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Cynthia May Sheikholeslami

Papyrus Turin 55001 Revisited

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Papyrus Turin 55001 Revisited

CYNTHIA MAY SHEIKHOLESLAMI

ABSTRACT

Papyrus Museo Egizio Turin 55001 (Cat. 2031) is a composition that consists only of illustrations. The papyrus may be dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty (reign of Ramesses II) on the basis of its layout, artistic style, and representations. It likely originated from the milieu of the Hathor Temple at Deir el-Medina, and was later kept in an archive there. It is often misleadingly designated as the Turin Satirical-Erotic Papyrus and interpreted as a sort of comic pornography for private enjoyment. However, as shown by the evidence drawn together here, the images on this papyrus form a visual narrative connected to the cosmo-geographic theme of the arrival of the annual inundation in Egypt with the Distant Goddess and the celebrations of fertility and renewal that accompanied this life-affirming event. It was probably used during the midsummer festivities when Hathor, the Eye of Ra, came in from the desert to the valley flood plain of the Nile on the west bank at Thebes, including drunken revelries leading to sexual encounters and expectations of visions of the goddess, and again about the time of the winter solstice and the beginning of the agricultural planting season when the goddess might be encountered in the papyrus marshes at the edge of the floodplain. The initial scenes evoke a festival procession and the animal stories told to entertain and encourage the goddess during her journey back to Egypt from Nubia, followed by erotic episodes featuring devotees of Hathor stimulating the sexual arousal of dissheveled men participating in nocturnal drinking parties. Later secondary hieratic annotations reveal the engagement of Deir el-Medina scribes with the scenes on the papyrus up to a century after its original composition.

Keywords: Papyrus Turin 55001, Turin Satirical-Erotic Papyrus, Distant Goddess, Hathor, Eye of Ra, Deir el-Medina, Nile inundation, Egyptian festivals, drunkenness, animal stories, visual narrative in ancient Egypt, sex in ancient Egypt.

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RÉSUMÉ

Le papyrus du Museo Egizio Turin 55001 (Cat. 2031) est une composition qui a pour caractéristique de ne comporter que des illustrations. Le papyrus peut être daté de la XIXe dynastie (règne de Ramsès II) sur la base de sa mise en page, de son style artistique et de ses représentations. Il provient probablement du milieu du temple d'Hathor à Deir l-Médina, où il a été conservé dans des archives. Il est souvent désigné à tort comme le papyrus satirico-érotique de Turin et interprété comme une sorte de pornographie comique destinée au plaisir privé. Cependant, comme le montrent les témoinages rassemblées ici, les images de ce papyrus forment un récit visuel lié au thème cosmogéographique de l'arrivée de l'inondation annuelle en Égypte avec la Déesse Lointaine et les célébrations de la fertilité et du renouveau qui accompagnent cet événement vivifiant. Il a probablement été utilisé pendant les festivités du milieu de l'été, lorsque Hathor, l'Œil de Rê, arrivait du désert dans la plaine inondable du Nil sur la rive ouest de Thèbes, avec des réjouissances alcoolisées conduisant à des rencontres sexuelles et l'espoir de voir la déesse, et à nouveau au moment du solstice d'hiver et du début de la saison des plantations agricoles, lorsque la déesse pouvait être rencontrée dans les marais de papyrus à la limite de la plaine inondable. Les premières scènes évoquent une procession festive et les histoires d'animaux racontées pour divertir et encourager la déesse lors de son voyage de retour en Égypte depuis la Nubie, suivies d'épisodes érotiques mettant en scène des dévots d'Hathor stimulant l'excitation sexuelle d'hommes échevelés participant à des beuveries nocturnes. Des annotations hiératiques secondaires ultérieures révèlent l'implication des scribes de Deir el-Médina dans les scènes du papyrus jusqu'à un siècle après sa composition originale.

Mots-clés : papyrus de Turin 55001, papyrus satirico-érotique de Turin, déesse Lointaine, Hathor, Œil de Rê, Deir el-Médina, crue du Nil, fêtes égyptiennes, ivresse, histoires d'animaux, récit visuel dans l'Égypte ancienne, sexe dans l'Égypte ancienne.

INTRODUCTION

Among the papyri brought to Europe from Egypt in the early nineteenth century is the illustrated manuscript Papyrus Turin 55001 (Cat. 2031), probably from Deir el-Medina, now in the collection of the Museo Egizio in Turin, popularly known as the Turin Satirical-Erotic Papyrus. The papyrus, probably discovered in 1820,[1] arrived in Turin in 1824 with the Drovetti collection acquired by the king of Savoy, and was first noted, already in fragments, by Jean-François Champollion.[2] The recto consists almost entirely of visual representations, traditionally dated to the Ramesside period (often to the Twentieth Dynasty, but as we will show more probably originally prepared in the Nineteenth Dynasty).

1 Manniche 2013.
2 Omlin 1973, p. 17.

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Written or oral literature and visual documents can only be understood as an interaction between the producer and recipient and thus there are no doubt many possible layers of meaning in pTurin 55001, both for the ancient audience and us. In discussing this papyrus, one must keep in mind that images do not speak only for themselves. They "do not exist in isolation, as some atomic unity, but form a complex 'agency network' with other images, with objects (as part of their materiality), and with the society that produced them… Each act of figural production should not be investigated separately from other images, artefacts, words, particularly when included in a single archaeological context, because all belong together to the same wider iconographic and social assemblage."[3] While it may not be possible to consider all these aspects with respect to pTurin 55001, the following discussion endeavors to widen the scope of the contexts in which it must be understood.

A striking feature of this papyrus is that it lacks any primary text, and thus it was most likely prepared for a living audience, in contrast to the usual papyrus of the *Book of the Dead* with illustrated texts, a *vademecum* for the deceased to use after death, magically reciting the appropriate rituals for rebirth addressed to the deities of the afterlife, and not meant to be seen again by living eyes once it was completed and placed in the tomb.

The content of pTurin 55001 has been much discussed: the first section of the papyrus, consisting of images of animals engaged in various human-like activities, has been interpreted as a caricature since the days of J-Fr. Champollion, who also described other fragments he saw in 1824 as obscene,[4] opinions which have prevailed ever since. The second section, sometimes even regarded as not belonging to the same papyrus, long went unpublished, unexhibited, and unremarked due to modern social taboos, since it depicts women and men engaged in explicit sexual activity, often characterized as pornographic, whereas it is more accurately described as erotic (see note 236 below for the distinction). The fact that some scholars focus only on the first section with animal scenes has impeded consideration of the possibility that all the illustrations have a single unifying theme. Although its purpose is generally held to be entertainment, it is not agreed who the intended audience for the papyrus was, whether an individual or a group at a single moment in time, or possibly different audiences over an extended period. It is not certain when or where or by whom it was produced, although a Theban origin seems to be agreed.

INTERPRETATION

In the interpretation presented here, the illustrations on the papyrus—certainly originally a single document—can best be understood as depicting popular traditions that had developed around a single cosmo-geographic theme related to the annual inundation of the Nile. These appear in the episode of the "Destruction of Mankind" in the *Book of the Heavenly Cow* and are reflected in the much later legends incorporated in the myth of the "Return of the Distant Goddess," both of which revolve around the the Eye of Ra, who is Hathor and other daughters of the sun god.

3 Miniaci, Betrò, Quirke 2017, p. vii.
4 Omlin 1973, p. 21.

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"The Destruction of Mankind" is a narrative (already alluded to in the "Teaching of Merikara" from the First Intermediate Period[5]) connected to the Nile flood, a threatening occurrence due to the epidemics associated with it. Hathor, the Eye of Ra, is sent to annihilate mankind who were plotting against her aged father Ra, but is tricked into drinking red beer (resembling the inundation waters spread over the land) so she is too drunk to carry out her task. Ra then ordered intoxicating drink to be prepared for Hathor for all her seasonal feasts. This story was probably connected to the festival of drunkenness first attested at the Mut temple in the reign of Hatshepsut.[6]

The essence of the "Return of the Distant Goddess" is that the goddess goes to the desert south of Egypt in anger, and when her father Ra sends his agents, particularly Thoth as a baboon, after her, she is persuaded to return, and re-enters the Nile valley from the deserts in various guises at certain points (on the east bank at Thebes as Sakhmet/Mut and on the west bank as Hathor) accompanied by various desert inhabitants.[7] The legend had been referenced earlier in desert hunting scenes including fantastic animals in Middle Kingdom tombs in Upper Egypt and other Middle Kingdom sources.[8]

As early as the reign of Hatshepsut, the return of the goddess was marked by nocturnal drinking in the Hathor porch at the Mut temple to enter a liminal state where the goddess might be encountered.[9] The Hathoric associations of this legend at Thebes are also reflected in Ramesside love songs known from Deir el-Medina, where pTurin 55001 was probably produced.

The scenes of the Opet festival, with few accompanying texts, carved on the walls of the Upper Terrace in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari and in the Luxor temple colonnade during the reign of Tutankhamun, attest to the importance of the arrival of the annual flood.[10] Hathor's return with the fertilizing inundation that renewed the land was celebrated not only with nocturnal drunkenness in a temple or elsewhere but also through sexual encounters, sometimes in a marshy setting. Drinking parties accompanied by music and dancing are depicted in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs at Thebes (including one at Deir el-Medina), perhaps also in part intended to aid the parallel sexual potency and renewal of life of the deceased in the other world.

The illustrations in pTurin 55001 are best understood as a visual evocation of popular beliefs and practices that had their roots in these celebrations. They must be based primarily in oral traditions rather than drawn from formal art or written culture.[11] The following discussion, divided into two parts, supports this interpretation by highlighting evidence mostly from the Theban region dating to the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period. Part I deals with how the papyrus has been recorded, its exhibition history, its physical description and layout, its provenance, and the artistic style of the images in order to contextualize our discussion

5 Simpson (ed.) 2003, p. 289.

6 Bryan 2014.

7 The most recent translation of the demotic versions is Hoffmann, Quack 2007, pp. 195–229, commentary pp. 356–358, with bibliography.

8 Sabbahy 2017; Hovráth 2015, pp. 132–136.

9 Bryan 2014.

10 Darnell 2010b.

11 The interpretation of pTurin 55001 discussed in this paper was presented by the author at the Eleventh International Congress of Egyptologists in Florence in 2015.

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and arrive at the most likely date for the composition of the papyrus. Part II deals with the visual content of the papyrus and reviews selected interpretations from previous studies of the papyrus and other evidence that contributes to our own understanding of the papyrus, including information about Hathor at Deir el-Medina.

Part I

Recording and exhibiting the papyrus

The recording and exhibition of pTurin 55001 have influenced its interpretation. During his sojourn in Turin 1825-1827, Gustav Seyffarth recognized that a number of fragments of painted papyrus with both animal and erotic figures belonged to a single scroll and prepared both a line drawing based on a tracing and a colored reconstruction hand copy.[12] A calque hand copy of the erotic section made at about the same period by Luis de Usoz (known to have been living in Italy in 1824) was discovered in the Bibliotheca Nacional in Madrid (Ref. Dib.18/1/6484) in 2005.[13] In 1826, Ippolito Rosellini visited Turin and probably made two improved colored reconstructions of the entire papyrus; one is still in Pisa.[14] Another copy (Pl. 1), attributed to Rosellini, was purchased by the Louvre (E 11656) in January 1923 from the great-grandson of J.-Fr. Champollion's brother Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figeac (the date when it came into the family's possession is unknown). It was recently published in an exhibition catalogue from the Louvre.[15] Following a visit to Turin,[16] Karl Richard Lepsius prepared a reconstruction of the fragments of the first section, published in 1842.[17] A tracing was prepared for Adolf Erman at an unknown date, and his student Georg Steindorff seems also to have prepared a reconstruction.[18] In the 1869 catalogue of Turin papyri, Willem Pleyte described both the animal and what he termed the "erotic" sections of the papyrus, and included on pl. 145 Rossi's "sanitized" drawing of scenes 3, 4 and 5 from the latter section (without the male sexual organ or the woman's vagina, although these details are drawn on the copy of Rossi's plate published by Joseph A. Omlin).[19] The only detailed scientific publication of the entire papyrus with photographs is that by Omlin, which appeared in 1973, about 150 years after the receipt of this unique papyrus in Turin.

12 Omlin 1973, p. 18, pls. XI, XIV, XVI; Manniche 2013.

13 Manniche 2013; Virgili 2013. The publication has not been available for consultation, but some idea of the Luis de Usoz calque as compared to the actual images may be observed in a promotional video available at: https://vimeo.com/98729649 and https://www.youtube.com/watch?reload=9&v=TzkDW7JF6T4.

14 Omlin 1973, pl. XV.

15 Andreu-Lanoë 2013, pp. 108-117, Cat. 186.

16 Omlin 1973, p. 22.

17 Lepsius 1842, pl. 23.

18 Omlin 1973, pls. XIX and XVII, respectively; pl. XVIIIa (copy of Rossi's plate); Manniche 2013.

19 Pleyte 1869-1876, vol. 1, pp. 203-206; vol. 2, pl. CXLV.

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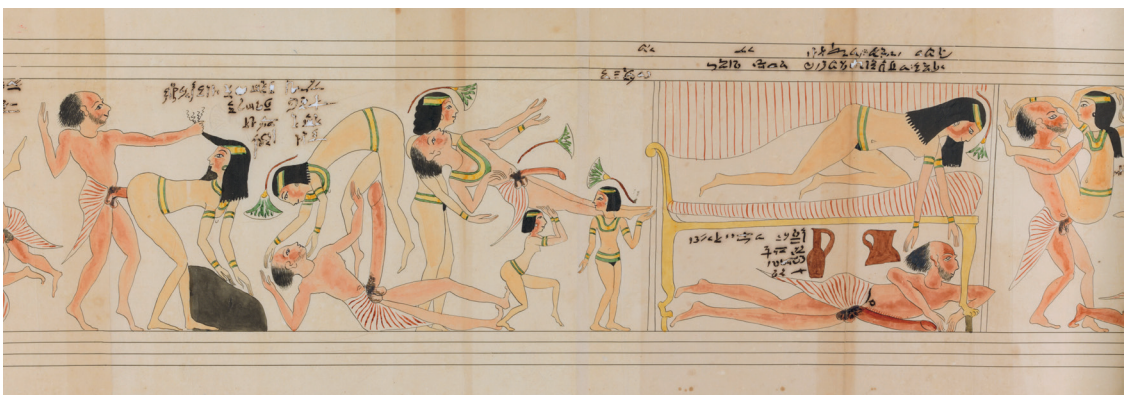
The full document begins on the facing page and ends on this page. The scene details below, continued from the facing page, follow the numbering in Omlin 1973.

Scenes 2-6



Scenes 6-9

Scenes 8-12

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Pl. 1 (suite). Copy of pTurin 55001 attributed to Ippolito Rosellini, second quarter of nineteenth century. Vellum paper (shell watermark). L. 283.5 cm, H of decorated surface 21 cm. Paris, Louvre Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, E.11656.

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The full document in one image on this and the facing page. Below, beginning on the right, is the document in sections; scene numbering follows Omlin 1973; see Tables 1 and 2 for scene descriptions (scenes are numbered R to L in (a) animal and (b) erotic sections of the papyrus.)

Upper register: Scenes X+1, X+2, X+3, X+4; Lower register: Scenes X+8, X+9, X+10, X+11

Upper register: Scenes X+2, X+3, X+4, X+5, X+6; Lower register: Scenes X+9; X+10, X+11, X+12, X+13, X+14

Upper register: Scenes X+5, X+6, X+ 7; Lower register: Scenes X+13, X+14, X+15; After mandrake leaf: Scenes 1-2

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Pl. 1. Copy of pTurin 55001 attributed to Ippolito Rosellini, second quarter of nineteenth century. Vellum paper (shell watermark). L. 283.5 cm, H of decorated surface 21 cm. Paris, Louvre Museum, Department of Egyptian Antiquities, E.11656.

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The papyrus seems to have first been exhibited in Turin in 1881, but was removed for safekeeping in 1943, and was not put back on exhibit with other papyri from the collection in 1946. In 1965 the papyrus, which had been mounted between two sheets of glass in 1946,[20] was divided into two sections, and the remounted animal section was put back on exhibit with Lepsius' reconstruction.[21] The remounted erotic section, deemed unsuitable for viewing by school groups visiting the museum, was not put back on exhibit until ca. 2003.[22] The papyrus has recently undergone restoration.

