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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editorial Foreword	iv
Erratum	1
VALÉRIE ANGENOT Eating in Ancient Egypt: Semiotics of an Iconographic Absence	pp. 3–38
SIMONE PETACCHI The Book of the Dead in Napatan Royal Tombs: Iconographic and Textual Models from Thebes and the Local Program	pp. 39–78
DAWN POWER Mongoose-headed (Ichneumon) Deities in the Book of Caverns	pp. 79–87
Book Review: Jan Tattko. <i>Türinschriften im Naos des Hathortempels von Dendara. Eine Studie zu Stilistik und Theologie in ägyptischen Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit</i> Stefan Bojowald	pp. 89–91
Guidelines for Contributors	
About the SSEA	

Editorial Foreword

As the world has been somewhat tentatively trying to ease its way back to some semblance of normal, we are very pleased to present vol. 47 of the *JSSEA*. First of all, please join us in extending a very hearty welcome to Dr. Simone Burger Robin, our new Co-Editor, who has proactively and enthusiastically stepped into the breach with this issue.

Following up our comment in the previous issue, we wish to announce that vol. 48 will be a Gedenkschrift for the late Dr. James Hoch, a truly outstanding grammarian and philologist and past editor of this Journal, and a deeply cherished colleague. Contributions in his honor are not limited to philology but all Egyptological topics are welcome, including Coptic language and Coptic studies, as well as comparative topics involving Semitics and the history of ancient Near Eastern writing highlighted by James' work on the Byblos Syllabic script.

We also want to tender our profound thanks and appreciation to Narasim Katary for the very generous donation establishing the Dr. Sally L. D. Katary lecture fund, which he has set up as a lasting and living memorial. This donation represents a major enhancement of the SSEA's existing program of public lectures and a heartfelt expression of our profound regard for our dear friend and colleague.

So Welcome to Volume 47 of our Journal. Thank you for reading, and for everything that you do to support the Journal and the Society. And Ankh Wedja Seneb!—Be Well!

Edmund S. Meltzer and Simone Burger Robin

Erratum

Erratum for *JSSEA*, 2020, volume 46, p. 28.

Figure 2 was mistakenly published in the volume as a line drawing, rather than the photograph. The error was fixed after publication for the website. The PDF available for member-download has been corrected. This erratum is to note that it is the printed volume that contains the error.

Eating in Ancient Egypt: Semiotics of an Iconographic Absence

Valérie Angenot

Abstract: Yearly festivals, popular events, religious celebrations, funerary banquets . . . there was no shortage of occasions for feasting in ancient Egypt, as witnessed by the numerous depictions of banquet scenes on Egyptian tomb walls. However, amidst wine jars, cuts of meat, trays loaded with dates, honey or vegetables, one may wonder why none of the banquet guests is ever depicted eating—with a few notable exceptions, as well as a radical iconographic shift during the Amarna Period.

This paper intends to investigate, through a semiotic and epistemic approach of images, what could appear at first as an iconographic or social taboo. From the isolated meal of the dead to festive social banquets, it explores continuities, divergences and revivals in the iconography of eating, from the Old to the New Kingdom.

Elaborating on semiotic efficiency, usage of visual puns and the social implications of such depictions, this article seeks to understand what images related to eating can reveal, not only about the topic they are dealing with, but also about the epistemics of image production in ancient Egypt.

Résumé: Fêtes annuelles, manifestations populaires, célébrations religieuses, banquets funéraires . . . les occasions de festoyer ne manquaient pas dans l'Égypte ancienne, comme en témoignent les nombreuses représentations de scènes de banquet sur les murs des tombes égyptiennes. Cependant, au milieu des jarres de vin, des morceaux de viande, des plateaux chargés de dattes, de miel ou de légumes, la question peut se poser pourquoi aucun des convives n'est jamais représenté en train de manger - à quelques exceptions notables et au cours de l'époque amarnienne qui fait face à changement iconographique radical.

Cet article se propose d'interroger, à travers une approche sémiotique et épistémique des images, ce qui pourrait apparaître au premier abord comme un tabou iconographique ou social. Du repas isolé des morts aux banquets sociaux festifs, l'auteur explore les corrélations, les divergences et les renouveaux de l'iconographie du manger, de l'Ancien au Nouvel Empire.

Se référant à l'efficacité sémiotique, l'utilisation de jeux de mots visuels et les implications sociales de telles représentations, cet article cherche à comprendre ce que les images liées à l'alimentation peuvent révéler, non seulement sur le sujet qu'elles traitent, mais aussi les épistémiques de la production d'images dans l'Égypte ancienne.

Keywords: Eating depictions, iconography, semiotics, visual puns, tropes

Mots-clés: Représentations de l'alimentation, iconographie, sémiotique, jeux de mots visuels, tropes

Most scholars dealing with the question of food, food consumption, and commensality in Egypt have pointed out that, from the isolated meal of the deceased in the Old Kingdom to the extended banquet of relatives in the New Kingdom, hardly anybody is depicted eating in ancient Egypt.¹

¹ Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV, Bas-reliefs et peintures, scènes de la vie quotidienne*, (Paris: A.J. Picard & Cie, 1964), 225, 227, and 241–242; Lise Manniche, “Réflexions on the Banquet Scene,” in *La peinture égyptienne ancienne, un monde de signes à préserver*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 7, série IMAGO no. 1, ed. R. Tefnin, 39–36 (Bruxelles: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1997), 31; Lise Manniche, “The so-called scenes of daily life in the private tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: an overview,” in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, ed. Nigel Strudwick, 42–45,

Scholars have proposed various explanations to account for this notable absence. Traditionally, the interpretative paradigms follow three main directions: (1) *social*—taboo on eating, etiquette, restraint (e.g., in gluttony²); (2) *iconographic*—taboo on the depiction of eating (especially in the royal sphere), restraint in the depiction of bodily acts (for the elite),³ *decorum*, decency;⁴ (3) *metaphysics*—the necessity to create atemporal images and transcendence.⁵

Although these explanations are probably part of the answer, I believe that they do not fully address the different facets of the question. They do not succeed in explaining why depictions of eating would be restricted from a social, iconographic, or metaphysical viewpoint, whereas vomiting, for example, would not. As such, I would like to add a fourth interpretative paradigm to the question, which is mostly based on *semiotic* considerations and the analysis of the processes of meaning production in ancient Egyptian iconography.

Before starting, it is necessary to set up the scope of this article. When considering the iconography of food consumption, one has to distinguish two main semiospheres⁶ in which different codes apply: (1) the royal sphere where some restraint towards the depiction of food consumption by the king might have prevailed; and (2) the private sphere—that is mostly funerary iconography—where the depictions of eating are somewhat less regimented.

The divine sphere has to be mentioned for its general lack of eating depictions. Even when the gods are depicted seated in front of piles of food, they are never shown

(London: British Museum Press, 2003), 44; Lyn Green, "Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets at the Court of Akhenaten and in the Ancient Near East," in *Egypt, Israel, and the Ancient Mediterranean World: Studies in Honor of Donald B. Redford*, *Probleme Der Agyptologie* 20, eds G.N. Knoppers, A. Hirsch, 203–222 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 210; Ann M. Roth, "Multiple Meanings in Carrying Chair Scenes," in *Dekorierete Grabanlagen im Alten Reich—Methodik und Interpretation*, IBAES VI 241, eds M. Fitzenreiter, M. Herb, 243–253 (London: 2006), 243; Cathie Spieser, "À propos du repas de la famille royale amarnienne," in *Le Banquet à travers les âges, de pharaon à Marco Ferreri*, *Cahiers Kubaba*, eds S. Aufrère and M. Mazoyer, 291–306 (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, , 2011), 292; John Baines, "Not Only With the Dead: Banqueting in Ancient Egypt," *Studia Universitatis Babeş-Bolyai Historia* 59 (2014): 4; Gabi Pieke, "Lost in transformation. Artistic creation between permanence and change," in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, *Ægyptiaca Leodiensian* 10, ed. T. Gielen, 259–304 (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017), 272. Lyvia Morgan, "Why is No One Eating? The Iconography of Feasting in the Ancient World," *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections* 7/3 (2015): 49–64, includes a more general tendency not to depict eating in the ancient world.

² Dominique Farout, "Manger en Égypte: multiples témoins," *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*, supplément 7, numéro thématique *L'histoire de l'alimentation dans l'Antiquité. Bilan historiographique. Journée de printemps de la SOPHAU—21 mai 2011*, (2012): 51.

³ Morgan, "Why is No One Eating?" 58.

⁴ Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV, 222; Baines, "Not Only With the Dead," 4.

⁵ Manniche, "The so-called scenes of daily life," 44.

⁶ Semiosphere is the sphere of semiosis in which sign processes operate in accordance with a set of interconnected environments in a given state of *episteme*. The term is here taken in a restricted sense: the application of different rules in sign production and sign reception automatically modifies the process of semiosis, and hence the modalities of interpretation. The term "semiosphere" was first coined by Yuri Lotman (2005).

eating. Consumption of offerings by the gods has no visual identity, apart from that of the Aten, discussed below.

In the private sphere, a difference is made according to the occasion at which the meal took place; whether it was in the countryside or in the framework of a ritual or ceremonial banquet.⁷ Within depictions of banquets, main and lesser figures were sometimes submitted to different treatments. The figures of the deceased and his wife usually happen to respect conventions more closely than adventitious figures, as will be seen.

Depictions of royal meals are rather sparse before the New Kingdom. As a result, this article mainly deals with private iconography, although intrusions in the royal sphere will be made when relevant, especially as concerns the Amarna Period. The time span considered in the framework of this paper will not go beyond the New Kingdom and the 18th Dynasty, although a few remarks may reference later monuments. The space devoted to this article is too limited to make it an exhaustive approach. I will therefore address examples and main directions that I find the most representative and forward-looking.

Convention

The following convention is used throughout the text to distinguish elements of iconography according to their semiotic nature:

- “signifier”: the signifier is the sign (here, the image) that is used to denote an object;
- “signified”: the signified is what is actually meant (object or mental concept) through the use of iconographic elements;
- /seme/: a seme is a differential unit of meaning attached to a signifier or a signified;
- /isotopy/: an isotopy manifests the presence of common semes between distinct terms (images) or objects.

Discussion

To begin with, there is a fundamental nuance to the general conception that no one is ever depicted eating in Egypt. Although almost no one is indeed iconically⁸ portrayed in the act of eating, people are nonetheless meant to be eating. But the meaning “eating” is conveyed through indirect tropological devices (such as metonymy and metaphor),⁹ rather than direct ones (icon, that is synecdoche).

This may surprise us because, in these iconographic contexts (tomb decoration, funerary temples, banquet scenes, etc.), we expect the Egyptians to establish an iconic

⁷ Different types of banquets are listed in Green, “Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets,” 204. See also M.V. Fox, “The entertainment song genre in Egyptian literature,” *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 28 (1982): 268–316.

⁸ An icon is a type of sign that represents an empirical (i.e., “depictable”) referent (object or action) through some physical likeness.

⁹ The theory of tropes is extensively discussed below.

relation¹⁰ between an image and its object, when said object possesses a *depictable* materiality or visibility.

For instance, when depicting a *tangible object* with a material reality, we expect the Egyptians to produce a sign that shares some visual likeness with the object that it denotes. When depicting an *action* which possesses a visual anchor in real life, we expect them to “slice” the sequence and extract its apex, the culmination *part* of the action, which would stand to signify the *whole* sequence.¹¹ Sometimes, the choice of an alternative part of the sequence may be made, for the sake of semiotic efficiency, if it is thought to be more representative, typical, or identifiable.

Yet, when coming to conceive a sign to signify “eating” in images, the Egyptians did not choose the climax or a more typical or identifiable figure. They instead chose a moment at the edge of what can be defined as the action of eating itself, at best initiating the sequence of movements leading to the action: the moment when the person reaches their hand towards the food.¹² I will argue that this gesture alone was *conventionally* meant to signify “eating” in ancient Egypt,¹³ irrespective of—although not precluding—any consideration implying decorum, potentiality or metaphysical explanations.

The early iconographic choices

To the extent of my knowledge, there probably were some alternative trials, during the early dynastic period, before the semi-symbolic choice of the “hand approaching food” to signify “eating” was favoured over the more likely mimetic one(s), and henceforth adopted as a convention. A slab from the most important early dynastic Memphite cemetery of Helwan, dated to 2900 BC, depicts the deceased Sat-Kai actually bringing an empty hand¹⁴ to her mouth to mimic the most identifiable

¹⁰ Or a firstness-relation. See below *Semiotic theory of tropes*, Charles S. Peirce, “On a New List of Categories,” *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 7 (1868), 287–298, defines a tripartite taxonomy of relations linking a sign to the object it denotes: icon = firstness, index = secondness, symbol = thirdness.

¹¹ For the “stroke” (or the meaningful apex of gestures), see Adam Kendon, *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 111–112, and for the framework of the semiotics of gestures and their depiction, see Göran Sonesson, “Some Issues in the Semiotics of Gesture: The Perspective of Comparative Semiotics,” in *Body—Language—Communication: An International Handbook on Multimodality in Human Interaction II*, HLCS 38.2, eds C. Müller et al., (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 1997.

¹² The distance between the fingers and the food may vary from proximity to superposition. See for example the 5th Dynasty relief from the tomb of Thenti at the Art Institute of Chicago Museum, inv. 1920.265, where the deceased and his wife are touching the food with the tip of their fingers, but not grasping it.

¹³ It means that it was used as a symbol (with a meaning defined by convention or law), rather than as an icon (with a natural, mereologic relation between the signifier and the signified), see below.

¹⁴ Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München: Residenz Hofgartenstraße*, (Munich: Residenz Hofgartenstrasse, 1972), 31; Friedrich von Bissing, *Ägyptische Kunstgeschichte von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Eroberung durch die Araber* (Berlin-Charlottenburg: Aegyptologischer Verlag Miron Goldstein, 1934), pl. 58, no. 361; Peter Kaplony, *Die*

moment of the action (Fig. 1).

Sat-Kai is sitting alone at her table, on which slices of bread are positioned, and she is surrounded by piles of other types of food and drink. In the course of the early dynastic period and later on in the Old Kingdom, these slices of bread on a pedestal table will invariably stand to signify any kind of consumed food, while an offering-list enumerates the detail of the offerings actually presented to the dead (Fig. 2). This testifies to the implementation of a visual semiotic system based on *typicality* and *economy*.¹⁵ The slices of bread are chosen as an embracing of a taxonomic category most representative of the holistic idea of food, and therefore conventionally set as the best image to signify all kinds of food.

At some point between the 1st and the 2nd dynasties,¹⁶ the motif of the deceased “outstretching their hand” towards “conventional slices of bread” (“food”) displayed on an offering stand, or merely touching it with the tip of the fingers, will be established,



Figure 1: Limestone slab of Sat-Kai from the cemetery of Helwan, early dynastic, ca 2900 BC. Staatliche Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München, inv. Gl. 106 (photo © Ilinca Bartos, with kind permission).

Inscriben der ägyptischen Frühzeit, Supplement, (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1964), pl. III. The food is either meant as being eaten (inside the mouth) or elliptical. In the latter case, it would then be an example of iconic gesture referring to an implied object acted upon, as it is qualified in nonverbal communication studies [David McNeill, *Hand and Mind: What Gestures Reveal about Thought*, (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 78]; this example was noted as such by Arlette David, p. 112 “When the Body Talks: Akhenaten's Body Language in Amarna Iconography,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 44 (2017–2018): 27–87.

¹⁵ Valérie Angenot, “Semiotics and Hermeneutics,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. M. Hartwig (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 102 and 112.

¹⁶ See, for example, the niche stela JE 44135 of princess Schefner in the Cairo Museum, dated to the 2nd Dynasty, already displaying the conventional signs. See also Jana Jones, “The Enigma of the Pleated Dress: New Insights from Early Dynastic Helwan Reliefs,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 100 (2017), figs 1, 2, and 8 for more 2nd Dynasty examples.

repeated and adopted by all¹⁷ as the standardized way of signifying “eating”.¹⁸ Such depictions will suffer few variants until the end of the Old Kingdom, thus setting an unchanging convention likely to favour quick visual identification and understanding.



Figure 2. Prince Rahotep at his offering table from his mastaba in Giza. 4th Dynasty, Snefru.

However, this convention appears to concern mostly the main figures seated at their tables with or without an offering list, while depictions seem to be freer as far as secondary figures are concerned. For example, in reliefs from the pyramid causeway of Sahure (5th Dynasty), the king’s officials and craftsmen are depicted taking food to their mouths while attending the banquet celebrating the arrival of frankincense trees from Punt.¹⁹

¹⁷ As a conventional system based on reproduction [Dorothea Arnold, “Egyptian Art—a Performing Art?,” in *Servant of Mut. Studies in honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, *Probleme der Ägyptologie* 28, ed. Sue d’Auria (Leiden–Boston: EJ Brill, 2008), 8–9], Egyptian art is at the borderline between autographic and allographic arts [Nelson Goodman, *Languages of Art. An Approach to a Theory of Symbols* (Indianapolis–New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1968), 113]. The conventional system builds on approved innovations, emerging from official image production (usually coming from the royal workshops), and then progressively introduced into the system. See also Gay Robins, “Piles of offerings: Paradigms of Limitation and Creativity in Ancient Egyptian Art,” in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995*, OLA 82, ed. C. Eyre (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 1998), 957–63; Betsy Bryan, “Art-Making in Texts and Contexts” in *Illuminating Osiris. Egyptological Studies in Honor of Mark Smith*, *Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt* 2, eds R. Jasnow and G. Widme (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2017), 1–22. From a semiotic viewpoint, synecdochic (icons), metonymic, and metaphoric images (Valérie Angenot, “Sémiotique tropologique et trichotomie peircienne,” ACFAS 88th International Congress, conference No. 539, *Sémiotique: jouer avec des signes, créer du sens, appréhender le monde*, Sherbrooke and Bishop’s Universities, Canada, 3–7 May 2021 (Lennoxville: 2021) [This presentation was based on an ongoing study on the topic, aimed at being published]) ought to be fixed by a law to guarantee their efficiency. Only a conventional usage (law) could guarantee the proper understanding and efficiency of such images, which are then called symbols. On law as a condition to symbolic usage, see Charles Peirce, *Collected papers*, volumes I–II: *Principles of Philosophy and Elements of Logic*, eds C. Hartshorne and P. Weiss (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1932), 2.292–293; Charles Peirce and Gérard Deledalle, *Écrits sur le signe. Rassemblés, traduits et commentés par G. Deledalle*, Collection “L’ordre philosophique,” (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1978), 161–162. For its integration in tropological semiotics, see fig. 3.

¹⁸ For many such examples, showing variations in the proximity of hand to food, see Peter Der Manuelian, *Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, *Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt* 7, (New Haven: Peabody Museum of Natural History, 2003), esp. 150.

¹⁹ Tarek El Awady, *Sahure—The Pyramid Causeway. History and decoration program in the Old Kingdom*, Abusir XVI, (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2009), 175, fig. 84, pl. 6; Baines, “Not Only With the Dead,” fig. 4.

As for royal iconography, hardly any scene depicting the king eating has been preserved from funerary or solar temples. Their existence should however not be ruled out. In the pyramid complex of queen Khentkaus II (5th Dynasty), in Abusir again, although the scene is lacunar, the queen appears to be depicted seated in front of an offering table, outstretching her hand towards food.²⁰

Semiotic theory of tropes

I am developing a visual semiotic theory based on tropes that I call “tropological semiotics.” This theory differs from rhetorical semiotics in that it does not consider the tropes as ornamental or argumentative devices resorting to language, as has been the case since the ancient rhetoric of the Greeks up to now. Instead, it considers tropes as the cognitive mechanisms at the core of human meaning production.²¹ My definition of each trope remains nonetheless close to the way they have been defined by rhetoric, notably as regards the three main tropes: synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor.

This theory considers not only the role of metonymic and metaphoric devices in human cognition and meaning production, but also encompasses synecdochic transfers. Until now, synecdoche has often been overlooked by structuralist linguistics, cognitive approaches of tropes, and even subsequent visual rhetoric.²²

I argue that the three great tropes present the same gradation levels as the universal predication categories identified by Charles S. Peirce notably to organize the relationship between a sign and its object: a firstness (icon), a secondness (index) and a thirdness (symbol):²³

- Synecdoche is a trope in which an object is referred to through [the depiction of]²⁴ one of its parts standing for the whole (or *vice versa*). It presents a

²⁰ Miroslav Verner, *The Pyramid Complex of Khentkaus*, Abusir III, Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology, (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 1995), 85.

²¹ Cognitive studies have recognized metaphor as such for the last twenty years (George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2003). It took a bit more time for metonymy (Antonio Barcelona, ed., *Metaphor and Metonymy at the Crossroad: A Cognitive Perspective*, (Berlin–New York: DeGruyter Mouton, 2000). Synecdoche is not always acknowledged as part of the system, as cognitive studies consider it a special case of metonymy (Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*, 36). However, see Ken-ichi Seto, “Distinguishing Metonymy from Synecdoche,” in *Metonymy in Language and Thought*, eds K. Panther and G. Radden (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co, 1999), 91–120 and Brigitte Nerlich, 2010. “Synecdoche: A trope, a whole trope, and nothing but a trope?,” in *Tropical Truth(s): The Epistemology of Metaphor and other Tropes*, eds A. Burkhardt and B. Nerlich (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co.KG, 2010), 297–319.

²² See previous note. See also Roman Jakobson, “Two aspects of language and two types of disturbances,” in *Selected Writings*, volume II, *Word and Language*, ed. R. Jakobson (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1971) 239–259, Jean-Marie Klinkenberg. “Métaphores de la métaphore: sur l’application du concept de figure à la communication visuelle,” special issue *Rhétorique et sciences du langage*, *Verbum* 1–2–3 (1993): 265–293.

²³ Peirce, “On a New List of Categories,” 1867.

²⁴ In visual semiotics.

FIRSTNESS in relationship with what it stands for, in that it represents a *part* of it (mereologic process).

- A common use of synecdoche in Egyptian art is when three items are depicted to stand for a plural. E.g.: three [synecdoche]²⁵ enemies held by the king meaning “submission of all the enemies”.²⁶
- A person is depicted in images through portrayal.²⁷ A bi-dimensional portrait is synecdochic in nature, as a limited set of traits are selected to depict the person, the part visible by a real [perspective] or an ideal [aspective] observer, or traits individually considered as pertinent by the artist [e.g., in cubist depictions]. An Egyptian statue, although seemingly depicting the whole person in three dimensions, still remains partial as, for example, the inner organs of the empirical person are not detailed,²⁸ and some traits are stylized.
- In some instances, the synecdochic character of the statue is meant to be significant. In the reserve-head sculptures, dating to the Old Kingdom, a person is denoted through the carving of their head. However, their ability to come back to life thanks to this material support is negated through the synecdochic choice of the head only. The head is sufficient to identify and denote the person [part for the whole], while restricting their potential actions.²⁹
- Metonymy is a trope in which an object is referred to through [the depiction of] something that is closely related to it, in a relation of contiguity or causality. It presents a SECONDNESS in relationship with what it stands for, in that it is an *extension* of it.
 - *Object*: The unguent cone of perfumed grease placed on the wigs of elites was used to signify that people are perfumed through a metonymy [cause for effect]. Although these cones indeed had a material existence,³⁰ they were supposed to melt on the wig, to spread their perfume, and then to vanish. Their lasting presence on people’s heads in depictions, their further stylisation and adornment with

²⁵ Part for the whole.

²⁶ For example, in the relief of Ramses II at the Cairo Museum, Cairo JE 46189.

²⁷ The term “portrayal” does not imply here any consideration on iconic density and realism.

²⁸ On statues of human beings, as well as objects and architecture elements as *simulacra*, see Valérie Angenot, “Remnants of the Past: The Tradition of Skeuomorphism in Ancient Egypt,” in *(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt*, *Ægyptiaca Leodiensa* 10, ed. T. Gielen (Liège: Presses universitaires de Liège, 2017), 415–418.

²⁹ For a semiotic analysis of the reserve heads and the traces of ritual mutilations they carry, see Roland Tefnin, *Art et magie au temps des Pyramides: l’énigme des têtes dites “de remplacement,”* *Monumenta Ægyptiaca* 5, (Bruxelles: Fondation Reine Elisabeth, 1991).

³⁰ See the evidence of their material existence in Anna Stevens, Corina Rogge, Jolanda Bos, and Gretchin Dabbs, “From Representation to Reality: Ancient Egyptian Wax Head Cones from Amarna,” *Antiquity* 93 (2019), 1515–1533. See also the depiction of their application on the guests’ wigs/hair in banquet scenes, for example, in the tomb of Amenemhat TT 82 (PM I 165 (12) I–II).

flower petals, thus came to signify the immaterial and undepictable reality of ‘perfume’, ‘good smell’, or ‘unction’ through a metonymic transfer.

- *State or action*: In Theban banquet scenes, the concept of “(alcoholic) intoxication” is signified by the Egyptians through the depiction of one of its visually effective causal extensions (= metonymy): that is “vomiting”.³¹
- Metaphor is a trope in which something is referred to through [the depiction of] another thing with which it shares common sensitive or conceptual qualities. It presents a THIRDNESS in relationship with what it stands for. The sign does not entertain any direct connection to its object, other than conceptual linkage or plastic similarities (shape, colour, composition, etc.).³² It is only remotely connected to it through a process of mental associations based on successive tropological transfers, as are Peirce’s symbols.³³ Visual metaphors may also be conveyed through intericonicity and substitution,³⁴ which produce Gestaltian percepts.
 - *Conceptual*: The motif of the sycamore goddess is the result of a metaphoric transfer. A fruit tree providing food, shadow, and shelter is conceptually associated to a /feeding/, /caring/, and /protective/ maternal figure. The essential features of the source and target objects are superimposed and blended to form a symbol.³⁵
 - *Visual (plastic)*: In the tomb of the painter Thutmes at the Bubasteion in Saqqara (Bub. I 19), the scribal palette in Thutmes’ hand is held horizontally, as would be the usual *sekhem* (“power”)³⁶ sceptre. The palette is thus metaphorically connoted as embodying Thutmes’

³¹ See the painting fragment inv. E.2877 at the Musées Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire in Brussels, maybe from TT 88, at fig. 5 (2).

³² That is, respectively, isotopic semes (conceptual) and morphemes (visual). On isotopy and semic analysis, see François Rastier, *Sémantique interprétative* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1987).

³³ Peirce defines the symbol as “a sign which refers to the object that it denotes by virtue of a law, usually an association of general ideas, which operates to cause the symbol to be interpreted as referring to that object.” Peirce, *Collected Papers*, vol. 2, 249.

³⁴ Colour, shape, or placement in the composition are extracted from the visual source, applied to the visual target, and blended.

³⁵ On the formation of the tree-goddess metaphoric motif, see Orly Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor. Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, (Fribourg–Göttingen: 1995), 114–125.

³⁶ The meaning of the sceptre is actually both broader and more nuanced than the simple idea of power. See notably Arlette David, “Akhenaten as the Early Morning Light: Revisiting the ‘Consecration’ Ritual in Amarna,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 52 (2016): 93–101.

power or authority, transferred to him through his artistic skills.³⁷ The metaphor is conveyed here by plastic compositional (re)placement.

Tropological semiotics do not claim a complete overlap between the three main tropes and Peirce's triadic model.³⁸ It notably stresses a difference in nature between icons and symbols, on the one hand, as artificial signs with an *intentio*;³⁹ and indices, on the other, as natural signs deprived of *intentio*.⁴⁰ Indices are a category of signs in itself, likely to be either of a synecdochic, metonymic, or metaphoric nature (Fig. 3). Peirce's triadic model therefore lacks mention of an artificial type of sign pertaining to secondness, which I define in this article as "metonymy".

Along the same lines, symbols also ought to be redefined as signs referring to an object by virtue of a law (Peirce's definition), but which are also likely to be either synecdochic, metonymic or metaphoric (so pertaining to firstness, secondness or thirdness—and not to thirdness alone). In the tropological model, the type of sign that Peirce calls "symbol" will be called here a metaphor (or metaphoric sign),⁴¹ as pertaining to thirdness, but *not* denoting by virtue of a law.⁴² Figure 3 summarizes the general themes of tropological semiotics with visual examples.

³⁷ As traditionally, scribal palettes are not held the same horizontal way. The forced similarity conveys the connotation held by the source image (*sekhem*-sceptre) to the target image (scribal palette). Alain Zivie, "La palette de Thoutmès. La tombe memphite d'un maître de la XVIII^e dynastie," *Compte-rendu des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 151–2 (2007), 615.

³⁸ And particularly here, the triad defining the relation between an object and the sign (representamen) used to denote it.

³⁹ Indicating that the sign has *intentionally* been designed, usually by a human being (but it may also be an animal), to *signify*; that means to stand for something else than itself. On the concept of *intentio* (*intentio auctoris*, in this case), see Umberto Eco, *Les limites de l'interprétation*, trans. M. Buzaher (Paris: Grasset, 1990), 29–32.

⁴⁰ *A priori*, as religious minds might consider this category of signs as emanating from a divine *intentio*.

⁴¹ Peirce calls "metaphor" a type of hypoicon, which "represents the representative character of a representamen by representing a parallelism in something else". But he does not really explain what he means by that. Peirce, *Collected Papers*, 2.277; Peirce and Deledalle, *Écrits sur le signe*, 233. For a likely explanation, see Douglas Anderson, "Peirce on Metaphor," *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* 20 (4) (1984): 453–468.

⁴² A law means that the form and meaning of a sign have been standardized and adopted by (or imposed to) a collectivity. All types of signs can be designed according to different characteristics captured by sensoriality, such as concept (thought), form (vision), sound (audition), taste (gustation), smell (olfaction), texture (haptic feeling), etc. As concerns visual productions, they can be designed either on a formal (Gestaltian percept) or conceptual basis.


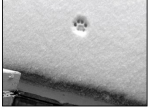
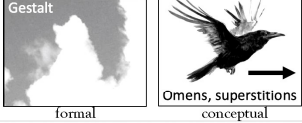


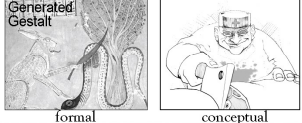



<u>Peirce's triadic model</u>	<u>Icon</u>	<u>Index</u>	<u>Symbol</u>
<u>Tropes</u>	Synecdoche	Metonymy	Metaphor
<u>Universal categories</u>	Firstness	Secondness	Thirdness
<u>Natural signs</u> (=indices) (without <i>intentio</i>)	Synecdochic index 	Metonymic index 	Metaphoric index 
<u>Artificial signs</u> (with <i>intentio</i>)	Icon = synecdochic sign 	metonymic sign 	[Symbol] = metaphoric sign 
Object/sign relation (Angenot) Object/sign relation (Peirce)	Mereology → [Resemblance]	Contiguity Dynamic relation	Transfer → [Law]
Symbols (denote by virtue of a law)	Synecdochic symbol 	Metonymic symbol 	Metaphoric symbol 

Figure 3. Tropological semiotics: Peirce's triadic elements redefined according to their ontological (natural or artificial) and tropological natures (© Angenot).

The semiotic construction of eating

I have argued above that, during the Old Kingdom, the semiotic system in private funerary iconography would favour establishing an iconic relationship between a sign and the object it stands for, but would then crystalize meaning in standardized forms (thus creating a symbolic system), operating on taxonomic *typicality*, *readability* (visual impact), and *economy*.⁴³

Typicality

Typicality is established through tropological transfer, most often through a synecdoche, where an item considered typical⁴⁴ is extracted from the group to stand for its taxonomic components, as being the most representative. For example, the most typical bread would stand for them all, and would finally stand for food in general. The hieroglyphic system works on a similar reasoning, notably as it concerns the determinative / classifier class of signs.⁴⁵

⁴³ Angenot, "Semiotics and Hermeneutics," 112.

⁴⁴ That is gathering the most important set of features (semes) defining the group. For an action, it is called the apex.

⁴⁵ Providing a term with visual anchor. Orly Goldwasser, *Prophets, Lovers and Giraffes: Wor(l)d Classification in Ancient Egypt, Göttinger Orientforschungen IV. Reihe: Ägypten*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 19–20 and Eliese-Sophia Lincke, 2011. "Die Prinzipien der Klassifizierung im

We have seen that, as concerns the depiction of eating, *typicality* was not favoured by the Egyptians. Instead of depicting a sliced part (synecdoche) of the action itself, for example its apex when the deceased carries [food] to their mouth, they chose a moment at the edge of the action of eating itself, when the deceased advances their hand to the food (Fig. 4).⁴⁶ Such a choice may still be a valid option in the eating sequence, although our hesitation to understand it as truly meaning “eating” indicates that it was not the most obvious motif to select for a successful semiosis.

Tropologically speaking, the choice labelled “No. 1” at fig. 4 is not a synecdoche (firstness), but a metonymy, a temporal/causal (past/antecedent) extension of the sequence of actions encompassed in ‘eating’, thus a choice pertaining to secondness,⁴⁷

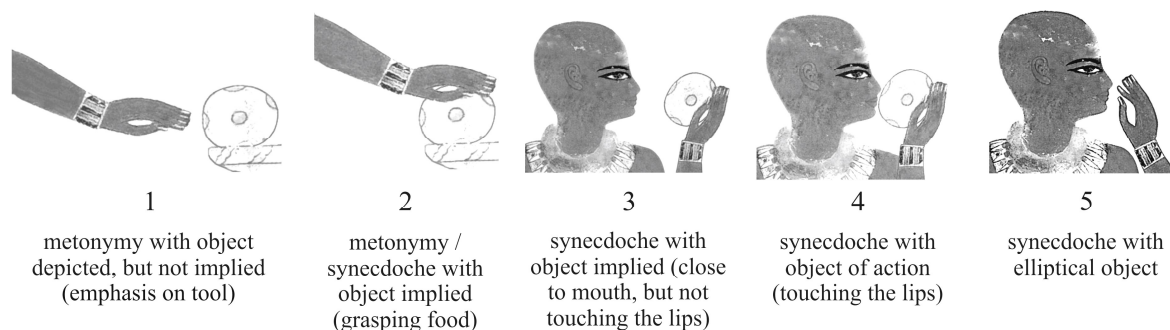


Figure 4. The different possible moments in the depiction of the action of eating and their tropological status (Angenot).

which does not either directly imply the object of the action (“food”).⁴⁸ The emphasis here is put here on the /tool/ (“hand”), rather than on the action itself. Using the tool to signify the action is also a metonymy,⁴⁹ an extension of the action through the concrete

Altägyptischen,” *Göttinger Orientforschungen* IV. Reihe: Ägypten, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011), 29 use the prototype theory to define the phenomenon in the hieroglyphic script.

