Edited by
OLA EL-AGUIZY, BURT KASPARIAN

ICE XII

Proceedings of the Twelfth
International Congress
of Egyptologists

3rd – 8th November 2019
Cairo, Egypt

I

IV

HISTORY

Sherif Abd el-Monaem, Hanan Mahmoud[*]

The Naqada Period in Thebes

New Evidence

THEBES was inhabited from around 3200 BC. It was the principal city of Waset, the fourth Upper Egyptian nome. At this time it was still a small trading post. Memphis served as the royal residence of the Old Kingdom pharaohs and Thebes remained a rural pastoral area with village level communities located between the large settlements that functioned as the centre of major polities.

A comprehensive list of prehistoric settlement and cemetery sites identified in the Theban region has been compiled by Stan Hendrickx and Edwin C. Van den Brink as a part of their study of the prehistoric period.[1] On the west bank, 28 sites spread over about 15km. This distribution seems comparable to other regions of Upper Egypt where surveys have been undertaken. However, most of the sites are concentrated in and around Deir el-Bahari[2] and Armant[3]. It is highly likely that the original site distribution pattern has been obscured by subsequent intensive land use and construction in Dynastic times. In general, throughout Upper Egypt, Predynastic sites are located near the edge of the low desert on both banks of the Nile. In the Theban region, the desert edge on the west bank was later densely built over with tombs, temples, palaces and other large structures.

Little material evidence has been preserved in the Theban area from the Naqada civilization, partly because of subsequent building. These buildings include a series of large 'temples of millions of years' for the Middle and New Kingdom pharaohs, the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata, a vast artificial lake at Birket Habu, a Ptolemaic temple at Deir el-Shalwit and adjacent Roman houses.[4] Thus, it is probable that multiple sites of the Predynastic period have been destroyed or buried under subsequent construction. Despite the disturbance caused by later building activity, it may still be possible to distinguish some of the characteristics of the Predynastic sites on the west bank in the Thebes-Armant region, as distinct from other areas in Upper Egypt.[5]

1. HENDRICKX, BRINK 2002, p. 379.
2. DROBNIEWICZ, GINTER, Kozlowski 1976, pp. l2–l3.
3. TAKAMIYA 2008, p. 26.
4. TAKAMIYA 2008, p. 26.
5. TAKAMIYA 2008, p. 26.

The French mission working at Deir el-Medina found an animal burial, with small pits containing flints, and pottery vessels probably related to a Predynastic settlement. Some ceramic and stone vessels have also been recovered in Karnak[6] and at Tarif[7]. The extensive remains at contemporary sites to the north (Naqada) and south (Hierakonpolis), make it likely that Thebes also had sites from this period, now lost.

One striking feature of the region is the concentration of flint workshops in the Theban mountain area at Deir el-Bahari[8] and in the Valley of the Kings.[9] Eight prehistoric workshops located near the flint mines have been identified at Deir el-Bahari[10] along with five "Neolithic" workshops. In the Nile Valley, flint nodules occur naturally and ubiquitously in the Eocene limestone hills between Cairo and Esna.

In this paper we aim to shed further light on the archaeological remains in the Wadi el-Gharby based on recent work by the NKRF mission in the Western Wadis. These wadis have never previously been systematically investigated. Howard Carter's 1916 survey of the Western Wadis[11] subdivided the Wadi el-Gharby into three main areas designated Wadi E, Wadi F and Wadi G. In Wadi G Carter recorded prehistoric graffiti of giraffes and ostriches. These were subsequently recorded by Jaroslav Černý.[12] During recent work in Wadi G by the NKRF mission a group of pottery sherds from a beer jar and sherds decorated with wavy patterns painted in red, typical of the Naqada II-style, were found in a shelter near a fire. This paper will compare the other Naqada finds in Theban region, for example those from Deir el-Medina, with these latest finds.

I.   SITE LOCATION

The area under consideration is called Wadi G. Wadi G is the most westerly of the Western Wadis. It opens off the Wadi el-Gharby some 1000m south of Wadi F and 700m south of Wadi E. Wadi G is bound by a horseshoe-shaped range of cliffs 70m high in places and opens in the south where it adjoins the Wadi el-Gharby. The principal feature of Wadi G is a central tongue of debris running north-south, which subdivides the wadi into eastern and western areas.[13]

Carter drew several sketches of the western part of Wadi G and their interpretation remains difficult. He appears to have marked three possible shaft tombs and a possible cliff-tomb in this area. The position of the possible cliff-tomb, high on a shelf in what the mission has termed the 127-niche, is easy enough to discern. A Deir el-Medina gang sign in this location is marked with Carter's distinctive blue pencil. Of the possible shaft tombs there is no sign.[14]

6. Legrain 1903, pp. 24–25.
7. De Morgan 1897, pp. 4–5.
8. Drobniewicz, Ginter 1976, pp. 12–13.
9. Drobniewicz, Ginter 1976, pp. 12–13.
10. Drobniewicz, Ginter 1976, pp. 12–13.
11. Carter 1917, pp. 107–118.
12. Černy, Sadek 1971.
13. Litherland 2015, p. 21.
14. Carter 1917, pp. 107–118.

The western part of Wadi G was divided by the mission into five areas: Ga, Gb, Gc, Gd, Ge and Gf (fig. 1).[15] The mission's objective was to investigate systematically for the first time the archaeological remains in these areas of the wadi, to investigate the possible shafts and cliff-tomb suggested by Carter and the graffiti previously recorded by both Carter and Černý.

2. EXCAVATION RESULTS

Despite Carter's finding graffiti of Predynastic date in this area, it was interesting to discover specific evidence of human activity in Wadi G dating to the Naqada Period. This evidence appeared in the form of two potential huts in areas Ga and Ge, flint and sand stone tools, the charcoal left from three small fires on the bedrock (two in area Ga and the third in area Gb), together with Naqada II pottery sherds. Carter had recorded giraffes and ostrich graffiti on the cliffs in area Gb to the west of the 127-niche. However, the main concentration of graffiti in Wadi G is to be found in the 127-niche itself which lies in Ga. This niche forms a natural shelter which was reused in Coptic times, judging by the graffiti inside it, and it was at the mouth of this shelter that the principal Predynastic hut was found[16].

2.1. AREA GA (INCLUDING THE 127 NICHE AND THE SMALL "CAVE")

Area Ga contained a single room hut situated at the mouth, and to the east of the 127-niche up against the southern cliff wall. This measured approximately 1.70m E-W by 1.50 m N-S with an entrance opening to the west. Three flint objects were found there. One was probably a pot stand and one bears some signs of wear on side as though it has been used for smoothing or rubbing. A third small flint object, shaped like an apple core, has no obvious use. Another limestone object shows signs of wear and may also have been a tool of some sort. Here too a bundle of tied plant stalks were excavated directly on the bedrock floor of that hut. In addition, there were two sets of charcoal fragments, one on the sandy, silt floor of the hut, the other on the limestone bedrock to the east.

Nearby we found a Predynastic (Naqada II) decorated jar, decorated with wavy horizontal lines of red paint connected by vertical lines (fig. 2A).[17] This pot is representative of the oldest prehistoric activity recorded on Wadi G. These features were covered by silty sand deposits mixed with limestone chips that were containing material from a variety of periods including Predynastic Naqada II, Old Kingdom and Ptolemaic.

Also near this hut, sherds from another decorated pot of Naqada II date was found on the bedrock (fig. 2B). The sherds formed part of a globular jar with a ledged rim and two small vertical handles (Type D in Petrie's classification).[18] The jar was made of marl clay and decorated with red paint (10 R 3/1) on a beige background (5YR 7/3), the vertical lines imitating water. A few

---

15. LITHERLAND 2015, p. 73.
16. The full publication is in progress by NKRF team.
17. REGNER 1998, pp. 100–101.
18. PETRIE 1917, p. xxxvi.

non-diagnostic sherds of Predynastic date retrieved from the sandy silt and crushed limestone deposit may have been washed down from above. One of these sherds was from a black-topped jar (Petrie B group).[19] A single sherd retrieved from the bedrock level was from the flat base of a jar made of a very coarse fabric, also probably Predynastic.

2.2.   AREA GB

A small semi-rounded firing pit filled with charcoal flecks was found at eastern edge of this area on the natural surface of the bed rock near prehistoric graffiti (of giraffe and ostriches) and covered by two layers of desert silt mixed with limestone chips. The Predynastic period is represented here by an undecorated jar of ovoid shape with wavy handles made of marl clay (group W in Petrie's classification).[20] Only the shoulders of the vessel survive (fig. 2C). A simple bowl with a direct rim and made of a coarse fabric containing a high amount of straw, also found here, presumably dates from the same period. These objects provide further evidence of human activity in Predynastic times.

2.3.   AREA GC AND GD

These two areas contained few finds. In Gc some Naqada II pottery sherds and a simple bowl with direct rim made of coarse fabric were the only evidence of Predynastic activity. The thick debris layers in Gc seem to have been the result of chronic washing down of material from the cliffs above and these sherds may have been washed down from there. Area Gd produced only one sherd, which came from a Predynastic jar.

2.4.   AREA GE

Area Ge is located some 15–20m above areas Ga-Gd forming an elevated shelf against the eastern cliffs. Here a second, single-roomed hut (approximately 1.40m N-S by 1.20m E-W) was found built under an overhang on which there were various pharaonic graffiti. This hut was formed by the cliff to the east, two big limestone rocks to north and south, and two boulders to the west. In the south-east corner of Ge, south of the huta, a series of steps was uncovered. Naqada II pottery sherds were found sealed under layers of silt at the lowest level here. Two tree trunks, a wasp nest, a large quantity of leaves and a tree root (from a Toothbrush Tree—Salvadorapersica) were found here under debris fallen from above. Two layers of soil containing caprid (gazelle or goat) dung appear to postdate earlier activity in this area, which the pottery sherds connect with the Naqada II period.

19. PETRIE 1917, p. XXXVI.
20. PETRIE 1917, p. XXX.

AREA GF

Three different silty deposits were excavated here. A sealed Naqada II ceramic pot with two wavy handles and a mud stopper was found tucked into a small niche in the cliff just above a silty floor. This pot had been covered with palm branches and mud (fig. 2D). A small hole in this pot revealed linen and a large quantity of coiled string. The pot seems to have been deliberately placed or hidden here for some purpose.

3. INTERPRETATION

The clearance work in Wadi G provides evidence of a variable climate in the desert to the west of the Theban Mountain. Grass, tree remains, leaves, a wasp's nest, soil layers (composed of decayed plant material) and animal dung provide evidence, together with ceramics and other archaeological evidence, that it was notably wetter in Predynastic, Early New Kingdom and Byzantine periods, the three periods of activity in this wadi.[21]

Consideration has been given to the idea that ceramics found here might have come from a Predynastic burial. The black topped jar and the wavy-handled jars are both items also found in the Naqada II Gebelein man burial in the British Museum. However, no human remains were recovered in Wadi G. The graffiti, the huts and the shelter offered by the 127 Niche, the matching niche to the west (Gb) and the high shelf of Ge, all suggest more settled occupation of these areas associated with animal herding.

CONCLUSIONS

The graffiti in Wadi Ga and Gb suggest very early prehistoric activity associated with hunters familiar with ostriches, giraffes and gazelles. Other graffiti include cattle and possibly reflect a later period of animal husbandry also reflected in graffiti of cattle and cattle herdsmen found by the NKRF mission in the Wadi el-Agaala.[22] The discovery of settlement activity in Wadi G fills a gap in our knowledge of occupation related to the Naqada II period and connects it with sites already known from the nearby locations of Naqada in El-Tarif, Deir el-Bahari, Malqata south, Deir el-Medina, Haggar el-Dabia and Armant.[23] There is ample evidence in Wadi G of the presence of water in ancient times, a commodity that would have been essential for those tending animals and also essential for the animals that were the focus of the hunting activity. The natural shelters in Wadi G would have provided protection from adverse weather and security for animals and herdsmen from predators. The cliffs above Wadi G contain quantities of lithics (cores and debitage) but these have been disturbed by modern and ancient tufla collection. It is therefore difficult to assess the evidence for settlements in this area, but it is likely to have been even more fully occupied than the evidence from the Wadi G suggests.

21. Judith Bunbury, personal communication.
22. Bunbury, Litherland forthcoming.
23. Takamiya 2008, p. 26.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bruyère 1953
Bruyère, B., *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh (1948-1951)*, Cairo, 1953.

Bunbury, Litherland forthcoming
Bunbury, J., Litherland, P., *The Shaft Tombs of Wadi Bairiya*, vol. 3: *Landscape and Climate*, New Kingdom Research Foundation, London, forthcoming.

Carter 1917
Carter, H., "A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsuit and Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes", *JEA* 4, 1917, pp. 107–118.

Černy, Sadek 1971
Černy, J., Sadek, A., *Graffiti de la montagne thébaine*, Cairo, 1971.

Drobniewicz, Ginter 1976
Drobniewicz, B, Ginter, B., "Un outillage du site nº 20", in K. Kozłowski, Janusz (eds.) *Deir el-Bahari (habitat préhistorique)*, fasc. 1: *Travaux de la mission archéologique de l'Université Jagellonne en Égypte. ZeszytyNaukowe UniwersytetuJagiellońskiego*, 1976, pp. 42–63.

Eissa, Mahmoud 2018
Eissa., R., Mahmoud., H., *Preliminary Excavation Report Season*, 2018 (unpublished).

Hendrickx, Brink 2002
Hendrickx, S., Van den Brink, E.C.M., "Inventory of Predynastic and Early Dynastic Cemetery and Settlement Sites in the Egyptian Nile Valley", in E. Levy, T., E., Edwin C. M., Van den Brink (eds.), *Interrelations from the 4th through the Early 3rd Millennium BCE*, London, 2002, pp. 346–399.

Legrain 1903
Legrain, G., "Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak du 31 octobre 1901 au 15 mai 1902", *ASAE* 4, 1904, pp. 1–40.

Litherland 2015
Litherland, P., *The Western Wadis of the Theban Necropolis*, London, 2015.

de Morgan 1897
de Morgan, J., *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte. L'âge de la pierre et les métaux*, II : *Ethnographie préhistoríque et tombeau royal de Negadah*, Paris, 1897.

Petrie 1917
Petrie, F., *Corpus of Prehistoric Pottery and Palettes*, London, 1917.

Regner 1998
Regner, C., *Die Keramik Aus Naukratis Im Akademischen Kunstmuseum Bonn, Bonner Sammlung von Aegyptiaca* 3, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Takamiya 2008
Takamiya, I., "The Thebes-Armant Region During the Predynastic (Naqada) Period in Egypt", *Orient* 43, 2008, pp. 23–44.
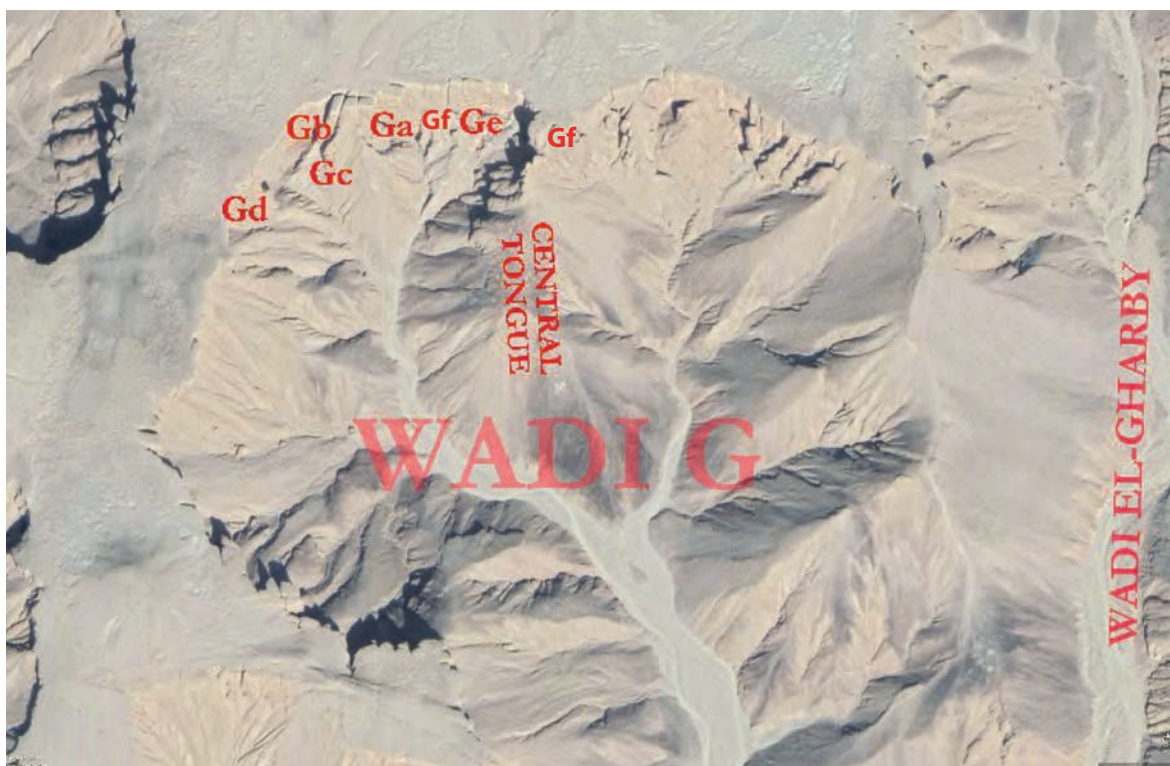
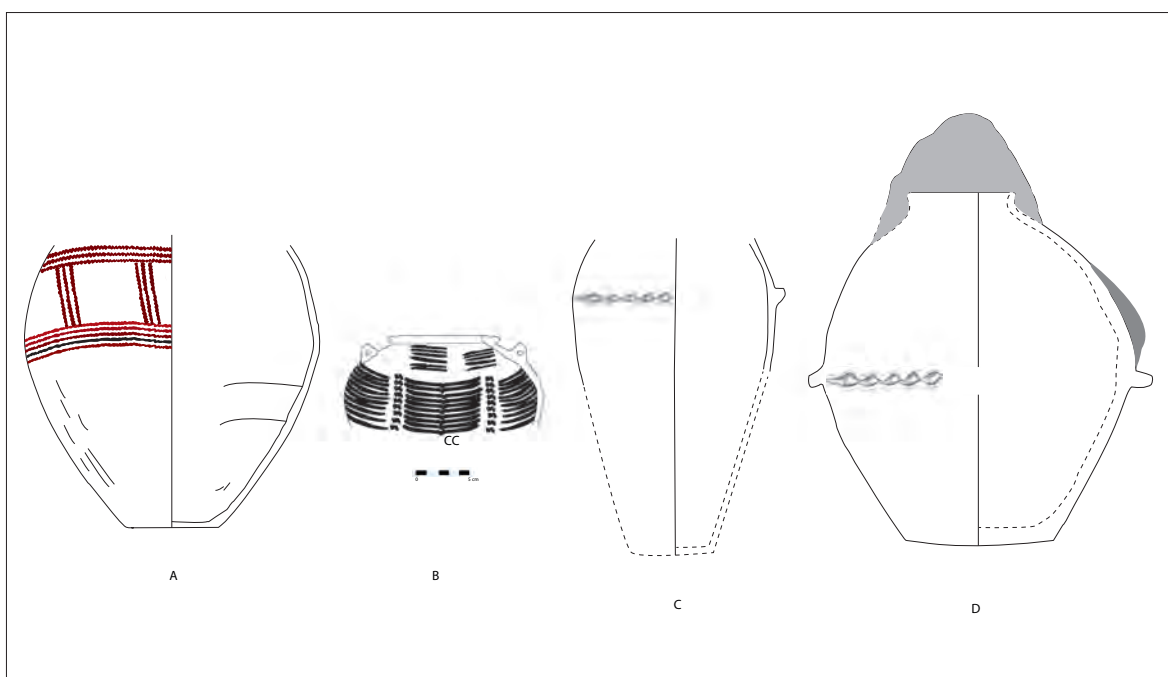**Fig. 1.** General plan of Wadi G excavated Areas.

Fig. 2. Examples of the Predynastic pot from Wadi G.

Galina Belova[*]

The "White Walls" of Herodotus

Herodotus (484–425 BC), collecting "historic" information, traveled through Egypt at the time when Egypt became a Persian satrapy. Although the timing of his visit, its itinerary and even the question of whether it took place at all remain a matter of debate,[1] the information gathered by Herodotus remains an important source on the history of Egypt of the Late period. During his travel through Egypt, Herodotus visited primarily cities that were heavily Greek-influenced, most notably Memphis, which had already been filled over with the Greeks. He stayed there for a long time and became familiar with Egyptian history by talking to the priests of the temple of Ptah and describing the places he visited and the events he witnessed.[2] Herodotus stressed that the Greeks knew exactly the history of Egypt since the reign of Psammetichus I, as they had close relations with their kinsmen who had settled there. He lamented that all he saw during his stay in the country were the capstans of abandoned ships and the ruins of the houses of the Carians and Ionians.[3]

The strong interest of Herodotus and other Greeks in Memphis is understandable, as Memphis played an important role in the economic, political, cultural, and religious life of the Mediterranean region.

Several facts about the Saite-Persian Period of Memphite history, reported by the Greek historian, are of particular interest to us. According to Herodotus' tradition, Psammetichus I created a powerful army using mercenaries from the Mediterranean world. The king gave preference to Carian and Ionian mercenaries in his efforts to strengthen his authority.[4] Herodotus also informs us that Greek camps were established between Bubastis and the sea on the Pelusian branch of the Nile.[5] These camps were occupied, until Amasis forced the Carian and Ionian mercenaries

---

[*] Research Director of the Centre for Egyptological Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

1. E.g. Jeffreys 2010, p. 5.

2. Herodotus, *The History* II, 99.

3. Herodotus, *The History* II, 154.

4. It should be noted that Herodotus, who informed us about the Carian and Ionian troops, came from a family of partial Carian origin. He was therefore attentive to information about people who were associated with him by birth. However, the Carians at that time were associated with the Ionians, Dorians and Aeolians (Masson 1969, p. 27).

5. Herodotus, *The History* II, 154.

("men of bronze")[6] to move to Memphis,[7] to help him accede to the throne of Egypt and to protect him from the native Egyptian military units, who were originally Libyans[8] and posed a potential threat to royal authority.[9] Herodotus also reported that the Persians, like the mercenaries, were housed in the "White Walls" of Memphis (ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι).[10]

So, which quarter of the city was named the "White Walls" by Herodotus?

An important factor in the location of the toponym "White Walls," which is well known from Egyptian written sources, is the fact that it remains in use in the Saite period as the name of the residence of Saite kings,[11] who resided at Kom Tuman. After expelling Apries, Amasis proclaimed himself king and was housed in Apries' palace. The Persians continued to use this name.[12] Thus, during the reign of Darius I the role of god Ptah was emphasized: "You unified both lands in the 'White Walls' as Tatenen, the most ancient of the primordial gods."[13] Therefore, the original meaning of the term "White Walls" did not change, and the place continued to be sacred to both the Egyptians and the Persians.

