. The intelligence work archaeologists did from 1914 to the mid-1920s was crucial for the development and stability of British power in the Middle East after the Great War.

In the history of archaeology and anthropology, scholars have written numerous histories and biographies of scientists that include at least some mention of covert activity.¹⁹ Because of this, archaeologists such as T. E. Lawrence, Leonard Woolley, David Hogarth, and Gertrude Bell are fully associated with the intelligence world as well as the scientific one. There are a few works that center on covert activities, but they tend to focus on the Second World War, and not the First, and very few that discuss the Middle East.²⁰ One major exception is James F. Goode’s *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941*, which is an important work that bridges the gap of the Interwar period.²¹ Most frequently, however, it has been the journal article and not the monograph that covers this kind of activity, and rightly so: archaeologists were not full-time spies.²² Some were full-time spies but only during wartime; others were part-time

18 Earliest days being 1870s; “Lawrence of Arabia as Archaeologist,” *Biblical Archaeology Review* (December 2013): online version.

19 Scott Anderson’s *Lawrence in Arabia: War, Deceit, Imperial Folly, and the Making of the Modern Middle East* (New York, 2013) is an exception to this rule because it focuses almost exclusively on T.E. Lawrence’s covert activities. University College, London’s Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology has recently put on a series of events and an exhibition in connection with archaeologists at work in the Middle East during the Great War, see <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/culture/events/different-perspectives> (accessed 31 May 2017). See other works, such as: Susan Goodman, *Gertrude Bell* (Dover, N. H., 1985); Jeremy Wilson, *Lawrence of Arabia: The Authorized Biography of T. E. Lawrence* (New York, 1990); Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 233-248.

20 Susan Hueck Allen, *Classical Spies: American Archaeologists with the OSS in World War II Greece* (Ann Arbor, 2011); Harris and Sadler, *The Archaeologist was a Spy* (2003); David Price, *Anthropological Intelligence: The Deployment and Neglect of American Anthropology in the Second World War* (Durham, N. C., 2008). The first chapter of this book gives a similar historiographical account as I will here (1-17).

21 James F. Goode, *Negotiating for the Past: Archaeology, Nationalism, and Diplomacy in the Middle East, 1919-1941* (Austin, 2007). Goode analyzes how archaeology and rising nationalism in this period in the Near East intersect and affect each other, which is central to the political history of the area. My focus is on Breasted as an intelligence operative and how his work may have affected political decisions from the powers in the area. Goode discusses Breasted’s expedition briefly, and focuses on terms of the archaeology done on the expedition as opposed to the intelligence work (188-89). Goode does discuss more of Bell and Lawrence’s functions as political officials than anyone else.

22 David L. Browman, “Spying by American Archaeologists in World War I (with a minor linkage to the development of the Society for American Archaeology),” *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21:2 (2011): 10-17; David Price, “Anthropologists as Spies,” *The Nation* 271:16 (Nov 20, 2000): 24-27; David Price, “Cloak & Trowel,” *Archaeology* 56:5 (Sept/Oct 2003): 30.

spies while they performed their archaeological tasks. Most continued to be paid by the institution for which they should have been researching, and few were trained in espionage in any way.²³ This meant that their work in the intelligence world was secondary at best to their scientific work, therefore documentation is relatively minimal.

Archaeologist-Operatives

By the end of World War I, as the European sphere was concerned, the United States had a noticeably "tardy espionage system," and Wilson was in no hurry to rectify the situation.²⁴ The British Intelligence Bureau, on the other hand, had a well-developed network of trained operatives who were professional archaeologists. T. E. Lawrence, also known as Lawrence of Arabia, had begun his career as an archaeologist in 1910 at the ancient Hittite site of Carchemish under Leonard Woolley. They worked together to gather intelligence for a particularly significant site report, published by the Palestine Exploration Fund. *The Wilderness of Zin* (1914) was not only an important publication for archaeologists, but its detailed geography and cultural discussion made it a crucial source for British military intelligence throughout the war.²⁵ Archaeologist, traveler, and linguist Gertrude Bell was also well-known and highly sought after by intelligence officers from the start of the Great War, due to her extensive travelling and expertise in the ethnology of Arab tribes, languages, and customs. Intelligence officer and Oxford archaeologist David Hogarth wrote to her in early 1915, requesting her to "help prepare detailed information on the location, numbers and lineage of the Arab tribes of northern Arabia" and to map the information.²⁶ She produced what came to be known as the "Bell Report," in which she informed the War Office that "Syria was pro-British, with a dislike of the growing French influence in the region. In the circumstances, Syria would be perfectly content to come under British jurisdiction."²⁷ She also named and detailed the activities of the Arab chiefs in and around Baghdad. Her information was corroborated by British agents working on the ground, and the report quickly became central to guiding the British foreign presence in the Middle East. She was then assigned to Basra to work for the Chief Political Officer in Mesopotamia, Sir Percy Cox, where she wrote numerous intelligence reports that were produced in a "handy pocket-sized format" and used by new British officers being funneled through Basra as the fighting in the crumbling Ottoman Empire brought more troops to the Middle East.²⁸ After the war, Bell continued to influence policy in the newly formed

23 Breasted received no training. Harris and Sadler remark that Mayan archaeologist Sylvanus Morley, who was "arguably the finest American spy of World War I" only received 16 days of training (xi; 46).

24 Dorwart, *Office of Naval Intelligence*, 123.

25 C. Leonard Woolley and T. E. Lawrence, *The Wilderness of Zin* (London, 1914).

26 Goodman, *Gertrude Bell*, 68.

27 Georgina Howell, *Gertrude Bell: Queen of the Desert, Shaper of Nations* (New York, 2007), 219.

28 H. V. F. Winstone, *Gertrude Bell*, (London, 1978), 247. Paul Rich, "Introduction," in *Arab War Lords and Iraqi Stargazers, Gertrude Bell's The Arab of Mesopotamia*, Second edition, ed., Paul Rich (New York, 2001), iv-v. Gertrude Bell (published anonymously), *The Arab of Mesopotamia* (Basra, 1918); see also Gertrude Bell, *Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia*, Cmd. 1061, (London, 1920).

Iraq, by being the new King Feisal's trusted adviser as well as the director of the new Iraq Museum; she is still celebrated for her work there.²⁹

In the United States, however, archaeologists were not lauded publicly for their intelligence work, nor were they recognized by or even paid by the government for it. In one specific case, they were heavily criticized by Franz Boas, arguably the father of American anthropology. In a now-famous letter to *The Nation* in 1919, he wrote:

A soldier whose business is murder as a fine art, a diplomat whose calling is based on a deception and secretiveness, a politician whose very life consists in compromises with his conscience, a business man whose aim is personal profit within the limits allowed by a lenient law—such may be excused if they set patriotic devotion above common everyday decency and perform services as spies. They merely accept the code of morality to which modern society still conforms. Not so the scientist. The very essence of his life is the service of truth. ...A person...who uses science as a cover for political spying, who demeans himself to pose before a foreign government as an investigator and asks for assistance in his alleged researches in order to carry on, under this cloak, his political machinations, prostitutes science in an unpardonable way and forfeits the right to be classed as a scientist.³⁰

He went on to claim that he knew of at least four archaeologists who acted as government agents in this way and in doing so “have not only shaken the belief in the truthfulness of science, but they have also done the greatest possible disservice to scientific inquiry.”³¹ He argued that because of these actions, people would distrust foreign scientists who wished to do honest work.³²

James Henry Breasted, the Accidental Spy?

It is not likely that Breasted knew of Boas' letter at the time, since it was written and published after Breasted had arrived in Cairo; therefore, it is impossible to know if Boas' points would have affected Breasted's decision to gather information. We only know that, possibly before but definitely very soon after his arrival in Egypt, he volunteered his services to the British Army to provide advice to His Majesty's Government on how best to work with, control, and govern the native Arab peoples to whom they had promised

29 Sabine Krayenbühl and Zeva Oelbaum's documentary *Letters from Baghdad* (New York: 2016), is the newest film to document her life.

30 Franz Boas, “Scientists as Spies,” *The Nation* 109: 2842 (20 Dec 1919): 797. See also Price, “Cloak & Trowel,” and *Anthropological Intelligence*, 11-17; Price, “Anthropologists as Spies.”

31 Boas, “Scientists as Spies.” These men have been identified as Samuel Lathrop, Sylvanus Morley, Herbert Spinden and J. Mason.

32 In response to this, the American Anthropological Association passed a motion of censure on Boas, removing him from the governing council. He was also pressured into resigning from the National Research Council. It may not have been just this seemingly unpatriotic statement from Boas that got him removed from these groups, but also anti-semitic and anti-German sentiments. See *Anthropology Today* “From the Archives,” 21:3 (June 2005).

so much in return for their support during the War.³³ While British archaeologists did the groundwork and provided crucial information during the war, the British Army turned to a famous American archaeologist to be their eyes and ears in Mesopotamia and Syria in 1920.

Because of his career trajectory and scientific goals, Breasted had a very different experience in Mesopotamia and Syria than any of the other archaeologist-operatives. He earned his PhD in Berlin in 1894 and had figured out early on in his career that his main ambition was to trace and record the script and art on all the surviving monuments in Egypt before time took them.³⁴ After his first trip to Egypt from 1894-95 and until 1914, Breasted worked diligently in Chicago, setting up new programs, teaching, and writing. He traveled to Europe regularly for research, and sometimes to Egypt, spending hours in museums such as the British Museum, the Louvre, the Berlin Museum, and the Cairo Museum, copying the texts on the objects there. By the time war broke out, Breasted was famous in intellectual circles for his scholarship and well-known among the general public for his main popular work, *Ancient Times*.³⁵ Most important to Breasted was getting financial support for his major project at the University of Chicago: setting up an Institute for studying the history and archaeology of the Near East, and starting his survey to copy all of the surviving monuments in Egypt and the Levant.³⁶ After the war was over, and after over a decade of applications, in May of 1919 John D. Rockefeller, Jr. agreed to fund Breasted's epigraphic survey.³⁷ He was given a total of \$50,000 for a period of 5 years, at a rate of \$10,000 per year. His son recollected that upon receiving this money,

My father at once set about organizing a reconnaissance expedition with a staff (which was to meet him in Cairo) comprising a colleague and four younger men, with himself as leader. Its purpose was to determine what archaeological sites in the Near East could profitably be investigated or excavated; and to 'secure by purchase at least a share of the ancient documents of all sorts which during the War had been accumulating in the hands of antiquity dealers both in Europe and the Near East.' As soon as they learned of his imminent departure, a number of leading American museums desiring to expand their collections of Near Eastern art, sent him substantial letters of credit to cover such purchases in their behalf.³⁸

During this expedition, Breasted aimed to expand the collections at the Haskell Oriental Museum at Chicago and to figure out which archaeological sites were safe to visit and available for work to be done. He predicted that the collapse of the Ottoman Empire would

33 Gelvin, "The Middle East," 25.

34 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 77; Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 82.