⁴⁶ The choice of a New Kingdom model was made for convenience, because it allows the consistent depiction of all five options, whereas Old Kingdom slices of bread make it less easy.

⁴⁷ There is a temporal and causal relationship between the two actions “stretching hand to grasp food” [antecedent], in order to “eat it” [consequent]. Whether stages No. 2 at fig. 4 is metonymic or synecdochic depends on the way the Egyptians conceived the action (i.e., depends on their epistemological interpretant). Considering the semantic field of the verb *wmm* in Egyptian (characterised by the implication of the hand in the process, see below *Etymology*), it may already be considered a synecdoche in the whole *wmm*-“eating” process. Metonymy No. 1 remains at the edge of the action itself, the tool for the action (hand), the object of the action (food) and the agent of the action (mouth) not yet being implied in the action.

⁴⁸ Morgan (“Why is No One Eating?,” 58) mentions the use of metonymy in the depictions of feasting in the Ancient World. However, she does not see that it is also the case in regards to the action of eating itself in Egypt. She also mixes the definitions of metonymy (which she calls “part for the whole”) and synecdoche.

⁴⁹ As is done nowadays with the road sign (symbol) indicating a restaurant (where one can eat), by representing a fork and knife (whereas the icon of a building would have been possible, but less *efficient* as likely polysemic). In this case, the metonymy is double: (1) tool for action, (2) action for place where you perform such action → metonymic symbol (see fig. 3).

means participating in its realisation (in such case, a *spatial/causal* metonymy instead of a *temporal/causal* one). We thus have here a double metonymy which applies both to space and time.

I believe we ought to find a reason for this choice. As already mentioned, the answer has often been sought for at the sociological (restraints, taboo, *decorum*, in addition to other possibilities) or metaphysical levels (potentiality, acquisition of food [“put their hands on”]), which I do not reject. I believe that we should not seek one, single logical explanation to semiotic choices, but rather view them as the result of a set of different motivations. However, it is very likely that more basic representational considerations pertaining to readability and economy, as well as to an epistemic usage of images, were also at stake here, before any other restraints were considered.

Readability and economy

First, cluttering the space in front of the face would not have the best visual impact. Especially since this space seems to have been reserved to other meanings, such as the expression of breathing, as a metonymy of being alive in funerary iconography.

In mastaba D 64 of Ptahhotep at Saqqara, the deceased is depicted smelling a jar of perfume,⁵⁰ while his right-hand approaches food. In four other contemporary mastabas clustered around the Unas-cemetery, the jar of perfume is replaced by an open lotus, as will most often be the case in the centuries to come.⁵¹ While the gesture “smelling a lotus flower” most probably carries the same meaning as breathing thus being alive (metonymy) as smelling a jar of perfume, its significance is connotated and reinforced by the rejuvenation symbolism (metaphor) associated with the object, a lotus flower.⁵²

Using the hand approaching food (No. 1) to signify eating allows the depiction of both actions together, therefore generating *economy* (one figure supporting two actions), while maintaining *readability*. The concomitant expression of eating and breathing by the deceased and banquet attendees will be widespread in funerary iconography, from the Old to the New Kingdom.⁵³ In the tomb of Neferseshemtah at

⁵⁰ West wall. Norman de Garis Davies, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhethetep at Saqqareh*, band 1: *The chapel of Ptahhetep and the hieroglyphs*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt VIII, (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900), pl. XXIX.

⁵¹ Pieke, “Lost in transformation,” 269–270.

⁵² Thus, the enhancement of the principle of economy (= to convey a set of meanings in one single motif). On the connotated meanings of the lotus, see Manniche, “Reflexions on the Banquet Scene,” 30–31. The gesture is sexually connotated when the guests at banquets make their neighbour smell the perfume of mandrakes or persea fruits. Philippe Derchain, “Le lotus, la mandragore et le perséa,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 50, issue 99–100 (1975): 65–86; Manniche, “Reflexions on the Banquet Scene,” 31.

⁵³ For the Old Kingdom, see Pieke, “Lost in transformation,” 269–270. For the Middle Kingdom, see the stela of the Porter of the temple of Heku, carved by the sculptor Nefertum (Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, inv. 37.1347E). For the New Kingdom, see, many examples from Theban tombs, such as the meal and banquet scenes in the tomb of Nakht (TT52), Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *The*

Saqqara (see below and fig. 7), the isolated attempt to depict simultaneously the climax of the two actions of eating and breathing proved unfortunate in terms of *readability*.

Drinking

It has often been stated that while eating was never depicted in tombs, drinking very often was.⁵⁴ In reality, drinking was also quite rarely depicted before the direct post-Amarna and Ramesside periods,⁵⁵ apart from a few rare examples of rural scenes, often involving secondary figures of fishermen or peasants in fieldworks,⁵⁶ and sometimes the owner of the tomb himself being given drinks by servants.⁵⁷

In banquet scenes, just as for eating, the Egyptians chose a non-invasive metonymy to signify drinking, depicting servants pouring liquid into a vessel or presenting a cup to the guests.⁵⁸ This metonymy has a stronger visual impact than a sole hand approaching food. Henceforth it leaves us with the feeling that drinking was more often depicted than eating, when both motifs were equally present in iconography and were actually formed by applying the same type of tropological reasoning. In both cases, the semiotic principle of *readability*, at least in part, motivated the choice of a metonymic antecedent to the action itself.

Egyptian art demonstrates a tendency to be rather metonymic than synecdochic when signifying an action. The reasons are varied, but as the above examples demonstrate, they often pertain to *readability*. In that view, tropological choices are symptomatic of epistemic uses.⁵⁹ However, it cannot be ruled out that the will to convey

Tomb of Nakht. The Art and History of an Eighteenth Dynasty Official's Tomb at Western Thebes (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1996), 46, 64, 74.

⁵⁴ Manniche, "Reflexions on the Banquet Scene," 31; Manniche, "The so-called scenes of daily life," 44.

⁵⁵ In addition to the progressive reduction of the non-religious content of scene, including banquets, in the tomb decorative scheme of that period. Drinking scenes then generally appear in connection with the sycamore-goddess dispensing her goodness to the dead and their *ba*, pouring water in their hands, in a bowl or directly in their mouth, see Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor*, 114–125. In the tomb of the vizier of Seti I, Paser (TT 106), the deceased is depicted drinking from a bowl while he eats (hand approaching) figs from a tray presented to him by the goddess. The effect is that of uncomfortable gymnastics (PM I 222 (10) 6). For the Memphite post-Amarna period, see the relief from the tomb of Imenemmet in Saqqara at the Staatliche Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München, inv. GL 298, showing the deceased, his wife, and their *bas* drinking from the sycamore tree.

⁵⁶ See the peasant in the funerary chapel of Hetepherakhet at Leiden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (inv. F 1904/3.I-b); the peasant drinking from a gourd in the fieldwork scene in TT 52 (PM I 99 (2) III); the Levantine soldier drinking from a straw on a stela from Tell el-Amarna in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (inv. 14122).

⁵⁷ Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne* IV, 217, fig. 87.

⁵⁸ Betsy Bryan, 2015. "Just Say 'No'—Iconography, Context, and Meaning of a Gesture," *Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar* 19, *The Art and Culture of Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honor of Dorothea Arnold* (2015): 187–198.

⁵⁹ Roman Jakobson ("Two aspects of language") argues that the tropological choices pertain to epistemic or psychologic usages; certain poets or art schools will exhibit a tendency for either metonymic or metaphoric style. Cubism, for instance, appears to be manifestly synecdochic in nature (Jakobson calls it metonymic because he does not differentiate synecdoches and metonymies), whereas

the potentiality of an action rather than the action itself, in a mostly funerary semiosphere also played a role in the choice of metonymy instead of synecdoche, in eating and drinking scenes: that is actions with a high iconic potential.

Vomiting

Another, previously mentioned and very good example of a metonymic transfer⁶⁰ lies in the depiction of the abstract notion of inebriation or rather of the empirical state of being intoxicated.⁶¹ There are many pictorial ways to signify such state, which is otherwise visually characterized only by discrete features (low iconic potential). For example, the Belgian cartoonist Hergé, in *Tintin*, would use a graphic trick (symbol) in the form of a loop above the head to signify that one of his characters had abused alcohol.⁶² The Egyptians would never use such a device. They would rather



Figure 5. Two possible ways of depicting inebriation: (1) in modern cartoons (*Tintin*, © Hergé/Moulinsart [1937, 1941, 1943]); (2) in ancient Egypt (MRAH inv. E.2877, probably from the tomb of Pehsukher (TT 88), New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty, temp. Th. III–Am

Surrealism has a tendency for metaphorical symbolism; while the medium of cinema is inherently metonymic, etc.

⁶⁰ See above the discussion on the “*Semiotic theory of tropes.*”

⁶¹ Corresponding to the verb *th* in Egyptian, *Wb* V, 323. See, for example, the woman throwing up at the banquet of Neferhotep (TT 49), PM I 92 (6) II.

⁶² The loop more generally signifies the dizziness/unsteadiness/vertigo coming with inebriation. E.g. *L'oreille cassée* p. 22 (*Tintin*), *Tintin et le Crabe aux pinces d'or* p. 19 (Haddock), *Le secret de la Licorne* p. 23 (Snowy). Published in Belgium, respectively in 1937, 1941, 1943, Éditions Casterman.

make use of the more visual metonymy of vomiting [causal metonymy: consequent for antecedent] to convey such meaning (Fig. 5).

This image of vomiting demonstrates that there was no taboo, at least in the private domain, on either eating or vomiting. However, their absence—for the former—and presence—for the latter—from the Egyptian visual records corresponded to the use of tropological transfers such as metonymic ones. Inebriation was not at all anecdotal, but was a state actually sought in banquets, notably during religious festivals.⁶³ It thus had to be visually signified. However, it has to be noted that only the guests at the banquet may be shown vomiting—and never the deceased himself—while the same guests are still never shown iconically eating. Decorum most probably plays an important role in that case, but might not be the foremost explanation in regard to eating.

Right hand

An interesting detail running from ca 2900–2300 BC (that is for about 500–600 years!): the hand which approaches food is invariably the right hand, whether the deceased is facing left or right (Fig. 6). This juxtaposition can be visually awkward, particularly in scenes where the deceased is facing to the right and their arm and hand have to extend across their torso to reach the food.

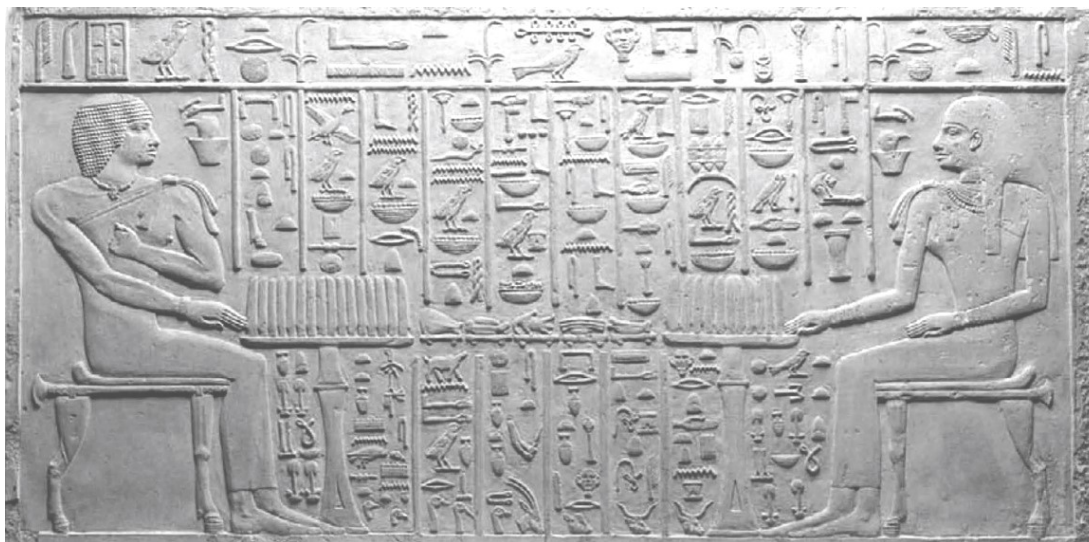


Figure 6. Right hands reaching for food, Mastaba of Ketisen and Huti (B9), Old Kingdom, 4th/5th Dynasty, Saqqara. Egyptian Museum, Cairo inv. CG 1392 (photo Angenot)

Although the ancient Egyptians usually show an iconographic preference for right hand performance of main gestures by main protagonists, I will argue below that use and propriety specifically was to use the right hand for eating, as it is still the case in modern Egypt, for hygienic reasons.⁶⁴ We will see how this detail is of importance when action translates in iconography.

⁶³ Manniche, “Reflexions on the Banquet Scene,” 32.

⁶⁴ Pierre Lacau, *Les noms des parties du corps en égyptien et en sémitique*, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Mémoires de l’Académie XLIV (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1960), 63: “La main

Puns


At the end of the 1960s, Wolfhart Westendorf demonstrated in a seminal article that some visual motifs depicted on the golden chapel of Tutankhamun could be read as phonetic puns, conveying meanings that decency would not bear depicting, such as sexual intercourse between the king and the queen.⁶⁵ Although part of the Egyptological world remained sceptical about this discovery,⁶⁶ other examples of such plays-on-words in images have been found by scholars since then, dating as early as the reign of Netjerikhet Djeser in the 3rd Dynasty. Below is a non-exhaustive list of occurrences:

ꜣh.t	(horizon)	→	ꜣh.t	(sanctuary) ⁶⁷
ꜣh.t	(inundation)	→	ꜣh.t	(horizon) ⁶⁸
ꜣhi it	(wipe grain)	→	ꜣh.t	(horizon) ⁶⁹
ꜥ + hps̄	(arm with <i>khepesh</i>)	→	hps̄	(strong arm, armed wing [arm]/army) ⁷⁰
ꜥ3.wi	(two donkeys)	→	ꜥ3.wi	(double door panels) ⁷¹
ꜥbw	(lettuce)	→	ꜣb/wꜥb	(ritual purity) ⁷²

droite est celle qui sert à manger, la main gauche étant réservée aux usages impurs.” Edward William Lane, *An account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptian*, 1833–1835 (New York: American University in Cairo Press, 1836, reedited in 2005), 150–151.

⁶⁵ Wolfhart Westendorf, “Bemerkungen zur ‘Kammer der Wiedergeburt’ im Tutanchamungrab,” *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 94 (1967): 139–150.

⁶⁶ Erika Feucht, “Fishing and Fowling with the Spear and the Throw-Stick Reconsidered,” in *The intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, ed. U. Luft (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd University, 1992), 157–169.

⁶⁷ Valérie Angenot, “Bak  – Naos du sculpteur Bak et de son épouse Taheri,” in *The intellectual Heritage of Egypt*, ed. U. Luft, *Voir double, pièges et révélations du visible*, eds M. Weemans, D. Gamboni, and J.-H. Martin (Malakoff: Hazan, 2016), 139; Valérie Angenot, “Bak, Servant of Aten—An Embodied Statement of Faith,” in *Patterns of Identity and Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt. Studies in Honor of Ronald Leprohon*, eds Ch. Geisen, J. Li, S. Shubert and K. Yamamoto (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2021), 142.

⁶⁸ Valérie Angenot, “Rébus, calembours et images subliminales dans l’iconographie égyptienne,” in *Rébus d’ici et d’ailleurs: écriture, image, signe*, eds C.-A. Brisset, F. Dumora, M. Simon-Oikawa (Paris: Hemispheres, 2018), 96.

⁶⁹ Angenot, “Rébus, calembours et images subliminales,” 97.

⁷⁰ P3 hps̄ tnr n Pr-ꜥ. Agnès Degréve, “La campagne asiatique de l’an 1 de Séthi Ier représentée sur le mur extérieur nord de la salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon à Karnak,” *Revue d’Égyptologie* 57 (2006): 53.


⁷¹ Frédéric Servajan, 2013. “Anubis, Khnoum et les autres. À propos d’une figuration de la TT 335 de Deir el-Médîna,” in *Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tardives* (D3T 2), Cahiers de l’EniM 8, ed. C. Thiers (Montpellier: Cnrs–Université Paul Valéry–Montpellier III, 2013), 137.

⁷² Gay Robins, “Meals for the Dead: The Image of the Deceased Seated Before a Table of Offerings in Ancient Egyptian Art,” in *Dining and Death: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the “Funerary Banquet” in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief*, Colloquia Antiqua 16, eds C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou (2016), 123.

<i>p3.wt</i>	(pintail duck)	→	<i>p3.wt</i>	(primeval times) ⁷³
<i>pd.t</i>	(bow)	→	<i>pd.t</i>	(troop of soldiers) ⁷⁴
<i>miw ʕ3</i>	(cat donkey)	→	<i>Miw-ʕ3</i>	(Great Cat) ⁷⁵
<i>mni. t</i>	(necklace)	→	<i>mnʕ. t</i>	(wetnurse) ⁷⁶
<i>km3</i>	(to throw the stick)	→	<i>km3</i>	(to create) ⁷⁷
<i>hsi</i>	(libation vase)	→	<i>Hsi [Rʕ]</i>	(part of Hesi-Re’s name) ⁷⁸
<i>hd.w</i>	(onions)	→	<i>hd</i>	(white, bright) ⁷⁹
<i>hnp mw</i>	(to drink water)	→	<i>hnp mw</i>	(to receive semen) ⁸⁰
<i>sšp.t</i>	(chate melon)	→	<i>sšp</i>	(light, bright, white)
			<i>šsp</i>	(to receive) ⁸¹
<i>sti</i>	(to shoot an arrow)	→	<i>sti</i>	(male sexual act) ⁸²
	(to spear)			
	(to sow)			
	(to pour water) ⁸³			
	(to scent) ⁸⁴			
<i>šwb</i>	(wood)	→	<i>šwb[.ti]</i>	(<i>shawabti</i> [box]) ⁸⁵
<i>šni</i>	(to encircle, to trap)	→	<i>šni</i>	(to spellbind) ⁸⁶
<i>šndt</i>	(<i>Acacia Nilotica</i>)	→	<i>šn/d.t</i>	(cyclic and linear eternities) ⁸⁷
<i>di ʕnh</i>	(to offer a bouquet)	→	<i>di ʕnh</i>	(given life) ⁸⁸

⁷³ Gay Robins, “The Flying Pintail Duck,” in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22–29 May 2008*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 241, eds P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 1833–1838

⁷⁴ This idea by the author of the present article is unpublished.

⁷⁵ Valérie Angenot, 2016a. “Hormin  – Vignette du Chapitre 17 du Livre des Morts,” in *Voir double, pièges et révélations du visible*, eds M. Weemans, D. Gamboni, and J.-H. Martin (Malakoff: Hazan, 2016), 135.

⁷⁶ Christian Cannuyer, 1997. “Aton, nourrice dans le sein, succédané des maîtresses de la ménat,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 157 (1997): 11–14.

⁷⁷ Westendorf, “Bemerkungen zur ‘Kammer der Wiedergeburt,’” 142.

⁷⁸ Richard Wilkinson, *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1994), 156.

⁷⁹ Robins, “Meals for the Dead,” 122.

⁸⁰ Valérie Angenot, “A Method for Ancient Egyptian Hermeneutics (With Application to the Small Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun),” in *Methodik und Didaktik in der Ägyptologie. Herausforderungen eines kulturwissenschaftlichen Paradigmenwechsels in den Altertumswissenschaften, Ägyptologie und Kulturwissenschaft IV*, eds B. Backes, A. Verbovsek, C. Jones (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2011), 271.

⁸¹ Robins, “Meals for the Dead,” 122.

⁸² Westendorf, “Bemerkungen zur ‘Kammer der Wiedergeburt,’” 141.

⁸³ Angenot, “A Method for Ancient Egyptian Hermeneutics,” 271.

⁸⁴ Manniche, “Reflexions on the Banquet Scene,” 34; Manniche, “The so-called scenes of daily life,” 44–45.

⁸⁵ Angenot, “Remnants of the Past,” 414.

⁸⁶ Arlette David, 2014. “Hoopoes and Acacias: Decoding an Ancient Egyptian Funerary Scene,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 73, No. 2 (2014): 245.

⁸⁷ David, “Hoopoes and Acacias,” 247.


⁸⁸ Angenot, “A Method for Ancient Egyptian Hermeneutics,” 264.

<i>d3b</i>	(figs)	→	<i>d3p/drp</i>	(to offer) ⁸⁹
<i>d3d3.t</i>	(harp)	→	<i>d3d3.t</i>	(tribunal) ⁹⁰
<i>d3d3</i>	(bovine head)	→	<i>d3d3.t</i>	(tribunal) ⁹¹

I will demonstrate that a similar device was used here, with the choice of metonymy No. 1 instead of the most obvious synecdoches No. 2–5 (Fig. 4).

Etymology


The verb which was used to denote the action of eating since the Old Kingdom, is *wnm*.⁹² This term is most probably etymologically connected to the term *wnmī* denoting the right hand,⁹³ as a tropological correlation between the two can easily be demonstrated.

It seems that the original meaning of the lexeme *wnm* was “to eat” and that its semantic field expanded afterwards to signify “the right hand”, and then to signify the dexter orientation at large, “the right side” .⁹⁴ If this reconstruction is correct, the transition from the meaning “eating” to the meaning “right hand” would have been generated by a metonymic transfer going from the action to its most representative tool,⁹⁵ as the right hand was (and still is) traditionally used for eating in Egypt.⁹⁶ This can notably be supported by the paraphrase “the one which eats”, which can be used to designate it in Antiquity.⁹⁷

⁸⁹ Robins, “Meals for the Dead,” 122.

⁹⁰ Florence Mauric-Barberio, “La tombe de Ramsès III,” *Égypte, Afrique et Orient* 34 (2004): 22.

⁹¹ Robins, “Meals for the Dead,” 121.

⁹² From the New Kingdom on, *wnm* competes with another verb *kḳ/k3k3/kḳkn* (= *klkl?*). *Kḳ* could be a new synonym or a reinterpretation of the old spelling of the verb *wnm*, with the two bread determinatives  which would then be phoneticized as *kḳ*. *Wb* V, 71.10; Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 78, (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 1069; Carsten Peust, *Das Napatanische: ein ägyptischer Dialekt aus dem Nubien des späten ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends. Texte, Glossar, Grammatik* (Göttingen: Peust & Gutschmidt, 1999), 182.

⁹³ *Wb* I 322, 13.


⁹⁴ *Wb* I 322, 1–12. The etymological connection between the two terms is used by Frank Kammerzell [“Zur Interpretation einiger Beispiele graphemsprachlicher Varianz im Ägyptischen,” *Göttinger Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 2 (1999): 83] to argue that the *prime* root of the lexeme “eating” was *wnm*, rather than *wn*.

⁹⁵ In any case, the relationship between the two terms is of a metonymic nature, whether it goes from action to tool or from tool to action. The hand is more representative than the mouth to denote the action of eating, while the mouth would be considered the main tool for the verb *ʿm* “to swallow”.

⁹⁶ Werner Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Leuven: Peeters, 1984), 232 and 234.

⁹⁷ Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, 234. Similar cases are to be found in Logone (Tchadic language), Peulh (West Sudan), Ewhe (Togo) and Swahili (Congo), *ibid.* The term might also be etymologically connected to its synonym *imn.t* denoting “the right side” [Gábor Takács, *Etymological dictionary of Egyptian*, vols I–III (Leiden: Brill, , 1999), 79–80], still in use nowadays through the Arabic and the Hebrew *yemin* [Adolf Erman, “Das Verhältnis des Ägyptischen zu den

Although an etymological connection between the homonyms used as puns in images is not mandatory,⁹⁸ it is often found in the examples mentioned above. Etymological links would probably promote a better understanding of the motif by the reader. The etymological (thus tropological) relation between the terms might also foster its success as a recurrent visual motif (or cultural icon).⁹⁹

Morphic arguments may also be put forward in such a case, as the determinative traditionally used for *wnmi* “the right hand” shows the hand palm down , which is exactly the way the right hand is shown in images denoting the action of eating. I have already underlined the low iconic potential of such a gesture when meant to signify eating. But if the idea was to refer to the written forms, it then makes the idea of a phonetic (*wnmi/wnm*) usage of the gesture much more likely.¹⁰⁰


The choice of metonymy No. 1 “right hand approaching food”—which is at the edge of any iconically anchored option likely to denote the action of eating—would therefore be fully justified if it meant to convey the most obvious (to an Egyptian) wordplay *wnm/wnmi*. Putting a visual emphasis on the tool used for eating would be sufficient to trigger the phoneme *wnm* in an Egyptian’s mind, and therefore lead to the understanding of the meaning “eating”.

We have seen that the “hand approaching food” expression is a *time-based metonymy* extracted from the extended process of eating, while using the tool [hand] for the action [eating] is a *causal/spatial metonymy*. Together with the fact that using the right hand also allows for the meeting of the two important semiotic principles of *economy* and *readability*, this not-so-obvious and untypical choice at first now appears as the best option in terms of semiotic construction and impact. Yet, it does not discard any social or metaphysical explanation. Adding the opportunity of a pun on *wnm/wnmi*

semitischen Sprachen,” *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 46 (1892): 107; Kurt Sethe, “Die aegyptischen Ausdrücke fuer rechts und links und die Hieroglyphenzeichen für Westen und Osten,” *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Goettingen* (1922): 207–208]. Although there is no consensus on the question, which therefore remains hypothetical. The metathesis *n/m* is not a strong issue in connecting them; the alternation *w/y* is frequent. *Contra* Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, 234.

⁹⁸ A phonetic likeness being sufficient to generate the pun.

⁹⁹ As was the case for the long-lasting fishing/spearing scene *stf*, “to procreate” Angenot, “Sémiotique et herméneutique de l’art égyptien ancien,” 12–14.

¹⁰⁰ It also raises the question of the literacy of the viewers, although the *invention* of symbols is usually made by the literate authorities who customarily use them (for instance here, the artists or their patrons), before they are conventionalized and adopted as part of a common system (thus the Peircian idea of a law discussed throughout this article). For the invention of new (written) signs and the authority likely to integrate them in the system, see Valérie Angenot and C. Caron, forthcoming. “Les graphies de l’Ax.t dans les Textes des Pyramides et les textes des sarcophages,” in J. Cervelló and M. Orriols-Llonch (eds), *Signs, Language and Culture. The Semograms of the Pyramid Texts, between Iconicity and Referential Reality, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, (Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming). For other examples of determinatives/ideograms used in images to trigger a phonetic value in the viewer’s mind, see Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art. A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture*, 52–53 (e.g.:  in statues → *wdn / dī / hnk*).

makes it quite an inescapable motif, saturated with redundant possibilities of signifying the full process of eating.¹⁰¹

I would therefore like to add this other item to the list of visual puns used in images by the Egyptian scribes of outlines:

wnmi (right hand) → *wnm* (to eat)

Evolution

The Old Kingdom

The use of this motif will live on for about six hundred years, until the end of the Old Kingdom, when alternative options emerge. We most notably witness an indifferent use of both hands when the deceased is facing right, especially in the smaller figures, while the larger figures still respect the right-hand convention, as in the tomb of Merefnebef at Saqqara, dated to the 6th Dynasty (temp. Teti, Userkare, Pepi I).¹⁰² The smaller figures are also characterized here by the use of the alternative phase No. 2, with the hand directly touching food. The latter also being depicted in more various forms than the standardized slices of bread.

It looks like the gesture alone would now be sufficient to signify “eating” by itself, no matter which hand was used. The less strict application of the right-hand rule, using the left hand when the deceased is facing right, allowed for a happier visual effect. It averted the awkward stretching of the right arm in front of the body, thus again enhancing the principle of *readability*.

One may consider that, after six centuries of use, the meaning of this hand merely touching food was known to everyone. The now catachretic pun¹⁰³ “right hand = to eat” was sufficiently worn out to leave space to a substitutive figure. The latter worked through *homomorphic* transfer this time (right hand → left hand), in the stead of the previous *homophonic* allusion (*wnmi* → *wnm*).

In the tomb of Neferseshemtah,¹⁰⁴ also dated to the 6th Dynasty (temp. Teti), the sculptor made an exceptional use of synecdoche No. 5 (“fingers touching the lips, but not holding food”), doubled with a left-hand metonymy No. 1 (“hand approaching food”) (Fig. 7).¹⁰⁵ The artist who conceived the iconographic programme of the mastaba of Neferseshemtah is known to have introduced an important set of innovations

¹⁰¹ Let us note that the verb *wnm*, although paradigmatically opposed to other verbs such as *gm* (to swallow) or *k3k3*, possesses this hand implication that the others do not have. Implying that the time span of the action encompasses taking food to the mouth in order to eat it, as opposed to just chewing and swallowing it.

¹⁰² E.g., north wall of the main chapel, west part. Karol Mysliwiec, *Saqqara I, The Tomb of Merefnebef*, (Warsaw: Archeobooks, 2004), pl. LII, LXVI, LXXIV.

¹⁰³ Catachresis is a trope adopted in current use.

¹⁰⁴ PM III, 2, 515–516. Alan B. Lloyd et al, *Saqqâra Tombs III: The Mastaba of Neferseshemtah, Archaeological Survey Memoir 41*, (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2004)

¹⁰⁵ Lloyd et al, *Saqqâra Tombs III: The Mastaba of Neferseshemtah, Archaeological Survey Memoir 4*, 24, pl. 22, 38.

challenging the canonical rules.¹⁰⁶ Among which is this new, unconventional way of depicting the act of eating. The redundancy in using together two visual options for ‘eating’ might have served to mark a transition in pictorial habits,¹⁰⁷ and to ensure the reading of the transformed convention. *Readability* would now take it over phonetic allusion. As already mentioned, the simultaneous depiction of the ‘eating’ synecdoche No. 5 and the “breathing the lotus flower” metonymy in the wife’s figure somewhat impairs the aforesaid semiotic principle. Besides, such association will not continue (Fig. 7 detail).

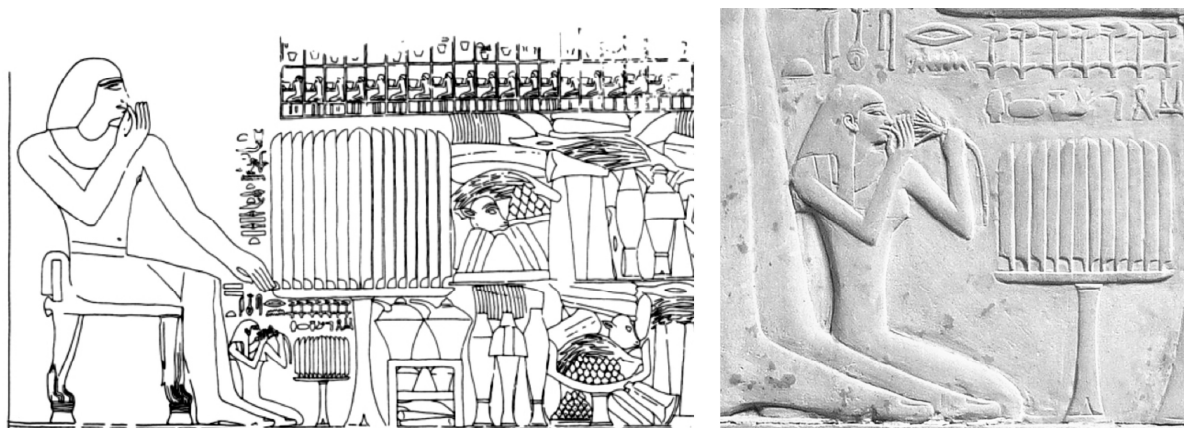


Figure 7. Depictions of eating in the mastaba of Neferseshemtah, Old Kingdom, 6th Dynasty, Teti, Saqqara (drawing after Lloyd, Spencer, and El-Khouli, pl. 33, 38; photo Angenot).

The number of decorated tombs was limited during the First Intermediate Period, and in the most prominent tomb of Ankhtifi, the meal of the dead was not preserved. But an important set of slabs representing the topic have come down to us, such as those of Intef and Senettekh,¹⁰⁸ the overseer of the fortress Intef,¹⁰⁹ the gatekeeper Maaty¹¹⁰ or Hanefer and his wife,¹¹¹ all dated to the 11th Dynasty. On these stelae the right-hand and slices of bread conventions are respected. On the latter two, the deceased also bring a jar of perfume to their nose.

Charles E. Worsham,¹¹² and more recently Gay Robins,¹¹³ have both pointed out

¹⁰⁶ Pieke, “Lost in transformation. [sic] Artistic creation between permanence and change,” 272.

¹⁰⁷ See another example in the mastaba of Niutnetcher in Giza, showing both use in the same composition. Hermann Junker, *Giza X, Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza, Der Friedhof südlich der Cheopspyramide Westteil*, (Vienna: Rudolph M. Rohrer, 1949), fig. 44–45, VI, fig. 39b.

¹⁰⁸ Brooklyn Museum, inv. 54.66.

¹⁰⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. 57.95.

¹¹⁰ Metropolitan Museum, inv. 14.2.7.

¹¹¹ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Neues Museum, inv. 1197. See also the False-door shaped stela of prince Intef, Cairo Museum, inv. CG 20009.

¹¹² Charles E. Worsham, “A Reinterpretation of the So-called Bread Loaves in Egyptian Offering Scenes,” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 16 (1979), 7–10.

