

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Healing Statues in Late Period Egypt:
Creating Elite Commemoration in a Religious Context

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

Michael Chen

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Healing Statues in Late Period Egypt:
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by

Michael Chen

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2020

Professor Kathlyn M. Cooney, Chair

This dissertation is a study, broadly, of how images and texts were used to create meaning on religious objects through analyzing the compositional designs on ancient Egyptian healing statues of the Late Period (ca. 712-332 B.C.E.). These statues depicted elite individuals, and dense intricate combinations of secret healing spell texts and images were placed on these statues' bodies. Liquids poured over these statues were charged with healing properties, and once charged, these liquids were used by injured or ill Egyptians for healing. Previous research has often focused on the texts inscribed on these statues but has not examined holistically the interactions of all of the religious elements of these statues, nor these elements' engagement with the materiality of the statues. The dense compositional designs of these statues offer a unique opportunity to examine the commission and design of a religious object type within the social, political, and economic environment of ancient Egyptian society. I argue that the placement of religious knowledge on these statues was strategic, and that the strategic placement contributed to their religious potency and to the social competition of the depicted individuals via elite commemoration.

I explore this topic by carefully analyzing placement patterns and interactions between texts and images. In many instances, there is clear intentionality behind the placement of the images and texts, driven by the content of the spell; for example, a spell relating to the hand of a god would be written upon the hand of the statue. Thus, it is only through an analysis of the intericonicity and intertextuality of the religious content that we gain a better understanding of their meaning for the Egyptians. My results show that there was variability in the choice of images and texts, which demonstrates the flexibility of the design, and thus indicates that the Egyptian designers and creators intentionally manipulated religious knowledge onto materiality.

I approach this question in seven chapters. After the introduction, I present an overview of the religious practices of the Late Period (Chapter 2) and healing in private religious practices (Chapter 3). Then, I analyze the layout of images (Chapter 4), texts (Chapter 5), and elite commemoration (Chapter 6) before summarizing my conclusions. I identify specific strategies for placement that enhanced the religious functioning of the objects, including visual opposition, textual wrapping, and textual framing. Furthermore, with the same focus on placement, I show how individualizing markers like names and titles occupied areas that were highly visible to the ritual activities so that these statues furthered the commemoration of the elite individuals represented.

The layout design of healing statues shows that many factors can be at play in the materialization of religious objects in ancient Egypt. These objects were enormously creative and innovative products that reveal the agencies of various individuals in adopting and developing their desires and needs in a healing context. They offer a new perspective for thinking about how people interacted with religious traditions to solve immediate health crises directly, to promote their social standing, and to ensure the survival of their names and social selves for eternity.

The dissertation of Michael Chen is approved.

Carol Ann Bakhos

Julia Troche

Willemina Z. Wendrich

Kathlyn M. Cooney, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2020

for popcorn

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Abbreviations

ASAE	Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte
BIFAO	Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
CG	Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire
CLES	Corpus of Late Egyptian Statuary (Bernard von Bothmer's archive housed at the Brooklyn Museum)
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
JARCE	Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt
J.E./JdE	Journal d'entrée (refers to Cairo Museum Numbers)
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
MET/MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
PM	Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography
PT	Pyramid Text
RdE	Revue d'égyptologie
rt.	recto

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New York, NY

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Vita

EDUCATION

- 2018 C.Phil., Near Eastern Languages & Cultures,
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2015 M.A., Near Eastern Languages & Cultures,
University of California, Los Angeles
- 2011 A.B., Ancient Cultures and Civilizations with Honors
Dartmouth College

PUBLICATIONS

- Forthcoming **Conference Proceeding (peer reviewed)**
“Adapting Ancient Egyptian Healing Spells onto Late Period Statuary” in *As It is Written? Uses of Sources in Ancient Mediterranean Texts*, edited by C. Meccariello and J. Singletary, Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck.
- 2014 **Book Chapter**
“Person und Persönlichkeit im alten Ägypten: eine theoretische Einführung” in *Persönlichkeiten aus Neuen Museum* edited by Verena Lepper, Petersberg, Germany: Michael Imhof Verlag, 31-42.

AWARDS, GRANTS, AND FELLOWSHIPS

- 2019-2020 **University of California, Los Angeles, Graduate Division**
Dissertation Year Fellowship
- 2019 **University of California, Los Angeles, Cotsen Institute of Archaeology**
Steinmetz Travel Grant (also received in 2018, 2016, 2015, and 2014)
- 2018-2019 **The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York**
J. Clawson Mills Scholarship
- 2016-2017 **University of California, Los Angeles, Graduate Division**
Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship of Distinction
- 2016 **University of California, Los Angeles, Graduate Division**
Graduate Summer Research Mentorship (also received in 2014)
- 2014-2015 **University of California, Los Angeles, Graduate Division**
Graduate Research Mentorship Program
- 2013-2014 **University of California, Los Angeles, Graduate Division**
Andrew W. Mellon Fellowship of Distinction
- 2012-2013 **Harvard University, Harvard Divinity School**
Harvard Divinity School Dean’s Fellowship
- 2011-2012 **Fulbright Commission, United States of America**
Research Fellowship to Germany (host institutions: Freie Universität Berlin and Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin)

SELECT RECENT CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- 2019 “Priestly Political Negotiations on Healing Statues within Cultic Spaces,” International Congress of Egyptologists XII, Cairo, Egypt, Nov. 3-8.
- 2019 “Framing as a Visual Strategy in Egyptian Statues,” in Panel: Representation and Production in Ancient Egypt and Nubia, Fellows Colloquium, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, May 3.
- 2019 “Inscribing Gods onto Statuary and Shifting Divine Relationships,” American Research Center in Egypt Annual Meeting, Alexandria, VA, April 12-14.
- 2018 “Reading Movement, Composition, and Display in Late Period Egyptian Healing Statues,” in Panel: Beyond Language: The Multimodality of Ancient Texts, American Schools of Oriental Research, Denver, CO, Nov. 14-17.
- 2018 “Adapting Ancient Egyptian Healing Spells to Late Period Statuary,” “As It Is Written”? Uses of Sources in Ancient Mediterranean Texts Conference, Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, Göttingen, Germany, Oct. 11-12.
- 2018 “The Compositional Design of Djedhor Cairo JE 46341,” American Research Center in Egypt Annual Meeting, Tucson, AZ, April 20-22.
- 2018 “Commemorating Elites within a First Millennium B.C.E. Egyptian Temple Context,” Afterlives Conference at the Center for Ancient Studies, University of Pennsylvania, Feb. 23-24.

1 Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 *Aim of dissertation*

This dissertation is a study of the design of Late Period (ca. 712-332 B.C.E.) healing statues, which were used in the ancient Egyptian treatment of illness and injuries. Within the patronage structure of healing practices in ancient Egypt, commissioners and practitioners worked together to create these objects that function for private religious practices. This dissertation project is the first to study the corpus holistically with an emphasis on studying the design patterns, visual effects, contextual ideas, and how all of these factors tie into elite commemoration. Thus far, high quality, high value statues have been prioritized in scholarship, and this study attempts to grapple with the entire corpus of healing statues. Importantly, I will illustrate that these statues' designs revealed how the combination of aesthetic and practical factors synthesized religious meaning, power, and effect. In turn, these particular healing objects reveal the agencies of various individuals in adopting and developing their respective desires and needs in a healing context.

Furthermore, the creation of healing statues presents an opportunity to rethink healing as a private religious practice within Egyptian society. Ailments, injuries, and sickness are constants that plague the human condition—as such, healing is a universal human solution. Egyptians' solution for treatment integrates religious ideas and rituals, and thus, the study of healing statues shows one clear manifestation of these ideas, ruminations, and fears in a religious object type. I will demonstrate that elite individuals within Egyptian society utilized these religious objects to establish themselves as part of healing practices, which cemented elite commemoration into healing cults. Indeed, the centrality of the donor class's participation in the premodern healthcare of ancient Egypt is a concerted effort to maintain and further their privileged positions of power.

My dissertation breaks down the notion of statuary design with in-depth studies of the layout of religious decorations and textual inscriptions. From this examination of the design, I present a new methodology for analyzing the placement of religious knowledge, visual design strategies, and opportunistic religious integration, all of which are central to Egyptian statuary design beyond art historical developments and shifts in craftsmanship. The interrelationships between the various agencies at play challenge our knowledge of the object audiences. While healing statues do speak primarily to the religious trends and practices of the first millennium B.C.E., these objects are also important case studies for their application of religious knowledge onto a physical medium. This dataset is unique in what it reveals about how religious power is embedded into physical form as statues.

1.2 Description of dataset

Egyptian healing statues are statues of private individuals designed to serve as religious objects for healing practices. They range from 10.5 cm (Berlin 7509) to 96 cm (Cairo J.E. 46341 statue and base) in height; the smaller statues were likely portable, while the larger statues likely stayed in fixed positions. Healing statues were placed within predetermined religious spaces—such as within a temple complex or within a necropolis complex (discussion in Section 1.6). Along with other examples of private religious practices, these objects were likely erected and used within the broader religious sphere of the Egyptian cults, but they maintained clear separations from the state official cult practices. In other words, while the statues would have been in close physical proximity to sacred religious spaces, their uses did not overlap with the daily offering rituals, cult practices, or festivals that were designed for the cult gods.

With the exception of the face, the hands, and the feet, every available surface area on a healing statue is covered with decorations or textual inscriptions. Often, the bases and back pillars of

the statues are also decorated. The decorations are primarily religious in nature and include a combination of mythological scenes, deities, or other religious symbols. However, sometimes non-supernatural figures such as the represented individual or family members are depicted on these statues and bases. The textual inscriptions on healing statues are primarily healing spell texts, but the inscriptions can also include titularies or biographical details of the private individual whose likeness is represented on the healing statue.

I have identified 41 examples in this corpus of healing statues. These statues range in size, shape, body position, material used, and quality. The typology I developed for this project to categorize these statues (see Section 1.3) uses the body position of the statues and the decoration and inscription priorities (i.e., factors that go into religious scene and text selection) to illustrate the differences in compositional design. The simplicity or complexity of a particular healing statue's design could be a reflection of the statue's quality or its placement context (and its expected audience). There are only five healing statue examples remaining in Egypt (four at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and one in Heliopolis), and all of the other known fragments are found in North American or European collections. The historical interest in collecting these visually dense objects underscores how they were striking to the human eye, which in turn is a reflection on the effectiveness of these visual strategies for their original ancient audiences.

