# Invisible Archaeologies

## Hidden aspects of daily life in ancient Egypt and Nubia

edited by

Loretta Kilroe

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# Contents

Introduction ..... 1
Loretta Kilroe

Tortured, Banished, Forgotten (and Frequently Ripped Off)?
Experience of Ancient Egyptian Criminal Judgment and its
Consequences through the 2nd Millennium BCE ..... 6
Alex Loktionov

Communities of Glyptic Practice in Predynastic Egypt ..... 17
Siobhan Shinn

Family Associations Reflected in the Materiality of 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri ..... 26
Marissa Stevens

Practising Craft and Producing Memories in Ancient Nubia ..... 56
Kate Fulcher

(Re)Shaping Identities: Culture-Contact Theories Applied to the
Late Bronze Age "Egyptian" Pantheon and People ..... 64
Jacqueline M. Huwyler

Elite and Common People. Redefining Burial Practices in Ancient Egypt ..... 85
Ilaria Davino

Displayed Graves: A Study of Predynastic Naqada Burials as the
Device for the Mortuary Ceremony ..... 96
Taichi Kuronuma

Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a Landscape for the Afterlife:
Reciprocity in Shaping Life Histories ..... 113
Antonio Muñoz Herrera

# Introduction

Loretta Kilroe

The societies of ancient Egypt and Nubia are some of the best studied in the field of archaeology. Their abundance of written sources, tomb remains, and temple monuments have historically provided scholars with key insights into the royal court, temple rituals, and lifestyles of elite officials. However, this focus on written and elite culture has often meant that our picture of ancient lifeways is selective and incomplete. A tomb autobiography, intended to promote the deceased's achievements for the afterlife, can tell us nothing of aspects of past transgressions he wished to hide. A deposit filled with intricately wrought trinkets, buried inside a temple, conveys nothing of the people responsible for their manufacture. A ruined town, while preserving architecture, cannot tell us of the memories and relationships of the people who once lived within its walls. Or can they?

Over the past 20 years, archaeologists have begun to use material culture to broach broader cultural questions relating to ancient lifestyles. Research into topics such as the social meaning of pottery (Eckert 2008), and the role of memory in activity (Dobres 2001; Hamilakis 2013) has broadened our understanding of ancient pathways, while successful attempts to access the lives of individuals in communities other than elite men have widened the scope of anthropological assessments (e.g. Meskell 1998; 2002; David 2017; Li 2017; Hinson 2018). The application of theoretical models to Egyptology – including landscape archaeology (Richards 2005; Shirley 2008), communities of practice (Stark 2006; Feldman 2014), and culture-contact relations (Schneider 2010; Hahn 2012) – has been particularly fruitful. Such methodologies are becoming of increasing interest to Egyptologists, who are harnessing the potential these hold to expand upon our understanding of the ancient communities under study (e.g. Smith 2003; Stevenson 2009; Hulin 2013; Paul Van Pelt 2013; Walsh in press). My fieldwork pertaining to the analysis of Egyptian and Nubian ceramics (Kilroe 2019; in press) continually impressed upon me the complex ways that material culture reflects not only network exchanges and manufacturing techniques, but also local identities and adaptive behaviours that are often poorly represented in official sources. As such, it seemed timely to bring together doctoral and early-career researchers working on these 'invisible' archaeologies within the discipline, to forge links and to encourage the sharing of ideas.

'Invisible archaeologies: hidden aspects of daily life in ancient Egypt and Nubia' was held on the 17th November 2017, at The Queen's College, University of Oxford. This conference was made possible with the generous support of the Griffith Institute and The Queen's College. Oxford was the ideal setting for such an event, with an anthropological focus increasingly encouraged by its chairs; Professor John Baines (1976–2013) and Professor Richard Bruce Parkinson (2013–current). The day

featured an international contingent of 13 speakers, presenting on a diverse range of subject matter to an encouraging audience of 100 delegates. An introduction was given by Professor Richard Bruce Parkinson, who gave a fascinating insight into the historic involvement of The Queen's College in the field of Egyptology, and featured a keynote lecture by Professor David Wengrow, University College London, entitled 'Making visible the invisible: African foundations of Ancient Egypt'.

This peer-reviewed publication features eight of the speakers from the conference and delves deeper into their current research into the more invisible aspects of ancient Egypt and Nubia. Amongst these papers, a key theme of the conference quickly emerges, discussing invisible groups within the ancient community. Alex Loktionov in his paper, 'Tortured, Banished, Forgotten (and frequently Ripped Off)? Experience of Ancient Egyptian Criminal Judgment and its Consequences through the 2nd Millennium BCE', deals with sources relating to prisoners, and considers how we can reconstruct the impact that judicial punishment would have on Egyptian life; both in this world and the next. Siobhan Shinn, in her paper 'Communities of Glyptic Practice in Predynastic Egypt', explores the evidence for a specific learning environment within and between which craftsmen shared knowledge, techniques, and ideas, acting as a background to the creation and distribution of early seals in the Predynastic period.

The invisible relationships between individuals can take many different forms in the material culture remains. Marissa Stevens, in her paper 'Family Associations Reflected in the Materiality of 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri', uses textual evidence to conceptualise elite perspectives on family groups towards the end of the New Kingdom. Kate Fulcher, in her paper 'Practising Craft and Producing Memories in ancient Nubia', uses scientific analysis to reconstruct the use of colour at the site of Amara West in Sudan, to reveal how painted decoration produced and embodied memory and experience within the community. Jacqueline M. Huwyler, in her paper '(Re)Shaping Identities: Culture-Contact Theories Applied to the Late Bronze Age "Egyptian" Pantheon and People', applies anthropological methodology to Egyptology to identify how interactions with foreign groups influenced ideology and identity within the Nile valley.

The crucial role funerary sources play in our reconstruction of the ancient world is never more evident than in Egypt, and burial practices are an important source for understanding Egyptian perspectives on the world around them. Ilaria Davino, in her paper 'Elite and common people. Redefining burial practices in ancient Egypt', tackles this complex subject by assessing burial customs and behaviours, assessing how they may relate to ideological belief throughout the Pharaonic period. Taichi Kuronuma, in his paper 'Displayed graves: A study of Predynastic Naqada Burials as the device for the mortuary ceremony', assesses the ideological implications of mortuary practices in Predynastic Egypt, and analyses the use of grave goods as a means of display. Antonio Muńoz, in his paper 'Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a landscape for the Afterlife: Reciprocity in shaping life histories', uses landscape archaeology

to develop a holistic understanding of the Theban necropolis and the relationship between the tombs and the wider surrounding environment.

This publication seeks to contribute towards the growing focus on these and other understudied groups and topics in ancient Egypt and Nubia, and to encourage further collaboration moving forward. All opinions cited in the articles are of the relevant author.

On behalf of the organising committee, we are extremely grateful to our keynote speakers, Professor Richard Bruce Parkinson, and Professor Wengrow, for speaking at the conference. Further gratitude goes to our authors, speakers, volunteers, and all who attended the conference and made it a success.

Unreserved thanks are due to The Queen's College and the Griffith Institute for their financial support, without which the conference would not have been possible. Further credit is due to the library staff at The Queen's College for allowing tours of the Peet Library, as well as the Catering and Conference staff whose assistance and support were invaluable.

Loretta Kilroe, Editor. Oxford 2019.

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# Tortured, Banished, Forgotten (and Frequently Ripped Off)? Experience of Ancient Egyptian Criminal Judgment and its Consequences through the 2nd Millennium BCE

Alex Loktionov

Many aspects of Ancient Egyptian life are invisible enough to us today even without any particular effort to generate invisibility by the Egyptians. This therefore does not bode well for the one area where the Egyptians did actively seek to destroy, or at least alter, the evidence. That one area is criminal punishment. Criminals could not expect elaborate burial, leaving no identifiable bodies for bioarchaeological investigation and no tomb inscriptions for text analysis. Indeed, steps were sometimes taken to change the recorded identities of those convicted, with original names replaced by pseudonyms with negative connotations. However, despite these challenges, this paper will argue that all this is no reason to give up hope of uncovering more about the lives of these people, presenting a summary of the current state of the evidence and ultimately moving towards a more holistic interpretation of what it was like to face justice and its consequences in Ancient Egypt.

This paper breaks down the Ancient Egyptian judgment experience into three key aspects, with a focus on material from the 2nd Millennium BCE. First, it discusses the evidence for the experience of undergoing trial in this period, focusing in particular on two defining characteristics of the process: torture-aided interrogation practices, and corruption in court. It then moves on to the consequences of such trials, highlighting the lived experience of those banished and mutilated. After this, the paper will discuss the perceived consequences of judgment from the perspective of Egyptian religious belief, both in earthly existence and potentially also in the afterlife. The process of renaming convicts is especially significant in this regard. Overall, as the purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the multifaceted nature of the experience of judgment and its consequences, rather than a detailed case study of any one particular aspect, sections on each element of the judgment experience will be kept relatively short. As will be shown, studies of each of these in isolation are plentiful, and readers are naturally encouraged to consult them, but the novel contribution of the present work is to put these different strands together into a holistic synthesis greater than the sum of the parts.

Finally, for the purposes of disambiguation, it should be noted that the experiences of judgment discussed throughout this paper relate to what would in modern parlance be termed 'criminal' cases, brought against offenders by state-sanctioned authorities with a view to punishing them. They do not include what is today termed 'civil' legal procedure – court-based experiences of mediation or conflict resolution between two private parties. This is because the aim of the latter is generally to compensate rather than to sanction, and the focus of this paper is on punitive aspects. However, it

must be emphasised at the outset that such compensatory court cases were very common in Ancient Egypt, and have already been extensively studied elsewhere (e.g. Gaballa 1977; McDowell 1990; VerSteeg 2002: 73-74).

**Undergoing trial – torture as necessity; corruption as inevitability**

One relatively well known, and seemingly ubiquitous, feature of Ancient Egyptian criminal judgment in the 2nd Millennium BCE was torture (Müller-Wollermann 2004: 209-216). Suspects could expect to be beaten as a routine part of court examination, as for instance illustrated on a plethora of occasions in the 20th Dynasty Tomb Robbery Papyri (Peet 1930; Capart *et al.* 1936) and in the description of proceedings at an oracular court given in Papyrus BM10335, of the same period (Dawson 1925; Kitchen 1989: 416-418). While the exact nature of the practicalities of torture in Egypt is not well understood, what is clear is that this field was diverse and possessed its own distinctive and technical vocabulary. For instance, the terms *bḏn, ḏnḏn, bʿi, šbd* and possibly *iq* all appear to denote different instruments used for beating, while *mnn, qḥ*, and *pḫꜣ.t* might be terms for painful restraining or twisting devices (Müller-Wollermann 2004: 210-214). It therefore seems that the Ancient Egyptian judicial torturer was not short of tools, and a detailed survey of different procedures deserves an article in its own right. For the purposes of the present work, it will suffice to quote a short but typical passage illustrating the practice in its most common form:

*ir smtr=w m qnqn m bḏn ir mʿn rd.wy=w drt=w ḏd=w m-mit.t*

*Their examination was carried out by beating with sticks, and there was done contortion of their legs and hands. They told the same story.*

Papyrus Amherst: 3,16-3,17 (Capart *et al.* 1936: pl. XV)

A further insight into torture can be obtained from a significantly earlier autobiographical inscription, found on a 12th Dynasty commemorative stela belonging to the high official Dedusobek, who is described as follows:

*iry-pʿt ḥꜣty-ʿ ḥry-sšṯꜣ n ist m nḏ imn-ib siꜣ s r tp rꜣ=f sḫꜣ.n n=f ḫt imy.t=s dd bš ḥꜣty ʿm.t.n=f*

*Member of the elite, Count, Master of secrets of the palace in enquiring about one concealed of heart, One who perceives a man in accordance with what comes from his mouth, One for whom the body reveals what is inside it, One who causes the heart to spit out what it has swallowed.*

Stela BM 566 (Philip-Stéphan 2008: 242, Doc. 33)

While this text does not explicitly mention torture, the coercive nature of the investigative activities conducted by Dedusobek seems beyond doubt. It is interesting that he considered these noteworthy enough to merit a relatively detailed description, which may indicate that extracting confession

through torture was considered a very positive and necessary action, worthy of remembrance in posterity. Grajetzki (2012: 107) has also pointed out that this torturing responsibility was probably closely linked to one of Dedusobek's other titles, Overseer of Disputes (*tpy imy-rꜣ šnt*). The inference from this is relatively clear – dealing with disputes, and legal cases in general, involved torture as a necessary aspect of procedure, and individuals undergoing judgment could expect that to be part of their experience.

If torture was seen as necessary and even worthy of mention on stelae, another commonplace and possibly ubiquitous aspect of the judgment experience was seen in a far worse light: corruption (Vernus 2003: 127). The Instruction of Ptahhotep says the following about bribery in court:

*ir nb qd m nb ḫwt itt=f mi msḥ m qnbt*

*As for anyone characterised as a man of possessions, it is like a crocodile that he grasps in the law-court.*

Instruction of Ptahhotep: 167-168 (Allen 2014: 181)

The implication of this is that those with the capacity to give bribes could have a very realistic prospect of experiencing justice in a very different way. A good example of this in practice comes from the trial records of the 20th Dynasty tomb robber Amenpanefer:

*iw=w mḥ=i iw=w ḏdḥ=i m tꜣ st pꜣ ḥꜣty-ꜥ n niwt iw=i iṯꜣ pꜣ* 20 *n dbn n nbw i-hꜣy r=i m dy.t iw=i di.t=w n sš ḏꜣtt Ḫꜣ-m-ipt n tꜣ mni niwt iw=f ḫꜣꜥ=i iw=i ir wꜥ irm nꜣy=i ir*(*y*).*w*

*They captured me and they imprisoned me in the place of the mayor of the City (Thebes). I took the 20dbn of gold which had fallen to me as a share, and I gave them to the scribe of the estate Khaemipet of the landing-place of the City. He released me, and I reunited with my comrades.*

Papyrus Leopold: 3,2-3,4 (Capart *et al.* 1936: pl. XIV)

Other instances of corruption in the judicial setting are plentiful in the Tomb Robbery Papyri, with potential witnesses regularly being bribed to remain silent (e.g. Peet 1920: 20; Peet 1930: 118, 151-152). Indeed, the situation appears to have been such that people due to appear in court resorted to asking Amun-Ra for help against the bearers of bribes, such as in this example most likely also dating to the 20th Dynasty:

*Ỉmn-Rꜥ pꜣ ꜥn-wšb n nmḥ iw=f iꜣd.*(*w*) *di=f wn tꜣ qnbt m r wꜥ wšb=sn ḥr nmḥ pꜣ nmḥ ḫpr r mꜣꜥ-ḫrw pꜣ fꜣ fqꜣ.w snm*

*Amun-Ra, the one who retaliates for the lowly man who is poor, may he cause the court to be in one voice when they answer on account of the lowly man. May the lowly man happen to be vindicated; may the bearer of bribes be upset.*

Ostracon Borchardt (Posener 1971)

Similar, and occasionally more elaborate, variations of the above are found in a wide range of papyri and ostraca from this period, illustrating how common this experience was (Vernus 2003: 138-141). A particularly powerful example of the unenviable reputation all this generated for judicial officials is found in the words of the fictional Khun-Anup in the Tale of the Eloquent Peasant:

*psšw m ʿwnw dr sʒir m wḏ ir.t(w)=f*

*The divider (of right from wrong) is a plunderer; the one who should dispel need orders it to be made.*

Tale of the Eloquent Peasant: B1 132-133 (Allen 2014: 263)

This laconic observation, dating from the Middle Kingdom and therefore pointing to long-term continuities in practice, effectively summarises the conclusions which can be drawn from the texts above: in the experience of those going before courts, judicial officials frequently sought private pecuniary gain instead of combating need or upholding the interests of those being judged. Overall, this therefore paints a picture of a judgment experience where people could expect to be financially exploited as well as tortured, and where there was vast scope for inequality of approach based on ability to pay. It seems likely that, at least in some cases, torture could be deployed to extract almost any confession and bribery could be used to reverse almost any charge.

**Practical consequences of trial – death, mutilation and banishment**

With the trial complete, it would have been time for punishment, and this section focuses on how certain common punishments shaped lived experience. First of all, it should be noted that the most severe sanction was death, but it falls outside the scope of the present work as by its very nature it terminated lived experience altogether. It is sufficient to say that capital punishment was generally reserved for the most severe crimes, such as treason against the Pharaoh, tomb robbery, and violation of temples and their property. The only form of death penalty for which there is unequivocal evidence is impalement (Lorton 1977: 51; Müller-Wollermann 2004: 197-198), although a strong case has also been made for death by burning (Leahy 1984; Leahy 1989: 43). The 20th Dynasty Turin Judicial Papyrus also records that convicts involved in conspiracy to murder the Pharaoh could also be coerced into taking their own lives, although it is not entirely clear which criteria determined whether execution or forced suicide would occur, and which was seen as the worse fate (Lorton 1977: 28-29; Loktionov 2015: 104-108). Overall, the conclusion inferable from the vast majority of texts is that capital punishment, whatever its form, was reserved for exceptional cases.

Perhaps the best documented consequence of conviction at trial was mutilation, and the oath commonly taken by participants in court process is testimony to the significance of this sanction. The oath was usually as follows, with occasional minor variations:

*wꜣḥ Ỉmn wꜣḥ pꜣ ḥqꜣ mtw=i ḏd ꜥḏꜣ ir sꜣw fnḏ=i msdr.(wy)=i iw=i r Kꜣš*

*As Amun endures and as the Ruler endures, if I speak falsehood [replaceable by other offence if appropriate], may there be cut off my nose and ears, me being (banished) to Kush*

Tomb Chapel of Mose: composite text (Loktionov 2017: 264-265)

Iterations of this oath occur in a very wide variety of texts such as the Tomb Robbery Papyri (Peet 1930), the complex legal case in the Tomb Chapel of Mose (Gaballa 1977), and a plethora of often relatively minor court case records from Deir el-Medina (Allam 1973; McDowell 1990). They highlight the ubiquity – in theory at least – of this punishment: oaths invoking mutilation, and accompanying banishment, could be made in almost every judicial context, from being accused of despoiling a royal tomb to disagreeing over a plot of land with a family relation. It should therefore follow that, if the terms of the oath were not met, large numbers of people should have been mutilated.

As the present writer has argued elsewhere (Loktionov 2017: 269-275), it is highly likely that the penalty was indeed frequently carried out. Evidence for this includes a list of convicts subjected to mutilation found in the Turin Judicial Papyrus, and earlier New Kingdom royal decrees issued by Horemheb and Seti I which explicitly prescribe mutilation of the nose and ears as a penalty for a range of economic offences and abuse of office. The lived experience of convicts mutilated in this way would have undoubtedly been very unpleasant, although it is difficult to reconstruct in detail owing to the absence of information on how exactly the mutilations were carried out. Assuming that the initial mutilatory experience was survivable – which is highly likely since it was followed by banishment – convicts might have had to endure infection of aural and nasal tissue, limited hearing loss, bronchitis, and high fever associated with Systemic Inflammatory Response Syndrome (Loktionov 2017: 275-278). They also might have faced the social stigma associated with being visibly marked by the signs of conviction, although the effect of this might have been negligible if they were banished from their prior social circles anyway.

Alongside mutilation of the face, mutilation of the body also took place. Particularly common was heavy beating alongside the creation of open wounds, as for instance repeatedly prescribed in a decree of Seti I as a punishment for various administrative offences:

*ir.tw ḥp.w r=f m ḥw.t=f m sḫ-*200 *wbnw sd-*5 *ḥnᶜ šd bꜣkw*

*Laws will be enforced against him by beating him with 200 blows and five open wounds, together with exacting labour.*

Nauri Decree of Seti I: 42-47 (Davies 1997: 276-308)

Just as with facial mutilation, it appears that convicts treated in this way were subsequently assigned to forced labour. Archaeological evidence appears to support this, with five male skeletons from the

South Tombs Cemetery at Tell El-Amarna exhibiting evidence of deliberate wounding consistent with severe corporal punishment with intent to leave permanent marks (Dabbs & Zabecki 2015). The individuals appear to have been beaten and wounded on the back, their scapulae being fractured in the process, which is also consistent with how beating is depicted in a scene from the 18th Dynasty Tomb TT69, belonging to the high official Menna (Rubinstein *et al.* 1978: 188). Further potential evidence of the physical toll of punishment on convicts might come from the skeletal analyses of individuals uncovered from New Kingdom cemeteries at Tombos (Buzon 2006: 30-35) and Amara West (Buzon 2008: 177-180), both of which point to very poor health and high levels of injury. Ultimately, in the absence of textual evidence, it is impossible to say with certainty whether or not these people were convicts, but their remains do seem to be consistent with what one might expect from mutilated and injured people forced to work long hours in poor labour camp conditions.

This links up to the wider topic of banishment and its relationship with mutilation. Other than the aforementioned archaeological evidence, which is far from conclusive, and the information available from oaths, which generally does not go beyond naming Kush as the destination, there are essentially no contemporary sources discussing the practice. Considering the low status of convicts (Müller-Wollermann 2004: 224-225), this is hardly surprising. However, the subject may to a certain extent be elucidated by turning to a much later but exceptionally detailed source – Diodorus Siculus (Oldfather 1967: 115-121). He offers a description of Egyptian convicts working in underground gold mines under very harsh conditions, in chains, frequently beaten, and eventually dying of their injuries. Diodorus Siculus concludes that:

> *Consequently the poor unfortunates believe, because their punishment is so excessively severe, that the future will always be more terrible than the present and therefore look forward to death as more to be desired than life.*
>
> Diodorus Siculus: Library of History Book III, 13 (Oldfather 1967: 119-121)

Diodorus Siculus also mentions the founding of a settlement exclusively for mutilated convicts whose noses had been severed, which appears to at least in part resemble the practice mentioned in the oaths discussed earlier in this work. He says that the Pharaoh:

> *Took all who had been judged guilty, and, cutting off their noses, settled them in a colony on the edge of the desert, founding the city which was called Rhinocolura after the lot of its inhabitants.*
>
> Diodorus Siculus: Library of History Book I, 60 (Oldfather 1967: 209)

Rhinocolura, literally meaning 'severed noses' in Greek, is also described in broadly similar terms by Strabo:

> *Then to Rhinocolura, so called from the people with mutilated noses who had been settled there in ancient times; for some Ethiopian invaded Egypt and, instead of killing the wrongdoers, cut off their noses and settled them at that place, assuming that on account of their disgraceful faces they would no longer dare to do people wrong.*
>
> Strabo: Geography Book 16, 31 (Jones 1930: 279)

It is unclear to what extent descriptions of this kind, written by Greek historians of the 1st century BCE, reflect genuine practice. As Diodorus Siculus and Strabo were both immersed in a very different culture and writing a whole millennium after the period which is the subject of this paper, their understanding of Egyptian culture was not indigenous and almost entirely derived from Greek scholars who had come before them. A certain amount of hyperbole cannot be discounted. Nonetheless, when combined with the Egyptian textual and archaeological evidence discussed previously, their accounts might still yield significant additional insights. When these diverse sources of evidence are combined, a picture of considerable physical and indeed psychological suffering emerges, based around the combination of mutilation and banishment for maximal punitive effect. Convicts could expect to not only be mutilated, but also displaced far away from their home communities with apparently no prospects other than heavy physical labour, and possibly further beatings, until eventual death.

**Consequences of trial beyond practical existence – implications for religion and the afterlife**

Alongside the practical aspects of experiencing judgment in Egypt of the 2nd Millennium BCE, it is important to acknowledge that the process had important – albeit still poorly understood – implications from the perspective of Egyptian beliefs. While it is clearly impossible to reconstruct what exactly the Egyptians thought about the way justice took its course overall and how it affected them psychologically, it is possible to make inferences regarding how the experience of specific sanctions may have been coloured by prevailing beliefs. Two elements of punishment seem especially significant here: mutilation of the nose and ears, and the renaming of convicts.

It has already been demonstrated elsewhere that the nose and ears had special meaning in Ancient Egyptian thought, and that loss of them would therefore have harmful effects from a belief-based, 'supra-practical' perspective (Loktionov 2017: 279-285). Ears were connected to wisdom and the divine granting of requests, while the nose was associated with the breath of life. If these organs were severed, the convict would therefore have been cut off from the gods, lacking the means to communicate with them effectively. The psychological effect of knowing this may have been highly significant, firstly in terms of personal religious belief and secondly due to the possible negative implications of the social status of being cast out of the accepted theological framework. If convicts did indeed live in communities where they were surrounded predominantly by people in the same

predicament, the latter factor may not have been overly important, but the same cannot be said of the former. Furthermore, loss of nose and ears during earthly existence may have had significant implications for existence in the afterlife, if indeed convicts were even considered eligible for such an existence. Attempting to formulate a hypothesis on this would be pure speculation, but the interplay between sanctions for this world and for the next must definitely be acknowledged as an important part of the overall experience of judgment and its consequences.

Another non-physical sanction was the renaming of convicts, which occurs on multiple occasions in the Turin Judicial Papyrus (Posener 1946: 52-54; Loktionov 2015: 109). While this case was undoubtedly out of the ordinary considering the very grave charge levelled at the accused – conspiracy to kill the Pharaoh – it is nevertheless highly noteworthy as it is the only clearly documented instance of a type of punishment designed exclusively to affect the non-physical aspects of the punishment experience of a convict. It is widely accepted that the name was seen as a crucial component of being in the Egyptian mindset, fundamentally defining the identity of an individual both in earthly existence and in the afterlife (Tyldesley 2000: 172; Allen 2010: 83). Consequently, depriving a convict of their name may have effectively reshaped who they were in terms of both their own belief and the views of society around them. In certain cases, this name change may have dictated a new relationship with the gods: for instance, the high official Mersure (*Mr-sw-R*$^{c}$ – 'Ra loves him') had his name changed to Mesedsure (*Msd-sw-R*$^{c}$ – 'Ra hates him') in the official summary of his trial (Gardiner 1961: 290; Tyldesley 2000: 172). The effect of this on his lived experience would have been limited by his execution shortly after, although the psychological impact of being cut off from the most senior deity in the pantheon before death may still have been significant. It also seems near certain that this sanction was also expected to continue afflicting the convict in the afterlife, thereby creating a perception that punishment did not end at death and sending a strong and theologically loaded message to other potential wrongdoers.

**Concluding remarks – a multifaceted punishment experience**

Over the course of this paper, it has been shown that Egypt of the 2nd Millennium BCE had a multifaceted judgment and punishment system, which would have had a very diverse range of effects on people going through it. Different stages of the process would have been associated with different lived experiences, ranging from purely physical pain to social ostracism and potentially also concerns about relationships with the divine and afterlife prospects. Thus, punishment seems often to have been a bouquet of intertwined factors, crippling engagement with daily tasks and spiritual matters in equal measure. Layered over this was the practical reality, and maybe even ubiquity, of corruption, which seems to have been acknowledged with a sense of sorrow and inevitability by the Egyptians themselves. A summary of the sequence and interconnection of all these factors is proposed below (Figure 1).

As a closing comment, it must naturally be emphasised that neither the model below (Figure 1) nor the observations put forward earlier are in any way definitive. Study of individual lived experience in a culture which has long ceased to exist is by default a highly subjective process, and the fragmentary nature of the evidence makes it doubly so. The Ancient Egyptians had no reason to perpetuate the memory of criminals, and their efforts to hide them and their experiences from posterity have to a significant extent been successful. However, what this paper does show is that a synthesis of archaeological and textual data, including even Greek sources from much later times, can provide some insights into the convict experience on which reasonable assumptions can be made. These people, whether killed, mutilated, banished, or simply cheated by corrupt officials, have not entirely disappeared without trace. It is therefore hoped that this paper may encourage other scholars to do further work in this direction, so that full justice can be done to Ancient Egyptian justice. For now, the jury is still out, but the evidence has been presented.

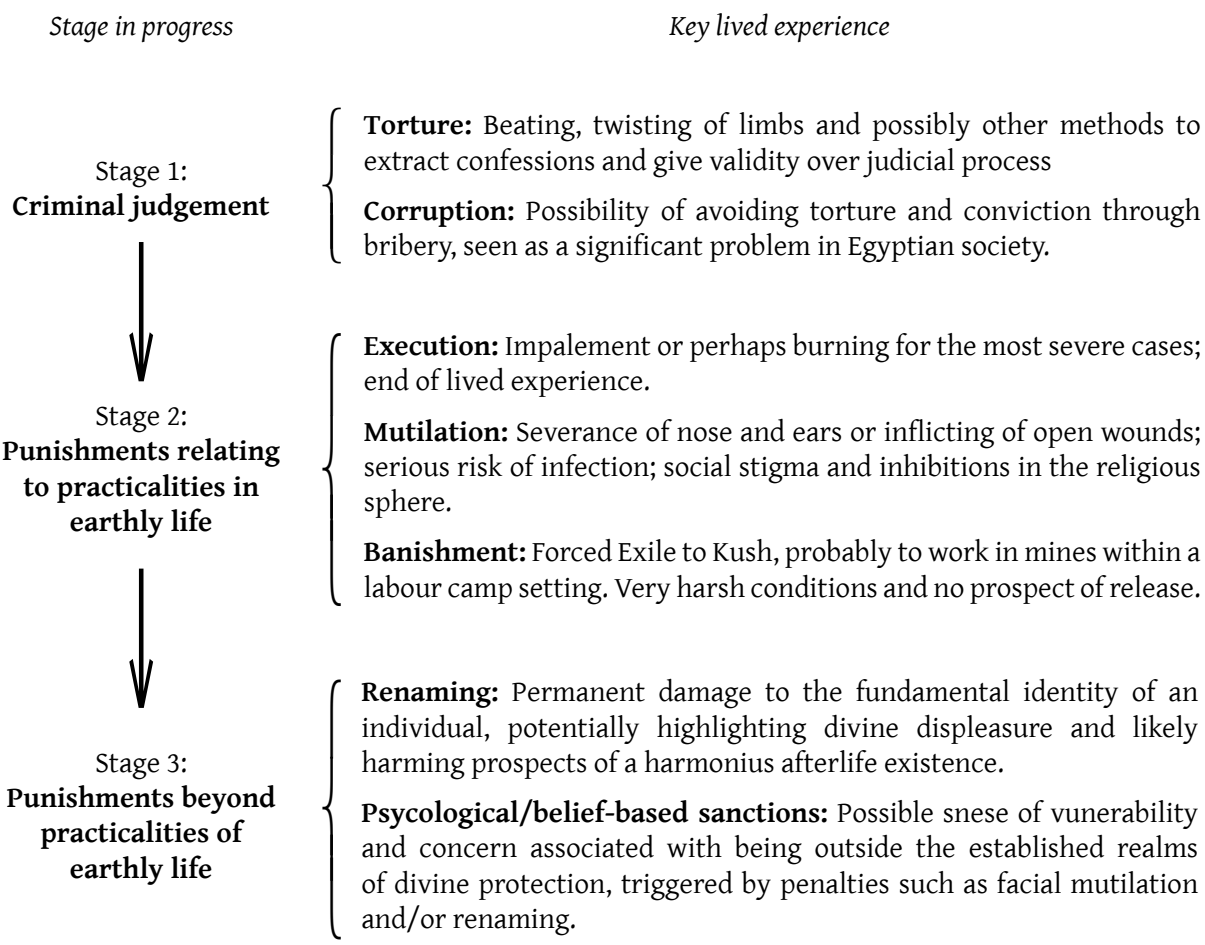


*Figure 1. Stages in the process and consequences of Ancient Egyptian criminal judgment in the 2nd Millennium BCE, from a perspective of lived experience.*

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# Communities of Glyptic Practice in Predynastic Egypt

Siobhan Shinn

## Introduction

In this paper, I take the first steps towards developing a method for defining a community of glyptic practice in the archaeological record.[1] I first explain the communities of practice perspective and why it is useful in archaeology and then explore how to articulate a specific community of glyptic practice using a case study from ancient Egypt. I hope my work demonstrates the value of communities of practice theory to archaeological research as well as encourages the critical application of it to archaeological data excavated in other contexts.

## Background and Method

"Community of practice" originated as part of Lave and Wenger's "situated learning theory" (1991);[2] however, it did not become an independent concept until Wenger developed it in his seminal work Communities of Practice (1998). His publication encouraged the spread of "communities of practice" into a variety of disciplines (e.g. Organization and Management Studies, Business, Public Administration), resulting in the concept's advancement and diversification (Hughes, et al, 2007: 1, Duguid 2009: 2).
A community of practice is the specific type of learning environment in which members develop knowledge about their shared profession through participatory learning (Wenger 1998: 4, 5-6). Participatory learning is learning through practice and social interaction: it is an active process that enables committed individuals to develop their own skills and intelligence in the particular area of interest (e.g. profession, discipline, problem) they share (Wenger 1998: 4). Individuals who engage in participatory learning about the same area of interest belong to a single community of practice (Wenger 1998).
Subsequent to the publication of Communities of Practice (1998), Wenger proposed a terminology for the main components of any community of practice: domain, community and practice (2011: 1-2). The domain is the shared interest of community members (Wenger 2011: 1). It inspires members to improve their skills and to share their knowledge and experiences with other members in order to develop a practice (i.e. collective skillset) and identity in relation to their shared interest (Wenger 2011:

1 Communities of practice theory has previously been applied to archaeological contexts (e.g. Habicht-Mauche, et al, 2006; Cordell and Habicht-Mauche 2012); however, my work demonstrates how it can be used to interpret specifically glyptic material.

2 Lave and Wenger developed situated learning theory as an alternative to traditional learning theory: it highlighted social interaction and participation rather than formal study as the means by which individuals in certain communities (i.e. midwives, tailors, quartermasters, butchers and non-drinking alcoholics) develop skills and advance their knowledge about a shared subject (1991).

1). Community is the relationships created when members engage and share their knowledge and skill (Wenger 2011: 2). It facilitates the process of sharing information, and it reinforces the professional bonds created during member interaction (Wenger 2011: 2). Practice is the collective skillset of community members (Wenger 2011: 2). It is the professional repertoire of ability and understanding upon which members can draw to enact personal and collective development and identity construction, and it is the guidelines by which members conduct their work (Wenger 2011: 2).