35 Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 198-204. James Henry Breasted, *Ancient Times: A History of the Early World: An Introduction to the Study of Ancient History and the Career of Early Man* (New York: Ginn and Co., 1916).

36 Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 207-228.

37 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 240.

38 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 241.

threaten the numerous sites in the Near East and wished to survey them as quickly as possible.³⁹ Archaeologically, the expedition was a success.

By the time that Breasted reached London, a usual stopover for Americans on their way to Egypt, he found it nigh impossible to secure transportation to anywhere in the Middle East. He found the American Embassy less than helpful, and in fact they impeded his travel. This was understandable as the war in the Near East was hardly over, and in some places continued to break out periodically. The US Government was hardly going to help send a scientist to the field, no matter who was paying the bill. Thus, Breasted depended on the British Government to secure him transportation and provide letters of introduction that would guide him safely on his journey. He received letters from Hogarth, who, outside of his intelligence work, was Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, introducing him on paper to General Edmund Allenby, the newly appointed High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan, who in turn gave him more letters for passage.⁴⁰ He also got letters from the Earl of Carnarvon, who had been funding excavations by Howard Carter in the Valley of the Kings since 1913, and was three years away from world-wide fame for the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun.

After many delays, Breasted finally arrived in Egypt in November of 1919 and was based in Cairo, where tourists had not yet been able to gain access due to the fact that Wilson's "so-called peace had hardly penetrated the Near East."⁴¹ Earlier that year, Egyptian nationalist and leader of the new Wafd party, Saad Zaghloul, had been arrested and exiled for his continued requests that Britain recognize Egypt's independence. His absence from Egypt led to political unrest, and, ultimately, the 1919 Egyptian Revolution.⁴² This unrest caused the deaths of more than 800 Egyptians and, subsequently, the High Commissioner Reginald Wingate lost his position to Allenby. In December of 1919, Lord Alfred Milner arrived in Cairo as the head of the Milner Commission. The primary aim of this mission was to find a workable solution to the political demands of the Wafd party. By March of 1920, the Commission was able to recommend to Prime Minister Lloyd George that Egypt should be given their independence. They received it, nominally, in 1922.⁴³

Nationalist political and economic unrest was happening all around Breasted as he arrived and made his way, diplomatically and scientifically, through Egypt. He wrote to his family that there was "trouble in the air, and the outbreak in Cairo is likely to come at any minute. You need not have the slightest anxiety."⁴⁴ He had his letters of introduction to speed him through his entry into the country as well as the cooperation of the American diplomat in Egypt. With official backing from the British Government

39 Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 228. For the archaeological parts of this journey, see pp. 228-248.

40 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 242-44.

41 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 242.

42 Juan Cole, "Egypt's Modern Revolutions and the Fall of Mubarak," in *The New Middle East: Protest and Revolution in the Arab World*, ed. Fawaz A. Gerges (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 67.

43 Cole, "Egypt's Modern Revolutions," 68.

44 2 November 1919; *Letters*, 84.

and the High Commissioner, he was set for his journey through the desert.⁴⁵ Breasted was immediately invited to the British Residency by Allenby and his wife; they quickly formed a close friendship. That autumn, Breasted took the Allenbys on tours of the Giza plateau, Saqqara, and the Cairo Museum, and from the start, Allenby openly shared with Breasted his diplomatic concerns for Britain in the Middle East. According to Breasted, upon their first meeting and after Breasted had volunteered his services, Allenby told Breasted a story about a conversation with President Wilson before the Paris peace talks in which Wilson asked Allenby what would happen if the French were allowed to take over Syria. Allenby reportedly replied that the French presence in Syria would "immediately result in a terrible war...and set the world on fire again."⁴⁶ Wilson later asked him, in front of the Peace Commissioners gathered for the talks, how to understand the wishes of the people over whom they would govern. Allenby replied that the only way this could be done would be to ask the people, openly and directly.⁴⁷ Wilson responded by sending to Mesopotamia what came to be known as the King-Crane Commission from June to August, 1919. The purpose of the Commission was to closely interview as many indigenous groups as possible to understand their desires for their future political situations.⁴⁸ The Commission followed a similar path to the one Breasted and his crew would take six months later through the area.⁴⁹ The final King-Crane Report stated that most peoples wished to have independent and sovereign rule in their own states, after getting some help from the United States. It was ignored by the Wilson administration, then eventually suppressed.⁵⁰ On the ground, the main result of the suppression and failure of the Report was that it gave hope to the groups in Mesopotamia that America, not Britain or France, would come in to help them; in the end, they were disappointed. Because the Commission had essentially failed (even though no one yet knew it), nonetheless the British and French colonial ambitions were still strong, the respective governments wished to encourage native support. As a secondary goal, then, Breasted saw his expedition as one way for the Americans and the British to work together to garner this support. Allenby thus gave orders to a Residency staff officer to make the travel arrangements for Breasted's expedition through the Army Administration.⁵¹ The British were the central authority in the area at the time and their making arrangements seemed to be the most efficient means of getting the travel organized, and Breasted wrote: "I must say these Englishmen have treated me mighty well. I have found universal cordiality and kindness and readiness to help."⁵² While they could not guarantee a specific date of travel, the Army was in charge of his plans.

45 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 247.

46 30 November 1919; *Letters*, 102.

47 30 November 1919; *Letters*, 102.

48 The King-Crane Commission Archives.

49 See the itinerary here: https://wwi.lib.byu.edu/index.php/The_King-Crane_Report (accessed 1 June 2017).

50 Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia*, 489.

51 14 December 1919; *Letters*, 115.

52 14 December 1919; *Letters*, 115.

From November through February, when the expedition finally left Cairo, Breasted continued his archaeological work in the Cairo museum making copies and transcribing the script on coffins and monuments. He also visited Upper Egypt to continue buying antiquities in the markets. He ended up spending, according to his own accounting, over \$70,000 to buy antiquities for various museums and collections, including the Art Museum and the new Oriental Institute.⁵³ In January, Allenby gave him permission—and a plane and pilot—to fly over Cairo and take photographs of the pyramids, the city, and the desert. It was quite an adventure for him, being his first time in an open airplane. He said that he had trouble breathing and the noise was so terrible that he wondered if he would complete the whole two-hour trip. He did, but not before he “leaned over the cockpit rail and surrendered to the Sahara a very good thirty piaster lunch!”⁵⁴ When he was not getting sick, he reveled in the beauty of the views. He wrote: “...the full splendor of it all broke upon me, and it was thrilling beyond all words to express.”⁵⁵ He saw the Delta and the desert, 100 miles in every direction. As they came upon the Giza pyramid group, they lingered over the Great Pyramid. Breasted wrote: “I suppose I am the first archaeologist who has ever opened a camera on the pyramid from a point where all four sides could be seen at once.”⁵⁶ When they landed, he was happy to be back on the ground and as he and Ludlow Bull went back to Cairo, had 20 pictures of the pyramids to show for it.

By February, Allenby had gotten him passage on a P&O steamship from Port Said, sailing on 18 February, bound for Bombay, India. There was near-constant fighting in the Transjordan and the usual route overland from Cairo to Baghdad was not passable. For safety’s sake, then, the route Breasted and his crew took had to “follow the two long sides of a triangle with its apex at Bombay, a distance of over 5000 miles.”⁵⁷ Before the expedition left, Breasted went to the Residency to bid the Allenbys goodbye. The General gave Breasted a French report on the state of Syria to read while he wrote an introduction letter to Prince Feisal, then of Syria, to ensure Breasted’s protection. The report, marked “SECRET,” detailed the state of affairs in the area that the French were attempting to occupy, but whose people were expecting the Americans to help. Breasted wrote to his family, as well as to President Judson of Chicago of the situation: “It is evident that the whole middle section of the Fertile Crescent from Baghdad to Aleppo and Damascus is on fire, and a concerted effort is being made by the Turks and the Arabs to throw the French into the sea. We shall not get far from Baghdad, I fear. Be quite free from all anxiety.”⁵⁸ Though their

53 30 December 1919; *Letters*, 126.

54 15 January 1920; *Letters*, 137.

55 15 January 1920; *Letters*, 137.

56 15 January 1920; *Letters*, 137.

57 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 243.

58 18 February 1920; *Letters*, 150. Charles Breasted later recollected that he met with the Allenbys a couple of years after this trip and they told him that it was “only with the greatest reluctance and anxiety complied with my father’s request for transport and other facilities; for the High Command in Mesopotamia had reported conditions there as so dangerous that they had not expected to see him alive again” (*Pioneer to the Past*, 261-62).

destinations were in a daily state of flux, in the end, the expedition went from Port Said by boat to Bombay, then again by boat to Basra and essentially followed the Euphrates River as it wound its way through the desert. Going northwest, they saw a number of cities and villages, including Basra, Baghdad, Tikrit, Fallujah, Anah, Deir ez-Zor, and Aleppo; from there they turned back southwest and travelled to cities including Beirut, Damascus, Haifa, and Jerusalem. All along the way, they did archaeological reconnaissance and purchased antiquities at the ancient sites of Ur, Babylon, Nimrud, Ninevah, and Damascus, as well as doing covert political intelligence gathering.

Breasted knew he would gather intelligence on the state of the area, because he volunteered for it, but the covert work actually began early on, and seemed to be a surprise. On the ship to Bombay, Breasted and his crew met "a big, ponderous, florid-faced Briton named Major Pratt-Barlow. . . . though [he is] very taciturn and modest, but we have at last induced him to talk."⁵⁹ Pratt-Barlow allowed Breasted to read T. E. Lawrence's report to Allenby about his own experiences and thoughts on the situation in Syria. Breasted recounted that "The French are so insanely jealous of Lawrence's power and influence among the Arabs, that the British have not published Lawrence's report for fear of offending the French. It is a pity, for it is an extraordinary document."⁶⁰ That Pratt-Barlow would let Breasted read this document would be a little unexpected, unless Breasted had particular clearances from Allenby that we do not know about (which is not unlikely). From Bombay, they sailed to Basra, which was then a "vast military camp extending four miles along the Shatt el-Arab, with shipping, native and English."⁶¹ Here they planned to follow the new railway from Basra to Baghdad, which was quite safe, Breasted said, and which passed through the ancient site of Ur of the Chaldees where they would survey and then begin a camel caravan to Baghdad, zigzagging so to stay near the railway.⁶² Along the way, from site to site and city to city, they stayed in various military housing units; many times these were the only housing options available. They met not only with Army officials, but also with leaders of local importance, many of whom seemed to know of their arrivals in advance. They were given every hospitality possible by both groups, the native groups often having better food than the Army units.