1.2.1 Function of healing statues

Healing statues were used to create healing solutions by charging liquid with healing properties. The healing spells on these statues counteract the effects of scorpion stings and snake bites through the expulsion of the poison. These were particularly common hazards for children,¹ since the dangers of

¹ Geraldine Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 103.

the natural fauna was an ever-present concern in ancient Egypt. However, scorpions and snakes could also be symbolic of the forces of chaos (*isfet*) that permeated the Egyptian existence. Consequently, while the healing statues could have a highly specialized healing function, they could also be broadly effective and serve as healing for all ailments and injuries.

Water was poured over a healing statue to absorb the magical potency of the religious object, which then collects in basins attached to the statue bases. This general understanding of the function of healing statues is based in part on G. Daressy's initial publications of the statue of Djedhor (Cairo JE 46341)² (Figure 1.1) and Pierre Lacau's 1922 publication in reaction to the discovery.³ Because the well-preserved statue of Djedhor has a base with an indentation serving as a basin, Lacau and Daressy posited that the water must have been poured over the statue surfaces and then flowed into the basin. Lacau notes that this healing practice (i.e., using a religious object to charge waters) was well-attested for Horus cippi (stela with the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif)⁴; indeed, a well-preserved large Horus Cippus in Cairo is also attached to a base with a basin for water collection (Cairo CG 9402.1 and Cairo CG 9402.2) (Figure 1.2).⁵ The mythology surrounding the god Horus as a child, almost dying in the marshes after a scorpion sting and then healed, is a significant

² The statue of Djedhor was first published by M. Daressy in 1919 and 1920. Georges Daressy, "Statue de Zedher Le Sauveur," *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de L'Égypte* 18 (1919): 113–58; Georges Daressy, "Statue de Zedher Le Sauveur," *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de L'Égypte* 19 (1920): 66–68.

³ Pierre Lacau, "Les statues 'Guérisseuses' dans l'ancienne égypte," *Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 25 (1922 1921): 189–209.

⁴ Horus cippi were high status priestly object used for healing. This motif is described in greater detail in Section 4.4.1.

⁵ Lacau, "Les statues 'Guérisseuses' dans l'ancienne égypte," 195–97.

component in this discussion, and will be elaborated on in Section 2.5. This collection of water in the basin forms the basis for the function of these healing objects.



Figure 1.1. The Statue of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.



Figure 1.2. Horus Cippus and Base. Cairo CG 9402.1 and Cairo CG 9402.2.
Photo credit: Author at the St. Louis Art Museum’s “Sunken Cities” exhibition.

This charged water can then be either imbibed or applied externally to the body. On Louvre E 10777, the patient is described as “this man who drinks the water” (*s pn nty Hr siw mw*),⁶ presumably confirming both that water is poured over the religious object and that it is then consumed. On Cairo CG 9432,⁷ the text (col. 24-26) describes a “recitation over cool waters that has been applied to the breast of the one seized by the fire” (*Dd mdw Hr mw KbH di r HA.t ny mH m*

⁶ The transcription is based on Maxim Panov’s notes on Louvre E 10777. As he noted in his commentary, in most examples of healing by magic, the patient is described as *Xri-dm.t*, rather than the active construction found on this statue. Panov additionally hypothesized that the statue could also be installed near a water source. Maxim Panov, “Some Notes on the Healing Statue Louvre E 10777,” in *Egyptian and Mediterranean Culture in Ancient and Medieval Times: Papers in Memory of Tatiana Savelieva* (Moscow: Centre for Egyptological Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2017), 82.

⁷ While Louvre E 10777 is included in my catalogue of healing statues, the preserved portions of Cairo CG 9432 only include the right corner of the statue base.

sD.t n(n) aAa mtw.t nn aAa mtw.t r si pn).⁸ Both of these examples showcase the process that allows the afflicted to come into direct contact with the healing waters to be healed.⁹

Most healing statues, however, do not come with explicit instructions for their use. Thus, the instructions provided on Louvre E 10777 and Cairo CG 9432 have been extrapolated as the function of healing statues for the entire dataset. While Pierre Lacau has theorized that the transfer of power from these objects can be based on sight, touch, or textual recitation,¹⁰ the water collecting basin structure the likely primary uses of imbibing or applying the charged waters. The reason why this particular use is so attractive is because it confirms fundamental assumptions Egyptologists hold regarding ancient Egyptian religious practices, the ritual process, and the property of contagious magic.¹¹ Moreover, other potential functions and uses are harder to qualify, because the statues' contexts are unclear and we cannot definitely conclude how they were handled, touched, and manipulated by the afflicted, the practitioners, or the commissioners. However, we do know that the spells were meant to be spoken and protected. As the text on the base of the Djedhor statue addresses the reader:

⁸ Col. 35-36 also prescribe this function. The transcription is based on Boyo Ockinga's discussion of healing objects in his publication of a magical plate at the Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University. I have not been able to examine and confirm the reading of the Cairo base. Boyo Ockinga, "A Magical Plate in the Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University: A Tool of Trade of An Ancient Egyptian Medico-Magical Practitioner," in *Across the Mediterranean-Along the Nile: Studies in Egyptology, Nubiology and Late Antiquity Dedicated to László Török on the Occasion of His 75th Birthday*, ed. Tamás Bács, Ádám Bollók, and Tivadar Vida, vol. 1 (Budapest: Institute of Archaeology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, 2018), 255–56.

⁹ To be sure, there are other magical spells that prescribe using other liquids in ritual, but these two examples outline specifically mention water. See Mu-chou Poo for a more thorough discussion of liquids used in rituals. Mu-chou Poo, "Liquids in Temple Ritual," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, and Elizabeth Froid (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2010).

¹⁰ Lacau, "Les statues 'Guérisseuses' dans l'ancienne égypte," 194–95.

¹¹ Contagious magic, or sympathetic magic, is the idea that things can influence one another when they come into close proximity. See further discussion in Section 3.1.

“O every priest, every scribe, every wise one who will see this ‘savior’, who will recite its writings, who will know its formulae: You should protect its spells!” (*i wAb nb sS nb rxxt nb mA=sn Sd pn Sd=sn sS=f rx=sn spr=f sw=tn sS=f*).¹²

However, without precise details on how people confronted these statues, we can only reconstruct the ritual exchange depicted here through the collection of charged waters. Importantly, the interactions that create charged religious liquids has parallels in Egyptian ritual practices,¹³ and consequently, the charging of liquid through contagious magic is likely the primary manner of use.

Given the characteristics and intended function of healing statues, the development of healing statues can be broadly considered as an integration of the Horus Cippus and prophylactic statues. This observation was first noted and discussed by Étienne Drioton as a development during Dynasty 26.¹⁴ Previous to this, both Horus cippi and prophylactic statues (such as the one of Ramesses III, Cairo J.E. 69711) had already been introduced in the New Kingdom. Healing statues were an innovative new object type that combined these two features and adopted the cippus held by these statues as the religious focal point of the healing practice. While the prophylactic and protective qualities are also part of users’ engagement with healing statues as it pertains to their illnesses and injuries (further discussion between healing and prophylaxis is found in Section 3.1), healing statues were intended to provide a therapeutic treatment. By serving as a catalyst that charges

¹² E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1956), 122–23.

¹³ See Section 3.5 for a discussion on the power of water in transferring water.

¹⁴ Étienne Drioton, “Une Statue Prophylactique de Ramses III,” *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de L’Égypte* 39 (1939): 57–89.

waters with healing properties, these religious objects inherently relied on the reciprocal exchange basis of Egyptian religion.¹⁵

Healing statues provided a curative solution for afflicted individuals, and in exchange, these individuals contributed to their commemoration socially and economically. These monuments were a part of the larger statuary discourse within the temple context that permitted statue owners, commissioners, ritual specialists, and broader community (likely family members) to compete socially and religiously. The statues' possession and display of restricted religious knowledge is inherent to this social competition, because each statue had its own unique compositional design. Moreover, there was an elite agenda at play within the ancient Egyptian systems of healthcare, as the access and use of these statues were likely controlled. Petitioners likely paid for instructions or guidance from priestly ritualists, ensuring that economic exchange was a centerpiece in how these statues functioned within their religious contexts. To be sure, it would be naïve to assume that these intricately designed, expensive-to-create objects were commissioned solely out of a sense of elite benevolence and desire to contribute to the social good. Instead, it is far more likely that a primary agenda behind their design and installation was to enlarge the social cachet (or perhaps even the direct wealth) of the individuals privileged to create such commissions. Thus, the function of healing statues must be analyzed on three levels: their use in the healing of individuals, their use in support of elite commemoration, and their use by ritualists who used them through time.

¹⁵ This expectation of reciprocity is common to Late Period statues and has been extensively studied by Campbell Price. Campbell Rodger Price, "Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC)" (Liverpool, University of Liverpool, 2011), 229–38.

1.2.2 *Visual markers of healing statues*

Visual markers are important for the function of religious objects, because users must recognize these objects as legitimate and effective in their prescribed function. In other words, the users of the objects recognized that healing statues were healing objects by virtue of specific visual cues. There are three key visual markers of a healing statue: 1) the statue depicts a private individual, 2) the statue contains obvious, even ostentatious, inscriptions of healing spells and/or religious decorations, and 3) the statue holds a Horus Cippus. While there may be functional overlaps between healing statues and other Egyptian religious objects, these visual markers distinguish these statues from those objects. Admittedly, this is a modern categorization of the observed patterns of these objects, since the Egyptians may have used different statues (without these visual markers) for healing practices as well. Moreover, due to the fragmentary state of preservation, it is not always possible to identify all three markers on every possible healing statue.

Healing statues always depicted non-royal individuals. Private statues were important and expensive displays of power in ancient Egypt. Thus, the creation of these statues reflected a combination of the social stature of the individual depicted and the economic status of the statue commissioner.¹⁶ The fact that these statues depicted private individuals is one factor that differentiates them from the prophylactic statues (e.g., the one of Rameses III, Cairo J.E. 69771, discussed above) that prescribed a relationship between an individual and the king. As private individuals, these statues bear the typical dress and attire of Late Period statues,¹⁷ but do not bear any otherwise uniquely identifiable clothing markers. The statues' conformity to the other statues of

¹⁶ See Section 2.3 for a discussion of the definitions of the various actors in the patronage structure behind statue production.

¹⁷ For private statuary and representational comparanda and description of the typologies of clothing, see Aleksandra Hallmann's survey of the private costume in Egyptian art. Healing statues can have either type 1, type 2, type 3, or type 4 kilts (no Theban slanted, fringed slanted, or *shendyt* kilts). There are also no body or neck sashes and no known examples wearing a tunic. Aleksandra Hallmann, "The Representation of Private Costume in Egyptian Art from the 25th to the 31st Dynasty" (Warsaw, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 2015).

private individuals of this time period has raised questions about the possibility of reuse and re-carving (see discussion in Section 1.8) of Late Period statues to create healing statues, which could mean that a private individual, even a long deceased one, was seen as an intermediary between the world of the living and the world of the gods on behalf of the petitioner.

