POLITECNICO DI TORINO
Repository ISTITUZIONALE

Animals, Ontology and Agents of Seth

Publisher copyright

(Article begins on next page)

05 March 2025

EGITTOLOGIA 2

A MATTER OF RELIGIONS: GODS AND PEOPLE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Studies presented to Marilina Betrò

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

PISA
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

A MATTER OF RELIGIONS: GODS AND PEOPLE IN ANCIENT EGYPT

STUDIES PRESENTED TO MARILINA BETRÒ

edited by Gianluca Miniaci, Christian Greco,
Paolo Del Vesco, Mattia Mancini, Cristina Alù

UPI
UNIVERSITY
PRESS ITALIANE
Membro Coordinamento
University Press Italiane

MUSEO EGIZIO
1824 —— 2024
Con il contributo del Museo Egizio.

Cover credits: Cult statue of Amenhotep I, 1292–1190 BCE, Museo Egizio, Torino, Inv. no. C. 1372 (photo by Nicola Dell'Aquila).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1° vers. = Primo Versamento [First Deposit]

2° vers. = Secondo Versamento [Second Deposit]

AA = Archäologische Anzeiger (Berlin)

ÄA = Ägyptologische Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)

AAA = Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology (Liverpool)

AAE = Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy (online)

AAL Cl. Sc. mor. st. filol. = Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei. Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Roma)

AASOR = Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)

ÄAT = Ägypten und Altes Testaments: Studien zur Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alen Testaments (Münster)

ABoT = Balkan K., *Ankara Arkeoloji Müzesinde Bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri*, Istanbul 1948

Acc. Sc. Torino - Memorie Sc. Mor. = Accademia delle Scienze di Torino – Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche (Torino)

ACE Reports = Australian Centre for Egyptology Reports (Sydney)

ACE Studies = Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies (Sydney)

AcOr = Acta Orientalia; Societates Orientales Danica, Norregia, Svecica (Leiden-Copenhagen)

ADAIK = Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK). Ägyptologische Reihe (Glückstadt-Berlin)

ADAJ = Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan (Amman)

Aeg = Aegyptus: Rivista Italiana di Egittologia e di Papirologia (Milano)

Aegaeum = Aegaeum. Annales d'archéologie égéenne de l'Université de Liège (Leuven-Liège)

ÄF = Ägyptologische Forschungen (Glückstadt)

AegLeo = Aegyptiaca Leodiensia (Liège)

AegMonast = Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia (Aachen)

ÄgLev = Ägypten und Levante: Zeitschrift für ägyptische Archäologie und deren Nachbargebiete (Wien)

AERA = Ancient Egypt Research Associates (Brighton, MA)

AERAgram = AERA biannual newsletter (Boston)

ÄuAT => ÄAT

Aevum = Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche (Milano)

Africa = Africa: Rivista trimestrale di studi e documentazione dell'istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente (Roma)

ÄgAbh => ÄA

AH = Aegyptiaca Helvetica (Geneva-Basel)

AHAW = Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse (Heidelberg)

ÄHK = *siglum* of the letters between Egyptians and Hittites published by E. Edel, *Die ägyptisch-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazköi in babylonischer und hethitischer Sprache, Band I: Umschriften und Übersetzungen*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 77, Opladen 1994

AIIN = Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica (Roma)

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology (Chicago)

AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago) [after 1941: JNES]

AKB = Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt (Mainz)

Aldrovandiana = Aldrovandiana. Historical Studies in Natural History (Bologna)

Am Antiquity = American Antiquity (Cambridge)

AnAe = Analecta Aegyptiaca (Copenhagen)

Anal Bioanal Chem = Analytical and Bioanalytical Chemistry (Berlin-Heidelberg)

AncEg = Ancient Egypt Magazine (London-New York)

AncSoc = Ancient Society (Leuven)

AnnHistScSoc = Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales (Aubervilliers-Cambridge)

Annu Brit Sch Athens = Annual of the British School at Athens (Athens)

ANPM = Annals of the Náprstek Museum (Prague)

ANSMI = Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici Italiani (Roma)

Anthropol Forum = Anthropological Forum (online)

Antiquity = Antiquity: quarterly journal of archaeological research (Cambridge)

AntK = Antike Kunst (Basel)

AO = Der Alte Orient (Berlin)

AOAT = Alter Orient und Altes Testament (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)

AOF = Altorientalische Forschungen (Bern)

APAW = Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin) [after 1945: ADAW]

ARAAFU = Association des Restaurateurs d'Art et d'Archéologie de Formation Universitaire (Paris)

ARC = Archaeological Review from Cambridge. Univ. of Cambridge (Cambridge)

ARCE Bulletin = Bulletin of the American Research Center in Egypt (San Antonio, TX)

Archaeol Prospect = Archaeological Prospection (online)

Archéo-Nil = Archéo-Nil: Bulletin de la société pour l'étude des cultures prépharaoniques de la vallée du Nil (Paris)

ARM = Archives royales de Mari (Paris)

ArtB = The Art Bulletin (online)

ArOr = Archiv Orientální: Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies (Prague)

ARWAW = Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Opladen)

ASAE = Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte (SAE) (Cairo)

ASAtene = Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente (Roma)

ASBR = Archivio Storico Generalizio del Centro Studi Storici PP. Barnabiti (Roma)

ASOR = American Society of Overseas Research (Alexandria, VA)

ASR = L'Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, section des sciences religieuses (online)

ASSic = Archivio Storico Siciliano. Soc. per la stor. patria (Palermo)

ASTENE Bull. = Bulletin of the Association for the Study of Travel in Egypt and the Near East: Notes and Queries (Durham-Cambridge)

ASTo = Archivio di Stato, Torino

Athenaeum = Athenaeum. Studi Periodici di Letteratura e Storia dell'Antichità (Pavia)

AttiAccTorino = Atti dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino (Torino)

Atti STSN = Atti della Società Toscana di Scienze Naturali (Pisa)

AUB = American University of Beirut Archaeological Museum (Beirut)

AUC = American University in Cairo (Cairo)

AulaOr = Aula Orientalis. Revista de Estudios de Próximo Oriente Antiguo (Barcelona)

AVDAIK = Archäologische Veröffentlichungen, Deutschen Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo (Berlin-Mainz)

B = Busta [Envelope]

BA = Biblical Archaeologist [now: NEA] (Ann Arbor-New Haven)

BAAL = Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises (Beirut)

BACE = Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology (Sydney)

BAEE = Boletín de la Asociación Española de Egiptología (Madrid)

BAEFE = Bulletin archéologique des Écoles françaises à l'étranger (online)

BAH = Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique (Paris)

BAJA = Berliner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (Berlin)

BaM = Baghdader Mitteilungen (Berlin)

BAR IS = British Archaeological Reports International Series (London)

BASOR = Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research (Alexandria, VA)

BASP = Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists (Ann Arbor)

BBf = Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Cairo-Zurich-Wiesbaden-Stuttgart)

BCM = Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art (Cleveland)

BdA = Bollettino d'Arte (Roma)

BdE = Bibliothèque d'Étude (IFAO, Cairo)

BdÉ, B d'E => BdE

BE = Bibliothèque égyptologique (Paris-Cairo)

BEHE SSR = Bibliothèque de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études, Section des Sciences Religieuses (Paris)

B Eng Geol Environ = Bulletin of Engineering Geology and the Environment (online)

Berytus = Berytus: Archaeological Studies (Beirut)

BES = Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar (Ann Arbor)

Bessarione = Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientali (Roma)

BEStud = Brown Egyptological Studies (Providence)

BEUMo = Biblioteca Estense Universitaria di Modena

BG = Bibliothèque Générale (IFAO) (Cairo)

BiAeg = Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)

Biblica = Biblica (Roma)

BIE = Bulletin de l'Institute d'Égypte (Cairo)

BIFAO = Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) (Cairo)

BIN = J.B. Nies, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies*, Yale 1917

BiOr = Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leiden)

BM = British Museum, London

BMB = Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth (Paris)

BME = British Museum Expedition to Middle Egypt (London)

BMFA = Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)

BMH = Bulletin du Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (Budapest)

BMJ = British Medical Journal (London)

BMMA = Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) (New York)

BMonsMusPont = Bollettino dei Monumenti, Musei e gallerie Pontificie (Roma)

BMPES = British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan (London)

BMSAES = British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (London)

BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze

BnF = Bibliothèque national de France, Paris

Bo = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Boğazköy/Ḫattuša

Boğazköy-Ḫattuša = Boğazköy-Ḫattuša. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen (Darmstadt-Berlin-Wiesbaden-Erbenheim)

Brit J Hist Sci = British Journal for the History of Science (London)

BRM = A.T. Clay (ed.), *Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Piermont Morgan (New Haven)*, New York-New Heaven 1923

BRT = Biblioteca Reale di Torino

BSA => Annu Brit Sch Athens

BSAE = British School of Archaeology in Egypt (London)

BSAE/ERA = British School of Archaeology in Egypt / Egyptian Research Account (London)

BSEG = Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève (Geneva)

BSFE = Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie; Réunions trimestrielles, Communications archéologiques (Paris)

BSOAS = Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies (London)

BTMn = Biblioteca Teresiana di Mantova

BUPi = Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa

BzÄ = Beiträge zur Ägyptologie (Wien)

C2RMF = Centre de Recherche et Restauration des Musées de France (Paris)

CAA = Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum (Mainz)

CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 21 vols, Chicago 1956-2010

CAENL = Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt, Nubia and the Levant. Acad. autrich. des sc. (Wien)

CAJ = Cambridge Archaeological Journal (Cambridge)

CAMS = Centro di Ateneo per i Musei Scientifici, Perugia

CASAE = Cahiers supplémentaires des ASAE (Cairo)

CC = *Clavis Coptica* o *Clavis Patrum Coptico-rum, unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna opera copta nell'ambito del Corpus dei Mano-scritti Copti Letterari

CCdE = Les Cahiers Caribéens d'Égyptologie (Martinique)

CCE = Cahier de la céramique égyptienne (Cairo)

CChEM = Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean (Wien)

CdE = Chronique d'Égypte. Bulletin périodique de la Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisa-beth, Bruxelles (Bruxelles)

CdÉ, CdEg => CdE

CED = J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976.

