

Egypt

The World
of the Pharaohs

Egypt

The World of the Pharaohs

Edited by
Regine Schulz and Matthias Seidel

Contributing authors are

Hartwig Altenmüller, Dorothea Arnold, Edith Bernhauer, Günter Burkard,
Albrecht Endruweit, Rita E. Freed, Renate Germer, Manfred Görg, Manfred Gutgesell,
Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, Dieter Kessler, Rosemarie Klemm, Dieter Kurth, Ulrich Luft,
Eva Pardey, Daniel Polz, Wafaa el Saddik, Helmut Satzinger, Thomas Schneider,
Mareel Schoch, Regine Schulz, Matthias Seidel, Stephan Seidlmayer,
Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, Elisabeth Siebert, Hourig Sourouzzian, Rainer Stadelmann,
Christine Strauss-Seeber, Martina Ullmann, Ursula Verhoeven,
Gabriele Wenzel, Joachim Willeitner, Stefan Wimmer, Susanne Wohlfarth

KÖNEMANN

Frontispiece: *King Horemheb before Deities*
Valley of the Kings, Horemheb's Tomb, New Kingdom,
Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1300 BC
The ruler is depicted between the goddess Isis (at left) and the
jackal-headed god Anubis, to whom he offers a sacrifice.

Endpaper: *The temples on the island of Philae*
This illustration from the famous *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–1822)
depicts the sanctuaries with the large Temple of Isis built in Ptolemaic
times in the center.

Final vignette: *Book seal of Amenophis III.*
New Kingdom, Eighteenth Dynasty, ca. 1370 BC; white and blue faience; H. 4.3 cm,
W. 2.04 cm; Paris, Musée du Louvre, E 3043.
This faience plaque inscribed with the name of Amenophis III served as a type of
ex libris in the shape of a miniature stele. Thus, it was probably secured
to a box holding papyrus scrolls. However, unlike other specimens,
in this case no book title is known.

© 1998 Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH
Bonner Straße 126, D-50968 Cologne

Idea and concept: Ludwig Könemann
Art director and design: Peter Feierabend
Project coordinator: Ute E. Hammer
Assistant: Jeanette Fentroß
Typesetting: Erill Vinzenz Fritz, Sabine Vonderstein
Picture research: Barbara Linz
Production manager: Detlev Schaper
Reproductions: CLG Fotolito, San Martino Buon Albergo (VR)

Original title: *Ägypten. Die Welt der Pharaonen.*

© 1998 for the English edition:
Könemann Verlagsgesellschaft mbH
Bonner Straße 126, D-50968 Cologne

Translation from German: Helen Atkins, Peter Barton, Anthea Bell,
Peter Black, Jacqueline Guigui-Stolberg, Pieter Hos,
Tobias Kommerell, Iain Macmillan
Editor: Dr. Peter Der Manuelian, Boston
Project manager: Bettina Kaufmann
Assistants: Jackie Dobbyne, Stephan Küffner
Typesetting: Goodfellow & Egan, Cambridge
Printing and binding: Neue Stalling, Oldenburg

Printed in Germany
ISBN 3-89508-913-3

10 9 8 7 6

The publisher would like to thank all participating researchers and institutes
for their gracious cooperation, above all both editors of the original edition,
PD Dr. Regine Schulz and Dr. Matthias Seidel for their untiring
and active advice and support.