Communities of practice theory originated in the field of education and was created to explain the learning processes of particular groups of people (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). It can also be used in Egyptian and Sudanese archaeology to highlight the educational practices of groups of co-located workers (e.g. administrators, potters, boat-builders). Discussion of workers' education in the literature on ancient Egypt and Sudan is rare because the archaeological record doesn't often yield direct evidence for it; therefore, an alternative way of interpreting the evidence, which communities of practice theory provides, is necessary. A particular artefact type and its archaeological context can be used to define the domain, practice and community of a specific community of practice. I now explore how by analysing glyptic found on sealings excavated in Tomb U-J at Abydos, Egypt.

Glyptic are the motifs and scenes engraved into seals and impressed into sealings.[3] These motifs and scenes contain information about the location and movement of personal and public property (Hill 2004: 100-101). Glyptic appears on seals and sealings excavated in different contexts (e.g. cemeteries, settlements, temples), and the same glyptic motifs and scenes can appear in multiple contexts of either similar or different type. A single glyptic scene may also appear on a large number of sealings from the same site or from different sites, or it may only appear on one seal or sealing at a single site. Content (i.e. motifs and scenes), context and number are oft-analysed aspects of glyptic, and I will use them to find the domain, community and practice of a glyptic corpus, producing a method for articulating a community of glyptic practice in the process.

Glyptic found in large numbers in the same context or in proximal contexts provides evidence for a domain. Large numbers are necessary because they indicate multiple people produced the glyptic. The same or proximal contexts are also necessary because they indicate people who produced the glyptic regularly interacted. Similarities in glyptic content and in the style in which it was produced provide evidence for community and practice. Similarity in motifs, scenes and style strongly suggests people developed a shared practice for the production of glyptic content through interaction.

The first step to articulating a glyptic community of practice is to pick a glyptic corpus with a visible domain. The corpus must contain a large number of glyptic patterns, and the glyptic patterns must have been found in the same context or in proximal contexts (see above). Below I describe a glyptic corpus I believe supports the existence of a domain.

3 Seals are the small objects into which glyptic is carved, and they are used to impress glyptic into sealings. Sealings are the clay objects attached to storage containers, and they receive the seal's glyptic imprint. Sealings can be attached to either mobile or stationary containers and be indicative of either the local storage or long-distance transportation of goods (Regulski 2009: 32).

**Glyptic Corpus**

Glyptic analysed as a possible domain was excavated in the Predynastic layers of Abydos. It was chosen because it was excavated from secure, datable contexts within close proximity and because it contains a significant number (21) of different glyptic scenes.

The glyptic was discovered on sealings excavated in Cemetery U (Hartung 1998a, 1998b; Dreyer 2011). The sealings have been dated to either the Naqada IID (Hartung 1998a) or Naqada IIIA (Hartung 1998b) period on the basis of their pottery and associated artifacts. Twenty-one different glyptic patterns appear on several hundred sealings: 4 from Tomb U-127, 2 from tomb U-133, 2 from tomb U-134, 2 from tomb U-153, 2 from tomb U-170, 3 from tomb U-210, 1 from tomb U-g, and 5 from tomb U-j. Below is a description of each context and the glyptic found in it.

Tomb U-127 was originally excavated by Peet (1914) and was recently re-excavated by the DAIK (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo) (Hartung 1998a). Tomb U-127 is a large, wood-lined pit, and it yielded a coffin, ceramic and stone vessels, three fragments of a carved, ivory knife handle, decorated ivories, undecorated knife handles, a ripple-flaked flint blade, fish-tail flint knife and 8 sealings (Hill 2004: 19; Hartung 2010: 108). All 8 sealings are jar sealings of shape G5, and they are all made from Nile clay (Hartung 1998b: 48). These 8 sealings yielded 4 different seal patterns (see Figure 1): 1) three fish stacked on top of each other next to cross-hatching; 2) dragon flies flying in various directions and randomly interspersed with different symbols, 1 symbol of which may be interpreted as the Predynastic version of the hieroglyph for foreign land (Hill 2004: 20); 3) the prow of a boat floating in mid-air and surrounded by strange animals or symbols; and 4) one row of gazelle head and one row of fish, the rows of which face in opposite directions.

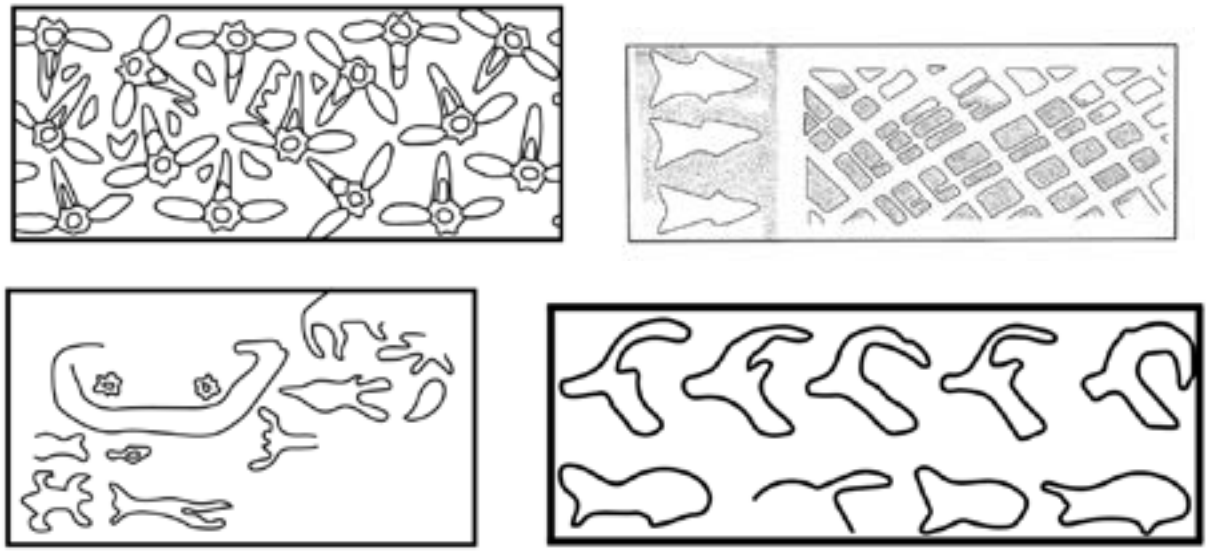

*Figure 1. Glyptic patterns from Tomb U-127, after Hill 2004*

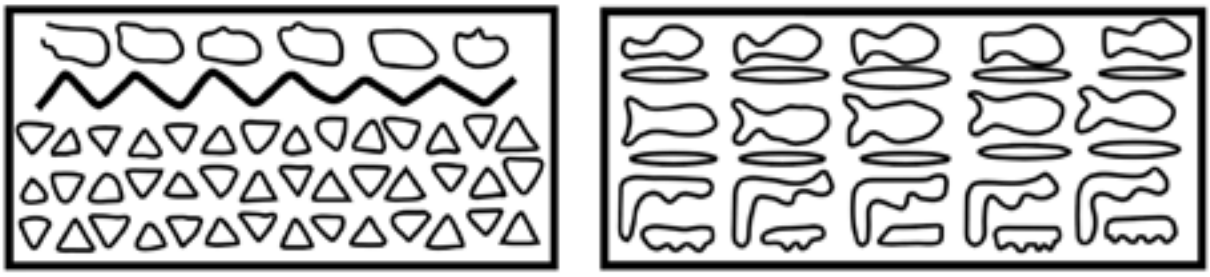

*Figure 2. Glyptic patterns from Tomb U-133, afrter Hill 2004*

Tomb U-133 covers an area of 7.98 meters squared, and it is another large, wood-lined pit, with a coffin, ceramic and stone vessels, and 2 sealings (Hartung 1998a: 194). Both sealings are jar sealings of shape G5, and they are made from Nile clay (Hartung 1998b: 48). Each sealing yielded a different impression (see Figure 2): 1) 6 rows of 4 different symbols, 1 symbol of which can be identified as a fish and 1 symbol of which can be tentatively identified as the Predynastic version of the hieroglyph for land and 2) several rows of triangles, a squiggly line and a row of oblong symbols.

Tomb U-134 covers an area of 4.2 meters squared (3.0m x 1.4m) (Dreyer, et al, 1996: 17). It is medium-sized and rectangular with rounded sides, and it yielded stone vessel fragments, flint, obsidian and carnelian blades, beads, an ivory object and 2 sealings (Dreyer, et al, 1996: 17; Hartung 1998a: 194-196). Both sealings are jar sealings of shape G5, and they were made from Nile clay (Hartung 1998b: 48). Each sealing yielded a different seal impression, one of which was made by a stamp seal and the other of which was made by a cylinder seal (see Figure 3). The pattern from the stamp seal consists of four rows of the symbol for "foreign land." The pattern from the cylinder seal consists of 3 rows of different animals: the top two rows face one direction and the bottom row faces the opposite direction. The animals in the top and bottom rows are most likely gazelle, but it is unclear what animals are found in the middle row.

*Figure 3. Glyptic cylinder seal from Tomb U-134, after Hill 2004*

Tomb U-153 covers an area of 1.95 meters squared (1.5m x 1.3m) (Dreyer, et al, 2000: 47). It is a medium-sized oval shaped pit, and it contained flint blades, small ivory fragments, beads, shell fragments, and 2 sealings (Dreyer, et al, 1996: 47; Hartung 1998a: 197). Both sealings are jar sealings of shape G5 and are made from Nile clay (Hartung 1998b

48). Both sealings also contained a unique impression each (see Figure 4): 1) a four-legged creature with a long snout surrounded by several rows of four-pointed stars and 2) two and a half rows of objects shaped like bow-ties.

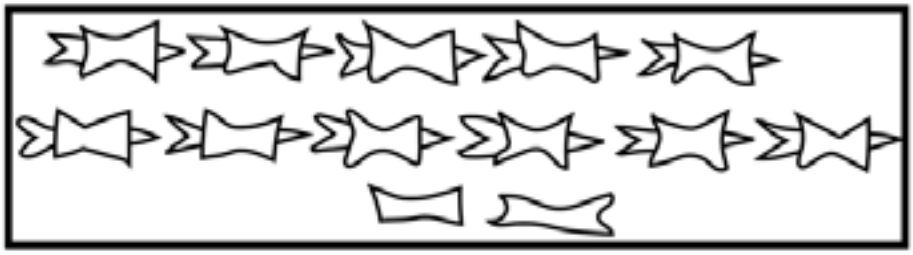

*Figure 4. Glyptic pattern from Tomb U-153, after Hill 2005*

Tomb U-170 covers an area of 3.15 meters squared (2.1m x 1.5m) (Dreyer et al, 2000: 47). It is of medium size and rectangular shape with rounded corners, and it yielded fragment of bone or ivory object, piece of red chalk, circular beads, faience and 2 sealings (Dreyer et al, 2000: 47; Hartung 1998a: 197-200). Both sealings are jar sealings of shape G5, and they are made from Nile clay (Hartung 1998b: 48). Both sealings also contained only one, unique impression each (see Figure 5): 1) four rows of triangles, all of which are more or less the same size and 2) four rows of two different symbols, one symbol of which is a circle and the other symbol of which is unclear.

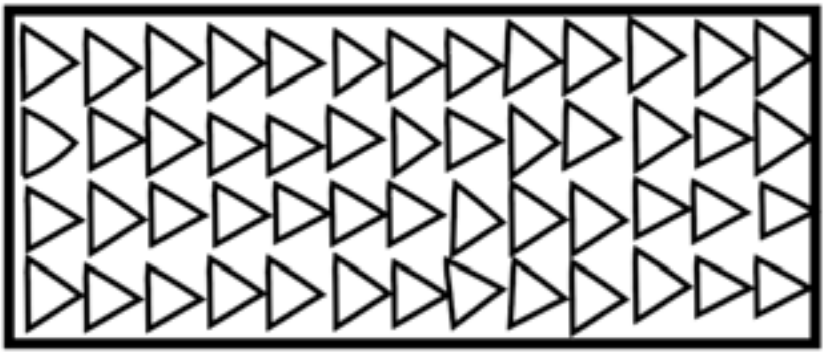

*Figure 5. Glyptic pattern from Tomb U-170, after Hill 2005; Honore 2007*

Tomb U-210 covers an area of 6.6 meters squared (4.7m x 1.9m) (Dreyer et al, 1996: 20). It is large rectangular pit with curved sides, and it contained beads, an ivory fragment and 3 sealings (Dreyer et al, 1996: 20; Hartung 1998a: 200-202). The 3 sealings are all jar sealings of shape G5, and they are all made from Nile clay (Hartung 1998b: 48). Each sealing also yielded a single impression (see Figure 6): 1) five rows of four different symbols, 1 symbol of which may be identified as the Predynastic representation of land (as also seen in one impression from U-133); 2) a stork surrounded by rows of different symbols, one row of which is comprised of the Predynastic representation of the hieroglyph

for "foreign land" (as also found in one impression from U-134); and 3) two symbol representing the goddess B3t surrounded alternatively by rows of the hieroglyph for "foreign land" (as also seen in one impression from U-127) and a recumbent dog.

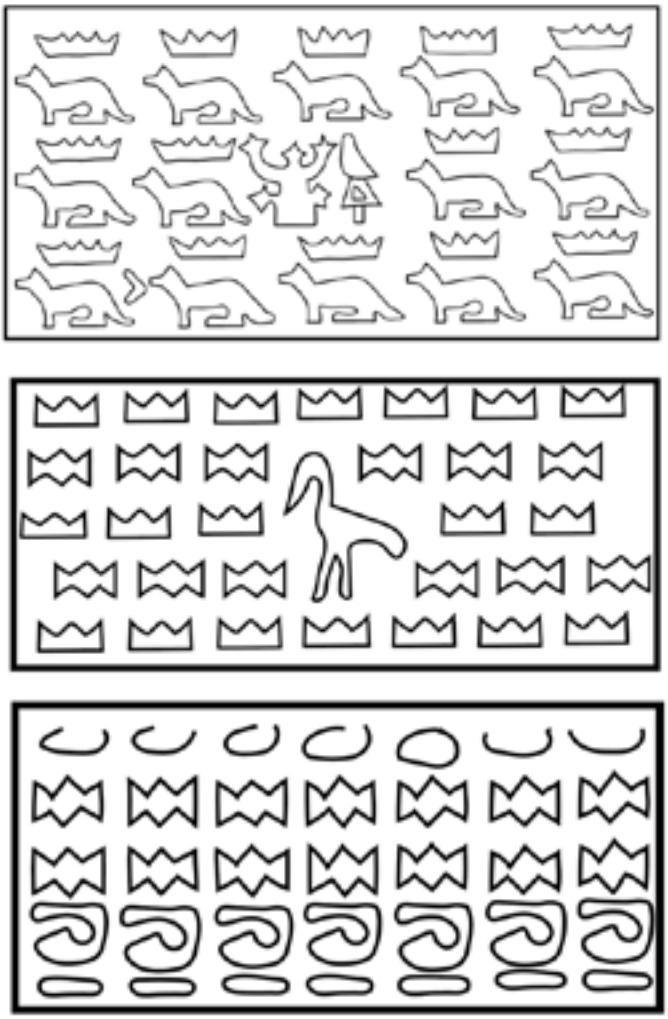

*Figure 6. Glyptic patterns from Tomb U-210, after Hill 2004*

Tomb U-g is a large, single chambered, brick-lined tomb from the Naqada IIIA period (Hill 2004: 22). Its contents include pieces of ivory dice, obsidian fragments, beads of carnelian, amethyst, faience and lapis lazuli and small bits of malachite (Hill 2004: 22). It also contained one sealing with one seal impression (Hill 2004: 22). The impression depicts rows of one symbol that has been interpreted as a boat standard due to its similar appearance to Early Dynastic boat standards (Hill 2004: 22).

Tomb U-j is roughly 100 meters squared and is located on the southern edge of Cemetery U (Dreyer 2011: 128). It is nearly square, consists of 12 different chambers, and yielded the following objects in each of its chambers: chamber 1 – wood residue, a scepter, jewelry, cosmetic utensils, ceramics (wavy-handled vessels numbering near 500); chamber 2 – 190-250 wavy handled vessels; chambers 3 and 4 – coarse, Egyptian ceramics of Nile clay (e.g. beer jars); chamber 5 – wavy handled vessels and marl clay vessels; chamber 6 – wavy-handled vessels, coarse beer jars, plates, baking platters, etc. and plates of Nile clay, some w/ foodstuffs; chamber 7 – about 120 Canaanite wine vessels; chamber 8 –jars of marl clay; chamber 9 – coarse Egyptian ceramics; chamber 10 – about 173 Canaanite wine vessels; chamber 11 – several sets of ivory game pieces, fabric, stone vessels, grain furniture, some of which were most likely contained in wooden chests, bone and ivory tags with numbers and other symbols; and chamber 12 – about 400 Canaanite wine vessels (Dreyer 2011: 131-132, 135). It is by far the largest and best endowed tomb in Cemetery U, and it has been interpreted as the burial of a Predynastic Egyptian ruler (Bestock 2009: 10).

Tomb U-j also contained 5 different glyptic patterns: 1) animals (possibly antelope, birds, scorpions and snakes), hunting equipment (possibly a trap, arrowheads, and throwing sticks) and several, unclear signs within a border depicting a multi-row diamond pattern (Hartung 2001: 220); 2) the same diamond pattern in multiple rows around a larger, only partially preserved scene containing animals (possibly antelope, dog, birds, scorpions and snakes), hunting equipment (possibly arrowheads and throwing sticks), and several unclear signs within which is a rectangle filled with rows of triangles in rows (Hartung 2001: 223); 3) a pattern of small squares with triangles arranged to fill the void in a square "X" surrounds a rectangular image field that shows animals, facing left, around a rosette with 7 petals (Hartung 2001: 223); 4) two vertical patterns – one of triangles arranged in squares as in the voids of a square "X" (different from type 3) and the other of large triangles made from diagonal lines – bordering a scene depicting a man with a walking stick next to a reptilian animal and several, unclear symbols (Hartung 2001: 224); and 5) a central scene of a boat or a building and a standard with weapons, surrounded by rows boats in wave troughs (Hartung 2001: 224-225).

**Analysis**

Documenting the existence of a community of practice in the archaeological record requires its domain, community and practice to be visible in the material. The domain is clearly seen in the Predynastic glyptic from Abydos. It was produced in relatively large quantities and excavated in proximal contexts (see above), strong indicators it was the shared interest of multiple people who interacted regularly. Community and practice are less visible. The bow-tie motif (U-210 b and c) and snake motif (U-j a and b) are made in the same style; however, the fish (U-127a and b and U-133 b), foreign land sign (U-127 b, U-210 a, U134 a and U-210 b), gazelle (U-134 b, U-j a and b), and triangles pattern (U-133 a, U-j b, U-170 a) are only sometimes crafted in the same style. Scenes are composed in myriad different ways: haphazardly (U-127 b and c), in rows (U-127 d, U-133 a and b, U-134 a and b, U-153 b, U-170 a and b, U-210 c) and in central scenes encompassed by borders (U-153 a, U-210 a and b, U-j a-c, e). The existence of too few similarities in the style of motifs and composition do not support the conclusion a community of practice crafted this glyptic. The lack of similarity strongly outweighs the existence of a domain; therefore, I would argue the Predynastic glyptic excavated in Abydos was not produced by a single community of practice.

**Discussion and Conclusion**

In this paper, I began developing a method for defining a community of glyptic practice in the archaeological record. My work has demonstrated this goal is possible; however, it has also demonstrated problems with my approach. Ancient Egyptian glyptic is a viable domain because its production and use was the shared interest of numerous administrators. These administrators were

the core, community members, and the production and use of this glyptic were the practice. Each of these elements – glyptic, administrators, and production and use – has the potential to be examined from the perspective of communities of practice.

Nonetheless, the glyptic I examined did not produce evidence for a community of practice: either the community did not exist or insufficient data precluded me from finding it. It is also possible the glyptic I examined did not belong to the same administrative system. Future attempts to demonstrate the existence of a community of glyptic practice will certainly have to consider both the number of glyptic data present and whether it belongs to the same system. It is hoped these two conclusions, as well as my study overall, will provide guidance for those archaeologists interested in applying this approach to their material in the future.

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# Family Associations Reflected in the Materiality of 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri

Marissa Stevens

Understanding family in ancient Egypt is incredibly difficult. Social conceptualisation and expectations of the family system is poorly understood in pharaonic times. As with most studies of ancient civilizations, one of the best practices for understanding people is to first understand their material record. 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, for example, provide an opportunity to reveal elite Egyptian perspectives on the family; especially during a decentralised time in which stressing family connections were useful in terms of inheritance and hereditary position within the temple and when other connections, such as a strong relationship to the king or palace administration, became less meaningful.

Funerary papyri were not new to elite burials of the 21st Dynasty. At the transition to the 18th Dynasty, Books of the Dead were incorporated into many elite burial assemblages. However, these New Kingdom funerary papyri only include Book of the Dead content, and are more limited in terms of their layout of both text and image. The incorporation of funerary papyri into burial assemblages of the 21st Dynasty appears to be more pervasive, and they take on a new role for the priestly class. The Theban priestly elite of the 21st Dynasty were able to utilise – for a number of reasons – a greater breadth of religious and ritual content in their papyri. I would argue that this expansion of content represents much more than a religious shift or newfound freedom resulting from a lack of authoritative kingship in Thebes. The inclusion of a greater variety of content in 21st Dynasty funerary papyri is a societal trend meant to reflect one's unique social status and access to restricted knowledge – traits that the Theban priesthood prized. In this context, it seems that papyri functioned as a more concealed repository of restricted and ritualized content acting as a counterpart to the displayed decoration on coffins.

In a system in which the maintenance of the nuclear family was a main mode conveying social identity, the inclusion of family members on papyri can provide much information about the Egyptian social system beyond genealogy. By studying these recorded family members, one inherently reveals the influence of a "third generation" – those that are burying the dead and have the most to gain from an uninterrupted inheritance pattern of both physical wealth and titles – that must not be ignored

**Family Referenced on Papyri**

Of the 557 papyri in this study, 139 include identified family members of the deceased in the preserved texts.[1] Thus, the inclusion of identified family members on funerary papyri was not a necessity, as seems to be the case with other types of papyri – such as oracular amuletic decrees (Edwards 1960; Bohleke 1997: 155–167) – but rather an optional component utilised to socially identify the deceased. Regarding these options, choices, and motivations of social identification, this chapter aims to demonstrate that first, there is a marked distinction between the rank of an individual's temple titles and the way in which family members are referenced. Second, the inclusion and exclusion of certain individual's titles – particularly named mothers – seems to follow a deliberate practice that could shed light on the perceived inheritance of titles.

The titles and positions referenced on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri are greatly expanded from the positions afforded to the elite of the New Kingdom, particularly for women. Priestly positions for women in the New Kingdom were primarily songstress functions related to the gods Amun and Mut. While this songstress function survived as the primary method of female involvement in the temple into the 21st Dynasty, the number of opportunities grew. For example, Betsy Bryan (1996: 42) states, "Of 114 Eighteenth Dynasty women, only three or four held the title of *ḥsyt* of Hathor during the combined reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III; there were five under Amenhotep II, three under Thutmose IV, eight under Amenhotep III, and six (plus one *shemayit*) for the last reign of the dynasty". 147 of the 177 women of this 21st Dynasty dataset were titled as Chantresses of Amun. In addition, 20 women from the 21st Dynasty were singers of Mut.

The variety of titles in the 21st Dynasty can be attributed to a growth of the influence and power of the priesthood, which became much more hereditary in nature as compared to the structure of the priesthood in the New Kingdom. Women had more roles to fill in this expanded, hereditary temple system. The lack of authoritative kingship in the Theban area also meant that priestly positions were viewed as the most influential, thus making their associated titles the ones to stress to gain social prestige. As attested on the papyri of the 21st Dynasty, women carried around 25 distinct titles and men defined themselves with close to 100 different temple and administrative positions.

The obvious primary way to compete socially both while alive and in death is by referencing one's own titles and the positions within the temple that they reflected. The titles of the deceased take clear precedence of inclusion on funerary papyri. Beyond the titles of the deceased, many family members are also identified by name, and some are provided with titles of their own.

1 See Appendix for a list of these papyri, along with the titles of the deceased and names and titles of preserved family members.

**Patterns of Temple Rank**

Concerning the choices to include named and titled family members, there are clear patterns in which family members are identified by name and title, and clear distinctions as to which deceased individuals are most likely to include titled family members. There is a correlation between the inclusion of family members with titles and higher-ranking titles for the deceased, with higher-ranked individuals including more family members with titles. In addition, men stress hereditary temple titles in their papyri.

To illustrate these trends, I divided the owners of papyri into two main groups: Those with higher-ranking titles, and those with standard titles. While this at times can be a subjective judgement, the overall range of titles surveyed on 21st Dynasty papyri reveal clear distinctions between more standard titles and those that are more prestigious. After compiling all titles used on 21st Dynasty funerary papyri, the use of certain qualifiers such as *ḥry*, *wr*, and *tpy*, as well as numerically ranked titles (e.g. Third High Priest of Amun), illustrates the hierarchy and prestige of certain titles over others. For example, the titles of Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun are the two most standard epitaphs for women. Chief Singer and Chief Priestess positions are much rarer and constitute higher-ranking titles. For men, the obvious highest-ranking title is High Priest of Amun. Other high-ranking titles involve being the overseer of certain temple works, holding numerically ranked temple titles, or acting in an administrative capacity within the temple. Standard titles for men often involve being a simple *w'b* Priest or God's Father of Amun.

The first observation to be made regarding the correlation between temple rank and family references is that highly ranked individuals include more family members with titles on their papyri, as opposed to including family members without provided titles. Within this observation, the picture is strikingly equal between men and women regarding their choice of which named family members are provided with titles. However, the motivations for this choice between men and women are notably different.

Thirty-two men with high-ranking titles include family members on their papyri. Of these 32 individuals, 24 have at least one family member with provided titles. The remaining eight only record family members without titles (Figure 1). Of the 44 men with standard titles, only 18 include titles for at least one family member listed. Between these two sets of men – those with high-ranking titles and those with standard titles – one can see the trend of higher-ranked individuals stressing the importance of titled family members. This pattern attests to the fact that those individuals with higher-ranking titles are more ingrained in the temple system: they have a stronger social network to exploit. In addition, those with higher-ranking titles have more at stake in terms of inheritance. That "third generation" – those who bury the dead – emphasized these high-ranking titles throughout the generations in an attempt to guarantee, no doubt, the succession of those titles within the family.

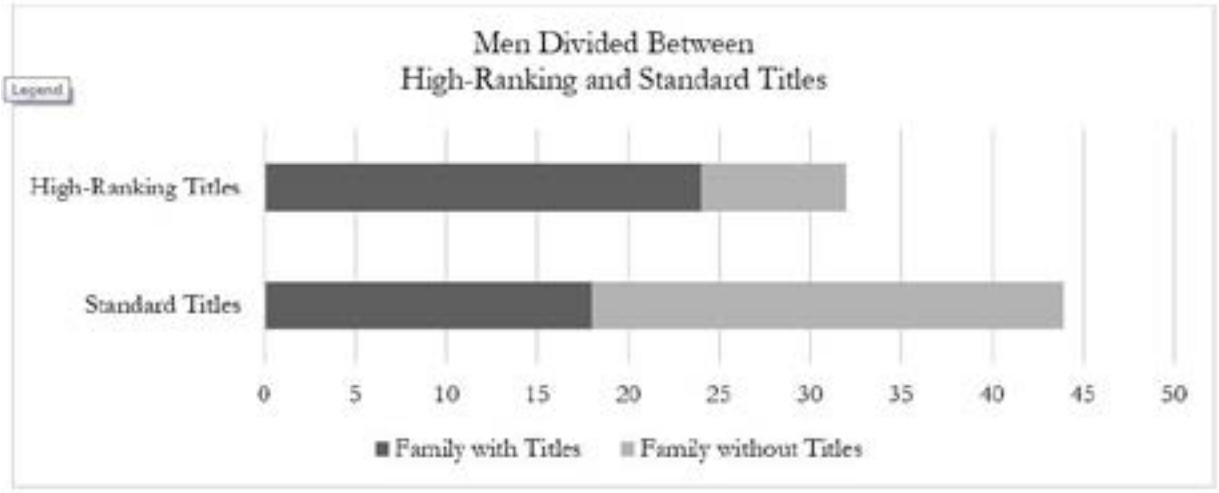


*Figure 1. Attestations of Family Members with and without Titles Divided among Men of High-Ranking and Standard Titles*

For women with high-ranking titles, 15 list family members on their papyri. Ten of these cases include family with titles. The only family members listed with titles are male relatives, with a single exception. Of these male relatives with titles, all but one was the current or former High Priest of Amun. There are nine cases where women list a husband, father, and/or paternal grandfather as a High Priest of Amun. The single exception to this pattern of including just male relatives is the papyrus of Tayuherit, who is titled as Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun, and Chief Singer in the Choir of Mut.[2] She lists her father, Khonsumes, as a God's Father of Amun and Overseer of Monuments in Karnak, Scribe in the House of Mut, Chief Scribe in the House of Amun-Re, Overseer of the House of Gold of Amun-Re, and Overseer of the House of Silver of Amun-Re. She also names her mother, Tanetamun, including her titles of Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun. It is a rare choice to list a mother with titles. A discussion of this infrequent phenomenon will be discussed below.

For both men and women, these choices of which family members to include as both named and titled speak to motivations for illustrating social prestige and inheritance. It is in these two stressed topics, however, that the incentives between men and women differ.

### *Patterns of Gender*

The examples of the high-ranking women and the trend they represent speak to a larger picture of who had access to which titles and how social status within the family was maintained. Of course, a connection to the High Priest of Amun is a source for social prestige in and of itself, but it is through this connection to the High Priest of Amun that both men and women can gain access to high-status

2 P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)

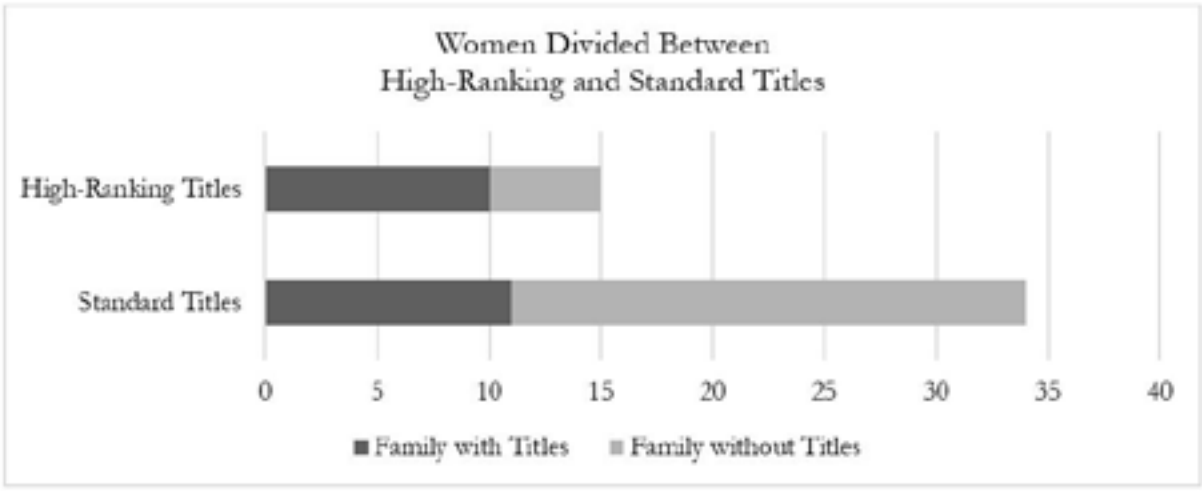


*Figure 2. Attestations of Family Members with and without Titles Divided among Women of High-Ranking and Standard Titles*

titles for themselves. As described in the previous section, there are 10 cases where high-ranking women list the titles of a husband, father, or paternal grandfather. This is out of a total group of 15 high-ranking women. Just like for men, women with standard titles are much less likely to list family members with titles of their own. There are 34 women with standard titles who list family members on their papyri, but only 11 of these women include titles for at least one named family member (Figure 2). Men, just like women, seem to stress a relationship to their father. Unlike women, however, men stress the hereditary nature of their temple titles by including often duplicate titles for fathers, grandfathers, sometimes great-grandfathers, and in one instance, a great-great-grandfather. Sons are also occasionally mentioned, showcasing the hereditary titles to be passed down to the next generation.

**Hereditary Temple Titles**

During most of the early New Kingdom, the Karnak temple complex was staffed by administrators and priests who also held other positions outside the temple complex in the broader Theban area. Throughout the New Kingdom, the positions available within the temple became increasingly differentiated (Eichler 2000: 217), but these positions were distributed by kings to palace official as bribes and rewards,[3] and were not at the time considered to be hereditary positions. Even as the temple grew in the 18th Dynasty, positions within the religious complex remained unstable. Under the reign of Amenhotep III, the temple workers often held positions within the palace and military administrations as well as temple

3 This is especially demonstrable under the reigns of Tuthmosis I, Tuthmosis II, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, and Amenhotep II with respect to the positions of Overseer of All Offices of the House of Amun (*imy-rᶜ i3w.t nb.t n pr Imn*) given to Ineni and Hapuseneb Steward of the House of Amun (*imy-rᶜ pr n pr Imn*) given to Senenmut, Sennefer, Mery, Amenemhet, and Ptahmose, and High Steward of Amun (*imy-rᶜ pr wr n Imn*) given to Rau.

works (Eichler 2000: 193–234). As a result, the temple positions were often de-emphasised in favour of elevated positions elsewhere in the Egyptian government (Bryan 2000: 218–271; Kozloff 2012: 92–93).