Heinrich Brugsch was perhaps the first to identify the Hellenistic toponym λευκὸν τεῖχος with the ancient Egyptian "White Walls." In his opinion the term "White Walls" refers to the quarter of Memphis with the citadel, where the garrison, including foreign mercenaries, was housed.[14] According to Émile Chassinat, Kom Aziziya was the quarter named the λευκὸν τεῖχος of classical sources, where the Persian garrison was housed.[15] This assumption has been backed by scholars in recent years. David Jeffreys has pointed out that the palace of Apries and its enclosure could be the Persian and Hellenistic citadel and fort known to ancient Greek writers as the "White Fortress", perhaps a survival or revival of the Egyptian name of Memphis "White Walls".[16] Pierre Grandet agrees that the toponyms "White Walls" and λευκὸν τεῖχος were synonyms and that they were the name of the capital and one of its quarters.[17]

However, the identity of the terms has not been proven, and the place name has not been located.

From 2003 to date, the Centre for Egyptological Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (hereinafter CES RAS) has been conducting excavations on the archaeological site located in the

---

6. Herodotus, *The History* II, 152.
7. Archaeological evidence contradicts Herodotus since some camps remained inhabited by Greeks in the time of Amasis (Lloyd 2000).
8. Lloyd 2000, p. 372.
9. Herodotus, *The History* II, 154.
10. Herodotus, *The History* III, 91.
11. It is known that the "throne" of Apis (i.e., his residence) was in the "White Walls" (Brugsch 1879, p. 837). The position of "Mayor of the White Walls" is also retained (Malinine, Posener, Vercoutter 1968, no. 172, p. 132; Moussa 1981, p. 331).
12. Posener 1936, pp. 94, 105.
13. Sandman-Holberg 1946, n. 206, p. 171.
14. Brugsch 1879, pp. 55–57.
15. Chassinat 1911, p. 147.
16. Jeffreys 1999b, p. 590; Jeffreys 2001, p. 374.
17. Grandet 2005, p. 167.

north-eastern part of Memphis.[18] We owe the first scientific research of the area to Flinders Petrie, who opened it up to science.[19] This unique complex holds a special place in the military architecture of the Late Period because it combines a fortified enclosure with the royal residence.[20]

The first excavations at Kom Tuman were performed in 1901-1902 by Albert Daninos-Pacha, who found a cache of bronze objects.[21] One of these was inscribed with the name of pharaoh Amasis.[22] In 1909–1912, Petrie conducted excavations in the territory of Mit-Rahineh[23], including the area of the Apries Palace.[24]

The excavation carried out by the CES RAS on the site began with its central part, where John Dimick, who drew up the general plan of the site in 1955, located a massive structure, the contours of which became the hallmark of the site and was included in numerous publications.[25]

During the excavation, it became apparent that the main building plotted by Dimick did not actually exist, as Dimick, relying only on visual observations, had incorporated the walls of several structures into one. In fact, beneath the imaginary walls of "Dimick's building" was hidden another large-scale mud-brick building, rectangular in plan, erected on a single plan and protected by massive walls (fig. 1).[26] The long external walls of the building's outer perimeter are clearly delineated and orientated on the north-south axis. Their tracked length exceeds 60 meters. The height of the walls, based on their thickness of 2.50m, reached probably 5–7m. The external southern and northern walls of the building have not yet been uncovered. The inner shorter walls divided the building into several rooms of different sizes and different purposes.

The massive defensive mud-brick wall, up to eight meters wide, ran parallel to the long walls of the building and protected it from the eastern side. Its length was traced to 150m. The preliminary survey let us assume that the building was also protected by a similar wall on the western side. The defensive walls were equipped with massive structures resembling bastions.

The eastern defensive wall was in direct connection with the wall of the building. Between these two walls, in the densely packed soil, household pits of various purposes were arranged. The well for drinking water was dug near the western wall of the building; a drainage pipe system was laid under the foundation of the building; toilets were arranged behind the eastern wall of the building.

---

18. Belova 2018. Hereafter, the toponym "Kom Tuman" will be used as the name of the Russian concession for convenience. Since 2015 the Russian concession includes the Palace of Apries. D. Jeffreys has done an enormous amount of work in restoring the ancient Nile riverbed and has tried to clarify and explain the development and topography of Memphis and its surroundings (Jeffreys 1985; Jeffreys 1986; Jeffreys, Malek 1988; Giddy, Jeffreys, Malek 1990; Jeffreys, Tavares 1994; Jeffreys 1999a; Jeffreys 1999b; Bunbury, Jeffreys 2011; Jeffreys 2012). Barry Kemp has introduced some clarity in the palace's architecture (Kemp 1977). A Portuguese team carried out excavations in several locations in the Palace of Apries (Lopes 2007; Lopes, Pereira 2015; Lopes 2010). However, only the results of excavations carried out by both Petrie and the Russian team on the grounds of the Palace complex of Apries allow us to draw conclusions on the localization of some toponyms.
19. Leclère 2008, pp. 63-64.
20. Smoláriková 2008, p. 55.
21. Daninos Pacha 1904.
22. Daressy 1902, pl. 4, 140.
23. Petrie 1909a; Petrie 1910; Petrie 1911; Petrie 1913.
24. Petrie 1909b.
25. E.g. Baines, Malek 2005, p. 136.
26. Belova 2018, pp. 1–22.

No doubts that the building was intended and well equipped for residence and service for a rather large contingent. The ceramics that were discovered in the trenches, under the walls of the building, under the floors of its rooms, in its brickwork, date from the time of its construction and operation in the Persian period.[27] Several other findings—seals and their imprints, some inscriptions, including on pottery, etc.—confirmed that the building was constructed and functioning during the Persian domination.

This conclusion is consistent with the material discovered during the excavations of the Apries palace by previous researchers. As presumed by Georges Daressy, the bronze objects found by Daninos-Pacha were most likely booty from Thebes, stolen during the military campaign of Cambyses.[28] Weapons and armour of Persian origin—scale armours, bone-handled sword;[29] the seals, and the inscriptions of the Persian period[30]—were found by Petrie in the palace of Apries. Many of them may be dated, according to Petrie, to the 5th century BC.

Nobles' burials of Persian times which were discovered at Saqqara support this statement.[31] During Saite-Persian period, the Memphite necropolis was used along its entire length, from Saqqara to Abusir.[32]

Evidence of a Greek presence in the palace complex of Apries during the Persian time can be traced everywhere. During the excavations by the CES RAS, many fragments of Greek vessels were discovered. Some assemblages contain a large proportion of Greek imports from the mid-5th to early 4th century BC.[33]

Many foreign coins, including Greek coins, were found in Memphis.[34]

Greek mercenaries were buried in North Sakkara and Abusir.[35] Greek funeral stelae dating from 550–500 BC were also found here,[36] including the Carian ones.[37]

The size of the building, its plan, and the presence of the necessary services for a large contingent point to an administrative nature, while the massive defensive wall protecting the building testifies to its military character. It is legitimate to identify the building as a military-administrative structure. The location of the building near the palace of the Saite kings shows its important role in the government of the country.

---

27. The great majority of the pottery examined dates from the second half of the 5th and the first half of the 4th century BC (corresponding to the end of the first–beginning of the second Persian periods) (Laemmel 2021).
28. Daressy 1902, pl. 4, p. 150.
29. Petrie 1909b, pp. 12-13. Petrie 1910, pp. 40–41.
30. Petrie 1910, pl. 35, 36, pp. 42-43.
31. Jeffreys, Tavares 1994, p. 159; Kees 1955, p. 101; Barsanti 1900; Saad 1942, p. 381; Drioton, Lauer 1951, p. 469.
32. Bareš, Smoláriková 1996.
33. Laemmel 2021.
34. Chassinat 1911, p. 147; Petrie 1911, p. 24.
35. Smoláriková 2002, p. 74; Smoláriková 2000, pp. 67-72. The Greek cemeteries discovered at Abusir led some scholars to suggest the existence of a Greek settlement near the temple of Nyuserra (Smoláriková 2000, p. 68, n. 6). See also: Smith, Jeffreys 1978, pp. 10–21.
36. Gallo, Masson 1993, pl. II, figs. 3-6, p. 269.
37. The Greeks were inhabitants of the Carian quarter of Memphis during the Ptolemaic period (Thomson 1988, p. 94).

All this evidence suggests that the fortified structure was intended to house administrative institutions that managed the satrapy that Egypt had turned into. Persians, who, being foreigners, considered it even more important to prove the legitimacy of their power,[38] built their main administrative building next to the palace of the native kings.

The walls of the building as well as the defensive walls were covered with a 5cm thick layer of mortar made of grinded limestone.[39] The surviving wall fragments look dazzlingly white, which explains the name of the citadel "White Walls".

Thus, Herodotus' accounts that the Persians and Greek mercenaries had settled ἐν τῷ Λευκῷ τείχεϊ τῷ ἐν Μέμφι[40] are confirmed by the material discovered during the archaeological excavations on the territory of the palatial complex of Apries. This conclusion is also consistent with the information left by Diodorus[41] and Thucydides.[42] Thucydides reported that the Persians and Egyptians loyal to the king were besieged in λευκὸν τεῖχος during the anti-Persian uprising of 460–454 BC. He underlined that the rebels first occupied two-thirds of Memphis and only then that attacked the remaining third, which is called "White Wall". Diodorus only stated that the Persians after losing the larger part of their army found refuge in the λευκὸν τεῖχος.

Thus, it can reasonably be argued that the "White Walls" of the Egyptian texts and those of Herodotus' tradition are synonyms for the palace complex of Apries. It incorporated the seat of the Persian administration of the satrapy and the Greek mercenaries.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAINES, MALEK 2005
Baines, J., Malek, J., *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, Cairo, 2005.

BAREŠ, SMOLÁRIKOVÁ 1996
Bareš, L., Smoláriková, K. "Saite-Persian Cemetery at Abusir (Situation Report for January-April 1995)", *GM* 151, 1996, pp. 7-17.

BARSANTI 1900
Barsanti, A. "Les Tombeaux de Psammétique et de Setariban", *ASAE* 1, 1900, pp. 161-166.

BELOVA 2018
Belova, G.A., "Preliminary Report on the Excavation in Memphis (Kom Tuman) in 2018", *Egypt and Neihgbouring Countries* 2, 2018, pp. 1–22.

BRUGSCH 1879
Brugsch, H. *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, Leipzig, 1879.

BUNBURY, JEFFREYS 2011
Bunbury, J., Jeffreys, D. "Real and Literary Landscapes in Ancient Egypt", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 21, 1, pp. 65–75, https:/www.cambridge.org/core.

CHASSINAT 1911
Chassinat, É. "Note sur un cylindre trouvé à Mit-Rahineh", *BIFAO* 8, 1911, pp. 145-148.

DANINOS PACHA 1904
Daninos Pacha, A., "Note sur les fouilles de Métrahyneh", *ASAE* 5, 1904, pp. 142–143.

38. See for example the way of writing Cambyses' name (POSENER 1936, p. 31).
39. These construction techniques are known from the Early Dynastic Period. Malek speculates that the name "White Walls" originates from the white plaster that covered the mud-brick walls. This does not contradict Kurt Sethe's view that the adjective "white" refers to Upper Egypt (MALEK 1997, p. 91).
40. Herodotus, *The History* III, 91.
41. Diodorus, *The Library of History* XI, 74.
42. Thucydides. *Historiae* I, 104,1.

Daressy 1902
Daressy, G., "Une trouvaille de bronzes à
    Mit Rahineh" *ASA* 3, 1902, pp. 139-150.

Diodorus, *The Library of History*
Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History*,
    C.H. Oldfather (trans.), Cambridge, London, 1954.

Drioton, Lauer 1951
Drioton, E., Lauer, J.-P., "Fouilles à Saqqarah.
    Les tombes jumelées de Neferibê-sa-Neith et de
    Ouahibrê-men", *ASAE* 51, 1951, pp. 469–490.

Gallo, Masson 1993
Gallo, P., Masson, O., "Une stèle 'hellénomemphite'
    de l'ex-collection Nahman", *BIFAO* 93, 1993,
    pp. 265-276.

Giddy, Jeffreys, Malek 1990
Giddy, L.L., Jeffreys, D.G., Malek, J.,
    "Memphis, 1989", *JEA* 76, 1990, pp. 1-15.

Grandet 2005
Grandet P., *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)*,
    BiÉtud 109/2, Cairo, 2005.

Herodotus, *The History*
Herodotus, *The History*, A.D. Godley (trans.),
    London, New York, 1928.

Jeffreys 1985
Jeffreys, D.G., *The Survey of Memphis I:
    The Archaeological Report*, London, 1985.

Jeffreys 1986
Jeffreys, D.G., "Memphis: Some Problems
    of Archaeological Survey", *CRIPEL* 8, 1986,
    pp. 43–7.

Jeffreys 1999a
Jeffreys, D.G., "Investigating Ancient Memphis,
    Pharaonic Egypt's Northern Capital",
    Archaeology International 3, 1999, pp. 24-27.

Jeffreys 1999b
Jeffreys, D.G., *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology
    of Ancient Egypt*, 1999, pp. 587-591,
    s.v. "Memphis".

Jeffreys 2001
Jeffreys, D.G., "Memphis", in D.B. Redford (ed.),
    The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt, vol. 2,
    2001 Oxford, pp. 373-376.

Jeffreys 2010
Jeffreys, D.G., *The Survey of Memphis VII:
    The Hekekyan Papers and Other Sources for
    The Survey of Memphis*, London, 2010.

Jeffreys 2012
Jeffreys, D.G., "Climbing the White Walls:
    Recent Experiences of the Memphis Survey",
    in L. Evans (ed.), *Ancient Memphis "Enduring is
    the Perfection". Proceedings of the International
    Conference held at Macquarie University, Sidney
    on August 14–15, 2008*, OLA 214, Leuven, 2012,
    pp. 221-236.

Jeffreys, Malek 1988
Jeffreys, D.G., Malek, J., "Memphis 1986, 1987",
    JEA 74, 1988, pp. 19-23.

Jeffreys, Tavares 1994
Jeffreys, D.G., Tavares, A., "The Historic Landscape
    of Early Dynastic Memphis", *MDAIK* 50, 1994,
    pp. 143-173.

Kees 1955
Kees, H., *Das Alte Ägypten. Eine kleine landeskunde*,
    Berlin, 1955.

Kemp 1977
Kemp, B.J., "The Palace of Apries at Memphis",
    MDAIK 33, 1977, pp. 101-108.

Laemmel 2021
Laemmel, S.A., *Kom Tuman II: Late Period to
    Graeco-Roman Pottery*, II, Oxford, 2021.

Leclère 2008
Leclère, F., *Les villes de Basse Égypte au Ier millénaire
    av. J.-C. Analyse archéologique et historique de la
    topographie urbaine*, BiÉtud 144/1, Cairo, 2008.

Lloyd 2000
Lloyd, A.B., *The Oxford History of Ancient Egypt*,
    Oxford, 2000, s.v. "The Late Period
    (664–332 BC)", pp. 372-373.

Lopes 2007
Lopes, M.H., "The Portuguese Archaeological
    Project at Memphis: The Apries Palace
    in Kôm Tumân", in J.-C. Goyon, C. Cardin,
    *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress
    of Egyptologists*, OLA 150/2, 2007, Leuven, Paris,
    Dudley, MA, pp. 1163-1166.

LOPES 2010
Lopes, M.H., *Mênfis (Kôm Tumân): o ‹rosto›
de Apriés*, Lisbon, 2010.

LOPES, PEREIRA 2015
Lopes, M.H., Pereira, T.R., "The Palace of Apries
(Memphis/Kôm Tumân): Brief Report of the
Fifth Campaign (April 2008)", in P. Kousoulis,
N. Lazaridis, *Proceedings of the Tenth International
Congress of Egyptologists*, OLA 241/1, Leuven, Paris,
Bristol, 2015, pp. 319-326.

MALEK 1997
Malek, J., "The Temples at Memphis.
Problems Highlighted by the EES Survey",
in S. Quirke (ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt.
New Discoveries and Recent Research*, London,
1997, pp. 90-101.

MALININE, POSENER, VERCOUTTER 1968
Malinine, M, Posener G., Vercoutter J., *Catalogue
des Stèles du Sérapéum de Memphis*, Paris, 1968.

MASSON 1969
Masson, O., "Les Cariens en Égypte", *BSFE* 56, 1969,
pp. 25–36.

MOUSSA 1981
Moussa, A. M., "A Stela of Taharqa from the Desert
Road at Dahshur", *MDAIK* 37, 1981, pp. 331–337.

PETRIE 1909a
Petrie, W.M.F., *Memphis* I, London, 1909.

PETRIE 1909b
Petrie, W.M.F., *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*,
London, 1909.

PETRIE 1910
Petrie, W.M.F., Meydum and Memphis (III),
London, 1910.

PETRIE 1911
Petrie, W.M.F., *Roman Portraits and Memphis* (IV),
London, 1911.

PETRIE 1913
Petrie, W.M.F., *Tarkhan I and Memphis* (V),
London, 1913.

POSENER 1936
Posener, G., *La Première domination perse en Égypte :
Recueil d'inscriptions héroglyphiques*, BiEtud 11,
Le Caire, 1936.

SAAD 1942
Saad, Y., "Preliminary Report on the
Royal Excavations at Saqqara, 1941–1942",
ASAE 41, 1942, pp. 381-393.

SANDMAN-HOLBERG 1946
Sandman-Holberg, M., *The God Ptah*, Lund,
Copenhagen, 1946.

SMITH, JEFFREYS 1978
Smith, H.S., Jeffreys D.G., "The North Saqqâra
Temple Town Survey: Preliminary
Report 1976-77", *JEA* 64, 1978, pp. 10-21.

SMOLÁRIKOVÁ 2000
Smoláriková, K., "The Greek Cemetery in Abusir",
in M. BARTA, J. KREJČÍ (eds.), *Abusir and
Saqqara in the Year 2000*, ArOr-Suppl. 9, Prag,
2000, pp. 67-72.

SMOLÁRIKOVÁ 2002
Smoláriková, K., *Abusir VII. Greek Imports
in Egypt. Greco-Egyptian Relations During
the First Millennium B.C.*, Prag, 2002.

SMOLÁRIKOV 2008
Smoláriková, K., *Saite Forts in Egypt.
Political-military History of the Saite Dynasty*, Prag,
2008.

THOMPSON 1988
Thompson, D., *Memphis under the Ptolemies*,
Princeton, 1988.

THUCYDIDES, *Historiae*
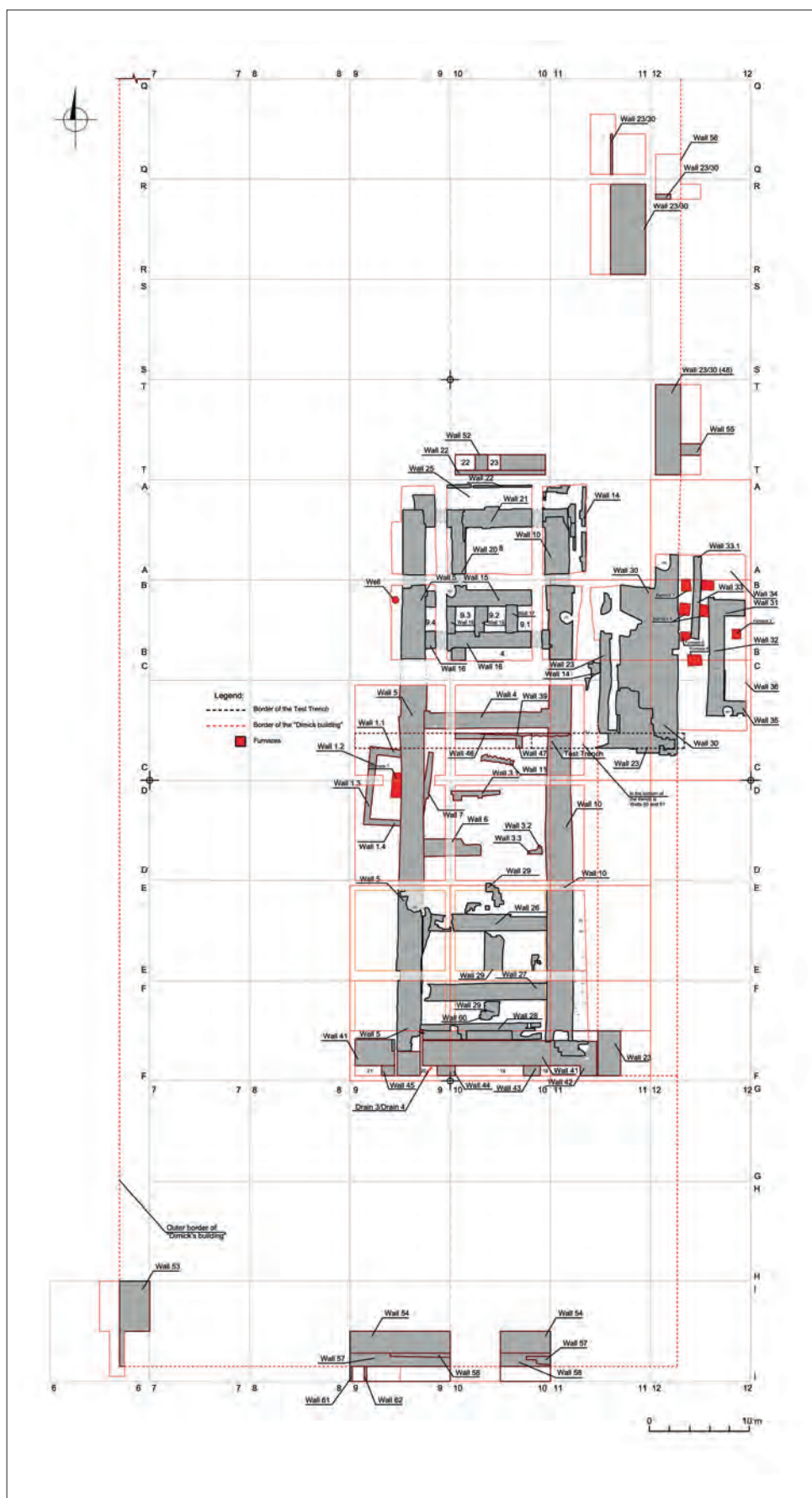Thucydides, *Historiae*, H.S. Jones (ed.), Oxford, 1942.

Fig. 1. Persian administrative building (Building Two) with defensive wall.

