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**Simone Petacchi**

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## Editorial Foreword

Welcome to vol. 49 of the Journal. This is the first substantial volume in what may (hopefully) be regarded as the post-COVID era, and it is the second of our two volumes dedicated to our colleague and fellow Editor Prof. James Hoch, whom we deeply miss.

In this volume, we are publishing a reminiscence of James from his teacher and mentor, and the teacher and mentor of many of us, Prof. Donald Redford.

Also, please note that the present volume includes a reprinted and corrected version of Dr. Ahmed Hamden's article on the Royal Ka, which includes both text and figures that were unfortunately omitted from the first printing in vol. 48. We regret the errors in the earlier printing; please note that the version printed here in vol. 49 is the complete and correct one.

Thank you for your attention; we hope that you will enjoy the Egyptological feast that awaits you in these pages, and that it will spark animated discussion and, perhaps, further publications in the Journal.

Ankh Wedja Seneb!—Be Well!

—*Edmund S. Meltzer and Simone Burger Robin*





## Remembrances of James Hoch

It must have been in the winter of 1981 that I first encountered this quiet, cheerful and well-spoken young man. He was enrolled in my course in Egyptian History on Wednesday evenings at the University of Toronto, but his natural shyness and recessiveness did not mark him out in either social or academic settings. Moreover the time he had spent teaching in Japan reinforced some of these tendencies, and lent a pleasing aura to his presence.

In graduate school any misjudgment James might have suffered under was dispelled: it was clear that we were nurturing a true linguist, and one of a superior kind. He addressed Introductory Middle Egyptian with R.J. Williams and Late Egyptian with me. Kushite and Saite period texts aroused us and we read the Wady el-Arish naos and some of the side chapels at Kom Ombo and the mammisi at Philae. One September he appeared at my door apologizing that he had not done much reading over the summer; he had simply translated URKUNDEN IV (all of it!) James had a linguist “sixth sense.” I recall a seminar in Old Egyptian, in which the meaning of some passages was anything but clear. He pondered a moment, mumbled a few tentative renderings, then emerged from the miasma with what was clearly the right translation.

I had always assumed that the language of every ancient society evoked interest in other areas of research such as archaeology, art, history and anthropology. This seems not to have been the case for James. He loved teaching at all levels but only language courses. I once invited him to visit us on the dig at Karnak, and he accepted. But when he seated himself in the open air courtyard before our dig house, I asked him why he had chosen to sit with his back towards the great gate of the temple of Karnak, a world heritage site. He responded in almost exactly the same way Polotsky had to Borchardt, when asked why he was sitting with his back towards the Great Pyramid: “I took it for granted.”

Yet James had hidden depths I was certainly unaware of. Once I attended a lecture of his on the grotesque in Egyptian art, and found it an insightful expose of a sphere of Egyptology rarely explored. His work and conclusions, whether persuasive or not, were always well reasoned—I refer specifically to his research on the Byblian script, the Sheshonk toponym list, and especially his Late Egyptian loanwords, which will be a standard reference work for years to come. How—or—should one acknowledge the political components of a person's life and career? To refrain from all reference would be to adopt a tactic from “Yes, Minister!” James confided at the outset his political inclinations, and never concealed them, even in the face of grossly unfair treatment. But the All-lord knows and will surely separate the sheep from the goats! In the sense, James, of the words of the language you have so richly studied and served: “Hail, O scribe of the House of Life! May you safely pass along the roads of the West, upon which the revered ones have gone, and take your seat before the Great God.”

—*Donald Redford*



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

Ahmed Hamden

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

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

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

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

## Introduction

The ancient Egyptians believed there was a border between the living and dead; the *ka* is the vital force, the energy that literally provides a link between the living and the deceased.<sup>1</sup> After the king's death, he becomes the link between the gods and the next king in transferring this energy, which will provide his successor with the legitimacy he needs. Everyone may possess this vital energy of the *ka* with the Royal-*ka* coming into existence upon the king's birth and accompanying him in death.<sup>2</sup> The manifestation of the Royal-*ka* appears during the Old Kingdom and continued until the Roman Period. Waitkus has cited numerous representations of the Royal-*ka* during the Old, Middle and New Kingdoms.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, like the kings in Ancient Egypt, the deities equally

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

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

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

possessed *kas* and *bas*, such as the *kas* of Ptah, Sobek, Re-Horakhty and the 14 *kas* of Re.<sup>4</sup>

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

The two figures of the Royal-*ka* are depicted frequently with an additional arms and legs.<sup>8</sup> Most often, the personifications of the Royal-*ka* are shown holding the *mdw-špsj* staff in one hand and the *Maat* ostrich feather or the *ʿnh*-sign in the other hand. The anthropomorphic *ka* is represented in two dimensional form, the first type is the undersized figure, which regularly follows the kings in the majority of the scenes, while the second is larger and equal in size to the king.<sup>9</sup>

The kings of the Middle Kingdom were keen to portray themselves with their *kas*, as were their ancestors and predecessors. The Royal-*ka* appeared in different locations within the temples, for instance: chapels, doorways, niches, sanctuaries and

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

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> Bargaet, *ASAE* 51, 205; Spieser, *Les noms du Pharaon*, 33.

<sup>9</sup> Bell, *JNES* 44, 272; Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 44.

stelae. Numerous manifestations of the Royal-*ka* were depicted for several kings at different sites, including Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II (Deir el-Bahari and Gebelein) Amenemhat I (Koptos); Senwosret I (Karnak); Senwosret II (Wadi Gawasis); Senwosret III (Deir el-Bahari, Abydos and Medamoud); and Amenemhat III (Medinet Madi).

### Documentation

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

#### *Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II:*

##### Doc. n° 1

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

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

**Bibliography:** D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 2, *Die Wandreliefs des Sanktuars*, AVDAIK 11 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), 26–7, pl. 22; L. Gabolde, *Le ‘grand château d’Amon’ de Sésostri I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak. La décoration du temple d’Amon-Rê au Moyen Empire*, MAIBL 17 (Paris: Institut de France 1998), 50 (§65); L. Postel, *Protocole des souverains égyptiens et dogme monarchique au débauch du Moyen Empire*, MRE 10, (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth; Turnhout : Brepols, 2004), 226; M. Ullmann, “Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape,” in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, edited by P. Dorman, B. Bryan, SAOC 61 (Chicago, Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 7–9, 16 and fig. 2.4.

##### Doc. n° 2

Chapel of Hathor at Gebelein, east Hill, block of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo, J.E. T.R. 1/11/17/9. (Fig. 1)

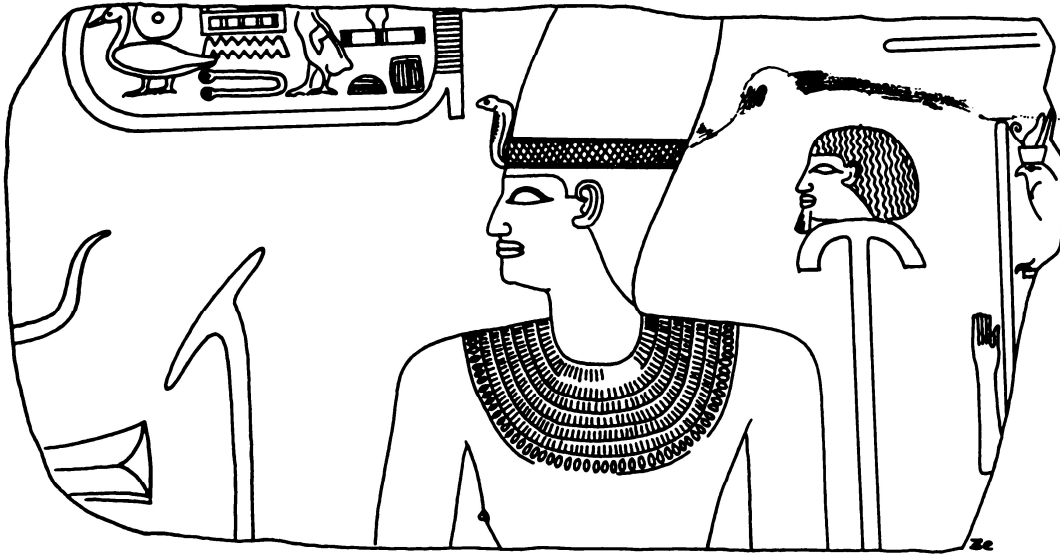


Fig. 1 After Habachi, “King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep”, *MDAIK* 19, 37 and fig. 15. (Doc. 2)

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

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

### *Amenemhat I:*

#### **Doc. n° 3**

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







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

**Texts:**

Above and behind the Royal-*ka*:



*k3-nsw.t hnt db3.t hnt pr-dw3.t*

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

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

**Doc. n° 6**

Karnak, White Chapel, pillars n° 7 and 8, west side, *in situ*.<sup>10</sup> (Fig. 4)

**Southern side:** Senwosret I offers *š3t*-bread to Amun-Re. The anthropomorphic *ka* holds in his right hand the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress, while holding the *nh*-sign in the other.

**Texts:**

I. Above the Royal-*ka*:



*k<sup>c</sup> n nsw.t-bity hpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> hnt db3.t hnt [pr-dw3.t] dj nh dd mj-R<sup>c</sup>*

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

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



*dj.n=(j) [snb] nb 3wt-jb nb n s3=(j) n ht=(j) mry hpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> hn<sup>c</sup> k3[=k dt]*

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

**Bibliography:** P. Lacau, H. Cheverier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris 1<sup>er</sup> à Karnak I* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1956), 72–74; II (Cairo, 1969), pl. 15 (Sc. 7); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (d); E. Hirsch, *Die Sakrale Legitimation Sesostris I: Kontakthänomene in Königsideologischen Texten* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 190; Waitkus, *Luxortempels I*, 321.

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



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

**Bibliography:** Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 72–74; II, pl. 15 (Sc. 8); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (d); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 191, Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 321.

**Doc. n° 7**

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

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

**Texts:**

Above the Royal-*ka*:

𓀃𓀣𓀤𓀥𓀦

*k3-nsw.t ʕnh dj ʕnh*

*The living ka of the King, given life.*

**Bibliography:** Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 106–108; II, pl. 29 (Sc. 6); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (b); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 198.

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

**Texts:**

Above and under the Royal-*ka*:

𓀃𓀣𓀤𓀥𓀦𓀧𓀨𓀩𓀪𓀫

*k3-nsw.t ʕnh dj ʕnh [dd] w3s nb*

*The living ka of the King, given all life, stability and dominion.*

**Bibliography:** Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 106–108; II, pl. 29 (Sc. 5); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (b); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 198.

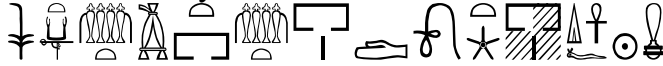
**Doc. n° 8**

Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene, *in situ*.

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

**Texts:**

Above the Royal-*ka*:



*k3-nsw.t hnt db3.t hnt pr-dw3.t dj=f ʿnh mj-Rʿ*

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

**Bibliography:** Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 109-12; II, pl. 30 (Sc. 9); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (c); R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Les Temples de Karnak. Contribution à l'étude de la pensée pharaonique I. Architecture et symboles sacrés* (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1982), 677, pl. 316; Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 199; Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 322.

**Doc. n° 9**

Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene, *in situ*. (Fig. 5)

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

**Texts:**

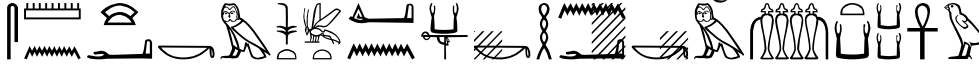
I. Above and under the royal-*ka*:



*k3-nsw.t ʿnh dj ʿnh*

*The living ka of the king, given life.*

II. The texts of Amun-kamutef dedicated to the king and his *ka*:



*smn=(j) hʿw=k m nsw.t=bity dj.n=(j) k3=k hnʿ=k m hnty k3w ʿnhw*

*(I) Establish your crown as the king of Upper and Lower Egypt. (I) having placed your ka and you as foremost of the living kas.<sup>11</sup>*

**Bibliography:** Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 130–1; II, pl. 39 (Sc. 26); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (g); Hirsch, *Sesostris I*, 203; Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 322.

<sup>11</sup> The god announces the coronation of the king either with extending his hands towards the king or by embracing him, Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 58 and n. 35.



Fig. 5 After Lacau/Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris, II*, pl. 39 (Sc. 29). (Doc. 9)

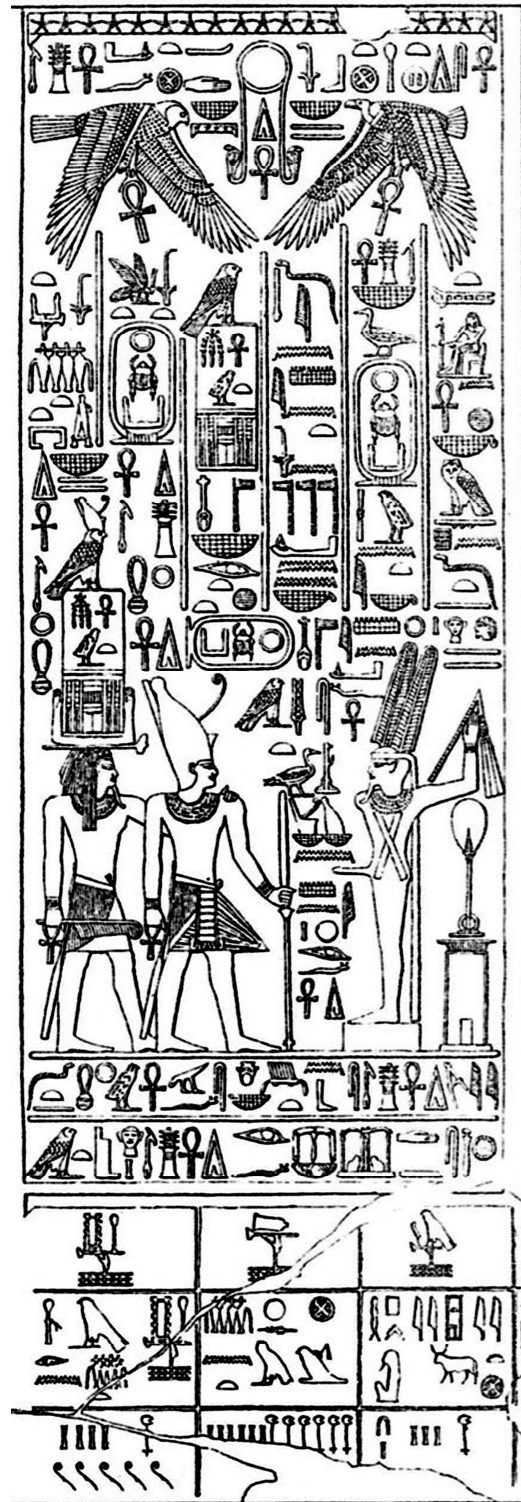


Fig. 6 After Lacau/Chevrier, *Chapelle de Sésostris, II*, pl. 40 (Sc. 28). (Doc. 10)

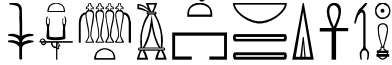
**Doc. n° 10**

Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene, *in situ*. (Fig. 6)

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

**Texts:**

Above the Royal-*ka*:



*k3-nsw.t hnt db3.t nb-t3.wy dj ʿnh w3s mj-Rʿ*

*The ka of the King, foremost of the robing house, lord of the two lands, given life and dominion like Re.*

**Bibliography:** Lacau/Cheverier, *Chapelle de Sésostris*, I, 132–134, II, pl. 40 (Sc. 28); PM II<sup>2</sup>, 62 (f).

**Doc. n° 11**

Karnak, Cachette Court north the Seventh Pylon, lintel of a doorway, *in situ*. (Fig. 7)

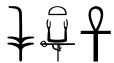


Fig. 7 After Le. Saout et al., “Karnak:”, CahKarn VIII, pl. VI (Doc. 11)

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

**Texts:**

Above the Royal-*ka*:



*k3-nsw.t ʿnh*

*The living ka of the King.*

**Bibliography:** PM II<sup>2</sup>, 135; L. Habachi, “Devotion of Tuthmosis III to His Predecessors: A Propos of a Meeting of Sesostris I with his Courtiers”, *Mélanges G. Mokhtar* I, BdE 97/1 (1985), 358–359, pl. IV (c); Fr. Le. Saout *et al.*, “Le Moyen Empire à Karnak: varia 1”, *CahKarn* VIII (1985), 307–308, 319 and pl. VI.

### Doc. n° 12

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

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

#### Texts:

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



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

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

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

### Doc. n° 13

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

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

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



**Senwosret II:****Doc. n° 14**

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

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

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



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

**Senwosret III:****Doc. n° 15**

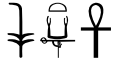
Deir el-Bahari, a granite stela of Senwosret III. The Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 38655). (Fig. 9)

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

The anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the right hand and the *maat*-feather in the other.

**Texts:**

Above the royal-*ka* on both sides:



*k3-nsw.t ʿnh*

*The living ka of the king.*




Fig. 9 After Naville, *Deir el-Bahari I*, pl. XXIV. (Doc. 15)

**Bibliography:** E. Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, I, MEEF XVIII (London: Egyptian Exploration Fund, 1907), 58–9, pl. XXIV; III, pl. XV; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 391; D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari*, vol. 1, *Architektur und Deutung*, AVDAIK 8 (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1974), 34, 94 (3); R.D. Delia, *A Study of the Reign of Senwosret III*, Ph.D. Thesis (New York: Columbia University, 1980), 134–5; K. El-Enany, “Le saint thébain Montouhotep-Nebhépetrê”, *BIFAO* 103 (2003), 169 (doc. 1); E. Hirsch, *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme der 12. Dynastie. Untersuchungen zu den Göttertempeln im Alten Ägypten* (Berlin: Achet Verlag, 2004), 315–7 (Dok. 211); K. El-Enany, “Des pharaons inoubliables. Regard sur la postérité des souverains illustres du Moyen Empire”, *EAO* 74 (2014), 4 and fig. 1.

**Doc. n° 16**

Temple of Medamoud, Middle Kingdom. Decorated *sed*-portal, left side of the upper register, fragments of block n° 31 (inv. 3091 and 2934). The Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 38655).

Senwosret III worships a deity?. The standard *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff in the left hand, while holding a feather and the *ʿnh*-sign in the other. The remaining part of the *serekh* held by the royal-*ka*  indicates that the scene belongs to Senwosret III.

**Bibliography:** F. Bisson de la Roque, J.J. Clère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Médamoud* (1927), FIFAO 5 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1928), 96–7 and fig. 71, 128 (431), pl. VII; PM V, 145; Delia, *Senwosret III*, 137; K.A. Bard, *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, (London/New York: Routledge, 1999), 573.

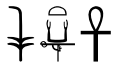
### Doc. n° 17

Temple of Medamoud. Decorated *sed*-portal, Left side of the lower register, fragments of block n° 71 (inv. 3836, 3458, 2753), block n° 98 (inv. 3876), block n° 69 (inv. 3838). The Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 56497). (Reconstructed reliefs).

Senwosret III worships Montu. The standard *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand, while holding a feather and the *ʿnh*-sign in the opposite. The two arms of the *ka* embrace the king's *serekh*.

#### Texts:

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



*k3-nsw.t ʿnh*

*The living ka of the king.*

**Bibliography:** Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud* (1929), 52 and fig. 42; Bisson de la Roque, *Médamoud* (1930), pl. IX; Hirsch, *Kultpolitik und Tempelbauprogramme*, 319-22 (Dok. 218).

### Doc. n° 18

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

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

#### Texts:

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



*hnt db3.t*

*Foremost of the robing house.*

**Bibliography:** J. Wegner, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos*, PPYE 8 (New Haven, Connecticut: Peabody Museum of Natural History; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2007), 181 and fig 76 (SA.306, SA.1631), 184.

### *Amenemhat III:*

#### Doc. n° 19

Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, lintel of the door to the Central Chapel towards the vestibule, *in situ*. (Fig. 10)

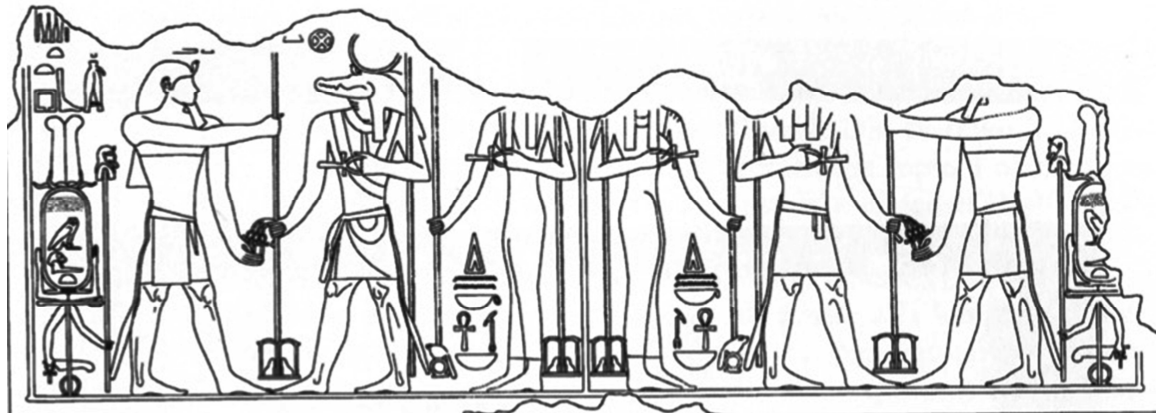


Fig. 10 After Bresciani, “Les Temples de Medinet Madi”, in SDAIK 16, 63 and fig. 5. (Doc. 19)

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

#### Texts:

Above the Royal-ka:



[ . . . ] hnt db3.t

[. . .] foremost of the robing house.

**Bibliography:** A. Badawy, *The First Intermediate Period, the Middle Kingdom, and the Second Intermediate Period* (Berkeley: University of California, 1966), 75; E. Bresciani, “Les Temples de Medinet Madi passé et future d’une exploration archéologique dans le Fayum”, in *Die ihr vorbeigehen werdet . . . Wenn Gräber, Tempel und Statuen Sprechen: Gedenkschrift für Prof. Dr. Sayed Tawfik Ahmed*, edited by U. Rössler-Köhler, T. Tawfik, SDAIK 16 (Berlin/New York: Walter de

Gruyter, 2009), 63 and fig. 5; E. Bresciani, A. Giammarusti, *I Templi di Medinet Madi nel Fayum* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2012), 83 and 93.

**Doc. n° 20**

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

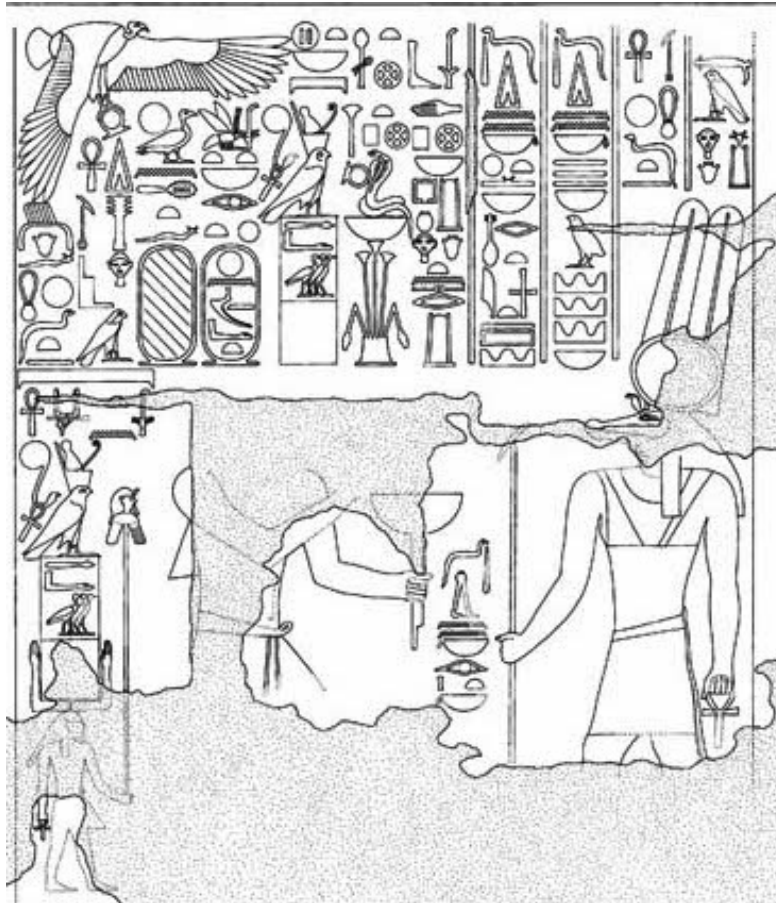


Fig. 11 After Bresciani/Giammarusti, Medinet Madi, 91. (Doc. 20)

Amenemhat III offers his eyes to Sobek-Horus of Shedyt. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand and the *ʕnh*-sign in the other.

**Texts:**

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

𓆎 𓆏 𓆑 𓆒

*k3-nsw.t ʕnh*

*The living ka of the King.*

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

**Doc. n° 21**

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

Amenemhat III offers š3t-bread to Renenutet. The undersized anthropomorphic ka holds the mdw-špsj staff adorned with the nms-headdress in the left hand and the ʕnh-sign in the other.

**Texts:**

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



k3-nsw.t ʕnh

*The living ka of the King.*

II. Above the pt-sign:



dj ʕnh dd hnʕ k3=f 3wt-jb=f dt

*Given life and stability together with his ka and happiness forever.*

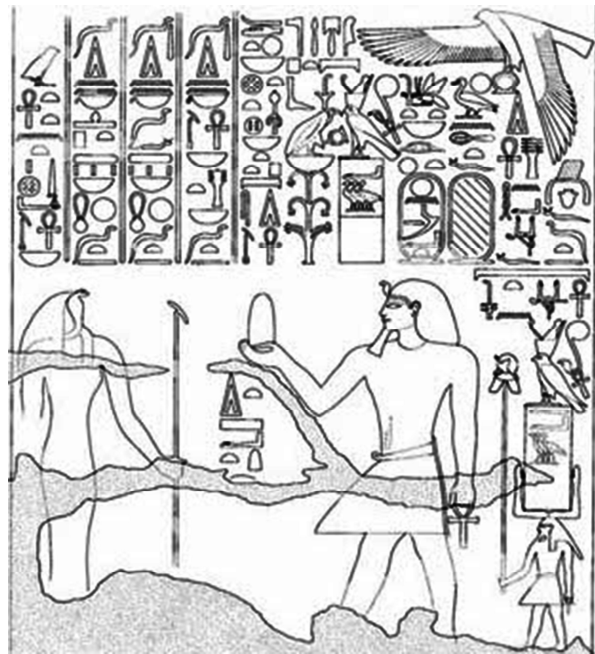


Fig. 12 After Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 95. (Doc. 21)

**Bibliography:** Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 95 and 103.

**Doc. n° 22**

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

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

**Texts:**

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



k3-nsw.t ʕnh

*The living ka of the King.*

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

**Doc. n° 23**

Temple (A) of Renenutet at Medinet Madi, eastern wall of the Niche (C3), *in situ*.

The King, whose figure is destroyed, is before Sobek-Horus of Shedyt. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* holds the *mdw-špsj* staff adorned with the *nms*-headdress in the left hand and the  $\zeta nh$ -sign in the other.

**Texts:**

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



*k3*-[*nsw.t*]  $\zeta nh$

*The living ka of the [King].*

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

**Tables**

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

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

<i>Dating</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Title of the Scene</i>	<i>Accompanied Deities</i>
Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II	Deir el-Bahari, outer wall of the Sanctuary (doc. 1)	Sailing in the royal bark	N/A
Senwosret I	Karnak, the Middle Kingdom court, portico of the facade (doc. 4)	The king sitting in his kiosk	N/A
	Karnak, the Middle Kingdom court, portico of the facade (doc. 5)	Sailing in the royal bark	Ithyphallic Amun
	Karnak, White Chapel, doorway—two reliefs (doc. 7)	The king is being embraced by the deity	Amun-kamutef
	Karnak, White Chapel, north side (doc. 9)	The king is being embraced by the deity	Amun-kamutef
	Karnak, White Chapel, doorway – (doc. 11)	The king receives the $\zeta nh$ -sign from Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands	Amun lord of the thrones of the two lands, Montu, Nekhbet, Seth and Wadjet
Senwosret II	Roman station at Wadi Gawasis, Stela of Khnumhotep (doc. 14)	The king receives the $\zeta nh$ -sign	Sopdu
Senwosret III	Temple of Medamoud, Middle Kingdom. <i>Heb-Sed</i> portal, fragments of a block n° 31 (doc. 16)	The king worships a deity	N/A

	Temple of Medamoud, Middle Kingdom. <i>Heb-Sed</i> portal, fragments of a block n° 71, 98, 69, (doc. 17)	The king worships Montu	Montu
	The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos, exterior decoration of the cult building (doc. 18)	N/A	N/A
Amenemhat III–Amenemhat IV (Double scene)	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Lintel of the door to the Central Chapel towards the vestibule (doc. 19).	The two kings receiving three <i>ḥnh</i> -signs from Sobek-Horus of Shedyt	Renenutet, Sobek-Horus Shedyt

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

<i>Dating</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Title of the Scene</i>	<i>Accompanied Deities</i>
Amenemhat I	Koptos, Temple of Min, relief fragment (doc. 3).	The king before the deity	Ithyphallic Amun
Senwosret I	Karnak, White Chapel, pillars n° 7 and 8 (doc. 6)	The king offers <i>ššṯ</i> -bread	Amun-Re
Senwosret I	Karnak, White Chapel, north side, (doc. 8)	The king offers flowers	Ithyphallic Amun-Re
	Karnak, White Chapel, north side, east end scene (doc. 10)	The king erects the Chapel for Amun-Re	Amun-kamutef

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

<i>Dating</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Title of the Scene</i>	<i>Accompanied Deities</i>
Senwosret I	Karnak, court of the Ninth Pylon, bark-station of Senwosret I, northern exterior wall (doc. 12).	The king offers a heap of offerings	N/A
	Karnak, court of the Ninth Pylon, bark-station of Senwosret I, southern exterior wall (doc. 13).	The king drives four calves	Amun-kamutef?
Senwosret III (Double Scene)	Deir el-Bahari, granite stela (doc. 15)	The king present offerings	Amun-Re and the deified Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II
Amenemhat III	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 20)	The king offers his eyes to Sobek-Horus of Shedyt	Sobek-Horus of Shedyt



	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 21)	The king offers <i>šꜣt</i> -bread	Reenenutet
	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 22)	The king pours libation before the goddess	Reenenutet
	Medinet Madi, Temple (A) of Renenutet, Niche (doc. 23)	N/A	Sobek-Horus of Shedyt

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

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

### Conclusions

It is still hard to determine the reason for the distribution of the scenes of the Royal-ka within the Egyptian temple, but most probably it is based on the available space of the whole scene.<sup>12</sup> A good example of distributing the representations of the Royal-ka during the Middle Kingdom occurs in the three niches of Medinet Madi temple, in which the undersized anthropomorphic *kas* are following Amenemhat III on the eastern and western walls of the Eastern and Western niches (B, C). The iconographical absence of the Royal-ka is obvious on the Northern walls of the two Niches (B, C), likewise is the middle niche (A), which did not bear any representations of the Royal-ka. The undersized anthropomorphic *ka* is depicted on the western side of the chapel at the bark-station of Senwosret I at the court of the Ninth Pylon in Karnak (doc. 12–3), with the king driving calves on the Southern exterior walls, while consecrating offerings on the northern wall. This similarity occurs with another intriguing example from the Eightieth dynasty, the alabaster shrine at Karnak where the undersized anthropomorphic *ka* is also shown on the western part of the walls, with the same theme of the scene on the exterior Northern and Southern walls.<sup>13</sup>

The king renewed his legitimacy to rule through the vital force of the *ka* during festivals such the *Sed*-festival in the Middle Kingdom and other festivals afterwards.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The concept of choosing the locations of the Royal-ka scenes are clear on the pillars of the White Chapel at Karnak, Waitkus, *Luxortempels*, I, 321, 325.

<sup>13</sup> For Amenhotep I, see M. Pillet, “Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1921–1922)”, *ASAE* 22 (1922), 240; PM II<sup>2</sup>, 63. For Thutmosis I, see PM II<sup>2</sup>, 63; Egberts, *Meret-chest and Driving the Calves* I, 208 (B.a–XVIII.3–Ka.2); II, pl. 76.

<sup>14</sup> Bell, “Luxor Temple”, *JNES* 44, 289. An intriguing example of the rejuvenation of the king’s strength and power with his *ka* among the ceremonies the *Sed*-festival is the White Chapel of Senwosret I at Karnak, E. Blyth, *Karnak: Evolution of a Temple*, (London/New York: Routledge, 2006), 16. Another example is Doc. 1, in which the king sails toward the temple of Amun-Re as a part of the processions of the Beautiful Festival of the Valley.

The divine birth scenes of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III dating to the New Kingdom, attest to the concept of the king's birth with his *ka*, which renews the king's legitimacy to rule Egypt.<sup>15</sup> The texts accompanying the Royal-*ka* are associated with two places in the Egyptian monuments: the *pr-dw3.t* and the *db3.t*. The latter one, the *db3.t*, presumably refers to the robing house or the palace. Alternatively, many rites took place at the morning room to purify the king, including changing his clothes and preparing for the next rite. In addition, it is the place where the *kas* of the king and deities are assimilated together.<sup>16</sup>

The gesture of the *ka* is two upraised arms for protection, which is obviously associated with the role of father-deities in protecting their sons, in the same manner as Horus protecting Osiris.<sup>17</sup> During the Middle Kingdom, the Royal-*ka* appeared with the living king and his deified father to ensure this transformation (doc. 15, 19). For example on the Middle Kingdom is the granite stela (JE 38655) of Senwosret III, found at Deir el-Bahari, in which the king is followed by his *ka*, while he consecrates a heap of offerings before the deified Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II (doc. 15).<sup>18</sup> The concept of the living power of the Royal-*ka* in Ancient Egypt survived constitutively even after the monarch's death, the kings of the Middle kingdom were deified and their *kas* accompanied them during the New Kingdom, for instance, the two representations of Thutmose III at the temple of Semna West before the deified Senwosret III with his *ka*.<sup>19</sup>

The representations of the Royal-*kas* are depicted at different sites and various locations within the temple, such as the bark stations, lintels of the doorways, pillars, stelae, sanctuaries and niches. The standard *ka* appeared mostly on the monuments of the Middle Kingdom, particularly with different religious scenes, e.g. the king sails in the royal bark, receives the *ʿnh* sign from the deity or being embraced by him. The anthropomorphic and its undersized figure are portrayed with the kings in the royal

<sup>15</sup> Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 57, 65.

<sup>16</sup> H. Kees, “ $\overline{\text{K}}$  und  $\overline{\text{A}}$ ”, *RT* 36 (1914), 1–4; A.M. Blackman, “The House of the Morning”, *JEA* 5 (1918), 157; Barguet, *ASAE* 51, 211–212; Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 57; Bell, “Luxor Temple”, *JNES* 44, 280; Gabolde, *Le 'grand château d'Amon'*, 39.

<sup>17</sup> Schweitzer, *Wesen des Ka*, 25, 49; Bell, *JNES* 44, 272; Brand, *The Monuments of Seti I*, 63. The Pyramid Texts spell 356 describes the deceased father as the *ka* of Horus, and indicates the concept of the *ka* between the father-king and his successor. See Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 44.

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

<sup>19</sup> PM VII, 147 (12)–148 (23); G.A. Reisner *et al.*, *Second Cataract Forts I, Semna Kumaa* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), pl. 21 (a); Ch.C. Van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti* (San Antonio: Texas, 1982), 27–29; Bell, *JNES* 44, 261, 269; R.A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma I. The Temple of Semna*, ASE 37 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1998), 47–48, 94–95, pl. 26 (sc. 11), 49.

offering scenes before deities, e.g. the kings offers  $\text{š}^{\text{r}}\text{t}$  bread, flowers, heap of offerings, driving calves, pouring libation.<sup>20</sup>

The religious role of the Royal-ka is clearly articulated in the accompanying texts, revealing the ka’s personality, epithets and the corresponding locations. The epithet  $k\text{3}-nsw.t \text{ } ^{\text{r}}nh$  is the most common one and sometimes the text is followed with the:  $hnt \text{ } pr-dw\text{3}.t \text{ } db\text{3}.t$  “foremost of the morning house and the palace”.<sup>21</sup> The name of the Royal-ka is inscribed the most during the Middle Kingdom as  $\text{𓏏} \text{ } \text{𓏏}$  (11 scenes), in addition to other variants such as  $\text{𓏏} \text{ } \text{𓏏}$ ,  $\text{𓏏} \text{ } \text{𓏏}$  and  $\text{𓏏} \text{ } \text{𓏏}$ . The *serekh* is depicted in all the scenes held by the arms of the Royal-ka, but highly unusually, the *serekh* is replaced in one scene with the nomen cartouche of Amenemhat III and IV at Medinet Madi (doc. 19).<sup>22</sup>

The texts of the Royal-ka include the  $s\text{d}m=f$  form ( $dj=f$ ), which reveals the ability of the Royal-ka to give and grant to the king in the same manner as the deities (doc. 3, 8, 12). For instance:  $dj=f \text{ } ^{\text{r}}nh \text{ } dd \text{ } w\text{3}s$  “May he be given life, stability and dominion”. The Royal-ka apparently is not the only personified figure who appeared with the  $s\text{d}m=f$  form texts ( $dj=f$ ), other fecundity figures did, for example: the texts of the personified-*ankh* at the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192) during the reign of Amenhotep III, the texts reads as:  $dj=f \text{ } ^{\text{r}}nh \text{ } nb \text{ } \text{3}wt-jb$  “May he give all life and happiness”.<sup>23</sup> The texts of the kings and deities showed their wishes for the ka to join the pharaoh again, e.g. the texts of Amun-kamutef at the White Chapel (doc. 9) reads as:  $dj.n=(j) \text{ } k\text{3}=k \text{ } hn^{\text{c}}=k \text{ } m \text{ } hnt \text{ } k\text{3}w \text{ } ^{\text{r}}nhw$ , “(I) have given your ka with you in the foremost of the living kas”. The context of this wishing formula took place also on the king’s texts whether with the ka or not, e.g. Amenemhat III with his ka at Medinet Madi (doc. 21),  $dj \text{ } ^{\text{r}}nh \text{ } dd \text{ } hn^{\text{c}} \text{ } k\text{3}=f \text{ } \text{3}wt-jb=f \text{ } dt$  “Given life and stability together with his ka and his happiness forever”.<sup>24</sup>

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

<sup>20</sup> The rites of driving calves and offering *meret*-chests before a deity appeared mostly with the Royal-ka during the New Kingdom, see Egberts, *Meret-chest and Driving the Calves I*.

<sup>21</sup> Bell, *JNES* 44, 267, 278; El-Damaty, *GM* 169, 31.

<sup>22</sup> Thutmosis IV is represented with his ka and the Nomen cartouche at his peristyle court in the Open Air Museum at Karnak, cf. B. Letellier, “La cour à Péristyle de Thoutmosis IV à Karnak”, in *Hommage à Serge Sauneron I*, BDE 81 (1979), 57; B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore, 1991), 168.

<sup>23</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192*, OIP 102 (Chicago, 1954), 41–3; pl. 24, 26; PM I/1<sup>2</sup>, 299 (6).

<sup>24</sup> For the king’s representations without the ka at Medinet Madi temple, see Bresciani/Giammarusti, *Medinet Madi*, 76, 96–97.

of this type during the Middle Kingdom, most presumably due to the lack of the smiting scenes.<sup>25</sup>

Finally, there is a distinctive role of the Royal-*ka* in the process of transmitting legitimacy from the father-king to his successor-son. Bell noted that: “the deceased father in his tomb was the source of the power, called by the Egyptians the *Ka*”.<sup>26</sup> The vital force personified by the Royal-*ka* was essential to provide the king with the needed legitimacy to be able to rule Egypt. The Egyptians kings, therefore, were keen to portray themselves with their *kas* throughout Egyptian history.

NB: This is a corrected/reprinted version of the article that appeared in *JSSEA* vol. 48. The original is missing sections of text and images that this current version has restored. This is the complete and corrected version.

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<sup>25</sup> Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods*, 69–70; Barguet assumed that the posture of the Royal-*ka* behind the kings was equivalent to the protective role of the fan bearers following the deities, P. Barguet, *Aspects de la pensée religieuse de l'Égypte ancienne* (Fuveau: La Maison de vie, 2001), 134–135.

<sup>26</sup> Bell, *JNES* 44, 256.



# Trois colonnes mal repositionnées à l'intérieur de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak lors du remontage d'après octobre 1899<sup>1</sup>

Par Jean Revez

**Abstract:** Following the partial collapse of the northern wing of the great hypostyle hall at Karnak at the end of the 19th century CE, Georges Legrain set out bravely to reassemble the approximately eleven columns that were no longer standing, together with others that had fallen previously; this vast operation proved salutary in many respects. However, as part of the UQAM-University of Memphis mission carried out on site since 2011, we have been able to observe that two practically entire columns have been rebuilt in a wrong location, while another has been re-erected to a distance of some thirty meters from its initial place, a fact that had already been noticed by L.-A. Christopher. Based on archival photos, this article wishes to study these three misplaced columns.

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<sup>1</sup> La mission UQAM-University of Memphis est constituée des membres actuels suivants : Peter J. Brand et Jean Revez (co-directeurs) ; Emmanuel Laroze (architecte, Centre national de la recherche scientifique–CNRS), Yves Egels (photogrammétriste, IGN-ENSG) et Owen Murray (photographe ; OMM Photography), ainsi que des étudiants et étudiantes aux cycles supérieurs de l'UQAM et de l'Université de Memphis qui ont participé au travail sur le terrain et en laboratoire.

Nous tenons à remercier vivement le Ministère des antiquités égyptiennes, le Conseil suprême des antiquités et le Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (CFEETK) de leur soutien indéfectible au cours de toutes ces années de mission sur le terrain.

Nous sommes également très reconnaissants envers le Griffith Institute de l'Université d'Oxford de nous avoir envoyé des copies à haute résolution des deux photos d'archive reproduites dans les figs. 6a et 15a (avec certains gros plans présentés dans d'autres figures) et de nous avoir accordé la permission de les utiliser dans le présent article. Nous remercions également Charlie Labata pour l'accès aux archives Legrain au CFEETK.

Les déroulés à plat des colonnes reproduits dans le présent article ont été conçus et développés dans le cadre de la mission UQAM-University of Memphis par Y. Egels et E. Laroze, avec le soutien de O. Murray. Les déroulés des figures des figs. 4, 14, 20, 21, 26, 27, 29a, 29b, 31a et 31b ont été réalisés par les auxiliaires de recherche de l'UQAM (P. Poiron, C. Caron, J. Bouchard, V. Lacroix, J. Desjardins et V. Labelle). Les plans de la salle et les facsimilés de colonnes des figs. 1, 3 et 23 ont été produits par R.E. Feleg de l'Université de Memphis. Nous remercions C. Caron qui a retravaillé sur Photoshop la plupart des figures.

Sauf avis contraire, les photos de cet article ont été prises par O. Murray et sont la propriété de la Mission UQAM à Karnak/Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project.