CGT = Catalogo Generale del Museo di Torino (serie)

CENiM = Cahiers Égypte Nilotique et Méditerra-néenne (online)

CeROArt = Conservation, exposition, Restaura-tion d'Objets d'Art (Liège)

CHANE = Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden)

CLES = Corpus of Late Egyptian Sculpture, Brooklyn Museum (New York)

CLM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascuna uni-tà codicologica letteraria copta nell'ambito del progetto *PAThs* e del suo principale prodotto scientifico, l'*Archaeological Atlas of Coptic Literature* (https://atlas.paths-erc.eu/manu-scripts)

ClQu = The Classical Quarterly (Cambridge)

CMET = Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino (Torino)

CNI => CNIANES

CNIANES = Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies Publications (Copenhagen)

CNIP = Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications (Copenhagen)

CNR = Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche

CollHell = Collectanea Hellenistica (Bruxelles)

Comp Stud Soc Hist = Comparative Studies in So-ciety and History (Cambridge)

CP = Classical Philology (Chicago)

CRAI => CRAIBL

CRAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres (Paris)

CRBC = Conservation-Restauration des Biens Culturels (Sorbonne)

CRIPEL = Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille (Paris-Lille)

CRUI = Conferenza dei Rettori delle Università Italiane (Roma)

CSEG = Cahiers de la Société d'Égyptologie, Genève (Geneva)

CSIS = Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cien-tíficas (Madrid)

CSCT = Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradi-tion (Leiden-Boston)

CTH = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hit-tites*, Paris 1971 (with Supplements in RHA XXX, 1972, 94–133 = CTH Suppl., and RHA XXXIII, 1973, 68–71 (https://www.hethport. uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/)

Curr Anthropol = Current Anthropology (Chicago)

D3T = Documents de Théologies Thébaines Tar-dives

DAAM = D. Schwemer, E. Rieken (eds), *Docu-menta Antiqua Asiae Minoris*, Wiesbaden

DAIK = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo (Cairo)

DAIK S = Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Kairo, Sonderschrift (Cairo)

DBH 46/2 = R. Akdoğan, *Hethitische Texte Bo 4658 – Bo 5000. Teil 2: Autographien*, Dresd-ner Beiträge zur Hethitologie 46/2, Wiesbaden 2016.

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani (Roma)

DDbDP = Duke Databank of Documentary Papyri (https://papyri.info)

DE = Discussions in Egyptology (Oxford)

DELC = W. Vycichl, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte*, Leuven 1984

DemStud = Demotische Studien (Leipzig-Som-merhausen)

Der Antike Sudan = Der Antike Sudan. Mitteilun-gen der Sudanarchäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin (Berlin)

DFIFAO = Documents de fouilles de l'Institut fran-çais d'archéologie orientale du Caire (Cairo)

DGÖAW = Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

DPDP = Demotic Palaeographical Database Project (http://129.206.5.162/beta/index.html)

DS = Detroit Statue

EA = Egyptian Archaeology, the Bulletin of the Egypt Exploration Society (EES) (London)

EAO = Égypte, Afrique et Oriente (Paris)

EAT = *siglum* of the edition of the cuneiform tablets unearthed at Tell el-Amarna

EDAL = Egyptian & Egyptological Documents, Archives, Libraries (Milan)

EtudTrav = Études et Travaux (Warsaw)

EEF = (Publications of the) Egypt Exploration Fund => MEEF

EEF Memoir => MEEF, EES EM

E&G Quaternary Sci. J. = Eiszeitalter und Gegenwart Quaternary Science Journal (online)

EES EM = EES Excavation Memoirs (London) [earlier names: MEEF/MEES]

EES GRM = EES Graeco-Roman Memoirs (London)

EES TM = EES Texts from Excavations, Memoirs (London)

EgAT = O. Neugebauer, R.A. Parker, *Egyptian astronomical texts*, Providence (vol. 1) 1960, (vol. 2) 1966, (vol. 3) 1969

EGE = Revista de Expresión Gráfica en la Edificación (Madrid)

EgUit = Egyptologische Uitgaven (Leiden)

EI = Eretz Israel: Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Studies (Jerusalem)

Eidola = Eidola. International Journal of Ancient Art History (Pisa)

EME = Études et Mémoires d'Égyptologie (Paris)

Enchoria = Enchoria: Zeitschrift für Demotistik und Koptologie (Wiesbaden)

ENiM = Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne (Montpellier)

EPRO = Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain (Leiden) [later RGRW]

EQÄ = Einführungen und Quellentexte zur Ägyptologie (Münster)

ERA = Egyptian Research Account (London) [after 1906: BSAE]

ERUV = S.H. Aufrère (ed.), *Encyclopédie Religieuse de l'Univers Végétal : Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne*, 4 vols, Montpellier 1999-2005

EtudTrav => ET

ET = Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne d'Académie polonaise des sciences (Warsaw)

EU => EgUit

EVO = Egitto e Vicino Oriente (Pisa)

[ExSaq] = Excavation at Saqqara (SAE, Cairo)

FAT = Forschungen zum Alten Testament, 2nd series (Tübingen)

FÄW = J. Kahl, *Frühägyptisches* Wörterbuch (Wiesbaden, 2002)

FIFAO = Fouilles de l'Institute français d'archéologie orientale (IFAO) du Caire. Rapports prélimimaires (Cairo)

FoRa = Forschungen in der Ramses-Stadt. Grabungen des Pelizaeus-Museums Hildesheim in Qantir – Pi-Ramesse (Mainz)

FR => FoRa

FuB = Forschungen und Berichte der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)

Geol Survey Israel Rep No GSI = Geological Survey of Israel, Report No. G.S.I. (Jerusalem)

GFA = Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft (online)

GHE = Golden House Egyptology (London)

GHP Egyptology = Golden House Publications Egyptology (London)

GM = Göttinger Miszellen (Göttingen)

GOF = Göttinger Orientforschungen (Wiesbaden)

Greek Roman Byzantin = Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies (Durham)

GrHL = H.A. Hoffner, H.C. Melchert, *A Grammar of the Hittite Language. Part 1: Reference Grammar; Part 2: Tutorial*, Winona Lake, IN 2008.

GRM => EES-GRM

GSI = Geological Survey of Israel (Jerusalem)

HÄB = Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge (Hildesheim)

HAT = *Handschriften des altägyptischen Totenbuches* (Wiesbaden)

Hb Orient St Sect = Handbook of Oriental Studies Section (Leiden)

HdO = Handbuch der Orientalistik. I. Abt. Bd. I: Ägyptologie (Leiden)

HGV = Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis der griechischen Papyrusurkunden Ägyptens (http://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start)

Hist Reflections = Historical Reflections/Réflections Historiques (New York)

HKM = S. Alp, *Hethitische Keilschrifttafeln aus Maşat*, Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları 6/34, Ankara 1991

HPBM = Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum (London)

HR = History of Religions (Chicago)

HSCP = Harvard Studies in Classical Philology (Cambridge MA)

HZL = Ch. Rüster, E. Neu, *Hethitisches Zeichenlexikon. Inventar und Interpretation der Keilschriftzeichen aus den Bogazköy-Texten*, Studien zu den Boğazköy-Texten Beiheft 2, Wiesbaden 1989

IAMS = Institute for Archaeo-Metallurgical Studies (London)

IAWA = International Association of Wood Anatomists (Leiden)

IBAES = Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (online)

ICE = International Congress of Egyptologists

IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal (Jerusalem)

IFAO BG = Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Bibliothèque Générale (Cairo)

IFROA = Institut Français de Restauration des Œuvres d'Art (Saint-Denis)

IJNA = International Journal of Nautical Archaeology (online)

ILC = Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo (Madrid)

Info DaF = Information Deutsch als Fremdsprache (Göttingen-Bonn)

Int As Sed = International Association of Sedimentologists Special Publication (Gent)

IOS = Israel Oriental Studies (Leiden)

Iran = Iran. Journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies (London)

ISIMU = ISIMU. Revista sobre Oriente Próximo y Egipto en la Antigüedad (Madrid)

ISMEO = Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (Roma)

JAC = Journal of Ancient Civilizations (Changchun)

JACF = Journal of the Ancient Chronology Forum (online)

JAEA = The Journal of Ancient Egyptian Architecture (online)

JAEI = Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnections (Tucson)

JANER = Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions (Leiden)

JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society (Baltimore-Boston-New Haven)

JARCE = Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt (Boston-Princeton-New York-Cairo)

J Archaeol Res = Journal of Archaeological Research (New York)

JAS = Journal of Archaeological Science (Tucson)

JbZMusMainz = Jahrbuch des Römisch-germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz (Mainz)

JCH = Journal of Cultural Heritage (online)

JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies (Chicago-New Haven-Cambridge)

JEA = Journal of Egyptian Archaeology (EES, London)

JEgH = Journal of Egyptian History (Swansea)

JEMAHS = Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies (Philadelphia)

JEOL = Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux (Leiden)

JES = Journal of Egyptological Studies (Sofia)

JESHO = Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)

JfAC = Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum (Münster)

J Glass Stud = Journal of Glass Studies (New York)

JHA = Journal for the History of Astronomy (Chalfont St. Giles)

J Hist Collect = Journal of the History of Collections (Oxford)

J Hist Ideas = Journal of the History of Ideas (Philadelphia)

JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies (London)

JJP = Journal of Juristic Papyrology (Warsaw)

JMA = Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

JMC = Le Journal des Médecines Cunéiformes (Saint-Germain-en-Laye)

JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies (Chicago)

JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (London)

JSAH = Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians (Philadelphia)

J Soc Archaeol = Journal of Social Archaeology (online)

JSSEA = Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities (SSEA) (Toronto)

JWCI = Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes (London)

JWP = Journal of World Prehistory (New York)

Kadmos = Kasmos. Zeitschrift für vor- und frühgriechische Epigraphik (Berlin-New York)

KARNAK = Les Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak (Cairo)

KAW = Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt (Mainz)

KBo = Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi (Berlin)

Kemi = Kêmi: Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptienne et coptes (Paris)

KMT = KMT: A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt (San Francisco)

KRI = K.A. Kitchen (ed.), *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols, Oxford 1969-1990

KUB => KBo

Kush = Kush: Journal of the Sudan Antiquities Service / Journal of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM) (Khartoum)

KuT = *siglum* of the tablets and fragments excavated at Kuşaklı/Šarišša.

