

INTERNATIONAL WORKSHOP

Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE

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*Scene from the tomb of Menekhibnekau, Late Period shaft tomb cemetery, Abusir
(photo M. Frouz)*

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Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE

– ABSTRACTS –

A seal of the necropolis from the Late Period shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir

Ladislav Bareš

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

The use of the seal of the necropolis, depicting a jackal (usually recumbent) above three rows consisting of three bound captives each that symbolize the traditional enemies of Egypt, is rarely attested in the Late Period Egypt. Recently, one such item has been found in the partly robbed burial chamber of Menekhibnekau at Abusir. In addition to that, a number of seal impressions (coming most probably from the same seal) have been found in other parts of this tomb. Those finds are discussed in connection with their possible meaning and use in the tomb of Menekhibnekau and in the cemetery in general.

The use of pottery in funerary contexts during the Libyan and Late Period:

A view from Thebes and Abydos

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Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, Germany)

The use, function and production of pottery often reflect changes and developments on the administrative, social and religious level. Thus, the study of Egyptian pottery during the First Millennium BC might provide interesting insights to various questions raised at the symposium.

The present paper will highlight some aspects concerning the evidence for pottery in funerary contexts at Thebes and Abydos during the Libyan and the Late Period. The presentation is based on recent fieldwork at both sites: 1) a joint mission of the Austrian Archaeological Institute and the Humboldt University Berlin in the Asasif and 2) the activities of the German Archaeological Institute Cairo at Umm el-Qaab.

At Thebes, the discussed material comes primarily from small, temple-like tombs with mudbrick chapels and from shaft tombs in the Asasif, dating from the late Third Intermediate Period to the

Persian Period up to Ptolemaic time. In general, pottery found in tombs of the area not only attests to numerous burials and re-burials, but to rituals and cultic activities as well. Among others, the practise to use pottery as grave goods on one hand and, on the other hand, to deposit pottery outside of tombs (e.g. so called embalming caches) will be discussed. Quantities, shapes of vessels and the conceptual background of the custom will be analyzed.

Concerning Abydos, a comparison between pottery excavated from the numerous cemeteries of the site and the new material unearthed by the German Archaeological Institute from the tomb of Osiris – the tomb of Djer at Umm el-Qaab, that became the focus of the cult of Osiris since the early Middle Kingdom – will be presented. Since the tomb of Osiris is a special category of funerary monument – not a real tomb, but a conceptual one and an important cultic place as well – the pottery connected with it features both characteristics of funerary pottery and votive pottery connected to temple and festivals. Although the amounts of pottery deposited at Umm el-Qaab are innumerable, a detailed study of the material which is in progress since 2008 has revealed certain heydays of use. Of special interest is the Libyan period and whether and how activities of this era differ from those of the preceding (New Kingdom) and later (Kushite) periods. Close connections between Abydos and Thebes during both the Libyan and the Kushite period are well known – but till now it has not yet been studied whether this contact is reflected in the ceramic tradition of both sites as well.

Although the study is undertaken from an Upper Egyptian point of view, it will be argued that the results are valuable for the discussion of religious development in all of Egypt. Therefore, the paper aims to add to our understanding of the major changes in funerary customs of the First Millennium BC, highlighting especially the impact of different political systems (Libyan, Kushite and Saite kingdoms) and considering the important role of the cult of Osiris and its connection to kingship.

Long Live the King! Notes on the renewal of divine kingship in the temple.

Filip Coppens – Hana Vymazalová

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

The complex of an open court and a slightly elevated and covered chapel, perhaps best known as the *wabet*, is a common feature in Ptolemaic and Roman temples of Upper Egypt. The ensemble functioned foremost as the festive setting for the purification, anointment, clothing and provisioning with protective amulets of the statues of the gods in preparation for their rejuvenation and revitalization through the union with the sun disc. In order to create the typical decorative scheme found in these ensembles, the editors of the texts and reliefs applied to its walls drew from a rich repertoire of ancient traditions and texts. In the decorative scheme in the complexes in Edfu (Ptolemaios IV), Dendara (Cleopatra VII) and el-Qal'a (Claudius) the influence of and references to royal confirmation rituals and the renewal of kingship are quite apparent and indicate that the ritual

activities performed in the *wabet* not only related to the renewal of the statues of the gods, but likewise to the renewal and confirmation of the divine kingship – whether that of Horus in Edfu and el-Qal'a, or Hathor and Isis in Dendara.

The paper aims to demonstrate that these typical and recurring dressing rituals performed on the statues of the gods and the setting of the event itself (in the elevated *wabet*) are aspects of renewal and confirmation of kingship–rites, such as the sed-festival, that can be traced not only through the first millennium BCE, but in fact all the way to the Old Kingdom. While in origin the ruling pharaoh formed the object of these ritual activities, in Ptolemaic and Roman times the gods became the beneficiaries of these acts and it was their divine kingship that was confirmed and renewed. This development undoubtedly reflected a change in the conception of kingship in the course of the first millennium BCE – not unlike similar developments in the decorative scheme applied to the walls of the birth houses – and might well have been inspired by the constant presence of foreign rulers on the throne of Egypt.