La présente recherche a grandement bénéficié de discussions très riches menées avec P. Brand et E. Laroze. Que P. Brand soit remercié d'avoir invité l'UQAM à se joindre il y a plus de dix ans au projet d'étude sur les colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle, entreprise qui s'inscrit plus largement dans le cadre du Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, initié par l'Université de Memphis.

La présente recherche a été rendue possible grâce au généreux soutien financier du Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (CRSH), de l'UQAM, de l'Université de Memphis, de l'American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE), du Tandy Institute at Southwestern et du Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS).

Le contenu et plusieurs conclusions du présent article ont déjà fait l'objet de communications orales : à Montpellier (2018); Montréal, Le Caire, Louqsor (2019); Turin, Chicago et Toronto (2021).

**Résumé:** À la suite de l'effondrement partiel à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère de l'aile septentrionale de la grande salle hypostyle à Karnak, le directeur des travaux de l'époque G. Legrain entreprit courageusement de remonter les quelque onze colonnes écroulées, ainsi que d'autres tombées antérieurement ; cette vaste opération s'est avérée salutaire à bien des égards. Dans le cadre de la mission UQAM-University of Memphis menée sur le terrain depuis 2011, nous avons pu cependant constater que deux colonnes pratiquement entières ont été remontées au mauvais endroit, tandis qu'une autre a été redressée à une distance de quelque trente mètres de son lieu d'érection primitif, comme l'avait déjà observé L.-A. Christophe. En s'appuyant sur des photos d'archives, ce sont ces trois colonnes mal repositionnées à l'intérieur du monument que le présent article souhaite étudier.

Keywords: Karnak, Hypostyle Hall, columns, Legrain, reconstruction, mistakes, anastylosis, UQAM, University of Memphis, Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project

Mots-clés : Karnak, salle hypostyle, colonnes, Legrain, remontage, erreurs, anastylose, UQAM, Université de Memphis, Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project

## Introduction

### 1. La mission conjointe Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)-University of Memphis

Depuis 2011, dans le cadre plus large du Karnak Hypostyle Hall Project, la mission UQAM-University of Memphis a mis à contribution des techniques fondées sur la numérisation 3D et la photogrammétrie, dans le but d'étudier et de publier le décor gravé sur les 134 colonnes jadis érigées à l'intérieur de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak, dont 129 sont encore en place<sup>2</sup>.

Au fil des missions annuelles que nous avons effectuées sur le terrain, c'est toute l'anastylose des colonnes qui a considérablement progressé (notamment depuis 2018). Lors de notre mission de 2017, grâce à l'utilisation d'un drone qui a survolé pour la première fois la grande salle hypostyle à des fins scientifiques, nous avons pu non seulement relever et étudier les parties les plus élevées du monument, très difficiles d'accès par des moyens plus conventionnels, mais nous avons été en mesure aussi de répertorier sur un plan l'emplacement exact de tous les tambours et abaqes épars, rangés sur des banquettes construites à des fins d'entreposage et de conservation, dont il a été possible par la suite de faire des maquettes numériques en 3D<sup>3</sup>. Nous avons également réussi à reconstruire une colonne virtuellement, à partir des blocs épars qui la composaient, aujourd'hui dispersés sur la partie septentrionale du site de Karnak<sup>4</sup>.

Parallèlement à ce travail de restitution effectué sur des colonnes qui ne subsistent de nos jours qu'en pièces détachées, nous avons pu également identifier un nombre non négligeable de parties de colonnes, voire de colonnes entières qui se

<sup>2</sup> À ce sujet, voir récemment REVEZ 2020 ; BRAND, REVEZ 2021. De ces 134 colonnes, 5 ont complètement ou presque entièrement disparu ; 10 autres sont tronquées.

<sup>3</sup> REVEZ *et al.* 2023.

<sup>4</sup> EGELS *et al.* 2020.

dressent bel et bien aujourd’hui dans la grande salle hypostyle, mais qui ne se trouvent cependant plus à leur emplacement originel, à la suite d’erreurs de remontage d’une partie de la salle hypostyle qui s’était effondrée à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère, et même auparavant. Ce sont les résultats très prometteurs de ce travail de reconstitution architecturale et épigraphique que nous voulons rapporter ici.

## **2. Présentation générale de la grande salle hypostyle et bref historique de la décoration des colonnes**

Aménagée entre le III<sup>e</sup> pylône à l’ouest et le II<sup>e</sup> pylône à l’est, la grande salle hypostyle du temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak est constituée de 134 colonnes de grès rangées dans un espace mesurant 103 m de largeur par 52 m de longueur (fig. 1, fig. 2). L’axe central de la salle s’étend d’est en ouest et est bordé de deux rangées de six colonnes papyrifomes à ombelle ouverte mesurant plus de 20 m de hauteur, tandis que les deux ailes latérales de la salle comportent chacune 61 colonnes papyrifomes à ombelle fermée, hautes de près de 13 m. Un axe secondaire traverse la salle en son centre, du nord au sud.

La chronologie du décor des colonnes encore en place à l’intérieur de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak, telle qu’attestée par les milliers de cartouches royaux gravés sur les colonnes, s’étend sous le règne de cinq pharaons différents (Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, Ramsès II, Ramsès IV, Ramsès VI et le roi-prêtre Hérihor) (fig. 3). Cet aspect de notre étude ayant déjà fait l’objet de publications antérieures, nous ne reviendrons pas sur ce point<sup>5</sup>.

Avant d’entrer dans le vif du sujet, et dans le souci de ne pas perdre le lecteur dans la description et surtout la localisation de certains éléments du décor des colonnes dont il sera question tout au long de la présente étude, il nous paraît opportun de donner ici une brève nomenclature des différents registres formant la décoration des colonnes latérales de la moitié nord de la salle hypostyle, puisque ce sont ces dernières qui nous intéresseront au premier chef<sup>6</sup>.

Chacune des colonnes est constituée de trois scènes principales contiguës qui ornent la partie médiane des colonnes sur une circonférence d’environ 6.5 m (fig. 3, section ①). Appartenant au registre des scènes d’offrandes où le roi et certaines divinités qui lui font face s’échangent des dons (l’identité des dieux, le code vestimentaire des protagonistes et la nature des offrandes variant d’une scène à l’autre), cette section de colonne présente deux types de gravure. Les scènes qui font face à l’axe processionnel secondaire nord-sud dans l’aile septentrionale de la salle datent de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> (fig. 1) et sont gravées en champlévé (fig. 4, au centre), tandis que les deux autres scènes adjacentes, partiellement visibles depuis la voie

<sup>5</sup> REVEZ, BRAND 2012, p. 17–34; REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 254–262.

<sup>6</sup> À noter qu’à quelques exceptions près, les phases de décoration sont sensiblement les mêmes pour la moitié sud de la salle.



processionnelle nord-sud, remontent au règne de Ramsès IV (fig. 1) et sont taillées dans le relief en creux (fig. 4, sur les côtés).

Six registres horizontaux alternant bandeaux de dédicace et frises de cartouches royaux se superposent au-dessus de chacune des scènes (fig. 3, section ②). Les cinq registres inférieurs de cette section, gravés dans le relief en creux, sont tous datés de Ramsès IV. Il s'agit de bas en haut : (1) du bandeau inférieur de dédicace royale (registre RIV/1 fig. 3); (2) de la frise inférieure de cartouches verticaux surmontés d'un disque solaire flanqué de la double plume (registre RIV/2); (3) du bandeau médian de dédicace royale (registre RIV/3). Ces trois registres de textes sont gravés sur la partie supérieure du fût des colonnes. Plus haut encore, sur la partie basse des chapiteaux, on retrouve : (4) la frise médiane de cartouches verticaux surmontés du seul disque solaire (registre RIV/4); (5) et le bandeau supérieur de dédicace royale (registre RIV/5). Enfin, au sommet des chapiteaux, immédiatement sous les abaqes, Séthy I<sup>er</sup> a fait graver, uniquement dans le relief en champlévé (6), une frise de cartouches verticaux (registre SI–RII). Celle-ci a été retouchée dans le relief en creux par Ramsès II à certains endroits de la salle, au sommet de la colonne 102, par exemple, mais essentiellement sur les colonnes 74–80 longeant l'axe principal majeur est-ouest de la salle hypostyle, comme on le verra. Quant aux abaqes qui chapeautent les colonnes, ils portent, sur chacun de leurs quatre côtés, un cartouche de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> inscrit aussi dans le relief en champlévé (registre SI). Le décor taillé sur les parties inférieures des colonnes (soit au-dessous des scènes principales du registre médian), sur lequel nous ne nous attarderons pas dans le cadre de cet article, date principalement de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, Ramsès II, Ramsès IV et Ramsès VI, pour la moitié nord de la grande salle hypostyle<sup>7</sup> (fig. 3, section ③).

### 3. Les erreurs de remontage

#### 3.1. La colonne 133 à la place de la colonne 119

En marge de son ouvrage consacré aux divinités des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle paru en 1955 à l'IFAO, Louis-André Christophe avait porté une attention particulière à la qualité des remontages effectués par Georges Legrain, à la suite de la catastrophe du 3 octobre 1899 qui avait entraîné l'écroulement d'une partie substantielle de la moitié nord de la grande salle<sup>8</sup>. Legrain avait non seulement fait reconstruire les 11 colonnes qui s'étaient effondrées dans le sillage de ce désastre, mais il en avait profité aussi pour en faire remonter sept autres qui s'étaient écroulées à une date antérieure (fig. 5). Parmi ces dernières, Legrain indique dans son plan que la colonne 66 était tombée avant 1899. Généralement cataloguée sous le numéro 133 (fig. 1), selon le système de numérotation adopté par Porter & Moss<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup>REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 261–262.

<sup>8</sup>CHRISTOPHE 1955, p. 4–5. Les principales publications abordant la question de la reconstruction des colonnes de la salle sont citées dans RONDOT 1997, p. 5–6, note 11. Une belle synthèse de ces travaux est proposée par TRAUNECKER, GOLVIN 2004, p. 153–177.


<sup>9</sup>PM II (1929) 1972, pl. X.

puis H.H. Nelson,<sup>10</sup> - qui fait généralement consensus et que nous utilisons dans le présent article -, cette colonne est visible à l'avant-plan du cliché n° 80 de Béchard datant d'avant 1878<sup>11</sup> (fig. 6a). On la voit gisante à l'emplacement où elle aurait dû s'élever à l'origine, dans un espace laissé aujourd'hui vacant immédiatement à l'est de la colonne 132 qui se tient toujours debout à l'heure actuelle, près de l'angle nord-est de la salle (fig. 1, fig. 2, et fig. 6b).

Dans son livre, L.-A. Christophe mentionne de manière laconique que « la colonne 133 a été remontée à la place de la colonne 119 » (voir fig. 1 et fig. 2 pour l'emplacement de cette colonne)<sup>12</sup>. Le fait que ce constat d'une importance primordiale n'ait pas fait l'objet d'un développement plus élaboré de la part de l'auteur a de quoi surprendre, mais explique vraisemblablement pourquoi cette erreur de remontage signalée par Christophe est passée largement inaperçue dans la littérature scientifique, pourtant abondante, qui traite de la reconstruction des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle<sup>13</sup>.

Quoi qu'il en soit, plusieurs indices permettent de corroborer l'observation de Christophe. Sur le cliché de Béchard (fig. 6a, fig. 7a pour un gros plan), certaines inscriptions hiéroglyphiques que l'on peut lire sur la colonne renversée au premier plan permettent d'établir avec certitude qu'il s'agit bien de la même colonne qui se dresse de nos jours à l'emplacement numéroté 119. Ainsi, la partie décorée du demitambour de la colonne, sur lequel on voit un ouvrier égyptien s'appuyer, laisse très nettement apparaître, dans l'une des deux scènes principales gravées par Ramsès IV, la couronne caractéristique à quatre plumes du dieu Onouris identifié sur l'image par la légende de trois colonnes de textes qui accompagne la figure divine (fig. 7a).



Or, à l'heure actuelle, cette divinité n'est représentée nulle part ailleurs dans la salle hypostyle que sur la colonne 119 érigée dans la partie occidentale de l'aile nord du monument (fig. 7b). D'après la lecture faite par R. Lepsius de la légende accompagnant le dieu qui était à son époque dans un meilleur état de conservation qu'aujourd'hui, il faut restituer le nom de la divinité en Onouris-Chou-Rê , figure qui est précédée dans la scène par la déesse Tefnout<sup>14</sup>.

Pour en revenir à la question de la localisation de la colonne renversée sur le cliché Béchard (fig. 6a), elle ne laisse planer aucun doute. Derrière la colonne gisant

<sup>10</sup> NELSON 1941, pl. III.

<sup>11</sup> Cette figure était déjà reproduite dans CHRISTOPHE 1955, pl. VI. Sur Béchard, voir AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 374–375.

<sup>12</sup> CHRISTOPHE 1955, p. 31, note 1; voir aussi, p. 4 et p. 28, note 1.

<sup>13</sup> Cette erreur n'est à notre connaissance pas signalée dans AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 123–175 (bien que les auteurs durent en être conscients), ni dans TRAUNECKER, GOLVIN 2004.

<sup>14</sup> LD III, 221e et LD III *Text*, p. 17. À propos d'Onouris-Chou-Rê dans ce texte, CHRISTOPHE 1957, p. 37–39.

sur le sol, on remarque en effet une trouée faite par un amas de tambours écroulés de longue date, que Lepsius signale déjà au milieu du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle dans le plan qu'il établit de la salle, où les colonnes 119-124 sont absentes<sup>15</sup>; Legrain intègre ce constat dans son propre plan plusieurs décennies plus tard<sup>16</sup>. La photo de Béchard montre aussi clairement que la base de la colonne abattue devait être à l'origine située immédiatement à l'est de la colonne 132. Cette dernière colonne peut être identifiée sur les deux photos par son décor, notamment d'après la posture caractéristique du pharaon Ramsès IV tenant entre ses mains un bouquet de fleurs qu'il tend à Amon-Rê et les cinq colonnes de texte qui servent de légende à cette scène (fig. 6a–6b et fig. 8a–8b pour un gros plan). Dernier indice crucial qui permet de déterminer le point de vue à partir duquel les deux photos ont été prises : la présence de la face orientale du deuxième pylône à l'arrière-plan (fig. 6a–6b), ainsi que les inscriptions de la face est de la deuxième architrave située à l'est du pylône que l'on ne peut voir qu'en agrandissant les images (fig. 9 pour le cliché Béchard), qui prouve que la photo de Béchard a été prise depuis le III<sup>e</sup> pylône, en direction ouest<sup>17</sup>. À contrario, si l'on se place à proximité de la colonne 119 à l'endroit où elle se dresse aujourd'hui, c'est le III<sup>e</sup> pylône, avec ses niches d'encastrement caractéristiques servant à l'origine à loger les mâts à oriflammes, qui s'élève en arrière-fond, et non pas le II<sup>e</sup> pylône (fig. 10).

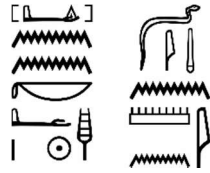
Nous avons trouvé un autre cliché ancien provenant des archives Legrain, qui permet de confirmer que la colonne renversée 133 du cliché Béchard et la colonne 119 actuellement dressée dans la salle hypostyle ne sont pas deux entités architecturales distinctes, mais représentent au contraire une seule et même colonne. Sur cette photo, numérotée CFEETK 26894\_4/62<sup>18</sup> (fig. 11), la colonne couchée 133 y apparaît de nouveau, vue cette fois sous un angle différent que dans le cliché Béchard. Pour fin de localisation, on reconnaît encore la colonne 132 immédiatement à côté de la colonne écroulée ; derrière le garçon, qui se tient debout à droite de la photo, se dresse la face interne du mur nord de la salle hypostyle. Sur le tambour supérieur de la colonne qui bénéficie d'un éclairage rasant permettant de déchiffrer sans difficulté l'inscription hiéroglyphique qui y est gravée, on peut lire les deux colonnes de texte suivantes, immédiatement à gauche des deux cartouches de Ramsès IV surmontés de l'aile appartenant à la figure de l'Horus de Behedet (fig. 11):

<sup>15</sup> LD III *Text*, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Voir les « colonnes tombées d'ancienne date » sur une copie d'un plan établi par Legrain en 1898–1899. LEGRAIN 1900, p. 123 et reproduit dans AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 133, fig. 8.

<sup>17</sup> RONDOT 1997, pl. 12, face n° 24. Pour la localisation de cette face, voir *ibid*, le plan de la salle en pl. 1.

<sup>18</sup> AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 59, 148. Nous remercions le CFEETK de nous avoir donné la version numérique de toutes les archives Legrain.




Or, ce texte est précisément celui qui est attesté dans l'une des deux scènes principales gravées par Ramsès IV sur la colonne 119, qui s'élève à présent dans la partie orientale de la salle (fig. 12).

Aussi singulier soit-il, il est donc certain que la colonne 119 est localisée aujourd'hui à quelque trente mètres de son lieu primitif d'érection.

### 3.2. Les scènes principales des colonnes 102 et 103 interverties

Ce que n'avait pas signalé Christophe, et qui d'après nos connaissances n'a jamais été rapporté par ailleurs, est le fait que les colonnes 102 et 103 (voir fig. 1 et fig. 2 pour l'emplacement actuel de ces colonnes), qui s'étaient écroulées lors de la catastrophe d'octobre 1899<sup>19</sup>, ont également été mal positionnées lors de leur remontage par Legrain.

En effet, sur une photo publiée par l'édition Photoglob et accompagnée de la légende 'Gr. Temple, la Colonne penchée' présentant l'état de l'allée processionnelle nord de la salle autour de 1890 (Cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 tirée des archives du Griffith Institute de l'Université d'Oxford)<sup>20</sup>, soit quelques années avant la catastrophe de 1899, on voit au premier plan, dans la partie gauche du cliché, une colonne où figure le dieu Khonsou (fig. 13a, pour un gros plan), le disque lunaire sur la tête, se tenant debout derrière Amon coiffé de la couronne à double plume. Plusieurs indices permettent de déterminer qu'il s'agit là d'une scène gravée par Ramsès IV sur la colonne 103 (fig. 1 et 2, et fig. 13b) qui se dresse aujourd'hui dans la partie nord de l'axe processionnel secondaire de la salle, orienté nord-sud, en conformité avec le cours du Nil. Ainsi, tant sur le cliché ancien que sur une photo actuelle de la colonne, les visages et les membres des deux divinités (ainsi que ceux du roi immédiatement à leur droite) portent des marques de martelage identiques (fig. 13a et fig. 13b) faites à une époque tardive de l'histoire du temple où les iconoclastes défiguraient les personnages humains et divins au moyen d'outils tranchants<sup>21</sup> ; en l'occurrence, le martelage touche même le nom du dieu Khonsou, gravé immédiatement au-dessus de la figure divine; le texte en trois colonnes identifiant le dieu sur les deux photos est d'ailleurs en tout point semblable. Autre similitude entre les deux photos : la courbure caractéristique du dos et les traces de martelage abîmant la tête du signe hiéroglyphique du canard qui entre dans la composition du titre  'fils de Rê' gravé au bas de la colonne dans le bandeau de dédicace de Ramsès II.

<sup>19</sup> Il s'agit de la col. 36 qui figure dans le plan de Legrain de 1898–1899. LEGRAIN 1900, p. 123 et reproduit dans AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 133, fig. 8.

<sup>20</sup> Sur l'architecte et égyptologue Somers Clarke, WARNER 2012.

<sup>21</sup> Sur l'iconoclasme dans les temples égyptiens à l'époque post-pharaonique, FRANKFURTER 2008 ; KRISTENSEN 2009.

Bien que très riches à maints égards quant aux enseignements que l'on peut tirer de la comparaison entre ces deux photos séparées dans le temps par plus d'un siècle<sup>22</sup>, ce qui retiendra tout d'abord notre attention est la différence que l'on peut constater d'un cliché à l'autre dans la position du cartouche royal de Ramsès IV. Dans la photo datant du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, le nom du souverain, gravé à l'intérieur du bandeau de dédicace qui surmonte la scène (fig. 3, registre RIV/1, fig. 13a), est décalé légèrement vers la droite par rapport à la figure du dieu Khonsou; sur la photo prise aujourd'hui, le cartouche du roi est taillé dans le prolongement direct de la figure du dieu, soit immédiatement au-dessus d'elle (fig. 13b).

On pourrait *a priori* mettre cette incongruité sur le compte d'une erreur faite au moment du remontage moderne de la colonne, où le bloc contenant le cartouche de Ramsès IV aurait été incorrectement orienté par rapport à l'axe vertical de la colonne. Compte tenu de l'immensité de la tâche que s'était fixé G. Legrain en décidant de reconstruire le nord de la salle hypostyle, une maladresse de ce type pourrait aisément s'expliquer, et de fait, le décor somme toute très stéréotypé et redondant des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle a en effet occasionné de fausses manœuvres de réassemblage à l'époque contemporaine, que l'on peut aujourd'hui déceler à travers d'autres exemples<sup>23</sup>.

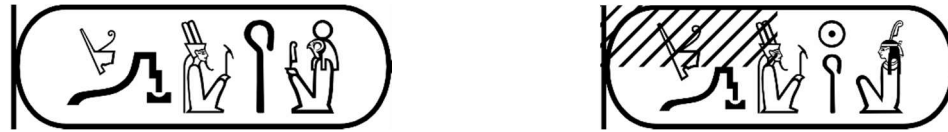
En fait, si on y regarde de plus près, on remarque que le *prenom* du souverain ramesside comporte des variantes orthographiques différentes, d'une photo à l'autre. En effet, le signe hiéroglyphique du disque solaire Rê, qui entre dans la composition du nom *Heqa-Maât-Rê Setep-en-Amon* de Ramsès IV, est placé directement sur la tête du dieu solaire hiéracocéphale dans le texte de la colonne figurant dans la photo d'archive (fig. 13a), tandis que ce même disque solaire figure aujourd'hui au-dessus du signe Heqa, dans le deuxième cadrat du cartouche (fig. 13b).

À titre comparatif, voici les deux variantes du cartouche de Ramsès IV, telles qu'elles apparaissent sur les deux photos :

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<sup>22</sup> Par exemple, l'état de conservation assez exemplaire de la colonne sur le cliché ancien permet de reconstituer le décor d'origine, là où les anciens tambours de colonne font place aujourd'hui à des blocs de restauration ou à des zones recouvertes de ciment. L'ancienne photo montre également que l'accumulation de sable à l'intérieur de la salle avait entraîné au fil des siècles l'enfouissement de la base de la colonne ; dans la photo récente, le niveau du sol antique est de nouveau atteint, à la suite du nettoyage de la salle.

<sup>23</sup> On en veut pour preuve l'écart qui existe entre les deux blocs jointifs sur les rebords desquels le cartouche royal de Ramsès IV a été gravé dans le bandeau de dédicace immédiatement situé sous le chapiteau de la col. 104 (registre RIV/3). Par ailleurs, dans le bandeau supérieur (registre RIV/5) de cette même colonne, le signe *ankh* qui sert généralement de séparateur de texte n'est pas placé face à l'axe processionnel nord de la salle, comme c'est généralement le cas partout ailleurs dans la partie septentrionale de la salle.



Colonne d'origine (cliché ancien)      Colonne remontée (photo récente)  
 Fig. A : cartouches de Ramsès IV tels qu'orthographiés sur les deux photos (ancienne et nouvelle) du registre RIV/1 de la même colonne

En d'autres termes, nous ne sommes plus dans la situation où un bloc de colonne a été logé au bon endroit, mais posé incorrectement, occasionnant de ce fait un léger déplacement du tambour sur l'axe central de la colonne ; nous sommes plutôt dans le cas de figure d'un demi-tambour qui n'a pas du tout sa place dans cette section de la colonne 103. À la décharge de ceux qui ont commis l'erreur de substituer un bloc à un autre est le fait que le texte dans le bandeau de dédicace des deux tambours est à cet endroit précis similaire, à l'exception près de la disparité que nous venons de signaler à propos du cartouche de Ramsès IV.

Un autre exemple de remplacement erroné d'un bloc pour un autre est attesté ailleurs sur cette même colonne 103, ce qui prouve que l'erreur que nous venons de relever n'est pas unique. Ainsi, sur le côté sud de la colonne, dans une partie très endommagée du décor, on peut apercevoir, dans la partie supérieure d'une des deux scènes datant de Ramsès IV, le sommet de la coiffe à deux plumes qui constitue l'attribut par excellence du dieu Amon; or, dans la partie inférieure de la même scène, le même personnage est vêtu du *chendjyt*, le pagne que porte traditionnellement le roi (fig. 14). L'erreur ne saute pas immédiatement aux yeux, car les deux extrémités (supérieure et inférieure) de la scène du registre médian de la colonne sont séparées par un bloc de restauration moderne qui est anépigraphé<sup>24</sup>.

Mais revenons-en à la comparaison des deux images précédentes. En observant de plus près l'arrière-plan représenté dans les deux clichés (ancien et moderne) de cette même colonne 103, on remarque de manière troublante une incongruité qui démontre que cette dernière n'est carrément pas positionnée au bon endroit aujourd'hui. En effet, sur la photo moderne, on repère très aisément les claustras qui traversent la partie centrale de la grande salle hypostyle, d'ouest en est (fig. 15b). Ces cloisons ajourées servaient à laisser filtrer la lumière dans la partie la plus élevée du monument, le long de l'axe processionnel principal du monument constitué par les deux rangées de six colonnes monumentales. Or, dans la photo plus ancienne, les claustras n'apparaissent pas du tout; une colonne isolée (col. 129, voir fig. 1 et fig. 2) se dresse à leur place (fig. 15a). On voit par ailleurs une colonne penchée dont l'équilibre précaire ne repose que sur le contact de l'architrave située juste en face. Or la colonne penchée de la partie nord de l'axe processionnel

<sup>24</sup> Erreur décelée par Nelson dans ses dessins non publiés de la scène détenus par l'Oriental Institute de Chicago.

secondaire nord-sud est bien connue par le biais de plusieurs clichés; il s'agit de la colonne 112<sup>25</sup>.

Force est de constater que la disparité entre les arrière-plans respectifs des deux photographies s'explique par le point de vue opposé d'où chacune de ces deux photos a été prise. Dans le cas de la photo récente (fig. 15b, plan), le cliché a été pris à partir d'un point situé au nord de la salle, à proximité du portail septentrional du monument, dans le prolongement de l'axe de l'allée processionnelle secondaire orientée sud-nord. Dans ce cas-ci, l'arrière-plan de la photo est situé plus au sud par rapport à la position du photographe. Dans le cas de la photo ancienne, c'est exactement la situation inverse qui se produit : la photo a été prise à partir d'un point situé non loin de la partie centrale de l'axe processionnel nord-sud ; le regard se porte alors vers le nord, en direction opposée par rapport à l'image précédente (fig. 15a, plan).

Une seule conclusion possible s'impose. La colonne d'origine avant la catastrophe de 1899 se dressait immédiatement à l'ouest de l'allée processionnelle (soit au niveau de l'emplacement actuel de la colonne 102), tandis que la colonne remontée au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle se dresse aujourd'hui de manière erronée en exacte symétrie de l'autre côté de ce même axe, sur son flanc est (colonne 103).

La comparaison du cliché ancien Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 (fig. 15a) avec une autre photo prise récemment (fig. 16) démontre sans l'ombre d'un doute que la colonne 103 devrait normalement être érigée là où se trouve maintenant la colonne 102. Sur la photo d'archive, on distingue très nettement la déesse Sekhmet gravée sur la colonne située en biais (fig. 17a), immédiatement dans le prolongement de la colonne où figurent Khonsou et Amon. La colonne où la déesse léonine est représentée est la colonne 110 (fig. 17b) qui se tient debout à l'heure actuelle du côté ouest de l'axe processionnel secondaire (fig. 1 et 2). Or, aujourd'hui, sur la colonne 102 située devant celle où la déesse Sekhmet est représentée, ce n'est plus Khonsou et Amon que l'on voit comme dans le cliché ancien, mais bien Ramsès IV faisant une offrande au dieu Amon (fig. 17b).

Maintenant, si le registre médian de la colonne 103 d'aujourd'hui est censé se trouver à l'endroit où a été reconstruite la colonne 102, l'inverse est-il vrai? En d'autres termes, la colonne 102 aurait-elle dû être remontée à l'emplacement actuel de la colonne 103? C'est bien le constat logique auquel on aboutit lorsqu'on met à nouveau en parallèle le cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 (fig. 18a) avec la photo récente précédemment exploitée (fig. 18b).

Sur la photo ancienne, on distingue la silhouette de la déesse Amonet arborant la couronne rouge qui la caractérise, sur la colonne qui est symétriquement localisée de l'autre côté de l'axe processionnel, en face de la scène où apparaissent Khonsou et Amon (fig. 19a). Au-dessus d'Amonet, on peut lire la légende suivante, taillée dans le relief en creux :

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<sup>25</sup> AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 143–144, n. 157 pour une liste de ces clichés anciens où figure cette colonne (numérotée 45 par Legrain).



Immédiatement à gauche de la silhouette de la déesse, on distingue également sur la photo le disque lunaire que porte le dieu Khonsou, gravé sous le règne de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> en champlevé, juste au-dessus d'une profonde entaille faite dans le tambour de colonne. Or, la figure d'Amonet, le texte qui l'accompagne, la coiffe du dieu Khonsou, ainsi que les traces de l'échancrure (colmatée aujourd'hui à l'aide de mortier) sont des éléments du décor que l'on retrouve effectivement à l'heure actuelle (fig. 19b), de l'autre côté de l'axe processionnel, sur la colonne 102.

Ainsi, la mise à contribution du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 nous permet de conclure que les colonnes 102 et 103, ou du moins est-il important de le préciser, les registres médians de ces deux colonnes comportant les scènes principales doivent être intervertis et qu'il y a eu permutation de l'un pour l'autre au moment de les remonter, il y a de cela 120 ans environ.

À ce stade-ci, il est intéressant de noter, qu'avant même l'exploitation du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 à des fins comparatives, nous avons détecté certaines anomalies sur les colonnes 102 et 103 qui nous laissaient suspecter qu'il y avait des erreurs avec l'orientation des scènes dans leur registre médian. En effet, sur ces deux colonnes, dans les scènes gravées en champlevé sous Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, le pharaon regarde vers le nord, en direction du portail d'entrée le plus proche, tandis que les divinités (Amon et Khonsou sur la colonne 102 (fig. 20) et une déesse sur la colonne 103 dont il ne subsiste que la coiffe de vautour sur la tête (fig. 21)) ont le corps tourné et les yeux braqués vers le centre de la salle, situé plus au sud (fig. 1 pour l'orientation des scènes).

Or, sur le plan théologique, les dieux sont normalement perçus comme les résidents du temple qui, en tant qu'hôtes obligeants, sont censé exhorte leur invité, en l'occurrence le pharaon, à pénétrer à l'intérieur de leur demeure. Ainsi donc, sur les scènes taillées à l'époque de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> dans l'aile nord de la salle hypostyle (à noter que ce souverain n'a laissé aucune trace de décor sur les colonnes dans la moitié sud du monument), ce sont normalement les dieux qui ont le regard tourné vers l'extérieur (soit vers le nord), tandis que la figure du roi pénétrant dans les lieux est systématiquement orientée vers le point central du monument, soit dans le cas qui nous concerne ici, en direction du sud.

Comme le démontre bien le plan de la figure 1 (voir la direction des flèches pour l'orientation des scènes), cette règle ne souffre d'aucune exception, à part quelques cas bien identifiables : les colonnes 102 et 103, dont il vient d'être question; la colonne 119 (que nous avons traitée dans la précédente section) ; et la colonne 96. Dans ce dernier cas, un décalage important de 180 degrés survenu au moment du remontage de cette colonne explique que la scène de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> fait de



manière erronée aujourd'hui face à l'est (fig. 22)<sup>26</sup>, en direction du troisième pylône, alors que chacune des scènes uniques que ce pharaon fit graver sur les colonnes dans cette partie de la salle sont partout ailleurs orientées dans le sens inverse, face à l'axe processionnel nord-sud.

Bref, sans même l'apport des archives photographiques du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, l'orientation inversée des scènes principales du registre médian des colonnes 102 et 103 (en plus des deux autres—les col. 119 et 96 susmentionnées), laissait supposer des erreurs commises au moment du réassemblage moderne des blocs.

Avant de clore cette section, il serait bon de noter que les abaqes qui coiffent les chapiteaux des colonnes 102 et 103 sont probablement à intervertir également, dans la mesure où l'orientation des cartouches de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, qui ont été gravés sur la face des abaqes qui donnent directement sur l'axe processionnel (fig. 3, registre SI), est à contresens des cartouches taillés au même endroit sur toutes les autres colonnes axiales de cette partie du monument (voir fig. 23 pour le plan et fig. 24).



### 3.3. L'absence de blocs d'origine dans la moitié supérieure des colonnes 102 et 103

De fait, si l'on poursuit la comparaison de l'état ancien et présent de la colonne 102 à son emplacement actuel, force est de constater que toute la partie supérieure de cette colonne, située dans le prolongement supérieur de la figure d'Amonet gravée dans la scène principale du fût, n'est pas à sa place.

Ainsi, le cliché ancien Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 témoigne d'un décor originel très bien préservé sur l'entièreté de la colonne, du moins au niveau des assises 3 à 7 et des registres de décoration RIV/1 à RIV/4 visibles sur le cliché (fig. 25, fig. 28a–28b).

- Sur une photo de l'état actuel de la même colonne, les deux assises 6 et 7 (où l'on s'attendrait à voir les registres RIV/1 et RIV/2) posées immédiatement au-dessus de la scène principale de la colonne qui contient la figure divine d'Amonet sont formées de blocs de restauration moderne (fig. 26, fig. 29b).

- La césure entre les deux assises 5 et 6 sur lesquels la frise inférieure de cartouches verticaux de Ramsès IV (registre RIV/2) est gravée ne se trouve pas au même endroit, d'une photo à l'autre. Sur la colonne d'origine, la rupture se faisait au niveau de la base des plumes et du disque solaire, située au sommet du cartouche (fig. 28a). Sur la colonne d'aujourd'hui, la ligne de démarcation entre les deux assises est située à l'intérieur même des cartouches royaux (fig. 29a).

- Dans le bandeau médian de dédicace gravé immédiatement sous le galbe du chapiteau (assise 4, registre RIV/3), le début du cartouche d'origine de Ramsès IV présente la graphie  sur la photo ancienne (fig. 28a), tandis qu'aujourd'hui, cette même section du nom royal est orthographiée avec un  (fig. 29a). Il est à noter qu'à l'intérieur du registre RIV/3 de toutes les colonnes axiales encore préservées dans la partie nord de la salle hypostyle, le cartouche de Ramsès IV sur

<sup>26</sup> NELSON 1941, pl. III.

la colonne 102 est le seul à avoir l'épithète *Setep-en* orthographiée avec le signe hiéroglyphe *n* de la vague (𓏏) au lieu du signe *n* de la couronne (𓏏), ce qui, comme on le verra plus loin, constitue une anomalie<sup>27</sup>.

- La frise supérieure de cartouches verticaux de Ramsès IV (assise 3, registre RIV/4) présente la variante longue des noms royaux sur la colonne d'origine, soit *Heqa-Maât-Rê Setep-en-Amon* et *Ra-mes-ses mery Amon Maâty* (fig. 28a) :



Fig. B : version longue des cartouches de Ramsès IV

Aujourd'hui, ce sont les versions courtes de ces cartouches qui sont gravées sur la colonne 102, en l'occurrence, *Heqa Maât-Rê* et *Ra-mes-ses* (fig. 29a) :

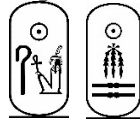


Fig. C : version courte des cartouches de Ramsès IV

Une fois de plus, avant même la comparaison des photos ancienne et nouvelle de la colonne 102, la détection de nombreuses anomalies dans la section supérieure de cette colonne nous avait aiguillés sur le caractère corrompu de son décor, au niveau des singularités dans la graphie du nom de Ramsès IV que l'on ne retrouve généralement pas, voire jamais, sur les autres colonnes axiales menant à la porte nord de la salle hypostyle. En effet, sur la colonne 102, la tendance générale, comme on l'a vu, est de présenter la version courte du nom royal, alors que l'emplacement privilégié de ces cartouches exposés le long de l'axe processionnel menant vers le nord supposerait qu'on veuille normalement plutôt y exhiber la version longue<sup>28</sup>.

De la même manière, dans le cas de la colonne 103, si l'on compare de façon analogue la photo d'archive Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 (fig. 25) avec une photo actuelle de la colonne à son emplacement aujourd'hui (fig. 27), on remarque que les registres ne correspondent pas non plus d'une image à l'autre. En effet, la mise en relation, de bas en haut, de chacune des subdivisions de la colonne sur les deux photographies donne ceci :

- Bandeau inférieur de Ramsès IV (assise 7, registre RIV/1, immédiatement au-dessus de la scène principale) : Outre la différence entre les deux cartouches du *prenom* de Ramsès IV (cf. supra, fig. A), l'épithète qui suit le second cartouche du roi (son *nomen*) est « [l'aimé] 𓏏 d'Amon-Rê » sur la photo ancienne (fig. 25), mais « l'aimé de 𓏏 i Mout, l'œil de Rê » sur la photo récente (fig. 27).

- Frise inférieure de cartouches verticaux de Ramsès IV (registre RIV/2) : la césure entre les deux assises 5 et 6 formant cette frise n'est pas la même sur les deux

<sup>27</sup> REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 266–267.

<sup>28</sup> Sur les variantes orthographiques des cartouches royaux de Ramsès IV le long de l'axe nord-sud de Karnak, G. DEMBITZ 2017.

photos. Sur la photographie ancienne (fig. 30b), la partie inférieure des doubles plumes et du disque solaire qui surmontent les cartouches font partie intégrante des blocs de l'assise 6 de cette frise, alors que sur la photo récente (fig. 31b), ces éléments décoratifs y sont totalement absents.

- La partie supérieure du fût de la colonne et la partie galbée du chapiteau (assises 4 et 5 constituant la frise inférieure de cartouches verticaux de Ramsès IV et le bandeau médian de dédicace de ce même roi (registres RIV/3 et RIV/4) sont couvertes d'inscriptions hiéroglyphiques sur la photo ancienne (fig. 30a), tandis que sur la photo récente (fig. 31a), les tambours d'origine ont été remplacés par des blocs de restauration anépigraphes.

- Ce qui est encore visible du registre RIV/4 de l'assise 3 montre aussi des différences. Le haut des cartouches de Ramsès IV présente la forme longue sur la photo ancienne (fig. 30a et supra, fig. B) et la forme courte sur la photo actuelle (fig. 31a et supra, fig. C).

Bref, un regard attentif porté sur la partie élevée des colonnes 102 et 103 montre que rien de tout ce qui reste des cinq registres (RIV/1 à RIV/5) superposés et gravés sur les assises 2 à 7 formant le décor stéréotypé de Ramsès IV n'est conforme à l'original. Cela représente pas moins de six assises de blocs qui n'ont pas leur place sur ces deux colonnes. De plus, il est clair que, contrairement aux registres médians des colonnes 102 et 103, il n'y a pas eu permutation des bandeaux de Ramsès IV d'une colonne à l'autre, puisque les variantes des cartouches de ce pharaon dans ces registres ne sont globalement pas attestées sur les autres colonnes axiales de la partie septentrionale de la salle.

#### **3.4. Le haut du fût et le chapiteau de la colonne 102 à placer sur la colonne tronquée 74.**



Par ailleurs, de toutes les colonnes qui longent directement l'axe secondaire nord-sud dans la moitié septentrionale de la salle, la colonne 102 est la seule qui exhibe des cartouches palimpsestes de Ramsès II, regravés par-dessus ceux de son père, Séthi I<sup>er</sup> dans le registre (assise 1, registre SI/RII, voir fig. 3, 26 et 32). Force est de constater que nous n'avons pas trouvé jusqu'à présent d'archives photographiques pouvant servir de point de comparaison et permettant de déterminer si ces cartouches palimpsestes étaient présents ou non sur la colonne 102 avant l'effondrement de la partie nord de la salle en 1899.





Pour pallier ce manque, il convient à ce stade-ci de notre développement d'ouvrir une parenthèse sur une notion que nous avons déjà traitée plus abondamment ailleurs<sup>29</sup>, mais sur laquelle il s'avère nécessaire de revenir. Il s'agit en l'occurrence du concept de marqueur positionnel.

Les marqueurs positionnels sont des inscriptions souvent d'apparence anodine, mais qui dans les faits apparaissent comme des anomalies délibérées visant à attirer l'attention de manière subtile sur la position distinctive d'un élément

<sup>29</sup> REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 264–269.

architectural particulier à l'intérieur d'un site monumental. Contrairement aux incohérences fortuites qui sont des cas isolés ne répondant pas à un schème logique, les marqueurs positionnels se manifestent généralement dans le cadre plus large d'un ensemble de disparités textuelles de même nature. Les marqueurs positionnels dans la salle hypostyle de Karnak sont souvent localisés le long des axes processionnels qui servent à la fois de lieux de convergence et d'espaces de transition entre différents bâtiments appartenant à un même complexe religieux.




Illustrons ces explications à caractère théorique par un exemple concret. Séthy I<sup>er</sup> a fait graver son prénom en plusieurs centaines d'exemplaires à travers tout le secteur nord de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak. Le souverain porte le cartouche , écrit avec l'épithète « l'aimé d'Amon », dans la quasi-totalité des occurrences qu'on lui connaît (fig. 33, à gauche), un constat qui en soi n'a pas de quoi surprendre, dans la mesure où le site de Karnak est consacré de manière prédominante à ce dieu. Il y a cependant des contre-exemples à cet usage, comme le mettent en lumière les occurrences attestées sur les jambages du portail nord de la salle<sup>30</sup> et, plus important encore pour notre propos, sur le chapiteau de deux colonnes (les colonnes 111 et 112, fig. 33, à droite) qui se dressent au beau milieu de l'allée processionnelle menant au portail précité, où les cartouches de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> se présentent sous la forme de , « Séthy, l'aimé de Ptah »<sup>31</sup>. Nous considérons ces cas exceptionnels de noms propres du roi, écrits avec une orthographe qui dévie de la norme, comme étant des marqueurs positionnels, car les endroits où ces occurrences sont gravées répondent d'après nous à une logique apparente, et ne sont donc pas le fruit du hasard. En effet, l'axe processionnel, qui traverse les colonnes 111 et 112 et le portail nord de la salle hypostyle construit dans son prolongement, mène au temple de Ptah situé un peu plus au nord. La référence au dieu Ptah dans ces quelques cartouches de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> aurait pour but d'établir un lien théologique entre la partie nord de la salle hypostyle et le temple de Ptah érigé à proximité (fig. 34)<sup>32</sup>.

Un autre exemple de marqueur positionnel que nous avons détecté dans la partie nord de la salle hypostyle concerne les variantes orthographiques du cartouche de Ramsès IV. Adoptant de manière générale la forme  dans l'ensemble du monument, y compris dans la moitié septentrionale, on décèle de nombreux exemples du cartouche de ce pharaon élaborés sur le modèle de . Or, la principale variante, qui distingue l'orthographe du nom dans les deux séries de cartouches, est l'emploi majoritaire du signe hiéroglyphique  pour traduire la valeur phonétique de *-n* dans la plupart des attestations de l'épithète *Setep-en-Amon*, « l'aimé d'Amon ». La substitution de ce signe à , qui se prononce également *-n*, est minoritaire et les occurrences des cartouches avec cette graphie sont concentrées

<sup>30</sup> NELSON, MURNANE (éd.) 1981, pl. 182–187.