LÄ = W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, 7 vols, Wiesbaden1972/5-

LACMA = Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Los Angeles)

[LDA] = Les Dossiers d'Archéologie (Dijon)

LDAB = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del *Leuven Database of Ancient Books*

LEAD = Late Egyptian Artefact Database (https://lead.ifao.egnet.net/)

LETIAM = Laboratoire d'Étude des Techniques et Instruments d'Analyse Moléculaire (Paris)

Levant = Levant. Journal of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem (Jerusalem)

Lexis = Lexis. Poetica, retorica e comunicazione nella tradizione classica (Abano Terme)

LGG = Chr. Leitz (ed.), *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen*, OLA 110-116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002.

LingAeg = Lingua Aegyptia. Journal of Egyptian Language Studies (Göttingen)

LingAeg SM => LinAeg – StudMon

LingAeg – StudMon = Linguae Aegyptia – Studia Monographica (Hamburg)

LNS = Late New Script (Hittite cuneiform used *c*. 1240-1180 BC)

LRMF = Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France

M = Mazzo [Bundle]

MA = Musée des Antiquités (Rouen)

MAAO = Münchener Abhandlungen zum Alten Orient (Gladbeck)

MACA = Mantova Collezioni Antiche (Mantova)

MAE = Fondazione Museo delle Antichità Egizie (Torino)

MAECI = Ministero degli Affari Esteri e della Cooperazione Internazionale (Roma)

MÄS = Münchner Ägyptologische Studien (Berlin-Munich-Mainz)

MÄSB = Mitteilungen aus der Ägyptischen Sammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin)

MAFTO = Mission Archéologique Française de Thèbe-Ouest

MAI = Missione Archeologica Italiana

MAM = Museo Archeologico, Milano

Mar Geol = Marine Geology (Amsterdam-New York)

Marmora = Marmora: International Journal for Archaeology, History and Archaeometry of Marbles and Stones (Pisa)

MASCA = Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology (Philadelphia)

MascaP = MASCA Research Papers in Science and Archaeology (Philadelphia)

MBA-Dijon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Dijon

MBA-Lyon = Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon

MDAI = Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Iran (Leiden-Paris)

MDAIK = Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo (DAIK) (Mainz-Cairo-Berlin-Wiesbaden)

MdS = Musées de Sens

MedA = Mediterranean Archaeology (online)

MEEF = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund [later: MEES] (London)

MEES = Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Society (London)

MEFRA = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Antiquité (Paris)

MEFRM = Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome – Moyen Âge (Paris)

MemAcInscr = Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres (Toulouse-Paris)

Memnonia = Memnonia: Bulletin édité par l'Association pour la sauvegarde de Ramesseum (Cairo-Paris)

[Mem.Phil.] = Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society Held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge (Philadelphia)

MemPontAc = Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia. Memorie (Roma)

MGC = Museo "Gaetano Chierici" di Paletnologia (Reggio Emilia)

MH = Middle Hittite (Hittite language attested *c*. 1500-1350)

MIFAO = Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (IFAO) du Caire (Berlin-Cairo)

MIO = Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung (Berlin)

MKS = Middle Kingdom Studies (London)

MMA = Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York)

MMAF = Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire (Paris) [later MIFAO]

MMJ = Metropolitan Museum Journal (New York)

MonAeg = Monumenta Aegyptiaca (Bruxelles)

MonPiot = Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugène Piot (Paris)

MPER = Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek Erzherzog Rainer (Wien)

MRE = Monographies Reine Élisabeth (Bruxelles-Turnhout)

MS = Middle Script (Hittite cuneiform used *c*. 1500-1350 BC)

MSAE = Materiali e Studi Archeologici di Ebla (Roma)

Msk = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Meskene/Emar

MUP = Musei dell'Università di Pisa (Pisa)

Mus = Le Muséon: Revue d'études orientales/Tijdschrift voor Orientalisme (Leuven)

Muséon => Mus

MUSJ = Mémoires/Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph (Beirut)

MVCAE = Material and Visual Culture of Ancient Egypt (Atlanta)

NARCE = Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt (ARCE) (New York-Cairo)

Nat Sci Arc = Natural Science in Archaeology (New York)

NEA = Near Eastern Archaeology [formerly: Biblical Archeologist (BA)] (Boston)

NeHeT = NeHeT. Revue numérique d'Égyptologie (Paris-Bruxelles)

NH = New Hittite (Hittite language attested *c*. 1350-1180 BC)

NML = National Museum, Liverpool

NS = New Script (Hittite cuneiform used *c*. 1350-1240 BC)

Numen = Numen: International Review for the History of Religions (Leiden)

OBO = Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis (Freiburg-Göttingen)

Ocnus = Ocnus. Quaderni della Scuola di Specializzazione in Beni Archeologici (Bologna)

OH = Old Hittite (Hittite language attested *c*. 1650-1500 BC)

OIAR = Oriental Institute Annual Report (Chicago)

OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)

OJA = Oxford Journal of Archaeology (Oxford)

OLA = Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta (Leuven)

OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung (Münster-Berlin-Leipzig)

OMRO = Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)

Or = Inventory numbers of the tablets and fragments excavated at Ortaköy/Šapinuwa

ORA = Orientalische Religionen in der Antike. Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient (Tübingen)

OrAnt = Oriens Antiquus (Roma)

OrArch = Orient-Archäologie, DAI (Berlin)

OrChrPer = Orientalia Christiana Periodica (Roma)

OREA = Oriental and European Archaeology (Wien)

Orientalia => OrNS

Orient Christ Analec = Orientalia Christiana Analecta (Roma)

OrMonsp = Orientalia Monspeliensia (Montpellier)

OrNS = Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii instituti biblici, Nova Series (Roma)

OS = Old Script (Hittite cuneiform used *c*. 1650-1500 BC)

PÄ = Probleme der Ägyptologie (Leiden-Boston-Köln)

PalHiéro => PH

PALLAS = Pallas. Revue d'études antiques (Toulouse)

PALMA = Papers on Archaeology of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities, Egyptology (Turnhout)

PAM = Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean (Warsaw)

P Am Philos Soc = Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia)

Palamedes = Palamedes: A Journal of Ancient History (Warsaw)

PalArch => PJAEE

PBF = Prähistorische Bronzefunde (München-Stuttgart)

PBSEA = Publications of the British School of Egyptian Archaeology (London)

PEFQS = Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement (London)

PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly (London)

PH = Paléographie Hiéroglyphique (Cairo)

Philippika = Philippikka: Marburger Altertumskundliche Abhandlungen (Wiesbaden)

PHRP = The polychrome hieroglyph research project, ed. by D. Nunn (https://phrp.be/About.html)

PIA = Papers from the Institute of Archaeology, UCL (London)

PIHANS = Publications de l'Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul (Istanbul)

PJAEE = PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology (Leiden)

Plant Biosyst = Plant Biosystem - An International Journal Dealing with all Aspects of Plant Biology (online)

PLB = Papyrologica Lugduno-Batava (Leiden)

PLOS ONE = Public Library of Science (online)

PLup = Papyrologica Lupiensia (Lecce)

PM = B. Porter, R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, 7 vols, Oxford 1927-1951 (1960-)

PMMA = Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Egyptian Expedition) (New York)

PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, Glückstadt 1935-1977

PSAS = Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies (Oxford)

PSG = Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Bonn Statue

PSI = Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la Ricerca dei Papiri Greci e Latini in Egitto (Firenze)

PT = K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte, nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums, neu herausgegeben und erläutert*, 4 vols, Leipzig 1908-1922

QuadTorino = Quaderni della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Piemonte (Torino)

RANT = Res Antiquae (Bruxelles)

Rass. Ita. pol. lett. art. = Rassegna Italiana politica, letteraria e artistica (Roma)

RB = Revue Biblique (Jerusalem-Paris)

RdE = Revue d'Égyptologie (Paris)

RE = Rites Égyptiens (Bruxelles)

REAC = Ricerche di Egittologia e di Antichità Copte (Imola-Bologna)

REG = Revue des Études Grecques (Paris)

RevEg = Revue égyptologique (Paris) [later: RdE]

Rev Louvre = Revue du Louvre et des musées de France (Paris)

RGRW = Religions in the Graeco-Roman World (Leiden)

RGTC VI = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1978

RGTC VI/2 = G.F. del Monte, J. Tischler, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der hethitischen Texte. Supplement*, TAVO Beihefte B 7, Wiesbaden 1992.