With the decline of royal power at the end of the 20th Dynasty, however, the perspective of temple titles had changed. With less social benefit deriving from political and military administrative positions, more individuals turned to temple titles as a source of prestige. With this increased importance in temple positions came the motivation to preserve these titles through the generations and focus on the hereditary possibility of these positions. As Ben Haring (2013: 633) states:

> "More generally speaking, the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty appears to be a period in which royal power had diminished in southern Egypt, of which Thebes had always been the administrative centre. It was in this period that the high priests of Amun rose to prominence. The basis for this development was not only the power vacuum left by the last Ramesside kings and their viziers, or the fact that they were the head of Egypt's richest and most prestigious temple. A very important point to consider as well is the management of the greatest Theban temples (i.e., Karnak and Medinet Habu) as a family business."

The example of Ramessesnakht, who was a high priest in Karnak and sm-priest in Medinet Habu first under the reign of Ramesses VI, continued in his position until Ramesses IX when his sons succeeded him in both positions. With Ramessesnakht's father also serving as a *sm*-priest at Medinet Habu, the inheritance of these temple positions spanned at least three generations and lasted over fifty years (Haring 2013: 633–634). This pattern, and others like it, set a precedence for the 21st Dynasty and the extreme inheritance of temple titles that prevailed during this decentralized period.

**Male Inheritance Patterns**

In all, 21 men in this study list hereditary titles on their papyri. Hereditary titles are defined as titles that are provided for both the deceased and at least one family member of an elder generation (such as a father or grandfather) on the same papyrus. This inheritance pattern is the one most commonly stressed. In addition to the simple inheritance of titles, a deceased male may define his father with less titles, or titles of a lower rank. This may indicate professional growth within the temple and associated social advancement with this elevation in position. A deceased male also stresses a connection to the High Priest of Amun in the same way women highlight such a social connection. One last trend that speaks to male inheritance patterns is recording a father with no titles at all. This last trend might showcase an unwillingness on the part of the deceased (or family of the deceased responsible for burial) to record a loss of titles and the associated temple position and social prestige. Many of these fathers are known to have had positions within the temple system, thus clouding the motivation of the son to omit such titles for the father.

**Sons Advancing Their Position**

The improvement of titles through the generations occurs on several papyri of high-status men, where the father is provided with less titles or titles of a lower rank. Rather than focus on the lower origins of the family, the emphasis in these examples is placed on the deceased being able to improve his social status by his own merit and talent in a traditional Egyptian motif of achieving more than one's parents.

*Figure 3. Excerpt from a Papyrus of Padiamun, Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2), from Piankoff and Rambova 1957*

This excerpt from one of two papyri of Padiamun is a clear example of hereditary titles and family growth through the generations. In it, Padiamun not only provides himself with titles, but also lists his father with a similar, yet more limited, array of titles. He also lists his grandfather, Hori, and his great-grandfather, Ahaneferaumn, and provides them with titles as well (Figure 3). All four men are titled as a God's Father and a Chief of Secrets (with various qualifications), but Padiamun's father, Ahaneferamun, is also a *ḥm-nṯr* Priest. This title is passed on to Padiamun. In addition, Padiamun secured the prestigious position of Opener of the Doors, Great Seer, and *stm*-Priest, meaning he had the additional privilege of seeing and interacting with the gods during the daily offering ritual. It is in this example that we can read an increase in position and prestige for Padiamun that he and his surviving family members obviously wished to highlight in the way these four generations of men were identified and preserved on Padiamun's funerary papyrus.

**Sons Artificially Advancing Their Position**

Another phenomenon seen in papyri is for a son to devalue the titles of a father when he did not achieve the same titles for himself. Apart from listing a father as the High Priest of Amun, there are no cases where a son lists a father with higher titles than his own outright. This indicates that there was a real caution surrounding the recording of a downslide of social status. For example, in one of

his funerary papyri,[4] Menkheperre B identifies himself as a 3rd *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Amun (*ḥm-nṯr ꜣ-nw n Imn*). Also in that papyrus, he names his father Tjanefer A, but only provides the selected title of 3rd *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Amun (*ḥm-nṯr ꜣ-nw n Imn*) for his father. From Tjanefer A's own papyri,[5] he is identified as God's Father, Beloved of the God, Chief of secrets of Heaven, Earth, and Duat, *ḥm-nṯr*Priest of Amun, Opener of Doors of Heaven in Karnak, 3rd *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Amun-Ra King of the Gods, *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Montu Lord of Thebes, Overseer of Works of the House of Ra, First Steward in the House of Amun, *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Khnum Lord of the First Cataract Region.[6] It thus appears that Menkheperre B was deemphasising the achievements of his father that he did not share, while focusing on the hereditary nature of the 3rd *ḥm-nṯr* Priest of Amun position that he did inherit from his father. It is also quite possible that space may have been an issue – the decisions regarding the exclusion of most of Tjanefer A's titles need not be cynical. When space is an issue, however, it is worth noting that the most prestigious titles of a father are not the ones to be mentioned, but those of a hereditary nature take clear precedence for the deceased and surviving relatives making burial decisions.

**Sons of the High Priest of Amun**

There are two exceptions to this trend of emphasising the hereditary nature of temple titles. The first is when a father or grandfather was a High Priest of Amun. Even when the owner of the papyrus did not reach that status, it is still a highly important family connection to make. Four men with high-ranking titles list a father or grandfather as a High Priest of Amun.[7] No men with standard titles claim a male relative as a High Priest of Amun, further reinforcing the idea that family connections played a large role in the temple positions available to each member of the Theban elite. This is unsurprising, as the late 20th Dynasty family examples of the inheritance of temple titles, as discussed above, shows that elite positions were kept within the same priestly families for generations. While upward social mobility within the temple system was possible, the most elite positions remained entrenched within the same priestly family that retained political and kinship connections to the Tanite royal family in Lower Egypt.

4 Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967)

5 Cairo S.R. IV 952 and Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244)

6 *it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sšt³ m p.t t³ dw³.t ḥm-nṯr n Imn wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t ḥm-nṯr 3-nw Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Mnṯw nb w³st imy-r³ k³.w nw pr-Rʿ tpy ḥw.t n pr Imn ḥm-nṯr n Ḫnm nb qbḥ*

7 Ankhefenmut names his father, Menkheperre A, as High Priest of Amun on his two papyri, Cairo S.R. VII 10274 and Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9). Menkheperre B names his grandfather, Menkheperre A, as High Priest of Amun on one of his papyri, Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967). Tjanefer A names his father, Menkheperre A, as High Priest of Amun on one of his two papyri, Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244). Osorkon names his father, Shoshenq as High Priest of Amun on his two papyri, P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C) and P. St. Petersburg SSL2.

**Sons without Titled Fathers**

The second exception is to list a father with no titles at all. This is much more common on the papyri of men with standard titles. In most cases, these fathers must have had positions within the temple, and in many cases, we know that they did in fact have prestigious positions of their own. The previous example of Menkheperre B and his father Tjanefer A is one example of this. Although Menkheperre B (or the third generation preparer of Menkheperre B's papyrus) did not eliminate all of Tjanefer A's titles, he focused on the ones that were inherited by Menkheperre B and eliminated those that would have made clear that Tjanefer A outranked Menkheperre B. This further supports the argument that inheritance had a large part to play in the recording of titles. The titles that we know were held by Tajnefer A but not held by Menkheperre B were lost to the family, and thus not of great importance to the surviving third generation who had the most to gain after the funeral of Menkheperre B.

But perhaps when studying the examples of the titles of a father being excluded or absent, one could read a devaluing of the deceased and his family lineage. Did these title-less fathers in reality achieve more than their sons, resulting in the son not wanting to mention the titles of the father for fear of pointing out his own shortcomings? Or, is this a simple issue of utilising the limited space of a papyrus in the most economical way possible? In some cases, as with the example of Nesypaa's name shown here, space does seem to be an issue (Figure 4). However, with the stress that most men put on hereditary temple titles and personal advancement, it seems possible that many of these sons wanted to downplay either the loss of certain positions in the temple, or the fact that he was overlooked in favour of a brother who was given these titles instead.

**Female Inheritance Patterns**

Unlike men who stress the inheritance of specific temple titles and the social rank that accompanies it, women only stress the hereditary nature of their family's status. Even high-ranking women with strongly differentiated titles do not reference their mothers as having those same titles, even when we know that was the case. For example, the coffin set last used for Nesykhonsu A in the Royal Cache was once used for her mother-in-law Isetemheb.[8] Both women held the titles of First Chief Musician of Amun-Ra, King of the Gods (*wr.t ḫnr.t n Imn ḥr.t wr.t tp.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w*), a fact that made Isetemheb's coffins more easily reused by Nesykhonsu A. However, in the deification decree of Nesykhonsu A,[9] Isetemheb's name is listed, but she is not provided with titles. In fact, none of the individuals listed are provided with titles. Because this was a deification decree, it was clearly done after the death of Nesykhonsu A, and she had no influence on the composition of the

8 JE 26199; CG 61030
9 Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228)

*Figure 4. Excerpt from a Papyrus of Padikhonsu Illustrating the Name of Father Nesypaa, P. Leiden R.A. 58A, National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden*

document. With a strong connection between Nesykhonsu A and her mother-in-law Isetemheb, with no intention to erase fully the name or memory from the coffin set once belonging to Isetemheb, it is an odd choice to not reference the inheritance of such a unique temple position outright. It is pertinent to explore these differences by first looking at the overall absence of mothers' titles, and by comparison, the abundance of fathers' titles on the papyri of both men and women.

**Including Parents' Titles**

Parents are by far the most common relatives included on funerary papyri for both men and women. Eighty-three fathers and fifty-four mothers are named in the corpus of 139 21st Dynasty funerary papyri with named relatives. Despite these high numbers, it does appear to be a choice to identify parents by name and/or titles on a funerary papyrus. The possibilities for the reason why parents might be named stem from the inheritance of temple positions and related social status, as the inclusion of parents follow a different pattern from other contemporary papyri groups.

For example, the corpus of 21st and 22nd Dynasty oracular amuletic decrees comprise 22 documents, twenty-one of which were published by I.E.S. Edwards (1960) and one of which was published by Briant Bohleke (1997). Oracular amuletic decrees were recorded by scribes as if they were dictated by the gods regarding the protection of a certain individual. They appear to be Theban in origin, and thus the most popular gods mentioned are Amun, Mut, and Khonsu. As these texts were amulets, they are very narrow given their length (widths between 3 and 8.2 cm and lengths between 18.5 and 147 cm). They would be rolled and placed in a container to be worn around the neck. It appears that these decrees were written for infants or young children, as they provide promises of protection

for a multitude of situations, including assurances of growth and a safe childhood. The decrees include protection from illness, injury, demons, angry gods, hostile magic, physical attack, issues of childbirth (for women) and all evil deeds that could befall a person (Pinch 1994: 117–118). Of these 22 decrees, 15 have the name of the mother of the individual in question preserved. There are 12 named references to fathers. According to Egyptian magical practice, naming a mother was of much greater importance with regards to effective magic, as only the mother of an individual could truly be known without question. Thus, naming an incorrect father would make the magical amulet ineffective for the wearer.

In comparison, 21st Dynasty funerary papyri focus on the father, indicating that effectiveness of the document was not dependent on correctly documenting parentage. There is demonstrable anxiety to identify the correct person via proper parentage, as demonstrated in not only oracular amuletic decrees, but also execration texts, where both mothers and fathers are frequently mentioned (Ritner 2008: 140–141). 21st Dynasty funerary papyri seem to function independently of identifying the deceased correctly with his or her parentage, as only 139 of the 557 papyri of this corpus list any family members at all. Instead, the focus on the fathers who are included has much to do with the inheritance provided to the child in terms of position, property, and status.

**Mothers' Titles**

Mothers' titles are almost completely absent from papyri. No men list the titles of their mothers, despite 24 mothers being listed by name only. There are 30 mothers listed by name on women's papyri, with only three being provided with titles (Figure 5). These three cases, however, appear under unique circumstances. The first is the previously mentioned example of Tayuherit,[10] who lists her mother as a Mistress of the House and Chantress of Amun. Tayuherit herself is a Mistress of the House, Chantress of Amun, and Chief Singer in the Choir of Mut. It thus seems that referencing her mother in this manner is showcasing Tayuherit's advancement within the temple and accompanying elevated social status in the same vein as the example with Padiamun discussed above.

The second time a mother is listed with titles is the case of Nesykhonsu.[11] She and her mother are both Mistresses of the House and Chantresses of Amun. However, after her mother's name, there is an additional *s3.t*, indicating that a third generation was to be added, but the scribe seemed to run out of space (Figure 6). Perhaps the mother's titles were listed not as an end unto themselves, but to show what was intended to be a multi-generational list of women and the continuity of their status through time.

10 P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40)
11 Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638)

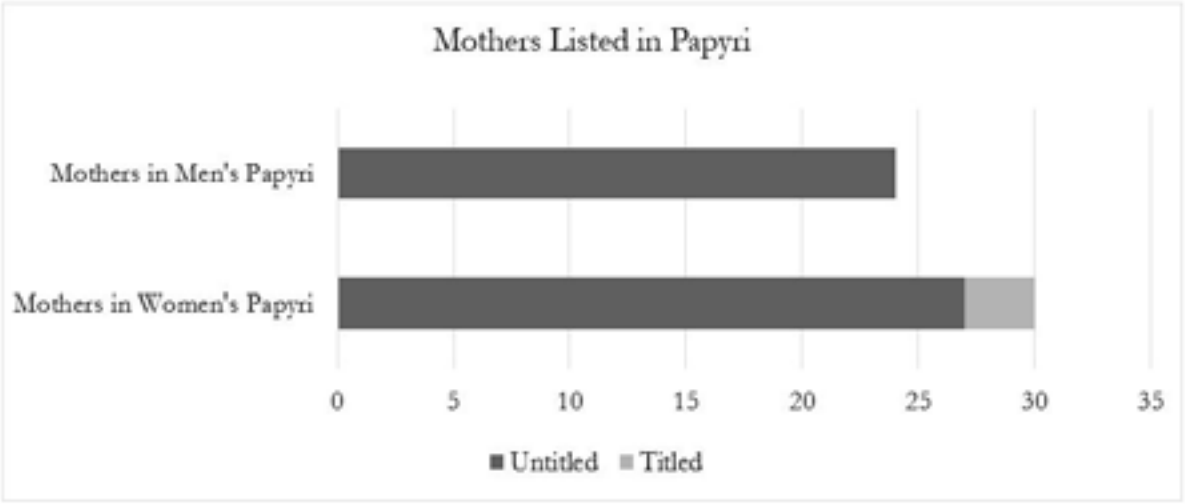


*Figure 5. Attestations of Mothers Listed in Papyri Divided by Men and Women, Titled and Untitled*

The third case of a mother being listed with titles is tenuous. Both Andrzej Niwiński and the Totenbuch Projekt lists the papyrus of Djhutyiu[12] as a fragment containing a vignette of Book of the Dead 148. Both also state that the mother, Taamuniu, is titled as a *nb.t pr*, while Djhutyiu herself has no titles listed. This papyrus was unavailable for study, and photographs of it could not be obtained. Because of its fragmentary state and a lack of first-hand experience studying this document, it is unclear if Djhutyiu never had titles, or if they are simply not preserved. With the facts presented and accepted at face value, it seems that the mother's title could have been included because Djhutyiu herself had none. This reference to a *nb.t pr* could be the only association to status (albeit limited) that Djhutyiu could reference for herself.

**Fathers' Titles**

It has already been demonstrated that men tend to focus on the hereditary nature of titles, with an emphasis on their fathers. Fifty-four fathers are listed on men's papyri, which constitutes more than all of the other categories of identified family members combined. With the hereditary nature of temple titles, this paternal reference is not at all surprising. The consequences of inherited temple titles for both men and women, however, will be discussed below (Figure 7). Women, too, also focus on the status of the men in their lives, with 19 papyri featuring the temple titles of fathers and husbands (Figure 8). It is here that the concept of the decorum of providing titles on funerary papyri can be addressed. There is a noticeable impetus for both men and women to utilize the titles of male family members to gain social prestige.

12 Paris Louvre N. 3127

In addition, there is almost a complete absence of mothers being presented with titles, and this is surprising considering many women did share the same temple positions with their mothers. One final point of scrutiny is the observable unimportance of spouses for both men and women. For women in particular, one might assume that a relationship to a husband would be important, but it is not reflected in the papyri as such. It seems little emphasis was placed on marital relationships in papyri. This may be due to the new freedoms afforded to women in the 21st Dynasty regarding their independent burials of equal status and frequency to men that characterised the burials of this class of the Theban elite.

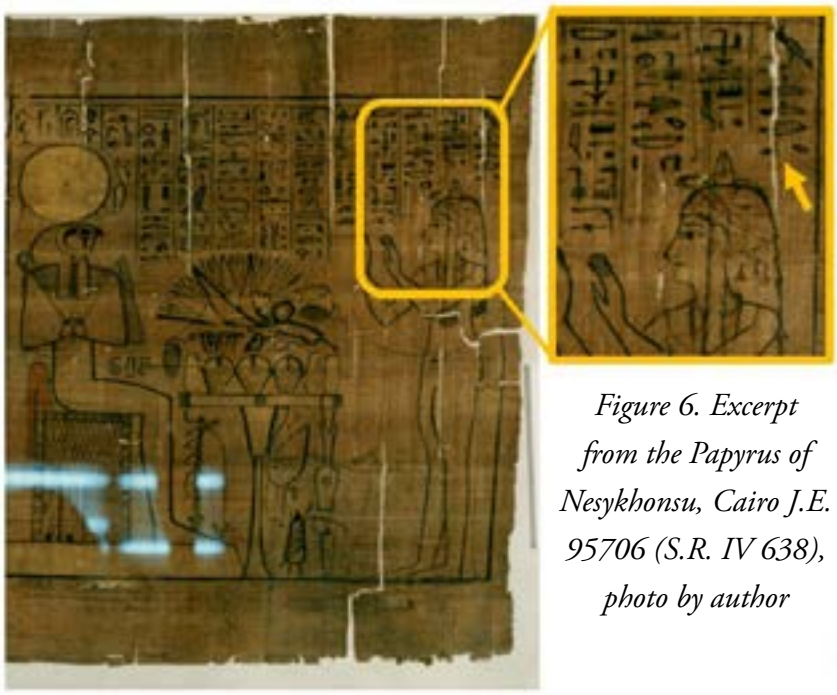

*Figure 6. Excerpt from the Papyrus of Nesykhonsu, Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638), photo by author*

**Inheritance Conclusions**

To conclude, perhaps with this study of family relationships recorded on funerary papyri, one can begin to understand a potential fundamental difference in how the titles and positions of men and women were perceived: Men inherited titles and associated positions from their fathers, while women possibly "shared" the same temple positions with their mothers. In this conclusion, I pose two theories for this difference. It is by understanding this core difference that the importance of highlighting family connections on documents such as funerary papyri can be understood.

First, the inheritance of male titles could revolve around the death of the father as the moment in which the son can assume his inherited temple position and take ownership of the titles. These sons would have known during the lifetime of their father that they were due to inherit certain temple positions from their father, but they might not have had the opportunity to serve in that capacity until the death of their father. This seems particularly possible for the more elite and specific positions where only a certain number of men were permitted to perform their temple duties.

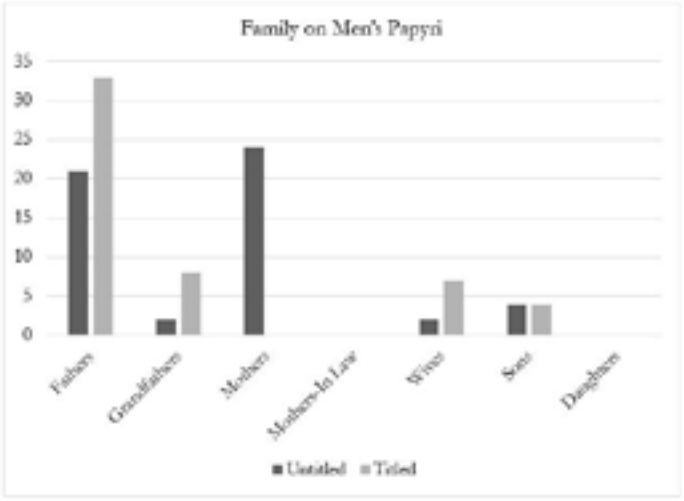


*Figure 7. Family Members Listed on Men's Papyri*

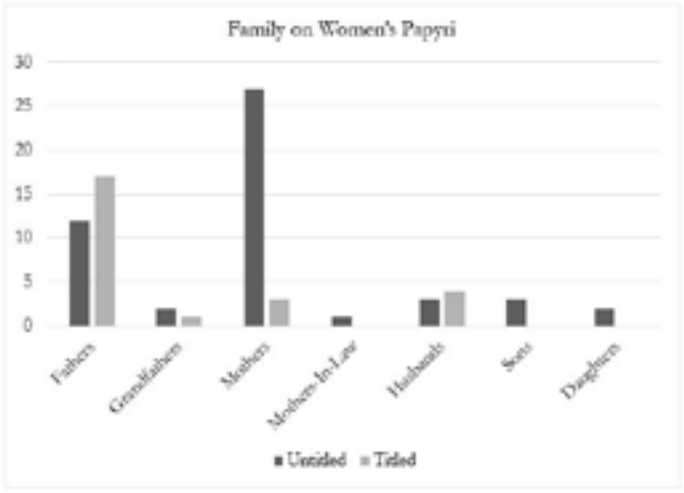


*Figure 8. Family Members Listed on Women's Papyri*

Women, on the other hand, may have been able to share in many temple positions during life in a way that men did not. Women may have been able to serve alongside their living mothers, as most of the temple positions for women do not have restrictions in the number of women who could participate in any given role. The fact that these women could share temple positions in life deemphasized the inherited aspect of the titles. It is therefore quite probable that the Egyptians did not view women's temple positions as being inherited in the same way that a son had to wait for the death of his father to subsume a role within the temple.

Second, the inheritance of male titles might have come with the inheritance of physical property and wealth, making the aspect of inheritance much more controlled and emphasised. Many temple positions came with certain endowments of land, products to be received, and a certain amount of the reversion of offerings. These types of income associated with the temple positions were of limited quantity, thus restricting both the number of sons who could inherit titles from their fathers and the moment in time in which that inheritance could occur. Physical inheritance of property in Egypt was strictly regulated, thus making the titles associated with each income held to just as high a standard.

Here, too, could be the reason that women also stressed the titles of male relatives – they could have also benefited from a physical inheritance from these associations. This also accounts for the fact that so few women stress an association to a husband. If inheritance was meant to be passed from an elder generation to a younger, such a marital connection would not be of use to a woman. A connection to a father and a patrilineal line of inheritance could be of benefit, though, and it seems that the emphasis placed on fathers in funerary papyri is evidence towards that mindset. It seems that in addition to the written identities of

the deceased, there is much to read in between the lines in terms of position, titles, and ownership related to the family and the social status maintained by continued reference to these relationships.

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## Appendix

### *Papyri and Recorded Family Relationships*

| Name of Deceased | Titles | Museum Number | Family Member's | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Relation | Name | Titles |
| Amenhotep (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš nꜣ mnḫi.w n pꜣ imy-rꜣ mšʿ* | Cairo J.E. 95646 (S.R. IV 543) | | | |
| | *it-nṯr n Imn sš mšʿ* | Cairo JE 95648 | Mother | Iset | none |
| Satkhons (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo CG 58006 (S.R. IV 943, J.E. 95845) | Father | Ihry | none |
| Isis(f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | Cairo SR 10239 | | | |
| | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Chicago FM 31326 | Father | Serdjhuty | none |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Padiamun (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn* | Cairo S.R. VII 10653 (TR 23/4/40/1) | Mother | Hered | none |
| | | | Wife | Hennutawy | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n.t Imn* |
| Nespaneferhor (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Mwt imy-r³ nfr.w n pr Imn* | Cairo S.R. VII 10229 | Father | Serdjhuty | *it-nṯr n Imn imy-r³ nfr.w n pr Imn* |
| | none | Cairo CG 58003 (S.R. IV 941, J.E. 95843 | | | |
| | *it-nṯr mr-nṯr ḥry sšt³ m p.t t³ dw³.t imy-r³ nfr.w n pr Imn* | Cairo S.R. VII 11503 | Father | Serdjhuty | none |
| Userhetmes (m) | *wʿb n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš pr-ḥḏ* | Cairo J.E. 34023 (S.R. VII 10225) | | | |
| | *wʿb n Imn sš pr-ḥḏ wʿb n Mwt* | Cairo S.R. VII 10249 (TR 14/7/35/7) | Wife | Shebit | *nb.t-pr* |
| Padiamun (m) | *it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n Imn wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t sm.t m ³ḫ.t* | Cairo S.R. VII 10654 (T.R. 23/4/40/2) | Father | Ahaneferamun | *it-nṯr ḥm-nṯr n Imn* |
| | | | Grandfather | Hori | *it-nṯr* |
| | | | Great-grandfather | Ahaneferamun | *it-nṯr* |
| | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn it-nṯr mri ḥry sšt³ m p.t t³ dw³.t* | Cairo J.E. 95879 (S.R. IV 981) | | | |
| Amenemhet (m) | none | Cairo S.R. VII 11495 | Father | Ankhefmut | none |
| | *it-nṯr n Imn ḥry qr.w* | Cairo S.R. VII 10230 | Father | Serdjhuty | none |
| Maatkaretashepset (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | Cairo J.E. 95650 (S.R. VI 548, TR 14/7/35/8) | | | |
| | none | Cairo S.R. IV 959 | Mother | Isetemahkbit | none |
| | | | Father | Pinudjem II | High Priest of Amun |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Harweben (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm.t-nṯr 2-nw n Mwt* | Cairo J.E. 31986 (S.R. VII 10245) | | | |
| | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w wr.t ḫnrt.t n Imn ḥm.t-nṯr n Mwt* | Cairo S.R. VII 10256 (TR 14/7/35/6) | Paternal Grand-father | Menkheperre A | High Priest of Amun |
| | | | Mother | Isetemakhbit (D) | none |
| | | | Father | Pinudjem II | High Priest of Amun |
| Ankhefenmut (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn it-nṯr n Mwt* | Cairo S.R. VII 10274 | Father | Menkheperre A | High Priest of Amun |
| | *it-nṯr n Imn it-nṯr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Išrw* | Cairo S.R. VII 10652 (TR 14/7/35/9) | Father | Menkheperre A | High Priest of Amun |
| Djedkhonsuefankh (m) | *ḥsi ꜥ n Imn it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ imy-rꜣ pr imy-rꜣ šnw.ti sš wr n Imn-Rʿ* | Cairo S.R. VII 11498 (TR 14/7/35/2) | Father | Shedsuheru | none |
| | *imy-rꜣ šnw.ti sš wr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo S.R. VII 10266 (T.R. 14/7/35/4) | | | |
| Tawedjatre (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn šmʿ.t n pꜣ ʿn wab n ḥpt* | Cairo J.E. 34033 (S.R. VII 11500) | | | |
| | *ḥsi.t ꜥ.t n Mwt nb.t p.t mr.t n ḥwt-ḥr wsr.t nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šmʿ.t n pꜣ grg wab n Ptḥ ḥsi.t n pꜣ ʿn Mwt tꜣ šps.t ḥsi.t n pꜣ ʿn Mwt nb.t Išrw* | Cairo S.R. VII 11496 | Mother | Taiuherit | none |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Menkheperre B (m) | *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Imn imy-rꜣ imn.t n pr Rʿ tpy Iwni (n) pr Imn* | Cairo JE 95638 | | | |
| | *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Imn imy-rꜣ imn.t n pr Rʿ tpy Iwnw (n) pr Imn ḥm-nṯr 2-nw Ḫnsw* | Cairo CG 40010 (J.E. 95866, S.R. IV 967) | Grand-father | Menkheperre A | High Priest of Amun |
| | | | Mother | Gauetseshen | none |
| | | | Father | Tjanefer A | *ḥm-nṯr 3-nw n Imn* |
| Tjanefer A (m) | *it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sštꜣ m p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m Ipt-sw.t ḥm-nṯr 3-nw Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Mnṯw nb wꜣst imy-rꜣ kꜣ.w nw pr-Rʿ tpy ḥw.t n pr Imn ḥm-nṯr n Ḫnm nb qbḥ* | Cairo S.R. IV 952 | | | |
| | *it-nṯr mri nṯr ḥry sštꜣ m p.t tꜣ dwꜣ.t ḥm-nṯr n Imn wn ʿ.wy nw p.t m Ipt-swt ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥm-nṯr n Mnṯw nb wꜣst imy-rꜣ kꜣ.w nw pr-Rʿ tpy ḥw.t n pr Imn ḥm-nṯr n Ḫnm nb qbḥ* | Cairo CG 40014 (J.E. 33997, S.R. VII 10244) | Wife | Gauetseshen | none |
| | | | Mother | Isetemakhbit (C) | none |
| | | | Father | Menkheperre A | High Priest of Amun |
| Gautseshen A (f) | none | Cairo S.R. VII 10265 (T.R. 14/7/35/3) | | | |
| | *nb.t-pr wr.t ḫnr.t tp.t n Imn šmʿ.t n Imn ḥsi.t ʾ.t (n) Mwt* | Cairo CG 40012 (J.E. 95838, S.R. IV 936) | Father | Menkheperre A | High Priest of Amun |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nodjmet (f) | *mw.t ny-sw.t n nb t³.wy mwt n Ḫnsw p³ ḫrd wr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry šps.wt nb t³.wy* | London BM 10541, Paris Louvre E.6258, ex Mook Collection | Husband | Herihor | High Priest of Amun |
| | none | London BM 10490 | Husband | Herihor | High Priest of Amun |
| | | | Mother | Herer | none |
| Pinedjem I (m) | ? | Cairo No Number | | | |
| | *ny-sw.t nb t³.wy s³-Ra n ḫ.t≠f mr≠f* | Cairo CG 40006 (S.R. VII 11488) | Wife | Henuttawy A | none |
| Henettawy A (f) | *ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm≠f nb.t t³.wy ḥsi ʿ³ Imn n Ip.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t mw.t n p³ ḥm nṯr tpy n Imn mw.t n nṯr n Imn mw.t n ny-sw.t wr.t ḥm.t nṯr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Isrw ʿ³ n pr n Ḫnsw m Wʿst ḥm.t nṯr n ini pt Šw s³-Rʿ mwt nṯr n Ḫnsw p³ ḫrd* | Cairo CG 40005 (J.E. 95856, S.R. IV 955) (P. Boulaq 22) | Husband | Pinudjem I | High Priest of Amun |
| | *ḥm.t ny-sw.t mw.t ny-sw.t n nb.t t³.wy ḥm.t wr.t tpy n ḥm≠f mw.t ḥm.t nṯr n Imn mw.t n ḥm.t nṯr n Imn m Ipt-šw.t mw.t n nṯr.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mw.t n ḥm.t wr.t n nb.t t³.wy mw.t n p³ ḥm nṯr tpy n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mw.t n p3 imy-r3 mšʿ.w wr n t3.wy* | Cairo J.E. 95887 (S.R. IV 992) | Husband | Pinudjem I | High Priest of Amun |
| | | | Father | Ramesses XI | King |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Maatkare A (f) | *mw.t-m-ḥ³t ḥm.t nṯr n Imn m Ipt swt s³.t ny-sw.t ḥm.t ny-sw.t wr.t (n) nb t³.wy* | Cairo CG 40007 (J.E. 26229, S.R. IV 980) | Father | Pinudjem I | High Priest of Amun |
| Neskhons A (f) | none | Cairo CG 58032 (S.R. IV 991, J.E. 26228) | Mother | Tahenudjhuty | none |
| | | | Husband | Pinedjem II | none |
| | | | Mother-In-Law | Istemkheb | none |
| | | | Daughter | Ihtawy | none |
| | | | Daughter | Nesytanebishru | none |
| | | | Son | Masaharta | none |
| | | | Son | Tchainefer | none |
| | *wr.t ḫnr.t n Imn ḥr.t wr.t tp.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo J.E. 26230 (S.R. VII 11573, S.R. VII 11485) | | | |
| Pinedjem II (m) | none | Cairo CG 58033 (J.E. 95684) | Mother | Istemkheb | none |
| | *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r³ mšʿ wr ir ³ḫ.t m Ipt-sw.t* | London BM EA 10793 (P. Campbell) | | | |
| | *ḥm-nṯr tpy n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r³ mšʿ wr shrr ḫ.t nṯr.w m pḥ.w iqr.w n mꜣ.t sḫb wʿst ḥw.t-ḥr ssḏf.w ḫw.w nṯr.w* | Cairo S.R. VII 11492 | | | |
| Nesitanebashru (f) | *ḥr.t wr.t ḫnr.t tp.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | London BM 10554 | Mother | Nesikhonsu | none |
| | | | Father | Pinudjem II | High Priest of Amun |
| Djedptahefankh (m) | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo SR 10246 | Father | Masaharta | none |
| | none | Collection Brockle-hurst | | | |
| | none | LOST | | | |
| Henettawy B (f) | *s³.t ny-sw.t* | Cairo J.E. 51948 a-c | | | |
| | *s³.t ny-sw.t* | Cairo J.E. 51949 | Father | Pinudjem I | High Priest of Amun |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Henettawy C (f) | *wr.t ḫnr.t n Imn* | New York MMA 25.3.28 | Mother | Isetemakhbit | none |
| | *wr.t ḫnr.t n Imn* | New York MMA 25.3.29 | Mother | Isetemakhbit | none |
| | | | Father | Menheperre | High Priest of Amun |
| Nauny (f) | *ḥsi.t n nb.w Wꜥs.t Imn Mwt Ḫnsw nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šsp.t sꜣ.t ny-sw.t* | New York MMA 30.3.32 | | | |
| | *nb.t-pr šmꜥ.t n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥsi.t n nb.w Wꜣst Imn Mwt Ḫnsw sꜣ.t ny-sw.t* | New York MMA 30.3.31 | Mother | Tenetbekhen | none |
| Amenmese (m) | *it-nṯr 4-nw n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Ḫnsw* | Cairo J.E. 6262 (S.R. VII 10250, Boulaq 9) | Father | Nesypawittawy | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn* |
| | | | Son | Amenhotep | *ḥm-nṯr 4-nw n Imn* |
| | | | Son | Ahaen | *ḥm-nṯr 4-nw n Imn* |
| | | | Son | Amenmese | *ḥm-nṯr 4-nw n Imn* |
| Osorkon (m) | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn* | P. St. Petersburg SSL 1 (P. Denon B + C) | Grand-father | Osorkon I | King |
| | | | Mother | Nesytawedjatakhet | |
| | | | Father | Shoshenq | High Priest of Amun |
| | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. St. Petersburg SSL2 | Grand-father | Osorkon I | King |
| | | | Mother | none | none |
| | | | Father | Shoshenq | High Priest of Amun |
| Amenhotep (m) | *wꜥb n Imn wꜥb n Mwt ḥm nṯr n Imn nb prt pꜣ wdb.w n Imn-Rꜥ* | P. Avignon A.69 | Father | Nesyamun | *wꜥb n Imn wꜥb n Mwt ḥm-nṯr n Imn nb pr pꜣ wdb.w n Imn-Rꜥ* |
| | | | Grand-father | none | *wꜥb n Mut wꜥb n Ḫnsw wꜥb n Ist* |
| Ankhefenkhons (m) | *ḥm- nṯr n wiꜣ n Imn- Rꜥ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Berlin P. 3013 A-B | Mother | Nesykhonsupahered | none |
| | | | Father | Djediah | none |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Padikhonsu (m) | *ḥry ʿt n pr Imn* | P. Leiden R.A. 58A | Father | Nesypaaa | none |
| Tentosorkon (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. London BM EA 9919 | Mother | Taremetenbast | none |
| Bakenweren (m) | *wʿb n Imn-Rʿ nb tȝ.wy ḥry ḥb n Imn m Ipt-sw.t* | none | Wife | Miaa | *šmʿ.t n Imn* |
| | | | Son | Amenhotep | none |
| Inpehefnakht (m) | *ḥry nfw.w wiȝ n pr Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Cambridge E.92.1904 | Son | Paennesytawy | none |
| | | | Father | Ashaikhet | *ḥry nfw.w wiȝ n pr Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| | *ḥry nfw.w wiȝ n pr Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. London BM EA 9932 | Father | Ashaikhet | *ḥry nfw.w wiȝ n pr Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| Inipehefenhet (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥry nfw.w wiȝ n pr Imn* | P. Cologny C | Son | Gairuebwab | none |
| Tayiuhenetmut (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Chicago OIM 18039 | Father | Nesypaherenhat | *sš pr-ḥḏ* |
| Ankhefenkhonsu (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w tȝty bsn n pr-Imn* | P. Oxford Bodleian Library No Number | Father | Amenemipet | *it-nṯr wn.w n.t pt n Ipt-sw.t* |
| | | | Son | Hor | *it-nṯr n Imn* |
| Djedmutiuefankh (m) | *it-nṯr n Mwt* | P. St. Petersburg SSL 4 | Father | Djedkhonsuiuefankh | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| Nesykhonsu-pahered Ikauhered (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Colmar o.Nr. | Father | Djedhoriuefankh | *ḥry ʿtḥw* |
| | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Colmar o.Nr. | Father | Djedhoriuefankh | *ḥry ʿtḥw* |
| Tanytbastet (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Paris BN 128 | Mother | Djedimenetiuesankh | none |
| | | | Father | Dikhonsuiudu | none |
| Khonsumes (m) | *wʿb n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w nbi n pr Imn* | P. Paris BN 20-23 | Father | Paenamun | *šȝb wʿb n Imn* |
| | *wʿb n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w nbi n pr Imn* | P. Paris BN 153-155 | | | |