Egypt

The World of the Pharaohs



Contents

<i>Introduction</i> <i>Dorothea Arnold</i>	6	Between Heaven and Earth – Temples to the Gods in the Middle Kingdom <i>Regine Schulz</i>	132
<i>Foreword</i> <i>Regine Schulz and Matthias Seidel</i>	7	<i>New Kingdom</i>	
<i>Prehistory</i> Egypt's Path to Advanced Civilization <i>Stephan Seidlmayer</i>	8	The Political History of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	142
<i>Early History</i> The Rise of the State to the Second Dynasty <i>Stephan Seidlmayer</i>	24	The Temples – Royal Gods and Divine Kings <i>Regine Schulz and Hourig Sourouzzian</i>	152
<i>Old Kingdom</i> The Political History of the Third to Eighth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	40	The Valley of the Kings <i>Matthias Seidel</i>	216
Royal Tombs from the Age of the Pyramids <i>Rainer Stadelmann</i>	46	The Valley of the Queens <i>Friederike Kampp-Seyfried</i>	244
Daily Life in Eternity – The Mastabas and Rock-cut Tombs of Officials <i>Hartwig Altenmüller</i>	78	Overcoming Death – The Private Tombs of Thebes <i>Friederike Kampp-Seyfried</i>	248
Living Images – The Private Statue <i>Helmut Satzinger</i>	94	The Hidden Tombs of Memphis <i>Matthias Seidel</i>	264
<i>Middle Kingdom</i> The Political History from the Ninth to the Seventeenth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	104	<i>Late Period</i> Tanis and Thebes – The Political History of the Twenty-first to Thirtieth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	270
The Tombs of the Pharaohs – Between Tradition and Innovation <i>Rainer Stadelmann</i>	108	Assimilating the Past – The Art of the Late Period <i>Elisabeth Siebert</i>	276
A House for Eternity – The Tombs of Governors and Officials <i>Abdel Ghaffar Shedid</i>	118	<i>Greco-Roman Period</i> The Political History of the Ptolemies and the Imperial Roman Period in Egypt <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	290
		A World Order in Stone – The Late Temples <i>Dieter Kurth</i>	296
		Tomb and Burial Customs after Alexander the Great <i>Joachim Willeitner</i>	312

State and Society

Sacred Kingship <i>Thomas Schneider</i>	322
Beauty and Perfection – Pharaonic Art <i>Rita E. Freed</i>	330
Hieroglyphs – Writing and Literature <i>Stefan Wimmer</i>	342
The Royal Administration and Its Organization <i>Eva Pardey</i>	356
The Military <i>Manfred Gutgesell</i>	364
Economy and Trade <i>Manfred Gutgesell</i>	370
Gifts of the Nile – The Agriculture of a River Oasis <i>Christine Strauss-Seeber</i>	376
Houses, Cities, and Palaces – Ancient Egyptian Lifestyles <i>Albrecht Endruweit</i>	386
Daily Life in the Home – The House as Living Area <i>Gabriele Wenzel</i>	398
Stone and Quarries <i>Rosemarie Klemm</i>	410

Gods, Cults, and the Kingdom of the Dead

A Different World – Religious Conceptions <i>Ulrich Luft</i>	416
Gods and Deities <i>Manfred Görg</i>	432
Conceptions of the Cosmos – The Universe <i>Günter Burkard</i>	444
Royal and Divine Festivals <i>Joachim Willeitner</i>	450

Mummification <i>Renate Germer</i>	458
The Burial <i>Wafaa el-Saddik</i>	470
The Mortuary Cult <i>Ursula Verhoeven</i>	480

Investigations in the Nile Valley

Travelers, Correspondents, and Scholars – Images of Egypt Through the Millennia <i>Regine Schulz</i>	490
The Responsibilities of Archaeology – Recent Excavations <i>Daniel Polz</i>	498

Appendix

Glossary <i>Martina Ullmann</i>	512
Gods of Ancient Egypt <i>Regine Schulz</i>	522
List of Historic Sites <i>Susanne Wohlfarth</i>	524
Egyptian Collections <i>Edith Bernhauer</i>	526
Rulers of Egypt <i>Regine Schulz (according to Jürgen von Beckerath)</i>	528
Chronological Synopsis <i>Marcel Schoch</i>	529
Selected Bibliography <i>Peter Der Manuelian and Martina Ullmann</i>	532
Authors, Index, Picture Credits	