Ksenia F. Karlova[*]

On Certain Aspects of Seth Worship in the Oases

The Smaller Dâkhla Stela

THE HEYDAY of the Seth cult during the New Kingdom was followed by its decline, which began in the Third Intermediate Period. The evolution of Seth's image since that time was largely determined by the local characteristics of the different regions of the country. During this period, Seth was practically demonized in Egypt and his cult was curtailed. The main reasons thereof were that he came to be identified with foreign conquerors of Egypt and played a negative role in the myth of Osiris.[1] But in the oases of the Western Desert—Dâkhla (*Dzdz*) and Kharga (*Knmt*)—his cult was still practiced, albeit undergoing some transformation. Its features can be traced back to the Third Intermediate Period, when the main center of Seth worship was the city of Mut (Mut al-Kharab)—the capital of the Dâkhla oasis since the period of the New Kingdom. The ancient Greek name of this city was Μῶθις, whereas its ancient Egyptian name is uncertain.[2] During the New Kingdom, Mut al-Kharab developed rather rapidly. There was a temple dedicated to Seth there—possibly the most important ritual center of this oasis.[3] Fragments of the temple reliefs of Thutmose III, Horemheb and the Ramessid Dynasty and other remains suggest that the temple existed already during the New Kingdom[4]. In the Third Intermediate Period, it continued to function and was supplemented with new decorative elements.[5] As for the Seth cult, there is evidence of attempts to erase his name by replacing it with names of other gods already in the Late Period.[6]

Monuments reflecting the high esteem for Seth in the Dâkhla oasis include the so-called the smaller Dâkhla stela—a hieratic stela from the 25th Dynasty (reign of Pharaoh Piankhi)[7] bearing a message from Seth's oracle on the tenth day of the third month of the 24th year of Piankhi's rule. In the upper section of the stela, Seth is pictured with a falcon's head and an uraeus on his forehead. There is a solar disk above his head, and he holds a scepter-*wȝs*. To Seth's left is a deity that cannot be identified because this part is damaged, but presumably it may be Amon-Ra, who is

1. TE VELDE 1967, pp. 141–151.
2. WAGNER 1987, pp. 189–190.
3. HOPE 2001, p. 35; KAPER 2009, p. 158.
4. HOPE 2005, pp. 3–6.
5. HOPE 2005, pp. 4–6.
6. HOPE 2005, p. 5.
7. JANSSEN 1968, pp. 165–172, pl. XXV.

mentioned in the text. To Seth's right is a donor offering him flowers and fragrant water. The text of the stela indicates that a certain Ta-bia (*Tꜣ-biꜣ*), the son of Pai (*Pꜣi*), who is in office, makes daily offerings of five loaves in honor of his father. The offering on his behalf is made by the priest, the son of Ankh-khor (*ꜥnḫ-Ḥr*). Seth is endowed with the following epithets: *Swtḫ ꜥꜣ pḥty sꜣ Nwt* "Seth, great by his force, the son of Nut".

The smaller Dâkhla stela is very informative as it evidences certain changes in Seth's image since the Third Intermediate Period. Its content is notable, first of all, in that it reflects the veneration of two gods—not only Seth but also Amon-Ra, who is mentioned several times in the text as a revered god. Amon, along with Seth, was a very significant deity in the oases—in Siwa and Baharia he was worshipped as the supreme god;[8] in Dâkhla as one of the supreme gods along with Seth[9] whereas the temple in Hibis in the Kharga oasis, was solely dedicated to him. This is not the first monument where Seth and Amon (or Amon-Ra) are coupled. At the New Kingdom temple of Seth at Ombos, partly reconstructed under Ramses III, the priest Userhat (*Wsr-ḫꜣt*) added a door lintel, on which Amon and Seth are depicted sitting with back to back, Seth wearing the double crown of the Upper and Lower Egypt.[10] Above them there is a winged sun disk, and below them are intertwined Nile plants. The inscription on the left side reads: *[…] m Ỉpt n kꜣ n ḥm-nṯr n stḫ Wsr-ḫꜣt mꜣꜥ-ḫrw…*"[…] in Karnak for the ka of the priest Seth, Userhat, righteous by his voice…". The inscription on the right side says: *Stḫ nbwty nb šmꜣw nṯr ꜥꜣ nb pt sfy nfr rꜥ rdỉ ỉꜣw n kꜣ.k stḫ ꜥꜣ pḥty…* "Seth of Ombos, the ruler of Upper Egypt, the great god, the ruler of heaven, the beautiful child of Ra. Give praise to your ka, Seth, great by your force…". The connection between Seth and Amon, then, is explained by their status as state gods during the New Kingdom. In the oases, this connection remained relevant until the Graeco-Roman period.

Another monument mentioning the cult of Amon-Ra and Seth was found in the Kharga oasis and is supposedly from Thebes. This is a cubic statue dating to the interval between the Late Period and the Early Ptolemaic period.[11] The owner of the statue is Padiimennebneswttawy (*Pꜣ-dỉ-Ỉmn-nb-nswt-tꜣwy*), who was, among other things, the priest of Amon-Ra (*ḥm(-nṯr) Ỉmn-Rꜥ*) king of the gods, the priest of Seth in the southern oases (*ḥm-nṯr n Swtḫ n wḫꜣt-rsyt*), and the priest of Seth's staff (*ḥm-nṯr n p(ꜣ) mdw n Swtḫ*) in the southern oasis. Notably, the owner of the statue belonged to the Theban priesthood, as reported in the inscriptions on the statue, and performed administrative duties as Amon's scribe (*sš Ỉmn*), the scribe of the treasury (*sš pr-ḫḏ*), and the royal accountant in the southern oasis in Hibis (*wḫꜣt-rsyt ḥb*), for example, in the Kharga oasis. As noted by David Klotz, the fact that all these titles pertain to a single deity confirms the existence of close economic ties between Thebes and the Kharga oasis, witnessed in the period from the 30th Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic time.[12] The owner of the statue supervised economic activities in the oases, being the temple scribe of Amon in Karnak and the priest of Seth at the same time. This suggests that the cult of Seth in the oases had an official status, in contrast to the obliteration of his cult at the state level.

---

8. Guermeur 2005, pp. 423–425.
9. Guermeur 2005, pp. 435-437.
10. Petrie, Quibell 1895, pl. LXXIX.
11. Klotz 2013a, pp. 158–160.
12. Klotz 2013b, pp. 901–909.

However, some transformation of Seth cult occurs, as evidenced primarily by changes in its iconography. The image on the smaller Dâkhla stela is unusual—not only is Seth depicted with a falcon's head, but the solar disk is placed above it, testifying to Seth's connection with the solar cult. This is not accidental and this connection becomes particularly salient during the New Kingdom. The closest iconographic parallel is Seth as a human-like figure with a solar disk on his head, placed on a column in the Heliopolis temple under the reign of Merenptah, the 19th Dynasty pharaoh.[13] The pharaoh offers two vases-*nw* to Seth. Seth holds a khepesh and a scepter-*wȝs*, and his epithet is "The lord of the 19th nome *Wȝbwy*". The main feature of this image, as in the case of the Dâkhla stela, is the solar disk on Seth's head. His connection with the sun can be due to the particular evolution of his image during the period preceding the New Kingdom. The spread of Seth cult in the northeastern Delta became possible after the expansion of the Hyksos, who held Seth in particular esteem. However, the Seth cult was practiced before the Hyksos invasion, as evidenced by the mention of the temple of Seth in Heliopolis. As regards the Middle Kingdom, the scarab of Prince Nimaatra (*Ny-mȝˁt-Rˁ*) dating to that time bears the inscription: *ḫȝty-ˁ n Ỉwnw Ny-mȝˁt-Rˁ m ḥwt-ˁȝt Štḫ* "Prince of Heliopolis, Nimaatra, in the temple of Seth".[14] Another reference to the temple of Seth in Heliopolis dates to the New Kingdom. The inscription on the cubic statue of Hapikha (*Ḥˁpy-ḫˁ*) reads his title as: *… n kȝ n it-nṯr, ḥry-sštȝ n Ỉwnw ỉmy-r pr Rˁ sš wdḥw n nb tȝwy ḥm-nṯr Ḥˁpy-ḫˁ sȝ Nbw-ḥtp n pr Štḫ m (?) Ỉwnw* "… for the ka of the God's father, the Master of secrets in Heliopolis, the warden of Ra's house, the scribe of the sacrificial table of, the lord of both lands, the priest Hapikha, the son of Nebhotep in the house of Seth in(?) Heliopolis".[15]

Seth's connection with the sun is also evidenced by the fact that on the stela he is depicted with the falcon's head. Before that, Seth had only once been depicted that way once, on a New Kingdom faience seal: Seth, wearing a double crown, and Horus, the same headgear, are shown as a pair.[16] Both deities are enclosed in a cartouche and stand on the sign of gold-*nbw*. However, unlike an image on a monument, this is the third name-title—the so-called "gold" name of the Egyptian king, so that the representation on the Dâkhla stela can still be considered the first monument depicting Seth with a falcon's head. The final transformation of Seth into a falcon god on the monuments from the oases took place during the 27th Dynasty. A relief from the temple of Hibis in the Kharga oasis[17], dating to the reign of Darius I, shows the falcon-headed Seth in a double crown, in the kilt-*šndyt* and two wings, piercing Apophis with his spear. The caption accompanying the image reads: *ḏd-mdw (i)n Swtḫ ˁȝ pḥty nṯr ˁȝ ḥr-ỉb Ḥbt ỉr.n.f dỉ ˁnḫ mỉ Rˁ ḏd* "The pronouncement of words by Sutekh, the great power, the great god, residing in Hibis. He has granted life, like Ra, forever". In the oases, Seth was depicted with a falcon's head beginning from the end of the Third Intermediate Period through the Graeco-Roman time. His cult retained its significance, but the animal of Seth had finally disappeared from the monuments. Also, on all the above-mentioned monuments from the oases, the Seth's name is spelled 𓋴𓅱𓏏𓐍 *Š(w)tḫ* in alphabetical form, without the determinant of Seth's animal, which was present on earlier monuments of the same provenance.

13. Sourouzian 1989, pl. 10a-b.
14. El-Banna 1993, p. 84.
15. Bergmann 1882, p. 41:4.
16. Van Rinsveld 1994, pp. 40–41.
17. Davies 1953, pl. 43, 77b.

There may be two reasons why the animal of Seth disappeared from the inscriptions on monuments, and both may be related to the attitude to Seth. On the one hand, the image of Seth had grown more negative, causing the debasement of his status and eventually to the banning f the image of Seth's animal and attempts to avoid spelling his name directly. For instance, on the victorious Piankhi stela, Seth is mentioned in a positive connotation, however not directly, as the son of Nut. The use of the epithet *s3 Nwt* is not accidental, but is associated with its application to Seth during the New Kingdom: … *s3 Nwt di.f n.k ꜥy.f* "… son of Nut, he gives you his hands".[18] In the written sources of the Late Period, the image of Seth is demonized, and Seth himself is exposed to various magical practices. These are, first of all, texts such as *The Book of Victory over Seth* and *The Book of the Repulsion of Evil* and those containing a description of the so-called "Ritual of four balls".[19] On the other hand, in parallel with the demonizing of Seth, he came to be rendered as one of the two patron gods of the royal power, endowed, like Horus, with the nature of a falcon.

In the oases, a peculiar tradition of venerating Seth as Sutekh emerged. The spelling of the name as *Š(w)tḫ* had spread since the New Kingdom as a local (Lower Egyptian) form of esteem for Seth. His traditional epithets during the New Kingdom were: *nṯr ꜥ3* (great god), *ꜥ3 pḥty* (great of power), and *nb pt* (lord of heaven). Particularly important with regard the rise of the cult of Seth is the epithet *nṯr ꜥ3*, the great god, which could refer to various gods, but had very early begun to be associated primarily with the sun, which emphasizes the initial use of this term along with the epithet *nb pt*, sovereign of heaven.[20] Particular attention should be paid to the way Seth was venerated on the "Stela of Year 400"—a monument to the Ramessides, who had chosen Seth as their patron god: *nsw-bity Swtḫ ꜥ3 pḥty s3 Rꜥ mry.f Nbwty mry Rꜥ Ḥrw-3ḫty wnn.f r nḥḥ ḏt… Swtḫ s3 Nwt ꜥ3 pḥty m wi3 n ḥḥw ḫr ḫfty m-b3t wi3 n Rꜥ ꜥ3 ḫmḫmt…* "… the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sutekh, great by his force, the son of Ra, his beloved, of Ombos, beloved Ra-Horakhty, may he exist forever and ever… Sutekh, son of Nut, great by his force in the boat of millions of years, humbling the enemies before the boat of Ra, great by his roar…". These epithets emphasize the nature of Seth (Sutekh) as the patron god of the royal power and the lord of Egypt, who receives his power through his connection with the solar god or by being compared with him.

In sum, the form in which Seth is venerated on the smaller Dâkhla stela highlights his hypostasis as a solar god. This is due to the significant role that his cult acquired during the New Kingdom. When his image began to be perceived negatively, this basic hypostasis receded into the background without being forgotten. As part of the ritual tradition of the oases, the motive for Seth's connection with the sun was transformed, whereby Seth as the protector of Ra and the patron of the royal power, acquired the features of Horus. However, Seth's image was multifaceted and his iconographic identity with Horus stemmed from his hypostasis as a winged god of heaven and sun, a parallel to Horus. These qualities could come to the foreground in certain periods of Egyptian history and contribute to the importance of his cult in the oases during the late period of Egyptian history,

18. Schäfer 1905, p. 24:79.
19. Schott 1939; Goyon 1975, pp. 349–399.
20. Берлев 2003, p. 7.

regardless of his demonization in official ideology. Apparently, such a distinction between the two hypostases of a single god was necessary because of the longstanding tradition of worshiping Seth in Dâkhla and Kharga, and this duality could be promoted at the state level.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EL-BANNA 1993
el-Banna, E., "À propos de quelques cultes peu connus à Héliopolis", *ASAE* 72, 1993, pp. 83–94.

BERGMANN 1882
Bergmann, E., "Inedirte inschriftliche Denkmäler der kaiserlichen Sammlung in Wien", *ZÄS* 20, 1882, pp. 36–43.

DAVIES 1953
Davies, N. de G., *The Temple of Hibis in Khargeh Oasis*, Part III: *The Decoration*, New York, 1953.

GOYON 1975
Goyon, J.-C., "Textes mythologiques II : les révélations du mystère des quatre boules", *BIFAO* 75, 1975, pp. 349–399.

GUERMEUR 2005
Guermeur, I., *Les cultes d'Amon hors de Thèbes. Recherches de géographie religieuse*, BEHE 123, Turnhout, 2005.

HOPE 2001
Hope, C.A., "Egypt and Libya: The Excavation at Mut el-Kharab in Egypt's Dakhleh Oasis", *The Artefact* 24, 2001, pp. 29–46.

HOPE 2005
Hope, C.A., "Mut el-Kharab: Seth's City in Dakhleh Oasis", *EgArch* 27, 2005, pp. 3–6.

JANSSEN 1968
Janssen, J.J., "The Smaller Dakhla Stela (Ashmolean Museum no. 1894.107b)", *JEA* 54, 1968, pp. 165–172.

KAPER 2009
Kaper, O.E., "Epigraphic Evidence from the Dakhleh Oasis in the Lybian period", in G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, O.E. Kaper (eds), *The Libyan Period in Egypt, Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st–24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25–27 October 2007*, EgUit 23, Leiden, 2009, pp. 149–159.

KLOTZ 2013a
Klotz, D., "A Theban Devotee of Seth from the Late Period – Now Missing: Hannover, Ex-Museum August Kestner, Inv. S. 0366", *SAK* 42, 2013, pp. 155–180.

KLOTZ 2013b
Klotz, D., "Administration of the Deserts and Oases: first millennium B.C.E.", in J.C. Moreno Garcia (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104, Boston, Leiden, 2013, pp. 901–909.

PETRIE, QUIBELL 1895
Petrie, W.M.F., Quibell, J.E., *Naqada and Ballas*, London, 1895.

SCHÄFER 1905
Schäfer, H., *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopenkönige*, Heft 1: *Siegesinschrift des Pianchi, Traumstele Bruchstück Berlin 1068*, Leipzig, 1905.

SCHOTT 1939
Schott, S., *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts*, Heft 1: *Bücher und Sprüche gegen den Gott Seth*, Leipzig, 1939.

SOUROUZIAN 1989
Sourouzian, H., *Les monuments du roi Merenptah*, Mainz am Rhein, 1989.

TE VELDE 1967
Te Velde, H., *Seth: God of Confusion*, Leiden, 1967.

VAN RINSVELD 1994
Van Rinsveld, B., *Goden en godinnen van het Oude Egypte. Dieux et déesses de l'Ancienne Égypte*, Brussels, 1994.

Wagner 1987

Wagner, G., *Les oasis d'Égypte à l'époque grecque, romaine et byzantine d'après les documents grecs (recherches de papyrologie et d'épigraphie grecques)*, vol. I, Cairo, 1987.

Берлев 2003

Берлев, О.Д., "Два царя – два солнца: к мировоззрению древних египтян", in S. Quirke (ed.), *Discovering Egypt from the Neva: The Egyptological Legacy of Oleg D. Berlev*, Berlin, 2003, pp. 1–18.

Agnieszka Mączyńska[*]

Last 100 Years of Research on the Origins of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic Communities

THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH on the Lower Egyptian Neolithic began in the 1920s with the discovery of new sites in the Fayum, Merimde Beni Salame and Wadi Hof. Materials excavated from those sites clearly stood out among those known from other sites in Egypt. Archaeological works yielded the remains of domesticated animals and grains of domesticated plants, indicating the presence of subsistence strategies other than hunting, gathering, and fishing. By now, the Neolithic period of Lower Egypt has been researched for more than 100 years. Although our knowledge today is different from that of a century ago, the Neolithic is one of the least known periods in the whole history of Egyptian civilisation. The cultural map of the Neolithic Lower Egypt is full of blank spots, as all known sites probably represent only a small share of the actual presence in the region (fig. 1).

The timing of the discoveries of the main Lower Egyptian Neolithic sites had a major effect on today's idea of their prehistoric inhabitants. The culture-historical approach, widely accepted at the time of the discoveries, resulted in dissecting the Neolithic occupation of the northern Egypt into three isolated cultural units defined on the basis of a limited quantity of data. Nowadays, despite new findings we still use the cultural framework established in the early 20th century, feeding it with fresh data, the quantity of which continues to be limited. However, further research on the Lower Egyptian Neolithic should go beyond the concepts developed almost 100 years ago. Only in this way will we be able to understand the cultural changes that took place in the northern part of Egypt in the 6th and 5th millennium BCE and to identify the origins of the local Neolithic communities.

This paper is a short overview of approaches to the origins of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic communities present in Egyptian and Near Eastern prehistory over the last 100 years. Its objective is to highlight different narratives on the cultural changes in Lower Egypt based on a century of discoveries. The author aims to draw attention to the importance of the African background in the emergence of the Neolithic communities in Egypt by expanding the research context outside the core of the Near East and by integrating the eastern Sahara into the study. A broader research context and the overcoming of the deeply rooted assumption of the Levantine origins of Egyptian Neolithic communities are essential to understand the complexity of prehistoric occupation not only in Lower Egypt, but also in the Egyptian Nile Valley as a whole.

* Poznań Archaeological Museum, Poznań, Poland.

1.   EARLY STUDIES (FIRST PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

Among the sites recorded by Gertrude Caton-Thompson and Elinor W. Gardner[1] in the 1920s on the northern shore of Lake Qarun, particular attention was paid to the Neolithic locations (Kom W and Kom K), where remains of the activity of the earliest farming societies in Egypt were found. Pottery, bifacially retouched flint tools, grains of domesticated plants and bones of domesticated animals provided a basis for defining an archaeological culture referred to as the Neolithic A group/ Fayum A. Other assemblages from the area in question, containing neither pottery nor domestic objects but standing out for microlithic elements, were classified as the Neolithic B group. On the basis of the discoveries and geological observations, it was concluded that the Neolithic A group predated the Neolithic B group and that the Fayum communities regressed rather than progressed over time.

In the first part of the 20th century, Lower Egypt was *terra incognita* and the main aim of researchers working there was to understand the prehistory of this region. Also G. Caton-Thompson and E.W. Gardner (1934) focused primarily on the interpretation of finds and determining their chronology by comparing them against materials from other sites. However, the origin of Fayumian farming communities was considered to be of secondary importance and was mentioned briefly only towards the end of the publication. While the scholars admitted that in the light of agricultural knowledge it was reasonable to look for the origins of the Fayumian farming communities in the east, they eventually considered this option as "unpromising" and spoke in favour of the "autochthonous Delta origin" of the Neolithic groups inhabiting the shores of Lake Qarun.

A similar approach to Neolithic materials from Lower Egypt was followed by other researchers operating in the region, such as Hermann Junker (1929–1940) who explored the Neolithic site at Merimde Beni Salame. Unfortunately, his approach to the origins of the Lower Egyptian prehistoric communities was deeply rooted in the Nazi ideology and racial concepts could be easily recognized in his works even after the Second World War. At first, H. Junker believed that the Merimde Beni Salame settlement was established by Nordic descendants who had migrated to North Africa. Towards the end of his career, he even suggested that the prehistoric cultures in Lower Egypt developed locally and linked them to the existence of the Giza race/type—the ancestors of ancient Egyptians.[2]

The Neolithic sites in Ras el-Hof and Wadi Hof were also discovered in the early 20th century. The results of their brief explorations were published in 1926 by Paul Bovier-Lapierre,[3] who realised the importance of these discoveries. However, the publications did not focus on the origin of the local communities at all. Later on, the next excavator of the sites, Ferdinand Debono, suggested Near Eastern origins for the el-Omari culture.[4]

The 1920s saw the first publications by Vere Gordon Childe[5] featuring his concept of a Neolithic revolution. Newly discovered sites in Egypt with remains of domesticated plants and animals also

---

1. Caton-Thompson, Gardner 1934.
2. Köhler 2020, pp. 17-58.
3. Bovier-Lapierre 1926a; Bovier-Lapierre 1926b.
4. Debono, Mortensen 1990, pp. 80–81.
5. Childe 1925; Childe 1928.

attracted his attention as the best example of the Neolithic culture in Egypt.[6] They were compatible with the theory that assumed a gradual spread of new forms of social and economic life from a place of origin located in the Near East.[7] V.G. Childe considered it likely that domesticated plants and animals, as well as other Neolithic elements, were introduced to Egypt from the east. However, he noticed that the Asiatic elements had blended with local traditions, thus emphasising the autochthonous character of the Lower Egyptian societies.

