

CONTINUITY, DISCONTINUITY AND CHANGE

**ADAPTATION STRATEGIES OF INDIVIDUALS AND COMMUNITIES IN EGYPT AT
TIMES OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TRANSFORMATIONS**

ABSTRACTS

FACULTY OF ARTS, CHARLES UNIVERSITY, PRAGUE

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**DECORATED BURIAL CHAMBERS OF THE OLD KINGDOM:
THEIR BEGINNING AND EVOLUTION**

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The recently uncovered tomb of Rashepses north of Netjerykhet's pyramid complex at Saqqara and the discovery of Khuwy's tomb at Djedkare's royal cemetery at south Saqqara opened a new possibility to study two early examples of decorated burial chambers. Studying these two late Fifth Dynasty examples in the wider context of the Old Kingdom period, we can try to trace changes of the burial customs that resulted in the beginning of the decorated burial chambers in non-royal tombs (and Pyramid Texts in the royal tombs). The following period, until the late Old Kingdom, witnessed the continuity of this concept and the gradual formalisation of the chambers' decoration. The paper will discuss several stages of the development of the decorated burial chambers, including the late Fifth Dynasty, early Sixth Dynasty and late Old Kingdom examples.

PARAPHERNALIA OF THE “DIVINE” OFFERINGS

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Ancient Egyptian shrines were not only meeting points with the sacred and key places of cult and religion, but also one of the hallmarks of ancient Egyptian culture and its particular “visual archetypes”. This statement however concerns the stone-made, decorated and frequently better preserved parts of individual sanctuaries, rather than their magazines and ancillary buildings. The latter are frequently less well preserved and/or excavated and not so visually appealing, but they are key for understanding the functional and economic background of individual temples and hence might be indicators of particular economic, political, administrative and religious transformations.

The focus of this paper is on the interpretation and contextualization (temporal and spatial) of magazines and ancillary buildings in the best preserved royal funerary and divine temples initiated by Senwosret III (Ezbet Rushdi, Medamud, Dahshur and Abydos South). Both, royal complexes and early formal divine temples, can be perceived – just as the Middle Kingdom in its entirety – as a sort of transition stage from old to new – New Kingdom and later – forms. At the same time, analysing both royal and divine sanctuaries enable one to pinpoint what other temple components, besides the sanctuaries, were specifically impacted by royal patronage and policies and in which manner.

The aims of this paper are: 1) To identify the main elements of storage and other ancillary facilities and to interpret their particular distribution patterns; 2) To contextualize these in space and time, by comparing the presence/absence/form/location of the elements identified in Senwosret’s sanctuaries with those detected in selected earlier, contemporary and later royal and divine temples; 3) To provide an answer the question: What types of modification can be discerned in the given material, what is their relevance for temple operations and what particular circumstances might be behind the concrete adaptations and modifications?

FLIPPING ICONOGRAPHIC UNITS IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS: THE SAME BUT DIFFERENT

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Copies of visual representations from one tomb-chapel to another in the private Theban Necropolis are abundant. The “intericonic” relationships that they share with their respective model(s), including external sources, form a wide web that constitute a large part of the private Theban iconographic repertoire. From the image reception standpoint, one can distinguish among them mere instantiations of iconographic models unrelated to specific monuments from what I proposed to define as “identifying-copies” (Den Doncker 2017). These identifying-copies carry an implicit yet strong reference to the original owner of their model; this reference operating only in the eyes of a certain targeted knowledgeable audience. Albeit the conspicuous similarities between copies and models, painters (on behalf of patrons?) often produced noticeable structural transformations. These changes were presumably meaningful. Among them, the process of image inversion seems to have been commonly used, probably as a way to conform to the model and make new in the same time. The presentation will focus on this specific habit, which the Theban painters developed, with the aim to understand the intentions behind and think about the relation to past models from a broader ideological perspective.

**PRIVATE PATRONAGE IN NEW KINGDOM TOMB PRODUCTION AND THE TRANSMISSION OF
ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIFS AND SCENE DETAILS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE MEMPHITE NECROPOLIS THROUGH THE AMARNA
PERIOD**

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By exploring the patronage system that commissioned the private tomb structures in the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis at Saqqara, this study aims to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the commissioning patrons and artists who were employed to construct and decorate monumental elite tombs. The hundreds of tombs that once dotted the Memphite New Kingdom necropolis are now largely lost. Early 19th century explorers of the site removed large quantities of inscribed and decorated elements from the funerary structures. These items are today housed in countless museum collections around the world. This has led to a paradoxical situation where the Saqqara New Kingdom necropolis exists mainly outside ancient Memphis. Archaeological excavations in the last few decades have contributed significantly to a growing knowledge of the site, which allows us to increasingly study the tombs and their iconographic programmes in spatial context, and to study the landscape development through time. This study looks into the continuity, discontinuity and change in the iconographic programmes of a select number of late Eighteenth Dynasty tombs through the Amarna period by focusing on specific iconographic motifs and scene details, and by tracing their transmission through time and space. The Saqqara necropolis will be taken out of isolation, to be viewed in relation to two of the kingdom's major contemporary necropolis sites, at Amarna and Thebes.