It is important to note here that, as Breasted and his group arrived in Basra in early March, 1920, then-Prince Feisal was declaring himself the King of an independent Syria, with the help of the General Syrian Congress. To further complicate the situation, in April of 1920, leaders of Italy, France, Britain, and Japan met in San Remo, Italy, to officially mandate the division of Mesopotamia to Britain—who received Iraq and Palestine, or what was then known as the Transjordan—and France—who received the rest of Syria.⁶³ As the

59 27 February 1920; *Letters*, 156.

60 27 February 1920; *Letters*, 157. It is possible this document says something similar to Lawrence's letter to *The Times* (London), "Arab Rights, Our Policy in Mesopotamia," *The Times* (London), Friday, 23 July 1920, p. 15.

61 9 March 1920; *Letters*, 167.

62 10 March 1920; *Letters*, 168.

63 Anderson, *Lawrence in Arabia*, 491; David Fromkin, *The Peace to End All Peace: The Fall of the*

situation worsened, Feisal would be ousted in July 1920 in a brief battle outside Damascus, only to be made King of Iraq by the British, through Gertrude Bell, in August 1921. He was the King of a relatively stable Iraq until 1933. But all of this was in the future, as Breasted and his crew continued through the region.

As they worked, Breasted's team witnessed some questionable actions on the part of the British Army. One Major Daly, whom they met near the ancient site of Babylon, told Breasted about tearing down hundreds of ancient fortresses that had been, according to Daly, hampering relations among the local tribes for centuries. If tearing down forts did not work to subdue the local groups, Daly told Breasted, he would then simply bomb the tribes into submission. Breasted's response to these methods, which on the one hand he thought should be "condemned on humanitarian grounds," was, on the other hand, to "consider the alternative."⁶⁴ The alternative was what Breasted termed "Arab liberty," which he described as "the opportunity to oppress all his neighbors and raise unlimited hell."⁶⁵ He continued, arguing that Wilson's Fourteen Points would indeed work well in a situation like this, to advance the sovereignty of indigenous populations, but that the British refused to use them. Even still, he continually found local people who were willing to praise the English arrival and all the good it had done for them. One local man near Babylon told Breasted that the Ottoman rulers had indeed been cruel, but that with the English "things are much better now."⁶⁶

Breasted and his crew met archaeologist and intelligence official Gertrude Bell in Baghdad when she was a dinner guest at the home of Major-General Percy Hambro, Quartermaster-General of the British Army in Mesopotamia.⁶⁷ Breasted described her as "an Englishwoman who has been out here among the Arabs, like Lady Hester Stanhope, for some 25 years—of course no longer young, and a terrible blue stocking, but I have no doubt an interesting woman."⁶⁸ According to his son, Breasted and Bell struck up a friendship that lasted until her death in 1926. She led them on a few adventures and had so much energy that she "ran her male companions ragged."⁶⁹ Breasted watched her force a diplomatic meeting between General Haldane, then the commander-in-chief of British forces in Mesopotamia, and a "recalcitrant Arab tribe whose sheikh she had befriended."⁷⁰ The sheikh took the meeting to be a "flattering and deliberately planned gesture of friendship from Great Britain...and from that day forward he and his tribe became devoted allies of

Ottoman Empire and the Creation of the Middle East (New York, NY: Henry Holt, 2010), 403-411; "The British Mandate for Palestine, San Remo Conference, April 24, 1920," <https://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/britman.htm> (accessed 1 June 2017).

64 30 March 1920; *Letters*, 185.

65 30 March 1920; *Letters*, 185.

66 2 April 1920; *Letters*, 188.

67 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 274; 10 April 1920; *Letters*, 196.

68 10 April 1920; *Letters*, 196.

69 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 276.

70 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 276.

the Empire."⁷¹ Bell's work was clearly as an active diplomat, while Breasted, the whole time painting himself as a passive witness to these international relations, clearly had some active role in the numerous meetings he attended.

This active role is apparent in the fact that he and his crew got permission to go to Aleppo, through the Syrian Desert, because their arrival would "coincide with the very important negotiations between the British and the Arabs regarding Anglo-Arab boundary on [the Euphrates River]."⁷² The as-yet-unknown outcome of the San Remo Conference would either allow or prohibit the area to be given back to the local tribes; the Breasted party depended on the friendliness of the local leader for permission to travel through safely. The Civil Commissioner told Breasted that if they showed "good will by furnishing safe conduct to an American party as far as Aleppo," then the British were more likely to give the area back to them.⁷³ Breasted was more than happy to play this part in negotiations, as he was focused on getting his crew to Aleppo safely and getting access to a number of ancient sites. He was even advised to fly an American flag on one of the group's vehicles "to signify the expedition's political neutrality."⁷⁴ He wrote to his wife:

As regards the Syrian desert [sic] I would not write at all about it until the journey should be over...and you need not be troubled by the apprehensions which beset me as I write and which, in view of the circumstances, I need not conceal. I have thought the matter over well. It is a grave responsibility to take four men beside myself across four hundred miles of war zone, three fourths of which or nearly so are beset by treacherous Arabs.⁷⁵

He was clearly worried about the trip, as evidenced by the short, personal letters he wrote to each member of his family, professing his love and assuring them of his safety, but saying that if anything happened to him, he would always think of those he loved. He wrote that he truly believed this work was all for the furthering of the Oriental Institute and for the furthering of archaeology.

As they approached Deir ez-Zor, on their way to Aleppo, their arrival was announced to the local leader, Maulud Pasha, and the crew were invited to dine with him. He first visited the Pasha's office and told him about the British planning to withdraw troops to nearly a hundred miles from the upper Euphrates, and by the time he had returned to his lodgings, he had five Arab officers waiting for him. Because of the King-Crane Commission, of which no one knew of the suppressing of the Report, the men were ready to discuss "the political future of the Arabs, because they had so much confidence in America and such admiration for the great republic, whose aid they so much needed."⁷⁶ They also asked about the intentions of the British, but Breasted did not report much on that to them, possibly

71 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 276.

72 25 April 1920; *Letters*, 215.

73 25 April 1920; *Letters*, 216. The British did not give the area back.

74 Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 241.

75 25 April 1920; *Letters*, 217.

76 7 May 1920; *Letters*, 232.

for his own safety. Later, at dinner, the Pasha and his officers expressed the same hopes to Breasted from his home country: “They all expressed not only admiration but affection for America and complete confidence in our ability to help them....I confess that this widespread respect for our country this general expectation of help which it was sure to send, threw a new light on our responsibilities. The world was everywhere expecting great and new things from us.”⁷⁷ The Pasha was clear in his expectations, however, as Breasted wrote, echoing the sentiments in the King-Crane Report:

What they wanted was for the English to go and leave the Arabs to run their own affairs, hoping for the guidance and advice of America, until the new Arab nation, after centuries of strife and disunion, could gather strength, gain experience and deserve a place with the other nations of the world. They all expressed deep seated resentment toward the British, and unconquerable determination not to permit English domination. It was, I assure you, a great surprise to me, and I believe it would be equally so to the British statesmen now guiding the British Empire.⁷⁸

This meeting, and the outcome of it, represented a shift in Breasted’s duties to the British and to local groups. With this meeting, he likely realized that not only had he volunteered in gauging native attitudes at this critical time, but would also be needed to give policy advice to His Majesty’s Government in the event.

Not long after the meeting with the Pasha, Breasted and his crew moved further east toward Aleppo and Breasted found himself in a meeting with one of then-King Feisal of Syria’s strongest and most powerful supporters (or so it was believed at the time), Sheikh Ramadhan Beg Shilash. The Sheikh could not say enough good things about America or enough bad things about the English. To corroborate this distaste, one of Ramadhan’s men raised a “massive tent-mallet” over Breasted’s head and “smote the ground several times with all his strength, saying that was how he would treat the English if he got the chance!”⁷⁹ Ramadhan then asked Breasted to carry a letter to a newspaper in Aleppo for him. After this frightening display, Breasted probably felt he had no choice but to agree to the task; the crew reached Aleppo on 12 May, rejoicing in all that urban life had to offer. The relief in Aleppo was not for long. Breasted’s group had encountered a war zone—the French were preparing forces to conquer Feisal, his Arab government, and the Syrian interior. With the threat of Arab tribes cutting off railway lines, Breasted immediately secured local protection and use of a rail car to the ancient site of Kadesh, where Ramses II had beaten the Hittites in c. 1270 BC.⁸⁰ They continued on to the site of Baalbek, then to Beirut. Upon

77 7 May 1920; *Letters*, 232.

78 7 May 1920; *Letters*, 232.

79 7 May 1920; *Letters*, 234.

80 Breasted wrote about this battle and Ramses II’s military strategy in “The Battle of Kadesh,” so this site was especially important to him (“The Battle of Kadesh: A Study in the Earliest Known Military Strategy,” in *Investigations Representing the Departments: Semitic Languages and Literatures, Biblical and Patristic Greek*, Decennial Publications, 1st series, vol. 5 (Chicago, 1904)). See also Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 92-93; 245.

reaching Baalbek, however, Breasted was accosted by two Bedouin who asked "bluntly whether he had delivered the letter which Sheikh Ramadhan Beg Ibn Shallash had given him to take to Aleppo...and he speculated to himself what might have befallen him and his party had he for any reason failed to deliver the letter."⁸¹ He could not have been ignorant of the fact that the letter must have been important, as he delivered the letter in Aleppo despite having had a high fever upon arrival.