RHA = Revue Hittite et Asianique (Paris)

RHR = Revue de l'Histoire de Religions (Paris)

Ric Stor Arte = Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte (Roma)

RIDA = Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité (Bruxelles)

RIMA = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods*

RIME = *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods*

RiME = Rivista del Museo Egizio (Torino)

RITA = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*, Oxford 1993

RITANC = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments*, Oxford 1993

Riv. Mil. = Rivista Militare (Roma)

RMO = Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (Leiden)

RoczMuzWarsz = Rocznik Muzeum narodowego w Warszawie (Warsaw)

RSO = Rivista degli Studi Orientali (Roma)

RT = Recueil de traveaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris)

RVO = Religion in Vorderen Orient (Wiesbaden)

SAAB = State Archives of Assyria Bulletin (Padova)

SAAC = Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization. Jagiellonian Univ. (Cracovia)

SaarBeitr = Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde (Saarbrücken)

Saeculum = Saeculum. Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte (Freiburg)

SAGA = Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens (Heidelberg)

SAK = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur (Hamburg)

SAK Bh = Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur – Beihefte (Hamburg)

SANER = Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records (Berlin-Boston)

SAOC = Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation (Chicago)

SAT = Studien zum Altägyptischen Totenbuch (Wiesbaden)

SARS Newsletter = The Sudan Archaeological Research Society Newsletter (London)

SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Abteilung (München)

SBS = Stuttgarter Bibelstudien (Freudenstadt-Loßburg)

ScAnt = Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia (Roma)

SCO = Studi Classici e Orientali (Pisa)

SDAW = Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Berlin)

SEAP = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)

SEL = Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici sul Vicino Oriente Antico (Roma)

Serapis = Serapis: The American Journal of Egyptology (Chicago)

SGKAO = Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients (Berlin)

SHR = Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden)

SIMA = Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology (Lund)

SiMa = Sistema Museale di Ateneo

SiMuA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo

Sitzber K Preuss Aka = Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin (Berlin)

SMA = Sistema Museale di Ateneo

SMAAR = Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes (Roma)

SMEA = Studi Mediterranei ed Egeo-Anatolici (Roma)

SÖAW = Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse (Wien)

SRaT = Studien zu den Ritualszenen altägyptischer Tempel (Dettelbach)

SSR = Studien zur spätägyptischen Religion (Wiesbaden)

StädelJb = Städel Jahrbuch (München)

StBoT = Studien zu den Bogazköy-Texten (Wiesbaden)

StEgAntPun = Studi di Egittologia e di Antichità Puniche (Pisa)

StMatStorRel = Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni (Roma)

StudAeg = Studia Aegyptiaca (Budapest-Roma)

StudPAP = Studia Papyrologica et Aegyptiaca Parisina (Paris)

Stud Piemontesi = Studi Piemontesi (Torino)

XII

Sudan & Nubia = Sudan & Nubia: Bulletin of the Sudan Archaeological Research Society (London)

StudDem = Studia Demotica (Leuven)

StudGener = Studium Generale. Zeitschrift für die Einheit der Wissenschaften im Zusammenhang Ihrer Begriffsbildungen und Forschungsmethoden (Berlin-Heidelberg-New York)

SVB = Studia Varia Bruxellensia (ad orbem graeco-latinum pertinentia) (Leuven)

Symbolon = Symbolon. Jahrb. Für Symbolforsch (Cologne)

Syria = Syria: Revue d'art orientale et d'archéologie (Paris)

Talanta = TalAnta: Proceedings of the Dutch Archaeological and Historical Society (Hoofddorp)

TbT = Totenbuchtexte (Basel)

T C S Peirce Soc = Transactions of the Charles S Peirce Society (Indianapolis)

TdE = Trabajos de Egiptología. Papers on Ancient Egypt (Puerto de la Cruz)

TEL AVIV = TEL AVIV: the Journal of the Institute of Archaeology (Tel Aviv)

THEBEN = Theben (Mainz)

TLA = Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae https://thesaurus-linguae-aegyptiae.de, Web app version 2.0.2.1, 8/8/2023, ed. by T. S. Richter, D. A. Werning, H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, P. Dils

TM = *Unique identifier* attribuito a ciascun manoscritto nell'ambito del database *Trismegistos. An interdisciplinary portal of the ancient world* (https://www.trismegistos.org/)

TPOP = Turin Papyrus Online Platform (https:// collezionepapiri.museoegizio.it; https://papyri. museoegizio.it/Login.aspx)

TSL = Thot Sign List http://thotsignlist.org, ed. by Université de Liège and Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

TTR = Tanis, travaux récents sur le Tell San El-Hagar (Paris)

TUAT-NF = B. Janowski, G. Wilhelm (eds), *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*, vols 1-10, Gütersloh 2004

TVAT = Testi del Vicino Oriente Antico (Brescia)

UAVA = Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie (Berlin)

UC = University of California

UCLA = University of California, Los Angeles

UF = Ugarit-Forschungen: Internationales Jahrbuch für die Altertumskunde Syrien-Palästinas (Kevelaer-Neukirchen-Vluyn-Münster)

UGAÄ = Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens (Hildesheim-Leipzig-Berlin)

UIT d'Orsay = Université Paris-Saclay

UMAA = University Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Cambridge)

UMI = University of Michigan

UPMJ = University Pennsylvania Museum Journal (Philadelphia)

[UPMM] = University Pennsylvania Museum Monograph (Philadelphia)

USE = Uppsala Studies in Egyptology (Uppsala)

UZK = Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts, herausgegeben in Verbindung mit der Ägyptischen Kommission der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Wien)

VA = Varia Aegyptiaca (San Antonio)

VBoT = A. Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte*, Marburg 1930

VDI = Vestnik Drevnej Istorii [Revue d'Histoire ancienne] (Moscow-Leningrad)

V&A = Victoria and Albert Museum (London)

VIAÄ = Veröffentlichungen der Institute für Afrikanistik und Ägyptologie der Universität Wien (Wien)

VisRel = Visible Religion. Annual for Religious Iconography (Leiden)

VO = Vicino Oriente (Roma)

VRAMK = Voronezh Regional Art Museum of I.N. Kramskoy

VT = Vetus Testamentum (Leiden)

WA = Writings from the Ancient World, Society of Biblical Literature (Atlanta)

Wb = A. Erman, H. Grapow (eds), *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1926-1961

WdO = Die Welt des Orients: Wissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Kunde des Morgenlandes (Göttingen-Wupoertal)

WorldArch = World Archaeology (online)

World Literature Tod = World Literature Today (online)

WSEA = Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology (New York)

WVDOG = Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft (Leipzig-Berlin-Saarbrücken-Saarwellingen)

WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Wien)

YES = Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven)

ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie (Leipzig-Berlin)

ZÄS = Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Berlin-Leipzig)

ZDPV = Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (Leipzig-Wiesbaden)

ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung und verwandte Gebiete (Leipzig)

INTRODUCTION

GIANLUCA MINIACI, CHRISTIAN GRECO, PAOLO DEL VESCO, MATTIA MANCINI, CRISTINA ALÙ

As former students of Prof. Marilina Betrò, on the occasion of her retirement, we decided to gather contributions from colleagues and friends on the topics she has significantly contributed to during her academic career. The outcome of this collaborative effort is the creation of six volumes that celebrate and honour her scholarly achievements.

The first volume, ***The Sacred and the Secular in the Theban Necropolis***, is a collection of 18 papers that explore various aspects of life in the Theban Necropolis on the western bank of the Nile at modern-day Luxor. These papers encompass religious, ritual, material, and profane elements. The Theban Necropolis has been a focal point of archaeological research carried out by Marilina Betrò, who first became acquainted with this site at the beginning of her career while working in the 'Temple of Millions of Years' of Thutmose IV under the supervision of Edda Bresciani. In 2003, Marilina Betrò initiated and directed an ongoing archaeological expedition to investigate the Ramesside tomb of Huy (TT 14), located in the northern sector of the Theban Necropolis (Dra Abu el-Naga). Subsequently, in 2004, the Italian mission at Dra Abu el-Naga (M.I.D.A.N.) discovered a previously unknown early Eighteenth-Dynasty tomb called M.I.D.A.N.05 and, in 2010, two other smaller tombs cut into the northern side of its courtyard. The archaeological fieldwork in Thebes has shaped the careers of many of her students and produced significant results, published in several scientific articles and a monograph titled *Seven Seasons at Dra Abu El-Naga* (2009).

The second volume, ***A Matter of Religions: Gods and People in Ancient Egypt***, gathers 18 papers that explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people. Marilina Betrò's seminal work, *Saqqara III: I testi solari del portale di Pascerientaisu (BN 2)* (1989), represents an important milestone in the studies of ancient Egyptian religion. The entrance portal of Pasherientaisu, discovered in the Saqqara necropolis during archaeological fieldwork directed by Edda Bresciani, was inscribed with a version of the cult-theological treatise studied by Jan Assmann in his work *Der König als Sonnenpriester*. Before the discovery of Pasherientaisu's portal, only half of this religious composition was known, which concerned the sunrise and the king's knowledge of the 'arcana' of the sun's course. The portal inscription preserves the other half of the composition, translated and commented by Betrò, which is dedicated to the night journey of the sun. This ancient Egyptian religious text, discovered by Professor Betrò, represents a bridge between the 'esoteric' hymns of the solar cult and the so-called underworld books and was later quoted and incorporated by Assmann in his volume *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom* (1995). Betrò later presented a synthesis and critique of the religious system of ancient Egypt in a chapter of "Egittologia" (2005), edited by Alessandro Roccati, which has influenced the latest generations of Italian students of Egyptology.