A new Late Period cemetery at Tabbet Al-Guesh (South Saqqara)

Vassil Dobrev

(Institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire, Egypt)

Since the work of Gaston Maspero at South Saqqara in 1881-1884, the French Archaeological Institute in Cairo has been absent from the area until the year 2000, when a new archaeological mission started work at the northern edge of the site, on a small plateau of 15 ha. This place is part of a site called Tabbet al-Guesh and the plateau is approximately 800 m to the South of the Step Pyramid of Saqqara. During the first season of excavation on the plateau (October 2000), a series of small mud brick mastabas revealed the existence of an unknown cemetery from the Late Period. These mastabas, organised in rows from North to South, represent an unprecedented imitation for the Late Period of the typical tomb shape from the Old Kingdom. They were built on the surface of the plateau with variable, but small dimensions (1,5-2 x 2-2,5 x 0,30 m); at the bottom of their pits (2-2,5 m deep), which were cut through the compact layer of pebbles and sand, were laying untouched wooden and pottery coffins with mummies inside. Some coffins were found directly in the compact layer of sand. Even smaller mastabas, whose dimensions did not exceed 1 x 2 m, were build rapidly; their pits contained simple burials of non-mummified bodies.

The majority of the pottery shards collected on the site in October 2000 could be dated to the Late and the Greco-Roman Periods, but there were also quite a lot of shards from the Old Kingdom, especially dating from Dynasty 6. The presence of these shards seemed to be a clear sign for the existence of an unsuspected necropolis from that age, hidden somewhere under the compact layers of sand and pebbles, over which the Late Period mastabas were built. In fact, the first Old Kingdom tombs came to

light quite quickly. During the first three seasons (2000-2002), were discovered several mud brick walls with variable thickness (from 0,50 to 0,70 m) and a height that could reach at certain points almost 3 m. They form rectangular enclosures of two different sizes (4 x 9,5 m and 6,5 x 9,5 m). The foundations of these structures have been placed directly on the surface of the mountain. Each enclosure encircles a group of rock-cut tombs built during Dynasty 6. The funerary chapels of these tombs are vaulted and cut into the rock; some of them have no decoration, but others have beautifully decorated walls.

Established in the layers of sand and pebbles accumulated during the years over the Old Kingdom rock-cut tombs, the numerous Late Period burials (wooden anthropoid coffins and pottery coffins), placed under the small mud brick mastabas or directly in the compact layer of sand (tafla), were generally found untouched. Among the other discovered objects were faience amulets representing Tauret, Sekhmet, Anubis, Bes, Thot-ibis and Thot-baboon, udjat eyes, copper earrings and bracelets, several fragments of Bes vases, one of them almost complete. Together with the mud brick mastabas, these burials and objects suggest that more than 1500 years after the Old Kingdom, the whole plateau at the north-western corner of Tabbet al-Guesh has been massively reoccupied for almost ten centuries. The discovery in 2003-2005 of some objects, like a wooden statuette of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris with a golden face, two beautiful ushebtis from Dynasty 26 and a complete stela inscribed with an aramaic text, indicate that the potential and the importance of this newly discovered Late Period cemetery is far from being revealed.

Alive in the Netherworld: Religious views in Papyrus Vandier

Barbara Egedi

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Papyrus Vandier, written around the middle of the first millennium BC, is an extremely important source not just philologically, linguistically or in a literary sense, but from the perspective of Egyptian religious views and developments of the period. In this paper I intend to analyze this literary fiction from this particular point of view.

On the one hand, many of the motifs appearing in the papyrus do have precedents in earlier literary and religious tradition in Egypt. Evidently, the presence of professional magicians in the royal court, the animation of hand-made magical creatures (frequently alluded to as the *golem*-motif with respect to the story of P.Vandier), or the role of magic in general are well known topics from earlier literary works as well. The figure and identity of the king Sisobek has also been discussed by several scholars. On the other hand, however, there are some curious features in Merire's journey to the netherworld that are far from being conventional. These are, in fact, the central motifs of the story: the prolongation of lifetime by means of a personal exchange and a visit to the netherworld by a living person; two

seemingly odd features that might shed new light upon our sight of the Egyptian conception of death and afterlife. Similar topics in the later demotic literature were often ascribed to Greek influence, but Papyrus Vandier may show that entering the netherworld alive is not a completely new idea in native Egyptian tradition either.

Beyond these general observations I aim at focusing on another distinctive and remarkable motif: the role of Hathor as a *psychopompos* in the narrative. It is Hathor who accepts Merire in the Duat, and actually the only god he encounters during his sojourn in the netherworld except for the Great God, Osiris. (Actually, no other gods intervene throughout the story.) Hathor's funerary functions and attributes, e.g. as Mistress of the West, are quite established and ordinary but her acting as a mediator, advisor and emissary, i.e. the leader of the soul is not self-evident. My purpose is to discover the origin and the motivations of this special (but so naturally depicted) role of the goddess in the adventures of Merire.

Claiming space and memory: Priestly inscriptional practices in early first millennium Karnak

Elizabeth Frood

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Forms of non-royal self-presentation changed considerably in the late New Kingdom and early Third Intermediate Period, especially in temples, which became a primary focus for monumental display while decorated tombs disappeared more or less completely. Non-royal individuals asserted their presence and participation in temples more explicitly, through statues, temple-building, and inscriptions on temple walls. The last of these, which is the focus of this paper, had previously been a royal prerogative. I use a priestly 'graffito' to assess implications of these new modes of presentation for meanings of sacred space in temples as well as for individual position and status. The monumental hieratic text of the early Third Intermediate Period priest and temple administrator Horakhbit, which was inscribed next to a doorway in an inner area of the temple of Amun (PM II², 103 (306)), incorporates elements of biography and prayer alongside an extensive, fictionalising genealogy. I assess this text, edited by Günter Vittmann in 2002, in its architectural and social context. I focus on questions raised by its location and content, in particular creation, audience, and performance, reassessing these in light of developing priestly inscriptional practices in Karnak, from informal 'graffiti' to formal records of initiation and oracular decisions. Whatever their inscriptional character, such texts appropriate significant sectors of potent interior spaces while laying claim to ancient knowledge and social memory. In addition to integrating styles of display that have hitherto been treated separately, this paper has three main aims: to show how meanings and associations of specific domains of temple space could be reformulated to display priestly knowledge, practices, and events; to explore how these forms of display relate to and transform individual and group identity, prestige, and

social power; and to investigate how such material might be understood in the context of broader changes in visual and written culture in the early first millennium. This is a preliminary to a new project to edit and analyse priestly and administrative inscriptions and graffiti in the Karnak temple complex.