The hypothesis of the Levantine origins of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic, once well established in the early stage of research in Lower Egypt, remained relatively unchanged in Egyptian prehistory studies until the end of the 20th century. The hypothesis assumes that new subsistence strategies and technologies were introduced to Lower Egypt by newcomers from the Near East. Surprisingly, also recent research on the origins of Lower Egyptian Neolithic has been dominated by hypotheses linking it to south-west Asia, although their proponents fail to agree on the size, cultural identity and chronology of the human groups that reached Lower Egypt, or on the reasons that forced them to leave their homelands. The Levantine Pottery Neolithic has been proposed as a possible source of the Neolithic package, but there is no agreement among researchers as to which cultural unit it should be linked to.[8]

2. MODERN STUDIES
(SECOND PART OF THE 20TH CENTURY)

The question of the origin of Lower Egyptian Neolithic communities in the Fayum returned in the 1960s. Studies conducted by the Combined Prehistoric Expedition significantly changed our knowledge of the Neolithic period in this region, including site chronology. On the basis of new C14 dates, a detailed examination of the stratigraphy of the site and the geological structure of the Fayum Depression, Fred Wendorf and Romuald Schild[9] proposed a new chronology. In their opinion, the Fayum B, renamed to Qarunian culture, predated the Neolithic Fayumian A culture and should be dated to the Epipaleolithic. The new C14 dates also revealed a 1,200 year occupation gap between the Epipaleolithic and the Neolithic, caused by a sharp water level reduction in the lake. F. Wendorf and R. Schild[10] suggested the arrival of external farming societies to the Fayum as well.

Another important factor in the research on the origins of Neolithic cultures in north-eastern Africa was the increased exploration of the eastern Sahara. Numerous traces of wild cereal use, domesticated animal remains and fragments of pottery vessels recorded at Early and Middle Holocene desert sites show that the Near Eastern model of the Neolithic is not the only model possible and that the elements of the so-called Neolithic package may have emerged independently of the influences from south-west Asia.

---

6. CHILDE 1928, pp. 51–63; CHILDE 1935, pp. 35–41.
7. CHILDE 1925, p. 23.
8. E.g. BAR-YOSEF 2013; SHIRAI 2010, pp. 312–314; TASSIE 2014, p. 194; STREIT 2017.
9. WENDORF, SCHILD 1976, pp. 157–228.
10. WENDORF, SCHILD 1976, pp. 317–319.

In the light of the discoveries from the 1980s, a particularly remarkable hypothesis was proposed by F. Wendorf and R. Schild,[11] who took into account their own exploration of the area of Nabta Playa—Bir Kiseiba and the Fayum (fig. 1). They linked the origins of the Fayumian culture directly to the migration of cattle-keepers from the Sahara and proposed that the sites at Lake Qarun were remains left by Saharan groups that "moved to the Fayum basin seasonally in order to fish".

The last decades of research conducted in the Western and Eastern Desert have contributed greatly to our knowledge of the communities inhabiting these regions. Attention has been drawn to the non-isolation of desert and oasis communities (and probably also those living in the Nile Valley) and to their long-distance contacts that accompanied their annual rounds through the desert.[12] Researchers have also identified correlations between the timing of certain events, namely: the beginning of the desiccation of the Egyptian Sahara; the large-scale exodus from the desert; the emergence of the farming community in the Fayum in the 6th millennium BCE; and the rise of human occupation along the Nile around 5,000 BCE.[13] As climate changes in the Sahara forced people to move to more favourable areas during the final part of the Holocene humid phase, Western Desert societies probably headed towards Sudan, but also the Nile Valley, the Nile Delta and the Fayum, using previously known routes.[14]

3. MOST RECENT STUDIES

The return of researchers to the Fayum in 2003 was another milestone in Lower Egyptian studies. Equipped with new methods and approaches, they focused on the transition between the Epipalaeolithic and the Neolithic in the Fayum and the origins of the Neolithic communities in the area. In the course of further research, new radiocarbon determinations indicated that human activity in the area continued from the Early Holocene until 6,000 BP. It became clear that the gap between the Epipalaeolithic and the Neolithic was not attributable to an actual occupation hiatus.[15]

The discoveries in the Fayum indicate that the lack of traditional settlement structures associated with a traditional farming society probably results from the movement of humans and animals across the region. According to Simon John Holdaway et al. (2016), many features of the Fayumian community bring this community closer to groups who occupied north-eastern Africa, rather than to the Neolithic Levantine societies. The mobile way of life linked to the exploitation of various resources was not conducive to permanent occupation. Although lake resources, including primarily fish, attracted people, their presence was related to the water level in the lake. The early Fayumian people were probably pastoralists herding domesticated sheep, goats and cattle.[16]

The 21th century has also seen a comeback to the area around Merimde Beni Salame. In 2013, a survey began in the Western Delta hinterland around the Neolithic settlement.[17] Particularly

---

11. WENDORF, SCHILD 1984, p. 428.
12. RIEMER et al. 2013.
13. KUPER, KRÖPLIN 2006; RIEMER et al. 2013.
14. RIEMER et al. 2013, p. 170; TASSIE 2014, p. 193.
15. HOLDAWAY et al. 2016; HOLDAWAY, WENDRICH (eds.) 2017.
16. HOLDAWAY, PHILLIPPS 2017.
17. ROWLAND, BERTINI 2016.

remarkable is the fact that, as in Fayum, the Neolithic community inhabiting the area was not fully sedentary, and probably utilised the area around the Wadi Gamal and exploited available resources for hunting, food processing and working tools.

CONCLUSION

Over the last 100 years of research, the narrative on the origins of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic communities has changed. It has been influenced by many factors, primarily the data available and the theoretical approach. Surprisingly, the early 20th century model of the emergence of the Neolithic communities in Lower Egypt, based on culture-historical approach, was used until the end of the century. Only the discoveries made over the last 20 years forced us to redefine the northern Egyptian Neolithic. However, such a redefinition would not have been possible without changes in theoretical approaches. By moving beyond the existing cliché of farming communities and embracing a wider cultural context including not only the core of the Near East but also north-eastern Africa, the uniqueness of the prehistoric Neolithic communities of Lower Egypt can be captured.

Egypt enjoys a special geographical and cultural position. It is both part of the Near East and the African continent. The lack of any significant geographical barriers between Lower Egypt and the eastern Sahara, or between Lower Egypt and the southern Levant, enabled the movement of people and ideas between these regions.

In the light of the latest research, the Neolithic groups of Lower Egypt did not resemble the typical farming communities known in the Near East area at that time. Enjoying the abundance of natural resources, they relied on foods offered by the environment. The lack of permanent settlement structures in this area has been interpreted as a manifestation of a partially mobile way of life. By moving, people were able to use natural resources, including food and raw materials.

The author suggests a scenario in which 'refugees' from the desert came to Lower Egypt with their cultural 'equipment' in the second part of the 6th millennium BCE. Due to the specific nature of the environment, they settled down and reduced their mobility to some extent. They moved within a well-known environment, relying on its rich resources, including food and raw materials. It is becoming likely that at a certain point in time they additionally adapted domesticated plants and animals into their subsistence pattern, thus supplementing whatever food resources were already available to them.[18]

The possible African roots of the ancient Egyptian civilisation have been mentioned by scholars from the beginning of the research. However, the hypothesis indicating the Near East as a source of the Lower Egyptian Neolithic became widely accepted in the early 20th century and dominated the subsequent decades of research. Suggestions linking the Lower Egyptian Neolithic and the African continent have been made over the last 30 years in the course of the Western Desert exploration. Only the 21th century brought changes in the way of thinking about the first farming communities and highlighted the role of local African cultures in the development of prehistoric Egyptian communities. Recent discoveries in the Fayum and Wadi el-Gamal have inspired more profound studies on material culture links between the Middle Holocene Eastern Saharan hunter-gatherers

18. Mączyńska 2018.

and herders. Going beyond the hypothesis of the Levantine origins of the Egyptian Neolithic and broadening the research context to include the north-eastern Africa may enable better understanding of the prehistoric occupation in the region and in the Egyptian Nile.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bar-Yosef 2013
Bar-Yosef, O., "Nile Valley-Levant Interactions: An Eclectic View", in N. Shirai (ed.), *Neolithisation of Northeastern Africa*, Berlin, 2013, pp. 237–247.

Bovier-Lapierre 1926a
Bovier-Lapierre, P., "Station préhistorique des environs du Caire", in *Compte rendu du Congrès international de Géographie (Le Caire, 1925)*, vol. 4, Cairo, 1926, pp. 298–308.

Bovier-Lapierre 1926b
Bovier-Lapierre, P., "Une nouvelle station néolithique au Nord d'Hélouan (Égypte)", in *Compte rendu du Congrès international de Géographie (Le Caire, 1925)*, vol. 4, Cairo, 1926, pp. 268–282.

Caton-Thompson, Gardner 1934
Caton-Thompson, G., Gardner, E.W., *The Desert Fayum*, London, 1934.

Childe 1925
Childe, V.G., *The Dawn of European Civilization*, London, 1925.

Childe 1928
Childe, V.G., *The Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory*, London, 1928.

Childe 1935
Childe, V.G., *New Light on the Most Ancient East*, London, 1935.

Debono, Mortensen 1990
Debono, F., Mortensen, B., *El Omari: A Neolithic Settlement and Other Sites in the Vicinity of Wadi Hof, Helwan*, Mainz am Rhein, 1990.

Holdaway et al. 2016
Holdaway, S.J., Phillipps, R., Emmitt, J., Wendrich, W., "The Fayum Revisited: Reconsidering the Role of the Neolithic Package, Fayum North Shore, Egypt", *Quaternary International* 410A, 2016, pp. 173–180.

Holdaway, Phillipps 2017
Holdaway, S., Phillipps, R., "Human Environmental Interrelationships and the Origins of Agriculture in Egypt and Sudan", *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Environmental Science*, 2017, < *http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199389414.013.177*>, accessed 18 November 2020.

Holdaway, Wendrich (eds.) 2017
Holdaway, S., Wendrich, W. (eds.), *The Desert Fayum Reinvestigated*, Los Angeles, 2017.

Junker 1920–1940
Junker, H., *Vorläufiger Bericht über die Grabung der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf der neolithischen Siedelung von Merimde-Benisalame (Westdelta)*, Wien, 1920–1940.

Köhler 2020
Köhler, E.C., "Of Culture Wars and the Clash of Civilizations in Prehistoric Egypt: An Epistemological Analysis", *ÄgLev* 30, 2020, pp. 17–58.

Kuper, Kröplin 2006
Kuper, R., Kröplin, S., "Climate-controlled Holocene Occupation in the Sahara: Motor of Africa's Evolution", *Science* 313, 2006, pp. 803–807.

Mączyńska 2018
Mączyńska, A., *In Search of the Origins of Lower Egyptian Pottery: A New Approach to Old Data*, SAArch 16, Poznan, 2018.

Riemer et al. 2013
Riemer, H., Lange, M., Kindermann, K., "When the Desert Dried up: Late Prehistoric Cultures and Contacts in Egypt and Northern Sudan", in D. Raue, S.J. Seidlmayer, P. Speiser (eds.), *The First Cataract of the Nile: One Region – Diverse Perspectives*, Cairo, 2013, pp. 157–183.

ROWLAND, BERTINI 2016

Rowland, J.M., Bertini, L.C., "The Neolithic within the Context of Northern Egypt: New Results and Perspectives from Merimde Beni Salama", *Quaternary International* 410A, 2016, pp. 160–172.

SHIRAI 2010

Shirai, N., *The Archaeology of the First Farmer-herders in Egypt: New Insights into the Fayum Epipaleolithic and Neolithic*, Leiden, 2010.

STREIT 2017

Streit, K., "Transregional Interactions between Egypt and the Southern Levant in the 6th millennium calBC", ÄgLev 27, 2017, pp. 403–429.

TASSIE 2014

Tassie, G.J., *Prehistoric Egypt: Socioeconomic Transformations in North-East Africa from the Last Glacial Maximum to the Neolithic, 24,000 to 6,000 cal BP*, London, 2014.

WENDORF, SCHILD 1976

Wendorf, F., Schild, R., *Prehistory of the Nile Valley*, New York, London, 1976.

WENDORF, SCHILD 1984

Wendorf, F., Schild, R., "Conclusion", in F. Wendorf, R. Schild, A.E. Close (eds.), *Cattle-keepers of the Eastern Sahara: the Neolithic of Bir Kiseiba*, Dallas, 1984, pp. 404–428.
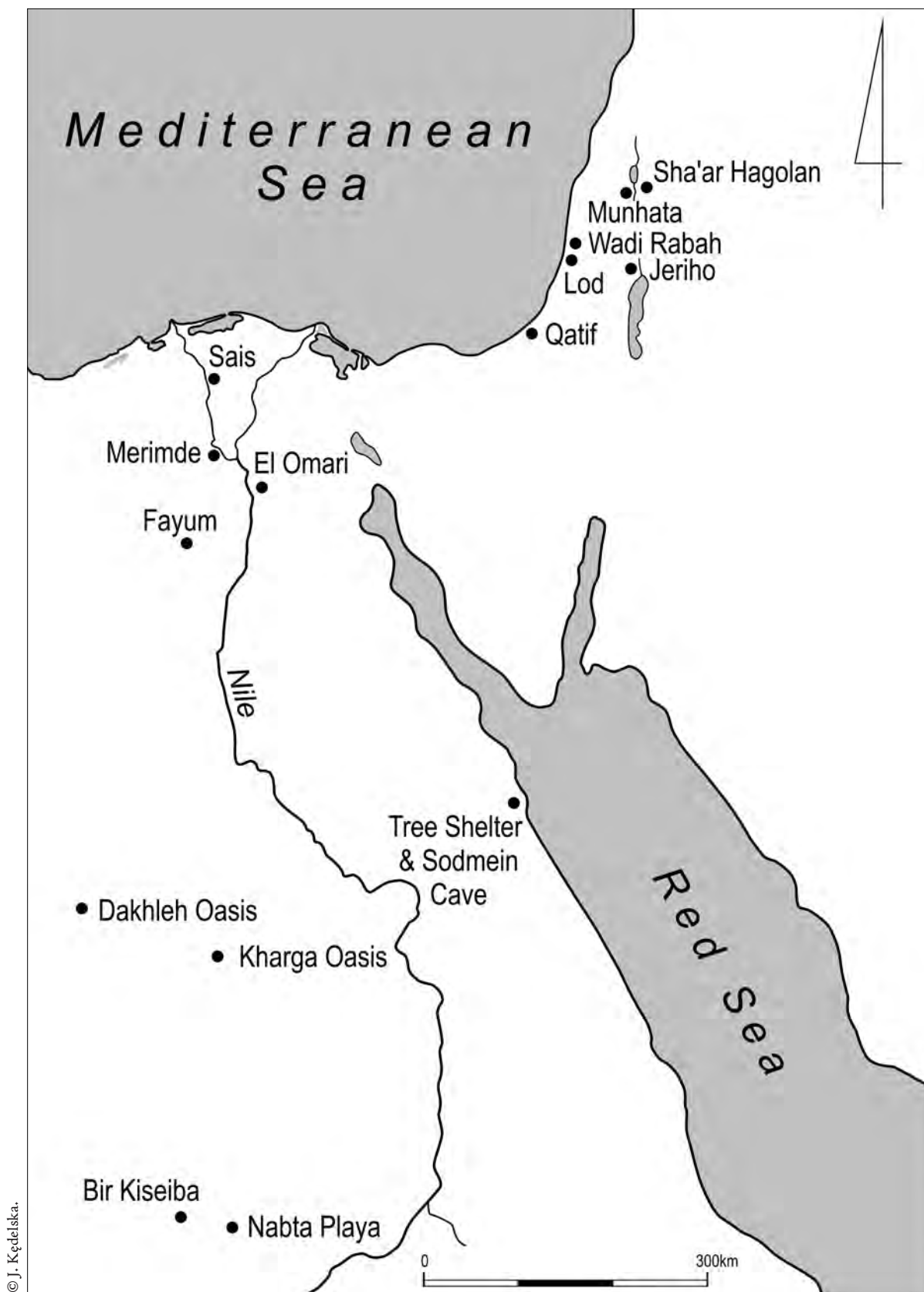
Fig. 1. Map of north-eastern Africa and the southern Levant.

Mohamed Raafat Abbas[*]

Historical Observations
on the Libyan Captives of Ramesses II

IN EGYPTOLOGICAL LITERATURE, it is now accepted to use the term "Libyan" indiscriminately to refer to individuals belonging to the groups identified by the ancient Egyptians as Tjehenu, Tjemehu, Meshwesh, Ma and Libu.[1] Prior to the New Kingdom, Egypt's interaction with the semi-nomadic populations west of the Nile Valley seems to have been limited to periodic scuffles and trade.[2] In the early and mid-18th Dynasty, as before, the Egyptians referred to these populations rather generically as natives of Tjehenu (*Ṯḥnw*) or Tjemehu (*Ṯmḥw*).[3] Tjehenu is most likely a geographical term for northern Libyan groups, while the term Tjemehu refers to any nomadic Libyan group inhabiting the western desert.[4] The Libyan captives occur frequently in the Egyptian sources during the 18th Dynasty,[5] as well as during the reign of Sety I, the second king of the 19th Dynasty, after his campaign against them.[6]

1. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LIBYAN SCENES IN THE NUBIAN TEMPLES OF RAMESSES II

It has been noted that there is some textual and archaeological evidence from the reign of Ramesses II indicating that a military confrontation with the Libyans may have taken place on Egypt's western frontier. The Libyan scenes of Ramesses II in his Nubian temples of Abu Simbel and Beit el-Wali can be correlated with the military conflicts that occurred during his reign.

In the scene depicted in the lower register of the southern wall in the main hall of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, Ramesses II tramples one Libyan and spears another (fig. 1).[7] This scene is accompanied by a rhetorical text:

---

[*] Ministry of Tourism and Antiquities, Egypt (MoTA).
1. For a study of the composition of the different Libyan components, see O'CONNOR 1990.
2. OSING 1980; SPALINGER 1979.
3. OSING 1980, 1016; KITCHEN 1990, pp. 16, 18; O'CONNOR 1990, p. 30.
4. OSING 1980, 1015; SPALINGER 1979, pp. 137–138; O'CONNOR 1990, pp. 33–37.
5. MORRIS 2005, p. 613.
6. THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1986, pp. 87–98, pl. 27–32; *KRI* I, 20–24; *KRITA* I, 17–19.
7. *KRI* II, 206–207; *KRITA* II, 67; WRESZINSKI 1935, pl. 182.

The good god who slays the Nine Bows, who tramples down the foreign countries of the Northerners […], [Victorious King?], strong against the foreign countries, a swordsman valiant like Montu, who carries off the land of Nubia to the Northland (or Delta), and the Asiatics to Nubia; he has placed the Shasu in the Westland, and he has settled the Libyans (Tjehenu) on the ridges. Filled are the strongholds he has built with the plunder of his mighty arm/sword—one who slays Khurru (Palestine) with his sword, Retenu (Syria) having fallen to his slaughtering.[8]

Kenneth Anderson Kitchen argues that this text accompanying the slain of the Libyan is appropriate to the universal theme of the entire wall, as it celebrates the king's supremacy in the four quarters of his world. Another dimension is added: the concept of "exile", whereby defeated enemies or populations are transferred to other parts of an imperial domain, in order to retain the economic advantage of their manpower and productivity; but, being uprooted from their traditional homes and roots, they are entirely dependent on the good graces of their state masters. Exile here is achieved by shifting the resistance of each zone to its opposite cardinal point in the king's domain. In practice, as the text then mentions, such transplants may settle in new colonies or (press-ganged into the army) serve in new forts as conscript troops.[9]

The exact location of the Libyans (Tjehenu) resettlement on the "ridges" is unknown. K.A. Kitchen has, however, suggested that this location was somewhere in "the East Delta or Canaan",[10] although it could have been anywhere along the Levantine coast that was under Egyptian control. Therefore, I think that this clear mention of the transfer of the defeated Libyans to the East Delta turtlebacks or the hills of Canaan refers to Ramesses II's victory in his war against them, and this may be further emphasized because this text accompanies the king's Libyan war scene. However, it is consistent with another text of Ramesses II recorded on an obelisk from Tanis that suggests that Ramesses II forcibly resettled segments of the Libyan population in the east. This text simply reads: "[Settling] the east with Libyans (Tjehenu)."[11]

In one of the triumph scenes depicted in the main hall (east wall) of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, Ramesses II is shown followed by his *ka*, smiting Libyan captives in the presence of ReHorakhty, who is represented with his right arm outstretched, extending the *khepesh* sword of victory towards the king (fig. 2).[12] This scene is accompanied by a text about the king's strength and the blows dealt to the Syrians and Nubians, but it is noticeable that the Libyans are not mentioned. The king's and Re-Horakhty's speech flattering the king's strength and victories are also recorded. The recorded text about the Libyan captives says: "Trampling down the chiefs of every foreign country, reducing them to non-existence."[13] Furthermore, in the triumph scene of Ramesses II at the eastern wall of the hall (north side) of the Small Temple of Abu Simbel, the pharaoh is shown followed by Nefertari, smiting a Libyan captive in front of Horus of Maha, who

8. *KRI* II, 206–207; *KRITA* II, 67.
9. *KRITANC* II, 118–119; Spalinger 1980, p. 87.
10. *KRITA* II, 67, note 9.
11. *KRI* II, 426: 6; *KRITA* II, 253.
12. PM VII, 101–102 (37); Wreszinski 1935, pl. 184.
13. *KRI* II, 208; *KRITA* II, 68–69.

is represented with his right arm outstretched, extending the *khepesh*-sword of the victory towards the king (fig. 3).[14] This scene is accompanied by a text stating the king's victory over the Libyans and the foreign countries.[15]

On the northern wall of the entrance hall of the Beit el-Wali temple, the other Libyan war scene of Ramesses II is depicted. In this scene, Ramesses II is represented executing a Libyan captive, who is bitten on the buttocks by the king's dogs (fig. 4).[16] This scene is accompanied by a text behind the king stating his victory over the Libyans and the foreign countries.[17] Additionally, in the inner hall (east wall) of the Beit el-Wali temple, Ramesses II is depicted in a triumph scene on the north side, smiting a Libyan captive in the presence of Re-Horakhty. The god's arm is only depicted outstretched, extending the *khepesh*-sword of the victory towards the king.[18] Next to this scene is the king's victory over the Libyans. The text describes this scene as "Crushing the northern foreign land".[19]

The triumph scenes of the warrior Ramesside pharaohs, in which the king is represented smiting ethnic groups or individuals from among the enemies of the north and south with his mace in the presence of the gods, were usually associated with narrative battle scenes, in order to glorify the victories of the warrior pharaohs.[20] According to previous Egyptologists, the triumph scenes are a generalized summary of the battle reliefs during the Ramesside Period.[21] I therefore believe that the triumph scenes of Ramesses II in his Nubian temples at Abu Simbel and Beit el-Wali, in which the king is depicted smiting a Libyan captive in the presence of the gods, are associated with the king's other Libyan war scenes which are recorded in the same temples, in order to commemorate his military victory over the Libyans during his reign. The texts that accompany both the Libyan triumph and war scenes of Ramesses II in his Nubian temples may confirm my opinion, as they mention the Libyans (Tjehenu) as enemies, an aspect that could be considered "historically valid". The scenes are now deprived of their purely symbolic character, referring to real historical events. Moreover, almost without exception, the presentation of the *khepesh*-sword in these triumph scenes is accompanied by statements proclaiming the king's inevitable victory over the enemies who will be struck by the divinely given weapon. As Alan Richard Schulman claims: "It [the presentation of the sword] illustrates two distinct concepts: the commissioning of the king to undertake a war and, on the other hand, the triumphal outcome of a war."[22] Accordingly, the Libyan triumph and war scenes of Ramesses II at his Nubian temples at Abu Simbel and Beit el-Wali and their accompanying texts were intended to emphasise the victory of Ramesses II over his Libyan enemies.