The third volume, ***Digging for Ancient Egypt and Egyptology in the Archives***, contains 14 articles exploring previously unpublished letters, notes, diaries, and other documents from the 17th century to the first decades of the 20th century. These documents preserve a vast amount of information essential for reconstructing the history of ancient Egypt and the evolution of the discipline of Egyptology. Marilina Betrò has led several research projects on this subject, with a particular focus on the rich documentation of Egyptian monuments and sites produced by Champollion, Rosellini, and other members of the Franco-Tuscan Expedition to Egypt in 1828-29. This valuable documentation is now preserved in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. She has directed an important national project called "Progetto Rosellini", which led to the discovery in the National Archives in Prague of two lists of the antiquities Ippolito Rosellini brought to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, now part of the Museo Archeologico in Florence. The

project's objective was to digitize all the documents (drawings, manuscripts, notebooks, and diaries) of the members of the *Spedizione* held in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Pisa. This culminated in an important publication on Egyptological archives titled *Talking along the Nile* (2013). As part of the project, she curated two exhibitions – one in Pisa and another in Cairo – of manuscripts and drawings of the *Spedizione*. The exhibition held in Cairo, 2009-2010, also facilitated the return of a selection of the original documents to Egypt, some 200 years after their composition in that country. Through her archival research, the powerful chief steward of Perunefer under Amenhotep II, Qenamon, owner of TT 93, was able to reclaim his material identity. His body and original coffin have since been reunited and are now part of the Collezioni Egittologiche 'Edda Bresciani' in Pisa (Betrò, *Kenamun: l'undicesima mummia*, 2014).

The fourth volume, ***The Materiality of Ancient Egypt: Objects and Museums***, consists of 19 articles that explore the diverse stories hidden within museum objects and collection archives, fostering an ongoing dialogue between ancient materials, texts, and modern interpretation and methodologies. Professor Betrò has played a significant role in museum and object studies, introducing the first course in Egyptian Epigraphy in Pisa, utilising the material preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Florence. She served as the director of the 'Sistema Museale di Ateneo' of the University of Pisa from 2012 to 2014, and since 2017, has been the head of the scientific committee of the Museo Egizio in Turin. She also organized two international conferences, both held in Pisa, focusing on the materiality of texts in ancient Egypt and other societies, resulting in a volume titled *The Ancient World Revisited: Material Dimensions of Written Artefacts* (2024). Additionally, Professor Betrò has played a vital role in advancing Egyptology by integrating new technologies into object studies. From 2005 to 2009, she led a research unit in the FIRB project *Tecnologie integrate di Robotica ed Ambienti Virtuali in Archeologia*.

The fifth volume, ***Egypt in Ancient and Modern Tales, Travels and Explorations***, brings together 12 articles that explore Egypt not only as a land of wonders but also as a place that resonates with its ancient societies and their perspectives, captivating the imagination through its literature, tales, and accounts from both ancient and modern explorers. Professor Betrò's career has been shaped by her passion for travel, whether physical or intellectual. This passion has been applied to Egyptology with a project called "Egypt in India", exploring Egyptian antiquities beyond the traditional borders, culminating in the publication *Egypt in India: Egyptian antiquities in Indian museums* (2004), edited by Edda Bresciani and Marilina Betrò. In addition, she authored the monograph *Racconti di viaggio e di avventura dell'antico Egitto* (1994), presenting a collection of ancient Egyptian tales about travels and adventures. Her interest in the forms of expression of ancient Egyptian thought and narrative led to her co-editing the volume *Company of Images: Modelling the Imaginary World of Middle Kingdom Egypt (2000-1500 BC)* (2017), an exploration of ancient Egypt through its images.

The sixth and final volume of this series, ***Ancient Egypt and the Surrounding World: Contact, Trade, and Influence***, focuses on the complex cultural interactions in the Eastern Mediterranean, Western Asia, and North-East Africa, spanning from the 3rd millennium BC to Roman and Medieval times, encompassing regions from Mesopotamia to the Levant, from Anatolia to the Aegean, and from the Roman Empire to Syria. This theme has been a constant throughout Professor Betrò's academic career. The early part of her career as an Egyptologist was marked by significant publications of demotic texts on ostraca and papyri, such as contracts, accounts, and memos, which have made a major contribution to our understanding of daily life in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Greek and Egyptian elements coexisted within society, such as "Ostraka demotici da Ossirinco. Comunicazioni d'affari e conti vari", *EVO* 2 (1979); "Due tavolette demotiche e il p.gr. Amherst II 31", *EVO* 7 (1984); "Il p.dem. Lille 119: un'offerta d'affitto con relativo contratto", in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani* (1985). She also organised a conference in Pisa called 'Egitto e Vicino Oriente Antichi: Tra passato e futuro' that brought together Italian scholars of ancient Oriental Studies, fostering dialogue between different fields and disciplines, and which has now become a tradition in Italian studies (EVOA meetings). The resulting publication of the conference was *Egitto e Vicino Oriente antichi: tra passato e futuro. Studi e ricerche sull'Egitto e il Vicino Oriente in Italia*, I Convegno Nazionale, Pisa, 5-6 giugno 2017 (2018) edited by Marilina Betrò, Stefano De Martino, Gianluca Miniaci, and Frances Pinnock. In addition, she has been member of the *Consiglio Direttivo della Consulta Universitaria per gli Studi sull'Asia e Africa* (CUSTAA), demonstrating her commitment to integrating and connecting Egyptology with other neighbouring disciplines.

ANIMALS, ONTOLOGY, AND AGENTS OF SETH

WILLEKE WENDRICH[*]

Abstract

The 'ontological turn' in anthropology provides an interesting basis to consider ancient Egyptian thought from a different angle than has been done so far. By considering animals as appearances of the gods, enemies of the gods, carriers of power, victims, predators, prey, threats and protectors, while in all these manifestations an essential part of the divine in the world of the humans, we may gain new insights. It is an effort to suspend our interpretation of ancient rationality based on our own world view, and instead attempt to consider alternative ways of being in the world. This requires understanding and calling out our own biases in a self-reflexive effort to approach our sources. The long timespan and regional, as well as social variation within what we call 'ancient Egypt' makes this a daunting and yet very rich task. For the moment I call this a thought experiment, to indicate that further discussion is welcome and necessary.

The impressive list of publications of Marilina Betrò shows her broad interest ranging from Egyptian religion, archaeology and philology to the history of Egyptology. This volume celebrates her long-standing and inspiring career, with a focus on the interdisciplinarity of Egyptology. Working as a philologist or an archaeologist in Egypt requires a deep commitment to give proper attention to the many types of sources that are at our disposal, and a theoretical grounding to interpret our findings. In the spirit of Marilina's multi-disciplinary interests my contribution is a brief thought experiment that is based on two main considerations: in the first place that religion suffused life in ancient Egypt and was not a separate category or realm and, secondly, that the animals that play such a very important, but understudied role in ancient Egyptian thought, were of a very different order than they are in present day society. During my research for this paper I used Marilina's relevant and inspiring publications. Her article on Sobek of Semenu, for instance, provides exactly the balanced and well-founded approach to ancient Egyptian phenomena that helps the discipline grow and develop

new insights based on appreciation for work done by our disciplinary ancestors.

It seems unnecessary to say this, because it has been said by many Egyptologists throughout the history of the field, but 'religion' was not a separate category in ancient Egypt. This is borne out by the language, which does not have a single term for 'religion',[1] but most importantly it is clear from the considerations and practices that suffused every part of life. And yet in Egyptology we insist on writing books on 'Egyptian religion', we discuss 'the sacred', 'magic', 'theology', 'practice', 'medicine', 'state religion', 'politics', and 'popular religion' as if these were categories that existed universally before and beyond our understanding of the world. Not only that, but in some of the literature the separation between 'high' and 'popular' religion is tinged with a value proposition.[2] This is, however, problematic, because our classification of ancient thought includes a validation and assessment that leads inevitably to a warped representation.

The ancient Egyptian explanations of positive and negative occurrences were attributed by Egyp-

---

[*] Willeke Wendrich – Politecnico di Torino willeke.wendrich@polito.it; University of California, Los Angeles - wendrich@humnet.ucla.edu.
[1] BAINES 1991, 123-200; RITNER 1997, 217.
[2] *E.g.* RITNER 1997, 207 "The priest, of course, was not immune to influence from the general popular culture".

tologists to influences that in a Western worldview might be called 'divine' if positive, 'demonic' if negative, 'super-natural' when neutral. If we instead consider that 'super-natural' was merely 'natural', an accepted given in the Egyptian way of thinking,[3] integrated and rational within a cohesive world view that is fundamentally different from ours, we create a useful analytical framework in which we can trace neutral, positive or negative outcomes of human interaction with the world without being hampered by our own judgements based on skepsis, or unrecognized biases.

ANIMALS AND ONTOLOGY

The 'ontological turn' in anthropology is helpful in this regard. The inspiration has come especially from anthropologists working in South-America and the Pacific in the tradition of Marilyn Strathern,[4] Eduardo Viveiros de Castro,[5] Martin Holbraad,[6] and Philippe Descola.[7] The main drive of this anthropological approach is to understand the way of being in the world, the definition of the relationships between humans and their environment, but not necessarily in a human-centered way. By considering the agency of animals, but also of natural phenomena and objects that in a Western ontology are considered in-animate, this anthropological approach allows a deeper understanding of the societies and cultures with which we interact. It also counteracts possible mis-understandings borne from fundamentally different ways of perceiving the world and the place of human beings in it. None of the examples that these authors, and others who have followed their lead, bring forward should be directly compared to the Egyptian material. Their value lies in urging us to step back and imagine the potential of a thoroughly different world view underlying the sources we use to understand ancient Egypt.

It is not new for Egyptology to realize this and acknowledge the cosmogony and cosmology of ancient Egypt, the becoming, creation, structures and workings of the universe that underly ancient Egyptian thought.[8] Related, yet also in contrast, ontology and epistemology address how beings are, how they gain knowledge about the world, and what is considered 'valid' knowledge. The term 'beings' in the previous sentence has been chosen with purpose, because it is a category that might include humans, but also animals, artefacts, plants, rocks, weather, moon, sun and stars. Or it might not. In her work the anthropologist Marilyn Strathern emphasizes the importance of seeking and defining relationships and perhaps this is the most suitable and fruitful approach to understanding ancient Egyptian thought. Relationships are after all influenced by, but also influence the entities that are being related. Included in these relationships is the consideration of our own relation to the subject matter, which forms the basis of self-reflexivity.