<sup>31</sup> Sur la photo de Béchar, les cartouches de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> avec l'épithète faisant référence à Ptah, bien qu'à peine visibles, sont néanmoins présents.

<sup>32</sup> REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 265–266; REVEZ, BRAND 2018.





sur les colonnes axiales de la partie nord de la salle hypostyle, voire plus rarement sur certaines colonnes érigées dans la seconde rangée des colonnes élevées de part et d'autre de cette même allée processionnelle. Dans notre esprit, il est clair que l'emploi du signe *-n*, , n'est pas fortuit, vu que la couronne rouge que représente ce signe renvoie symboliquement au Nord, de la même manière que le signe de la couronne blanche () fait référence au Sud. On peut dès lors considérer l'emploi du  comme un marqueur positionnel, vu que ce signe hiéroglyphique n'est non seulement jamais attesté dans l'aile sud de la salle hypostyle à Karnak, mais que les occurrences de ce signe dans le nom de Ramsès IV sont regroupées, comme pour les attestations de l'épithète « l'aimé de Ptah » dans le cartouche de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, autour de l'axe processionnel menant au nord de la grande salle hypostyle de Karnak.


Pourquoi un tel excursus sur les marqueurs positionnels, dans le cadre du présent article ?

C'est qu'il convient de déterminer si la série unique de cartouches de Ramsès II, gravés dans le relief en creux par-dessus ceux taillés dans le relief en champlevé de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> au sommet de la colonne 102 (assise 1, registre SI/RII), entre dans la catégorie des marqueurs positionnels ou non.

Comme le montre clairement la fig. 32, le nom du grand souverain et père de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, est orthographié en surcharge de la manière suivante :



La graphie particulière que prend en l'occurrence le *nomen* du roi est caractéristique de la titulature utilisée dans la dernière des quatre grandes phases de décoration attestées à l'intérieur de la salle hypostyle sous le règne de Ramsès II<sup>33</sup>. Typique en l'occurrence des variantes orthographiques de cette période, attestées à partir de l'an 21 de son règne, est le recours à la représentation pictographique des dieux Amon et Rê qui sont toujours figurés assis l'un en face de l'autre, alors que dans les phases précédentes, leurs noms étaient généralement écrits de manière phonétique  (*Imn*) ou idéographique  (*R'*). Une autre caractéristique de ces cartouches, dans leur forme tardive, est l'emploi du signe hiéroglyphique *-sw*  à la fin du nom de Ramsès, à la place de la terminaison en *-ss* .

Or, des cartouches de Ramsès II, orthographiés sous les formes  et regravés en surcharge par-dessus les noms en palimpseste de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, on en retrouve à plusieurs reprises sur les jambages du portail nord de la grande salle hypostyle (fig. 35). Par ailleurs, sur la face septentrionale du jambage ouest de ce même portail, Ramsès II a cru bon de faire regraver en surcharge, juste derrière la figure d'Amon, la représentation du dieu Ptah se tenant debout à l'intérieur de son kiosque (fig. 36). À l'instar de son défunt père, tout laisse donc croire, du moins en apparence, que Ramsès II, au cours de la dernière phase de décoration de son

<sup>33</sup> Pour la chronologie du décor des colonnes par Ramsès II, voir REVEZ, BRAND 2012, p. 25–31; REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 259–260.

règne, a désiré inscrire des marqueurs positionnels visant à établir un lien religieux entre l'axe processionnel et le portail septentrional de la salle hypostyle, d'une part, et le temple de Ptah situé plus au nord, de l'autre.

Pourtant, et c'est là que la situation se complexifie singulièrement, à partir du moment que la décoration de toute la partie supérieure de la colonne 102 gravée sous le règne de Ramsès IV n'est pas d'origine (sans parler des incongruités relevées à propos du décor daté de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>), comme on l'a vu dans les sections précédentes, ne pourrait-on pas estimer que la présence inusitée de cartouches gravés en surcharge de Ramsès II à cet endroit ne pourrait pas également être le résultat d'une erreur de remontage à l'époque moderne?

De fait, à l'échelle de la salle hypostyle toute entière, la très grande majorité, pour ne pas dire la quasi-totalité des cartouches de Ramsès II gravés en surcharge sur ceux de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, et présentant les mêmes caractéristiques orthographiques que ceux gravés sur le sommet de la colonne 102 et le portail nord de la salle hypostyle, se retrouvent sur la face méridionale des colonnes 74-80 longeant l'axe processionnel principal de la salle, orienté ouest-est<sup>34</sup> (fig. 37). Là, sur toute la hauteur des fûts, des chapiteaux, des abaqes, des architraves et jusqu'au sommet des claustras, Ramsès II fit retailler dans le relief en creux son nom avec sa graphie tardive caractéristique, à la place des cartouches originellement taillés en champlevé de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>.

Bref, il paraît beaucoup plus plausible que la série de quelques cartouches retaillés de Ramsès II sur le chapiteau de la colonne 102 provienne du secteur central de la salle hypostyle et que de ce fait, son emplacement actuel, au sommet de cette unique colonne, soit le fruit d'une erreur de remontage, du même genre que les autres maladroites que nous avons répertoriées pour les blocs gravés aux noms de Séthy I<sup>er</sup> et Ramsès IV.<sup>35</sup>

Il serait donc plus cohérent de placer le bloc de la colonne 102 contenant le cartouche palimpseste de Ramsès II dans la rangée des colonnes 74–80, longeant du côté nord l'axe processionnel principal est-ouest de la salle hypostyle. Or, dans cette rangée de colonnes, la seule dont la partie supérieure n'est plus en place de nos jours est la colonne 74 (fig. 2, fig. 38). C'est donc au sommet de cette dernière que le chapiteau de la colonne 102 devait être situé à l'origine.

Nous avons d'ailleurs localisé au sud du temple de Ptah l'abaque inscrit en palimpseste, gravé originellement au nom de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, puis surchargé du cartouche de Ramsès II, qui devait coiffer ladite colonne 74. (fig. 39)

Pour finir, comment expliquer cette initiative de Ramsès II de faire regraver tous ses cartouches le long de l'avenue processionnelle principale de la grande salle hypostyle? Si l'on se fie aux épithètes royales qui associe de manière explicite Ramsès II à la célébration de fêtes-*sed* sur certaines des inscriptions bien en vue

<sup>34</sup> CHRISTOPHE 1960 ; REVEZ, BRAND 2012, p. 25–31; REVEZ, BRAND 2015, p. 259–260.

<sup>35</sup> La colonne 103, située symétriquement en face de la colonne 102, de l'autre côté de l'axe nord-sud, ne présente, quant à elle, aucune trace de cartouches de ce roi.

depuis la voie processionnelle majeure de la grande salle hypostyle, on peut croire que c'est dans le cadre de l'un de ses jubilés commémorés après l'an 21 de son règne, que les nouveaux textes ont été inscrits<sup>36</sup>. Il ressort par ailleurs de l'analyse de plusieurs inscriptions que l'on a retrouvées de ce roi à Karnak, que le dieu Ptah est régulièrement associé à la célébration des fêtes jubilaires de Ramsès II<sup>37</sup>.

### Conclusion

En conclusion, aucun des blocs appartenant dans leur état actuel aux colonnes 102 et 103 ne se retrouvent aujourd'hui à leur emplacement d'origine selon toute vraisemblance. Il est du moins certain que les 10 assises supérieures de ces colonnes, ainsi que les abaques qui les surmontent, ne sont plus à leur place, soit que les blocs d'époque pharaonique proviennent d'autres colonnes de la salle, soit que des blocs modernes de restauration ont remplacé les blocs antiques<sup>38</sup>.

Par ailleurs, un constat encore plus étonnant est le fait qu'une même colonne remontée peut contenir des blocs d'origine provenant non pas d'une seule, mais bien de plusieurs autres colonnes, comme le démontre le cas de la colonne 102, où certains demi-tambours faisaient de toute évidence partie au départ de la colonne 103 (scène principale du registre médian), de la colonne 74 (blocs appartenant à ce chapiteau avec cartouches de Ramsès II en regravure), voire probablement d'autres colonnes qu'il reste encore à identifier (comme certains tambours du sommet de la colonne présentant des variantes courtes des cartouches de Ramsès IV).

D'après les observations que nous avons faites, on peut noter un traitement différent accordé aux blocs, au moment critique de leur remontage à l'époque moderne, selon que les tambours de colonne servaient de support au décor stéréotypé (c.-à-d. les nombreux registres conventionnels constitués de frises de cartouches verticaux et les bandeaux de dédicace royale), ou plutôt à la décoration non stéréotypée des colonnes (i.e. les scènes principales occupant la partie centrale de chacune des colonnes et dont aucune n'est semblable à une autre). Ainsi, si les registres médians des colonnes 102 et 103 ont été intervertis dans leur intégralité, il n'en demeure pas moins que le positionnement relatif des blocs individuels qui composent chacune de ces deux scènes est soigné et respectueux de la configuration générale des tableaux primitifs. Il en est apparemment tout autrement des blocs sur lesquels les éléments formant le décor conventionnel ont été gravés. Les erreurs y sont plus nombreuses et l'on semble dans l'ensemble être moins préoccupé par la question de l'intégrité des colonnes au niveau de ces sections, moins différenciées et donc plus aisément interchangeables.

<sup>36</sup> RONDOT 1997, p. 29–32; pl. 5.

<sup>37</sup> Divers textes datés de Ramsès II à Karnak associent le dieu Ptah aux fêtes jubilaires célébrés par ce roi : une inscription datée de l'an 35 du souverain (*KRI* II, 270 :2) et la stèle du Cheikh Labib de l'an 37 (LABARTA 2013).

<sup>38</sup> À noter qu'il est difficile de déterminer si les assises inférieures de ces colonnes sont d'origine, compte tenu du fait que ces blocs très endommagés présentent un décor très lacunaire et standardisé.

Ce n'est ni le lieu ni le moment pour porter un jugement sur la qualité du remontage des colonnes de la grande salle hypostyle dans son ensemble, mais on est en droit de se poser des questions sur les causes (techniques, organisationnelles ou autres) qui sont à l'origine d'erreurs qu'il faut bien qualifier de majeures, du moins à certains endroits (on n'a qu'à penser à la colonne 133 reconstruite à environ trente mètres de son lieu d'emplacement initial). Il est certain que G. Legrain avait dû réaliser des travaux de restauration dans l'urgence, à la suite de la catastrophe sans précédent d'octobre 1899, et que sans ses multiples interventions pour stabiliser des colonnes à l'intérieur du monument, d'autres dommages irréversibles auraient certainement eu lieu. On sait aussi que Georges Legrain semble avoir mis beaucoup de soin à mettre en place un système efficace pour identifier et ranger, dans un entrepôt à ciel ouvert situé au nord de la salle hypostyle, les nombreux tambours de colonnes extraits de la salle en cours de nettoyage après son effondrement partiel<sup>39</sup>. Les recherches futures tenteront de jeter une lumière sur ces questions d'ordre logistique laissées pour le moment en suspens.

Dans un autre ordre d'idées, la présente recherche démontre à quel point l'exploitation d'archives photographiques anciennes s'avère un exercice fructueux pour tenter de visualiser un monument dans son état premier. La chance veut que la salle hypostyle de Karnak ait été l'un des monuments les plus photographiés par les voyageurs du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle qui ont sillonné en tous sens le Proche-Orient et l'Égypte, en quête d'exotisme et de passé glorieux. Si l'image figée sur une pellicule photographique permet d'avaliser en un seul coup d'œil des hypothèses préalables patiemment échafaudées en matière d'anastylose, les deux approches, l'une pratique, l'autre plus théorique, vont de pair. En effet, à l'instar de l'archéologue qui doit délimiter le terrain à fouiller en fonction des objectifs scientifiques qu'il s'est fixé d'atteindre, il est préférable que le chercheur aspirant à reconstituer un ensemble patrimonial dans sa forme primitive détermine d'avance les indices de nature architecturale ou épigraphique qu'il souhaite constater de visu sur photo. Enfin, il est à noter que ce laborieux travail préliminaire de formulation d'hypothèses peut parfois s'avérer être la seule piste de démonstration possible afin de positionner des blocs dans une structure architecturale donnée, comme le montre notre argumentaire concernant l'emplacement des assises de blocs, pour lesquelles nous n'avons pas trouvé de reproduction photographique;<sup>40</sup> c'est ainsi que nous avons proposé de replacer au sommet de la colonne 74 la frise supérieure des cartouches de Ramsès II regravés en surcharge sur les cartouches palimpsestes de Séthi I<sup>er</sup> au sommet du chapiteau de la colonne 102, sans pour autant pouvoir vérifier notre postulat par le biais d'une comparaison avec une photographie.

Les erreurs de remontage signalées dans le présent article sont les plus flagrantes décelées jusqu'à présentes, mais notre étude toujours en cours de la

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<sup>39</sup> AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 156–157.

<sup>40</sup> Le recours à la photogrammétrie et la modélisation 2D et 3D constituent un autre moyen efficace de valider des hypothèses de restitution architecturale. Voir, à ce propos, EGELS *et al.* 2020.



grande salle hypostyle nous a permis d'en repérer d'autres que nous publierons ultérieurement<sup>41</sup>. Toujours est-il qu'il est désormais plus essentiel que jamais d'être conscient de ces irrégularités dans tout travail de recherche visant à comprendre, dans l'état, le programme décoratif des colonnes de la salle hypostyle<sup>42</sup>.

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<sup>41</sup> On n'a qu'à penser à la col. 112 dont la partie inférieure a été initialement mal remontée. Ainsi, sur la photo CFEETK 26850\_4-3/71 (AZIM, RÉVEILLAC 2004, p. 61, 149–150), dans le bandeau de dédicace de Ramsès II visible immédiatement sous la scène principale du registre médian, le signe *ankh*, qui marque le début du texte, est orienté vers l'est, alors qu'il devrait au contraire normalement faire face à l'axe secondaire nord-sud situé à l'ouest par rapport à la colonne. Cette erreur de remontage a depuis été corrigée, le bloc étant désormais correctement orienté par rapport à l'axe de la colonne. À propos de cette erreur initiale de remontage, lire aussi le texte de Luc Gabolde à paraître prochainement dans le volume des *CahKarn* dédié à la mémoire de Michel Azim.

<sup>42</sup> Ainsi, dans les années 70, W. Helck (HELCK 1976) a publié, sans tenir compte des possibles erreurs de remontage, une étude fouillée du décor des colonnes, dans laquelle il a proposé, schémas à l'appui, une trame logique à la répartition des divinités dans les scènes principales du registre médian des colonnes. Voir aussi REFAI 2000, p. 96–149.

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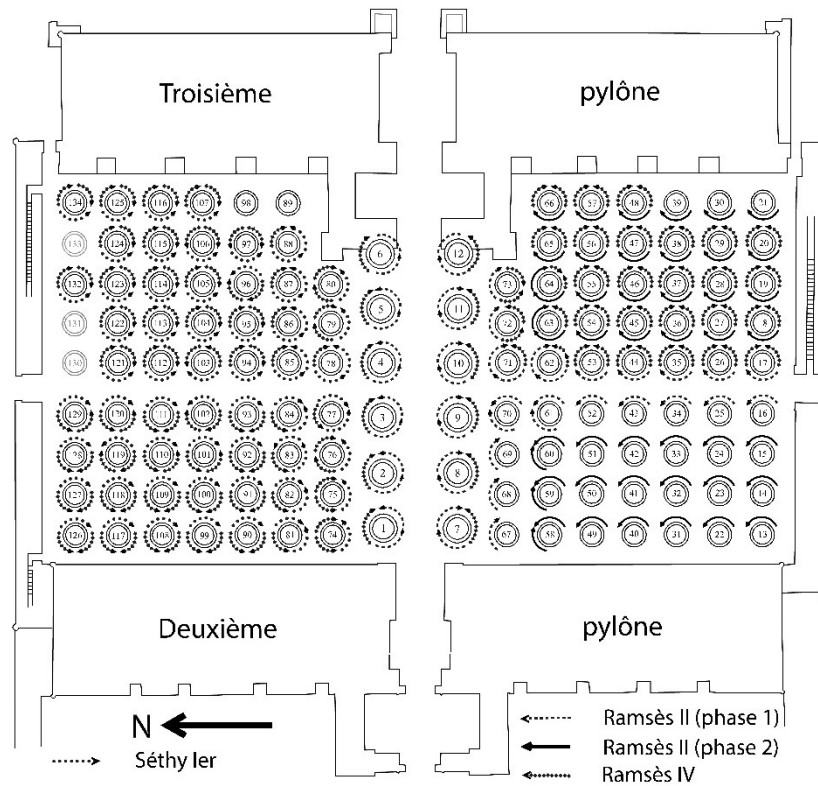


Figure 1: Plan de la salle hypostyle avec la numérotation des colonnes selon le système adopté par Nelson

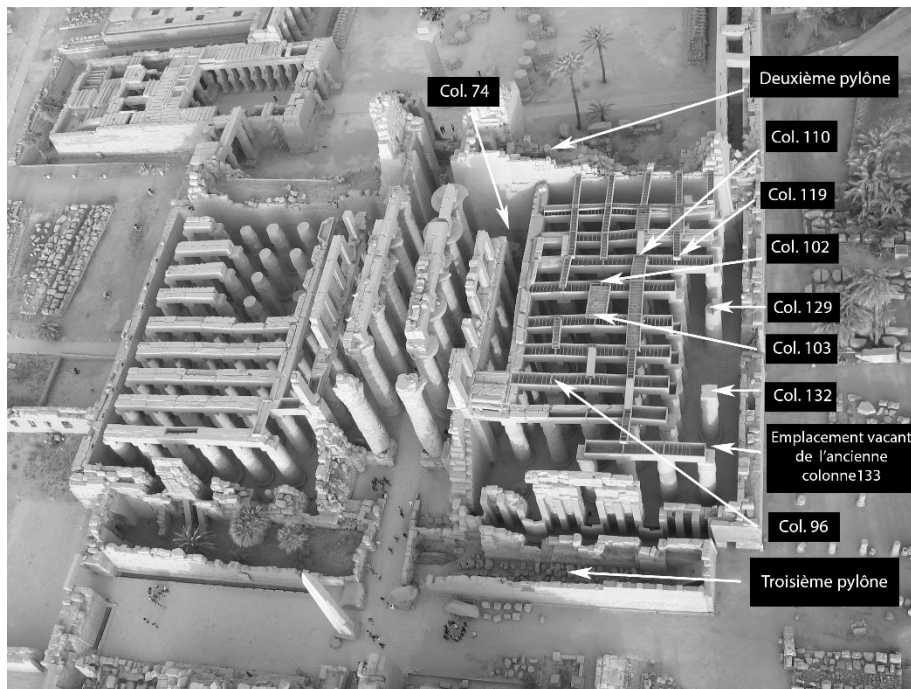


Figure 2: Salle hypostyle vue du ciel © C. Zandona

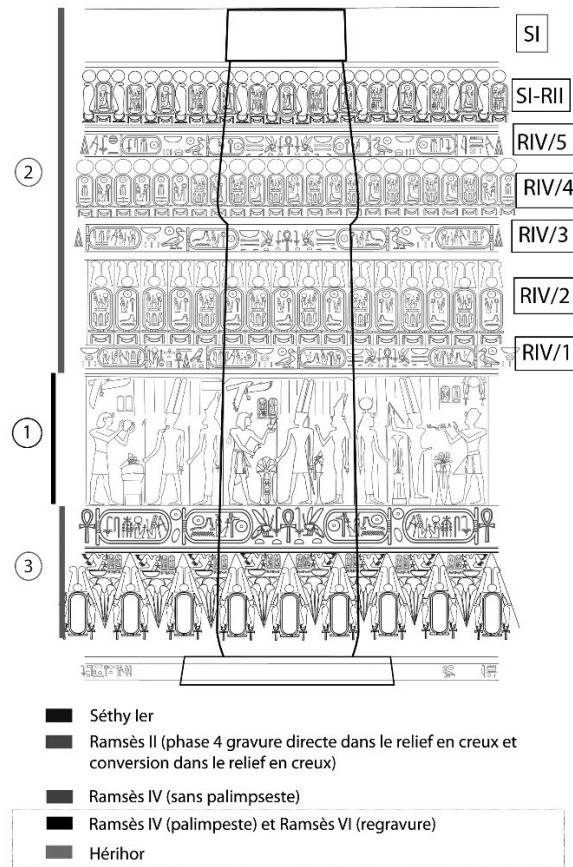
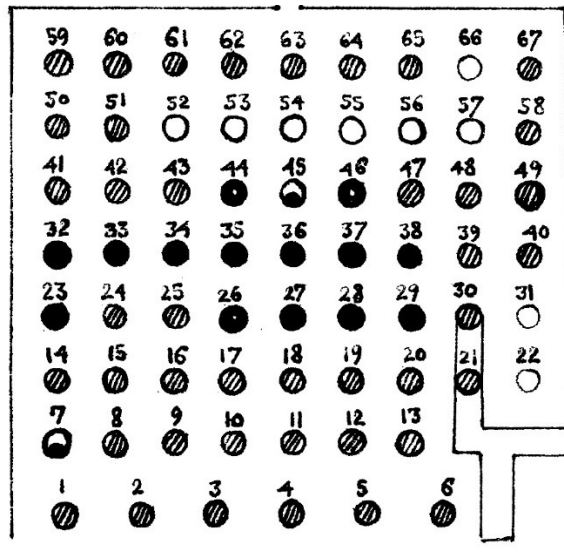


Figure 3: Représentation schématisée du décor d'une colonne latérale de la salle avec chronologie des phases de gravure



Figure 4: Orthomosaïque montrant le déroulé à plat du décor médian des scènes d'une colonne



- Colonnes ciroulées le 3 octobre 1899.
- ◐ Colonnes ébranlées et penchant de l'est à l'ouest par suite de l'éclatement.
- ◑ Colonnes en réparation (1898-1899)
- Colonnes tombées d'ancienne date.

Figure 5: Croquis montrant l'état des colonnes de la moitié nord de la salle en 1898-1899 (tiré de Azim-Réveillac, 2004, p. 133)

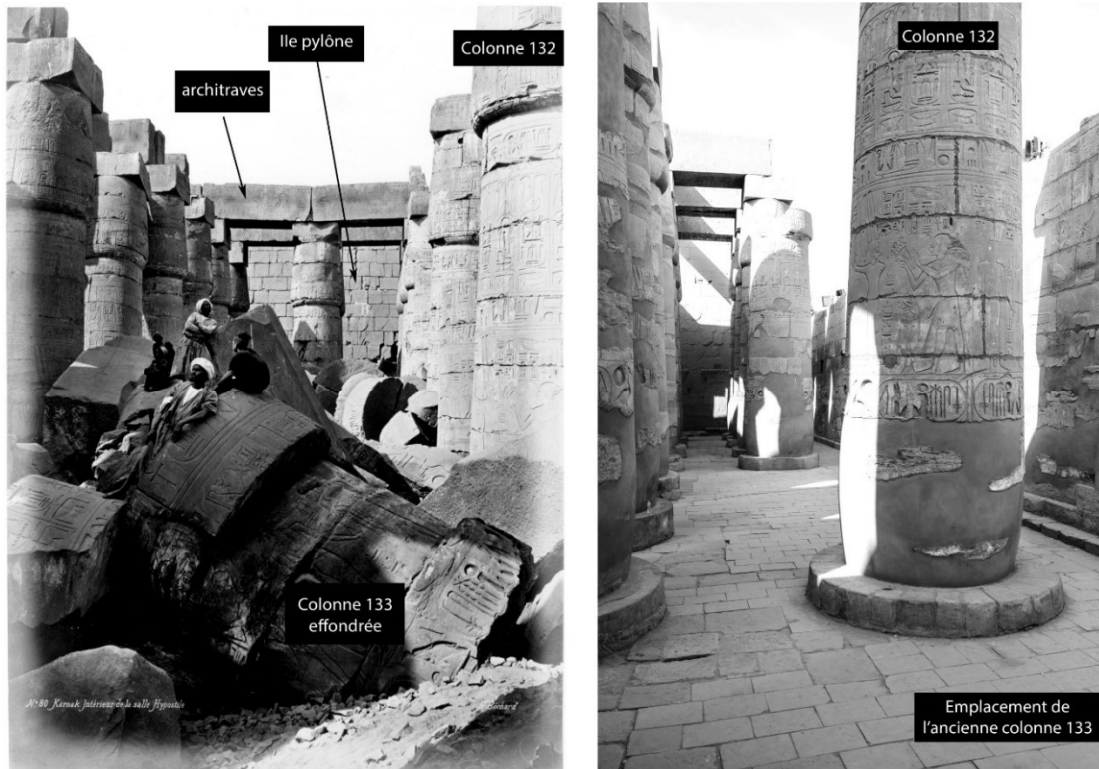


Figure 6a (à gauche): Cliché n° 80 de Béchard datant d'avant 1878 avec au premier plan la colonne 133 effondrée;  
 Figure 6b (à droite) : Cliché de la même section de la salle hypostyle en date d'aujourd'hui

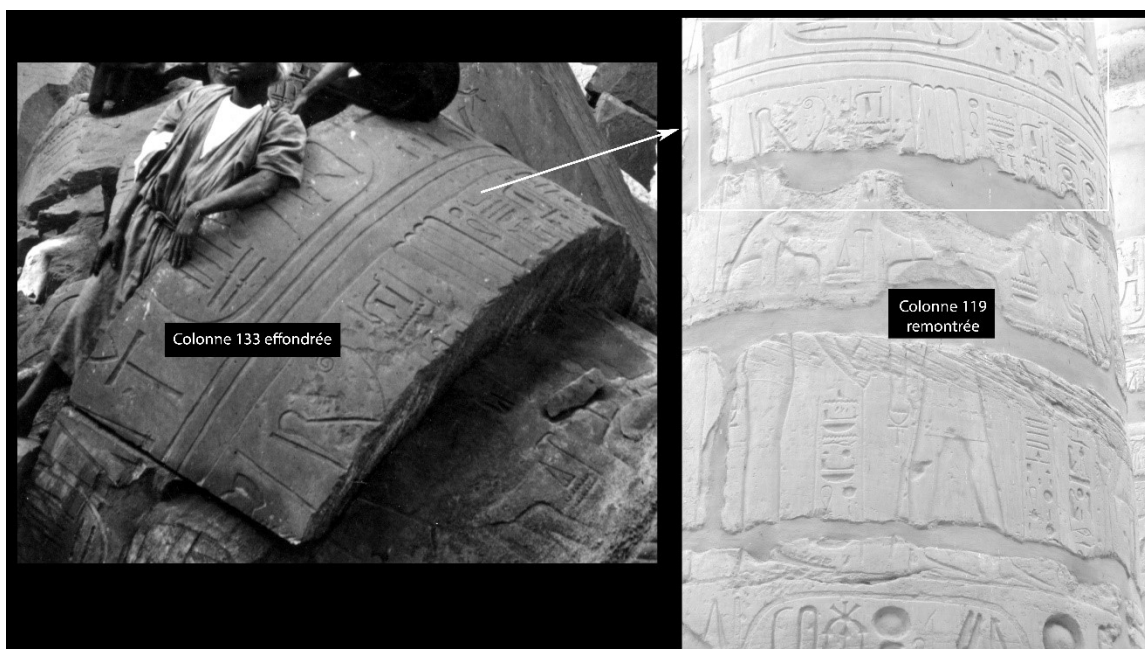


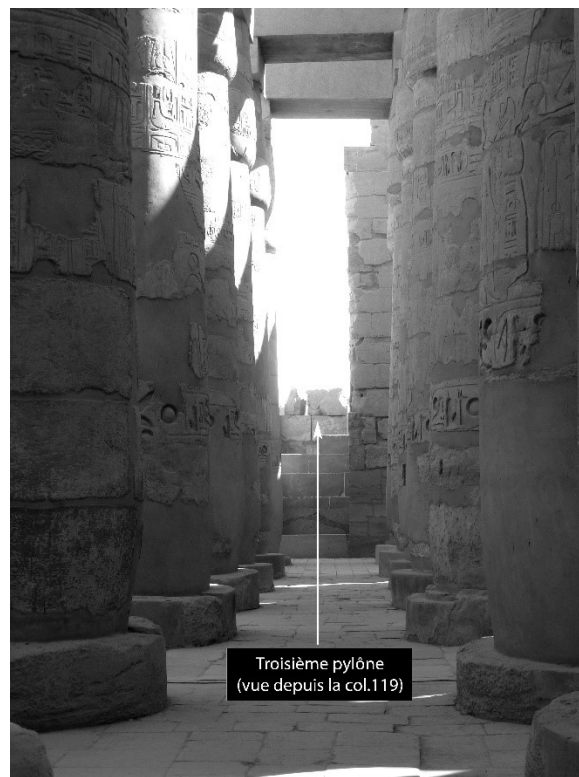
Figure 7a (à gauche): Détail de la col. 133 tiré du cliché n° 80 de Béchard;  
 Figure 7b (à droite): Détail de la col. 119 se dressant aujourd'hui dans la salle et montrant le même décor que dans la figure précédente



Figure 8a (à gauche): Détail du cliché n° 80 de Béchard montrant la col. 132 avant 1878;  
 Figure 8b (à droite): Même section de la col. 132 en date d'aujourd'hui



Figure 9: Détail de l'arrière-plan du cliché n° 80 de Béchard montrant le II<sup>e</sup> pylône et les architraves dans la partie ouest de la salle



Troisième pylône  
(vue depuis la col.119)

Figure 10: Vue du III<sup>e</sup> pylône depuis la col. 119, en date d'aujourd'hui





Figure 11: Autre vue de la col. 133 effondrée (cliché dossier Legrain CFEETK 26894\_4-3/62, circa 1895–1899)



Figure 12: Même section de colonne que dans la figure précédente, sur la col. 119 en date d'aujourd'hui

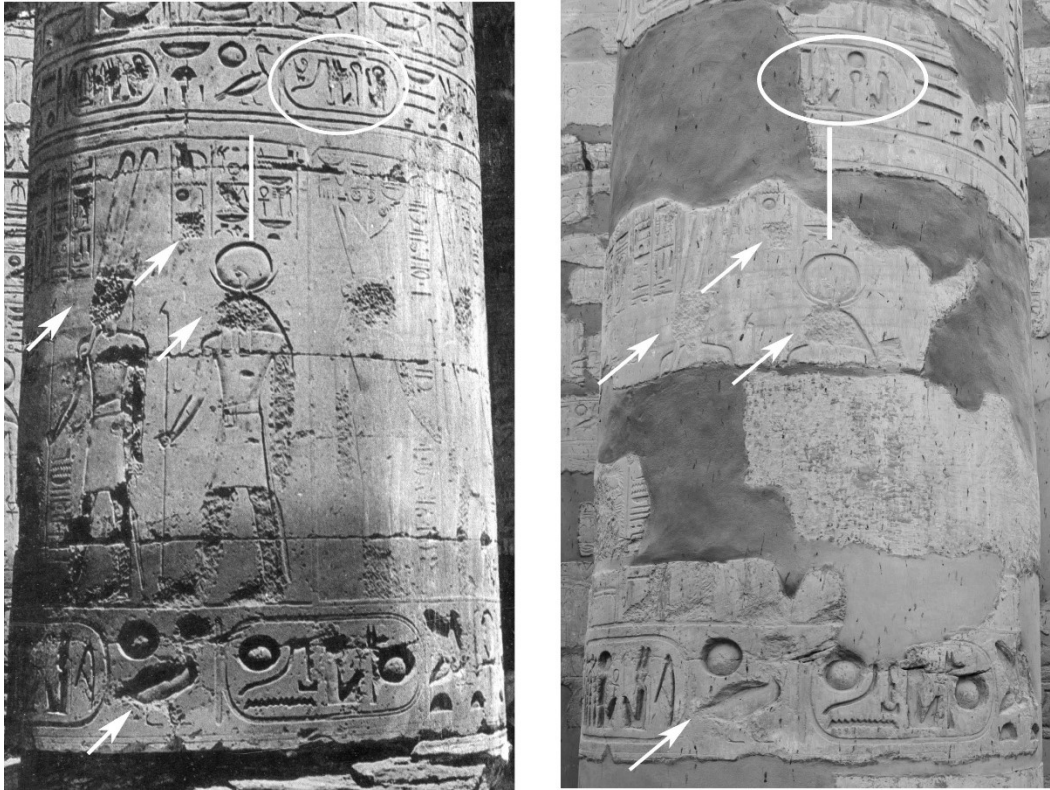


Figure 13a (à gauche): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 datant de ca. 1890 montrant le détail d'une scène de colonne;

Figure 13b (à droite): Vue de la col. 103 en date d'aujourd'hui, montrant la même scène que dans la figure précédente



Figure 14: Orthomosaïque montrant le déroulé à plat du décor médian de la col. 103 en date d'aujourd'hui

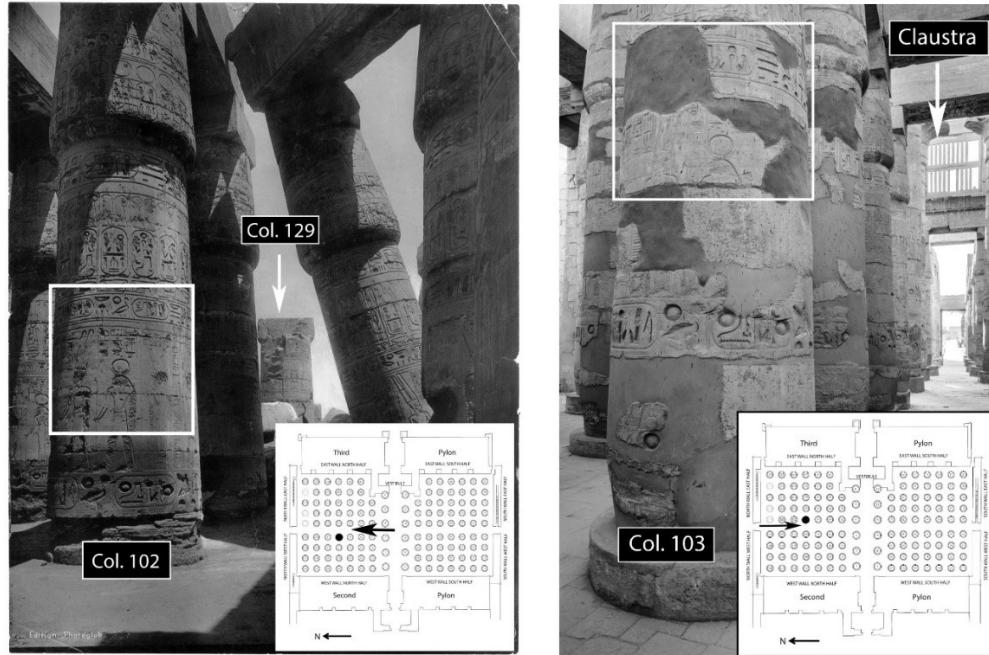


Figure 15a (à gauche): Cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant l'axe nord-sud de la salle hypostyle depuis un point situé dans le centre de la salle

Figure 15b (à droite): Même section de la salle hypostyle photographiée en date d'aujourd'hui, montrant l'axe nord-sud de la salle hypostyle depuis un point situé au nord de la salle



Figure 16: Photo en date d'aujourd'hui montrant l'axe nord-sud de la salle hypostyle depuis un point situé dans le centre de la salle

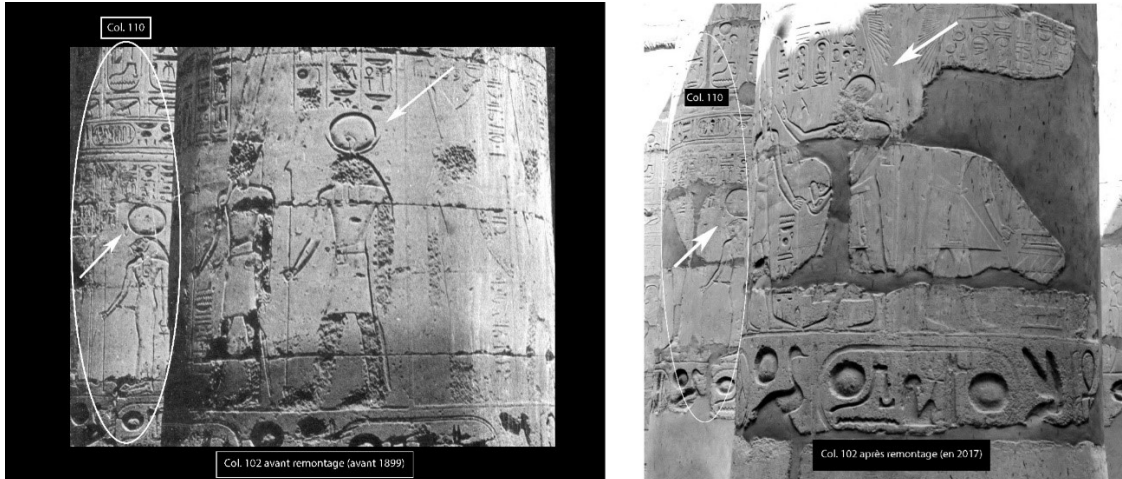


Figure 17a (à gauche): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant en arrière-plan la col. 110 où figure la déesse Sekhmet. La scène de la colonne au premier plan est remontée à l'heure actuelle à la place de la col. 103, alors que sur le cliché de Somers Clarke, elle était située à l'emplacement de la col. 102

Fig. 17b (à droite) : Photographie en date d'aujourd'hui montrant en arrière-plan la même section de la col. 110 que dans la figure précédente. La scène de la colonne 102 au premier plan n'est pas la même que dans la figure précédente



Figure 18a (en haut): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103. Sur la photo, la colonne de gauche est située à l'ouest de l'axe secondaire nord-sud; la colonne de droite, à l'est de ce même axe

Fig 18b (en bas) : Gros plan en date d'aujourd'hui montrant les deux mêmes colonnes. À l'inverse de la figure précédente, la colonne de gauche est située à l'est de l'axe secondaire nord-sud; la colonne de droite, à l'ouest de ce même axe

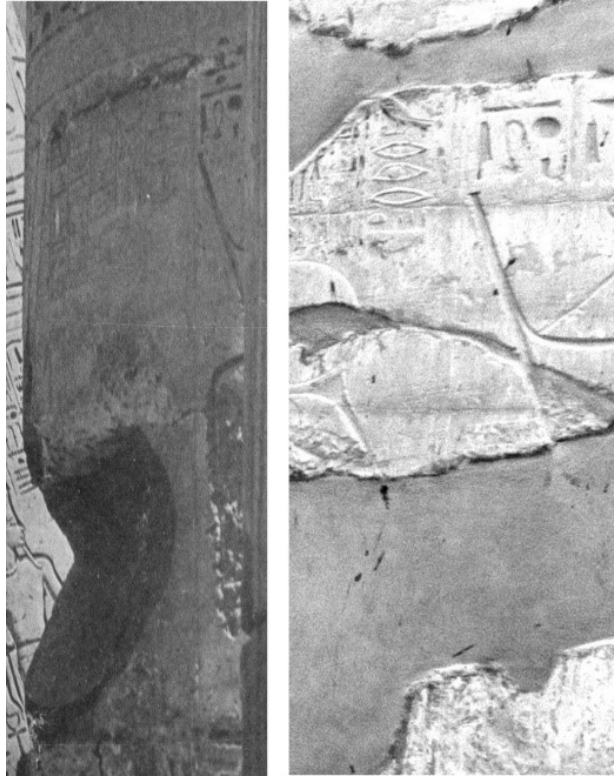


Figure 19a (à gauche): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant une section de la colonne anciennement positionnée à l'emplacement de la col. 103, mais aujourd'hui remontée à la place de la colonne 102

Fig. 19b (à droite) : Gros plan en date d'aujourd'hui de la scène représentée dans la figure précédente

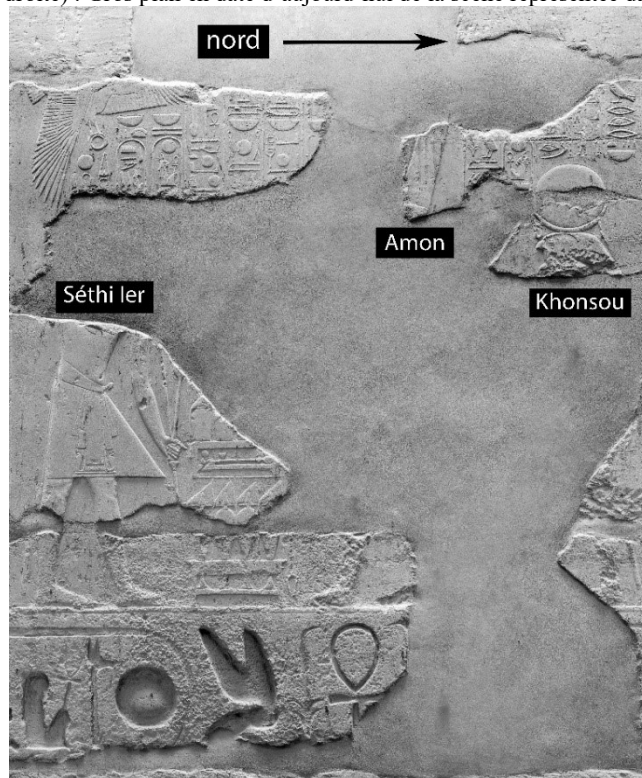


Figure 20: Orthomosaïque en date d'aujourd'hui montrant le déroulé à plat de la scène gravée par Séthy I<sup>er</sup> sur la col. 103 (anciennement localisée à la place de la col. 102)

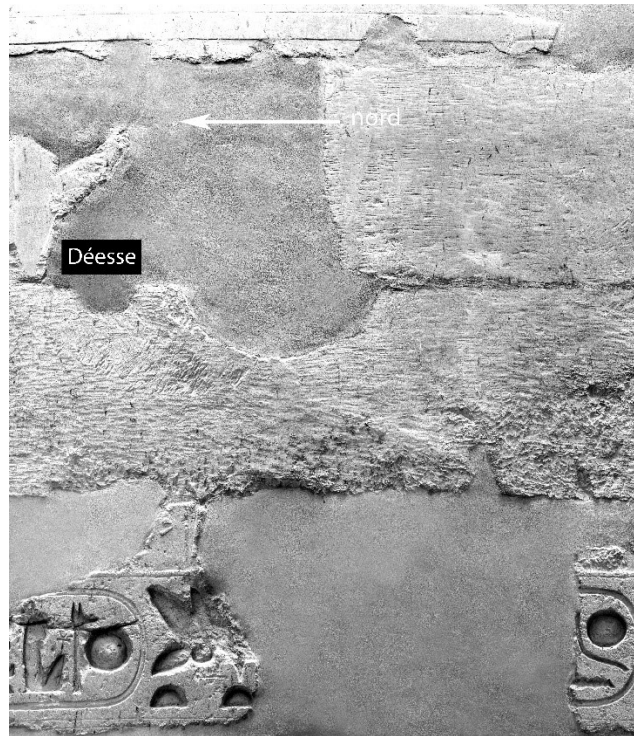


Figure 21: Orthomosaïque en date d'aujourd'hui montrant le déroulé à plat de la scène gravée par Séthý I<sup>er</sup> sur la col. 102 (anciennement localisée à la place de la col. 103)