Healing statues' densely decorated and inscribed surfaces are a clear visual marker of the corpus. The healing spells and religious decorations on healing statues form the basis of their religious authority, as they marked these statues as authoritative sources of religious knowledge for healing practices. The petitioners must be able to recognize them as authoritative sources even if they are not able to privy to the details of the restricted religious knowledge. On these statues, the text and image are primarily inscribed or rendered in sunken relief. This manner of heavy text decoration is innovative within Egyptian art, as statuary have never been so thoroughly decorated and inscribed in any other period or for any other purpose. A comprehensive discussion of the strategies employed for this visual marker characteristic is found in chapter 4 for images, and chapter 5 for texts.

Healing statues hold Horus Cippi on their front sides. In some examples, the cippus is held by a standing or seated statue, but in others, the cippus can be represented simply by the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif (the motif's importance in healing mythology is analyzed and discussed in Section 4.4.1). As Campbell Price writes,

“More generally, Late Period statue owners—in either naophorous or theophorous stances—were able to assert not only the talisman-like quality of the divine image itself (Baines 2004:52) but also the authority to display and protect it (Price 2011: 190-3). This interpretation accords with the observation by Kákosy (e.g. 1987:180) that

the hands of the healing statues—which came into contact with the cippus element—were conceptualised as especially effective.”¹⁸

Holding the cippus is a distinctive visual marker that situates a statue within the healing context. This is at once similar in statuary execution to the naophorous and theophorous statues, but also different, since healing statue’s holding of the cippus is not about building a relationship with a particular deity but rather an adoptive strategy of mythological precedent (discussion of the mythological precedent is in Section 3.1.1).

All of the statues studied included at least one of these visual markers, and the most securely identified ones contain all of them. These visual markers help to differentiate healing statues from Horus cippi, healing bases, Isis statuettes, and other related healing objects. While it is not always possible to identify a statue securely, since the categorization of them may shift based on understanding their context, these visual markers serve as an important core criterion for visually identifying and analyzing these objects within Egyptian art, religion, and society. In addition, these visual markers are important for setting up the typology (see Section 1.3) that I use to categorize the healing statues.

1.3 Typology of healing statues

The typology of healing statues outlined here organizes statues into types based on body positions and design priorities. Body position—standing (“striding”), kneeling, seated, block, and squatting—

¹⁸ Campbell Price, “On the Function of ‘Healing’ Statues,” in *Mummies, Magic, and Medicine in Ancient Egypt: Multidisciplinary Essays for Rosalie David*, ed. Campbell Price et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 169–82; John Baines, “Egyptian Elite Self-Presentation in the Context of Ptolemaic Rule,” in *Alexandria: Between Egypt and Greece*, ed. W.V. Harris and G. Ruffini (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 33–61; Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC)” ; László Kákósy, “Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues,” in *La Magia in Egitto Ai Tempi Dei Faraoni: Atti, Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Milano, 29-31 Ottobre 1985*, ed. Alberto Siliotti and Alessandro Roccati (Milan, Italy: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica: Arte e natura libri, 1985), 171–83.

is a standard typological grouping used in studying Egyptian statuary, and representative examples of each type are found among Late Period statues. Healing statues are all standing, kneeling, or block statues, and there are no known examples of seated or squatting healing statues. However, instead of relying exclusively on body position to establish the typology, it is necessary to consider their design priorities, because in certain cases these priorities are more useful in categorizing the cohesive traits of a particular type. These design priorities may also reveal a similar understanding of how religious knowledge was applied onto a specific type of form.

These groupings are necessary for a holistic discussion and analysis of the corpus. Statues are not categorized into each type based on context, as findspots, workshops, sourcing, quality, material, etc. can all vary within each type. The fragments that could not be definitively defined as healing statues through the visual markers are not included, and the statue fragments that could be identified as healing statues but could not be categorized are relegated to a “Classification Uncertain” category. The intent of the typology developed here is to ease the analysis of design strategies in my later chapters and provide a framework for future studies on healing statues. While imperfect, this typology is a necessary structure that permits a discussion of the visual markers of healing statues and how they form the basis for the statues’ compositional design. Additional details regarding the dataset can be found in the catalogue of objects studied (Appendix B: Catalogue of Healing Statues). Discussion of the compositional design of images and texts on each type of healing statue can be found in the respective sections of chapters 4 and 5.

Furthermore, the distinction between the study of texts and images is a byproduct of the categorization necessary for Egyptological scholarship. There is overwhelming consensus that such distinctions are artificial, and recent scholarship and publications are moving to synthesize the two branches of study. While this distinction is true of the study of all Egyptian objects, the combination of text and image is especially central in the study of Egyptian healing statues, because the density of

the display of religious knowledge is pivotal to the function of these statues. This typology is a first step in this direction, and it is my hope that future research continues to center on visual strategies as a bridge to further our understanding of the interworking between text and image in Egypt.

1.3.1 Type I. Image-centered statues.

Healing statues in this type prioritized images in their visual designs. In general, they are roughly modeled, and they have religious decorations that are shallowly carved with imprecise lines. There are often few or no textual inscriptions on these statues, leaving the images of divine figures and mythological scenes as important visual markers of their religious authority. The examples included in this group all have some portion of their head and upper body preserved (Turin 3033 is the best-preserved example). Primarily, these statues are identified as healing statues through their emphasis on religious decorations and their use of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. Importantly, then, users recognized these visual markers to identify healing statues as healing objects.

In contrast to other Late Period private statues, images on Type I healing statues were applied onto the generally undecorated parts of the statue (e.g., directly onto the body or on the bag wig; see discussion in Section 4.1). These image applications carefully follow the physical contours of the statue and the images adopt a characteristic wrapping around the statue. In other words, there is an interplay between the decorations and how they are applied onto the three-dimensionality of the statue in an organized way. This is a central visual strategy adopted in healing statues that is part of the ritual action embodied in them. For instance, Munich ÄS 2824 has carvings that seem to wrap around the wig of the statue's head in an organized manner.¹⁹ This adaptive quality of using

¹⁹ Private statues of the Late Period do not have decoration on the wigs besides stylized hairstyles. See discussion in Section 4.1.

previously unused surfaces for religious decoration was likely striking for the Egyptian users but the greater surface areas available for decoration create new design possibilities for healing statues.

Type I healing statues are perhaps the easiest statues to categorize as potentially reused, because they could be easily adaptable from previously carved Late Period statues (see Section 1.8). This adaptation can be done through the addition of religious images onto a pre-existing statue form and then set into a base designed for healing water collection. These statues are, generally, lower in quality in terms of precision of lines, polishing, and the modeling of the body. As such, this grouping is a stylistic designation. This variance in quality is not a relative chronology of their dating. Specifically, Type I statues should not be understood as the earliest examples of healing statues. Instead, their image-centered design likely reflected resource and craftsmanship scarcity or different regional preferences.

Type I. Image-centered statues:

1. Debrecen Déri EV 33²⁰
2. Munich ÄS 2824
3. New York Bastis 24
4. Paris Louvre E 4898
5. Turin 3033

1.3.2 Type II. Combined use of text and image on standing or kneeling statues

The visual marker of dense texts and decorations is a central characteristic of Type II healing statues. Standing and kneeling statues are classified together within this category type, because these statues employ a combination of textual and visual strategies in their compositional design as healing statues. This is a clear display of restricted religious knowledge used to establish an object's religious efficacy. The dense compositional design showed the users that such an object was a healing object,

²⁰ Debrecen Déri EV 33 could also be Type III. I have not had the opportunity to see this object in person or obtain any additional photographs beyond those in CLES.

which is important, because the functional efficacy of religious objects is dependent on the expectations that they will work.

Type II healing statues include both standing and kneeling statues, because it is sometimes difficult to identify a fragment as belonging to a standing or kneeling statue.²¹ Both of these statue body positions are closely modeled to follow the natural forms of the human body, so there are few flat, smooth surfaces for textual inscriptions and religious decorations on Type II statues. The large number of objects within this group allows for the observation and comparison of similar placement patterns, in turn permitting greater understanding of these placement patterns' meaning and use. These are complex religious objects that used the display of religious knowledge to establish their function as healing objects and to establish the represented individual's commemoration.

The majority of healing statues in this group are standing stelophorous statues. The Horus Cippus is often the central image of these statues, as the stela is usually held by the depicted individual. The physical grasp of the Horus Cippus in the hand of the private individual is a characteristic trait of Type II healing statues. The prominent visual display of the Horus cippus means that the other texts and images on Type II healing statues are secondary actors to this central motif. The large number of standing healing statues is a possible indicator that they were the most desirable format for healing statues. Standing was the most active pose and was potentially the most efficacious for healing; such a stance could also replicate what the officiant would do to heal as part of the ritual. While it is unclear why standing stelophorous statues are much more common in the existing corpus than kneeling statues, it is noteworthy to point out that the kneeling statues are generally of lower quality (e.g., rougher stone finish, lower quality stone, less precision in their

²¹ For example, since private kneeling statues of the Late Period also have back pillars, they are not as easily distinguishable from private standing statues. Royal kneeling statues of the Late Period, in contrast, are less likely to have back pillars. Bernard V Bothmer et al., *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period 700 B.C. to A.D. 100* (New York: Brooklyn Museum, 1960), xxxv–xxxvi.

hieroglyphic inscriptions, and a more improvised layout of the religious decorations) and smaller in size. Nonetheless, the Type II healing statues of both body types were small enough to be relatively portable and could have been relocated into different use contexts.

Type II. Combined use of text and image on standing or kneeling statues:

1. Berlin 7554 (S)
2. Cairo J.E. 41677 (S)
3. Cambridge 1951.562
4. Chicago OI 9379 (S)
5. Florence 1011 (S)
6. Florence 8708 + Turin Suppl. 9 (S)
7. Leiden F 1950/8.2 + Vienna 40 (S)
8. Leiden F 1953/5.1 (S)
9. London Petrie UC 14733 (S)
10. Naples 1065 (S)
11. Oxford Ashmolean AN 1990.60 (K)
12. Oxford Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E. 3465
13. Paris BN 53.238bis (S)
14. Paris Louvre N 2540 (S)
15. Paris Louvre E 10777 (S)
16. Stockholm NME 76 (K)
17. Stockholm NME 92 (S)
18. Turin 3030 (S)
19. Turin 3031 (S)
20. London Cassirer (S)
21. New York Schimmel
22. Rome Iseum Campense (S)
23. Zurich Galerie Nefer (S)

1.3.3 *Type III. Combined use of text and image on block statues*

Block statues have large surface areas available for textual inscriptions and religious decorations. In addition, their surfaces usually include smooth, large uninterrupted areas that permit flexibility in inscribing columns or rows of text or carving a mixture of religious decorations. During the Late Period, block statues were the most common form of private statues,²² and most Late Period block

²² Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC),” 170.

statues were decorated with biographical texts or religious decorations showcasing personal piety with gods. However, despite the popularity of this body position, there are only a few preserved examples of healing statues that are block statues.