Perhaps the most important self-reflexive question to ask is an epistemological one: why do we consider some explanations or interpretations valid, and others not. As scholars we build arguments, but often at the heart of an argument is a conviction.[9] The useful question to ask is 'why can I accept some explanations of ancient rationality and others not?'. This touches upon the heart of conflicting ontologies and epistemologies: some ways of being are apparently acceptable (read: imaginable, or believable) to us, others are not. Some types and sources of (ancient) knowledge we consider valid, others we do not. As Egyptologists we are confronted with epistemologies in our own time, which we judge inacceptable, such as those underlying the supposition that the pyramids are a power source, or have been built by aliens.[10] Similarly, the breathless excitement of non-Egyptologists about Egyptian magic is classified as a misunderstanding of the term *ḥkꜣ*.[11]

The Egyptological literature readily recognizes the importance and integration of *ḥkꜣ* in Egyptian imagery, practice, and texts. The translation used

---

[3]   Ritner 1997, 8.
[4]   Strathern 1988; 1996; 2020.
[5]   Viveiros de Castro 1998, 469-88; 2017.
[6]   Holbraad, Pedersen 2017.
[7]   Descola 2013.
[8]   Wengrow 1999, 597-613.
[9]   Kessler 2001, 139-86 in n. 27 he writes: "*Ich glaube einfach nicht* dass die psychische Lage des mit Blindheit Geschlagenen der des Lourde-Pilgers entspricht, der vor der Statue das persönliche Wunder einer Erlösung von seiner unheilbaren Krankheit sucht." (emphasis added).
[10]   Gosden 2020, 106.
[11]   Examples are: Hall 2019 and Reed 2021.

is 'magic', but explanations of what that pertains stay firmly, and rightly, away from the flights of fancy that this translation provokes in a particular segment of the popular press. Although it is said time and again that there is no sharp distinction between religion, magic and science (medical, geological, hydrological, astronomical, etc.) in ancient Egypt, just by mentioning these as part of a continuum, we make the distinction and separate the realm of epistemology from the realm of ontology. Chris Gosden calls the ancient universe 'sentient',[12] and the use of this term gets at the heart of the matter. By recognizing that the universe is involved in *ḥkȝ*, as an agnostic source of power, we enable ourselves to see our categories of living humans, gods, ancestors, nature and animals in a network of relationships. Some of our categories seem to overlap with those mentioned above, *ʿnḫ.w*, *nṯr.w*, *ȝḫ.w* can perhaps be understood within our categories of humans, gods and ancestors. Our category 'nature', however, is an amalgam of living entities, geological and astronomical phenomena, including spirits, demons, the inundation, the earth, plants, the deserts, the sky, sun, moon, stars and animals of all kinds. Just as the Egyptian language did not have a word for religion, neither did it for spirits, demons, or animals as separate groups of beings.[13] So how should we then consider the relations between humans and 'nature'?

Any anthropologist is aware that the ontological understanding of the world differs widely, even within 'Western culture'. Philippe Descola divides understanding the world based on similarity or difference of being and does so on two planes, physicality – whether entities are similar or different, not just in body, exterior, or appearance, but also in the basic understanding of what their physicality is considered to entail – and interiority, the fundamental similarity or difference of being. Naturalism is one of the four categories that Descola proposes.[14] Humans and animals, for instance, are similar in physicality, but different in 'interiority', a term that can be understood as the intangible aspects of a being. This distinction of humans and other animals has a long history in

biological, psychological, cognitive scientific and philosophical literature.

Apart from the naturalist approach, which he considers typical for western science, he also discerns three other ways of being in the world. He uses the general term animism as the connection between different physicalities that can have a similar interiority, for instance kinship of humans and jaguars. Of the other two categories totemism (similar physicality, similar interiority) and analogism (different physicality, different interiority), the latter is perhaps the most familiar to those living in a Western society, because the perceived analogy between the universe and an individual's fate (astrology), as well the reading of tea leaves and hand lines would fall in this category. From the point of view of naturalism these practices are usually considered irrational or superstitious.

Descola also gives examples of West-African thought where a person is divided into many different parts, among which a double and a shadow.[15] This is a striking analogy of some of the aspects that are part of ancient Egyptian personhood, as we can gather from sources, such as the Am Duat. Yet unless analogies are considered while paying careful attention to similarities and differences and ensure they are embedded in their temporal and regional context, they remain superficial. A comparison of ancient Egyptian and West-African features of personhood shows us that Descola's approach to and description of different ontologies is useful in understanding what similarities and differences might be based on. In his exploration of the religion of ancient Egypt, Stephen Quirke considers how Descola's fourfold division of ontologies could help us reflect on our sources in a way that is less determined by a western, naturalist, understanding of the world.[16] It helps remind us that our way of being in de world, and our epistemology, that which we consider valid knowledge, is very particular, quite recent, and not as inescapably suffused even in modern Western society as we academics tend to think. In other words, it behoofs us to critically assess what we consider 'real', or 'literal', in opposition to 'symbolic' or 'figurative'. This is not an opposition to 'rational' and 'irrational', because it might

---

12   Gosden 2020, 74.
13   te Velde 1975, 980-4.
14   Descola 2013.
15   Descola 2013, 222.
16   Quirke 2014, 39-40.

well be that our attempts at rationalization urge us to choose calling something 'symbolic' instead of 'real' and interpret something as 'figurative' rather than 'literal', in order to make an explanation acceptable, sending us into a semiotic swamp. Similarly, academic use of the term 'personification', often of natural phenomena, is a rationalizing attempt to explain what a god, saint or demon might stand for. It does not explain how power and agency is represented by considering the inundation, darkness, or protection an embodied entity, with hands, feet, and a mouth to utter words. Therefore, clarifying not only what our interpretations and conclusions are based on, but also why and how, is an important step in explicating what we consider valid reasoning within the ontology that we seek to represent. For instance, knotting a knot to 'bind' a spoken word is a very rational assumption and thus an effective action in ancient Egyptian thought.[17] We should ask ourselves then: how do we know that this is so, what are our sources? An example: several prescriptions for healing, especially methods for curing invisible problems such as headaches, require the combination of spoken word and knotting. Knots and numbers are closely connected, and we can readily accept within our epistemology that seven knots equals seven repetitions of pronouncing a spell. Proposing that the action of knotting literally fastens the words requires acceptance of a different way of thinking and as Egyptologists we should ask ourselves and be explicit about why we consider that binding words is a valid suggestion for the prescription to make knots. Is it because from the context of the sources, a medical text, the action that is prescribed with the words is meant for the serious business of healing and do we, therefore, take these prescriptions seriously? Spoken words are ephemeral and fleeting, while the knots are not only a reminder that the words once were spoken (something that is also true in Western ontology), but the knots also effectively hold the words (something that in a western ontology we would perhaps tend to classify as 'belief', or in a more generous naturalist assessment as 'placebo-effect'). Studying these sources means going back and forth between the suspension of disbelief and taking what is laid out

before us (in archaeology, imagery, or text) seriously.[18]

The limitation of Descola's fourfold division is caused by the particular way in which he organizes his argument. Tim Ingold critiques his book as the celebration of a typical 'naturalist' approach that implicitly considers this one cluster of ontologies more valid than the three others.[19] By creating a well-organized division of these two aspects 'physicality' and 'interiority' the method itself is rooted in a naturalist ontology. In much of his work, Ingold argues against the over-classification of behavior. He considers it a problem of analysis and potentially the basis of circular reasoning: do social structures exist a-priori, as driver of social interaction, that can be deduced ('discovered') by the observer? Or are social structures a description and organization of the perceived social practice? He maintains that the circularity happens when descriptions of behavior also become explanations for it.[20] This foundational discussion between two great thinkers is helpful in our consideration of the role of animals in ancient Egyptian religion in two ways: on the one hand the fundamental consideration that the relation of humans to other animals varies through space and time (Descola), and on the other in guarding ourselves against assessing this relationship according to a convoluted hidden foregrounding of our deep-seated convictions (Ingold). That this latter has happened in the understanding of ancient Egyptian religion becomes clear if we regard the relations between animals, humans and the gods.

ANIMALS AND HUMANS

The important, but undertheorized role of animals in ancient Egypt is evident in many ways. In a section called *The separateness of the human in Egypt 3000-525 BC*, Quirke outlines "evidence for of animals alongside humans"[21] as a description of how the relations between humans and animals should be understood. This does not get to the meat of the issue, however. Many types of animals were eaten as food, and animals were companions, they were considered serious threats, or admired for their prowess. But if we consider that animals in ancient Egypt might have been viewed through a

---

[17] WENDRICH 2006.
[18] NYORD 2018.
[19] INGOLD 2016; 2000.
[20] INGOLD 2000, 382-3.
[21] QUIRKE 2014, 40.

different lens, based on a different ontology, then we need to take into account that the relationships between humans and other animals could have been much more than 'living alongside'.