Figure 22: Détail de la col. 96 montrant la scène gravée par Séthý I<sup>er</sup> faisant face à l'est, alors qu'elle est censée faire face à l'ouest, en direction de l'axe nord-sud de la salle

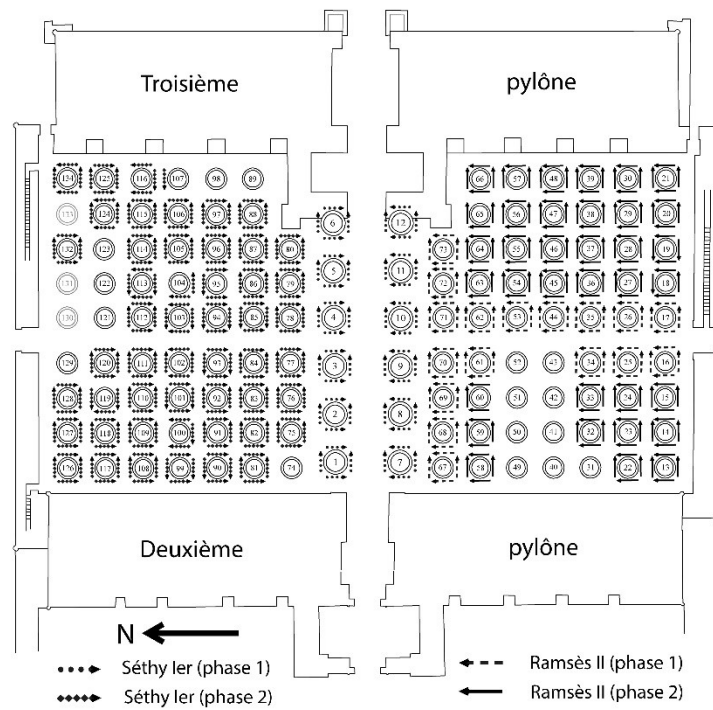


Figure 23: Plan de la salle hypostyle montrant l'orientation du cartouche gravé sur chacune des quatre faces des abaqes. Les abaqes des col. 102 et 103 ne suivent pas l'orientation des autres abaqes de l'axe secondaire nord-sud, ce qui prouve qu'ils ont été intervertis



Figure 24: Gros plan de deux abaqes contigus donnant directement sur l'axe nord-sud de la salle hypostyle. L'orientation du cartouche de l'abaque de la col. 102 est différente de celle de son voisin



Figure 25: Cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant le décompte des assises des colonnes 102 et 103

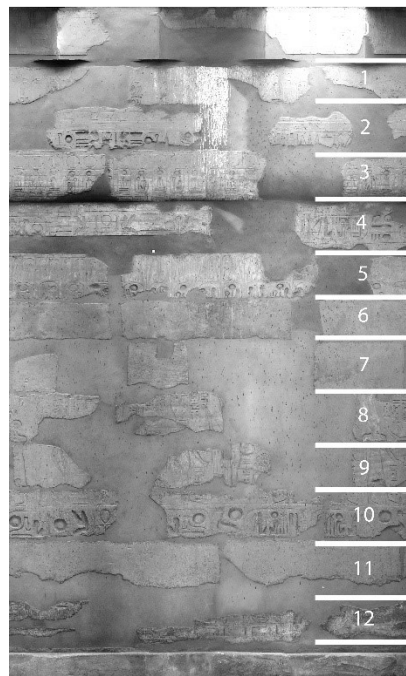


Figure 26: Orthomosaïque en date d'aujourd'hui montrant le déroulé à plat de la col. 102 en entier, avec le décompte des assises



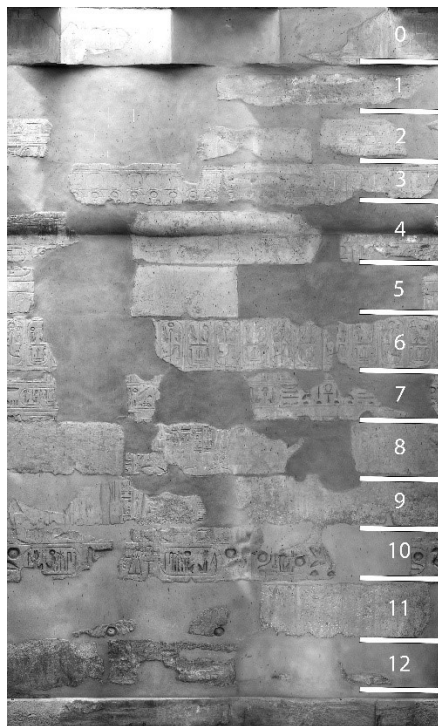


Figure 27: Orthomosaïque en date d'aujourd'hui montrant le déroulé à plat de la col. 103 en entier, avec le décompte des assises

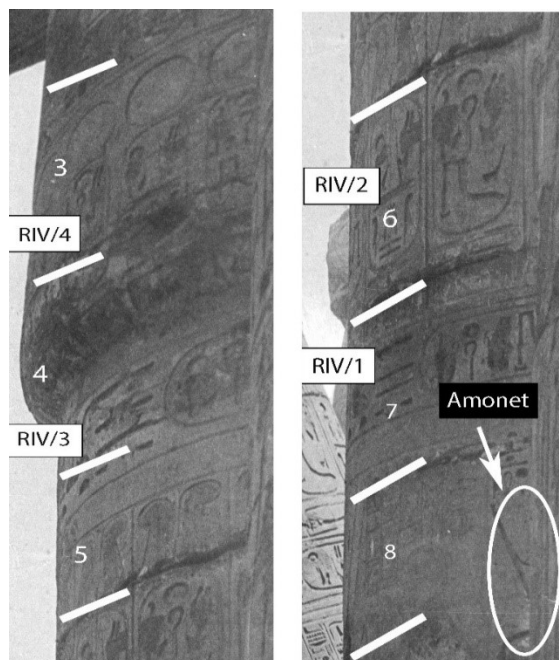


Figure 28a (à gauche : Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant les assises 3 à 5 de la col. 103 (aujourd'hui 102)

Figure 28b (à droite): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant les assises 6 à 8 de la colonne précédente

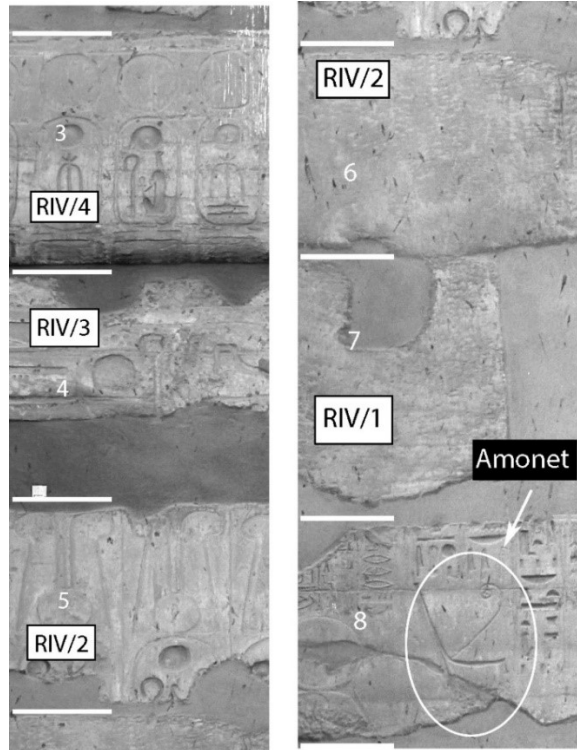


Figure 29a (à gauche): Orthomosaïque montrant le déroulé à plat des assises 3 à 5 de la colonne 102 à son emplacement actuel

Figure 29b (à droite): Orthomosaïque montrant le déroulé à plat des assises 6 à 8 de la colonne 102 à son emplacement actuel

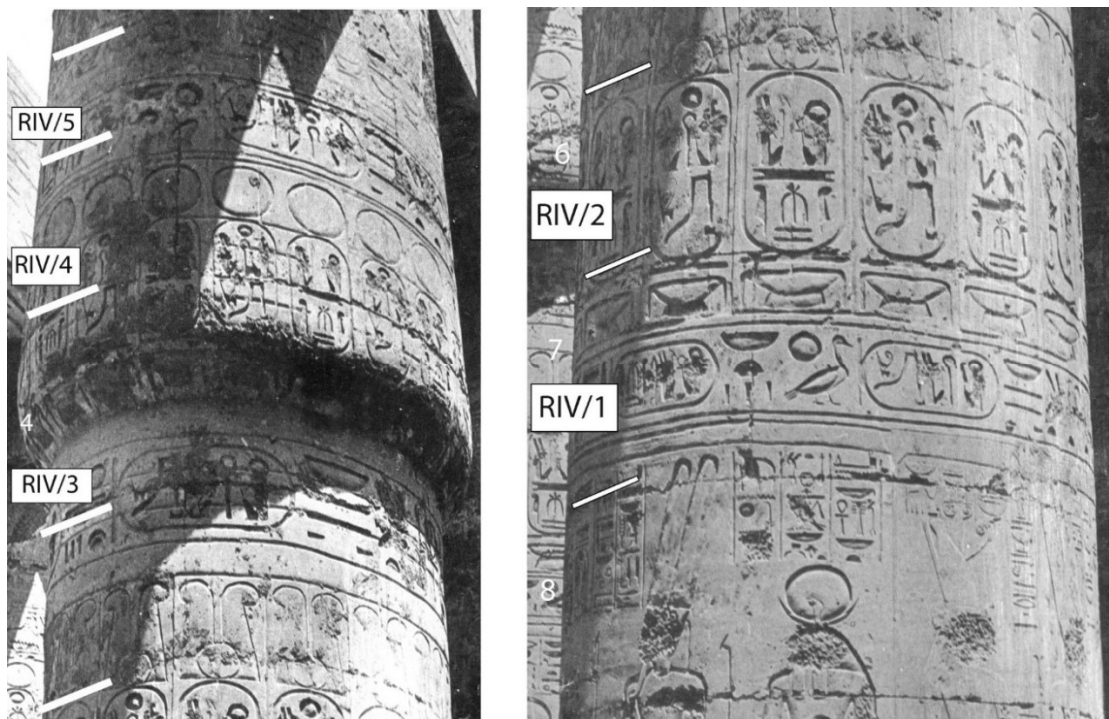


Figure 30a (à gauche): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant les assises 2 à 5 de la col. 102 (aujourd'hui 103)

Figure 30b (à droite): Détail du cliché Somers Clarke MSS.13.103 montrant les assises 6 à 8 de la colonne précédente

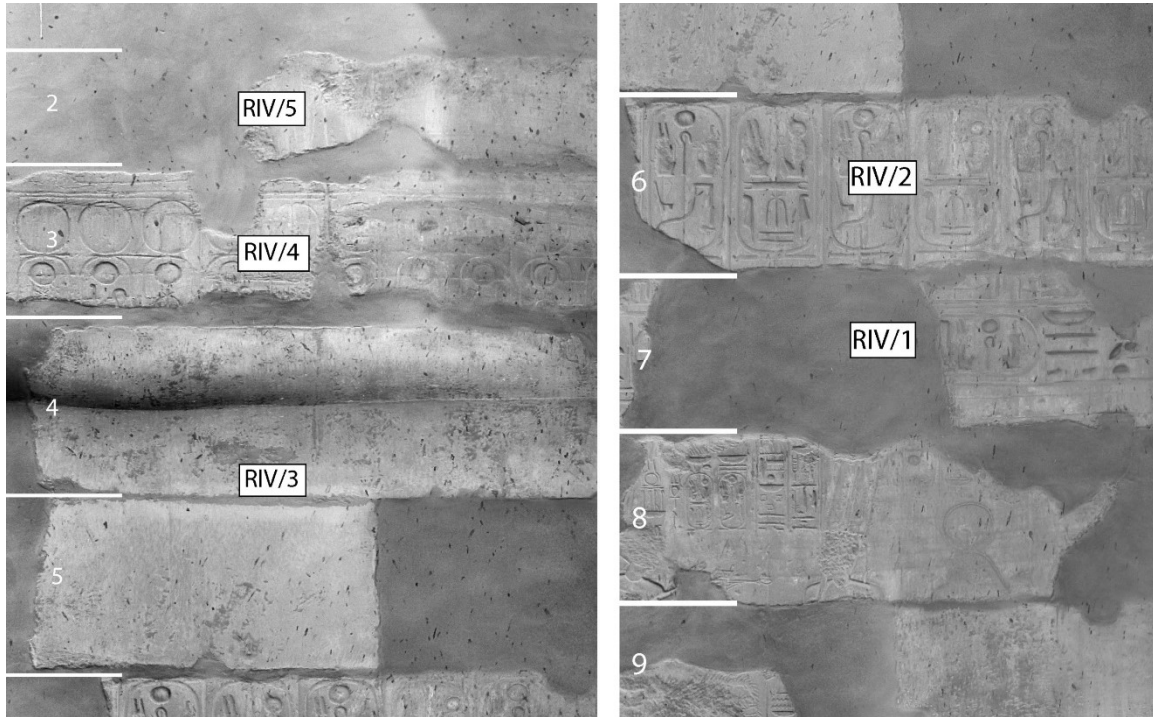


Figure 31a (à gauche): Orthomosaïque montrant le déroulé à plat des assises 2 à 5 de la colonne 103 à son emplacement actuel

Figure 31b (à droite): Orthomosaïque montrant le déroulé à plat des assises 6 à 9 de la colonne 103 à son emplacement actuel



Figure 32: Cartouches de Ramsès II en surcharge sur ceux de Séthi I<sup>er</sup> au sommet de la colonne 102 (assise 1) à son emplacement actuel



Figure 33: Variantes orthographiques des cartouches de Sésythé I<sup>er</sup> gravés sur le sommet des chapiteaux de colonnes de la salle hypostyle (côté nord)

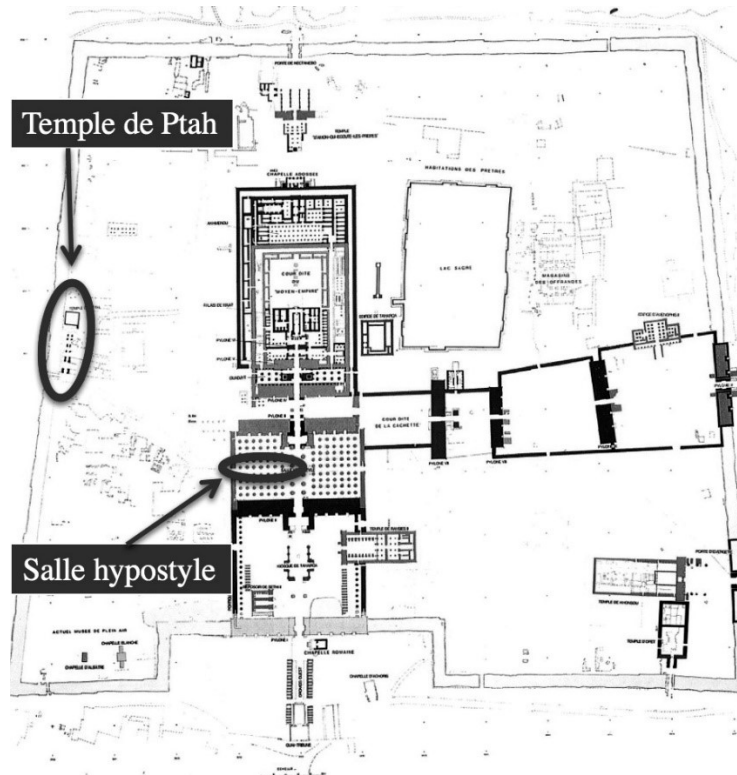


Figure 34: Plan du domaine sacré d’Amon-Ré à Karnak montrant la localisation du temple de Ptah par rapport à la salle hypostyle



Figure 35: Cartouches de Ramsès II gravés en surcharge sur ceux de Séthi I<sup>er</sup> à l'intérieur du jambage ouest du portail nord de la salle hypostyle

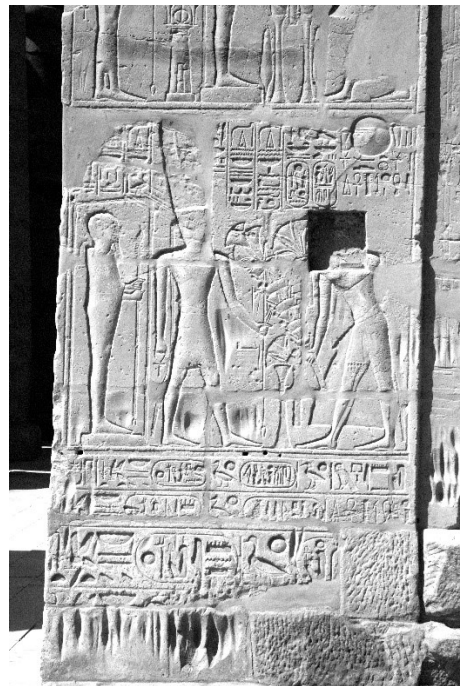


Figure 36: Figures d'Amon et Ptah gravés en surcharge sur la face nord du jambage ouest du portail nord de la salle hypostyle



Figure 37: Cartouches de Ramsès II gravés en surcharge sur ceux de Séthy I<sup>er</sup>, sur les faces des architraves, abaques et colonnes donnant directement sur l'axe principal est-ouest de la salle hypostyle



Figure 38: Colonne tronquée (no. 74) à proximité du II<sup>e</sup> pylône, au-dessus de laquelle devraient être placés les blocs de la colonne 102 contenant les cartouches en surcharge de Ramsès II

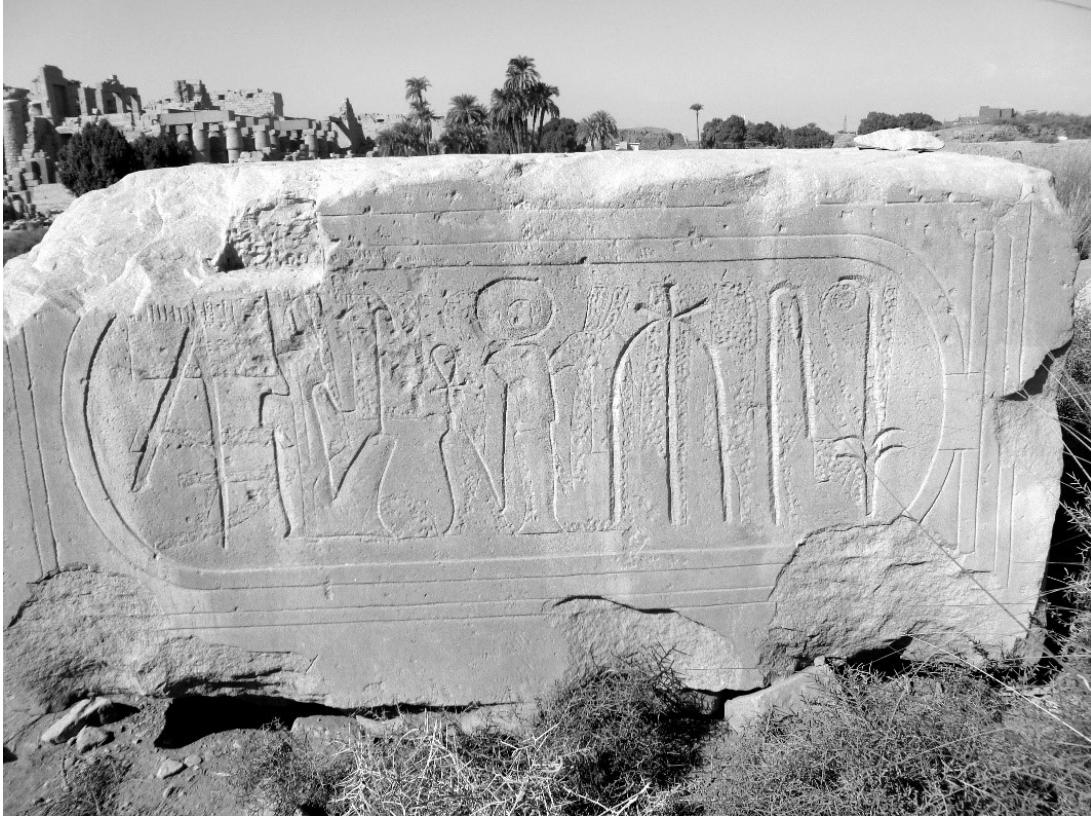


Figure 39: Abaque avec cartouche en surcharge de Ramsès II sur ceux de Séthi I<sup>er</sup>, reposant présentement dans le secteur nord du domaine d'Amon-Rê. Ce bloc est à placer au sommet de la colonne 74 aujourd'hui tronquée

# Speculations on “What *might* be in the Netherworld” based on the landscape of the Amduat’s Hour 7

Peter Robinson

**Abstract:** The New Kingdom afterlife book, known as “the Amduat”, depicts a series of scenes from the twelve hours between sunset and sunrise the following morning. Initially appearing mostly in royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, it shows us the journey of the Sun-god Re through the Duat during the night and portrays the various inhabitants and landscapes of each hour that he and his entourage encounter along the route. Although a number of the scenes depict a journey along pathways through barren desert environments, most show the entourage in a solar barque travelling upon a celestial waterway.

Each hour describes a particular theme in the nightly journey, relating either to the regeneration and eventual rebirth of the Solar disk on the Eastern horizon, or to encounters with and ultimate defeat of the forces of Chaos and disorder. The theme of Hour 7 describes how the Solar entourage encounters the entity Apopis who lies in the form of a snake coiled on a sandbar in a channel, intent on hindering the Sun-god’s passage to the next hour, and how the Sun-god and his allies hold Apopis in check.

This paper will attempt to interpret the various entities involved in this encounter during Hour 7. Furthermore, it will compare and contrast the topographies of the landscape and natural environment of early New Kingdom Thebes and the depiction of Hour 7 in order to determine whether the theme of the hour is purely a fantastical incident, or if it has any geographical basis of fact that can be ascribed to the Theban necropolis or a more generic Nilotic landscape.

**Résumé:** Le Livre de l’Au-delà du Nouvel Empire, connu sous le nom de « l’Amdouat », décrit une série de scènes des douze heures comprises entre le coucher et le lever du soleil le lendemain matin. Apparaissant principalement dans les tombes royales de la Vallée des Rois initialement, il nous montre le voyage du dieu-soleil Rê à travers la Douat pendant la nuit et dépeint les différents habitants et paysages de chaque heure que lui et son entourage rencontrent le long de la route. Bien qu’un certain nombre de scènes décrivent un voyage dans des environnements désertiques arides, la plupart montre l’entourage dans une barque solaire voyageant sur une voie céleste navigable.

Chaque heure décrit un thème particulier du voyage nocturne, relatif soit à la régénération et à la renaissance éventuelle du disque solaire dans l’horizon oriental, soit aux rencontres et à la défaite ultime des forces du Chaos et du désordre. Le thème de la 7<sup>e</sup> heure décrit comment l’entourage solaire rencontre l’entité Apophis qui se trouve sous la forme d’un serpent enroulé sur un banc de sable dans un canal, déterminé à entraver le passage du dieu Soleil vers l’heure suivante, et comment le dieu Soleil et ses alliés tiennent Apophis en échec.

Cet article tentera d’interpréter les différentes entités impliquées dans cette rencontre au cours de la 7<sup>e</sup> heure. En outre, il comparera et mettra en contraste les topographies du paysage et de l’environnement naturel de Thèbes au début du Nouvel Empire et la représentation de la 7<sup>e</sup> heure afin de déterminer si le thème de l’heure est purement un incident fantastique, ou s’il se fonde sur des éléments de géographie qui peuvent être attribués à la nécropole thébaine ou à un paysage nilotique plus générique.

**Keywords:** Amduat, afterlife landscapes, Apep/Neha-her, New Kingdom, Thebes

**Mots-clés:** Amdouat, paysages de l’au-delà, Apophis/Neha-her, Nouvel Empire, Thèbes



Landscape descriptions and imagery are comparatively rare in Ancient Egyptian literature. Those that do exist are often difficult to place in the known landscape and have thus been characterized as mythical landscapes.<sup>1</sup>

The text that Egyptologists call “the Amduat” (“that which is in the Afterlife”) first appears in the early Tuthmoside tombs in the New Kingdom (KV38–Tuthmosis I, KV20–Hatshepsut, KV34–Tuthmosis III, KV35–Amenhotep II, see fig. 1) and the tomb of a private official during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (Useramun), and appears to be the earliest “underworld book” found in royal tombs of the New Kingdom.<sup>2</sup> It describes the sun god’s journey through twelve caverns, each of which represents one of the twelve hours between sunset and sunrise. The Amduat itself is perhaps a descriptive if simplified map of the afterlife, depicting the various locations and divine and demonic entities encountered along the nightly journey and takes the form of a relief within the royal tomb, incorporating a graphical strip of images and text in black and red inks, which some have likened to an aged papyrus roll unwrapped upon the walls of the burial chamber.<sup>3</sup> Instructions within

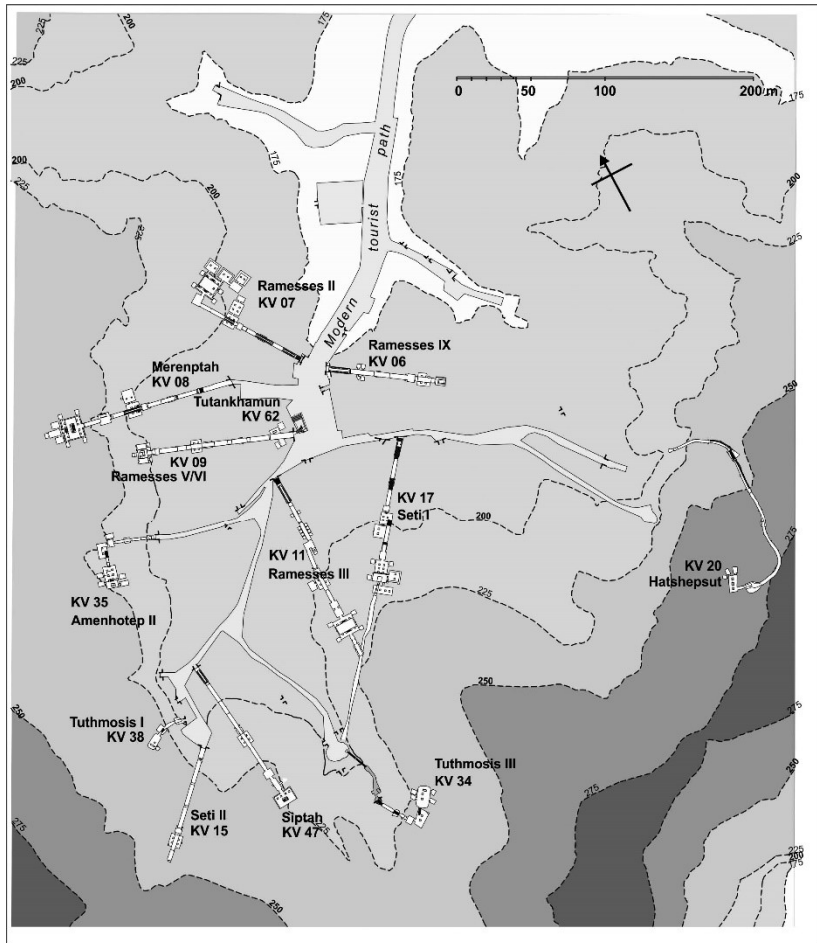


Figure 1: Locations of Amduat tombs in the Valley of the Kings.

<sup>1</sup> Bunbury, Judith; Jeffreys, David. “Real and Literary Landscapes in Ancient Egypt.” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21:1 (2011), 65–75.

<sup>2</sup> Reeves, Nicholas, Wilkinson, Richard H., 1996, *The Complete Valley of the Kings*, (London: Thames & Hudson), 37.

<sup>3</sup> Quirke, Stephen, 2003, “Measuring the Underworld,” in David O’Connor, Stephen Quirke, (eds.) 2003 *Mysterious Lands*, (London: UCL Press), 161–181; Richter, Barbara A. “The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers.” *JARCE* 44 (2008): 73–103; Roehrig, Catharine. H., 2015, “Royal Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty,” in Richard H. Wilkinson and Kent R. Weeks (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 183–199.

the text of the Amduat describe the ordering of the individual hours and their positioning in relation to the cardinal points, although except for the tomb of Tuthmosis III, these are rarely followed to the letter.<sup>4</sup>

According to the text, divided into sections representing the twelve hours of the night, this journey through the Netherworld begins at the western gateway of the horizon, representing the moment when the sun’s disk passes beneath the horizon at the moment of sunset (Fig. 2). On a boat, surrounded by an entourage of deities, the aging ram-headed sun

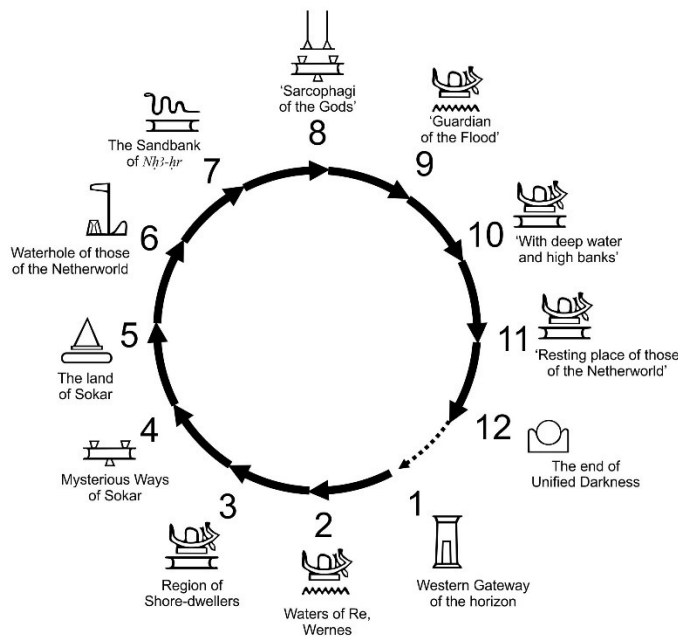


Figure 2: A cyclical representation of the Amduat as the 12 hours of the night

god makes his way along a waterway between rows of divinities standing and squatting and in jubilation of the sun god’s forthcoming journey. Hour Two takes the form of a water-borne procession of boats travelling upon the “waters of Wernes”, between banks of standing and seated divinities. Hour Three, representing “the waters of Osiris”, like Hour Two, appears to be a location associated with fertility and fields, with various mentions of plots of land and also of the annual inundation. Leaving these fields, Hours Four and Five introduce us to a barren desert, wherein the Solar god, now carried upon a serpent-form boat, is transformed from an aged Ram-headed divinity to a

youthful, if vulnerable, scarab in the Cave of Sokar, a hidden oval-shaped structure reminiscent of the earliest known royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Hour Six sees the solar entourage on its barque rest awhile by the Waterhole of those of the Netherworld so that the sun god can begin to regain his former strength and ready himself for the battles that take place in the later hours before sunrise. During Hour Seven, the solar entourage, again on a river barque, encounters the serpent-form enemy *Apep* (also known by his Greek name, Apophis or Apopis), who attempts to hinder the entourage by drinking all the water of the river channel the barque is then travelling on. However, Isis and Seth in the barque, and Selket and a number of other divinities, hold back and defeat *Apep*, and so the Solar god and his party are free to travel to the Eighth Hour, where the Sun begins his preparations for rebirth by being given fresh clothing by the inhabitants there. Hour Nine sees the divinities responsible for propelling the Solar barque (the Rowers) rest and gather

<sup>4</sup> Richter, Barbara A. “The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early 18th Dynasty Royal Burial Chambers.” *JARCE* 44 (2008), 79.

their strength. This hour also sees the Solar barque perhaps in an area of fertile fields, evidenced by it being the place of "The Lords of Provision". In Hour Ten, the Sun god and his entourage cross a body of water "With deep water and high banks", inhabited by those who have lost their lives by drowning and as a consequence were not correctly mummified nor had proper funerals performed. This hour is also concerned with the healing of the Eye personified by a red sun disk or the Eye of Horus. Travelling into the Eleventh Hour, the Solar party rest and prepare for the forthcoming sunrise, and finally, at the end of the Twelfth Hour, amid scenes of jubilation and praise, the Sun god emerges, pushed through the horizon at the moment of sunrise.

It is apparent from the brief description above, that the Amduat represents more than just vignettes of events and locations unconnected and randomly dispersed throughout an Afterlife set during the hours of darkness. Indeed, the cyclical nature of the text, starting at sunset and ending at sunrise, suggests the events and locations represent a coherent journey through connected places, and to which the sun god returns again and again. But are these places purely within a divine realm or can they represent a landscape equally (or even more) familiar to the Ancient Egyptians themselves? An analysis of the entire Amduat to test this notion is beyond the scope of the current paper, however. Instead, we will concentrate on one particular hour, that of Hour Seven, which may go some way to answering this question.

Due to its content and location of its examples, both within royal tombs of the New Kingdom and later private non-royal tombs, sarcophagi and papyri, a number of scholars have discussed the text, its imagery and landscapes. Indeed, over the past two decades or so, there has been a growing interest in the landscapes of the Amduat and other afterlife texts in general in ancient Egyptian sources, reflecting perhaps a growth of phenomenological landscape studies in archaeology and anthropology during the 1990s which has subsequently passed through into Egyptology.<sup>5</sup>

### **Landscape features in the Amduat and elsewhere in general**

Before we return our attention to the Amduat and specifically to Hour Seven, however, we should note that the Ancient Egyptians, observant of the natural environment as they were, appear to have represented aspects and features of the landscape in the graphical image of

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<sup>5</sup> On the Amduat itself, see for instance, Robinson, Peter, 2003, "Crossing the Night: The Depiction of Mythological Landscapes in the Am Duat of the New Kingdom Royal Necropolis," in Rachel Ives, Daniel Lines, Christopher Naunton, Nina Wahlberg (eds.) *Current Research in Egyptology III*, BAR International Series 1192, (Oxford: Archaeopress), 51–61. For discussions of other landscapes of the afterlife and further bibliographies of such studies, examples can be found in Colleen Manassa's 2007 analysis of Nectanebid sarcophagi *The Late Egyptian Underworld: Sarcophagi and Related Texts from the Nectanebid Period*, ÄAT 72/1 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag), 424–430, and in Roberson, Joshua, 2012, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Earth*, (Atlanta: Lockwood Press), 2–4. Studies have also looked at earlier Afterlife texts such as the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts in Willems, Harco, 1996, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters Department Oriëntalistiek), Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 70, 167–170; Robinson, Peter, 2003, "Ritual Landscapes in the Coffin Texts—A cognitive mapping approach," in Rachael J. Dann (ed.) *Current Research in Egyptology 2004*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books), 118–132.

the Amduat and elsewhere within their canon of afterlife and divine texts. Amongst other events in the Amduat, the key moment of the rebirth of the king during Hour Five, beneath the peak called *kkw* (“Darkness”), replicates the location of KV38 beneath the pyramidal peak of the Qurn, at the southern end of the Valley of the Kings.<sup>6</sup> Beyond the Amduat, the Egyptians recognised many other landscape features as sacred and significant. A massive statue group of a cobra rearing up behind a deity (perhaps Hathor) or an image of Queen Hatshepsut is suggested from a buttress of rock in the cliffs behind Hatshepsut’s mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>7</sup> In Abydos, a long processional way along a wadi into the desert beyond was seen by the Egyptians as a gateway into the afterlife from the earliest Dynastic periods.<sup>8</sup> During the Amarna Period, a similar form of the landscape and its topography was used as a ritual stage running from Akhenaten’s capital at Amarna heading towards the tombs in the Royal Wadi.<sup>9</sup> Near to Heliopolis, the Ancient Egyptians suggested the rock formations of quartzite with their inclusions of pebbles, gravel, and petrified wood that could be found close to Gebel Ahmar (the Red Mountain) represented the petrified and burnt remains of Apopis, perhaps recalling a mythical battle between the sun god Re, and Apopis in the area.<sup>10</sup> Even beyond the frontiers in Nubia, the Egyptians recognised a colossal image of Amun in a pillar of rock at the temple of Gebel Barkal. Pouls-Wegner has also noted that not only landscape, but animal behaviour was observed by the ancients in order to give a sense of ritual space to landscape, with their images of the jackal deities, Anubis and Wepwawet, closely associated with necropolis sites in Abydos and elsewhere, and perhaps reflecting the behaviour of wild canids living on the fringes of settlements along the Nile valley and along the desert edges, and, in the case of Abydos itself, perhaps connected with the natural feature of the Mountain of Anubis, associated with the tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty ruler, Senwosret III.<sup>11</sup>

Armed, therefore, with an understanding that the meaning of “place” is always “far more than points or locations, because they have distinctive meanings and values for persons” we can see that the geographical experience of a place or places can create stages of and for ritual landscape, not only for human existence, but can also set the stage for the activities of the divine.<sup>12</sup>

Although the subject of much discussion in recent years, the earliest examples of the Amduat appear to coincide with the earliest royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and the reigns of the earliest Tuthmoside kings at the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty. So, whilst

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<sup>6</sup> Roehrig, Catharine. H., 2015, “Royal Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty,” Richard H. Wilkinson and Kent R. Weeks (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Valley of the Kings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 183–185.

<sup>7</sup> Donohue, V.A., 1992, “The Goddess of the Theban Mountain,” *Antiquity*, 66, 871–885.

<sup>8</sup> Richards Janet, 2005, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 130.

<sup>9</sup> Richards, Janet, 1999, “Conceptual landscapes of the Nile Valley,” in Wendy Ashmore, A. Bernard Knapp, (eds.), *Archaeologies of Landscape*, (Oxford: Blackwell), 83–100.

<sup>10</sup> Yoyote, Jean, 1978, « Apopis et la Montagne Rouge, » *RdÉ*, 30, 147–150.

<sup>11</sup> Pouls Wegner, Mary-Anne, 2007, “Wepwawet in Context: A Reconsideration of the Jackal Deity and its Role in the Spatial Organization of the North Abydos Landscape,” *JARCE*, 43, 139–150.

<sup>12</sup> Tilley, Christopher, 1994, *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, (Oxford: Berg).

Jansen-Winkeln and Werning have discussed the arguments for and against textual aspects of the Amduat stemming initially from Old Kingdom sources, through its use of idiosyncratic spelling, orthography, and grammatical constructions, it is the actual physical remains of the afterlife book that are critical to understand its usage in the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings.<sup>13</sup> Much ink has been spilled in arguing whether Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut, or Tuthmosis III first chose to use the text to adorn their tombs and display its afterlife landscape therein. Scholars discussing which tomb first included the text have depended on arguments based upon whether the text in its entirety was incorporated in the tomb, whether the texts had to be produced as reliefs integral with the stucco and painted plaster on the tomb walls or as stone panels included within the tomb, but not necessarily fixed to walls. Discussions also depend on which pharaoh buried whom and whether the tomb used for that burial was an original unused tomb, or one already occupied by a previous royal burial. Romer has suggested that Tuthmosis III began the use of the text by including a copy in the tomb of his predecessor Tuthmosis I, KV38.<sup>14</sup> Mauric-Barberio, on the contrary, has asserted that the tomb of Queen Hatshepsut, KV20 contained the first version of the Amduat.<sup>15</sup> By way of contrast, Jürgens attempted a reconstruction of the textual *stemma* of the Amduat and concluded that the first royal tomb to incorporate the text was that of Tuthmosis I.<sup>16</sup> He did note, however, that the potential problems in using such *stemmae* on a limited number of texts may result in errors of interpretation, especially since the tomb of Tuthmosis I's predecessor, Amenhotep I, is unknown.

Irrespective of which ruler was the first to adopt the Amduat in his or her tomb, however, when discussing any aspect of the text and its meanings, we must be mindful that the later tomb examples may not have held the same meanings for the kings, priests and inhabitants of the later Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth Dynasties as those of when the Valley of the Kings first became the royal necropolis at the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty. In addition, if we are to interpret the landscape of the Amduat as a real place, then it must have reflected the landscape of its exemplar physical location or locations at least no later than the first example of the text, or at least its first use within the royal tombs. In effect, the principle of *terminus ante quem* must hold true for the landscape of the Amduat, and later changes in the landscape, its physical features and structures must be disregarded. Therefore, any geographical locations or features dating to after at least the early Tuthmosid rulers would not have featured in the Amduat, were it to represent their physical landscape of any part of Egypt known to the ancients when first composed for the earliest

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<sup>13</sup> Jansen-Winkeln, Karl, 2012, "Zu Sprache und Datierung Des Amduat," *JEA* 98, 87–106; Werning, Daniel A., 2013, "Linguistic Dating of the Netherworld Books Attested in the New Kingdom. A Critical Review," in Gerald Moers *et al.* (eds.) *Dating Egyptian Literary Texts*, Vol. 1 *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographica* 11 (Hamburg: Widmaier), 237–281.

<sup>14</sup> Romer, John, 1974, "Tuthmosis I and the Bibân el-Molûk: Some Problems of Attribution," *JEA* 60, 119–133.

<sup>15</sup> Mauric-Barberio, Florence, 2001, « Le premier exemplaire du Livre de l'Amdouat, » *BIFAO* 101, 315–350.

<sup>16</sup> Jürgens, Peter, 1999, « Das Stemma des Amduat nach den Textzeugen des Neues Reiches, » *SAK*, 27, 141–171.

tombs in the Valley of the Kings, and thus can only have represented the landscape of the late Second Intermediate Period–New Kingdom transition, or earlier.

With that caveat in mind, we must now return to the Amduat itself, and especially the imagery depicted in Hour Seven. Like all the other hours except Hour One, this hour of the Amduat is depicted in three registers, with the middle register (Figure 3) showing

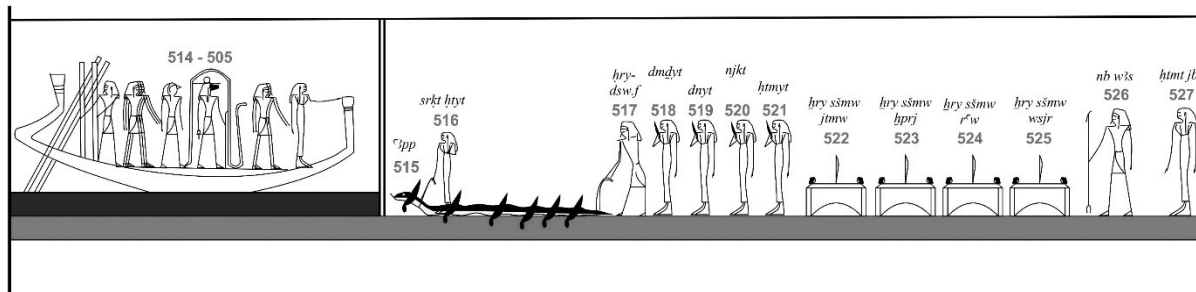


Figure 3: Hour Seven of the Amduat

the passage of the Solar barque along a route that can be perhaps thought of as lying between the landscape features to the left (upper register) and right (lower register), in what Werning has likened to a modern graphic novel or comic book style.<sup>17</sup> The central theme of this hour is the triumph of the sun god and his entourage over his enemies and against the enemies of Osiris in the upper register, and especially over Apep, depicted as a snake lying on a central sandbank in the middle register. The hour is introduced by a text outlining the central theme depicted, and highlighting some of the key locations and inhabitants of this region. The upper register depicts the binding and punishment by a number of enemies before Osiris and other gods. On the lower register, Horus sits enthroned, watching over twelve stellar gods and twelve goddesses of the hours, all of which stand with stars upon their heads. The lower register ends with a depiction of a crocodile seated on a mound of sand from which a human head emerges, described in the text as the head of Osiris.