Egypt

The World of the Pharaohs



Egypt

The World of the Pharaohs

Edited by
Regine Schulz and Matthias Seidel

Contributing authors are

Hartwig Altenmüller, Dorothea Arnold, Edith Bernhauer, Günter Burkard,
Albrecht Endruweit, Rita E. Freed, Renate Germer, Manfred Görg, Manfred Gutgesell,
Friederike Kampp-Seyfried, Dieter Kessler, Rosemarie Klemm, Dieter Kurth, Ulrich Luft,
Eva Pardey, Daniel Polz, Wafaa el Saddik, Helmut Satzinger, Thomas Schneider,
Mareel Schoch, Regine Schulz, Matthias Seidel, Stephan Seidlmayer,
Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, Elisabeth Siebert, Hourig Sourouzzian, Rainer Stadelmann,
Christine Strauss-Seeber, Martina Ullmann, Ursula Verhoeven,
Gabriele Wenzel, Joachim Willeitner, Stefan Wimmer, Susanne Wohlfarth

Contents

<i>Introduction</i> <i>Dorothea Arnold</i>	6	Between Heaven and Earth – Temples to the Gods in the Middle Kingdom <i>Regine Schulz</i>	132
<i>Foreword</i> <i>Regine Schulz and Matthias Seidel</i>	7	<i>New Kingdom</i>	
<i>Prehistory</i>		The Political History of the Eighteenth to Twentieth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	142
Egypt's Path to Advanced Civilization <i>Stephan Seidlmayer</i>	8	The Temples – Royal Gods and Divine Kings <i>Regine Schulz and Hourig Sourouzian</i>	152
<i>Early History</i>		The Valley of the Kings <i>Matthias Seidel</i>	216
The Rise of the State to the Second Dynasty <i>Stephan Seidlmayer</i>	24	The Valley of the Queens <i>Friederike Kampp-Seyfried</i>	244
<i>Old Kingdom</i>		Overcoming Death – The Private Tombs of Thebes <i>Friederike Kampp-Seyfried</i>	248
The Political History of the Third to Eighth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	40	The Hidden Tombs of Memphis <i>Matthias Seidel</i>	264
Royal Tombs from the Age of the Pyramids <i>Rainer Stadelmann</i>	46	<i>Late Period</i>	
Daily Life in Eternity – The Mastabas and Rock-cut Tombs of Officials <i>Hartwig Altenmüller</i>	78	Tanis and Thebes – The Political History of the Twenty-first to Thirtieth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	270
Living Images – The Private Statue <i>Helmut Satzinger</i>	94	Assimilating the Past – The Art of the Late Period <i>Elisabeth Siebert</i>	276
<i>Middle Kingdom</i>		<i>Greco-Roman Period</i>	
The Political History from the Ninth to the Seventeenth Dynasties <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	104	The Political History of the Ptolemies and the Imperial Roman Period in Egypt <i>Dieter Kessler</i>	290
The Tombs of the Pharaohs – Between Tradition and Innovation <i>Rainer Stadelmann</i>	108	A World Order in Stone – The Late Temples <i>Dieter Kurth</i>	296
A House for Eternity – The Tombs of Governors and Officials <i>Abdel Ghaffar Shedid</i>	118	Tomb and Burial Customs after Alexander the Great <i>Joachim Willeitner</i>	312

State and Society

Sacred Kingship <i>Thomas Schneider</i>	322
Beauty and Perfection – Pharaonic Art <i>Rita E. Freed</i>	330
Hieroglyphs – Writing and Literature <i>Stefan Wimmer</i>	342
The Royal Administration and Its Organization <i>Eva Pardey</i>	356
The Military <i>Manfred Gutgesell</i>	364
Economy and Trade <i>Manfred Gutgesell</i>	370
Gifts of the Nile – The Agriculture of a River Oasis <i>Christine Strauss-Seeber</i>	376
Houses, Cities, and Palaces – Ancient Egyptian Lifestyles <i>Albrecht Endruweit</i>	386
Daily Life in the Home – The House as Living Area <i>Gabriele Wenzel</i>	398
Stone and Quarries <i>Rosemarie Klemm</i>	410

Gods, Cults, and the Kingdom of the Dead

A Different World – Religious Conceptions <i>Ulrich Luft</i>	416
Gods and Deities <i>Manfred Görg</i>	432
Conceptions of the Cosmos – The Universe <i>Günter Burkard</i>	444
Royal and Divine Festivals <i>Joachim Willeitner</i>	450