¹¹³ Gay Robins, “Meals for the Dead: The Image of the Deceased Seated Before a Table of Offerings in Ancient Egyptian Art,” C.M. Draycott and M. Stamatopoulou (eds), *Dining and Death:*

that, in many 6th Dynasty and First Intermediate Period scenes, the standardized slices of bread were transformed into flowering reeds hieroglyphs. Such change in shape was meant to recall the hieroglyph for *śh.t*, and therefore to evoke the *śh.t htp* “field of offerings” “a location in the celestial realm where the deceased will eat,” as well as the *sh.t i3rw* “field of rushes”, “where the deceased is provisioned.”¹¹⁴

The blending between the slices of bread and the field of rushes is performed through Gestaltian “similar shapes” effects (visual metaphor). The pun is here of a purely visual order without phonetic allusion. The iconic bread motif undergoes a symbolization process, while being connoted with deeper resurrection meaning.

The Middle Kingdom

The paucity of Middle Kingdom burials creates an imbalance in documentation, as was the case for the First Intermediate Period. However, the preserved tombs show that the freer either-right-or-left-hand convention was adopted, even for the bigger figures,¹¹⁵ and shared the stage with conventional depictions.¹¹⁶

The clumsy attempt to make the right hand pass behind the body in the depiction of Khnumhotep II’s wife Khety in their tomb at Beni Hassan (BH 3),¹¹⁷ to accommodate her smelling a lotus while facing left, also has to be mentioned.

Following on with the trend seen with the small figures during the Old Kingdom, food is not always restricted to its taxonomic paragon slices of bread anymore. It is now often displayed in its diversity even as concerns the main figures. Fresh poultry, meat cuts, various fruits, vegetables, and types of breads now adorn the deceased’s table, with the notable absence of the traditional sliced bread.¹¹⁸

The Second Intermediate Period

During the Second Intermediate Period, the rare use of synecdoche No. 5 reappears on the stela of the cupbearer Wehemenu, depicted serving the great steward

Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the ‘Funerary Banquet’ in Ancient Art, Burial and Belief, Colloquia Antiqua 16, (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 111–128.

¹¹⁴ Robins “Meals for the Dead: The Image of the Deceased Seated Before a Table of Offerings in Ancient Egyptian Art,” 124.

¹¹⁵ See, for example, in the tomb of Sarenput II at Qubbet el-Hawa, dated to the 12th Dynasty and the reigns of Senusret II–III. PM V 233, 6.

¹¹⁶ See, for example, the stela of the chamberlain Sesostris from the 12th Dynasty, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Neues Museum, inv. 1188.

¹¹⁷ 12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat II. Naguib Kanawati and Alexandra Woods, *Beni Hassan. Art and Daily Life in an Egyptian Province*, (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2010), photograph 3.

¹¹⁸ For example, in the tomb of Sarenput II in Qubbet el-Hawa. PM V 233 (6). During the Old Kingdom, the stand with slices of bread was sometimes accompanied with extensive depictions of food as well, according to the available space, but the traditional bread was always present. Whereas during the Middle Kingdom, this no longer occurred.

Iat eating at his table (Fig. 8).¹¹⁹ However, this example, along with Neferseshemtah’s occurrence, remains exceptional.



Figure 8. The rare “iconic” depiction of eating on the stela of the cupbearer Wehemenu, with the great steward Iat, Second Intermediate Period (17th–18th Dynasty), Louvre C90 (© 2002 Musée du Louvre / Christian Décamps).

The New Kingdom

The beginning of the 18th Dynasty

At the beginning of the New Kingdom, the royal monuments seem to mark a return to convention,¹²⁰ as witnessed by the stela of Ahmose honouring Tetisheri.¹²¹ The two back-to-back figures of the king’s grandmother are shown using the right hand to reach the food displayed on stool-tables. What is new here is that, although not depicting a reigning king eating, this example belongs to the royal domain. We might

¹¹⁹ 17th–18th Dynasty, stela Louvre, inv. C 90.

¹²⁰ Although depictions from the royal domain have not been fully investigated in the framework of this paper.

¹²¹ Egyptian Museum in Cairo, inv. CG 34002.

assume that royal images might follow convention, especially after resumption of political calm. However, the presentation of food remains not standardized and varied.

In private tombs, the trend is to display the motif of the undifferentiated hand reaching extensively detailed types of food, sometimes accompanied by the traditional slices of bread, as in the tombs of Ineni (TT 81),¹²² Duaneheh (TT 125),¹²³ and Amenemhat (TT 82),¹²⁴ dated to the reign of Thutmose III.¹²⁵ With the development of the iconographic theme of the banquet as a marker of social connectivity¹²⁶ during the 18th Dynasty, and the consequent multiplication of guests supposed to be eating, using both hands made it easier for the artists to depict the numerous hosts and guests, even if the tradition of eating with the right hand was still in use. The switch most probably occurred only at the iconographic level, independently of social habits.

Robins has argued at length that the detailed offerings adorning the deceased's table were not randomly selected, but can be shown to have had symbolic significance related to rebirth and survival in the beyond.¹²⁷ This falls in line with the evolution of the standardized slices of bread into a symbolic field of rushes at the end of the Old Kingdom and the First Intermediate Period.

Around the time of the reign of Thutmose III, a similar motif seems to concur with that of eating. The difference is subtle and only lies in the position of the hand, which does not approach food, but is horizontally suspended palm down above the knees.

In the tomb of Pahery in El-Kab (EK 3, temp. Thutmose III), in the central part of the east wall, the nomarch and his wife are seated at their table, during a banquet gathering four registers of separated male and female guests. Pahery's hand remains above his knee. Yet, a bit further on the left of the same wall, his son Amenmes presents an offering list to his parents, and Pahery's hand is here shown close to food.¹²⁸ In the tomb of Wah (TT 22, temp. Thutmose III), the female banqueters facing left align on two registers, adopting a hieratic pose in which the left hand is presented palm down at knee level, while the right hand holds a lotus flower to the nose of its owner.¹²⁹

Betsy Bryan has argued that, in Theban tombs, such scenes are often related to drinking and that the gesture would be the iconic equivalent to the verb *šsp*, “to

¹²² PM I 162 (12).

¹²³ PM I 240 (13).

¹²⁴ PM I 164 (5).

¹²⁵ Such association sometimes appears during the Middle Kingdom as well, as for example on the painted limestone stela depicting Senusret standing in front of his offering table, 12th Dynasty, Louvre, inv. C 21.

¹²⁶ Jan Assmann, *Mort et au-delà dans l'Égypte ancienne, Mort et au-delà dans l'Égypte ancienne*, trans. N. Baum, (Monaco: Du Rocher, 2001), 74–80.

¹²⁷ Robins, “Meals for the Dead: The Image of the Deceased Seated Before a Table of Offerings in Ancient Egyptian Art,” 118–125.

¹²⁸ Although in a lacuna, it is clear that the hand is positioned very near food. A monkey under their seat is grasping fruits from a basket.

¹²⁹ PM I 37 (4).

receive”, therefore meaning that the guest accepted the drink.¹³⁰ She remarks that, in these drinking scenes, the gesture enters in paradigmatic opposition with the “hand raised at face level, palm outwards”, which would signify the opposite, “to refuse” (e.g., drinks).¹³¹ The hand above the knee is to be found in many instances and contexts and not only in drinking contexts. It can also be found with food, as already mentioned, distribution of unguent,¹³² the reception of the goods from the countryside,¹³³ and other examples.

The late 18th Dynasty

Later on, in the 18th Dynasty, during the reign of Amenhotep III, painters sometimes switched to figure No. 2 to signify eating. Food is then directly grasped by the deceased (Fig. 9).¹³⁴

The use of this alternative option, may reside in the will to differentiate properly the eating sign from the reception/acceptance sign mentioned above. Thus, it would reinforce its meaning through the choice of a trope that would be closer to, or included in the semantic field of the action.¹³⁵ It may, however, also correspond to a shift towards a more mimetic movement in painting occurring at the time, while still respecting the code. Let us note, however, that although different types of food are depicted on the table, it is often the full round bread that is directly grasped by the deceased, and that seems to metonymically stand for all types of food.



Figure 9. The use of motif No. 2 in the tomb of Menna (TT 69), 18th Dynasty, Amenhotep III, Sheikh abd el-Gurna (photo © Roland Tefnin, with kind permission).

¹³⁰ Bryan, “Just Say ‘No’—Iconography, Context, and Meaning of a Gesture,” 187.

¹³¹ However, the second hand is still in the same position. I must also mention that this gesture occurs in libation scenes/consecration of offerings. It would be surprising if it should express a refusal, and looks more like the expression of thankfulness. Let us note, however, that thanking someone may also signify refusal and that the visual motif may have the same semantic span as in modern languages.

¹³² In the tomb of Pahery as well. Bryan, “Just Say ‘No’—Iconography, Context, and Meaning of a Gesture,” fig. 6.

¹³³ TT 52, PM I, 101 (6).

¹³⁴ See for example Menna (TT 69), PM I 139, 13; Paury (TT 139), PM I 253, 6 in a now missing scene.

¹³⁵ See above “Etymology.”

The Atenist exception

It is during the Amarna Period that the profoundest change occurs in eating depictions. With the dawn of Akhenaten's reign, the semiotics of eating undergoes a radical turn in the choice of tropological options. However, this change only happens in very specific contexts.¹³⁶

Prior to this time, members of the royal family were not often depicted eating. When they were, the artists would use the euphemistic¹³⁷ conventional way, as did the elite in their funerary depictions. During the reign of Akhenaten, there is a noticeable shift in the way the royal family is represented in its own monuments¹³⁸ and those of the elite.¹³⁹ Not only are they depicted consuming food, but they also forgo the



Figure 10. The Atenist royalty at a family dinner, depicted eating using synecdoche No. 4. South-East wall of the tomb of Huya (TA 1), 18th Dynasty, reign of Akhenaten, Tell el-Amarna. (After Davies 1905, pl. IV).

canonical approach to a more explicit way of signifying eating. Their right hands¹⁴⁰ are shown grasping different types of choice meats—ribs, roasted ducks, quails—and bringing them to their mouths. Their mouths are closed, but the food probably touches them (Fig. 10).¹⁴¹ This innovation, and the choice of the most iconic and

¹³⁶ See below. L. Green, “Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets at the Court of Akhenaten and in the Ancient Near East,” 203–222) has discussed the different purposes and occasions during which commensality would take place at the time of Akhenaten, so it will not be done here again.

¹³⁷ Euphemism is a trope which can be realised through metonymic or metaphoric transfer. Bernard M. Dupriez, *Gradus. Les procédés littéraires (dictionnaire)*, (Paris: Union générale des éditions, 1984), 204–205. It can be in phase with the idea of decorum and restraint, while putting forward the *wnm/wnmi* pun.

¹³⁸ See, for example, the *talatat* assemblage A0071 from the *Teny-menu* in Karnak. Robert Vergnienx, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenophis IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques*, (Geneva: Société d'Égyptologie, 1999), vol. 2, pl. 17a.

¹³⁹ For a list of the occurrences of the royal family meals on private monuments, see C. Spieser, “À propos du repas de la famille royale amarnienne,” 293.

¹⁴⁰ Always, with the exception of the tomb of Ahmes (TA 3), see below for comments.

¹⁴¹ Most scenes are too damaged to see if the food actually touches the mouth. See, however, the limestone trial fragment from the North Palace at Tell el-Amarna showing a princess eating a duckling with her right hand, while the left one is picking fruits from a dish. Cairo JE 48035. The mouth touches the roasted poultry; it can be inferred that it is the case elsewhere, too.

hardly-used-before synecdoche No. 4, surely underline a deep epistemological change in the approach of food consumption and the depiction thereof in Egypt.

At the beginning of the reign, the depictions of the official meals attached to the King's *heb sed* from the *Gempaaten* temple in Karnak, still follow the conventional usage: Akhenaten is depicted in the palace, sitting on a chair, his hand merely touching the piles of food displayed in front of him.¹⁴² A few exceptions can however be found in the same precincts, showing the king and the queen bringing food to their mouths.¹⁴³ This means that the transition to the more explicit style may have occurred around year 5 of Akhenaten's reign, before the royal family and the court moved to the site of Akhetaten.

Although Atenist art generally demonstrates a higher *pregnanz* in mimetism than was the case before, it is noteworthy to mention that the change mostly affects the living royal family, Akhenaten, Nefertiti and the princesses, whereas the code remains unchanged for the elite.¹⁴⁴ In the tomb of Panehesy (TA 6), at Tell el-Amarna, for example, the deceased is sitting at his offering table, approaching his hand to food.¹⁴⁵ However, such depictions become rare in the Atenist city, and are usually substituted by the king and queen at their table in private tomb decoration.¹⁴⁶

In the tomb of Ahmes (TA 3), the sculptor uses a redundant left-hand synecdoche No. 4 "hand bringing food to mouth", along with a right-hand metonymy No. 1 "hand approaching food" to depict Akhenaten, Nefertiti, and their daughters eating.¹⁴⁷ It is possible that such redundancy was, as in the Old Kingdom tomb of Neferseshemptah (Fig. 7), the mark of a period of adaptation to the new visual form of expression. However, the presence of three daughters of Akhenaten and Nefertiti in this scene, and in the whole tomb decoration, indicates that it was decorated when the reign was already

¹⁴² Jocelyn Gohary, *Akhenaten's Sed Festival at Karnak*, (London: Keegan Paul, 1992), pl. XXIV. See also Green, "Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets at the Court of Akhenaten and in the Ancient Near East," note 34, 210. In *The Akhenaten Temple Project, II: Rwd-mnw, Foreigners and Inscriptions*, ed. Donald B. Redford, (Toronto: Akhenaten Temple Project, 1988), .pl. 70, Nefertiti is shown raising her hand towards a pile of food; and pl. 69, the king's hand grasps the food.

¹⁴³ R. Vergnieux, *Recherches sur les monuments thébains d'Amenophis IV à l'aide d'outils informatiques*, pl. XVIIa.

¹⁴⁴ It might be the case for the dead ancestors as well. A revered Amenhotep III is depicted on stela EA 57399 at the British Museum, sitting beside a table covered in food, his hand nonchalantly leaning on his knee in front of food displayed on a table. It is not clear whether this gesture is also meant to signify eating or not. It is very similar to the way the left hands of Akhenaten and Nefertiti are depicted in fig. 10.

¹⁴⁵ N de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna. Part III: The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 15th Memoir, (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905, pl. XXXIII. See also stela EES 35607 from house Q47.14 in the Main City. Anna Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna*, (Oxford, Archaeopress, 2006), 146.

¹⁴⁶ Spieser, "À propos du repas de la famille royale amarnienne,"), 292.

¹⁴⁷ Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna. Part III: The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes*, Archaeological Survey of Egypt 15th Memoir (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1905), pl. XXXIV.

well under way, possibly around year 8.¹⁴⁸ It means that the use of pictorial conventions may have been partly left to the appreciation of the artist.

A clue to explaining the change in the depiction of food consumption by the royal family could be found in the relief from the tomb of Huya at Amarna (TA 1) shown at fig. 10, dated to the end of the reign of Akhenaten, at least after year 14 according to the presence of form III of the name of the Aten.¹⁴⁹ On the Southeast wall of Tiy's steward's tomb—that is in the solar zone of the tomb—Akhenaten, Nefertiti, Tiy, and the princesses are depicted eating in the company of their divine relative: the living Aten in person, extending his handed-rays towards two braziers on which food is being burnt on its behalf.¹⁵⁰ We are literally witnessing a family meal, during which the royal family consumes their offerings along with the god himself.¹⁵¹

In the case of the god, without human features apart from his handed-rays, the metaphoric¹⁵² “hand approaching food” was the only possible way to signify “consumption of offerings by the god”,¹⁵³ while the food itself was being burnt to signify “transmission of offerings to the god”.¹⁵⁴ It might be objected that interpreting the gesture as consumption of offerings rather than simply denoting the general movement of sunrays may be going too far, especially since the gods had never been explicitly depicted consuming offerings until then. However, it makes sense when connected first with the brazier motif and second with the royal family's meal.¹⁵⁵ By supplying hands to the sun globe, the Egyptians not only personalised an otherwise inanimate object, they also provided it with the faculty to give (life and

¹⁴⁸ Year 8 being taken as a *terminus post quem*. Ankhesenpaaten was probably born around year 4 or 5, and first appears in the iconography in year 8. Her sister Neferneferuatn Tasheryt was probably born one year later, and would have likely appeared in the decoration, if the tomb had been decorated in year 9 or after. Marc Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, (Lyon: Université Lumière Lyon 2, Institut d'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'antiquité, 1998), 30 and 115. The first form of the name of Aten with the presence of Re-Horakhty provides the *terminus ante quem* of year 12 to 14. .

¹⁴⁹ Gabolde, *D'Akhenaton à Toutânkhamon*, 106 and 115.

¹⁵⁰ Spieser, “À propos du repas de la famille royale amarnienne,” 295–296. On “burning braziers” meant to signify offerings exclusively devoted to the god's consumption, see Spieser, note 15, 295.

¹⁵¹ L. Green, “Some Thoughts on Ritual Banquets at the Court of Akhenaten and in the Ancient Near East,” 221 also argues that in the reversion offering practice, the officials would not only receive leftovers from the god's altars, but from Akhenaten's table as well, which is what would be signified in the meal scenes from Huya, Ahmes, Penthu, and Meryre II's tombs.

¹⁵² In the case of an inanimate object, it becomes a metaphor (personification).

¹⁵³ *Contra*, Lise Manniche, “Music at the Court of the Sun-Disk,” *Amarna Letters* (San Francisco: KMT Communications 1991), 65 considers that the Aten's lack of anthropomorphic or zoomorphic characteristics, other than the arms, makes it difficult to visualize the deity consuming the food, suggesting that offerings would then be transmitted through music.

¹⁵⁴ As underlined by Spieser, “À propos du repas de la famille royale amarnienne,” 295, burning is the profound nature of the Aten. Burning is the way offerings were transmitted to the sun globe and the way it *consumes* them—pun intended.

¹⁵⁵ Earlier Atenist depictions already gave the impression of food consumption by the god, as on *talatats* from the Karnak *Rwd-mnw*, showing the endless repetition of the figure of the Aten whose rays touched the burning offerings displayed on numerous stands. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project, II: Rwd-mnw, Foreigners and Inscriptions*, pls 24, 25, 42, 43.

energy/power),¹⁵⁶ and to receive and feed upon its own creations, in a perpetual back and forth movement.¹⁵⁷

We may thus infer that the iconographic changes in the semiotics of eating are symptomatic and dependent of a conceptual and theological shift of the divine activities, which are extended to the royal family, and vice versa.¹⁵⁸ It evolved along with the maturation of Akhenaten’s ideology to find its final expression freed from the ancient conventions between years 8 and 14, when the king’s creed went a step further.

The king, the queen and their offspring united, together with their divine ancestor, to guarantee the march of the universe through their daily activities on earth, as already underlined by Robert Vergnieux and Michel Gondran.¹⁵⁹ When Akhenaten and Nefertiti had sexual intercourse, they renewed the cosmic workings. When Akhenaten dressed, it was the morning ritual of dressing the god’s statue. When he was anointed, it was a divine unction. The divine statues were no longer carried in processions. Instead, the king himself embodied the divine epiphany when crossing Akhetaten on his chariot,¹⁶⁰ or appearing at the palace windows.¹⁶¹ When Akhenaten drank, it was a libation to the god, and when he and his family ate, it was divine commensality and consumption of food offerings by the gods.¹⁶²

This ideological shift had to be marked somehow in the iconography, and Akhenaten did so by accentuating the iconicity of the action. Such change is in line with a trend, already palpable in the previous reigns, towards depicting reality from the point of view of the human eye.¹⁶³ Akhenaten thus renewed the visuals of an action now bearing a new ideological dimension. At the same time, he differentiated his (and his family’s) divine commensality from that of casual food consumption by the

¹⁵⁶ *P3 itn 'nh š3iw 'nh*, “The living solar globe (god of life) who assigns life,” Jan Assmann, “Akhanyati’s Theology of Light and Time,” *The Israel Academy of Arts and Humanities Proceedings* VII, No. 4 (1992), 148.

¹⁵⁷ Among the movements—other than give, take and eat—that these handed-rays were able to perform, it should also be mentioned that the Aten often touched, caressed or embraced the members of the royal family, stressing a meaningful connection between them, including divine protection.

¹⁵⁸ The god is absorbed in the royal family, notably through the inclusion of its name in a cartouche. Considering Aten is a further manifestation of the divinised Amenhotep III the dazzling sun-globe (*itn t̄hn*), such co-inclusion even makes more sense.

¹⁵⁹ Robert Vergnieux and Michel Gondran, *Amenophis IV et les pierres du soleil: Akhénaton retrouvé* (Paris: Arthaud, 1997), 191.

¹⁶⁰ J.-L. Chappaz, “Un nouvel assemblage de talâtât: une paroi du *Rwd-mnw* d’Aton,” *Cahiers de Karnak VIII* (1987), 112–119.

¹⁶¹ Jan Assmann, “Palast oder Tempel? Überlegungen zur Architektur und Topographie von Amarna,” *Journal of Near-Eastern Studies* 31 (1972), 154–155.

¹⁶² Vergnieux and Gondran, *Amenophis IV et les pierres du soleil: Akhénaton retrouvé*, 191. See also L. Manniche, “Musical Practices at the Court of Akhnaten and Nefertiti,” in E. Hickmann, I. Laufs, R. Eichmann (eds), *Studien zur Musikarchäologie II*, *Orient-Archäologie* 7, (Rahden M. Liedorf, 2000) 235: “To depict the king [Akhenaten] eating has almost become parallel to presenting food offerings to the god.”

¹⁶³ J. Assmann, “Akhanyati’s Theology of Light and Time,” 150.

common run of people, by leaving them the canonical metonymic choice while adopting for himself the most striking synecdochic option.

Exceptions

A few exceptions have yet to be mentioned, but they only concern small anonymous figures (Fig. 11). On a *talatat* extracted from the 9th pylon of Karnak, coming from the *Teny-menu* of the Theban *Gempaaten*, and now at the Luxor Museum, there is a small figure of a man depicted sitting behind a column, in front of a basket of food, in a corner of what must be the larder of the building. His right hand is holding an onion (No. 2), while he carries an empty left hand to his mouth¹⁶⁴ (No. 5). On a *talatat* fragment of unknown provenience (maybe Karnak as well), now at the Fitzwilliam Museum, a man is shown eating with his right hand (No. 5), while the left one grasps some food (No. 2). A female figure sitting in a room of the harem is depicted in the similar way in the tomb of Ay (TA 25). She puts [food] in her mouth with her right hand, while the left one approaches (or holds?) food displayed on a table.

These three exceptions not only concern subsidiary figures, which are usually, as already mentioned, submitted to different semiotic treatments. Additionally, the figures are also of a much smaller size than the main protagonists in the royal and private meals. This is probably the reason why the gesture has been made more explicit, using a more *typical* moment of the action, for *readability* reasons and enhanced

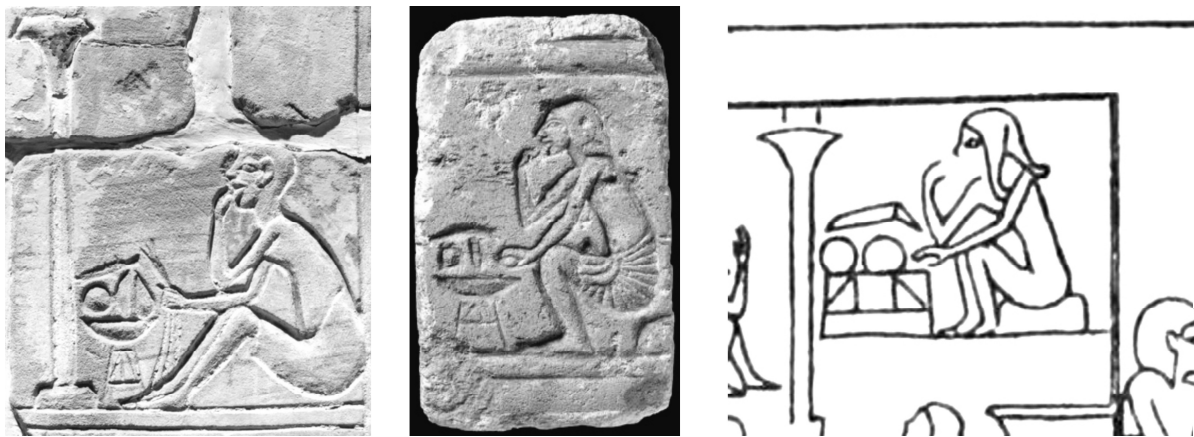


Figure 11. Lesser figures depicted eating: (1) Block from the Teny-Menu in Karnak, Luxor Museum, 1st floor (Angenot); (2) Talatat © The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, inv. E.GA.2302.1943, (used with permission); and (3) tomb of Ay (TA 25), north wall, at Tell el-Amarna (after Davies 1908, pl. XXVIII).

¹⁶⁴ J. Lauffray, 1980. “Les *talatat* du IX^e pylône de Karnak et le Teny-Menou, Assemblage et première reconstruction d’une paroi du temple d’Aton dans le musée de Louqsor,” *Cahiers de Karnak* 6, (1980) fig. 1. I would like to thank Lise Manniche for helping me locate this scene, first seen published as a drawing in Pierre Tallet, *La Cuisine des pharaons*, (Paris: Actes Sud, 2003), with a reference to Penelope Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexikon: A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 78, (Leuven: Peeters, 1988), 20, to which I did not have access.

semiotic impact. Yet, these small figures are not shown bringing actual food to their mouth, in the way royalty does (No. 4).

This suggests that the tropological choices were conditioned—as is the case in all semiotic systems—by their sphere of expression and the support constraints (such as the size of the available space). Meaning may thus vary according to the context of enunciation, in which different rules of readability, efficiency or typicality are likely to prevail.

The end of the New Kingdom and after

After the Amarna Period, things mostly go back to the state they were right before: convention for bigger figures, looser options for smaller ones. As regards the depiction of food, different traditions may coexist in the same tomb as well. In the Memphite tomb of Horemheb (temp. Tutankhamun), the future king chose a very traditional expression of eating, with his hand delicately placed above¹⁶⁵ long slices of conventional bread displayed on a stand.¹⁶⁶ In the depiction of a banquet in the same tomb, guests are shown eating using together metonymy No. 1 “hand approaching food” with synecdoche No. 4 “hand bringing food to mouth (food touching mouth)”.¹⁶⁷ On a relief from his lost tomb in Saqqara, the steward Paatenemheb is depicted sitting at his table, reaching his right hand to a pile of figs, pomegranates, and breads. On another relief, his left hand sits atop slices of bread.¹⁶⁸

During the Ramesside Period, the kings were more often depicted eating in their tomb and temples than seems to have been the case before the Atenist episode.¹⁶⁹ In their depictions, the kings respect the traditional and time-honoured way of signifying eating, using the “hand approaching food” trope No. 1 along with the conventional “slices of bread on a stand”, as a taxonomic paragon for food.

Later on, in the Saite Period, in the chapel of Amenardis in Medinet Habu, we witness a return to the even more traditional right-hand rule of the Old Kingdom, suggesting the influence came from these older models.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁵ Later on, in the Ramesside period, the hand will most often be placed on top of food rather than approaching it from the side.

¹⁶⁶ Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis* (London: AUC Editions, 1991), 61, fig. 25. The use of convention may be a bit different in Memphis than in Thebes. In the tomb of Seth (Bub. I.13) in the Bubasteion at Saqqara, dated to the end of the reign of Amenhotep III, the deceased is depicted reaching toward conventional slices of bread as well. A.-P. Zivie “Seth, échanton royal, et sa tombe de Saqqara,” in J. van Dijk (ed.), *Essays on Ancient Egypt in Honour of Herman te Velde* (Groningen: Brill, 1997). 371–380.

¹⁶⁷ Both hands are indifferently used for both actions. Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, 1 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989), 40, pl. 33.

¹⁶⁸ Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden inv. d800.

¹⁶⁹ For example, on the north wall of the chapel of Ramesses I at Abydos, now preserved at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. 11.155.3a); on the north wall of Seti I chapel at Abydos, (PM VI 11, 100); in the tomb of Seti I (KV 17) in the Valley of the Kings (PM I/2, 539–540, 25).

¹⁷⁰ William Murnane, *United with Eternity. A Concise Guide to the Monuments of Medinet Habu* (Cairo: The American University Press, 1980) 84, fig. 68.

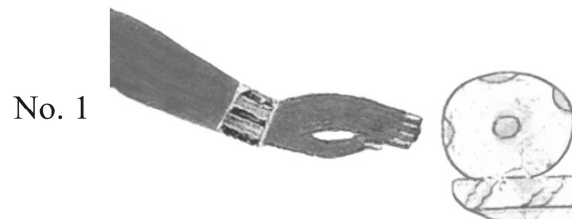
Conclusion

To conclude, one may see the semiotic construction of the iconography of eating as a succession of various phenomena:

- 1) Attempt(s) in depicting the action of eating, notably through an iconically explicit synecdoche No. 5 with elliptical object.



- 2) At some point during the Early Dynastic period, the codified motif No. 1 is adopted in most occurrences.



It is characterized by:

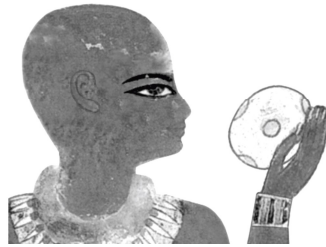
- the choice of a semi-symbolic metonymy at the edge of the process of eating. Among the possible options, the potential moment of the action is chosen, rather than the action itself. As it is not the most representative moment, we must therefore assume:

1. The prevalence of the principle of *readability* of the fixed codes, also allowing for the depiction of more actions, hence the principle of *economy* as well.
2. The will to convey a visual pun leaning on the homonymy between *wⁿmⁱ* and *wⁿm*, conceptually linking the right hand with eating.

The distance between the hand and the food may vary from proximity to superposition.

Some occurrences of synecdoche No. 3 have yet to be mentioned, especially in secondary figures or in countryside scenes, but not in funerary meals. It means that different semiotic regimes may apply according to the context of enunciation (sub-semiosphere) and support constraints.

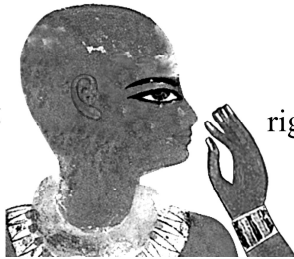
No. 3



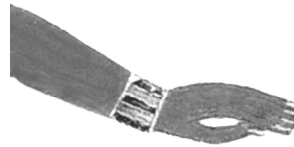
3) About five or six centuries later, when the semi-symbolic sign is well institutionalized, its *readability* is enhanced again by extending the possible signifiers for eating to both hands: the right hand is used when the deceased is facing left; the left hand is used when the deceased is facing right.

- The transition may have been marked through redundancy, displaying together two tropological options (No. 5 + No. 1 left) to ensure good reading.

No. 5



right hand + No. 1

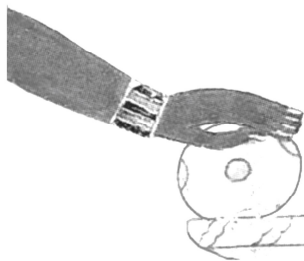


left hand



4) From time to time, between the end of the Old Kingdom to the beginning of the New Kingdom, we witness the choice of alternative tropes, e.g., motif No. 2 directly connecting the action eating, to its object food or, on the contrary, synecdoche No. 5 where the object food is elliptical.

No. 2



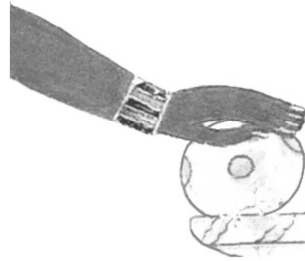
or No. 5



- 5) During the New Kingdom:
- right hand and left hand may be used to signify eating with metonymy No. 1, according to the orientation of the eater.
 - the motif of the "hand alone above the knee" may now be used to signify a general state of reception/acceptation, notably as regards food, drinks, unguent, flower collars, etc.
 - in tombs from the reign of Amenhotep III, trope No. 2 is favoured, which may translate either:

- a clearer lexical differentiation between the eating and reception signs
- a move towards less conceptual representations.

No. 2



6) At the beginning of the Amarna Period, the king is depicted eating using the traditional metonymy No. 1. Around year 5 of Akhenaten's reign, the royal family is depicted eating using visually explicit synecdoche No. 4, with food close to/or touching the mouth, while tradition of metonymy No. 1 is respected for the elite. It may correspond to a theological transfer of the divine function on the royal person and likely signifies the consumption of divine offerings in meals shared with the Aten himself.

No. 4

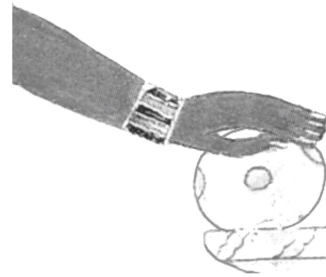


During the same period, lesser figures which are part of big compositions are depicted using the explicit synecdoche No. 5, probably for a better semiotic impact and *readability*. But unlike the visual rule in royal figures, these small figures do not bring the food to their mouth, but hold it in their other hand.

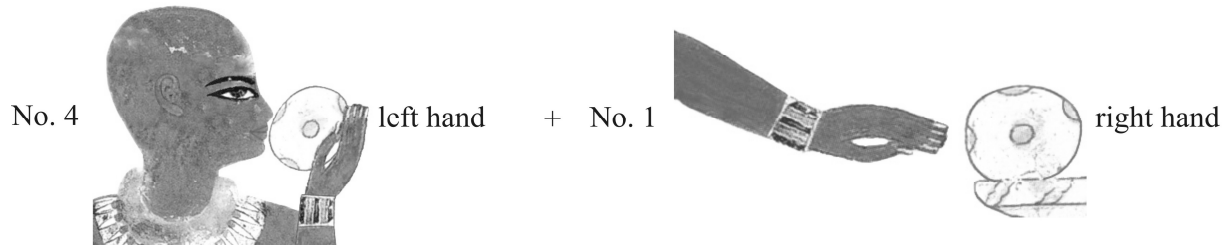
No. 5



+ No. 2



- A case of redundancy, in the depiction of a royal meal, shows together two tropological options (No. 4 left + No. 1). It may have been used to ensure good reading.