The team arrived in Beirut on 20 May and stayed for about a week, visiting colleagues, seeing ancient sites nearby, and acquiring artifacts. Breasted also met with General Gouraud, High Commissioner of France in Syria during that time. Although Breasted had seen the state of unrest "on the very ground" the French were attempting to squash, he felt "obliged to keep quiet about it."⁸² He did not keep quiet about tough issues when he met with King Feisal over a week later in Damascus. The two spoke in French, and Breasted said the conversation was "commonplace" until he brought up the journey he and his team had accomplished across the desert from Baghdad to the Mediterranean.⁸³ Feisal was extremely interested in this feat, as well as the conditions Breasted witnessed throughout the new Arab state. Breasted said he "did not hesitate to tell King Feisal the facts regarding the feeling there concerning his own brother Abdullah," who had surreptitiously claimed the kingship over Iraq. The people did not support him, and instead supported "the great Sheikh [Abdel Aziz] Ibn Saud, a superb Arab," a leader of the "Wahhabi, one of the sect of Puritan Moslems [sic]."⁸⁴ Feisal appreciated Breasted's honesty and invited him to dinner a few days hence. The dinner was official, with the American Consul and many of the King's closest advisers in attendance. Breasted was asked to sit at the King's right, which was the official seat of honor. Breasted wrote: "I was reluctant to take [the seat], as Uncle Sam was officially present, but of course I could not demur at any arrangement he [Feisal] chose to make."⁸⁵ They did not talk much of politics, as the King had already told Breasted that he thought the conflict between the French and English, in Syria and Palestine respectively, was America's fault due to inaction.⁸⁶

Breasted and his crew then traveled to Jerusalem, arriving on 3 June, their final stop before returning to Cairo. In Jerusalem Breasted was immediately swept into meetings with the highest British Intelligence officials in the area, including the Major-General Sir Louis Bols. Writing to his wife, he told her:

I had to tell much of my experiences on the overland trip. They were all talking of King Feisal's absence in Paris, and were quite incredulous when I told them I had dined with him in Damascus only three days before. I can't begin to recount the conversation, but it was a very diverting game for me.

81 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 301.

82 28 May 1920; *Letters*, 255.

83 29 May 1920; *Letters*, 257.

84 29 May 1920; *Letters*, 257.

85 3 June 1920; *Letters*, 258.

86 3 June 1920; *Letters*, 258.

...After lunch I went into a corner with [General Bols], and told him what I knew of Arab hostility to the British.⁸⁷

He seemed to delight in the fact that he knew intelligence that the British did not, in terms of the situation with native tribes and Feisal's whereabouts, and that they were scrambling because of it. The British Army and Government were anxious about Feisal's allegiance to them, and Breasted told Bols "...that the sheikhs [he] had talked with showed little enthusiasm for Feisal."⁸⁸ Bols pressed him for details about the letter he had delivered to Aleppo for Ramadhan, but Breasted told him that he had no further information about it. The two continued talking about the French presence in Syria, which was very unwelcome, and the British presence in Palestine, which was becoming troublesome.⁸⁹

Breasted explained to Frances in his letter on 5 June that he thought "It was a very curious thing that Sheikh Ramadhan handed me, an American stranger, a confidential letter to be delivered in Aleppo, while only an hour or two before me...an official of Feisal's government had passed by the Sheikh's tents on his way to Aleppo."⁹⁰ After talking in depth with two more British Army officials—General Waters-Taylor and Lord Stadbroke, Commandant at Kantara (in the Eastern Delta)—on the train journey from Jerusalem to Cairo, he learned that he had indeed been a covert messenger for Ramadhan. On 10 June he wrote Frances: "The plot thickens!...Sheikh Ramadhan's letter, which he cunningly set the stage for me to carry, was evidently for the French! ...He is working against Feisal's interests again, and made me his messenger to the French without my knowing it!"⁹¹ In addition, one of his expedition journals and some telegrams went missing in transit and, Breasted thought, were likely intercepted by the French.⁹² It is likely that his mail was going through the British military postal system and, because they contained sensitive information, were probably being read by censors. So, we can assume that Breasted was on the French radar as working for British Army intelligence. He did not appreciate the fact that he may have helped them in their aspirations for Syria.

Upon his return to Cairo, he updated Allenby on his whole journey. He focused his report to Allenby on his "apprehensions regarding Palestine if the present policy were continued."⁹³ The "present policy," made so at the San Remo Conference in April, was the Balfour Declaration. This declaration confirmed the support of the British government for furnishing a national home for Jewish people in Palestine.⁹⁴ Breasted disapproved and likened the policy to forcing "upon the protesting people of the land an utterly abhorrent Jewish supremacy, producing in Palestine a situation equally full of trouble and disorder

87 5 June 1920; *Letters*, 266.

88 5 June 1920; *Letters*, 267.

89 5 June 1920; *Letters*, 267.

90 5 June 1920; *Letters*, 266.

91 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 268-269.

92 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 268.

93 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 269

94 See the full text of the letter, originally from Arthur James Balfour to Walter Rothschild, "Palestine for the Jews," *The Times* (London): Friday, 9 November 1917, p. 7.

[as in Syria]!”⁹⁵ Upon hearing Breasted’s news, Allenby immediately sent him home via London, extending his trip by two weeks. He commissioned Breasted to meet with Lord Curzon, the Foreign Minister, and Prime Minister David Lloyd George in order to update them on the latest situation in Mesopotamia. He wrote letters to each of them, saying that Breasted “has just travelled through Mesopotamia, and by land to Aleppo. He has therefore the latest and best information on these regions.”⁹⁶ Breasted expressed his concern over this course of action to Allenby, saying “‘I devoutly hope something [can] be done, for the present policy [is] steering straight for trouble.’ ‘Yes,’ Allenby replied, ‘I think so too, and I have clearly told them so, but they won’t listen to me. Perhaps they’ll take it from you.’”⁹⁷ Breasted did not wish to refuse this call to duty, feeling, as he was, “very much in a dream...charged with an international mission which may have something to do with saving Palestine from civil war, and the whole Near East from conflagration.”⁹⁸ But, that may have been his expected course of action all along.

Allenby had charged him emphatically, multiple times, to tell Curzon and Lloyd George all he knew from his overland trip. In addition, the American consulate in Cairo sent a stenographer who took Breasted’s full statement in order to send it to Wilson and the War Department in Washington, D. C.⁹⁹ On the way to England, he wrote to his wife about the outcomes of his trip. “Scientifically I have not accomplished a great deal. But in the matter of museum pieces, and the practical foundation necessary to establish our work in the newly organized Near East emerging from the Great War, I am quite satisfied.”¹⁰⁰ Breasted was well aware that the Rockefeller money given to his scientific endeavors but, for the first year at least, he had largely aided in the British Government spying on their newly colonized areas. Breasted did not mention any of the discussion or results from those meetings in these letters from his expedition, although he wrote about it in a report from the first Expedition.¹⁰¹ He wrote in a letter to Charles that he had met with Curzon for over an hour, but that the Prime Minister was absent at the Spa Conference and therefore could not meet with him.¹⁰² Charles Breasted recounted his father’s summary of the meeting:

I summarized our journey through Iraq and across the Syrian Desert; referred to the incident of the letter from Sheikh Ramadhan which probably reached [the French];...prophesied imminent disaster if the French continued their present policy of intimidation in Syria, and murderous inter-racial strife if the British adhered to the Balfour Declaration in Palestine. ...he startled me by throwing back his hands and exclaiming, ‘My God—to think that at such

95 5 June 1920; *Letters*, 267.

96 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 270.

97 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 269-270.

98 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 271.

99 10 June 1920; *Letters*, 273.

100 28 June 1920; *Letters*, 280.

101 James Henry Breasted, “Report of the First Expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago,” 1920; cited in Abt, *American Egyptologist*, 232.

102 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 314.

a time His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs should have been ignorant of the facts you have brought me!"¹⁰³

Curzon had to end their meeting quickly to deal with a labor dispute. Before they parted, he told Breasted that the intelligence he gave was crucial, "even if—as I fear—they have reached my Government too late to forestall imminent catastrophe, they will nevertheless fortify us in any eventual modification of our Palestinian policy which circumstances may force upon us." He thanked me in behalf of his Government for what I had done and for what it implied of Anglo-American amity, and we parted."¹⁰⁴ After this meeting, Breasted returned home with a "greatly clarified vision of the project to which he now hoped to devote what with uncanny prescience he correctly anticipated as the fifteen remaining years of his life."¹⁰⁵

Conclusions

Breasted, like other archaeologists before him, was used as a spy by the British Army to gather important local intelligence after the Great War. By his own telling, this work was secondary to his journey across the desert, but it is clear that intelligence gathering was instead a central task. In his letters, Breasted downplayed this work, but he knew that a central purpose of his expedition was intelligence. Arguably, he would not have called himself a spy, even though his activities gave him all the attributes of being worthy of the title. In the tumultuous post-war environment, archaeologists had unprecedented access and influence in the areas in question, and Breasted and Allenby used the situation to their advantage. Breasted collected antiquities and they now populate museums around the world.¹⁰⁶ On the other hand, the US ignored the King-Crane Report and Breasted's report, which made identical arguments. Further, the British government failed to modify their policies based on the important intelligence coming from Breasted, Bell, and others. Despite protests, the Balfour Declaration was included in the peace documents for the Ottoman Empire and the British Mandate in Palestine. Almost instantly, there were serious troubles within the Mandate which caused issues not just for archaeological research in the area, but for political, economic, social, and cultural conflict for the last century.¹⁰⁷ Despite Allenby and Curzon both expressing sentiments of shock and desire for change, it seems clear that when Breasted gave them information that did not fit their plans, they ignored him and did as they had already set out to do.

Clearly for Breasted the mission began as a scientific one. He had written to his

103 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 314.

104 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 314.

105 C. Breasted, *Pioneer to the Past*, 316.

106 See Emberling and Teeter, "The First Expedition of the Oriental Institute, 1919-1920".

107 Petrie complained about this as he entered "Egypt over the border," for example, at Tell el Ajjul (Flinders Petrie, *Ancient Gaza I. Tell el Ajjul*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 53 (London, 1931); *Ancient Gaza II. Tell el Ajjul*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 54 (London, 1932); *Ancient Gaza III. Tell el Ajjul*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 55 (London, 1932); *Ancient Gaza IV. Tell el Ajjul*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 56 (London, 1934).

family on 29 February that "...the conclusion of the war was the moment to jump in, and reluctant as I was to leave home, I could not evade the duty of one more effort to put at least one American department of Oriental Languages in a position for scientific production like that of a department of Chemistry or Astronomy. I can see it is coming. ...I think *Ancient Times* had a lot to do with it."¹⁰⁸ In the end, Breasted was a shrewd diplomat and determined archaeologist who used every advantage he could to gain access to sites. The work put him in situations of unavoidable danger where the risks vastly outweighed the rewards.