Physical description of the papyrus

The fragmentary papyrus (Turin Cat. 2031 = CGT 55001), now broken up into many pieces,[23] was originally ca. 2.59 m long with heights of 21 and 21.5 cm for sections one and two, respectively,[24] about the usual height of 21-22 cm for Ramesside papyri,[25] with a content field height of ca. 15.5 cm.[26] The content area has a 2 cm frame formed by four equidistant lines at the top and bottom; the frame is now missing at the right end and only a fragment of one line remains at the left end, but the four-line frame certainly originally enclosed the entire content field.[27]

The papyrus is conventionally discussed as consisting of two sections, the animal section and the erotic section, divided according to the image content of each. The initial section, which may be missing about 1.5 sheets at the beginning of the roll at the right end,[28] is now about 85 cm long. The size of the sheets in the first part is very hypothetical: the first join is about 12 cm from the present right end of the papyrus; the second 17 or 24 cm; any remaining joins can no longer be

20 Manniche 2013.
21 Omlin 1973, pp. 18–19.
22 Omlin 1973, pp. 18–19; Manniche 2013.
23 Turin, Museo Egizio n.d. Photographs available online at https://collezioni.museoegizio.it/en-GB/material/Cat_2031.
24 Omlin 01973, p. 27; the difference in heights could be due to incorrect placement of fragments.
25 Cerny 1947, p. 16.
26 Omlin 1973, pl. XII; on pl. XII Omlin gives a reconstructed height of 25.5 cm, apparently including additional protective blank spaces along the top and bottom edges.
27 The frame lines of the border appear on the Louvre copy and on the copies of the papyrus illustrated in Omlin (1973; see pp. 18–19 for dates) made by Rosellini (Nov. 1826; Pisa, Omlin 1973, pl. XV), Seyffarth (1825-1827; Omlin 1973, pls. XI, XIV, XVI), Lepsius (published 1842; Omlin 1973, pl. XVIIIb), and Steindorff (n.d.; Omlin 1973, pl. XVII). These copies show the frame lines of the border at the right end just beyond the hillside in front of the animal musicians, but nothing remained of it in the drawing by Tosi (Omlin 1973, pl. XIII) or when the papyrus was published by Omlin (1973), who does not discuss the basis for his assumption (p. 27) that 1.5 sheetswere missing at the right end. A Nineteenth Dynasty *Book of the Dead*, pBerlin P. 3002, has four frame lines (Borchardt 1889, p. 121); see further below. Rita Lucarelli (2010, p. 264) states the frame on a *Book of the Dead* papyrus was part of its layout and the margins beyond it were intended to protect the text from deterioration; scribes avoided writing over the joins between the framed "pages". An informal survey of some Eighteenth to Twenty-first Dynasty papyri (in Andreu-Lanoë 2013, *passim*; Taylor 2010 *passim*; Niwinski 1989, plates *passim*) indicates there are often only one or two lines to the frame, which may be colored red and/or yellow, and they are provided for (sections of) papyri which have illustration(s), but not for purely textual papyri such as pTurin 1966, the songs of the fig trees (original illustrated in Landgráfová, Navrátilová 2015 [eds.], pl. 41). Drawings (and text) sometimes overlap these frame lines, especially the innermost one. The *Book of the Dead* of Neferwebenef (Paris, Louvre N 3092, Eighteenth Dynasty) has a third, taller line in the 3-line frame just above the content area, in which headings for the spells are written in red ink (Andreu-Lanoë 2013, pp. 209–211, Cat. 67). The frame lines may also have been intended to guide the pasting together of the sheets, but didn't always match (Leach, Parkinson 2010).
28 Omlin 1973, p. 27.

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determined; the best preserved height is 21 cm.[29] It depicts different groups (X+15 according to Omlin's numbering, see Table 1) of anthropomorphized animals. The longer section (L ca. 174 cm) contains scenes of men and women engaged in sexually explicit activities, numbered 1 to 12 by Omlin (see Table 2).[30] It was composed of eight sheets, the best preserved being 21.5 cm high, with varying widths (23?, 22?, 13, 24.5, 25.5, 20, 30?, and 22 cm, respectively).[31]

The first section of the Turin papyrus is divided into compartments by a horizontal line 10.5 cm below the innermost line of the upper frame, leaving a space 5 cm high below it to the uppermost line of the lower frame, but for the last 19 cm before the left end of the first section, the spacing changes and the horizontal line divides the content field into an upper area ca. 7.5 cm high and a lower one ca. 8.5 cm high.[32] This horizontal dividing line serves as a ground line for almost all the figures in the upper section, whereas most of the figures below stand on the uppermost line of the lower frame. The second section of the papyrus has only one register filling the content field, with the uppermost line of the lower frame forming a ground line. However, not all figures in either section have one or both feet on a ground line; some images are not connected to a ground line at all. A long wavy leaf from a mandrake, a plant whose fragrant fleshy yellow fruit is known to have had erotic connotations in ancient Egypt,[33] with its upper curve painted over a vertical line extending the height of the content field that occurs between scenes X+7/X+15 and 1, serves as sort of a divider between the two sections, although there is no join between sheets at this point and there is no division marked in the border.[34] Thus the animal and erotic sections could not have originally been two separate papyri with different themes that were later joined together.

29 Omlin 1973, p. 27.

30 See Omlin 1973, pl. XI for scene numbering.

31 Omlin 1973, p. 27.

32 Omlin 1973, p. 28.

33 Bosse-Griffths 2001. For a photograph of the long curly-edged leaves and the fruit of the mandrake, see https://blog.strictlymedicinalseeds.com/growing-mandrake-beyond-the-basics/ and https://www.alamy.com/autumn-mandrake-mandragora-autumnalis-fruits-turkey-image282222381.html and http://www.freenatureimages.eu/Plants/Flora%20J-N/Mandragora%20autumnalis%2C%20Mandrake/index.html#Mandragora%2520autumnalis%25201%252C%2520Saxifraga-Jan%2520de%2520Laat.jpg and flowering at https://godasagardener.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/madragora-autumnalis-sara.jpg.

34 Part of this leaf and the line are still visible on a fragment of the papyrus today (author's photograph), but the line is not included on the Louvre copy. It does appear in Seyffarth's uncolored copy and on reconstructions made by Lepsius, Steindorff, and for Erman (Omlin 1973, pls. XI, XVII, XVIII-b, XIX, respectively). Omlin 1973, p. 49 (G., 1) didn't identify the plant.

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Omlin Scene Number	Brief description (see pl. I for images)
	Upper "register"
X+1	Desert hillside with closed doorway (to rock-cut temple?); green (marshy area at edge of floodplain?); above rats or mice running up to right corner beneath a pair of frolicking cats, and 3 (beer?) jars with suspension ropes or straws/siphons
X+2	Rampant animal musicians: donkey playing a harp; lion playing a gazelle-headed lyre (both with open mouths with tongues protruding, apparently singing); crocodile playing a gazelle-headed lute (not completely drawn in Rosellini's copy); monkey playing double pipes; (beer?) jar (scene divider?)
X+3	A rampant donkey in a long pleated kilt holding two stick-like objects faces a rampant cat wearing a tiered long pleated kilt and holding a crook and flail across an offering table with legs and head of cattle and a duck or goose on it; above between them a truncated jar with a handle (or a leather? container); behind the cat a rampant bovid with a *wꜣs*-scepter
X+4	Rampant gazelle striking (?) very large handled (beer?) jar with implement; (beer?) jar (scene divider?)
X+5	Rabbit-eared cat and fennec fox (?) carrying bulbous objects suspended from rope (?) over their shoulders being herded by a gazelle wearing long pleated kilt with bull's (?) tail using shepherd's crook and stick
X+6	A workshop (?), possibly a brewery (with 3 funnel-shaped vats for fermentation and straining suspended over a basin), with two cats, one pounding something in a mortar, the other with paw resting on a (beer?) jar next to a large covered basket (?) below an ingot-shaped object
X+7	An architectural element (perhaps a temple pylon?) being approached by a large raptor bird (holding something in its beak?) followed by rampant cat and two rampant female dogs; in one lifted claw, the bird grasps the end of a rope (?) which passes over its shoulder and that of the cat behind it, ending in a striped pendant; the cat balances a jar between its forepaws and has a *gꜣwt*-shaped bundle on its head; the first female dog carries a bulbous object suspended from a rope (?) over its shoulder and a jug and a leather (?) container with a handle is over her head; the second female dog holds a trumpet-shaped object in one paw; an ingot-shaped object is above her head
	Lower "register"
X+8	A cat with a lotus between its (rabbit?) ears confronts a goose lying on its back with flapping (?) wings
X+9	A cat with a pole from which a basket or bag is suspended over its shoulder, holding a stick with a crescent-shaped upper end herds 11 ducks or geese; a cat lying on its back being attacked by a duck or goose while a cat running "above" it empties a (beer?) jug over its head
X+10	A crow mounts a ladder into a (sycomore fig?) tree with a hippopotamus and a basket of fruit among the branches inside the tree's foliage
X+11	Rats/mice holding shields and harpoons or bows and arrows attack a fortress, with one mounting a ladder to the roof with 3 unarmed cats on top of the battlements while a 4th cat shoots an arrow at a rat/mouse; two rats/mice drive a chariot drawn by a pair of (female?) seluki-type dogs (yelping or panting? since their tongues are protruding) through a bevy of 5 cats in disarray towards the fortress
X+12	A rampant rat/mouse holding a trumpet-shaped object and a long curved stick with an undulating strip above faces a rampant rabbit-eared cat with one paw on or in a (beer?) jug across a trapezoidal object; behind them, below a *gꜣwt*-bundle, a rat/mouse pounds? something in a mortar (?); a large one-handled jug below the bundle (a scene divider?)
X+13	A cat apparently falling backwards with a large lotus blossom above its front paws
X+14	A chariot drawn by a pair of lions and driven by a cat; above the lion team are two jars (a beer? jug and a *nw*-jar for wine?); another rampant cat runs behind the chariot; behind its head is a (beer?) jug (scene divider?) below an ingot shape
X+15	A rampant trio of a rat/mouse, a cat holding a jug or situla, and a monkey wearing a long pleated kilt appear to be dancing with each other; a one-handled jug is behind the monkey's head (scene divider?)
Unnumbered	A long mandrake leaf seems to serve as a scene divider between the animal and human sections of the papyrus illustrations; above its upper end is a group of 5 (beer?) jars with straws/siphons (?) protruding from the second and fourth jars, with a "half" of a large jar (or a leather? container) below them (scene dividers or part of first scene in human section?)

Table 1. Omlin's Scene Division for the Animal Section of pTurin 55001*.
Note: Omlin assumed a missing section of unkown length at the right edge of the papyrus, denoted as X in his scene numbering; the visual field is divided into two "registers"; the scenes in each "register" are numbered in sequence R->L.

* Omlin 1973, pl. XI.

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Omlin Scene Number	Brief description* with additional notes (see pl. I for images)
Unnumbered	A long mandrake leaf seems to serve as a scene divider between the animal and human sections of the papyrus illustrations; above its upper end is a group of 5 (beer?) jars with straws/siphons (?) protruding from the second and fourth jars, with a "half" of a large jar (or a leather? container) below them (scene dividers or part of first scene in human section?)
1	*Coitus a tergo/coitus per anum*; the man holds a leather? container with a handle (like the one appearing in scenes X+3 and X+7 of the animal section) on a rope over his shoulder; the woman is bent double at the waist
2	*Coitus a tergo/coitus per anum*; the woman driving a chariot rests one arm on a convolvulus vine and holds the reins in her other hand; the chariot is drawn by a pair of young girls behind whom walks a diminutive man with a large erection carrying a basket or container by its handle; a monkey is on the chariot shafts; the man holds a vase with a double-ledge neck and has a Hathor-headed sistrum suspended over one arm; with the other arm he pulls a fistful of the woman's hair
3	A woman sitting on a stool inviting a refusing standing man to sexual intercourse; her legs are raised above his head and she guides his phallus into her vagina with one hand; he turns his head away and raises his arms before her face; beneath the stool are a sistrum and double-ledge-necked vase like those carried by the man in scene 2, and a fringed cloth (?)
4	A woman painting her face (lips) with a brush, holding a mirror and a brush-case in her other hand, sitting on an inverted jar** held by her partner (could also be described as spreading her legs to let fluid from her vagina flow into a dish shaped like an open lotus on a stand while the man kneeling beside the dish stand wets the fingers of one hand with the falling fluid, perhaps spreading it on his erect phallus with the other)
5	*Coitus anterior*; the woman sits on the phallus penetrating her with her legs over the man's shoulders and her hands clasped behind her head; she does not wear a lotus blossom
6	A woman lying on a bed, her partner lying on the ground beneath the bed; a pleated curtain (?) hangs behind the bed on which a woman kneeling on a sheet over a cushion with a pleated cover reaches down as if about to hold the man's lifted head in her hands; his hands are pressed together over his chest and he lies on his hugely erect phallus; a one-handled truncated jar (or leather? container), like the one carried in scene 1, is over his shoulder and a long-necked one-handled vase above his thighs
7	A man carried off by two girls and a woman; his erection is wilting
8	A woman arched over her partner who is lying on the ground; she holds his head between her hands and appears to be leaping over his enormous erection
9	*Coitus a tergo/coitus per anum*; the man pulls a fistful of the woman's hair towards himself; the woman does not wear a lotus blossom and rests her hands on a cushion or hillock
10	*Coitus anterior*; the man holds the woman's legs beneath his armpits and rests one knee on a cushion with a pleated cover on which the woman is lying
11	*Coitus* with a dancing (?) woman (the secondary text gives her the title *ḫsyt*); the woman has one bent leg on the ground and a lyre with duck and gazelle heads below her hand, and with her other arm she holds her other leg above the man's forehead, and he pulls a fistful of strands of her hair with one hand while supporting her upraised thigh with the other
12	*Coitus anterior*; the woman has one leg resting on the man's shoulder; an overturned table is below the inclined surface she lies on, she holds a reed brush in her hand and a small male figure with a large erection dangles from her armband

Table 2. Omlin's Numbering of the Erotic Scenes***.
Note: the scenes occupy the full height of the visual field and follow the numbered sequence R->L.

* Toivari-Viitala 2001, p. 147, n. 76.
** Abdalla 2009 interprets this as a fumigator.
*** Omlin 1973, pl. XI.

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The sheets appear to have been neatly pasted together, indicating the blank papyrus was professionally prepared,[35] although it is possible that because the heights of the two sections seem to differ (this is not certain due to the present fragmentary nature of the scroll), the sheets were assembled by the artist.[36] Nevertheless, the careful drawing of the frame around the content field indicates the area to be filled with images must have been planned in advance. It is possible the papyrus was originally prepared for a *Book of the Dead*, but was never used for that text (it seems unlikely a *Book of the Dead* text would have been erased in order to reuse the papyrus and there are no traces to indicate the papyrus is palimpsest). There are a few *Book of the Dead* papyri known that consist of reused sheets, although generally new rolls were used to promote the sacral efficacy of its contents, as specified in some spells.[37]

Four frame lines are also found on the Nineteenth Dynasty (second half of the reign of Ramesses II) hieroglyphic *Book of the Dead* of Nakhtamun now in Berlin (pBerlin P.3002[38]). Borchardt (1889) described the preparation of its layout,[39] which was likely similar to the process employed for the Turin papyrus. The whole papyrus of Nakhtamun first had four continuous parallel lines, with spacing marked out by points beforehand, drawn all the way around it with black lines.[40] Wide protective strips were left blank at each end and along the top and bottom edges.[41] Then the equal distribution of the vertical columns was undertaken, and the space for the rectangular vignettes was marked by short black lines drawn in the uppermost border line (with the same spacing as the columns). Then the vignettes were framed with black lines on the sides and bottom beneath the innermost of the upper border lines, and the column lines drawn, with the vertical column lines ending at the lower edge of the vignette frame. The space that the scribe would need, however, couldn't be so precisely determined. Cursive numbers written in the space above the border band are not sufficient to determine the amount a scribe could write in a single day.[42]

In the reign of Ramesses III, a four meter papyrus roll (about 65% longer than pTurin 55001) was not expensive, costing about 2 *deben* of copper, about the same as the cost of a 48-liter sack of emmer, whereas a wooden bed would have cost 12-25 *deben*, and a donkey 30 *deben*.[43] In addition, the unequal widths of the sheets may indicate that pTurin 55001 was made up from

35 Cerny 1947, p. 20.

36 Omlin 1973, p. 27.

37 Lucarelli 2010, p. 264; Taylor 2010, p. 278, Cat. 147.

38 Munro 1997, pl. 22, cf. pls. 23-24. For color photographs of these sheets, see Totenbuchprojekt Bonn, TM 134322, <totenbuch.awk.nrw.de/objekt/tm134322>. For the date and probable Theban origin, see Munro 1997, p. 39.

39 Borchardt 1889, pp. 119, 121 (with sketch).

40 The resulting three stripes were painted (partially or only partially preserved), yellow for the two outer ones, and red for the central one (Munro 1997, p. 2). The frame around the vignettes was sometimes painted white.

41 At the ends, these were 17 cm wide at the beginning (left end of text reading left to right with retrograde hieroglyphic signs, sheet A) and 38.5 cm at the end (lines 701–685 with text from BD 15 reading from right to left; sheet Z) of the papyrus (Munro 1997, pp. 1-2, pls. 1 and 25).

42 Munro 1997, p. 25: there is no plausible explanation for the dates.

43 Navrátilová , Janák 2008, p. 64, assuming the papyrus dates to the reign of Ramesses III. Cooney (2008, p. 127) notes the difference in price of an illuminated (equivalent of 60-100 copper *deben*) versus an unillustrated (equivalent of about 15 copper *deben*) Book of the Dead papyrus of unspecified length in the reign of Ramesses II, when the monthly salary of a Deir el-Medina craftsman was about 11 *deben*. It would seem that drawing the vignettes in a Book of the Dead papyrus was a highly specialized skill compared to simply copying the text.

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remnants from longer scrolls, remaining blank when their content had been completed. Thus the physical papyrus was not necessarily a costly elite production, although the illustrations would certainly have increased its value.

Secondary hieratic text additions

In the first section of the papyrus, the top two of the three horizontal lines of the frame have short texts of unknown content above both the three suspended jugs (or jugs with siphons) in X+1 and the group of animal musicians X+2, separated by a black vertical line in the border.[44] Possibly during the reign of Ramesses III, if not later, the names of members of the Ramesside community at Deir el-Medina were added to two of the representations (and of another less clearly identifiable person to a third scene) in the second part of the papyrus, along with other graffiti in the frame lines above the scenes and among the figures.[45] It is clear that inclusion of these texts, all written right to left in hieratic, was not planned when the papyrus was prepared, since some of them appear in the border frame, an area in which texts were not written in illustrated papyri,[46] while the majority are fit in among the figures in the erotic section, and no columns or horizontal lines were drawn for the scribe to write the text, as was the normal convention for legends attached to figures. They must be graffiti or secondary captions,[47] allowing the writer and/or those designated to participate in these traditional individual festival activities associated with the *hrw nfr* (for which see below) to engage with the papyrus.[48] However, it is not possible to say how contemporary with the drawings they might be, or how relevant to the original purpose of the images. If the papyrus were kept in an archive, it may have been viewed a number of times by members of different generations and social groups of the Deir el-Medina community.