7) After the Amarna Period, eating depictions will go back to using the conventional metonymy No. 1 with either right or left hand. From that date one, the kings seem to be more often depicted eating. Some periods particularly referring to past motifs will go back to the conventional right-hand metonymy No. 1, as during the 25th Dynasty.

To conclude, all five visual options have been used, throughout Egyptian history, in the chronological slicing of the sequence denoting the action of eating. However, metonymy No. 1 was the most extensively used motif, being both a temporal and causal metonymy, and presenting the opportunity of a pun on *wmm(i)*. It also all together favours the semiotic principles of *economy* and *readability*, while respecting possible sociological principles of etiquette and propriety, and remaining the sign of an atemporal and metaphysical potentiality.

The Book of the Dead in Napatan royal tombs: iconographic and textual models from Thebes and the local program¹

Simone Petacchi

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to offer some observations on the excerpts from the Book of the Dead engraved in royal Napatan tombs at Nuri and El Kurru based on the drawings published by Dows Dunham in *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, Volumes I and II*. This research was presented at the Nubian Studies Conference of Paris in 2018 and it is a relevant part of my PhD thesis defended in 2013 at Lille University, France. Limitations arise from the incompleteness of the surviving spells and the many inscriptions lost. Moreover, a question is posed regarding the relationship of the Napatan burial inscriptions to those of the Late Period in Egypt, tracing a sequential geography of the texts within the tombs and underlining possible local innovations.

Résumé : Le but de cet article est de faire quelques observations sur les extraits du Livre des Morts gravés dans les tombes royales napatéennes à Nouri et El Kourrou à partir des dessins publiés par Dows Dunham dans *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, Volumes I et II*. Cette recherche a été présentée à la conférence des études nubiennes de Paris en 2018, et c'est une partie importante de ma thèse doctorale soutenue à l'Université de Lille en 2013. Les limites sont dues à l'incomplétude des formules restantes et aux nombreuses inscriptions perdues. De plus, une question se pose sur la relation entre les inscriptions funéraires napatéennes et celles de la fin de la Basse Époque en Égypte, retraçant une géographie séquentielle des textes à l'intérieur des tombeaux et soulignant les possibles innovations locales.

Keywords: Nuri, El Kurru, royal tombs, Book of the Dead, Napatan Period, Thebes, iconography

Mots-clés : Nouri, El Kourrou, tombes royales, Livre des Morts, période napatéenne, Thèbes, iconographie

The royal tomb of the Napata Period starts to develop an iconographic scheme with friezes and figurative registers at least with the reign of Shabaka.² In addition, we cannot exclude that even Taharqa's tomb (Nu. 1)³ had a similar situation. Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the walls within his tomb was not good enough to define the content of

¹ I am grateful to Mr. Simone Musso for the helpful criticism of the draft and for the drawings made for this paper, and to Mrs Helen O' Brien for the proofreading of the English text. I have also largely benefitted from the comments and arguments of the anonymous reviewers of this paper, as well as the JSSEA editorial board.

² Dunham reports that the first tombs to be decorated were the ones of this king (Ku. 15) and the one of his wife (Ku. 62) at El Kurru. D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush. Volume I, El Kurru* [henceforth RCK I] (Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, 1950), 55, 99. Other royal tombs such as Ku. 4, were "painted", but the author did not clarify whether they were effectively decorated with figures and hieroglyphs or not. RCK I, 30.

³ D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush. Volume II, Nuri* [henceforth RCK II] (Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, 1955), 35–36, fig. 21.

the inscriptions copied on their surface. Tanwetamani’s burial (Ku. 16)⁴ had walls with well-preserved inscriptions and figurative scenes although the interior decoration was never completed. In fact, a number of texts and images remained as sketches: colors were distributed on a flat surface treated with plaster, on which a squaring line in red was used by the artists to outline the preparatory drawing. The selection of the texts for the funerary chambers of the king includes some extracts from the *Coffin Texts*, *The Ritual of the Opening of the Mouth*, and the *Pyramid Texts* (henceforth PT). The only evidence of the *Book of the Dead* (henceforth BD) is inside “chamber B”, where the royal coffin has been placed. BD 30A was painted on sixteen columns under the traces of a canopy on the southern wall of Ku. 16,⁵ while BD 27 and BD 28⁶ were copied within twenty-five columns painted on the western wall. On the top of the vertical columns the craftsmen painted the correlated vignettes: on the left side the kneeling king who is bearing the heart-amulet in his hand is in front of the heart placed on the perch; this latter is before a human-headed *ba*-bird represented with a typical Kushite skullcap and a *djed*-amulet on a collar around his neck. The possession of the heart with his right hand means to have control over it, i.e., restoring control over his own life because all the organs work in synergy with each other, but only after a favorable judgement of the tribunal of gods who judged the deceased to be righteous. The scene symbolizes the magic power of the spell, which gives back to the dead his vital forces, especially the freedom of movement, essential for the *ba*, and guarantees victory over the death. This scene belongs to the vignette of BD 28, with the *ba* standing on an altar and the adoration of the heart on its perch (Fig. 1).

⁴ D. Dunham, *The Royal Cemeteries of Kush. Volume I, El-Kurru* [henceforth RCK I], (Boston, Massachusetts: Museum of Fine Arts, 1950), 35–36, fig. 21.

⁵ A. Gasm El Seed, “La tombe de Tanoutamon à El Kurru (Ku. 16)”, *RdE* 36 (1985): 67–72; this chapter is recorded in only one tomb of the New Kingdom, it is from the Theban Necropolis: Amenemhat’s burial (TT 82), see Nina de Garis Davies, A. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt, (No. 82)*, The Theban tombs series vol I, (London: The Egypt Exploration Society, 1915), pl. XXXVI–XLV.

⁶ See Gasm El Seed, “La tombe de Tanoutamon à El Kurru (Ku. 16)”, 67–72. Of Chapter 27 we have evidence from only one Theban tomb of the New Kingdom, again in Amenemhat’s burial (TT 82), see de Garis Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, pl. XXXVI–XLV. Another example, the only one from the Third Intermediate Period, is reported by G. Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead in the second court of the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34)”, in *Totenbuch-Forschungen: Gesammelte Beiträge Des 2. Internationalen Totenbuch-Symposiums Bonn, 25. bis 29. September 2005*, eds. B. Backes, I. Munro, and S. Stöhr, SAT 11 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 297–324, pl. 6. Chapter 28 is attested in only one tomb dating to the New Kingdom and in one of the Third Intermediate Period, Montuhemat’s tomb (TT 34), see M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, AV 46, (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1984), 96. For TT 34, see again Rosati, “Glimpses of the Book of the Dead”, pl. 6.

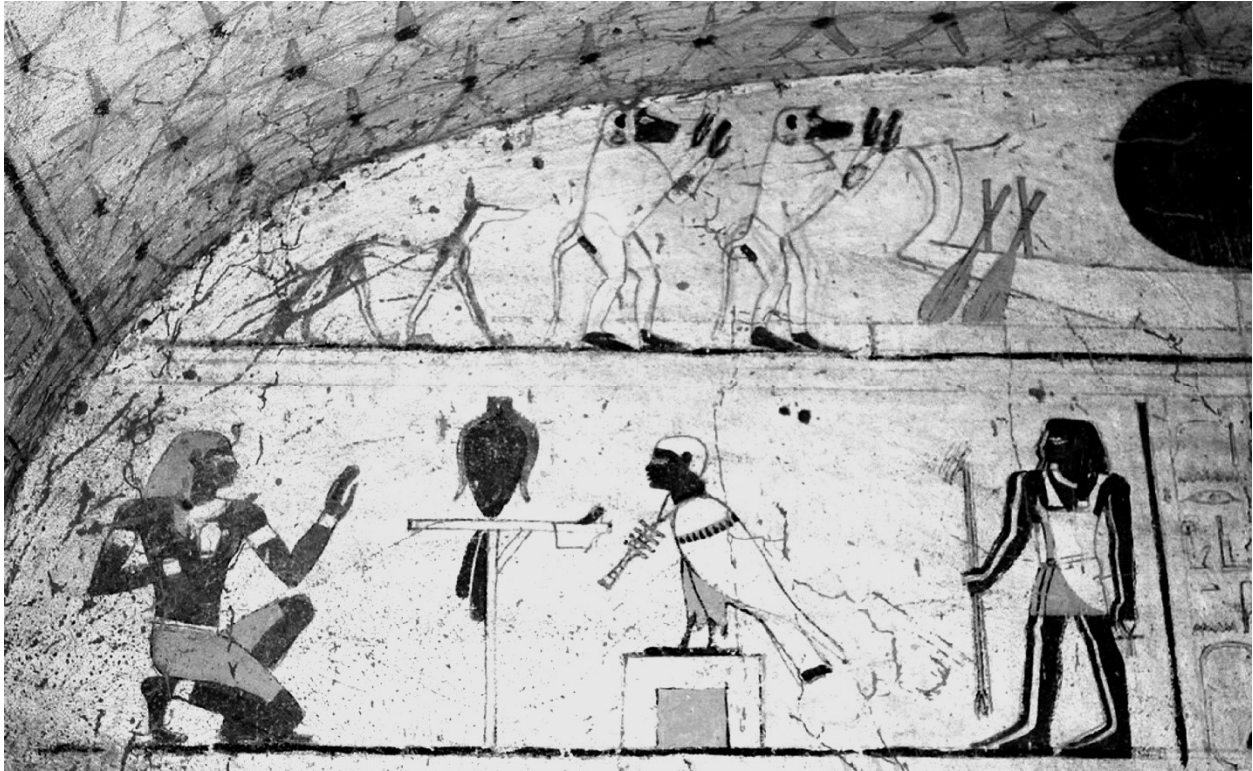


Figure. 1. Scene belonging to the vignette of BD 28, tomb of Tanwetamani, room “B”, west wall (photo by the author).

The short text ends with a large scarab of the same size of the columns, which belongs to a vignette of another BD chapter, probably confused by the painters as in the same sequence in the scrolls used for the decoration of the tomb. The large scarab is found in BD 30A, the formula to avoid the removal of the heart of the deceased in the necropolis. The two other heart chapters quoted on the same wall are BD 27 and BD 28. The purpose of this group of spells is clearly to emphasize the role of the *haty*-heart and the *ib*-heart: the former as coordinator of all the physical components responsible for vital function, and as the symbol of the reunification of all the organs, the latter as the center of wisdom, consciousness, and memory. Both were indispensable for preventing the dismemberment and the separation of the organs from the corpse.⁷ The image of the deceased with his heart in his hand seems to be a countermark for a Theban origin of the illustration.⁸

The decoration of Qalhata’s tomb (Ku. 5) is very similar to that shown in the burial of his son described above. Very few traces of the hieroglyphs have survived, but on some parts of the walls, the texts were never completed: on the south wall of “chamber B”, above the canopy of the queen, two horizontal lines quote some extracts of the formulas of Nut and Isis. The first one, labelled “Nut Text 5, part 3a” by J. Elias,⁹ often found on

⁷ Z.I. Fábíán, “Heart-chapters in the context of the Book of the Dead”, *SAK Beihefte* 3, 251.

⁸ M. Mosher Jr., “Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period”, *JARCE* 29 (1992), 143–172.

⁹ J.P. Elias, *Coffin inscriptions in Egypt after the New Kingdom: a study of text production and use in elite mortuary preparation*, unpublished PhD dissertation (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1993), 604.

anthropoid coffins, echoes PT utterances such as PT 356 §580, PT 368 §638, PT 588 §1607:

pšš n s mwt=k Nwt hr=k m rn=s n št-pt di=s wnn=k m ntr nn hft<yw>=k

Your mother Nut spreads herself on you, in her name of Shet-pet, she allows you to exist as a god without your enemi<es>.¹⁰

The latter one was copied in the lower part of the same wall, one can still read the formula that belongs to the Isis textual corpus, in particular "Isis utterance 3" labelled by J. Elias.¹¹

ii n=k snt=k 3st h^c=tw n mrt=k ptr=s tw hsf=k rdwy=k hw=s tw=k imi=(t)k mht di=s n=k t3w r fnd=k <nh=k srk shty=k> nn mt=k dt

Your sister Isis comes to you and you are happy through your love. When she sees you, she draws your legs. She protects you. You will not drown when she gives breath to you, at your nose. <May you live, may your throat breathe!> You will not die forever.

At Nuri, in Senkamanisken's tomb (Nu. 3), the antechamber and the first corridor giving access to the first room showed some hieroglyphs engraved on the wall but the much-worn state of the surface did not allow George Andrew Reisner to attempt even a partial reading of the texts. In contrast, Reisner did recognize excerpts of BD 125 on the north, east, and south walls within the first chamber (named "B" by the author) as reported in RCK II.¹² Neither Reisner nor Dows Dunham have ever edited the original texts and they published just a few photographs of the thick columns of hieroglyphs. From the photographs, we can infer that the signs were lightly engraved in the delicate sandstone walls that suffering from humidity and were ruined later in time. In fact, the substructure was inundated with groundwater filtering in from the Nile, which caused the rock to be badly damaged. For this reason, a correct reading of the whole of the inscribed sections is impossible. Although the funerary text on the north and south walls is difficult to understand, the northern and southern sections of the east wall clearly show the scene of the standing king. He is in front of nine columns on the northern side of the entrance and fourteen columns on the southern side. The extracts and the vignette belong to the negative

¹⁰ The use of masculine pronouns is interesting because the text in the scrolls used for the decoration of this tomb was originally designated to a male member of family.

¹¹ J.P. Elias, *Coffin inscriptions in Egypt after the New Kingdom*, 593.

¹² RCK II, 41.

confession (BD 125 B).¹³ Senkamanisken shows a naked chest with the *nemes* headdress, he wears a long kilt that reaches the ankles. He is in the act of offering a small Maat statue at each side, echoing the name of the place therein (Fig. 2). As already remarked by Emily Teeter, in the ritual presentation of Maat, “. . . Napatan kings . . . all share the characteristic of attempting to legitimize their political ends through theological means . . .”¹⁴

On the top of each narrow column a standing deity in mummified dress is depicted with a false beard, representing the forty-two judges of the Hall of the Two Maats. Below the figure is the denial of a specific sin, which starts with the sentence “I have not . . .” The experience of the judgement in front of Osiris and the weighing of his heart (*hypostasia*) after a confirmed worthiness, are the crucial episodes of dead’s journey in the Netherworld, the only ones which can grant the immortality to him.

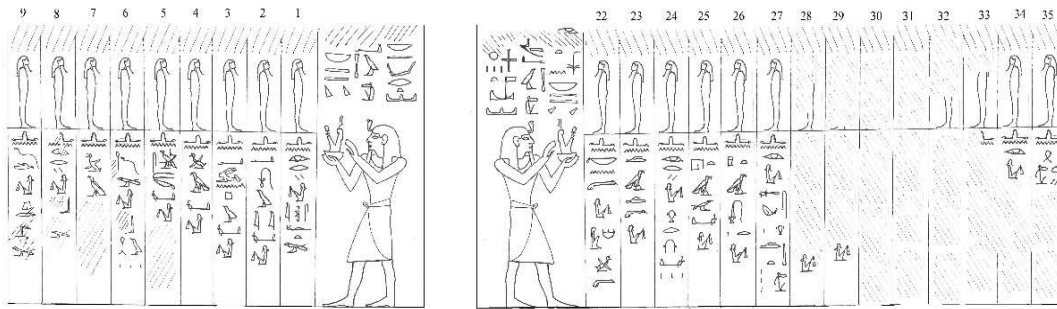


Figure. 2. Reconstruction of BD 125 B from the photographs published in the RCK II, drawing by Mr. Simone Musso.

This follows the layout of the post New Kingdom Theban tombs because BD 125 B is copied in the second room and not in the burial chamber as it was the case in the New Kingdom tombs.¹⁵ This layout is later followed by the craftsmen who decorated the burial of Senkamanisken’s son, Aspelta, in Nu. 8.

However, each text is missing two of the three standard elements, i.e., the name of the god and his place of provenance; only the bad action over which he is charged to judge is kept in the inscription, which the dead denies having committed.

¹³ C. Maystre, *Les déclarations d’innocence (Livre des Morts, chapitre 125)*, RAPH 8 (Cairo: IFAO, 1937), 65–114, 127–136. G. Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 125*, Tbt 3 (Basel: Orientverlag, 2008).

¹⁴ *The presentation of Maat: ritual and legitimacy in Ancient Egypt*, SAOC 57, (Chicago: The Oriental Institute, 1997), 17.

¹⁵ In fact, apart for Karakhamun’s tomb (TT 223) where the text was copied on the walls of his funerary chamber, in Pedamenope’s tomb (TT 33), this chapter was engraved in the subterranean chamber VIII, in Mutirdis’ tomb (TT 410) is present in the second subterranean chamber, in Padihorresnet’s tomb (TT 196) was copied the first and the second subterranean chambers while in Sheshonq’s tomb (TT 27) some fragments belonging to this chapter have been found in a lateral room. See S. Einaudi, “Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l’Assasif”, *BSFE* 183 (2012), 15, 21–22, 25, 27, 34.

From the east wall, northern side, we can recognize this sequential setting of the “negative confession”, running from right to left as below (Fig. 2):

- (1) *nn*¹⁶ *iri<=i> isft* “<I> have not committed evil.”
- (2) *nn* *ʿwʒ=i* “I have not robbed.”
- (3) *nn* *ʿwn=i pw* “I have not stolen that.”¹⁷
- (4) *nn* *tʒy=i* “I have not looted.”
- (5) *nn smʒ <rmt> [. . .]* “I have not killed <any human being> . . .”
- (6) *nn wd=i [d]bhw* “I have not debased measures of [g]rains.”
- (7) *nn tʒ=[i. . .]* “I have not stolen . . .” Repetition of formula (4), at the place of *nn ir=i (h) bwt*.¹⁸
- (8) *nn iri=i [..]b[. . .]* “I did not . . .” Repetition of formula (1) ?, at the place of *nn tʒw=i ht n ntr*
- (9) *nn dd=i grg* “I have not told a lie.”

On the southern side of the wall we can read from left to right:

- (22) *nn nk=i hm(t) tʒy* “I have not fornicated with the wife of <any other> man.” This corresponds to formula (19).¹⁹
- (23) *nn dʒd<ʒ>=i* “I have not polluted myself.” This corresponds to formula (20).²⁰
- (24) *nn iry=i hrw* “I have not scared anybody.” This corresponds to formula (21).²¹
- (25) *nn thw*²²*=i* “I have not transgressed.” This corresponds to formula (22).²³
- (26) *nn tʒ r=i* “I have not been wroth.” This corresponds to formula (23).²⁴
- (27) *nn shi hr mdt <nt mʒʿt>* “I have not been deaf to words <of truth>.” This corresponds to formula (24).²⁵
- (28–33) text was lost, apart for the starting of the negative statement in formula (33).
- (34) *nn iry=i <iwt mʒʒ bin>* “I have not done <wrong, nor seen evil>.”

¹⁶ As Cara Lia Sargent notes, in the negative confession of Napatan inscriptions, the negation “nn” clearly express past tense, but elsewhere its use is interchangeable with the single negation particle, “n”. See C.L. Sargent, *The Napatan royal inscriptions: Egyptian in Nubia*, unpublished PhD thesis, (Yale: Yale University, 2004), 35, footnotes 67–70.

¹⁷ This is a mistaken copy as the personal pronoun is set after the object of the verb.

¹⁸ J.P. Elias, *Coffin inscriptions in Egypt after the New Kingdom*, 356, 371.

¹⁹ Elias, 359, 371.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² The aleph is misused for “w”.

²³ Elias, 360, 371.

²⁴ Elias, 361, 372.

²⁵ Ibid.

(35) *nn šnt <=i r nswt>* “I have not conspired <against the king>.”

The same “erroneous” sequential setting of crimes that differs from the New Kingdom edition and the canonic Saitic recension,²⁶ seems to have possibly a Theban origin as it can be found as well in a *qeresw* and in an anthropoid coffin of two members of the Theban elite who lived between the end of the Twenty-Fifth and the beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty.²⁷ The former is CG 41003 of Nesykhonsu II,²⁸ the wife of the priest of Montu Nesoramun II, and the latter is CG 41060, belonging to a singer of the inner domain of Amun, Dimutshepenankh.²⁹ Therefore, the manuscript used for both the coffins should be linked to some of the ones used for the Napatan tombs.

The entrance and the western wall of the last niched room with a barrel vault (“chamber C”, according to the editors of the RCK II) (Fig. 3) are relevant as clearly inspired by the decorations of the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty Sixth Dynasty tombs of the noblemen in the Assasif necropolis. The door jambs and lintel with a cavetto-cornice are similar to the monumental ones on the western wall within the burial chamber of the king, where his coffin was placed. This decorative construction has been called a *Tornische* by previous scholars.³⁰ The central niche has a cavetto cornice within another one, bigger, surmounted by a triple bound papyrus arch and flanked by a bound papyrus column in each side, and a *pr-nw* niche on the left and right edge (Fig. 4).³¹ This motif, typical of the

²⁶ S. Quirke, *Going out in daylight—prt m hrw. The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead. Translations, sources, meanings*, GHP 20 (London: Golden House Publications, 2013), 271. In fact, the redaction of this chapter was already undertaken prior to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, because it was elaborated during the Kushite period, see by J.P. Elias, *Coffin inscriptions in Egypt after the New Kingdom*, 386–387.

²⁷ This is given by the comparison of the “negative confession” texts made by Elias, 352–379.

²⁸ A. Moret, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 41001–41041: Cercueils de l’époque bubastite à l’époque saïte* (Cairo: IFAO, 1913), 61–75, pls. X–XI.

²⁹ H. Gauthier, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 41042–41072 : Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Cairo: IFAO, 1913), 363–381, pl. XXVI.

³⁰ D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten der Spätzeit in der Thebanischen Nekropole*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984), fig. 95, 120. D. Eigner, “Remarks on the architecture of the *Lichtof* in TT 223, Karakhamun” in *Tombs of the South Asasif necropolis. New discoveries and research 2012–2014*, eds. E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017), 73–88; M.A. Molinero Polo, “Texts of the *Tornische* and the adjacent walls in the tomb of Karabasken[i]”, in *Tombs of the South Asasif necropolis. New discoveries and research 2012–2014*, eds. E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2017), 217–237.

³¹ D. Eigner, *Die monumentalen Grabbauten*, fig. 95, 120. Further decorative motifs with the same plants are discussed in E.R. Russmann, “The motif of bound papyrus plants and the decorative program in Mentuemhat’s first court (further remarks on the decoration of the tomb of Mentuemhat, 1)”, *JARCE XXXII* (1995), 117–126.

Egyptian tradition, is often found on the outer sides of the anthropoid coffins³² and *qrsu*³³ of the same epoch.

This archaic decorative pattern is known since the Old Kingdom, especially to frame a false-door and was reused later in private tombs of the New Kingdom, becoming a typical pattern of the funerary architecture of the so-called “Theban Renaissance”. We have evidence of this decorative pattern in the burials of important court dignitaries such as Padiamenope (TT 33),³⁴ Montuhemat (TT 34),³⁵ Ibi (TT 36),³⁶ Karakhamun (TT 223)³⁷ and Karabasken (TT 391).³⁸ By this period, its use includes the framing of the real or dummy (symbolic) niches, funerary stele as well as the entrance of a chamber/courtyard in a burial.

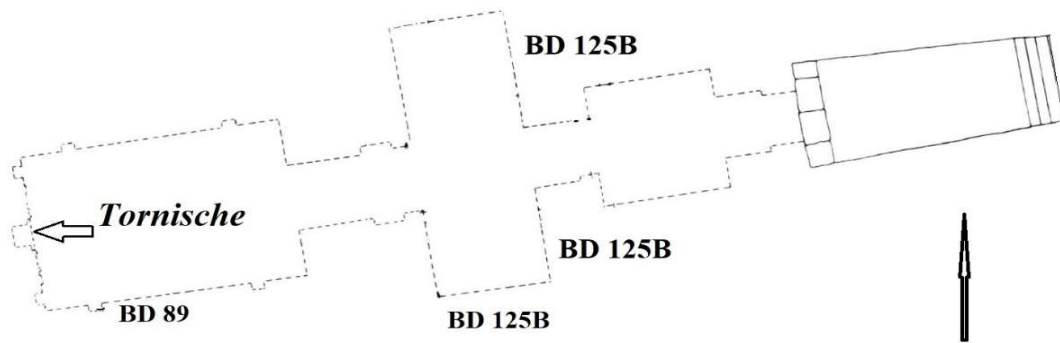


Figure. 3. Plan of Senkamanisken's burial, after RCK II, fig. 26.

³² As for example, CG 41053, belonging to lady Tjesmutperu and CG 41061 belonging to lady Tadiankh, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos 41042–41072. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou* (Cairo 1913), vol. I, pls. pl. XV and XXIX.

³³ As for example, CG 41002 (sides 1–3) belonging to the priest of Montu Nesperamun II, and CG 41031 (side 3) of Nespermin, in A. Moret, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 41001–41041. Sarcophages de l'époque bubastite à l'époque saïte* (Cairo 1913), vol. I, pls. VII–IX, XXV.

³⁴ See the niches in the cenotaph within TT 37, but without cavetto cornice in C. Traunecker, “La tombe du prêtre Padiamenopé (TT 33) : éclairages nouveaux”, *BSFE* 193–194 (2015–2016), 67, fig. 5–6, 69, fig. 9.

³⁵ D. Eigner, “Remarks on the architecture of the *Lichtof* in TT 223”, Fig. 4.9, 84.

³⁶ E. Graefe, *Das Grab des Ibi, Obervermögenverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun* (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1990), pl. 13.

³⁷ D. Eigner: “Karakhamun revisited: some remarks on the architecture of TT 223” in *Tombs of the South Asasif necropolis. New discoveries and research 2012–2014*, eds. E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (Cairo/New York: The American University Press, 2017), fig. 7.2, 111 and 114. A palmiform column is a variant recorded in Irtieru's burial (TT 390), see the above reference, note 8, 117.

³⁸ M.A. Molinero Polo, “Texts of the *Tornische* and the adjacent walls in the tomb of Karabasken[i]”, 217–237.

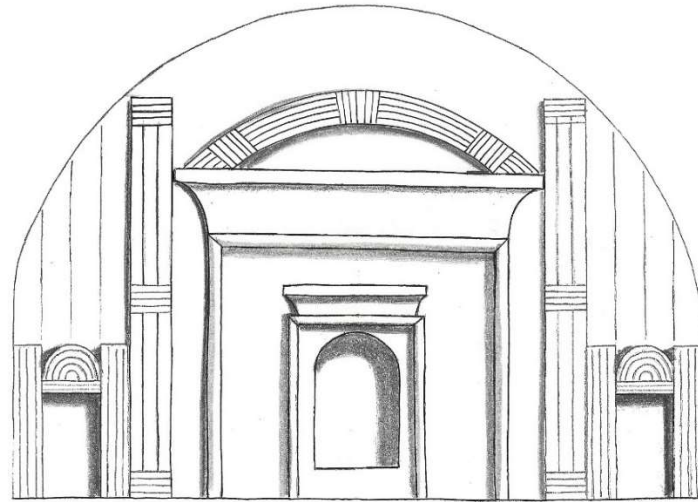


Figure 4. Lateral *pr-nw* niches with bound papyrus columns and the central *Tornische* with a cavetto cornice. West wall, “room C”, Senkamanisken’s burial (Nu. 3), drawing by Mr. Musso after RCK II, pl. XVII.

Although in the burial chamber the hieroglyphs were damaged and not always readable, we can recognize traces of a funerary bed surmounted by a *ba*-bird carved on the western part of the southern wall. This is the vignette of BD 89,³⁹ of which some extracts are still detectable looking at the photographs included by Dows Dunham in the RCK II.⁴⁰

Unlike the decorative layout of the previous royal tomb, Nasalsa’s burial, Anlamani’s and Aspelta’s mother, Nu. 24, does not show any decoration either in the antechamber or in the first corridor giving access to the funerary chamber. This is a common feature in the burials of the female members of the royal family.

³⁹ This chapter occurs only once among the New Kingdom tombs of Thebes, as attested in the Ramesside burial of the mayor of the city and vizier Paser (TT 106), see M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 51–52. On the contrary, it is frequent in later funerary monuments of the Assasif necropolis. It is recorded in the first pillared hall of Karakhamun’s tomb (TT 223) and in the courtyards of Harwa’s tomb (TT 33), Sheshonq’s tomb (TT 27) Pabasa’s tomb (TT 279), Padihorresnet’s tomb (TT 196), Ankhor’s tomb (TT 414). M.A. Molinero Polo, “The textual program of Karakhamun’s first pillared hall”, in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. Thebes, Karakhamun (TT 123), and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty*, eds. E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 152; S. Einaudi, “Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l’Assasif”, *BSFE* 183 (2012), 17–18, 23–28, 35.

⁴⁰ RCK II, pl. XVI, C, D.

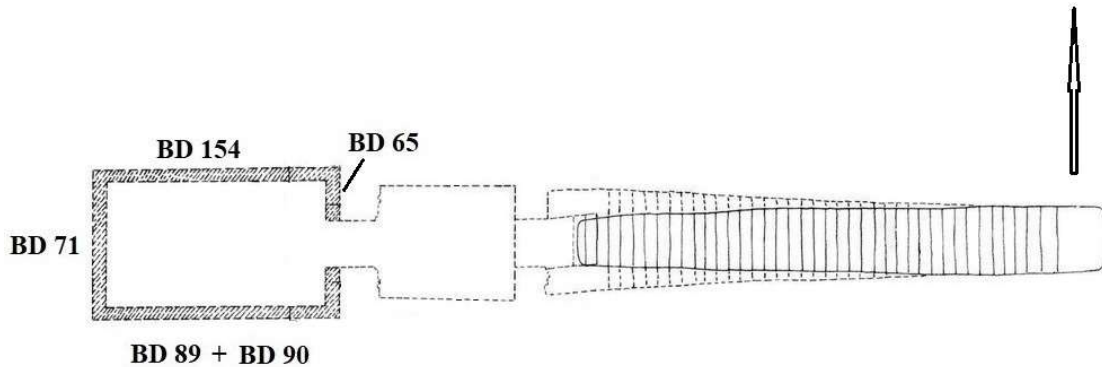



Figure. 5. Plan of Nasalsa's tomb (Nu. 24), after RCK II, fig. 26.

The burial chamber has every wall engraved with a different chapter of the BD (Fig. 5). On the north wall we can read an abridged version of BD 154 dealing with the metamorphosis of the corpse in the form of the morning sun, Khepri; it is written on thirty-six vertical columns.⁴¹ In the centre of this wall, there is the vignette accompanying the corresponding inscription: a lion-shaped funerary bed hosting the mummified body of the deceased irradiated by two rays of the sun.

The inscription starts in the last column of the very eastern side of the north wall, it runs from right to left, in a retrograde writing.⁴² In some occasions, the copyists of the text used a particular determinative for Nasalsa, that of a kneeling woman with a lotus flower

rising from her knees (J-Sesh sign B8), . This determinative is recorded exclusively in this chapter, namely on the north wall only, so that it is clear that the rolls used for decorating the whole room are different and did not originate from the same papyrus. We can read (Fig. 6):

⁴¹ This chapter is not attested in any Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, as confirmed by M. Saleh in his book, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 96–97. Later, it occurs in two Kushite and Saitic funerary monuments of the Assasif necropolis: Harwa's tomb (TT 37) where it was copied in the courtyard, and Padihorresnet's tomb (TT 196), engraved on the walls of the first subterranean chamber. See S. Einaudi, “Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l'Assasif”, 18, 36.

⁴² For its use in this kind of funerary texts: M. Chegodaev, “Some remarks regarding the so-called ‘retrograde’ direction of writing in the ancient Egyptian ‘Book of the Dead’”, *DiscEg* 35, 19–24.

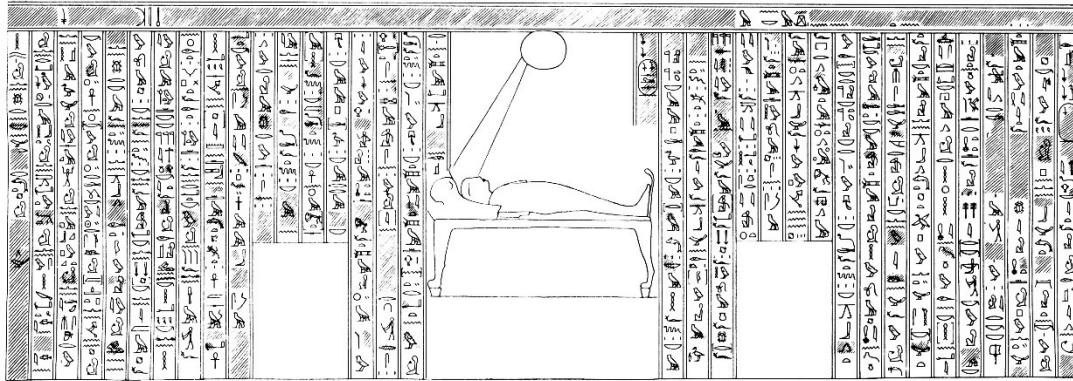


Figure. 6. BD 154 on the north wall of Nasalsa’s burial, after RCK II, 106.