Two of the Type III examples, however, are the largest and most elaborate examples of healing statues. Cairo J.E. 46341, the statue of Djedhor, and Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319, the statue of Horkhebe, will be analyzed in great detail in Chapters 4 and 5, because the complexity of their religious decorations and textual inscriptions showcase many of the priorities in design and the visual strategies employed in the creation of healing statues. While Moscow Pushkin I.1.a.5319 has relatively flat surface areas, Cairo J.E. 46341 has higher body modeling of the statue so that the inscription and decoration surfaces follow the natural bodily contours of Djedhor. This careful modeling creates a visual effect that stressed, for example, that the texts are applied *to* the body. The design follows the statue's form instead of solely laid out onto of the statue's form.

Type III healing statues are large and heavy, especially with the attached bases. Once these statues were installed into their use context, it would have been difficult to relocate them to another use location. Therefore, they are far less likely than the smaller Type II statues to be used outside of a singular (original) installation context as they are less portable. Their large size also speaks to the larger investment required to commission such a statue, which indicates temple-complex or broader community support for these commissions. There was likely a spectrum of effectiveness in the community's awareness and use of healing statues; namely, certain statues could have been considered to be more effective than others. Within this lens, Type III statues would be likely considered to be the most effective given their size and the prominence of their visual designs.

The reuse of private block statues into healing statues would be a challenging endeavor. The original textual inscriptions and religious decorations of a recycled statue would have had to be removed (shaved off) to expose new surfaces for the dense healing spell inscriptions and religious

decorations. Even more challenging (at least in terms of volume) would be the planning required to carve out the Horus Cippus held in front of the block healing statue, since these stelae are significant protrusions of the statue.

Type III. Combined use of text and image on block statues:

1. Cairo J.E. 46341
2. Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319
3. Munich ÄS 7262 (could also be type I)

1.3.4 *Classification uncertain*

Some examples of healing statues are only preserved as fragments. As such, it is not always possible to determine the correct typology of a particular statue fragment, especially if I have been unable to examine the object in person and have studied it only through photographs. However, the classification challenges of this group illustrate the broader challenges in the study of healing statues. To be sure, much of this is an indictment of the artificial categories necessarily applied to the study of healing statues—the original Egyptian commissioners, designers, and creators did not set out to create an “Image-centered” (Type I) statue. Nonetheless, the challenging classification is important because it showcases how the compositional design of these statues should be analyzed.

For instance, Berlin 7509 is probably best categorized as a Type I healing statue. While the statue is a standing stelophorous statue, the statue is miniature and does not have the surface area to employ properly visual strategies for its compositional design. The primary emphasis of the object is to showcase the visual image of the Horus cippus that announces the object’s purpose. Similar to Horus cippi with pseudo-writings (an example is discussed in Section 2.4.1), Berlin 7509 taps into the users’ expectations of what is supposed to be present through its visual display versus an actual display of restricted religious knowledge.

The other statue fragments that cannot be categorized are either Type II or Type III healing statues. Without distinctive body position clues to indicate that a fragment is part of a standing, kneeling, or block statue, it is difficult to categorize it securely. However, this challenge showcases that there are similar qualities between the two types, especially in their employment of visual strategies in text and image placement. While the differentiation between Type II and Type III is important for thinking about the impact that surface area variance has on compositional design, desirable preferences in statue design are consistent for both types. This is particularly the case when we examine the overlap of scenes and images used in similar locations on Type II and Type III healing statues (see Section 4.4).

Classification uncertain:

1. Berlin 7509 (likely Type I)
2. Cairo J.E. 87083 (likely Type II)
3. Cairo Temporary Number 30/8/21/2 (likely Type II or III)
4. Chicago OI 10589 (likely Type II or III)
5. Heliopolis Fragments (likely Type II or III)
6. Iasi (likely Type II or III)
7. New York MMA 1989.281.102 (likely Type II or III)

1.3.5 Some notes on typology and intericonicity

One challenge in organizing the typology of healing statues is our inability to categorize the religious decorations found on these objects. While many scenes and the figures therein can be identified through iconography, there is simply too much variability in their execution and a limited understanding of the meaning behind each of the scenes found on healing statues (see Chapter 4). Therefore, the framework of intericonicity is adopted to assess the relationship among the images within this group of religious objects serving a private ritual need. As Dmitri Laboury synthesized,

“Intericonicity ... can be defined as the shaping of an image’s meaning or form by another image, acknowledging the fact that any image exists within a network of images,

with which it has diverse forms of relations that determine its meaning and form, as well as its very existence.”²³

Some of the data that Laboury examined, such as Middle Kingdom statues, balanced a tension between creativity and archaism that was central to the contemporary aesthetic. While this tension existed for all Egyptian statuary, it is arguably less significant for healing statues, since they were created as new religious objects that adapted religiously efficacious texts and images onto known statue types. Nevertheless, the framework of intericonicity was inherent to the production and use of healing statues. In fact, it is possible to observe common traits, visual strategies, design choices, and more specifically, similar individual spell inscriptions or religious scenes among the healing statues. These patterns should not be understood as copies or attempts at imitation, rather each healing statue was created in its own creative production process that is aware of the larger “network of image.” This creative process is at the core of understanding the efficacy of healing statues, since their compositional design was so central to their functions as healing and commemorative objects. For religious, *beka*-driven²⁴ magic to work, there was a reliance on old, known, recognized, and trusted methods, and the recombination of visuals on healing statues provides this grounding.

Moreover, the visual strategies used on healing statues are important in unlocking the display element inherent to these statues’ original commission and function. Because no healing statue has been found in situ, an analysis of the creative interpretations of religious knowledge is the only way to consider the objects’ original setting, audience, and use. To an extent, this reengineering and reimagining would also be necessary even if healing statues were found in situ. Therefore, the

²³ Dimitri Laboury, “Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art,” in *(Re)Productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt: Proceedings of the Conference Held at the University of Liège, 6th-8th February 2013*, ed. Todd Gillen, *Ægyptiaca Leodiensia* 10 (Liège: Presses Universitaires de Liège, 2017), 248.

²⁴ See Section 3.1 for a discussion of *beka*-driven ritual practices.

framework of intericonicity is critical for studying healing statues, because the creation of each individual healing statue must be situated within the larger constellation of image use, design, and manipulation to understand how aesthetics and function were balanced. In looking at tomb scenes, Dmitri Laboury asserted that “It is clearly within this process of re-composition, or formal interpretation of a corpus inherited from the tradition(s), that the artist’s creativity operates and is therefore to be sought and analysed.”²⁵ In thinking about the religious decorations on healing statues, this observation, that individual statues are not copies, is especially resonant because the individual engagements with restricted religious knowledge on these statues represented a new creativity and venue for social competition (see discussion on intericonicity in Section 4.6). The rules that governed the creation of private religious objects in ancient Egypt were extremely flexible and pragmatic. In a sense, there had to be leeway in the design of religious objects used in socially competitive environments, because the designers and creators needed a way to present the most desirable statue.

Lastly, in constructing this healing statue typology, it is important to consider how the statues and their decorations fit into the history of Egyptian art. This consideration is an integral part of the study of compositional design, because the iconographic tradition served as an important precedent for the adoption and use of different visual strategies in Egyptian objects. In addition, these visual strategies show how religious knowledge was transposed onto statuary. Religious knowledge was always materialized, but on healing statues they were given a visually prominent placement. Thus, in understanding how healing statues were a part of the longer trajectory of the history of Egyptian statues, it is important to identify the innovations in form and function. The stress on creativity in design as it is intertwined with restricted religious knowledge is a central

²⁵ Laboury, “Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art,” 238.

element of these statues' production and use. The typology presented here is a way to categorize my analysis of the organizing design principles of religious knowledge found on healing statues.

1.4 Related healings objects (*Horus cippi, Isis statuettes, amulets*)

Healing is associated with materiality and the body. Thus, there is a sensory component to such practices, as the needs for touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight, are inherent to how healing practices function within the ritual context. It is within this context that the stress on the physicality of healing statues can be tied to other healing objects that were used for a similar purpose. Many of these related healing objects were used in rituals or provided a conduit that connected the injured or ill to the potency of Egyptian healing practices (see Section 3.1). The closest and most related healing objects to healing statues are amulets, Horus cippi, and Isis statuettes.

Egyptian amulets provided their users or wearers with protective and healing powers or properties. The Egyptians believed that illnesses and injuries could be caused by evil spirits and demons, so the apotropaic functions of amulets were important as a prophylaxis for disease. These protective qualities were essential and were described through Egyptian religious texts. In addition, amulets were also associated with healing, which is evident in the placement of amulets on the body in the mummification process.²⁶ The placement of amulets was strategic and were a part of the meaning of these objects.

Two amulets most directly related to healing were the *wedjet*-eye amulet and the two-fingers amulet. The *wedjet*-eye is a reference to the mythological precedent of the healing of Horus's eye during his contending with Seth for Egyptian kingship (see Section 2.5 for the meaning of the mythological narrative). From this myth, the *wedjet*-eye is linked to notions of soundness and

²⁶ Carol Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998), 7–8.

protection. These qualities were desirable even by the Egyptian gods and were presented as offerings by priests in the Egyptian daily ritual for the gods. The *wedjet*-eye was the most commonly found amulet on Egyptian mummies, especially near the embalming incision²⁷ since it signaled wholeness and could repair the body wound. The Late Period two-fingers amulet (index and middle fingers) was another amulet that was found on Egyptian mummies near the embalming incision to heal the wound or protect the vulnerable injury. Egyptian amulets were objects of meaning that served ritual functions.