Some authors have argued that it is dangerous to current field workers to highlight the work that archaeologists have done as spies. But it is these angles that are crucial not only to understanding scientific lives, but also to making the murky intelligence world a little clearer. The post-war intelligence world was elite, open, nebulous, and fraught with problems of budgets and support from the very governments they were supporting. Woodrow Wilson would not send operatives to gather intelligence; the British needed help but had no money. Not only did the situation allow opportunistic imperial governments a foothold in unbalanced political situations, but it also allowed resourceful scientists a chance at seeing and analyzing hard-to-access sites, and gathering artifacts that would soon be denied them under controlled regulations. That he had no intelligence training whatsoever did not seem to bother Breasted.

In the history of archaeology in the ancient Near East, Breasted is well-known for his work at the University of Chicago's Oriental Institute and the now-well-established Epigraphic Survey. The story of the first Expedition of the Oriental Institute is unique in a number of ways. It was the first expedition of its kind for this brand-new institution. Many scholars study this first journey as exemplary and important, not just because of the new Oriental Institute, but also because of the political ramifications it had on archaeology. But the trip must be seen as more than an archaeological success—indeed, it must be seen as a diplomatic failure on the part of Britain and the US. The findings lent support to the King-Crane Report; thus the evidence points to the conclusion that both countries could have used Breasted's warnings to change some of their anticipated policies, but they did not. Breasted's work as a scientist is crucial; his time as a spy was central to this expedition and to the attempt at policy-making in the Middle East. He was undoubtedly disappointed in the outcome of his work, and as far as we know, never attempted to help advise policy again.

108 29 February 1920; *Letters*, 159.

Papyrus Rollin 213 and the Aftermath of the Amarna Period

Steven M. Stannish

Abstract: In her article on the pharaoh Akhenaten's activities at Memphis, Beatrix Löhr discussed the implications of Papyrus Rollin 213, a fragmentary account of later lumber requisitions. Löhr believed this document indicates that one of the king's temples, a "Mansion of the Aten" (*hwt pꜣ itn*), functioned in the city several decades after his death, under Seti I. Recently, however, René van Walsem has challenged this view, questioning the papyrus's date and provenance, and arguing that it records plunder from the Small Aten Temple at Amarna. This article reexamines Rollin 213 in conjunction with other evidence and concludes that Löhr's opinion is more likely. Particularly important for this conclusion is the existence of multiple officials—Huy, Ramose, and Hatiay—who served a Mansion of the Aten, but who left no trace at Amarna and who were buried elsewhere. Also significant is the survival of some of Akhenaten's other temples in Upper Egypt and Nubia into the reign of Horemheb and beyond.

Résumé : Dans son article sur les activités du pharaon Akhenaton à Memphis, Beatrix Löhr a traité des implications du Papyrus Rollin 213, qui présente un inventaire fragmentaire de bois pour une réquisition ultérieure. Löhr estime que ce document indique que l'un des temples du roi, le « Domaine d'Aton » (*hwt pꜣ itn*), était toujours actif dans la ville sous le règne de Séthi Ier, plusieurs décennies, ce faisant, après la mort d'Akhenaton. Cependant, René van Walsem a récemment contesté cette hypothèse, remettant en question la datation et la provenance du papyrus, soutenant qu'il faisait état du pillage du Petit Temple d'Aton à Amarna. Cet article réexamine le P. Rollin 213 en conjonction avec d'autres sources et conclut que l'hypothèse de Löhr est plus probable. Un des arguments à l'appui est l'existence de plusieurs personnages officiels – Huy, Ramose et Hatiay – qui ont servi dans le Domaine d'Aton, mais qui n'ont laissé aucune trace à Amarna et qui ont été enterrés ailleurs. La survie d'autres temples d'Akhenaton en Haute Égypte et en Nubie durant le règne d'Horemheb et au-delà semble également appuyer cette hypothèse.

Keywords: Rollin Papyri/Papyri Rollin, Memphis, Aten/Aton, Akhenaten/Akhenaton, Amarna, Seti I/Sethi Ier

In her 1975 article on the building projects of Akhenaten (ca. 1352-1336) at Memphis, Beatrix Löhr considered the implications of Papyrus Rollin 213 (figure 1).¹ This fragmentary document records a shipment of wood from "the Mansion of the Aten" (*tꜥ ḥwt pꜣ itn*), a temple from the time of the king's infamous revolution. Since Rollin 213 had been dated to the reign of Seti I (ca. 1294-1279) and with a provenance of Memphis, Löhr thought the mansion functioned into the early thirteenth century BC at that site. Several scholars, including the present author, have expressed agreement with her conclusion.²

In the recent report on Meryneith's tomb at Saqqara, however, René van Walsem has offered a strikingly different appraisal of Rollin 213.³ Taking issue with Löhr on nearly every point, van Walsem questions both the date and the origin of the papyrus. In addition, he locates Rollin 213's Mansion of the Aten in Akhenaten's residence city, Amarna, and suggests that the document records the temple's pillaging. Indeed, van Walsem observes that the destruction of Akhenaten's monuments "found its apex during the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II," so that "it is extremely unwise to infer from this loose fragment that the Aten cult still existed at Memphis during Seti I's reign."⁴

This article considers Rollin 213 in light of van Walsem's argument. It contends that although the papyrus's date, provenance, and implications cannot be established with certainty, Löhr's conclusion remains the most probable: a Mansion of the Aten functioned in early thirteenth-century Memphis. This temple's survival is interesting, of course, but not shocking, for while Akhenaten himself suffered *damnatio memoriae*, his god retained a place, albeit a diminished one, in the Egyptian pantheon. Later rulers quickly dismantled some of the king's structures, recycling their *talatat*-blocks for new projects, but they may have reorganized this one, among others, along more traditional lines.

Before turning to Rollin 213 itself, let us review some of the details of van Walsem's reappraisal. First, van Walsem observes that Wilhelm Spiegelberg, the Egyptologist responsible for the papyrus's authoritative publication, assigned it to the Rollin collection—and to the reign of Seti I—based on paleography. The document does not mention this king by name, however, leaving "some degree of uncertainty."⁵ In addition, van Walsem points

1 B. Löhr, "Aḥanjāti in Memphis," *SÄK* 2 (1975): 146-47, 169-70. For the reigns of Egyptian kings, I have followed the table in I. Shaw, ed., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 479-83. This is solely an expedient. I do not mean to imply that Shaw's table provides the correct answers to enduring questions of Egyptian chronology. I am grateful to R. Vogel and D. Warne for reading and commenting on this article.

2 H. D. Schneider et al., "The Tomb of Iniuia: Preliminary Report on the Saqqara Excavations," *JEA* 79 (1993): 7-8; K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments I, Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Contemporaries* (London: Blackwell, 1994), 184; S. M. Stannish, "The Aten Cult in Memphis," in *The Light of Discovery: Studies in Honor of Edwin M. Yamauchi*, ed. J. Wineland (Eugene: Pickwick, 2007), 232; V. Angenot, "A Horizon of the Aten in Memphis?" *JSSEA* 35 (2008): 13-14.

3 R. van Walsem, "The Family and Career of Meryneith and Hatiay," in *The Tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara*, M. J. Raven et al. (Leiden: Brepols, 2014), 50-51.

4 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 51.

5 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50.

out that Rollin 213's Memphite origin derives from Champollion's inspection of a single Rollin fragment in Cairo and is thus "not proven at all."⁶ Moreover, he argues that all extant allusions to *t3 hwt p3 itn* refer to the Small Aten Temple and its environs at Amarna, the only area which indisputably bears this designation.⁷ Finally, van Walsem remarks that Rollin 213 does not in any way attest to cultic activity and is more likely an account of post-Amarna plunder.⁸

In addressing van Walsem's objections, we should recognize that scholars include our document in a group of eleven papyri named for the antiquarian Claude Camille Rollin (1813-1883) in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. Rollin 203-13 record what Willem Pleyte called *notions administratives*: quantities of bread together with consignments of wood, fowl, grain, and slaves.⁹ Spiegelberg assigned their hieratic script to the thirteenth century based on its difference from the thick, angular signs of the previous era and the elegant, ornate style of later times.¹⁰ He did not rely solely on paleography, however, for Rollin 203-06 refer directly to Years 2 and 3 of Seti I.¹¹ Furthermore, several of Rollin 204's bakers—Djadja, Khuru, Nuamun, and Ankhtu—also appear in 207-09, while 210's troop commander Khay returns in 211, suggesting that all of the documents belong to the same period. Of course, we cannot eliminate the possibility that Rollin 213 found its way into this assemblage by mistake, but its script and contents make the opinion seem arbitrary and unlikely. As Spiegelberg declared, "lässt die Schrift und die Art des Papyrus [212 und 213] keinen Zweifel an ihrer Zugehörigkeit zu der ersten Gruppe."¹²

Concerning the provenance of Rollin 213, Spiegelberg did cite Champollion's visit to Cairo, though the French scholar actually saw two documents (205 and 206), not one, as van Walsem claims.¹³ Alone, this would hardly be a compelling reason to trace the assemblage to Memphis, but again contents support the theory. The Rollin Papyri refer to several of the city's institutions and officials—its House of Aakheperkare (204 b 3.1, 206 1.3), its granary (206 1.4), and its mayor Neferhotep (206 1.4, 2.2-3).¹⁴ So Spiegelberg wrote "Der Inhalt unsrer Schriftstücke legt es nahe, den Fundort derselben nach Memphis

6 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50.

7 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50 and n. 133.

8 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50-51.

9 W. Pleyte, *Les papyrus Rollin de la Bibliothèque impériale de Paris* (Leiden: Brill, 1868), 2. Rollin 213 was originally numbered 1882, while 203-212 were 1884-86 and 1889. The papyri also included a hymn to Amenhotep II (no. 202) and part of the record of the harem conspiracy against Ramesses III (no. 195).

10 W. Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches: Text* (Strassburg: Tübner, 1896), 5, cf. n. 2.

11 Seti I is in fact the latest ruler mentioned in any of the papyri, suggesting their composition during his reign. The names of Amenhotep I (209 rto. 3.20), Thutmose I (206 3), Horemheb (209 rto. 2.7, 213), and Ramesses I (209 rto. 2.6) also appear.

12 Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen: Text*, 4.

13 Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen: Text*, 1. Cf. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Notes and Comments I*, 160.

14 Cf. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Notes and Comments I*, 160.

zuverlegen, allein zu einem sicheren Schluss berechtigt uns nicht.”¹⁵ His final note of caution may be due in part to the collection’s allusion to other locations, like Heliopolis (209 vso. 4.1, 211 rto. 1.1) and Thebes (= *niwt*, the “city”) (204 b 26).