The papyrus may have been viewed fully unrolled or in the same way that papyri were normally written, held on the lap with the beginning end on the right rolled up as the left side was unrolled, opening up about 50 cm at a time, or about one or two sheets of a typical papyrus. These secondary texts must be similar to notes scribbled in a book while reading by a modern reader. They are the personal reaction of one viewer, an individual's engagement with the images. They also indicate that the papyrus had more than one audience over time, and

44 Andreu-Lanoë 2013, Cat. 186a. The black separation line (crossing the frame lines only) is visible in the photograph published in Andreu-Lanoë 2013, Cat. 186a. None of the extant copies or available photographs of these broken and now partly lost hieratic texts written in the first and second border lines above the three suspended jugs (X+1) and the group of animal musicians (X+2) are clear enough to read accurately, and only some individual signs and fragments of words can be made out. It seems likely the text above X+2 is some sort of caption for the group. There might be some sort of dialogue between the animal musicians or a description of their activity. The first line might refer to someone's playing or rejoicing and "which X says…" in the second line. There may be interjections as indicated by several examples of Gardiner Sign List A2 (man with his hand to his mouth), and at one point a crocodile seems to be mentioned (H. Navrátilová, personal communications).

45 Brawanski, Fischer-Elfert 2012, especially p. 86.

46 See n. 27 above.

47 For this term, see Ragazzoli 2017b, p. 362.

48 Ragazzoli 2017b, pp. 384–387, discusses how the "secondary captions" in tomb scenes permit the same sort of individual participation in the festivals referenced in the decoration of the tomb. A number of the so-called funerary banquet scenes are in fact drinking parties related to the return of the Distant Goddess; see Harrington 2013, pp. 113–122, especially pp. 117-122; Bryan 2014 and Bryan 2015. For *hrw nfr* as a designation of these occasions, see Depauw, Smith 2004, pp. 81–82; Ragazzoli 2017b, pp. 386–387. See further below.

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may have meant something different to each. The secondary hieratic graffiti themselves must have been addressed to an audience other than the person who wrote them, further widening the circle in which the papyrus could have been viewed. Thus it seems impossible to regard pTurin 55001 as a creation intended only for the enjoyment of a single person.

The words in the lines above scenes X+1 could possibly be lyrics attributed to whatever the lyre-playing lion is singing or chanting in the animal section of the papyrus.[49] In the erotic section, most of the notes are written between or around the figures, at least three of whom were named, combined with short quips by the man or the woman relating to their sexual activities. One is reminded of the "*Reden und Rufen*" conversations between persons in scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, but such conversations as those were planned as part of the original tomb scene. The hieratic graffiti on the papyrus, however, are quips made by a reader/viewer after the papyrus was finished. It is unlikely the artist who drew the scenes—who may not even have been a literate scribe—had specific individuals in mind; the reader/writer on the other hand tried to link the images to people s/he knew, all of whom seem to have been members of the late Ramesside scribal-painterly elite at Deir el-Medina. At this time, then, the papyrus may have been kept in a family archive such as that of the scribe Amunnakht (v). The addition of these graffiti may also be said to be an effort to textualize an originally purely visual communication, to make it perhaps more like a modern comic strip than a film strip. If the papyrus was part of an archive, these graffiti would become part of the engagement with the papyrus by any subsequent readers/viewers. It is not known what the intent of the writer of the secondary captions was—to give an individual identity to some of the figures, to mock members of the Deir el-Medina community, or other aim.

Near the left end of the verso is written the title of a royal fanbearer on the right side of the king, scribe, and overseer of the army (name lost),[50] who may have been an owner of the papyrus.[51] However, if the papyrus was rolled up in the usual manner so the beginning on the right end was on the outside, this name would have been concealed inside the roll, unlikely if it identified the owner of the papyrus. Traces of other texts on the verso of the erotic section indicate that at least some sheets of the papyrus could have been reused for notations (most likely after the original preparation of the papyrus and the drawing of the compositions on the recto), so it cannot be determined whether or not this official commissioned the work, or if his position influenced its content, as some have argued.

Provenance of pTurin 55001

Unfortunately the precise provenance of pTurin 55001 is unknown, but it is likely that it was discovered within the archaeological remains of the village of Deir el-Medina, the community that was responsible for the decoration of royal tombs in the Valleys of the Kings and Queens on the west bank at Thebes, and it may have been produced there as well. Figural representations of animals are known from a number of ostraca from Deir el-Medina (see Table 1), and

49 See n. 44 above.
50 Omlin 1973, p. 70, pl. X.
51 Brawanski, Fischer-Elfert 2012, p. 86, n. 147.

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although their precise provenance is also not recorded, possibly the group of artists who drew them included the one who drew the figures on pTurin 55001.[52]

The site of Deir el-Medina is not mentioned by the agents Bernardino Drovetti engaged to acquire antiquities in Thebes in 1818, so perhaps objects from the village now in Turin (including 280 papyri, 60 stelae, 11 ostraca, and a pyramidion from one of Ramose (i)'s tombs—TT 7, TT 212) were acquired through local purveyors.[53] Aside from pTurin 55001, several other well known papyri now in Turin were acquired with the Drovetti collection in 1824: Turin love songs (Cat. 1966),[54] the Turin King List or Royal Canon (Cat. 1874), the Harem Conspiracy/Judicial Papyrus (Cat. 1875), the Turin Mine Map (Cat. 1879+1969+1899+2083/174+2083/182) (another unusual and mostly visual papyrus), the Turin Strike Papyrus (Cat. 1880), and the Plan of the Tomb of Ramesses IV (Cat. 1885). At least Cat. 1879 was at one time probably in the possession of the scribe Amunnakht (v), whose son Amunhotep (vi) may have been named in one of the secondary captions added to pTurin 55001. Since Amunnakht (v)'s titles also included scribe of the vizir and royal scribe,[55] it wouldn't be surprising if Cat. 1874 and Cat. 1875 had also been included in his collection. Amunnakht (v), whose 47-year career spanned the period from year 28 of Ramesses III until year 17 of Ramesses IX, probably becoming chief draughtsman in year 2 of Ramesses IV,[56] might have been buried in Deir el-Medina tombs 1338 or 1343.[57]

Amunhotep (vi) worked with Hormin (i).[58] Hormin (i) and his elder brother Nebnefer (ix) were sons of the chief draughtsman Hori (ix).[59] Nebnefer appears in TT 267 of the deputy of the left gang Hay (vii),[60] son of Amunnakht (vii) (TT 266), and was probably married to Hay's daughter. The secondary graffito accompanying scene 10 in the erotic section names the deputy (*ỉdnw*) of the left side Hay (vii), son of Amunnakht (vii), attested from year 27 of Ramesses III to Year 2 of Ramesses V or VI or one of his immediate successors.[61]

52 See Babcock 2014, pp. 3–12, 35–36.

53 Del Vesco, Poole 2018, p. 99; on p. 100, Fig. 1 is a plan showing presumed provenance of funerary objects in the Drovetti collection, indicating that the early nineteenth century diggers were exploiting the more exposed tombs mostly on the upper slopes of the western necropolis.

54 Sheikholeslami 2015a, 2015b.

55 Bickel, Mathieu 1993, p. 36.

56 Bács 2011, p. 34.

57 Haring 2018, p. 42, n. 9.

58 Bács 2011, p. 36; Keller 2001.

59 Keller 2001, p. 74. Bickel, Mathieu 1993, p. 51 suggest that the "Teaching of Amunnakht" (v) was composed for Hormin (i) the son of Hori (ix) and that in turn the "Teaching of Hori" (ix) was later composed for another son of Amunnakht (v), Horishery (i). Amunnakht (v)'s great-grandson was the scribe of the tomb Djehutymes, who mentions in a letter written from Nubia to his son Butehamun that water flooded the house of his grandfather Horishery (i) and his soaked collection of papyri was dried out and put into the tomb of Horishery (i)'s father Amunnakht (v) for safekeeping (Pestman 1982, p. 157; Bickel, Mathieu 1993, p. 48; Valbelle 2002, p. 70). It is likely that among this collection of papyri was the archive known as the Chester Beatty papyri, which included such literary texts as "The Contendings of Horus and Seth," "The Story of the Blinding and Subsequent Vindication of Truth," "The Battle of Kadesh," "The Hymn to the Nile," "The Story of Isis and Re," and "Love Poems" (see Pestman 1982, p. 166). Could Djehutymes be the 'scribe Djehuty[…]' in the graffito in scene 2 of the erotic section of pTurin 55001? Might Amunhotep (vi) be the scribe in the scene 8 graffito? It is tempting to suggest that the graffiti in the erotic section of pTurin 55001 might have referred to to this family of Deir el-Medina artists and intellectuals.

60 Valbelle 1975.

61 Davies, B. 1999, pp. 63–64, 281 with n. 3, Chart 8; Černy 1973, pp. 137–139; TT 267: Valbelle 1975.

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Since both Amunnakht (vi) and Hay (vii) are named in the secondary graffiti on pTurin 55001, and thus probably were members of a group that engaged with the papyrus, it is likely that the papyrus at some point was kept at Deir el-Medina, even if it may not have been produced there (a less likely possibility).[62]

It could be suggested that pTurin 55001 was part of an archive of papyri, similar to the one which contained the Chester Beatty papyri, discovered in 1928, not far from TT 250 belonging to (the household of) the famous Nineteenth Dynasty scribe Ramose (i), whom we suggest below may have commissioned pTurin 55001 (he was also associated with tombs TT 7 and 212).[63] As noted above, Drovetti's collection included a pyramidion from one of Ramose (i)'s tombs. The archive including the Chester Beatty papyri had at one time belonged to the pupil and successor of Ramose, Qenherkhopeshef, and it passed from him to his second wife Naunakhte (i.e., *nỉwt-nḫt*), and thence to her sons by her second husband Khaemnun, Amunnakht and Maanakhtef, with additions to the collection over time.[64] It probably consisted of some 40 papyri, nearly half of which were literary or semi-literary texts.[65] Documents in the archive ranged in date from the reigns of Ramesses II to Ramesses IX.[66]

Unfortunately, it cannot be determined whether pTurin 55001 originally belonged to either the Qenherkhopsehef archive or that of Amunnakht (v) or another such collection archived (perhaps in the Hathor temple: the papyrus might have been presented as a votive offering to Hathor[67]) at Deir el-Medina. However, it may have been kept in one of them at some time and later entered a similar archive retrieved by Drovetti's agents.

The artist of pTurin 55001

Although there is no way to determine exactly when and where and by whom pTurin 55001 was produced, it is likely to have been somewhere on the west bank at Thebes during the Ramesside period. The main community of painters was at Deir el-Medina during this time, so it is likely that one of the draughtsmen/painters from this group drew the images on the papyrus. One should thus expect to find some similarities in style in other pictorial media from the village or its vicinity. However, the present very broken condition of pTurin 55001 and the differences among the various older copies made of it make any detailed stylistic analysis of most elements very difficult, but worth an effort.

It is likely that a single artist was responsible for all the drawings on pTurin 55001. The drawings were made after the roll had been created, as may be seen by the fact that one join between sheets passes through the fortress drawn over it in scene X+11.[68] There is no indication

62 Brawanski, Fischer-Elfert 2012; the scribes [*zḫȝ*] Djehuty[….] and [Amun]hotep are named in the graffiti accompanying scenes 2 and 8, respectively, but cannot be positively identified among the many possibilities known from Deir el-Medina from the graffiti alone.

63 Pestman 1982.

64 Pestman 1982, pp. 160–163.

65 Pestman 1982, pp. 155–156, 165–167. On parts of the recto and verso of Papyrus Chester Beatty I (BM EA 10681) is one of the major collections of love songs from Deir el-Medina; the recto contains "The Contendings of Horus and Seth:" see Gardiner 1931, p. 27.

66 Pestman 1982, p. 158.

67 Babcock 2022, 100, following an unpublished suggestion made by A.M. Roth at the International Congress of Egyptologists XII (Cairo, 2019) and in a personal communication 2024; see also Morris 2023, p. 66.

68 Omlin 1973, pl. II.

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that the animal and erotic sections were produced separately and later pasted together to form a single roll, since the shift from one section to the other is in the middle of a single sheet. The black outlines (not present for the tree, tree trunk, and ladder in scene X+10) of the drawings were filled in with red, green, yellow, and a color that now appears as brown, mostly in the first section,[69] apparently without any (red) preliminary drawings.[70] In the second section, now appearing mostly monochrome, remains of a red wash may be seen on the exposed flesh of the men, and the nude females might have had a yellow wash on their skin under their girdles and necklaces, which show traces of green;[71] both had black hair. The lack of preliminary drawings might indicate the artist was copying an existing composition so that the layout was already known, or that he had sketched out the layout on an ostracon.[72] Another possibility might be that figured ostraca (such as those from Deir el-Medina known to have similar scenes) were arranged in the desired layout and copied onto the papyrus by the artist.[73] The sureness of the line indicates the hand of an expert artist,[74] who could possibly have drawn the scenes freehand. In any case, perhaps the whole roll was opened and laid flat when the artist was working on it, as each of the sections occupies more space than the lap of a single scribe could encompass, and there is a degree of unity to the compositions in the scenes which would be hard to achieve if the painter worked only on a small section at one time.[75]

Furthermore, there are some details that are common to both groups of scenes on pTurin 55001, a number of which have to do with drinking, creating a single setting appropriate to the theme of celebrating arrival of the inundation with Hathor.

The first is the set of three jugs that seem to be suspended from curved poles (or have large tubes for filling them or siphoning off the contents) above the hillside (see Table 1, scene X+1) in front of the donkey playing the harp in scene X+2. In TT 113, Kynebu (dated to Ramesses VIII), men use such siphons to drink or drain beer from garlanded jars on a stand.[76] The middle jug is red with a green neck, and the two flanking it have black bodies with a green strip around the shoulder and red necks (the colors described herein are those used in the Louvre copy of the papyrus by Rosellini, see Pl. I). This second type appears as a single item behind the grivet playing the pipes in scene X+2, and again above the huge green jar with red handles being tended by the rampant gazelle in scene X+4 (see Table 1 for scene descriptions). The same two types of jugs, again perhaps suspended from curved poles or provided with filling-siphon tubes, appear at the beginning of scene 1 of the erotic section (see Table 2); this time there are five jugs in the group, three black alternating with two red jugs.

A curious shape which looks like the top part of a truncated one-handled jug with a concave base at shoulder level appears in several scenes, colored either red or brown in the Louvre copy. It may represent a leather container. It appears above the offering table between the donkey

69 Navrátilová, Janák 2008, p. 64.
70 Omlin 1973, p. 28.
71 Manniche 2013.
72 Keller 1991, pp. 52–54 discusses ostraca used as sketchpads, ostraca with layouts for three-dimensional objects, and ostraca with grids used for scaling up the drawings to larger scenes.
73 See Babcock 2014, pl. 52 for pBM EA 10016 and ostraca layout of similar scenes.
74 Navrátilová, Janák 2008, p. 68.
75 Perhaps similar procedures were followed for illuminated underworld books, even though it is clear that some of the longer papyri were produced in sections, sometimes even by different scribes (see Lucarelli 2010; Leach, Parkinson 2010).
76 PM I.1, p. 231 (IV, III, 3).

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and the cat in scene X+3, above the heads of the two canids in scene X+7 (see Table 1), and above the shoulder of the man lying beneath the bed in scene 6 (see Table 2). The same shape but colored brown is slung over the back of the man in scene 1 (see Table 2), suspended from a short rope that he grasps with his right hand. A similarly shaped red container but without the handle appears below the group of black and red jugs at the beginning of scene 1.

Several other types of jugs appear throughout the papyrus. One is a tall slender flask with a narrow neck and a handle extending level some distance from the lip and then bending sharply to connect to the shoulder, colored red in the Louvre copy of pTurin 55001. It may be observed beneath the bundle between scenes X+12 and X+13, again behind the head of the grivet in scene X+15 (see Table 1), and finally above the upper thigh of the man lying beneath the bed in scene 6 (see Table 2). The same type of vessel, colored yellow, appears in the workshop scene BM EA 920 (from the tomb of Sobekhotep, TT 63, Eighteenth Dynasty, reign of Thutmosis IV),[77] above a lotus chalice, a type of vessel also associated with Hathoric *hrw nfr* festivities. An actual bronze vessel of this type (dated Eighteenth Dynasty?) is in the Petrie Museum (LDUCE-UC8448).[78] A smaller vessel with a similar neck and handle but with an ovid base colored white is held by the serving maid at the banquet in TT 100, Rekhmire (Eighteenth Dynasty).[79]

A squat round-bottomed jar in red resembling a *nw*-jar (a type of jar often containing wine) appears next to the convex-bottomed container above the head of a canid in scene X+7, and it is held upside down above the head of the cat lying on its back being attacked by a goose in scene X+9, and occurs as one of two jugs above the chariot in scene X+14 (see Table 1). The cat between the mouse and the grivet in scene X+15 (see Table 1) holds a similar jug by the neck between its paws.

A jug of the type usually identified as a beer jar, round-bottomed but taller and more ovoid in shape than the *nw*-jar and colored red, appears frequently: beneath the paws of the cat by the pylon in scene X+6, beneath the paw of the rabbit-eared cat in scene X+12, and on either side of the heads of the mouse and cat with the chariot in scene X+14 (see Table 1). The same type of beer jug in green appears between the paws of the cat in scene X+5.

The last type of vessel appears only in the erotic section, once held in the hand of the man in scene 2 and again beneath the stool on which the woman is seated in scene 3 (see Table 2): it has a globular flat-bottomed lower portion with a stamp or scene decorating the center from which rises a long slender neck with a double ledge-like lip; it is colored yellow (perhaps indicating it is made of metal, as the sistrum that is looped over the man's arm in scene 2 and sits next to this container beneath the stool in scene 3 is also colored yellow). The bronze flask CCG 3537 (dated New Kingdom?)[80] has a similar neck but an ovoid base.