The cult of Chespisichis

John Gee

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The god Chespisichis is attested in Thebes throughout the First Millennium from a variety of sources. This paper will pull together the various sources and analyze them especially looking at changes that occur over that time period.

Old formats, new experiments and royal ideology in the Early Nubian Period up to Tantamani's reign (ca. 721-664 BCE)

Roberto B. Gozzoli

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The Early Nubian Period in Egypt as well as in Nubia saw the reprisal of earlier expressions of royal iconography and ideology. The most relevant can be considered the archaism. Archaism is certainly a phenomenon not confined only to the Nubian Period, as it started before then, the earliest example for the first millennium can be dated to the Libyan Period. Nubian archaism goes back to Old Kingdom (Shabaqo Stone, Kawa temple reliefs), as well as Eighteenth Dynasty models (Montuemhat's tomb reliefs). While recalling earlier models may be explained by different motivations, political reasons were quite certainly a reason for it. The concept of the king as initiated and supreme interpreter of the divine words, thus separating him from the common mortals was part of the Nubian royal ideology. Taharqo's texts from the temple of Kawa play with this aspect.

The usual explanation for the usage of archaism is the essentially based on the fact that as new rulers, links with earlier periods were felt as necessary for their own legitimization, and exploited as such. In effect, the return to the past quite often serves to reconfirm aspiration in more contemporary situations. This is certainly valid for the Libyan, Nubian and Saite Periods, as well as before and after then. Past and legitimization were sides of the same coin.

But as reiterated by Leclant more than 35 years ago, it is also true that old traditions create new formats, and express new ideologies. The literary parallels from Piankhy's Triumphal stela, as well as Taharqo's royal texts in their entirety are examples of the debts they owe to their Egyptian models, as I have elucidated elsewhere. Yet, they are not merely copies, but they define new aspects, adapt Nubian ideologies, and create new formats to express new concepts of kingship and new dynastic situations. Such explanation, within the Nubian royal family, may particularly well adapt to Taharqo, as the innovation of his royal texts as well as the change of his burial location from el-Kurru to Nuri indicate. The importance of the female members of the royal family as the links between one generation to the other. Thus, new formats and ideologies appear, continuing in Nubia itself, but not penetrating any further into Egypt proper, apart some wanted reprisal.

The Role of Egypt in the Development of the Horoscope

Dorian G. Greenbaum (Warburg Institute, University of London, England) – Micah T. Ross (USA)

In 1952, Abe Sachs published a collection of six Babylonian (pseudo-)horoscopes. These first millennium horoscopes differed from Egyptian and Greek horoscopes in one important way: they lacked any reference to the "horoscope," the point on the eastern horizon. Neither did these (pseudo-)horoscopes mention any of the "cardines", the points on the eastern and western horizon or the points highest above or farthest below the earth. In 1983, David Pingree drew an essential division between the Babylonian (pseudo-)horoscopes and the Egyptian and Greek horoscopes. Pingree postulated that the "Hellenistic" horoscope – that is, a collection of planetary positions with at least one reference to a cardine – was conceived of by a single scholar who worked in Alexandria and had a Aristotelian predilection for circles.

Another hypothesis may explain a wider range of evidence. Although Pingree viewed the appearance of "Hellenistic" horoscopes as a scientific reworking of previous traditions of divination by planetary position, the development of the horoscope may represent the marriage of Babylonian (pseudo-)horoscopes with Egyptian traditions concerning the ascendant and the mid-heaven. Although a tradition of celestial observations at these two cardines began before the first millennium, evidence of this technique is scarce in this era. Happily, the technique reemerges in the Arabic "folk astrology" of Egypt as recorded by Ibn Rahiq in the 11th century. Because the later "anwa and azima" tradition corresponds to the earliest Egyptian use of decans, similar observations were probably made in the first millennium. A cross-pollination of astrological techniques in first millennium Egypt after the Persian conquest permitted the development of the "Hellenistic" horoscope, which, though used in Greece, is not "Hellenistic" at all.

Religious Initiation in Ancient Egypt

Fayza Haikal

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Religious initiation in Ancient Egypt is not a simple ceremony. It implies close tutoring of the initiate by those who are at a higher level in order for him to acquire a special kind of knowledge that will allow him to obtain a spiritual apprehension of truths that are inaccessible to the common understanding, a knowledge that allow the initiate to transfer himself from the plane of the ordinary human onto the plane of the gods. Upon life this knowledge is necessary to face the gods while performing the ritual. After death it becomes necessary to reach the god in the Hall of justification and be accepted in his community, be fed through the redistribution of his offerings and be protected as he himself is protected and justified against his enemies. This initiation therefore has a social role of integration in the afterlife as well as a religious role.