Mummification <i>Renate Germer</i>	458
The Burial <i>Wafaa el-Saddik</i>	470
The Mortuary Cult <i>Ursula Verhoeven</i>	480

Investigations in the Nile Valley

Travelers, Correspondents, and Scholars – Images of Egypt Through the Millennia <i>Regine Schulz</i>	490
The Responsibilities of Archaeology – Recent Excavations <i>Daniel Polz</i>	498

Appendix

Glossary <i>Martina Ullmann</i>	512
Gods of Ancient Egypt <i>Regine Schulz</i>	522
List of Historic Sites <i>Susanne Wohlfarth</i>	524
Egyptian Collections <i>Edith Bernhauer</i>	526
Rulers of Egypt <i>Regine Schulz (according to Jürgen von Beckerath)</i>	528
Chronological Synopsis <i>Marcel Schoch</i>	529
Selected Bibliography <i>Peter Der Manuelian and Martina Ullmann</i>	532
Authors, Index, Picture Credits	

Introduction

Ancient Egyptian Art Today

"I want to see the Egyptian art first!" The writer has heard these words again and again from visitors entering The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York for the first time. And indeed the Egyptian works of art – after the famous Impressionists – are the most popular in the museum. This has been the case for decades and still is, not just in New York but in museums all over the world.

What draws people in our computer age so irresistibly to the sculptures, reliefs, paintings, and small artifacts from the valley of the Nile in northeast Africa, objects that are now thousands of years old? Cyril Aldred, the great historian of Egyptian art, attributes their fascination to a simple but immediately compelling common denominator: "The overwhelming impression [of Egyptian art] is of its humanity." Irrespective of all the monumental temples and the many huge sculptures, the dimensions of most ancient Egyptian works of art can be surveyed at a glance, and their content is directly comprehensible. Men, women, and children stand before us in simple clothing, with a few readily understood symbolic attributes. They look straight ahead of them with eyes usually wide open to the world, and their bearing and gestures display self-confidence. Individuality is expressed not only through the precise depiction of physical features but by integration into such generally human categories as the "perfect woman," the "old man," the "corpulent dignitary," the "father of fine children," the "scribe," the "experienced, responsible official," and so on.

An awareness of connections is characteristic of all humanity and its actions. It is expressed in the three-dimensional stone sculptures of Egypt by lingering traces of the cubic form of the original block of stone: in the slabs and pillars that serve as background to the figures and in the "shadow areas" between one standing and one striding leg, between a leg and the pillar behind it, between torso, arms, and hands. The human figure, bound to the stone, is also secured and supported by it. If wooden and metal figures do not display these qualities but show the human body freestanding in space, it is not simply for technical reasons; the fact also emphasizes the special feeling of ancient Egyptian culture for stone as the noblest of materials and a pledge of eternity.

The existence of freestanding figures of wood and metal as well as stone statues is an impressive indication of the experimental creativity of Egyptian artists. The ancient Egyptians themselves thought that artists were directly linked to the divine creative power, as Cyril Aldred again has cogently put it.

All the figures in Egyptian reliefs and paintings are part of a firmly established fundamental system of order. The ordered structure of the world is expressed in the grid pattern into which all the walls are organized. The base lines of each rectangle in the grid may be understood as base lines in the literal sense, lines upon which humans and animals stand and act. Figures standing free in space almost always symbolize the dissolution of order in the Egyptian state. The arrangement of animals and human beings in registers, on the other hand, indicates a structural organization that was of the utmost importance, even in prehistoric times: an act turning the ambient chaos into a civilized world capable of being surveyed and controlled.

Within this system of order reclaimed from chaos, the rich world of life in the Nile oasis can develop freely and be made present in artistic depiction. These works of art show people not only plowing, sowing, harvesting, drawing up lists, storing and distributing food, but building ships and making furniture and other items for everyday use. We see them at celebrations with their families and friends, dancing, making music, and caring for the welfare of the dead in their tombs. As a priest, pharaoh mediates with the gods on behalf of humanity, and as a warrior he wards off the ever-present threat of chaos.