Another object shaped like a copper ingot, colored either red or green, appears several times in the animal section: above the rabbit-eared cat in scene X+5 (green), in front of the cat with its paws on the beer jar in scene X+6 (red), behind the head of the canid at the end of scene X+7 (red), and above one of the beer jugs in scene X+14 (green) (see Table 1).

77 PM I.1, p. 126 (9).

78 Radwan 1983, p. 337 (392), Taf. F (392), Taf. 69 (392); https://collections.ucl.ac.uk/Details/petrie/66151 (H 19.3 cm; lotus pattern on handle).

79 PM I.1, p. 213 (18, III).

80 Bissing 1901, pp. 53–54.

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Three animals in scenes X+5 and X+7 carry a long green stem with a round bulb at the end over their shoulders (perhaps the stem of a lotus with the bulbous root mass at the end). The bird in scene X+7 carries a triangular shape with a looped handle in its beak and grasps the end of a long green rope or stem in one claw; the rope/stem passes over its shoulder and over the shoulder of the cat behind it and terminates in a long red and green striped wider section touching the ground behind the cat. The cat in scene X+7 carries a green beaker between its paws, and balances a green bundle resembling the hieroglyphic sign for a bundle of lotuses *ȝwt* (Gardiner Sign List V 32) on its head; the same bundle appears by itself behind the rabbit-eared cat in scene X + 12, above the tall slender-necked handled flask (see Table 1 for all scenes).

Stylistic comparisons with Theban tombs

The style of the drawings in both sections of the papyrus differs from what may be observed in most Ramesside tomb decoration, which was generally limited to religious and mortuary themes. Both of these types of Ramesside tomb decoration had such different content and images that it is difficult to find parallels. Illustrated papyri were almost all *Book of the Dead* manuscripts, with vignettes that frequently inspired tomb decoration, which did not include the daily life scenes so well known from Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs (an argument for dating the Turin papyrus to the early Nineteenth Dynasty when artists would still have been more familiar with the Eighteenth Dynasty scenes). However, a few early Ramesside Theban tombs have some interesting comparisons.

The tomb of Ipuy (i) (TT 217), located just south of the later tomb of the deputy Hay (vii) (TT 267), is the only surviving Ramesside tomb to include scenes of daily life; it dates approximately to the Nineteenth Dynasty reign of Ramesses II. Among the animals are donkeys and goats as well as gazelles and running hounds; the rampant goats in the acacia trees suggest the postures of the gazelles in scenes X+4-5 (see Table 1) of the Turin papyrus.[81]

Themes involving cats in some Theban tombs are similar to images in pTurin 55001, and the manner of rendering the bodies and fur of the felines in the papyrus is similar to that in the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217).[82] The cat hunting in the marshes from the tomb of Ipuy is similar to the depiction of the cat with its paws on a beer jar in scene X+6.[83] Scene X+8 of the cat attacking a goose is perhaps prefigured in the tomb of Anen (TT 120, temp. Amunhotep III), where a cat embraces a pintail duck while a grivet leaps above them below the throne of Queen Tiye.[84] A variation of this theme is seen in the Deir el-Medina tomb of Penbuy and Kasa (TT 10), dating to the reign of Ramesses II, with a representation of a cat and goose hissing at each other beneath the chair of a woman in the chapel.[85] In one scene in the tomb of Ipuy, a kitten

81 Davies No. 1927, pl. xxx; TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: III, photo DI_2004_01062.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01062.jpg.

82 Davies No. 1927, pls. xxii [A], xxv, xxvi; TT 217: Ipouy PM (3) registre: II, photo DI_2004_01020.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01020.jpg; and photo DI_2004_01025.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01025.jpg.

83 Valbelle 2002, p. 176.

84 Facsimile drawing by Nina de Garis Davies, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 33.8.8. Available at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548566.

85 Malek 1997 (ed. 2006), fig. 35; PM I.1, p. 19, (1) I; an unpublished vignette of the Great Cat slaying Apophis from BD spell 17 appears elsewhere in this chapel (PM I.1, p. 21 (5), 3.

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sits on the lap of the tomb owner,[86] while a well known image of a cat wearing an earring is depicted full face under his chair.[87]

Scene X+9 showing a cat herding geese recalls the well known scene of a man herding a gaggle of geese from the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Nebamun (British Museum EA 37978).[88] A cat is shown herding geese on the so-called satirical papyrus BM EA 10016, sheet 1.[89] The same scene on an ostracon from Deir el-Medina (EMC JE 63801) is almost identical to the drawing on pTurin 55001, except the geese are on ground lines.[90]

In another scene from the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217), a man is balancing on his head a white bundle tied at both ends and around the middle with ropes, bulging in the middle, with green leaves projecting from the top, and one end being grasped in both hands by a woman, which is similar to the bundle carried by a cat in scene X+7 (see Table 1).[91] A nude boy in front of the man carries a lotus bundle on his head and a nude girl behind him carries a large formal bouquet—they appear to be bringing what they have collected from a garden. The bundle tied at each end is seen again in the two Rosellini copies and the Seyffarth copy "floating" above a large single-handled jug and a small cat stirring a pot in a now lost piece between scenes X+12 and X+13 of the animal section of pTurin 55001 (see Table 1).

A donkey behind the woman receiving the bundle in TT 217 reminds one of the donkey musician in pTurin 55001, though its ears form a v-shape rather than being laid back together, as well as the kilted donkey in scene X+3 with its back to the monkey musician at the end of scene X+2 (see Table 1).[92] In the register below in TT 217, pieces of meat are being strung up to dry in the sun under the watchful eye of a kite whose tail feathers are reminiscent of those of the bird in scene X+7 (see Table 1).[93] The tail feathers of the bird in scene X+7 could be those of a kite as in the tomb of Ipuy, but perhaps indicate another bird of prey such as the falcon Horus in the later TT 359. The head of the bird—shown holding the handle of a triangular object in its beak in some copies, a detail mostly lost today—looks more like an ostrich,

86 TT 217: Ipouy PM (3) registre: II, photo DI_2004_01025.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01025.jpg.

87 TT 217: Ipouy PM (3) registre: II, photo DI_2004_01026.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01026.jpg.

88 Available at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA37978.

89 Available at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10016-1.

90 Available at https://egypt-museum.com/post/188860622691/ostracon-of-cat-minding-geese#gsc.tab=0.

91 Omlin 1973, pl. III; Davies No. 1927, pl. XXX; TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: III, color photo DI_2004_01068.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01068.jpg; see also photo NU_2013_04418.jpg, I. Mohamed © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/NU_2013_04418.jpg; and photo DI_2004_01069.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01069.jpg.
Similar bundles are shown being carried by two attendants in TT 49, Neferhotep (probably reign of Ay), interpreted as grapes wrapped in striped shawls (see Davies No. 1933, vol. I, pl. XV with p. 26). In the tomb of Nakht (TT 161, temp. Amunhotep III?), a writing of his title *ḫȝj ḥtpt n Ỉmn* "bearer of the floral offerings of Amun," shows the figure of a man carrying such a bundle; detail illustrated in Laboury 2013, p. 36, fig. 1 and Laboury 2022, p. 49, fig. 4; for the text, see Manniche 1986, p. 67, no. 61, and fig. 6 (61).

92 Davies No. 1927, pl. XXX; TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: III, photo NU_2013_04419.jpg, I. Mohamed © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/NU_2013_04419.jpg.

93 Davies No. 1927, pl. XXX; TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: IV, photo NU_2013_04422.jpg, I. Mohamed © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/NU_2013_04422.jpg.

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however, so, like the rabbit-eared cat of Ra in the later TT 359, perhaps it too is a composite creature. Such composites are familiar in the world of demons.[94]

Rabbit-eared cats appear in scenes of the Turin papyrus (see Table 1, scenes X+5, X+8), a composite known from Nineteenth Dynasty *Book of the Dead* (*BD*) vignettes. A seated mummiform figure with the head of a rabbit-eared cat appears in a detail from a vignette to *BD* spell 110 in the Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus of Ani (BM EA 10470,35), with two other demon-divinities with serpent and bovid heads; the group is labeled *psḏ.ty* ("ennead").[95] The guardian of the twelfth gate in *BD* spell 145 is cat headed[96] but sometimes also appears with the head of a long-eared rabbit.[97] It is perhaps from this variance that the image of a rabbit-eared cat was developed to incorporate both icons in one figure. The images of cats with rabbit ears could have been inspired by an image such as the vignette of *BD* spell 110 in pAni, since they are far less elaborate than the rabbit-eared cat in TT 359. The representation of the Great Cat in the vignette to *BD* spell 17 with rabbit ears seems to be unique to the later TT 359.[98]

Perhaps pTurin 55001 was actually created at the same period as the tombs of Ipuy (TT 217) and his brother Nakhtamun (TT 335) and Penbuy and Kasa (TT 10), and the graffiti naming the deputy Hay (vii) and a scribe Amunhotep were added much later, when the papyrus was in an archive like that of the scribe Amunnakht (v). In favor of this suggestion are the Amarna influences in the paintings of TT 217 studied by Nadine Cherpion.[99] Such influence is particularly notable in the figures in the erotic section of pTurin 55001 (see Table 2), with the focus on movement and the curves in the figures of the women, which are in rather marked contrast to the stiffer figures in the erotic graffiti in the "Scribes Grotto" at Deir el-Bahari, dating to the pre-Amarna period of the Eighteenth Dynasty.[100]

Other features of the decoration of TT 217 retain traits of Amarna art,[101] which are reflected in pTurin 55001. The figure of a recumbant man atop the Hathoric shrine in TT 217 has the same position as the man in scene 8 of the papyrus (see Table 2).[102] The connection to Amarna also appears in the well known scene of watering the garden around the temple of Hathor by shaduf in TT 217, which recalls a similar scene in the tomb of Meryra II at Amarna.[103] One may observe other connections to the tomb of Meryra II at Amarna in pTurin 55001. Some postures of the figures in the erotic section (see Table 2) may be compared with figures in the Nubian tribute scene in the tomb of Meryra II at Amarna: the figure of the man lying beneath the bed in scene 6 may be compared to the postures of some of the wrestlers who have been

94 Lucarelli 2013.
95 Leitz 2002-2003, III, 141 (*psḏt ʿɜt* Ikonographie). See the sheet from pAni at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-35.
96 Malek 1997 (ed. 2006), p. 84.
97 E.g., pAni, guardian of a gate with the head of long-eared rabbit; see the sheet from pAni at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA10470-35.
98 Cherpion, Corteggiani 2010, I, p. 113.
99 Cherpion 1995.
100 Ragazzoli 2017a, p. 110, fig. 3.24; Ragazzoli 2018, p. 35, fig. 1.5.
101 Cherpion 1995.
102 Cherpion 1995, fig. 6.
103 Cherpion 1995, p. 126, figs. 2a-b, 3.

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thrown to the ground; the figure of the dancing girl in scene 6 has a similar posture to one shown in the Amarna scene.[104]

The garment worn by the men in the erotic section of the papyrus is not the usual kilt worn by the Ramesside elite. It appears to be the sort of loincloth that is worn by fishermen, washermen, and men trampling grapes (e.g., TT 217[105]), with two corners tied together around the waist and one corner passing between the legs from the rear and fastened at the waist,[106] so it is easily opened at the front. The same garment is worn by the bearded gardeners in the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217).[107] It is interesting to note in this connection that the husbands of the musician-priestesses of Hathor at Deir el-Medina were more likely to be workmen than scribes or foremen.[108]

The women in the second section of pTurin 55001 are virtually nude, wearing only broad collars and girdles around their hips. Among ancient Eygptians, nudity was not a cause for embarrassment.[109] One may recall the representations of nude women in Eighteenth Dynasty banquet and drinking party tomb scenes which adhere to elite decorum. They are dancers (e.g., BM EA 37984, tomb of Nebamun, Amunhotep III[110]), serving maids (BM EA 37984; TT 38 Djeserkaraseneb, Thutmosis IV[111]), and musicians (TT 38[112]), wearing only a headband with a lotus blossom, a broad collar, and a girdle around the hips. It is not clear whether their nudity has to do with age (as children are generally represented nude in Egyptian art) or their occupations or social or marital status. They seem to be Egyptian, or at least are represented with the same skin color as the fully clad Egyptian women attending the parties. The women in pTurin 55001 may be similarly represented because the setting is a drinking party, with its Hathoric connotations (in BM EA 37984 the dancers perform alongside a stand holding decorated beer jars with sprouts growing from the seals, a set associated with the cult of Hathor). If they are priestesses of Hathor, possibly they are not from a high social class. However, their nudity appears to the modern western viewer as erotic and, because they are engaged in sexual acts, even pornographic.

104 Davies No. 1905, pl. XXXVII.

105 Fishermen in boat and mending a net and cleaning fish: TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: IV-V, photo DI_2004_01082.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01082.jpg; man mending net (note bobbin?): TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: IV, photo NU_2013_04441.jpg, I. Mohamed © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/NU_2013_04441.jpg, men mending net and cleaning fish: TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: IV, photo DI_2004_01071.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01071.jpg, man cleaning fish: TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: IV, photo DI_2004_01076.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01076.jpg
men trampling grapes: Davies No. 1927, pl. 33.

106 Detail showing wearing of loincloth: TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: V, photo DI_2004_01085.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01085.jpg, TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: V, photo NB_1969_02213.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/NB_1969_02213.jpg; TT 217: Ipouy PM (5) registre: V, photo DI_2004_01083.jpg, J. Marthelot © IFAO, URL: https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/archives/ttdem/docs/vues/DI_2004_01083.jpg.

107 Cherpion 1995, figs. 2a and 2b.

108 Richter 2023, p. 255.

109 Teeter 2000, p. 149.

110 https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA37984.

111 PMI.1, p. 70 (6, I-II).

112 PMI.1, p. 70 (6, I-II).

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Ostraca with similar themes

There are some ostraca that have similar themes and/or similar styles of drawing to the figures on pTurin 55001. Table 3 shows themes that appear in both media. More common are the animal figures. It is striking that the overlaps include scenes evoking animals in the desert, a theme known from the Middle Kingdom to be associated with the Distant Goddess legend.[113] Important domestic animals such as the horse are absent from pTurin 55001, though not uncommon among the ostraca. A few ostraca show animals performing actions similar to those of humans, such as herding geese, but no particular animal has an exclusive role. Cats and mice are most frequently shown acting as humans, perhaps because they were more commonly present in daily life, but other animals such as the lions and gazelles of the desert may also be given human behavior. Several ostraca feature animals with projecting tongues, as in pTurin 55001, so one wonders if this is not a hallmark of the style of a particular artist who may have drawn on both ostraca and papyrus.

Erotic scenes occur among the ostraca, as well as in the Deir el-Bahari scribes grotto. Some of the sexual positions, especially among the ostraca, are reminiscent of those seen in the second section of pTurin 55001. Could the ostraca have been preparatory sketches for the sexual encounters of the papyrus, even though the style of drawing is usually[114] not very similar? Or did all these drawings reflect the Hathoric celebrations at the time of the inundation? In any case, the subject matter was not limited to pTurin 55001, even though the decorum of royal and private tomb decoration seems to exclude such sexually explicit images (with the exception of ithyphallic deities).

The themes seen among the ostraca and in the scribes grotto at Deir el-Bahari do not appear in the underworld books or in Ramesside decorated tombs, royal or non-royal, although the posture and angle of the woman in the last scene on pTurin 55001 is reminiscent of the figure of mummified Osiris on the curve of the eastern horizon closing the final hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Thuthmosis III.[115]

The drawing styles observed in these different media and contexts have not been fully studied, since the focus of studies has been on the subject matter rather than the drawing style, so detailed comparisons are not possible in the framework of this paper. Nevertheless, the drawing style on pTurin 55001 seems more similar to that in the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217) and on some figured ostraca. There are similar figures on the papyrus and the ostraca, and the erotic theme is also found in the scribes grotto, contexts which would seem to be in the more informal and personal realm of the artists than the decorations in royal and non-royal tombs, including vignettes drawn from religious papyri, with correspondingly different subject matter.

113 Quack 2009; Sabbahy 2017.

114 However, note that the style of drawing on O. BM EA 50714 illustrated in Ragazzoli 2017a, p.116, fig. 3.29 is similar to that on pTurin 55001.

115 Roberson 2008, p. 17.

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pTurin55001 Scene number (Omlin)	Theme number/name Brunner-Traut, *ZÄS* 80	Parallels
	1 (a). Battle between mice and cats	
X+11	a. Mice attack cat fort, mouse leader in chariot drawn by dogs	VA 2034, 2035 (and see 12)
X+12	b. Mouse-cat (?) duel (?)	Copenhagen
X+13 and X+14???	c. Cat submits to mouse commander?	B-T 97 and 98?
	4. Sacrifice and worship scenes	
X+3	a. Bovid and cat offer to donkey	None
	5. Guarding/herding pictures	
X+9	a. Cat guards/herds geese (see 8c)	(Turin with incident); London D; VA 2264-2272; Turin Suppl. 6286
	6. Animal musicians and dancers	
X+2	a. Donkey with harp	B-T 99; cylinder from Hyksos? period (see p. 18, n. 4, fig. 6)
X+2	c. Monkey with double-oboe (flute)	Cylinder seal OK (w flute – see p. 18, n. 3, figs. 2, 3); Ostraca: Brussels E 6766, E 6836 (Bull M.R. 1953, p. 108, fig. 31; p. 109, fig. 32); Daressy 25138; Mitt. Kairo 12, p. 60 (certain double oboe not flute); Keimer 12; VA 2045 (fragment); VA 2290-2292; cf. B-T 100 and 101 (see p. 31 f)
X+2	h. Lion with lyre	Berlin 12686? = Taf. II, 6
X+2	k. Crocodile with lute	Medamud
X+10	11. Swallow climbs the ladder of the fig tree, in which there is a hippopotamus with a bag	VA 2717
X+5	20. Gazelle parades bound animals before	None
X+7	21. Animal (dog??) leads/herds other animals (dog, cat, raven) in captivity to a temple (?)	None
X+6	23. Cats work in kitchen or workshop	None
X+8???	(unclear) 36. Cat pulls roast goose towards it?	None
X+4	(unclear) 37. Gazelle slays tied up animal?	None
X+15	Not in Brunner-Traut list cat between mouse and monkey	See peeing cat with arms raised between peeing woman w stick and mouse O. Cairo 29.12.21.2 (fig. 5)???