THE TOMBS OF AMARNA – ADAPTATION OR REVOLUTION?

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Amarna art has an exceptional position in Egyptian history; it is perceived as revolutionary. This paper looks at the decoration of the tombs of officials buried at Tell el-Amarna with the motivation to examine how different their decoration was from previous periods. It shows how the chapels were adapted to the new reality. How previous motifs were used, reinterpreted, imitated and composed into new scenes. The question of whether the Amarna tombs had the same functions as the Theban tombs is also addressed.

FINDING A NEW BALANCE
NON-ROYAL TOMBS OF THE POST-AMARNA PERIOD IN WESTERN THEBES

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The paper gives an overview on the development in the Theban necropolis from the reign of Tutankhamun to Horemheb and investigates non-royal funerary monuments with regard to the social status of owners, their location in the necropolis, and the architecture of the cult chapels. The part on the tomb decoration focuses on a selected group of tombs built shortly after the Amarna period. These cult chapels exhibit iconographic programs, which rely on a traditional image on the one hand, but also integrate new concepts and even precise Amarna motifs. Particularly the compositorial layout of some walls appears to be influenced by the Amarna period, while at the same time precise image quotations link the tombs to pre-Amarna neighbours. Funerary sculpture likewise attests traditional Theban forms but, apart from that also certain shifts. In particular, the preserved free-standing statues appear to be another indicator for strong bonds of most of the tomb owners to Amun cults and temple administration.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 25, 2021

**SED FESTIVAL WISHES AND ROYAL ANNALS
A SHORT-LIVED INNOVATION UNDER THE REIGNS OF HATSHEPSUT AND TUTHMOSIS III AND
ITS LATER EVOLUTIONS**

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The double reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is marked by two kings sharing the same throne. The very layout of the scenes and the phraseology employed therein, which were usually normative and repetitive, are now frequently tweaked to integrate two officiants or to express the uniqueness of two royal beings. Such an innovation in connection with the wishes of Sed festivals and the writing of royal names and annals is attested by several scenes, especially a well-preserved set of four scenes in the “Northern Storerooms” of Thutmose III within the Temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak. The analysis of this theme, which seems to have been reworked and condensed into a single scene shortly after, sheds light on both iconography and texts of later scenes of “receiving the jubilee”, which are frequently attested from the Ramesside to the Ptolemaic period.

GIFTS AND GREETINGS
MATERIAL ASPECTS OF EGYPTIAN DIPLOMACY IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE SECOND
MILLENNIUM BC

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It is the written and iconographic sources that provide us with the most information about the material aspects of diplomatic relations between Egypt and the other Great Powers of the ancient Near East in the Late Bronze Age. In this regard, scholars often focus on the evidence provided by the Amarna letters (14th century BC), but leave aside data provided by other cuneiform sources of Egyptian origin, i.e. the Ramesside correspondence (13th century BC), as well as sources intended for a domestic audience, i.e. mainly iconographic sources from non-royal tombs. The aim of this paper is to provide a diachronic perspective on this topic and to identify and evaluate the main material tools of Egyptian diplomacy during the Late Bronze Age.

**COPING IN LATE RAMESSIDE THEBES:
SUNDRY OBSERVATIONS ON ASPECTS OF ELITE REPRESENTATION IN THEBAN TOMB 65**

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The late Ramesside period is habitually envisioned as one of waning surface opulence that hardly masked an underlying political, social, and economic crises-induced decay. The awareness of these crises by the Twentieth Dynasty Theban elite headed by the high priestly family of Ramessesnakht, however is difficult to discern not only due to these being by their very nature of varying forms and intensities, but also because of the different perceptual position of contemporaries and posterity. Whether expressing individual or collective experience, elite response then should be sought for and recognized as a filtered set of elements conveyed by textual and pictorial carriers or media. One context of these are the mortuary monuments of said elite where the concern for elite self-perpetuation is most explicitly put on display. To establish some of the basic features involved the example provided by Theban Tomb 65 shall be utilized.