In our society humans are set apart from other animals and their relationship is one of power over or interdependence with. This allows us to use animals as pets, companions, beast of burden, or – either grown or hunted – food. The relationship in ancient Egypt has been considered as quite different: humans and animals were created by the god Khnum and humans were not set in a position of power over other animals, but existed alongside them.[22] In archaeology this relationship is mostly studied through the treatment of non-human animals after death. Often cited are the predynastic burials of large animals, elephant, aurochs, hartebeest, hippopotami, bull, cow, dog, goat and baboon in Hierakonpolis.[23] These burials surrounding a human tomb at cemetery HK6 obviously carried meaning, as did the tombs of 'sacred' bulls of Memphis, Heliopolis and Armant. The mummification and burial of millions of cats, dogs, ibises, baboons and falcons have led to bemusement by Egyptologists. Frankfort bemoans the "horrible concreteness" of the animal cemeteries which "fill the Egyptologist with painful embarrassment – for this, we must admit, is polytheism with a vengeance."[24] These mass-burials of mummified animal remains have been interpreted as reflections of true piety, or cynically as a religious tourism industry.[25]

Burials of individual animals unrelated to particular temples or cults, are often interpreted as interments of pets, for instance because they were familiar for us as pets (dogs and cats), or were wearing a collar.[26] Collaring of animals indicates that they were held in captivity, although it is unclear whether this would have been a lengthy proximity to humans (perhaps as pet), or a short-term restraining of a captured wild animal. Other animals held in captivity, or in co-habitation with humans, were household and 'production' animals, such as geese, pigeons, sheep, goats, pigs, cows and donkeys. Information on animals as food in households is mostly found through zooarchaeological research, rather than through an interpretation of wall decorations and offering lists. Detailed analysis of the refuse of the Menkaure workers settlement shows a diet rich in protein, including choice pieces of meat.[27] In the relation between humans and other animals we do not know if animals that were killed for food were given special consideration. The slaughtering scenes on tomb walls cannot be considered representative of the occasions, frequency and types of consumption of meat outside burial and temple contexts, but they provide important indications of the involvement of the priesthood in the killing of animals meant for the offering tables.

While interpreting the relations between animals and humans, we should not only ask ourselves whether we consider some animals as pets, others as producers of milk or meat, because these types of relations are familiar to us, but we should also take into account what other relations animals have.

ANIMALS AND GODS

In a section titled *Sacred animals and otherness*, Henri Frankfort emphasized the problem of using the term 'animal-gods' and attempts to explain this 'most alien feature' of ancient Egyptian religion.

> It is undeniable that there is something altogether peculiar about the meaning which animals possessed for the Egyptians. Elsewhere in Africa or North America, for example, it seems that the mutual dependence of man and beast (in the case of cattle cults, for instance), explains animal worship. But in Egypt *the animal as such*, irrespective of its specific nature, seems to possess religious significance.[28]

A simplistic (and faulty) interpretation of ancient Egyptian religion holds that animal worship was a feature of the dawn of Egyptian civilization during the predynastic period.[29] Jéquier, for instance, proposed an evolutionist ranking in which

---

22   Hornung 1967; te Velde 1980.
23   Quirke 2014; Wengrow 2013, 45.
24   Frankfort 1948, 9.
25   Smith 1974; Kessler 2003; Nicholson 2023.
26   Piotr, Osypinska 2019.
27   Redding 1991, 2010; Ahmed, Redding 2020.
28   Frankfort 1948, 9 original emphasis.
29   Silverman 1991, 10.

Egyptian religion developed out of its first, most primitive, stage of fetishism (*nṯr* flag, *bnbn* stone), to zoolatry, to the veneration of anthropomorphic deities, organized in (family) groups, while Hornung used the term fetish as well.[30] This approach was met with criticism early on, for instance by Frankfort, who pushed back against a teleological or evolutionistic interpretation of Egyptian religion and the veneration of animals as a survival of a primitive cultural stage.[31]

Rather than considering 'the animal as such' as possessing religious significance, an animal's behavior was the factor that defined its position within the religious sphere.[32] Egyptians as keen observants of the world, of the prowess of an ichneumon in killing snakes, of the scarab in pushing its eggs in a ball of dung, of baboons screeching at sunrise, of hippopotami in protecting their young, may have led a culture to value animals as sentient beings and venerate them as possessors of power. This requires, however, an acceptance of non-human animals as agents or representatives of divine power, which brings us back to an ontology that differs fundamentally from the modern Western one.

In the ancient Egyptian sources, the categories of gods, demons, *akhu*, humans (at least the members of the elite) can be conceived as a continuum, because they all have a certain power and agency, expressed as *ḥkꜣ*. The potential of *ḥkꜣ* (often and problematically translated as 'magic') is not limited to gods, but can also be a property of, or used by demons and humans (especially priests). Furthermore, *ḥkꜣ* is not inherently good or evil.[33] Additionally, all of the categories mentioned above can have one or several *bꜣ.w*, appearances or representations of divine power. It is unclear if animals as such were identified as *ꜣḫ*, or considered to possess *ḥkꜣ*, unless they are incorporated in spirits, gods or demons. Yet they are representing powerful positive and negative categories. They can cause chaos, or aid in maintaining order; represent danger or provide protection; they are prey and predator for living and deceased humans.[34] They serve as offering for the gods and as food for deceased and, as I will argue below, they are in particular cases, interchangeable with humans.

With the consumption of the animal, its power is presumably ingested as well. This important aspect of eating is expressed in the so-called cannibal hymn (PT 273-274), which alludes to the deceased king (Unas and Teti), as a raging bull, feeding on his fathers and mothers, people and gods. Apart from devouring and thus incorporating divine powers, the pyramid texts also include a great many references to transformations of Unas and Teti in animals.[35]

The many ways in which gods and demons are either fully human (Ptah), fully animal (Apep), hybrid animal (Ammut), human-animal hybrid (mostly as animal-headed gods), or all of the above (Hathor as cow, cow-headed, cow-eared or human), do not represent a difference in power, value or meaning. The full snakes Apep and Rekek, are extremely powerful existential threats, Mehen and Sata offer ongoing protection. Animal-related gods and demons need hands to hold the attributes of their occupation, so do 'in-animate' objects (usually hieroglyphs) that, for instance, need to hold up the sun. We should move away from classifying anthropomorphic, theriomorphic or chremamorphic configurations, that can be found in different types of descriptions and depictions, as 'symbolic', or 'personified'. Instead we can gain new insights by considering these configurations as animated powers with very specific characteristics based on animal behavior. This is where animals were accepted as having agency: their behavior clarified intent that was not relegated to what we think is rational (finding mates, finding food, maintaining position in a group) but what is fitting within a world where worship is not solely a human activity and where humans are not considered the masters of the universe.

HUMANS AS ANIMALS

Perhaps the most threatening place in the topography of the underworld is the *nm.t*, the place of slaughter. The Book of the Death includes many spells to prevent the deceased to be transported to the *nm.t*. The slaughtering place must have been a well-known feature: it has a parallel in every temple where offers to the gods are being prepared (so

---

[30]   Jéquier 1946; Hornung 1971, 20-30.
[31]   Frankfort 1948, 8.
[32]   Cooper, Evans 2015; Aufrère, Spieser 2021, 222; Wengrow 1999, 44.
[33]   Ritner 1997, 216.
[34]   Lucarelli 2023.
[35]   Eyre 2002.

probably every temple in Egypt). Offering tables of the gods, or the deceased, are supplied with pre-pared foods, bread, fowl, cuts of meat, wine and beer. Among the Old and Middle Kingdom offi-cials of the offering place might be a cook, but not a butcher, as described, for instance, in the Abusir papyri for the forecourt of the pyramid temple of Niusserre at Abusir.[36] The slaughtering is not done on the altar, yet it is an integral part of the temple service. Dieter Kessler describes that god-specif-ic animals were mediators between the human priests and the god: for Ra the smell of roasted meat would rise up, for Atum the rites focused on animals that lived invisibly in the earth, in dark muddy waters, or by night: snakes, shrews, catfish or night birds.[37] Yet many of the animals that were actually slaughtered were somehow related to Seth: cattle, but red-colored cattle, red-haired cats, red dogs. We do not have the full evidence to en-able a detailed understanding of the slaughtering preferences, or prescriptions, that went on through time and in every part of Egypt. It is quite clear, however, that in many cases during the pharaonic period the slaughtered animals were not the *bꜣ.w* of the god, but on the contrary, the enemies of the god. Animals that were linked to Seth, such as the hippopotamus or the crocodile, are often depicted as being speared. This is especially evident in the decoration program of the Early Roman temple of Horus in Edfu, but may have been a widespread understanding of the type of animal that was suit-ed to be slaughtered. Once we discern slaughter-ing from offering, the character of the slaughtered animal is more akin to be an enemy of, than sacred to the god.

Harco Willems in his 1990 article makes a con-vincing argument on the relation between crime, punishment and slaughtering.[38] In the light of this line of reasoning the term 'human sacrifice' is un-suitable for a situation in which, apparently, the distinction between human and non-human ani-mal is stripped away. Punishment of 'rebels', of enemies of the king and hence of Ma'at, deserve to be slaughtered. Enemies of the 'state', *i.e.* en-emies of the King, *i.e.* enemies of the gods need to be killed in a ritual way to restore the balance of justice. Their death and subsequent offer is not an abomination or a pollution of sacred space, but

the contrary: a true tribute to the god. It is unclear (but I would like to think unlikely) whether the meat of the 'rebels' would be put on the altar to be subsequently consumed either by the god, or by the people who were dependent on or shared in the reversed offerings (the term 'cannibal hymn' may not at all be suitable in this light). In the case of the agents of Seth in human form, the slaughtering may have been performative.

CONCLUSION

Considering the relation between animals, human and gods in an ontology of ancient Egypt that we should recognize as different from ours, clarifies that these are categories with considerable overlap and interdependence. Man (rather than humanity, but that is another chapter) was not conceived as the top of the natural world, as it was in much of the Judeo-Christian or Islamic understanding of creation. Gods and animals were created as well as humans. The apparent acceptance that animals have agency and sentience allows for the iden-tification of animal behavior as indicative of a close relation with particular gods. There was no inherent ranking of value or importance of gods depicted as humans, animals, or hybrid forms, be-cause in the Egyptian understanding the narrow link of gods and demons to animals was not an integration of a 'lesser' being. In a way it could be maintained that many species of animal were more closely linked to the divine, than lower class humans. A consideration of the relation between animals and humans does, interestingly, present a situation in which humans and (red-hued) animals are considered not just similar, but probably inter-changeable: as Agents of Seth on the way to the slaughterhouse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AHMED, REDDING 2020 = M.H. Ahmed, R.W. Redding, "Faunal Remains from Excavations at the Men-kaure Valley Temple (MVT-W), 2019", *JARCE* 56 (2020), 17-34.