Table 3. Brunner-Traut provided 37 themes for "Tiermärchen" (fables) from papyri and ostraca.*
The following are attested on pTurin 55001, with parallels given by Brunner-Traut.

* Brunner-Traut 1955.

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Date of the papyrus

The discussion in Part I has shown that both the physical preparation and layout of the papyrus and the artistic style of the drawings on it make the Nineteenth Dynasty, probably in the reign of Ramesses II, the most likely date for the original preparation and decoration of the papyrus. The secondary graffiti were added in the Twentieth Dynasty sometime during the reigns of Ramesses III to Ramesses IX, up to a century after its original composition.

Part II

The visual content of pTurin 55001

Now that we have considered the physical aspects of pTurin 55001 along with its artistic style and the probable date of its creation, it is time to turn to discussing the visual content of the papyrus, as it is first of all a means of visual communication with a living audience.

Braun has recently investigated visual storytelling in ancient Egypt.[116] She argues that a narrative can be expressed equally in different media, text types and genres, as well as in presentation and discourse modes. In narrative through images, the recipient is asked to contribute in varying degrees; the narrative images automatically create a story in the mind's eye. Such images may be the only surviving remnants of narratives that are no longer available (and perhaps were never recorded in writing), so they are invaluable for exploring the everyday culture of ancient Egypt. From Braun's point of view, pTurin 55001 is among the most important sources of image narration in ancient Egypt,[117] although she limits her discussion of the visual narrative to the animal representations in the first part of the papyrus. Since in this case papyrus was used instead of ostraca, it was apparently designed to last and be passed on within the family and acquaintances as illustrations or thought aids for use during oral storytelling. Braun notes that it is not always possible for the modern viewer, outside ancient Egyptian society, to decide whether what appears to us as narrative was accepted as such by ancient Egyptians.[118]

In the following sections, we will discuss how the animal and erotic figures in the two sections of pTurin 55001 could evoke a visual narrative related to the Hathoric feast of drunkenness (*tḫy*), including a critical summary of previous interpretations of each.

Animal figures

Discussions of pTurin 55001 have tended to focus on the first section of the papyrus, with representations of anthropomorphized animals (see Table 1 for Omlin's division of the representations into scenes, followed in most discussions), and depend for the most part on the interpretations by Emma Brunner-Traut.[119] In her fundamental study of figured ostraca, after at first thinking they were satirical, Brunner-Traut argued that the animal scenes in pTurin 55001

116 Braun 2020.
117 Braun 2020, pp. 290 ff.
118 Braun 2020, pp. 390 ff.
119 Brunner-Traut 1955; Brunner-Traut 1968.

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may have been visual aids used by storytellers recounting folkloric tales from oral rather than written culture, as recently discussed by Braun.[120]

The initial section of the papyrus with the animal figures has been taken to indicate animal fables, although what moral is being conveyed in each such fable is unknown, and it is frequently said to be satirizing the behavior of the elite, although exactly what is being satirized would be difficult or impossible to specify. In some interpretations, it is claimed that the animal figures are parodies of human behavior.[121] Although some of the activities of the animals in pTurin 55001, such as playing musical instruments and singing, driving chariots, shepherding, besieging a fortress, and probably brewing beer, are performed by humans, there doesn't seem to be any parody involved, but rather imitation, since the actors are not exaggerated figures of humans but animals.

We should recall that animal stories are not necessarily fables—which convey a moral—often with animal characters, such as the stories of *Kalila wa Dimna* or Aesop's fables. Nor need they be parodies—which involve deliberate exaggeration for comic effect. And animal stories do not have to be satires—which use humor, irony, exaggeration or ridicule to expose and criticize people's stupidity or vices, particularly in the context of politics and other topical issues. Orwell's *Animal Farm*, for example, combines parody and satire with animal characters to achieve its critical aims. Animal stories may simply be for entertainment, narratives such as Du Brunhoff's children's stories about the elephant Babar, or the stories of Walt Disney characters such as Bambi, in which animals are the principal characters and the plot takes place in the animal world (in which humans are intruders). The tales may provoke a gamut of emotional responses, such as anger or sadness, not just laughter. Since the tales are told by humans (or in the case of the legends of the Distant Goddess, by deities, themselves conceived by humans and displaying human behavior on occasion), inevitably the animal characters are made to be like humans (or divine creatures) to some degree. Like all fiction, such stories require a degree of suspension of disbelief.

In her 2014 dissertation, Babcock provided an art historical study of anthropomorphized animals (performing activities impossible in nature, usually dressed in linen garments) on New Kingdom ostraca (81) and papyri (3) attributed to Deir el-Medina, and examined their social and cultural context, concluding they were humorous parodies of primarily elite imagery produced by self-perceived elite individuals rather than socio-economic or political satire with negative overtones (since role reversal is not a common theme).[122] More pertinently, she also discusses their narrative aspects in terms of the construction of visual narrative in ancient Egyptian art, demonstrating (as Braun does) that it may be fluid and open-ended, not necessarily linear and sequential, as is evident in pharaonic written literature. Although a number of themes are repeated among the ostraca, not many of these themes are to be seen in pTurin 55001 (see Table 3). Babcock notes that five ostraca reflect the story of Thoth as a baboon confronting Tefnut as a cat recorded in pLeiden I 384. Although this tale from "The Myth of the Sun's Eye" is no doubt connected to the legend of the Distant Goddess, it is not depicted

120 Brunner-Traut 1968. Satire is defined as the use of humor, irony, exaggeration, or ridicule to *expose and criticise people's stupidity or vices*.

121 Recently by Vernus 2013b. Parody is defined as an imitation of the style of a particular writer, artist, or genre with *deliberate exaggeration for comic effect*.

122 Babcock 2014; now see Babcock 2022.

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in pTurin 55001.[123] She excludes the numerous ostraca showing monkeys playing musical instruments or doing agricultural work. (A musician monkey appears in pTurin 55001, along with another monkey figure.) Many other ostraca seem to show anthropomorphized animals (mostly cats, mice, dogs, caprids, occasionally birds, hippopotami, and lions) as stock characters, implying a connection with oral folktales grounded in the daily environment of storytellers and their audiences. In Babcock's opinion, each motif may refer to its own contained narrative, arranged according to the taste of the storyteller or artist, so when grouped they need not be viewed as a single sequential, linear narrative. She also claims that the images were drawn by lower elite and aspiring elite classes. However, we have no way of knowing who most of the artists were[124] or what their intent was. Even if the images had been accompanied by texts, it would not be likely that artist and scribe were the same person.

Since the same themes were doubtless shared among the villagers of all social levels on ostraca and papyrus, the choice of animal actors might have been a means of avoiding connecting the tales to any specific individual, and giving enduring interest to folktales that could be adapted to any time and place. Flores, in her discussion of the "topsy-turvy world" revealed by the ostraca and papyri, notes (as Omlin had) that most of the images are reflections of scenes known from official art that conforms to the standard decorum for temple and tomb scenes. Only some images involve predator-prey role reversals, animals seeming to behave in a way contrary to their natures, or imitating humans. She sees the images as reflecting stories told for entertainment, and possibly being passed hand to hand when the tales were being told.[125]

Morris argues that the "topsy-turvy" world of the animal stories is a reflection of the dangerous times of the low Nile before the arrival of the inundation at the time of the New Year, when the usual social order may be upended if famine occurs.[126] Morris describes a small vignette in the upper right corner of the papyrus (in scene X+1, see Table 1) that seems to show rodents thronging past dead cats towards sheaves of grain, symbolizing the takeover by the lower classes when famine reverses the usual social hierarchy.[127] (Omlin interpreted the cats as frolicking and the double door in the structure below them as that of a temple; see Table 1.) She sees pTurin 55001, with its depictions of tension-releasing excesses during the New Year's festival celebrations, as containing a warning to the elite, giggling at the animal stories, to share their stored supplies before the non-elite rats take over if famine occurs. The arrival of the Distant Goddess with the inundation brings with it the restoration of order as the threat of famine disappears.

123 Quack 2007, pp. 30–32 with reference to the "Myth of the Sun's Eye."

124 The chief draughtsman Amunhotep (vi) is an exception; 11 ostraca signed by him are known along with 9 others attributed him. His *œuvre* has been studied by Keller 1984, 2001, 2003; Bács 2011, Bács in press. None of the pTurin 55001 figures are drawn in his style, although he might have been the scribe named in the Scene 8 graffito. His father Amunhotep (v) had an archive that might have included the Chester Beatty love songs (Pestman 1982, p. 166).

125 Flores 2004.

126 Morris 2023, pp. 62–71. Famine could also occur at the midwinter planting season if the inundation were insufficient or unusually high.

127 Morris 2023, p. 70.

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Animal actors in Egyptian culture

Anthropomorphized animals have a long history in Egypt; one of the earliest is a canide playing a flute on the so-called Two Dogs slate palette (Oxford, Ashmolean E3924, Naqada III).[128] Fantasic animals that cannot exist in nature have an equally ancient ancestry. For example, griffons appear on the Gebel el-Tarif ivory knife handle (CCG 14265, Naqada II-d) as well as the Two Dogs palette.[129] In her study of griffons in Middle Kingdom tomb scenes, Sabbahy has argued that these fantastic animals are protective symbols associated with birth and rebirth, appearing in hunting scenes with other desert animals alongside baboons and monkeys as popular images of the "Myth of the Return of the Goddess."[130] Quack noted that the animals in the first section of pTurin 55001 are the same desert animals that accompany the goddess on her return to Egypt.[131]

The animal and human spheres characteristically separated by modern western human society, except in the cases of domestic pets and children's and cartoon stories, seem not to have been viewed as so distinct by ancient Egyptians. Their religious concepts included deities who were able to manifest themselves as animals, deities were regularly depicted as animal-headed humans, and priests or others wore animal masks while engaging in religious activity.[132] There is no evidence that these concepts were viewed negatively by ancient Egyptians, or that they were parodying or satirizing their religious beliefs with such practices. While certainly they might not have expected to see a singing lion playing a harp (scene X+2; see Table 1) or a gazelle presiding at a brewery (scene X+4; see Table 1) or cats and rats facing off in a fortress (scene X+11; see Table 1) in real life, that they did so in stories wouldn't necessarily mean they were being regarded negatively.

> As Hare remarks,
> Animals have conventionally been thought to live in a radically different cognitive universe than human beings. They have not been thought to command language or self-consciousness. They are motivated […] by 'instinct', as opposed to 'reason', or 'logic'. In certain varieties of religious thought, animals are bereft of a 'soul', something purported to sanctify and immortalize humans.[133]

One may wonder if Egyptians had the same point of view towards animals, as they even conceived one aspect of the human soul, the *bꜣ*, as taking the form of a bird, able to emerge from the tomb and fly around after the death of the human body. Hare notes that the group of musicians in scene X+2 of pTurin 55001 is a set scene familiar from banquet scenes in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, so it doesn't require any written narrative to understand it.[134] Similarly, in the register below, the battle of the mice and the cats, a common theme in the

128 Gerke 2014.
129 Sabbahy 2017.
130 Sabbahy 2017.
131 Quack 2009.
132 Hovrath 2015, pp. 131–141 gives examples in Middle Kingdom Hathoric contexts at Lahun and depictions in the tomb of Kheruef (TT 192), as well as from the Old Kingdom.
133 Hare 2013.
134 Hare 2013.

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ostraca,[135] is a composition familiar from many Ramesside battle reliefs, such as those at Karnak and Luxor temples on the east bank at Thebes, and the Ramesseum and later MedinetHabu on the west bank (as already observed by Omlin[136]). Ramesses II's version of his battle against the Hittites at Kadesh may be found on no less than six different Upper Egyptian monuments, from Abu Simbel to Abydos. It is noteworthy that these battle scenes are presented visually in more accessible areas of the temple, so, although accompanied by texts, the accounts of the conflicts would be understood by the non-literate public, who could also invent their own stories to accompany the images.

Also following familiar compositions are scenes of a donkey presenting offerings to a lady cat, and a cat herding ducks. Several scenes seem to involve well known depictions of making bread and beer. Other scenes are not so obviously related to the New Kingdom visual repertoire, but on the whole follow the usual conventions of Egyptian art. As Hare notes, humans are *replaced* by animals in situations recognizable to humans. He asks whether this realism gives the scenes broader applicability than if there were a written narrative accompanying them (as there is in the tomb scenes and temple reliefs, which at the very least are labeled and hence specified, and may be accompanied by longer historical or [auto]biographical narrative or ritual texts).[137]

Does this realism at the same time imply criticism of the human world? Hare asks. Is it correct to interpret the images on pTurin 55001, other papyri and the ostraca as reflections of elite New Kingdom culture and society aimed at an elite audience? What if they were conceived for another audience altogether? How would our understanding change according to how these questions are answered?[138] We argue here that the audience for the papyrus is not only the (male) elite (of Deir el-Medina), but one including a range of social levels (and both men and women) participating in celebratory events and rituals connected to the return of the Distant Goddess and the fertility it ensures for both the agricultural land and humans.

Most of the animals are fairly naturalistically represented, though some, such as a feline with rabbit ears reminiscent of Ra as the Great Cat may be fantastical composites, as is the griffon in other works, perhaps a reference to a magical-religious sphere that is not the same as the ordinary human world. Some scenes appear enigmatic to the modern viewer, such as a crow climbing a ladder into a sycomore fig tree[139] in which a hippopotamus is concealed, but the referents may have been more immediately obvious to an Egyptian audience as representing a magical-religious reality (for example, the sycomore fig tree is closely identified with the frequently represented female tree goddesses connected to birth and rebirth, often shown emerging from the tree trunk providing food and drink for the *bꜣ*, and one of whom, Taweret, is often represented as a hippopotamus. Note the semi-anthropomorphization and

135 Flores 2004; Morris 2023.

136 Omlin 1973.

137 Hare 2013.

138 Hare 2013, quoting questions raised in Yingpruksawan 2000.

139 The crow appears at the base of a sycomore fig tree in pBM EA 10016,1 beside a basket of figs, but the tree itself is lost in a break. Maître 2017, pp. 98–99, interprets the bird on the ladder of pTurin 55001 as a composite image of falcon head and wings, passeriform body, and human "walking legs" (Sign List D54) and sees it as a symbol of the king attempting to regain his throne with the hippopotamus obstructing him. See Sheikholeslami 2015a and 2015b for pTurin1966.

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divinization of the tree and recall the talking trees in the love songs of pTurin 1966, none of which are seen negatively by modern readers).

There is no doubt that these apparent role reversals and seemingly abnormal activities (if they are intended as such and not just set within a fictional realm which has its own different "reality") might provoke laughter in an audience, but it may be questioned whether the attitude towards them would have been derisive rather than just amused, with the suspension of disbelief already required to enter a world in which the returning goddess could be a woman, a vulture, a lioness, or a cow, forms taken by the Distant Goddess as the Eye of Re while she travels through the desert encountering animals like the gazelle particularly associated with her. The entertaining storyteller Thoth might take the form of a baboon, and Hathor's companion Tefnut could appear as a lioness. The divine world of the Egyptians was occupied by deities who regularly appeared in animal form or as humans with animal features and attributes, yet who could speak as humans do, and who were worshipped by Egyptians of all levels of society. In stories such as the "Destruction of Mankind" or the "Contendings of Horus and Seth," the deities can get angry, quarrel, be jealous, engage in sexual activities, play tricks on each other, get drunk, and generally display emotions and behavior in very much the same way that humans do.

The modern Egyptologist tends to want to read these scenes in pTurin 55001 as if they were a hieroglyphic text, and indeed some of the arrangement of the figures and their postures are reminiscent of hieroglyphs in monumental texts, such as the cryptographic titulary of Ramesses II on an architrave of the Ramesside court in Luxor temple that was added to the northern end of the Tutankhamun colonnade, where the sequential scenes of the Opet festival are presented in detail (also mostly visually with little text and no textual narration). One must keep in mind, however, that the monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions could not be read by most of the populace, who would view them more as pictographs, so their response to a group of scenes that might resemble a hieroglyphic text would be visual, rather than trying to read it.

Familiar animal hieroglyphs might trigger associations with folk stories and tales. In the figured ostraca, according to Malek, the artist uses the animal figures, whose relative sizes do not correspond to reality, to make comparisons with people. Both are treated as types rather than individuals. The ostraca, shared as amusement among workmen, mostly represent an irreverent topsy-turvy undercurrent beneath the pervading formality of (official elite) society, but they are not satire aimed at privileged groups or illustrations of fables with moral content.[140] Flores concluded the New Kingdom anthropomorphic animal ostraca were not a random set of satires, but a repertoire of standard scenes that related to an oral genre of stories.[141]

The animal figures are likely to be associated with different tales from an oral tradition which has left few traces in written literature, but may be reflected in the philosophical fables in the "Myth of the Sun's Eye," which certainly had some thematic connections to the earlier legends surrounding the Distant Goddess, already reflected in Middle Kingdom artifacts and in the story of the "Destruction of Mankind," which first appears in writing at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty in the text inside Tutankhamun's outermost golden shrine.

140 Malek 1997 (ed. 2006), p. 116.
141 Flores 2004.

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A chronological bridge between the New Kingdom ostraca and the demotic papyri is provided by blocks from a chapel of the God's Wife Shepenwepet II at Medamud (Cairo JE 58924-58925) with part of an ensemble of illustrated fable scenes with label texts and a Bes figure which must relate to the "Myth of the Sun's Eye," featuring the goddess Tefnut/Hathor, with whom the God's Wives were often linked ideologically.[142] The blocks may possibly reveal the transition between the oral/visual and written versions of the myth in progress or be evidence for two parallel traditions. A further link is provided by the Ptolemaic hymn to Hathor at Medamud,[143] carved next to a large representation of Bes.