The upper and lower registers therefore appear to represent metaphysical entities connected with the dangers and temporal aspects of the afterlife, although they may have some relationship to the features outlined in the central register. As a depiction of the events associated with a journey of the Sun god in a landscape space, however, I would suggest that the central register may be the depiction of a real-world location, likely part of the West Bank at Luxor (or a similar landscape in a Nilotic riverine floodplain) that would have been familiar to the population of Thebes or Egypt in general at the start of the New Kingdom. It is this depiction of such a riverine landscape that I wish now consider and test.

Let us first consider the landscape of Thebes as it would have appeared at the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty (Fig. 4). The Theban West Bank would have had a very different appearance to that of the later New Kingdom and certainly to that of today. To begin with, the swathe of mortuary temples that today crowd along the desert edge for the most part

<sup>17</sup> Werning, Daniel A., 2018, “The Representation of Space, Time, and Event Sequence in an Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Comic,” in Gaëlle Chantraine, Jean Winand (eds.), *Time and Space at Issue in Ancient Egypt*, *Lingua Aegyptia Studia Monographia* 19 (Hamburg: Widmaier), 209–242.

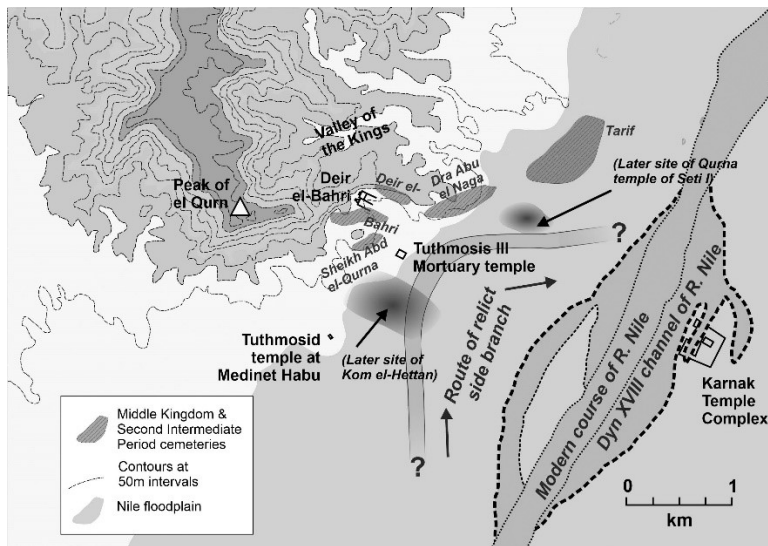


Figure 4: The Landscape of Thebes at the start of the 18th Dynasty

date to the later New Kingdom, and so would have post-dated the first instances of the Amduat in the Valley of the Kings. Instead, we should perhaps only envisage those temples belonging to Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahri and Tuthmosis III's Temple of Millions of Years in Qurna, and not forgetting the Middle Kingdom royal mortuary temples in the valley that runs behind the hill and enclosure of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna south from Deir el-Bahri towards Deir el-Medina. In addition, we can

consider those monuments associated with Middle Kingdom and Tuthmoside structures under the later Ramesside temple of Medinet Habu as existing at the time the Amduat made its first appearance in the royal tombs.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, many of the private tombs now on the tourist trails through the area would not yet have existed at the start of the New Kingdom. Only the tombs that are situated in the cliffs on either side of the approach to Deir el-Bahri, in el-Tarif, and in parts of Dra Abu el-Naga and el-Assasif date from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period and would have formed part of the mortuary landscape at this time.<sup>19</sup> As well as differences in the cultural landscape, we know there were differences in the physical landscape, even between the Middle Kingdom and the later New Kingdom, since the work by the Theban Harbours and Waterways Project have shown how the channel of the Nile, and its subsidiary channels, have changed over time.<sup>20</sup>

And so on to the Amduat itself. As with the other hours, Hour Seven's central register opens with the Solar god, "Flesh" or "this great god", encircled by the protecting serpent Mehen, and accompanied by the solar barque's crew of divinities. Behind a double vertical line, we encounter the deadly serpent Apep, whose neck and throat are held in check by the goddess Selket. With his body pierced by a number of knives, Apep's tail is held by a male divinity named "He above his knives".<sup>21</sup> Four punishing goddesses follow,

<sup>18</sup> Ullman, Martina, 2007, "Thebes: Origins of a Ritual Landscape," in Peter R. Dorman, Betsy M. Bryan, (eds.), 2007, *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, SAOC 61 (Chicago: Oriental Institute), 3–25.

<sup>19</sup> Soliman, Rasha, 2009, *Old and Middle Kingdom Theban Tombs*, (London: Golden House Publications), 3–6.

<sup>20</sup> Toonen, W.H.J., Graham, A., et al., 2017, "Holocene fluvial history of the Nile's west bank at ancient Thebes, Luxor, Egypt, and its relation with cultural dynamics and basin-wide hydroclimatic variability," *Geoarchaeology*, 32:1, 1–18.

<sup>21</sup> Translations of the various divinities' names and their location numbers are from Hornung, Erik, 2007, *The Egyptian Amduat* (trans. David Warburton), (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications), 214–241.

each holding a knife. Behind these stand four coffers armed with knives and containing human heads. Finally, a male divinity, “Master of the *Was*-sceptre” and female divinity, “She who owns a heart”, stand at the end of the journey through this hour.

### Physical landscape and divine being

If we look at the various divinities in turn along the central register as they are described in the Amduat, we may be able to determine the nature of the landscape we are analysing. These divinities are noted in Table 1. We can conveniently divide these divinities into four groups. The first group is the solar barque, which, as it is common to all hours of the Amduat and is the central theme of the whole Amduat text, we will disregard, since it cannot give us much information regarding the landscape itself.

Hornung Number	Transliteration	Hornung translation	Description
505 - 514			The Solar bark, with Sun god & entourage
515	ꜥꜣpp	Apopis	A large serpent facing the solar bark
516	srꜥt ꜥtyt	She who lets the throat breathe	Goddess Selket
517	ꜥry-dsw.f	He above his knives	A god holding Apopis' chains
518	dmdyt	She who binds together	Punishing goddess brandishing a knife
519	dnyt	She who cuts	Punishing goddess brandishing a knife
520	njkt	She who punishes	Punishing goddess brandishing a knife
521	ꜥtmyt	She who annihilates	Punishing goddess brandishing a knife
522	ꜥry sꜥmw jtmw	Which contains the image of Amun	Coffin with 2 human heads and knife on lid
523	ꜥry sꜥmw ꜥprj	Which contains the image of Khepri	Coffin with 2 human heads and knife on lid
524	ꜥry sꜥmw rꜥw	Which contains the image of Re	Coffin with 2 human heads and knife on lid
525	ꜥry sꜥmw wsjr	Which contains the image of Osiris	Coffin with 2 human heads and knife on lid
526	nb wꜥs	Master of the <i>Was</i> -sceptre	God holding <i>Was</i> -sceptre
527	ꜥtmt jb	She who owns a heart	Goddess

Table 1: An interpretation of the landscape of Hour Seven

The second group comprises of Apep, Selket “who lets the throat breathe” and the male divinity “he above his knives” (Hornung numbers 515 to 517). This group, we can consider, is a key component of the landscape. At first sight according to the text, we see a huge snake, coiled upon a sandbank of 440 cubits length and breadth. This snake is labelled as ꜥꜣpp (Apep) in the register,<sup>22</sup> but the detailed text also refers to it as *nhꜥ-ꜥr* (Neha-her) conventionally translated as “Horrible of Face”.<sup>23</sup> El-Sayed has discussed the qualities of Neha-her, and its forms, as a crocodile, snake, or as a seated god and in human form, all with a variety of heads and headdresses. He notes that Neha-her can both be a

Transcriptions are from Hornung, Erik, 1987, *Texte zum Amduat; Teil I: Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1 bis 3 Stunde*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 13 (Geneva), 523–580.

<sup>22</sup> Hornung, Erik, 1987, *Texte zum Amduat; Teil I: Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1 bis 3 Stunde*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 13 (Geneva), 554.

<sup>23</sup> Hornung, Erik, 1987, *Texte zum Amduat; Teil I: Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1 bis 3 Stunde*, Aegyptiaca Helvetica, 13 (Geneva), 554



destructive enemy of the gods, such as we see in the Amduat in Hour Seven, but also, for those that know of its nature, Neha-her can be somewhat benevolent.<sup>24</sup>

The sandbank upon which the serpent is coiled is called *sd3w mw* "Bringing water",<sup>25</sup> and the serpent, as *nh3-hr*, attempts to drink the water of the channel upon which the solar barque is travelling, thereby hindering the passage of the solar entourage further. We should note that in his commentary on this scene, Hornung appears concerned that while Apep is related to the bringing of water, he sees Apep's role as one of spitting out water, rather than drinking the river channel dry.<sup>26</sup>

The name Apep is first attested in the First Intermediate Period, in the tomb of Anktifi at Moalla, and is found in the context of famine.<sup>27</sup> It would appear to be an onomatopoeic name meaning "great babbler", which perhaps is an apt description of a divinity associated with water.<sup>28</sup> *Nh3-hr*, however, first appears in the Coffin Texts, in Spell 1090 as a guardian of a bend in a waterway in the Book of Two Ways<sup>29</sup>. The previous spell in the Book of Two Ways relates to the coffin owner being able to repel Apep, in crossing a pool or lake in the barque of the god Re.<sup>30</sup> Faulkner sees the adjective *nh3* as "terrible", but he suggests the related noun can mean "dangerous waters".<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, the Coffin Text Word Index translates the verb *nh3* as "to be wild" and the divinity *nh3-hr* as "Wild of Face".<sup>32</sup> Whatever its modern translation however, it is clear that *nh3* and *nh3-hr* represent in the Middle Kingdom at least, some sort of entity or natural phenomenon relating to standing or running water that was regarded as dangerous and needed to be feared and overcome. The association of *Nh3-hr* with Apep, therefore, makes one wonder whether the waterway itself, and not just the serpent on its sandbank, may be the dangerous entity. The introduction of the hour is somewhat ambivalent regarding the use of both names. The solar barque turns away from Apep, through the magic of Isis and the Eldest Magician, passengers in the barque. Apep is slaughtered here, and *Nh3-hr* is beheaded here according to the hour's title. Apep is named explicitly in the middle register, but the associated text refers to both Apep and *Nh3-hr*. We are also told that "his" voice guides the

<sup>24</sup> El-Sayed, Ramadan, 1981, Neha-her, *BIFAO*, 81.1, 119–140.

<sup>25</sup> Hornung, Erik, 1987, *Texte zum Amduat; Teil I: Kurzfassung und Langfassung, 1 bis 3 Stunde*, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica*, 13 (Geneva), 551

<sup>26</sup> Hornung, Erik, 1963, *Das Amduat: Die Schrift Des Verborgenen Raumes; Teil II: Übersetzung und Kommentar*, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 133.

<sup>27</sup> Morenz, L.D., 2004, "Apophis: On the origin, name and nature of an ancient Egyptian anti-god," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 63:3, 201-205; Leitz, C. (ed), 2002a, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band II, *Orientalia Lovananiensia Analecta*, 111 (Leuven: Peeters), 72–73.

<sup>28</sup> Morenz, L.D., 2004, "Apophis: On the origin, name and nature of an ancient Egyptian anti-god," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 63:3, 203.

<sup>29</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1978, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 151; Leitz, C. (ed), 2002b, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band IV, *Orientalia Lovananiensia Analecta*, 113 (Leuven: Peeters), 271–272.

<sup>30</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1978, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 150.

<sup>31</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1962, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 136.

<sup>32</sup> Van der Plas, D., Borghouts, J.P., 1998, *Coffin Text Word Index*, (Utrecht: CCER), 160, 161.

gods towards him, and the barque passes by “him”, though we are not told whether “he” is Apep or *Nḥ3-hr*.

Selket “who lets the throat breathe” (*srkt ḥtyt*) stands holding Apep/*Nḥ3-hr* in check by the use of a rope around its neck. In the Pyramid Texts, it is this goddess Selket, *srkt ḥtyt*, who is mentioned as one of the four goddesses protecting the throne of the deceased pharaoh (and his sarcophagus and canopic chest).<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, she also represents the mother of *Ddi*, the *dsr*-serpent, whose role is not to attack the deceased.<sup>34</sup> In the Book of Two Ways, (Spell 1069 of the Coffin Texts), Selket is addressed at the bend of a waterway.<sup>35</sup>

Selket may have some implied geographical significance within the Ancient Egyptian cosmology. Klotz, in his review article of von Lieven’s edition of Carlsberg Papyrus 8 (the “Book of Nut”), notes that the text contains references to two dark regions at the edges of the sky. These locations, *rth-k3bt* (in the south) and *srk-ḥty.t* (in the north?), might also be represented by symbols which accompany scenes depicting the pharaoh in scenes symbolically running around the world.<sup>36</sup> This suggestion of Selket (*srk.t*) as a “northern” location (specifically as a “*Gestirn am Nordhimmel*”) is further attested in the Wörterbuch.<sup>37</sup>

Selket is associated with constricting and loosening the throat to allow individuals to breathe.<sup>38</sup> As a scorpion goddess, she is said to be fatally dangerous.<sup>39</sup> One of the effects of a scorpion sting is difficulty in breathing, and although it is rarely fatal to humans, it can cause anaphylactic shock to those allergic to it. Her role in constricting and relaxing the throat of Apep in the Amduat, however, may not just be symptomatic of her venom. Schneider, quoting Ventura’s and Janssen’s discussions of the word *iht*, has suggested that although problematic in interpretation, the variations of *iht*, *ḥti.t*, *iḥti*, and *ḥty.t* could etymologically relate to the concept of a narrowing, for example in the sense of a burial shaft, a birth canal or a unfinished roughly hewn tomb shaft.<sup>40</sup> Another instance of the word *ḥtyt* used in relation to topographical features may be implied by Spell 922 in the Coffin Texts. Here the coffin owner is requested to travel upstream, and a request is given to “you

<sup>33</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1969, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 118.

<sup>34</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1969, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 127; Leitz, C. (ed), 2002c, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band VII, *Orientalia Lovananiensia Analecta*, 116 (Leuven: Peeters), 652.

<sup>35</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1978, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 143.

<sup>36</sup> Klotz, Daniel, 2011, “A New Edition of the ‘Book of Nut’”, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* LXVIII, 5–6, 483.

<sup>37</sup> *Wb* IV, 203, 20.

<sup>38</sup> *Wb* IV, 202, 4–12.

<sup>39</sup> Wilkinson, Richard H., 2003, *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, (London: Thames & Hudson), 234.

<sup>40</sup> Schneider, Thomas 2003, “Siptah und Beja. Neubeurteilung einer historischen Konstellation,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 130, 134–146; Janssen, Jac J. 1997, *Village Varia: Ten Studies on the History and Administration of Deir el-Medina*, (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten), 155–156; Ventura, Raphael, 1986, *Living in a City of the Dead: A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 69, (Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck Riprecht), 147.

who are in throats, you children of men”.<sup>41</sup> Here, however, it is not clear whether the throats in question refer to waterways, to caves or tombs, or to any other entity, whether it be animal, vegetable, or mineral. In any case, the word *htyt* is written with the single hieroglyph of a head and neck of an animal and four strokes, Gardiner’s F10 sign:



In this instance, however, the narrowing may represent some sort of constriction of a waterway. In such a case, we can perhaps envisage the constriction as a means of regulating the flow of water in or out of a waterway or canal (perhaps named by the ancients colloquially as “the Throat”, vivifying a non-living feature or entity in a similar way to how we would today refer to “the neck” of a bottle in English, for instance). But we also must be cautious in our interpretations since the word *htyt* normally refers to living beings, gods and people.

“He above his knives”, *hry-dsw.f*, is the final divinity in this group of three. He holds Apep roped by the tail. The body of Apep/*Nh3-hr* is shown pierced by a number of knives and it is these, presumably, that this divinity is above. We can read within the explanatory text above the group that Apep/*Nh3-hr* is attempting to drink the waters of the waterway the solar barque is upon and thereby hinder the passage of the solar barque in order to create an eternal chaos from the sun being unable to complete his journey to the horizon on the following morning.

The word for knife used at this point of the journey in the Amduat is *ds* (plural *dsw*) a word which is also used for “door” elsewhere in the Amduat as for example at the end of the Fifth hour.<sup>42</sup> The suggestion, therefore is that both the doors in the Amduat, and the knives in the serpent’s back, slice and cut through something (the air or the body of Apep/*Nh3-hr*) to allow something through. If we can consider the notion of Apep/*Nh3-hr* being a waterway, and Selket being some constricting force controlling or letting the waters enter some sort of channel, then “He above his knives” can perhaps be considered as some personification of a mechanism or phenomenon that controls the level of water in the channel, adjusting that level by opening of closing some sort of “floodgates” represented by the *dsw* knives.

In the later Book of the Earth, in the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV9) a similar attack on the serpent Apep is depicted. Here, the personification of the king and a god spear the serpent’s body, while another divinity cuts into his back with a knife, trying to hack him to pieces by severing his vertebrae.<sup>43</sup> Müller-Roth remarks on the word play involved at this point in the Book of the Earth, noting that the word for “vertebra” (*ts*) is similar to that of “sandbank” (*ts*), and suggesting the emerging sandbars in the waterway upon which the

<sup>41</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1978, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, III, (Warminster: Aris & Phillips), 64.

<sup>42</sup> Hornung, Erik, 2007, *The Egyptian Amduat* (trans. David Warburton), (Zurich: Living Human Heritage Publications), 171; 249.

<sup>43</sup> Piankoff, Alexandre, 1954, *The Tomb of Ramesses VI*, (New York: Pantheon Books, Princeton University), Bollingen Series 40/1, Figure 131, 398; Müller-Roth, M. 2008, *Das Buch vom Tage*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 236, (Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck Riprecht), 471–481.

solar entourage is travelling are the dismembered parts of Apep's body.<sup>44</sup> During the sixth hour of the Book of Earth, Apep returns to gulp down the waters of the Celestial river, while the king and his divine companions beat him until he is forced to vomit up the waters he has swallowed.<sup>45</sup> Although not explicitly mentioned as such, either in the Book of the Day or in the Amduat, the knives that cut into Apep/*Nḥ3-ḥr*'s back undoubtedly are aiming to fulfil the same functions, in cutting the backbone of the serpent and at the same time, we can imagine, releasing the waters contained within the segments of his body which then enable the sun god to continue on his journey to Dawn in the following morning.

The third group of divine entities in Hour Seven consists of four female divinities. Standing upright and brandishing knives, their purpose is said to be one of punishing Apep in the Netherworld, day after day. Their names make sure we know their roles within the Afterlife text—*dmdyt* (“she who binds”), *dnyt* (“she who cuts”), *njkt* (“she who punishes”), and *ḥtmyt* (“she who annihilates”). Taking each of these divinities in turn, can we associate any of them with any aspect of a landscape, divine or otherwise?

Diamond has noted that associated with depictions of Osirian funerary ritual in New Kingdom tombs, two women holding *nw*-jars can be found kneeling beside four lakes.<sup>46</sup> She has proposed that these women fulfilled the role of the goddess *dmdyt*, collecting and assembling the bones of the deceased, and thereby acted as alternatives to the goddess Isis, who gathered together the bones and parts of her dismembered husband, Osiris. The goddess *dmdyt* herself is little known and rarely attested, and as a result, her exact nature and function is unknown.<sup>47</sup> However, given that the two *dmdyt* women are associated with bodies of water within the sacred district of the necropolis at the thresholds of tombs, it may be feasible that the goddess here in the Amduat is not only involved with ritual, but also has a role to play with the provisioning or controlling of water on the borders between the fertile agricultural lands and the dry desert edge (Fig. 5). Willems notes parallel divine beings in his study of the coffin of Heqata, and other Middle Kingdom coffins, although in these earlier



Figure 5: Bone collectors in the ‘Sacred district’ (author’s photo)

<sup>44</sup> Müller-Roth, Marcus, 2008, *Das Buch vom Tage*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 236, (Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck Ruprecht), 474.

<sup>45</sup> Meeks, Dimitri; Favard-Meeks, Christine, 1996, *Daily life of the Egyptian Gods*, (trans. G.M. Goshgarian), (London: John Murray), 115.

<sup>46</sup> Diamond, Kelly-Anne., 2017, The *dmd(y)t*: A Prototype for Isis?, *JSSEA*, XLIII, 45–67.

<sup>47</sup> Leitz, C. (ed), 2002c, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, Band VII, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 116 (Leuven: Peeters), 547.

examples, the beings can be either male or female, holding cups or similar objects representing some sort of ceramic, and sitting before two or three rectangles. Willems further notes that although these beings may well represent the divinities in the sacred district in these Middle Kingdom coffins, such explicit depictions of the two female women and their jars, that are the subject of Diamond's paper, do not appear until the New Kingdom.<sup>48</sup> Gardiner has suggested that the later examples of the two kneeling women of the sacred district, the *Mnknw* and *Dmdyt*, may be performing a rite symbolising the fertilisation of the desert in order to make the location suitable for Osiris. He, however, concludes this by stating that this suggestion is "a mere guess".<sup>49</sup>

"She who cuts", *dnyt*, stands immediately behind *dmdyt* in this group of four. Her name includes the determinative for "knife" (Gardiner's T30 sign), and therefore there would be a suggestion that she is involved in cutting something. There are a number of topographical words that may be related to this concept of cutting. Land can be said to be shared or parcelled out (*dni*) with *dnyt* meaning "land".<sup>50</sup> In addition, the nouns "dam" (*dnit*) and "ditch" or "canal" (*dnit*) may relate specifically to moving or bunding water onto fields following the annual inundation (Fig. 6).<sup>51</sup> One could suggest, therefore, that these two goddesses, *dmdyt* and *dnyt*, could have some sort of agricultural demarcation or apportioning role, or play a role in the management of water resources in the Celestial Nile floodplain and its channels or along the edge of the afterlife's desert.

The other two goddesses in the third group appear to have a role in punishment. The text associated with all four goddesses states that they punish Apep in the Netherworld, so *nikt*, "She who punishes" and *htmyt*, "she who annihilates", could conceivably have a purely metaphysical role. There are, however, some indications that riverbanks could be the locations of local courts documented in the Theban area in the New Kingdom. Muhlestein notes a number of examples where women were taken "to the bank of the river" to be interrogated at a "place of examination" for stealing or for other crimes, and then either tried and if found guilty, impaled or possibly cast into that river to be drowned.<sup>52</sup> Černý also notes that workmen from Deir el-Medina or their wives could be taken "to the river bank" for interrogation at a local court on the river bank, and further suggests that "there had been an authority on the river-bank who took decisions in such legal matters."<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Willems, Harco, 1996, *The Coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418): A Case Study of Egyptian Funerary Culture of the Early Middle Kingdom*, (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters Department Oriëntalistiek), Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 70, 167–170.

<sup>49</sup> De Garis Davis, Norman; Gardiner, Alan H. (eds), 1913, *The Tomb of Amenemhet* (London: Egypt Exploration Society), 52.

<sup>50</sup> Gunn, B., Gardiner, A.H., 1918, "New renderings of Egyptian Texts: II, Expulsion of the Hyksos," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 5, 36–56.

<sup>51</sup> Faulkner, Raymond O., 1962, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, (Oxford: Griffith Institute), 314; Gardiner, Alan H., 1914, "New literary works from Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 1, 20–36.

<sup>52</sup> Muhlestein, Kerry, 2011, *Violence in the Service of Order*, BAR International Series, (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports), 43.

<sup>53</sup> Černý, Jaroslav, 1973, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period*, (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire), 96–97.

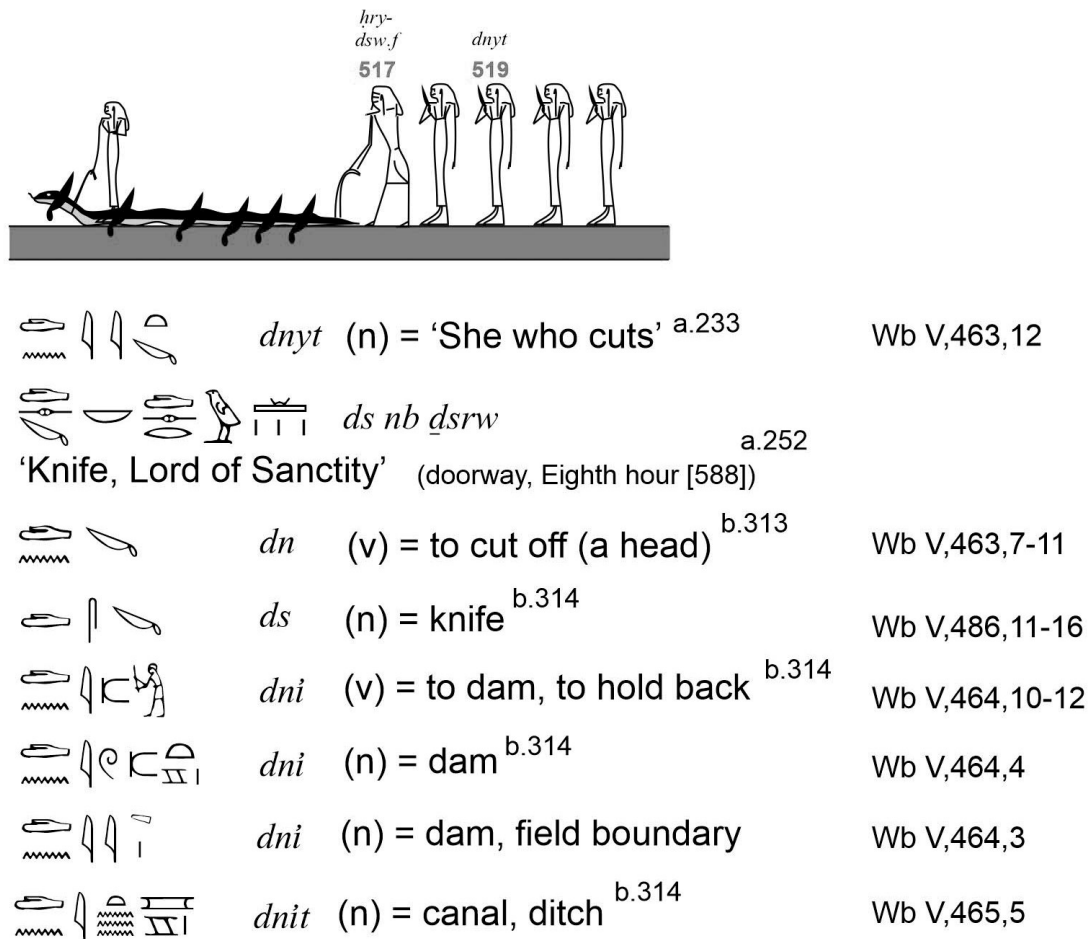


Figure 6: Words for knife : a.xxx Hornung 2007, *The Egyptian Amduat*; b.xxx Faulkner, R.O., 1962, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (xxx refers to page number in volume)

Capital punishment and especially drowning by being thrown into a river would prevent the convicted criminal from getting a proper burial and therefore they would not be given access to the afterlife so desired by the Egyptians, but instead consigned to annihilation by “dying a second death”. As the river bank therefore appears to have been an important location for a local court or *mryt*, it is not inconceivable that such places of punishment, if they were to be personified as divinities of location, would be indicated by the two punishing goddesses *nikt* and *htmyt*.

The fourth scene in this middle register of the Seventh Hour consists of four coffers, said to be Atum, Khepri, Re, and Osiris, and two standing divinities, one male and the other female. The four coffers are described as “mysterious forms of the Netherworld, caskets of earth . . . at the end of this sandbank”. They are guarded by the male, holding a *was*-sceptre

(*nb w3s*), and the female deity “she who owns a heart” (*htmt-jb*). Thebes was no exception to the many necropolis sites along the edge of the desert, where tombs could be found, and we might conclude that each of these four human-headed coffers, with its casket and associated divine guardian, could represent a generic tomb, with each one associated in some way or other now unknown with each of the four gods that are noted at this place in the Amduat.

### **The physical landscape portrayed in the Amduat**

Such is the metaphysical landscape of the central register of Hour Seven, with its river channel and sandbanks, places of punishment, areas of standing water, and maybe earlier tombs. But how should we interpret this landscape? Could we simply dismiss the locations and entities portrayed as mere figments of the Amduat’s compilers’ imaginations, having no physical basis of fact? On the other hand, should we see in this landscape, a real set of geomorphological, geographical, and cultural features? And if this second option were the case, do the text and graphics show us a generic landscape or one of multiple sites and associations, or can we pin them down to one or at least a handful of specific places of limited area along the Nile valley?

Our first port of call in trying to answer this question should be to note that the text of the Amduat doesn’t always provide sound topographical pointers to a real world geography. Indeed, one could argue that the entire canon of the Amduat is ‘. . . a territory within [the composers’] own brain; and we run the risk of disillusionment if we try to turn such phantom cities into tangible brick and mortar . . .’<sup>54</sup> That said, while the discipline of literary cartography, or the cartographic depictions of fictional places or landscapes only attested in written sources, such as the Amduat, can be hotly contested and debated, we must remember that ‘. . . the texts themselves do not always provide distinct information concerning their topographical and geographical dimensions . . .’<sup>55</sup> In 2003, I suggested that in the Amduat as a whole, “by far the most references are to ‘generic places’, to riverbanks and oases, to caverns and regions.”<sup>56</sup>

In the intervening two decades or so since I wrote that, information from archaeological excavations, from interpretations of texts, and from advances in our understanding of the landscape as a phenomenological stage, can perhaps improve our interpretation of the landscape of the Amduat. Geophysical methods have located the abandoned and buried side branches and wanderings of the River Nile over its floodplain in a number of places along its valley. Significantly for our analysis of the Amduat, such geophysical methods have found the buried course of a now dried up side branch of the Nile, west of the modern town of Luxor, but within the Nile floodplain. The Theban

<sup>54</sup> Woolf, Virginia, 1905, *Literary geography*, in A. McNeillie (ed.) *The Essays of Virginia Woolf*, 1986, (San Diego: Harcourt Brace), 28–42.

<sup>55</sup> Piatti, Barbara; Hurni, Lorenz, 2011, *Cartographies of Fictional Worlds*, *The Cartographical Journal*, 48:4, 219.

<sup>56</sup> Robinson, Peter, 2003, *Crossing the Night: The Depiction of Mythological Landscapes in the Am Duat of the New Kingdom Royal Necropolis*, in Rachel Ives, Daniel Lines, Christopher Naunton, Nina Wahlberg (eds.) *Current Research in Egyptology III*, BAR International Series 1192, (Oxford: Archaeopress), 51–61.

Harbours and Waterways project have located this side branch running between the area later to be occupied by Amenhotep III's now demolished mortuary chapel at Kom el-Hettan and the area of the Ramesseum.<sup>57</sup> A series of borehole runs by the project team have enabled them to develop a history of the environment of this side-branch and its possible role in the building of the Ramesseum and other later New Kingdom mortuary temples in the area.<sup>58</sup> The sedimentary record in this channel suggests that it existed at least as early as the Middle Kingdom, although it is not apparent when the channel actually formed, due to later erosion. Evidence of sandbanks comes from lenses of sand in the channel infill, and the channel was flanked by levees. The eastern levee gradually reduced to the east, down to the level of the floodplain. These levees were sufficiently high to allow flow throughout much of the year, but would have trapped floodwaters between the side branch and the main Nile channel to the east after the annual inundation, allowing bunding and seasonal storage of waters over the agricultural lands of the floodplain.

To maintain flow along the channel, there had to be an open connection with the main Nile channel. The gradual silting up of and eventual abandonment of the channel appears to have taken place towards the end of the New Kingdom, and would probably have followed some shift or change in the hydrological dynamics of the main Nile channel. The Theban Harbours and Waterways project has recognised that whilst the channel was probably natural in origin, it could also have been manipulated by man, although there is no direct evidence of this so far discovered in the Theban flood plain. Nonetheless, the route of the channel so far discovered, stretching from the area of Kom el-Hettan to near the later Royal Cult temple of Seti I, could have played an important role for the transport of building materials for the various temples along the desert's edge, as well as influencing the route of the procession of Amun's sacred barque during the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, and the location of the *mryt* of the workers' village of Deir el-Medina, inferred by Muhlestein.

Whilst this side branch of the Nile at the edge of the floodplain probably maintained flow during much of the year, with the gradual accumulation of silts and especially sands blown in from the nearby desert which have been evidenced in the sediments, at times of low river levels the channel would have been difficult to navigate. Sandbanks would have impeded any river transport, and it may have been necessary to control the levels of the channel water, with structures to impede the flow of water through the channel, or by opening up dams to allow the flow of water into or out of the channel. Taken with the interpretation of the goddesses and divine coffers, it could therefore be possible to create an interpretation of the landscape of the Amduat's Hour Seven as a part of the Theban landscape (Fig. 7). We could therefore consider that the group of Apep/*Nh3-ḥr* controlled

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<sup>57</sup> Toonen, W.H.J., Graham, A., *et al.*, 2017, "Holocene fluvial history of the Nile's west bank at ancient Thebes, Luxor, Egypt, and its relation with cultural dynamics and basin-wide hydroclimatic variability," *Geoarchaeology*, 32:1, 4, Figure 3a.

<sup>58</sup> Graham, A., Strutt, K.D., *et al.*, 2015, "Theban Harbours and waterscapes survey," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 101, 37–49.



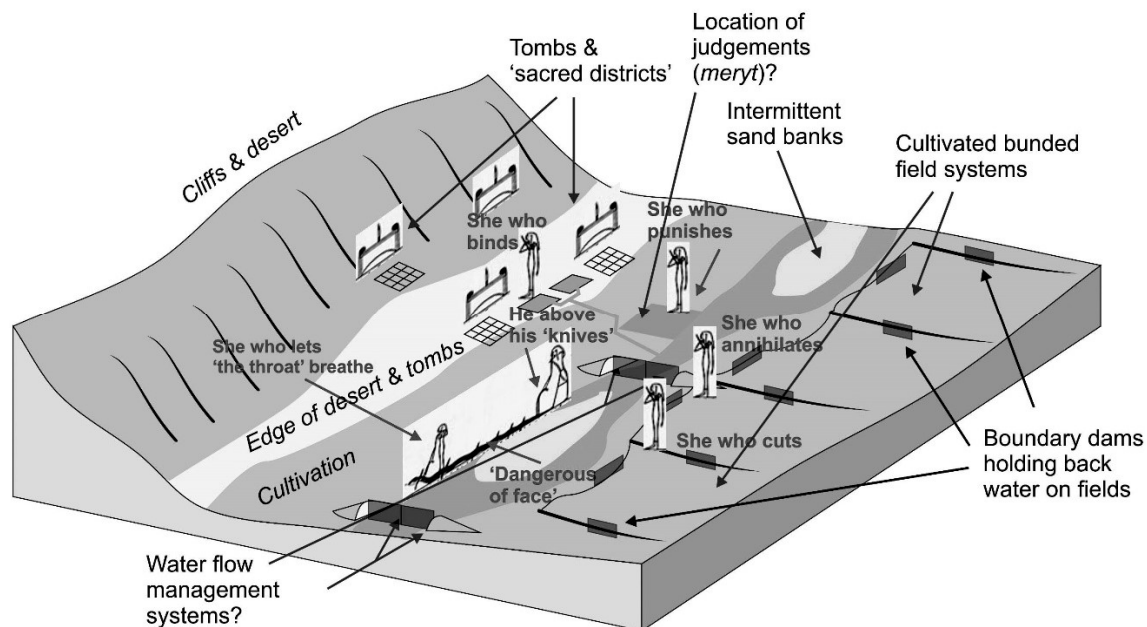


Figure 7: An interpretation of the landscape of Hour Seven

by the divinities Selket and “he who is above his knives” may represent a metaphysical interpretation of this physical landscape feature.

### The development and growth of a sacred landscape in early Tuthmosid Thebes and its relationship to the Amduat

Although the first pharaohs to initiate a sacred landscape in and around the site of Deir el-Bahri appear to be those of the Eleventh Dynasty—it was Nebhetepetre Mentuhotep II who built the first temple against the cliff face at Deir el-Bahri—it was only at the start of the New Kingdom, during the reigns of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, and Tuthmosis III that we see the full conscious development of a sacred district in and around the area, of the West Bank desert, opposite the temple of Karnak across the river.<sup>59</sup> As well as building her magnificent mortuary chapel at Deir el-Bahri alongside that of the Eleventh Dynasty temple and tombs of Mentuhotep II and his wives, Hatshepsut appears to have emphasised the Beautiful Festival of the Valley in her monuments, with reliefs depicting the Festival appearing on both her Red Chapel in Karnak Temple and at Deir el-Bahri.<sup>60</sup> The Beautiful Festival was an annual event whereby a statue of the god Amun was taken on his sacred barque across the Nile from Karnak, to visit the goddess Hathor of the West,

<sup>59</sup> Spence, Kate, 2007, “Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy: Hatshepsut’s foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahri,” in Schneider, Thomas, Szpakowska, Kasia. (eds.), 2007, *Egyptian Stories: A British Egyptological Tribute to Alan B. Lloyd on the Occasion of His Retirement* (Münster: Ugarit Verlag), 353–372.

<sup>60</sup> Szafranski, Zbigniew, 2014, “The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut,” in José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, Peter Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, SAOC 69, (Chicago: Oriental Institute), 125–139.

with her associations with the dead. In the non-divine world, the early Tuthmoside pharaohs seem to have used this festival to re-affirm their kingship, and for non-royals, the festival was also an event to visit the tombs of ancestors.<sup>61</sup> Mironova has discussed the potential parallels between the Festival and the text, imagery, and landscape of the Amduat, seeing both as ritual concerned with rejuvenation of the pharaoh within the Festival, and the Sun god, Amun-Re, within the Amduat.<sup>62</sup> Indeed, Mironova has noted that the parallels include iconographic representations of the solar barques both in the Amduat and in the representations of the Festival, and has also suggested that the battle with Apep in Hour Seven of the Amduat which we have discussed above, was replicated in a series of ceremonies held in Luxor during the festival.

A number of scholars have noted that at the start of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Theban necropolis on the West Bank and city on the East bank of the Nile were becoming increasingly ritualised and sacred. This was a period of a great explosion of creativity, in the arts and architecture, in sculpture and statuary, and in the world view and the understanding of and preparations for the afterlife, from the pharaoh down through society's various levels. Furthermore, it is now becoming recognised that, even though pre-New Kingdom regional artistic traditions survived into the new reigns, the rise of the Tuthmoside pharaohs ushered in a new national unification of artistic style.<sup>63</sup> This also seen in the adoption of new afterlife genres, both within the royal and non-royal realms, of which the Amduat is but one example.

But if Thebes at the start of the New Kingdom could show physical and cultural features that could be seen in the landscape of the Amduat, could those same features be seen elsewhere in the Nile Valley? We know that the River Nile has meandered and changed much of its course across its floodplain over the course of the past four millennia, as this is a perfectly natural phenomenon for rivers, especially for those like the Nile, which has an established flood regime and wide floodplain of alluvial sediments. There are abandoned channels, oxbow lakes, and scattered islands the length of the valley from Aswan in the south to the Delta in the north, many of which have undoubtedly had economic, social, political, or other impacts upon the State.<sup>64</sup> Tombs of royals and non-royals alike are found on the desert edge and deeper in the desert, north and south of the necropolis of Thebes. And religious tradition records mention of places, divinities, and divine events and encounters at various places along the Nile. On the other hand, there are some features of the Amduat canon that may cause us to question its location in Luxor. The Amduat opens with the statement:

<sup>61</sup> Strudwick, Nigel; Strudwick, Helen, 1999, *Thebes in Egypt* (London: British Museum Press), 78–79.

<sup>62</sup> Mironova, Alexandra, 2009, “Древнеегипетский праздник Опет в эпоху Хатшепсут: ритуал и символика (The Opet Festival in Ancient Egypt in the Epoch of Hatshepsut: Ritual and Symbolism),” *Вестник древней истории (Journal of Ancient History)* 4, 125–137.

<sup>63</sup> Dorman, Peter, 2014, “Innovation at the Dawn of the New Kingdom,” in José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, Peter Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, SAOC 69, (Chicago: Oriental Institute), 1–6.

<sup>64</sup> Hodgkinson, Anna Kathrin, 2007, “The Final Phase of Per-Ramesses: The History of the City in the Light of its Natural Environment,” in Maria Cannata (ed.), *Current Research in Egyptology 2006*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books), 99–115.

*ḥ3t wp imnt sb3 ni 3ḥt imnt, phwy kkw-zm3w sb3 3ḥt imnt*

The beginning is the horn of the West, the gate of the western horizon, the end is Unified Darkness, the gate of the western horizon

There is no mention of the temple of Karnak in the text of the Amduat, nor is the leading character, the sun-god explicitly named as Amun or even Amun-Re. Nor is Apep explicitly named within the reliefs at Karnak temple (indeed, although Apep is mentioned in the Coffin Texts, the battle between Apep and the sun-god only appears outside of the context of afterlife texts on the later temple walls of Edfu and Esna).<sup>65</sup> Reminding ourselves of Mironova’s research, cited above, however, we should be mindful of the parallels she sees between the temple of Karnak at the time of the Festival of Opet and the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, and the scenes in the Amduat. Furthermore, although the “gate of the western horizon” (*sb3 ni 3ḥt imnt*) lies at the start of the text, we must consider that the western gate of Karnak itself represented a horizon, in both form and substance, forming the threshold between the sacred enclosure of the divine home of the god Amun’s temple and the world beyond, significantly orientated towards the land of the Blessed Dead and looking out towards the ritual landscape of Deir el-Bahri.<sup>66</sup>

In addition, we can remind ourselves of the mythical battle between Re and Apep that was said to have taken place at the Red Mountain (*dw dšr*) close to Heliopolis, and further that the goddess Selket may have a northern sky or horizon association, both of which we noted above. However, Dorman’s suggestion regarding the centralisation of innovation at the start of the New Kingdom may be at play here. We know, for instance, that parts of the component spell blocks in the New Kingdom Book of the Dead, come from various sections of the Coffin Texts and Pyramid Texts (for example, the spells “for sitting amongst the gods” (Chapter 104), the “spells for knowing the Western Souls” (Chapter 108), the “Gateway Spells”, Chapters 144–147, and the “Mounds of the Afterlife Spells”, Chapters 149–150)), but that these coffins come from various places throughout the Nile Valley.<sup>67</sup> It would appear, therefore, that there had been some collation and redaction of texts and themes from the Coffin Texts into the Book of the Dead, in a similar vein, perhaps, to what Hornung has described as “government-funded research into the hereafter”.<sup>68</sup> Dorman further suggests that the innovations were probably not the work of an individual, be they priest, pharaoh, architect, or some other person. Instead, he envisages the agency of a number of people, including the pharaoh.<sup>69</sup> We can perhaps, therefore,

<sup>65</sup> Yoyote, Jean, 1978, « Apopis et la Montagne Rouge, » *RdÉ*, 30, 147–149.

<sup>66</sup> Wilkinson, Richard H., 1994, *Symbol and Magic in Egyptian Art*, (London: Thames and Hudson), 166–167.

<sup>67</sup> Allen, Thomas, 1974, *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 225–241.

<sup>68</sup> Hornung, Erik, 1999, *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 11.