AUFRÈRE, SPIESER 2021 = S.H. Aufrère, C. Spieser (eds), "Exit la nèpe… introït le scorpion", in S.H. Aufrère, C. Spieser, *Le microcosme animal en Egypte ancienne: de l'effroi a la veneration: Etude d'archeo- et ethnoarthropodologie culturelle*, OLA 297, Leuven 2021, 221-81.

---

[36]   ERNST 2001.
[37]   KESSLER 2003, 59.
[38]   WILLEMS 1990.

Baines 1991 = J. Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice", in B.E. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myth, and Personal Practice*, London 1991, 123-200.

Cooper, Evans 2015 = J. Cooper, L. Evans, "Transforming into a Swallow: Coffin Text Spell 294 and Avian Behaviour", *ZÄS* 142 (2015), 12-24.

Descola 2013 = P. Descola, *Beyond Nature and Culture*, Chicago-London 2013.

Ernst 2001 = H. Ernst, "Der Kult in den Opferhöfen der Totentempel des Alten und Mittleren Reiches", *SAK* 29 (2001), 41-53.

Eyre 2002 = C. Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn: A Cultural and Literary Study*, Liverpool 2002.

Frankfort 1948 = H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian religion, an interpretation*, Lectures on the history of religions, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies, new ser., 2, New York 1948.

Gosden 2020 = C. Gosden, *Magic: A History: From Alchemy to Witchcraft, from the Ice Age to the Present*, New York 2020.

Hall 2019 = J. Hall, *The Magical Sexual Practices of Ancient Egypt: The Alchemy of Night Enchiridion*, Winchester, UK-Washington, USA 2019.

Holbraad, Pedersen 2017 = M. Holbraad, M.A. Pedersen, *The Ontological Turn: An Anthropological Exposition*, New Departures in Anthropology, Cambridge 2017. Available online at https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/ontological-turn/2BAEBEAAAA3340EFC7ABFB750206EED0 <accessed 14.05.2023>.

Hornung 1967 = E. Hornung, "Die Bedeutung des Tieres in alten Ägypten", *StudGener* 20 (1967), 69-84.

Hornung 1971 = E. Hornung, *Der Eine und die Vielen: ägyptische Gottesvorstellungen*, Darmstadt 1971.

Ikram 1995 = S. Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt*, Leuven 1995.

Ingold 2000 = T. Ingold, *Perception of the Environment: Essays in Livelihood, Dwelling and Skill*, London 2000.

Ingold 2016 = T. Ingold, "A Naturalist Abroad in the Museum of Ontology: Philippe Descola's *Beyond Nature and Culture*", *Anthropol Forum* 26 (2016), 301-20.

Jéquier 1946 = G. Jéquier, *Considérations sur les religions égyptiennes*, Neuchâtel 1946. Accessible en ligne à https://archive.org/details/Jequier1946.

Kessler 2001 = D. Kessler, "Die kultische Bindung der Ba-Konzeption 2. Teil: Die Ba-Zitate auf den Kultstelen und Ostraka des Neuen Reiches", *SAK* 29 (2001), 139-86.

Kessler 2003 = D. Kessler, "Tierische Missverständnisse: Grundsätzliches zu Fragen des Tierkultes", in M. Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Tierkulte im pharaonischen Ägypten und im Kulturvergleich*, IBAES 4, Berlin 2003.

Lucarelli 2023 = R. Lucarelli, "'When Everything Is Human, the Human Is an Entirely Different Thing …' Animal Powers in the Ancient Egyptian Demonic Imagery and Beyond", *JANER* 23 (2023), 56-68.

Nicholson 2023 = P. Nicholson, "Between Humanity and the Gods: Sacred Animals and Their Place in Popular Region at Saqqara", *JAEI* 39 (2023), 221-30.

Nyord 2018 = R. Nyord, "'Taking Ancient Egyptian Mortuary Religion Seriously': Why Would We, and How Could We?", *JAEI* 17 (2018), 73-87. Available online at https://egyptianexpedition.org/articles/taking-ancient-egyptian-mortuary-religion-seriously-why-would-we-and-how-could-we/ <accessed 24.11.2023>.

Piotr, Osypinska 2019 = O. Piotr, M. Osypinska, "Excavation of the small animal cemetery at the Roman Red Sea harbor of Berenike in 2018 and 2019", *PAM* (2019), 175-93.

Quirke 2014 = S. Quirke, *Exploring Religion in Ancient Egypt*, 1st edition, Chichester 2014.

Redding 1991 = R. Redding, "The Role of the pig in the subsistence system of Ancient Egypt", in P.J. Crabtree, K. Ryan, *Animal Use and Culture Change*, MascaP 8, Philadelphia 1991, 20-30.

Redding 2010 = R. Redding, "Status and Diet at the Workers' Town, Giza, Egypt", in D.V. Campana, P. Crabtree, S.D. deFrance, J. Lev-Tov, A.M. Choyke (eds), *Anthropological Approaches to Zooarchaeology: Colonialism, Complexity and Animal Transformations*, Oxford 2010, 65-75.

Reed 2021 = E.C. Reed, *Ancient Egyptian Magic for Modern Witches: Rituals, Meditations, and Magical Tools*, Newburyport 2021.

Ritner 1997 = R.K. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 3rd 2008 Reprint ed. edition, Chicago IL 1997.

Silverman 1991 = D.P. Silverman, "Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt", in B.E. Shafer (ed.), *Religion in Ancient Egypt: Gods, Myth, and Personal Practice*, London 1991, 7-87.

Smith 1974 = H.S. Smith, *A visit to ancient Egypt: life at Memphis & Saqqara, c. 500-30 B.C.*, Warminster 1974.

Strathern 1988 = M. Strathern, *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*, Berkeley 1988.

Strathern 1996 = A. Strathern, *Body thoughts*, Ann Arbor 1996.

Strathern 2020 = M. Strathern, *Relations. An Anthropological Account*, Durham-London 2020.

TE VELDE 1975 = H. te Velde, "Dämonen", in W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden 1975, 980-4.

TE VELDE 1980 = H. te Velde, "A Few Remarks upon the Religious Significance of Animals in Ancient Egypt", *Numen* 27 (1980), 76-82.

VIVEIROS DE CASTRO 1998 = E. Viveiros de Castro, "Cosmological Deixis and Amerindian Perspectivism", *JRAI* 4 (1998), 469-88.

VIVEIROS DE CASTRO 2017 = E. Viveiros de Castro, *Cannibal Metaphysics*, (trans. by.) P. Skafish, 1st edition, Minneapolis MN 2017.

WENDRICH 2006 = W. Wendrich, "Entangled, Connected or Protected? The Power of Knots and Knotting in Ancient Egypt", in K. Szpakowska (ed.), *Through a Glass Darkly: Magic, Dreams, and Prophecy in Ancient Egypt*, Swansea 2006, 243-69.

WENGROW 1999 = D. Wengrow, "The Intellectual Adventure of Henri Frankfort: A Missing Chapter in the History of Archaeological Thought", *AJA* 103 (1999), 597-613

WENGROW 2013 = D. Wengrow, *The Origins of Monsters: Image and Cognition in the First Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, 1st edition, Princeton 2013.

WILLEMS 1990 = H. Willems, "Crime, Cult and Capital Punishment (Mo'alla Inscription 8)", *JEA* 76 (1990), 27-54.

Religious phenomena can be considered a historical product, mediated by indirect forms, texts, images, objects, and different actors, people, animals, things, and nature. Permeated by a countless panoply of gods, whose identity syncretically merged and divided into different and akin entities, the supernatural seamlessly fuses with daily life matters, and religions are not separable nor meant to be ontologically separated from political, economic, and social questions. The volume of 18 papers, presented to prof. Marilina Betrò, aims to explore the complex dimensions of Egyptian religions, fostering a dialogue between gods, landscapes, animals, and people.

Gianluca Miniaci is Associate Professor in Egyptology at the University of Pisa. He is currently co-director of the archaeological mission at Zawyet Sultan (Minya, Egypt), director of the Queen Ahhotep and Clay Figurines projects, and editor-in-chief for several international journals and series. He is the author of 6 monographs, more than 100 scientific papers, and editor of 15 research volumes.

Christian Greco has been the director of the Museo Egizio since 2014. He curated many exhibitions in several countries. He is also teaching courses of Material Culture of Ancient Egypt and Museology at many national universities and at the New York University in Abu Dhabi. He has been co-director of the Italian-Dutch archaeological mission at Saqqara since 2011.

Paolo Del Vesco is a curator and archaeologist at the Museo Egizio, with excavation experience in Italy, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the Sudan. Since 2015, he has been involved in the museum's archaeological missions in Saqqara and Deir el-Medina, in addition to contributing to the design of gallery displays and the development of temporary exhibitions.

Mattia Mancini is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the University of Pisa dealing with archival research, the history of Egyptology and the formation of Egyptian collections. He is a member of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Dra Abu el-Naga and the Ahhotep Project. He is also managing editor of the journal Egitto e Vicino Oriente.

Cristina Alù has obtained her joint PhD degree with the University of Pisa-Universität zu Köln and is currently a post-doctoral fellow at the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale and the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo, focusing on mining sites in the Egyptian Eastern Desert. She is also a member of the Wadi el-Hudi Expedition.

9 791256 080373

€ 25,00