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| Sutymes (m) | *ḥry sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr n Imn ḥry hmw.w wʿb ḥry ḫ³w.t sš.w (n) ḥw.t-nṯr m Ip.t-sw.t ḥry s³w.ti sš.w n pr-ḥḏ n pr (n) Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Paris BN 38-45 | Wife | Henutneteru | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* |
| Pennesuttawy (m) | *wʿb ḥry nfw.w wi³ n pr Imn* | P. London BM EA 10064 | Father | Inipehefnakht | none |
| | | | Mother | Tamenu | none |
| Nesmutaaneru (f) | none | P. London BM EA 9982 | Mother | Tamedmut | none |
| Djedmutiufankh (m) | *wʿb n ḫ³.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Mwt wr.t nb.t Išrw* | P. London BM EA 10096 (P. Salt 1,134-136) | Father | Khonsmose | *it-nṯr n Mwt* |
| Padikhons (m) | *it-nṯr n Ḫnsw m W³s.t nfr ḥtp qbḥ.w it-nṯr mri-nṯr ḥsy n nṯr=f* | P. London BM EA 10312 | Mother | Nesytawedjatakhet | none |
| | | | Father | Iuefenkhonsu | none |
| Mehmuthat (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. London BM EA 10005 | | | |
| | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. London BM EA 10035 | Father | Shenperduat | none |
| Nesy (m) | *wʿb ʿq m Ipt-sw.t* | P. London BM EA 10031 | Father | Pendjehuty | *wʿb ʿq m Ipt-sw.t* |
| | | | Mother | Ankhesenast | none |
| Nesmutankhti (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn šps.t* | P. London BM EA 10036 | Father | Djedkhonsuiuefankh | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| Khonsu (m) | *wʿb n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Berlin P. 3011; P. Genf D 190 | Mother | Tjenetperneb | none |
| | | | Father | Djedkhonsu | *s³b wʿb n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| Hor (m) | *it-nṯr mri-nṯr wn ʾ.wy n.w p.t m Ipt-sw.t* | P. Berlin P. 3121 | Father | Patawendiamun | *it-nṯr mry-nṯr* |
| Nesyamuntawy (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t ntr.w ʾ n mw pr (n) Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Berlin P. 3153 | Father | Hor | none |

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| Nesyamun (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ it-nṯr n Mwt it-nṯr n Ḫnsw* | P. Turin 1780 | Father | Paneferher | none |
| Tanedjemut (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w n Mwt Ḫnsw* | P. Turin 1784 | Father | Ahmesneferu | *it-nṯr* |
| Nesytanetasheru (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Turin CGT 53003 (Nr. 1850) | Mother | Nesmut | none |
| | | | Father | Nesmut | none |
| Gautseshen (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Turin CGT 53010 (Nr. 1852) | Mother | Itawy | none |
| Anmesu (f) | none | P. Turin CGT 53006 (Nr. 1853) | Mother | Djedaset | none |
| Djedkhonsuiuefankh (m) | *wʿb (n) ḥ³.t n Imn* | P. Turin CGT 53004 (Nr. 1854) | Father | Iimiseba | *wʿb n Imn* |
| Padikhonsu (m) | *wʿb n Imn it-nṯr n Mwt sš šnw.t Imn* | P. Turin CGT 53002 (Nr. 1859 / 2) | Father | Hori | *n t³ šnw.ty Imn* |
| Nesyamun (m) | none | P. Turin CGT 53005 (Nr. 1856) | Mother | Aset | none |
| | | | Father | Padiamun | none |
| Nesykhonsupahered (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Leiden T 25 (AMS 43) | Mother | Tabaketenmut | none |
| | | | Father | Nesysueramun | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš ḥw.t-nṯr n pr Imn* |
| Iuefenmut (m) | *k³w.ti n pr Imn* | P. Leiden T 29 (AMS 50) | Mother | Mehmuthat | none |
| | | | Father | Nesyamun | none |
| Djedmenetch (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn ny-sw.t nṯr.w sʿb sš n Imn-Rʿ* | P. Leiden AMS 36 | Father | Djedkhonsu | *wʿb n Imn sš n Imn* |
| | | | Son | Amenmese | none |

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| Tayukhertiu (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Ra ny-sw.t nṯr.w ḥs.t ꜣ.t n pꜣ ʿ n Mwt* | P. Leiden T 3 (AMS 40) | Mother | Tanetamun | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| | | | Father | Khonsumes | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr sš.w ḥw.t-nṯr n pr n Mwt. ḥry sš.w pr-ḥḏ n pr Imn imy-rꜣ ḥw.wt nwb n Imn imy-rꜣ n mn.w m Ipt-sw.t imy-rꜣ pr-ḥḏ n Imn* |
| Paser (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w m Ipt-sw.t m Wꜣst ḥsy ꜣ n nṯr≠f Imn wʿbʿ.wy m Ipt-sw.t it-nṯr n Imn m irw≠f nb kk (?)* | P. Leiden T 7 (AMS 34) | Wife | Taertapet | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* |
| | | | Mother | none | none |
| | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr mry n Imn m Ipt-sw.t ḥry-tp ṯꜣty sḥtpw ḥꜣt Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Paris BN 158-161 | | | |
| Amenmese (m) | *it-nṯr mry ḥry kꜣ.t n pr Imn* | P. St. Petersburg P-1-1952 (P. Tallinn) | Father | Padiamun-nebnsutawy | *it-nṯr mry.n it-nṯr ḥry ḥmw.w n pr Imn* |
| Penmaat (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn sš ḥw.t-nṯr* | P. London BM EA 10029 | Father | Merenmaat | *it-nṯr sš ḥw.t-nṯr n pr Mꜣʿt* |
| | | | Grandfather | Penrenenutet | none |
| Padimut (m) | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-swt nṯr.w sš mšʿ.wt n tꜣ ḏr* | P. London BM EA 10093 | Father | Nespautytawy | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| Neskhons (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. London BM EA 10329 | Father | Bakenamun | none |
| Nesypawittawy (m) | *iry ꜣ n pr Imn* | P. Berlin P. 3012 A + B | Father | Dehutymaat | *iry ꜣ n pr Imn* |

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| Djeddjhutyiuefankh (m) | none | P. Paris Louvre E. 3238 (P. Anastasi 1037) | Mother | Tanetirubastet | none |
| | | | Father | Djedmontu | none |
| Padimut (m) | *wʿb n Imn* | P. Dresden Aeg. 776 | Father | Ankhefkhonsu | none |
| Shedsukhonsu (m) | *sš n pr Imn wʿb sš n pr Imn* | P. Dublin MS 1671 | Father | Paennesytawy | *wʿb ḥry nfw.t wiꜣ n pr Imn* |
| Herusaiset (f) | none | P. Dublin MS 1675 | Father | Isetresy | none |
| Isetemakhbit (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. London BM EA 9904 | Mother | Maatemheb | none |
| Tameniu (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. London BM EA 10002 | Husband | Inypehefnakht | none |
| | | | Son | Paennesytawy | none |
| | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. London BM EA 10008 | Husband | Inypehefnakht | none |
| | | | Son | Paennesytawy | none |
| Amenmese (m) | *imy-rꜣ qd.w n pr Imn* | P. London BM EA 9918 (P. Salt 341) | Mother | Taremetenbast | none |
| Paneferher (m) | *ḥry-tp ʿ.t n pr Imn* | P. London BM EA 10327 | Father | Dikhonsiry | *ḥry-tp ʿ.t n pr Imn* |
| | | | Grandfather | Nesmut | *ḥry-tp ʿ.t n pr Imn* |
| | | | Great-grandfather | Anonymous | *ḥry-tp ʿ.t n pr Imn* |
| | | | Great-Great-Grandfather | Amenemheb | *ḥry-tp ʿ.t n pr Imn* |
| Djhuty (m) | *sꜣb qꜣr* | P. Paris Louvre N. 3245 (E. 850) | Wife | Tchii | *nb.t-pr* |
| Djedmentet-iuefankh (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Marseille 292 | Father | Iuefenamun | none |
| | | | Wife | Hennutawy | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* |
| Djedkhonsiufankh (m) | none | P. London BM EA 74135 | Mother | Nesirty | none |
| | | | Father | Bakenkhons | none |
| Ankhefenmut (m) | *nby n Imn-Rʿ* | P. Berlin P. 3017 | Father | Nesypaswnuhryhat | none |
| Ankhefenmut (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn* | P. St. Petersburg SSL 3 | Father | Suauyamun | *it-nṯr n Imn* |

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| Ankhefenamun (m) | *ḥry kꜣ.t ḫnty pr Imn* | P. St. Petersburg 1109 | Father | Djedkhonsuiuefankh | none |
| Hennutawy (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. London BM EA 10018 | Grandfather | Menkheperre | none |
| | | | Father | Hor | none |
| | | | Mother | Ankhesenmut | none |
| | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Richmond 54-10 | Grandfather | Menkheperra | none |
| | | | Father | Hor | none |
| | | | Mother | Ankhesenmut | none |
| Nesytanebtawy (f) | none | P. Paris BN 138-140, E. 3661 | Mother | Tanetdikhonsu | none |
| Horemakhbit (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w sš ḥw.t-nṯr n pr Imn* | P. London BM EA 10339 | Mother | Kakaia | none |
| Anhay (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn wrt ḫnr.t n nb.wt ib.w* | P. London BM EA 10472 | Mother | Neferiyti | none |
| | | | Husband | Nebsumenu | none |
| Merefenmut (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | Cairo CG 40021 (J.E. 95858, S.R. IV 957) | Father | Serdjhuty | none |
| | | | Husband | Nesypakaef | *wʿb n Imn* |
| Dhutynakht (m) | *wʿb n Imn nbi n pꜣ sšm ḫw n Imn* | Cairo J.E. 26231 (J.E. 26191, S.R. IV 995) | Mother | Nesytanebetisheru | none |
| Ikhy (m) | none | Cairo J.E. 95663 (S.R. IV 564) | Father | Ikhy | none |
| Nesykhonsu (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo J.E. 95706 (S.R. IV 638) | Mother | Tarer | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ* |
| Amenemipet (m) | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-swt nṯr.w ḥry sšṯꜣ ḥry sš qd.wt n pr Imn* | Cairo J.E. 95713 (S.R. IV 646) | Father | Ankhy | none |

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| Djedamun-iuefankh (m) | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo J.E. 95716 (S.R. IV 650) | Father | Iuthek | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r³ ṯ³ty niwt* |
| | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Cairo J.E. 95718 (S.R. IV 652) | Father | Iuthek | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w imy-r³ ṯ³ty niwt* |
| Djedamuniuefankh (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w s³b n t³ qnbt n niwt* | Cairo S.R. IV 530 (J.E. 4891) | Father | Iuefenamun | none |
| Nesyamun (m) | *wʿb n M³ʿ.t wʿb n Imn* | New York MMA 26.2.51 | Father | Merenmaat | *it-nṯr sš ḥw.t-nṯr* |
| | *wʿb n M³ʿ.t wʿb n Imn* | New York MMA 26.2.52 | Mother | Taenwenmetherib | none |
| Djedkhonsuefankh (m) | *it-nṯr mry imy st n ʿ.t n pr Imn* | Brooklyn Museum 37.1782 E | Father | Nesyamun | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn sš ḥw.t-nṯr n Imn* |
| | | | Grand-father | Hor | none |
| Ankhen-khonsunmut (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | Brooklyn Museum 37.1826 E | Father | Mitetenwennefer | none |
| Djedmutiuesankh (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Ann Arbor 3524; P. Munich ÄS 30 + 719 | Mother | Mutemip | none |
| Buiruharmut (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Cleveland 1914.725 | Father | Bakenmut | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| | | | Grand-father | Meryamunhotep | none |
| Bakenmut (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn* | P. Cleveland 1914.724 | Father | Amenhotep | *sʿb* |
| Bakenmut(m) | *it-nṯr n Imn* | P. Cleveland 1914.882 | Father | Amenhotep | *sʿb* |
| Ankhefenkhonsu (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn* | P. Cologny CI | Father | Nakhefmaat | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |

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| Taenimnetheretib (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Cologny CII | Mother | Amenhat | none |
| | | | Father | Iuefkhonsu | *ḥm-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* |
| Nesypernebu (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mri-nṯr wn ʾ.wy ḥ.w ḫry m Ipt-sw.t* | P. Cologny CVI | Father | Mehamenhat | *it-nṯr n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w mry-nṯr* |
| Djedmaatiuesankh (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Cologny CVIII | Mother | Anan | none |
| Hor (m) | none | P. Den Haag 40/86 | Mother | Butirtyharkhonsu | none |
| | | | Father | Ankhefenkhonsu | none |
| Ankhesenaset (f) | none | P. Den Haag 43/89 | Mother | Nebetakhty | none |
| Paiestchenef (m) | *it-nṯr mry-nṯr* | P. Edinburgh 212.113 (2)+(3) | Father | Meryennefer | none |
| Isetemakhbit (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Heidelberg Ä.I. Hieratisch II | Mother | Tami | none |
| Nesykhonsu (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn šps.t* | P. Copenhagen Carlsberg 488 (37.1); P. Houston 31.72 | Mother | Iuesenhesimut | none |
| Ast (f) | none | P. London BM EA 10703 | Mother | Ta-[…]-resy | none |
| | | | Father | Kapef-[…] | none |
| Aset (f) | *šmʿ.t n Imn* | P. Munich ÄS 17 | Mother | Ankhesenaset | none |
| Amenemipet (m) | none | P. Oxford 1878.236 | Aset | Mother | none |
| Djhutyiiu (f) | none | P. Paris Louvre N. 3127 | Mother | Taamuniiu | *nb.t-pr* |
| Padiamun (m) | *mry-nṯr* | P. Paris Louvre N. 3139 | Father | Padikhonsu | none |

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| Nesykhonsu-pahered (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šps.t* | P. Paris Louvre N. 3140 | Father/ Husaband? | Nesypawitawy | *it-nṯr n Imn* |
| | | | Father/ Husaband? | Padimut | none |
| | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w šps.t* | P. Paris Louvre N. 3141 | Father/ Husaband? | Nesypawitawy | *it-nṯr n Imn* |
| | | | Father/ Husaband? | Padimut | none |
| Bakenmut (m) | *wʿb n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w it-nṯr n Ḥnsw n wꜣst nfr ḥtp sš nṯr ḥtp.w n pr Imn* | P. Paris Louvre N. 3297 | Father | Horiset | *it-nṯr n Imn* |
| Nesykhonsu-pahered (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w wr.t ḫnrt.t n Imn ḥr sꜣ tpy šps.t* | P. Pairs Louvre E. 31856 | Mother | Nesitanebetasheru | none |
| | | | Father | Pinudjem II | High Priest of Amun |
| Pentaperuser (m) | none | P. Paris Louvre E. 20257 | Mother | Tanehmetes | none |
| Sutymes (m) | *it-nṯr n Imn* | P. Vatican 38607 (P. Vatican 30) | Father | Djedtuef | none |
| Isetemakhbit (f) | *nb.t-pr šmʿ.t n Imn-Rʿ ny-sw.t nṯr.w* | P. Vienna Vindob. Aeg. 12000 | Father | Webenpashuenmut | none |
| Ankhefenkhonsu (m) | none | P. Warrington WAGMG : RA 298 | Mother | Taaatempawia | none |
| Swnerpaneb (m) | *ṯꜣw mḏꜣ.t n Imn* | P. St. Petersburg 1113; P. Odessa Nr. 52974 | Wife | Mutu | *nb.t-pr* |

# Practising Craft and Producing Memories in Ancient Nubia

Kate Fulcher

People in the ancient world used natural materials in the world around them to add colour to their living environments, including architecture, textiles, and skin. The ancient Egyptians decorated their houses using bright colours, and archaeological evidence suggests this was not just the prerogative of the elite; the town of Amara West in north Sudan provides material evidence for the production and use of paint to decorate the walls even in modest houses. A scientific analysis of the pigments and binders revealed the materials from which the paint was made and some of the processes employed. The analysis was enhanced by a complementary phenomenological approach to address the sensory aspect of production, including intangible aspects that may have been important in the manufacturing and application of paint. The process of making and using the paints can to some extent be reconstructed and re-enacted, revealing the sensory nature of the process, the texture and appearance of the materials as they were prepared, the effort required, sounds, smells, and the haptic perception of the whole procedure, from collection of materials to dried paint on the wall. Archaeology can suggest to us modes of remembering; sites that are visited multiple times, or tasks that are repeated, would necessarily have memories embedded within them (Edmonds 1999; Hamilakis 2013: 103). As paint materials were gathered and processed by people from the landscape, memories were produced and re-activated via embodied performance, during which each aspect of the haptic experience has a part to play in activating and creating memories. Memories are carried by the paint, which can then act as a mnemonic device. The memories it holds are individual, communal and societal, and make the paint effective within its environment. Differences in the use of paint across the site of Amara West show how the inhabitants of Amara West were using this medium to construct identity and convey distinction.

**Archaeological context**

The town of Amara West lies between the Second and Third Cataracts in the area known to the Egyptians as Kush, and now in the north of the modern Republic of Sudan. Founded during the reign of Seti I (*c.* 1300 BCE), the settlement originally consisted of a walled town 108 x 108m, a sandstone temple, official buildings, and storage facilities. From the late 19th Dynasty, the residents of Amara West began to expand westwards, towards the main Nile channel, constructing larger houses outside of the town walls in an area the excavators refer to as the "western suburb". The first excavations at the site were conducted in February 1939 by Fairman on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Society

(EES), followed by a second season a year later and three seasons after World War II (P. Spencer 1997). The EES seasons uncovered the temple and two town areas of closely spaced domestic quarters and storage facilities, including a formal residence bearing inscriptions relating to two holders of the office "Deputy of Kush". A British Museum research project commenced at Amara West in 2008, focussing on the themes of lived experience and cultural entanglement (N. Spencer 2015; N. Spencer et al. 2014).

A large amount of artefacts and materials related to pigment preparation were discovered in 2009, within the northwestern part of the walled town (E13.14, Phase II, early to mid-19th Dynasty). These materials included a very large number of ceramic sherds reused as painting palettes, raw pigments, and grindstones with evidence of pigment grinding. Due to breakage, the original number of palettes is difficult to estimate but the number of pieces excavated from this phase is over 400, and 100 more were found underneath the western suburb, in what appear to be rubbish dumps that developed outside the walled town. Much of the painting material appears to have formed a rubbish fill of various rooms, which also contained evidence of small scale metal working, in addition to objects such as flint tools, and ostrich eggshells.

The evidence for paint on walls also mostly comes from Phase II. House E13.7 had a painted mastaba in the main room, and a pile of rubble from in front of the mastaba appears to have originally formed a wall niche with a moulded cavetto cornice, also painted. There were several stages of painting on the niche and cornice, which are difficult to distinguish, but at least one was polychrome, and the final paint layer was plain white.

The east walls of the room with the niche (E13.7.6) were painted white to a height of about one metre with a band of black along the top, about 2cm thick; this decorative scheme extended into the western walls of E13.7.3 but thereafter the walls of this room have only white paint remaining. There were traces of red and yellow paint on top of white on the walls of the room adjacent to E13.7.6 (E13.7.5).

Fairman's 1930s excavations in the town south of the temple uncovered a room, D14.5, with "fine decorated plaster" on the walls (P. Spencer 1997: 122). The south wall of this room was whitewashed with a 2.5cm band of black; further west on the south wall was a niche with moulding, painted in white and red (P. Spencer 1997: 125). The south wall of one of the houses (E12.1) to the north of the Deputy's Residence was painted in coloured bands, and a niche was cut into the south-west corner, painted red above bands of yellow and black, with evidence of a red and black cavetto cornice (P. Spencer 1997: 175; Figure 3). The 1930s excavators found fragments of painted plaster in the floor fill of E12.3 decorated with "squares, rosettes and other patterns in red, blue, white and black paint" (P. Spencer 1997: 172).

Area E13.20, east of house E13.7, was excavated down to the earliest occupation phase, which featured yellow painted plaster on wall fragments that had collapsed into the room; it is unclear if this was a house or fulfilled a different purpose. Colour was noted on the walls of a few Phase III houses: traces of red and yellow were found in room E.13.4.2 (the house built on top of E.13.7.6), and E.13.3 North and South and E.13.3.24 were extensively painted in white, with very small patches of red paint remaining.

In the western suburb several houses had white-painted walls, but the evidence for colour on the walls is limited. A small loose fragment of mud plaster with two smears of blue paint was found in house D12.7. A section of pink painted ceiling was found in D12.5. House D12.8 contained a small piece of plaster painted in yellow and red, three pieces of black painted plaster on mudbrick from a wall, and a stone door lintel and stone doorpost support painted in red and yellow.

Scientific analyses were conducted by the author on a large number of paint and pigment samples from Amara West using various techniques at the British Museum in London. The ingredients of paint are a pigment, which gives the colour, and a binder. The pigments identified at Amara West were all inorganic, in the majority of cases made from ground rock. The binder carries the pigment and can be as simple as plain water, or may be an organic liquid or organic substance dissolved into water. Yellow and red pigments were identified as ochres, possibly obtained locally. The most frequent blue pigment was the manufactured vitreous pigment Egyptian blue, which may have been imported from Egypt, since there is no evidence for production of the pigment at the site. White plaster on house walls was invariably gypsum, and gypsum was in addition used to plaster coffins, although calcite and huntite were also used on coffins, and calcite was found mixed with other colours in palettes. There is no known local source of gypsum, so plaster may have been imported. It is geologically possible that vein calcite may have been obtained locally from fissures in metamorphic rocks, but no specific source was identified. Two black pigments were found; carbon from burning vegetable matter, and bitumen. They were also used in combination. Green pigments were rare at Amara West but chlorite (a type of green earth) was found in palettes, and copper chloride hydroxide (atacamite) on a grindstone. Organic analysis of the paints using gas chromatography mass spectrometry found that some contained plant gum as a binder.

An experiential approach to complement the scientific analyses included a journey into the desert to collect pigment from a local source, grinding various different pigments using a grindstone and hammerstone, mixing pigments with binder and water to make paint, manufacturing paintbrushes from plant materials, and applying the paint to a plastered wall of local mudbrick construction. This allowed the physical processes involved in creating the paint to be experienced, generating a wider consideration of the entangled tasks and practices involved, how people may have brought elements of the process together, and the fuller implications of physical experiences.

**Discussion**

The importance of materials lies not only in their physical properties – the meaning of objects comes from the process of their making (Dobres 2001; Pfaffenberger 2001). The way in which materials are selected, collected, and manipulated creates a cycle of meaning, a dynamic feedback loop of knowledge, experiences, learning, and memory (Dornan 2004; Boivin 2008). Lived environments and the materials within them have metaphoric and symbolic meanings that influence memory. Material metaphors can be physically experienced, and engagement with a material solidifies this conceptualisation, making the metaphor real. For example, walking through a door is an analogy for transition in many cultures; the experience not only expresses the concept but also help us to understand it (Boivin 2008: 54–55). Collecting materials and processing them to make paint are actions learnt from forebears and filled with associated meanings; re-enacting these steps reinforces the metaphorical meaning, increases understanding of this meaning, and adds depth in terms of associations with further people, events, and stories.

To gather the raw ingredients of paint (pigments, binder, water), people with the appropriate knowledge would have undertaken a journey across a landscape, which is already filled with memories and understood through a particular world-view (Edmonds 1999). This in turn adds to the store of memories associated with that landscape, and with the journey (Hamilakis 2013: 103). The people who perform these journeys and related activities have learnt them from their forebears, and pass knowledge associated with them on to others. There are memories of people, of stories, of food, of events, wrapped up in these materials and actions. The actions undertaken to make paint were not detached from other elements of the ancient population's lives, but sat within a wide taskscape (Ingold 2011: 195) in which all activities, people, and landscape were interlinked.

Gathering materials for a particular task involves a great deal of other related resources and logistics. Making journeys may have required donkeys or boats, which would have necessitated the tasks of animal husbandry, boat building, and sailing skills. To gather raw materials, baskets or other storage containers would have been necessary, which themselves would have to be constructed from plant materials that were grown, collected and processed. In order to apply the paint, brushes would have been made, also from plant materials. A wide variety of materials were necessary aside from the ingredients of the paint itself, and a whole array of associated tasks performed by people with the relevant skillsets. These intermingled activities formed the taskscape of the people of Amara West, one part of which was obtaining and processing paint materials. All of these skills would be learnt and their correct execution would have been held as personal or communal memories (habitus, see below). In addition to this there are the specific actions required to grind the pigments, mix them with water and binder, and apply them to a wall in a socially acceptable design that had meaning to the inhabitants of the town and that communicated the correct message. This is all learnt cultural practice, acting on social memories.

The concept of "habitus" (Bourdieu 1990) is the ingrained knowledge and habits that come from a life and a culture situated within a particular material world; a "feel for the game", to use Bourdieu's sports metaphor (1990: 66). This is a form of social memory, a store of knowledge and responses that is held collectively but enacted individually, regulating each person's "techniques of the body" (Mauss 1973), ways of moving that are learnt implicitly from childhood that are particular for each culture and correspond to knowing how to do things rather than possessing knowledge of something (Bourdieu 1977; Fuchs 2017). By including younger people in the taskscape that takes place in and around the village, they are continuingly and repeatedly exposed to the habitus, teaching them these socially engrained techniques which for some would include the particular actions involved in collecting, preparing, and applying paint.

The physical process of creating paint involves a whole sensory experience including not only the paint making itself but related activities such as the food consumed during the journey to collect pigment, or songs sung while grinding. Sensory memories are very evocative; each time an activity is repeated, the associated senses would be triggered, bringing to mind past events that were all connected through the medium of paint preparation. This would affect not only the primary participants in the paint preparation, but any observers including children and passers-by, whose memories would also be triggered, and augmented.

The identification of the pigments from Amara West shows that the residents were using pigments known from a standard Egyptian palette (or repertoire), including materials that were probably imported. Gypsum was used extensively for plastering walls, and probably had to be imported in large quantities, despite availability of other white rocks within 2km of the village. These local white rocks are used by the modern local population for painting, but they have not been identified from the ancient town. This implies that it was important for the people of Amara West to acquire and use the correct materials, rather than use whatever was locally available to them, and that there was standard practice that they were adhering to. However, there are also indications of deviations from Egyptian practice. The greens did not include the standard synthetic pigment Egyptian green (Scott 2010), but instead seem to be locally devised pigments, perhaps to fill a gap in the absence of the standard green. This is evidence of a locally based practice, a community creating their own systems and methods, within a much larger cultural phenomenon, meshing the two together to create a unique procedure for their town, their own tradition, and their own habitus or social memory, tied to the local environment.

Each part of the paint production process would have been aided by communal memory, done in the "correct" way, and would have added a layer of significance and value to the paint: the pigment, the provenance, the collection journey, the maker, the performance of grinding, the effort required, the binder (and its own origin), and the house in which it was prepared and painted. The combination of the layers of value may have been manipulated to communicate specific messages about power

and identity by the people of Amara West (Murakami 2016). Paint is conspicuously displayed, and thus is an effective way of communicating values, identity, and status. The areas of buildings that were painted in polychrome at Amara West appear to be niches in walls that probably formed a focus point of the room; in house E13.7 the niche is above a mastaba, which emphasises the importance of the space. The display of painted architectural elements was one way in which the house owner could communicate their position in society. The value of a painted wall can also be withdrawn, as is evidenced by the whitewashing of the painted niche in E13.7.6. The removal of colour from a room probably represents a change of function or status of the room or owner, a demotion of distinctiveness. When the colour is removed, so too are the memories associated with the paint scheme.

The final effect of the paint on the wall is not just the visual appearance in the standard Western sense, the "retinal journey" (Pallasmaa 1996: 12), but the overall impact on the senses of the audience (Gosden 2004), which may consist of a variety of impressions such as (but not limited to) colour, texture, sparkle, juxtaposition of colours, how much is hidden and revealed, where daylight hits it, and where the owner of the house positions themselves in relation to it. The architect Juhani Pallasmaa (1996) has described the haptic experience of pre-modern architecture as body-centred and sensorially integrated; the eyes collaborate with the other senses so that "[a]n architectural work is not experienced as a collection of isolated visual pictures, but in its fully embodied material and spiritual presence" (Pallasmaa 1996: 44). As modern researchers, we encounter ancient dwellings with no roofs, and view their surfaces in bright lights and via flash photography, but much of the experience of being in an ancient dwelling would have come from the limited light levels within the space, the shifting shadows, the change of light over the day and the year. A glimpse of a brightly coloured recess may be more powerful than a floodlit full view. As the sun moved across the sky, different aspects of the space would be accentuated and muted, affecting people's responses to the interior, the memories prompted, and the behaviours enacted. Both the act of painting the wall and the experience of being in a painted room use existing memories to prompt culturally conditioned actions, reinforce memories by performing these actions, and add to them by setting them in a slightly new, although familiar, setting. Learnt cultural knowledge overlays these effects, such as the "right" pigment to use in a context, and group memories attached to certain sources of pigments, or people who were associated with the process of creating and using paint. By the time paint is applied to a wall it is imbued with a large amount of information. Although paint performs a function as a wall covering, it is also a mnemonic, a memory bank. It holds the memories of its specific moments of making, and importantly, the people involved, but also acts as a communal memory bank; all knowledgeable members of the community would know the story of the paint, and the stories, journeys, and actions involved.

People were acting within a taskscape that existed within the specific socio-cultural context of the town. They were situated within a particular environment at a particular time, and learnt from

one another, building up individual, but also communal ways of doing things, that is, memories, that were then stored within the materials that they created, and in the case of paint, displayed. The processing and use of paint would have formed part of their habitus and taskscape, with their ingrained and learnt knowledge of correct behaviour, use of the environment, manipulation of space, gestures, performance, treatment of materials, time management, resource allocation, and personal interactions, both in their local environment, and within the context of the wider ancient world.