14. PM VII, 113 (15), 114 (21); Desroches-Noblecourt, Kuentz 1968, pl. 35–36; *KRI* II, 209; *KRITA* II, 69–70.
15. *KRI* II, 209; *KRITA* II, 69–70.
16. Ricke, Hughes, Wente 1967, pp. 14–15, pl. 10, 14; *KRITA* II, 59–60.
17. *KRI* II, 196; *KRITA* II, 60.
18. Ricke, Hughes, Wente 1967, p. 23, pl. 24; PM VII, 25.
19. *KRI* II, 199; *KRITA* II, 62.
20. Abbas 2015, p. 246.
21. The epigraphic Survey 1986, p. 47.
22. Schulman 1994, p. 267.

2.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LIBYAN CAPTIVES' DEPICTION ON TWO PRIVATE STELAE FROM THE FORT OF RAMESSES II AT ZAWIYET UMM EL-RAKHAM

Ramesses II constructed a series of military forts or staging posts along the 200-mile long coastal road from the western edge of the Delta to the fortress of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham located about 15 miles west of Marsa Matruh, near the present-day Libyan border.[23] The excavations at the site held in 1997 by Steven Snape of the University of Liverpool revealed that the construction of this chain of forts was launched by Ramesses II very early in his reign.[24] It is clear that the purpose of these military constructions was connected to the confrontations with the Libyans.[25]

On the upper register of the stela of the standard-bearer[26] Amenmessu from Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham (now in Zagazig magazine), Ramesses II is depicted smiting a Libyan captive in the presence of Amun represented at the same scale, offering a sword to the king.[27] The scene on this stela is very significant because its owner is a military officer, indicating that Amenmessu may have personally participated in the military operations against the Libyans, under the command of the king.

Furthermore, on the upper register of another private stela from Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, now in Mersa Matruh magazine (SCA Register no. 89), Ramesses II is depicted slaughtering a Libyan captive. He stands on the right, holding his prisoner by the hair in the center, and holds his bow in the same hand. The king wearing the blue crown raises his scimitar above his head. The prisoner is on one knee, with his head turned back towards the king and with one of his hands raised, begging for mercy. Behind the king stands the goddess Sekhmet, a sun disk on her head, with one arm raised. To the left of the scene is the god Amun, very damaged, standing with his arms raised, perhaps offering the *khepesh*-sword of victory to the king.[28]

A.R. Schulman has theorised that the smiting scenes on private Ramesside stelae reflect, in part, actual historical events, as well as an abstract aspect of 'repeating forever', and that the prototypes for the motifs shown are primarily from contemporary temple walls. In general, the sword presentation theme appears in two principal contexts: the king's commissioning from the god to undertake a war, combined with prisoners-aughtering scenes as the successful conclusion to such a war.[29] Steven Snape and Penny Wilson have both noted that while the depictions of enemy slaughter on the stelae of Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham represent actual events, witnessed by the private dedicators, in front

23. Habachi 1980.
24. Snape 1997.
25. Habachi 1980, p. 27.
26. A military title of the New Kingdom, worn by an officer of the infantry, chariotry or navy. The standard-bearer was at the head of 200 men. Each company in the Egyptian army had a distinctive standard. See Faulkner 1953, p. 45.
27. Snape, Wilson 2007, pp. 100–101, fig. 5.6; Habachi 1980, p. 18, pl. VI, A.
28. Snape, Wilson 2007, pp. 104–105, fig. 5.8.
29. Schulman 1994, pp. 265–277.

of the temples of the gods shown on stelae, Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham would have witnessed the king in person carrying out ritual smiting of Libyans in front of a temple dedicated to Amun and Sekhmet, presumably at the end of a major Libyan campaign at the beginning of his reign.[30]

3.   ## THE MILITARY EMPLOYMENT OF THE LIBYAN CAPTIVES DURING THE REIGN OF RAMESSES II

The military employment of the Libyan captives in the Egyptian military service during the reign of Ramesses II is described on a rhetorical stela from Tanis as follows: "Libya (*Tjehenu*) is cast down under his feet, his slaughtering has prevailed over them. He has captured the country of the West, transformed into soldiery, to serve him."[31]

This text discusses the use of Sherden warriors in the Egyptian military service after Ramesses II defeated them early in his reign. The Sherden raiders had attacked the Nile Delta some time before Ramesses II's northern campaign. After the Sherden attack on Egypt, they were captured, integrated into the Egyptian army and became among the best troops employed by the Egyptians during the Ramesside period.[32] It is noticeable that this historical event is described on the same stela of Ramesses II from Tanis.[33] Accordingly, the phrase "He captured the country of the West, transformed into soldiery, to serve him" would have meant that Ramesses II captured a number of Libyan captives after his battle with them, then he employed them as auxiliary forces in his army. However, the Libyan prisoners of war who had been enrolled into the army, resettled in eastern Egypt in *nḫtw* strongholds as noted above,[34] or settled in towns (*dmiw*) bearing Ramesses II's name.[35]

---

30. Snape, Wilson 2007, p. 129.
31. *KRI* II, 289: 15–16; *KRITA* II, 119.
32. *KRI* II, 11, 290; Kitchen 1982, pp. 40–41. For more details on the significant military role of the Sherden warriors in the Egyptian army during the Ramesside period, see Abbas 2017.
33. Kitchen 1982, pp. 40–41; *KRI* II, 290: 1–4; *KRITA* II, 120.
34. *KRI* II, 206: 15–16. The term *nḫtw* "stronghold" refers to fortresses located in Egyptian territory or along the "Ways of Horus", see Morris 2005, pp. 820–821.
35. *KRI* II, 406: 4. The Syro-Palestinian *dmiw* named in honor of Ramesses II were directly administered Egyptian garrison towns, see Morris 2005, p. 614.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBAS 2015
Abbas, M.R., "The Triumph Scene and Text of
    Merenptah at Karnak", *CahKarn* 15, 2015,
    pp. 243–252.

ABBAS 2017
Abbas, M.R., "A Survey of the Military Role of the
    Sherden Warriors in the Egyptian Army during
    the Ramesside Period", *ENiM* 10, 2017, pp. 7–23.

DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, KUENTZ 1968
Desroches-Noblecourt, C., Kuentz, C., *Le petit
    temple d'Abou Simbel. « Nofretari pour qui se lève
    le dieusoleil »*, vol. II: *Planches*, Cairo, 1968.

FAULKNER 1953
Faulkner, R.O., "Egyptian Military Organization",
    JEA 39, 1953, pp. 32–47.

HABACHI 1980
Habachi, L., "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on
    the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the
    Delta", *BIFAO* 80, 1980, pp. 13–30.

KITCHEN 1982
Kitchen, K.A., *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and
    Times of Ramesses II King of Egypt*, Warminster,
    1982.

KITCHEN 1990
Kitchen, K.A., "The Arrival of the Libyans in
    Late New Kingdom Egypt", in A. Leahy (ed.),
    Libya and Egypt, c. 1300–750 B.C., London, 1990,
    pp. 15–27.

MORRIS 2005
Morris, E.F., *The Architecture of Imperialism:
    Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy
    in Egypt's New Kingdom*, ProblÄg 22, Leiden,
    Boston, 2005.

O'CONNOR 1990
O'Connor, D.B., "The Nature of Tjemhu
    (Libyan) Society in the Later New Kingdom",
    in A. Leahy (ed.), *Libya and Egypt,
    c. 1300–750 B.C.*, London, 1990, pp. 29–114.

OSING 1980
Osing, J., *LÄ* III, 1980, cols. 1015–1033,
    s.v. "Libyen, Libyer".

RICKE, HUGHES, WENTE 1967
Ricke, H., Hughes, G.R., Wente, E.F.,
    The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II, Chicago,
    1967.

SCHULMAN 1994
Schulman, A.R., "Take for Yourself the Sword",
    in B. Bryan, D. Lorton (eds.), *Essays in Egyptology
    in Honor of Hans Goedicke*, San Antonio, 1994,
    pp. 265–295.

SNAPE 1997
Snape, S., "Ramesses II's Forgotten Frontier",
    EgArch 11, 1997, pp. 23–24.

SNAPE, WILSON 2007
Snape, S., Wilson, P., *Zawiyet Umm ElRakham I:
    The Temple and Chapels*, Bolton, 2007.

SPALINGER 1979
Spalinger, A.J., "Some Notes on the Libyans of the
    Old Kingdom and Later Historical Reflexes",
    JSSEA 9, 1979, pp. 125–160.

SPALINGER 1980
Spalinger, A.J., "Historical Observations on
    the Military Reliefs of Abu Simbel and
    Other Ramesside Temples in Nubia", *JEA* 66,
    1980, pp. 83–99.

THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY 1986
The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at
    Karnak*, vol. IV: *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*,
    OIP 107, Chicago (Ill.), 1986.

WRESZINSKI 1935
Wreszinski, W., *Atlas zur altaegyptischen
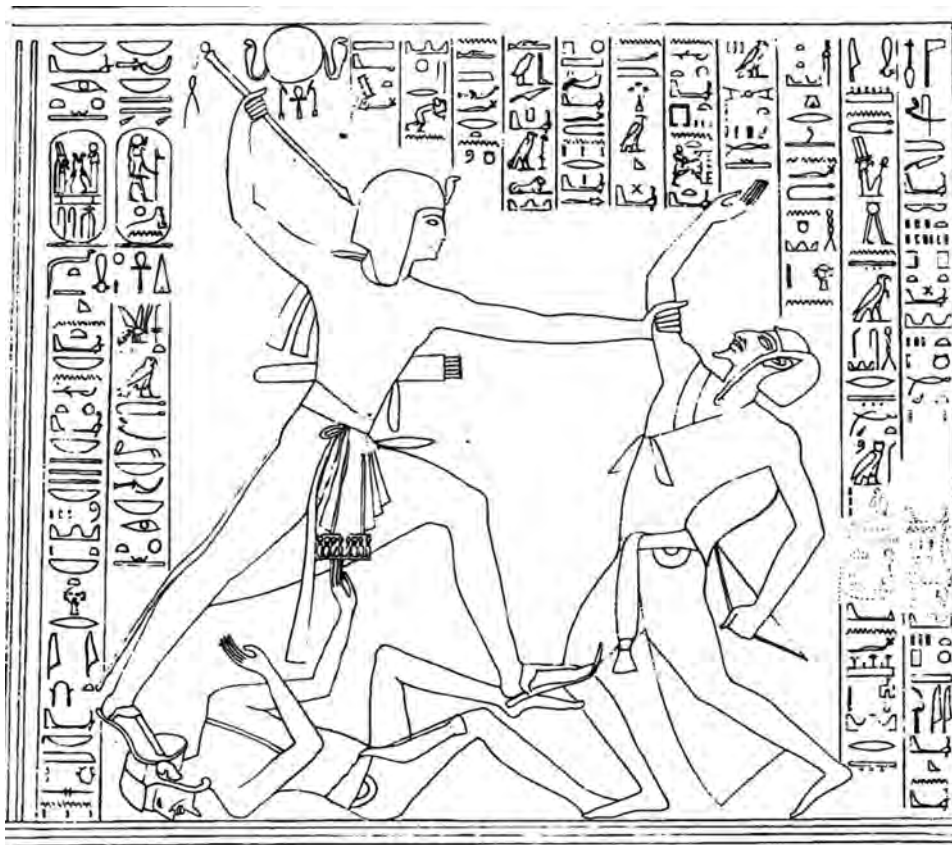   Kulturgschichte*, vol. II, Leipzig, 1935.

Fig. 1. The Libyan scene of Ramesses II at the Great Temple of Abu Simbel (Wreszinski 1935, pl. 182).

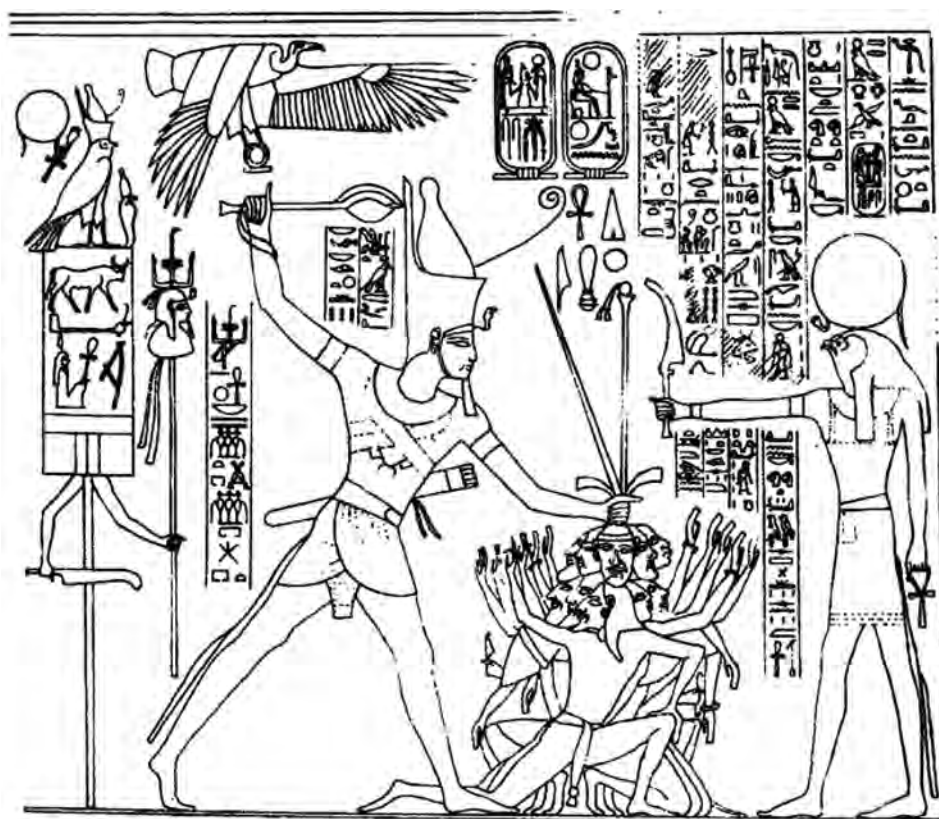**Fig. 2** A triumph scene of Ramesses II smiting Libyan captives in front of Re-Horakhty, Great Temple of Abu Simbel (Wreszinski 1935, pl. 184a).

Fig. 3. Ramesses II followed by Nefertari smiting a Libyan captive before Horus of Maha, Small Temple of Abu Simbel (Desroches-Noblecourt, Kuentz 1968, pl. XXXV).
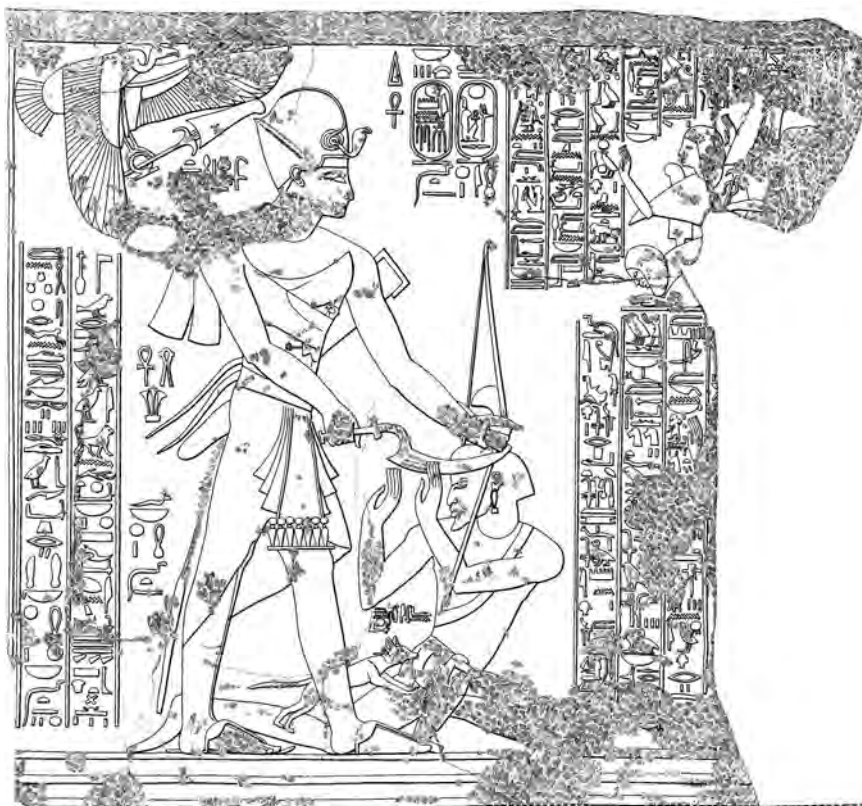

Fig. 4. Ramesses II slaying a Libyan, Beit el-Wali temple (Ricke, Hughes, Wente 1967, pl. 14).

Felix Relats Montserrat

Les fouilles du « temple primitif » de Médamoud (1938-1939)

Étude archivistique d'un bâtiment polémique

L E SITE DE MÉDAMOUD, situé au nord de Karnak, fut fouillé par l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale entre 1925 et 1932, sous la direction de Fernand Bisson de la Roque, puis entre 1933 et 1940, par Clément Robichon. Les fouilleurs se concentrèrent sur le dégagement du temple dédié à Montou – appelé le plus souvent *Mnṯw nb Wꜣs.t kꜣ ḥry-jb Mꜣdw* « Montou, seigneur de Thèbes, le taureau qui réside à Médamoud » –, édifié par les Lagides en modifiant un édifice remontant au Moyen et au Nouvel Empire[1]. Depuis 2011, une nouvelle mission a repris les travaux de terrain sous le patronage de l'Ifao, de l'université de la Sorbonne et de la commission des fouilles du ministère français des Affaires Étrangères[2]. Le projet en cours poursuit trois objectifs complémentaires : tout d'abord, reprendre les activités archéologiques dans les secteurs inexplorés du *kôm* où se situait la ville antique de Médamoud, qui se singularise par l'importance de ses productions céramiques ; ensuite, réexaminer la documentation issue des fouilles du début du xxᵉ siècle pour comprendre la place qu'occupait Médamoud dans son environnement théologique, urbain, économique et social ; et enfin assurer la mise en valeur du site[3].

Parmi les données issues des travaux des premiers fouilleurs, un des dossiers les moins bien documentés concerne un bâtiment en briques connu dans la littérature égyptologique sous le nom de « temple primitif de Médamoud ». Il fut découvert en 1938 lors de l'exploration des fondations de l'arrière-temple (nom donné à la partie est du temple de Montou) en vue de trouver le tracé des constructions démontées au cours de l'histoire du monument. En profondeur, des assises en brique dessinèrent la forme d'un temple original : le cœur du dispositif cultuel était centré sur deux couloirs sinueux aboutissant chacun à une pièce, l'une orientée vers l'ouest, et l'autre vers le sud. La couverture de cette partie du bâtiment aurait pris la forme de deux tertres accompagnés d'un bois sacré. Un mur de clôture, de forme polygonale, aurait englobé cet ensemble de structures en s'ouvrant sur un pylône[4]. La principale difficulté pour l'étude de ces vestiges réside dans l'absence de publications. En effet, C. Robichon et Alexandre Varille ne publièrent aucun rapport de leurs activités, qui sont

---

1. Relats Montserrat à paraître.
2. La mission a été réouverte en 2011 par Dominique Valbelle afin de terminer l'édition des textes de la porte de Tibère, entreprise en 1973. Depuis 2015, la direction est assurée par F. Relats Montserrat. Le chantier bénéficie également du soutien du fonds Khéops pour l'archéologie et du Labex Resmed.
3. Pour une présentation générale des travaux de la mission, cf. Relats Montserrat 2019.
4. Le dernier plan actualisé fut publié dans : Sainte-Fare Garnot 1944, p. 72-73.

essentiellement connues grâce à un court ouvrage présentant, comme son titre l'indique, une description sommaire des vestiges, ainsi qu'une première interprétation[5]. Aucune photographie ne fut publiée et les plans proposés s'apparentent plus à des restitutions qu'à des relevés des vestiges dégagés. L'existence même du temple primitif a donc été remise en cause, la reconstitution architecturale n'étant pas justifiée[6]. Un des points les plus discutés fut l'interprétation du bâtiment proposée par A. Varille, qui y voyait un *osireion* primitif, en raison de la présence des deux tertres, assimilés aux buttes (*jȝ.t*) abritant les reliques osiriennes décrites dans les textes de Khoiak[7]. Les limites de cette interprétation ont déjà été soulignées, en particulier le manque de documents en faveur d'un remplacement d'Osiris par Montou comme dieu tutélaire du site pendant le Moyen Empire. Les débats se sont concentrés sur le sens à donner aux *jȝ.wt* qui couvraient le bâtiment[8]. En effet, avant même de s'interroger sur le bénéficiaire des cultes, il est nécessaire de commencer par confirmer la nature cultuelle du monument, sa forme architecturale et sa datation[9]. L'élévation du niveau de la nappe phréatique empêche actuellement d'effectuer des fouilles systématiques et de vérifier l'état des maçonneries, mais une étude approfondie des archives des fouilleurs permet de renouveler les questionnements sur le bâtiment. L'objectif est ainsi de retrouver des informations archéologiques permettant de déplacer la focale sur les vestiges et non plus sur les interprétations qui leur ont été associées.

1. HISTORIQUE DE L'EXPLORATION DU BÂTIMENT : L'APPORT DES ARCHIVES

Pour pallier le manque de publications, une recherche archivistique a été menée pour documenter les recherches menées à Médamoud. Si aucun journal de fouilles ne semble avoir été tenu, une correspondance régulière échangée entre les fouilleurs et la direction de l'Ifao permet de restituer la chronologie des travaux[10]. Surtout, plus de 200 photographies, conservées au Collège de France et à l'*Università degli studi* de Milan, confirment non seulement l'existence des vestiges, mais offrent aussi plusieurs indices pour leur interprétation[11].