Although the demotic versions of the text known as the "Myth of the Sun's Eye," dating to the second century AD, are traditionally regarded as literary compositions, the text may also have had a place in cultic festivals.[144] Von Lieven views the "Myth of the Sun's Eye," which includes four or perhaps five animal fables, as a religious text concerning one of the most important elements within the ancient Egyptian belief system.[145] The fables are intended to clarify the meaning of the moralizing precepts of the philosophical dialogues. Von Lieven adds that the New Kingdom figured ostraca may have been a mnemnonic device for the oral telling of the stories, even by an illiterate storyteller, and might have been shown to the audience during a performance perhaps accompanied by music and dance.[146] The myth's astronomical background has been clarified by Quack, who showed that the Sun's Eye comes to Philae as the goddess Isis at the time of the heliacal rising of Sirius (Sopdet), heralding the onset of the inundation.[147]

Like the epic oral saga describing the migrations of a bedouin tribe, *Al-Sirah al-Hilaliyyah*, part of Egypt's intangible cultural heritage which has been performed since the fourteenth century AD,[148] various legends of the Distant Goddess in oral tradition no doubt mingled with stories made up by the storytellers to make them more interesting to a given audience, with differing versions in different regions at different times. Like the *Hilaliyyah*, they could also have been accompanied by music and dance. The stories could have been told on different occasions, but were probably particularly popular, like the love songs, during the celebrations of the arrival of the inundation such as the Feast of Drunkenness. They might also have been recounted during Hathoric festivities at the tomb, accompanied by music and dance and drinking, during the month of Khoiak, since the Osirian cycle of death and rebirth paralleled the annual cycle of the Nile.

Thus we can conclude that figured ostraca, which share some of the same types of representations with the images in the first section of pTurin 55001, are likely connected to the recounting of folktales among the Deir el-Medina villagers and that they could be arranged and rearranged in various sequences to suit different occasions. The different groups of animals in the first section of pTurin 55001 are probably *aides-mémoire* for storytellers derived from the oral traditions about the stories told to the Distant Goddess during her long journey back to

142 Collombert 2008; Lieven 2009.
143 Darnell 1995.
144 Hoffmann 2012, p. 551.
145 Lieven 2003; Lieven 2009.
146 Lieven 2003.
147 Quack 2002.
148 See al-Sirah al-Hilaliyyah n.d.; Sherieff 2013.

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Egypt with the inundation. In telling such tales, the narrative need not be a linear sequence such as is often dictated by a written text, but may reflect the sorts of associations and digressions at different levels which are common in the hypertext in the human brain.

Erotic images

The erotic section of the papyrus, when discussed at all (and it often is not when the papyrus is mentioned), has been said to represent a house of prostitution or a gallery of pornographic images meant for private viewing and entertainment. Toivari-Viitala has pointed out, however, that there is no evidence for professional prostitutes or any likely location for a brothel at Deir el-Medina.[149] Morris understands these scenes as activities that pleased both the goddess and her worshippers,[150] as does Hovráth (following Darnell and Kessler): the drinking, singing and dancing were designed both to pacify the wild goddess and to create the proper atmosphere for sensual communion between the deity and her human devotees.[151] Omlin divided the couples into 12 groups (see Table 2). The nocturnal revels could be taken to parallel the 12 hours of the night from death to rebirth in funerary beliefs, although there is no indication the sexual acts depicted in the erotic section of pTurin 55001 have any sequence. Nevertheless, scene 6 (see Table 2) could be interpreted as the depth of the night (although often-cited as a comparable composition, the procreative representation of the sky goddess Nut arched over the earth god Geb with an erect phallus is not attested before the Twenty-first Dynasty on funerary papyri, and here in the later secondary text, the man below the bed complaining of his penis being "sick" has perhaps lost the hardness of his erection, like the man in scene 7, who in the secondary text asks for "medication" for his obviously flaccid penis), and scene 12 (see Table 2) as occurring at the eastern horizon in the morning (since it recalls the figure of mummified Osiris on the curve of the eastern horizon closing the final hour of the Amduat in the tomb of Thuthmosis III). Publications dealing with women in ancient Egypt frequently illustrate a detail (from the neck up) of a woman holding a mirror and applying a cosmetic to her lips with a brush from the second section of pTurin 51001 (scene 4, see Table 2),[152] but rarely discuss the sexual images as a whole group, or note the association of the mirror with Hathor.

The introductory images in the erotic section evoke the procession heralding the feast of drunkenness depicted on silver and gold vessels (probably of Phoenician manufacture, but for the Egyptian market) dated to the later Third Intermediate Period (discussed below). The procession was also described by Herodotus, and is probably represented on the Ptolemaic steatite bowl from the British Museum (EA 47992). The setting for the sexual encounters in pTurin 55001 is probably similar to the temporary pavilions and bowers (perhaps adorned

149 Toivari-Viitala 2001, pp. 149–153.

150 Morris 2023, pp. 63–64.

151 Hovráth 2015, p. 133; Darnell 2002, p. 132; Kessler 1988, p. 174.

152 Omlin's scene 4, recently discussed by Abdalla 2009, who interprets the conical object below the woman's vulva as a fumigator. Backhouse 2020, pp. 84 fig. 4, 85 describes it as an inverted Caananite amphora. It seems unlikely a woman would sit with/on an uncomfortable pointed pottery object inserted into her genitals. It appears that the man is stimulating the woman's genitals with his finger and her arousal fluid is being exuded onto an ointment cone (which men might then spread on their penises to stimulate their own erections). In the secondary graffito with scene 4, the woman calls the man an apprentice and a rogue who does not enhance her reputation. See Brawanski, Fischer-Elfert 2012, texts 4, 6, and 7 for the secondary graffiti accompanying scenes 4, 6, and 7.

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with convolvulus vines, like birth bowers[153]) in which drinking sessions referenced in the Opet festival and love songs also took place. Since the processions and setting are related to Hathor, we now turn to consideration of the goddess on the west bank at Thebes.

Hathor at Deir el-Medina

There is as yet no comprehensive study available dealing with Hathor in New Kingdom Thebes. The cult of Hathor was probably established on the west bank at Thebes by the end of the Old Kingdom, as evidenced by the burials of three of her priests at Deir el-Bahari, probably in front of a grotto-shrine dedicated to the goddess, similar to the one at the western end of the Valley of the Queens popular in the New Kingdom.[154] The importance of Hathor's cult in western Thebes is attested in the Eleventh Dynasty by the tombs of her priestesses incorporated within the mortuary temple of Nebhepetra Montuhotep.[155] The grotto at the western end of the temple axis, probably dedicated to Hathor, was eventually enclosed in a shrine featuring Amun-Ra that was added to the rear of the complex of Nebhepetra Montuhotep (probably in the early Eighteenth Dynasty).[156] Both Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III incorporated shrines dedicated to the goddess in their own memorial temples at Deir el-Bahari.[157] As late as the Twentieth Dynasty, offerings were still being made to Hathor there.[158]

The goddess Hathor played a prominent role at Deir el-Medina, where the New Kingdom (and later rebuilt Ptolemaic) temple was dedicated to her, so it would not be surprising that pTurin 55001, illustrating an important aspect of her cult, was produced and no doubt viewed there. As noted above, pTurin 55001 might have been a votive offering to Hathor. Despite the importance of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, there has been little study of her cult there.[159]

At the beginning of the Ramesside period Hathor, lady of the west, was the principal deity at Deir el-Medina, and the one most often represented in statues and reliefs.[160] Although the surviving temple dedicated to Hathor on the site is of Ptolemaic date, there were earlier structures dedicated to the goddess along the northern road to and from the village. The remains of a chapel dedicated to Hathor by Seti I adjoin the northeastern side of the enclosure of the Ptolemaic temple of Hathor, which supplanted the temple built by Ramesses II[161] and possibly

153 See the Deir el-Medina ostracon BM EA 8506 at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA8506.

154 Sheikholeslami 2018, p. 377; Morenz 2009; Saleh 2007. At the rear of the western end of the shrine of Nebepetra Montuhotep there was probably originally a grotto sacred to Hathor, similar to the one at the western end of the Valley of the Queens where water dripping down following rainstorms was likened to the milk from the udder of the cow goddess, cf. Desroches-Noblecourt 1993, pp. 485–497. On grottos as sanctuaries for Hathor, cf. Pinch 1993, pp. 3–77. For a recent interpretation of BM EA 278, see Rondot 2015.

155 Sheikholeslami 2018, p. 377. The burials of the priestesses of Hathor and their chapels preceded the construction of the complex of Nebhepetra Montuhotep, which was built around them, cf. Naville 1910; Naville 1907; Arnold 2015; Arnold 1974. Hovráth 2015, p. 135 dates the introduction of the Hathor cult to the west bank at Thebes to the early Eleventh Dynasty, as attested by the hymn on the stela of Wakhankh-Intef II rejoicing at the coming of the goddess, performing music to please her, and implying her union with the king.

156 Sheikholeslami 2018.

157 For the architectural conception, see Beaux 1997.

158 Marciniak 1974, p. 35; Marciniak 1971.

159 Keller 2008, p. 150, n. 20, refers to a study of the priesthood of Hathor at Deir el-Medina by Barbara Richter, whom I thank for sharing her manuscript with me before publication; see now Richter 2023.

160 Valbelle 1985, p. 313.

161 See Toivari-Viitala 2011, pp. 2 and 3, figs. 1 and 3 for locations, and p. 7, fig. 10 for plan of the Seti I chapel.

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Merenptah also constructed a temple for Hathor in the area that is now the northeast corner of the sacred enclosure.[162] As Hathor, the goddess of the western mountains at Thebes, was presented with the largest buildings through royal initiative, she was probably the principal "official" deity in the community, although the patron deity Amunhotep I was also a major object of popular devotion.[163] Hathor was one of the deities to whom stelae and offering tables were commonly dedicated at Deir el-Medina, and her cult received the one of the largest amounts of grain rations.[164] No doubt throughout the New Kingdom the Hathor chapels at Deir el-Bahari, where numerous votive phalluses and figurines of nude women were dedicated, also remained important cult centers of the goddess that were accessible to inhabitants of Deir el-Medina.[165] In all of these shrines the goddess was worshipped in her bovine form, particularly when emerging from the papyrus thickets in the marshes as the Distant Goddess. The relief Louvre E 16276[166] probably depicts the cult statue from the Deir el-Medina temple of the New Kingdom, and the actual cult statue from the Thutmosis III chapel (EMC JE 38575).[167]

The early Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Amunemhat (TT 340) at Deir el-Medina, perhaps the first tomb at the site, has scenes of the family of the deceased at a drinking party in connection with a Hathoric festival, such as are attested elsewhere in the Theban necropolis in the Eighteenth Dynasty.[168] The female relatives wear Hathoric diadems with a large lotus blossom at the front attached to a headband decorated with stylized lotus blossoms, very similar to the diadem worn by Nofret on her Fourth Dynasty statue from Meidum (CCG 4), or the gold diadem of the Twelfth Dynasty Princess Sat-Hathor-Yunet from Lahun (CCG 52641). Similar headbands are worn by the daughters of Djehutyhotep from his Twelfth Dynasty tomb at El Bersheh (EMC JE 30199). Female guests in somewhat later Theban tomb scenes such as those of Nakht (TT 52), Djeskaraseneb (TT 38) and Nebamun (BM EA 37984)[169] wear lotus bud circlets with a large lotus blossom at the forehead or over the crowns of their heads, as do guests at the drinking party in the tomb of Pahery at Elkab.[170] The women in the second part of pTurin 55001 (as well as the cat in scene X+8; see Table 1) wear a large lotus bud on their heads, no doubt intended to indicate the Hathoric context in which the sexual activities were taking place. The broad collars worn by the women in the erotic section of pTurin 55001 may be an indication they are spending a *ḥrw nfr* (discussed further below).[171]

A votive cloth from Deir el-Bahari (formerly Huntington, NY, Heckscher Museum of Art HM 59.294[172]) depicts the *ḫsy ꜥ* of Hathor Tjanefer and his family adoring the image of the cow Hathor *ḥry tp wꜣst* emerging from the papyrus marshes on her papyrus skiff. Tjanefer's wife, mother, sons and daughter each hold a very large papyrus umbel, and the women all wear lotus blossom bands on their wigs. His wife carries a small handled jug of the type used

162 Jauhiainen 2009b, pp. 151, 153, 156.
163 Jauhiainen 2009b, p. 151.
164 Jauhianen 2009b, pp. 159, 160.
165 Pinch 1993, p. 11; Richter 2023.
166 Andreu, Barbotin 2002, p. 229, no. 184.
167 Naville 1907, pl. 31.
168 Cherpion 1999, pls. 2, 7; Harrington 2013, pp. 113–122.
169 Harrington 2013, pp. 114, figs. 41, 42; 115, fig. 43.
170 Bryan 2014, p. 109, fig. 6.24.
171 Darnell 2016, p. 34.
172 Pinch 1993, pl. 25B; sold at Christie's auction 2565, 8 June 2012, Lot 11 https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5567151.

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to serve *shedeh* wine, and the remaining members of the family all carry what appear to be convolvulus vine fronds in their hands, recalling the convolvulus in scene 2 of the erotic section of pTurin 55001 (see Table 2). The same image of Hathor appears in a relief on a lintel naming Ramose (i) (Louvre E 16276) from the *khenu*-temple of Ramesses II at Deir el-Medina; it is likely this was the cult image of the temple.[173]

In TT 340, large beer jars of various shapes with lotus blossoms decorating the base stand next to the serving woman passing around the drinking cup, and on a mat above a niche.[174] Similar large decorated jars with sprouts growing from their clay seals, a set of jars specifically connected to the festival of drunkeness (represented in the processions for Bastet as the pacified form of the goddess on the silver and gold vessels, and on the duck boat in the Luxor temple Opet festival, all discussed elsewhere in this paper, as well as in many of the Eighteenth Dynasty banquet/drinking party scenes), are shown under a grape arbor in TT 38, beneath a stand holding a very large lotiform chalice, another vessel associated with Hathoric ritual. Numerous beer jars and drinking vessels are scattered through the background of pTurin 55001's animal and erotic scenes (see Tables 1 and 2), indicating a similar context of festal drinking with Hathoric associations, as described above.

As Pinch points out, "Hathor might…be seen as the symbol of a continuity of belief between all levels of society. She had a pivotal position between popular and state religion…far more votive offerings were made to her in the New Kingdom than to any other deity. In her fertility aspect, Hathor played an important part in folk religion."[175] Among the common votive offerings were an enlarged phallus or a nude female fertility figurine wearing a bead girdle with emphasized pubic area.[176] Such votives are three-dimensional versions of the enlarged phalluses on the figures of the men and the nude women in the erotic section of pTurin 55001. One ex-voto in the form of a large stone phallus (H 50 cm) colored red (EMC, TR 29.4.26.3) was dedicated to the goddess by the well known scribe of the tomb Ramose (i), who was apparently childless, perhaps an appeal to Hathor for fertility.[177] The size and red color of this stone phallus suggest that the greatly enlarged sexual organs of the men in the erotic section of pTurin 55001 are similarly associated with the hope for or an expression of fertility. When Herodotus came to Egypt he observed "puppets a cubit long moved by strings, which are carried about the villages by women, the male member moving and near as big as the rest of the body" in Dionysiac processions and noted "a sacred legend which gives the reason for the appearance and motions of these puppets."[178] Roth points out that one of Hathor's roles was to stimulate male fertility; the votives offered to her were to have her grant fertility to

173 Richter 2023, p. 240, fig. 15.2 (= Andreu, Barbotin 2002, p. 239, pl. 184; https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl01000677 1#).

174 Cherpion 1999, pl. 2.

175 Pinch 1993, p. 359.

176 For votive phalli see Pinch 1993, pp. 235-245; pls. 52-54 (from Deir el-Bahari). Nude female figurines with bead girdles from Deir el-Bahari are shown in Pinch 1993, pls. 49, 51B.

177 Keller 2008, p. 151; K*RI* III, p. 635 (47), with references; K*RITA* III, p. 434, 635:1–7 (47).

178 Herodotus II, 48, quoted from the Loeb Classical Library edition (1920) available at https://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Herodotus/2a*.html accessed 14 April 2023.

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men. Women are generally represented as young and sexually enticing, and are expected to be sexually aggressive, initiating the process of (pro)creation.[179]

The Ramesside block statue of the servant in the Place of Truth Amunemhat depicting him as a *chauve* or "bald one" (*ỉs*) of Hathor, probably from Deir el-Medina (Strasburg, Musée égyptologique de l'université, no. 1587),[180] would have been placed near the entrance to one of Hathor's temples to receive offerings and libations in his left hand cupped on his knee from those who wanted him to intercede for them with the goddess,[181] showing her role in popular religion in the village. The priestly servants (*ḥ3kw*) of Hathor could also intercede with the goddess[182] and a number of women in the community were "great praise-singers of Hathor, lady of the west" (*ḥsyt ʿ3t n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt ỉmntt*).[183]

It has also been suggested that the male figures in the erotic portion of pTurin 55001 are *chauves* of Hathor who would intercede with the goddess, and that they are also dwarfs, impersonating Bes, implying that they were not members of any formal priesthood, but "irregulars with divinatory faculties who were nevertheless regarded as men of knowledge and effective divine intermediaries".[184] A plurality of mostly Ramesside *chauve* intercessor statues was found at Deir el-Medina. One may note, however, that the tonsured *chauves* do not have beards, and thus are probably not depicted in pTurin 55001, and the men do not seem to be dwarfs.[185] Nevertheless, Bes is closely associated with the return of the Distant Goddess, as he appears in the Third Intermediate Period on pottery votive stands from Medinet Habu with duck boats (for example, Cairo, EMC JE 59847, Chicago, ISAC Museum (formerly OIM) E14476) and on faience relief chalices from Hermopolis (Berlin 4563, Harrow 384), discussed below, and in later representations at Philae, Edfu, and Dendara temples, where he often performs on musical instruments, and in the relief at Medamud, also discussed below.