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# (Re)Shaping Identities: Culture-Contact Theories Applied to the Late Bronze Age "Egyptian" Pantheon and People

Jacqueline M. Huwyler

## Introduction

While the modern world is often characterised by its substantial multi-culturalism and diversity, booms in what Anthropologists call *culture-contact* are common throughout history. During the Late Bronze Age (LBA), which spanned from roughly 1550 to 1150 BCE (Pfoh 2016: 1), generally paralleling the Egyptian New Kingdom (1550–1069 BCE) (Shaw 2000a: 484), ancient Egypt and its Near Eastern neighbors experienced a surge of inter-cultural interactions previously unprecedented for the region (Van De Mieroop 2007: 129).[1] This intense period of diplomatic missions, correspondences, trade, and warfare, introduced new ideas, art forms, and even deities (i.e. Astarte, Anat, Qadesh, Ba'al, Hauron, and Reshep) into Egypt (Van De Mieroop 2007: 129–149; Zivie-Coche 2011: 2–3; Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 113; Wilson-Wright 2016: 28), challenging the local population to examine their constructed identities and "Egyptianness" within a larger world. This paper provides a detailed overview of anthropological culture-contact theories and their application to the field of Egyptology, with a special emphasis on how interactions with Near Eastern peoples and ideas may have influenced LBA Egyptian religion and identities. The purpose of this study is to highlight the importance of an inter-disciplinary egyptological approach, and to provide a useful theoretical background for Egyptologists interested in studying the impact of foreign interactions on ancient identity constructions. The paper therefore begins with a brief overview of the terminology deemed essential for the study of culture-contact in Egypt. This is followed by a discussion of potential responses to cultural contact, using examples from the LBA Egyptian iconographical, textual, and archaeological record. Finally, a discussion section will address the dangers of an implied cultural purity and homogeneity, and will present suggestions for the practical application of culture-contact theories to the archaeological record. This research forms part of a larger doctoral dissertation currently

1 This intense "surge" of Egyptian interactions with the foreign is a popular argument, and is supported by the author. However, it should be noted that the seeming increase in foreign relations during this time could also be largely the result of preservation biases in the archaeological record, the scholarship available to-date, and current trends in research methodology and questions. For examples of international correspondences on a governmental level, including arrangements of diplomatic marriages, see Rainey, A.F. and Schniedewind, W.M. 2015: *The El-Amarna Correspondence: A New Edition of the Cuneiform Letters from the Site of El-Amarna Based on Collations of All Extant Tablets.* Leiden: Brill. For an overview of LBA trade between Egypt and its neighbors, see Cline, E.H. 1994: *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.

in preparation by the author, which explores the connection between LBA culture-contact and the introduction of six Near Eastern deities into Egypt (Zivie-Coche 2011: 2; Wilson-Wright 2016: 28).[2]

## Selected Terminology

Before the archaeological and textual record of the LBA may be examined in terms of cultural-contact, it is crucial to first build a strong foundation in the theory's key vocabulary. Anthropologists examining culture-contact utilise a wide variety of terminology, and often have different words for the same ideas. They may also use terms that vary only slightly in meaning or connotation, leading to the possibility of miscommunications and/or misunderstandings. This section therefore helps clarify some of the more complex terms, and highlights those most relevant for understanding and interpreting the LBA Egyptian world. While an extensive terminological study is beyond the scope of this paper, this overview provides an introduction and impetus for further study.

### *Habitus*

The term *habitus* was popularised in the 1970s by a French Anthropologist and Sociologist named Pierre Bourdieu (Reed-Danahay 2002: 377–378). First mentioned in his 1967 epilogue for Erwin Panofsky's *Architecture gothique et pensée scholastique* (*Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*) (Panofsky and Bourdieu 1967; Dianteill 2003: 529), Bourdieu's *habitus* can be defined as the socially-influenced system of beliefs, ideas, and practices that structure one's understanding and navigation of the world, whether consciously or unconsciously (Bourdieu 1977: 76–78). Essentially, the habitus describes one's system of perceiving the world, based on one's personal past experiences (Bourdieu 1977: 72). The *habitus* thus impacts what one identifies as "sensible" or "reasonable" (Bourdieu 1977: 79).

The concept of *habitus* is of great use to the study of LBA Egyptian culture-contact, as it offers a suggestion for why new ideas may have appealed to certain members of the Egyptian populace. The concept, which Bourdieu calls "history turned into nature" (1977: 78), helps explain how core beliefs and identities may change when confronted with new experiences, such as an influx of Near Eastern foreigners into LBA Egypt. With new people come new ideas, experiences, and beliefs that are evaluated, either consciously or subconsciously, based on one's previous understandings of and interactions with the world. A foreign object or idea that is reminiscent of something already accepted may therefore have an easier time finding a foothold in a new system. This is likely one reason why the West Semitic god Ba'al, a staple deity of the Canaanites and larger Near East (Leick 1991: 18;

2 The goals of this doctoral dissertation are to understand: 1) how and why these Near Eastern deities were able to find a foothold in Egypt, 2) how frequent interactions with the Near Eastern cultural "other" impacted LBA Egyptian understandings and presentations of their own (religious) identities, and 3) how Near Eastern foreigners in LBA Egypt navigated their new world and shifting identities with respect to their religion.

Wilkinson 2008: 38),[3] was able to successfully find a cultic foothold in Egypt by the 18th Dynasty reign of Thutmose III (c.1550–1295 BCE) (Shaw 2000a: 484; Wilkinson 2008: 38; Tazawa 2009: 13). Ba'al was very similar to the well-established Egyptian god Seth (Wilkinson 2008: 38; Zivie-Coche 2011: 2), and became associated with him, especially in Egyptian iconography (Tazawa 2009: 115).[4] Perhaps this is partially due to their similar characters; like Seth, Ba'al was ambiguous, acting as both a protector and a destroyer (Zivie-Coche 2011: 2). The importance of this Ba'al-Seth overlap was clearly acknowledged in Egypt, and especially in the royal courts. The LBA Egyptian "Poem of Pentaur," which recalls the famous Battle of Qadesh between the armies of Rameses II and the Hittites in 1274 BCE (Noblecourt 2007: 63; Bryce and Birkett-Rees 2016: 119), is just one of many examples showing the Ba'al-Seth connection on a royal level:

> *…I [Rameses II] headed for them [the Hittite army], being like Montu, and forced them to feel the strength of my hand…One of them, calling out to his comrade, said "This is no man among us, but great Sutekh [Seth] full of strength, Baal in person!* (Noblecourt 2007: 66)[5]

Here, the Egyptian author stresses the strength of Rameses II by associating him with the powerful and chaotic deities Seth and Ba'al. The lens of *habitus* reveals the dialectical nature of this example. By mentioning Ba'al alongside Seth, it becomes clear that the ancient writer understood the power of Ba'al to be similar to that of the already-known Egyptian Seth. This legitimises Ba'al as a worthy example of the Egyptian king's power. Meanwhile, the association with Ba'al reinforces Seth's position in the Egyptian pantheon, and suggests that Seth, as an Egyptian god, is just as strong as this foreign deity. As more and more members of the same Egyptian *habitus* saw the overlaps between Seth and Ba'al, Ba'al may have began to seem familiar, and therefore more acceptable.

3 For more information on the West Semitic deity known as Ba'al, including an overview of his typical iconography, see Cornelius, I. 1994: *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods* (*c.* 1500–1000BCE). Fribourg and Göttingen: University Press and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. For a full translation of the Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle, which is the most complete and informative text about Ba'al discovered to-date, see 1) Smith, M.S. 1994: *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle Volume I: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2.* Leiden: Brill., and 2) Smith, M.S. and Pitard, W.T., 2009: *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle Volume II: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1.4*. Leiden: Brill.

4 More information on the Seth-Ba'al connection can be found in Allon, N. 2007: Seth is Baal - Evidence from the Egyptian Script. Ägypten *und Levante/ Egypt and the Levant* 17, 15-22. Another good resource is Levy, E. 2014: A Fresh Look at the Ba'al-Zaphon Stela. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 100, 293-309. Works by Rainer Stadlemann are also highly recommended, if the reader is proficient in German.

5 Along with the "Bulletin," the so-called "Poem of Pentaur" is one of two major accounts of the Qadesh Battle of Ramses II. The poem has 8 major copies, all of which are located in temples (Luxor, Karnak, and the Abydos Temple of Ramesses II) with the exception of 2 hieratic papyri (Lichtheim 1973: 57). The poem excerpt above, which is provided by Noble-court( 2007: 64), is from a hieratic papyrus currently housed at the Louvre. A more complete translation of the poem can be found in Breasted, J.H. 1906: *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest: Volume 3: The Nineteenth Dynasty*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

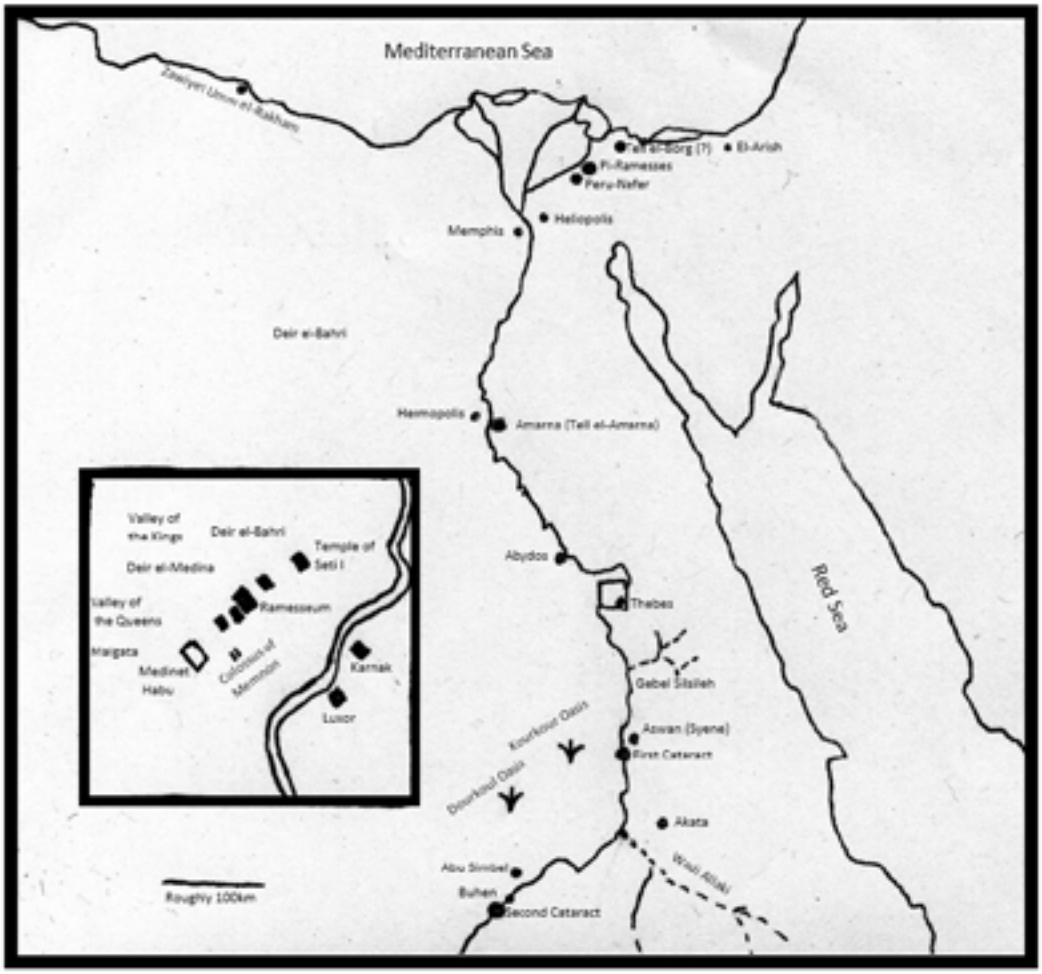
### *Cultural Hybridity/Entanglement*

*Cultural hybridity* (or *entanglement*, which has the same meaning (Stockhammer 2012b: 4)) is a term used to describe the cultural changes created when people, ideas, practices or artefacts are affected by their interaction with other (foreign) people, ideas, practices, or artefacts (Ackermann 2012: 5; Hahn 2012: 27). Essentially, the term implies that there is a dependency between objects and humans (Hodder 2016: 2). This dependency constrains humans, driving them to move in a new direction (Hodder 2016: 9). The movement results in cultural transformation (Ackermann 2012: 7) and the creation of new entanglements, which in turn reproduce the system (Hodder 2016: 9). Ian Hodder (2016: 2) identifies four forms of the dependency: 1) between humans and things, 2) between things and humans, 3) between things and things, and 4) between humans and humans.[6]

While the concept of cultural hybridity/entanglement was first popularised in the 20th Century by disciplines such as Sociology, Anthropology, and History, it has only recently gained popularity among Archaeologists (Stockhammer 2012b: 43). One great example of its practical application to Archaeology and Egyptology is the 2006 book *Diplomacy by Design* by Marian Feldman.[7] Here, Feldman applies the concept of cultural hybridity to the development of an "international" luxury style of art in the LBA Near East. For Feldman, this developing art style is more than a representation of the increased inter-cultural interactions of the LBA; it is also a catalyst of these changes, actively impacting inter-cultural economics, politics, and trade, including between the Near East and Egypt (Feldman 2006). This sort of work paves the way for Egyptologists to examine how Egyptian interactions with foreign peoples and (religious) objects can result in significant cultural changes, including but not limited to the introduction and worship of new foreign deities. That Feldman has already successfully applied the theory of cultural hybridity to the LBA world (including Egypt) highlights its potential as an egyptological tool, especially for studies of the LBA and culture contact. In fact, the theory has also gained wide popularity for the study of ancient Nubia, and Egypt's interactions with it. To-date,

6 For a discussion of the role of human-object entanglements in a religious context, see Chapter 7 of Ian Hodder's *Studies in Human-Thing Entanglement* titled Beyond Entanglement: The Role of Religion. For more information specifically on the dependency of humans on things and the dependency of things on humans, see the following book by Ian Hodder: Hodder, I. 2012: *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships Between Humans and Things.* Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. For consumption-specific examples of human-human and human-material entanglements, especially in relation to human agency, see Dietler, M. 2010: *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press. A further discussion can be found in Dietler, M. 2015: Consumption, Agency, and Cultural Entanglement: Theoretical Implications of a Mediterranean Colonial Encounter. In James G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology.* Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 288–315. However, be aware that Dietler uses the concept of "entanglement" without providing a clear definition of the term, and without a full discussion of it. Its meaning is only (strongly) implied.

7 Feldman, M.H. 2006: *Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an "International Style" in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BCE.* Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. Chapter 2 is especially important. This entire chapter is dedicated to explaining Feldman's understanding of the term "visual hybridity", including its history, uses, and potentials for archaeological studies of the Late Bronze Age "international" style.




*Map 1: Author's drawing of the Late Bronze Age Egyptian Nile Valley, highlighting the cities of Pi-Ramesses, Amarna (Tell el-Amarna), Deir el-Medina, and Peru-Nefer, and the approximate location of Tell el-Borg. (Drawing adapted from an image found in Noblecourt 2007: 6).*

many Egyptologists and Nubiologists, most notably Stuart Tyson Smith, [8] have published articles examining Nubian/Egyptian interactions via the lens of cultural entanglement.[9]

Though cultural hybridity is a relatively popular and useful term, its application presents certain problems that must be addressed. For instance, its use may imply the existence of an original or even pure culture prior to the period of interaction (Stockhammer 2012a: 2; Maran 2012: 61–62).

8 For works by Stuart Tyson Smith on cultural hybridity/entanglement between Egypt and Nubia, see 1) Buzon, M.R., Tyson Smith, S., and Simonetti, A. 2016: Entanglement and the Formation of the Ancient Nubian Napatan State. *American Anthropologist* 118/2, 284–300. and 2) Tyson Smith, S. 2015: Hekanefer and the Lower Nubian Princes: Entanglement, Double Identity, or Topos and Mimesis? In H. Amstutz, A. Dorn, M. Müller, M. Ronsdorf, and S. Uljas (eds.), *Fuzzy Boundaries (Festschrift Loprieno*). Hamburg: Widmaier Verlag, 767–779.

9 See, for instance, Budka, J. 2018: The Metaphor of Cultural Entanglement in Northeast African Archaeology. Global *Journal of Archaeology and Anthropology* 3/5. Another example would be Van Pelt, W.P. 2013: Revising Egypto-Nubian Relations in New Kingdom Lower Nubia: From Egyptianization to Cultural Entanglement. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 23/3, 523-550.

*Figure 1: Image of the funerary stele of a soldier named Terr (Dalilu), from Amarna, Egypt, c. 1350 BCE. Note the man's typically Canaanite/ Syrian hairstyle, beard, and clothing, and his wife's typically Egyptian outfit. The stele is currently housed in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Object 14122). (© bpk-Bildagentur / Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, SMB / Sandra Steiß ).*

The term holds a historical connection to the essentialists, who believed cultures could be neatly determined and defined (Maran 2012: 61). Yet cultures are not homogeneous, and their "borders" are fluid and ever-changing. Egyptologists using the term hybridity must make sure that their concepts of "Egyptian" and "foreign" are not seen as absolute, fact, or pure. Even the term "ancient Egypt" must be used with caution. Egypt was a land of great size; the experiences of someone living in the Egyptian delta would have differed greatly from someone living on the border to Nubia. Other dividing factors included but were not limited to social status, ease of access to foreign goods and peoples, and gender. The (often subconscious) tendency of Egyptologists to imply a monolithic culture, and how this can be avoided, would be a good avenue for future research.

Another problem with the term cultural hybridity is its strong association with post-colonial literary studies (Ackermann 2012: 5). Ever since the 1980s, when post-colonial scholars such as Edward Said and Homi Bhabha used this term to bring focus to the cultural "other" (Ackermann 2012: 11), its use has been largely limited to cases involving minority suppression and resistance (Ackerman 2012: 5). Yet Shaw argues that textual evidence from LBA Egypt paints a potentially different picture, where an integrated minority may have lived in general peace and stability among Egyptian locals (Shaw 2000b: 320). Shaw does not elaborate on this claim, making it weak.[10] However, his argument is not unique; Ward also claims that many of the LBA Near Easterners in Egypt came willingly, for economic and career opportunities, and as part of a growing, mobile middle class(Ward 1994: 61–62).[11] In fact, Ward's extensive research into the foreign names and titles found

10 It is also quite difficult to trace the daily lives of individuals in ancient Egypt, as many of the excavated locations to-date are tombs.

11 A more complete discussion of foreign peoples in Egypt, especially in connection to their artistic representations and potential careers, can be found in: 1) Booth, C. 2005: *The Role of Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: A Study of Non-Stereotypical*

in documents from the Egyptian city of Deir el-Medina (Map 1) reveals that, at least in this city, foreign people seemed to have been well integrated, holding favorable careers (Ward 1994).[12] That Hittites held high-ranking titles and employment at Egyptian sites such as Pi-Ramesses (modern day Qantir) (Map 1), as suggested by the Battle of Qadesh treaty, supports this idea (Van Dijk 2000: 292).[13] Unfortunately, tracing evidence of foreign peoples and their treatment in Egypt is very difficult, and, like Ward's study, often relies on the imprecise, individual-biased, and inconsistent identification of foreign names. Further research on the credibility of his claims is certainly needed. However, if Ward's argument is correct, then the story of LBA Egyptian cultural hybridity diverges from the common post-colonial emphasis on a subjugated minority (Ackerman 2012: 5), and should be emphasised as such.

### *Liminality and Liminal Spaces*

Originally coined in 1909 by Arnold Van Gennep and popularised by Victor Turner, the term *liminality* describes a hybrid state in which a subject is no longer in its previous form, but has not yet developed all properties of its new form (Ackermann 2012: 10). While its original use referred to the in-between state of a ritual subject (Ackermann 2012: 10), liminality can also describe the transition-state undergone by deities and their associated meanings as they enter a new pantheon. Immigrants and their families can also be classified as *liminal*, as they may occupy an "in-between" space, identifying with elements of both their homeland and new location. At Amarna (modern-day Tell el-Amarna) (Map 1), the capital city created by the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaten in his fifth year of reign (c.1350BCE) (Wilkinson 2008: 19), the discovery of a funerary stele belonging to a male soldier named Terr (Dalilu) (Figure 1)[14] (Ward 1994: 62; smb-digital.de) suggests that he and his wife were navigating this liminal realm. Terr's clothing, beard, hair, and name are typically Canaanite/Syrian in style (Ward 1994: 62; McGovern 2009: 248; smb-digital.de), suggesting he is either from or has strong ties to the area. While his wife also bears a Semitic name, her dress and hair are typically Egyptian (Ward 1994: 62; smb-digital.de). This combination of Egyptian and Canaanite/Syrian elements on

*Artistic Representations.* Oxford: Archaeopress. 2) Anthony, F.B. 2017: *Foreigners in Ancient Egypt: Theban Tomb Paintings from the Early Eighteenth Dynasty (1550–1372BC)*. London: Bloomsbury Academic. 3) Schneider, T. 2010: Chapter 8: Foreigners in Egypt: Archaeological Evidence and Cultural Context. In W. Wendrich (ed.), *Egyptian Archaeology* (Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 143–163.

12 Ward's specific examples and foreign name identifications can be found in pages 61–85 of L. Lesko (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina.* New York: Cornell University Press.

13 The text, translation, and overview of this document can be found in Langdon, S. and Gardiner, A.H. 1920: The Treaty of Alliance Between Hattusili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 6/3, 179-205.

14 The stele is currently housed in the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Object 14122) (Riggs and Baines 2012: 4). It dates to roughly 1350 BCE (McGovern 2009: 248), and the time of Akhenaten (Amenophis IV), according to the museum website (smb-digital.de). While there is very little information actually published on this object, a short summary is provided on the museum's SMB-digital Online Collections Database, and can be found using the search term "Amarna Stela."

an Egyptian stele suggests that the couple may have understood themselves as neither Canaanite/Syrian nor Egyptian, but both, or something in-between. Perhaps this stele depicts a couple with foreign or mixed roots, whether immediate or ancestral. However, it is also possible that the use of foreign styles may simply reflect an interest in the exotic, whether for status or personal interests.

Liminality also holds a spatial aspect. *Liminal spaces* are areas in which two or more groups or cultures interact, creating a "space of encounter" (Stockhammer 2012b: 229). These locations are perfect hubs for the development of cultural hybridity, involving multiple members of two or more cultures engaging in frequent contact. LBA Egypt, and especially its delta, was full of these liminal spaces, where Near Eastern foreigners and local Egyptians likely lived side by side, or at least interacted frequently (Ward 1994: 61–62; Van Dijk 2000: 292; Shaw 2000b: 320; Wilkinson 2008: 185). At cosmopolitan centers and cities such as Pi-Ramesses (Qantir),[15] Peru-Nefer (Map

*Figure 2: Image of the Tell el-Borg Stele (TBO 0760). The stele, which dates to the reign of Amenhotep II at its latest, was discovered within the foundations of a moat, at a fortress guarding Egypt's Sinai Peninsula border (Hoffmeier et. al 2014: 252; Wilson-Wright 2016: 15). The stele depicts a non-Egyptian dedicant named Betu, who is shown worshipping the Near Eastern deities Astarte and Reshep in connection to horse training (Hoffmeier et. al 2014: 252; Wilson-Wright 2016: 45-46). The dedicant, whose name is clearly non-Egyptian (possibly of Hurrian origin) is described as a horse-trainer by trade (Hoffmeier et. al 2014: 252), and invokes Astarte via a formula with heavy northwest Semitic influences (Wilson-Wright 2016: 45-47). Thus, the item is another excellent example of a liminal object, combining the typical Egyptian stele style with Near Eastern elements and a potentially Near-Eastern owner. (Image permission courtesy of the North Sinai Archaeological Project).*

15 The discovery of horse stables, chariot workshops, and barracks for elite charioteers alongside objects of Hittite and Mycenean character at Pi-Ramesses (Wilkinson 2008: 185; Snape 2014: 205) may suggest the presence of foreign peoples associated with this work, as it was relatively new technology in Egypt. A workshop for Hittite shields was also excavated at Pi-Ramesses by the mission of the Roemer und Pelizaeus Museum in Hildesheim, Germany. For more information on potentially foreign items and peoples at Pi-Ramesses, see the following reports: 1) Pusch, E.B., and Tasiaux Ch. 1990: Metallverarbeitende Werstättten der frühen Ramessidenzeit in Qantir-Piramesses/Nord- ein Zwischenbericht. *Ägypten und Levante/Egypt and the Levant* 1, 75–113. and 2) Pusch, E.B. 1991: Ausländisches Kulturgut in Qantir-Pi-ramesses. In S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des vierten internationalen Ägyptologenkongresses 1985.* Hamburg: Buske. 249–256. It is possible that Near Eastern peoples

1), Amarna,[16] and Deir el-Medina,[17] local "Egyptians," visiting foreigners, immigrants, and others, would have encountered and engaged with new ideas, practices, peoples, and objects, likely on a daily basis. Thus, via this daily interaction with the cultural, and specifically Near Eastern, elements of a foreign religion were able to be introduced into Egypt. A temple and/or cult to the Near Eastern goddess Astarte was built at Pi-Ramesses, as mentioned in the Papyrus Anastasi II (Wilkinson 2008: 34; Snape 2014: 205),[18] and a wide variety of votive stelae dedicated to the Near Eastern gods Reshep, Qadesh, and Anat, were discovered at Deir el-Medina (Lesko 1994: 90; Bomann 1991: 73; Wilkinson 2008: 198), such as the 19th Dynasty Stela of the foreman Qeh (BM EA 191) (Figure 3), the upper part of which depicts the Near Eastern deities Qadesh and Reshep in combination with the Egyptian god Min (Wilkinson 2008: 198; britishmuseum.org), and the lower part of which shows the dedicant and his family worshiping the Near Eastern goddess Anat (britishmuseum.org).[19]

If the popularity of Near Eastern deities was indeed caused by the presence of foreign people, then cities such as Peru-Nefer and Pi-Ramesses can be seen as truly cosmopolitan, liminal spaces. Such

may have settled in Egypt as experts in the field of horses and charioteering, as it was popular in their homelands prior to its introduction into Egypt, and required special knowledge (Schneider 2010: 154–155; Wilson-Wright 2016: 45–46). This argument is strengthened by the discovery of the Tell el-Borg Stela (TBO 0760) (Map 1; Figure 2), which depicts a non-Egyptian dedicant in the process of worshipping the Near Eastern deities Astarte and Reshep, in connection to horse training (Hoffmeier et. al 2014: 252; Wilson-Wright 2016: 45–46). For more information on the Tell el-Borg Stela, see Hoffmeier, James K. and Kitchen, Kenneth A. 2007: Reshep and Astarte in North Sinai: A Recently Discovered Stela from Tell el-Borg. Ägypten *und Levante/Egypt and the Levant* 1, 127-136.

16 Here, the Tomb of Ahmose/ Ahmes (Amarna Tomb 3) includes a scene with army regiments of Nubian, Syrian, and Libyan peoples (Bonmann 1991: 95). For an overview of the tomb and its artwork, see the following excavation publication: Davis, N.d.G., and Ricci, S.d. 1905: *Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Fifteenth Memoir: The Rock Tombs of El Amarna Part III- The Tombs of Huya and Ahmes.* London: The Offices of the Egypt Exploration Fund. The Stele of Terr (Dalilu) is also strong evidence for a potentially Canaanite/Syrian family living in Amarna (for a more complete discussion of this stela, see above).

17 According to Ward, a selection of foreign names (including but not limited to Semitic, Hurrian, Hittite, Cypriot, and Canaanite) can be identified from the workers' lists, tombs, documents, and other inscriptions discovered at Deir el-Medina (Ward 1994: 67), suggesting the existence of foreigners working and living in the city. Ward believes these people were largely from Canaan (Ward 1994: 67). However, it should be emphasised that identification of ethnicity based on names is very dangerous and largely based on assumptions. The author feels it is highly likely that foreign people lived and worked in this city, but is doubtful that they can be identified based on names alone.

18 For a comprehensive translation of the Papyrus Anastasi II, where the Astarte cult is mentioned, see Caminos, R.A. 1954: *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies.* London: Oxford University Press. Here, Caminos translates the second half of line 1.4 to the first half of line 1.5 to read "Its [aka Pi-Ramesses'] western part is the House of Amūn, its southern part the House of Seth. Astarte is (1.5) in its Levant… (Caminos 1954: 37)." A copy of the papyrus in its original hieratic text can be found in Gardiner, A.H. 1937: *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca VII: Late-Egyptian Miscellanies.* Brussels: Édition de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth. However, it should be noted that the actual archaeological remains of an Astarte temple or chapel have never been identified beyond a few architectural elements bearing her name (Uphill 1984: 234; Snape 2014: 205). It was also not the city's main temple (Snape 2014: 205).

19 The full hieroglyphic text of the Stele of Qeh can be found in Kitchen, K.A. 1980: *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical: Volume III.* Oxford: B.H. Blackwell Ltd. This is the main publication for this stela. Another similar example is the Stela of the Scribe Ramose (Turin Stela 50066), which also depicts Min, Qadesh, and Reshep (Cornelius 1994: 59–60). Additional information on both of these stelae, including images, can be found in Cornelius. I. 2004: *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE.* Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

*Figure 3: Image of the 19th Dynasty Stele of Qeh (BM EA 191), discovered at the Egyptian workmen's village of Deir el-Medina. Qeh was a foreman and the owner of Deir el-Medina Tomb 360. On the upper portion of the stele, the Near Eastern deity Qadesh is depicted, along with the Egyptian god Min on her left and the Near Eastern god Reshep on her right (Wilkinson 2008: 198; britishmuseum.org). On the lower register, Qeh and his family worship the Near Eastern goddess Anat (britishmuseum.org). (©The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.)*

a direct correlation is dangerous, however, since it is often difficult to distinguish between the presence of foreign goods and the presence of actual people. Furthermore, much of the research of foreign peoples in Egypt to-date relies on the interpretation of foreign names; this is certainly an area for further study and development. At the very least, these cosmopolitan cities show significant evidence of a familiarity with foreign ideas and gods, and a willingness of regional and governing bodies to fulfill the needs of the (ever-changing) local population. Examining LBA Egyptian cities as potential liminal spaces will thus help the Egyptologist conceptualise these regions as fluid, with Egyptian locals constantly examining and constructing their own identities in the face of new peoples, ideas, and technologies, with respect to their *habitus*.

**Potential Responses to Culture-Contact**

When faced with a new culture, peoples, ideas, or technologies, a decision must always be made. Whether consciously or unconsciously, the actor must evaluate this new information based on his or her current *habitus*, and must decide how to proceed with it. Christine Hastorf and Michael Dietler reveal the complexity of this process via their studies of the Archaeology of Food;[20] the line between acceptance and rejection is rarely clear-cut. However, one factor remains constant: whether something is accepted, rejected, ignored, or anything in-between, the simple act of evaluation absolutely results in the active formation of one's identity and core beliefs. The potential responses to culture-contact are numerous; a full study is beyond the scope

20 See Hastorf, C. 2016: *The Social Archaeology of Food: Thinking About Eating from Prehistory to the Present.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Also see Dietler, M. 2007: Culinary Encounters: Food, Identity, and Colonialism. In K. Twiss (ed.) *The Archaeology of Food and Identity.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 218-242.

of this paper. However, a selection of responses relevant to LBA Egypt provides the Egyptologist with a starting point for further research.

*Figure 4: Drawing of a little-known stele currently housed in the Louvre (E26017). Here, the Near Eastern goddess Astarte is shown receiving offerings of incense and flowers from the Egyptian king Rameses II (1279-1213 BCE) (Wilson-Wright 2016: 58). Note her Egyptian atef crown, and her epithet "Astarte, lady of heaven, mistress of the two lands"- a title shared by the Egyptian goddess Hathor (Wilson-Wright 2016: 58). (Illustration by Loretta Kilroe, based on Art Resource image ART524909 by Franck Raux. Credit for the original photo belongs to © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY.)*

### *Cultural Borrowing*

Broadly speaking, there are three major responses to culture-contact that may appear in a hybrid culture: *cultural borrowing*, *cultural mixing*, and *cultural translating* (Ackerman 2012: 5). Cultural borrowing occurs when one culture adopts (i.e. takes and uses) something from another culture and places it within their own. This "something" may refer to an object, language, practice, behavior, symbol, belief, or art style, among others. Types of cultural borrowing include *imitation*, *appropriation*, *acculturation*, *assimilation*, *amalgamation*, *accommodation*, *transculturation*, and *negotiation* (Ackermann 2012: 15). For a study of LBA Egypt, the most applicable types of cultural borrowing are arguably accommodation, negotiation, and amalgamation (Ackermann 2012: 15). Accommodation and negotiation both benefit from their implication that an adopted thing or idea is capable of being slightly modified for new audience or audiences (Ackermann 2012: 15). These terms contrast strongly with imitation and appropriation, which both imply the direct, inflexible copying of another culture (Ackermann 2012: 15–17). The other term, amalgamation, benefits from its emphasis on the blending of cultures rather than the total replacement of the subordinate (merriam-webster.com 2017: "amalgamation"). As for acculturation, assimilation, and transculturation, these terms imply the upheaval or disappearance of one culture in the face of a more dominate one (Ortiz 1995: 97–103; merriam-webster.com 2017: "acculturation"), and are therefore clearly unfit for application to LBA Egypt.

One clear example of Egyptian cultural borrowing would be the initial adoption of the Levantine horse and chariot for warfare, which occurred in the period leading up to the LBA (the Second Intermediate Period, *c.* 1650–1550 BCE), and was popularised during this time (Bourriau 2000: 202; Shaw 2000a: 484; Wilkinson 2008: 107).[21] In connection to this, Astarte, the West Semitic goddess (Leick 1991: 16), who was associated with warfare and chariots in her Levantine homelands (Wilkinson 2008: 34; Wilson-Wright 2016)[22] found a foothold in LBA Egypt (Wilkinson 2008: 34; Wilson-Wright 2016), and her familial ties were changed to fit her new role (accommodation/ negotiation*)*. In Ugarit (modern-day Syria) the Ba'al myths present Astarte as the wife of the god El (Leick 1991: 16),[23] but in Egypt, she became known as the wife of the Egyptian god Seth (Wilkinson 2008: 34).[24]

Yet cultural borrowing and its associated terminology must be used carefully; it often carries a negative connotation, especially when utilised alongside words like imitation and appropriation (Ackermann 2012: 15). These terms suggest that the borrower's culture is not original (Ackermann 2012: 15), that new concepts are incorporated without much reflection, and that the borrowing may be wrongful or unacknowledged (oxforddictionaries.com 2017: "cultural appropriation"). In some cases, cultural borrowing can also suggest the complete replacement of a subordinate group's culture by another dominate culture, which is certainly not the case in LBA Egypt. According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary, the term acculturation involves "one group eliminating another (merriam-webster.com 2017)," and assimilation has a similar meaning, especially within discussions of immigration (Ackermann 2012: 15; merriam-webster.com 2017). Transculturation, which was coined and popularised by the Cuban Anthropologist Fernando Ortiz in 1947 (Ackermann 2012: 15; Ortiz 1995), also involves the "loss or uprooting of a previous culture…" (Ortiz 1995: 102). However, unlike acculturation and assimilation, transculturation is a two-way process (Ortiz 1995: 102). The term implies the existence of *neoculturation*, or the creation of new cultural phenomena (Ortiz 1995: 102–103).