Horus cippi are stelae with the central Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. This religious scene will be discussed in greater detail in Section 4.4.1, but in short, it references Horus's powers over dangerous scorpions, serpents, and crocodiles. In contrast to protective amulets, where dangerous imagery was not depicted (only protect ones are), Horus cippi do depict crocodiles and other dangerous creatures, because the god Horus is there to control them. Horus cippi could also be decorated with other divine figures or mythological scenes on the front or back sides. In addition, these stelae often have inscriptions of healing spells across the sides, tops, backs, and even the bottoms of the stelae. Like healing statues, cippi were used to charge water with healing properties through contagious magic to create a therapeutic solution. This is what distinguishes the Late Period Horus cippi and healing statues from earlier examples of objects with healing spells, such as the statue of Rameses III (Cairo J.E. 69711) that were more prophylactic in nature, rather than curative.

The majority of cippi were small and portable, and the smallest examples could have been worn and used as amulets. On the other end of the spectrum, the Metternich stela (MMA 50.85), is the largest and most complex example, and it is densely decorated with various religious scenes and healing spell inscriptions. Visual strategies were built into this stela's compositional design that clearly demonstrated careful manipulations of religious knowledge. Thus, since healing statues often

²⁷ Andrews, 43.

hold Horus cippi, it is clear that healing statues adopted some of the properties and functions of Horus cippi.

Isis statuettes are small statues of the goddess Isis that could be inscribed with healing spell texts. On these statuettes, Isis is depicted in her role as a mother nursing the god Horus (known as the Isis of Akhbit scene; see Section 4.4.3). This alludes to the motif within Egyptian mythological narratives, in which Isis plays a significant role in healing and protecting the gods Osiris and Horus. Specifically, Isis's nurturing of the young Horus directly contributed to Horus's survival and prosperity. Building on this mythological parallel, the Isis statuettes were intended to also provide the afflicted with a similar experience of nurturing and protection.

These healing objects often worked in concert because they existed in the same religious context. British Museum 113909 is an interesting small healing object that depicts such an emphasis. On this small stela, both an image of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles and the Isis of Akhbit are rendered in high relief. Healing spell texts are inscribed along the bottom, sides, and backside of the object. The visual combination of these two important representations shows that these objects had related themes and functions. The use of both representations in a singular object shows compatibility within the organization of the religious knowledge but also within the ritual practice.

These related healing objects displayed the religious context from which healing statues emerged. These different objects functioned by tapping into specific displays of restricted religious knowledge, but for slightly different ritualistic purposes. In addition, most of the examples of these related healing objects are small in size and thus potentially portable, indicating that they were not tied to a specific place. Contagious magic was central to the ritual use of these objects, and healing statues employed the same prescription in its core healing function.

In addition, these objects existed within a familiar cultural milieu, in which the afflicted and users of these objects recognized their religious authority and understood the fundamentals of how

they worked. While the individual designs varied for each object type, the design complexity was nonetheless still approachable for the users. Even though the users did not have unrestricted access to the objects and their religious knowledge, they were still familiar with the social language of these objects. These objects were always in conversation, because they derived their efficacy from a shared understanding of religious meaning. Importantly, healing statues reflected a new development in manipulation of this religious meaning onto materiality. These statues received their efficacy from the religious specialization intrinsic to the religious material and then adapted them for a commemorative purpose. The unique development of healing statues that differentiated them from related healing objects is that healing statues tied elite commemoration into healing practices.

1.5 History of research

Scholarship on healing statues is centered around the publication of well-known, better-preserved examples that are seen as the representative samples. The primary reason for this is that the corpus of healing statues is difficult to work with, as many statues only exist as fragments. Furthermore, there are no findspots to provide important archaeological context for these statues and the religious decorations are unfamiliar and difficult to identify. As a result, the syntheses on healing statue research are often included only as part of the publication of individual or groups of healing statues. In sum, a more productive approach is to create a systematic synthesis of the placement strategies of the visual images and textual inscriptions, which is what I demonstrate in this dissertation (see Chapter 4 and 5) to promote a more emic understanding of the visual information found on these statues.

The study of healing statues has been closely intertwined with the study of related healing objects. Since healing statues incorporated Horus cippi into the statue type, the research into Horus cippi informs our understanding of the healing context for the Egyptians. In addition, cippi adopted

visual strategies in their compositional designs as well, albeit in less complex manners, because they drew from a similar pool of restricted religious knowledge for their religious decorations and healing spell inscriptions. There has been more extensive research done on the corpus of cippi, whether as publications of individual examples or groups of pieces from museum collections.²⁸ Heike Sternberg-el-Hotabi's habilitation, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen: ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*,²⁹ however, is the most comprehensive study of the entire corpus, and she established the typology, dating, and a catalogue of the known cippi. Importantly, she placed these objects into a context of personal piety, since their popularity likely paralleled the Ramesside and post-Ramesside engagement of private religious practices. Nonetheless, these objects were still highly controlled religious objects used primarily by those closest to the temple infrastructure. She commented on the development of iconographic features of these objects and divided their chronological development from the New Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period. While her chronological categorizations can be problematic,³⁰ they do provide an important framework through which it is possible to discuss similar groups of Horus stelae and analyze their respective iconographic characteristics. In furthering this research, it is important to consider the design decisions in spell and image organization that formulated the cippi's religious effectiveness.

²⁸ For example, James Allen has commented on many of the cippi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection as part of the "The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt" exhibition catalogue and Annie Gasse has published the corpus of Horus cippi in the Louvre. James P. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005). Annie Gasse, *Les stèles d'Horus sur les crocodiles* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 2004).

²⁹ Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen: ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999).

³⁰ Indeed, part of the challenge of dating of Late Period objects is that the shifts in political leadership did not always lead to stylistic changes in the production of religious objects. There was no centralized attempt to standardize production or create a distinctive aesthetic. Thus, it may not be productive to definitively narrow down the historical chronology of these objects. See David Aston's work on the challenges in defining dating for funerary archaeology. David Aston, "Dynasty 26, Dynasty 30, or Dynasty 27? In Search of the Funerary Archaeology of the Persian Period," in *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith*, ed. Anthony Leahy and John Tait (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1999), 17–22.

The study of the Metternich Stela in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 50.85) has also driven our understanding of healing objects. This is the largest and most intricate Horus Cippus, and it is densely decorated with religious motifs and spell texts. There needs to be greater analysis on the application and the design of spell texts on the Metternich Stela, as the organizational structure and placement of the spells were carefully designed and demonstrate ritual application or use (see discussion in Chapter 5). In addition, as one of the most well-known objects, the Metternich Stela has had an outsized significance in the study of Egyptian healing objects. The spells on this large cippus were studied and analyzed first by Wladimir Golenischeff,³¹ but the text ordering and numbering used by C. Sander-Hansen³² is the most commonly referenced.³³ The scholarly interest in this object has focused on the healing spell inscriptions that densely cover all sides of the stela (there are, however, no textual inscriptions on the bottom) and comparisons of several of the spells have been made to their variants on other stelae and healing statues. Undeniably, the well-published textual inscriptions and translations of the Metternich Stela have cemented it as a central object for the study of Egyptian healing practices. While previous scholarship has been foundational for thinking about healing in Egypt, the emphasis thus far has been philological—there is a priority given to the content of the spell texts, the writings (hieroglyphic signs chosen) of words, grammatical ambiguities, and comparisons to variants of healing spells on other objects. We must reflect on the unchallenged scholarly assumptions in prioritizing these best examples in our understanding of Egyptian religious practices.

³¹ Wladimir Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstela in der Originalgröße* (Leipzig, 1877).

³² Constantin Emil Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela* (Kopenhagen: E. Munksgaard, 1956).

³³ In James Allen's most recent translation of the text, he has a slightly different sequence for the spells. See Appendix D. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*.

The religious meaning of the Metternich Stela has been extracted and prioritized, yet there is great difficulty in understanding the stela's organization of religious decorations. Heike Sternberg-el-Hotabi has analyzed the organizational structure of religious decorations on the stela, concluding that the front and the back sides of the stela have different theological programs.³⁴ There are still identification challenges for the deities within the scenes, and the meaning behind the ordering of the mythological material has not been fully deciphered. These fundamental challenges partially explain the more detailed research into the text over the images, even though the visual image component was likely more accessible to the majority of Egyptian users.

As mentioned previously, several important publications of healing statues exist, but they largely prioritize the study of Egyptian healing spell texts. Moreover, these published editions are all of Type II or Type III healing statues and the best examples of these types. The Egyptological approach, for logical reasons, has been to focus on the best preserved and most complexly decorated examples. A selection include the Socle Behague (Leiden F 1950/8.2; published by Adolf Klasens in 1952),³⁵ Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341; published by E. Jelínková-Reymond in 1956),³⁶ Vienna 40 (published by H. Altenmüller in 1965),³⁷ Chicago OI 9379 (published by B. van de Walle in 1972),³⁸ Djedhor Statue Base (Chicago OI 9379; published by Elizabeth Sherman in 1981),³⁹

³⁴ Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Die Götterdarstellungen Der Metternichstela: Ein Neuansatz Zu Ihrer Interpretation Als Elemente Eines Kontinuitätsmodells," *Göttinger Miszellen: Beiträge Zur Ägyptologischen Diskussion* 97 (1987): 25–70.

³⁵ Adolf Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952).

³⁶ Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*.

³⁷ Hartwig Altenmüller, "Der 'Socle Béhague' und ein Statuentorso in Wien," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 1965, 10–33.

³⁸ B. van de Walle, "Une Base de Statue-Guerisseuse Avec Une Nouvelle Mention de La Deesse-Scorpion Ta-Bithet," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31, no. 2 (1972): 67–82.

³⁹ Elizabeth J. Sherman, "Djedhor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67, no. 1 (1981): 82–102.

healing statues in Turin, Florence, and Naples (Turin Suppl. 9+Florence 8708, Turin 3030, Turin 3031, Florence 1877, Naples 1065, Turin 18365; published by László Kákosy in 1999),⁴⁰ and Moscow 5319 (published by Khodzhash in 2004 and Panov in 2014).⁴¹ These editions are especially valuable for this project, because while they are each close examinations of an individual object, the translations and commentaries published are necessary for analyzing the structure and design of the objects meaningfully as a corpus.

One of the most significant publications for healing statues is E. Jelínková-Reymond's study of the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341).⁴² As discussed in Section 1.2, this statue is well-preserved and includes the basin, that collects the charged water, on the base of the statue. Jelínková-Reymond's work on the inscriptions of the statue of Djedhor carefully presented the balance of spell texts and biographical details on the statue. She documented the organizational structures on the statue with only passing commentary of the spell and text placement. Similarly, she illustrated the religious decorations on the statue without commenting on patterns of their use or meaning.⁴³ To be fair, there is no simple solution for analyzing undecipherable religious knowledge,

⁴⁰ László Kákosy's publication is perhaps the singular that devotes significant attention to the religious decorations found on healing statues. László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999).