The purpose of this paper is to investigate these two forms of initiation in Ancient Egypt, the rituals of admission into the community of initiated, the organization of eventual brotherhoods and their role in maintaining the rituals in the Late and Greco-Roman Periods. The paper will end with suggestions for further studies in the field, by investigating the influence of Ancient Egyptian initiation rituals on Hermetism and Free Masonry on the one hand side, and on analogies in Egyptian Christianity and Islam on the other.

The Saite copies of Pyramid Texts in the Memphite and Heliopolitan shaft-tombs

Notes on their selections and layout

Ramadan B. Hussein

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This paper discusses the corpus of Pyramid Texts copies recorded on the walls of the burial chambers of the Saite shaft-tombs in the Memphite and Heliopolitan cemeteries. Selections of Pyramid Texts spells were revived as part of the widespread process of Archaism in the Saite Period (ca. 664-525 B.C.). These copies were incorporated into a repertoire of chronologically distant corpora of religious texts.

This work studies *in extenso* the characteristics of the Saite selections of Pyramid Texts spells, their layout and interconnection with other textual corpora – particularly the Coffin Texts spells – in the shaft-tombs. Analyses of the corpus reveal that the shaft-tombs demonstrate explicit variation in their selections of Pyramid Texts spells; a variation that appears to be regionally based. The Lower Egyptian cemeteries exhibit different levels of interest in the Pyramid Texts. The largest portion of

Saite copies is attested in the shaft-tombs clustered around the pyramid of Unas. Meanwhile, the interest in the Pyramid Texts declines the farther we get from the pyramid of Unas.

Analyses of the corpus also highlight several commonalities between the Saite and the Middle Kingdom selections of Pyramid Texts, particularly with respect to the layout of the texts and their distribution on the walls. The sarcophagus-shaped burial chambers of the Saite shaft-tombs served the same cosmological symbolism attributed to the coffins: each burial chamber is a representation of Nut. More features of commonalities between the Saite and Middle Kingdom traditions are to be found in the programs of text disposition. In both the Middle Kingdom “Standard Coffins” and the Saite shaft-tombs, the body of the deceased was the reference point for the distribution of the texts. Spells with connection to certain body part were disposed on the wall near to that part of the deceased’s body.

The Saite editors carefully placed their selections of Coffin Texts spells with those of the Pyramid Texts on the walls in meaningful and interconnected compositions. This work investigates the thematic interconnection of the Coffin Texts spells and the Pyramid Texts spells – particularly the “serpent spells” – in the Saite compositions.

Some remarks on precious objects found in the necropolis of Tanis and Kush

Agnese Iob

(“La Sapienza” University of Rome, Italy)

This work is an extract from my PhD research project that deals with hieroglyphic inscriptions on precious objects found in Egypt, Nubia and in the Ancient Near East. The research encloses all the history of ancient Egypt, based on the territorial, social and chronological distribution of findings with particular attention to the context of use and to the place of production of these artifacts.

The topic I would like to present here concerns the characteristics of findings related to the first millennium BCE. That means an analysis of shapes of precious objects and their relative inscriptions and a comparison with similar artifacts of previous periods in order to stress out any difference or identity. In particular the relationship between the kind of shapes and writings was analyzed to verify eventual persistence of ancient schemes even at the ending of pharaonic times.

It is obviously very significant here to consider all the influences of foreign cultures (as a reflection of the historical transitions) in the decorative motives and the modality of circulation.

Nekau's Book of the Dead Reopened

Jiří Janák – Renata Landgráfová

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

At the *Abusir and Saqqara in 2005* and the *Totenbuch Symposium* in Bonn in 2006, the discovery of a unique Book of the Dead written on wooden tablets was announced. It belonged to a priest called Neferibreseneb Nekau whose burial was found in a small chamber cut into the western shaft of the tomb of Iufaa at Abusir and it has been dated to the very late 26th Dynasty or to the beginning of Dynasty 27. The exceptionality of this Book of the Dead caught attention of many scholars to whom we are grateful for their suggestions and ideas. The work on this unique artefact continued and we would like to present our latest findings.

Running with Apis.

Memphite Animal Cults as a Point of Reference for Social and Religious Practices in Late Period Elite Culture

Claus Jurman

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While the cult of the Apis bull counts among the oldest attested in ancient Egypt and played a significant role in the ceremonial practice of kingship throughout Egyptian history it is only at a relatively late date that sources start to shed more light on its socio-religious context. The large corpus of Serapeum stelae, which belong for the most part to the first millennium BC, is probably the most noteworthy, but valuable information is also provided by other contemporary votive inscriptions and funerary monuments of the Memphite region. Taken together these sources bear evidence of the increasing importance which Memphites and non-locals attributed to animal cults in general and to the ceremonies connected with the Apis' death and burial in particular. Undoubtedly, the Apis cult became one of the focal points of religious and social practice in the Memphite region, not least because it related to the city of the living as well as to the desert necropolis. In one way or another, a comparatively large group of people originating from different echelons within the literate part of Egyptian society sought to establish a connection with the cult. Sacred areas and routes that staged the "appearance" of the living Apis and the funerary processions conducting the dead bull to the Serapeum seem to have become places of choice for setting up monuments, thereby displaying one's status as well as ensuring eternal participation in the rites. Certain sources even show a tendency to portray the Apis burial as a prototypical funerary ceremony worthy of emulation even for human beings. It may be a similar line of thought that triggered the mention of the deceased's dates of birth and death as well as the age at death on certain Memphite funerary stelae of the 26th Dynasty, a kind of data which

is found on a number of Apis stela (especially on the so-called “official” funerary epitaphs of the Apis) since at least the 22nd Dynasty.