---

5. Robichon, Varille 1939 ; Robichon, Varille 1940. Ce dernier titre constitue le seul ouvrage dédié aux vestiges du temple primitif. D'autres publications; qui n'ont pas été signées par les fouilleurs, mais rédigées à partir de leurs notes, complètent cet opuscule : Jouguet 1938 ; Jouguet 1939 ; Sainte-Fare Garnot 1943 ; Sainte-Fare Garnot 1944 ; Sainte-Fare Garnot 1952.
6. Chantal Sambin l'affirme catégoriquement : « Il faut reconnaître que, si les plans du Moyen Empire ont été mis en doute, celui du "Temple Primitif" a été accepté. Pourtant moins encore que son successeur dû à Sésostris III, ce sanctuaire ne présente la preuve de son tracé, des pylônes, des cours et des buttes. » (Nivet-Sambin 2008, p. 316). Pour une présentation, plus nuancée, résumant les descriptions publiées : Bussmann 2010, p. 76-77.
7. Robichon, Varille 1940, p. 13-20.
8. D. Arnold (1974, p. 76-78) a souligné l'absence de mentions d'Osiris dans la documentation de Médamoud au Moyen Empire et a proposé d'attribuer le temple primitif à Montou. Cependant, en raison de la forme du monument, il a conclu que les buttes étaient une forme architecturale locale, provenant de Haute Égypte, concurrente du modèle pyramidal.
9. Le flou dans la datation du temple primitif explique que B. Kemp (2006, p. 112-113) l'ait utilisé comme fondement de sa théorie sur l'évolution des sanctuaires provinciaux (« *preformal/formal temples* »).
10. La description complète est publiée dans Relats Montserrat, à paraître (chapitre 1).
11. Que les Pr. Nicolas Grimal et Patricia Piacentini soient remerciés pour m'avoir autorisé à étudier cette documentation.

Il faut tout d'abord rappeler que C. Robichon était architecte de formation et appliquait une technique de fouille qui se voulait novatrice au sein du paysage égyptologique de son temps, avec le recours à un théodolite couplé d'un télémètre pour localiser les objets découverts[12]. La précision de sa technique est visible au cours des fouilles menées au temple d'Amenhotep fils de Hapou ; en 1934-1935, et il est peu probable qu'elle n'ait pas été appliquée à Médamoud[13]. Pour preuve, les photographies du temple primitif présentent essentiellement des vues détaillées des zones découvertes et illustrent la réalisation de coupes dans plusieurs maçonneries pour en étudier l'appareillage. Dans sa correspondance, C. Robichon précise que la restitution du monument s'est faite grâce aux enduits blancs qui couvraient les murs, signe que la restitution proposée reposait sur des observations de terrain[14]. Ces traces d'enduit sont d'ailleurs bien visibles sur toutes les photographies (fig. 1) et, par conséquent, il n'est plus possible de considérer que les vestiges ont été inventés.

En revanche, les interprétations proposées pour le temple primitif reposent sur une méthodologie discutable, expliquant la nature d'un bâtiment antérieur au règne de Sésostris III à partir de textes de l'époque gréco-romaine[15]. Outre l'anachronisme, la totalité de l'argumentaire repose sur l'interprétation à donner à la forme du monument et aux deux « buttes » qui le couronnaient. Or la première mention des buttes n'est pas liée à une observation des vestiges, mais apparaît dans la correspondance échangée entre A. Varille et Victor Loret (l'éditeur des mystères osiriens de Khoiak) à propos de l'inclusion de Montou dans les théologies de Djémê[16]. En lisant les échanges, il est manifeste qu'A. Varille a joué sur la polysémie du mot : ce qui n'était d'abord qu'une métaphore mythologique – le temple est installé sur une butte – est devenue une réalité architecturale – le temple est une butte – et, enfin, la description de la superstructure du monument – le temple est recouvert d'une, puis de deux buttes[17]. La restitution des vestiges a donc été fortement influencée par l'interprétation tirée par A. Varille des textes théologiques tardifs.

12. Cette méthodologie fut détaillée au cours d'une conférence, non publiée, donnée en 1937 avec A. Varille (Draft conférence 1937 : Archives Varille – *Unimi* – Box 2).

13. Outre les relevés, plans et coupes, C. Robichon et A. Varille livrent un plan localisant les points de prise des vues photographiques (Robichon, Varille 1936, pl. XLVIII).

14. Robichon, Varille 1940, p. 1.

15. L'argumentaire d'A. Varille se fonde sur les textes de Khoiak gravés sur le toit du temple de Dendera, les listes géographiques d'Edfou et l'assimilation de tous les temples d'Égypte à une *jꜣ.t* depuis la fin du Nouvel Empire (Robichon, Varille 1940, p. 16-17). Une telle méthode pour interpréter les cultes égyptiens était encore répandue dans l'égyptologie du milieu du xxe siècle et ne doit pas être rapprochée des thèses symbolistes – qui ont aussi été reprochées à A. Varille – en raison de sa proximité avec René Schwaller de Lubicz (Marra 2008). Ce dernier, qui s'est installé en Égypte en 1936, n'apparaît dans la correspondance de A. Varille qu'au début des fouilles de Karnak-nord. R. Schwaller de Lubicz, lui-même, situe le début de leur collaboration en 1942 (Marra 2008, p. 280-285 ; Schwaller de Lubicz 1957, p. 10).

16. Lettre d'A. Varille à V. Loret datée du 28 mars 1938 (archives Unimi, boîte 82).

17. Relats Montserrat, à paraître (chapitre 3).

2. **DESCRIPTION ARCHÉOLOGIQUE**
D'APRÈS LES VESTIGES CONSERVÉS

Grâce aux photographies préservées dans les archives, plusieurs aspects de l'architecture du monument peuvent désormais être précisés. Néanmoins, il faut souligner la difficile lecture des photographies en raison de l'arasement complet du bâtiment, couplé aux effets des constructions ultérieures (plateformes du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire, fondations du temple ptolémaïque) (fig. 1).

2.1. **LA LOCALISATION**

Les fouilleurs se limitèrent à indiquer que les vestiges se trouvaient « sous le temple du Moyen Empire » (*i.e* les assises en briques attribuées à Sésostris III[18]) sans jamais en préciser ni le niveau, ni la localisation exacte[19]. Cependant, plusieurs plans joints dans la correspondance permettent de situer le monument au niveau de l'arrière-temple et de la partie est de l'avant-temple ptolémaïque[20]. Les photographies confirment aussi qu'il se situait sous la dernière assise de fondation du mur sud de la salle XVII du temple gréco-romain, elle-même à -1,55 m d'après les fouilles de F. Bisson de la Roque (fig. 2). Le niveau du temple primitif se trouvait donc entre -1,55 m et -2 m sous les salles XVI/XVIII, ce qui a été confirmé par un sondage effectué en 2017 par Nadia Licitra[21].

2.2. **CARACTÉRISTIQUES ARCHITECTURALES**

Parmi les éléments les plus emblématiques du temple, les photographies permettent d'assurer l'existence de deux couloirs sinueux se terminant chacun par une chambre sans autre accès (fig. 1). La restitution de l'élévation de l'enceinte (1,80 m de hauteur et 0,80 m de largeur) par les fouilleurs s'explique aussi par les tronçons de murs découverts couchés sur le sol lors de la destruction du monument[22] ; nous savons enfin que les maçonneries préservées correspondaient à l'élévation de l'édifice grâce à une coupe effectuée dans le couloir ouest[23].

En revanche, de grands pans du monument n'ont pas été photographiés ou pas avec une précision suffisante. Ainsi, le pylône d'entrée apparaît comme un massif plein, plus large que le mur d'enceinte, mais son ouverture ne peut pas être localisée[24]. De même, la zone des deux cours est dépourvue de photographies. De ce fait, l'existence de deux phases de construction et les liaisons

---

18. Sur le temple de Sésostris III : Relats Montserrat 2017.
19. Robichon, Varille 1940, p. x.
20. Deux plans, réalisés en 1938 et 1939 (publiés dans Relats Montserrat 2017, fig. 4 et 9), présentent les parties du temple primitif dégagées et la silhouette du temple ptolémaïque.
21. Le sondage fut réalisé à l'aplomb du mur péribole sud, car les fondations de ce mur ne furent pas démontées par les premiers fouilleurs. Les assises de briques enduites ont ainsi été documentées en coupe uniquement. Voir Relats Montserrat 2018, fig. 2.
22. Sainte-Fare Garnot 1944, p. 69 ; Relats Montserrat 2017, fig. 3.
23. Sur les quatre briques subsistantes visibles en coupe, deux étaient couvertes d'enduit (correspondant à l'élévation du monument) et deux autres en étaient dépourvues.
24. Les fouilleurs avaient eux-mêmes établi l'entrée en se fondant uniquement sur l'appareillage des briques, d'après Sainte-Fare Garnot 1944, p. 69.

entre les différentes pièces restent sujettes à caution. Enfin, il n'y a aucune trace de la couverture des couloirs ni de l'existence des buttes dans la documentation. Si une superstructure devait bien exister, chaque couloir a pu être surmonté de son monticule de terre, ou une seule superstructure a également pu surmonter les deux couloirs comme les fouilleurs l'avaient initialement supposé, ou bien encore la totalité des élévations ont pu avoir été construites en briques. Les vestiges dégagés sont trop lacunaires pour pouvoir trancher et si les fouilleurs s'y risquèrent, c'est sûrement en raison de l'importance qu'ils accordaient aux données textuelles du premier millénaire.

2.3.   LA DATATION : UN MONUMENT DE LA XIᵉ DYNASTIE

Malgré ces lacunes, le temple primitif apparaît bien comme un monument unique dans l'architecture égyptienne (fig. 3)[25]. Si son plan ne pourra pas être précisé tant que le niveau de la nappe phréatique sera si élevé, il est possible de revenir sur sa datation grâce à l'étude du matériel qui lui était associé. Faute d'épigraphie, les fouilleurs fondèrent leur analyse sur des dépôts de céramiques, interprétés majoritairement comme étant des moules à pain de l'Ancien Empire, bien que le bâtiment ait été habituellement qualifié de prédynastique ou d'archaïque[26]. L'étude céramologique menée par Zulema Barahona Mendieta sur les exemplaires conservés à l'Ifao a permis de corriger cette attribution[27]. Il s'agit en fait de vases de forme conique, en pâte alluviale tournée, mesurant entre 14 et 30 cm de hauteur. Ils présentent de nombreuses différences avec les moules à pain coniques attestés dans la documentation, tant au niveau du col (plus large) que de leur base (non creusée et façonnée à la main séparément du reste du vase). Les parallèles les plus proches ont été découverts à Tôd et à Abydos : ils ont été qualifiés de *offering cones* et datés entre les règnes de Montouhotep II et Sésostris Iᵉʳ[28]. Toutes les autres céramiques associées au bâtiment présentent une datation homogène ; il faut, par conséquent, désormais considérer le règne de Montouhotep II comme le *terminus ante quem* pour dater la construction du temple primitif[29].

3.   IDENTIFIER UN LIEU DE CULTE : LE TEMPLE PRIMITIF EST-IL UN TEMPLE ?

Il reste encore à comprendre la fonction du bâtiment. Il est d'emblée possible d'exclure qu'il s'agisse d'un sanctuaire osirien, hypothèse largement influencée par les recherches sur les textes ptolémaïques d'A. Varille et de V. Loret. En raison de sa datation, on peut également réfuter les écueils du primitivisme qui le comparaient aux temples prédynastiques. Comme Dieter Arnold

---

25. Étant donné qu'il n'est pas possible de réaliser de nouveaux relevés sur le terrain, ni de corriger l'angle de prise de vue des photographies, nous avons décidé de faire figurer sur le plan uniquement le tracé de l'enduit blanc tel qu'il a été relevé par les fouilleurs, car c'est le critère principal pour reconnaître les parements des murs.
26. Robichon, Varille 1940, p. 5 et 19. Par la suite, en suivant l'expertise de G. Burnton, certains exemplaires furent attribués à la Première Période intermédiaire (Sainte-Fare Garnot 1944, p. 74).
27. Barahona Mendieta 2016, p. 399-409.
28. Schiestl, Seiler 2012, p. 132-135 (catégorie I.C.5).
29. Pour le changement de paradigme dans l'architecture des temples que constitue le règne de Montouhotep II : Bussmann 2015.

l'avait remarqué, la permanence du culte plaide pour considérer que Montou était le destinataire du culte[30]. En revanche, reste encore à vérifier la nature cultuelle du bâtiment. Richard Bussmann a démontré que les sanctuaires provinciaux antérieurs à la XIIe dynastie connaissaient une importante diversité formelle[31] ; de ce fait, la comparaison architecturale ne peut servir à identifier le bâtiment comme un temple. Les dépôts de vases coniques offrent, en revanche, un indice sur la nature cultuelle du monument. Ce modèle de cônes a uniquement été découvert dans deux types de contextes : dans les tombes de Dra Abou el-Naga où ils ont été déposés en offrande (au-dessus de l'entrée des puits menant aux chambres funéraires), et à l'intérieur des temples, dans des dépôts enterrés, témoignant ainsi de la fonction rituelle qu'avait vraisemblablement ce matériel[32]. Les vases étaient entiers et regroupés en particulier à l'entrée des couloirs sinueux où ils forment un dépôt votif. Ces céramiques sont donc l'indice le plus clair en faveur de l'existence d'un culte qui était rendu à l'entrée des couloirs sinueux, même si sa nature concrète ne peut être établie au vu des données disponibles.

Tant qu'une nouvelle exploration archéologique n'aura pas été menée, les données fournies par les archives des fouilleurs ne peuvent pas répondre à toutes les interrogations. Néanmoins, elles assurent l'existence des vestiges et livrent des pistes pour confirmer l'existence d'un pôle culturel à Médamoud dès la fin de la XIe dynastie. Elles permettent aussi de restituer le processus ayant présidé à l'interprétation des vestiges et aux restitutions architecturales, fortement inspirées des théologies thébaines du premier millénaire. La question la plus épineuse reste celle de la couverture du temple, qui ne peut être tranchée en raison de l'arasement des vestiges. Il apparaît néanmoins qu'il faut désormais abandonner toute idée d'un culte lié aux buttes à Médamoud.

BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Arnold 1974
D. Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el Bahari I, Architektur und Deutung*, ArchVer 8, Mayence, 1974

Barahona Mendieta 2016
Z. Barahona Mendieta, *Estudio histórico y caracterización diacrónica de la cerámica descubierta en Medamud en las excavaciones del IFAO*, thèse inédite soutenue à l'université autonome de Barcelone, 2016.

Bussmann 2010
R. Bussmann, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur 11. Dynastie, Archäologie und Gechichte einer Gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz*, PdÄ 30, Leyde, 2010.

Bussmann 2015
R. Bussmann, « Changing Cultural Paradigms: from Tomb to Temple in the Eleventh Dynasty », dans P. Kousoulis, N. Lazaridis (éd.), *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Egyptologists, University of the Aegean, Rhodes, 22–29 May 2008*, OLA 241/1, Louvain, 2015, p. 970-985.

30. *Supra*, n. 8.
31. Bussmann 2010, p. 115-157. Si l'on s'en tient à sa forme générale, le monument se rapproche de la phase Ancien Empire du temple de Satet à Éléphantine qui possède aussi un plan trapézoïdal et une taille similaire. Les vestibules du temple primitif occupent une position similaire à celle de la niche d'Éléphantine, située au cœur du sanctuaire, précédé d'une cour. En revanche, dans cet exemple, l'architecture a été en grande partie conditionnée par la présence de plusieurs roches autour desquelles le temple a été bâti, ce qui n'était pas le cas à Médamoud.
32. Schiestl, Seiler 2012, p. 135.

Jouguet 1938
P. Jouguet, « Rapport sur les travaux de l'Institut
    du Caire pendant les années 1937-1938 »,
    CRAIBL 82/5, 1938. p. 437-448.

Jouguet 1939
P. Jouguet, « Rapport sur l'activité de l'Institut
    français d'Archéologie orientale du Caire »,
    CRAIBL 83/4, 1939, p. 370-383.

Kemp 2006
B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt, Anatomy of a Civilisation*,
    Abingdon, 2006

Marra 2008
M. Marra, *R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, La politica,
    l'esoterismo, l'egittologia*, Milan, 2008.

Nivet-Sambin 2008
C. Nivet-Sambin, « À Médamoud, le temple
    du Moyen Empire était orienté vers
    le Nil », dans L. Gabolde (éd.), *Hommages
    à Jean-Claude Goyon*, BdE 143, Le Caire, 2008,
    p. 313-329.

Relats Montserrat 2017
F. Relats Montserrat, « Sésostris III à Médamoud :
    un état de la question », dans G. Andreu-Lanoë,
    F. Morfoisse (éd), *Sésostris III et la fin
    du Moyen Empire, Actes du colloque
    des 12-13 décembre 2014 Louvre-Lens et Palais des
    Beaux-Arts de Lille*, CRIPEL 31, 2017, p. 119-139.

Relats Montserrat 2018
F. Relats Montserrat, « Médamoud », dans *Rapport
    d'activité 2018*, BIFAO-suppl. 118, 2019, p. 216-221.

Relats Montserrat 2019
F. Relats Montserrat, « Médamoud »,
    dans L. Coulon, M. Cressent (éd.),
    *Archéologie française en Égypte, recherche,
    coopération, innovation*, BiGen 59, Le Caire, 2019,
    p. 190-195.

Relats Montserrat à paraître
F. Relats Montserrat, *Médamoud, I. L'histoire d'une
    fouille (1924-1940)*, FIFAO, Le Caire, à paraître.

Robichon, Varille 1936
C. Robichon, A. Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal
    Amenhotep fils de* Hapou, vol. I, FIFAO 11,
    Le Caire, 1936.

Robichon, Varille 1939
C. Robichon, A. Varille, « Médamoud, les fouilles
    du musée du Louvre, 1938 », *CdE* 14, fasc. 27,
    Janvier 1939, p. 82-87.

Robichon, Varille 1940
C. Robichon, A. Varille, *Description sommaire du
    temple primitif de Médamoud*, RAPH 11, 1940.

Sainte-Fare Garnot 1943
J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, « Chronique égyptologique
    1939-1943 », *RHR* 126, 1943, p. 42-56.

Sainte-Fare Garnot 1944
J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, « Le temple primitif
    de Médamoud (Haute-Égypte) », *CRAIBL* 88/1,
    1944, p. 65-74.

Sainte-Fare Garnot 1952
J. Sainte-Fare Garnot, *Religions égyptiennes antiques,
    bibliographie analytique (1939-1943)*, Paris, 1952.

Schiestl, Seiler 2012
R. Schiestl, A. Seiler, *Handbook of the Pottery of the
    Egyptian Middle Kingdom*, 2 vol., DÖAWW 72,
    Vienne, 2012.

Schwaller de Lubicz 1957
R.A. Schwaller de Lubicz, *Le temple de l'Homme,
    Apet du sud à Louqsor* I, Paris, 1957.

Fig. 1. Salle du fonds du couloir ouest (vue de l'ouest). L'enduit blanc couvre les faces internes des murs du couloir. Une tranchée postérieure est venue entailler la liaison entre le couloir et le tirage papier de C. Robichon (1939).

Fig. 2. Fouille du temple primitif en 1938. Les maçonneries visibles au centre de la photographie correspondent au mur sud de la chambre XVII du temple ptolémaïque (une assise d'élévation et trois de fondations). Au premier plan, des ouvriers dégagent un dépôt de céramique à l'intérieur de l'enceinte, à l'est de la première cour du temple primitif.
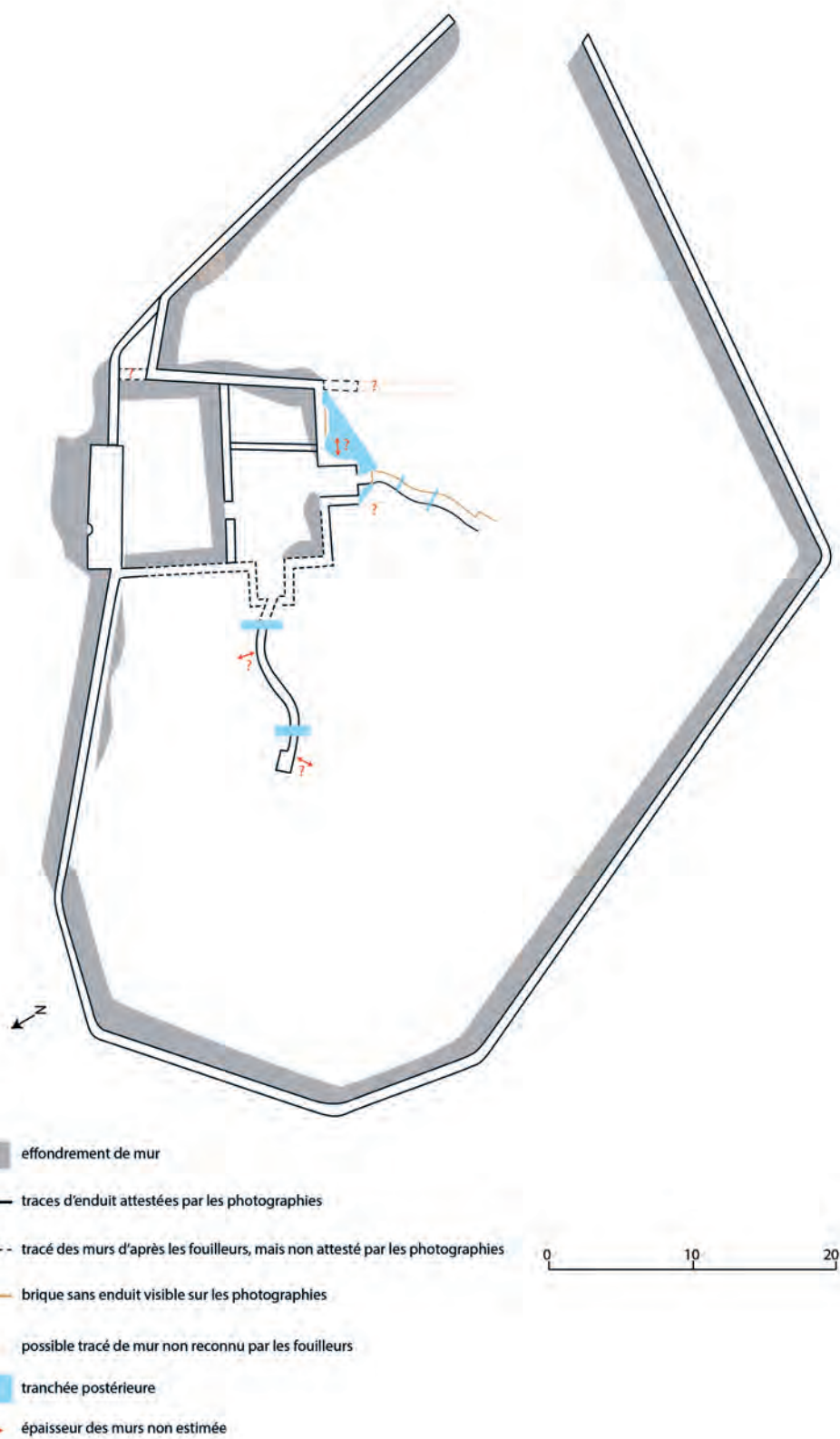
effondrement de mur

traces d'enduit attestées par les photographies

tracé des murs d'après les fouilleurs, mais non attesté par les photographies

brique sans enduit visible sur les photographies

possible tracé de mur non reconnu par les fouilleurs

tranchée postérieure

épaisseur des murs non estimée

0   10   20

© F. Relats Montserrat.