Hathoric processions on the west bank

A flotilla of river barges accompanied by a procession on the shore, similar to that of the Opet festival on the Upper Terrace in Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari and in the Tutankhamun colonnade at Luxor temple, adorns the north wall of the hypostyle hall of the Hathor Chapel in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.[186] The river barges are accompanied by parades of recruits running along the banks of the river, ending with a pair of Libyan dancers performing with postures paralleled by the nude (possibly Nubian) dancing girls that perform to the music of the blind harpist and other musicians at the drinking banquets shown in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs. The prow and stern of the lead boat are decorated with the image of the god Montu, to whom the neighboring temple of Nebhepetra was dedicated

179 Roth 2000, pp. 194, 200. According to Skumsnes (forthcoming), in a 2017 ARCE conference presentation, Roth argued "that the Turin papyrus is an expression of radically different gender roles, of female initiative and control in heterosexual relations. She suggests that it represents divine power, intended for women, and to be given as a votive offering to the goddess Hathor."

180 Clère 1995, pp. 119–123.

181 Clère 1995, pp. 7–9; Andreu, Barbotin 2002, p. 246, Cat. 195.

182 Clère 1968, p. 144.

183 Valbelle 1985, p. 328; Keller 2008, p. 150, n. 20; Richter 2023.

184 DuQuesne 1996, pp. 22, 25, 29.

185 Clère 1995.

186 PM II, pp. 350–351 (30); Naville 1901, pls. LXXXVIII–XCI.

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and who is also the god of the Medamud temple, the protector of the borders of not only the Theban nome but of Egypt herself, which the returning Distant Goddess had to cross on her journey from Nubia. By the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at Karnak, many Montu priests also are also entitled "embracers of the Eye (of Ra)" (*ḫpt ỉrt*), another indication of the connection between the god and Hathor, both of whom also were legitimators of kingship in the Theban realm in the Middle Kingdom.[187]

The gist of the legend of the wandering goddess Hathor must have been familiar to the scribes and draughtsmen who worked on the decoration of the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings. Excerpts of the text of the "Book of the Celestial Cow" appear in the tombs of Seti I, Ramesses II and Ramesses III. There are also excerpts in the tomb of Ramesses VI, and on Turin papyri Cat. 1982 and 1826 from the workmen's village at Deir el-Medina. The residents of Deir el-Medina may have welcomed the return of Hathor, the Eye of Ra, who was a major deity in their community, by participating in processions into the western desert to greet her.[188] Darnell describes this possibly more frequent ritual activity in connection with the return of the Distant Goddess.[189] He documents a shelter in which one priest rested while waiting for the goddess to appear, writing a short prayer to her on the rocky wall around him.

The goddess would emerge from the desert through a papyrus thicket at the margins of the cultivation. In the "Tale of the Herdsman" a furry apparition—no doubt a manifestation of the goddess—appears in a marshy environment apparently seeking a sexual encounter.[190] This manifestation may have occurred at the time the inundation had receded, the papyrus thickets had regrown, and the newly refertilized land could be sown. During midsummer celebrations when Hathor arrived with the inundation, the rustling of dried papyrus remaining from the previous season in the marshy areas at the margins of the floodplain where the pools from the rising water table first appeared could have been sexually pleasing.

The villagers perhaps also had their own drinking parties and sexual revelry to enhance male fertility in the marshy areas at the edge of the cultivation (where the rising groundwater signaled the inundation and the return of fertility to the land and the renewal of life in this world and the next) and in the scribe's grotto at Deir el-Bahari.[191] The faience chalices of the Third Intermediate Period from Hermopolis are decorated with scenes of Hathoric revelry in the marshes, which is also reflected in the decoration of the silver and gold bowls discussed below.

Hathor's duck boat and the Festival of Drunkenness

A number of objects and representations are probably associated with the celebrations welcoming the goddess who brings fertility and renewal to Egypt with the annual inundation.

A duck-headed boat loaded with beer jars in a gaily decorated kiosk is shown accompanying the divine barges on the Nile during the Opet festival in the Tutankhamun colonnade in Luxor.[192] The duck boat is closely associated with Hathoric festivities.

187 Sheikholeslami 2018, pp. 387–388.
188 Darnell 2013, pp. 73–76.
189 Darnell 2002, pp. 66–67; Darnell 2013, pp. 51–59.
190 Darnell 2010a. See Addendum, p. 345.
191 Darnell 2013, pp. 73–76; Gabolde 1995; Ragazzoli 2017a; Ragazzoli 2018.
192 Epigraphic Survey 1994, pl. 80.

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Although the villagers may not have participated in the riverine Opet festival celebrated in the east bank temples in Thebes since they don't seem to have had time off from work for this holiday,[193] the Opet procession was depicted in the tomb of Imyseba (TT 65, Ramesses IX) where the Deir el-Medina draughtsman Amunhotep (vi) and Hormin (i) worked.[194] The inclusion of this large scene from the Opet festival procession in the tomb indicates the continuing importance of these celebrations in late Ramesside Thebes.[195]

The duck boat that appears in Hathoric drunkenness festival processions is also known from Nineteenth Dynasty Deir el-Medina. In the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217) in a watery setting next to a temple (perhaps the New Kingdom Hathor temple in the village of Deir el-Medina) is a representation of a duck-headed boat.[196] The artistic style in TT 217 also appears in pTurin 55001.

These duck boats appear again on a type of ritual stand with a nude figure of the goddess standing on them found at Medinet Habu and Karnak North in the Twenty-second Dynasty.[197] An unprovenanced stone cup from the late New Kingdom-Third Intermediate Period shows a nude woman holding a brace of ducks in the center of a duck boat, with a man with an enormous phallus holding a pair of lotuses with long stems in front of her, turning back to look at her, reminiscent of the couples in the erotic scenes on pTurin 55001.[198]

From the same period at Hermopolis, another re-entry point from the desert to the Nile valley for the Distant Goddess, with its sanctuaries dedicated to Thoth, who was responsible for bringing the goddess back to Egypt, and Tefnut, a local manifestation of the wandering goddess or alternatively her companion on her journey, a number of faience chalices in the shape of an open lotus blossom are adorned with scenes that not only include the marshy setting, but also other themes such as birds protecting their eggs in the nest and stick combats that are familiar from Deir el-Medina figured ostraca and which could also be illustrations of the stories told during the revelry or of the revelry itself.[199]

Slightly later evidence demonstrates that the duck boat is related to the drunken sexual revelry at the time Hathor appears with the inundation. A Third Intermediate Period silver dish from Cyprus in Berlin (VA 14117) has representations related to the festival of drunkenness at Bubastis.[200] These scenes are part of the procession to the temple at Bubastis, similar to the one described by Herodotus II, 60, not rites at a temple.[201] The cat goddess Bastet, the pacified form of the raging Sakhmet, sits on a protome on one of a procession of river boats through the marshes, accompanied by horse-drawn chariots (recalling the chariots in scene 2 of pTurin 55001, see Table 2) and a duck boat laden with the special jars of sacred red beer with which the goddess is appeased, and another boat in which the goddess sits in a kiosk. Nude

193 Jauhiainen 2009a, pp. 96, 102–103.
194 Bács 2011, p. 36.
195 Bács 2011, p. 36.
196 No. Davies 1927, pl. XXX.
197 Del Vesco 2010, for example pp. 120, fig. 5 (New York MMA 31.3.108) with the frontal nude goddess holding aside papyrus stems on a duck-boat, 129, fig. 33 (Hannover, KM 1935.200.331) with the frontal nude goddess flanked by nude girls on a duck-boat framed by Bes figures, 153, fig. 26 (EMC JE 59845) with a nude girl playing a lute and other nude girls pulling papyrus stems on a duck-boat, flanked by Bes figures; Teeter 2010, pp. 158, fig, 16a-c, 159, 166–167.
198 Teeter 2010, p. 165, fig. 18 b (CCG 18682).
199 Tait 1963, see especially chalices illustrated in pls. XIII.4, XIV, XV, and XIX.
200 Morenz 2006, p. 58, figs. 2–3.
201 Jasnow, Smith 2010-2011, pp. 47–48.

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girls swim around the center of the bowl with tilapia fish.[202] A very similar bowl in gold also featuring the duck boat was recovered from one of the queen's tombs at the Assyrian palace of Nimrud, part of the grave goods of the (possibly Egyptian) queen of Tiglath-Pileser III who was buried there.[203]

A procession of musicians playing a tambourine, lyre, pipes, crotals, and double flute, and a woman lifting her skirt and slapping her buttocks, all wearing large lotus blossoms on their heads, walking and dancing their way behind a gazelle and a bovid towards a Hathor shrine flanked by lotus blossoms on a Ptolemaic steatite bowl combines motifs similar to the animal musicians at beginning of the pTurin 55001 procession (scene X+2, see Table 1) and sexual revelry, especially the female display during the procession to Bubastis (to the temple dedicated to Bastet, the pacified form of the raging lioness manifestation of the Distant Goddess), described in Herodotus II, 60, the historian from Halicranassus being shocked that women revealed their sexual attributes while men remained covered, and specifically mentioning crotals being played.[204] A procession of musicians (men playing a lyre and pipes, a woman with a small barrel drum) and women offering lotuses also appears in a relief at Medamud, near the hymn to Hathor describing her return from Nubia, accompanied by drummers, virgins with garlands, and dancers, and welcomed by monkeys, apes, griffins, foxes, and hippopotamus goddesses dancing for joy during the nocturnal festival of drunkenness.[205] The opening scenes of pTurin 55001 depict a similar procession welcoming Hathor back to the west bank in Thebes.

In the Eighteenth Dynasty it seems one location for nocturnal drinking was in the Hathoric porch at the Mut temple, and later in the temple's forecourts.[206] Bryan suggests the aim was to achieve a liminal state of drunkenness in which one might hope to have a vision of the goddess.[207]

Another location for drinking parties was perhaps at the tomb, where banquets could have taken place more than once a year.[208] Bryan suggests these visits could have taken place during the Feast of the Valley, but Hathor was not a deity featured in this celebration in which barques of the Theban triad headed by Amun headed processions that visited the royal memorial temples on the west bank. It occurred in early summer, the hottest, driest time of the year, when the Nile reached its annual low in advance of the mid-summer inundation, and when an appeal for rather than a celebration of the renewal of life would seem more logical. Another possible occasion would have been during the feast of Hathor in Khoiak (see above), at the end of the inundation season when new vegetation was beginning to sprout from the land watered and fertilized by the silt-laden flood, a period of renewal of life worthy of celebration. Some of the banquet scenes in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs may depict such occasions when relatives visited the tomb to bring renewed fertility to the deceased in the afterlife through their revelry. The drinking scenes include the group of musicians seen in

202 Morenz 2006, pp. 58–50.

203 Hussein 2016, pp. 13, 15, 71, 1989.6, pls. 35e, 39. For photographs and drawings of the scenes on both bowls, see conveniently Wicke 2010, pp. 114–115, Abb. 1, 2 (the Cypriot silver bowl), 118–119, Abb. 3–4 (the Nimrud gold bowl).

204 BM EA 47992, photo at https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA47992; Shore 1964-1965.

205 Emerit 2013, p. 2, fig. 2; Darnell 1995.

206 Bryan 2014, pp. 103, 106.

207 Bryan 2014, pp. 107, 111, 115.

208 Bryan 2014, p. 112.

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animal form in scene X+2 on pTurin 55001 and nude dancers, so perhaps animal stories were told as part of the entertainment at these parties. It is perhaps not accidental that the text of one of the best-known "songs of the harper" which were sung at these banquets is included on pChester Beatty (part of Amunakhte (v)'s archive), which also contains a large selection of love songs. Richter suggests that the festival might have been repeated twice a year, once at the time of the rise of the inundation in the month of Thoth, again at the beginning of the sowing season in Tybi.[209]

As suggested previously by the present author,[210] at least some of the tomb scenes associated with a *hrw nfr* holiday are connected with the Hathoric feast of drunkenness (*thy*) and sexual activity in the marshes at the desert margins through which the goddess returns to the west bank at Thebes when the onset of the inundation refreshed the land each summer. In this connection one may note that the base of the walls of the Ptolemaic porch at Medamud in which the hymn to Hathor as the returning goddess is carved is decorated with marsh plants. Demotic texts of the period also refer to sexual activities in the marshes during the *hrw nfr* holiday.[211]

The songs of the sycomore fig in pTurin 1966 (part of the Drovetti collection) refer to preparing a bower for a lovers' tryst and the lover and the beloved spending three days together drinking, eating, and engaging in amorous activity. One of the songs of the sycomore fig tree on pTurin 1966 includes a verse in which the tree invites the beloved to spend a holiday cavorting with young women in the countryside beneath its shade, the kiosk later being described as a beer house "riotous with drunkenness" in which she gets her companion drunk while she is with him:

"Come and spend a moment among the girls,
For the countryside is at its best,
And there is a kiosk and a pavilion beneath me.
The gardeners will rejoice and revel like children
When they see you."[212]

A similar setting seems to be shown in the erotic section of pTurin 55001 (also from the Drovetti collection). A bower is indicated by the mandrake leaf separating the two sections of the papyrus and the convolvulus vine in scenes 1 and 2 (see Table 2). There are drinking vessels scattered in the background, as in the animal section, the man in scene 1 carries what appears to be a leather container for drink, seen also behind the man lying under the bed in scene 6 (and above one of the canids in scene X+7, see Tables 1 and 2), and a long-necked flask is held by the man in scene 2 and it appears again beneath the stool on which the woman is seated in scene 3 (see Table 2).

In a recent paper Darnell[213] further develops the theme of the connection of the love songs from Deir el-Medina with the cult of Hathor and the festival of *thy* and sexual encounters

209 Richter 2016, p. 3, n. 7.
210 Sheikholeslami 2015b, pp. 82–83.
211 Jasnow, Zauzich 2017; Jasnow, Smith 2015; Jasnow, Smith 2010-2011; Depauw, Smith 2004.
212 Simpson (ed.) 2003, pp. 321–322 (29).
213 Darnell 2016.

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in the marshes.[214] The Middle Kingdom story of the encounter of the herdsman with a furry emanation of the goddess returning through the marshes emphasizes the connection of these stories and songs as well as the images on pTurin 55001 with the non-elite members of Theban society.[215] Encounters in the marshes are also a theme of the Third Intermediate Period faience chalices from Hermopolis, probably another entry point for the Distant Goddess and/or her companions Thoth and Tefnut, venerated there, coming into the Nile valley from the desert.[216]

Reveleries and pTurin 55001

Kessler also discussed pTurin 55001 in connection with the *hrw nfr* holiday.[217] He rejected Brunner-Traut's idea that the first section was connected to animal fables,[218] since many of the animal figures in the papyrus and on figured ostraca refer to compositions known from temple or tomb scenes, as Omlin had noted, and also did not agree with her attempt to combine the idea of comic fables with social criticism,[219] the other theme seen in the animal scenes by many scholars, following Champollion's interpretation. Kessler understood the Turin papyrus as a record of the symbolic reenactment of the myth of rejuvenation of Horus at the time of the Egyptian new year, another example of cyclic renewal.

The meaning of spending (*ỉr*) a *hrw nfr*, literally "a beautiful (i.e., festive, happy) day," "following one's heart" (*šms ỉb*) and its cultic signigicance has now been elucidated on the basis of several Demotic documents. In a series of articles the authors Depauw and Smith,[220] Jasnow and Smith,[221] and Jasnow and Zauzich[222] point out that drunkenness, music, dance and eroticism are closely linked in Egyptian culture, and that "roaming the marshes" (*sꜣb sš*) is a euphemism for indulging in erotic pleasures (i.e., sexual encounters),[223] although not cultic sex.[224] We may wonder whether the marshes choked with vegetation might also symbolize moist pubic hair of a sexually aroused person.

We should also note that the goddess herself appears in the papyrus thickets in the marshes as a nude woman on a duck boat. At Deir el-Medina, a couple on a duck boat appear entering a papyrus thicket following a scene of trampling grapes and amphorae for wine on the same wall as a Hathor chapel in a garden which includes sycomore fig trees, mandrakes, and a pond with papyrus and lotuses growing in it in TT 217 (Ipuy).[225] The duck boat is also represented on the so-called "votive beds" (probably some sort of stands or altars) found at various locations in Thebes, where the nude goddess standing in her duck boat is often flanked by figures of Bes.[226] As has been noted above, the duck boat is also featured in the processions in marshy settings

214 Darnell 2016.
215 Darnell 2010a.
216 Tait 1963.
217 Kessler 1988.
218 Brunner-Traut 1968.
219 Brunner-Traut 1979.
220 Depauw, Smith 2004.
221 Jasnow, Smith 2010-2011; Jasnow, Smith 2015.
222 Jasnow, Zauzich 2017.
223 Depauw, Smith 2004, pp. 80, 86, n. 80.
224 Jasnow, Smith 2010-2011, pp. 48, 50.
225 TT 217 garden with chapel and duck boat copy by Davies No. 1927, pls. XXVIII, XXX.
226 Del Vesco 2010; Teeter 2010.

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associated with the feast of drunkenness depicted on silver and gold bowls and described by Herodotus. On lotiform faience chalices from Hermopolis, location of a temple dedicated to Tefnut who fetches and accompanies the Distant Goddess; back from Nubia, the marsh environment is a prominent feature of the decoration.[227]

The marshy environment where drunken encounters with the goddess might occur could be referenced in the location for ritual drinking leading to liminal visions of the goddess: a temple hypostyle hall or portico with its thicket of papyrus columns, a representation of the primeval swamp,[228] as at Philae, or the papyrus and lotus decoration of the dado, as at Medamud.