A comparison of the Rollin Papyri with Papyrus British Museum 10056 suggests—though does not prove—that we are on the right track with the former’s date and origin. Like some of our documents, BM 10056 records requisitions of wood, but its hieratic script has the heavy, angular quality of the early New Kingdom.¹⁶ Reinforcing this date, it mentions Year 52 of an unnamed ruler (vso. 9.8) as well as a king’s son and *sm*-priest Amenhotep (vso. 4.2), certainly Thutmose III (ca. 1479-1425) and the future Amenhotep II (ca. 1427-1400).¹⁷ In addition, the papyrus refers to the dockyards of Perunefer (vso. 9.12) and a ship called *mrsw mn-nfr* (rto. 7.14-15), indicating a Memphite provenance. BM 10056’s different script but similar contents thus lend support to the notion that the Rollin Papyri come from a later age, but the same milieu, the “naval base,” “international trading centre,” and “world city” of Memphis.¹⁸

Admittedly, Rollin 213 is unclear on the location and status of its Mansion of the Aten. What survives of the recto’s first column includes a nautical title, perhaps “overseer of the sail” (*imy-r ht-tzw*), followed by two appropriations: one *iswt* of ʕš-wood, 16.5 cubits long, 3 palms wide, “of the house of Parenu,” and another, 15.5 cubits long, 4 palms wide, “of the standard-bearer of the court Ay” (1.x+1-3). To clarify, an *iswt* is a long, thin plank used for the outer skin of a ship,¹⁹ and ʕš-wood is pine or fir from Syria or Lebanon—not necessarily cedar, as has sometimes been presumed.²⁰ Ending the first column are the critical lines:

t3 hwt p3 itn

ʕš *iswt* n *mḥ* 17 *ht* 5

The Mansion of the Aten

ʕš-wood *iswt*-plank of 17 cubits, 5 palms (1.x+4-5)

15 Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen: Text*, 1.

16 S. R. K. Glanville, “Records of a Royal Dockyard from the Time of Tuthmosis III: Papyrus British Museum 10056 (Part I),” *ZÄS* 66 (1931): 106.

17 Scholars have proposed different reconstructions of this regnal year. Glanville considered “Year 30” of Thutmose III “most probable,” but viewed “15,” “25,” and “35” as “possible.” “Records of a Royal Dockyard (Part I),” 120, n. 3. D. B. Redford accepted Glanville’s reading, but assigned BM 10056 to a long coregency between Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. “The Coregency of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II,” *JEA* 51 (1965): 107-22. Recently, however, S. Pasquali has shown that the regnal year is actually “52.” “La date du papyrus BM 10056: Thoutmosis III ou Amenhotep II?” *RdÉ* 58 (2007): esp. 77-78.

18 S. Snape, *The Complete Cities of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2014), 173-74.

19 D. Jones, *A Glossary of Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms* (London: Kegan Paul 1988), 155-56. The word *iswt* may be a Semitic loan, though sources from Western Asia do not contain an exact match. Cf. Akkadian *asa ʾitu*, “tower, part of a fortification wall,” Biblical Hebrew ʾāšûwyâh, “support,” and Talmudic Aramaic ʾāšîṭā, “frame wall.” J. E. Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 32-34.

20 Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Notes and Comments I*, 178-79.

The recto's second column records 3 *iswt*-planks, 5 *bmbnw* (possibly stems²¹), and a *wg* (a piece of framework²²), without indicating contributors or agents (2.x+1-5). Finally, Rollin 213's verso (the two fragments at the bottom of figure 1) lists requisitions of wood during the first month of the Harvest in an unspecified year. On day 20, the house of the overseer of the city and vizier Nebamun provided at least 7 *s3mkti*-supports (1.1-5), and on day 21, the houses of the army scribe Wah and the citizeness Hui supplied uncertain amounts of lumber (2.1-5). The last two donations were collected by the quartermaster Pawah, named to the left of each.

For our purposes, the only immediately obvious conclusion from this data is that a structure called the Mansion of the Aten provided at least one *iswt*-plank for ship-building or repair. The temple may have supplied more wood, recorded in the recto's second column, but it is impossible to say. Additionally, Rollin 213's verso might dovetail with other papyri, which list contributions of lumber on days 17 (211 rto. 1.1), 22 (210 vso. 1.1), 24 (210 vso. 2.1), and 25 (210 rto. 3.1), during the same month and season.²³ If so, the documents would resemble Rollin 206 and 204, which form a continuous record of baking.²⁴ The theory is not provable, however, and even if it were, it would not require Rollin 213's recto to be concurrent.²⁵

Somewhat more useful is Rollin 213's mention of the overseer of the city and vizier Nebamun, for a limestone statue of the great man from Abydos (CG 1140) bears the damaged prenomen of either Ramesses I (ca. 1295-1294) or Seti I.²⁶ Thus, although we do not know the location of Nebamun's home or post—or the total number of rulers he served—we can at least say that his presence fits an early Ramesside context.

If we look outside the Rollin Papyri, a staff inscription²⁷ and possibly a wine-jar label²⁸ refer to a “House of the Aten in Memphis” (*pr itn m mn-nfr*), but the Mansion of the Aten is a different structure. On the other hand, the stele of Huy from Saqqara (CG 34182), which dates to the second half of Akhenaten's reign, records its owner's titles as

21 Jones, *Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, 163.

22 Jones, *Ancient Egyptian Nautical Titles and Terms*, 160-61.

23 Rollin 211 also refers to Year 3 of an unnamed king (rto. 1.1) and a temple of Seti I (rto. 1.20) indicating a terminus post quem for its date.

24 See K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations I, Ramesses I, Sethos I, and Contemporaries* (London: Blackwell, 1993), 210.

25 Cf. the recto and verso of Rollin 211, which detail requisitions from different seasons.

26 L. Borchardt, *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 1-1294: Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, Teil 4 (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1934), 76. The prenomen *mn-...-rꜥ*, may be either “Menpehtyre” (Ramesses I) or “Menmaatre” (Seti I).

27 A. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe im pharaonischen Ägypten bis zum Ende des neuen Reiches* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1976), 155.

28 Löhr, “AXanjāti in Memphis,” 145-46; Angenot, “Horizon of the Aten,” 14-15. The label was found at Amarna and more likely refers to wine for the House of the Aten “*from Memphis*” (also *m mn-nfr*).

merchant and chief merchant of *t3 ḥwt p3 itn*.²⁹ Since this stele comes from the necropolis of Memphis, the natural conclusion is that its mansion was located in that city and identical to Rollin 213's. Van Walsem expresses serious doubts about this hypothesis, however, for "the only unambiguous *ḥwt p3 itn* is located in Amarna, where the term not only refers to the small Aten temple, but also includes the royal house to the north and the priests' dwellings, etc., to the south."³⁰ He adds that the structure's lack of a civic affiliation (e.g., *m mn-nfr*) indicates that only one existed.³¹ Accordingly, van Walsem reasons that Huy was an agent of the Mansion of the Aten in Amarna who served in Memphis, where he directed goods upriver, married a local woman, and built a tomb.³²

Here we must concede a point: the only "unambiguous *ḥwt p3 itn*" is indeed at Amarna. The city's boundary stelae refer to it (VII-C, K:15),³³ and mud brick impressions and inscriptions confirm its identity with the Small Aten Temple, among other buildings.³⁴ Also, the tomb of the chief physician Penthu (TA 05) preserves his title of "first servant of the Mansion of the Aten at Amarna" (*b3k tpy n t3 ḥwt p3 itn m 3ḥt-itn*).³⁵ Naturally, in determining whether this temple was unique, we would like to know its purpose, for it appears redundant, less than half a kilometer up the Royal Road from the Great Aten Temple (*pr itn*). No textual or material indication of its function survives, however, and tomb reliefs do not distinguish it.³⁶

Leaving aside the Mansion of the Aten's civic affiliation in Penthu's tomb, which van Walsem's theory makes superfluous, other evidence may resolve the question of its singularity. Inscriptions from the tomb of Ramose at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 46)³⁷ and

29 P. Lacau, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Nos 34065-34186: Stèles du Nouvel Empire* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1926), 222-24. The monument's naturalistic figures and its references to the Aten and Re, "Ruler of the Horizon" (*ḥk3 3ḥty*), suggest a later Amarna Period date. Cf. stele TNM:B19a, discussed in B. Ockinga and S. Binder, "Fragments of an Amarna-Age Stele in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery North," *ÉT* 26 (2013): 502-16.

30 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50.

31 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50.

32 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50. Nedjemennefer, "Sweet is Memphis," was the name of Huy's wife.

33 See W. J. Murnane and C. C. van Siclen, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten* (London: Kegan Paul, 1993), 24, 40.

34 J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten, Part III: The Central City and The Official Quarters* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1951), 191; B. Kemp, *The City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti: Amarna and Its People* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2012): 84.

35 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, Part IV: The Tombs of Penthu, Mahu, and Others* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1906), pl. 2.

36 Based on the Small Aten Temple's proximity to the King's House and its alignment with Akhenaten's tomb (TA 26), some scholars have connected it with the royal mortuary cult. Cf. D. B. Redford, *Akhenaten: The Heretic King* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 146; C. Aldred, *Akhenaten: King of Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1991), 275-76; Kemp, *City of Akhenaten and Nefertiti*, 84.

37 W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Abteilung IV, Heft 22: Inschriften der Könige von Amenophis III. bis Haremhab und ihrer Zeitgenossen* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1958), 1995. Cf. E. Graefe, "Bemerkungen


the tomb of Hatiay at Qurnet Murai³⁸ refer to their owners as officials of *t3 hwt p3 itn*. J. D. S. Pendlebury speculated that this temple sat across the Nile at Karnak or Luxor,³⁹ but archaeologists have yet to find it. Van Walsem thus equates it too with the Small Aten Temple at Amarna⁴⁰—this despite the fact that Ramose was also first prophet of Amun at Menset, the mortuary temple of Queen Ahmose-Nefertari at Thebes.

Admittedly, several explanations are possible for how Ramose could have served two cult centers hundreds of kilometers apart, the most straightforward being that his appointments were consecutive. Nonetheless, we now have four references to a Mansion of the Aten in texts found far from Amarna, and know of three officials who worked for such a temple without leaving a single trace at the new residence. Since, as van Walsem observes, multiple buildings at Amarna itself carried this designation, is it not reasonable to conclude that structures in other cities also bore it?