**Adaption and diversity in the temple magic of the Late Period:
The Apophis’ ritual redefined.**

Panagiotis Kousoulis

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Almost thirty years ago in his very edifying article on demons in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Herman te Velde recognised the limitations for a proper definition of the notion of the demonic according to the Egyptian belief and vision of cosmos: “A satisfactory definition of the term demons and a consistent delimitation of what it meant in Egypt can hardly be given, since our idea of demons is not without ambiguity, and the word does not correspond to one specific Egyptian name” (*LÄ* I, col. 980, s.v. “Dämonen”). The majority of the demonic names in the Egyptian literature do not possess an apparent ontological essence, or a clearly defined denotation. Their characteristics and role depended momentarily on the verbal and performative ritual environment they were part of (P. Kousoulis, ed., *Ancient Egyptian Demonology: Studies on the Boundaries between the Demonic and the Divine in Egyptian Magic*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 175, Leuven, 2009). This holds especially true for Apophis, the archenemy of the sun god *par excellence*, and his multiple names and personae in the religious texts and iconography of the Greco-Roman temples. The scope of this presentation is to redefine and explore the various demonic names attributed to Apophis during the course of the apotropaic ritual at Edfu and Dendera and to explore certain elements of religious symbolism within this apotropaic framework. The Apophis ritual as described in the P. Bremner-Rhind will be compared to the Ptolemaic variants, redefining its development, methodology, techniques and apparent assimilation or diversity. Special emphasis will be given to the surrounding—religious, social and cultural—setting of the epoch that the ritual was part of, seeking to establish a possible *modus vivendi* for the development of the apotropaic modes of thought and action in the Ptolemaic temple environment. Yet, certain questions concerning the quite complicated issue of the Apophian functions versus names will be considered: Does identity of name identify, when functions are different? Does identity of function identify, when names are different? What is the role of the apotropaic mechanisms in the formation of this demonic diversity? It will be shown that the relation between the name of a demon and its cosmic-natural personification is not contradictory as it may seem, but it is closely interwoven in a well established ritual framework of words and execration formulae.

The pseudo-naos of the Late Period. A comparative view

Heba I. M. Mahran

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The research area of this study is what is called by some Egyptologists pseudo-naos, which was used more frequently during the Late Period. The study discusses various modern terms used to describe this type of art, and how ancient Egyptians themselves described it. Special attention is paid to reveal its origin through supplying a comparison between Late Period pseudo-naoi and wall-carved statues of the Old Kingdom tombs. A comparison is employed as well with different types of this naos to reveal its social and religious significance during the Late Period. What occurs is that the term pseudo-naos is the best appellation that describes both the modelling and the function of this style of art which was mainly used for chronological purposes as regarded by ancient Egyptians themselves. The frequent use of this type of naoi during the Late Period, with regard to the fact that it developed from Old Kingdom wall statues, reflects the tendency of the Late Period artists to reclaim ancient traditions to overcome the issues of Egyptian identity acquired during this troubled period of Egyptian history.

Private bilingue Epigraphik als Zeugnis multikultureller Kontakte im späten Ägypten¹

Jan Moje

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Im Rahmen des Projekts *Multilingualism and Multiculturalism in Graeco-Roman Egypt* am Seminar für Ägyptologie der Universität zu Köln (2005 – 2008 unter der Leitung von Prof. Dr. M. DEPAUW, K.U. Leuven), das die Erstellung einer Datenbank sämtlicher späten Textzeugen Ägyptens vom 800 v Chr. bis 800 n. Chr. zum Ziel hatte, habe ich mich mit den mehrsprachigen, bi- und trilinguen epigraphischen Quellen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Demotischen beschäftigt.

Im Vordergrund des Vortrages sollen die Ergebnisse einer Analyse derjenigen mehrsprachigen Textquellen stehen, die einander ähnliche Texte in zwei Sprachen aufweisen. Während das Demotische ab ca. 650 v. Chr. in Unterägypten aufkam, sind private epigraphische Bilinguen erst seit der frühen Ptolemäerzeit belegt, größtenteils Grab- und Weihestelen, Särge oder Statuetten. Es kommen Kombinationen aus Hieroglyphisch-Demotisch, Hieroglyphisch-Griechisch und Demotisch-Griechisch vor. Daneben existieren auch wenige Bilinguen mit einer ägyptischen und einer anderen Sprache, so zum Beispiel ägyptisch-aramäische oder ägyptisch-karische Inschriften. Die aramäischen

¹ The paper will be held in German, while the powerpoint presentation is bilingual German/English, with respect to non German speaking participants.

Texte werden hier allerdings nicht Gegenstand des Beitrags sein, da diese Quellen aktuell durch A. SCHÜTZE, München bearbeitet werden.

Im Fokus meiner Untersuchungen stand die Frage, inwieweit sich kulturelle Einflüsse aus dem Mittelmeergebiet und dem kleinasiatischen Raum in den privaten Zeugnissen des späten Ägypten widerspiegeln. Untersucht wurde dabei neben der chronologischen Entwicklung auch das Verhältnis der oberägyptischen zu den unterägyptischen Quellen. Die Kontaktzone zwischen Ägypten und den Mittelmeerstaaten lag naturgemäß in Unterägypten, von Norden her erfolgte auch die Einwanderung von Fremden ins ägyptische Niltal. Hierbei wurde analysiert, in welchem qualitativen und quantitativen Maße sich nach Süden hin ausbreitende Kulturkontakte in den privaten Inschriften sichtbar werden.