*Wsi[r] mwt nswt [broken text in the cartouche] Ind hr=k iti=i Wsir ii.n=i [sdwh=]k iw[=i] pn nn⁴³ [s]bi h(3t)=i tn iw(=i) tm=kwi [. . .] it=i hpri mit[t]=i pw iwty <sb>=f mi ir=k [. . .] <nbi wi=k sh> m [. . .] <t3>w=i ir=k nb t3w tn(w) r mitt=f dd irk nby=k wi [m] <nb> krs di=k h3i=i r nhḥ mi nw ir.n=k hn^c it=k Itm nn sbi h3t=<f> p3 pw iwty sh=k (sic!)⁴⁴ nn [. . .] <ir.n=i> msdd=k mry wi k3=k nn [w]inw=f wi šd=k tggwi m ht=k⁴⁵ k3 tm ḥw3 mi nw ir[n]=k r ntr nb ntrt nbt r <wt> nb ddf t nb<t> sbi.≠f pri b3=t⁴⁶ m ht mwt=f h3=f m ht sbi=f sw<t> pw **hnn=f [tm] m ḥw3=sn sm3yw=f ity ḥ^cw⁴⁷**<=f> sgry<=sn> psdt [iry]w=f [. . .] m[. . . m]w dw f3i=f sns=f ḥw3=f hp[r]=f [. . .] m fntyw s3w tm ir=f iw=f sbi n ir[t] [Š]w [m] ntr [. . .] ntrt nbt m 3pd nb m <r> m [nb] m ḥfy nb m (interruption of the passage by the title of the chapter within the vignette with the name and the titles of the deceased) <snt> nswt <mwt> nsw Nsls3.*

The Osiris, mother of the king [. . .] Hail to you my father Osiris! I have come, may you [embalm] this [my] flesh. This my body will not perish. I am intact like my father [. . .] Khepri, the one who cannot perish is the like. Come then [. . .] <my breath is powerful>, you, lord of air, the foremost among his equals. Being stable, you, may you fashion me as <lord> of the burial. May you let me go down to the

⁴³ The same sentence is available in Nespasefy III’s papyrus, see U. Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy aus der Zeit Psammetichs I.* pKairo 95714 + pAlbany 1900.3.1 + pKairo JE 95649 + pMarseille 91/2/1 (ehem. Slg. Brunner) + pMarseille 291, HAT 5 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), Kol D69, pl. 65.

⁴⁴ This is a mistake; we need to amend as *sk=f*.

⁴⁵ This is present in the New Kingdom version, as in the BD of Nu, BM EA 10477, where we can find the word Xt with Gardiner’s sign M3 which should be translated as “followers”. S. Quirke, *Going out in daylight—prt m hrw*, 383.

⁴⁶ This is the only feminine personal pronoun used correctly as opposed to the masculine one used in the following sentences.

⁴⁷ This part in bold, seems unique even if the sentence is similar to the one present in “Version 2” of the BD, see M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. A study of traditions evident in versions of texts and vignettes. Vol. 10 (BD Spells 151–165)* (Leipzig: GmbH, 2018), 137.

eternity, like that which you use to do for you with your father Atum. <His> body shall not perish, that one is the one who cannot perish. I have not done what you hate but what your *ka* loves. It shall not restrain me, as you save me in your body, and then I shall not be in putrefaction, like that which you did for every god and goddess, every <flock>, every worm. <S>he who shall die, her *ba* goes out after his death and goes down after his decomposition. Again, this is a decay, all his bones are their corruption, his hair fallen down, his bones made the Ennead speechless [. . .] became stinking liquid. His bones became a multitude of worms, when he passes away at the eye of Shu, [like] any god [. . .] and goddess [. . .], like any bird, like any fish, like any worm. King’s <sister>, king’s <mother>, Nasalsa.

On the left side of the wall, the chapter continues within the column surmounting the lion-shaped head of the funerary bed belonging to the correspondent vignette. This is the title of BD 154 with the following part of the same text interrupted by the figurative register, but in an abbreviated version:

r n<y> tm rdi<t> sby [...] *Wsir <m> ddftw nb m ʕwt nb tm ty tm r nty <st> r[dit].*⁴⁸
n=wi hr [hw]t=sn siʕ=sn wi snd=i [hr]=sn iw sw<t> hr [. . .] m mitt [. . .]
*[m]wt.[t]y=ʕy*⁴⁹ *m ʕwwt nbwt m nbwt m ʕp[d]w nbw m rmw nbw m h[ʕ]yt nbt m ddft*
nbt ʕnhw m m<w>t=s im sn[t]w ir[n=i] ddft nb<t> [tm] im=[s]n <i>w r=i m
*[hp]rw=sn [. . .] [nn] rdi=kwi s[m]ʕyw pʕy imy [g]b[ʕ] smʕ [. . .] hʕw shnn*⁵⁰ *imn*
*šbn*⁵¹ *[. . .] m (sic!) [hʕt ʕʕt] ʕnh m smʕ [. . .] [ʕnhw irr<w> wpt=f irr<w>*
wdt=f nn rdit=k[w]i n dbʕw=f nn shm=f iw=i m wdw=k nb ntrw Ind hr=k it=i Wsir
wn n=k hʕw=k nn hwʕ=k n[n] fntw=k nn fʕ=k nn snsn=k nn imm=[k] nn hprw=k m
*fntw*⁵² *nn sb[i=k n] irt Šw iw=i [w]n=kwi sp 2 ʕnh=kwi rwd=[k]wi sp 2 rs.n=i [m]*
*hʕp nn hn.n=i nn htm=i iw skʕ=i nn hʕb pwkt*⁵³ *nn idw msdr=i nn <rd>=i sw tp<=i>*
r nhbt=i nn it tw [ns]=i nn <t>w sw (sic!) hʕ inhwy=i nn hpr n[k]n dw r[=i]
[. . .r] hʕt=i [. . .].

Formula for preventing from passing away [. . .] Osiris <as> any worm, as any quadruped, entirely, entirely because I have placed myself on their bellies, they recognize me, it is fear of me, [on] them [. . .] as the likeness [. . .] everyone likewise shall die, as every quadruped, as all birds and all fish, as all snakes and all worms living and dead. Let no worm tunnel in at all and let them not come against me, in

⁴⁸ Here the scribe made a mistake using the forearm without an offering held, Gardiner’s sign D36 rather than D37 for the verb “rdi”.

⁴⁹ A sentence which can be found in New Kingdom papyri, such as the one of Nu (British Museum EA 10477), Quirke, *Going out in daylight—prt m hrw*, 384.


⁵⁰ The determinative Gardiner’s sign Aa2 is useless here.


⁵¹ The same verb is also present in Iahtesnacht’s papyrus of the same period. See U. Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht, P. Colon. Aeg. 10207* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1993), vol. 2, *132.

⁵² Here, the text is lacking of a part of the passage: *ink hpri wn hʕw r dt n hwʕ=i nn hnn=i nn imyw.kwi nn hpr=i m finwt*. See Papyrus of Nu (EA 10471), Quirke, *Going out in daylight—prt m hrw*, 384.

⁵³ The correct form should be *pʕkt*.

all their transformations [. . .]. May you not give me [to that] one of the killers who is on [his side], who destroys bodies [. . .] and disrupt the hidden ones, who mixes [in numerous bodies], who lives by killing those who live, who carries out his commands, who performs his commands. I shall not give to his fingers, he has not power over me on your command, lord of the gods. Hail to you, my father, Osiris! You exist in your body without being rotten, without your worms, without being borne away, without your stink, without [your] puss, without transforming yourself in worms. [You will not pass away] at the eye of Shu, because I am really existing (twice). I am alive (twice), I am strong (twice). I have awoken [in] peace. I will not be rotted, I will not perish, as I am raised up. This my head shall not be cut away from [my] neck, my ear shall not become deaf, my tongue shall not be taken away, my eyebrows shall not be cut off. An evil harm shall not happen to [me]. My body [. . .].

We can find here a common mistake of the Saitic version of the BD on papyri which could confirm the use of a Theban prototype manuscript for the copy on the walls of this tomb:⁵⁴ the word *smꜣyw* in Nespasefy III's BD (columns 13–14) is written with the determinative of hair  (Gardiner's sign D3) rather than the knife (Gardiner's sign T31)

accompanied by the arm with the stick  (Gardiner's sign D40).⁵⁵ This confusion arises probably from the similarity of the two determinatives in hieratic, the possible writing of the manuscript used for copying the texts on the walls of these royal burials.⁵⁶

According to the drawing of the authors of the RCK II, the vignette accompanying the text corresponds to the “Version 1” of Mosher's classification⁵⁷ for the BD of the Late Period and it seems unusual: the sun-disk lights are rendered as just two lines and they radiate only the head of the deceased, rather than the chest or the whole corpse, as it is common in Egyptian papyri and coffins of that period.

On the opposite wall, BD 89 was copied with the corresponding vignette (“Version 2” of Mosher's classification)⁵⁸ again on the centre of the wall (Fig. 7). It is the anthropoid coffin laid down on the lion-shaped bier, with the head oriented to the left, surmounted by the flying *ba*-bird oriented to the right. The same scene had been engraved on the south wall of Senkamanisken's burial, although only some tiny traces of the bed were recognized

⁵⁴ The same mistake is also present in Nespasefy III's BD. KOL D69. See Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy*, pl. 65. This is the same on his anthropoid inner coffin on displays at the Stibbert Museum, Florence, S. Musso and S. Petacchi, *I sarcofagi egizi del Museo F. Stibbert di Firenze*, forthcoming.

⁵⁵ G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie. Die Ägyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Fünften Dynastie bis zur Römischen Zeit* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1909), vol. I, 7, 41.

⁵⁶ As it was also the case of the two royal sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta, S. Doll, *Texts and decoration on the Napatan sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, Unpublished PhD thesis (Waltham: Brandeis University, 1978), 4.

⁵⁷ Mosher, *The Book of the Dead. Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. Vol. 10*, 155.

⁵⁸ M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead. Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. A study of traditions evident in versions of texts and vignettes. Vol. 5 (BD Spells 78–92)* (Leipzig: GmbH, 2018), 292–295.

at the time of the discovery. Although the surface of the wall in Senkamanisken’s tomb was worn and cannot allow a complete reading of the inscription, it seems likely that even within this tomb BD 89 was engraved by the copyists, and it became part of the textual program for Napatan royal tombs.



Figure. 7. BD 89 & BD 90 on the south wall of Nasalsa’s burial, after RCK II, 106.

The hieroglyphs occupy nineteen columns, reading from left to right.⁵⁹ The spell starts from the central horizontal column above the *ba*-bird with the title of the chapter and the name and the titles of the deceased. It continues within the vertical column of the left edge of the wall until the one surmounting the feet of the mummy.

n<y rdt> dmi b3 <n> s3t nswt snt nswt mwt ḥnwt n Kš (it continues on the first right column) *ḥ3t=s m ḥrt ntr*

Formula for enabling the *ba* of the royal daughter, the royal wife, the mother, lady of Kush, to join her body in the necropolis.

[. . .] *nb t3?*(sic!)⁶⁰ [. . .] *ḥnh <tw>i=i n=i* [. . .] *i in[y] [ph]rr imy sh=f ntr ʕ3*
*[di]=k iiw<t> n=i b3=i m b<w> nb nty=f im ir*⁶¹ *wdf in=tw n=i b3=i m b<w> nb*

⁵⁹ The horizontal line on the top of the wall, although with some gaps, reading from right to left does not contain any extract from BD, we can read as follows: [. . .] *rdi=i m ḥtp n mwt nsw Ns3ls3 mʕ ḥrw m ḥtp r is=s n Imnt nn sns n ḥh iwʕ=t nn p3? ḥsw=t nn tkn=t r nb psh ḥm n=f i ? ḥ* [. . .], [. . .] “I have given in peace to the mother of the king, Nasalsa true of voice, in peace, towards her tomb in the West. Your flesh will not be stinky, your bones will not?, any biting mouth will not approach you, repelling for him ? . . .”

⁶⁰ It might be a corrupted *mʕ-ḥrw* following the name and the titles of the queen.

⁶¹ The use here of the loaf sign (Gardiner’s sign X1) rather than the appropriate eye sign of the verb “*ir*” (Gardiner’s sign D4) is clearly a mistake.

nty=f⁶² im=f gm=k irt hr ḥ^c tw r=k [mi] nf3y.w rs[w] nn sdr sdrw⁶³ (sic) m Twnw
 t3 m h3w n dmi im=f iw it.n=i b3=i 3h[=i] hn^c=i [. . .] <m bw nb nty tw=>f<im>
 nw r=i i<r>y.w pt [n b3=i ir wdf rdi.n=k m33=i] b3=i h3t=i gm=k ir[t] [Hr ḥ^c=tw
 ir=k mi nf]3w i ntrw st3w # [wi3 n nb hh inyw hrw n] Dw3t shry.w⁶⁴ <n> Nwnt
 [. . .] s [stknw b3w r] s^chw wy=sn mh hr [ḥ]k3.w=tn 3mm=tn hr m3tnw=[tn dr=tn
 hftyw] h^cy [wi3 wd3 ntr] ḥ3 m htp [ist rdi.n=tn b3=i] hr hp<dw>=tn m 3ht Bbtt nt pt
 r šms r bw hr=f n sf m htp sp 2 hr Imntt m33=f h3t=s htp=s r s^ch nn shk=f nn htm=f
 n dt dt=f [. . .] r nh sp 2

Lord of the land? . . . living . . . to me . . . Oh bringer, oh runner, the one who is in his pavilion, the great god [may he let] my *ba* to join me from any place wherever he is, in case there is a delay in bringing to me my *ba* wherever he is, you will find the eye of Horus standing against you [as] those watchers who do not lie down in Heliopolis, the land where thousands are united with it. I have taken possession of my *ba* and of [my] *akh*-spirit together with me [. . .] <wherever> he <is>. What pertains to the sky belongs [to my *ba*. If there is a delay of you having allowing that I may see] my *ba* and my corpse, you will find the eye [of Horus standing up against you like those].

Oh gods who pull out [the boat of the lord of the millions, who bring the sky to] the Duat, who remove Naunet (namely: the ways of the lower sky) [. . .] [who conduct the *ba*-spirits] to join the mummified bodies [whose arms are full of ropes, grasp your sticks and [pull out the enemies. May the boat] rejoice [and the great god] be in peace! [Lo, you have placed my *ba*] under your buttocks, in the eastern horizon of the sky, in order to follow the place it was yesterday, in peace (twice), before the Occident. That he (sic!) may see her corpse and rest on her mummy, may (s)he never perish neither being annihilated for the *djet*-eternity (twice) [. . .] for the *neheh*-eternity (twice).

On the first right column, outside the figurative frame with the vignette, the text carved on seventeen vertical columns and reading left to right, contains a standard invocation with the name and titles of the deceased followed by a passage from another chapter of the BD. This is BD 90,⁶⁵ which originated from the *Coffin Texts*, Spell 453 (Fig. 7). It is worth noting that this chapter of the BD does not quote the title of the spell here and instead, the text is introduced by the formula *dd mdw in Wsir* + the name of the deceased + the epithet

⁶² M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead. Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. Vol. 5*, 274. The omission of “tw” is typical of the Theban documents recorded by the author.

⁶³ This should be a corrupted passage and it might correspond to a *sdmw=f* with no sense here.

⁶⁴ Here the hieroglyph for city (Gardiner’s sign O49) is only used as the preposition “n”.

⁶⁵ This chapter is never attested in a New Kingdom tomb as confirmed by M. Salah, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 96–97. Later, it occurs only twice in the courtyard of two Saitic funerary monuments of the Assasif necropolis: Pedamenope’s tomb (TT 33) and Pabasa’s tomb (TT 279). See S. Einaudi, “Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l’Assasif”, 21, 23, 35.

m3^c hrw as it is the case of the extracts of the BD in the second pillared hall of Karakhamun’s tomb (TT 223), in the Assasif necropolis.⁶⁶ For this reason, this unusual *incipit* of BD 90 could suggest a Theban origin, and perhaps it has been elaborated there under the Kushites, considering that it is not attested before.

Dd mdw in s3t ntr mry<t> ntr sn<t> nswt mwt n nswt hnwt n Kš Ns3ls3 m3^ct hrw hr Wsir nb 3bdw? ntr 3 i hsk tpw sni wsrwt dd sh3<w> m r3 n 3hw hr hk3 imy ht=sn m33=k sn(t) nswt mwt nswt hnwt n Kš Ns3ls3 m3^ct hrw m irty=k [nn] m33=k snt nswt mwt n nswt hnwt n Kš Ns3ls3 m3^ct hrw m irty=k [. . .] gmh[=k m] mnty=k phr=k hr=k h3[k] tp=k (sic!) nn dg3[=t] s3ty(w) Šw <i>iw m s3=t r hsk tp[=t] r=snī wsrwt=t m wp<t> 3w3<y nb=f> hr n<n dd ir=k> r=i wd sh3 m r3=i nn sn[i]=k wsrwt=i nn htm=k r3=i hr hk3w=i imy [ht=i] mi irty=k r 3hw hr hk3w imy ht=sn ꜥhm <n d3is> n ts is nw dd 3st ntrt =i m ii=k r wd sh3 m r3 n Wsir <ib> n Swty⁶⁷ hft[yw=f . . .] m [dd] r=k nhrty=k nn m33 r [hr pwy] pr ht [. . .] m=i (sišH) k m hnw n [ir]t Tm nkn gr<h> pfy 3m33m nt [. . .] tw <n> hm n Wsir iw bwt=k imy=i ts phr <n> hm rk[n=i] iw bwt=k im=i ts phr iw=k r=i tm=k iw r tm=i dd r=k <n> [hm] n s3tyw <n> Šw

Words spoken by the daughter of the god, beloved of the god, sister of the king, mother of the king, lady of Kush, Nasalsa, true of voice, at the side of Osiris, lord of Abydos ?, the great god. Oh you who cuts off heads and severs necks, who put speech impediments in the mouth of the blessed souls, according to the magic which is in their bodies, you shall not see the sister of the king, mother of the king, lady of Kush, Nasalsa, true of voice with your eyes [. . .] and [you] shall catch sight from your knees, as your face is backwards. [You] will not take distance Shu’s mutilators, they who come after you in order to cut off your head, to sever your neck, according to the one who robs <his lord>, because of this <saying that you would act> against me, i.e., putting speech impediments in my mouth. You will not cut my neck, nor will not seal shout my mouth according to my magic which is in [my body], as you act against the blessed souls, according to the magic which is in their bodies. Take distance <before the two statements>, the goddess Isis spoke when you come to put speech impediments in Osiris’ mouth [. . .] <the desire> of Seth and his enem[ies], in [speaking] against you and your testicles [This face] shall not see the going forth [. . .] . . . from within the [eye] of Atum that was injured that terrible night when you have been devoured. Take distance from Osiris, as your abomination is in me and vice versa, take distance from me, as your abomination is

⁶⁶ K. Griffin, “The Book of the Dead from the second pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun: a preliminary survey” in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis. Thebes, Karakhamun (TT 123), and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty*, eds. E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (Cairo/New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 174.

⁶⁷ This god can be found in the same chapter of Nespasefy III’s BD, see Verhoeven, *Das Totenbuch des Monthpriesters Nespasefy*, 37.

in you, and vice versa. If you will come against me, or if you will not come against me, I will not speak against you! [Take distance] from Shu’s mutilators.

Nasalsa’s funerary room shows an abridged and repeatedly interrupted version of BD 71 on the west wall,⁶⁸ while BD 65 is on the east wall.⁶⁹ On the top of the lunette of the western wall, the craftsmen engraved two gods facing each other (Fig. 8) (a variant of “Version 1” of Mosher’s classification),⁷⁰ both lying on a shrine: a falcon with opened wings which is the Horus quoted in the text, the one who protects and keeps sound the dead as a lord of the Great Flood. The other is a goddess of the primordial waters, Mehet-weret, from which the sun arose; she is figured as a celestial cow with an *atef*-crown with sun disk and a *menat* on the neck. She is a goddess of creation, as she gives birth to Re, every day and creates life for all those who worship her.

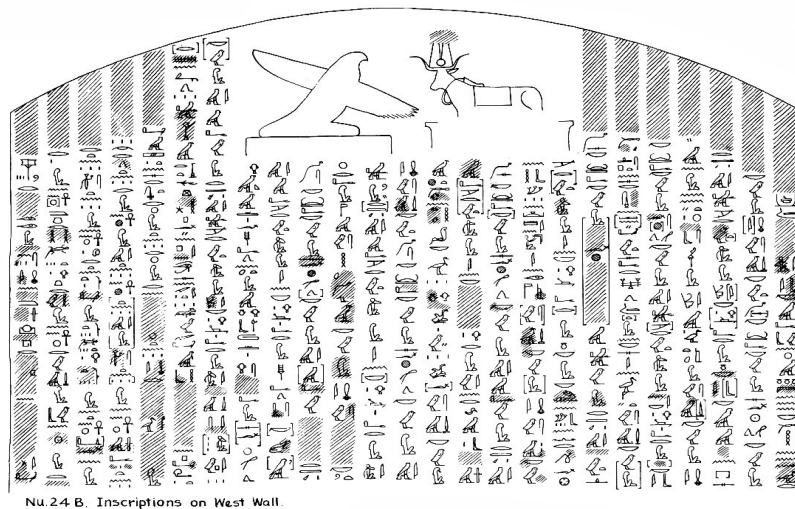


Fig. 8: BD 71 on the west wall of Nasalsa’s burial, after RCK II, 107.

⁶⁸ This chapter is only attested in one Ramesside tomb, TT 290, the one of Irinufer, servant in the place of truth, but the vignette is also shown in other four tombs: TT 10, TT 218, TT 220, TT 356, see M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 37-38. Later, it occurs only twice in two Saitic funerary monuments of the Assasif necropolis: in the second hypostyle hall of Pedamenope’s tomb (TT 33) and in the courtyard of Pabasa’s tomb (TT 279). See S. Einaudi, “Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l’Assasif”, 21, 23, 35.

⁶⁹ BD 65 is attested twice in the New Kingdom Theban tombs: in TT 82, Amenemhat’s burial, steward of the visir Useramun under the Eighteen Dynasty and in one Ramesside tomb, TT 290, the one of a workman, Inherkau, see M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 36, 96. No evidence of this chapter is reported in later tombs of the Theban area.

⁷⁰ We could name it “Version 1” with variable options: a, e, f. See M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead. Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. A study of traditions evident in versions of texts and vignettes. Vol. 4 (BD Spells 50–63, 65–77)* (Leipzig: GmbH, 2017), 348–353.

The text is written on twenty-five vertical columns and reads from right to left. It starts from the rightmost column with several blank parts, especially on the top of the lunette (Fig. 8):

[Nl]s3 m3^c[t] [hrw] [. . .] i [b]i[k] ^c(sišH) wbn m <N>nw nb Mh-wrt [swd3]=k wi mi swd3=k tw d(s)=k wh^c=k wi sf=[h] wi [imi wi] r t3 imi [mrw]tw=i in nb hr w^c r=i in[k] bi[k] m hnw s[šdt wb3 n=i n] nty hr snb=i in Hr s3 3st sw[d3]=k w[i] [mi swd3=k tw] ds=k wh^c=k wi [sfh]=k wi [iw] m3w=i r t3 imi mrwt=i in nb=i hr w^c [r]=i ink bik [nt pt rsyt Dh̄ty nt pt] mhyt sh̄tp nsrt n[šny]=tw s^cr m3^ct n nb=s in Dh̄ty swd3=k w[i] [mi swd3=k tw] ds=k wh^c=k wi [sfh]=k wi [iw] m3w=i r t3 im^c mrwt=i in nb hr w^c [r]=i ink wnb Nrwdf nbh n i3t imn in Wsir [sw]d3=k w[i] mi swd^c=k tw ds=k wh^c=k wi sfh=k wi im3w=i r t3 im3 [mrwt]=i in nb [w^c] hr r=i i nr<w> m <rdwy=fy> imi 3t=f Mh<n>yt nb[t] b3w hry-ib t3wy=f swd3=k wi mi swd3=k tw ds=k wh^c=k wi sfh=k wi iw m3w=i [r t3] im^cm mrwt=i in [nb] hr w^c r=i iw <i> R^c[i]m[y] swht=f swd3=k wi mi sw[d3]=k tw ds=k wh^c=k wi sfh=k wi iw m3w=i r t3 im^cm mrwt=i in nb hr w^c r=i ^ch^c Sbk hr<y ib> k33=f ^ch^c Nt m hry ib wdbw shr [. . .]
 <wh>^c=i [sf]h[k] wi imi wi r t3 imi mrwt=i in nb hr w^c r=i [i d3i]sw <ipw> [r]mnw mh3^ct grh pfy n <s>ip wd3t snm3t tpw iw^c nhbwt [it ibw] <h>np h3ty[w] ir š^cd<w> m št nsrt rh=i tn rh=i rn [tn . . .]=tn mi r[h tnw=tn] <w>i [sphr=i r tn] <s>p^chr=tn n=i ^cnh=i im=tn [^cnh=tn im=i] sw3d=tn i n ^cnh imy ^c=tn [n w3s imy hfd=]tn sw3d=tn i n ^cnh tp rtnw=i rnpwt ^cš3t hr rnpwt=i nt ^cnh di=f n=i [hrw ^cš3.w r hrw=]i n ^cnh m grh ^cš3t n grh=i n ^cnh r wd3=i wbn=i r [snn=i] t3w r [fnd=i] irty=i <m33=>sn mi n[n] im[yw] 3ht hr[w pwy n hsb iw3y]

[Nasal]sa, true of [voice] [. . .] Oh falcon rising from Nun, lord of Mehet-weret, [make] me [well], as you make your own self well, may you release me, may you let [me] free. Place me on the earth, [grant] my wish, the lord of the [only-one]-face says, concerning me. I am the falcon within the shrine (passage is corrupted, it follows again from the fourth column). [I have opened to] what is on my edge, so says Horus, son of Isis. Make me well as [as you make] your own self [well], may you release me, may you let me free. Place me on the earth, grant my wish. The lord of the only-one-face says, [concerning] me. I am the falc[on of the southern sky, Thot of the northern sky] who calms the flame which is furious, and raises Maat to his lord, so says Thot. [Make] me well as you make your own self well, may you release me, [may you let me free]. Place me on the earth, grant my wish, the lord of the only-one-face so says, concerning me. I am the lord of Naref's wnb-flower, the lotus of the hidden mound, so Osiris says. Make me well as [as you make] your own self [well], may you release me, may you let me free. Place me on the earth, grant my [wish], the lord of the only-one-face says, [concerning] me. Terror is in <his feet> that is in his moment, Mehenyt, mistress of the baw-souls, in the middle of his twin progenies. Make me well as as you make your own self well, may you release me, may you let me free. Place me [on the earth], grant my wish. The lord of the only-one-face says, concerning me. Oh Re [who is] in his egg. Make me well [as

you make your own self well], may you release me, may you let me free. Place me on the earth, grant my wish, the lord of the only-one-face says, concerning me. Sobek who stands in the middle of his hill, Neith stands in the middle of her riverbanks, [. . .] I am loosened, I am free. Place me on the earth, grant my wish. The lord of the only-one-face says, concerning me. Oh you, <these> seven counsellors, arms of the balance, this night of reckoning the sound eye, you who cut off heads and sever necks, [who seize the *ib*-hearths and snatch] the *haty*-hearth[s], who make slaughter in the Lake of Fire. I know you, and I know [your] names [. . .]. I come to you, and you come to me. I live through you and [you live through me]. Make you flourish me with the life which is in your hands [with the scepter which is in your hand]. You consign to me life every year, you grant to me many years onto my years of life. Give to me [many days onto] my days of life as well as many nights onto my nights of life. [May I rise up to my image], breath to [my nose]. May my eyes <see> them like these (gods) who are dwellers in the horizon this day [of counting the robber].

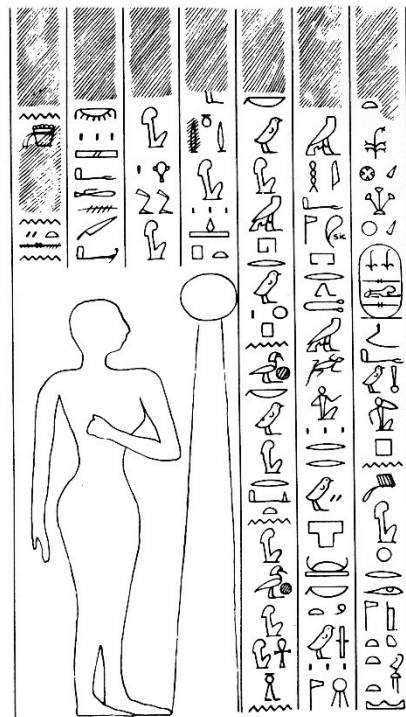


Fig. 9: BD 65 on the east wall of Nasalsa's burial, after RCK II, 108.

On the opposite side, north of the doorway, only seven columns of hieroglyphs remained, of which the first part of text was broken. The first four columns are interrupted for giving space to the figurative register of the vignette which belongs to BD 64 (Fig. 9): the deceased is standing, wearing the garments of the living with the typical Kushite skullcap, left arm bent on the chest with hand closed into a fist. It is possible that the local

artists rather than mismatching the image of BD 64 with BD 65, adapted the scene of the former spell because recalls the content of the following one. In fact, the queen, oriented to the right as the one going forth, is looking at the small disk (originally the sun) just in front of her, that is probably reinterpreted here as the moon as quoted in BD 65 (Saitic version),⁷¹ prayed for letting the dead to stand up again, receiving light from that satellite and going forth by day.⁷²

The inscription written on seven vertical columns, starts from the second column, after the list consisting of the name and the funerary titles and it reads from right to left as below (Fig. 9):

[*hnw*]t rsy^t mḥty Nsls³ m^{3c} hrw pn im³hy<t> hr Wsir-Hnty Imntt

[Queen] of South and North, Nasalsa, this true of voice, blessed next to Osiris, foremost of the West.

It reads:

[. . .] [*i wbn*] m i^ch <psd m i^ch> pr=^l73 m ^cš³t r rwty wh^c=k tw imyw ³hw [wn Dw³t isk]=wi m hrw pn ³h=kwi rdit n=i ³hw ^cnh in.<n> tw [n=i hftyw=i km] d³d³t htp [k³ mwt=i im=f m³³=i ^ch^c=kwi] hr rdwy=i [mdw=i m drt=i m] nwb š^cd=[i h^cwt=i ^cnh=i mny Spdt nhn m htp=sn] [. . .]

[. . .] [Hail to you who rises] as the moon, <who shines as the moon>, you go out with the crowd, you release they who are among the *akhw*-souls. [Open the Duat for me. Lo, I go forth] on this day. I being blessed, because the *akhw*-souls give life to me. Have been brought [to me my enemies subdued in] the Council. [My mother’s *ka*] is happy for that. I am able to see, I am able to stand up] on my feet, [being the] golden [scepter in my hand]. I cut off [slices of my flesh that I may live. The thighs of Sothis, as a child who lives within them, in peace] [. . .].

In Aspelta’s tomb, Nu. 8, the antechamber, when decorated, was engraved with BD 145 (Fig. 10),⁷⁴ one of the spells explaining the “underworld topography”: it consists of a

⁷¹ This late version coincides more or less in its first half with BD 2, U. Verhoeven, *Das saitische Totenbuch der Iahtesnacht. P. Colon. Aeg. 10207*, vol. I. (Bonn: Dr. R. Habelt GMBH, 1993), 160, fn. 8. For the vignette of BD 64 in the same papyrus, see vol. III, pl. 12, Kol. 33.

⁷² As per example, vignette of BD 64 within Nebqed’s papyrus (New Kingdom, 18th Dynasty) in the Louvre Museum, Paris (inv. numb. N 3068): E. Naville, *Das ägyptischen Totenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie. Text und Vignetten* (Berlin: Verlag von Asher & co., 1886), pl. LXXVI

⁷³ This is a variant using the 2nd singular and feminine dependent pronoun rather than the 2nd singular and masculine suffix pronoun.

⁷⁴ In Egypt, this chapter appeared in three Ramesside Theban tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty, see M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 77, 97. Later, it occurs

series of twenty-one gateways, each one with a particular name and a guardian which the *ba* of the deceased needs to know for his passage through the beyond, before rejoining Osiris.⁷⁵ The antechamber and its decoration represent indeed the field of rushes, his realm.

The northern and southern walls of the antechamber show columns of BD 145 (Fig. 11), in an ascending order, with a few vignettes among the columns of text. The inscription is carved on twenty-seven vertical columns in the north wall and in the upper part of the south wall while the lower part has, unusually, thirty vertical columns. It represents an abbreviated version of the Saitic period.⁷⁶ The spell starts from the south wall, lower section, reading from left to right, and missing part of the first gateway. The inscription begins with the second gate of the Netherworld and it ends with the one related to the sixth accompanied by the appropriate vignettes (Figs. 11 & 12).

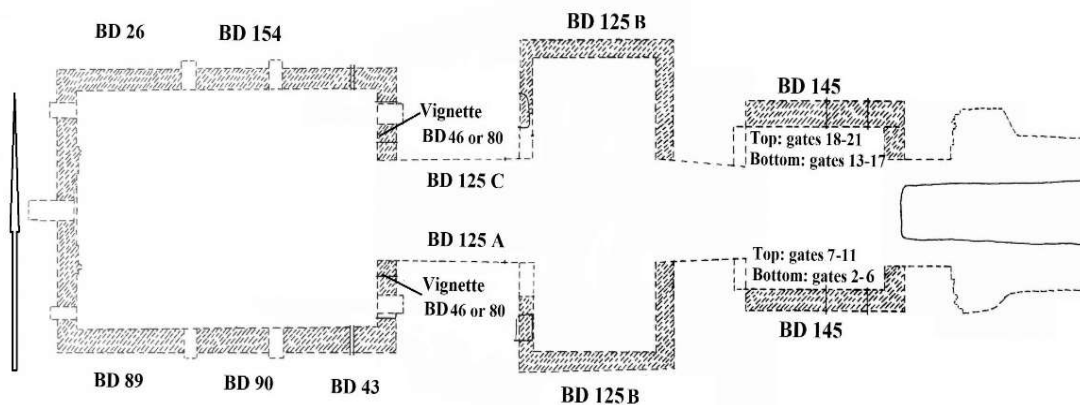


Fig. 10: plan of Aspelta's burial (Nu. 8), after RCK II, fig. 52.

Dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht 2-nw<t> nt [wrd-ib] ir n=<i> w3t iw=i rh=tn rh=k[wi] rn=t rh=wi rn n[ty]⁷⁷ <ntr s3w nbt pt> hnwt t3wy rn=t <snri> t3 m b<w> h[t=s] <r>n<=t> ms Pth rn n [ntr s3w iw=i w^cb]=kwi m mw ip<tn> w^cb Wsir im=f m rdit n=f [mskt h^c m^cn]dt <m> pr=f hr imy-wrt h(3)=f

three times in a few Saitic burials: Mutirdis' tomb (TT 410) where it was engraved on the walls of the staircase leading from the upper to the subterranean part of the tomb, Padihorresnet's tomb (TT 196) where it was recorded in the first subterranean chamber, and in Pedamenope's tomb (TT 33), where it was copied in the subterranean room VII, see S. Einaudi, "Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l'Assasif", 21–22, 25, 35.

⁷⁵ J. Assmann, "Death and initiation in the funerary religion of Ancient Egypt" in *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, J. Allen, J. Assmann, A. B. Lloyd (eds.), YES 3 (New Heaven: Yale University, 1989), 147–148.

⁷⁶ In fact, New Kingdom edition has eighteen gates vs the later version which has twenty-one gates. Quirke, *Going out in daylight—prt m hrw*, 330–342.

⁷⁷ This seems an incorrect transcription, as the text uses to have only the determinative followed by the word "ntr".

*hr sbh<t> iw=i wrh=kwi [m] sšd hb sd=kwi m sšd<w> imy h<t>⁷⁸=i m bnbn is
ir=k iw=k [w^cb tw] dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m³c hrw*

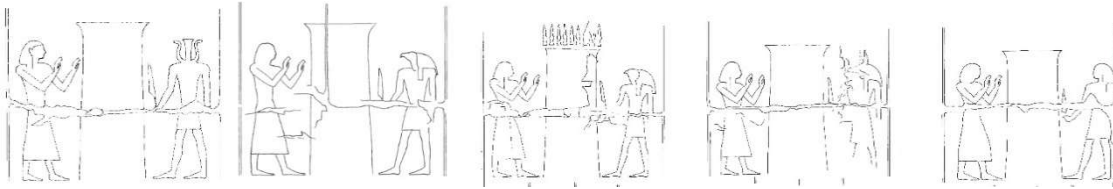


Fig. 11: reconstruction of the vignettes showing gates 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 in the antechamber or room “A” (Nu. 8), drawing by Mr. Musso after RCK II, pl. XXVI.

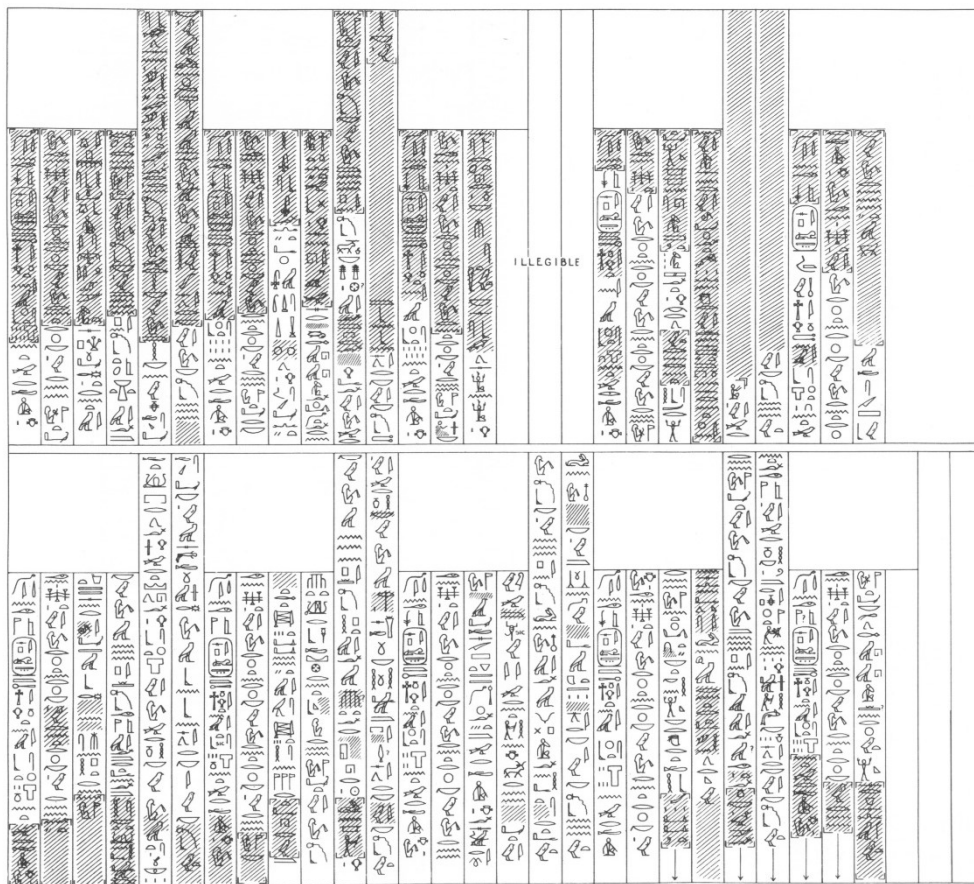


Fig. 12: BD 145 from the south wall of the antechamber or room “A” (Nu. 8), after RCK II, fig. 72, 99.

⁷⁸ This seems a mistake made by the scribe who should have written “*3ms=i*” = “my *ames*-scepter”.

Ind hr=t in Hr sbht 3-nw<t> nt wrd-[ib] ir n=<i> w3t iw=i rh tn rh=k[wi] rn=t rhwi rn n [ntr s3w nb<t>] <h3wt> ʕ3t 3bt dd n ntyw imw ssm <n> 3bt sndm⁷⁹ n ntrw [ʕt <n> hrw] m hntt nšmt r 3bdw rn=t b3k rn n ntr hw=t iw w^cb mw ip<tn> w^cb Pth im=f m hntt=f r[mnw hnw hrw <m> wn] hr <hb> iw=<i> wrh=[k]wi m nd?⁸⁰ sd=k[wi] sd=k<wi> ~~h~~ m šs 3ms=i m^c=<i> m inhm n is r=k [iw]=k w^cb=tw dd mdw in Wsir nswt ʕspl3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht 4-nw<t> nt wrd-ib ir n=<i> w3t iw=irh tn rh=k[wi] rn=t rh=wi rn n ntr <s>3<w> [shm] ds hnwt t3wy hd hftyw nt wrd-ib=f sm3r šw m iwi rn=t hwi ng3 ~~h~~ rn n [ntr s3w] w^cb=kw<i> mw ip<t>n w^cb Wnnfr im=f m wp=f hn^c S<tš> rd=⁸¹ tw [m3^c hrw n] Wnnfr <iw=i wrh=wi m snw nn iw=i wr> [sd]=kwi m sšrw tnw <s3=k Hr> <3ms m> ʕ<=i> m tiwt is r=k iw=k w^cb tw dd mdw in Wsir nswt ʕspl3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht 5-nw<t> nt wrd-ib ir n=<i> w3t iw=i rh tn rh=kwi rn ntr <s3w> hwt nty nb<t> hknw nb<t> r dr dbhw [didi=tw n=s nn ʕk im=s] wnn tp [rn=t hn r3w] rn n ntr s3w iw=i w^cb=kwi m mw ip<t>n w^cb Hr im=f m ir [=f hri-hb s3 mr=f] n it=f Wsir iw=i wrh=kwi m i(b)r ntr ht <ʕn hr=i nt i3by 3ms=i m^c=i> hwi ht-ibw is ir=k iw=k w^cb tw dd mdw in Wsir nswt ʕspl3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht 6-nw<t> [nt wrd-ib] ir n=<i> w3t iw=i rh tn rh=kwi rn=t rh[w<i> rn] n ntr s3w nb<t> ksw ʕ3<t> hmhm nn rh=tw k3=[s r hnw=s nn <gm> kd] . . .?

Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh second gate of [the tired heart], make a way for <me>! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the <guardian god, Lady of the sky>, mistress of the two lands, <the one who makes> frightened the land at <her> side, born to Ptah, is the name of the [guardian god]. <I am pure > with the<se> waters, with which Osiris is pure, when he is given [the night boat with the day] boat, <when> he goes out at the West and crosses the gateway. I am anointed [with] the *sed*-festival oil. I am bandaged with the *sashed*-bandage, my *ames*-scepter <made with> *ben-ben* wood. Go ahead as [you are pure!] Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh third gate of the tired [heart], make a way for <me>! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the [guardian god, Lady of] <the altar>, great in offerings, who gives to those who are there, guide of offerings, she makes the gods pleased [?? on the day] when the *nesehemet*-boat sails south to Abydos, it's your name; sweet is the name of the god at your protection. I am pure with these waters with which Ptah purifies himself, when he sailed south with Henu, [on the day of the <festival> of the opening] the face. I am anointed myself <with *tehenw*-oil, I dressed myself with> linen cloth. <*Ames*-scepter is in my> hand, made in *ament*-wood. Go ahead as [you are pure!] Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh fourth gate of [the tired heart], make a way for <me>! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the guardian

⁷⁹ Here, the craftsman misspelled the sign of the rope, Gardiner's sign V28, with the correct sign of the carob pod, Gardiner's sign M29.

⁸⁰ Here, the oil used should be the "*thnw*"-oil from Libya despite the unknown "*nd*"-oil.

⁸¹ Here, again a misspelling for Gardiner's sign D37 written with a simple arm, Gardiner's sign D36.

god, Powerful-of-knives, mistress of the two lands, destroyer of the enemies of the one with his tired heart, the one who makes the poor man free of his pains, is your name. Strike of the ~~heart~~ *nega*-bull is the name of the [guardian-god]. I am pure with these waters with which pure is Wennefer when he argued with S<eth> and it was given <the glorification> to Wennefer. <I am anointed myself with *senu*-oil and with *nen*-oil. I dressed myself> with fine linen. <*Ames*-scepter is in my> hand, made in *tiut*-wood. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh fifth gate of [the tired heart], make a way for <me>! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the <guardian> god, the flame, lady of glorifications, [lady of universe, she to whom questions are made], even a shaven-head cannot approach her. [it is your name. The one who ties the enemies], it is the name of the guardian-god. I am pure with these waters with which Horus purified himself, when he was *wab*-priest, [lector-priest and *sameref*-priest] for his father Osiris. I am anointed with the *i(b)er*-oil, and with the divine provisions. <I dress in the panther skin, the *ames*-scepter is in my hand>. I smite the evil men. Go ahead as you are pure! Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh sixth gate of the tired heart, make a way for <me>! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the guardian-god, Lady of the bows, great in war shouts, whose height is not known, [whose length is not known as <not found> is the builder?] . . .?

Then, the inscription continues on the upper section of the same wall with passages from the seventh to the eleventh gateways, and it is written in retrograde writing (see Fig. 12).

[*Dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in n Hr sbht 7-nwt*] *nt wrd-ib* [*ir n=i w3t iw=i rh=tn rh=kwi rn=t rh=wi*] *rn ntr s3w* [*igp hbs bg3=s ikby mrt=s*] *h3p ht rn=t im[-Nt rn n ntr s3w iw=i w^cb=kwi m mw*] *ip<t>n w^cb 3st Nbt-hwt im=f m* [*bs=sn hnwtw=f (sis H) r r n W^cbt iw=i wrh=kwi m*] *hknw sd[=kwi m wnh sd[=kwi m wnh 3ms=i m ^c=i mrwh [is r=k] iw=k w^cb[=tw]*] *dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr*] *sbht 8-nw<t> nt wrd-ib* [*ir n=i w3t=i iw=i rh=tn rh=kwi*] *rn=t rh=wi rn ntr s3w rk[h<t> bs<w>=f (sic!)] nty* (to be amended as *iwty*) *hm<t> sd3ty* (to be emended as *d3fw*) *spd<t>pst> h<3>h<t> hr sm3 nty* (to be emended as *nn*) *<ndt>* (at the place of *nd-nd*) *nty* (to be amended as *iwty*) *sw3 hr=s n ih<w> r]=s r[n=t] <ht> ^c3 hm-hm=f hw <n> dt=f* (to be amended as *ds=f*) *rn [n ntr s3w iw w^cb=kwi m mw ip<t>n] w^cb B3-nb ddt im=f [m pr=f . . .] hr ^c=f iw=i wr[h=kwi] . . . [m bnb] is ir=k iw=k w^cb=‡* (to be amended as *tw*) [*dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht 9-nw<t> nt wrd-ib*] [*ir n=<i> w3t=i iw=i rh=tn rh=wi rn]=t rk=wi rn n ntr s3w <imy=‡>* (to be amended as *imy-h3t*) *nb[=s Wsrt hrt-ib nb<t> msw<t> twtt (n) nb=s bs=s hh hr . . .* (three columns of lost text follow).

[Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh seventh gate] of the tired heart, [make a way for <me>! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of] the guardian-god, [The shroud who envelops her tired one, who cries the beloved one], who wraps the body, it is your name. Im-[Neith, is the name of the goddess. I am pure with] these [waters] in which Isis and Nephtys purified themselves, when they introduced his (sic!) crocodiles to the entrance of the Wabet. I am anointed with the *hekenu*-oil, I am dressed in *unekh*-cloth, my *ames*-sceptre in <my hand>, made in *meru*-wood. Go ahead well, as you are pure. [Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus], oh eighth gate of the tired heart, [make a way for me! I know you, I know your name], I know the name of the guardian god, [The burning flame (equipped with) his (sic!) tongues of fire], the fire which cannot blow out, pointed flame, fast in destroying without mercy, to which one cannot pass through because of the pain which it causes, it is your name. Terror for the greatness of his war shout, the one who protects himself, is the name [of the guardian god. I am pure with these waters] with which Banebdjedet purified himself, [in his house], in his hand . . . (passage too broken to be amended). I am [anoin]ted with . . . [of *benben*-<wood>]. Go ahead, as you are pure! [Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus], oh ninth gate of the tired heart, make a way for<me>! I know you, I know your name], I know the name of the guardian god, She who is in front of [her] lord, [the powerful, content at heart, lady of the births and of the forms of her lord, she who crosses millions of millions on . . . (three columns follow in a bad state described as illegible by the author of the RCK II).

[*Dd mdw in*] *Wsir nswt Isplt3* [*m3^c hrw ind hr=t*] in *Hr* [*sbht 10-nw<t> nt wr*] *d-ib* [*ir n=<i> w3t*]=*i iw=i rh=tn rh=kwi rn=t rh=wi rn=t rh=kwi rn n ntr* [*s3w k3 3wy nhs nt*] <*dnywt*> *šfyt hr phr* [*tw r=s r n=t*] *sbh r k3* [*n hrw?=s nrw hftyw nn drw(=s) n stty*] (to be corrected in *nty*) *m hnw=s rn=t Ihn*⁸² [. . .] *imn<t> iw wr(h)* [. . .] *iw=k w^cb=tw iw=k w^cb tw* [*dd mdw in Wsir*] *nswt (Isplt3) m3^c hrw ind hr=t* [*in Hr*] *sbht 11-nw<t> nt w*[*rd-ib ir n=<i> w3t*]=*i iw=i rh=tn rh=[kwi rn=t rh=wi rn n <ntr> ntyw m hnw* . . .] <*wḥ*>*m ds wb<dt>*

[Words spoken by] the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, [true of voice. Hail says] Horus, [oh tenth gate] of the tired heart, [make a way for<me>!]. I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the guardian god, [High of the doors, who awakes shouts, majestic in the face, [the one who approaches her], shouts for the height [of her voice, the one who scares the enemies, with no limits, for the one who is inside her, this is your name, Ikhen . . . hidden . . . I am [anointed . . .]. Go ahead well, as you are pure! [Words spoken by] the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. [Hail says Horus], oh eleventh gate [of the tired heart, make a way for me!]. I know you, I

⁸² This is a possible mistake by the scribe, the name “Sekhen-wer” should probably be found here.

know your name, I know the name of <the god> who is inside . . .] She who renews the knives, who burns . . .

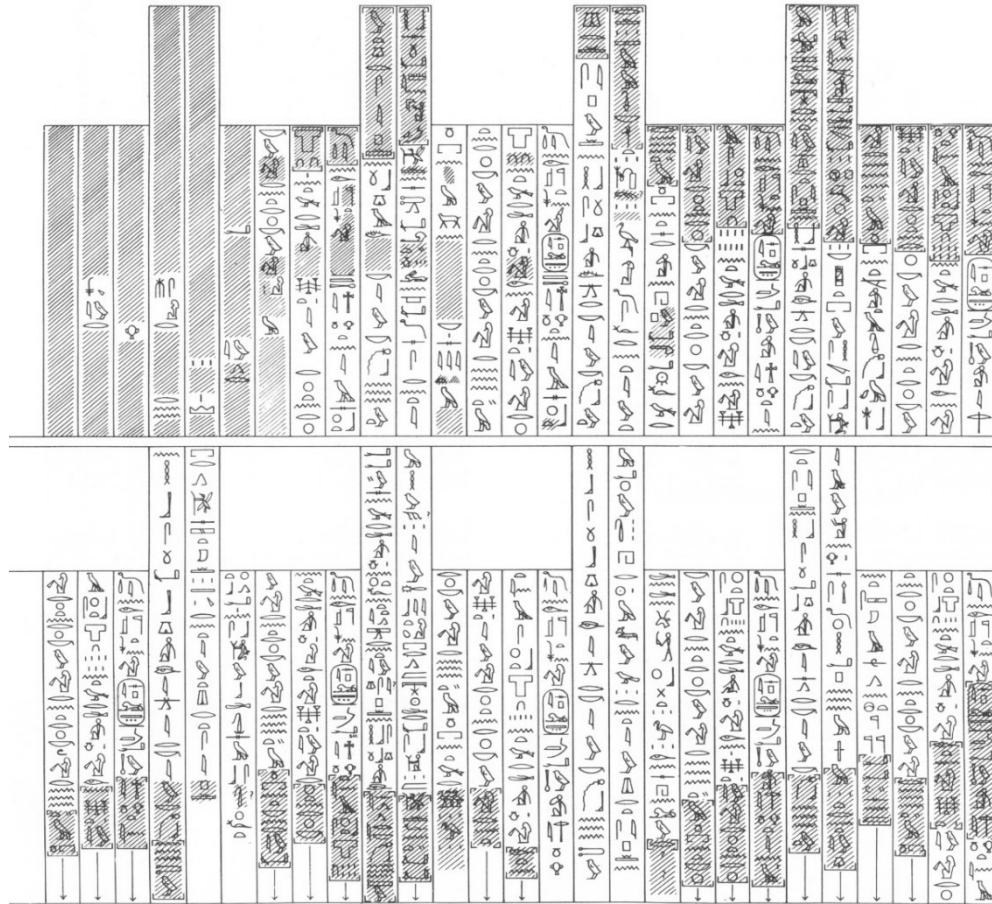


Fig. 13: BD 145 from the north wall of the antechamber or room “A” (Nu. 8), after RCK II, fig. 71, 98.

The chapter continues on the north wall, with the same ascending order, reading from right to left, by the thirteenth gate of the Netherworld (Fig. 13).

Dd mdw in Wsir nswt [Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind] hr=t in Hr sbht 13-nw<t> nt wrd-ib [irt n=i w3t=i] iw=i rh=tn rh=kwi rn=t rh=wi [rn n nty m <h>nw] n=t sst3 (it should be amended as st3) n Psdtt [wy=sn m] i3w n hr=s shd<=t> H^cp<y> m im[yw]=t (it should be amended as =f) rn=t] iwt <h>r=t sip n hbs <n> b3g is r=k iw=k [w^cb tw] dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c hrw [ind hr=t in Hr] sbht 14-nw<t> nt wrd-ib ir n=i w3t=i [iw=i rh=tn rh=]kwi rn=t rh=wi rn n nty [m-<h>nw=t] nt nb<t> 4 (mistake of the scribe) dndn hbt <hr> dšrw⁸³ irw n=s hnrw [r] (it should be amended as h3kr-hb) [. . .] m^chw (it should be amended as hmw) hrw m iw

⁸³ This is a possible incorrect use of Gardiner’s sign G26 (sacred ibis) at the place of the correct sign (the flamingo), Gardiner’s sign G27.

*rn=t iw hr=t sip <n> ḥbs b3g is r=k iw=k w^cb tw dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c ḥrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht 15-nw<t> nt wrd-ib [ir] n=i w3t=<i> iw=i rh=tn rh=kwi [i rn=t] rh=wi rn nty m <h>nw=t wr<t> [b3w dšrt g]mḥw ~~iwḥby~~ (it should be amended as *i3ḥby*) pr m grḥ dr sbiw m [km3=f (it should be amended as =s) nty (it should be amended as *ntt*) dd] ^cwy=s n wrd-ib n <f>t=f nt ii šm iw hr=t sip ḥbs <n> b3g<3i> [is r=k iw=k w^cb tw] dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c ḥrw [ind hr=t in] Hr sbht 16-nw<t> nt wrd-ib [irt n=i w3t=i iw=i r[h=tn rh=kwi rn=t rh=wi rn n nty m- [<h>nw n=t nb<t n> ~~nryw~~ (it should be amended as *nrwt*)] ~~ḥb~~ (it should be amended as *h3ḥ3t*) ^cn sbyw wbd=s m bst ḥft pr=<s km3t> sšt3w rn=t iw hr=t sip ḥbs b<3>g<3i> <n> [is r=k iw=k w^cb tw] dd mdw in Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c ḥrw [ind hr=t in] Hr sbht 17-nw<t> nt wrd-ib ir [n=<i> w3t iw=i] rh=tn rh=kwi rn=t rh=wi rn nty [m <h>nw=t]*

[Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, [Aspelta, true of voice. Hail], [says Horus, oh thirteenth gate] of the tired heart, make a way for me! I know you, I know your name, I know the name [of the one who is within you], she who draws back the Ennead, [their arms are in] adoration of her face, who illuminates the Nile with [those who are in him, it is your name]. [It is your duty] preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. Go ahead well, as you are pure. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. [Hail says Horus], oh fourteenth gate of the tired heart, make a way for me! [I know you, I know] your name, I know the name [of the one who is within you], Lady of the range, who dances <on> (Literally: the reds) blood, one celebrates for her the *Haker*-festival, one blows out the flame on the day [when one did] injustice, it is your name. It is your duty preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. Go ahead well, as you are pure. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh fifteenth gate of the tired heart, make a way for me! [I know you, I know] your name, I know the name of the one who is within you, great of *ba*-spirits, bloody red, looking angrily, Iakhebyt, she who goes out in the night, who removes the rebels from his form, she who offers the arms to the one of the tired heart, at the time of going and coming back. It is your duty preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. [Go ahead well, as you are pure]. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail says Horus, oh sixteenth gate of the tired heart, make a way for me! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the one who [is within you. Lady of fear], fast with <her> arm on the rebels, she burns as a flame when she goes out, <the one who creates> secrets, it is your name. It is your duty preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. [Go ahead well, as you are pure]. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. [Hail says Horus], oh seventeenth gate of the tired heart, make [a way for me!]. I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the one [who is within <you>].

The text follows on the top of the wall (Fig. 13):

[*Dd mdw in Wsir nswt*] *Isplt3 m3^c hrw* [*ind hr=[t in Hr sbht 18-nw<t>*] *nt wrd-ib ir n=i* [*w3t=i iw=i rh=tn r*] *h=kwi rn=t rh=wi* [*rn n nty m <h>nw*] *n=t mrt t3 w^cb<t> sdm<=st> i3b[yw ~~it~~* (it should be amended as *im*) *mr s^cdw tpw im3hy*] *w nb<t> ^ch wsH* (it should be amended as *msh*) *sb<iw>* [*m m^csrw rn=t iw=s* (it should be amended as *iw=t*) *hr=t sip n*] *hbs bg<3i> is r=k iw=k w^cb=tw* [*dd mdw in Wsir nswt*] *Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in* [*Hr sbht 1*] *9-nw<t> nt wrd-ib ir n=i w3[t=i iw=i rh=tn rh=]* *kwi r nt rh=wi* [*rn n nty m-<hn>w=t n=t sr nhp*] *[w ssm ^ch^c=f* (it should be amended as *^ch^c=t*) *wrr<t> m smw wsrw]* *sšw m^cdwt n Dhty ds=f rn=t iw=t* [*hr=<t>*] *sip n hbs bg<3i> is r=k iw=k w^cb tw dd mdw in Wsir nswt*] *Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht* [*20*]-*nw<t> wrd-ib ir n=i w3t=i w=i rh=tn rh=kwi rn=t rh=wi rn n nty m-<h>nw n[=t im<yt> hnw] <tt?> nb=s sht⁸⁴ m* [*<irt> hbs <rn=s> imn km3*] *n=s <i>t h3[tyw] wn d[s=s rn=t iw=t hr<=t> sip] hbs bg<3i> [is r=k wi=k w^cb=tw* [*dd mdw i*] *n Wsir nswt Isplt3 m3^c hrw ind hr=t in Hr sbht* [*21*] *nt wrd-[ib ir n=i w3t=i iw=i rh=tn rh=kwi] rn=t rh=kwi* [*. . .*] *m* [*. . .*] *^c[. . .] iw* [*r*] [*. . .*] *ms r* [*. . .*] *rn n* [*. . .*] *hr* [*. . .*] *nswt iw r* [*. . .*]

[Words spoken by the Osiris, the king], Aspelta, true of voice. Hail, [says Horus, oh eighteenth gate] of the tired heart, make [a way for me! I know you], I know your name, I know [the name of the one who is] within you. She who loves the flame, the pure one, she whom the panthers heed, [she who loves cutting off the heads of the blessed ones], lady of the palace, slaughterer of the rebels [in the evening, it is your name. It is your duty preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. Go ahead well, as you are pure. [Words spoken by the Osiris, the king], Aspelta, true of voice. Hail, [says Horus, oh nineteenth gate] of the tired heart, make a way [for me! I know you], I know your name, I know [the name of the one who] is within you. She who foretells dawn, she who directs her light, [big in the heat, lady of the strengths] of the writings of Thot himself, it is your name. It is your duty preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. Go ahead well, as you are pure. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail, says Horus, oh [twentieth] gate of the tired heart, make a way for me! I know you, I know your name, I know the name of the one who is within [you. She who is within the cutting? of her lord, marsh field of the <uraeus>. [She who hides <her name>, who hides what she has created], who sizes hearths, and <opens herself>, it is your name. [It is your duty] preparing the wraps for the one who languishes. [Go ahead well], as you are pure. Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta, true of voice. Hail, says Horus, oh twenty-first gate of the tired heart, make a way for me! I know you, I know your name, I know the
...

⁸⁴ Here the scribe wrote the word not using the appropriate hieroglyph (Gardiner's sign M20) but breaking it up into its components.

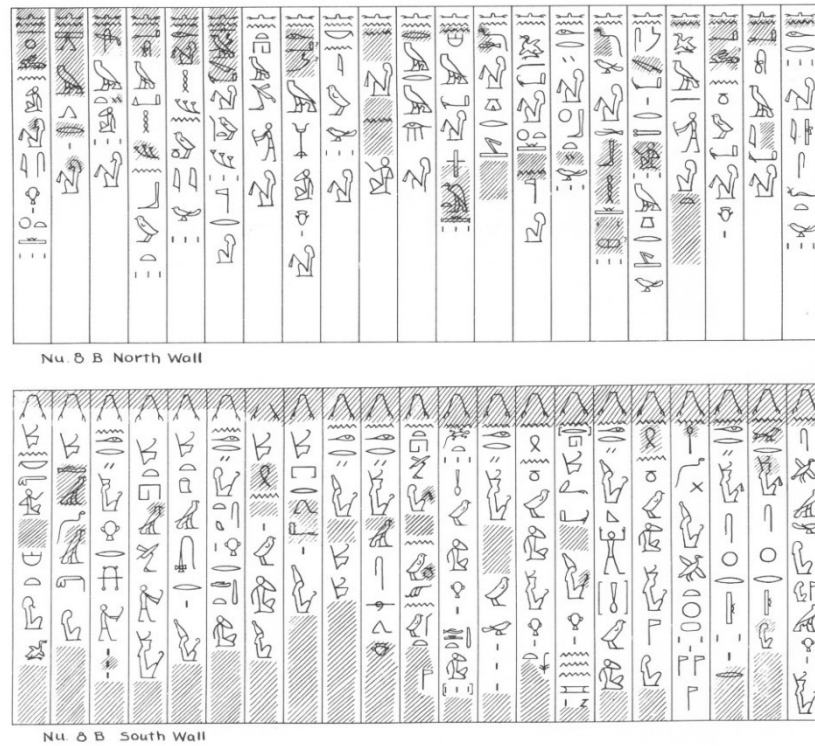


Fig. 14: BD 125 B from north and south walls, room “B”, after RCK II, fig. 73, 100.

The middle chamber called “B” by the editors of the RCK II, was engraved with BD 125 B, in the textual version of the Saite recension with some displacements of a few formulae (Fig. 14).⁸⁵ No traces of any accompanying vignettes have been identified by the archaeologists who discovered the tomb, despite the use of images in the middle room of Aspelta’s father’s tomb. We find twenty-one vertical columns of hieroglyphs in each wall written retrograde. The order of the sins corresponds to that of Senkamanishen’s tomb, however it is not a copy of the former inscription, the writing of the words is different, thereby suggesting the use of a different papyrus as a model. From the pictures published in RCK II, we can still observe what Reisner found on the top of these columns engraved with the “negative confession”: parts of legs and feet of the gods sculptured in their Osirian shroud, as in Senkamanisken’s tomb (Fig. 2).⁸⁶ However, on the right side of north wall and on the left side of the south wall of the middle room or room “B”, a monumental image of a standing king (3/4 of the whole height of the wall) was added, perhaps in the act of

⁸⁵ C. Maystre, *Les déclarations d’innocence (Livre des Morts, chapitre 125, 65–114, 127–136*; G. Lapp, *Totenbuch Spruch 125*; M.A. Molinero Polo, “The Broad Hall of the Two Maats: spell BD 125 in Karakhamun’s main burial chamber” in *Thebes in the first millennium BC*, eds. E. Pischikova, J. Budka, K. Griffin (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014) 273–280.

⁸⁶ RCK II, pl. XXIX, A.

offering a statue of Maat like in Nu. 3, but the darkness of the published images hinders any certain reading.⁸⁷

On the north wall, from the right edge we read:

N[n] ir=i isft nn [ʿ]w3=i n[n] ʿwn] ib=i n[n] t3w=i [t ?] n[n] sm3=i rmt m grg n[n] [h]d=i d[bh] nn ir=i h̄ (to be amended as h̄) <3> bt n[n] t3w=i ht ntr nn [dd] grg nn nhm=i [wnmt] nn [r]m rm=i n [. . .]=i [n . . .]=i nn kny=i nn ir ʿm=i ib nn th3=i [nn sm3=i]wt ntr [nn ir=i] hnwy<t> [nn ʿw3]<=i> di hnb t [nn s]mtymt=i [nn šm]r=i [nn shwn]=i is hr ht<=i>

I have not committed crime. I have not [stolen]. I have not been greedy. I have not ransacked. I have not killed men with betrayal. I have not debased [measure for offerings]. I have not committed corruption. I have not stolen anything of a god. I have not [betra]yed. I have not seized [food supplies] I have not [. . .] I have not slandered. I have not been dishonest (literally: I did not make my heart swallow). I have not transgressed. [I have not killed the animals] of the god. [I have not given] false testimony. [I have not stolen] any part of bread. I [have not] eavesdropped. I [have not grumbled]. I [have not complained] unless about <my> goods.

On the south wall, from the left edge we read:

Nn nnk=i hmt t3<y> n[n] [d3]d3=i (to be read as d3d3=i) [n]n iry=i hrw [nn] th3=i [n]n t3 r=i [n]n iry=i st3 [n]n iry=i st<=i> (to be read as sh=i) hr<=i> r mdw <m3ʿt> [n]n [š]nw=i [n]n pr ʿ=i [nn] iry=i nw<h=i nk=i nkk> [nn] iry=i 3s ib=i [n]n th<3>=i <i>nw ntr<y> [nn] ʿš3 hrw=i hr md<w>t [nn] iry=i <i>w<y>t m33 bin> [nn] [š]nw=i hr nswt [nn] [r]hn=i hr mw [nn] [š]nw=i ntr [nn] hd=i p3wt ntrw [nn] iry=i shr r <i> [nn w]r shr=i [nn] sp3 (reʿd: s3t)=i ntr m h̄ (reʿd: ib)=i

I had not sexual intercourses with a [marr]ied woman. I have not [mastur]bated. I have not stricken fear. I [have not] transgressed. I have not been choleric. I have not been deaf to the words <of truth>. I have not plotted. I have not been violent. I have not had sexual intercourses nor <made sex with a young boy>. [I have not] been turbulent. I have not stolen (literally: branded) the divine cattle. I [was not] a rowdy person. I [have not] done any evil. I [have not] done wro<ng nor see evil>. I [have not] conspired against the king. I have not been disloyal (literally: I did not walk on the water). I have not blasphemed god. I [have not] harmed the offering-loaves of the gods. I [have not] made plans (only) for <myself>. I [have not] been full of myself. I [have not] sworn god in my heart.

⁸⁷ RCK II, pl. XXIX, A & B. Unfortunately, I was not able to check the original photo of the Museum of Fine Arts of Boston in time for the publication of this paper.