<sup>69</sup> Dorman, Peter, 2014, “Innovation at the Dawn of the New Kingdom,” in José M. Galán, Betsy M. Bryan, Peter Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut*, SAOC 69, (Chicago: Oriental Institute), 5–6.

suggest that while some core themes in the Amduat may originally have been local to other parts of Egypt and the Nile Valley, it may be a reasonable assumption that these ideas may have been combined, and used the natural and ritual settings of the Theban area as the ceremonial backdrop. In fact, whilst it could be argued that while other landscapes in Egypt do partially fit, the fact that the Amduat occurs in the tombs of the royalty of the early Eighteenth Dynasty who were beginning to ritualise the Theban landscape through festivals and building work at that time, and features in the physical and human landscape appear to mirror features in the graphical text of the Amduat, should be seen as more than mere coincidence. Other Amduat landscapes such as that of the tomb and mortuary complex of Senwosret III at Abydos, beneath the sacred Mountain of Anubis,<sup>70</sup> may have some features that define them as an “Amduat tomb”, for example the winding entrance corridors, or locations at particularly sacred spots, but it is within the earliest New Kingdom Theban royal tombs that we first see the physical, the ritual, the monumental and divine landscapes all coalesce and be depicted graphically as a unity. Similarly, linguistic similarities with far-off locations of bodies of water or depictions of existential angst and dream worlds within psychological and philosophical frameworks may go some way to explain one or a couple of aspects of the Amduat, but cannot really combine all the physical and metaphysical landscapes into a unified whole.<sup>71</sup>

Assmann notes that the gods “indwell” within statues, cult images, and even on the land itself, but emphasises that as “the statue is not the image of the deity’s body, but the body itself” so the deity could equally reside in a natural location.<sup>72</sup> The meaning, therefore, of this would seem to be subtle. If a deity could be thought of as travelling from a divine sphere to enter and inhabit a statue or an image of that deity, then the metaphysical landscape that that deity inhabited could also be potentially mapped onto a physical landscape that was familiar to mortals, and festivals associated with that landscape could potentially blur with divine activities.<sup>73</sup> Yet this landscape in its divine form undoubtedly would have been as invisible to people as would the divine essence and appearance of a deity which was wrapped around and within that deity’s statuary. Likewise, in the way that the early Tuthmosid rulers witnessed and promoted the increasing importance of the Beautiful Festival in the Theban landscape, that saw the visit of Amun to the domain of Hathor at Deir el-Bahri, and the ordinary people visit their ancestors in the surrounding

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<sup>70</sup> Wegner, Josef, 2009, “The Tomb of Senwosret III at Abydos and Considerations on the Development of the Royal Amduat-Tomb,” in Silverman, D.P., Simpson, W.K., Wegner, J. (eds.), 2009, *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven: Yale University Press), 103–169.

<sup>71</sup> Schneider, Thomas, 2010, “The West beyond the West: the Mysterious ‘Wernes’ of the Egyptian Underworld and the Chad Palaeolakes,” *Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections*, 2:4, 1–14; Schweizer, Andreas, 1994, *The Sungod’s Journey through the Netherworld*, (ed. D. Lorton), (Ithaca: Cornell University Press).

<sup>72</sup> Assmann, Jan, 2001, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (trans D Lorton), (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 46–47.

<sup>73</sup> Assmann, Jan, 2001, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (trans D Lorton), (Ithaca: Cornell University Press), 32–33.

tombs, so in the divine world the Amduat appears to invoke a journey made by the sun-god to the West from the temple of Karnak crossing through ranks of adoring *ba*-souls and traversing celestial waterways and fields, then processing up the sacred ways towards the temple complex at Deir el-Bahri before entering the Valley of the Kings ready to revive himself, or herself, beneath the natural pyramid peak of el-Qurn above the metaphysical cavern occupied by the physical burial chamber of KV38. The sun-god then re-emerges to cross again through the landscape of tombs of ancestors, fields, and waterways, back this time towards the eastern horizon to re-appear as the morning sunrise.

We must be clear, however, that in the Amduat we are not necessarily witnessing the transporting of a god's statue out of a temple shrine by priestly bearers to visit the West Bank and back (although we could be, given the nature of these festivals), but a divine visitation to the West mapped out on the physical stage of the Theban landscape, recorded upon the walls of the earliest royal in the Valley of the Kings, and later copied into various corridors and chambers of the later royal tombs.

### **Conclusions—A fictional cartography or a phenomenological stage?**

Throughout this analysis of a specific section of landscape in the Amduat, we have had to be mindful that the Amduat itself may just present a fictional journey through a mythical space and time. If we were to adopt such a viewpoint, however, we need to consider how such fictional geographies can and have been depicted. In recent years there has been a growing interest in mapping such landscapes and scholars are beginning to realise and codify these landscapes using a growing corpus of tools and techniques for their analysis. There is a growing awareness that even though such fictional (or imaginary) maps can be created and may have their own rules and principles, these maps are often anchored in a reality or realities of existing spaces and places.<sup>74</sup> Reuschel and Zoll have identified five factors that determine how literature and fictional worlds can be mapped:<sup>75</sup>

- Fictional spaces are fragmentary.
- Spatial entities have uncertain or vague boundaries which may be neither physical or natural, administrative or man-made.
- Fictional space is sometimes difficult to localise, with indeterminate or vague locations and descriptions that could be set in buildings, small geographical areas, or larger geographical regions.
- Real world counterparts of these fictional spaces can be set in any time epoch.
- Spaces and settings in narratives can be transformed or remodelled by the author, with the suggestion that they can be renamed, combined in novel ways or relocated.

Thus, these rules that determine fictional cartography can have an impact of any mythological meanings or narratives behind the Amduat, both as a whole, but also within the scope of the central register of Hour Seven, the subject of this study. In general,

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<sup>74</sup> Reuschel, Anne-Kathrin; Zoll, Larenz Hurni, 2011, "Mapping Literature: Visualisation of Spatial Uncertainty in Fiction," *Cartographic Journal*, 48:4, 293–308.

<sup>75</sup> Reuschel, Anne-Kathrin; Zoll, Larenz Hurni, 2011, "Mapping Literature: Visualisation of Spatial Uncertainty in Fiction," *Cartographic Journal*, 48:4, 294.

mythological landscapes have been generated within the realm of oral story-telling for many centuries, if not millennia, and we, like the ancients, can use such maps to decipher and decode these myths and stories. As Piatti and Hurni put it, “to a reasonably well-educated reader . . . this map serves as an icon, a gateway to . . . collected knowledge . . .”<sup>76</sup> There is, of course, one trap that can catch us somewhat unawares when trying to determine the meaning of the text and imagery of the Amduat with today’s knowledge of the world and its scientific methodologies. As Kemp suggests, we are in danger of rethinking ancient logic—it is hard to know when to stop analysing and interpreting ancient ideas. In discussing the configuration of Old Kingdom shrines at Saqqara and their potential meanings and rationales related to ancient theology, he notes:

Our only means of finding out is to try to see it in terms of what we know of ancient Egyptian theology . . . We really have no way of knowing in the end if a set of scholarly guesses which might be quite true to the spirit of ancient thought and well informed of the available sources ever actually passed through the minds of the ancients at all.<sup>77</sup>

Thus, even though we can look at the Amduat in terms of a graphical and textual map of a landscape set in reality, and even though we have a number of features within that map that bear a striking resemblance to what we know of from other literary, documentary, or archaeological sources, unless we were to find, say an ancient street sign showing us the way to the riverside legal court and referring specifically to the *mryt* known amongst some of the local residents as “the *nikt*”, or an ancient sign by a buried river weir close to the future site of the Colossi of Memnon warning us to be wary walking alongside the narrow river channel described as “The Throat”, our interpretation must by necessity be somewhat speculative. That is not to say, of course, that our speculation is entirely false.

We must conclude with one final point, however. In the field of Landscape History, there has been a growing realisation over the past fifty years or so that the study of the cultural landscape, as distinct from the physical landscape in terms of human activities and awareness, is no longer tenable. Scholars are now beginning to see the physical landscape in terms of a stage upon which cultural events and actions can take place or are played out, and the boundaries between the physical environment and that cultural stage as permeable, if not non-existent. As Coones has pointed out, “Since the landscape is an expression of the links between people and their environment . . . the study of the cultural landscape separately from the physical landscape is highly artificial.”<sup>78</sup>

From a phenomenological perspective, landscape can be seen to be occupied not just by the people who inhabit its settlements, or work its physical features, but it can also be said to have a “spirit of place”, in which people draw on their experiences and

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<sup>76</sup> Piatti, Barbara; Hurni, Lorenz, 2009, “Mapping the Ontologically unreal—counterfactual spaces in Literature and Cartography,” *The Cartographical Journal*, 46:4, 336.

<sup>77</sup> Kemp, Barry, 1989, *Ancient Egypt: Anatomy of a civilisation*, (London: Routledge), 4.

<sup>78</sup> Coones, Paul, 1985, “One landscape or many? A geographical perspective,” *Landscape History*, 7:1, 5–12.

knowledge of the landscape to give it meaning, including metaphysical meaning. Such a landscape becomes both imbued with memory and part of memory, both at the individual and collective level. This experience, however, is not shared equally by all members of society, and such knowledge can become restricted to certain sectors of society and hidden from other individuals and groups.<sup>79</sup> It is therefore in this context that we should see the Amduat—as a record of a metaphysical landscape of the gods and their afterlife, mapped onto the physical landscape memories of the people of Thebes, but used in a restricted way, initially at least, for the sole benefit of the deceased pharaohs or other selected individuals, as they become elevated to the realm of the gods.

### Postscript

In this analysis of the Amduat, we have looked at one specific part of the text and imagery, that of Hour Seven. This is because it bears a close resemblance to a part of the landscape of the West Bank of early New Kingdom Thebes, at the time that it appears to have been first incorporated into the canon of royal tomb decoration in the nearby Valley of the Kings, and a limited selection of non-royal burials. Recalling our earlier brief summary and Figure 2, however, it should be remembered that the Amduat as a whole is not just a series of disjointed locations or events, but has a connected series of landscapes that lead from one to the next. One might therefore suggest that scenes in other hours could also be analysed in a similar fashion to our analysis and interpretation of Hour Seven, and we could suggest, for instance, that Hour One represents the canal leading from the main entrance of Karnak temple towards the Nile, or that the solar barque and its flotilla depicted in Hour Two could represent a journey across the Nile towards a landing point close to Deir el-Bahri. Hour Three with its grain gods and agricultural associations could then be showing us a landscape not unlike the fields between the Nile and the desert edge. Hours Four and Five, with their dry desert landscapes appear similar to the desert landscapes of the Valley of the Kings and its approaches (or exits) and the image of the tomb beneath a pyramidal peak at the culmination of Hour Four representing the royal tomb itself in the Valley of the Kings. Other hours, however, are more speculative, but maybe a similar analysis of these other hours may bear fruit and help with our understanding of the development of the Amduat canon. But that analysis is beyond the scope of this paper and should be left for another time and place.

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<sup>79</sup> Tilley, Christopher, 1994, *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, (Oxford: Berg), 26–27.

# Investigating the Materiality of Ostraca at Tell Edfu

## Kathryn Bandy

**Abstract:** Work on the publication of the Tell Edfu Ostraca corpus is ongoing. Examination of the hieratic ostraca during the spring 2023 field season began a new phase of study—the examination of the texts as material objects. This ongoing project includes the examination of their physical forms and manipulation throughout the writing process. Preliminary findings indicate clear engagement between writers and their writing surfaces, suggesting, for example, that rather than a hindrance, the uneven shape of ostraca could have been preferred in some cases.

**Résumé:** Les travaux de publication du corpus d'ostraca de Tell Edfou sont présentement en cours. Durant la saison de fouilles du printemps 2023, l'examen des ostraca hiératiques a débuté une nouvelle phase d'étude—l'analyse des textes en tant qu'objets matériels. Ce projet en cours inclut l'examen de l'aspect physique des ostraca et de leur manipulation au cours du processus d'écriture. Les résultats préliminaires indiquent un engagement clair entre les scribes et leurs surfaces d'écriture, suggérant, par exemple, que plutôt qu'être un obstacle, la forme inégale des ostraca aurait pu être préférée en certaines occasions.

**Keywords:** Ostraca, Second Intermediate Period, Scribes, Writing, Materiality, Writing

**Mots-clés:** Ostraca, Deuxième Période intermédiaire, scribes, écriture, matérialité

### Introduction

Excavations at the site of Tell Edfu in southern Upper Egypt have yielded more than 250 hieratic ostraca since 2005.<sup>1</sup> The ostraca come from more than three dozen archaeological strata, ranging from floor levels to debris from earlier 20<sup>th</sup> century excavations and *sebbakh*. The overall corpus dates from the late Middle Kingdom through the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, with the largest concentration in the late Second Intermediate Period.

The ostraca are being prepared for publication, which, in addition to the text editions, paleography, and an examination of Edfu's administration, includes an evaluation of local "ostraca culture." Analysis of the Edfu ostraca as physical material objects in their own right, including their ceramic support, size, manipulation and means of use by writers, and questions of storage and information conveyance, began in the spring (March) 2023 field season. This article presents a brief overview of this aspect of the study and early preliminary findings.

### Overview of the Tell Edfu Corpus

The majority of the texts (>90%) from Edfu can be dated to the late Second Intermediate Period–early New Kingdom by their archaeological contexts and internal details.

Archaeologically, the pottery of the texts is consistent with the pottery in the fill layers in which they were found. Overall, the ostraca identified as late Second Intermediate

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<sup>1</sup> The Tell Edfu Project is directed by Drs. Nadine Moeller and Gregory Marouard (Yale University). I am grateful for their permission and support for my work on the corpus. I would also like to thank Dr. Natasha Ayers (Austrian Archaeological Institute of the Austrian Academy of Sciences) for her extensive discussion on the ceramics, as well as the staff at the Edfu inspectorate and magazine at el-Kab for facilitating my work.



Period—early New Kingdom, as well as the associated ceramics from their archaeological strata, correspond to the late Second Intermediate Period—early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pottery tradition.<sup>2</sup>

The ostraca contain no royal names and there are no individuals in the texts that can be securely linked to local or national chronology. Several *w<sup>c</sup>b*- and *ḥm-ntr*-priests in the ostraca bear the names *ʿwḥf*, *ʿwḥb*, and *Dḥwty*, which are names and titles shared by a roughly contemporary family of priests who are known from the private monumental record.<sup>3</sup> However, the names are common at Edfu (in both the monumental and ostraca records) and any definitive links between the two are tentative at best. That they are part of an extended lineage of priests is not beyond the realm of possibility. The personal names in the ostraca follow the observed trends of Edfu's contemporary monumental record, including the absence of names invoking the Old Kingdom nomarch Isi and rise in popularity of names such as *ʿwḥf* and *Nb-it*. Paleographically, the hieratic is well paralleled by other texts of the 17<sup>th</sup>–early 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

The ostraca from Edfu are almost exclusively administrative and include different types of documentary records. Name-lists are predominant and can consist solely of names but can also include numbers, dot notation, and/or explicit grain payments associated with the individuals. The name-lists rarely have any sort of rubric and, while some individuals are titled, most are identified only by personal name. Paternal or maternal identifications (i.e., PN *s3* PN or PN *s3.t* PN) are not uncommon and, in a few cases, individuals are identified as the son/daughter of a previous name.

Larger institutional accounts are also present in the corpus; however, they are quite uncommon and generally represent "one offs". Examples include individual texts documenting grain withdrawals, baking, land, and collective payments.

### Ostraca Studies

Rather than their previous limited treatment in the study of writing surfaces,<sup>4</sup> ostraca are now being studied as archaeological objects and small finds, with studies examining their materiality, production, manipulation, storage and use, and discard. Generally, the focus of these studies has been texts using the later scripts in Egypt (i.e., Demotic, Greek, and Coptic). The 2020 volume *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies* (edited by C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya) provides a good range of current

<sup>2</sup> Personal communication Natasha Ayers (March 2023). Dr. Natasha Ayers is currently studying the pottery from the Zone 1 excavations.

<sup>3</sup> K. Bandy, "A Family of Lector-Priests at Edfu. Oriental Institute Stela E11455 and the 'Ib Family during the Early Eighteenth Dynasty", *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 56 (2020), 47–69.

<sup>4</sup> Even recently, for example, C. Eyre, *The Use of Documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford, 2013), 28–30; F. Junge, *Late Egyptian Grammar: An Introduction* (Wiesbaden, 2001), 26; A. Bülow-Jacobsen, "Writing Materials in the Ancient World", in R. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford, 2011), 14–16; M. Weber, "Beiträge Zur Kenntnis Des Schrift- Und Buchwesens Der Alten Ägypter" (PhD, Köln, Universität zu Köln, 1969), 25–27.

topics of study, including sherd choice, preservation and distribution, and modern documentary methods.<sup>5</sup>

Hieratic ostraca, however, are almost entirely absent in these discussions.<sup>6</sup> One of the driving factors behind this absence is the limited number of substantial corpora in comparison to those of later scripts (outside of Deir el-Medina).<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless, the materiality of hieratic ostraca is gaining momentum. Recent examinations of a sample of figured ostraca from Deir el-Medina have found indications of the stone having been worked prior to use as writing surfaces.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, ceramic details of ostraca are also now being included in publications.<sup>9</sup> The tide is turning.

### “Ostraca Culture” at Tell Edfu—Sherd Choice and Manipulation

In addition to their abundant textual content, the size of Edfu’s corpus<sup>10</sup> and its span through multiple stratigraphic layers from the late Middle Kingdom through early New Kingdom, afford the potential to examine Edfu’s local ostraca culture—the choice of a particular piece of pottery as a writing surface, its use and manipulation before and during the writing process, its textual content, if and how the contained information was subsequently used and/or transferred, if and how it was stored, and the act of its ultimate disposal.<sup>11</sup> Determining the full life cycle of a text is practically impossible, there are

<sup>5</sup> C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (eds), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies*, *Materiale Textkulturen* 32 (Berlin, 2020).

<sup>6</sup> The focus of the present article is the recent work at Edfu and hieratic material, and not a comprehensive discussion of ostraca materiality and use from the pharaonic through Coptic periods. For recent discussions of ostraca culture for later material, see C. Caputo, “Looking at the Material: One Hundred Years of Studying Ostraca from Egypt”, in C. Ritter-Schmalz and R. Schwitler (eds), *Antike Texte und ihre Materialität. Antike Texte und ihre Materialität* (*Materiale Textkulturen* 27; Berlin, 2019), 93–117; C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (eds), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World*; J. Lougovaya, “Writing on Ostraca: Considerations of Material Aspects”, in F. Hoogendijk and S. van Gompel (eds), *The Materiality of Texts from Ancient Egypt: New Approaches to the Study of Textual Material from the Early Pharaonic to the Late Antique Period* (*Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava* 35; Leiden, 2018), 52–61; S. Torallas Tovar, “Using Ostraca in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies”, in K. Bentein and Y. Amory (eds), *Novel Perspectives on Communication Practices in Antiquity. Towards a Historical Social-Semiotic Approach* (Leiden, 2022), 39–53.

<sup>7</sup> For a recent compilation of preserved hieratic corpora, see B. Haring, “The Survival of Pharaonic Ostraca: Coincidence or Meaningful Patterns?”, in C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (eds), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies* (*Materiale Textkulturen* 32; Berlin, 2020), 89–108.

<sup>8</sup> G. Andreu-Lanoë and J. Pelegrin, “La fabrique des ostraca en calcaire: Comment scribes et dessinateurs se procuraient-ils ces supports”, in A. Dorn and S. Polis (eds), *Outside the Box: Selected Papers from the Conference “Deir el-Medina and the Theban Necropolis in Contact” Liège, 27–29 October 2014* (*Aegyptiaca Leodiensia* 11; Liege, 2018), 17–25; J. Pelegrin, G. Andreu-Lanoë, and C. Pariselle, “La production des ostraca en calcaire dans la nécropole thébaine. Étude préliminaire,” *Bulletin de l’institut français d’archéologie orientale* 115 (2015), 325–52.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, F. Hagen, *Ostraca from the Temple of Millions of Years of Thutmose III* (*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 120; Leiden, 2021).

<sup>10</sup> The Edfu ostraca are referred to as a “corpus” rather than an “archive” or “library” due to their findspots and chronological span. The majority of the Edfu texts were found discarded in fill layers and, while likely originating in the same place or places in proximity, there is no guarantee the pieces represent a closed corpus. Indeed, their content (particularly the bits of larger institutional information) indicate that the recovered texts represent only a sample of the records kept on ostraca at the site.

<sup>11</sup> K. Bandy, “Materials of Writing: Ostraca Use at Tell Edfu”, in C. Donnelly (ed.), *Extra Scribal Writing in the Ancient Near East from 1600–1000 BCE* (*Life and Society in the Ancient Near East*; London, Forthcoming).

simply too many uncertainties. However, aspects of these processes can be identified within and between texts and contribute to the broader understanding of scribal practices at Edfu and beyond. Central to an ostrakon's existence is a writer's initial choice of a sherd.

Despite their relative abundance, the process of procuring and using ostraca is not described in pharaonic sources (see below), and the use of broken pottery as a writing surface has often been framed as an opportunistic process, with scribes obtaining what they needed when they needed it, from what was, essentially, garbage. Yet how and where a scribe would obtain a broken piece of pottery is an open question and we are left wondering if scribes were riffling through the nearest midden or trash for writing material or if there was more of a process. The Edfu material suggests the latter.<sup>12</sup>

Settlements produced and used immense amounts of pottery, and scribes had the ability to be picky should they have had the desire. Edfu's scribes wrote on different types of vessels and surfaces, ranging from nice, white-slipped marl *zirs* to jar stands, shallow bowls, and rough beer jars. There are even a few examples of texts written on imported wares. There is no uniformity in size or shape. Tell Edfu Ostrakon 213, the largest administrative record, is ca. 19 cm x 18 cm. By contrast, TEO 69, a complete smaller than hand-sized piece is only ca. 4.7 cm x 5.4 cm.

There are no examples of matching specific types of texts to specific ceramic forms at Tell Edfu.<sup>13</sup> However, there are indications of personal scribal preferences. The scribe associated with a particular group of individuals made regular use of nice, flat, white slipped jars and *zirs* (Fig. 1). However, not all his texts are on *zir* sherds, and he did write on rougher surfaces (such as a coarse bowl). This same scribe used a notational system in which he regularly re-inked black dots in red. Unlike a darker or rougher surface where the red is not quite as apparent, the red ink is visibly striking on the white and buff *zir* surfaces. The rougher pieces also use red dot notation, and the red is visible, but is nowhere near as striking. Whether intentionally chosen to highlight the red or not, the scribe had an affinity for and an ability to easily procure similar sherds. Yet, despite this, he did not write exclusively on such sherds.

It seems that a given scribe knew or had a good idea of how much information he was likely to write when picking up a piece, so it is no surprise that content generally fits the size of an ostrakon. This seems obvious, given the general proclivity of people having a sense of what they are going to write prior to putting pen to paper; however, the necessity of finding a broken piece of pottery to match the need at any given time adds an additional element to the process and suggests the scribe had such material on hand. If this was the case, then we can safely say that scribes were not "dumpster diving" for an appropriate

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<sup>12</sup> The ostraca in the following Figures of this article do not all come from the same archaeological layer—TEO 183 and TEO 184 are from potentially slightly later layers than TEO 11, TEO 134, and TEO 125, which are from different, but contemporary layers (TEO 134 and TEO 125 are from a single layer in Silo 388 and TEO 11 was found in Silo 393)—but all are in the late Second Intermediate Period—early New Kingdom pottery tradition. The specific pieces are not unique and are representative of trends of Edfu. They have been selected to show the range in ceramic forms, sizes, and shapes of the Edfu corpus, as well as to demonstrate that Edfu's material exhibits similar traits over time.

<sup>13</sup> Such as the use of Ramesside amphorae for Coptic tax receipts at Djeme (L Bavay and A. Delattre, "La Céramique de Reçus de Taxe Thébains Du VIIIe Siècle", *Chronique d'Égypte* 88 (2013), 379–84.).

sherd every time one was required. Preliminary examinations of the Edfu ostraca show no evidence of the sherds having been worked (see below), requiring the scribes to have selected a fitting piece. Such a scenario requires at least some dedicated storage space, even if only in a basket shoved in a corner.<sup>14</sup>

In addition to the length of the text he was writing, a scribe knew what “storage level” of information he was writing when he picked a sherd. Because there were plenty available, he had a choice to make in how that information was conveyed and held. At Edfu, evidence indicates that some information on ostraca was stored for the short- or medium-term. Further, even name-lists show evidence of engagement multiple times.<sup>15</sup> How and if that informational storage is reflected in sherd form is under study.

Generally, the ostraca from Edfu are either hand-sized (Figures 3–5) or larger and more tablet-like (Figure 1). Defining “hand-sized”, however, is not as simple as establishing dimensional guidelines in which a sherd must fall. The ostraca of Figures 2–4 do not share the same physical dimensions—TEO 183 (Figure 3) is ca. 15.9 cm x 12.5 cm, TEO 184 (Figure 4) is ca. 7.4 cm x 8.6, and TEO 125 (Figure 5) is ca. 12.5 cm x 9.4 cm. The maximum width of the sherds, 15.9 cm in the case of TEO 183 in comparison to the ca. 16 cm length of the “tablet” TEO 11, is misleading, as it is not the full breadth that dictates something to be “hand-sized”.<sup>16</sup>

Hand-sized pieces are easier to manipulate, and it is not surprising, for example, that ostraca with only one or two lines of text are on something hand-sized, as it is simply more comfortable. Further, writing text on much smaller sherds presents the possibility of potential information loss within a larger body of texts of different sizes in an administrative setting. Hand-sized sherds are not too large; however, their regular use would create an institutional standard of sorts, despite their individual uneven shapes. Smaller sherds would be abnormal in such a setting and could be misplaced.

In the case of the tablet-like sherds, the text is often either multi-columnar or has additional workspace used on the side (e.g., TEO 11, Figure 1).<sup>17</sup> Such texts are most often written on *zirs*. The backs of these sherds tend to be viable writing surfaces, yet the scribes often did not make use of them. There are exceptions (TEO 134, Figure 2), a sherd of ca. 15.2 cm x 15 cm, has a single column of text on both sides. In this case, however, the individuals on the front (Figure 2, left) cannot be directly associated with those on the back (Figure 2, right),<sup>18</sup> who represent a relatively cohesive group of individuals that regularly appear together, which may explain the difference.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> For the keeping of sherds after processing, see C. Caputo, “Pottery Sherds for Writing: An Overview of the Practice”, in C. Caputo and J. Lougovaya (eds), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World. New Discoveries and Methodologies* (Materiale Textkulturen 32; Berlin, 2020), 49.

<sup>15</sup> Tell Edfu Ostrakon 11 in Figure 1 (above) includes re-inking, checking off, further dot notation, and summation. For extended discussion, see K. Bandy, “Materials of Writing”.

<sup>16</sup> Tell Edfu Ostrakon 11 is ca. 16 cm x 18.5 cm.

<sup>17</sup> The literary texts, which are extraordinarily large, and bowls with multi-directional text are exceptions.

<sup>18</sup> Many of the same individuals are on both TEO 11 and the inside of TEO 134 and can be defined as a group of individuals regularly working/appearing together.

<sup>19</sup> Red ink is on the inside and outside of the sherd; however, the red ink, documenting remainders (*wḏ3.t*) on the white-slipped exterior is poorly preserved.

The matching of size to content raises the question as to whether scribes were physically manipulating or working sherds to obtain their desired surfaces prior to writing. Study of a selection of Deir el-Medina figurative ostraca in the Louvre has yielded positive results, demonstrating that some of the pieces of stone were processed, indicating that ostraca blanks could be the result of production and not merely opportunity.<sup>20</sup> Experimental work on later pottery at Trimithis/Amheida found that specific wares and forms were particularly useful to manufacture ostraca of roughly the same size.<sup>21</sup> A broader examination of Roman Period ostraca found an overall preference for flat sherds of desirable size.<sup>22</sup>

Preliminary examinations of the Edfu ostraca, however, show no indications of the sherds having been worked or intentionally shaped. There is no evidence for the sides being touched or worked into specific forms. This is borne out by even a quick look at the collective corpus—the sherds are of uneven, different shape, from an array of pottery forms. Examples of sherds with right angles or that are relatively square all have natural breaks.<sup>23</sup> Further, there are no pieces that appear to have come from a single pot, that could suggest on-site or nearby manufacturing. Analysis of impact points, such as from smacking a sherd against a single stone or object only once to break a larger piece into unevenly shaped smaller ones, however, has not yet been conducted.

Worked sherds were used in settlements, including objects such as jar lids and sherd tools. One ostrakon from Tell Edfu is even written on a broken jar lid, with a rounded bottom and uneven top (TEO 238). But why not work the ostraca? Particularly in that it is clear some sherds contained information to be kept for accounting at least a little while after their composition.<sup>24</sup> Perfectly even sherds would take some amount of effort; however, a break on one uneven edge to create a rough square or rectangle prior to writing would seemingly be a relatively quick process.<sup>25</sup>

The answer appears to be that uneven shapes could be more desirable or, at the very least, functional in some circumstances. Examinations of later material have stressed the importance of and found a preference for making use of easily available flat(-ish) material,<sup>26</sup> which do dominate the Edfu corpus; however, these sherds are rarely large *and* tablet-like (i.e., Figures 1 and 2 vs. Figures 4 and 5). The modern search for worked or flat surfaces masks the fact that the irregular sherds were useful and, rather than looking for perfectly square pieces, the scribes were seeking out comfortable hand-sized sherds. The convenience and feel of a piece in the hand almost seem to have mattered more than the specific type of sherd at Tell Edfu. There are obviously difficult cases to understand why

<sup>20</sup> J. Pelegrin, G. Andreu-Lanoë, and C. Pariselle, "La production des ostraca"; G. Andreu-Lanoë and J. Pelegrin, "La fabrique des ostraca en calcaire".

<sup>21</sup> C. Caputo, "Pottery Sherds for Writing", 44–52.

<sup>22</sup> J. Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record* (Cambridge, 2007), 162.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., the top and side edges of TEO 184 (Figure 4). A few ostraca from Tell Edfu are roughly straight on all four sides. There are no signs of their having been worked.

<sup>24</sup> K. Bandy, "Materials of Writing".

<sup>25</sup> E.g., TEO 184's uneven bottom edge (Figure 4).

<sup>26</sup> J. Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*, 162.

a particular surface, especially a rough one, was chosen; however, there is an observable pattern in form.

Broken, hand-sized sherds often have a curve on their lower-left, which sits well in the hand, below the thumb (i.e., the thenar eminence)—a notch of sorts. These sherds can also have an accompanying slight curve or downward angle on the opposite side, creating an easy hold or positioning for the fingers opposite the thumb. Even more, rectilinear sherds do not have precisely straight, vertical sides and regularly have slight curves to them, tapering in towards the bottom.<sup>27</sup> Together, these traits present a solid grip of the piece. It is this physical property of the sherd that makes even seemingly cumbersome sherds comfortable to manipulate.

Tell Edfu Ostrakon 183, the upper portion of a *zir*, including its rim and neck, is a very uneven surface, with text at a seemingly awkward angle (Figure 3, left). The piece is relatively large, ca. 15.9 cm x 12.5 cm at the widest and tallest points. It rocks and tilts if placed on a flat surface and is not steady. Gripping the piece from the top to write obstructs the text. Grasping the sherd on its left side is awkward given its size and heft, and the angle of the left wrist needed to hold the piece steady. Similarly, holding the piece from the bottom is not stable. The bottom left corner, however, renders TEO 183 a good writing surface. The inward curve towards the bottom and notch from the rim and neck of the pot to its body, results in the piece sitting comfortably in the left hand, the angle of writing and handhold of the brush aligning well once the wrist is slightly tilted back to present a smooth surface (Figure 3, right).

Indeed, convex sherds, where the scribe either writes over the curve or down along the sherd, which can appear awkward, can be more useful larger surfaces in terms of ease of use. That same notch that renders a sherd comfortable to hold allows the writer, with a light turn of the wrist, to rotate up and down and/or left to right to extend the writing surface. The scribe would not have regularly held a sherd across the middle. As a result, a scribe did not have to seek out a very flat surface to write a longer name-list. Correspondingly, a scribe would not necessarily have needed a flat location, such as a box or table, on which to place his sherd to write—he could have written in a much tighter location, taking up less physical space.

Representations of scribes show them seated in multiple poses, as well as standing, and we should not assume that writers in an institutional setting were necessarily seated cross-legged. As today, standing and writing a name-list or roster among a group of people, whether in place or moving among them, is just as, or perhaps more, convenient than a seated individual who would require a line or constant movement/shifting of a group to make sure everyone was seen and accounted for. Someone standing with text in hand, could see better, potentially moving around, and documenting more quickly. Although highly speculative, such a scenario could account for the lack of a standard order within name-lists including the same individuals (e.g., TEO 11 and TEO 134, Figures 1 and 2) vs. a seated scribe and line or movement of specific or smaller groups of individuals towards

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<sup>27</sup> Obviously, exceptions do exist and the above are representative general trends.

him, through which a more standard order of individuals could be arranged (even if not strictly ranked).<sup>28</sup>

Tell Edfu Ostrakon 184 provides a further example, demonstrating the use of a hand-sized piece for a small amount of text (Figure 4). The ostrakon has only three lines and three roughly straight sides. The sherd could have quickly been snapped or worked to accommodate only those three lines of text, breaking the piece at the inturn, directly below the base of the thumb on the opposite side to create a straight edge. Doing so, however, while fitting the content more directly, would have resulted in a piece more awkward for writing, forcing the writer to cup it in his hand and hold the sherd at a more awkward angle. The writer would also need to have a stronger grip with his index and/or middle finger to hold the piece steady. The piece simply naturally sits in the hand as is. And, as discussed above, the shortened sherd would also pose potential difficulties in maintaining institutional information in an otherwise predominantly hand-sized or larger corpus.

In sum, we can say that while the scribes were discriminating, perhaps preferring a particular type of sherd (e.g., the *zirs*), they did not have to be as picky as one might assume when collecting writing surfaces. As of now, Edfu shows no evidence of manufacturing ostraca, and its scribes had no difficulties using uneven sherds. Such sherds were certainly more abundant in a disposal location than nice flat, tablet-like or rectilinear-ish surfaces. Further, it is clear that the scribes likely had in-house blanks available from which they could draw.

### Potential Implications and Going Forward

The Egyptian term for “ostrakon” during the pharaonic period is difficult and is often taken to be *ndr* (  ).<sup>29</sup> The source cited, first by E. Brunner-Traut, is a satirical poem on two ostraca associated with the dump of texts found near the Senenmut complex (TT 71).<sup>30</sup> The text is not administrative but does describe the physical use of an ostrakon in an administrative way. The unnamed author recounts visiting a tomb to observe stonework on one side (of the gang), relating that he had a flake (ostrakon?), further

<sup>28</sup> Even more speculative is the potential that the regular appearance of loose clusters of individuals together within a larger established group, such as those in TEO 11 and TEO 134, represent individuals well-known to one another personally. Friends and acquaintances tend to cluster together in a larger setting, and it is not entirely unreasonable to envision such a scenario if a scribe is accounting for individuals present as suggested above.

<sup>29</sup> For the translation of *ndr* as “ostrakon”, see E. Brunner-Traut (trans. J. Bourriau), *Egyptian Artists' Sketches: Figured Ostraka from the Gayer-Anderson Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (Publications de l'Institut historique- et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 45; Leiden, 1979), 1; W. Hayes and H. Burton, *Ostraka and Name Stones: From the Tomb of Sen-Mūt (No. 71) at Thebes* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 15; New York, 1942), 37; L. Lesko (ed.), *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian: Volume II* (Providence, 2004), 44.; “*ndr*” (TLA Lemma ID 91650) <<https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de/lemma/91650>>, edited by Altägyptisches Wörterbuch, in: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae, Corpus issue 17, Web app version 2.01, 12/15/2022, S. Tonio Sebastian and D. Werning (eds) by order of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert & Peter Dils by order of the Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig (accessed: 5.30.2023).

<sup>30</sup> Ostraca nos. 78 and 79. Number 78 is complete, with the full text. Number 79 only preserves portions of the first half (W. Hayes and H. Burton, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 23 and pl. XVI.).

qualified as sturdy, in his hand (*m dr.t=i*; “in my hand” in the text) on which he could write their names. He does not state where he obtained it, but the presumption is that he picked it up off the ground on site.

The acknowledgement of a piece as a hand-sized “flake” or “splinter”<sup>31</sup> returns us to analysis of the Edfu material and avenues of research going forward. It must be stressed that the publication is in process and all the above is preliminary. Nevertheless, a few larger questions can be posed about scribal practices for future consideration beyond those discussed above.

At the most basic level, a comfortable hold can be used to identify which side of a piece of pottery was first used. Tell Edfu Ostrakon 125, for example, has a series of days and events and numbers on the outside of the sherd, written on the white slip, i.e., what is presumed to be the better surface (Figure 5, left). The inside of the sherd with a grain withdrawal, however, sits more easily in the hand (Figure 5, right). That hold and the way the sherd would have been turned and slightly jostled to fit more comfortably on a direct flip from inside to outside surface, directly associate the named scribe on the outside with the title “scribe” of the inside and, following the textual orientation, indisputably dictates that the events and days on the outside were written second and, perhaps, can be related to the withdrawals in a way that is not as immediately apparent if the outside was written first. While it seems logical that the inside of the sherd was written first due to its content, the form of the sherd itself speaks to this on its own, presenting an example of how broken or partial texts can be evaluated at Edfu and elsewhere. The white-slipped outside, in this case, cannot automatically assumed to be the recto.

The fit of the sherd also has implications for considering broken texts and estimating the amount of loss. In the case of name-lists, a more accurate estimate of the number of missing lines can be made once we recognize and accept the regular shape of non-tablet-like and rectilinear sherds and how the scribe would flip them from one side to the other. Intriguing, although not yet investigated, is the potential for examining handedness of scribes aside from handwriting, looking at the personal mechanics of the writing process.

Archaeologically, a better understanding of writing surfaces and their physical processes raises issues as to the physical use of space, in terms of a writer’s process *and* storage. The possibility that some ostraca were relevant for at least some period after their composition, potentially even months, raises the question of how ostraca would be stored and, thus, their forms. Previous work on the question of ostraca use has focused on the temporality of ostraca and their “shelf-life”.<sup>32</sup> A single file-card-like piece from Edfu suggests that flat summary sherds could have been vertically filed or held on their horizontal edges; however, flat sherds are not the only forms in the Edfu material. Simply

<sup>31</sup> As a verb, *ndr* is most often used in carpentry contexts, particularly in relation to smoothing wood, with the noun then translated as “splinter” (WB II, 382.11–16). It does not, however, have any clear association with sherds or broken pottery (C. Eyre, *The Use of Documents*, 29, n. 61). A Middle Kingdom account from Lahun records work done in the stone yards of a storeroom (*k3.t m ... phr.t*), where masons are breaking stones (*qd.w m nd3 inr.w*) (Papyrus UC32178, ro. 2–3; M. Collier and S. Quirke, *The UCL Papyri: Accounts* (Oxford, 2006), 54–55), a context akin to that of the Senenmut text.

<sup>32</sup> K. Bandy, “Materials of Writing”.



put, uneven sherds do not stack as nicely as flat pieces. Their convex and uneven forms do not, however, eliminate the possibility of their storage. Theodore Peña proposes the nesting of related documents on convex sherds within boxes.<sup>33</sup> Such boxes could not have held as many texts, but they still could be stored. Their shapes (uneven or not) contributed to the amount of storage, whether in boxes or baskets, required within a given setting, which ultimately affected the use of working and storage space in a given setting.

Further investigation of the pottery on which the texts are written to look at if it is more household or institutional in nature presents further possibilities for locating the administrative setting and nature of the texts.

Ultimately, the aim of this section of the Tell Edfu Ostraca study and publication process is to consider the very nature and question of ostraca—the who, when, why, and how. Rather than dumpster divers or simply opportunists, the scribes of Edfu were selective. Investigating the form and function of the writing surfaces as objects has the potential to reveal further details on the physicality of the scribal process and even the scribal footprint within a writing environment. Central to this understanding and the examination of the writing process in its totality is the return of agency to the writers, drawing them out of the monolithic omnipresent image and idea of the scribe.

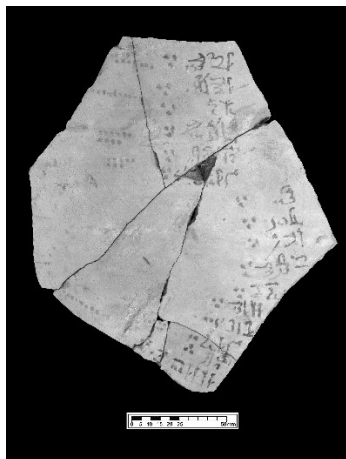


Figure 1. Tell Edfu Ostracum 11 (© K. Bandy)

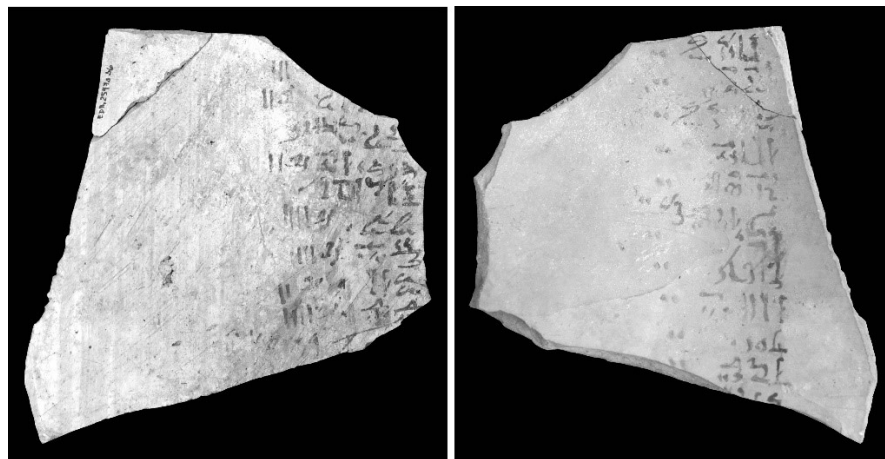


Figure 2. Tell Edfu Ostracum 134, left: outside, right: inside (© K. Bandy)

<sup>33</sup> J. Peña, *Roman Pottery in the Archaeological Record*, 162–63 and fig. 6.13.

Much older, clay tablets from the Old Kingdom were stored in boxes on shelves in the governor’s palace at Balat in Dakhla Oasis (L. Pantalacci, “Archivage et scribes dans l’oasis de Dakhla (Égypte) à la fin du IIIe millénaire”, in L. Pantalacci (ed.), *La lettre d’archive. Communication administrative et personnelle dans l’Antiquité proche-orientale et égyptienne. Actes du colloque de l’université de Lyon 2, 9–10 juillet 2004* (Topoi Supplément 9; Cairo, 2008), 141–54; L. Pantalacci, “Balat, a Frontier Town and Its Archive,” in J.C. Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1: The Near and Middle East 104; Leiden, 2013), 206–7.).