The Graffiti Space

Hana Navrátilová

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The visitors' graffiti emerge in a number of ancient Egyptian sites. There are graffiti nearly contemporary to a given monument, however, more often we find graffiti decades, and usually centuries or even millennia, more recent than the edifice. Among most often used visitors' graffiti spaces there are temples and tombs. Both spaces are considered to be of special importance – religious and ritual. However, their exclusivity has likely undergone changes in time and graffiti are excellent sources which may suggest how the perception of these buildings developed. Far from presenting a uniform perception, the graffiti suggest a rather fluid concept of the space that once was well-defined as a cultic ground. The very act of making a graffiti can also be understood not only as a written testimony but as a performed statement.

The amount of graffiti in general is enormous; in addition, the visitors' graffiti ranks are increasing (in Assiut, Edfu, etc.). Will the new graffiti challenge present interpretations? That is likely. However, given the actual variability of their testimony, it may not be so much a case of entirely new discoveries, but of the emphasis on their purpose that shifted to different directions in specific places or times.

Taharqa. Foremost of the Living Souls

Pavel Onderka

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One of the most remarkable pieces in the public collections of Egyptian antiquities in the Czech Republic is a limestone relief block acquired by Archduke Franz Ferdinand d'Este (1863–1914), the assassinated heir to the Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph I, during his stay in Egypt in 1885–1886. Recently the object is part of the collections of the National Museum – Náprstek Museum, Prague (Inv. no. P 2770). The block's decoration is dominated by an Egyptian-styled depiction of the Nubian pharaoh Taharqa wearing the white crown of Lower Egypt, cartouches with the king's *nomen*, and a column of text containing an epithet of the king “foremost of the living souls” (*khenty kaw ankhu*). Recent petrochemical analyses have confirmed that the block is of Tura limestone and that it likely formed a part of a structure built by Taharqa in the Memphite area. The block thus represents a rare example of presumably extensive Twenty-Fifth Dynasty building activity in Lower Egypt. The paper will investigate the decoration of the block, discuss the possible building activity of the Nubian pharaohs in the Memphite area and analyze the use and contextualization of the above-mentioned epithet, in particular during the Late Period.

The Royal Palace of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE.

Giulia Pagliari

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The royal palaces of Ancient Egypt are very different from each other for their extension and internal organization and this planimetric variety must match their different functional destination; despite these differences, there are some common features at the base of which appears to be the unit design that moves the construction of the royal palace in Egypt, based on a particular building technique and the repetition of planimetric models of precise destination. It's only from the Middle Kingdom that we begin to have for the first time significant archaeological remains of royal palaces, which allow an analysis of architectural structures. Some layout elements are repeated in the course of the evolution of the palace in the New Kingdom and the Late Period. Despite the first millennium being a period of major cultural changes, social and economic indicators for Egypt, the models of the palaces developed in the oldest ages are preserved even in this later period. The most significant example is offered by the palace of Merenptah which can be proposed for comparisons with the architectural experience of Malqata and Amarna. This building could be put in a special type of traditional Egyptian palace, which is usually defined as “ceremonial palace”. In particular this is reflected in the repetition of the tripartite model of the sector of representation that had been prepared from the New Kingdom.

Similarly, the Saite palace in Buto resumes a building technique known from the Middle Kingdom, which is the construction of the Palace on a raised platform.

**Le châtimeut des rois rebelles à Memphis
durant la seconde moitié du premier millénaire av. J.-C.**

Amaury Pétigny

(Ecole Pratiques des Hautes Etudes (EPHE), Paris, France)

À partir de la fin de la XXVI^e dynastie, un rituel d'un type nouveau visant à punir les «rois rebelles» semble apparaître en Egypte. Le but de cette communication sera donc de décrire celui-ci en fonction des sources, puis les étapes dont il était composé et enfin d'en chercher l'origine.

Trois documents, s'échelonnant de Psammétique III à Ptolémée V Epiphane, témoignent d'une pratique identique : celle des rites d'humiliation et de mise à mort des «rois rebelles». Pourtant, ces trois sources, appartiennent non seulement à des genres documentaires différents, mais sont, en outre, rédigées dans trois langues différentes (grec, araméen et égyptien hiéroglyphique et démotique). Leur existence est, en premier lieu, rapportée par Hérodote, après la conquête de l'Egypte par Cambyse en 525 av. J.-C., celui-ci organisa à Memphis, sous les yeux de Psammétique III, des parades dégradantes impliquant sa fille et son fils. Emu et surpris de la réaction de Psammétique, le Grand Roi décida alors de lui concéder le gouvernorat d'Egypte. Toutefois, Psammétique en profita pour intriguer contre les Achéménides. Cambyse le fit alors condamner à mort en lui faisant boire du sang de taureau.

La seconde attestation de ce rituel, bien que lacunaire, revêt les mêmes aspects que le récit d'Hérodote. Le papyrus araméen d'Eléphantine *P. Kraeling 13*, rédigé en octobre 399 av. J.-C., est le seul document relatant les circonstances de la fin du règne d'Amyrtée/Psammétique V. Celui-ci est « emmené » à Memphis, probablement en captivité. Une lacune nous prive, à cet endroit, des informations sur le devenir d'Amyrtée. Néanmoins, sur la même ligne, on apprend que « le roi Néphéritès s'est assis (i. e. « a été intronisé ») en Epiphi [...] ». Compte tenu du déroulement de la reconquête d'Amyrtée à la fin de la Première Domination Perse, tout porte à croire, que pour des raisons politiques incertaines, ce dernier reçut le traitement réservé aux rebelles.