**LARGE LATE PERIOD SHAFT TOMBS AT ABUSIR
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE (A CASE STUDY)**

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The large shaft tombs at Abusir have apparently been constructed during a rather short period of time (certainly not exceeding a generation) and, most probably, by one and the same group of architects, workmen and artists. According to the present knowledge, moreover, their owners seem to have been related to each other in some or other way. In spite of that, those structures display a remarkable number of differences in their layout, in the decoration of their burial chambers and even in such a fundamental feature as the orientation of the mummy of the deceased. While some changes in the construction details can easily be explained as an outcome of the growing experience in the building process, other differences (concerning, e.g., variations in the decoration of the burial chambers or the general orientation of the tomb) can only result from a deliberate decision of those who commissioned those monuments (including perhaps their owners as well). The paper enumerates the differences among the large shaft tombs at Abusir and tries to find their motivation.

HOLDING THE LAPWING
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN DEPICTIONS OF THE KING AND CHILD DEITIES

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Depictions of the king holding a lapwing become a feature of Egyptian temple decoration during the reign of Thutmose IV. This iconography is commonly found in conjunction with scenes relating to the divine kingship of the pharaoh, such as presentations by deities of the crook and flail, *hps*-sword, crowns, and jubilees. While depictions of the *king* holding the lapwing disappear after the reign of Darius I, they are replaced by *child deities* doing so instead. This study brings together 98 attestations, presented as a catalogue: 24 of the king holding a lapwing and 74 of a variety of child deities doing likewise. Almost all are located on temple walls, with a small number found on objects instead. The iconography is closely associated with the legitimation of royal and hereditary succession, the overarching theme of all depictions of the king or child deity holding lapwings. Thus, though the change in the subject holding the lapwing may appear to be a dramatic shift, there is a clear continuity in the interpretation of the iconography.

**FROM RITUAL TO ROLE DESCRIPTION?
CONTINUITY, DISCONTINUITY, AND CHANGE IN TEMPLE DEPICTIONS OF ROYAL AND
DIVINE SUCKLING**

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The suckling of the king by a goddess remains a royal ritual throughout the pharaonic time, largely unchanged in meaning and context and with only slight alterations in its iconography. It endows the king with the necessary qualities and legitimises him to rule over Egypt. It also ensures continuous renewal of the royal powers. It is from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty onwards, presumably in reaction to the foreign rulers in Egypt, that the child god gradually replaces the king in this ritual, retaining the iconography, until the earthly ruler disappears completely by the Roman period at the latest. It is then through the child god as a mediator that the king continues to participate in the effects associated with the suckling. In addition, the motif of the child god's suckling also develops from a performative act into a vignette or an attribute that visualises a mythological motif or the role of one of the two deities involved – the mother goddess or the suckled child – and which also prefers a different iconography, only rarely used for the king. The original function of suckling, on the other hand, can be continued in milk offerings that the king makes to the gods.

Thus, although the motif of suckling survives from the Old Kingdom to the Roman period and also maintains, at least partially, its ritual function and iconography, at the same time it is altered with respect to its main protagonist, the suckling, and is also used in a new function, while the purpose is continued in a new form of expression (the milk offering).

BOW AND ARROW AS PROTECTIVE FORCES FOR THE SUN GOD

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In the temple of Esna, the goddess Neith is understood as a manifestation of the demiurge. The “Cosmogony of Neith” is famous for describing the creation of the world from that perspective. In this frame, Neith is the mother of the Sun God (Ra) in the Primaeval Ocean (Nun) and protects her son against his enemies like Apopis by means of her central attributes ever since: bow and arrows. No wonder, hence, that this kind of weaponry plays a vital role in the Latopolitan theology. Forming part of the description of Neith’s central festival on Epiphi 13, even an invocation of the bow and arrow exists. Looking closer on this delicate oeuvre it not only becomes clear that a parallel is present in the Edfu temple (in a different, albeit similar context) but also that the general idea we are told of in those invocations is known already from the Pyramid Texts onwards. In the talk I will try to show how the idea of bow and arrow as protecting devices for the Sun God was used and adapted for the different contexts and, for this reason, slightly changed over time.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 26, 2021

“FINDING THE GODS OF EGYPT”

**THE MOTIF OF ‘BRINGING HOME THE STATUES OF THE GODS FROM ASIA’ AS A NEW
PHARAONIC IDEAL OF PTOLEMAIC TIMES**

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According to Egyptian inscriptions, the first four Ptolemaic rulers of Egypt brought back to the country statues of Egyptian gods that the Persians had looted. As the deed became a common theme in praise of the Ptolemaic pharaoh of third century BC Egypt, it became something like a short-lived *topos*. The present paper examines the question of how to understand the motif of “bringing back the statues of the gods from Asia”, because the praise itself is an innovation in the representation of a pharaoh. Therefore, the question will be investigated how this innovation is to be understood from within the Egyptian religion and the role of pharaoh. It will be shown how the new motif can not only be firmly inserted into the image of the pharaoh as the one and only who is able to guarantee Maat, but that it also presents him as the new “king of salvation” who restores order in Egypt after a period of (Persian) chaos. The motif therefore seems to have been invented in order to smooth the change of Egypt’s social, political, and economic transformation that was induced with Ptolemaic rule and clearly marked with the transfer of the capital from Memphis to Alexandria. Thus, the motif of “bringing back the statues of the gods” itself is an innovation, but it is very clearly based on the attempt to portray the Macedonian king as a native pharaoh, who reinstates and upholds Maat. At the same time the motif, – repeated again and again – implants the Persian period in a constant manner as a time of chaos into the cultural memory of Egypt, as a time when the gods were far away. Continuity is in this way created by emphasizing discontinuity with the Persian past and change in a motif of praise means continuation and innovation of tradition.