21 More information on the introduction of chariots into Egypt can be found in Veldmeijer, A.J., and S. Ikram (eds) 2018: *Chariots in Ancient Egypt: The Tano Chariot, a Case Study.* Leiden: Sidestone Press.

22 For a comprehensive overview of Astarte, including her iconography, development, and functions, see Wilson-Wright, A. 2016: *Athtart: The Transmission and Transformation of a Goddess in the Late Bronze Age.* Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

23 For a full translation of the Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle/ myths, see 1) Smith, M.S. 1994: *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle Volume I: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU 1.1-1.2.* Leiden: Brill., and 2) Smith, M.S. and Pitard, W.T., 2009: *The Ugaritic Baal Cycle Volumex II: Introduction with Text, Translation and Commentary of KTU/CAT 1.3-1.4.* Leiden: Brill.

24 Astarte (as well as Anat) is presented as the wife of Seth in the Egyptian story "The Contendings of Horus and Seth," found in the Chester Beatty Papyrus I. A full discussion and translation of this text can be found in Gardiner, A.H. 1931: *The Library of A. Chester Beatty: Description of a Hieratic Papyrus with a Mythological Story, Love-Songs, and Other Miscellaneous Texts.* Oxford: Oxford University Press and E. Walker. In the so-called Egyptian "Astarte Papyrus," Astarte is also described as the daughter of the Egyptian god Ptah. For a translation of this text, see Sayce, A.H. 1933: The Astarte Papyrus and the Legend of the Sea. *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19/1/2, 56-59.

### *Cultural Mixing*

Another potential response to culture-contact is cultural mixing (Ackermann 2012: 5). This phenomenon is characterised by the integration of aspects from two or more cultures, though the level of blending can vary. Types of cultural mixing include *fusion* and *syncretism* (Ackermann 2012: 15–16), and when several cultures coexist in one place, this is called *multiculturalism* (Hahn 2012: 36). This term is problematic, however, because it implies both cultures are influencing each other on an equal level, which is often not the case (Hanh 2012: 36).

Like cultural borrowing, cultural mixing originally held a negative undertone, being used to describe the loss of a culture's supposed purity when faced with an influx of immigrants (Ackermann 2012: 15-16). Some scholars also argue that cultural mixing sounds mechanical, removing individual agency (Stockhammer 2012b: 46). However, the term has gained a more positive meaning in recent years (Ackermann 2012: 15-16), and is helpful for the study of LBA Egypt, where foreign ideas and peoples met and blended rather than replaced, creating liminal objects and identities.

The first type of cultural mixing, known as fusion, occurs when the people of one culture (usually the subordinate or immigrant community) adopt aspects of the dominant culture, while still maintaining their own (Croucher and Kramer 2016: abstract). At the same time, the dominant culture adopts aspects of the subordinate culture, effectively creating a fused cultural identity (Croucher and Kramer 2016: abstract). Applying this concept to LBA Egypt, it seems likely that cultural fusion occurred in the delta city of Pi-Ramesses. Here, as previously discussed, Hittite and Mycenaean workers may have found employment among local Egyptians as charioteers, shield-makers, and/or stable workers (Van Dijk 2000: 292; Wilkinson 2008: 185), and may have even held high-ranking positions as government officials, as known from the identification of foreign names in documents (Van Dijk 2000: 292).[25] At the same time, their continued worship of Near Eastern deities in this city (Van Dijk 2000: 292) was likely the impetus that led the local government to organise the creation of a cult and/or temple to Astarte (Wilkinson 2008: 34),[26] in addition to chariot stables and workshops, which made use of Near Eastern technologies (Van Dijk 2000: 292; Wilkinson 2008: 185). Thus, while the overall archaeological record from this city is Egyptian, foreign influences and identities were sufficient enough to warrant new building projects. As holders of careers within Egypt, the "foreign" people in Pi-Ramesses both impacted, and were impacted by the local community.

Another example of cultural mixing is (religious) syncretism, a term which gained popularity via the study of religions such as Caribbean Voodoo (Ackermann 2012: 18). Syncretism can be defined as the synthesis of various elements in response to cultural transmissions (Pandian 2006: 230), usually to form a whole. Similarly, religious syncretism is "the fusion of diverse religious elements and practices" (brittanica.com 2018) to either create a new system, or add to the current one, to whatever extent (Ackermann 2012: 17). Evidence of religious syncretism in LBA Egypt is substantial. For instance,

the adoption of the Near Eastern goddesses Astarte and Anat into the royal Egyptian pantheon, especially by the Ramesside kings (Leick 1991: 6; Noblecourt 2007: 22; Wilkinson 2008: 25; 34), added another layer of complexity to the current religious system, at least on a royal level. A royal stele currently housed at the Louvre (E26017) (Figure 4) is just one of many examples depicting an Egyptian pharaoh presenting offerings to a Near Eastern deity, and, in this case, Astarte (Wilson-Wright 2016: 58). The creation of such objects and texts both fashioned and confirmed new familial ties for the Egyptian gods (as explored earlier), and, in the case of Astarte, allowed new technologies, such as horses and chariots, to be easily associated with an already existing deity.

### *Cultural Translation*

Cultural translation refers to the practice of making one culture understandable for another culture (Ackermann 2012: 16–17). Its success in the humanities may be linked to the earlier works of Clifford Geertz, a Cultural Anthropologist who understood "culture as text" (Ackermann 2012: 16). Anthropologists Bronislaw Malinowski and Edward Evans-Pritchard also made use of the term translation, describing Anthropology as the art of such (Malinowski 1929: 25-26; Evans-Pritchard 1951: 81-82; Ackermann 2012: 16). Generally speaking, cultural translation is a neutral term, implying agency, and connected to cultural relativism (Ackermann 2012: 17). A simple example from LBA Egypt would be the Egyptian identification of the Near Eastern goddesses Astarte, Qadesh, and Anat with their own goddess Hathor (Shaw 2000b: 321; Wilkinson 2008: 25)[27] and that of the Near Eastern deity Ba'al with their god Seth (Wilkinson 2008: 38).[28] As already discussed, it is easier to comprehend something foreign when it can be connected to one's current *habitus*. Since Astarte and Anat already shared similar characteristics to Hathor,[29] and Ba'al already shared characteristics of Seth, the direct translation of these foreign deities into familiar deities would have helped ease and drive the process of cultural mixing. Put another way, the "reading" of Ba'al as Seth made Ba'al less foreign and more appealing, allowing him to find a foothold and make an impact in a foreign pantheon.

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27 For information regarding the association between Astarte, Anat, Qadesh, and Hathor, see Tazawa, K. 2009: *Syro-Palestinian Deities in New Kingdom Egypt: The Hermeneutics of Their Existence.* Oxford: Archaeopress. Cornelius also discusses this association in Cornelius. I. 2004: *The Many Faces of the Goddess: The Iconography of the Syro-Palestinian Goddesses Anat, Astarte, Qedeshet, and Asherah c. 1500-1000 BCE.* Fribourg and Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

28 For more information, see the discussion of the Seth-Ba'al relationship in the *habitus* section of this paper.

29 Hathor, Astarte, Anat, and Qadesh are similar in that they all share a dual nature; while they are associated with love and sometimes even fertility, they can also be violent. Qadesh was also frequently depicted with a Hathor-type wig, though its forms varied widely (Cornelius 2004: 73; Tazawa 2009: 129). In fact, the four were so similar that they were sometimes potentially one and the same; a famous and controversial example of this is found on the so-called Winchester Plaque. See Edwards, I.E.S. 1955: A Relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College Collection. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 14/1, 49-51. and the works of Cornelius and Tazawa for further information.

**Discussion: the Practical Application of Theory to a Culturally Diverse Material Record**

While it may be tempting to jump directly into interpreting the material record, it is crucial that the researcher first recognises, understands, and addresses the numerous issues regarding it. One major difficulty Egyptologists and Archaeologists face is the inability of the material record to directly represent ideas, social practices, and meanings, though its materiality may be clearly hybrid (Stockhammer 2012b: 51). As objects are only the visible aspect of thoughts, they do not always equate to the social practices or meanings expected of them (Stockhammer 2012b: 43). For instance, it may be tempting to associate a beer jar with drinking, but it could have been used for something else, and could be connected to different social practices and concepts in different locations (Stockhammer 2012b: 43). While there is no definitive way to overcome this limitation, familiarity with the different theoretical types of cultural hybridity, and how they may present themselves in the material record, allows the Egyptologist to approach the problem in a more structured and cohesive way, and to distinguish trends that may favor one interpretation over another.

In any study of cultural hybridisation, it is also crucial that clear definitions and boundaries are set before attempting to interpret the material record. To prevent ambiguity, the concepts of culture and cultural hybridity should first be explored (Ackermann 2012: 5). A start and end date of the study should then be defined, and the reasons for it clarified, with emphasis on the fact that hybridisation is never truly beginning or ending (Stockhammer 2012b: 51). This provides a sort of structure for the Egyptologist to make sense of a larger corpus of information. For a study of LBA Egypt, the obvious choice of dates would be ca. 1550–1150 BCE, as these are the commonly accepted "boundaries" of the period (Pfoh 2016: 1). However, one should also understand that the dates assigned to the LBA, and even the term "Late Bronze Age" are modern artificial constructs meant to provide structure for a historical past. Significant cultural change may or may not fall neatly within this category (and, most often, will not). It may even be useful to challenge these boundaries; is there a way to study cultural change without this technique? Future researchers are encouraged to acknowledge the limitations of the practice, and suggest alternatives, if possible.

Furthermore, for any study of cultural-contact, researchers should make sure that all cultures and/or groups in question are clearly defined and described prior to their so-called (arbitrary) "starting date" of foreign contact. Geographic boundaries, religion, language, and other noteworthy (preferably unique) features should be noted, along with clear explanations of their importance for the culture or group in question. This provides clarity as to what one means by terms such as "Egyptian" "Near Eastern" and the more complicated concept of the "foreigner". Of course, these definitions simplify a complex culture; this danger should be clearly stated. For the sake of structure, however, the practice is necessary; one cannot explain how a culture has changed without it. For the best results, it is important to study the culture's typical *habitus* in all of its aspects, including religion, politics, gender

roles, and others. Terms such as "original" and "traditional" should be avoided, as these suggest the existence of cultural purity. Furthermore, the reader should be reminded that even a simple term like "Egyptian" or "Near Eastern" is influenced by modern and personal biases, and that no true definition of the term can ever exist.

Once clear boundaries have been presented and the key terms defined, it is helpful to determine whether the artefacts in question are examples of *relational* or *material entanglement*. This distinction allows the Egyptologist to better asses the level and type of hybridisation an object or community has encountered. However, in order to understand these terms, one must first understand what is meant by *materiality.* The definition of materiality is twofold; it is both the physical existence of an object, and the agency that a (material) object allows for people to make use of it (Ingold 2012: 432). This agency, which is both historically and socially influenced, allows the object to be both 1) manipulated to fit current human needs (such as a rock being shaped into a cutting tool), and 2) assigned meaning (such as the identification of a shaped rock as something used for cutting; a "knife") (Ingold 2012: 432).[30] In these ways, materiality emphasises the human-object relationship (Knappett 2014: 4702). With this in mind, the term *relational entanglement* refers to an object that maintains its materiality when introduced into a new setting (in this case, culture), despite the potential alterations of its associated meanings and traditions to fit its new environment (Stockhammer 2012b: 50). This object has been manipulated, whether via appropriation, incorporation, objectivisation, or transformation, but it is still reminiscent of its previous state (Stockhammer 2012b: 50). On the other hand, an object that is *materially* entangled is something new, both in its materiality and meaning (Stockhammer 2012b: 50-51). The clear result of culture-contact, this new object belongs to neither one nor the other culture; it is a combination rather than a sum of its included entities (Stockhammer 2012b: 50–51). Of course, when the item in question is a deity rather than a concrete object, the specifics of its entanglement will rely on the summation of its examples. A deity which largely maintains its previous iconography in a new land, despite changes to its meaning and associations, may be understood as *relationally* entangled. Likewise, a foreign deity whose meanings and iconography change to reflect its new environment may be labelled as *materially* entangled. These concepts will form an important part of the author's larger doctoral research.

Another useful technique for analysing instances of culture-contact and processing the relevant material record is to divide the larger phenomenon of cultural hybridisation into a series of consecutive stages (Stockhammer 2012a: 2; Stockhammer 2012b: 49). While this technique is easier said than done, organising a corpus of objects by their types and levels of entanglement (hybridity) may allow

30 For a more in-depth discussion of materiality, see Ingold, T. 2012: Toward an Ecology of Materials. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41, 427–442. Another good starting-source is Knappett, C. 2014: Materiality in Archaeological Theory. In C. Smith (ed.*), Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. New York: Springer, 4700–4708. For a discussion of the interplay between materiality and sensory perception, see Hurcombe, L. 2007: A Sense of Materials and Sensory Perception in Concepts of Materiality. *World Archaeology* 39/4, 532–545.

the scholar to identify phases in the hybridisation process, and even pinpoint crucial turning-points and trends. It helps avoid the temptation for premature conclusions, and insures that each object receives significant attention. Each artefact should first be examined individually, and, if possible, its hybridisation type should be noted along with its context and relevant actors (Stockhammer 2012a: 2). Only then should the scholar look at the wider picture, attempting to trace the trends that group these individual examples into a whole (Stockhammer 2012a: 2–3). Of course, these categories of hybridity should be seen as templates and not as fact, especially since they are modern constructs created by outside observers (Bourdieu 1977: 1). It is also important to remember that hybridity occurs at different times and in different ways depending on the specific locale or community involved (Ackermann 2012: 19). Depending on the complexity of the situation, cultural hybridity may not appear linear, but rather as a series of inter-connected branches. The division technique is therefore especially useful for studies limited to a specific city or region.

### *The Dangers of Implied Cultural Purity and Homogeneity*

Perhaps the greatest danger faced by scholars undertaking culture-contact studies is the tendency to present a group as homogenous, rather than as the sum of its parts. As previously explained, speaking of an "Egyptian" mindset or an "Egyptian identity" presents the Egyptian populace as a sort of hive-mind, eliminating individuality. This problem is closely related to that of cultural purity, which, according to Stockhammer, must exist if a culture can be considered hybrid (Stockhammer 2012a: 2; Maran 2012: 61–62). Yet presenting a culture as either pure or homogenous ignores the very definition of the term culture. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, culture is defined as "the way of life, especially the general customs and beliefs, of a particular group of people at a particular time" (dictionary.cambridge.org 2018: "culture," with added underlining); culture inherently involves a plurality of people, and therefore of ideas. It is the combination of multiple experiences, and its characterising elements are merely those most common to the whole.

To overcome the dangers of implied cultural homogeneity and purity, and still be able to utilise and benefit from the term "cultural hybridity," one must acknowledge that these problems exist, and need to be overcome (Stockhammer 2012a: 2). The author should stress that a culture is never truly pure, as it is ever-changing, and comprised of individual cultural members; it is "a patchwork and a process of negotiating differences" (Hahn 2012: 34), making its very existence something arguably hybrid (Ackermann 2012: 5). Whenever possible, the scholar should avoid over-arching terms such as the "(average) Egyptian mindset" and "Egyptian identity construction." Instead, phrasings such as "Egyptian identities construction" makes it clearer to the reader that one is speaking of the group result of individual experiences. As for statements involving an "Egyptian mindset," scholars should

specify, as much as possible, the specific borders of this statement. Is the claim true for all social classes, or just the elite? Is the trend something specific to the Delta, or is it characteristic of the south of Egypt as well? Besides social class and geography, other factors to consider include (but are not limited to) individual situations and contexts, chronology, education, and gender (Harland 2011: 5; Ackermann 2012: 19). These factors can all impact how an object and/or concept is understood and applied. Some good questions to ask when interpreting the material record are 1) Who had access to the object? 2) Who created it? 3) Who made use of it? 4) Where was it made and used? and 5) How was it used?

**Conclusion**

While culture-contact and hybridity studies are still largely classified as the realm of Anthropology, their benefits for Egyptology and Archaeology are numerous. For too long, Egyptologists have narrowed their studies to focus solely on the area within Egypt's borders, attempting to understand Egyptian identities within these confines. Yet people often define themselves via what they are not, and studying a culture's relationships with and reactions to the outside world can be a key tool for accessing new information. In LBA Egypt, where religion was such an important and intrinsic aspect of daily life, the overall acceptance of foreign Near Eastern deities into both the average and royal pantheons (Zivie-Coche 2011: 2–4; Wilson-Wright 2016: 28) provides an excellent basis for understanding the impacts of this increased period of culture-contact on the construction and maintenance of Egyptian identities. It also speaks to their understanding of the cultural other, and how they viewed themselves in relation to this.

The question of hybridity is not if it existed, but in what level and form it existed, and what factors led to its development. For Egyptologists and Archaeologists, a reliance on the material record further complicates the culture-contact study; artefacts are unable to directly represent social practices and ideas, even in cases of clear material entanglement (Stockhammer 2012b: 51). This complicates the interpretation of a hybrid object, and makes it increasingly difficult to determine the presence of "foreign" peoples. For this sort of "invisible Archaeology," a strong understanding of culture-contact and hybridisation theories is therefore crucial, as it provides the Egyptologist with a means of potentially distinguishing one type of hybrid object from another, and creating a sense of order. The organisation of artefacts into artificial, likely non-linear, stages of hybridisation, then provides a clear, systematic and structured way of tracing potential trends, and avoiding the creation of larger conclusions based on layers of hypotheses. It also insures that each artefact is evaluated along the same guidelines. It is high time that Egyptologists embrace these ideas, and the other countless benefits of an inter-disciplinary approach.

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# Elite and Common People. Redefining Burial Practices in Ancient Egypt

Ilaria Davino

Death and consequently grief are a constant experience in all societies, and ancient Egypt was no exception. Death had in fact a heavy effect on daily life, as it broke daily rhythms and created chaos and disconnection in the emotive sphere as well as in social relationships. This condition of crisis needed to be controlled, and rituals ensured a safe return to an everyday life in which all the participants attained a different state, e.g. progressing from wife to widow (Stevenson 2013: 16).

Ancient Egyptians had different types of burial. This is not surprising, as "in the vast majority of cases known ethnographically, a culture or society is not characterised by one type of burial only"(Ucko 1969: 270). When facing this kind of issue, it could be tempting to link burial practices to beliefs, and to assume that differences in burial were indicators of different expectations for the afterlife. However, burial practices can be regarded as custom, and custom is not the same as belief (Smith 2017: 38); therefore, it is impossible to state whether such differences reflect different conceptions of the afterlife. Similarly, the mere act of burial cannot always be equated with a belief in afterlife (Ucko 1969: 283–285). As Eyre (2009: 35) stated, "We do not know what the "ancient Egyptian" believed". This is, of course, a broad field of research; hence the present paper is intended as a starting point for further considerations and will deal more with some features of practice than with belief.

In ancient Egypt, burial was perceived as a fundamental step. In some of the so-called Threat-formulas, one of the strongest threats was the denial of a proper burial: "He shall not be buried in the West"(Edel 1984: 27, fig. 5 col. 64; Morschauser 1991: 121); "He shall not be buried in the Cemetery" (Edel 1984: 99, fig. 15 col 79–80; Morschauser 1991: 121).

Various kinds of ancient Egyptian sources refer to the burial process: iconographical, archaeological and textual. These categories provide only small pieces of information within a much larger sequence of events, thus the evidence must be put together in order to have a better understanding of the burial process as a whole. However, a question remains: whom do these sources really refer to? Our perspective on ancient Egyptian burial rites is not as clear as one may think, because the available data only relates to a very restricted part of the population, the most visible one, i.e. the elite (Assmann 2005: 410–411; Szpakowska 2008: 180).

**Elite burial**

On this matter the Tale of Sinuhe (pBerlin 3022, Blackman 1932: 1–41) is one of the most accurate sources of information, as it describes in great detail the funeral of a member of the elite:

> *"Remember the day of burial, the passing to blessedness. A night will be assigned to you with oils and wrappings from the hands of Tayet. A funeral procession will be made for you on the joining the earth, with a mummy case of gold, a mask of lapis lazuli, a heaven over you, and you placed in a hearse, with oxen dragging you and singers going before you. The dance of the Oblivious ones will be done at the mouth of your tomb-chamber, and the offering invocation recited for you; sacrifices will be made at the mouth of your offering-chapel, and your pillars will be built of white stone in the midst of royal children. Your death will not happen in a foreign country; Asiatics will not lay you rest; you will not be put in a ram's skin when your coffin is made. This is too long to be roaming the earth! Think of your corpse-and return!"*
> (Parkinson 1997: 36–37).

From this passage it can be inferred that the basic elements of an elite member's funeral were:
- post-mortem treatment of the corpse (mummification)
-a container for the corpse (coffin)
-a procession involving specialised performers and priests
-offerings

Altogether, iconographical evidences (from the Old to the New Kingdom) show sequences that are very similar to this description. However, this particular kind of evidence rather describes an 'idea' of a funeral. This 'idea' could be conditioned by two contrasting concepts: decorum and agency. There was a kind of homogeneity in decorum standards, but it is difficult to identify clear-cut rules about these matters. There was evidently some kind of freedom of choice about the themes to include, even if this was constrained by certain limits (Staring 2011: 269). Every representation fits a trend and some may bear substantial similarities (e.g. Mereruka and Ankhmahor), but no two tombs are exactly alike. Possible explanations for such differences could be the available wall surface (larger wall surface means more possibilities for variation in the decoration program; see Staring 2011: 257), decorum (the "set of rules and practice defining what may be represented pictorially with captions displayed, and possibly written down, in which context and in what form" see Baines 2007: 15) and, of course, individual choice. Therefore, in specific periods, there were themes or parts of certain themes , which were not to be represented (e.g. mummification) but within the limits of contemporary decorum, ancient Egyptians may have been free to choose what they preferred.

**Mortuary behaviour(s)**

As already noticed by Willems, "Egyptology, like every discipline occupied with a distant past, is condemned to produce generalizations on the basis of a documentation of which the representativeness can hardly be assessed" (Willems 2014: 140). The traditional elite funerary practice mentioned above has been deemed expensive and exclusionary – it had a cost and those who could not afford to pay such a price have been considered as excluded from the advantages of a proper burial. However, available data indicates that there was not only a differentiation between the elite and the rest of the populace, but that this also existed within the elite itself.

One stereotype implies that the preservation of the body was believed as essential for survival in the afterlife, as it provides a vehicle for reanimation for the ba and the ka, and thus mummification was a widespread practice. However, scientific analysis has highlighted that materials and methods used to preserve the body changed gradually over time and that different embalming workshops could use different methods (Ikram and Dodson 1998: 103–131). This means that various techniques of mummification, from the most expensive to the cheapest, were practiced at the same time. The Middle Kingdom is a remarkable example of this variety of methods. Although evisceration through an incision on the left flank became increasingly common, it was not always accomplished and viscera could be also dissolved and partially extracted by the rectum. Herodotus considers this method as a cheaper form of mummification, but there is evidence that it was applied also to a woman, a princess perhaps, who had a rich burial in Thebes (Ikram and Dodson 1998: 114–115). There also were wealthy individuals whose corpses were tightly bound but not embalmed, as in tomb A 17 in the Middle Kingdom cemetery below the funerary temple of Amenhotep II (Bellandi et al. 2015: 23). Finally, it is important to bear in mind that the majority of ancient Egyptians were not mummified, as examples at Deir al-Barsha and Asyut make clear (Willems 2014: 141 n. 52). Furthermore, as noted by Ikram, it is difficult to understand the degree to which the body was manipulated, since a lack of flesh between the bones and wrappings could simply be the result of natural decomposition due to the lack of evisceration (especially during the Old Kingdom).

Another stereotype presents the (decorated and inscribed) coffin as the exclusive kind of container for the corpse. While coffins were not exceptional, decorated ones could have been unusual. This particular kind of object was in fact very expensive, as they were made of wood of good quality imported from the Levant. Coffins "were also commodities; they had to be commissioned and bought for a particular price" (Cooney 2008: 114). Moreover, among decorated Middle Kingdom coffins, only a minority is inscribed with the so-called Coffin Texts (Szpakowska 2008: 189; Willems 2014: 142). Willems has estimated that during Middle Kingdom the owners of a coffin inscribed with Coffin Texts belonged to a very small segment of population, only 0.5% of the deceased per year

(Willems 2014: 163–164). The majority of coffins were made of wood of poor quality and were not decorated or simply painted with yellow and red (Willems 2014: 142; the missing decoration might also be a deliberate choice see Grajetzki 2016: 25).

The high price of coffins has led scholars to think that ancient Egyptians considered other kinds of containers as less expensive. However, the accuracy of this conclusion is uncertain. Ancient Egyptians had many options at their disposal, including wrapping in linen, animal skins or reed matting; or placement in receptacles constructed from basketry, mud, ceramics, wood or stone. More specifically, two types of containers for the corpse have been recently reconsidered. One is the pot. Interments in pots have been considered as "an act of rubbish disposal" (Power and Tristant 2016: 1475), but Garstang (1904: 51) already noted that at Elkab and Reqaqna some pot burials were "more elaborately furnished than those of other kinds". Pot burials, according to Power and Tristant (2016, 1484), are equal to other kinds of interment. Placing a corpse inside a coffin is a metaphor for the *regressus ad uterum* (Assmann 1989: 139–140) and, therefore, rebirth in the afterlife (Willems 1988; Meskell 1999). The regenerative power of the womb is also a specific feature of the egg (Rashed 2016: 204-205) and the word *swḥt* (from the verb *swḥ* "to enshroud" WB IV, 72, 6) is also used to identify the inner coffin (WB IV, 74 4). According to the authors, the pot shares the (re)generative power of both egg (Power and Tristant 2016: 1479) and womb and it is associated with the gravid uterus in the 6th Dynasty tomb of Waatetkhethor (Power and Tristant 2016: 1478).

Another form of container that has been recently reassessed is the so-called reed coffin (Mysliwiec 2014). This funerary box has been regarded as one of the cheapest container for corpses, but Mysliwiec thinks that during the Late Old Kingdom it was chosen because of its deeply rooted religious imagery connected to Osiris, and not because of social status (Mysliwiec 2014: 106). In particular, Mysliwiec refers to a symbol linked to Osiris, which appears in PT 210 §130 ("The booth of Unas is woven with reed"; Faulkner (1969: 139) translates 'My booth is plaited with rushes'), and suggests that this image could be related to the reed basket used by Isis to gather the parts of Osiris' body (Mysliwiec 2014: 110). Therefore, he believes that reed coffins were considered as an image of resurrection and were especially used by middle class courtiers at Saqqara during the final phase of the Old Kingdom (Mysliwiec 2014: 111).

**Non-elite members**

If the picture for the elite is quite clear (although only a brief view of it has been given here), the treatment reserved to the rest of population is little understood. As Baines and Lacovara (2002: 6) note, "the destiny of most Egyptians in death is poorly known, and many were disposed of in ways that have not been recovered archaeologically". Indeed, if compared to the supposed number of

inhabitants of the ancient Egypt, only a very few tombs have been found and studied.
Estimates of ancient Egyptian population have been variously computed. The estimations proposed by Butzer (1976: 82–98, see in particular 85 fig. 13) are generally considered reliable. He suggested a population of 1.1 million during the Old and Middle Kingdom, 2.5 million around 1500 BCE and about 3 million during the Ramesside period (Butzer 1976: 84). O'Connor estimated a population of 2.9 to 4.5 million for the Late New Kingdom (O'Connor 1983: 190), as well as Baer, who estimated a population of 4.5 million for the New Kingdom (Baer 1962: 43–44). Janssen, conversely, evaluated a number oscillating between 4.5 and 7 million people for the same period (Janssen 1975: 136). Kraus (2004: 233) and Kemp (2007: 406) have recently stated that estimations made by Butzer are likely to be low and thus suggested that they should be doubled. Willems asserts that it is not feasible to establish which correction would be more realistic and that these data should be used "in the full awareness that these may have to be raised significantly" (2014: 144). However, as Niwiński points out (2014: 254), the remains hitherto discovered run into the thousand, not the million.

There are several reason to explain the discrepancy and consequent archaeological invisibility of non-elite graves. The total amount of cemeteries has not yet been discovered or preserved. Cemeteries located in the desert of Upper Egypt have survived in greater numbers than those in the floodplain of the Delta (Richards 2005: 63). The Nile fluctuations and the development of modern urban sites upon ancient ones damaged the preservation of burial grounds (Baines and Lacovara 2002: 13; Tristant 2012: 17). Moreover, simple surface graves were more vulnerable to erosion and depredation of both wild animals and men (Richards 2005: 64). Finally, early scholars employed inadequate methods of recording and showed little interest in skeletal remains, which were consequently poorly analysed. This means that much data from early investigations cannot be fully employed (Tristant 2012: 17).

In any case, a large amount of bodies are still missing. According to Niwiński, burial in tombs was a prerogative of the elite, whose members did not exceed 10% of the population; thus the burial ceremonies of the remaining 95% of population must have been processed in a different way, that he termed "Water Burial" (Niwiński 2014: 254). He thinks that dropping the corpse into the river was the type of funeral reserved to the so-called rekhyt people in the New Kingdom. According to him, the choice of this type of funeral did not affect the fate of the deceased in the afterlife, thanks to the connection of water to Osiris and the Nun (Niwiński 2014: 256). However, Niwiński himself asserts that the lack of real proof makes this idea "highly speculative" (Niwiński 2014: 259). If indeed the rekhyt amounted to 95% of population, the Nile would have been a quite crowded place, even in periods of low demographic growth. Maybe it is more cautious to consider Water Burial as one possible form of entombment for the rekhyt.

There are cemeteries that hosted non-elite tombs. Bearing in mind the particular nature of the site and the historical period, South Tomb Cemetery at Amarna is a good example (Dabbs et al. 2015: 33). In this place burial treatments varied widely, ranging from simple wrapping to a mud brick structure. Burial pits were not much larger than the space necessary to lay the body and multiple burials also occurred. Most of individuals were fully skeletonized, although, partial organic preservation frequently occurred due to natural desiccation. Even though some graves were robbed, the team excavated a sufficient number of intact graves and suggested that scarcity of grave goods was the rule. A similar context can be found also in North Tombs Cemetery (Stevens and Dabbs 2017). This was a burial ground for young people, who were wrapped in textile and matting, usually without any burial goods. Even here a large numbers of burials contains more than one person. Similar circumstances occur at Sedment, where poor people had small tombs and selected objects as grave goods (Grajetzki 2005).

Although non-elite tombs were less rich in shape, size and grave goods, they shared some features with the wealthier examples. At Gurob, Qau, Badari and Matmar (Goulding 2013), common and elite members experienced the same behaviour in equipping the tomb with grave goods. In fact the grave assemblages changed exactly in the same way between the 18th and 19th Dynasty for both categories. In some cases, non-elite mirrored elite members also in the orientation of the body. Bourriau has noticed that the shift between the two main body positions (laid on the side or laid on the back) took place between the 12th and 18th Dynasty and that it occurred for both rich and poor burials. It only occurred slightly later in locales at some distance from the capital, in lower social strata (Bourriau 2001).

**Conclusions**

To conclude, it is clear (and also quite obvious) that part of the population (the non-elite) is less visible than the other, and it can only be traced by archaeological records – which, however, do not give complete evidence of the whole funeral and ritual practice. It is possible to find some material traces of some rituals, such as "breaking the red vessels" (Czerwik 2015: 1006; Baba and Yoshimura 2011: 165, 167), or hints in architectural elements (Czerwik 2015: 1005 n. 10; see in particular Alexanian 1998), but many actions, such as singing, dancing or reciting formulas, leave no material track. Therefore, the extent to which elite burial practice was shared by all segments of population is unknown. It has been suggested that formal burial may have been practiced by only a minority of population (Richards 2005: 66). Nevertheless it is possible also to envisage a difference in the degree of such formality, which affects "the archaeological visibility and not the intention" (Richards 2005: 66).

First of all, the concept of mummification as an essential feature of Egyptian burial custom has to be reconsidered. Mummification was a quite circumscribed practice (Willems 2014: 140–141; Smith 2017: 43). It could be argued that it was an expensive treatment, and thus affordable only to a few people. However, at Riqqa a wealthy woman called Hetep was not mummified but only wrapped in a cloth, and laid in a coffin (type IV) that was decorated with texts relating to mummification itself (Willems 2014: 141 n. 52). This could indicate that mummification was considered useful, but not essential for the afterlife and it may imply that simple cloth wrapping, in conjunction with rites, was deemed sufficient for a continued existence in the hereafter (Smith 2017: 44). On this matter, I would add that perhaps the preservation of the body was not believed to preclude access to the afterlife and that it was more important to avoid the complete destruction of the body. In one of the so-called threat-formulas it is possible to read "He shall be buried in the devouring flame" (Bakir 1943: 79,pl. II; Morschauser 1991: 121), which means that the body of the threatened person had to be completely destroyed. Incineration was in fact a magical practice meant to destroy the enemies (along with their ba and shadows) on earth and in the underworld (Ritner 2008: 157–158; Abbas 2010: 33–51 ) and for that reason it was also employed as the capital punishment for rebels (Leahy 1984).