Fig. 3. Schéma synthétisant les données tirées des photographies du temple primitif.

Les fouilles du «temple primitif» de Médamoud (1938-1939) | 611

Jakob Schneider*

Notes on the Rediscovery of the Past During the 18th Dynasty

ALREADY IN 1903, Wilhelm Spiegelberg remarked that "the art of the 18th Dynasty was still under the spell of the Middle Kingdom".[1] Since then, the relationship between the early New Kingdom and the past has become a frequent topic in Egyptology and was covered by art, literary, history, social and political historians alike. It is generally assumed that certain developments towards the end of the Second Intermediate Period and the 18th Dynasty inspired the rulers and officials of this time to show an increased interest in the past and to imitate specific models from earlier periods. However, although many details of this issue have received an extensive scholarly treatment already,[2] a comprehensive analysis of its nature and development is yet to be desired. In a first attempt to provide such a general treatment, the following article will briefly examine the ancient Egyptian relationship to the past within the framework of cultural memory theory before turning to the 18th Dynasty to establish a preliminary conclusion regarding the extent and relevance of the phenomenon to that period.

The relationship of a culture to its past is commonly described as cultural memory. The concept was introduced in the first half of the 20th Century by French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs who stressed that any memory is created in social contexts. Rather than being fixed and unchanging *objects*, he points out, memories are social *acts* in which remnants of bygone information are reassembled and interpreted in the light of recent experience and current requirements. In other words: the past does only exist insofar as humans create and contextualise it in the present.[3]

Scholars like Pierre Nora or Aleida and Jan Assmann picked up on this idea and formed the body of modern memory theory, which acknowledges that cultures remember, forget, supress, and recreate memory and thus interact with their past in an active and meaningful way.[4] Since then, the discipline of Cultural Memory Studies has attracted hundreds of scholars worldwide, whose

---

* Humboldt University Berlin.
1. SPIEGELBERG 1903, p. 38 (author's translation).
2. Cf. SCHNEIDER 2019, p. 117 (4).
3. HALBWACHS 1939 (ed. 1992).
4. Cf. OLICK, VINITZKY-SEROUSSI, LEVY (eds.) 2011, pp. 6–29.

work nowadays forms a complex network of theoretical debates, case studies and applications to social and political issues. Despite this complexity, however, the core aspects of memory theory can be summarized rather briefly:[5]

a. Cultural Memory is an umbrella term for any sorts of approaches that explain the emergence of identity of a given group or an individual within a group through connections to the past. The people and events a culture chooses to remember, and the way they are remembered in the end, form the basis of cultural identity in the present.

b. Cultural Memory is a set of practices of identity building. It must be done to exist. It is realised within performative acts such as political decisions, days of remembrance, art, and discourse. To ask for memory is to ask how it is played out in public, and how it is not. To make things more complicated, in every act of memory lies the chance to affirm, update or even change existing memory discourses, rendering it a highly unstable phenomenon.

c. Cultural Memory is dependent on specific carrier groups, which can be defined in terms of size and cohesion. To ask for memory is to ask who remembers, and who is allowed to remember. Families remember differently than a nation, members of the socio-political elite remember differently than inhabitants of a small village. Also, a big group with a small level of cohesion can produce several differing or conflicting mnemonic narratives. Complex societies are thus marked by a multitude of dialectics between memories and counter-memories, creating power struggles for the dominance over the interpretation of the past.[6]

d. Cultural Memory is always a construction. It lives through constant actualization depending on current values in the present. Thus, in every act of memory lies the possibility to re-evaluate and update memory in accordance with whatever needs may have arisen in the meantime. Whoever speaks about the past does so with clear, albeit often invisible intentions for the present and thus challenges every struggle for objectivity right from the start.

Although contemporary memory theory focuses on case studies from rather modern times,[7] it is not a problem to apply it to ancient Egypt as well. Most of the king lists, for example, present only a selection of the totality of known kings at a given time. Those selections were not made randomly but were the result of a deliberate selection process. The list-owners included kings and dynasties with which they were associated or which were deemed famous, while rulers who were of no particular importance to them, or who had fallen out of favour, were omitted. Thus, the king lists not only supported the identity of their respective owner in associating them to selected rulers, but also presented a specific version of history which was tailored to fit the demands of the present.[8]

Visitors' inscriptions, on the other hand, come into being because a tomb, monument, or place on which they are inscribed went through a certain transformation in the past. Tombs and monuments were constructed with a certain meaning and function in mind, but they lose this meaning and function

5. The following after ERLL 2011, pp. 5–7.
6. BEREK 2009, pp. 180–181.
7. Cf. ERLL 2018.
8. REDFORD 1986, pp. 333 ff.; POPKO 2006, p. 123.

gradually over time, as the subjects and purposes behind them are forgotten. However, this loss of meaning opens the possibility for later generations to create new purposes within those older structures, and the visitor's inscriptions are the best proof of such behaviour. The creators of such inscriptions knew the original function of the places and sometimes even the original owner.[9] But at the same time they could use the mnemonic limbo in which the places existed to ascribe their own meaning upon them. They turned such places of internment and monumentality into places of self-presentation, thus updating the mnemonic function of such places to let it serve a new purpose in the present.[10]

The third and most prominent example for memory work in ancient Egypt are the cases of revitalisation (also known as archaism). Throughout Egyptian history texts and artistic models of older times were brought back to life and incorporated into the canon of the respective period. Famous instances include, for example, the reappearance of Old Kingdom mastaba scenes and Pyramid Texts in tomb complexes of the Late Period. However, rather than being merely copied the source material was updated and assimilated to fit the demands of the present.[11]

There is hardly another place that better illustrates this phenomenon than the temple of Hatshepsut. The architecture and decoration of this place carry a stunning plethora of references to the remnants of kings like Mentuhotep II and Sesostris III, to the sun temples of the 5th Dynasty and to even more ancient structures like the Djoser precinct.[12] Those references were by no means random but carried a highly intentional political message. In reviving elements of cultural memory and incorporating those within an entirely new structure, Hatshepsut presented herself as an innovator within a line of carefully selected predecessors.[13]

Her interest in the past was, however, by no means limited to her architectural program. Already in 1935, for example, William C. Hayes observed that the sarcophagus of Hatshepsut follows certain sarcophagi from the Middle Kingdom in minute detail.[14] In the 1950s, Siegfried Schott noted that Hatshepsut placed her coronation day on the same day as the kings from the 12th Dynasty,[15] and in 1967 Bengt Julius Peterson published a remarkable alabaster bowl from a foundation deposit of Hatshepsuts temple, carrying an inscription in which she dedicates her temple *expressis verbis* to her "father" Mentuhotep, thus proving that the similarities between the two buildings are indeed no coincidence.[16]

Even more renowned is the strange proximity between Hatshepsut and the obscure last ruler of the Middle Kingdom Neferusobek. Already in 1932, Kurth Sethe remarked that the construction of the name Neferusobek is strangely similar to Neferura, the name of Hatshepsuts daughter.[17] In 1964, Michael Vallogia pointed to the unusual parallel between Sobek-Ka-Ra, Neferusobek, and Maat-Ka-Ra, Hatshepsut.[18] Finally, in 1989, Elisabeth Staehlin published various parallels between

---

9. Navratilova 2007, pp. 134–135.
10. For this phenomenon cf. Assmann 2010, pp. 308 ff.
11. Kahl 2010.
12. Ćwiek 2014.
13. Schott 1954, pp. 244–248; Laboury 2013, p. 16.
14. Hayes 1935, pp. 62–77.
15. Schott 1955.
16. Peterson 1967.
17. Sethe 1932.
18. Vallogia 1964.

the statuary of Hatshepsut and the statuary of Neferusobek, concluding that Hatshepsut took her as a direct reference to support supposedly political purposes in her reign.[19] To make things short, there is good evidence to suggest that Hatshepsut was partly concerned with deliberate memory politics. References to the past were incorporated into her political program; she used, updated, and modulated the past to be of service in the present and to present herself as a renewer, renovator and worthy successor to famous and carefully selected rulers of the past.[20] Perhaps this mnemonic agenda came even with a divine blessing, as expressed by the command of Amun in Karnak:

mnḫ ḥw.(tw) n.w nṯr.w r nw n.w šꜣ zš.w tp.j-ꜥ.w

Make the temples excellent according to the instructions in the writings of the ancestors.[21]

However, while Hatshepsut was pursuing her political agenda, the powerful officials surrounding her also developed a remarkable interest in the past. In his tomb, the most notorious official of the queen, Senenmut, displayed a particular star-ceiling whose direct predecessors stem from Middle Kingdom coffins in Asyut.[22] Also from Asyut comes a collection of Pyramid and Coffin Texts, dubbed Funerary Liturgy No. 7 by Jan Assmann. Senenmut displayed this liturgy in TT 353 alongside a specific collection of Pyramid Texts whose particular combination and arrangement seem to stem from Asyut as well.[23]

Senenmut is a particularly interesting case, since it seems that he even commented on his interest in things of the past. On a statue in Karnak, he ends a plea for the living with the words:

jnk sḫ n sḏm n꞊f ꜥq꞊kw gr.t ḥr zḫꜣ(.w) nb(.w) n ḥm-nṯr nn ḥm.tn (꞊j) m ḫpr.t ḏr zp-tp.j[24]

I am a noble one would listen to. I also had access to all the writings of the priests, and there is nothing that (I) would not know about what happened since the "first time".

This can be contrasted with another statement that he made about a particular design he invented on his statue Berlin 2296:

tj.wt jri.n (꞊j) m k(ꜣ).t jb ꞊j m jri m sḫ.t n gm(.w) (꞊sn) m zš.w tp.j-ꜥ.w[25]

Figures that I made according to the plan of my heart, on my own accord—they were not found in the scripts of the ancestors.

---

19. Staehlin 1989. For the nature of those purposes, cf. Ilin-Tomich 2014.
20. Cf. also Laboury 2013 and Laboury 2014, pp. 86–87.
21. Burgos et al. 2006, p. 37.
22. Kahl 1999, pp. 201–202.
23. Kahl 1999, pp. 184–186.
24. Urk. IV, 415.
25. Urk. VI, 406.

Such and similar sources suggest the assumption that Senenmut accessed older material to present himself as being throughoutly acquainted with the past. But starting from this knowledge, he could also present himself as an innovator, since, in his reasoning, only he who perfectly knew the past was able to create something perfectly new.[26] Of course, Senenmut was not the only high official and certainly not the only high official dealing with the past. The interest in exploiting the cultural memory of the 18th Dynasty runs like a golden thread through the ranks of the courtly elite of that time. Notable examples include Puiemra, whose tomb layout and decoration were also inspired by models from Asyut,[27] Ineni, who copied an agricultural scene from a neighboring Middle Kingdom tomb[28] and even cited Sinuhe and the Shipwrecked Sailor in his inscriptions,[29] or Djehuti, who displayed the same Pyramid Texts as Senenmut cryptographically outside of his tomb and presented himself similarly as someone able to decipher the scripts of the secret house.[30]

Things get even more baffling on a grander scale. In at least four tombs of the 18th Dynasty the Old Kingdom scene of harpooning the hippo appears again, only that it is not the king, but the official who is harpooning this time.[31] Also, following the assessment of Regine Schulz, it is very well possible that it was precisely under Hatshepsut that the type of the cuboid statue known from the Middle Kingdom was extensively and consciously revived again.[32]

Finally, the extensive and transregional application of Visitor's Inscriptions during that time gives ample proof that older tombs and monuments were visited in something that looks almost like a touristic interest. The content of those inscriptions shows that the (past) owners of many tombs and monuments were still remembered and that the function and design of such places were still understood.[33] Their widespread application and elaborate nature may even suggest that the individuals who created them took pride in their work and their knowledge, and thus, just like Senenmut, used the past to bolster their own self-presentation to distinguish themselves.[34]

Finally, the question of entanglement matters as well. In TT 61, the tomb of Useramun, we find a remarkable depiction of the Amduat. In the northern chapel of TT 39, the tomb of Puiemra, we find Pyramid Texts 204, 207 and 209–212 opposite a wall with Book of the Dead 148. The same design can be found in the temple of Hatshepsut.[35] Pprobably the same Puiemra deposited an ushabti at the Djoser-precinct,[36] the same building that inspired the temple of the queen to such an extent.[37] Puiemra was involved in the construction of this temple, pointing to the deep entanglement of the so-called royal and private spheres.[38]

26. Cf. Guksch 1994, pp. 92–93; Espinel 2014, pp. 325–327.
27. Kahl 1999, pp. 271–274.
28. Engelmann von Carnap 1999, pp. 98–99.
29. Popko 2006, pp. 236–237.
30. Espinel 2014.
31. TT 39, TT 53, TT 82, TT 155. Cf. Säve-Söderbergh 1953, pp. 21–23.
32. Schulz 1992, p. 774
33. Navratilova 2007, pp. 137, 143.
34. Ragazzoli 2010, p. 165.
35. Gestermann 2002, pp. 236–237.
36. JE 50035, cf. Gunn 1926, p. 157.
37. Ćwiek 2014.
38. Shirley 2014, p. 201.

Hatshepsut's memory politics and the interest in the past of her officials can certainly not be studied independently of each other. Both were the main drivers behind a systematic rediscovery of the past in the 18th dynasty and utilized their cultural memory to send a (political) message about their distinguished status. The knowledge about the past, the identification with predecessors and the surpassing of those were core elements of 18th Dynasty courtly politics and present an important piece of the puzzle in its interpretation.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ASSMANN 2010
Assmann, A., *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses*, C.H. Beck Paperback 6331, München, 2010.

BEREK 2009
Berek, M., *Kollektives Gedächtnis und die gesellschaftliche Konstruktion der Wirklichkeit: eine Theorie der Erinnerungskulturen*, Wiesbaden, 2009.

BURGOS et al. 2006
Burgos, F., Larché, F., Grimal, N., Arnaudiès, A., Chéné, A., Goudet, A., Zacharias, H., Zacharias, H., Gouraud-Fontana, A., *La chapelle rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout*, Paris, 2006.

ĆWIEK 2014
Ćwiek, A., "Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari", *EtudTrav* 27, pp. 61–93.

ENGELMANN VON CARNAP 1999
Engelmann von Carnap, B., *Die Struktur des thebanischen Beamtenfriedhofs in der ersten Hälfte der 18. Dynastie: Analyse von Position, Grundrißgestaltung und Bildprogramm der Gräber*, ADAIK 15, Berlin, 1999.

ERLL 2011
Erll, A., *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen*, Stuttgart, 2011.

ERLL 2018
Erll, A., "Homer: A Relational History", *Memory Studies* 11/3, 2018, pp. 274–286.

ESPINEL 2014
Espinel, A.D., "Play and Display in Egyptian High Culture. The Cryptographic Texts of Djehuti (TT 11) and their Sociocultural Context", in J.M. Galán, B.M. Bryan, P.F. Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from Occasional Proceedings of the Theban Workshop 2010*, SAOC 69, Chicago, 2014, pp. 297–335.

GESTERMANN 2002
Gestermann, L., "Vermächtnisse des Mittleren Reiches. Beobachtungen zu einigen Funerären Texten", in T.A. Bács (ed.), *A Tribute to Excellence: Studies Offered in Honor of Ernö Gaál, Ulrich Luft, László Török*, StudAeg 17, Budapest, 2002, pp. 233–244.

GUKSCH 1994
Guksch, H., *Königsdienst. Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie*, SAGA 11, Heidelberg, 1994.

GUNN 1926
Gunn, B., "A Shawabti-Figure of Puyamre from Saqqara", *ASAE* 26, 1926, pp. 157–159.

HALBWACHS 1939 (ed. 1992)
Halbwachs, M., *On Collective Memory* (1939), (trans. L.A. Coser), Chicago, London, 1992.

HAYES 1935
Hayes, W.C., *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, PMAA 19, Princeton, 1935.

ILIN-TOMICH 2014
Ilin-Tomich, A., "The Theban Kingdom of Dynasty 16. Its Rise, Administration and Politics", *JEH* 7/2, 2014 pp. 143–193.

KAHL 1999
Kahl, J., *Siut-Theben: Zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*, PdÄ 13, Leiden, Boston, Köln, 1999.

Kahl 2010
Kahl, J., *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*,
    s.v. "Archaism", <http://escholarship.org/uc/
    item/3tn7q1pf>, accessed 14 December 2021.

Laboury 2013
Laboury, D., "Citations et usages de l'art du
    Moyen Empire à l'époque thoutmoside",
    in S. Bickel (ed.), *Vergangenheit und Zukunft,
    Studien zum historischen Bewusstsein in der
    Thutmosidenzeit*, AegHelv 22, Basel, 2013, pp. 11–28.

Laboury 2014
Laboury, D., "How and why did Hatshepsut Invent
    the Image of her Royal Power?", in J.M. Galán
    et al. (eds.), J.M. Galán, B.M. Bryan,
    P.F. Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and Innovation in
    the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from Occasional
    Proceedings of the Theban Workshop 2010*,
    SAOC 69, Chicago, 2014, pp. 49–91.

Navratilova 2007
Navratilova, H., *The Visitors' Graffiti
    of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and
    Northern Saqqara*, Prague, 2007.

Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi, Levy (eds.) 2011
Olick, J.K., Vinitzky-Seroussi, V., Levy, D. (eds.),
    The Collective Memory Reader, Oxford,
    New York, 2011.

Peterson 1967
Peterson, B.J., "Hatschepsut und Nebhepetre
    Mentuhotep", *CdE* 42/84, 1967, pp. 266–268.

Popko 2006
Popko, L., *Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung
    der Ahmosiden- und Thutmosidenzeit: "- damit
    man von seinen Taten noch in Millionen von
    Jahren sprechen wird."*, Wahrnehmungen und
    Spuren Altägyptens 2, Würzburg, 2006.

Ragazzoli 2010
Ragazzoli, C., "Weak Hands and Soft Mouths.
    Elements of Scribal Identity in the
    New Kingdom", *ZÄS* 137/2, 2010, pp. 157–170.

Redford 1986
Redford, D.B., *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and
    Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the
    Egyptian Sense of History*, Newsletter/Society for
    the Study of Egyptian Antiquities 4, Mississauga,
    1986.

Säve-Söderbergh 1953
Säve-Söderbergh, T., *On Egyptian Representations
    of Hippopotamus Hunting as a Religious Motive*,
    HorSoed 3, Uppsala, 1953.

Shirley 2014
Shirley, J., "The Power of the Elite", in J.M. Galán,
    B.M. Bryan, P.F. Dorman (eds.), *Creativity and
    Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers
    from Occasional Proceedings of the Theban
    Workshop 2010*, SAOC 69, Chicago, 2014,
    pp. 173–245.

Schneider 2019
Schneider, J., "Aussage gegen Aussage:
    Bemerkungen über Vergangenheit und Zukunft
    in der 18. Dynastie", in A. Verbovsek, B. Backes,
    M.W Götz, A. Verbovsek (eds.), *Narrative:
    Geschichte – Mythos – Repräsentation, Beiträge des
    achten Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Aegyptologie
    (Baja 8), 1.12–3.12.2017*, GOF 65, Wiesbaden,
    2019, pp. 117–130.

Schott 1954
Schott, S., *Mythe und Geschichte*, Mainz, 1954.

Schott 1955
Schott, S., *Zum Krönungstag der Königin
    Hatschepsût*, Göttingen, 1955.

Schulz 1992
Schulz, R., *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung des
    kuboiden Statuentypus. Eine Untersuchung zu
    den sogenannten "Würfelhockern"*, HÄB 33–34,
    Hildesheim, 1992.

Sethe 1932
Sethe, K., *Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal
    Untersucht*, Berlin, 1932.

Spiegelberg 1903
Spiegelberg, W., *Geschichte der ägyptischen
    Kunst bis zum Hellenismus*, Der alte Orient,
    Ergänzungsband 1, Leipzig, 1903.

Staehlin 1989
Staehlin, E., "Zum Ornat an Statuen regierender
    Königinnen", BSEG 13, 1989, pp. 145–156.

Vallogia 1964
Vallogia, M., "Remarques sur les noms de la reine
    Sébek-Ka-Rê Néferou-Sébek", *RdE* 16, 1964,
    pp. 45–53.

José M. Serrano[*]

A Ramesside High Official of the Domain of the Amun Buried in Dra Abu el-Naga

At Dra Abu el-Naga North, around the rock-cut tomb-chapels of Djehuty (TT11) and Hery (TT12), the Spanish Archaeological Mission has been working for 20 years.[1] In addition to the excavation, cleaning and restoration of these funerary monuments, many archaeological levels and finds have been brought to light. They cover a long period of time from the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period to the remains of the important occupation of this part of the necropolis in the Graeco-Roman period. The New Kingdom is one of the most active periods, both in the 18th Dynasty—to which the tombs of Djehuty and Hery are attributed—and the Ramesside period.[2] In this area, several tombs and documents related to individuals from these latter periods mentioned have been discovered. Among them is Tutuia, "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun", to whom this preliminary study is dedicated.

Tutuia has been known since the beginning of the Spanish mission's work by a number of stamped mud-bricks. These bricks are identified with a rectangular stamp, in which the name and the position of Tutuia are written. They were found scattered across the surroundings of Djehuty's tomb, in highly disturbed levels and with heavily mixed materials, mainly concentrated to the south and south-west of TT11's courtyard. These bricks were extensively reused in later structures, mainly shafts, which could indicate a possible destruction of Tutuia's original tomb. Its location has not yet been determined, but it is most likely south of Djehuty's tomb (TT11). The typology of the mud-bricks suggests that they date from the end of 18th to the first half of the 19th Dynasty.[3]

Along with the mud-bricks, an interesting set of Tutuia shabtis has been discovered. During the last four seasons (2016–2019), a large number of fragments of different types of shabtis were collected, apparently from the same set. The shabtis were scattered in a large area southwest of the courtyard of Djehuty's tomb, again in high disturbed sacking levels, where most of the sealed

2. For some recent publications of the Spanish Archaeological Mission, see: Galán 2015; Galán 2017; Galán, Jiménez-Higueras 2015; García, Galán 2016; Díaz-Iglesias 2017; Meyer, Serrano 2017; Barahona-Mendieta 2018; Jiménez-Higueras 2020.
3. Galán 2008, pp. 167–169, pl. XXVI; Zenihiro 2019, no. 658/B.31.

mud-bricks were recovered. The vast majority of the shabti fragments, about 160, were made of terracotta, carefully painted with bright colours, and generally very well preserved. Almost all of them have a text column, with the signs in black on a yellow-gold background (fig. 1). Typologically, they are dated from the end of the 18th Dynasty to the early Ramesside period (Seti I and the beginning of the reign of Ramesses II).[4] This type of terracotta shabtis is far from common, and they are possibly imitating contemporary wooden models.[5]

The inscription of the shabtis has two different names: one of them is Tutuia(*Tw-tw-iꜣ*), sometimes described as "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun", but in most cases "Steward of Amun". The other name in our set of shabtis is Nebmehyt (*Nb-mḥyt*), occupying the same two positions previously mentioned. There are no differences between the shabtis with the name of Tutuia from those of Nebmehyt, neither in technique nor in decoration and typology. It is certain that we are dealing with a unique set, made at a single time, and possibly for the same burial or tomb. Nevertheless, they bear two different names.