THE PTOLEMAIC *BASILEUS* AND THE ROMAN EMPEROR SLAYING THE ENEMIES OF EGYPT
THE *sm3 sbi/hftyw/h3swt/Stt* RITUAL SCENE IN CONTEXT

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In the years following the almost complete occupation of Ptolemaic Egypt by the Seleucid kingdom in 168 BC, a seemingly new type of scene starts to appear recurrently on the walls of traditional Egyptian temples. The king is in all these instances portrayed set to ritually spear with a harpoon or, less frequently, smite with a mace one to four enemies in front of a male deity. The title of the ritual refers to slaying a foe (*sbi*, *hftyw*) or a foreign land or region, specifically Asia (*h3swt*, *Stt*). Using for the most part traditional imagery and language, its portrayal clearly shows a link with the pharaonic past and the continuation of long-standing practices, while concomitantly introducing a new manner in which to depict the slaying of a human opponent – by spear – possibly inspired by a Greek-Macedonian motif. Text, image, context and overall distribution of these scenes on temple walls suggest a general predilection for regions and enemies located to the east of Egypt. Ultimately, the act expresses the annihilation of the forces of chaos, while it proclaims the foreign sovereign to be the rightful heir to the throne, who defends Egypt and *Maat* from the outside world, full of chaos and disorder. In its execution, the Ptolemaic *basileus* and Roman emperor unmistakably follow into the footsteps of the traditional pharaoh.

THE št3-GARMENT OF HORUS

AN EXAMPLE OF INTEGRATING THE FOREIGN KING INTO THE EGYPTIAN BELIEF SYSTEM

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Linen is quite a common offering gift depicted on the walls of Ptolemaic and Roman temples. Its presentation was supposed to ensure health, royal power, protection or other privileges and manifestations of the god's favour. From the beginnings of Egyptian civilization, cloth and linen were a highly valued commodity; different kinds of fabrics and garments are evidenced, some of them occur only in some periods and then at some points they disappear, while others are documented all throughout the history. One of the garments, known already since the Old Kingdom, is the št3-garment. It originally occurred in the Pyramid Texts and since that moment in time it has been strongly connected with Horus – it was often designated as the št3-garment of Horus and this deity is also most often the donor of this kind of cloth. Although documented from the Old Kingdom to the end of Egyptian history, the widest use definitely occurs during the Ptolemaic Period where it is attested almost exclusively in the temples of Edfu and Dendera. Through its relation to Horus and thus a firm connection to the kingship over the land and its inheritance, it seems that at this time receiving the št3-garment becomes a very important means to legitimize the rule of the Ptolemies, originally foreign kings, in Egypt.

RELIGIOUS HABITS OF THE ROMAN ARMY IN THE PERIPHERIES OF EGYPT
THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

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The early Roman period (30 BCE – 284 CE) was the last era marked by a dynamic development of the native Egyptian religion. Not only in the religious sphere, the conquest of Egypt by Octavianus Augustus for the most part did not bring about a radical break with the past. One of the exceptions was the coming of the Roman army, which played an important role in spreading Roman culture across the whole Mediterranean. The present paper examines how the Roman army entered the sacred landscape of Roman Egypt as seen through the epigraphic evidence left by the soldiers in various peripheral regions of the province of Egypt, where the presence of the army was especially strong. Each of the three regions of interest, namely Alexandria and surroundings, the Eastern Desert and the region of the First Cataract and Roman Lower Nubia, is surveyed for relevant epigraphic evidence and the individual inscriptions are described, analysed and discussed in context. Subsequently, the data acquired from the analysis of the evidence are brought together. The situation in the studied regions is compared, pointing out the clear differences in the manifestation of the Roman soldiers' presence in the sacred landscape of each of them and even individual sites. Overall, the observed approaches of Roman military servicemen were diverse, ranging from the accommodation and integration with the native cults to the introduction of new divinities and the appropriation of sacred spaces. Finally, conclusions are drawn how in each of the regions, as well as overall, the Roman army contributed to continuity and facilitated change in the religious sphere in Egypt of the early Roman period.