Enfin, la dernière occurrence de ce châtimeut apparaît dans le *Décret de Memphis*, édicté le 27 mars 196 av. J.-C. Une partie du décret retrace le fil des événements qui aboutissent au châtimeut d'Haronnophris et Chaonnophris. Une fois de plus, on peut lire ce qu'il advint des éléments perturbateurs : « Les dieux le (i. e. Pharaon) laissèrent les (i. e. Haronnophris et Chaonnophris) amener à Memphis durant la fête d'accession au trône. ».

Plusieurs étapes communes à ces trois sources permettent de dégager une structure rituelle relativement cohérente. Celle-ci ne semble pas avoir existé avant la fin de la dynastie saïte. Aussi,

comment expliquer l'apparition de cette nouvelle coutume politico-religieuse ? Quel rôle joua Memphis dans le déroulement de ces rites ?

Formula, Favour and Filial Piety: Dedicating a temple statue during the First Millennium BCE.

Campbell Price

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Despite its abundance, non-royal statuary remains an under-used source for the study of the social and religious development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Attention has tended to become polarised between art historical analysis on one side and interest in inscriptions with genealogical (and, where they are extensive enough, of more broadly 'historical') data on the other. Formulaic phrases are dismissively seen as characteristic of the latter.

This paper focuses on the texts inscribed on non-royal statues of the period which originate predominantly from the Karnak Cachette. An analysis is undertaken of two distinct forms of 'dedicatory' inscription – and their variants – which appear on the statues. These short, caption-like texts effectively label the statue since they are situated in visually prominent positions on the statue and separate from other, more continuous inscriptions. The first, *di m hswt nt hr nsw* asserts the role of the king in the provision of the statue. The second, *ir.n s3=f r s^{nh} rn=f* claims the statue to be provided by the son – or other family member – of the person represented.

The formulae have their origins in the Middle Kingdom and First Intermediate Period respectively, but are both conspicuous by their general absence from private monuments during the Ramesside period and Twenty First Dynasty. Their reappearance is discussed in relation to a shift in emphasis, linked to two associated factors. The majority of examples which caption the statue as "given as a favour of the king" belong to the Twenty Second and Twenty Third Dynasty. These are shown to make selective use of an out-moded formula, echoing Eighteenth Dynasty models. This short-lived trend in statue 'labels' relates significantly to the archaising appearance of the statues themselves.

As is well-known, from the Twenty Second Dynasty onwards, there was an increased concern to display legitimacy and assert pedigree in priestly service, evidenced by extended genealogies recorded in statue inscriptions. The prominence given to the normative role of the son is revived in dedicatory inscriptions during the First Millennium BCE and fits well with a heightened consciousness of lineage within a temple setting.

Further, the gathered corpus may also be used to address the extent to which formulae might meaningfully reflect contemporary religious and social practice. Notable is reduction in the assertion of royal associations and, for example, the preponderance in male groups – to the almost total exclusion of female figures – in the repertory of non-royal statuary. These observations provide a background to readings of these short formulaic texts.

Du Un au Triple

Réflexions sur la mise en place de la triade d'Imet et l'évolution d'un système théologique local

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Freie Universität Berlin, Germany)

Attestée selon toute vraisemblance dès l'époque thinite et présente dans les Textes des pyramides mêmes, la déesse d'Imet (*Imt.yt*) ne s'est implantée en un point précis du territoire que tardivement dans son histoire. Après une présence marquée dans la zone d'Avaris dès le Moyen Empire où la déesse acquiert le nom de Ouadjet Dame d'Imet, c'est au début de la XVIII^e dynastie que celle-ci a vu son culte s'implanter plus spécifiquement sur ce qui est aujourd'hui Tell Faroun (Delta oriental). La documentation laisse ensuite percevoir l'évolution qu'a connue son culte ainsi que la venue progressive d'autres divinités à ses côtés.

Dans cette communication, nous essayerons d'analyser ces évolutions et de mettre en évidence les éléments significatifs caractérisant ce passage d'une seule divinité locale à une triade au cours du I^{er} millénaire av. J.-C., époque particulièrement riche de développements théologiques.

The Night and Day Hours in 25th Dynasty Sarcophagi from Thebes

Cynthia Sheikholeslami

(American University in Cairo, Egypt)

The so-called 'Studenritual' is first attested on the vaulted ceiling of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut in the early-mid 18th Dynasty (see Graefe at <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Philologie/laek/anfang.html>). Unfortunately, about half of the Hatshepsut chapel roof has collapsed, so the texts there are incomplete. Perhaps not coincidentally, the inside of the vaulted lids of rectangular wooden sarcophagi belonging to a family of the priests of Montu dating to the 25th Dynasty which were discovered by Baraize in the forecourt of this chapel also have the texts from this ritual in the same version as attested in the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut. Inside one sarcophagus, the texts of both the day and night hours are complete and follow the version on the ceiling of the chapel, although they are not directly copied from it without variations. In some of the Theban tombs of the period where the texts are at least partly preserved, it is clear that another variant of the texts was inscribed (e.g., Pabasa, TT 279). Although they are not very completely published, it appears that in Thebes only the version in the tomb of Pestjenfi (TT 128) parallels the Hatshepsut chapel/priest of Montu sarcophagi version, which also seems to have been used in the tomb of Bakenrenef at Saqqara. The ritual also appears on the vaulted ceiling of the burial chamber of the shaft tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir (see <http://egyptologie.ff.cuni.cz/?req=id:68>). This paper will describe the texts of the night and day hours

from the 'Studentritual' as recorded in the sarcophagi of the priests of Montu from Deir el-Bahari, and consider the transmission of this originally Theban textual tradition to the north. Also considered will be the connection of these texts with the architectonic expression of the shrines in which the reawakening of Osiris took place.