⁴¹ Svetlana Khodzhash, *Изображения Древнеегипетского Бога Беса в Собрании Государственного Музея Изобразительных Искусств Имени А С Пушкина: Каталог / God Bes's Images in the Ancient Egyptian Art in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*. (Moskva: Vostochnaia Literatura, 2004). Maxim Panov, *Надписи На Целительной Статuye Хорхебе [Die Statue Des Horchebe]*, ET, II (Novosibirsk, 2014), https://www.academia.edu/9821380/%D0%9D%D0%B0%D0%B4%D0%BF%D0%B8%D1%81%D0%B8_%D0%BD%D0%B0_%D1%86%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%B8%D1%82%D0%B5%D0%BB%D1%8C%D0%BD%D0%BE%D0%B9_%D1%81%D1%82%D0%B0%D1%82%D1%83%D0%B5_%D0%A5%D0%BE%D1%80%D1%85%D0%B5%D0%B1%D0%B5_Die_Statue_des_Horchebe_Novosibirsk_2014_ET_II.

⁴² Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-ber-le-sauveur*.

⁴³ Her detailed documentation is useful in considering the order and orientation of the divine images, and her transcriptions and translations of the names and epithets provide a useful record for future studies of these religious decorations.

since by nature, their meanings were intended to be restricted and knowable only to the privileged few.

The research into the religious decorations is less developed than the research into the textual inscriptions. To be sure, many editions include a brief commentary and illustrations of some of the mythological scenes or divine figures. László Kákosy, for instance, included significant descriptions about spell placement on the statues and provided line drawings of the religious decorations on the Italian healing statues that he published (his indices are especially useful for comparing the names and epithets of the figures found on the statues he examined).⁴⁴ Kákosy's foundation laid the groundwork for a compilation of some of these scenes, which allows for easier comparisons across the corpus. However, one of the central challenges for the study of the religious decorations is how variability is inherent to the execution of religious images; therefore, at times, the mythological scenes or divine figures defy easy categorization.

The scholarly publication of healing statues is nevertheless an ongoing project, as even significant, well-known pieces still lack proper published editions,⁴⁵ and new healing statue fragments are still being discovered.⁴⁶ A selected list of the bibliographies for each healing statue studied for this dissertation project can be found in Appendix B: Catalogue of Healing Statues. As research continues into healing objects in the first millennium B.C.E., there is a need to account for the implicit bias of scholarship that relies on well-preserved, and well-published examples to represent the entire corpus. Understandably, it is easier to comment on the visual strategies and compositional design on the statue of Djedhor; however, visual strategies and compositional design also existed on

⁴⁴ Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*.

⁴⁵ For example, Paris Louvre E 10777 or Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet NME 76.

⁴⁶ Most recently, by the Heliopolis excavation in 2017. These fragments will be published by Florence Langermann in a forthcoming master's thesis.

more fragmentary or lower quality healing statues. Each statue was commissioned and created to further elite commemoration of the private individuals that they depicted, and of course, they shared common visual patterns as religious objects working within the same cultural milieu.

1.6 Tradition of statues in funerary and temple contexts

Statues were an important part of private individuals' access to religious spaces. The interactions between private donors and temple structures shaped the development of healing and the use of healing objects in Egyptian history. Private Egyptian statues were commissioned and erected to support the depicted individual in a religious-social function. Once created, statues were activated through the "Opening of the Mouth" ritual, which empowered them to be able to hold components of an individual's personhood and serve as sentient objects that engaged with the living. In a sense, these statues have a degree of agency. Statues maintain their own statue-ness as connected ontologically to the individual,⁴⁷ and this complexity has been a constant in the creation of such images.

These statues' placement in funerary contexts or peripheral (less restrictive) temple spaces presented these objects as functioning both within but also tangential to the state Egyptian religious structures. In many aspects, these religious objects were meant to support the cult of the deceased individual. In both funerary and temple contexts, they maintained an interaction with the living and the gods in ways that are mutually beneficial. As Campbell Price, who has comprehensively studied the Karnak cachette's private statues, observed, "statues are for the living to see."⁴⁸ Their visibility

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Froom, "When Statues Speak about Themselves," in *Statues in Context: Production, Meaning and (Re)Uses*, ed. Aurélie Masson-Berghoff, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 10 (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 3–20.

⁴⁸ Price, "Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC)," 216.

and display were integral to their function for their owners. In many ways, these statues were witnesses to the drama associated with human crises. The human concerns with illness, dying, and death were interwoven with hopes, desires, and personal agency at these nexuses for the commodification of magic. These statues had active roles in the ritual acts important to these religious spaces.

Within the funerary sphere, private statues were religious objects that primarily served as the focal point of offerings and the living's communication with the dead. Private statues in the funerary sphere received offerings because they were the public interface with the deceased's cult. The statues were commonly inscribed with the individual's name and titles, in addition to biographical details of their life and accomplishments. Thus, their likeness and self-presentation⁴⁹ was also a key component of the intended meaning of these objects since it established the elite commemoration of the individual.

Within the temple sphere, private statues served as votives or intermediaries. As votives, they were a sign of the commissioner's (where it overlaps with the depicted) devotion to the cult space in which the statue was erected. Since Egyptian temples were sacred religious spaces, private statues set up in proximity to or within a temple complex indicated privileged access to the temple cult, and thereby, the divine essence. Statues were a permanent solution to the impermanence of participatory Egyptian religion. By the Late Period, temple spaces became the expected setting of private statues, especially as they lost their royal dedications and adopted hereditary ones—this was simply a

⁴⁹ Self-presentation in conjunction with the (auto-)biographical details found in tomb settings is an active research area for many Egyptologists. The content details found in these textual inscriptions have allowed Egyptologists to reconstruct daily life, social structures, and historical events in ancient Egypt. Christopher Eyre, "Egyptian Self-Presentation: Dynamics and Strategies," in *Living Forever: Self-Presentation in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Hussein Bassir (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 2019), 9–23.

reflection of the changed social landscape.⁵⁰ As strict decorum rules became more flexible, the strict control on sacred spaces and their periphery similarly lessened.

In both temple and funerary contexts, private statues existed in a realm of social competition. It is critical to view this tradition of private statues through the economic lens of production, competition, and meaning creation. Intrinsic to the idea of social competition is the ability to tap into economic scarcity and promote one's possession or acquisition of what is desirable. Practically, both the material sourcing and the craftsmanship were important components of the complex lives of Egyptian statues. Statues were not static in form, shape, nor function. As Campbell Price illustrated in his comprehensive study, there is a hugely diverse and creative number of private statues found in the first millennium B.C.E. The social competition led to innovations⁵¹ that broadened ways to maintain one's cult in the afterlife. This maintenance of one's cult is a question of survival, because central to the ancient Egyptian aspiration of living forever is not to be forgotten.

The social competition of healing statues was centered on the display of restricted religious knowledge (see Section 2.2). Furthermore, the economic motivation behind their commission, creation, and use revolved around their context within Egyptian sacred spaces. While it is impossible to ascertain precisely where healing statues were originally placed, the domain of private non-royal religious objects are always relegated to (somewhat-) public places. This is why visual strategies were

⁵⁰ Price, "Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC)," 265–66.

⁵¹ The innovations include strategies of adopting filial piety, archaism, or creating new types of statuary. For another example, see Campbell Price's discussion on Cairo J.E. 37136. Campbell Price, "Archaism and Filial Piety: An Unusual Late Period Pair Statue from the Cachette (Cairo JE 37136)," in *La Cachette de Karnak: Nouvelles Perspectives Sur Les Découvertes de Georges Legrain*, ed. Laurent Coulon, Bibliothèque D'Étude 161 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2016), 485–503.

so important for these objects, because these strategies contributed directly to the setting and the perceived efficacy of the objects.

The two healing statues of Djedhor, Cairo J.E. 46341 and Chicago OI 10589, described each other's placement in the temple and necropolis settings. These objects were placed by the commissioners and priests to serve as focal points for healing within their communities. On Cairo J.E. 46341, an inscription reads, "It is I who caused this *shed*-statue [healing statue] to appear, along with the Sd-statue [healing statue] which is in the necropolis" (*ink rdi sxa Sd pn Hna Sd ntt m rA-StAm*).⁵² As Elizabeth Sherman concluded, this reference alludes to the erection of the Chicago base being in the necropolis, but also reveals that the Cairo statue and base were not likely in the necropolis. Given that Horus cippi have been found in tombs,⁵³ it is not surprising to find that healing statues were also erected in funerary settings. Even in these contexts, however, these objects were installed in public spaces that maintained a level of accessibility and desirability. Both the funerary and temple spaces were areas where economic reciprocity was associated with ritual practices. Specifically, the pouring of libations as offerings in temples and tombs⁵⁴ demonstrated how there may have been more explicit links to water-based rituals in these spaces.

Statuary supported ritual, intermediary, or commemorative functions. Broadly, this is true of private statues by the Late Period, and healing statues integrated these functions into their design. In part, they were especially successful in their execution because they justified their necessity through

⁵² Adopted from Elizabeth Sherman's publication on Chicago OI 10589. Sherman, "Djedhor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589," 83.

⁵³ For example, JE 86809 as excavated by A. Badawy in the tomb of Shoshenq. László Kákosy, "A Horus Cippus with Royal Cartouches," in *Egyptian Religion The Last Thousand Years: Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur*, ed. Willy Clarysse, Antoon Schoors, and Harco Willems, vol. 1, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 84 (Uitgeverij Peeters, 1998), 136.

⁵⁴ For instance, the study of the choachyte profession on the West Bank of Luxor and how the "wAH mw" ritual of pouring water developed into a profession. Koen Donker van Heel, "Use and Meaning of the Egyptian Term WAH Mw.," in *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium "Texts from Deir El-Medina and Their Interpretation," Leiden, May 31 - June 1, 1991*, ed. R. J. Demarée and A. Egberts (Leiden: Centre of Non-Western Studies, Leiden University, 1992), 19–30.

grounding commemoration within a reciprocal ritual situation. Moreover, they served a public need through healing the afflicted, and in turn, their cult was maintained. An important consideration within this setup must be the context of their installment in sacred spaces and possible mobility.