Different degrees of formality in burial may also mean different degrees of investment of resources in burial. During Middle Kingdom, at Haraga, Riqqa and Abydos some of the wealthiest burials were surface graves and some of the poorest ones were located in shaft chambers (Richards 2005: 175–176). Poor individuals who could not afford a complete burial, had to choose what to invest in. Individuals could choose to inter their relatives in surface burial, but with coffins and with a significant concentration of semiprecious or precious grave goods (Grajetzki 2014: 160), as some members of the middle-class of Lahun did (Richards 2005: 177). The scarcity of burial goods could also be a deliberate choice (maybe dictated by decorum), as observed in wealthy burials during the 4th and 5th Dynasties (Grajetzki 2014: 139). Moreover, the choice could be also related to personal religious imagery, as in the case of wealthy late 6th Dynasty officials. They were devoted to the concept of rebirth issuing from the reed coffin and, thus, decided to be laid in these particular funerary boxes. However, many individuals also appear to have been buried directly into the sand or earth. What about them? Was rebirth denied to them? It would be highly illogical to suppose that these people had no expectation of survival in the afterlife, because there is not enough evidence available. It has been argued that the wider population's main concern was subsistence in the afterlife, therefore pottery was the primary grave good (Grajetzki 2016: 42). On this matter I suggest that they also could be concerned about rebirth. The metaphor of rebirth linked to the womb/egg and to the reed coffins might also be applied to the pit itself. The pit can be regarded as the simplest type of container for the corpse, fulfilling the same requirements of gathering and protection of the deceased (by encircling) as coffins (of any kind) and pots (for the notion of circling for protection see Ritner 2008: 57 n. 266).

As stated above, archaeological records do not show the complete details of burial practice: thus iconographical and textual evidence reveal ritual scenes that would otherwise be lost. In these scenes it is possible to observe that the elite could afford specialized ritualists, who acted as "ritual sons" of the deceased. The role of the eldest son was considered as an important one in funerary rites and mirrored the mythical role of Horus toward his father Osiris (Szpakowska 2008: 182). It is difficult to ascertain how the wider population ritually secured their afterlife. Rites performed at the moment of burial seem to have been considered as essential, as they transformed the deceased into an *ꜣḫ*. It is possible that rituals may have been performed by a family member (a son, a relative or a trusted person), although there is no direct evidence of the fact that the role of the eldest son had the same value in the lower social layers (see also Grajetzki 2014: 139).

What was thus the posthumous destiny of a commoner who could not afford ritualists? On this matter, a connection can be made with earthly behaviour and judgment in the hereafter, although with caution. Evidence of the belief in a general judgement of the dead can be dated to the 5th Dynasty (Smith 2017: 74–75, 135), and in the "Teaching of Merikare" it is stated "Make excellent your place of the necropolis with rightness and doing Maat" (Parkinson 1997: 226). However, the second Tale of Setne (pBritish Museum 604, verso, Griffith 1900) provides a more detailed depiction of the posthumous destiny of an individual who did not belong to the elite, at least during the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods (Setne II 1,15). "[In another moment] as he was looking down he saw [the body of a poor man carried out of Memphis] wrapped in a mat … without anyone walking [behind him]" (Lichtheim 1980: 139). According to these few lines, it seems that the body of this "poor man" had just been wrapped in a mat. No mention is made of post-mortem treatment. As this poor burial is opposed to the one of a rich man buried with an expensive funeral, it is possible to assume that no process of preservation of the body had been undertaken. The body is also just moved "out of Memphis", without specifying a precise place for burial or the participation of specialized ritualists. Considering the circumstances, a continued existence in hereafter seems to be denied to him, but another passage of the same text describes his fate and the one of the rich man (Setne II 2, 13). When Sa-Osiris takes him in the netherworld, Setne sees a man clothed in precious linen, standing near Osiris and another one who has the pivot of the door fixed in his right eye. The latter turns out to be the man buried with the expensive funeral. "They took him (=the rich man) in the netherworld"; Sa-Osiris says "they weighed his misdeeds against his good deeds and they found his misdeeds more numerous that the good deeds he had done on earth" (Lichtheim 1980, 140–141). It seems that the execution of (expensive) burial rites loses value if compared with the principle of "good behaviour", that will be judged in the hereafter.

Another text claims that the accomplishment of a funerary ritual was not perceived as essential for the afterlife, if someone did not behave righteously when alive. According to Smith (2009: 26), in a

passage of p.Insinger (18/8–13 see Lexa 1926 for the publication of the text), the author describes the fate suffered in the embalming place during the initial stages of mummification by the man whose sole concern in life was to amass wealth. "It is the chief of the spirits (=Anubis) who is first to punish after the taking of the breath. Juniper oil, incense, natron, and salt, searing ingredients are a "remedy" for his wounds. A "friend" who shows no mercy attacks his flesh. He is unable to say, "desist" during the punishment of the assessor. The end of the pious man is in his burial on the mountain (=the necropolis) together with his funerary equipment, (but) the possessor of wealth who acquired it through hoarding will not take it with him to the mountain" (Smith 2009: 26–27). Thus, for the non-righteous man, mummification, which is the process that is supposed to grant immortality, became a form of torture. It hence seems that, whatever kind of burial one person could afford, the hope for immortality was not denied to anyone.

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# Displayed Graves: A Study of Predynastic Naqada Burials as the Device for the Mortuary Ceremony

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## Introduction

The burial traditions of the Naqada Culture in the Predynastic Period (c. 3800/3750–2867 BCE) are some of its most famous cultural components. Most burial had a formalised style i.e. a single burial in a contracted position heading south and facing west. These burials also contained numerous, varied artefacts such as pottery, stone vessels and beads, as J. de Morgan presented the typical burial example of the Naqada Culture at el-Amrah (de Morgan 1896: Fig. 35) (Figure 1). Although the cemeteries contain rich information for considering the mortuary ideological aspects of the Predynastic Egyptian, discussion regarding this ideology is limited and previous research has mainly focused on the observation of social stratification through quantitative analyses of various attributes in the cemeteries (e.g. Bard 1994). The reason for this research approach was the historical significance of the Predynastic period as the formative phase for one of the world's first primary states, and more practically the relative ease of analysis due to the rich mortuary attributes which allow such quantitative analytical methodology. Although some studies discussed this mortuary ideology in connection with Dynastic custom (e.g. Murray 1956), analysis of the ideological aspects of Predynastic Egypt is still insufficient despite the potential for consideration from various old and recent excavations.

*Figure 1. Typical primary grave of Naqada Culture in el-Amrah. (de Morgan 1896: fig. 35)*

The aim of this paper is to discuss the nature of Predynastic graves as the place for display. Although the fundamental role of a grave is to store the deceased, a grave acts as a place for the living to carry out mortuary ceremonies that embrace the nature of display. Here, the nature

of display in the mortuary context is defined as the role that visually affects the living through the composition of goods placement, mortuary ceremonial activity, and other paraphernalia. Hereafter this will be abbreviated to the nature of display.

Visual aspects of burial have recently been discussed in the literature. For example, several dismembered burials of el-Amrah have been discussed as evidence of spatial setting in mortuary context by the living to fulfil mortuary realisations (Wengrow 2006; Wenngrow and Baines 2004). Since the grave has a dual function for the living and the dead, consideration of a grave in connection to the living (i.e. the deceased's living families, relatives, colleagues etc.) is also necessary. For the living, a grave is a place for not only burying the dead but also for ceremonial activity relating to the mortuary ideology of the Naqada Culture. How the grave or tomb was arranged and the grave goods chosen was closely connected with the living participating in the funeral (cf. Stevenson 2009). For example, by considering how grave goods were displayed, the invisible mortuary ideology of the Naqada Culture will be considered. To discuss the visual aspects of the burial, this paper will explore how graves had the nature of display in intra and inter spheres (Part 1 and 2). The intra sphere (Part 1) of the graves refers to underground characteristics such as grave goods, burial equipment or other grave structures that can be confirmed in the grave. This part is further divided into two sub-sections of the nature of display that can be seen in the grave (Part 1–1) and at the grave (Part 1–2). Part 1–1 considers the relationship between grave goods and the desiccated body. In Part 1–2, the relationship between the living participant during the funeral and at the graveside as a place will be handled. The inter sphere (Part 2) analyses how graves left a visible impression on the Naqada people by referring to the spatial aspects of graves in the cemetery area.

Since the society of the Naqada Culture was nonliterate prior to the Naqada III/Early Dynastic Period (cf. Dreyer 1998; Wengrow 2011), consideration and assessment of contemporary mortuary practices and ideology rely upon archaeological and anthropological evidence, unlike later Dynastic periods where textual sources exist. Although a direct analogy from Dynastic mortuary customs, supported by textual evidence, can also be referred to, examination and interpretation of Predynastic mortuary archaeological evidence itself is first necessary. This will be useful when considering prehistoric mortuary ideology and will be a helpful tool for the understanding of Predynastic case studies. In this paper, a discussion will be made with partial reference from the prehistoric mortuary archaeological studies outside the Egyptian context.

For the discussions below, I follow the relative chronology of Hendrickx (2006) with radiocarbon dates recently presented through the Bayesian Statistical Modelling (Dee et al. 2013; Stevenson 2016). Since the social situation – an integral background for mortuary practices – changed after the beginning of the 1st Dynasty, this paper confines its discussion to the Predynastic period between Naqada IA and IIIB periods.

## Grave and cemetery as the place for living

Death is an irreversible phenomenon, and the dead cannot be buried by their own hands. The dead need the aid of living people to carry out and participate in the funeral ceremony. In this sense, graves are the outcome of the hand of the living, thus they are formed according to the mortuary regulations of certain societies or cultures. Therefore, graves are not only a space for the dead, but also for ceremony by the living. A funeral ceremony is set up by the living and is imbued with various social meanings. In archaeology in general, the funeral often bore social significance, and confirmed the social identity of both the deceased and the living, such as via lineage or genealogy (e.g. Mizoguchi 2005; 2014; Stevenson 2009). The burial space was managed by these living participants during the funeral, and in so doing they were confirming the status of the deceased. Considering the well managed and formalised burial style of the Naqada Culture, which contained varied goods around the deceased in a contracted position, mortuary space was also managed to form the ideal mortuary scene by the Naqada people (cf. Wengrow 2006: 116–118). Therefore, one can consider that this space management was not only for the buried person but also for the living in order to display the "correct" execution of a funeral. Reisner (1936: 1) discussed the key aspects of an Egyptian Predynastic burial. In his large volume for the development of Egyptian tomb from Predynastic to the Old Kingdom, he stated that every Egyptian grave had binary functions, namely acting as the house of the soul (Ka) of the dead, and as the place for serving 'necessities' in the afterworld. Reisner's notion was mainly focused on the function of the grave for the buried person. If his notion can be expanded to the cemetery level, the Predynastic cemetery can be recognised as the cluster of the House of Ka, and the place for supplying the necessities to it. If this is the case, how and what kind of function did the grave have for the people of Naqada Culture, especially in terms of forming social identity via how grave goods were displayed in the grave? In the next section the space in which the grave was located is separated into several parts, and the nature of burial display is discussed.

## Part 1–1. The Nature of Display that can be seen in the grave: placement of the goods in a burial

### *Previous research on the Goods placement in the archaeological context*

Naqada burials were often well equipped with funerary goods. Of course, the number and types of goods varied by case, but qualitative and quantitative aspects of funerary goods took a significant role when considering the buried person's social status or the social stratum to which they belonged (e.g. Bard 1994). However, as noted by Stevenson (2009: 129), consideration and interpretation of funerary goods from a contextual view had been limited except for a few early accounts (e.g. Petrie 1939). In contrast, for individual goods, several studies have been made including for cosmetic palettes (Regner 1998; Baduel 2008), fish-tailed knives (Roth 1992), and ceramic offering tables (Podzorski

2010). Although discussion of the placement of these individual goods within the burial space was part of the comprehensive study of the nature of these goods, none of these examples considered the connection with the mortuary landscape of the Predynastic burial itself. Few studies have been undertaken for the placement of burial goods that considered the whole goods assemblage except studies of Gerzeh (Stevenson 2009; 2013) and Naqada (Kuronuma 2017). As Stevenson mentioned citing Conkey (1990: 10), consideration of the contextual sphere is a necessary approach to analyse those aspects that cannot be ascertained solely by relying on study of the material itself. Therefore, burial goods are key points for understanding not only the way of its usage, but also the ideological background behind this.

As Petrie briefly noted during his excavation experience for more than 4,000 Predynastic graves in the cemeteries at Naqada, Ballas, Abadiya, Hiw, and Semaina, the potential regulation of goods placement in burial had already been considered by the early 20th Century. Petrie stated his general impression for the placement of goods in the graves of Naqada II periods thus:

> *'At the north end beyond the feet were great jars containing ashes, sometimes dozens of them, but never a fragment of bone occurred, and the burnt offerings were entirely vegetable. An offering place was found, in one instance, at the mouth of a valley with a bed of ashes where the jars had been filled. The Wavy-handled jars were placed in the grave at the south, beyond the head. A pointed jar at the south end was perhaps for drinking; the Decorated pottery lay mostly in front of the hands and the body. The weapons were behind the body, malachite and eye-paint near the hands. Each object had its appointed position'*
> (Petrie 1939: 34–35).

This often cited (e.g. Stevenson 2013: 28) paragraph gave Predynastic-Early Dynastic researchers useful general impressions for the regulated aspects of goods placement (Adams 1988; Hoffman 1979).

Beyond the above accounts, studies by Stevenson (2009; 2013) aimed to ascertain the trends of goods placement by examining a particular cemetery through the observation of unpublished records such as tomb cards. She examined the goods placement in the Predynastic cemetery at el-Gerzeh. She firstly set up 13 position levels (or spatial areas) on the basis of the buried person's corpse. She then divided the goods into 5 categories, namely ceramics, stone vessels, palettes, flint knives, and malachite. Ceramics were subdivided into: 1. Large Rough Ware storage vessels with pointed or small round base (Petrie's R74–76), or 2. Large Rough Ware storage vessels with a flat base (R84/84g), 3. Wavy-Handled Ware, and 4. Decorated Ware. She observed the distributional tendency by creating a database and tables (Stevenson 2013: Tables 4a, 4b, 5). Her results can be summarized as follows. Wavy-Handled Wares were placed especially around the head. R74–76 and Decorated Wares were placed variously, but if the grave contained only one vessel, R74–76 types tended to be placed near the head. R84/84g were usually found below the feet. All of the other grave goods were likely to be

placed in front of the upper part of the body such as around hands (e.g. Stone vessels, malachite, or flint knives). Through such quantitative analysis and its result, Petrie's empirical account was supported, but with some exceptions (e.g. Wavy-Handled Wares placed in the foot area). The local cultural tradition at el-Gerzeh was suggested to explain the exceptions. Similar characteristics could also be recognised in the study of goods placement in the three cemeteries at Naqada by the present author (Kuronuma 2017). In this study, the present author cited information from the excavation report (Petrie and Quibell 1896), supplementary works (Baumgartel 1970; Payne 1987), and 11 unpublished notebooks which are now in possession of the Petrie Museum of the University College London. Although several settings for analyses were different, the results were similar to the goods placement noted by Stevenson and Petrie. Additionally, other analysed goods categories included ivory and bone objects, and their placement generally followed their likely original function; for example, adornments such as combs, hairpins, or spoons except for several ritualistic objects (i.e. figurines, amulets and so on).

### *Aspects of Goods placement: functions relating to how grave goods were displayed*

Via analyses of the previously mentioned sites, it became possible to discuss the aspects of goods placement that were set up through the intra space management of grave pit, which was in all likelihood based on the ideology relating to the death and living. Through the analysis for the cemeteries at Naqada, the possibility of three aspects for goods placement is suggested. These three aspects are practical, ritual, and status symbol, all of which partially duplicate each other (Kuronuma 2017). The practical aspect signifies the placement of goods by their original function – such as large pottery for storing edible stuffs, or adornments for dressing. The ritual aspect is symbolic, and highly related to the funerary, ritual background. Small figurines made from bones or hippopotamus incisors, or zoomorphic and anthropomorphic amulets can be applied to this aspect. The third aspect, the status symbol, is more important for the living, bereaved relations of the buried person. The goods that fulfil this aspect functioned when such goods were deposited in the grave, and placed in an area where the eyes of participants in the funeral ritual were focused. The presence of goods bearing this aspect is significant. These three aspects do not contradict each other – rather they share multiple aspects. Therefore, in this sense, every object (or goods type) contains more than one aspect. In a typical example, a stone vessel can be suggested as a suitable instance of this. Stone vessels were one of the indicators of social strata due to the relatively scarce procurement of the material, and time-consuming production. For example, quantitative analyses of the cemeteries at Naqada revealed the frequent distribution of stone vessels in the cemetery indicating possible higher social strata (Bard 1994). Quarries of material for stone vessels are located in the Eastern Desert (e.g. Harrell et al. 2000) and the northern Egypt including the Fayum (e.g. Lucas 1926: 175–176; Mallory-Greenough et al. 1999) among

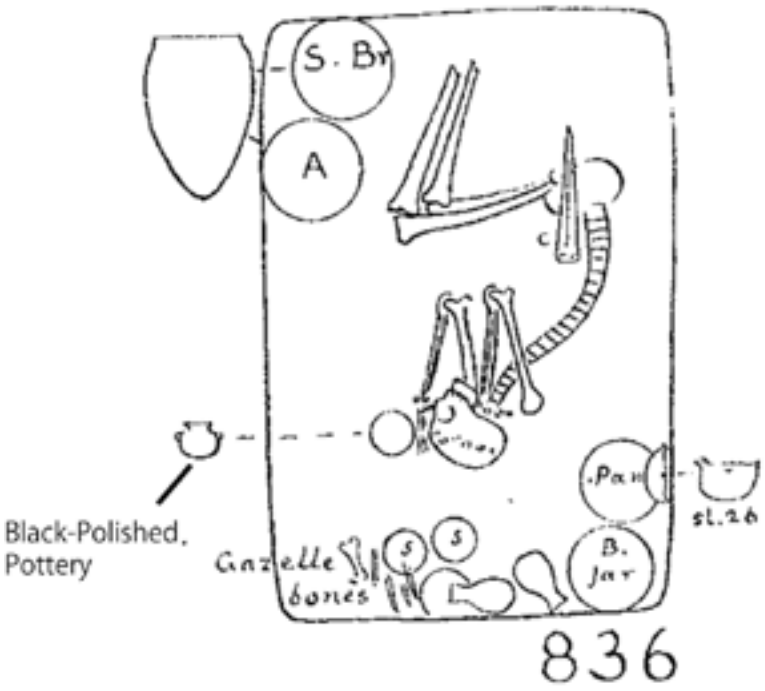


*Figure 2. Grave 836 at Naqada 'Great New Race Cemetery'. (Petrie and Quibell 1896: pl. LXXXIII, partially modified.)*

other sites, and so long distance transportation of materials or vessels was necessary. Therefore, the occurrence of a stone vessel indicates a comparatively rare grave good that can be connected to the status of the possessor, namely the deceased. This status may also be conferred upon the bereaved that placed it into the burial. In contrast, the stone vessel also had a practical (and possibly spurious) use for serving foods, drinks or other offerings. Following Reisner's notion (Reisner 1936), like pottery, stone vessels also embraced an aspect for serving the necessitates for the dead so they had a functional aspect, as well as signifying the symbol of the buried persons and their living bereaved. The point is the presence of such items. For living person who participated in the funerary ceremony, the burial of stone vessels signifies the status of the possessor. Therefore, one can consider that a stone vessel was a direct symbol of wealth, or social status, in addition. Since this point is associated with the symbolic aspect, usage of similar, less-worthy artefacts could be considered as the downgrading of the relative status of the deceased. In the pottery corpus by Petrie (1921: pl. XIX), for example, there are some types of 'Black Polished' pottery that correspond to his corpus types from F80 to F87 series that clearly imitated the characteristics of Stone Vessels from the Naqada Period (cf. Friedman 1994). For example, black polish is probably an imitation of colour of the stone vessels made of basalt or dolomite (cf. Payne 1993: 76). Similarities can also be noticed in the points of lug-handles, short-necks, or ledged rim types. One example of usage in a burial context was published by Petrie in his excavation report for the cemeteries at Naqada (Petrie and Quibell 1896: pl. LXXXIII). In the account of goods placement for Grave 836 (probably dating to Naqada IIA), one black polished pottery out of nine pottery vessels was found before the face of the buried person (Figure 2). This vessel has two lug-handles with suspension holes, and a round base. Although Petrie himself did not clearly mention

any similarities, this pottery corresponds to the series of F85 whose morphology is often seen in stone vessels. The interesting point is the place it is found. This placement (before the face of the deceased) is the location in which stone vessels are often found (cf. Stevenson 2013). Therefore, one can assume that this morphologically stone vessel-like pottery may have been intended to imitate the status of the stone vessel. It can also demonstrate the presence of downward compatibility for goods usage. This may relate to the economic and social background of the buried person and living bereaved that might not be able to access high-status objects such as stone vessels, but needed to carry out the funeral process as similarly as possible. Therefore, a structure with funeral grades can be identified, which was affected by one's actual economic and social difference or stratum. Grade of status symbols in funeral were defined by the social status of the buried person and living bereaved. According to Ethnoarchaeological research, which surveyed worldwide examples of mortuary practices through the Human Relations Area File (HRAF), status symbols in funerals tend to become diversified when a social structure is complex (Binford 1971; Carr 1995). This is because of the diversification of the roles among people in a society. J. A. Tainter (1978), who surveyed 103 ethnographic examples concluded the importance of a diversity in funerary goods in a society with complex social systems, because a variety of objects can suggest the social status of the deceased. Within the Naqada Culture, similar patterns can probably be observed for the usage of stone vessels in funerary contexts. Although the ideological format of stone vessels was common among Naqada peoples, its actual practice was highly defined by the social status of the user. This structure may be similar to the grade of mummification in later periods. High status goods can also be identified in the threads of beads. For example, in Adaïma, two threads with more than 1,000 beads in total were found in a 2–2.5 year old child burial in Grave 552 (Naqada IIIA–B) (Duchesne et al. 2003). This burial suggests ascribed status of the deceased, and may indicate the dual aspects of status symbolic and ritual. In prehistoric archaeology in general, the presence of well-equipped child burials is considered an indication of a ranked society: children cannot achieve such a status themselves, but are rather granted an ascribed status via the social group to which they belong (Brown 1981). Ascribed status is often connected to the hereditary inequality. Although Adaïma was a rural settlement in the Naqada III period, this kind of child burial indicates the presence of higher social stratum and the practice of its display in mortuary context.

As can be seen in the above cases, goods were placed according to mortuary regulations. The placing and layout of goods were managed for the deceased as well as for the living. For the living, the managed layout of goods in the grave displayed key impressions of the deceased such as social status, stratum, or rank, as well as more ritualistic and mortuary ideologies, and in so doing ensured that they might have a peaceful life in the afterworld.

**Part 1–2. The nature of display that can be seen at the grave: Reburial and typical primary burial**

Primary burial was typical of Naqada Culture. It is not difficult to imagine that mortuary ceremonies were key for confirming social identities among funeral participants. However, this is even clearer in reburial practices. Although several atypical burials were confirmed in the cemeteries of Naqada Culture, reburial is the most notable type during the Naqada Period, and occurred especially in the mid-Naqada II period. Sites where reburial was reported were limited, with the cemeteries at Naqada, Abadiya, Naga ed-Dêr, or el-Amrah containing the most famous examples. However, tracking actual occurrence of these burials is more complex. The well-known examples of Grave T4 (Naqada IIB) or T5 (Naqada IIC) at the Cemetery T at Naqada contained an enormous amount of objects (more than 40) with more than five buried individuals (at least 6 for T4, and 5 for T5) (Petrie and Quibell 1896: pl. LXXXII; Fawcett 1902; Baumgartel 1970). A similar example is Grave B102 (Naqada IB–C?) in Cemetery B at Abadiya where at least 5 individuals were found in an arranged position (Petrie and Mace 1901: 33). Another type of reburial is single or double arranged burials, with examples including Grave 594 (precise date unknown) at Naqada in the 'New Race Cemetery' (Petrie and Quibell 1896: pl. LXXXIII), Grave N7244 (Naqada IIA–C?) in Cemetery N7000 at Naga ed-Dêr (Lythgoe and Dunham 1965; Girardi 2017), and Grave a96 (Naqada IIA) of el-Amrah (Randall-MacIver and Mace 1902: pl. V; Wengrow 2006). Grave a96 at el-Amrah is a particularly well-known example because of the arrangement of burial space, comprising the corpse and more than 30 objects including pottery of various forms, palettes, lithics, polished stones etc, which has been discussed by Wengrow and Baines (Wengrow and Baines 2004; Wengrow 2006). In Cemetery N7000 at Naga ed-Dêr, several irregular funerary treatments to the body that may relate to the reburial were discussed (Lythgoe and Dunham 1965; Girardi 2017).

Due to the arrangement of bodies during the burial, it is not difficult to think that ceremonial activity relating to the reburial took place during the funeral. To understand how grave goods were displayed during such reburial, one must turn back to the process involved. Reburial often requires the deterioration of the flesh from the human bones as a presupposition of reburial (cf. Parker Pearson 1999). Recent excavations (e.g. Adaïma, Hierakonpolis) suggested the several examples of body articulation (e.g. Crubézy et al. 2008; Dougherty and Friedman 2008), and such articulation may also allow us to consider the presence of burial practices in which this reburial was included. Although it is uncertain that the beliefs concerning the resurrection of the deceased existed during the Predynastic period, it appears that in reburial cases, mortuary ideological thought did not focus on preserving the original state of the body. Since human bones were allocated in an intentional way, reburial appears to be the result of highly ideological activities, which are quite different from typical primary burial examples. Several types of treatment of human bones were reported, with heaps found in Grave T5 at Naqada or Grave N7403 at Naga ed-Dêr, specific alignments in Graves 594 and 880

(precise date unknown) at Naqada or B102 at Abadiya, and a rectangular heap in Grave N7244 at Naga ed-Dêr. Although the method of treatment of human bones varies, what is significant is the presence of these treatment methods at the funeral. It can sometimes be noted that human bones were being used as a 'tool' in the process of the funerary ceremony to imbue a reburial with social meaning, with the ceremony probably carried out with a public audience. What kind of exact social meaning existed behind reburial activity is archaeologically hard to identify, because there is neither a direct Dynastic analogy nor any contemporary historical records.

For the treatment of human bones, interpretations such as the trace of cannibalism (Petrie and Quibell 1896) or human sacrifice (Hoffman 1979) have been suggested. Petrie's suggestion of cannibalism is no longer tenable, because of the lack of heat traces on human bones, at least in Cemetery T (Hoffman 1979: 116). Hoffman's suggestion of human sacrifice is more adequate when considering the nature of reburial as an opportunity for sharing a community experience (cf. Brown 1995). Participation in the ceremony and sharing this experience affected the family members enough to reconfirm their identity for the genealogy (e.g. Mizoguchi 2005; 2014). In this sense, collective burial – including reburial – has monumentality (cf. Barrett 1990). In summary, a reburial containing numerous objects and several human bodies such as Graves T4 or T5 at Naqada could be understood as the result of human sacrifice. At the Graves T4 or T5, this reburial activity possibly functioned as the display that solidified a social identity or group consciousness. Although Graves T4 or T5 have been considered as evidence for Predynastic 'royal' tombs in previous studies (e.g. Davis 1982; Kaiser and Dreyer 1982; Kemp 1989), the nature of these graves as a site for confirming group social identity should be added to this discourse. Therefore, their characteristic should be considered as a device for sharing an experience and reconfirming the identity of the group of Naqada Culture through the display of ritual, involving the bones of the deceased. Such rituals may also be applied to similar examples in other cemeteries.

Reburial with limited goods and one or two occupants should be considered separately. Although the possibility that such graves involved human sacrifice is conceivable, other explanations should also be considered, such as the result of secondary burial due to the destruction of a primary interment, leaving the human bones exposed. However, several reburial examples in Cemetery N7000 at Naga ed-Dêr did occur with skull removals – such the deposit of Grave N7623X (Naqada IA–IID2) – which can be understood as a typical primary burial in which the removal of the skull to an anatomically disordered position was identified. This type of treatment was sporadic in Naqadan cemeteries (e.g. Tamorri 2017). In such cases, this treatment of the human remains may also have worked as a scaled-down version of a human sacrifice ritual, which can be considered in cases such as Graves T4 or T5 at Naqada. However, the difference between this burial style and reburial practices should be noted. Although the social importance of the ritual is applicable to both burial styles, the timing of this ritual should be concerned. Examples of skull removal can be recognised as an extension or variant

of the typical primary burial, because there are few differences except the lack of a certain body part. Therefore, it can be considered that the ritual relating to skull removal was undertaken during the typical burial process. In contrast, reburial requires an extra stage for flesh desiccation, and ritual here was carried out by collection of the bones. Reburials with only a modest amount of funerary goods are likely scaled-down examples of those with numerous objects. However, it needs to be remembered that not all funerary treatments were related to human sacrificial rituals in which the living participated to share the experience. For example, the treatment of human remains discovered at the HK43 at Hierakonpolis (Jones 2007) was probably carried out before the burial activity.

Therefore, the collective nature of some reburial examples in Naqada Culture strongly indicates the presence of human sacrificial ritual activity, with monumentality inspiring communal memory or group consciousness and identity. Display of the ritual roused these kinds of social recognition. One interesting point is that these reburial practices were limited to the middle Naqada period (especially Naqada II) with the exception of Naga ed-Dêr. The middle of Naqada II is typically considered a turning point, when many social aspects accelerated to create a complex social system. Craft specialisation and object standardisation (e.g. Hendrickx 2011), or consolidation of the 'Proto-Kingdom' (Wilkinson 2000) occurred during this phase. Therefore, while the display during reburial ceremonies was ephemeral, such ceremonies may temporally maintain social ties or orders in such a rapidly changing period. Monumentality of burial and funerary ritual perhaps played a part in this purpose.

In summary, several cases of reburial functioned as an opportunity to make participants in the funeral share a communal experience, and to recall and confirm their social identity. This function is also indicated in the typical primary burial of Naqada Culture, with several instances of burials with minor-scale body re-arrangements.

**Part 2. Display nature of grave in inter sphere: Spatial aspect of the cemetery**

The spatial relationship of the graves also bears consideration, especially for the social groups that used a particular cemetery area (cf. Goldstein 1981). The Naqada cemeteries provide only a few examples which we can use to identify patterns of spatial distribution of graves in relation to the social group. However, some recently excavated examples do give a picture of the genealogical or lineage background that influenced the core of funerary regulation concerning spatial occupation and distribution of graves. As frequently cited, the most obvious Predynastic example is the Cemetery HK43 at Hierakonpolis, which was used between Naqada IIA–B (Friedman et al. 1999). In this cemetery, several graves formed a circular pattern (Friedman et al. 1999: fig. 4). Similar circular distribution was also suggested in Gerzeh (Stevenson 2009). The excavator considered the reason for the patterning in HK43 as the result of spatial usage by a particular group with a common

lineage (Friedman et al. 1999). This point has been reiterated by other researchers (e.g. Campagno 2003). Lineage or descent groups which separately used the disposal area of Cemetery N7000 was also discussed by Savage (1995), whereas his conclusions have been questioned (Delrue 2001). As suggested by Reisner (1936: 2–3), the presence of Predynastic graves was visually recognised in the field because of the soil mound above the grave pit. Traces of a mound were confirmed in the recent excavation at Adaïma (Crubézy et al. 2002). Therefore, for the people of the Naqada Period, it was very easy to find the presence of previous graves in the disposal area. This not only allowed them to avoid previous graves during the construction of new resting places, but also acted as a landmark for forming intentional patterning of the graves. The obvious result is HK43 or Gerzeh. However, within current information on cemetery excavations, clear examples of spatial patterning are limited. The reason for this discrepancy may be revealed in the long history of research of the Naqada Culture. Since about two-thirds of Naqadan cemeteries were excavated prior to the 1950s (Hendrickx and van den Brink 2002), neither the exact location nor chronology of each grave was clearly recorded. This hampers identification of intentional spatial patterning of Naqadan graves. However, later archival research has contributed to the recovery and reconstruction of some excavation records (e.g. Gerzeh). Although obvious alignments were discovered, the spatial usage which formed the clusters of irregular burial type were also found in the cemeteries at Naqada. For example in Cemetery T, the northern area contained grave clusters with irregular burial types such as reburial Graves T4 or T5, or architectural characteristics intended for multiple interments such as Graves T15, T20, T23, or T25. In the latter case, the grave of T15 is unique, since it had solid mud brick outer and inner walls with a corridor (Kemp 1973: fig. 2). Both Graves T23 and T25 have an inside outline profile resembling a 'balance weight' (Kemp 1973: fig. 2). These two graves also had a solid structure of mud-brick in the outer wall. Graves with mud brick i.e. Graves T10 or T20, have also been located in the same northern area of Cemetery T (e.g. Kemp 1973: Fig. 1). It is not surprising that graves with mud brick were more visible for people in the Naqada Period compared to the simple pit grave. This point supports what Petrie identified as a solid vault formed by mud-bricks in T15 (Petrie and Quibell 1896: 24). Therefore, these graves had a more visible superstructure than the pit graves with a simple roof (e.g. Grajetzki 2003; Reisner 1936). Together with the nature of the reburial locale, which required the assembly of people, the northern part of the Cemetery T gave a visual impression as a special place related to these irregular mortuary practices, especially after the Naqada IIB period when this cemetery was most active. As briefly mentioned above, Cemetery T has been considered as the place for the ruling class. The basis of this idea was the high amount and the variety of funerary goods, together with well-equipped architectural characteristics such as mud brick burial structures, and human remains displaying traces of good nutritional condition (e.g. Johnson and Lovell 1994). Although the nature of the Cemetery T as the place for ruling class is not denied, from a ritualistic view, this cemetery possibly demonstrated a specific mortuary function in the society of Naqada. Even though this place

was likely a final resting place for the ruling class, their treatment is highly specialised. Construction characteristics which presupposed repetitive usage perhaps indirectly indicates possession by a certain social group. Since typical Predynastic graves were single-interment and sealed after the burial, this construction is a distinct feature, together with the visible architectural characteristic. In addition to a burial place for the ruling class, it seems possible that their burial ceremonies, carried out in a particular area of the cemetery, stimulated group consciousness and reaffirmed social stratum through reburial, repetitive burial practices, and visual impressions.