The Reign of the God Seth

Mark Smith

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'O Osiris, your throne belongs to your heir.' This ritual utterance, like many others of a similar character, reflects the Egyptian ideal of royal succession: at his death, a king is succeeded directly by his son. But Horus did not assume the throne immediately after the death of Osiris. When that event occurred, he had not even been conceived. Thus a period of several years separated his rule and that of his father. Who exercised control over Egypt during this interregnum? A number of sources indicate that it was Osiris's murderer, Seth. For obvious reasons, this is rarely stated explicitly, but it can be inferred from allusions in a range of different texts to the evil deeds perpetrated by that god while he held sway over the country. In this paper I will present and analyse such allusions, paying particular attention to those preserved in sources of the 1st Millennium B.C., and consider how far they allow us to reconstruct the events of this traumatic episode of divine history.

The Phenomenon of Archaism in the Saite Period funerary architecture

Květa Smoláriková

(Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague, Czech Republic)

One can say that there are as many definitions of the Late Period archaism as the number of scholars who try to analyze this phenomenon in art, architecture, religion, writing, etc. The tombs unearthed in the Saite-Persian cemetery at Abusir can be considered in many aspects a rich source for this research because they offer ample excellent examples of how the Saite architects, craftsmen and priests reinterpreted earlier – still standing – structures in all aforementioned fields of human activities.

A possible impact of Djoser's Step Pyramid on the huge shaft tombs of the Egyptian elite has already been observed by J.-Ph. Lauer during his work in this famous royal funerary complex. Our intensive archaeological excavations at Abusir in recent decades not only proved his presently widely accepted observation but thanks to the relatively well-state of preservation of the super- and substructures of the majority of the tombs we are able to evaluate the elements common for both types of tombs: the 'palace façade' decoration of the massive enclosure wall, the cultic area in the eastern part of complex,

the deep shaft with burial chamber on the bottom, and the enigmatic structure in the SW-corner (the 'South Tomb' - embalmer's deposit).

Sustaining Egyptian culture?

Priests, military men and officials as temple builders in the Late Period

Neal Spencer

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Throughout the Late Period, Egyptian culture flourished despite several periods of foreign occupation. This paper will look at one aspect of this culture, namely the continued vibrancy of temple construction programmes throughout Egypt. I will argue that more credit needs to be placed with the regional officials, priests and military persons for the continued maintenance, renovation and indeed replacement of temples. Archaeological evidence, and particularly non-royal inscriptions with detailed accounts of construction initiatives, will be assessed, making it clear that temples should not always be seen as 'royal constructions'. As temples were key elements of Egyptian identity, as seen for example by the focus on temple precincts in Late Period settlements, but also the received view of non-Egyptians, it is clear that such non-royal individuals played a large part in ensuring the continuity and development of pharaonic culture, which would persist under Ptolemaic and Roman rule.

Royal Family Tombs of the First Half of the First Millennium BC in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari

Zbigniew E. Szafrński

(Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, Poland)

The most recent archaeological investigations, conducted in the Temple of Hatshepsut, in its Upper Terrace, brought the discovery of tombs from the Twenty-Third (Theban), Twenty-Fifth and the beginning of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasties. The temple was destroyed by a quake, most probably before 900 BC, and the ruins were subsequently used as a burial ground. Shaft tombs found on the Temple were hewn in the rock floor. All the tombs were plundered already in Antiquity and the archaeological material from the fill is disturbed. Even so, the burials are of substantial importance for understanding the history of both the temple and Thebes in the period of the first half of the first millennium BC. Over 800 fragments of different cartonnages and coffins have been collected. Numerous funerary equipment and written sources were found. The archaeological material and architecture of the tombs contribute to the knowledge of the religious development in Thebes of that period.

Members of priestly and royal families were buried in the tombs. It seems that more than one person had been buried in one tomb. Some of the coffins and cartonnages can be attributed to the priests of Amun and Monthu. In the Twenty-Third Dynasty, the primary royal response to the problem of controlling a fragmentary political system was to assign, among others, religious powers to royal relatives. A fragment of linen shroud bears an incomplete inscription which reads “...*the 27th regnal year of the King of Lower and Upper Egypt, Wser-maat-Re, son of Re...*”. The high regnal date should be connected with Osorkon III of the Twenty-Third (Theban) Dynasty or, most probably, with King Piye of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty.

In coffins and cartonnages, both the inscription and the decoration were executed in fine high relief, then painted and somehow varnished. It is obviously the work of an accomplished workshop. The fine craftsmanship is illustrated by gilded part of cartonnages and figurines, as well as, inlaid panels filled with semi-precious stones: lapis lazuli, carnelian and turquoise. Some of the patterns and texts might have imitated features typical of Old and New Kingdom burials. Some of the burial objects are exceptional and have no parallels. The quality of the craftsmanship indicates that – despite of political problems – the Theban art in the Twenty-Third and Twenty-Fifth Dynasties was excellent.

To be announced

Usama Abd el-Waruth

(General Director of the Nubia Museum – Aswan, Egypt)

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