In general, healing statues (especially Type I and Type II) are portable in size. Most Late Period private statues were less than 40 centimeters in height,⁵⁵ likely due to the economic realities of sourcing and paying for these costly monuments, but the religious function of healing statues does raise the hypothetical possibility that mobility was part of their use history, and so their religious use may also be part of the reason for their small size. A midsized statue is probably between around 30-50 kg,⁵⁶ which would enable it to be transported by one or two individuals. The smallest example, Berlin 7509, has a height of only 10.5 cm and could have been easily transported between use locations. Similarly, the small sizes of Horus cippi, their dispersion throughout the Greco-Roman world, and ubiquity, show that healing objects likely had a history of mobility. The shifting of set up locations was similar to portable altars or shrines, both of which displayed the portability of private religious practices. Indeed, the question of whether a statue was brought to the afflicted or if the afflicted was brought to the statue underscores the adaptability and flexibility of private healing practices in Egyptian society.⁵⁷ This potential mobility also expanded the possibilities that these statues could have participated in festivals or were relocated during their statutory “lifetimes.” To be sure, healing statues were likely to have relatively stable installations and were not likely to be transported directly to the sick; however, the liquid that would have been charged by

⁵⁵ Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC),” 13.

⁵⁶ This is an approximate measure based on personal experiences. Consulting with the registrars in Turin, they estimate Turin Supplement 9 (which is about 1/3 preserved) to be about 8-10 kg and Turin 3031 (which is about 1/2 preserved) to be around 30 kg.

⁵⁷ A discussion of approaching the statues by semi-literate and non-literate users of these religious objects can be found in Section 2.4.

these statues would have been portable, and this portability of the treatment meant that the statues had a broad outreach beyond their installed locations. The desirability of statues resides in their religious potency in different domains, and healing statues emerged to serve as functional objects within each setting.

1.6.1 *How objects reflect nearby context*

The challenge of examining objects not found in situ is that we cannot use the find context in the analysis of these objects' use and influence. Nevertheless, Egyptologists have advocated for thinking about the missing context through evidence found on the surfaces of produced objects. Barbara Richter has analyzed the content of the underworld text "Book of the Hidden Chamber" in relation to tomb architecture⁵⁸ and has also pioneered a methodology for thinking about the interrelationships between scenes at the Temple of Hathor at Dendera.⁵⁹ Richter's research demonstrated the interconnectivity between religious content and architectural space, which is significant because she showcased how the scribes, artists, and priests incorporated the interplay of signs, words, and iconography into the compositional design of three-dimensional architectural spaces at the temple.

The reengineering of what was present within a space from found objects has long been done for Egyptian temples and tombs. The content and design of architectural walls often revealed what objects could have been in a particular room or the ways in which the space was used. John Taylor observed how statues can reflect their environments in his study of the statue of Takushit (National Archaeological Museum, Athens 110), whose registers of decoration are evocative of

⁵⁸ Barbara Richter, "The Amduat and Its Relationship to the Architecture of Early New Kingdom Royal Burial Chambers," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 44 (2008): 73–104.

⁵⁹ Barbara Richter, *The Theology of Hathor of Dendera: Aural and Visual Scribal Techniques in the Per-Wer Sanctuary*, Wilbour Studies in Egyptology and Assyriology 4 (Atlanta: Lockwood Press, 2016).

temple walls or naoi.⁶⁰ Similarly, the compositional design of healing statues likely reflected the scenes on the shrine walls and the spaces where they were originally installed. This perspective, while inconclusive, is important, because it grounds the objects and their study in the religious context of their contemporary use.

Given the design program inherent to healing statues and their expected use, these objects were probably enshrined in spaces that were specifically dedicated to their use. It is possible that these statues were set up in individual shrines or displayed in courtyard spaces like most private statues of the Late Period. Regardless, they would have required enough space to be visually seen and used. The recombination of mythological decorations and textual inscriptions on the statues was itself a manipulation of specialized religious knowledge, and these statues derived its power and social meaning from how its audience approached them. The visual strategies were effective, because they were highly visible and understood by the people who used these statues.

1.7 Challenges of dating

Healing statues were not found in situ, and consequently, there is often no context to help with the dating of these objects. In contrast, Horus cippi are much more datable, because some were found in secure contexts, and the large number of objects in the corpus allows for a better account of the chronology within the typology. There are, to be sure, securely datable healing statues. The statues of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341 and Chicago Oriental Institute 10589) are securely dated, since the Cairo piece includes the name of Philipp Arrhidaeus (ca. 323-317 B.C.E.). Elizabeth Sherman has used the historical events and changing epithets on the statues to date the Chicago statue to ca. 325

⁶⁰ John Taylor, "Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period," in *Gifts for the Gods: Images from Egyptian Temples*, ed. Marsha Hill and Deborah Schorsch (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2007), 78–80.

B.C.E. and the Cairo statue to 323 B.C.E.⁶¹ However, such details are not available for the other healing statues.⁶²

Therefore, the dating of healing statues relies heavily on the textual inscriptions and the religious decorations. Without the presence of relatively secure dating features (e.g., reference to historical events, cartouches of royal names),⁶³ it is challenging to confirm the reliability of dating methods. There is a consensus that these statues emerged in the Late Period, and Drioton has argued that the cippus and the *statue prophylactique* were combined in Dynasty 26.⁶⁴ The other sources for dating are from careful readings of variants in the spell texts and through iconographic analysis. László Kákosy cites the late 4th century B.C.E. as the commencement of the application of mythological scenes.⁶⁵ Consequently, most healing statues are dated to the 4th century B.C.E. Neither of these sources are entirely convincing, because there is still no clear chronology of healing spells (briefly discussed in Section 3.2.2), and the iconographic analysis is based primarily on Heike Sternberg-el-Hotabi's study of Horus cippi. There are some challenges in accepting Sternberg-el-Hotabi's categories, as her *Mittelfase* (Dynasty 26), *Frühe Hochphase* (ca. 380-280 B.C.E.) and *Späte Hochphase* (ca. 180-30 B.C.E.) for healing statues are directly linked to her categorization of the cippi. For instance, she dates Berlin 7509 to the *Späte Hochphase* purely on the basis of its use

⁶¹ Sherman, "Djedhor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589."

⁶² See, for example, Wilfried Gutekunst's comments on the only Horus cippi and healing statues with absolute dates. Wilfried Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen* (Trier: W. Gutekunst, 1995), 33.

⁶³ To complicate matters further, some healing statues (e.g., Turin 3030, Turin 3031, Cairo J.E. 41677) have non-historical, blank or magical cartouches. Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 15.

⁶⁴ Drioton, "Une Statue Prophylactique de Ramses III," 85–89.

⁶⁵ László Kákosy, "Bemerkungen Zur Ikonographie Der Magischen Heilstatuen," in *Images as Media: Sources for the Cultural History of the Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean: 1st Millennium BCE*, ed. Christoph Uehlinger, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 175 (Fribourg, Switzerland, Göttingen: University Press Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 45.

of pseudo-hieroglyphic script.⁶⁶ Healing statues are part of a new object type and cannot be assumed to conform to the stylistic categorizations of Horus cippi. In reassessing the objects as part of this dissertation project, it was difficult to parse whether a particular dating is reliably based on the object or simply on a broad approximation of the “golden age” (i.e., the 4th century B.C.E.) of healing statues. Thus, in light of these challenges and also extraneous factors such as reuse complications (discussed in Section 1.8) as well as potential dating influences based on the quality of the statues, I have chosen to retain the dating provided by museum collections or older publications unless there is strong reason to revise the dating. In a few cases, nonetheless, I have assigned my own dating to objects, mostly through comparisons to similar statue fragments that are more securely dated.

Furthermore, secure dating of the healing statues is not a primary intent behind this project. The dating of these objects is a future project that requires a larger set of studied and published healing statues. A more valuable contribution of the study of healing statues lies in considering their visual strategies and compositional design for creating meaning in the first millennium B.C.E. world. While chronological changes inevitably affected some of these strategies and design choices, perhaps due to availability of religious knowledge or the changes in religious accessibility, it is important to unpack these strategies and promote a framework to analyze them critically.

1.8 Reused or original commissions?

Reuse was common in Egyptian religious objects, because it was easier or more powerful to repurpose an object than to create a new one. This practice was widespread and adopted in the creation of both royal and non-royal objects.⁶⁷ For example, the re-carving of royal statues, most

⁶⁶ Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, 6.

⁶⁷ Peter Brand, “Reuse and Restoration,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich (Los Angeles, 2010), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002311q4>.

notably Rameses II's re-carving of Amenhotep III's statues,⁶⁸ has long been studied by Egyptologists within the context of monumental discourse, portraiture, and Egyptian art historical theory. Reuse of statues involved changing the facial and bodily features, but can be more simply accomplished through erasing, adding, or re-inscribing royal names. On Egyptian temples, the royal names within cartouches were often carved extremely deeply to prevent re-inscriptions by later kings of their names.⁶⁹ Because Egyptian kings were themselves guilty of usurping older monuments, they wanted to establish practices that prevented usurpation of their monuments in the future. This pattern was pragmatic, but also illustrated the desire and necessity of co-opting these religious objects and spaces.

Prestige and display were inherent factors in reuse, but for religious objects, their function superseded concerns of using a recycled object. Especially during times of political and economic instability when access to new materials or skilled craftworkers were scarce, reuse was adopted to ensure that objects with religiously or socially important functions remained available. Tombs were reused, statues were reused, coffins were reused, and monuments were reused.⁷⁰ Indeed, reuse as a concept was so common and well-known that defensive burial practices were adopted to prevent rampant reuse of objects (social competition is discussed in Section 2.1).⁷¹ After all, a later reuse of one's objects deprives the original owners of religious use, so preventative measures were

⁶⁸ Arielle P. Kozloff et al., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World* (Cleveland; Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1992).

⁶⁹ For instance, the names of Rameses III at Medinet Habu.

⁷⁰ As Helmut Brandl has observed, we must be skeptical of the historicity and dating on the basis of inscriptions alone, since object usurpation was common among Third Intermediate Period statues. Helmut Brandl, "Bemerkungen Zur Datierung von Libyerzeitlichen Statuen Aufgrund Stilistischer Kriterien," in *The Libyan Period in Egypt: Historical and Cultural Studies into the 21st-24th Dynasties: Proceedings of a Conference at Leiden University, 25-27 October 2007*, ed. G.P.F. Broekman, R.J. Demarée, and O.E. Kaper, *Egyptologische Uitgaven* 23 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 57–89.

⁷¹ Kathlyn M. Cooney, "Changing Burial Practices at the End of the New Kingdom: Defensive Adaptations in Tomb Commissions, Coffin Commissions, Coffin Decoration, and Mummification," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 47 (2011): 3–44.

incorporated into object design. By the Late Period, and perhaps because of the constant political shifts during this historical time period, such defensive mechanisms were undoubtedly central to the design process of working, functional objects. This context is useful for understanding the emergence of healing statues, because their dense religious decorations defended against reuse.