In this sense, Cemetery HK6 in Hierakonpolis was the earliest and most unique example in the Naqada Period. HK6, which is located c.2 km away from the current floodplain, was mainly used between Naqada IC–IIB and re-used between Naqada IIIA–C (Friedman 2008). Key discoveries are the graves and related structures in Naqada IC–IIB. In this phase, mortuary complexes with a large grave pit (e.g. Grave 23), or large columned hall (e.g. Structure 7) were clustered in the area whose eastern part was demarcated by a wall structure (e.g. Wall B7). In large graves, traces of several post-holes were discovered around the grave pit, which excavators hypothesised to be the remains of a wood and reed superstructure. Since several fragments of decorated plaster were discovered in Structures 7/8, the excavators also postulated that the superstructure was decorated. In terms of landscape, it is obvious that HK6 had a particular visual impression on the Naqadan people of ancient Nekhen. Based on the common nature of Naqadan graves, which functioned as a visual expression, HK6 was a particularly elaborate case. Since the contemporary cemetery landscape examples at Naqada were the cluster of mounds with perhaps no particular superstructure, the example of HK6 was conspicuous. HK6 was considered by the excavator as the resting place for the people of high social strata or the elite in Hierakonpolis because of the large and elaborate burial complex, and the quality of artefacts, or the presence of dwarf and animal burials. Therefore, the visual impression in the disposal area was highly enhanced by the social stratum in which the buried person was from. In other words, visual impressions in the disposal area were effectively utilised by the elite for the identification of the presence of the cemetery for the community.

As stated above, the nature of display in the cemetery of Naqada Culture functioned to give Naqadan people a visual impression, not only of the disposal area for the dead, but also as a place for recalling the genealogical or lineage connection between the deceased and the living. If the cemetery was for the 'elite', the presence of graves was enhanced by using different architectural characteristics such as usage of mud-bricks or pillars, decoration and so on.

## Concluding remarks: Predynastic burial as a device for display

This paper explored how graves used display during the Naqada Period by focusing on two spheres: the intra and inter spheres of the grave. As can be seen from the above discussions, the grave was used not only for the deceased but also for the living, especially for re-affirming social relationships such as genealogy, lineage or even sodality. In the cemetery, several spheres of display mingled and formed the ideological sphere for the living. Every grave was a device for the mortuary ceremony, and formed a structural entity on the cemetery (or inter) level.

Since this paper focused on the exploration of the nature of display within the gravesite by citing examples in Upper Egyptian mortuary contexts, the discussion presented here is not applicable to the Lower Egyptian Culture, or to the Early Dynastic Period (Naqada IIIC1 onwards). However, this discussion may be a comparative source for considering the nature of display in these contemporary or slightly later counterparts. As noted by C. Hawkes (1954), archaeological inference for theoretical or ideological things is difficult. Therefore, validity and invalidity of the theoretical matter need to be tested and verified through actual archaeological discovery. To embody this theoretical discussion for the matter of Naqada Culture, analysis and interpretation for every cemetery for which the research is feasible is necessary. Further discussion of irregular or minor burials, such as pot-burial, or child burial in a settlement is also sorely needed. Testing the arguments presented in this paper will be a prospect for future research.

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# Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, a Landscape for the Afterlife: Reciprocity in Shaping Life Histories

Antonio Muñoz Herrera

## Introduction

Traditionally, the studies related to Theban tombs have been done according to individual and isolated research. Although these studies provide detailed information about a specific tomb, they do not acknowledge its role within the landscape's context and its relationship with other surrounding tombs. Moreover, little or no attention has been paid to understanding the necropolis as a whole (Porter and Moss 1973; Kampp 1996) or the relationships of the area to the landscape and tomb organization (Wegner 2009; Jiménez-Higueras 2016). The application of techniques and theoretical frameworks which have been used successfully in other fields of archaeology – such as prehistory or medieval studies – can help us reach new perspectives and approaches to the material record of Ancient Egypt. A holistic study of the necropolis in which routes, pathways, mortuary temples, natural elements, social and political status, tomb location and funerary beliefs and practices were interconnected, achieving a more complete approach, is necessary to reach a better understanding of Egyptian society. For this reason, the necropolis should be understood not only via Assmann's (2000: 229–238) three pivotal terms, *Heimat, Grab,* and *Stad*; but also as representing the relationship of the owner with the king and his social roles among these factors. As Halvorson (2003: 3) said, 'a study of the criteria governing the placement of non-royal tombs is critical to understand the development of the necropolis and the socio-economic values and political factors that affected Theban society and Egyptian funerary religion at the time'; because tombs represented the crucial focus of belonging in Egypt (Assmann 2000: 229).

In this context, post-processual archaeology and landscape archaeology acquire particular importance within our archaeological interpretations. Landscape archaeology was born with the New Archaeology, but its methodology was based only on ecological aspects, using the application of systematic approaches or logical and functional interpretations of the archaeological record. That approach resulted in most of the studies explaining the location of settlements as a result of rational decisions, such as topography, weather, demography or 'commercial' networks (Soler Segura 2007: 49). However, with the rise of new theoretical frameworks, landscape archaeology widened its scope (Hodder 1982: 186–217; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 130–134; Patrik 2000: 130–131). All the scholars cited above have been working on new interpretations of the role of landscape within ancient societies and they have, at least, five points in common (Soler Segura 2007: 50):

- Landscape is a critical identifier of a society.
- Landscape is a fundamental agent within the comprehension of the historical process.
- Experience or perception are concepts that have been introduced within landscape interpretation.
- Visibility, landscape rationality or elements of cohesion are more relevant when interpreting archaeological sites.
- The materiality problem in archaeological record has been overcome.

The concept of landscape has for academics a semantic ambiguity (Ingold 1997: 29). The Western world considers the concept 'landscape' as a visual term, something that exists outside of ourselves. However, ethnographic studies have demonstrated how different cultures have different conceptions and relations with their environment (Thomas 2001: 174). For instance, landscape was for many ancient communities a place of memories because, as Bender (1999: 36) says: 'The continued use of places through time, draws attention to the historically constituted connections which exist between members of a community'. This construction is created through links with ancestors together with the history, monuments and landscapes of that community (Yoffee 2007: 4). Memory and oversight are two elements that assemble society, and it is here when landscape appears because practices of remembering or forgetting can only be done through sets of actions and performance within a space (Meskell 2007: 224). Building memory as a concept is related to the need to comprehend one's own present and is used as an element of legitimation: 'the use of the past in the past' (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 1). In words of Le Goff (1992: 97–98): 'Collective memory is one of the great stakes of developed and developing societies, of dominated and dominating classes, all of them struggling for power or for life, for survival and advancement'. In this way, places, meanings and memories create a sense of place: a landscape (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 5).

Within this concept, the places with more meaning – symbolic and physical – are probably cemeteries. The construction of cemeteries aims to defeat death for individuals, acting as a contribution both for denying the end of physical existence and also as a point of connection with the living community (Richards 2005: 61–62). As Meskell (2007: 219) points out, 'the performative element of building a space is powerful. The spatial specificity of urbanism is investigated as fully lived space, a simultaneously real and imagined, actual and virtual *locus* of structured individual and collective experience and agency'. Moreover, this symbolic meaning of being buried in a specific place has multiple interpretations. For instance, groups of descendants or family members use such spaces to maintain ongoing disposal areas for the dead (Saxe 1970: 119; Goldstein 1981). Furthermore, the fact that a big cluster of people chose a place to be buried together causes different levels of social

involvement and indicates different grades within social structure (Tainter 1978: 125).[1] Thus, in this context, social differentiation could increase in parallel with the complexity of society (Binford 1971).

For that reason, this research aims to unify the great archaeological record and textual data that Ancient Egyptian society left us, using new theoretical approaches to allow a wider vision of Ancient Egyptian behaviour and belief. It is not about substituting material record, but rather integrating it within wider interpretations.

The Theban Necropolis is a very suitable place to carry out this kind of research, because West Bank was invested with meaning due to its mortuary association, its temples and its rituals. It contained the sites of sacred events, and these places were conferred huge cosmological and mythic significance, making reference to symbolically potent features of the natural topography. It was a sacred geography known as *'memnonia*. Therefore, it is necessary to study this necropolis as a whole, since landscape plays a significant role in its development, in order to have a good comprehension of related funerary beliefs.

The case of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna is a clear example of how a site became a collective memory monument over 2000 years. For this reason, it is useful to study this area not only through its wonderful tombs, but also through its role within the whole necropolis; understanding the necropolis as a holistic element which was shaped by people and vice versa. Thus, this area has been chosen for my analysis, which will be carried out not only based on the physical features of the hill and tombs, but also based on their symbolic meaning.

**General overview**

In order to have a better understanding of the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, it is useful to analyse it in general terms. This pie chart (Figure 1) shows the percentage of tombs based on absolute numbers of tombs per reign. The main feature to point out is that the major development was carried out during the central reigns of the dynasty, the first five kings barely arriving to 5% of the total. It was during the reign of Hatshepsut (10%) and especially with Thuthmosis III (31%), Amenhotep II (14%) and Thuthmosis IV (16%) when the hill experienced the larger growth. The next two kings

1 In Sheikh Abd el-Qurna it is possible to find two large grave clusters: the family of Ametu and Ineni and the military sphere (Shirley 2008; 2010).

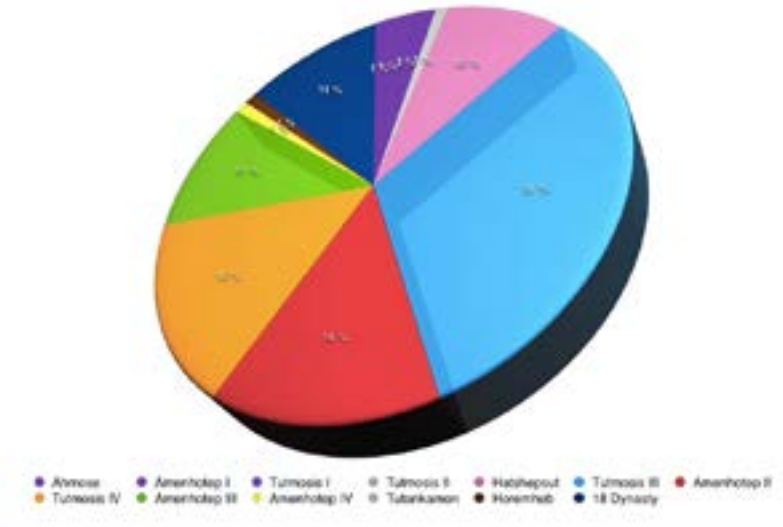


*Figure 1. Percentage of tombs at Sheik Abd el-Qurna per reign.*

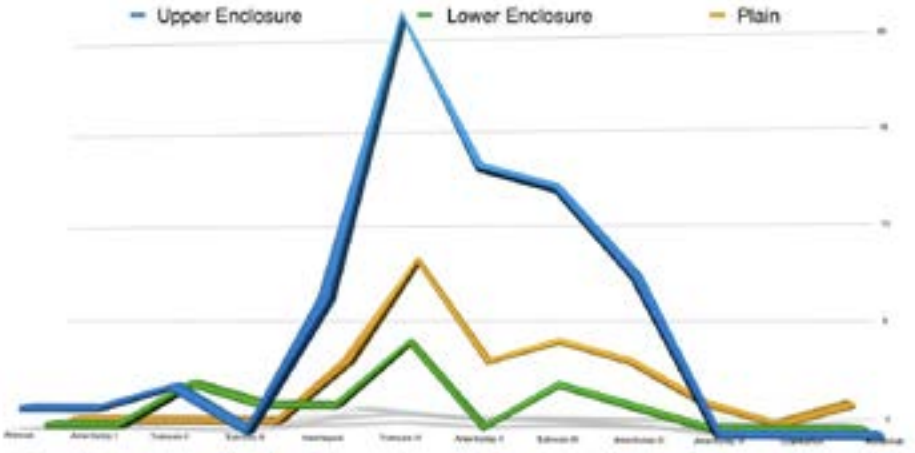



*Figure 2. Development of tombs per area and king.*

(Amenhotep II and Thuthmosis IV) maintained a steady growth, while a continuous decrease begun with Amenhotep.

By applying this analysis to each area of the hill, it is possible to achieve a comprehensive vision of the general evolution (Figure 2). In the first part of the dynasty, during the first reigns, the three areas are more or less at the same level of development. However, from the reign of Hatshepsut, the upper enclosure experienced some growth, standing out from the other two areas. The lower enclosure had a stable development across the whole dynasty, while the plain peaked during the reign of Thutmosis III (as the upper enclosure) before a progressive decrease. The upper enclosure witnessed a more contracted tomb construction, with a great development in a short period of time but also a very fast decrease during the last part of the dynasty. We can identify the upper enclosure as the main burial area during the whole dynasty (Figure 2).

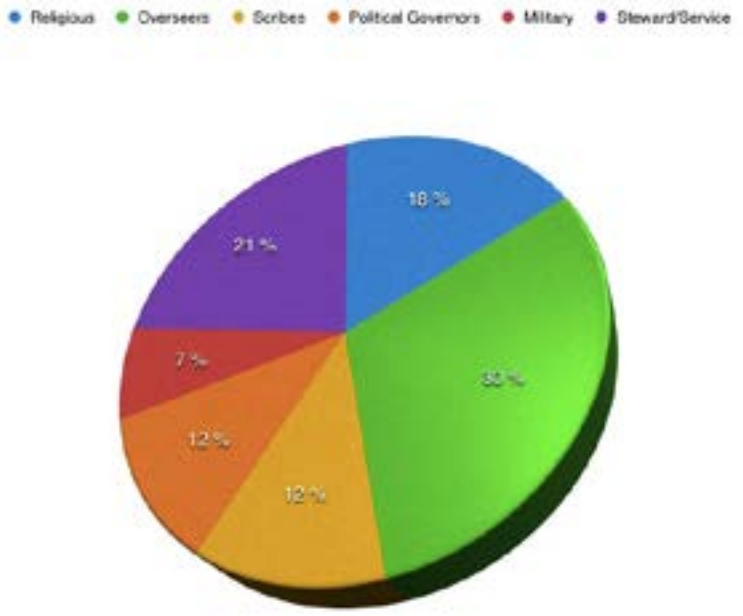



*Figure 3. Types of titles at Sheik Abd el-Qurna.*

Another important factor that might have influenced the location and the type of tombs could be the status of the owner. 72 different titles can be identified during the 18th Dynasty. Among them, three are most prevalent: there were five First Priests of Amon, five Governors of the Town and Viziers and four Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. Administrative titles have a greater presence – 54% in total – but they are distributed between scribes (12%), overseers (30%) and politicians (Viceroys, Viziers and Governor of town) (12%). Conversely, religious titles (18%) represent a big cluster within the area, with First and Second Priests of Amun represented. Thus, at least two of the most powerful titles during the New Kingdom, one religious and one administrative – Viziers and High Priests of Amon– are represented in this area of the necropolis. Therefore, during the 18th Dynasty, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna was the place high officials preferred for their burials (Figure 3).

## Landscape Archaeology

### *The place and its geology*

The hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna is located to the south of Deir el-Bahari, named after the shrine built at its top by a Muslim saint (Halvorson 2003: 8). The hill is traditionally divided into three different areas: the upper enclosure, lower enclosure and plain (Porter and Moss 1973: 1.1). It is the most densely occupied area of the necropolis; there are more than 140 tombs from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period (Manzi 2012). The hill is over a plateau 174m high, oriented West-South-West/East-North-East, and it is completely isolated, surrounded by wadis and other small hills, with most tombs located in its southern face (Halvorson 2003: 9).

Sheikh Abd el-Qurna has been chosen for this research because it was the main site in which funerary beliefs were expressed at the beginning of the New Kingdom. Its shape and its location around a central natural element might have played a key role in the subsequent development of the rest of the necropolis.

One factor to take into account is the natural composition of the rock. The construction possibilities, its localization and the tomb's placement depend on its quality. The hill is formed of tilted blocks, with a slipped base. The tilted blocks are formed by the first four units of limestone. Underneath, the basal layers and part of the limestone have alterations of the Esna's shale. Although there are intercalations of marls, it is possible to recognise a variety of limestone more or less rich in flint. All this mass is supported by limestone of Tarawan and it is visible at the foot of the slopes towards the alluvial plain. It is possible to recognise some good construction spots on the hill, with homogeneous limestone, absence of fractures, etc. However, there are also some places that risk collapse or partial destruction after the digging (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014: 262–266).

Nevertheless, the choice of good layers of rock by high officials for their tombs was not decisive for the tombs' location (Figure 4). The most crowded part of the hill, the southern area, has several fractures and the quality of the rock was deficient (Theban limestone 2–3). This is the area where the high officials were buried during the reign of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. Other factors were apparently more important when choosing the placement of tombs. Focusing on the quality of the rock, the best section would be the lower enclosure and the plain (Tarawan limestone) or the very upper part of the hill. However, in these areas we only find lower officials or Middle Kingdom tombs. There is no room for doubt that the quality of the rock was not a decisive factor and other elements motivated the choice of placement.

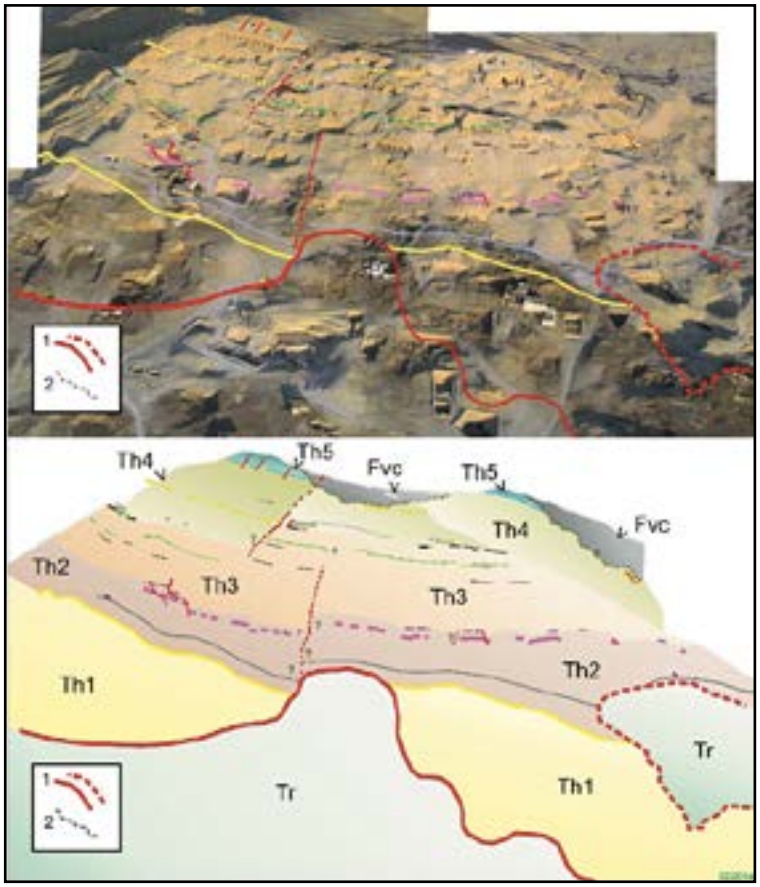



*Figure 4. Geological formation of Sheik Abd el-Qurna (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014, 282).*

***Processional paths and routes***

One of the main factors that shaped the Theban necropolis landscape and Ancient Egyptian society more generally was everything related to festivities (Manniche 2003: 44). During the year, ancient Egyptians celebrated festivals for many reasons: funerary, religious, related to kingship, etc. Funerary rituals and festivities were, certainly, a decisive factor of tomb placement because, as Meskell argues (2003: 47) 'these festivities acted as mnemonic devices that shared two key features: formalism and performativity [...], an explicit reference to prototypical historical or mythological persons and events, and the use of ritual of re-enactment'. This was crucial to shape a communal memory, because during the festivals all the participants returned to the archetypical truth of their religion and shared the same values. They transformed these festivities as part of their existence and therefore, set their place of life as community and as individuals (Bleeker 1967: 24). Moreover, all these performances took place within a space that was shaped by the community, the celebration and vice versa. Landscape was also a mental space, because mental spaces always have material referents – monuments that keep and shape communal memory (Meskell 2003: 48). Landscape, together with the performance, created the possibility of representing the past, present and future in the same space and at the same moment.

In order to acknowledge this last fact, this paper uses a holistic approach to landscape. In every space human civilization has inhabited, there is a relation between the real life and its metaphysic and idealized conception (Hirsch 1995: 3). It is important to take the concept of 'landscape' as a symbolic construction, a reference system including different activities that have a sense within a community (Daniels and Cosgrove 2000: 1). As Thomas (2001: 173) argues, 'Landscape is a network of related places, which have gradually been revealed through people's habitual activities and interactions, through the closeness and affinity that they have developed for some locations and through the important events, festivities, calamities [...] causing them to be remembered or incorporated into stories'. Place is a relational concept because it contains events and specific locations which people expect to find. It is not a place by itself, but the place of something (Heidegger 1962: 136).

At this respect, it is possible to identify two points regarding processional ways in Theban necropolis landscapes: one in the East Bank, an axis linking the temple of Karnak with the temple of Mut and the temple of Luxor in the South. This processional way was dedicated to the Opet Festival.[2] The second point is in the West Bank and is associated with the cult at the temples of Deir el-Bahari.

The second way types are festival routes. Three main axes can be identified: the first two, related to the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, connected the temple of Karnak with Deir el-Bahari; and the temple of Amenhotep III with the temple of Luxor (Graefe 2002). Another perpendicular way through

2 See *Opetfest* in Murname (1982).

the West Bank linked these routes to complete the tour (Wolf 1931). The third axis, located in the southern part of the necropolis, connected the temple of Luxor and the early temple of Medinet Habu. This festival route was associated with the Festival of the Decade.

These two kinds of routes modified the landscape, but modern analyses have recently incorporated new information into our vision of the Theban necropolis. These elements are the water routes and the harbours. Through the application of the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and Resistivity Tomography (ERT), a group of researchers directed by Dr. A. Graham (Graham *et al.* 2013; 2014), have analysed parts of the West Bank and have found and confirmed three harbours: one at the entrance of Deir el-Bahari, the second close to the funerary temple of Thutmosis III and another in the funerary temple of Amenhotep III Moreover, the hypothesis raised by Cabrol (2001: 653) in which a main canal should traverse the West Bank along the funerary temples, may be confirmed by this work, since they have found remains of a channel of the river – a canal – in front of the funerary temple of Amenhotep III. These discoveries contribute to our understanding of human interaction with the landscape, and how landscape and society shape each other in reciprocity.

**Distribution analysis**

Tombs distribution might have an important role in identifying patterns in the development of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna as part of the sacred landscape of the necropolis. Two main cluster analysis will be presented in this section in order to have a better comprehension of the development of the

*Figure 5. Upper enclosure: Tombs' distribution by reign (after Kampp 1996).*

hill: one related to the historical development of the necropolis per reign, showing how the area was progressively occupied through the 18th Dynasty; and another cluster explaining tombs distribution according to the main title of the owner.

***Distribution by reign***

The real chronological development of the hill began during the early 18th Dynasty (figures 1 and 5). The first tombs of the 18th Dynasty are located in the upper enclosure and they surround TT 60, one of the finest Middle Kingdom tombs in the area; it was the only one decorated and belonged to Antekofer. Moreover, the tomb of Antekofer was a centre of devotion during the New Kingdom, based on the graffiti of this period (Ragazzoli 2013). The intentional link with the Middle Kingdom was not only reflected in the proximity of these tombs, but also in the copying of their architectural elements. New Kingdom Egyptians sometimes even occupied Middle Kingdom tombs with a revised structure.

Nevertheless, systematic occupation of the hill began during the reign of Hatshepsut (figs 1 and 6). The tombs of her officials are located in the northeast sector. The cluster of tombs creates a circle within the hill but there is not a clear pattern of distribution. All tombs are on the same area but in different heights.

Throughout the reign of Thutmosis III, the hill was overcrowded. The officials occupied the central edge of the upper enclosure and a big part of the plain. A large cluster is located in the centre of the upper enclosure. Without a doubt, the tombs of this reign had better visibility and location on the hill. Between the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III, the hill, almost empty previously, was occupied and the best places were chosen. However, the tombs in the main cluster are very close to each other, most of them in layers of very bad quality rock, implying that being buried there had a direct link with high social status (Karlshausen and Dupuis 2014: 273). Moreover, the location of these tombs had a big influence in later development.

During the reign of Amenhotep II the central stretch of the hill was completely occupied; the main cluster of tombs is placed on the southeast sector of the hill. At that moment, this part of the hill was the only one still completely empty and contemporary officials decided to occupy it. It is interesting that at least until this moment the favourite part was the central stretch of the upper enclosure. There are occasional examples in the plain or in the lower enclosure, but they are very isolated.

Under Thutmosis IV it is again possible to identify two distribution patterns. The top of the hill, along the edge, was one of the main burial areas during this period. On the other hand, the other favourite

*Figure 6. Upper enclosure: Tombs' distribution by title (after Kampp 1996).*

area was the northeast sector. Tombs were placed in a line on the edge of the upper enclosure, between Hatshepsut's high officials' tombs. At this moment, the focus changed as they were probably looking for space in the hill, and there was a move north-east.

It is possible to conclude that occupation during the 18th Dynasty begun in the hill's centre, in clear connection with the Middle Kingdom tombs. After the reign of Hatshepsut, occupation was systematically carried out from the northeast area to the southeast, occupying first the central stretch and finally, the top edge of the hill.

### *Distribution by title*

The analysis of the tombs' distribution by title provides a better comprehension of the development of the hill and allows us to discern which factors influencing tombs' placement.

Overseers and religious officials dominate the central part of the upper enclosure (Figure 6), whilst military officers were located in the southeast part of the hill. The location of the titles related to the political positions is striking; they were located along a line to the middle of the upper enclosure. Scribes appear more in the northeast area.

While in the central area nearly all the owners were connected to the Amon domain, the northeast area of the hill had more temple administrators and priests. In this last area, we can find high officials

from the reign of Hatshepsut in addition. In the south and central area, it is possible to find the most powerful contemporary people (Bavay 2010: 25). The High Priest of Amon, the Viziers and the High military officials were placed in this sector. Thus, the high military, religious and political elite were intentionally buried together. Thus tombs localization is both chronological and by status. The hypothesis of Helck (Helck 1962: 225–243) in which the placement of the tombs during the reigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II was related to the location of the funerary temples, can be, at least partially, rejected. Apparently, location was more related to power connections than visibility or links with funerary temples.

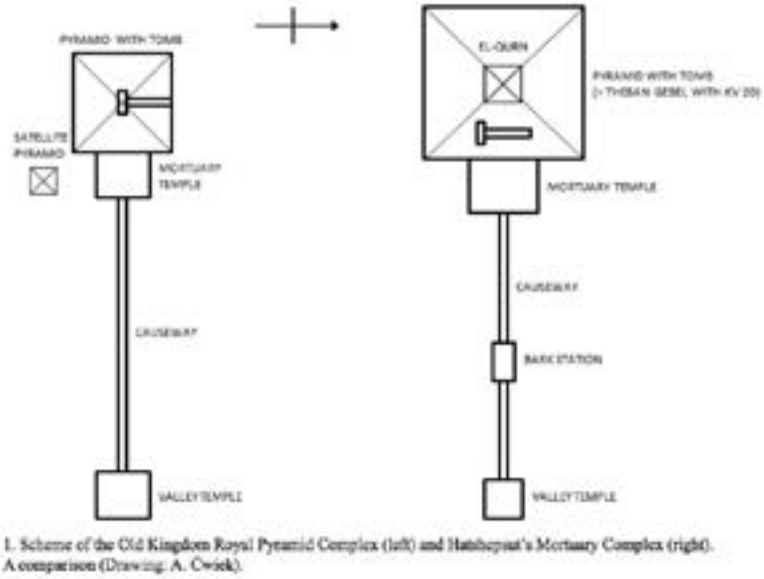
## Holistic/Semiotic landscape

As discussed earlier, landscape is the space shaped by a society and vice versa; it is a symbolic construction. As a symbolic construction, landscape contains different meanings and interpretations. The 'Materialization of memory' (Meskell 2003: 39), or how landscape is the transmitter of the collective memory of people who transformed it, is one of its main features. Another feature could be legitimation, the way in which one uses landscape as an element to reinforce oneself or one's interests. This legitimation often came from the past, the link with a glorious past creating a sense of legitimacy (Jiménez-Higueras 2016: 18). It can be achieved similarly through archaism. This is a common element in Egyptian history – their art, buildings and beliefs gradually developing, always looking back to their past. Reuse or usurpation was also a way to connect with the past, or in words of Einaudi (2008: 61), 'the usurpation was a system of reviving the past, appropriating it, and creating a dialogue with the present'. Sheikh Abd el-Qurna is a good example of this, as demonstrated by this research, with the intentional link between New Kingdom and Middle Kingdom tombs. Moreover, its size and shape should have been important in some way for the development of the necropolis. As it has been seen, the boom of tomb construction coincided with the reign of Hatshepsut onwards (Figure 1). Therefore, in order to know the role of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the necropolis' development, it is necessary to understand the influence of Hatshepsut.

### *Semiotic role of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna*

If there was a reign focused on its connection with the glorious past and demonstrating significant levels of archaism, it was the reign of Hatshepsut. The placement of her funerary temple in Deir el-Bahari was seeking a connection with the cult of Hathor and also with Mentuhotep II (Bietak 2013: 134; Laboury 2013: 15). In fact, the temple's terraces were a clear analogy of Mentuhotep's temple (Einaudi 2008: 56). The use of pyramid texts as decoration is also a clear reference to ancient art and

a connection with the past. The temple's courtyard referred to the 5th Dynasty royal mortuary temple at Abusir (Cwiek 2014: 65).




1. Scheme of the Old Kingdom Royal Pyramid Complex (left) and Hatshepsut's Mortuary Complex (right). A comparison (Drawing: A. Cwiek).

*Figure 7. Old Kingdom complex scheme (left) and Hatshepsut's mortuary complex proposed by Cwiek (Cwiek 2014, 68).*

However the significant link of Hatshepsut with the Theban necropolis and its development is their spatial relation. Mentuhotep II built his funerary temple and his tomb together. In contrast, Hatshepsut created a scheme which likely deliberately connected with the Old Kingdom funerary complexes,. It has been traditionally argued that Hatshepsut is one of the earliest pharaohs to separate the tomb and the funerary temple but it might not be true. In opinion of Cwiek (2014: 67–69), the tomb and the funerary temple (*ḏsr-ḏsrw*) shared the same space, referring to the pyramid complexes of the Old Kingdom as a metaphor. Her tomb was inside the mountain – which played the role of the pyramid because of its shape – and her temple was located on the East face of the 'pyramid'. Moreover, from the funerary temple she built a processional causeway with a Kiosk for the bark station and the valley temple at the end of it (Figure 7). In this sense, Hatshepsut followed the Old Kingdom scheme: Pyramid tomb – Upper temple – Causeway – Valley temple.

It is possible to find parallels of this scheme during the Middle Kingdom. Wegner's (2009) study of the tomb complex of Senwosret III at Abydos demonstrates the use of the mountain as a natural pyramid with a subterranean tomb, a funerary enclosure just close to the mountain acting as an offering temple and a mortuary temple just on the edge of the floodplain (Wegner 2009: 106–108). Moreover, there is a clear parallel between the plan of Senwosret III and Hatshepsut's tomb at Kings' Valley (Wegner 2009 139–140).

Thus, Hatshepsut would have transformed the necropolis into a whole funerary complex of her own. Furthermore, the use of the spatial relation between Deir el-Bahari and Karnak – they share the same axis – sought the same connection visible in Old Kingdom pyramid complexes and Heliopolis; the funerary world in the West and the religious centre to the East side of the Nile (Cwiek 2014:

*Figure 8. Hatshepsut's complex hypothesis (in red) with the new feature added (in blue) (Photo google earth).*

69). Thus, Hatshepsut had a double connection with the past: a connection with the Old Kingdom through its funerary complex and with the Middle Kingdom through its decorative motifs and architectural elements.

But the question remains: what was the role of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in this process? If we take the hypothesis of Cwiek as correct, then the hill of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna could have played a significant role. As we already know, tombs construction in this area increased significantly during the reign of Hatshepsut (Figure 1). However, what Cwiek did not take into consideration was the mastaba complex that is usually associated with pyramidal complexes of the Old Kingdom. The hypothesis presented here is that it is possible to find this in the Theban Necropolis – and it is Sheikh Abd el-Qurna. Its mastaba shape, now eroded , played a role in the necropolis development. It is placed on the southern side of the complex (Figure 8), as in the Old Kingdom complexes. In addition, its importance was assigned when Hatshepsut created her funerary complex. Why would high officials not want to participate in this creation? We would have the connection of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna with the funerary complex of Hatshepsut and therefore with the Old Kingdom. However, Hatshepsut also made a connection with Middle Kingdom tradition. Did they do the same at Sheikh Abd el-Qurna? Apparently yes. It is vital to remember that the early 18th Dynasty tombs in Sheikh Abd el-Qurna were constructed around TT 60 (Figure 6), which was the most important Middle Kingdom tomb in the complex and a centre of worship and devotion as ascertained by New Kingdom graffiti (Ragazzoli 2013). Moreover, these early tombs tried to imitate Middle Kingdom architectural features and even occupied Middle Kingdom tombs. During the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III tombs were placed near this area. Thus, the intentional connection with the Middle Kingdom seems clear.

To sum up, it is possible to conclude that the true importance of Sheikh Abd el-Qurna might have been born by its role as part of the funerary complex built by Hatshepsut. Its mastaba shape, its position within the complex and the great visibility that it offered, made this natural element a perfect area for burials. The hill was connected with Old Kingdom tradition, as well as the Middle Kingdom through the important tombs preserved from that period. Once the hill was considered a legitimisation element and a place of materialization of memory, construction activity increased exponentially during the next reigns, as my article has demonstrated.

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