The final, crucial issue is the status of Rollin 213's Mansion of the Aten. However compelling the previous arguments may be, they are less significant if Akhenaten's successors had already closed the temple and were in the process of ransacking it. Again, Löhr's opinion was that the mansion functioned into the reign of Seti I, but van Walsem considers this unlikely given the Ramesside destruction of monuments from the Amarna Period. In fact, the assault began under Tutankhamun (ca. 1336-1327) or Ay (ca. 1327-1323), for the former's mortuary temple incorporated *talatat*-blocks from Akhenaten's Karnak projects.⁴¹ It continued under Horemheb (ca. 1323-1295), who used the *talatat* as fill for the Ninth and Tenth Pylons of the Precinct of Amun-Re.⁴²

Unfortunately, Rollin 213's extant text does not indicate whether its Mansion of the Aten was an active temple with a priestly staff and regular offerings. The absence of marginalia denoting that its *iswt*-plank was "delivered," "ordered," or "outstanding" is no basis for a theory,⁴³ and entries in other Rollin Papyri according to which officials "seized" (*nḥm*) (211 rto. 1.1, vso. 1.1),⁴⁴ or "found" (*gm*) (209 rto. 4.6, 4.15) lumber are not

zu Ramose, dem Besitzer von TT 46," *GM* 33 (1979) 13-15. This Ramose should not be conflated with the vizier of the same name, also buried at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (TT 55).

38 G. Daressy, "Rapport sur la trouvaille de ,

ASAÉ 2 (1902): 2. This Hatiay may have been the owner of the aforementioned staff, the inscription of which refers to the *pr-itn m mn-nfr*. Hassan, *Stöcke und Stäbe*, 155, n. 2. Against this identification, see van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50.

39 Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten, Part III*, 191.

40 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 50.

41 W. R. Johnson, "Tutankhamen-Period Battle Narratives at Luxor," *KMT* 20/4 (2009-2010): 26-27, 31; M. Eaton-Krauss, *The Unknown Tutankhamun* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 95-98. Additionally, Tutankhamun resumed work on the Avenue of Sphinxes between the Mut Precinct and the Tenth Pylon at Karnak. Eaton-Krauss, *Unknown Tutankhamen*, 76-78.

42 Redford, *Akhenaten*, pt. 2. Cf. van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay," 51.

43 Cf. W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr.* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1971), 61-63; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Notes and Comments I*, 176.

44 Spiegelberg restored *nḥm* in rto. 1.1 based on a comparison with vso. 2.1. *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches: Tafeln* (Strassburg: Tübner, 1896), pls.

necessarily comparable. Our document simply lacks information for this inquiry.

A more productive approach is therefore to investigate the status of Akhenaten's other buildings in the decades after his death, and assess the possibility that Rollin 213's mansion continued to operate. Interestingly, while some of the king's structures—his Karnak temples, for example—suffered obliteration, others endured and underwent conversion into more traditional facilities. A pair of stele-fragments from the Great Aten Temple at Amarna bear the cartouches of Horemheb, attesting to ongoing activity at the site,⁴⁵ though this king also repurposed *talatat* from the site across the river at Hermopolis.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Akhenaten's temple at Sesebi on the Middle Nile stood for decades, until Seti I reconsecrated it to Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.⁴⁷ Based on the orthography of two occurrences of the latter king's prenomen, Peter Brand has argued that the rededication took place at the very beginning of his reign,⁴⁸ around the time of the Rollin Papyri. Most remarkably, Akhenaten's monument to the Aten at Dokki Gel near the Third Cataract of the Nile may have endured for several centuries, until its *talatat* were reused during the Napatan Period.⁴⁹

Increasing the complexity of Amarna's aftermath is the fact that Akhenaten's disgrace did not extend to the object of his veneration, the Aten. As van Walsem recognizes, later rulers may not have emphasized the Solar Disk to the same extent, but they did not banish the god from their pantheon either.⁵⁰ Horemheb's tomb at Saqqara, which dates

13, 13a, 14, 14a.

45 W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London: Methuen & Co., 1894), 43-44, pl. 11.5. Cf. C. Booth, *Horemheb: The Forgotten Pharaoh* (Stroud: Amberley, 2009), 96.

46 A. J. Spencer, *Excavations at El-Ashmunein II: The Temple Area* (London: British Museum Press, 1989), 26-28, 46-48.

47 See J. H. Breasted, "Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago: Second Preliminary Report of the Egyptian Expedition," *AJSLL* 25/1 (1908): 62-82; 114-15; A. M. Blackman, "Preliminary Report of the Excavations at Sesebi, Northern Province, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1936-37," *JEA* 23/2 (1937): 147-49; H. W. Fairman, "Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Sesebi (Sudla) and 'Amārah West, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1937-38," *JEA* 24/2 (1938): 153-54; P. Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I: Epigraphic, Historical, and Art Historical Analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 114-15; R. H. Wilkinson, *The Complete Temples of Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2000), 232. Inscribed faience objects from foundation deposits, among other evidence, indicate that Akhenaten built the whole fortified town (*mnnw*) of Sesebi in the first years of his reign, when he was still called "Amenhotep." See also K. Spence et al., "Sesebi 2011," *S&N* 15 (2011): 34-38.

48 Brand, *Monuments of Seti I*, 115-16.

49 C. Bonnet and D. Valbelle, "Dokki Gel," in *Sudan: Ancient Treasures*, ed. D. A. Welsby and J. R. Anderson (London: British Museum Press, 2004), 110. One block bears part of the Aten's early didactic name, pointing to construction before Akhenaten's ninth regnal year, and another bears the desecrated face of Nefertiti. The Ramessides may have rededicated the temple at Dokki Gel, like the one at Sesebi. See D. Valbelle, "Kerma – les inscriptions," *Kerma, Soudan* 49 (2001): 231-32, figs. 4, 5. A similar process may in fact have occurred with an Aten temple at Gebel Barkal. D. Valbelle, "Egyptians on the Middle Nile," in *Sudan: Ancient Treasures*, ed. D. A. Welsby and J. R. Anderson (London: British Museum Press, 2004), 98.

50 Van Walsem, "Meryneith and Hatiay, 49. Cf. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Notes and Comments I*, 184.

to the reign of Tutankhamun and became a pilgrimage site,⁵¹ contained an account of its owner's activities as "far as the Aten shines"⁵² as well as an image of the standard bearer of the regiment Beloved of the Aten, Minkhay⁵³ Moreover, an offering formula near the tomb's south magazine recorded its owner's desire to see the Solar Disk,⁵⁴ while a stele at the entrance to the statue room hailed the rejuvenated Atum-Harakhty as "the Aten in the embrace of Hathor" (1-2).⁵⁵ Such allusions are scarcely unique. A litany to the nocturnal sun, preserved in Maya's tomb at Saqqara and attested in the Ramesside Age, proclaims that the god voyages as "he who is in his disk" (*imy itn.f*).⁵⁶ Indeed, centuries later under Taharqa (690-664), a site on the Middle Nile, almost certainly Kawa, was still called *gm-itn* "Finding the Aten."⁵⁷

If, as seems to be the case, the eradication of Akhenaten's legacy was a gradual process and involved renovation, it is quite possible that a Mansion of the Aten survived in Memphis, perhaps with conventional iconography and ritual, and even incorporating other gods. Given the Ramesside policy of commandeering locations and materials, such a temple must of course have suffered obliteration during the thirteenth century. No one debates this point. Löhr herself wrote of "eine systematische Zerstörung der memphitischen Sonnenheiligtümer" during Ramesses II's reign,⁵⁸ and Rollin 213's probable date makes demolition possible early in Seti I's.

In view of the foregoing analysis, the only remaining reason for rejecting Löhr's

51 G. T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn I: Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989), 21. Cf. H. D. Schneider, *The Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn II: A Catalogue of the Finds* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1996), 1; M. J. Raven and R. van Walsem, "The Site and Its History," in *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander in Chief of Tutankhamun V: The Forecourt and the Area South of the Tomb with Some Notes on the Tomb of Tia*, M. J. Raven et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 27.

52 Martin, *Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, I*, 80, pl. 91.

53 Martin, *Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, I*, 94-98, pls. 111-15, 117.

54 Martin, *Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, I*, 29-30, pl. 20.

55 Martin, *Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, I*, 29-32, pls. 21-22. This is the de Rougé Stele (BM 551). In addition, a seal from the tomb refers to "the Temple of the Aten in Heliopolis" (*pr itn m iwntw*). Schneider, *Memphite Tomb of HoremHeb, II*, 50, pl. 33.

56 G. T. Martin, *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt I: The Reliefs, Inscriptions, and Commentary* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012), 23-24, pl. 21. Cf. J. Assmann, *Liturgische Lieder an den Sonnengott: Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Hymnik, I* (Berlin: Hessling, 1969), 77-91, 409.

57 Cf. Akhenaten's temple at Karnak, the *gm-p3-itn*. Breasted thought Sesebi was *gm-itn*. "Oriental Exploration Fund," 82. The evidence for Kawa seems overwhelming, however. M. F. Laming Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa II, History and Archaeology of the Site, Text* (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), esp. 12; D. A. Welsby, "Kawa," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, ed. D. B. Redford (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), vol. 2, 226. The toponym "Kawa" may itself be derived from *gm-itn*. H. Bell and M. J. Hashim, "Does Aten Live in Kawa?" *S&N* 6 (2002): 42-46. For continuing doubts about the site's identity, see J. K. Hoffmeier, *Akhenaten and the Origins of Monotheism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 145.

58 Löhr, "AXanjāti in Memphis," 169-70.

interpretation of Rollin 213 is a desire to square the document with a popular narrative of Akhenaten’s reign. According to this story, the king’s revolution was a complete disaster, a case of fanatical heresy or pseudo-prophecy, the sole merit of which was its brief duration.⁵⁹ After Akhenaten’s death, the Egyptians breathed a sigh of relief and returned as quickly and as far as possible to their former ways. Against such a backdrop, the survival of an Aten temple is unthinkable. Its only fate would be that of the defeated Asiatic’s camp in the *Tale of Sinhue* (B 144-46).

Obviously, a short article about a fragmentary papyrus is not the place to deconstruct this orientalist fantasy. I would only observe that in assessing its dubious value, we must not discount contradictory evidence like Rollin 213. “The madness of Akhenaten” is after all only a story, and in the words of Hayden White, “We do not *live* stories.”⁶⁰ The past was more complex than any narrative, and we should welcome opportunities to improve our perspective. New evidence or new analysis may turn out to favor van Walsem’s reassessment,⁶¹ but at present Rollin 213 most likely indicates that a Mansion of the Aten functioned in early thirteenth-century Memphis. If this means Akhenaten’s revolution was not simply grotesque apostasy or malevolent charlatanry, then we may at least appreciate having a more detailed—and frankly more convincing—view of post-Amarna Egypt.