In addition to the terracotta shabtis, we found four white faience shabti fragments, of identical high-quality and careful workmanship. The details, lines and text are filled with a dark, almost black colour; the hands and face were made of red clay (fig. 2). Once again, the parallels lead us to the 19th Dynasty or the early Ramesside period.[6] We can read on one of these fragments the name of Tutuia, "Steward of Amun", while on another we find the name Nebmehyt, with the same title. Finally, there is a single stone fragment, the bottom part of a calcite shabti, where the name of Nebmehyt can be read.

Tutuia was not a complete stranger until our findings: we have the name of Tutuia, "Steward of Amun", in a Cairo papyrus (no. 65739), which contains a judicial process related to the acquisition of slaves. Here, our character appears to have lent an amount of metal to purchase a Syrian slave. Alan H. Gardiner clearly dates the papyrus to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, or even earlier. It could therefore be the same person buried in Dra Abu el-Naga.[7]

There is also a faience slab that links the name Tutuia, "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun", to the name of Ramesses II. Unfortunately, it is a piece out of archaeological context. It probably belongs to Tutuia's burial equipment, and in any case it allows us to confirm the chronology of our character and the shabtis.[8]

In the following pages, we will present schematically the main hypothesis and lines of research that we are conducting on this set of shabtis, and especially on the identity of its owner.

---

4. For some parallels, see: Schlögl 2000, nos. 11–12; Cavillier 2016, nos. 27, 28, 29, and 64; and from the rich collection of the British Museum, see: BM EA 71252 (Ramesside), 33947 (19th Dynasty), 9451 (Ramesside), 71242 (Ramesside), 55256 (Ramesside), 22809 (Ramesside), 9469 (Ramesside), 9454 (Ramesside), 15760–15761 (19th Dynasty, possibly the closer parallel), 9457 (19th Dynasty), 47802 (19th Dynasty), 9448 (Ramesside), and 9481 (Ramesside). See also the valuable work of H. Schneider 1977, vol. I, chap. V, pp. 260–318.
5. For the Ramesside wooden shabtis as models for the terracotta ones, see: Reiser-Haslauer 1990, ÄS 831, 837 y 8492 (all from the 19th Dynasty), and the parallels from the British Museum: BM EA 8623, 8615, 8648, 8624, 8594, 8634, 8619, 8630, 8586, 8595, and 18670 (all Ramesside, mainly from the 19th Dynasty).
6. For some clear parallels in white faience, see: Schlögl 1990, no. 46 (end of 18th to the beginning of 19th Dynasty); Janes 2016, nos. 24 (19th Dynasty), 25 (19th Dynasty), 28 (Ramesses II); Reiser-Haslauer 1990, ÄS 1323ª.
7. Gardiner 1935; Ja. Janssen 1994.
8. *KRI* III, p. 346, no. 155.

NAMES AND TITLES

The name of Tutuia is not very common. It can be linked to a certain group of names such as Tuia, Tia or Tiy. These names became popular around the second half of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. Although there are some male individuals, the vast majority are female names.[9] Tutuia could possibly be related to Egyptian onomastic traditions related to hypochoristics such as Titi, Teti and similars. However, it could also be an Egyptian adaptation of a foreign name, based on a Semitic root like *Dwdw/Twtw*, plus the ending *–iꜣ*, which is very common in foreign onomastics of the New Kingdom.[10] This is the case, for example, of Tutu, the well-known minister of Akhenaten's time in charge of relations with the Syrian kinglets.[11] And it could be underlined that one of the name variants in our shabtis, *Twtw*, corresponds to the name of this Amarna character.

This last hypothesis would possibly be supported by the fact that, apart from the general use as a feminine name, we have found only few men named Tutuia, and almost all of them could be of foreign origin. Thus, on a stele found at Giza dating from the period of Seti I, one can read the name of a Tutuia, "Scribe of the Offering-Table of the Lord of the Two Lands", as well as his wife and two brothers. All three have apparently foreign names. Moreover, the stela pays homage to a deity of Semitic origin (*Hwl/Hwr/Horon*) introduced into Egypt with the influx of foreign people, and linked to the Sphinx of Giza. It is well known that the Memphite area and the eastern Delta underwent a remarkable influx of Asian population during the New Kingdom.[12] In another stela, also from the Memphite area and dated to the Ramesside period, we find a "Goldsmith of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tutuia". On this stela, which mentions no less than seven members from the same family group, we again find a non-Egyptian onomastic. It is interesting to note that this Tutuia bears a second name, Mery-Ptah, in this case typically Egyptian.[13]

Regarding Nebmehyt's name, it is certainly a fairly clear Egyptian name. It is mostly concentrated among the members of the Pharaonic elite of the end of the 18th and the 19th Dynasty, especially in Upper Egypt.[14] This name, in reference to the north, could have been chosen to express the foreign extraction of its holder, a possibility that opens a new line of research. As pointed out earlier, both names, Tutuia and Nebmehyt, bear the same titles in our set of shabtis. They appear alternately as "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun" and "Steward of Amun", sometimes including the epithet *wr* ("Great" or "Senior"). It is worth noting the prevalence in our set of shabtis of the title "Steward of Amun". We are not sure about which of these two titles implies greater dignity or prestige. Perhaps the title "Overseer of the Cattle of Amun" did, but we don't know to what extent it implied no more than an honorific distinction in the Ramesside period.[15]

9. Ranke 1935-1952, vol. I, p. 377, no. 18 (*Tiꜣ*, mostly women), p. 378, no. 2 (*Tiy*, only for women), no. 6 (*Twiꜣ*, mostly women), p. 379, no. 9 (*Twiw*, only for women).
10. T. Schneider 1992, pp. 243–244, no. 521.
11. The tomb of Tutu was published by Norman de Garis Davies (1908, pl. XI–XX).
12. Hassan 1953, pp. 261–262. For the god Horon, see: Van Dijk 1989, *passim*.
13. Roeder 1924, pp. 145–147, no. 7279.
14. For some onomastic parallels, see: PM I, 1, p. 483, and PM I, 2, p. 858; Ranke 1935–1952, p. 185, no. 7; B.G. Davies 1999, pp. 35, 37, 237–238.
15. For these titles, see: Haring 1997 and Eichler 2005.

Given what had been said, our current research works on the possibility that Tutuia and Nebmehyt were in fact the same person with two names: the first one could be of foreign origin; the second is a normal Egyptian name, also common among high officials of the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. Our proposal, a foreign origin for Tutuia-Nebmehyt, fits well with the cosmopolitan character of Egypt during the New Kingdom.[16]

Moreover, it is easy to understand why Tutuia-Nebmehyt, if in fact the same person, chose to be buried near the TT11: from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, the center and north of Dra Abu el-Naga became an important burial area for the staff of the Domain of Amun, also known as "the courtyard of Amun" (*wbꜢ n Ỉmn*).[17]

2.   TYPOLOGY AND FUNCTIONS OF THE SET OF SHABTIS OF TUTUIA-NEBMEHYT

When we discuss the funerary use of shabtis, we usually emphasize two main topics, which obviously coexist and are interrelated: first, the shabti as funerary figurine, a representation of the deceased, or finally its substitute (as a repository of the *ka*). The high-quality shabtis, characterized by a particular workmanship and made from noble materials (stone, wood) could be related to this concept.

On the other hand, shabtis can obviously be understood as servants of the deceased, assuming the tasks assigned to the blessed dead in the other life. This is one of the reasons why the shabtis began to increase in number, into the hundreds, in the Ramesside period, and especially the Third Intermediate Period onwards. It was at this time that the faience, or its clay imitation, became popular, as well as other techniques indicating massive manufacture, often of poor quality and crude workmanship.[18]

Thus, Tutuia-Nebmehyt's set of shabtis belongs to an interesting moment of the shabti use and evolution, between the end of the 18th and the first half of the 19th Dynasty. Unfortunately, we have very few undamaged tombs of private individuals of this period. Royal tombs should not be included in comparisons, as they are unique. In any case, they could have served as models in the private domain. The fact is that at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty, we can see a significant increase in the number of shabtis among the burial equipment. It is difficult to be more accurate, but it seems that it goes from 2–4 up to 15–20 shabtis in the private burials of the 18th Dynasty, to a much higher number (several dozens, even close to a hundred) for many cases in the early Ramesside period. It should also be noted that shabtis of different types and quality were made for the same dignitary.[19]

All this fits quite well with the Tutuia-Nebmehyt shabtis: the few white-faience figurines (just four fragments), as well as the calcite one, constitute a small set of high quality workmanship, which could possibly be associated with the tradition of the funerary figurines or small statuettes of the deceased. Conversely, the set of terracotta shabtis (more than 160 fragments) is one of the

---

16. Jo Janssen 1964, pp. 50–62; Hirsch 2006, pp. 120–178.
17. Polz et al. 2012, pp. 125–127; Jiménez-Higueras 2020, p. 271.
18. J.F. Aubert, L. Aubert 1974, *passim*; H. Schneider 1977, vol. I, chap. v-vi (especially pp. 260–303); Stewart 1995, pp. 8–14.
19. J.F. Aubert, L. Aubert 1974, pp. 53–113; H. Schneider 1977, vol. I, pp. 260–303, 53-113; Podvin 1997, vol. II, pp. 7–8, 591–592, 621–622, 639, 654.

first examples of these massive sets that we will find in later periods. Unlike the latter, in which faience (or imitation) is the favourite material and technique, the Tutuia-Nebmehyt shabtis are made from polychrome-painted terracotta, perhaps to imitate the increasingly uncommon wooden models, which are more expensive and less suitable for mass production.[20]

Regarding the texts, it should be stressed that on only five shabtis of our set do we find the well-known "Shabti-Text" (Chap. VI of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*). Moreover, it should also be noted that we do not find on any of the Tutuia-Nebmehyt shabtis the usual short text containing only the deceased's name and the official function preceded by the simple title of "The Osiris."[21] Instead, what we regularly find is the funerary formula of justification: *im3ẖw ẖr* + a deity's name (which varies in every piece) + the deceased's name and official position. It is important to list the deities in this formula. From most to less frequent, we find: 1) the Four Sons of Horus (Imsety, Hapy, Kebehsenuef and Duamutef), 2) Geb, 3) Anubis, 4) a falcon with outstretched wings, probably *Dwn-ʿnwy*, 5) Thoth[22].

This is, in my opinion, the most remarkable and unusual feature of our shabtis, with very few, if any, parallels, and an important step in our ongoing research. Of course, these deities belong to the most relevant and common funerary gods. But we do not usually find them mentioned on the shabtis. It is common to link them as responsible for the protection and purity of the deceased, especially of his body. They are also related to the successful judgement of the dead. It is well known that the Four Sons of Horus played the role of protectors of the deceased's body, both of the mummy in the coffin and the body parts inside the canopic jars.[23] The same can be said of Anubis.[24] While Thoth and *Dwn-ʿnwy* are related to the ritual purification, Geb, in his role as judge, is one of the gods in charge of granting the blessed condition to the dead.[25]

But it should be noted that this group of deities is the one that is usually mentioned and depicted in the coffins' external decoration of the period (18th and 19th Dynasties), including protective spells for the body and blessings for the happy destiny of the deceased. Moreover, these gods are usually represented, or mentioned in texts, in specific places on both sides of the coffins, possibly related, among others things, with the correct orientation of the mummy in the burial chamber.[26] In fact, the only parallels we can find are not on shabtis themselves, but in some coffin models that contain them. Moreover, this could also be related to the fact that, as in real coffins, some shabtis' chests have the "Nut formula" engraved.[27]

20. See nn. 4-6, above.
21. For the origin, history and meaning of the texts decorating the shabtis, see: J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974, *passim*; STEWART 1995, pp. 47–51; and the excellent study of H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. I, pp. 58–176.
22. Geb appears on six shabtis; Anubis on four; Dun-Anuy on three; Thoth on one only; and the Four Sons of Horus appear on three shabtis each, maybe because they belong to three sets.
23. For the Four Sons of Horus, see: BONNET 1952, pp. 315–316 ("Horuskinder"); *LÄ* I, 1972, cols. 52–53, s.v. "Horuskinder"; and more specifically: ASSMANN 1979 and MATHIEU 2008.
24. For Anubis and his funerary role, see: BONNET 1952, pp. 40–45; *LÄ* I, 1972, cols. 329–333, s.v. "Anubis".
25. For Thoth, see BLEEKER 1973, pp. 106–157; for Geb, see BONNET 1952, pp. 201–203 and BARTA 1973, pp. 40–49. And for the less known Dun-Anuy, see ALTENMÜLLER 1975, p. 233.
26. As on the coffins of Yuya and Tuya (T.M. DAVIES 1907, pp. 4–21). See also, WILLEMS 1988, *passim*.
27. See the model coffin of Yuya (T.M. DAVIES 1907, pl. XXIII), or the model coffin, with shabti inside, of Amenemope, now in Leiden (H. SCHNEIDER 1977, vol. II, pp. 35–36 and vol. III, pl. 84). For others parallels in the British Museum, see BM EA 53892 and 65372. Usually, the reference to these gods is completed with the "Nut Formula", as on real coffins and even in burial chambers from the beginning of the 18th Dynasty (GALÁN 2013).

Again, another line of research is that, by mentioning these deities, Tutuia-Nebmehyt's shabtis could have assumed apotropaic duties, protection and caring functions for the deceased, and perhaps more specifically for his body, the mummy. It is interesting to note that among the burial equipment, the shabtis are often in direct contact or proximity to the coffin. And in Chapter 151 of the *Book of the Death*, which depicts the funerary chamber with the coffin in the centre, there are figurines of the Four Sons of Horus, and of Anubis (usually twice), with protective spells. And also the representation of two shabtis on either side of the entrance to this sacred space where the mummy rests.[28]

Finally, it should be mentioned that each shabti in our set is broken, apparently intentionally and following the same pattern in most cases. It is even possible that they were taken out of the tomb of Tutuia-Nebmehyt and thrown away on purpose. This could also be related to some magical practices (magical damage to shabtis) occasionally attested at least during the 18th Dynasty.[29]

In summary, we believe that the present study, once completed, and if the hypothesis that we report here can finally be confirmed, will allow us to make a valuable contribution, namely the inclusion of a new character in the early Ramesside elite, probably a foreigner with two names, Tutuia-Nebmehyt, and a study-case of onomastic strategies. It would also provide evidence on the evolution and function of shabtis, and their possible use as protective figurines, in relation with the deities that were represented on the coffin lid and sides, and in specific funerary texts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALTENMÜLLER 1975
Altenmüller, B., *Synkretismus in den Sargtexten*, GOF 7, Wiesbaden, 1975.

ASSMANN 1979
Assmann, J., "Harfenlied und Horussöhne: Zwei Blöcke aus dem Verschollenen Gran des Bürgermeisters Amenemhat (Theben nr. 163) im Britischen Museum", *JEA* 65, 1979, pp. 54–77.

J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974
Aubert, J.F., Aubert, L., *Statuettes égyptiennes. Chaouabtis, ouchebtis*, Paris, 1974.

BARAHONA-MENDIETA 2018
Barahona-Mendieta, Z., "11th Dynasty Pottery Below the Courtyard of Djehuty (TT 11)", *CEE* 10, 2018, pp. 171–181.

BARTA 1973
Barta, W., *Untersuchungen zum Götterkreis der Neunheit*, MÄS 28, Munich, 1973.

BLEEKER 1973
Bleeker, C.J., *Hathor and Thot: Two Key Figures of the Ancient Egyptian Religion*, Leiden, 1973.

BONNET 1952
Bonnet, H., *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlín, 1952.

CAVILLIER 2016
Cavillier, G., *Catalogo degli Ushabti del Museo Egizio di Firenze*, vol. I, BAR-IS 2828, Oxford, 2016.

B.G. DAVIES 1999
Davies, B.G., *Who's Who at Deir el-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workmen's Community*, EgUit 13, Leiden, 1999.

N. DE G. DAVIES 1908
Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. 6: *Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu and Aÿ*, ASEg 18, London, 1908.

28. For the Chapter 151 of the *Book of Going Forth by Day*, see LÜSCHER 1998.
29. J.F. AUBERT, L. AUBERT 1974, p. 50.

T.M. Davies 1907

Davies, T.M., *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou*, London, 1907.

Díaz-Iglesias 2017

Díaz-Iglesias, L., "The *Book of Going out by Day* in the Funerary Chamber of Djehuty (TT 11): Past, Present, and Future", in G. Rosati, M.C. Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists*, ArchaeoEg 19, Oxford, 2017, pp. 177–183.

Eichler 2005

Eichler, S.E., *Die Verwaltung des «Hauses des Amun» in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK-B 7, Hamburg, 2005.

Galán 2008

Galán, J.M., "Seal Impressions from the Area of the TT11-12 in Dra Abu el-Naga", *Memnonia* 19, 2008, pp. 167–169, pl. XXV–XXXI.

Galán 2013

Galán, J.M., "Nut on the Ceiling of the Burial Chamber of Djehuty (TT11)", in E. Frood, A. McDonald (eds.), *Decorum and Experience: Essays of Ancient Culture for John Baines*, Oxford, 2013, pp. 119–126.

Galán 2015

Galán, J.M., "11th Dynasty Burials below Djehuty's Courtyard (TT 11) in Dra Abu el-Naga", *BES* 19, 2015, pp. 331–346.

Galán 2017

Galán, J.M., "Ahmose(-Sapair) in Dra Abu el-Naga North", *JEA* 103.2, 2017, pp. 179–201.

Galán, Jiménez-Higueras 2015

Galán, J.M., Jiménez-Higueras, A., "Three Burials of the Seventeenth Dynasty in Dra Abu el-Naga", in G. Miniaci, W. Grajetzki (eds.), *The World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1550 BC)*, London, 2015, pp. 101–119.

García, Galán 2016

García, D., Galán, J.M., "An Archery set from Dra Abu el-Naga", *EgArch* 49, 2016, pp. 24–28.

Gardiner 1935

Gardiner, A.H., "A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves", *JEA* 21, 1935, pp. 140–140, pl. XIII–XVI.

Haring 1997

Haring, B.J., *Divine Households: Administrative and Economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal Memorial Temples in Western Thebes*, EgUit 12, Leiden, 1997.

Hassan 1953

Hassan, S., *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets: Historical Studies in the Light of Recent Excavations*, Excavations at Gîza 8, Cairo, 1953.

Hirsch 2006

Hirsch, E., "Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neuen Reichs zur den vorderasiatischen Vasallen", in R. Gundlach, A. Klug (eds.), *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches: Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*, Wiesbaden, 2006, pp. 120–178.

Janes 2016

Janes, G., *The Shabti Collections*, vol. 6: *A Selection from World Museum, Liverpool*, Lymm, Cheshir, 2016.

Janssen 1994

Janssen, J.J., "Debts and Credit in the New Kingdom", *JEA* 80, 1994, pp. 129–136.

Janssen 1964

Janssen, J.M.A., "Fonctionnaires sémites au service de l'Égypte", *ChronEg* 51, 1964, pp. 50–62.

Jiménez-Higueras 2020

Jiménez-Higueras, A., *The Sacred Landscape of Dra Abu el-Naga during the New Kingdom*, Leiden, 2020.

Lüscher 1998

Lüscher, B., *Untersuchungen zu Totenbuch Spruch 151*, SAT 2, Wiesbaden, 1998.

Mathieu 2008

Mathieu, B., "Les Enfants d'Horus. Théologie et astromomie", *ENiM* 1, 2008, pp. 7–14.

Meyer, Serrano 2017

Meyer, M. De, Serrano, J.M., "Cattle Feet in Funerary Rituals: A Diachronic View Combining Archaeology and Iconography", *Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries* 6, 2017, pp. 402–407, pl. 76–83.

Polz et al. 2012

Polz, D., Rummel, U., Eichner, I., Beckh, T., "Topographical Archaeology in Dra'Abu el-Naga: Three Thousand Years of Cultural History", *MDAIK* 68, 2012, pp. 115–134.

Podvin 1997

Podvin, J.-L., "Composition, position et orientation du mobilier funéraire dans les tombes égyptiennes privées du Moyen Empire à la Basse Époque", PhD Thesis, University of Lille, 1997.

Ranke 1935-1952

Ranke, H., *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, vols. I-III, Glückstadt, 1935-1952.

Reiser-Haslauer 1990

Reiser-Haslauer, E., *Kunsthistorische Museum, Wien, Ägyptisch-orientalische Sammlung, Lose-Blatt-Katalog ägyptischer Altertümer, Lieferung 5, Uschebti I*, CAA, Mainz am Rhein, 1990.

Roeder 1924

Roeder, G., *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, vol. 2: *Inschriften des Neuen Reichs*, Berlin, 1924.

Schlögl 1990

Schlögl, H.A., *Ägyptische Totenfiguren aus de Öffentlichen und Privaten Sammlungen der Schweiz*, Göttingen, 1990.

Schlögl 2000

Schlögl, H.A., *Corpus der Ägyptischen Totenfiguren der öffentliche Sammlungen Krakaus*, Krakow, 2000.

H. Schneider 1977

Schneider, H.D., *Shabtis: An Introduction to the History of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Statuettes*, 3 vols., Leiden, 1977.

T. Schneider 1992

Schneider, T., *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches*, OBO 114, Freiburg, 1992.

Stewart 1995

Stewart, H.M., *Egyptian Shabtis*, *ShirEgypt* 23, Princes Risborough, 1995.

Van Dijk 1989

Van Dijk, J., "The Canaanite God Hauron and his Cult in Egypt", *GM* 107, 1989, pp. 59–68.

Willems 1988

Willems, H., *Chests of Life: A Study of the Typology and Conceptual Development of Middle Kingdom Standard Class Coffins*, MVEOL 25, Leiden, 1988.

Zenihiro 2019

Zenihiro, K., *The World of Funerary Cones: stamped bricks*, 2019, https://sites.google.com/view/funerarycones/stamped-bricks?authuser=0, accessed 5 January 2022.

Fig. 1. Terracota shabtis of Tutuia-Nebmehyt.

Fig. 2. Faience shabtis of Tutuia-Nebmehyt.

© Latova-Proyecto Djehuty.

© Latova-Proyecto Djehuty.