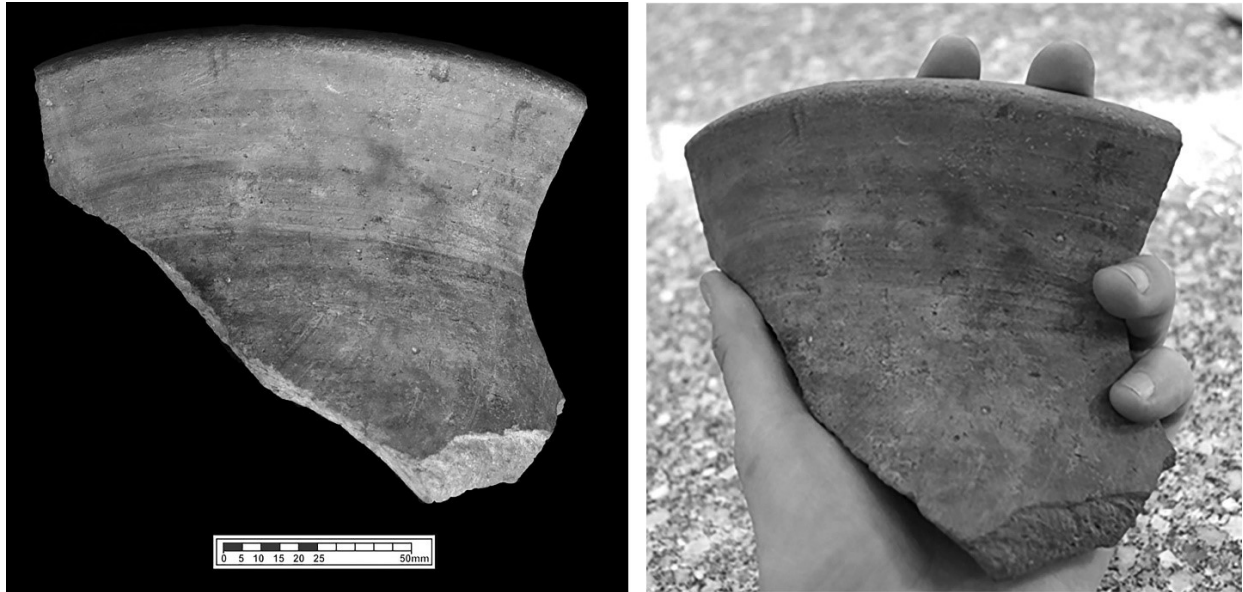


Figure 3. Tell Edfu Ostrakon 183 (© K. Bandy)

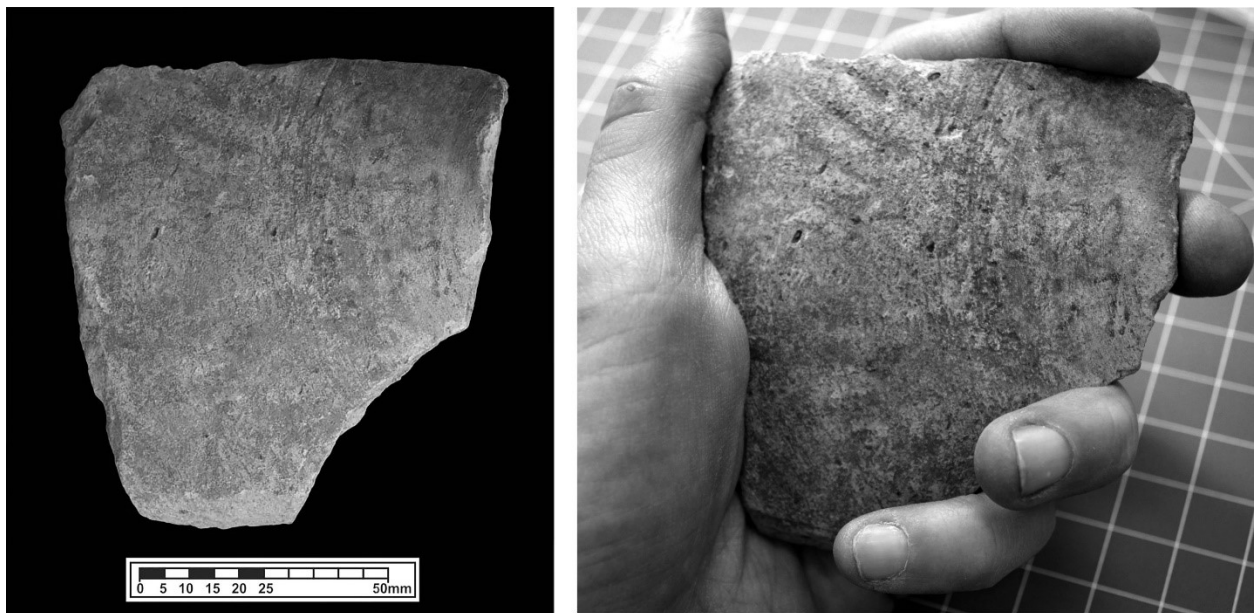


Figure 4. Tell Edfu Ostrakon 184 (© K. Bandy)



Figure 5. Tell Edfu Ostracon 125 (© K. Bandy)

# Etymologische Kleinigkeiten XIII: das ägyptische Wort „gʒ“ „Feindbezeichnung“/Etymological Bits XIII: the Egyptian word “gʒ” “Enemy name”

## Stefan Bojowald

**Zusammenfassung:** In diesem Beitrag wird die Etymologie des ägyptischen Wortes „gʒ“ „Feindbezeichnung“ ausführlicher betrachtet. Das Thema wurde in der bisherigen Forschung nur viermal näher beleuchtet. Der hier gemachte Vorschlag geht wie in einem der dortigen Fälle von einem Zusammenhang mit der Wurzel „gʒ“ „verwunden, verletzen“ aus. Die Wurzel „gʒ“ „verwunden, verletzen“ wurde in der Originalliteratur dezidiert mit Feinden in Verbindung gebracht. Das Wort ist demzufolge als Schimpf- oder Schandname zu interpretieren.

**Abstract:** In this contribution, the etymology of the Egyptian word “gʒ” “enemy name” is investigated more closely. The question was treated in previous research only four times. The suggestion made here is based on a connection with the root “gʒ” “to hurt”. The root was used specifically in connection with enemies. The word can so be interpreted as some kind of code name.

**Résumé:** Dans cette contribution, l'étymologie du mot égyptien « gʒ », « nom d'ennemi », est analysée plus attentivement. Jusqu'à présent, cette question n'a été étudiée qu'à quatre occasions. L'analyse qui est ici suggérée est fondée sur un lien avec la racine « gʒ », « blesser ». Cette racine verbale était utilisée spécifiquement en lien avec les ennemis. Le mot peut dès lors être interprété comme étant une sorte de nom de code.

**Schlüsselwörter:** Ägyptische Philologie, Ägyptische Etymologien, Etymologie des Wortes „gʒ“ „Feindbezeichnung“

**Keywords:** Egyptian Philology, Egyptian Etymologies, Etymology of the word “gʒ” “enemy name”

**Mots-clés:** philologie égyptienne, étymologies égyptiennes, étymologie du mot « gʒ », « nom d'ennemi ».

In diesem Beitrag wird die Etymologie des ägyptischen Wortes „gʒ“ „Feindbezeichnung“ einer neuen Lösung zugeführt. Die Frage hat die Forschung bereits vier Mal zu gelehrten Spekulationen veranlasst. Die betreffenden Vorschläge werden weiter unten gesondert erwähnt. Der entscheidende Durchbruch wurde dort offenbar noch nicht endgültig erzielt. In Anbetracht dieser unbefriedigenden Situation erscheint es nicht verkehrt, wenn in den nächsten Zeilen ein eigener Vorschlag präsentiert wird. Die Rekonstruktion von Wurzeln hatte in der Ägyptologie ohnehin lange zu den eher vernachlässigten Feldern gezählt. In letzter Zeit hat der Autor allerdings auf diesem Sektor eine Art Trendwende eingeleitet. In loser Folge werden seit kurzem kleinere Arbeiten zur Identifikation ägyptischer Etymologien herausgebracht. Die früheren Teile dieses nach hinten offenen Projektes haben bereits an anderer Stelle das Licht der Öffentlichkeit erblickt<sup>1</sup>. Die bisherigen Ergebnisse

<sup>1</sup> St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten I: das ägyptische Wort „iʃf“ „Hefe“/Etymological Bits I: the Egyptian word “iʃf” “yeast”, AuOr 32/2 (2014), 371–375; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten II: das ägyptische Wort „dhʕ“ „Kamille“/Etymological Bits II: the Egyptian word “dhʕ” “chamomile”, AuOr 34 (2016), 5–8; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten IV: das ägyptische Wort „kri“ „Wolke“/Etymological Bits IV: the Egyptian word “kri” “cloud”, ZDMG 170/1 (2020), 237–240; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten V: das ägyptische Wort „twn“ „Akazienart“/Etymological Bits V: the Egyptian word “twn” “type of acacia”, AuOr 38/1 (2020), 35–37; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten VI: das ägyptische Wort „twn.w“

sehen durchaus viel versprechend aus. Das Ägyptische unterscheidet sich in dieser Beziehung vom Hebräischen und Arabischen, wo der Fall bei der Verwendbarkeit von Etymologien etwas komplizierter gelagert ist<sup>2</sup>. Der Hinweis möge an dieser Stelle genügen.

In diesem Rahmen wird also das Wort „g3“ „Feindbezeichnung“ etymologisch ausgewertet. Das Wort kommt offenbar nur an einer Stelle vor. Der locus classicus besteht in den Sarginschriften der Gottesgemahlin Anchnesneferibre, wo die Zeile „*wnn=šn hr hni(.t) m grh, p3i iri.n hft.i m mw, g3 rn=f*“<sup>3</sup> von besonderem Interesse ist. Die Übersetzung „während sie in der Nacht rudern, taucht der Feind aus dem Wasser auf, g3 ist sein Name“ lässt sich hierfür in Erwägung ziehen. Die Zeile ist im Zusammenhang mit der Nachtfahrt der Verstorbenen zu sehen. Das Alter der Stelle kann in die Spätzeit datiert werden.

Die Etymologie des Wortes hat—wie gesagt—vier Mal wissenschaftliches Interesse erregt. Der folgende Überblick skizziert die einzelnen Stationen nach.

Die Diskussion wurde von Sander-Hansen<sup>4</sup> begonnen, der eine Verbindung mit dem Kol. 71 genannten Krokodilgott Maga sieht und dies mit einem Wortspiel erklärt. Der Ausdruck „g3“ wird bei ihm mit einem Wunschnamen „Der Not leiden möchte“ übersetzt.

Die Reihe wurde von Leitz<sup>5</sup> fortgesetzt, der für „g3“ die Bedeutung „Der Verwundete“ (?) für möglich hält. Das Fragezeichen deutet jedoch auf eine gewisse Skepsis gegenüber dieser Lösung hin.

Der nächste Vorstoß wurde von Wagner<sup>6</sup> unternommen, die „g3“ als defektive Schreibung für „mg3“ „Maga“ auffasst. Der Gott Maga tritt in der ägyptischen Religion als Sohn des Gottes Seth in Erscheinung. Die wirklich überzeugende Basis für diese Ergänzung müsste jedoch erst noch gefunden werden. Die Begründung von Wagner, dass „g3“ in 62 parallel zu „mg3“ „Maga“ in 71 steht, hat jedenfalls ein wichtiges Detail übersehen. Die Determinative der beiden Wörter weichen bezeichnenderweise voneinander ab. Während bei „g3“ in 62 das „Schlechte Packet“ und der „Mann mit Blutstrahl aus Kopf“ gebraucht werden, hat „mg3“ in 71 das „Krokodil“ bekommen. Der Unterschied muss sicher etwas zu bedeuten haben. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Erklärung hat daher als eher gering zu gelten.

Die letzte Behandlung erfuhr die Frage offenbar durch Backes<sup>7</sup>, der die Erklärung als Schreibung für „mg3“ kritiklos übernimmt. Der gerade gemachte Einwand bleibt weiter bestehen. Die Erklärung spiegelt offenbar dennoch den derzeit gültigen Stand der Entwicklung wider. Das letzte Wort dürfte aber in dieser Frage

„Kampfstier“, JAOS 140.3 (2020), 701–703; St. Bojowald, Etymological Bits VIII: the Egyptian word “*tbt*” “stork“, JSSEA 46 (2019–2020), 1–4; St. Bojowald, Etymologische Kleinigkeiten VII: das ägyptische Wort „*bhn*“ „Mantel“/Etymological Bits VII: the Egyptian word “*bhn*” “coat“, EVO XLIII (2020), 9–12.

<sup>2</sup> Zum Hebräischen vgl. J. Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford, 1961), 107–109; zum Arabischen vgl. W.A. Saleh, *The Etymological Fallacy and Quranic Studies: Muhammad, Paradise, and Late Antiquity*, in: A. Neuwirth/N. Sinai/M. Marx (eds.), *The Quran in Context, Historical and Literary Investigations into the Quranic Milieu, Texts and Studies on the Quran Volume 6* (Leiden–Boston, 2010), 649–698.

<sup>3</sup> C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Kopenhagen, 1937), Kol. 61–62.

<sup>4</sup> C.E. Sander-Hansen, *Die religiösen Texte auf dem Sarg der Anchnesneferibre* (Kopenhagen, 1937), 32.

<sup>5</sup> LGG VII, 299.

<sup>6</sup> M. Wagner, *Der Sarkophag der Gottesgemahlin Anchnesneferibre*, SSR 16 (Wiesbaden, 2016), 71.

<sup>7</sup> B. Backes, *Der “Papyrus Schmitt”* (Berlin P. 3057), Band 1, ÄOHP 4 (Berlin–Boston, 2016), 141–142.

noch nicht gesprochen sein. Die Diskussion wird hier mit neuen Argumenten wiederbelebt.

Im ersten Schritt kann es nicht schaden, wenn die theoretisch in Frage kommenden Wurzeln prophylaktisch geprüft werden. Der Befund fällt allerdings zunächst ernüchternd aus. Die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>8</sup> „Gefäßbezeichnung“ scheidet von vorneherein aus. Die Verbindung zu Feinden ergibt dort einfach keinen Sinn. Der gleiche Grund scheint gegen die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“ „Kapelle“<sup>9</sup> zu sprechen. Der gleiche negative Eindruck stellt sich bei der Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>10</sup> „vortragen“ ein. Die fehlende Eignung muss auch für die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>11</sup> „Hohlraum“ konstatiert werden. Der gleiche Einwand kann gegen die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>12</sup> „Schiff abstoßen/vom Stapel lassen“ ins Spiel gebracht werden. Die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>13</sup> „von der Flöte“ lässt sich ebenfalls nicht zu diesem Zweck brauchen. Die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>14</sup> „mit Salbe beschmieren“ teilt das gleiche Schicksal, die ebenfalls nicht in dieses Raster passt. Die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“<sup>15</sup> „Reiher“ muss ebenfalls aus der Liste gestrichen werden. Die Suche ist damit ergebnislos verlaufen. Die vernünftigste Alternative stellt die Rückkehr an den Ausgangspunkt dar.

Die größte Plausibilität kann in der Tat die Ableitung von der Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“ „verwunden, verletzen“ für sich beanspruchen. Die nächsten Zeilen sollen dieser Möglichkeit neue Geltung verschaffen. Die Existenz dieser Wurzel steht einwandfrei fest<sup>16</sup>. In diesem Punkt wäre Leitz folglich auf der richtigen Spur gewesen. Der Gedanke lässt sich aber noch weiter entwickeln. Das Positive an der Sache ist, dass die Wurzel „g<sup>3</sup>“ „verwunden, verletzen“ auch direkt im Zusammenhang mit Feinden nachzuweisen ist. Die Hauptbeachtung verdient dabei die Stelle „*dd mdw in kbḥ-śn.w=f, g<sup>3</sup>.n grgr(=i) g<sup>3</sup>š.w*“<sup>17</sup>, die sich durch „Zu rezitieren von Qebhsenuf: Mein Messer hat die Feinde verwundet“ übersetzen lässt. Die Alliteration im hinteren Teil wurde bereits von den Autoren des Wörterbuches bemerkt. Die Stelle ist in der ersten Sokar-Osiris-Kapelle des Horustempels von Edfu zu finden. Das Beispiel kann damit in die griechisch-römische Zeit datiert werden. Der Gott Qebhsenuf gehört zu den vier Horussöhnen, denen die Obhut über die Eingeweide des Verstorbenen anvertraut war. Die wörtliche Bedeutung von „g<sup>3</sup>“ wäre demnach in „der Verletzte“ zu finden. In der Annahme wird kaum fehlgegangen, dass man es dabei mit einem euphemistischen Decknamen zu tun hat. Die Magie der Sprache hat dabei eine wichtige Funktion erfüllt. Die Interpretation als Schimpf- oder Schandname könnte, um die

<sup>8</sup> KRI VI, 693, 5.

<sup>9</sup> Fr. Hoffmann, Der Kampf um den Panzer des Inaros, Studien zum P. Krall und seiner Stellung innerhalb des Inaros-Petubastis-Zyklus, MPER NS 26 (Wien, 1996), 288 1612; H. Beinlich, Das Buch vom Fayum, Zum religiösen Eigenverständnis einer ägyptischen Landschaft, ÄgAb 51 (Wiesbaden, 1991), 157.

<sup>10</sup> J. Osing, Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, CNI 17 (Copenhagen, 1998), 215r.

<sup>11</sup> H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, Die satirische Streitschrift des Papyrus Anastasi I, ÄgAb 44 (Wiesbaden, 1986), 123.

<sup>12</sup> WB V, 149, 7; K. Sethe, Dramatische Texte zu altägyptischen Mysterienspielen, UGAA 10 (Hildesheim, 1928), 124; J. Fr. Quack, Zur Lesung und Deutung des Dramatischen Ramesseumpapyrus, ZÄS 133 (2006), 78.

<sup>13</sup> WB V, 149, 3; W. Guglielmi, Probleme bei der Anwendung der Begriffe „Komik“, „Ironie“ und „Humor“ auf die altägyptische Literatur, GM 36 (1979), 78.

<sup>14</sup> WB V, 149, 5.

<sup>15</sup> WB V, 149, 8.

<sup>16</sup> WB V, 149, 2; Chr. Leitz, Der Sarg des Panehemisis in Wien, Mit einer detaillierten Bilddokumentation der Särge des Panehemisis und Horemhab auf DVD, SSR 3 (Wiesbaden, 2011), 34; J. Osing, Hieratische Papyri aus Tebtunis I, CNI 17 (Copenhagen, 1998), 87a.

<sup>17</sup> E I, 186, 16–17; zu dieser Stelle vgl. zuletzt C. Teotino, Der Schutz des Osiris, Eine Studie zu den apotropäischen Gottheiten auf den Kairener Sarkophagen des Djedher (CG 29304) und Anchhapi (CG 29303), Teil 1, SSR 35 (Wiesbaden, 2022), 511.

Spekulationen noch eine Stufe weiter zu führen, ebenfalls vorsichtig in Erwägung gezogen werden. Die morphologische Analyse des Wortes läuft demnach auf eine deverbale Nominalbildung hinaus. Die dahinter steckende Erscheinung kehrt in regelmäßigen Abständen wieder<sup>18</sup>. Das Wort lässt sich vor diesem Hintergrund als passives Partizip bestimmen, bei dem es sich wohl um eine Art Defektivschreibung handelt. Der große Vorteil der neuen Erklärung zeigt sich nicht zuletzt darin, dass die Emendation so vermieden werden kann. Die modernen Texteingriffe sollten nicht ohne Not vorgenommen werden, sondern nur dann, wenn alle anderen Möglichkeiten versagen. Die beiden Textstellen liegen obendrein zeitlich nicht allzu weit auseinander, was ein zusätzliches gewichtiges Kriterium für den hier gewählten Ansatz sein könnte.

Die Edfu-Stelle hilft die hier gegebene Deutung demnach zu unterstützen. Die unterschiedlichen Feindbezeichnungen brauchen dabei nicht zu stören. Die Hauptaufmerksamkeit ist auf die Kollokation als solche zu richten. Die einzelnen Mosaiksteine fügen sich so zu einem immer stimmigeren Gesamtbild zusammen. Das sprechende Determinativ „Mann mit Blutstrahl aus Kopf“ von „g3“ setzt die semantische Bedeutung des Wortes gewissermaßen graphisch um. Der Ägypter ist dafür bekannt, dass er das Potenzial solch subtiler Querbezüge voll ausgeschöpft hat. Die Lösung von Wagner und Backes würde sich dieser hübschen Möglichkeit berauben. Die Rhetorik im Zusammenhang mit dem Los der Feinde lässt im Übrigen auch sonst einen recht martialischen Charakter erkennen. Der Ausdruck „šft“<sup>19</sup> „schlachten“ kann dafür als besonders signifikantes Beispiel dienen.

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<sup>18</sup> W. Schenkel, Zur Rekonstruktion der deverbale Nominalbildung des Ägyptischen, GOF 4: Ägypten 13 (Wiesbaden, 1983), passim.

<sup>19</sup> B. Ventker, Der Starke auf dem Dach, Funktion und Bedeutung der löwengestaltigen Wasserspeier im alten Ägypten, SSR 6 (Wiesbaden, 2016), 74; H. Kockelmann/E. Winter, Philae III, Die Zweite Ostkolonade des Tempels der Isis in Philae (CO II und CO II K), Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie 78, 1. Auflage (Wien, 2016), 79.

# An Inchoative Aspectual Value in the Coptic Statives (Qualitatives) of “Ongoing Motion”?: A Short Case Study from Shenoute David Mihalyfy

**Abstract:** It is taught that five Coptic statives (qualitatives) like that of the word “run” represent “ongoing motion.” Yet, a direct historic evolution from a state-indicating form like a completive (e.g. “run off”) to a progressive (e.g. “running off”) seems questionable, due to their diametrically-opposed synchronic senses. Interestingly, other scholarship suggests the possibility of a mellic or inchoative aspect (“about to run off” or “starting to run off”), which could serve as a bridge and create a more plausible historic evolution from completive (“run off”) to mellic or inchoative (“about to run off” or “starting to run off”) to perhaps progressive (“running off”). However, to test this idea, more data is needed about which possible senses are present and when. Thus, all three occurrences of the stative (qualitative) of the word “run” in Shenoute’s discourse “Not because a fox barks” have been carefully examined for these possible aspectual values. Although somewhat ambiguous overall, context indicates that the inchoative sense is plausible and so it should be considered for further research and perhaps as a translation value.

**Résumé:** Il est enseigné que cinq statifs coptes (qualitatifs) tels que le mot « courir » représentent un « mouvement continu ». Pourtant, une évolution historique directe d'une forme complétive (par exemple « s'être enfui ») à une progressive (par exemple « être en train de s'enfuir ») semble discutable, en raison de leur sens synchronique diamétralement opposé. Fait intéressant, d'autres études suggèrent la possibilité d'un aspect melleque ou inchoatif (« sur le point de s'enfuir » ou « commencer à s'enfuir »), qui pourrait servir de pont et créer une évolution historique plus plausible à partir du complétif (« s'être enfui ») au melleque ou à l'inchoatif (« sur le point de s'enfuir » ou « commencer à s'enfuir ») vers peut-être ensuite le progressif (« être en train de s'enfuir »). Cependant, pour tester cette idée, plus de données sont nécessaires sur les sens possibles et leur contexte d'utilisation. Ainsi, les trois occurrences du statif (qualitatif) du mot « courir » dans le discours de Shenoute « Ce n'est pas parce qu'un renard aboie » ont été soigneusement examinées pour ces possibles valeurs aspectuelles. Bien que dans l'ensemble quelque peu ambigu, le contexte indique que le sens inchoatif est plausible et qu'il devrait donc être pris en compte pour des recherches ultérieures et peut-être comme une valeur de traduction.

**Keywords:** Coptic, Aspect, Verbs of Motion, N-stems

**Mots-clés:** Copte, aspect, verbes de mouvement, verbes à préfixe /n-/

## **The Necessity of Case Studies of the Statives (Qualitatives) of “Ongoing Motion.”**

In delineating the evolution of the Egyptian language, case studies can help evaluate proposals and ultimately serve as building blocks to map long-term change, oftentimes in cross-linguistic perspective.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, as a written record of linguistic production of

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A portion of this research direction was presented at the Egyptological Conference in Copenhagen and the Missouri Egyptological Symposium of the American Research Center in Egypt–Missouri Chapter, for which venues and conversations the author is grateful. For institutional support, thanks go to the Interlibrary Loan Department of the Urbana Free Library and to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, in particular its Courtesy Card Program, Circulation Department, and subject specialists Paula Carns and Elias Petrou.



one native speaker from Upper Egypt whose life spanned the turn of the fourth to fifth centuries CE, Shenoute’s discourse “Not because a fox barks” constitutes a helpful vantage point; it provides multiple occurrences of the verb  $\pi\omega\tau \pi\eta\tau$  ‘run’ in some rather complicated situations, and it thus permits exploration of some small but noticeable shifts of aspect hazily glimpsed within current scholarship.<sup>2</sup>

Overall, various studies’ scattered positions and insights most productively suggest a working conceptualization in which the statives (qualitatives) of five verbs of motion shifted from a completive (e.g. “run off”) to a mellic or inchoative (e.g. “about to run off” or “starting to run off”) and then perhaps eventually to a progressive (e.g. “running off”). A common reference point is the assertion that five Coptic verbs of motion have a distinctive stative (qualitative) form that represents “ongoing motion”—namely,  $\beta\omega\kappa \beta\eta\kappa$  “go”;  $\epsilon\iota \eta\eta\gamma$  “come”;  $\pi\omega\tau \pi\eta\tau$  “run”;  $\alpha\epsilon \alpha\eta\gamma$  “fall”; and  $\alpha\omega\lambda \alpha\eta\lambda$  “fly.”<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, there does exist a long-standing but dubious interpretative tradition centering on the derivation of  $\eta\eta\gamma$  vis-à-vis  $\epsilon\iota$  “come” (namely, that it emerged from the same locative construction that also birthed the progressive).<sup>4</sup> Yet, the vocalic writing of what is often termed the stative (qualitative) is consistent with that of other verbs and so its ultimate identity as that form seems the most plausible analysis. However, even in that more likely scenario, if the underspecified term “ongoing motion” is understood as progressive aspect, a direct historical evolution seems unlikely, given the diametrically opposite synchronic meanings of a completive like “run off” and a progressive like “running off.”<sup>5</sup> Thus, it is of interest that the mellic aspect appears in discussion of such forms and related forms, for something like “about to run off” could plausibly constitute the beginnings of a bridge from a completive into something more like a progressive.<sup>6</sup> Contextually, it is not implausible that

<sup>1</sup> For example, M. Kupreyev, “The Origins and Development of the Definite Article in Egyptian-Coptic”, *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 18 (2014), 223–237.

<sup>2</sup> D. Brakke and A. Crislip, *Selected Discourses of Shenoute the Great: Community, Theology, and Social Conflict in Late Antique Egypt* (Cambridge, 2015), 1–25.

<sup>3</sup> B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Wiesbaden, 2011), 130. See also B. Layton, *Coptic in 20 Lessons* (Leuven, 2007), 92; and E. Grossman, G. Lescuyer, and S. Polis, “Contexts and Inferences: The Grammaticalization of the Later Egyptian Allative Future”, in E. Grossman, S. Polis, A. Stauder, and J. Winand (eds.), *On Forms and Functions: Studies in Ancient Egyptian Grammar* (Hamburg, 2014), 119.

<sup>4</sup> Pace E. Wente, “The Syntax of Verbs of Motion in Egyptian” (University of Chicago Ph.D. dissertation, 1959), 25–45; and Grossman, Lescuyer, and Polis, in Grossman, Polis, Stauder, and Winand (eds.), *Forms and Functions*, 119, 128. For an alternate explanation of the conspicuously different Coptic form  $\eta\eta\gamma$  from  $\epsilon\iota$  “come” as a stative (qualitative) analogically supplemented on the basis of an N-stem form from the same root, see D. Mihalyfy, “A Productive Survival of Afroasiatic N-stems in Egyptian: Preliminaries for a New Paradigm” (unpublished manuscript prepared for publication).

<sup>5</sup> J. Bybee, R. Perkins, and W. Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World* (Chicago, 1994), 148–149: “[I]t seems to us that there are certain major contrasts of universal validity—such as the basic distinction between the perfective domain . . . and the imperfective . . .”

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Wente, “Syntax”, 31 (note suggested translation alternative “about to go,” which nuances the programmatic bifurcation between the “two types of states” of “state achieved” and “state of being in motion” [25–26]). Grossman, Lescuyer, and Polis, in Grossman, Polis, Stauder, and Winand (eds.), *Forms*

a hunter who sees animals freeze and notice her presence might grimace and proleptically mutter, “They’ve run off,” and by inference such completive forms eventually shift and begin to indicate the mellic aspect “about to run off.” Other scholarship on the not dissimilar earlier Egyptian N-stem also raises the intriguing possibility of the development of the inchoative aspect with at least one similar verb (namely, “enter into the state of being fallen,” about the verb transliterated *nrxr* “become downcast” from *xr* “fall”).<sup>7</sup> This inchoative aspect could also figure into an analogous situation and transformation, albeit one where the animals actually start to run and the hunter proleptically mutters, “They’ve run off.” With either of these bridge cases, one can more easily imagine the early stages of a long-term shift in which a stative (qualitative) eventually moves into indicating progressive aspect, or at least could more easily be understood as “ongoing motion” and thus figure into deceptive translations wherein context subtly but effectively creates a mellic or inchoative aspect (e.g. something along the lines of the English “He’s coming!” as shouted about the recipient of a surprise party who’s about to enter the room, where the verb is progressive in form but mellic or inchoative in its sense).<sup>8</sup>

In any case, beyond the underdiscussed issue of discrepancies around how many and which verbs of motion are involved with such aspectual changes, it seems clear that there likely exists some sort of more detailed trajectory that intersects with and nuances and perhaps subtly differs from the current description, and that would benefit from closer attention.<sup>9</sup>

### **Possible Conceptual Distinctions with Certain Verbs of Motion.**

As a precondition to examining usage in Shenoute’s discourse “Not because a fox barks,” current scholarship on aspect in earlier Egyptian insightfully and thoroughly theorizes possible references to a basic set of standard points in a state of affairs for a verb of motion like “fly (off),” insofar as it is durative (taking place over a span of time) and functions as a telic (goal-oriented) accomplishment that is in turn dynamic (requiring energy input) and gradable (established bit-by-bit).<sup>10</sup> Within such a state of affairs (marked by <>), standard phases can be helpfully and programmatically diagrammed as a pre-phase (. . .), a phase with both initial inchoative portions (x) and later non-inchoative portions where the action is already well under way (X), and lastly a moment of completion (+) leading to a static post-phase (---).

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*and Functions*, 92-93 (“Imminent Future”). M. Müller, *Grammatik des Bohairischen* (Hamburg, 2021), 351 (“. . . und hat oft futurische Bedeutung”).

<sup>7</sup> S. Štubňová Nigrelli, “Ancient Egyptian Perceptions of the World: The N-Prefix and Its Role in the Pyramid Texts”, in M.V. Almansa-Villatoro, S. Štubňová Nigrelli, and M. Lehner (eds.), *In the House of Heqanakht: Text and Context in Ancient Egypt; Studies in Honor of James P. Allen* (Leiden, 2023), 334.

<sup>8</sup> Grossman, Lescuyer, and Polis, in Grossman, Polis, Stauder, and Winand (eds.), *Forms and Functions*, 102n40.

<sup>9</sup> Wente, “Syntax”, 27. Müller, *Grammatik*, 350–352.

<sup>10</sup> J. Winand, “Aspect in Ancient Egyptian”, *KUSATU—Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 24 (2021), 93–260, from which the following discussion and its terminology and visual representations are largely adapted (though note the introduction of the visual differentiation of inchoative and non-inchoative portions of the phase).

.....<xxxxXXXXXXXX+>-----

Although specification as this type of verb ideally results from rigorous application of tests to a large number of tokens from a single corpus, this particular verb-type seems decently straightforward in thinking through Shenoute’s usage of the verb πωτ πητ ‘run,’ and the verb’s concrete appearances involve several signs consistent with accomplishments (e.g. adverbials indicating gradability), even despite its appearance with different prepositions like εβολ ‘away’ and ἄρκα ‘after’ that shift the word in the respective directions of “flee” (i.e., “run off/away”) and “persecute” (i.e., “run after,” like the English “go after”).<sup>11</sup> Thus, via the corresponding English verb “fly off,” one can already methodically think through how these conceptual distinctions function in practice in one language, and what aspectual values should be considered as candidates when parsing the similar vocabulary of an Egyptian text.

Conceptually, the mellic aspect can select a portion of the pre-phase, such as where a bird forms the intention to fly off but has not yet made any motion to actually begin doing so (“the bird is about to fly off”):

..[. .]. <xxxxXXXXXXXX+>-----

In comparison, the inchoative aspect selects the early portions of the action, such as where a bird leaps into the air and spreads its wings (“the bird is starting to fly off”):

.....<x[xx]xXXXXXXXX+>-----

Here—and as will surface in Shenoute’s discourse—it should be noted that different speakers can understandably apply different aspectual values to the same concrete action (e.g. if a bird is standing very still on the ground with all of its muscles tensed, it can be plausibly said that “the bird is about to fly off” or “the bird is starting to fly off”). In this regard, it should also be noted as a potential point of confusion that the mellic and the inchoative can be identical in some verbs of motion that fall under the somewhat overlapping category of achievement (e.g. the statement “He’s coming!” about the recipient of a surprise party; one crucial distinction is whether anything is perceived as achieved, if the activity suddenly stops before the moment of completion).<sup>12</sup>

With the progressive aspect, a portion of the ongoing action is selected (“the bird is flying off”):

<sup>11</sup> C. Gracia Zamacona, “Tests on verbal Aktionsart applied to Ancient Egyptian: Instruments to determine verbal semantics in an ancient language”, *Afrikanistik Aegyptologie Online* (2015), 1–53 (with mention of “adverbials of gradability” as the thirty-fifth test), <https://www.afrikanistik-aegyptologie-online.de/archiv/2015/auto1426069292.91>, accessed 3 May 2023. W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Eugene, OR, 2005, reprint of Oxford, 1939), 274–276.

<sup>12</sup> Winand, “Aspect”, 166.

.....<x[xx]xXXXXXX+>-----

.....<xxxxXX[XX]XX+>-----

Here—and as will surface in Shenoute’s discourse—it should be noted that sometimes very unusual and very elaborate details of a situation can conceivably restrict the application of the progressive to the later portion of the action but not the earlier portion to which the inchoative is also appropriate, or vice-versa (e.g. a statement such as ??“the bird is starting to fly off and I can no longer hear its squawking” seems like a questionable linguistic production, because a bird that is outside of hearing range can no longer be reasonably said to be “starting” to fly off).

Subsequently, the state aspect can select a portion of the static post-phase (e.g. a hunter finds a sprung trap but no sign of a bird and states, “The bird is flown off”).

.....<xxxxXXXXXXXX+>--[--]

Lastly, in certain situations like a simple past, a speaker can indicate the transition from the action to the static post-phase (e.g. “The bird flew off”):

.....<xxxxXXXXXX[X+>-]-----

Although of course usage differs across languages and any particular text may have ambiguous or underspecified usage, all of these distinctions are useful to keep in mind, when evaluating the sense of particular examples. It should also be remembered that forms can display “retention of earlier meaning,” wherein stages of a trajectory do not exist strictly successively, but rather can co-exist in a language.<sup>13</sup>

### **The Case Study of Shenoute’s “Not Because a Fox Barks.”**

Within Shenoute’s discourse “Not because a fox barks,” the stative (qualitative) of the verb πΩΤ ΠΗΤ ‘run’ appears three times alongside two occurrences of the infinitive (sometimes with meaning-affecting prepositions), in two separate passages wherein the depiction of quite elaborate scenarios can help rule out some possible aspectual values.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *Evolution*, 15–19.

<sup>14</sup> For attribution and surviving manuscripts, see S. Emmel, *Shenoute’s Literary Corpus*, vol. 2 (Leuven, 2004), 621–622, 812. In the absence of a critical edition, employed was the Coptic text of E. Chassinat, *Le quatrième livre des entretiens et épîtres de Shenouti* (Cairo, 1911), 38–50. Identification of the five occurrences was achieved through reading this text, then later confirmed by a search of the convenient text of Shenoute, *Not Because a Fox Barks*, ed. A. Zeldes, L. Martin, D. Sriboonreuang, C. Schroeder, trans. A. Zeldes, on *Coptic SCRIPTORIUM* (2013–2023), [https://data.copticscriptorium.org/urn:cts:coptic.Lit:shenoute.fox.monbxh\\_204\\_216](https://data.copticscriptorium.org/urn:cts:coptic.Lit:shenoute.fox.monbxh_204_216), accessed 20 April 2023. To check for any potential major variations interfering with readings, the two passages identified were also compared to the text of J. Leipoldt, with the assistance of W. Crum, *Sinuthii Archimandritae Vita et Opera Omnia*, vol. 3 (Paris, 1908), 79–84. For a recent English translation, consult Brakke and Crislip, *Selected Discourses*, 201–205.

The first passage contains a single stative (qualitative) and a single infinitive in a section where after castigation of idolatry by his recurrent non-Christian nemesis Gesios, Shenoute broaches the larger topic of godlessness, mentions oppression of the poor, and then switches to the 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural and details a situation of persecution. Specifically, he asserts that “you *have started to go* (?) after men, especially the elders of the church, until you have harried them in their houses” (ΕΤΕΤΝ̄ΠΗΤ Ν̄ΣΑ Ν̄ΡΩΜΕ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΝΕΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΣ Ν̄ΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ΨΑΝΤΕΤΝ̄ΒΟΤΠΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΗΙ), immediately specifying “at this time, too, this one that is among the great troubles of the earth” (Θ̄Μ̄ ΠΙΚΑΙΡΟΣ ΟΝ ΠΑΙ Θ̄ΡΑΙ Θ̄Ν̄ ΝΙΝΟΒ̄Ν̄ΙΣΕ ΕΤ Θ̄ΙΧ̄Μ̄ ΠΚΑΘ̄). Then, he moves into quick and surprising elaborations of what was found in the houses, which climaxes in the statement that “there is nothing in them at all, because they ran” (ΕΜΝ̄ ΛΑΔΥ Ν̄ΘΗΤΟΥ ΘΟΛΩΣ Μ̄ΜΑΥ ΕΤΒΕ ΧΕ ΑΥΠΩΤ). Despite the switch to the second person plural and a background of multiple actions as complicating factors, this persecution is presented as one relatively coherent set of actions with one culminating set of victims, one timeframe, and one unexpected result. In terms of the aspectual value of the stative (qualitative), it seems certain that the mellic aspect is excluded by the fact the action has already begun – that is, the persecutors cannot be said to “be about to go (run) after” men all the way through the church elders, since they have already begun to go after them through the point of entering their houses. Otherwise, this general situation is consistent with usage of the inchoative (“you are starting to go [run] after”) and the progressive (“you are going [running] after”), as well as possibly the completive; although the persecution is ultimately stated to be frustrated and thus might seem to exclude this aspectual value, a reading as “you have gone (run) after them” is also intelligible as an exaggeration that sets up a later ironic undermining of the apparent totality of the persecution.

The second passage has two statives (qualitatives) and a single infinitive and also addresses a group of persecutors, this time detailing a situation of habitual outrages occurring in the face of barbarian incursions, all under an unwieldy and overlong coordinated clausal division “in the way that (Ν̄Θ̄Ε) . . . thus (ΤΑΙ ΤΕ Θ̄Ε) . . .” Specifically, under the domain of the first overlong “in the way that” clause (Ν̄Θ̄Ε), Shenoute focuses on the oppressed and details how habitually “you gather them to make them guard you on the boats . . .” (ΕΨΑΤΕΤΝ̄ΣΟΟΥΖΟΥ ΕΤΡΕΥΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄ Θ̄Ι ΝΕΧΗΥ) and how habitually “you run from before the barbarians” (ΕΨΑΤΕΤΝ̄ΠΩΤ ΘΑΠΘΟΝ̄ΝΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ), prior to pausing to ask whether “is it not the case that the barbarian *has started to go* (?) after they themselves?” (Η ΠΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ ΠΗΤ Ν̄ΣΩΟΥ Ν̄ΤΟΟΥ ΔΝ). Then, still in this same clause, he continues on and details how “their wives and their children and the property of their poverty are on their animals and in their wagons as they themselves *are starting to flee* (?) from their places to other places to save themselves” (ΕΡΕ ΝΕΥΖΙΟΜΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΨΗΡΕ Μ̄Ν̄ ΠΣΟΒΤΕ Ν̄ΤΕΥΜ̄Ν̄Τ̄ΘΗΚΕ Θ̄ΙΧ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΤΒ̄Ν̄ΟΟΥΓΕ ΑΥΩ Θ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΑΒΟΛΤΕ ΕΥΠΗΤ Θ̄ΩΟΥ ΕΒΟΛ Θ̄Ν̄ ΝΕΥΤΟΠΟΣ Ε Θ̄ΝΚΕΤΟΠΟΣ ΕΤΡΕΥΝΑΘ̄ΜΟΥ). Next, under the domain of the corresponding “thus” clause (ΤΑΙ ΤΕ Θ̄Ε), he points out how habitually “many of them hire men at their own expense and

send them to you to guard you . . .” (ΕΥΧΑΡΕ ΔΑΔΝ̄ΗΤΟΥ ΤΩΝΕ ΡΩΜΕ ΔΑ ΠΕΥΒΕΚΕ Ν̄ΧΕΧΟΟΥΣΕ ΝΗΤΝ̄ ΕΡΟΕΙΣ ΕΡΩΤΝ̄). Here, the multiple actors of the persecutors and the oppressed and the multiple occasions are complicating factors, although the habitual nature of this situation is emphasized by repeated use of the habitual (aorist) verbal inflection. With the first use of the stative (qualitative) in the extremely unelaborated parenthetical question, its aspectual value seems very ambiguous and potentially intelligible as any of the four, whether mellic (“is about to go after”), inchoative (“is beginning to go after”), progressive (“is going after”), or even completive (“has gone after,” perhaps in a rhetorical moment stepping outside of the depiction of events to state that such an event has occurred; note the change from “the barbarians” to “the barbarian”). The second occurrence, however, is very intriguing because of the unusual situational specification that many of those who are fleeing hire men and send them to the persecutors. This very specific detail would seem to exclude the possibility of a non-inchoative progressive or completive: logically, if those fleeing were already well on their way to their destinations (non-inchoative progressive) or had already decisively reached their destinations (completive), it does not seem plausible that the demand to guard the boats could reach them, nor could they reasonably send others back to guard the boats. Instead, the depicted situation seems consistent with a mellic (“are about to flee”) or inchoative (“are starting to flee”), depending on whether preparing the animals and wagons are conceptualized as the action’s pre-phase or the first stages of the action itself.

Overall, given the exclusion of the mellic sense in the first example and the limitation to the mellic or inchoative in the unusually specific scenario of the last example, the inchoative seems like the “lowest common denominator,” if one was forced to choose a single aspectual value to define all of the textual occurrences. However, since there can exist co-occurrence of meaning along a trajectory, it is quite possible that such a stative (qualitative) of a verb of motion could vary in function as something like a completive-inchoative or inchoative-progressive, at least for this speaker of this phase of the Egyptian language. In any case, the inchoative aspect is a plausible interpretation for such a verbal form and should be considered in future research, besides thinking through, for example, what contrast might be created by using the infinitive versus the stative (qualitative) in a given construction, or how certain aspects might be overrepresented in texts because of their discursive relevance (e.g. it seems more situationally likely to be discussing an occurrence involving a verb of motion in the mellic, inchoative, or completive aspect, rather than the non-inchoative progressive).<sup>15</sup> Throughout such research, it should be kept in mind that although relatively rare, hyper-elaborate narrative situations are most helpful in evaluating and ruling out different shades of meaning. Also kept in mind should be the larger history of scholarship in which default and probably undue emphasis has automatically been placed on “ongoing” motion, due to the long-standing but problematic derivation of certain forms like ΝΗΥ vis-à-vis ΕΙ “come” from a locative construction similar to that that birthed the Egyptian progressive.