Order as experienced in this world also offers succor in the face of fears of death, for the sun – regarded by the Egyptians as the most important manifestation of the creator god – visits the underworld by night in a life-giving rhythm. Again, the sun generates and maintains life on this side of the tomb. Its light enables the artist to observe the finest of nuances in the faces and bodies of men and beasts, and to depict them on the surface area of sculptures with matchless realism, yet without abandoning the ordered structural system of Egyptian art as it had been created. The linking of that structural order with precise natural observation made the ancient Egyptians perhaps the most creative inventors of "signs" of all time, for their scribes devised and refined thousands of written characters. In hieroglyphic script, word and image were always one, and interpretive art was both writing and symbol.

Despite the great and varied powers of attraction exerted by Egyptian works of art on people of our own time, remarkably few books are devoted specifically to this aspect of the culture of the Nile Valley. The present volume represents an outstanding exception.

Dorothea Arnold

Foreword

Roman emperors, Arab scholars, early travelers, and millions of modern tourists coming year after year have been captivated, and still are, by the extraordinary and powerful fascination of the high civilization of ancient Egypt. The pyramids of Giza, the temple city of Karnak, and the Valley of the Kings, with the tomb of Tutankhamun, represent the unique values of a cultural achievement that will claim its place in the history of mankind for ever. It has a number of characteristic peculiarities that often baffle those from other cultural backgrounds, and to this day many of its real or presumed mysteries are the focus of enduring interest.

The search for ancient wisdom, mystical experiences and hidden treasures has led many who feel the fascination of Egypt to turn repeatedly to the same subjects, for instance the Sphinx and the Pyramid of Cheops, the mummies, the curse of the pharaohs, and powerfully “efficacious” symbols and rites. The chief reason for this may be the impressive size and quality of many pharaonic monuments and their durability in apparent defiance of time, an impressive contrast to the fast-moving world of modern man.

Such notions, born of wishful thinking, constantly come to the fore, and the really sensational aspects of ancient Egypt are often insufficiently appreciated. They include not only the astonishing technical and administrative achievements of the ancient Egyptians, the high standards of their script and their literature, their architecture and pictorial art, but also a concept of the world as a whole that was based on very exact observation of nature, and in which science and religion were an indissoluble unity. However, that concept of the world can easily tempt us to see ancient Egyptian society and its ideas as static, and thus to adopt far too superficial a way of studying them. In view of the countless monuments, the huge

quantity of inscriptions and the almost inconceivable wealth of archaeological finds discovered and studied daily by thousands of scholars, we have a constantly changing picture of ancient Egypt to which we can do justice only by formulating a very wide variety of questions.

The present volume therefore hopes to convey an idea of ancient Egypt that is sufficiently differentiated to indicate the wide variety of development within the state, but it does not dispense with general statements that illustrate particular features of Egyptian culture. It is designed to provide a mixture of the familiar and the new, of basic and detailed information, with an extensive account of the various historic situations, social backgrounds, and religious systems of ancient Egypt. It also attempts to trace the view of the world as a whole that was adopted by the Egyptians themselves.

We would like to express our thanks to the staff of the Seminar für Ägyptologie of Cologne University, the Institut für Ägyptologie of Munich University and the Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim for all their help with the work on this publication, and for making their facilities available to us.

We also offer our grateful thanks to all the authors and our colleagues who have contributed to this project in spite of their many other duties, and who have also been ready and willing to help us overcome a series of unforeseen difficulties. Finally, our thanks go to the editorial team for working with enthusiasm and commitment, in circumstances that were not always easy, on the production of this book, particularly unusual as it is for its wide range and its wealth of illustrations.