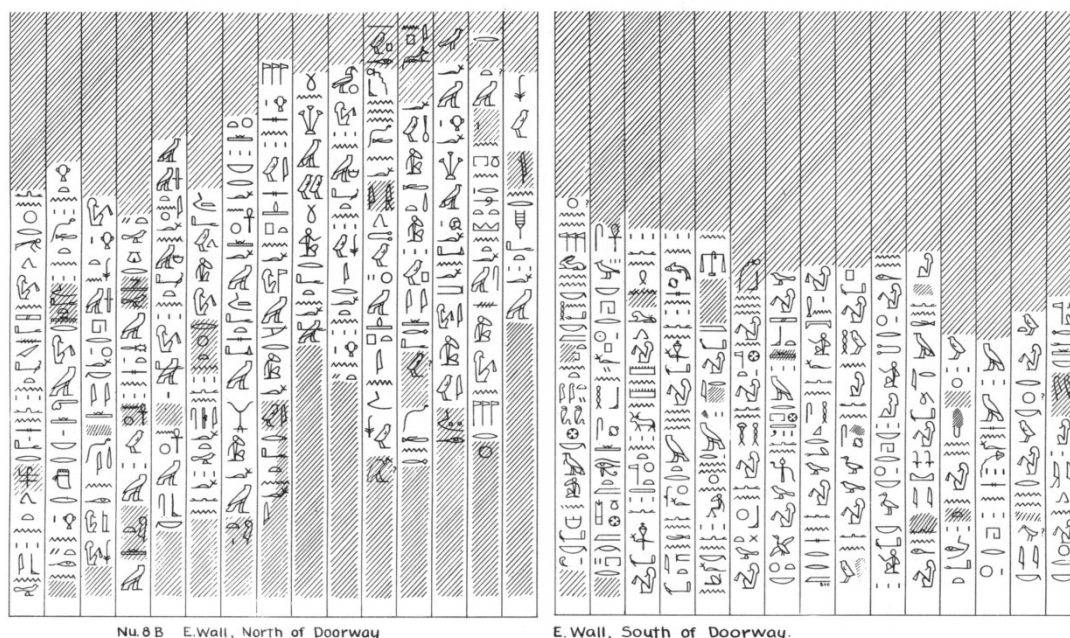


Fig. 15: BD 125 A & C on the east and south walls of the corridor joining chambers “B” & “C”, after RCK II, fig. 74, 101.

On the east wall, south of the doorway giving access to “C”, the fragmentary inscription is an abridged form of BD 125 A, with an uncommon order of the canonical sentences.⁸⁸ From the south side we can read, from the right edge to the left one (Fig. 15):

<. . . ind hr=k> ntr ʕ nb [M3^cty] ii.n=i hr=k <nb=i int=k wi m3n=i nfrw=k iw=i rh=kwi> tw rh=kwi rn=??<k> <rh.kwi rn n p3 hm sn> [. . .] [s^cmyw] m snf=sn hrw <pw>. . . in n=i n=<t k>? m3^ct [. . .] nn d<s>m3yr=i nn wndwy[t] [n]n ir=i [. . .] nn iri=i <tp> r^c ~~nm~~ (sišH) nb hrw nb b3kw <m hrw irt.n=i nn spr rn=i r i3wt nt hr>p=i h<m>w nn sm3i<r=i w>ndwt nn sdwy=i> hm <n> hry-<tp>=f nn shk^r=i nn srm<=i> [. . .] <nn hb=i> šbw m rw-prw nn hd=i p3wt nb<w ntrw>[. . .] nn w3h=<i>hr m<wt>[. . .] nn h^h=i (re^d hb=i) <st3t>nn kf<3>.n<=i> [. . .] <n h3m=i rmw n h3wt>=sn nn hsf=i mw m tri=f nn dni=i <dnit hr mw 3sw> [. . .] nn šn<ʕ>=i mnmnt hr ht ntr nn hsf=i <ntr m prw=f> [. . .] s^cnh rhhyt nb hrw pfy n hbsi wd3t m Iwnw m 3bd 2 prt <rky> [. . .] [rh=kwi] hrn n ntrw wnnk<yw> n=k hn^c=k m [wsh]t nt m3^cty k3 nhm=k<wi m ʕ=sn> [. . .]

<Hail to you> great god, lord of [the Two Truths!] I have come before you, <my lord, so that you may bring me to see your perfection. I know you>, I know <your> name, <I know the name of 42 gods> [. . .] [who eat of] their blood on <that> day

⁸⁸ C. Maystre, *Les déclarations d’innocence (Livre des Morts, chapitre 125)*, 9–64, 115–125.

. . . I have brought <to you> ? truth [. . .] I did not oppress this people [. . .] I [did not] [. . .] I have not at the beginning of every day set tasks harder than I have set before> [. . .] <my name has not reached the office of> the director of servants. I have not impoverished the divine herd. <I have not slighted> a servant <to> his master. I have not caused hunger. <I> have not caused tears. [. . .] <I have not reduced> the offerings in the temples. I have not harmed the offering-loaves of all <the gods> [. . .] I have not added the pan [. . .] I have not reduced the measuring cord [. . .] I have not concealed [. . .] <I have not caught fishes from> their <pools>. I have not held back water in its time. I have not dammed a dam <at rapid waters> [. . .] I have not kept cattle away from the gods’ propriety. I have not blocked <a god in his processions> [. . .] who allows all the people to live on that day of filling the eye of Horus in Iunu/Heliopolis, on month 2 of winter, last day [. . .] as I know the name of the gods who are with you in the <broad hall> of the Two Truths. So save me <then from them>!

From the north of the doorway we can read, from the left edge to the right one the abridged form of BD 125 C (Fig. 15):

<iw=i rh=kwi tn rh=kwi rnw=tn> nn hr=i n š^ct=tn (read =tn) nn s^cr=tn (read =tn) bin<=i n ntr pn> [. . .] <nn iwt sp=i> hr=tn dd=tn (read dd=tn) [m³t] r=i m b3h nb r dr hr nty ir.n <=i m³t m t3 mri> [. . .] <nn iwt sp=i> hr nswt imy hrw=f ky ind <hr> Wsir nswt [. . .] <iw>ty<w> gr[g] m ht=sn [nhy]w m [m³t] m [. . .] 3? imy itn=f nhm=tn <w>i <m^c B3b3> nhw m bsk<w> [. . .] m33 w<i> ii<=kwi> [hr=tn] nn isft=f<i> nn <hbnt=i> [. . .] <nn irt n=i> ht nb<t> r=f nht=f<=i> m m³t s^cm⁸⁹=if? m <m³t> [. . .] <iw ir.n=i ddt rmt hrrt> ntrw hr=sn iw shtp.n=f <i> ntr m mrr<t>=f [iw] r^ct. (read rdi) n=f (re^cd n=i)<t n hkr hnt n ib hbsw> n h3w r dit.n=f m<hnt n> [. . .] <prr r hrw n> 3hw nmhw <wi irf>=tn s (read h) w <w>i irf=tn hr nty (sisH) [. . .] [~~hpw~~ir (read ink r)] w^cb dd.n=f [ii]=tw sp 2 m htp in m33w sw [. . .] [~~hpw~~(sisH)⁹⁰ . . . =f] <sdm.n=i> mdw pwy 3 ddw n 3 (read s)⁹¹<hw> [. . .] =f m hr=f h3 tp=f di.n=f dnwt iw [m33.]<n=i> [r] [. . .] [m hnw] R-st3w ntf (read ink) sm<w>y n ntrw [. . .] <r rdit iw>sw n r h^cw=f<m hnw'Igrt>.

<I know you, I know your names>. I shall not fall to your slaughter. You have not raised <my> evil <to this god> [. . .] <no fault of mine have come> before you. You said [right things] for me in the presence of the lord until the limit, because <I> have

⁸⁹ Here the scribe mistakenly used Gardiner’s sign D37 at the place of D36, and also added a masculine 3rd person singular pronoun which is useless. The subject of the sentence is clearly a 1st person singular. An inversed case is represented in the eighth column.

⁹⁰ This is a clear mistake as Anubis is never been quoted in this chapter of the BD.

⁹¹ It is possible that here Gardiner’s sign O34 has been confused with O29, in fact, it should represent the beginning of the word s^chw, “noblemen”.

done <what it is right in the Land of Reed> [. . .] <No case of mine has come> before a king in any of his day. Hail <to> you, Osiris, the king! . . . in whose bodies there is no false[hood], the ones [who li]ve on what is right in [. . .] who is in his sun-disk. Save me <from Baba> who lives within the intestines [. . .] Look, <I> came [before you]. <I> have not done any evil, no <crime of mine> [. . .] anything against him was made by me. <I> live on what is right, I consume what is right [. . .] <I have done what mankind asked and what pleases> the gods. I have pacified the god with what he loves, <I> have given [. . .] <bread to the hungry, beer to the thirsty, clothes> to the naked, to give a boat <to> . . . <and voice offerings to the> blessed spirits. Save me then! Protect me then! [. . .] [I am one] clean on mouth, he told: “come, come in peace!” by the ones who see him [. . .] [Anubis (sic!)] <I have heard> great words spoken <by noblemen> [. . .] he whose face is behind his head, he has made exclamations then, I saw [. . .] within Rosetao. I am the *semwy*-priest for the gods [. . .] <to place the balance> in its levels <within the land of silence>.

The east wall of the last chamber, the one containing the stone sarcophagus, shows a vignette of BD 64 or BD 80⁹² in a mirrored perspective at each side of the vaulted exit. Aspelta is portrayed as a standing and living man over a *nw*-chapel, enlightened by the sun. He wears a *nemes* and brings a long staff on one hand, and on the other one a tissue stripe, the *kerchief*. He has a naked chest, and he wears a long *kilt* reaching the ankles. He looks towards the entrance of the chamber at the sun in front of him protecting the space. A small number of fragments found *in situ* during the discovery cannot clarify whether the inscriptions engraved on the wall contained the spells of BD mentioned above or not. If they correspond to one of the two chapters quoted above, they celebrate the resurrection of the dead who joins the sunlight or brings the light as Osiris, enlightening the darkness, a clear metaphor for the victory over death (Fig. 16).

⁹² We can easily compare the vignette copied in Aspelta’s tomb with the one of BD 64 within Nebqed’s papyrus in the Louvre Museum, Paris (inv. numb. N 3068): E. Naville, *Das ägyptischen Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie. Text und Vignetten* (Berlin: Verlag von Asher & co., 1886), pl. LXXVI. If related to BD 80, this is also a particular and doubled variant of “Version 3” of Mosher’s classification: M. Mosher, *The Book of the Dead. Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. Vol. 5*, 141.

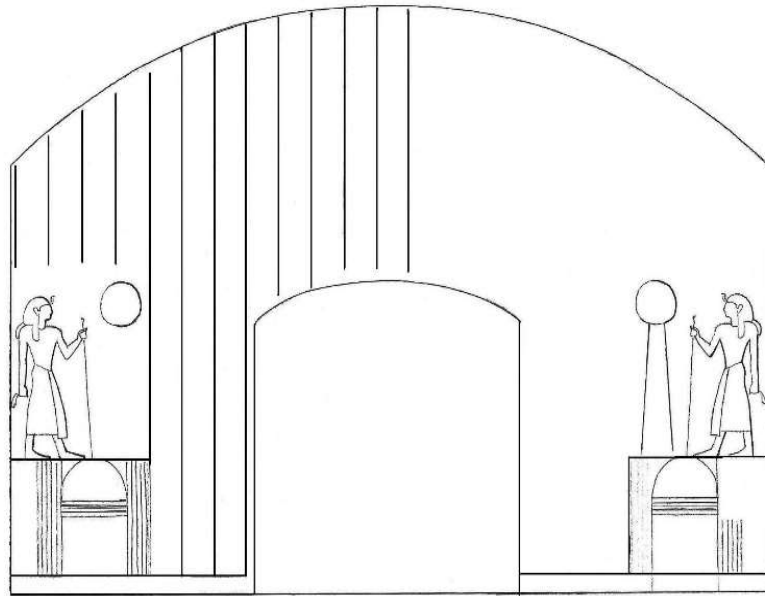


Fig. 16: vignette of BD 64 or BD 80, east wall within the chamber of Anlamani’s sarcophagus, drawing by Mr. Musso after the original photographs in RCK II, pl. XXX.

The burial chamber of Nu. 8 is engraved with chapters in which the dead prepares himself to be pure and complete before going out of the light.

In this group of inscriptions (Fig. 17), the deceased is invoking the blessing of the gods to heal his body, to give him strength with all his components, avoiding the decay of his flesh and the separation from his heart on the north wall (BD 154 and 26). On the south wall, he wants to prevent the separation from his head in the Netherworld (BD 43),⁹³ and he claims to be unified with his *ba*, again, before ascending to the light, among the gods (BD 89), fighting the demons and recovering his memory with the magic (BD 90).

On the north wall, reading from the right side we find BD 154 from the first vertical column till the thirty-first while BD 26 from the thirty-second till the thirty-eighth. This final chapter which is lacking the last part of the end, reads as follows:

Dd mdw in n Wsir nswt Isplt3 ibi=i n=i m pr <ibw> h3ty=i n=i m <pr h3tyw iw n=i> ibi=<i> htp=f im=i <is> [n]n <wnm=i> šꜣyt⁹⁴ r m Wsir hr <gs> imnty <n>

⁹³ BD 26 occurs in only three Theban tombs dating to the New Kingdom, mainly from the Ramesside Period, see M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, 25–26. Later, it is recorded in Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasty tombs of the Assasif necropolis: Karakhamun (TT 223), Montuhemat (TT 33) and Sheshonq (TT 27). In the first two cases this chapter was copied in the second pillared hall while in the last burial it is engraved in the first pillared hall. K. Griffin, “The Book of the Dead from the second pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun: a preliminary survey”, 176, note 9, 194 (including all the references of the aforementioned tombs).

⁹⁴ The scribe did not complete the sign of the *t*-loaf (Gardiner’s sign X1), but it is clear that we are dealing here with an omission as the numeral “10” (Gardiner’s sign V20) is meaningless.

*g3y hw<ht m hd> [hnty] nn h3[=i] rh=kwi⁹⁵ (read hwht) imy[=k] <iw n>=i r=i r
<mdwt> rdw<y>=i r šm<t> <wy n=i r shrt [h]f[ty]w=i wn<n=i ʕwy t3 sn>.n
Gb r-p^c ntrw <r=>i ʕ<rty>=f<y> n=i <w>n=firty=i <šdntt dwn.n=f rdwy=i> krf
[srwd].n [T]np<w> m3[sty]=i ts <kw>i [i]r<=f> wn<n>=i dw[n].n wi <Shmt> ntrt
[. . .] ir <t>w wdt n=[i m] Hwt-k3-Pth rh=i m ib=i shm=i [m] h3ty=i shm=i m
<wy=i iry=i m>rr<t> k3=<i> nn hnr? tw b3=i r h3t=i hr sb[3]w <nw Imntt>.*

Words spoken by the Osiris, the king, Aspelta: my heart is mine in the house of <hearts>. My fore-heart is mine <in the house of fore-hearts>. My heart is <mine>, it is content with me, as <I> did [n]ot <eaten> the offering loaves beside Osiris, on the western <side of> the bowl. A barge <is sailing downstream>, ~~because I know what is in [you]~~ (sic!), I shall not sail down <into the barge> which is with [you]. <Mine> is my mouth for <speaking>, my legs for walking, my <ar>ms for overthrowing my [en]emies. Opened <for me are the double doors of the earth>. Geb, prince of the gods, has opened <his two jaws to> me, has <opened> my <blind> eyes, <he has stretched out my crooked legs>, Anubis [has strengthened] my kn[ees]. Rise <me> then in order to live! Let me rise <Sekhmet>, the goddess [. . .] and what [I] have decreed [in] Hutkaptah (= Memphis) is done. I know by my heart, I control my fore-heart, I have control over <my arms. I shall do what my> *ka* wis[h]es. My *ba* shall not be kept away from my body at the ga[te]s <of the West>.

On the south wall, reading from the left side we find BD 89, copied from the first column to the fifteenth, BD 90 from the sixteenth to the thirty-first, while BD 43 is engraved from the thirty-second to the thirty-fourth.⁹⁶ This last chapter lacking of only the title reads as follow:

*n r [Isp]t3 <dd=f> ink wr s3 wr nsr s3 ns<r rdy n=f tp=f m ht š^cd tw=f nn>
nhm.<t>w <tp n> Wsir m-^c=f nn nhm.<tw tp=i m-^c=i i>w n-^c<ts>.⁹⁷ >kw<i>
m3=kwi rnp=<kw> ink Wsir*

⁹⁵ This misprint is quite common in contemporaneous papyri, in fact we should emend here *r xwxt* or *xwdt*. See Verhoeven, *Das saïtische Totenbuch*, *23 and Verhoeven, *Das Monthpriesters Nespasefy*, pl. 13.

⁹⁶ According to M. Saleh, *Das Totenbuch in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*, this chapter is never attested in New Kingdom tombs. Later, it seems attested twice: in a fragmentary state in the first pillared hall of Karakhamun's tomb (TT 223) and in Ankhor's tomb, in its courtyard. M.A. Molinero Polo, "The textual program of Karakhamun's first pillared hall", 152; S. Einaudi, "Le Livre des morts dans les tombes monumentales tardives de l'Assasif", 26, 36. This author did not included the example of Karakhamun's burial which should be added to the list.

⁹⁷ The scribe was not confident with this sentence and seems confused. He clearly misspelled the two signs of the verb *Ts* (Gardiner's sign S24 + O34) with a nonsensical *nn* + *a* (Gardiner's signs N35 + D36). As no variant has been recorded either in New Kingdom versions or in Late Period ones, the mistake seems confirmed.

Formula, [Aspel]ta. <He says>: I am the elder one, son of the elder one, the flame, son of the fla<me, he to whom his head is given after it had been cut off. <The head of> Osiris will not be removed from him, <my head> will not be removed <from me>. I am raised, new and youthful. I am Osiris.

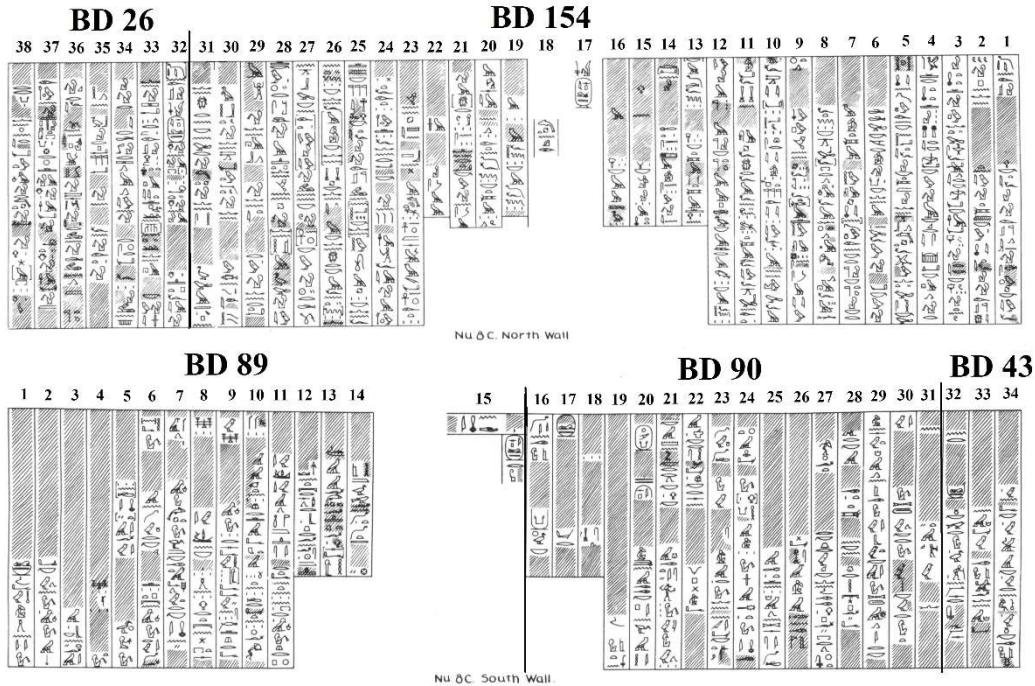


Fig. 17: inscriptions from the BD from north and south walls of the chamber containing the sarcophagus, “C”, after RCK II, fig. 75, 102.

The arrangement of all these chapters of the BD in the same context is unusual compared with examples of the Egyptian tradition; the use of BD 26, 65, 71 and 154 in the same burial is not seen before the first half of the seventh century BC in Egypt. In fact, they appeared in Egyptian tombs only by the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty at the earliest.⁹⁸ However, the Napatan corpus, sequence and layout of the BD used within the Napatan royal burials seems unique. In total, only twelve chapters have been identified in the burials of the two royal necropolises: BD 26, BD 27, BD 28, BD 30A, BD 43, BD 65, BD 71, BD 89, BD 90, BD 125 A-B-C, BD 145, BD 154 with possibly one more, if we consider BD 64 or BD 80⁹⁹ of which only the vignette can be recognized on the east wall of Nu. 8.¹⁰⁰ In

⁹⁸ S. Einaudi, “Le livre des morts dans la cour de la tombe d’Haroua (TT 37): nouvelles découvertes in” in *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of Aegean, Rhodes 22–29 May 2008*, eds. P. Kousoulis and N. Lazaridis, OLA 241 (Louvain–Paris–Bristol: Peeters, 2015), 1646.

⁹⁹ See Mosher’s vignette of “Version 3” in pre-Ptolemaic papyri, Mosher, *The Book of the Dead. Saite through Ptolemaic Periods. Vol. 5*, 141.

¹⁰⁰ Other three chapters of the BD not engraved on the walls of the royal burials but on funerary objects found in the royal necropolises are: BD 1, on the columns of the central panel of Aspelta’s sarcophagus

addition, the complete number of chapters used in all the funerary items of this period correspond only to fourteen percent of the whole corpus, not enough for making exhaustive observations. However, we can confirm that there was no master copy of the textual program, as every tomb followed its own layout, and even in the same burial craftsmen could have used different papyrus records. A worth case is Nalsalsa's tomb where a particular woman determinative was copied only on one wall, and the frequent use of the 2nd masculine pronoun in alternation with the feminine one in the texts could suggest scrolls with formulae conceived for a masculine addressee. Although unparallel sequences and selection of chapters might be due to accidents of preservation which cannot prove a Napatan origin,¹⁰¹ some iconographic features of copied vignettes, a few textual mistakes and a particular version of some chapters advocate Theban roots of the Napatan corpus (see below), while the skull cap worn by the *ba*-bird (BD 28) and by Nasalsa in her tomb

(inner side of the front and outer part of the lid): S. Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations on the sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta", *Meroitica* 6 (1982), 277, 279; BD 15, on the outer side of the lid in Anlamani & Aspelta's sarcophagus, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 279; BD 30 from heart scarabs in stone found in: Nu. 59 (queen Malaqaye), Nu. 41 (queen Malateral), Nu. 74 (originally from Nu. 53/queen Yeturow), Nu. 81 (unknown female), Nu. 18 (Anamaye), Nu. 42 (queen Asata), Nu. 47 (unknown female), Nu. 16 (Talakhmani), Nu. 4 (Siaspiqa), Nu. 13 (Harsiotef), Nu. 37 (unknown female), RCK II, fig. 128, 171, pl. CXVII, H–J; pl. CXXIII, A–E, pl. CXXIV, A–C; pl. CXXV, A–C; BD 30B, internal part of the foot side of Anlamani's (vignette and part of the *incipit*), Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 279; BD 47, front side of the lid of Aspelta's sarcophagus only, S. Doll, *Texts and decoration on the Napatan sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, Unpublished PhD thesis (Waltham: Brandeis University, 1978), 292–293; BD 54, in the outer part of the lid, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 279; BD 59 on three granite offering tables: from Nu. 11 (Malowiamani), Amanibakhi's tomb (still not found) and Nu. 15 (Nastasen), S. Petacchi, "The Book of the Dead in Napatan period. The first evidence of Chapter 59 on a royal offering table dating to the Vth century BCE" in *Nubian Archaeology in the XXIst Century. Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Conference for Nubian Studies, Neuchâtel, 1st–6th September 2014*, ed. M. Honegger, OLA 273 (Leuven–Paris–Bristol: Peeters, 2018) 353–365; BD 64, in the internal part of the lid of Aspelta's sarcophagus, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 279; BD 72, columns of the inner part of the back of Aspelta's sarcophagus, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 278; BD 151, outer head and foot sides of Aspelta's sarcophagus, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 278; BD 159–160, on the exterior front of Aspelta's sarcophagus, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 277 and BD 160 even on a beryl (?) plaque-amulet with a *wadj* pillar in sunk relief from Nu. 2 (SNM 1358); BD 161 (vignette only) on the exterior front of Aspelta's sarcophagus, Doll, "Identification and significance of the texts and decorations . . .", 277; BD 169, on the exterior side of the back belonging to the box in Anlamani's and Aspelta's sarcophagi, Doll, *Texts and decoration on the Napatan sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, 226; BD 170, on the back of the exterior side of the box in Anlamani's and Aspelta's sarcophagi, Doll, *Texts and decoration on the Napatan sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, 238–241.

¹⁰¹ Doll, *Texts and decoration on the Napatan sarcophagi of Anlamani and Aspelta*, 4. However, the moral "speech" of prince Khaliut in the Aspelta's stela, a donation document for his mortuary cult found in front of temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal is clearly a local version based on the Egyptian negative confession of BD 125 A and B. L. Török, *The image of the ordered world in Ancient Nubian Art. The construction of the Kushite mind, 800 BC–300 AD*, PdÄ 18 (Leiden–Boston–Koln: Brill, 2002), 269.

(BD 64 = BD 65), the mirror-like scene of BD 64/BD 80 in Anlamani’s tomb and the sun lights radiating only the head of Nasalsa (BD 154) suggest a new and local revision at least of the BD vignettes. Only few chapters occur in the same position of the burial chamber within Senkamanisken’s family’s tombs: BD 154 on the north wall, BD 89 & BD 90 on the south wall, while BD 125 B in the intermediate room both in Nu. 3 and Nu. 8: such a textual repertory, sequence¹⁰² and arrangement are not attested in Egypt. Napatan compositions could follow a design copied from unknown papyrus records brought to Napata from Egypt and archived in the temple libraries, nowadays lost, or they could indicate a local assemblage made by the Napatan priests or directly by the crown, as it was the case with some reinterpreted BD vignettes. Indeed, even in Egypt, the transmission of funerary texts still arises issues involving productivity and reproductivity of these compositions; “. . . such a dichotomy obscures the complexity involved in the production of such texts: interpreting sources, compiling exemplars, linguistic updating, restoring, interpreting, and supplementing. To understand the “copying” process as a mechanistic “reproduction” removes the agency of the actors who actually made the choices by which these objects came into existence . . .”¹⁰³ A more complex scenario is represented by Kush, where this transmission is more obscure as we do not know who copied out the texts on the royal burials,¹⁰⁴ whether Egyptian language was their own primary idiom or not, whether they were literate and trained copyists with a certain experience or not. To what extent omissions, misspellings, graphic mistakes, useless repetitions, the dislocation of passages were due to the handwriting copy of local agents in charge for carving the texts on the walls, or to the primary sources used at El Kurru and Nuri where all the consistent errors were already embedded therein? Therefore, such a kind of questions are still open so far, because of the evident lack of further data.

However, the copy of BD 65 in Nasalsa’s burial, BD 125 B and BD 145 in Aspelta’s burial, edited in a version belonging to the Saitic recension as seen above, provides clues as to the diffusion of contemporaneous texts abroad. In fact, it proves continuing and direct connections between Kushite and Egyptian priesthoods even after the withdrawal of Napatan troops of Tanwetamani, at least until the earlier Twenty-Sixth Dynasty,¹⁰⁵ due to a “prestige goods economy” in which religion played a key-role. As it was the case for material culture found in Nuri, such as the imported stone shabtis of Senkamanisken,¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² In fact, neither the Theban tradition nor the Memphite tradition shown on funerary papyri match with this “Napatan version”, see Mosher, “Theban and Memphite Book of the Dead Traditions in the Late Period”, 153–154.

¹⁰³ F. Scaif, “From the beginning to the end: how to generate and transmit funerary texts in Ancient Egypt”, *JANER* 15:2 (2015), 211.

¹⁰⁴ The process of copying from a handwritten papyrus to a tomb wall is still poorly understood even in pharaonic Egypt, O. Goelet Jr., “Observations on copying and the hieroglyphic tradition in the production of the *Book of the Dead*”, in *Offerings to the Discerning Eye. An Egyptological medley in honor of J.A. Josephson*, ed. S.H. D’Auria, CHANE 38 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2010), 131–132, footnote 55.

¹⁰⁵ Török, *The image of the ordered world in Ancient Nubian Art*, 336.

¹⁰⁶ K. Howley, “Power relations and the adoption of foreign material culture: a different perspective from first-millennium BCE Nubia”, *JAERI* 17 (2018), 22–23, 30.

clearly a Theban production, this could be said as well for the papyri used to copy the funerary texts of the Napatan royal burials.

While there is no correspondence with a canonical textual layout of contemporaneous tombs of Egypt, Aspelta's tomb, the better one preserved on the basis of the BD corpus recorded, seems to play the role of a textual and visual map for the journey of the deceased to go forth into the light. Starting from the south wall of the sarcophagus chamber and proceeding in a clockwise way, the king claims that his head shall not be cut off from his body (decapitation was the worst fear, as an irreversible second death) and that he will be lifted in the sky for being born again as Osiris (BD 43); he demands to secure his *ba*-spirit to his body, in order to rest on it forever (BD 89) and to guarantee to himself a self-journey by the magic utterances and the protection of the eye of Horus, avoiding risks with the slaughtering demons of the Hereafter (BD 90). On the west wall, BD 71 might be copied as in Nu. 24, where a few invocations to different gods claim again the integrity of the body, as already stated in BD 154, and of the full senses, to freely move and stay healthy. Then, on the north wall, after the unification of the organs and the heart to the corpse, the king pronouncing further spells, confirms the presence of the heart in his body, thereby having fully physical control of his limbs as well as the decisional power over his actions and speaking (BD 26), in order to carry on his journey into his new life. Moreover, he insists on the effectiveness of the embalming practice to avoid the decomposition of his corpse, and the reunification of his organs therein (BD 154). Within the corridor accessing the intermediate chamber, the deceased, after having guaranteed his physical and intellectual integrity, claims his moral integrity through the declaration of his innocence before Osiris (BD 125 A) on the south wall, while on the north wall he addresses the gods in the hall of Maat, proclaiming himself right and loyal in total pureness (BD 125 C). It is not clear why BD 125 B was copied after BD 125 C within the intermediate room as it was as well in the tomb of his father Senkamanisken. The first chamber hosts BD 145 which starts on the south wall and ends on the north wall, in an ascending way. The king must correctly pronounce the formulae for entering the secret gateways in the Marsh of Reeds, demonstrating a full ritual knowledge and magic, as he needs to recognize and to spell out the name of all the guardians in order to pass through before gaining access to the light at the entrance/exit of the tomb.

It is worth note that the selection of chapters of the sarcophagus chamber lays emphasis not only on the recomposition and preservation of all the organs, head and limbs for the physical integrity of the corpse but also on the reactivation of the organs of perceptions (eyes, mouth, nostrils, ears) in order to allow the mummy to regain all the faculties possessed on earth, essential needs even for the journey through the Hereafter. Moreover, this accurately selected corpus, in addition to gold caps for fingers/toes, bead nets, heart scarabs, canopic vases and shabtis which were found in the royal necropolises, can bring into question the real funerary practices of the Napatan crown, in particular the assumed incomplete/missing mumification of their royal corpses.¹⁰⁷ The slightly wet

¹⁰⁷ A. Lohwasser, T. Kendall, "Napatan necropoleis and burial customs. Introduction—History of research" in *Handbook of Ancient Nubia*, vol. II, ed. D. Raue (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2019), 634, 636.

conditions in the whole Upper Nubia and the frequent inundation of the burials in the site of Nuri due to the raising of groundwater of the closest Nile branch could not guarantee the preservation of soft tissues. However, the recent discovery of black bitumen material inside a jar lying in a New Kingdom tomb of Sai Island (Tomb 26 in SAC5 necropolis) cannot exclude a body treatment similar to the Egyptian mummification, where just a layer of black liquids was ritually poured over the linen bands wrapping the corpse.¹⁰⁸ This body preservation, having the same purpose of the mummification of which there is no evidence in Nubia, could have been adopted as well in Napatan time among the members of the royal family considering such a funerary equipment conceived for a perfect "machine of resurrection".

To conclude, in the royal burials of Napata, funerary texts had an important role, especially BD which had its preeminence over the other corpuses. This was a status symbol for the local crown, copied from imported scrolls written in hieratic which were edited in Theban workshops between the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth Dynasties, considering the list of "negative confession" and the evidence of spells belonging to the "Saitic recension". Craftsmen working in the royal necropolises seem however to have made some artistic experimentations, adapting common BD vignettes to the local taste. The absence of a "master copy" and the different editions of the same chapters from one tomb to another prove the existence of different papyrus records employed for decorating the burials, sometimes using different scrolls even in the same tomb, as in Nasalsa's one. The arrangement of the chapters on the tomb walls diverges from the sequence adopted in Egypt from the New Kingdom until the Late Period. Despite the loss of several inscriptions, a textual and local program exists in the burials of Senkamanisken's family and it corresponds to a travel guide within the Netherworld for going forth into light. The accurate selections of BD passages for the sarcophagus chamber insisting on the unification of all the body parts and the full reappropriation of all the senses recall the phases of the "Opening of the Mouth" ceremony and the mummification process although another body treatment might be in use in Nubia at that time.

¹⁰⁸ K. Fulcher, J. Budka, "Pigments, incense, and bitumen from the New Kingdom town and cemetery on Sai Island in Nubia", *JASReports* 33 (2020), 10–11.

Mongoose-headed (Ichneumon) Deities in the Book of Caverns

Dawn Power

Abstract: There are two scenes in the Book of Caverns that contain mongoose-headed deities, who are given the name *ꜥdy* in the text. This article will examine the use of the name *ꜥdy* and its association with the mongoose and the sun god Re. The examination of this name will provide the basis for exploring the mongoose-headed deity's connection to and involvement in the Solar-Osirian Unity and rebirth, which are the two central themes of the Book of Caverns.