<sup>15</sup> Layton, *Coptic Grammar*, 130 (“There are no sentences in which these infinitives and statives could, by the speaker’s choice, replace one another and contrast in meaning”).



## Three Newly-Identified N-Stem Verbs in the *Debate Between a Man and His Soul* David Mihalyfy

**Abstract:** It has recently been proposed that Afroasiatic N-stem verbs had a more productive presence in Egyptian than is commonly thought: rather than dying off at a very early period, they became the state-indicating n-prefixed adjectival verbs best known from Later Egyptian, with some related usages including verbs of motion and innovative combinations with causative S-stem morphology. In line with this new theory, three possible N-stem verbs are identified in the *Debate Between a Man and His Soul*: an adjectival verb-like usage (line 5 *nA-wr*, vis-à-vis line 6 *wr*); a usage with a verb of motion (line 74 *n-aq*, vis-à-vis line 73 *aq*); and an N + S-stem combination (lines 84 *n-s-sT-n-f*, vis-à-vis line 82 *r s-sT*). Even beyond how the second and third readings help increase the intelligibility of the Soul's two parables, the first and third of these new readings show literary play on different forms of the same root, while the second reading sets up stylistic alternation of two different verbs with two different sets of subjects.

**Résumé:** Il a récemment été proposé que les verbes à préfixe /n-/ afroasiatiques avaient une présence plus productive en égyptien que ce qui est communément admis: plutôt que de mourir à une période très précoce, ils sont devenus les verbes adjectivaux à préfixe /n-/ connus de l'égyptien tardif et aussi des verbes de mouvement et des verbes combinés avec la morphologie causative à préfixe /s-/. Conformément à cette nouvelle théorie, trois verbes à préfixe /n-/ sont identifiés dans le *Dialogue d'un homme avec son ba*: un usage de type verbe adjectival (ligne 5 *nA-wr*, vis-à-vis de la ligne 6 *wr*); un usage avec un verbe de mouvement (ligne 74 *n-aq*, vis-à-vis de la ligne 73 *aq*); et une combinaison avec la morphologie causative (ligne 84 *n-s-sT-n-f*, vis-à-vis de la ligne 82 *r s-sT*). La première et la troisième de ces nouvelles lectures montrent un jeu littéraire sur différentes formes d'une même racine, tandis que la deuxième lecture met en place une alternance stylistique de deux verbes différents avec deux groupes de sujets différents. Les deuxième et troisième lectures contribuent aussi à accroître l'intelligibilité des deux paraboles du ba.

**Keywords:** Afroasiatic, Derived Verbs, N-stems, S-stems, Adjectival Verbs, Verbs of Quality, Verbs of Motion, *Debate Between a Man and His Soul*

**Mots-clés:** Afroasiatique, verbes dérivés, verbes à préfixe /n-/, verbes à préfixe /s-/, verbes adjectivaux, verbes de qualité, verbes de mouvement, *le dialogue d'un homme avec son ba*

### **A Productive Survival of Afroasiatic N-Stems in Egyptian: A New Paradigm.**

In a new theory that replaces several cross-linguistically doubtful proposals and that has the potential to open up occasional re-readings of even well-known texts, it has recently been argued that Afroasiatic N-stem verbs had a more productive presence in Egyptian than is commonly thought: rather than dying off at a very early period, they became the state-indicating n-prefixed adjectival verbs best known from Later Egyptian, with some related usages including verbs of motion and innovative combinations with causative S-stem morphology.<sup>1</sup>

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Portions of this new paradigm were presented at the Egyptological Conference in Copenhagen and the Missouri Egyptological Symposium of the American Research Center in Egypt—Missouri Chapter, for which venues and conversations the author is grateful. For institutional support, thanks go to the Interlibrary Loan Department of the Urbana Free Library and to the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, in particular its Courtesy Card Program, Circulation Department, and subject specialists Paula Carns and Elias Petrou. Special gratitude also goes to Joachim Quack for his exemplary collegiality, including sharing



To briefly summarize the most relevant portions of this new proposal, the acknowledged passive sense of some Earlier Egyptian N-stems was the locus of a reanalysis-and-extension change somewhat akin to the famous example of how the Latin reflexive pronoun *se* became reanalyzed in some contexts as a passive and thus created the possibility of usage with previously impossible verbs.<sup>2</sup> With Latin, this type of change left various Romance languages with, on the one hand, reflexives (e.g. the French *il se rase* ‘he shaves himself,’ the Spanish *el se lava* ‘he washes himself,’ or the Romanian *el se dezbracă* ‘he redresses himself’) and, on the other hand, passives (e.g. the French *le poisson ne se mange pas ici* ‘fish is not eaten here,’ the Spanish *se habla español* ‘Spanish is spoken [here],’ or the Romanian *inghețata se topește la soare* ‘the ice cream melts in the sun,’ all of which can no longer be reflexives *stricto sensu*). With Egyptian, a root like that transliterated *sbA* ‘teach/educate’ could presumably take on the N-stem’s attested passive sense—that is, ‘be taught/educated’—but then the sense of this form could be reanalyzed as a state—that is, something like ‘be wise.’<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, this reanalysis permitted the extension of the prefix and the corresponding root-and-pattern morphology to non-transitive verbs. Together, these more-historic forms and their related innovations have left traces in the well-known group of Later Egyptian adjectival verbs, with its recognized passive subset (e.g.  $\text{NECB}\omega\omega\text{q}$  ‘he is wise,’ from the historic root transliterated *sbA*) and its larger, novel group of state-indicating items in which a passive sense no longer adheres (e.g.  $\text{N}\Delta\lambda\omega\text{b}\bar{\text{q}}$  ‘it is pleasant’).<sup>4</sup> Historically, this reanalysis-and-extension change was probably motivated by how Earlier Egyptian could express state through a periphrastic construction in which a main verb was a place-holder combined with a stative (qualitative), which multi-word construction was vulnerable to competition from a

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relevant portions of his forthcoming Demotic grammar; and to Mary Ann Marazzi, Jan Moje, and Sandra Steiß, for assistance with article images.

<sup>1</sup> D. Mihalyfy, “A Limited Survival of Afro-Asiatic N-Stem Verbs in Later Egyptian?: A New Theory of Coptic Adjectival Verbs, with Implications for the First Future” (paper presented at the Egyptological Conference in Copenhagen, Copenhagen, 11 May 2022). D. Mihalyfy, “Re-reading the *Soul-Dialogue*, *Wenamun*, and the *Shipwrecked Sailor* for Transformed N-Stem Verbs: Plus, How Reconstructing a 1<sup>st</sup> Person Plural Pronoun /nu/ Helps Explain Their Orthographic Trajectories” (paper presented at the Fourth Annual Missouri Egyptological Symposium of the American Research Center in Egypt—Missouri Chapter, Saint Louis, MO, 15 October 2022). D. Mihalyfy, “A Productive Survival of Afroasiatic N-Stems in Egyptian: Preliminaries for a New Paradigm” (unpublished manuscript prepared for publication). In contrast, the standard narrative of the early extinction of Egyptian’s Afroasiatic N-stems can be seen in places like the diachronic reflections of S. Štubňová Nigrelli, “Ancient Egyptian Perceptions of the World: The N-Prefix and Its Role in the Pyramid Texts”, in M.V. Almansa-Villatoro, S. Štubňová Nigrelli, and M. Lehner (eds.), *In the House of Heqanakht: Text and Context in Ancient Egypt; Studies in Honor of James P. Allen* (Leiden, 2023), 326–340. Cross-linguistically doubtful are, first, the derivation of the adjectival verb prefix from the same verb ‘exist’ transliterated *wn(n)* that also produced the imperfect; and, second, the derivation of the prefix of some verbs of motion from the same locative construction that also produced the progressive. For some inner-Egyptian difficulties with the first derivation, see J.F. Quack, “Über die mit ‘nh’ gebildeten Namenstypen und die Vokalisation einiger Verbalformen”, *Göttinger Miszellen* 123 (1991), 96. For an instance of the second derivation, see J.H. Johnson, *Thus Wrote Onchsheshonqy: An Introductory Grammar of Demotic*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Chicago, 2000), 35. For a lack of clear cross-linguistic parallels for both derivations, consult J. Bybee, R. Perkins, and W. Pagliuca, *The Evolution of Grammar: Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. (Chicago, 1994); and T. Kuteva, B. Heine, B. Hong, H. Long, H. Narrog, and S. Rhee, *World Lexicon of Grammaticalization*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Cambridge, 2019).

<sup>2</sup> L. Campbell, *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed (Cambridge, MA, 2020), 279–283.

<sup>3</sup> For a short recent survey of some descriptions of N-stem senses that include a “passive,” see Štubňová Nigrelli, in Almansa-Villatoro, Štubňová Nigrelli, and Lehner (eds.), *In the House*, 328.

<sup>4</sup> For identification of the passive subset of n-prefixed adjectival verbs, see Quack, “Namenstypen”, 96; and J.F. Quack, *Demotische Grammatik* (Wiesbaden, forthcoming).

single main verb that could directly express state (i.e., the reanalyzed N-stem).<sup>5</sup> In a cross-linguistic pattern known from scholarship on unaccusativity and unergativity, these Egyptian N-stems also encompassed sporadically-attested state-indicating verbs of motion (e.g. *Wenamun* 2.76 *n-aq* ‘be entered/gone in,’ the historic form underlying the Coptic  $\text{NOY}$  ‘be come’)—although, it must be noted, this subset appears to have become gradually detached from the main part of the survival, perhaps due to their assumption of inchoative or mellic senses as seems to have occurred with the statives (qualitatives) of some verbs of motion.<sup>6</sup> As can also be seen from the lexicalized adjectival verb  $\text{NEC}\omega\text{Q}$  ‘he is beautiful’ and its perceptively-described formation around a causative of the root transliterated *aAi* ‘be great’ (i.e., ‘be beautiful’ < *n-s-aAi* ‘be made great’), this N-stem productivity also seems to have included innovative combinations of the N-stem passive with S-stem causative morphology, in a layering of these stems in a different order from that known in Earlier Egyptian.<sup>7</sup> Taken all together, such Egyptian examples resemble a transformation of some N-stems in Tuareg, and, in their limited but very noteworthy presence through the era of Coptic script, they constitute an incredibly striking, incredibly long-lasting Afroasiatic inheritance much like how some Cushitic languages maintain “[s]mall numbers (from 1 to 12) of prefix-conjugated verbs” that closely correspond to paradigms in Semitic and Berber, in that this very small group of verbs carries through historic morphology with deep links to other branches of the language family.<sup>8</sup>

### **New Reading #1: An Adjectival Verb-Like N-Stem (Line 5, vis-à-vis Line 6).**

As a finer point of the new paradigm, it should be noted that the reanalyzed N-stem entered into grammatical opposition with the simplex verb, with the former indicating state and the latter indicating process; when the N-stem moved into representing state, it forced the simplex verb into the connotation of process, which contrast then went on to lead a long life in Egyptian. Although language resources like Coptic grammars can group the adjectival verbs separately and then go on in turn to list the infinitive and the related stative (qualitative) similarly to other verbs, it has been observantly noted that the related stative (qualitative) form “is either extremely rare or altogether non-existent,” and thus in relation to the infinitive (the historic simplex like  $\text{A}\omega\text{A}$  ‘become many’), the typical means of indicating state is actually the unduly separated adjectival verb (the historic N-stem like  $\text{NA}\omega\omega=$  ‘be many’).<sup>9</sup>

In the *Debate between a Man and His Soul*, the fifth and sixth lines together seem to constitute an early example of this enduring grammatical opposition between the N-stem and simplex forms, in a type of self-conscious literary play with two manipulations of the same root.

<sup>5</sup> J.E. Hoch, *Middle Egyptian Grammar* (Mississauga, ON, 1997), 109–110.

<sup>6</sup> D.M. Perlmutter, “Impersonal Passives and the Unaccusative Hypothesis”, in J.J. Jaeger, A.C. Woodbury, F. Ackerman, C. Chiarello, O.D. Gensler, J. Kingston, E.E. Sweetser, H. Thompson, and K.W. Whistler (eds.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society, February 18–20, 1978* (Berkeley, CA, 1978), 162–163. M.H. Klaiman, *Grammatical Voice* (Cambridge, 1991), 121–123. B. Levin and M. Rappaport Hovav, *Unaccusativity: At the Syntax-Lexical Semantics Interface* (Cambridge, MA, 1995), 6. Johnson, *Thus Wrote*, 35. B. Layton, *A Coptic Grammar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Wiesbaden, 2011), 237.

<sup>7</sup> W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Copte* (Leuven, 1983), 144, 182. Štubňová Nigrelli, in Almansa-Villatoro, Štubňová Nigrelli, and Lehner (eds.), *In the House*, 335.

<sup>8</sup> K-G. Prasse, *Manuel de Grammaire Touaregue (tāhāggart)*, Vols. 6–7, *Verbe* (Copenhagen, 1973), 62. G. Gragg, “Semitic and Afro-Asiatic”, in J. Huehnergard and N. Pat-El (eds.), *The Semitic Languages*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, 2019), 34.

<sup>9</sup> For an example of separation in textbook and glossary presentation, see T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* (Macon, GA, 2000), 130–131, 213, 249. H.J. Polotsky, “The Coptic Conjugation System”, *Orientalia* 29, no. 4 (1960), 412.

Current readings acknowledge a recurrence of the adjective *wr* ‘be great,’ the first time headed by a plural demonstrative pronoun *nA* and perhaps defectively written without a plural ending, and the second time in a third person singular impersonal form:<sup>10</sup>

iw	nA	wr(w)	r-i	m min . . .	iw	grt	wr	r	aba
PTC	DEM.PL	great (3PL)	to-1SG	in today ...	PTC	also	great [3SG.IMPERS]	to	boast/INF
“These are too great for me today . . . It has also become great to boast.” ( <i>Debate</i> 5, 6)									

If the plural demonstrative pronoun that immediately precedes the first adjective is instead interpreted as the N-stem prefix in a rendering of the nV- sequence, however, not only does the need to postulate a defective writing disappear, but a matching pair of impersonal verbs from the same root is also created, with a rhetorical flourish set up on top of the grammatical contrast between the N-stem indicating state and the simplex indicating process (“become great” vs. “is becoming great”):

iw	nA-wr	r-i	m min . . .	iw	grt	wr	r	aba
PTC	NSTEM-great [3SG.IMPERS]	to-1SG	in today ...	PTC	also	SIMPLEX/great [3SG.IMPERS]	to	boast/INF
“It has become too great for me today . . . . It is also becoming great to boast.” ( <i>Debate</i> 5, 6)								

Although this particular root *wr* is not currently attested in the longest known collection of adjectival verbs, this Middle Egyptian example conceptually matches the “adjective” category that predominates among the adjectival verbs best known from Demotic and Coptic script and that has given them their common name.<sup>11</sup>

Besides the strikingly early period of this occurrence, also worth noting is how short nasal-initial words written without a determinative surface as a misreading of the N-stem prefix.

### **New Reading #2: An N-Stem of a Verb of Motion (Line 74, vis-à-vis Line 73).**

Within the new paradigm, it must be emphasized that the reanalyzed N-stems of verbs of motion seem to have eventually drifted into different meanings such as the inchoative or mellic and perhaps further into the progressive, as can be seen in part in the common translation values found in different resources, and as also seems to have occurred with some statives (qualitatives) of verbs of motion.<sup>12</sup> So, philological analysis should envision and consider translation possibilities grounded in such a plausible gradual evolution, including the possibility of “retention of earlier meaning.”<sup>13</sup>

As part of the first parable of the Soul – a parable in which a man’s transport of the harvest by boat leads to a threatening situation of being surrounded by crocodiles and then his concluding reflection on lives cut short – the seventy-fourth line could indicate an early state-indicating form, if successive verb forms continue to be interpreted in a known pattern and an emendation is accepted around several small points of orthography that could have caused a scribal error.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Hoch, *Grammar*, 224. J.P. Allen, *The Debate Between a Man and His Soul: A Masterpiece of Ancient Egyptian Literature* (Leiden, 2011), 25–27. For this reading, translation and transcription have been adapted from these sources in dialogue with careful examination of the manuscript image and transcription found on Allen, *Debate*, 262–263.

<sup>11</sup> Quack, *Grammatik* (forthcoming).

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Johnson, *Thus Spoke*, 35.

<sup>13</sup> Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca, *Evolution*, 15–19.

<sup>14</sup> For this reading, translation and transcription are adapted from Allen, *Debate*, 70–72, in dialogue with careful examination of the manuscript image and transcription found on Allen, *Debate*, 284–285.

Overall, one passage sets up a series of events in which a common narrative form gives way to a series of forms lacking an explicit subject, which forms have been identified as ellipses or statives, but which could be passives, and which in any case appear to have been used in a construction that backgrounds the known subject and increases attention on the development of events.<sup>15</sup>

Within this overall pattern, two points deserve mention around a hieratic word in Column 74 that surfaces as the group moves into the fateful depression where they will be surrounded by crocodiles, and that involves a sign that appears only once in all of the text's surviving papyrus portions known today (Fig. 1). In tandem, these suggest that this word could be a scribal error for the N-stem *n-aq* "be gone in," instead of the standard reading of a simplex *Aq* "perish."<sup>16</sup>



Figure 1. Column 107 Aq, Column 74 Aq (*n-aq?*), and Column 73 aq; Details of the Hieratic Papyrus of the *Debate Between a Man and His Soul*, from: <https://id.smb.museum/object/1388679> and <https://id.smb.museum/object/606199>; Underlying Photos for Resized and Overlaid Figure Excerpts: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Sandra Steiß, licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 ([creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)), accessed 20 April 2023

First, orthographic and perhaps phonetic grounds could support an emendation of the first part of the word. Although known from elsewhere (e.g. the *Shipwrecked Sailor*) as a standard part of a full writing of sign G1 for *A*, the plainly separate stroke of the upper bar of this full writing strongly resembles the standard way of writing the common sign N35 transliterated *n*. If this part of the sign was indeed originally N35, it also could have originally constituted an alternate writing of the N-stem prefix, something understandable for an innovative verb form in a conservative orthographic tradition that had not yet developed a standard way of writing it. Furthermore, if such an N-stem prefix appeared above the biconsonantal sign G35 for *aq* like appears in Column 73, a scribe could have become confused and perceived N35 sitting above G35 as the full writing of G1 and thus substituted for both the full writing of G1, which sign also fits in with the following sign N29 transliterated *q* but now creates *Aq* "perish" out of *n-aq* "be gone in," in a fuller and different writing than that of Column 107. Additionally, although current research does not contain a clear consensus on when the sounds transliterated *a* and *A* became vowels, these changes may have already occurred in the relevant environments, as can be seen in part from the use of *A* in the fifth line's rendering of the N-stem *nV*- prefix.<sup>17</sup> Thus, such a collapse might also have been a motivating factor in the initial confusion of *aq* for *Aq*, in addition to any confusion from a scribe perhaps copying innovative verbal forms not at home in their own dialect.

<sup>15</sup> Allen, *Debate*, 70–72. A. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford, 1957), 397. A. Stauder, *The Earlier Egyptian Passive: Voice and Perspective* (Hamburg, 2014), 149–153, although note his interpretation of the disputed forms of this passage as statives on 280–281.

<sup>16</sup> Allen, *Debate*, 11, 71.

<sup>17</sup> J.P. Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Phonology* (Cambridge, 2020), 54, 56.

Second, the erasure of the determinative Z9 and replacement by G37 could evince the same scribal idiosyncrasies and confusion around determinatives that is sporadically evident elsewhere in the manuscript, but both are nevertheless also understandable with an emendation to create a verb form meaning “be gone in”; the former determinative choice resembles its use with the verb *D*A*i* ‘to cross’ and could have been conceivably applied to the narrative situation where the parties left the boat and crossed into a depression, while the latter’s negative meaning foreshadows the certain death of the parable’s protagonists and could involve some confusion around the root *Aq* “perish” like in Column 107.<sup>18</sup> Possible, too, is hesitancy to use the walking legs sign D54, if that sign was conceptually allocated to the simplex verb and its indication of process.

Taken all together, then, this new reading via emendation sets up a cascade of verbs that makes use of an N-stem to emphasize the definitive entrance into the fateful geographic area prior to the protagonists’ being surrounded by crocodiles and then the man’s lament that closes the parable:

mA-n-f	pr-t	wxt . . .
see-PST-3MSG	come.out-INF	darkening
“He saw the coming out of the darkness . . .” ( <i>Debate</i> 71–72)		

rs	m dpt	ra	Hr	aq
watch/VERB <sup>19</sup>	in boat	sun	on	go.in/INF
“And he watched in the boat as the sun was going down” ( <i>Debate</i> 72–73)				

pr	Hna	Hmt-f	msw-f
come.out/VERB	with	wife-3MSG	children-3MSG
“And he came out with his wife and his children” ( <i>Debate</i> 73–74)			

n-aq	tp	S
NSTEM-go.in/VERB	on	depression
“And he was gone down into a depression” ( <i>Debate</i> 74)		

Sn	m grH	Xr	mryt
surround/VERB	in night	under	crocodiles
“And he was surrounded at night by crocodiles” ( <i>Debate</i> 74–75)			

Importantly, this new reading as an N-stem replaces the word “perish” and thus removes a somewhat problematic aspect of a current reading like “And he perished in a depression,” where the death of the man would be asserted prior to his being surrounded by crocodiles, not to mention the narrative transition to the following lines in which he sits down and delivers his closing lament. This new reading also sets up alternating, interweaving uses of the words “come out” (*pr*) and “go in” (*aq*)—the first two times with the darkness and the sun, and the second two times with the man—all prior to the catastrophic reptilian ambush.

<sup>18</sup> For scribal idiosyncrasies and confusion around determinatives, see, for example, the discussion of other words in lines 76 and 102 in Allen, *Debate*, 72, 89.

<sup>19</sup> Although glossing necessitates a commitment to some identification, these disputed forms have been simply and rotely tagged as VERB, in order to leave discussion open. It should be noted that although identification as an N-stem makes the disputed verbal forms’ identification as statives (qualitatives) unlikely, their exact identity remains unclear, as does their historical origin.

**New Reading #3: An N + S-Stem Verb (Lines 84 vis-à-vis Line 82).**

In the second parable of the Soul, a man’s request for food outside of set meals is refused by his wife, only to leave him shut down when mealtime finally arrives. In one section describing the man’s post-refusal behavior and then ultimate apathy, there seems to be a literary play between an S-stem verb and an N + S-stem verb built off of the same root, which root would be transliterated as *sT* and have an intransitive simplex meaning something like “flow” or “stretch” (possibly being related to the root typically transliterated *sTi* and translated as “throw, cast”).<sup>20</sup>

In the eighty-second line, the common interpretation of an S-stem causative *s-sT* seems correct, but the verb seems to lack a determinative and has an odd interrelation with what appears to be a following prepositional phrase:<sup>21</sup>

iw-f	pr-f	r xntw	r	s-sT	r	At
PTC-3MSG	come.out-3MSG	to outside	to	SSTEM-flow	to	moment
“And as for him, he goes outside to putter around (?) for a moment” ( <i>Debate</i> 82)						

However, what is typically transliterated as the sign D21 transliterated *r* could in fact be a poorly written G37 determinative equivalent to that occurring with the same root in the eighty-fourth line (Fig. 2). Rather than beginning the initial downward stroke in an area even with or somewhat to the right of the ultimate downward hook on the lower bar, the scribe was writing at a pronounced angle and may have misplaced the reed a little too far left and let it linger, creating a noticeably heavier portion at the beginning of the stroke, prior to their moving the reed and creating a rounded left portion consistent with other appearances of this determinative (e.g. in lines 49, 68, or 124).<sup>22</sup>

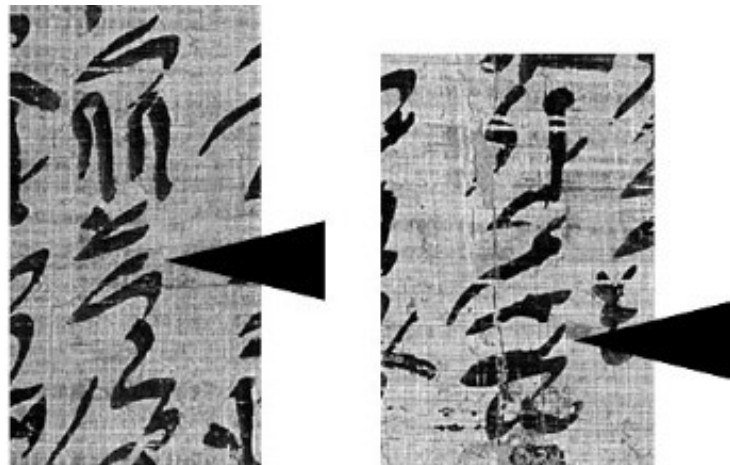


Figure 2. Column 82 and 68 Determinatives; Details of the Hieratic Papyrus of the *Debate Between a Man and His Soul*, from: <https://id.smb.museum/object/606199>, Underlying Photo to Resized and Overlaid Figure Excerpts: © Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Sandra Steiß, licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 ([creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/)), accessed 20 April 2023

<sup>20</sup> For these readings, translation and transcription are adapted from Allen, *Debate*, 75–78, in dialogue with careful examination of the manuscript image and transcription found on Allen, *Debate*, 288–289. For a tradition of interpretation around such a simplex *sT*, see A. Badawy, “Two Passages from Ancient Egyptian Literary Texts Reinterpreted,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 86 (1961), 144–145; and H. Goedicke, *The Report about the Dispute of a Man with His Ba: Papyrus Berlin 3024* (Baltimore, MD, 1970), 140–141, which suggests a verb related to one in another text as discussed by K. Sethe, “Die beiden alten Lieder von der Trinkstätte in den Darstellungen des Luksorfestzuges,” *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 64 (1929), 2–3.

<sup>21</sup> Allen, *Debate*, 76: “All translations have understood . . . the infinitive of ‘an obscure causative verb’ . . . without determinative” (italics added; he quotes a study of R. Faulkner); “[A]ny of the verbs suggested should have a determinative.”

<sup>22</sup> Allen, *Debate*, 276–277, 282–283, 300–301. The manuscript’s many undisputed examples of D21 also serve to show the unusual heaviness of the initial part of the stroke, especially versus its immediately

Thus, this re-reading of the preposition *r* as a determinative would not only produce a graphically more-typical verb, but also make the mildly problematic preposition disappear from transcription and establish the word “moment” as a rather unproblematic direct object of what has already been properly identified as some S-stem causative:

iw-f	pr-f	r xntw	r	s-sT	At
PTC-3MSG	come.out-3MSG	to outside	to	SSTEM-flow	moment
“And as for him, he goes outside to spend a moment” ( <i>Debate</i> 82)					

Next, in the eighty-fourth line and its description of the man’s ultimate apathy, what is typically interpreted as a preposition with the third singular feminine pronoun leads into what has been interpreted as a stative of some verb and a following reflexive.<sup>23</sup>

n	sDm-n-f	n-s	sT	n-f...
NEG	listen-PST-3MSG	to-3FSG	offend(?)/STATIVE[3MSG]	to-3MSG
“He did not listen to her, being offended (?) . . .” ( <i>Debate</i> 84)				

However, what is typically interpreted as a preposition with the third singular feminine pronoun can instead be interpreted as N + S-stem prefix morphology, and what has been identified as the following reflexive use of a preposition could instead be the common past morphology historically thought to derive from the same preposition:

n	sDm-n-f	n-s-sT-n-f...
NEG	listen-PST-3MSG	NSTEM-SSTEM-flow-PST-3MSG
“He did not listen; he had become spent” ( <i>Debate</i> 84)		

If correct, this potential literary play is partially illustrated by the English words “spend” and “exhaust”; these words unfortunately lack a simple form like “time \*spends” or “the moment \*exhausts” in the sense of “flow away,” but they can be applied to objects, and they can also figure into passive-like constructions of enervation—that is, someone “spends time” and then “is spent,” or someone “exhausts the moment” and then “is exhausted.” Along with the first new reading across the fifth and sixth lines, this would then constitute this text’s second instance of literary play with two different manipulations of the same root.

As is also the case with the first reading, here too a short nasal-initial word written without a determinative figures into what appears to be a misreading of the N-stem prefix.

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following thinness. The contrast seems excessive, even in comparison to a rare, highly comparable example of D21 like that in Column 131, as seen on Allen, *Debate*, 302–303.

<sup>23</sup> Allen, *Debate*, 77–78.

Elvira D'Amicone (ed.)

*Sarcófagos del Antiguo Egipto. Jardineros de Amón en El Valle de Las Reinas. Exposición presentada en el Museu Egipci de Barcelona (13 de Marzo de 2008–13 de Abril de 2009)*

Fundació Arqueològica Clos/ Museu Egipci, Barcelona. 2009. 175 pages.

This volume reflects a broader trend towards interdisciplinary fields that has sparked interest among scholars involved in the study of wooden coffins over the last decades. Through a more multifaceted approach to analysis, dedicated international symposia, multidisciplinary projects, and exhibitions such as the one held in Barcelona, at the Egyptian Museum of that city from March 2008 to April 2009 have given merit to this topic as a relevant aspect of current Egyptological research.

The book is divided into three sections. The first includes prefaces (pages 7–13) two maps (1: Lower and Upper Egypt, Lower Nubia with historical capitals, main cities, Ernesto Schiaparelli's fieldwork; 2: Queen's Valley with Schiaparelli's discoveries, pages 14–15) and a chronological chart (page 17). The second section, called "Artículos", (articles) consists of 12 paragraphs, all in Spanish as no English edition was published. The first six articles as well as the last one, deal with the specific topic of the volume, which is the collection of Museo Egizio, its historical overview ("El Antiguo Egipto y el Museo Egipcio de Turin," pages 20–24) and the wooden and painted coffins of the Third Intermediate Period–Late Period discovered in the secondary burials within some royal tombs of the Queen's Valley (pages 26–59, 76–81). These coffins were found by Schiaparelli at the beginning of the twentieth century ("La conservación de los materiales egipcios . . .," pages 26–29, "Ernesto Schiaparelli y las excavaciones en el Valle de las reinas," pages 30–41, "Los sarcófagos pintados . . .," pages 50–59). Some of the owners of these artefacts belonged to the group of gardener-priests with an uncommon religious title ("Familla del Valle de las reinas," pages 50–59). The authors also discuss the community of artists working in those tombs ("Deir El-Medina, la comunidad de los constructores de tumbas reales," pages 42–45) and the tomb-robberies that involved those people ("El diario de la necropolis y los robos en los cementerios tebanos," pages 46–49). The last five articles have a more general topic: the funerary assemblage ("El ajuar funerario," pages 60–63), the mummification process ("La momificación", pages 64–67) and the Egyptian mythology ("El mito de Isis y Osisis," pages 68–69, "Los dos horizontes y los dioses del Occidente y del Oriente," pages 70–72, "Nut, la señora del Cielo," pages 73–75). A question the reader might pose is why these last "artículos" were not placed at the beginning of the section. This might be more appropriate before focusing on some specific aspects of the funerary art, such as the wooden anthropoid coffins of a particular period (first millennium BCE), the conservation of their wooden surfaces and pigments and the historical overview of Schiaparelli's fieldwork in the Theban area. In addition, the fourth and the fifth paragraphs ("Deir El-Medina, la comunidad de los constructores de tumbas reales," pages 42–45, and "El diario de la necropolis y los robos . . .," pages 46–49) are less relevant to the main subject of this volume. They deal with the community of workmen who lived close to the royal



burials and served the pharaohs until the Twenty Dynasty. Furthermore, the tomb-robberies took place in the Ramesside period, more than three centuries before the evidence of the gardener-priests of Amun who oversaw the cultivation of the sacred lotuses, although their coffins were found in the royal New Kingdom tombs discovered by Schiaparelli. These “artículos” were clearly conceived as a tribute to Ernesto Schiaparelli’s successful archaeological work (page 39), as he was one of the fathers of modern Egyptology in Italy, but they could have been integrated altogether in the third paragraph, as a new and general shorter overview of all the fieldwork done by Schiaparelli in the Theban area.

To the already significant bibliography of the first paragraph, I would add an important reference missing here for the history of the European collections of Egyptian antiquities and their political implications by Jean-Jacques Fiechter.<sup>1</sup>

The third paragraph devotes a few pages to the use of photography in Egyptian archaeology, which is a very interesting topic but poorly debated in the Egyptological literature. The initial seasons of fieldwork of Museo Egizio used photography as a valuable support for the scientific documentation of the sites and the objects that were uncovered there. The author highlights the practical difficulties encountered by the archaeologists of the twentieth century due to the size and weight of the first cameras used at that time, as well as the fragility and cost of glass plates used. Schiaparelli’s use of photography in archaeology was supported by the passion of his brother Cesare, great pioneer of the photography in colour and co-founder of the “Società fotografica subalpina.” He likely trained and updated Ernesto in this field. Moreover, the emergence of physical anthropology as an academic discipline in Italy encouraged Schiaparelli to take pictures of human bones and mummies as an important counterpart to field documentation. At the same time, even living people and places were photographed to record the daily life of Egyptian villagers, and in general, all the people involved in the archaeological activities. Schiaparelli’s scientific curiosity towards multidisciplinary disciplines allowed collaborations with chemists and wood specialists to investigate the nature of unguents/oils, of some foods (pieces of meat), plants, and type of wood found in the untouched tomb of Kha (TT 8). Six original photographs from the archives of the Museo Egizio, which accompany the text, attest to the incredible high quality of the original images taken during the Turin expeditions inside and outside the royal tombs of the Queen’s Valley. Regarding the notes in this paragraph, the reader would have liked to find at least one reference to the Turin “juridical papyrus” mentioned in note 27. For this reason, I suggest adding Théodule Deveira’s volume (for the text),<sup>2</sup> and the more recent works by Kenneth Kitchen<sup>3</sup> and Pascal Vernus (for the translation and commentary).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J.J. Fiechter (Paris, 1994) *La moisson des dieux. La constitution des grandes collections égyptiennes 1815–1830*, 148–173.

<sup>2</sup> T. Deveira (Paris, 1898), *Le papyrus judiciaire de Turin et les papyrus Lee et Rollin*, 1–122.

<sup>3</sup> K. Kitchen (Hoboken, 2008), *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Translations. Vol. V, Setnakht, Ramesses III and contemporaries*, 297–302.

<sup>4</sup> P. Vernus (Paris, 1993), *Affaires et scandales sous les Ramsès*, 142–157.

In the sixth paragraph, the main one entitled “Los sarcófagos pintados de las excavaciones de Schiaparelli en el Valle de las Reinas y los cultivadores de las flores de loto en el templo de Amón,” the author informs the reader of the number of anthropoid coffins and their parts found in the tombs of Setherkhepeshef (QV 43) and Khaemuaset (QV 44), two sons of Ramses III. A total of 17 complete coffins and 25 specimens with only a lid or a case were found, along with several small fragments of both components. Of the complete set, six were donated to public museums in the United States, with no mention made of them in the text, while the others were sent to Turin. The discovery also included wooden and painted stelae, small terracotta shabtis with their wooden and painted boxes, Osirian figurines, bead nets for mummies, and heart scarabs. Some of these anthropoid coffins from the Third Intermediate Period/Late Period are remarkable for their unusual decoration. For instance, Hotepamun (S. 5254, fig. 29, page 52) has a painted wing with common lateral feather elements and rare bangs-like elements on the forehead as Asetenimyhat (S. 5229, fig. 37 & 38, pages 60–61), who wears a ram-headed pendant with solar disc and uraeus on her neck. Mentuirdis (S. 5221, fig. 30, page 53) shows the inner surface of the case with an uncommon scene for this part of the coffin: Maat embracing Sokar. On the top, the sycamore-goddess is pouring the *ba*-birds at her sides (fig. 31, page 54). The coffins of the exhibition are a valuable source for reconstructing some genealogical trees of families (Mentuirdis, Harua II, Neskhonsuunenky) linked to the Amun’s sanctuary, and for understanding the transmission of some particular titles held by the members of these groups, such as the “cultivator/chief of the cultivators of lotuses in the Amun’s temple.” Regarding the writing and the meaning of the title *ihuty/sšn*, “cultivator,” one might expect to read at least a commentary in notes 24 or 28 (page 59). I would suggest to add the reference, unfortunately never mentioned in this book, to the fundamental work by Günther Vittmann,<sup>5</sup> to which should be included a detailed study published after 2009 by Edoardo Guzzon.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, one should add to the list of the cultivators of lotuses, even Nespasefy I Iry-iry, a member of the prestigious Theban priestly family of the Besenmuts. He was the father of Itauy, wife of Besenmut I, the forefather of the clan. The title is mentioned in the Cairo coffin of his son, Nespasefy II (TN 15/11/16/8), priest of Montu without the same paternal title of “cultivator.”<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, considering that all the objects mentioned in the book were correctly accompanied by an inventory number of the museum to which they belong, one expects to find the same for the Ptolemaic coffin with a golden mask in fig. 42 on

<sup>5</sup> G. Vittmann (Vienna, 1978), *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit: genealogische und prosopographische Untersuchungen zum thebanischen Priester- und Beamtentum der 25. und 26. Dynastie*. Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 1, 18 and footnote 5.

<sup>6</sup> E. Guzzon, “I coltivatori dei fiori di loto del tempio di Amon”, in *Sounds and words through the ages: Afroasiatic studies from Turin*, eds. A. Mengozzi and M. Tosco (Alessandria, 2013), 293–302.


<sup>7</sup> K. Jansen-Winkel (Wiesbaden, 2009) *Inschriften der Spätzeit Teil III: Die 25. Dynastie*, 435–436.

page 67, where the authors just quote “deposit of the Museo Nazionale Romano” (an accidental omission?).

The last paragraph of the section called “artículos” entitled “Familias del Valle de la reinas . . .” should have followed directly after the sixth paragraph as its in-depth analysis, rather than introducing general paragraphs on funerary practices and myths in between. In the end-notes, there is still no mention of Vittmann’s study, which was already quoted above, so it should have been integrated here. The chart regarding the family groups under study (pages 78–79) seems incomplete: in “Grupo A” (page 78), under the name Nes-Imen-dyamut (to be read Nesimendyamun as on pages 135, 137) a detailed reference should be added as it is the case for other characters: “Ficha 16,” page 137, under the name Irtyru, “Ficha 15,” pages 135–136, under the name Irty-ru, “Ficha 10;” page 129, and “Ficha 12,” page 132 under the name Hor. In “Grupo B,” under the name Basa-en-Mut one could add: “Ficha 14,” page 133.

The section entitled “Catálogo” begins with images of one of the first cameras used by Schiaparelli during his fieldwork in the Valley of the Queens, along with extraordinary high-quality black and white reproductions of the photographs taken both inside and outside QV 43 and QV 44. These images are curated in the historical photographic archives of Soprintendenza delle Antichità del Piemonte and of the Museo Egizio in Turin (“Los documentos a través de las fotografías . . .,” pages 85–93). In addition, seven pages of manuscripts, handwritten by anonymous students of Schiaparelli’s (pages 94–97) report drawings of a *qeresu* and other anthropoid coffins with sizes, sketches including subdivisions of texts, and further notices, allowing the reader to enter the vivid daily life of the Egyptologists who participated in the discovery of such an important lot of coffins.

The next nine paragraphs show in detail the coffins chosen for the Barcelona exhibition with vivid and high-resolution images, including a historic overview of some Theban families and an analysis of the lids and cases of their members. They deal with Harua II (pages 101–103, 107) and Mentuirdis (pages 112–121), as well as with other contemporaneous individuals living in the same area (pages 122–137). Unfortunately, based on referential studies already published at the time of this book, the dating of some coffins is incorrect. The anthropoid coffin of Tadiassettahekataro (page 107) cannot be ascribed to the Twenty-Second Dynasty but rather to the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty. This is justified by the style of figurative registers and by the paleography, as confirmed by the writing of the name Osiris with the flag, which is clearly a feature of the Kushite time, as demonstrated by Anthony Leahy in his relevant article.<sup>8</sup> The inner lid of Mentuirdis’ coffin (S. 5219, page 118) belongs to Taylor’s lid design 3 (Twenty-Fifth-Twenty-Sixth Dynasties), but it has a feature associated rather to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty: the numbers of internal divisions belonging to Nut’s wings are four and not three, as in use in the full Twenty-Sixth

<sup>8</sup> A. Leahy, “The name of Osiris written ”, *SÄK* 7 (1979): 141–153.

Dynasty.<sup>9</sup> The same can be said for the inner coffin lid of Nesykhonsunehy (S. 5245, page 123), for that of Irtryru (S5238, page 136), and for that of Nesimendyamun (S. 5238, page 137). In the former two lids one can find another feature dating back to the Saitic Dynasty: the frieze of *ankh* and *was* on a *nub* sign on the front of the pedestal, as noted by John Taylor.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the presence of the snake Sed-m-re, “Tail in the mouth,” depicted on the top of the pedestal in Asetenimyhat’s lid (S. 5229, page 60) and in that of Irtryru (S. 5238, page 136) can confirm a date back to the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty, as it is generally found in other anthropoid coffins of the members of the clergy of Montu from the time of Ankhefenkhonsu II (CG 41042, fully Saitic period) onwards.<sup>11</sup>

Some parts of the catalogue are devoted to interesting scientific analyses, such as a CT scan made on the mummy of Harua I, the hypothetical 3D reconstruction of his face (pages 108–109), the restoration of his mummified body (pages 110–111), and of the wooden coffins on display in the Barcelona exhibition (pages 138–141), presenting even a useful in-depth chemical analysis of the pigments used to decorate the Turin coffins (pages 142–155).

In the last section of the catalogue some pieces are shown from the Egyptian collection of the Museo Egizio in Turin and the Museu Egipci in Barcelona, co-organizers of the exhibition. These include objects from different epochs, such as hippo statuettes, bowls and vessels in faience, fragments of Egyptian blue pigment, painted block reliefs and stelae showing offerings/smelling scenes with lotuses or other flowers, and antiquities referring to earth/celestial gardens (pages 157–171).

This book, unfortunately not widely known to the public of specialists, offers scholars valuable information on unpublished objects of the Museo Egizio in Turin, discussing a rare auxiliary priesthood in the Theban temple of Amun (pages 76–81). It also provides a step-by-step guide for the wider public interested in becoming familiar with the religious and funerary practices of Ancient Egypt, and to learn about the history of the Egyptian Museum of Turin and its important discoveries in the Theban necropolis.

–Simone Petacchi

<sup>9</sup> J. Taylor, “Theban coffins from the Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasty: dating and synthesis of development”, in *The Theban Necropolis: Past, Present and Future*, eds. N. Strudwick and J. Taylor (London, 2013), 95–121.

<sup>10</sup> Taylor 2013, 118–119.

<sup>11</sup> H. Gauthier (Cairo, 1913) *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Nos. 41042–41072. Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou. Tome second*, 1–30.

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