Regine Schulz
Matthias Seidel



Egypt's Path to Advanced Civilization

Stephan Seidlmayer

Culture and Natural Surroundings

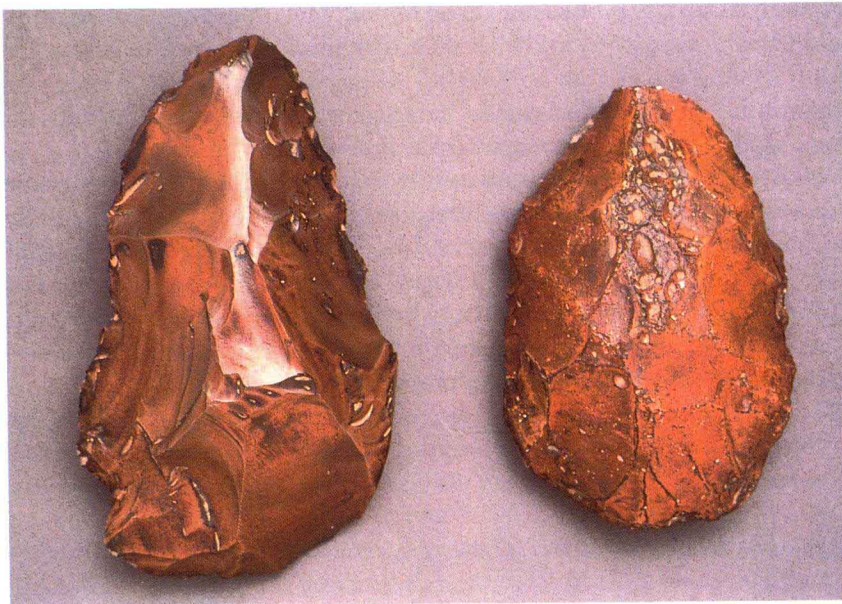
Cultural development is very closely linked to geographical and ecological conditions, and Egypt provides a perfect example of that link. The valley of the Nile is a river oasis lying between two deserts: the wide expanses of the Sahara to the west, and the rugged mountain ranges separating Egypt from the Red Sea to the east. Only in the northeast does a narrow passage over the north coast of the Sinai give access to Palestine and the Near East. The river valley itself, protected and cut off from the outer world, spreads out into an increasingly broad alluvial plain north of the first cataract at Aswan, until the river divides into many distributaries to the north of Cairo, creating the broad fan of the Nile Delta. The country has low rainfall, but the annual flooding of the Nile in late summer provided the conditions for stable agrarian prosperity. These fundamental ecological factors have always, correctly, been recognized as the basis of the pharaonic culture that made such a deep impression on all succeeding generations.

However, these conditions were not always present. In seeking the prehistoric roots of Egyptian culture, we must also examine the changes in its geographical setting. The climate was subject to great

variation. Two factors should be taken into consideration: rainfall and the inundation of the Nile. While the latter influenced living conditions in the valley itself, the former decided whether the bordering desert regions were habitable or not, thus determining the relationship of the Nile Valley to its surroundings, and the relations of its inhabitants with their neighbors.

The Beginnings

Finds of stone tools provide evidence of human life in the Nile Valley going back to the Early Paleolithic. However, it is impossible to discern any characteristics specific to Egypt as a cultural area at this time. Those characteristics emerge only in the Late Paleolithic, somewhere between 25,000 and 10,000 BC. During this period a phase of extreme drought drove the early human groups out of the savannas of the Sahara, where they had led a nomadic life as hunter-gatherers, and into the valley of the Nile. The Nile was still a small river at this time,



1 Head of a human idol

Merimda, the most recent settlement level; ca. the middle of the fifth millennium BC; clay; H. 11 cm; Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 97472. Materials representing hair and beard were originally threaded through the holes around the face. A cylindrical hole at the bottom of the head enabled the object to be mounted on a stick.

2 Hand axes

Theban area; early Paleolithic, pre-100,000 BC; flint; L. 16 cm; London, The British Museum, EA 41496-7.

Heavy hand axes trimmed to shape from flints are a characteristic and universal tool of the earlier Paleolithic. Many such tools are found in the gravel terraces running beside the course of the Nile in Upper Egypt.



3 Polished pottery with herringbone pattern

Merimda, the oldest settlement level; ca. the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth millennium BC; Cairo, Egyptian Museum.

The pottery of the oldest settlement level at Merimda is of high quality. Bowls and deep dishes of fine clay were polished smooth with a hard object on the outside, and on the inside so far as could be reached. The process gave

the surface a dark red-to-purple tone. In many items, a decorative band with a herringbone pattern was incised over the shoulder of the vessel below the rim.