Résumé: Il y a deux scènes dans le Livre des Cavernes qui contiennent des divinités à tête de mangouste, qui reçoivent le nom *ꜥdy* dans le texte. Cet article examinera l'utilisation du nom *ꜥdy* et son association avec la mangouste et le dieu soleil Re. L'examen de ce nom fournira la base pour explorer la connexion et l'implication de la divinité à tête de mangouste dans l'Unité Solaire-Osirienne et la renaissance, qui sont les deux thèmes centraux du Livre des Cavernes.

Key words: Book of Caverns; mongoose; the name *ꜥdy*; Solar-Osirian Unity; rebirth

Mots-clés: le Livre des Cavernes; la mangouste; le nom *ꜥdy*; unité solaire-osirienne; la renaissance

The Book of Caverns¹ is a composition classified among the genre of Underworld Books. It appears, in part or in whole, in the tombs of the New Kingdom Ramesside kings, Merneptah (1213–1203 BCE), Tausret (1188–1186 BCE), Ramesses III (1184–1153 BCE), Ramesses IV (1153–1147 BCE), Ramesses VI (1143–1136 BCE), Ramesses VII (1136–1129 BCE), Ramesses IX (1126–1108 BCE), and in the Osireion of Seti I in Abydos (1294–1279 BCE).² These scenes appear in Division 1, Register 4, Scene 5 (hereafter abbreviated D1, R4, S5) and in Division 3, Register 2, Scene 5 (hereafter abbreviated D3, R2, S5). The classification of these theriocephalic deities has been debated over the years. Some scholars believe the

¹ F. Abitz, *Pharao als Gott in den Unterweltbüchern des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 146 (Freiburg: Universitätsverlag, 1995); P. Barguet, "Le Livre des Cavernes et la reconstitution du corps divin," *RdÉ* 28 (1976): 25–37; W. Barta, *Die Bedeutung der Jenseitsbücher für den verstorbenen König*, MÄS 42 (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1985); W. Barta, *Komparative Untersuchungen zu vier Unterweltbüchern* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 1990); J.C. Darnell and C.M. Darnell, *Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books*, WAW 39 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018); E. Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher* (Zurich: Artemis Verlag, 1972); E. Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999); E. Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld* (London: Karnak House Publishers, 2005); A. Piankoff, "Le Livre des Querets [1]," *BIFAO* 41 (1942): 1–11; A. Piankoff, "Le Livre des Querets [2]," *BIFAO* 42 (1944): 1–62; A. Piankoff, "Le Livre des Querets [3]," *BIFAO* 43 (1945): 1–50; A. Piankoff, "Le Livre des Querets (fin)," *BIFAO* 45 (1947): 1–42; A. Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI. I: Texts. II: Plates*, 2 vols., (New York: Pantheon Books, 1954); D. Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch: Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik*, 2 vols., GOF IV 48 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2011).

² Only the Osireion of Seti I at Abydos and the tomb of Ramesses VI contain a full version of the Book of Caverns. All other tombs contain various divisions and scenes.

deities to be crocodile-headed,³ while others believe them to be mongoose-headed deities.⁴ It is the latter classification that the author agrees with, and which will be the focal point of this paper. This classification of the theriocephalic deities as mongooses and the use of the name *ꜥdy* given to them, will be used to demonstrate their role in the Book of Caverns and their involvement in the two central themes in this composition, namely the Solar-Osirian Unity (a phenomenon wherein the corpse of Re and Osiris unite temporarily each night to ensure the rebirth and rejuvenation of the deities respectively)⁵ and rebirth.

The name *ꜥdy/ꜥd*

In the Book of Caverns, the mongoose-headed deities are given the name *ꜥdy*. This name is related to the root of the verb *ꜥd* “to be sound, well, or whole.”⁶ This name is only attested in the New Kingdom Book of Caverns⁷ and appears in the text related to D1, R4, S3 and D3, R2, S5⁸ (Figs. 1 and 2). In D1, R4, S3 the term *ꜥdy* is

³ Barguet, “Le Livre des Cavernes et la reconstitution du corps divin,” *RdÉ* 28: 26, 28, 30; C. Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), 156; Hornung, *Ägyptische Unterweltbücher*, 319, 349; Hornung, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld*, 195, 218; Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1, 48, 66–67.

⁴ E. Brunner-Traut, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” in: *Göttinger Vorträge vom Ägyptologischen Kolloquium der Akademie am 25. und 26. August 1964*, (1965), 159; Darnell, *Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books*, 351.

⁵ For further reading on the Solar-Osirian Unity see, J.C. Darnell. *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX*, OBO 198 (Freiburg: Academic Press, 2004); J.B. Jorgensen, “Myth and cosmography: on the union of Re and Osiris in two types of religious discourse,” in: *Current Research in Egyptology 2010. Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Symposium, Leiden University, the Netherlands*, (eds. M. Horn, J. Kramer, D. Soliman, et al) (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 71–80; A. Niwiński, “The Solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the ‘State of Amun’ in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty,” *JEOL* 30 (1987/88): 89–106; M. Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 299–330; J. Quack, “Ein Unterweltbuch der solar-osirianischen Einheit?,” *WeltOr* 35 (2005): 22–47. Note: care should be taken when reading Darnell and Niwiński, both of whom believe that the Solar-Osirian unity in the New Kingdom Under Books is permanent and not temporary and that the unity forms a new type of super god. It is the belief of the author, as well as Smith in *Following Osiris*, that this unity is not permanent but only temporary, as indicated by the inability of Osiris to leave the Underworld with Re. See also the seven litanies, which appear after the 75 names of Re contained in the Litany of Re, which identify the king with the unified Re-Osiris, who is called *dbꜥ dmd* (A. Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*, Bollingen Series XL. Egyptian Religious Texts and Representations, vol. 4 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964).

⁶ *Wb* I, 237–238; R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Marburger Edition. Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 64 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006), 178.

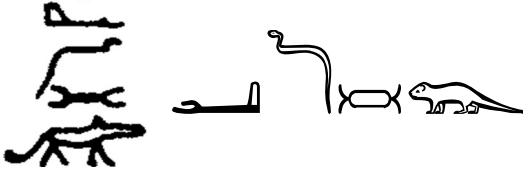
⁷ C. Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110, vol. 2 (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2002), 237.

⁸ Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts [1],” *BIFAO* 41 (1942): Pl. VII; Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts [2],” *BIFAO* 42 (1944): Pl. XXXIII.

normally translated as either “uninjured one”⁹ or “the one who is complete”¹⁰ and in D3, R2, S5 it is normally translated as either “the intact one”¹¹ or “the one who is complete.”¹² In both instances the seated god determinative (Table 1) is used, which indicates that the image is related to a deity, though it gives no indication as to what sort of theriocephalic deity it is.

The name ϵd does not appear prior to the Middle Kingdom.¹³ There is a reference to it being related to an animal in Coffin Text 939.¹⁴ In this text a four-legged animal determinative (Table 1) is used, which according to Faulkner resembles a jackal and which he translates as such,¹⁵ although Hannig notes that the spelling of ϵd , as it appears in this text, refers to a mongoose (Ichneumon).¹⁶

Although the name ϵdy in the Book of Caverns does not contain an animal determinative, the use of the seated god determinative implies that it is a deity, and the inclusion of a mongoose head on the deities indicates their nature. Further, as seen in the table below (Table 1), one spelling of the name ϵdy in the text associated with D3, R2, S5 uses a fish determinative instead of a seated god. According to Brunner-Traut, the use of a fish determinative with the name ϵdy connects it with a mongoose.¹⁷

Attestation	Hieroglyphic Writing
CT 939 ¹⁸	

⁹ Hornung, *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld*, 195.

¹⁰ Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1, 52.

¹¹ Hornung, *Ancient Egyptian Books of the Underworld*, 218–219.

¹² Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1, 72–73. Piankoff notes that “who is complete” is an epithet of Osiris.

¹³ Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 2, 237.

¹⁴ A. de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII. Texts of Spells 787–1185*, The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 87 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), 150b.

¹⁵ R.O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts. Volume III Spells 788–1185 & Indexes* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1978), 79.

¹⁶ Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen. Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch*, 179.

¹⁷ Brunner-Traut, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” in: *Göttinger Vorträge*, 159.

¹⁸ The hieroglyphs on the left are taken from de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VII*, 150b. The hieroglyphs on the right were produced using JSesh. The animal determinative on the right is JSesh E258, which is the closest determinative to what appears in CT 939, although it is not called a mongoose (or anything for that matter) in JSesh. The author of JSesh has indicated that the determinative is modelled after the image of a common genet, which appears in the 5th Dynasty Tomb of Ti at Saqqara and the 18th Dynasty tomb chapel of Neferhotep at Thebes, though I believe that it may be a mongoose, as it lacks the pointed ears of the common genet, which is what normally distinguishes the mongoose from the common genet (see L. Evans, “Beasts and Beliefs at Beni Hassan: A Preliminary Report,” *JARCE* 52 (2016): 222, Fig. 2). In de Buck’s rendering of the


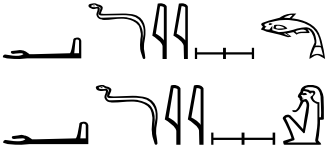
Attestation	Hieroglyphic Writing
BoC D1, R4, S3	
BoC D3, R2, S5	

Table 1: Attestation of $\zeta d(y)$ and hieroglyphic writing

The ζd deity (mongoose) as serpent slayer

It is known that the mongoose was a slayer of serpents in ancient Egypt, as recorded by the classical writers Martial, Aristotle, Pliny the Elder, Strabo, and Aelian.¹⁹ According to them, the mongoose defends itself against the poisonous bites of the serpent by rolling in the mud to provide a protective layer on its skin. Due to this ability, the mongoose was domesticated in ancient Egypt to kill serpents, mice, and other vermin,²⁰ and according to Martial, this was also the case in Roman society.²¹

This ability of the mongoose to kill serpents is noted in an ancient Egyptian Late Period text from the statue of Djed-Hor.²² In this text, the ζd deity (which is

determinative in CT 939 (see Table 1) there seem to be pointed ears on the animal, though it is not possible to know if this is in all the originals. Therefore, it is possible that the determinative in CT 939 could be either the common genet or the mongoose, as the mongoose and the common genet are sometimes mistaken for each other and they also normally appear in the same scenes together (normally marsh scenes where they appear on papyri wickets—see for example Evans, “Beasts and Beliefs at Beni Hassan,” *JARCE* 52: 222, Fig. 2). For the purposes here, I am suggesting that JSesh E258 is in fact a mongoose, as is the determinative in CT 939 (and not a jackal as suggested by Faulkner).

¹⁹ Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, II, Bk. 6, 38 and Bk 10, 47 (trans. A.F. Scholfield) (London: William Heinemann, 1959), 53, 343; Aristotle, *History of Animals*, Bk. 9.3 (trans. R. Cresswell) (London: George Bell & Sons, 1902), 238; Martial, *Epigrams*, Book 7.87.5 (trans. W. C.A. Ker) (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1919); Pliny the Elder, *The Natural History of Pliny*, vol. 2, Ch. 36, J (trans. J. Bostock & H.T. Riley) (London: George Bell & Sons, 1890), 287; Strabo, *The Geography of Strabo*, vol. 8, Book 17.1.39 (trans. H.L. Jones) (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1949).

²⁰ A.S.F. Gow, “Mousers in Egypt,” *Classical Quarterly*, 17/2 (1967): 196.

²¹ Evans, “Beasts and Beliefs at Beni Hassan,” *JARCE* 52: 223.

²² Date given is between Dynasty 30 and the conquest of Alexander the Great (E. Jelinková-Reymond. *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-Her-le Sauveur*, *BdE* 23 (Cairo: IFAO, 1956), xi).

translated as “mongoose”)²³ appears as an enemy of the serpent,²⁴ and it is stated that “Re turned his forms into a mongoose (ꜥd) of 46 cubits, in order to slay Apophis”²⁵ (*iri.n Rꜥ hprw.fm ꜥd mh 46 r shr ꜥpp*).²⁶ The association of the mongoose with Re in this text is presumably derived from the association of the mongoose with the sun god Atum-Re of Heliopolis,²⁷ a connection that is present in the various statues of mongooses with sun disks on their heads.²⁸ Due to the connection of the

²³ The term ꜥd being translated as “mongoose” can also be seen in two Egyptian texts, one from the Graeco-Roman Temple of Dendera (outer wall of the sanctuary) and the other from the Graeco-Roman Temple of Edfu (ritual scene on the outer wall). In both of these texts the term ꜥdt appears and is translated as “Ichneumonweibchen” (female mongoose). C. Leitz, “Das Ichneumonweibchen von Herakleopolis—eine Manifestation der Bastet,” *SAK* 38 (2009): 161 & 163. Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 2, 238.

²⁴ D. Arnold, *An Egyptian Bestiary*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Spring (1995), 39; I. Bohms, *Säugetiere in der Altägyptischen Literatur*, Ägyptologie Bd. 2 (Berlin: Lit Verlag, 2013), 122–123; Brunner-Traut, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” *Göttinger Vorträge*, 160; Gow, “Mousers in Egypt,” *Classical Quarterly* 17: 196.

²⁵ Apophis was the serpent enemy of Re in the Underworld, who tried to prevent his rebirth each morning. A battle with Apophis is undertaken each night to ensure that the sun god is not hindered in his journey towards rebirth in the morning. This battle can be seen in the 7th hour of the *Amduat* (E. Hornung & T. Abt, *The Egyptian Amduat. The Book of the Hidden Chamber* (trans. D. Warburton) (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications, 2007), 230–233. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des Verborgenen Raumes. Herausgegeben nach Texten aus den Gräbern des Neuen Reiches. 1: Text*, Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Helck und Eberhard Otto 7 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1963.) and the 10th and 11th hours of the *Book of Gates* (E. Hornung, *Das Buch von den Pforten des Jenseits. 1: Text und 2: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica 7/8 (Basel; Geneva: Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel & Faculté des Lettres de l’Université de Genève, 1979/1980). It also appears in the Ptolemaic (305 BCE) *Book of Overthrowing Apophis* in the *Bremner-Rhind Papyrus* (R.O. Faulkner. “The Bremner-Rhind Papyrus: III: D. The Book of Overthrowing Apep,” *JEA* 23/2 (1937): 166–185).

²⁶ Hieroglyphic text: E. Jelinková-Reymond, *Djed-Her-le-Sauveur*, 7 (lines 19–20). Translation: J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978), 95–96.

²⁷ Bohms, *Säugetiere in der Altägyptischen Literatur*, 123; Brunner-Traut, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” in: *Göttinger Vorträge*, 157–160 (Brunner-Traut briefly mentions that the ꜥd mongoose is connected to Re-Atum. However, no in-depth discussion is given as to what the connection is between ꜥd and the mongoose); P. Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs* (Cairo: The American University of Cairo Press, 1996), 126; G. Roeder, “Das Ichneumon in der Ägyptischen Religion und Kunst,” *Egyptian Religion* 4/1 (1936): 1; K. Sethe, “Atum als Ichneumon,” *ZÄS* 63–64 (1929), 50–53.

²⁸ Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, 126; Roeder, “Das Ichneumon in der Ägyptischen Religion und Kunst,” *Egyptian Religion* 4/1: Figs. 3–6, Type A, 10–13.

mongoose with Re (and also with Osiris and Horus²⁹) the mongoose was venerated in ancient Egypt, especially during the Late Period and Ptolemaic Period.³⁰

There are also various images that reflect the skills of the mongoose as a serpent slayer. A mosaic from Jerusalem entitled “Orpheus” depicts an Egyptian mongoose facing a Palestinian viper.³¹ A pottery vase from the Gerzean Period, Naqada II (reportedly from Awlad Yahya, near Naga al-Deir), which is now in the Brooklyn Museum (No. 61.87), depicts red animals that resemble mongooses. Below these animals appear wavy lines, possibly representing serpents, which coincides with their ability to slay these creatures.³²

The Scenes

The first scene appears in D1, R4, S5 (Fig. 1). In this scene the mongoose-headed deity appears standing behind two mounds, one of which contains four pieces of flesh and the other a piece of hair and a beard, which are being protected by gods and goddesses. Here, the deity is called “*ꜥdy*,” and he is responsible for the decomposition of the corpse of Osiris, as indicated by the text (*i ꜥdy . . . ntk ḥꜣt.f ḥwꜣt*)³³ “O Ady . . . to you belongs the decomposition of his (i.e.: Osiris) corpse”), and also by the inclusion of the flesh pieces in the first mound.³⁴

As discussed above, the *ꜥd* deity is connected with the mongoose through its association with Re. As such, the *ꜥdy* deity in this scene represents Re through its guise as a mongoose-headed deity (cf. the Late Period text above, where Re turns into a mongoose). There is also an element of the Solar-Osirian Unity present in this

²⁹ In Letopolis, the mongoose (a diurnal animal) was worshipped as Horus Khenty-en-irty (lit: “the one who has two eyes in front”). The deity Khenty-en-irty represents the seeing side of Horus which associates him with the light. The counterpart to this deity was Horus Mekhenty-en-irty (lit: “the one who does not have two eyes in front”). The deity Mekhenty-en-irty is represented by a shrew (a nocturnal animal) and represents the blind side of Horus and associates him with the dark. Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts [2],” *BIFAO* 42: Pl. XII, 8; Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol.1, 56 says Mekhenty-en-irty is the Elder Horus of Letopolis and son of Nut. For further reading on these deities see Brunner-Traut, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” in: *Göttinger Vorträge*, 128, 133, 153, 154; Evans, “Beasts and Beliefs at Beni Hassan,” *JARCE* 52: 224; J. G. Griffiths, “Remarks on the Mythology of the Eyes of Horus,” *Chronique d’Égypte* 33/66 (1958): 188; S. Ikram, “A Monument in Miniature. The Eternal Resting Place of a Shrew,” in: *Structure and Significance: Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, (ed. Peter János) (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 336, and H. Junker, *Der sehende und blinde Gott (Mḥnti-irti und Mḥnti-n-irti)*, SBAW 7 (Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften: in Kommission bei C.H. Beck, 1942).

³⁰ Brunner-Traut, “Spitzmaus und Ichneumon als Tiere des Sonnengottes,” in: *Göttinger Vorträge*, 157–160.

³¹ Evans, “Beasts and Beliefs at Beni Hassan,” *JARCE* 52: 223–224.

³² Houlihan, *The Animal World of the Pharaohs*, 123 and fn. 85.

³³ Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts [1],” *BIFAO* 41: Pl. VII; Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch: Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik*, vol. 2., 30–31.

³⁴ The decomposition of Osiris is represented by the pieces of flesh in the mound surrounded by the male deities.

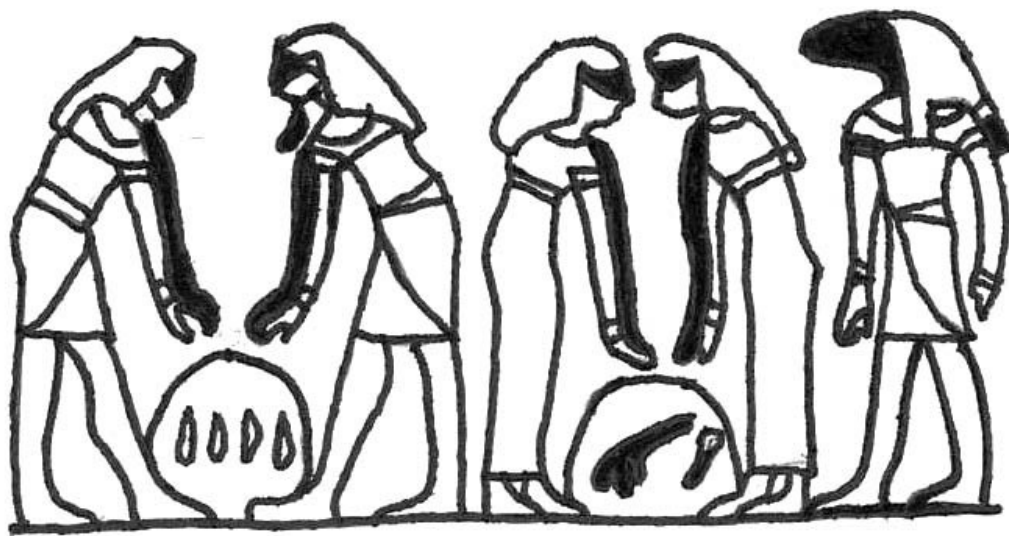


Figure 1: D1, R4, S5 from the Book of Caverns. After Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, Vol. 2, Pl. XXIII and Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Vol. 1, Fig. 10 & Vol. 2, Pl. 9. Drawing by Summer Power.

scene, which is represented by the mongoose-headed deity being responsible for the decomposition of the corpse of Osiris.³⁵ As mentioned above, the Solar-Osirian Unity is a phenomenon that requires the corpses of Re and Osiris to unite temporarily each night in the Underworld. In so doing Re may be reborn in the morning and Osiris rejuvenated each night. Therefore, having a scene that contains a mongoose-headed deity, who is acting as Re and who is in charge of Osiris' corpse, along with images of Osiris' flesh, collectively represents the Solar-Osirian Unity, which is an important theme in the Book of Caverns.³⁶

³⁵ For further reading on the Solar-Osirian unity see, Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity*; Jorgensen, "Myth and cosmography: on the union of Re and Osiris in two types of religious discourse," in: *Current Research in Egyptology 2010*, 71–80; Niwiński, "The Solar-Osirian unity as a principle of the theology of the 'State of Amun' in Thebes in the 21st Dynasty," *JEOL* 30 (1987/88): 89–106; Smith, *Following Osiris*, 299–330. Note: care should be taken when reading Darnell and Niwiński, both of whom believe that the Solar-Osirian unity in the New Kingdom Under Books is permanent and not temporary. Both believe that the unity forms a new type of super god. It is the belief of the author, as well as Smith in *Following Osiris*, that this unity is not permanent but only temporary, as indicated by the inability of Osiris to leave the Underworld with Re. See also the seven litanies, which appear after the 75 names of Re contained in the Litany of Re, which identify the king with the unified Re-Osiris, who is called *db3 dmd* (Piankoff, *The Litany of Re*).

³⁶ Dawn Power, *Aspects of Iconography and Transmission in the Book of Caverns* (PhD thesis, University of Liverpool, 2018), section 1.4.2–1.4.3.

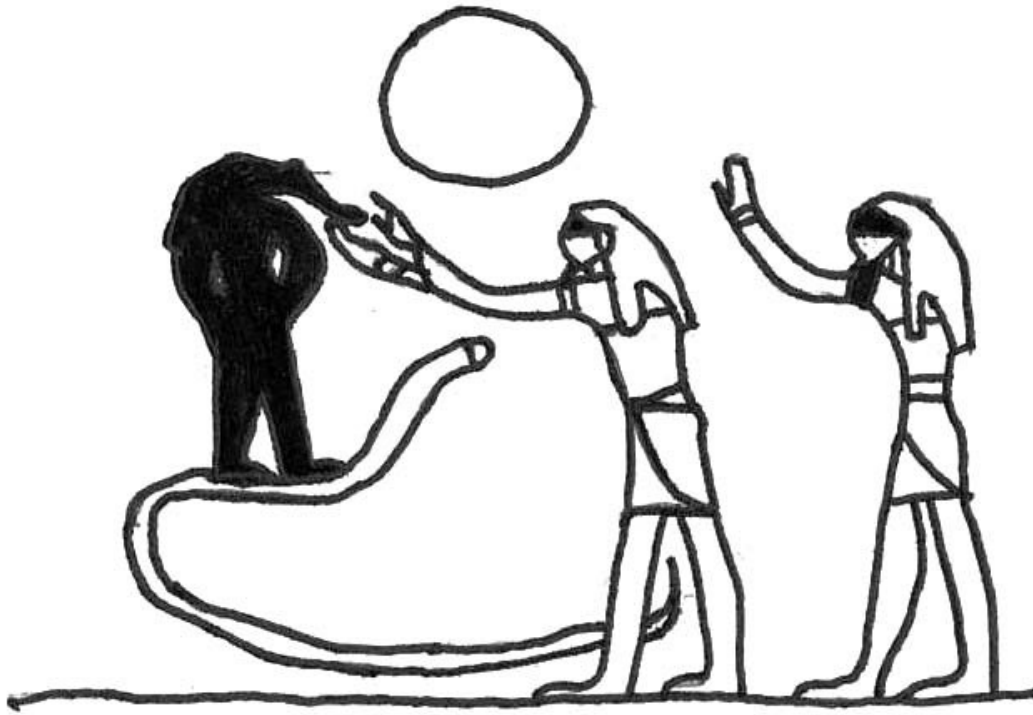


Figure 2: D3, R2, S5 from the Book of Caverns. After Frankfort, *The Cenotaph of Seti I at Abydos*, Vol. 2, Pl. XXXIII and Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, Vol. 1, Fig. 12 & Vol. 2, Pl. 21. Drawing by Summer Power.

The second scene appears in D3, R2, S5 (Fig. 2) and depicts a mongoose-headed deity with a long beard³⁷ standing upon a serpent. The text related to this scene calls the deity both Osiris and *ꜥdy*³⁸ (*i Wsir sp 2 pn ꜥdy hr(y) wr* “O this Osiris, this Osiris, Adjy, who is upon the Great One (the name of the serpent)”).³⁹ Piankoff translates *ꜥdy* as “the complete one” and states that it is an epithet for Osiris,⁴⁰ which may be suggestive of his body being put back together after his death.⁴¹ However, this is only one way of interpreting the term *ꜥdy* in this text. Another, and perhaps more feasible interpretation, connects *ꜥdy* to the mongoose and Re in their role as serpent slayer (see above).

³⁷ Leitz also relates this *ꜥdy* deity with a mongoose-headed deity with a long beard. The only reference Leitz gives for this deity’s appearance is in the Book of Caverns. Leitz, *Lexikon der Ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, vol. 2, 237.

³⁸ Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts [2],” *BIFAO* 42: Pl. XXXIII. Piankoff notes that *ꜥdy* (“who is complete”) is an epithet of Osiris (Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1, 72–73).

³⁹ Piankoff, “Le livre des Quererts [2],” *BIFAO* 42: Pl. XXXIII; Werning, *Das Höhlenbuch: Textkritische Edition und Textgrammatik*, vol. 2, 142–143.

⁴⁰ Piankoff, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, vol. 1, 73, fn 52.

⁴¹ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* (trans. J.G. Griffiths) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), Ch. 18, 145.

In this scene the *ꜥdy* figure stands upon a serpent and is here representing Re, the serpent slayer, in the guise of a mongoose-headed deity (cf. the Late Period text above, where Re turns into a mongoose and slays a serpent). In addition to the image representing Re, it also represents Osiris, which is seen by the inclusion of his name in the text associated with this scene. The unity of Re and Osiris in this scene (as the deity is called both *ꜥdy* and Osiris in the text) again represents the Solar-Osirian Unity, which is a central theme in the Book of Caverns.⁴²

Conclusion

As discussed above, the mongoose-headed deities in the Book of Caverns are associated with the god Re through their name *ꜥdy* and their ability to slay serpents. Their connection with Re and their appearance in D1, R4, S5 and D3, R2, S5 symbolizes Re's presence and his participation in the Solar-Osirian Unity. Seeing that the Solar-Osirian Unity requires the presence of both Re and Osiris, the Osirian element of this phenomenon is present in Osiris' name being employed in the text of D3, R2, S5 and also through the mention of his corpse and flesh in the text and iconography of D1, R4, S5. The inclusion of the mongoose-headed deities, who represent Re, and also references to Osiris in these scenes, reinforces the elements of rebirth and rejuvenation, which are signified by the inference of the Solar-Osirian Unity, both of which are central themes in this composition.

⁴² Power, *Aspects of Iconography and Transmission in the Book of Caverns*, section 1.4.2–1.4.3.

Jan Tattko

*Türinschriften im Naos des Hathortempels von Dendara
Eine Studie zu Stilistik und Theologie in ägyptischen
Tempeltexten der griechisch-römischen Zeit*

Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion 27

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In this review, the focus is on the revised version of the author's dissertation, which was accepted at Philosophische Fakultät of University Tübingen in 2018. The two-volume study deals with the door inscriptions of the rooms, chambers, and corridors in the naos of the temple of Hathor in Dendara. The content can be split up into the following elements:

Part 1:

In 1, the subject of the investigation is clarified. The opus includes twenty-three rooms and room complexes with the associated doors (1). The analysis only deals with the architectural units at ground level, while crypts, mezzanine floor, Osiris chapels and roof kiosk are not taken into account (1).

In 2, the translation and evaluation of the texts is presented. The information on deities of the room, topics, key words, textual connections, syntactic-stylistic text connections and integration in the surrounding decorations are given. The sanctuary and its ambulatory are discussed in the first major section of the chapter. The explanations begin with the *pr-wr*-sanctuary = room J. The two inscriptions on the door posts on the outside of the room stand out from the rest of the door inscriptions in Dendara due to the Late Egyptian language level (26). The epithets of Hathor on the door reveals of the passage refer to the myth of the "Wandering Goddess" (28). The complex of rooms on the right (eastern) side of the *pr-wr*-sanctuary = room H turns up next. The myth of the "Wandering Goddess" also plays an important role on the door reveals of the front room there. The room complex on the left (western) side of the *pr-wr*-sanctuary = room M is next brought up for discussion. The third chapel on the right (eastern) side continues the series, whose core motif is the regeneration of the sun god and the solar theme" (92). The fourth chapel on the right (eastern) side = room F is addressed next. The fifth chapel on the right (eastern) side = room E follows next, in which the birth of Isis-Sothis occupies the most important place. The author's formulation that the Isis- and Osiris hymn on the two doors reveals is singular but has brief parallels in other sources (143) seems slightly contradictory. The sixth chapel on the right (eastern) side = room D is highlighted next, the main theme of which is the enthronement of Hathor. The third chapel on the left (western) side = room L is singled out next, which is again dedicated to the homecoming and appeasing of Hathor and her subsequent enthronement. The royal epithets on the doors of the passage show clear contextual and syntactic references to one another (185). The fourth chapel on the left (western) side = room K appears next, which is probably related to a festival of the child god Ihi on 2. Thot. The barque sanctuary completes the list, which served as the stage for the cult image ritual. The two doors of the passage are covered with hymns to Hathor and Isis as the two most important deities of the temple. The structure

of the inscriptions follows the typical Dendara scheme of a royal column and two divine columns (224). The ambulatory of the barque sanctuary = ambulatory B/C is listed next. The “*šnd-n*”-hymn on the right door post differs from the other inscriptions in Dendara for several reasons, e. g. the structure of the stanzas (246). In the second larger section of the chapter, the rooms adjoining the central hall are addressed. The complex on the left (western) side = treasury Q/court of the Wabet R/Wabet S is considered first. The connecting corridor F’-Q on the left (western) side = corridor Y is accentuated next. The two inscriptions on the north door are based on the form of the offering bearer processions of the foundation levels (303). The third larger section of the chapter is dominated by the rooms adjoining the offering room. The side chapel on the right (eastern) side = room V marks the beginning. The right (eastern) stairwell = stairs W + antechamber V is treated next. The left (western) stairwell = stairs X is introduced into the debate next. The fourth major section of the chapter encompasses the rooms adjacent to the hypostyle. The first chapel on the right (eastern) side = room A’ is examined first. The second and third chapel on the right (eastern) side = room B’ and room C’ are included next. The festival calendar on the door post of the outside and the doors is one of the very few texts under the door inscriptions in Dendara written in prose (379). The first chapel on the left (western) side = room B’ is documented next. The correspondences between room and door are closer here than in many other rooms of the temple (399). The investigation is expanded with the second chapel of the left (western) side = room E’ with the passage H’-E’. The Isis hymn on the right side of the outer door post of the outside E’-Z also occurs in Dendara, Edfu, and Philae (419). The third chapel on the left (western) side = passage room F’ fills the last position.

In 3, the synthesis is carried out. The door inscriptions in Dendara and Edfu often differ in terms of structural features (439). In Dendara, on the outside and inside of the door posts, a text type with mostly appositional, nominal or verbal invocations of the respective gods can be observed very often (440). The intertextual connections of the door inscriptions in Dendara on a syntactic-stylistic level make use of *repetitio*, *paralellismus membrorum*, chiasm and word plays (453–476). The intertextual connections on the content and graphic level are based on overarching key themes, chronological links, antitheses and complementary terms as well as script plays (477–483). Most of the door inscriptions in Dendara are based on the content of the associated room (484). In Dendara, the outside and inside of the doors were labelled with text columns much more often than in Edfu (487).

In 4, the editorial appendix is presented with a list of abbreviations (507–508), list of figures (509), list of tables (510–512), bibliography (513–33), tabular overview of the decoration and scene program of the rooms (534–558) and indices (559–595).

Part 2: This part contains 29 loose folding boards that were not available for interlibrary loan.

The following additions may be useful to the matter (information refers to part 1):

53: The translation of “*ḥꜥ n=f t3-mri*” has to be corrected in “für den Ägypten jubelt.”
 119: The translation of “*dšr it=f rꜥ-nb*” must be altered in “der seinen Vater täglich abschirmt.”
 259: The translation of “*ḥꜥ ḥr=t m ḥnmw=f*” must be changed in “damit dein Gesicht wegen seines Duftes jubelt.”
 353: for “*mn.t*”

“Schmelzofen/Feuerbecken” cf. J. Osing, *Die Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen*, SDAIK 3B (Mainz, 1976), 595. 355: for “*prt*” “to separate” cf. G. Vittmann, “Rezension:” Hoch, James E., *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, Princeton, University Press, Princeton, 1994), WZKM 87 (1997), 282

The reviewer considers the following judgement to be reasonable: The book makes a thoroughly satisfactory impression. The translations are mostly in excellent condition, but external preparatory work was available to help. The content-related backgrounds are adequately examined. The concentration on the ground level should perhaps have been better justified.

—Stefan Bojowald

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