The goddess is the Eye of the Sun, so she may also be manifest as the sun with its annual shift south and north coinciding with the solstices in mid-summer and mid-winter, or as the brightest star in the sky, Sirius, with its heliacal reappearance in mid-summer also coinciding with the rise of the annual inundation.[229] The goddess' return was celebrated with the revelries of the festival of drunkenness (*ḥb tḥ*), celebrated on 20 Thoth.

Interpreting the content of pTurin 55001

Among more recent interpreters of the papyrus, O'Connor insisted that the two parts of the papyrus be considered together as a work of art, intended for elite private consumption, not merely illustrations, with high quality draughtsmanship, and without reference to the secondary graffiti, added at some later undetermined time.[230] He argued that the scenes are not satire, but parody for the sake of amusement of a (well-educated and sophisticated) elite audience. The layout of the papyrus must have been carefully pre-planned, indicating a conceptual integrity, with about one-third allocated to the animal scenes and two-thirds to the human scenes. Like Omlin, O'Connor divides the human part into 12 scenes (see Table 2). Ten groups of animal scenes are in two registers (Omlin saw X+15 scenes, see Table 1), each one of which O'Connor views as a narrative. The upper register, read from left to right, depicts prisoners being led from the left towards an architectural feature, and then interactions between more prisoners and other animals. In both cases one of the prisoners is headed towards execution. This group ends with an offering table heaped with animal parts, with an ass overseeing the events. To the right of these scenes is an orchestra, with the lion and ass singing. The right end of the upper register is too fragmentary to understand. The lower register, also to be read left to right in O'Connor's opinion, has scenes of combat: two animals engaged in mock combat, a mouse in a chariot drawn by two hunting dogs shooting down unresisting felines, and finally mouse archers shooting at feline defenders of a walled town while others prepare to use a ladder to scale the walls. Next a hippopotamus in a tree fends off a large bird trying to collect the fruit. Then a feline is attacked by a bird with other birds behind it herded by a feline. The final scene is an animal in conflict with a bird. Not only do the animals perform actions only possible for humans, but the natural roles of the animals themselves are often reversed: a double inversion of reality. Originally the scenes were symmetrically arranged around a vertical axis, with the prisoner and chariot and siege scenes

227 Tait 1963.
228 Depauw, Smith 2004, p. 89, following Darnell 1995, pp. 49, 52, n. f.
229 Jasnow, Smith 2015, pp. 36–40.
230 O'Connor 2011.

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on the left comparable to what might usually be found in New Kingdom temple reliefs, while those on the right are reminiscent of Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tomb scenes. In the human section, in O'Connor's view, the avoidance of representation of explicit sexual acts and typical representation of couples well-matched in age and attractiveness in Egyptian artistic decorum is reversed by the graphically rendered public sexual activity by old, scruffy, low-status men with grotesquely enlarged phalli matched with much younger, more attractive women whose social status is ambiguous. The love songs known from Deir el-Medina may also have been objects of this visual parody. He concludes that the symmetrical arrangement of scenes in each part of the papyrus as well as the symmetrical principles evident in the individual scenes indicate an accomplished artist and qualify the papyrus as a work of art. O'Connor seems at pains to demonstrate that the papyrus belongs exclusively to the elite milieu. He notes that Omlin saw the organization of the human section as similar to the Book of the Dead and of the papyrus as a whole to the so-called Mythological Papyri, but O'Connor doesn't agree that evocation of the religious content was intended despite the partial formal similarities. We may note, however, that if one assumes a single viewer unrolling and rerolling the papyrus across his lap (usually from right end to left end, in the normal direction of reading from right to left) as he views each section (about 50 cm visible at one time), the viewer's response to the composition would differ from the artist's conception suggested by O'Connor.

In his 2013 *L'Art du contour* exhibition catalogue essay, Pascal Vernus regards pTurin55001 as a unit symmetrically framed by a tomb entrance on upper right and a nude woman on an inclined plane at the lower left, which he compares to the cliffs on either side of the Nile valley,[231] although he does not further elaborate any significance to this setting. Vernus concludes that what links the two parts of the papyrus designed as a unit is the pleasure of transgression: the animal parodies transgress the barriers which separate animal from human and the normal relations among animals, and marginally the reverence due to institutions. What he terms the pornographic scenes transgress the rules of propriety that govern the world of the elite, prohibiting the exhibition of sexual practices. This transgression is deliberately mobilized and oriented for fun, laughter, distraction, a temporary suspension of, reversal of, and inversion of rules and hierarchies. The Turin papyrus simply illustrates the need of a society to find loopholes at the margins so the decorum is temporarily abolished. In Vernus' opinion, for the entertainment of the elite, the Turin papyrus meets this need, which for the general public is met by festivals, particularly those of goddesses. (This point accords with Morris' view of the function of humor, combining laughter and fear in a festival that incorporates taboo-breaking behavior.[232]) Understanding the scenes as pornography imposes a modern view like Champollion's on the images that would not have been shared by the ancient viewer, as we have discussed above. Depicting sexual encounters was not within the decorum of temple and tomb art, but was quite acceptable in informal expressions in graffiti and on ostraca.

231 Vernus 2013a. See Vernus 2009-2010 for a detailed discussion of his theory of musical notation applied to Egyptian culture, especially decoration of tomb chapels, termed strategies of *épure* (the ideal type reduced to its bare essentials, associated with the "patrician") vs. *appogiature* (anything that deviates from *épure*, introducing dissonance and notes of derision, associated with underlings—both human and animal—dominated by the "patrician," and making the ideal-typical *épure* scenes more appealing to the general public). If this distinction is valid for the decoration of tomb chapels, one may wonder whether it is applicable to pTurin 55001, which had a very different function.

232 Morris 2023, pp. 68–69.

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In his 2013 essay about the "animal parodies" on ostraca and papyri, Vernus stresses the animals act as humans but the attitude towards their actions is derisive, and this is the source of humorous parody.[233] Creatures engage in human acts, or show unnatural relationships with each other. With respect to pTurin 55001, Vernus points, for example, to the singing musicians as being creatures known to produce horrible sounds—the braying of the wild ass, the roar of the lion, the hiss and bellow of the crocodile. A cat dressed in a long kilt holds the crook and flail, divine/royal implements. A small bovid standing on its hind legs holds a *wꜣs*-scepter, symbol of divine and royal authority. Cat-soldiers defend their fortress against rats armed wth bows, spears and shields. A crow, wings spread wide, needs a ladder to reach the branches of a sycomore fig tree (*n.b.*: identified with the tree goddess, frequently identified as Hathor, but here shown as a hippopotamus associated with Taweret) to rob it of its fruit. A chariot ridden by rats is pulled by dogs. A gazelle (*n.b.*: an animal associated with the goddess Hathor) appears to be brewing beer (the beverage, specially colored red, designated for Hathoric festivals by Ra in "The Destruction of Mankind"). Creatures depicted as themselves, such as a gaggle of farmyard geese, are herded by a cat acting as a human. What some commentators see as amusing images are cast in a negative light by Vernus.

In his 2013 exhibition catalogue essay, Vernus emphasizes that the scenes in the second part of the papyrus are pornographic.[234] He views the animals as behaving like humans and the humans behaving like animals, demonstrating a repertoire of positions in a brothel with professional prostitutes for comic effect (*n.b.*: as we have noted above, there is no evidence for professional prostitutes or a brothel at Deir el-Medina; see Table 2 and Table 4 for the sexual acts).

Vernus supposes that the artist of pTurin 55001 wanted to characterize the customers in the brothel as rough louts in order to distance these erotic activities from the elite, since elite decorum (strategy of *épure*) generally proscribes explicitly sexual representations. Vernus posits that since the antics in pTurin 55001 are obscene (offensive), to make them consumable by the elite for whom he assumes the papyrus is intended, the elite had to be clearly distanced from the coarse and vulgar lechers (strategy of *appogiature*). The elite could then derive pleasure with a clear conscience, even more so since the women are offered up for admiration according to the best standards of representing females, enough to reinforce the fantasies that their activities aroused. (*N.b.*: Vernus does not explain how the representations of the women are acceptable according to elite decorum even though they are engaged in explicit sexual activities with the men.) Apparently the elite men only need to distance themselves from the male patrons of the brothel, not from the supposed prostitutes. Perhaps since the representations of the women are linked to those of serving women and dancers at drinking parties in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb paintings, they were acceptable to elite male decorum. It may be observed that these images also occur on ostraca and in graffiti that were accessible to all levels of society, and that sex in ancient Egypt was not limited to the so-called vulgar classes.

233 Vernus 2013b. See also Vernus 2009-2010 for elaboration of this strategy of *appogiature*.
234 Vernus 2013a. See note 236 below for definitions of pornographic and erotic.

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Omlin Scene Number	Parallel media, with brief description
1	Wadi Hammamat graffito: woman bends at right angle to the ground with her head turned up towards the man behind her who inserts his phallus from behind (p. 44, fig. 32); *coitus a tergo* in graffito from scribes' grotto at Deir el-Bahari (p. 55, fig. 46); *coitus a tergo* on two ostraca in private collection (p. 55, figs 47, 48); *coitus a tergo* O.BM EA 50,714 (p. 61, fig. 53)
3	O.Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 23676: couple standing face to face with woman guiding man's phallus into her vagina (p. 19, fig. 9)
5, 10, 11	Drawing on wood (now lost), New Kingdom, found in TT 39 (Puyemra): woman sitting on a stool dangling a lute in one hand with her raised legs held under the man's arm while he penetrates her vagina, his other arm around her shoulders (p. 66, fig. 55)
8	pBM EA 10,008: god lying on his back on the ground with an erect phallus and woman/goddess arched over him supporting herself on her fingertips above his head and toes behind his feet (p. 52, fig. 43)

Table 4. Illustrations of Sexual Acts in pTurin 55001 in Other Media.*

* For drawings of the examples, see conveniently Manniche 1987, pages referenced in Table 4.

CONCLUSION

The so-called "Satirical-Erotic Papyrus" pTurin 55001, acquired by the Museo Egizio in Turin with the Drovetti collection in 1824, has been subjected to numerous interpretations since its fragments were first noted by Champollion. It has often been treated as if it were two separate papyri, but it is clear that the papyrus was prepared as a single scroll, although the different sheet widths might indicate it was made up of "remnants" from other papyrus rolls. The border lines around the four edges show that it was planned as a single field to be filled with images rather than text. The contents were originally exclusively pictorial; a few hieratic "secondary texts" were added at some later time. There are two main groups of subject matter, the first centering around anthropomorphized birds, a reptile, and animals engaged in various activities that recall actual scenes known from Egyptian art as well as themes that seem to be drawn from popular oral literature. The second subject is a range of explicitly sexual encounters between rather scruffy men and nubile young women who seem to be devotees of Hathor. The first group has often been interpreted as illustrations of animal fables, perhaps parodying human society. The second group has generally been considered pornographic, echoing Champollion's assessment that part of the papyrus was obscene.[235] Most previous studies have dealt with the two groups seperately without considering that they may have a common context.

In this paper, we have argued that both sections of the papyrus illustrate themes related to the celebration of the return of the Distant Goddess as Hathor, the Eye of Ra, to western Thebes at the time of the annual inundation in mid-summer at the new year. She left the desert for the Nile valley on the west bank Thebes in the form of a cow emerging through a thicket

235 The generally accepted definition of pornography is that it is material apparently intended not only to fulfill a specified sex-related purpose and provoke sexual arousal but that also dehumanizes or oppresses a class of people and endorses sexual violence, whereas erotic material has sexual content that endorses consensual sexual activity (Kohut 2017, p. 3). The sexual activities in pTurin 55001 are clearly consensual and although the men may appear to be non-elite, neither their status nor that of the women is indicated, there is no evidence in the sexual scenes that hierarchical distinctions, if any, were significant, and there is no violence. Thus the scenes should be characterized as erotic but not pornographic.

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of papyrus in the marshy area at the margins of the flood plain and the desert, then traveling as a naked woman through the marshes aboard her special boat with a duck-headed prow and duck-tail stern while processions led by horse-drawn chariots came to meet her while her devotees romped among the papyrus plants.

The celebrations were not formal temple rituals, but popular jubilation, known as the festival of drunkenness (*thy*), marked by telling the stories that had entertained the goddess on her journey back from Nubia bringing the fertile life-giving waters of the Nile with her. The inundation brought fertility and rejuvenation, so this happy event was celebrated with drunken feasting and revelry, and one can imagine love songs filled the air and dancers performed to musical accompaniment, while inebriated human partners cast decorum aside and sought renewed sexual arousal that would facilitate their own coupling in temporary bowers and pavilions set up in the countryside.

On the east bank of the Nile the returning goddess appears from the desert in which she has travelled north from Nubia as the lioness Sakhmet, associated with Mut, the consort of the royal dynastic ancestor god Amun, sailing on the *isheru*-lake of Mut's temple complex and later pacified as the cat deity Bastet, a prolific mother. There she is welcomed with more formal rituals allied to the important Opet Festival, depicted on the walls of the Tutankhamun colonnade in the Luxor Temple. Hathor's boat with duck-headed prow and duck-tail stern carrying her special jars of beer accompanies the barques of the Theban triad returning north to Karnak on the eastern side of the colonnade. A porch of drunkenness added to the Mut temple in the reign of Hatshepsut probably represented an area set aside for those whose inebriation would take them into a liminal state in which they might have a nocturnal encounter with the goddess herself in her temple.

Similar activities seem to have accompanied the Hathoric festival for the deceased in early Khoiak, a month which culminated with the reawakening of the god Osiris, which every dead person aspired to imitate. The popular image of the Hathor cow emerging from the desert through a papyrus thicket also is found as a vignette in Book of the Dead (literally Book of Coming Forth by Day) papyri designed to aid the rebirth of the deceased into eternity, just as the river water caused plants to grow in the fields of the floodplain once more after a period of dessication, allowing life to continue. At least in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb scenes, visits of relatives to the tombs on holidays occasioned banquets and drinking accompanied by musicians, singers and dancers to provide an atmosphere in which the afterlife of the deceased could be perpetuated. Love songs may have sparked a sexual energy the dead required to make their transition to eternal life and the "song of the harper," one version of which is included in a papyrus collection of love songs, was also performed during the banquets at the tomb.

The manner in which the Turin papyrus was laid out, similarly to illustrated Book of the Dead papyri of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and the fluid style of the drawings, betraying the influence of the Amarna style of painting as may also be seen in the tomb of Ipuy (TT 217), with many details common between tomb and papyrus, suggest that the papyrus was originally painted in the early Nineteenth Dynasty. Perhaps the papyrus was prepared for the use of personnel from the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medina, perhaps at the behest of the Hathor priest Ramose. It was no doubt kept in an archive of documents, probably at Deir el-Medina, such as those known to be the sources of literary papyri which were valued by the Deir el-Medina community, and passed down for generations. At some time perhaps in the later Ramesside period some hieratic

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"secondary inscriptions" were added to some of the figures in the illustrations, perhaps to identify them with members of the community who continued to engage with the images.

Egyptologists are accustomed to reading papyri using the system devised to render the Egyptian language in writing. However, the vast majority of the population, even in a specialized community such as Deir el-Medina, were not literate in the standard script. These "unlettered" individuals had to depend on "reading" not the pictographic hieroglyphic signs used for writing or the cursive hieratic script but the illustrations which communicated the activities perhaps arranged by the personnel of the Hathor temple at Deir el-Medina. The Turin papyrus may have belonged to an archive of a genre of papyri which communicated with illustrations rather than texts, such as the Turin gold mine map also acquired by the Turin museum from Drovetti.

It is clear that pTurin 55001 is not to be "read" in a linear sequence. It is perhaps arranged more like a hypertext conceptual or mind map that enables the user to follow different associations between images to recall the stories related to the animal figures and learn the sexual techniques used by the Hathoric women in the other part of the papyrus. Related images on ostraca—some of which seem to be painted in a similar style—could be arranged as a visual mind map or passed around in a group at a storytelling session for the same purposes.

Now that we have marked two hundred years since Champollion's discovery of how to read hieroglyphs and the two-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the pTurin 51001 fragments in the Museo Egizio, we have learned a new way of reading and understanding the Egyptian past to provide insights into popular cultural and religious activities not represented in the more formal hieroglyphic or even hieratic texts. The Turin papyrus lets us once again share the lusty joy of renewal and fertility celebrated by the Deir el-Medina community when Hathor arrived in Thebes at the summer solstice with the life-giving inundation to relieve the dry midsummer dessication. Practicing similar customs at the tomb at the time of the winter solstice and the beginning of the season of sowing agricultural crops would assist the deceased in successfully maintaining eternal life. We are a long way from the caricature and shocking obscenity Champollion described when he first viewed the fragments of pTurin 55001 in 1824.

ADDENDUM

In discussing new fragments of the "Tale of the Herdsman" (P. Mallorca I, frags. 2-4) and stela Louvre C100, Escolano-Poveda argues that there is not a sexual encounter with the goddess Sakhmet-Hathor, but rather an attempt by the lioness goddess, using erotic appeal, to raid some of the cattle in the herdsman's charge for food (Escolano-Poveda 2017, pp. 39–40; Escolano-Poveda 2022, pp. 124, 135–136, 138–139). One may note that the marshes in which the tale is set are the site of sexual revelry during midsummer celebrations of the arrival of the inundation, brought by the ferocious Distant Goddess coming from the desert into the Nile valley at Thebes as the lioness Sakhmet on the east bank in the Mut temple with its reed-rimmed *isheru* lake, and appearing as Hathor Eye of Ra emerging from the desert mountain on the west bank in her temple at Deir el-Medina overlooking the papyrus marshes at the edge of the floodplain. Nielsen (2023) suggests that Egyptians defied cultural moral norms during festivals of drunkenness to appease the Solar Eye goddess, thus maintaining the stability of the world.

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