59 For an overview of this “cultural hallucination,” see D. Montserrat, *Akhenaten: History, Fantasy, and Ancient Egypt* (London: Routledge 2001). The mirage has in fact influenced some of the most eminent Egyptologists. For fanatical heresy, see Redford, *Akhenaten*, esp. chs. 10, 15. Cf. E. Hornung, *Akhenaten and the Religion of Light*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), esp. 125-26. For pseudo-prophecy, see N. Reeves, *Akhenaten: Egypt’s False Prophet* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), esp. 118, 145-46. The anachronistic opposition between “orthodoxy” and “heresy” even appears in van Walsem, “Meryneith and Hatiay,” 39, 49, 51. Any discussion of Akhenaten’s supposedly fanatical monotheism must consider the fact that he focused his animus on Amun and Mut of Thebes—which may in turn be why restoration efforts concentrated on that site. Cf. R. Krauss, “Akhenaten: Monotheist? Polytheist?” *BACE* 11 (2000): 93-101; Eaton-Krauss, *Unknown Tutankhamun*, 37.

60 H. White, “The Historical Text as Literary Artifact,” in *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 90.

61 I am particularly curious about the implications of the definite article *t3* before *hwt p3 itn*. This part of speech, originally a demonstrative pronoun, could precede relatively common nouns—e.g., *p3 w3b* and *t3 knbt nt srw*. In Akhenaten’s move towards Late Egyptian, however, it was often applied to unique things—e.g., *p3 itn 3nh*, *p3 r3*, *p3 nb nhh*, and *t3 hmt nsw wrt*. See M. Kupreyev, “The Origins and Development of the Definite Article in Egyptian-Coptic,” *SAAC* 18 (2014): 223-37. There are exceptions, such as *p3 pr pr-3* and *p3 dmi pr-3* in the letter of Apy from Memphis (10-11), but to my knowledge, the Mansion of the Aten was the only one of Akhenaten’s temples to receive such treatment. Cf. M. Sandman, *Texts from the Time of Akhenaten* (Brussels: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938), 147-48.

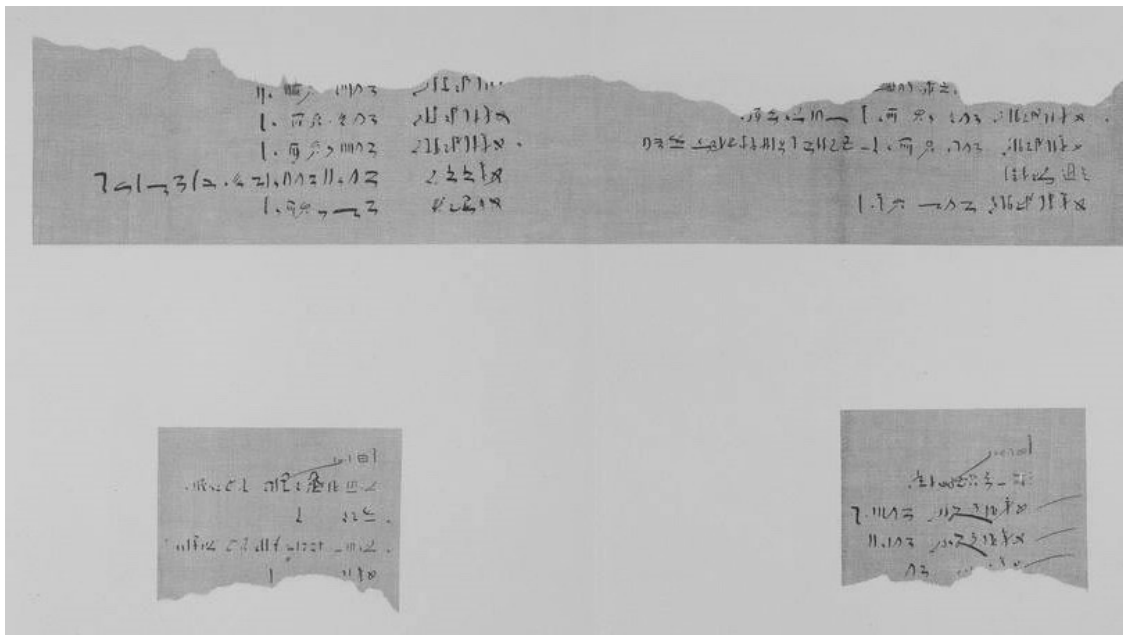


Figure 1. Papyrus Rollin 213. From Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I (circa 1350 v. Chr.) mit anderen Rechnungen des Neuen Reiches: Tafeln* (Strassburg: Tübner, 1896), pl. 16. Courtesy of Walter de Gruyter GmbH.

Book Reviews

Susanne Beck, *Exorcism, Illness and Demons in an ancient Near Eastern Context, The Egyptian magical Papyrus Leiden I 343+345, Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities Volume 18 (Leiden, 2018), 7-145, Pl. 1-72, ISBN 978-90-8890-540-7*

The review deals with the new edition of Leiden magical Papyrus I 343+345, which are kept today in Rijksmuseum van Oudheden/Leiden. The two pieces were formerly parts of the same papyrus roll. The content of the work can be summarized as follows:

Part I serves as introduction, which aims to throw light on the background of the papyri. P. Leiden I. 343 belonged in the past to the collection of Giovanni Anastasi, from which it was bought by the government of the Netherlands in the year 1828 (11). Papyrus Leiden I 345 was originally owned by the collection of Maria Cimba and acquired in the year 1827 (11). The provenance of both papyri can be inferred to be Memphis (11). The main characteristics of the handwriting point to a date in the 19th-20th dynasty (11). The manuscript reaches a length of 510+x cm, but the beginning is lost (12). The height varies between 18 and 20 cm, which conforms very well with the standard of the New Kingdom (12). The recto consists of 28 columns, while the verso offers 25 columns (12). The content consists of a collection of incantations against the Asiatic illness demon Samanu and its Egyptian pendant *ḥ.w* (13). The spells against Samanu can be found usually on the recto, while *ḥ.w* is treated on the verso (13). The manuscript contains 14 spells against the demon, 8 of which are duplicates (13). The remainder of the document presents texts against inflammations of legs and feet as well as pains (15). The language form of the papyrus can be identified as classical Middle Egyptian, while certain orthographical, lexicographical and grammatical factors reveal the influence of Late Egyptian (15).

Part II presents the actual text with transliteration, translation and commentary. The incantation in R: V, 12-VIII 9/V: XI, XII, XIII has as sole exception a parallel, which can be verified on oLeipzig ÄMUL 1906 and oStrassbourg H. 115 (48). The main text of the book ends with the bibliography (111-121), followed by appendix I comprising the glossary (123-136), appendix II containing information about the current appearance of the papyrus regarding colour and ink quality (137-138), indices (139-144), and plates (1-72).

The following remarks may help to elucidate some smaller details:

44: for the writing *nhwhw* for *nhmhm* cf. J. Zandee, "Seth als Sturmgott," *ZÄS* 90 (1963), 147 n. 13

54: for the word *ḥmrii.t* "cow" cf. W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, 2. verbesserte Auflage, *ÄgAb* 5 (Wiesbaden, 1971), 509;

Th. Schneider, *Ausländer in Ägypten während des Mittleren Reiches in der Hyksoszeit*, Teil 2, *Die ausländische Bevölkerung*, ÄAT 42 (Wiesbaden, 2003), 143

84: for the loss of *p* cf. St. Bojowald, "Zur Elision von „*p*“ in der ägyptischen Sprache," *AcOr* 76 (2015), 119-126;

for the word *śd̥z* "leg" cf. Vl. E. Orel/O. V. Stolbova, *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary, Materials for a Reconstruction*, HdO, Erste Abteilung, *Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten* 18 (Leiden-New York-Köln, 1995), 111. The word may constitute a secondary form for *śdh* "lower leg", which is much more common.

95: for the word *nšf* „fang/tusk of serpents“ cf. Chr. Leitz, „Die Schlangensprüche in den Pyramidentexten,“ *Or* 65 (1996), 401

103: for the verb *tbtb* with determinative "Running Legs" cf. T. G. H. James, *The Hekankhte Papers and other early Middle Kingdom Documents*, Egyptian Expedition Publication, PMMA 19 (1962), 77

The reviewer has reached the following impression about the book. The hieroglyphic transcription is made very accurately. The transliteration shows an equally high standard. The evaluation is, however, lacking in details.

Stefan Bojowald (Bonn)

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- La translittération de textes égyptiens doit être en format *Manuel de Codage*; idéalement, le grec, l'hébreu et l'arabe doivent être rédigés avec la fonte Unicode. Les textes hiéroglyphiques doivent préférablement être édités à l'aide du logiciel Vector Office qu'il est possible de télécharger à l'adresse suivante : <http://www.hornet-sys.com/>

Images

Les images doivent avoir une résolution minimale de 600 ppp et doivent idéalement être soumises en formats .tif ou .jpg. Notez que nous acceptons les images en noir et blanc et en couleur, cependant celles-ci seront imprimées uniquement en noir et blanc. L'édition en ligne du *JSSEA* permet néanmoins la publication d'images en couleur. Notez qu'il est de la responsabilité de l'auteur d'obtenir les droits d'auteur sur la diffusion du contenu visuel.

Comptes Rendus

- Les comptes rendus d'ouvrage sont acceptés en français et en anglais.
- Les directives concernant la fonte sont les mêmes que celles pour les articles.
- Les comptes rendus peuvent contenir des notes de bas de page, le cas échéant le style Chicago doit être utilisé.
- Un modèle pour les comptes rendus est également disponible à l'adresse suivante journalofthessea@gmail.com

- Les comptes rendus doivent être soumis à bookreviews@thessea.org

Date de Tombée

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

About The SSEA/SÉÉA

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

The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / Société pour l’Étude de l’Égypte Ancienne is governed by a Board of Trustees elected annually. It organizes the Annual General Meeting, Symposium, Scholars’ Colloquium and Poster Session, maintains the membership database and sundry websites, and publishes both the *Journal of the SSEA* and the *Newsletter*, in addition to other occasional publications.

To join the SSEA, contact info@thessea.org or visit <http://www.thessea.org/join.php>.

Below is information regarding The Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities / La Société pour l’Étude de l’Égypte Ancienne in the year of printing of this journal (2017-2018).

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