Within this socioeconomic reality, the designers of healing statues carefully layered individualizing characteristics onto healing statues to prevent them from being reused. Healing statues were important ritual objects and, as such, they needed to employ strategies that ensure that others would not tamper with these objects. These strategies are discussed in greater detail in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, and from the design analysis, it seems likely that most healing statues were original commissions. However, it is still productive to consider the possibility of reuse for these objects, especially given that this practice was so commonplace in the production of religious objects during the first millennium B.C.E.

There are two important angles to consider in thinking about the reuse of healing statues: re-carving larger statues and adding the religious healing material. The first possibility would involve creating the distinctive forms and features of a healing statue from a larger statue. Most importantly, this would involve sculpting the visual marker of a Horus Cippus on the front side of the statues. The second possibility involves simply adding the restricted religious knowledge onto already existing private statues to convert them into healing statues. This includes the religious decorations of mythological scenes and divine figures, but also textual inscriptions of healing spell texts. In addition, the base and the statue are two distinct objects, and while it is unlikely, there could be changing or alternative installations of statues into the same base. Regardless of the degree to which the stones themselves were reused, the elements inherent to their form and function certainly were reused, since healing statues were the recombination of charged, older religious elements.

The challenge of reuse in healing statues is trying to account for the unique compositional shape and form of healing statues; namely, because the cippi are integral parts of the statue that are held in the hands or in front of the statue, a reused statue would have had to be made from a much larger private non-healing statue. Since the cippi are raised features and not simply imprints or incisions into the stone, a significant portion of a larger statue would need to be reworked. After all, simply shaving off the front of a statue would create disproportionate body parts. For instance, a profile view of the healing statue Louvre E 10777 highlights how challenging it would be to re-carve another statue into this healing statue (Figure 1.3). The protrusion of the cippus from the side of the high kilt worn by the statue meant that had this statue been reused from a larger statue, it would have needed to be significantly wider to account for the size of the cippus. The reuse of a statue like Louvre E 10777 would have required an inordinate amount of labor and highly skilled craftsmanship, so unless there was an extreme scarcity in the stone materials, it would have been easier to start from a new piece of stone.



Figure 1.3. Louvre E 10777.
Photo credit: CLES.

To be sure, there are examples where reuse was more likely, and the difficulties surrounding reuse does not preclude the use of the practice completely. The lower quality healing statues exhibit characteristics that may highlight potential reuse. Type I statues are perhaps the most likely to be reused, given that they are made from lower quality stone and have rougher carvings. Because these statues' designs are image-centered (there is little evidence of textual inscriptions used or preserved), they could have decorated reused statues. The images were applied to statue areas, such as the bag wigs, that are typically undecorated on Late Period statues, so it is certainly conceivable that a decoration program was later applied to convert a private statue into a healing statue. The lack of Horus cippi on many of these fragmentary statue fragments could also indicate that they were originally other statues. For instance, Turin 3033 is an example of a kneeling Type I that does not

hold a Horus Cippus; rather, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif is carved on the back pillar. This flagship image is a part of its decorative program, albeit not as a protruding stela displayed frontally. Type II statues, especially the standing stelophorous examples, are largely original commissions. Within this group, the few naophorous and theophorous statues that are part of this subset could be products of reuse. For example, Berlin 7554 is a theophorous statue that originally presented the figure of the god Osiris. This stands in place of the normative Horus Cippus that would have existed in the same presentation location. This, in combination with the unfinished inscription patterns on the right side of the statue, is perhaps indicative that a theophorous statue dedicated to promoting the owner's relationship with Osiris, was co-opted into this healing context through the addition of the healing spell inscriptions and divine figures. Type III statues, as block statues, would be logically one of the easiest statue types to re-carve into new statuary. The large, broad surfaces used for inscriptions could be cleared and re-polished. By slimming the sides and removing past inscriptions, these objects can then be reinscribed or redecorated with a new decoration program that could convert the object into a healing statue. However, Type III statues are among the largest healing statues and larger than most Late Period block statues. In addition, like the example of Louvre E 10777 (Type II) above, the Horus Cippus also protrudes in front of the Type III healing statues that are block statues. This would make reuse extremely unlikely. Lastly, in spite of the reuse potential of block statues due to their large surface areas, there are few surviving examples of healing statue block statues. Therefore, it is likely that Type III statues were also largely original commissions.

Reuse could also take the form of (continual) embellishment over time in the decorative program. Such a practice, the development of religious decorations and inscription spells over time, could reflect changing access to restricted religious materials or perhaps reflects the ritual function and development surrounding the context of healing statues. The concept of embellishment, then, challenges the binary of objects being either reused or original commissions; rather, it opens the

door to the gradient that may have existed in the production and historical use of these objects. The decorative programs on Horus cippi and healing statues—especially the unidentifiable and undefined figures and symbols—could be meaningful within this context. The nonsensical fittings (to us) could be part of a historical enlivening of the lives of these religious objects. These statues did not exist in stasis and their assumed usage involved providing a uniquely restricted good and a design that can be clearly identified as a new creation.

In summary, most healing statues were likely original commissions. Where there is a distinct possibility that other statues were reused and turned into healing statues, the complexity of their design and the protrusion of the Horus Cippus as a central visual marker makes reuse highly challenging. Nonetheless, the question of reuse is an important one within the study of Egyptian objects, because the economics behind the production and reproduction is a contributing factor to how these objects were used. The lower quality healing statues were more likely to have adopted a recycled decoration program, because cost was probably a more significant factor in their production. Given the social context of the first millennium B.C.E. (see discussion in Section 2.1), it was likely difficult to source the expensive stone materials, the craft work, or the religious material to create higher quality religious objects. Healing statues were functional objects and needed to be erected (with adaptations or not) to serve within the private religious healing context. It is important to acknowledge these possibilities of reuse, and even the speculative potential examples of reuse, because these exercises heighten our analysis of the compositional design of these religious objects.

Moreover, defensive practices were built into their visual design to prevent the usurpation of these statues. The commissioners and designers were well aware of the economic realities behind the production and use of religious objects, and as such, they carefully incorporated strategies to ensure that newly produced healing statues would not be reused. Within the patronage structure of Egyptian society, reuse also reflected both a bypassing and a confirmation of the religious

authorities. Any reuse required complicity or at least ignorance of these statue's installation as living objects with religious power. Many of these observations form the core of the objects' religious efficacy and are described in finer detail in chapters 4, 5, and 6. The use of the protruding Horus Cippus reduces the likelihood of easily converting other statue types into healing statues and the likelihood of easily converting healing statues into other statue types. To prevent one's healing statue from being co-opted and redirected toward the commemoration of others, the placement of titles, names, and biographical information become a strategic, multifaceted process. One example is that the depicted individual's names are sometimes integrated into the recitation of the spell texts (See Section 6.4). Therefore, one cannot simply usurp the statue since the original owner would still have been speaking the spell texts to support their own cult and commemoration. This deterrence is but one example of how these religious objects existed in social realities of competing economic and social interests.

1.9 Importance of healing statues

From the history of research, we have seen how text and image were divorced from each other in the study of these religious objects, but inadvertently, this showcased their significance for the study of private religious practices. The typology of healing statues outlined in this chapter serves as a framework to begin analysis of this complex dataset for private religious use. Through this lens, the following chapters build on the cultural context of healing statues (Chapter 2), their efforts in building religious efficacy (Chapter 3), and the various strategies developed in the healing statue's commemorative design (Chapters 4, 5, 6). These statues form a unique, innovative corpus where the strategies of their creation and use can be somewhat reengineered from their compositional design. As such, healing statues offer a new perspective for thinking about how people interacted with

religious traditions to directly solve immediate life crises, and also how elite individuals carefully manipulated their social standing within this space.

2 Chapter 2: Religious Practices in the Late Period Egyptian World

Ailments and illnesses that afflict human beings are a constant factor in human lives, but people's approaches to them shift as political, social, religious, or economic life changes. Accordingly, healing practices evolved throughout Egyptian history. In discussing healing in the Late Period Egyptian world, it is necessary to differentiate between the two interwoven threads of religious context and religious development. Context is important because during the first millennium B.C.E., Egypt experienced increased cultural diversification and shifting centers of political power. These two developments increased the exposure of Egyptians to additional religious and healing practices. Religious development of Egyptian intellectual thought morphed with the proliferation of practices which expressed personal piety in the New Kingdom.⁷² More acceptable than ever before, religious practices were at once subject to and thrived on restricted religious knowledge. This intellectual development was naturally influenced by the context of the period, but was also part of the larger developmental trend of Egyptian religious practices becoming less rigidly state-controlled. Healing statues existed within this new cultural milieu, and the background provided within this chapter situates their creation and function within the larger genre of objects of power in ancient Egypt.

The social world that led to the creation of these allowed elite individuals to co-opt a religious practice centered on healing for their own commemoration. This innovation, while unique, also broadly accorded with the loosening of restrictive religious knowledge surrounding healing during this period. In creating these objects, the commissioners and designers of healing statues tapped into strategies that created religious efficacy for Egyptian religious objects. Thus, the emergence of this new object type is a clear reflection of the diversity of this new religious landscape.

⁷² Jan Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt: History and Meaning in the Time of the Pharaohs* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2002), 229–46.

This chapter is divided into the exploration of the two threads of religious context and religious development. With this historical overview, I illustrate the significance of the innovation of this object type, and provided necessary background for later discussions, in chapters 4 and 5, on the visual design of the images and texts used on these statues. I address the question of context through discussions of the religious landscape, religious power, the Egyptian religious patronage structure, and mythological precedents. Religious development is examined through the history of healing spells. The convergence of these two threads led to the innovation of the new object type of healing statues that injected a new mode of personal commemoration into Egyptian religious practice.

2.1 Religious landscape of the first millennium B.C.E.

Religious practice during the first millennium B.C.E. was shaped by the political decentralization of the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1070 B.C.E.-713 B.C.E.) and the Late Period (ca. 712 B.C.E.-332 B.C.E.). During this time, unlike in previous periods of centralization in Egyptian history (i.e., Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms), power was no longer centralized for long spans of uninterrupted history. Instead, regional bases of power emerged along natural geographic divisions (Upper Egypt, Lower Egypt, and Nubia). Furthermore, during this millennium, ancient Egypt had powerful neighbors that invaded or heavily influenced rule in Egypt: Libyans (Dynasty 23), Nubians (Dynasty 25), Assyrians (Dynasty 26), Persians (Dynasty 27 and 31) and the Greeks (Ptolemaic Period). Even during periods of native Egyptian rule, there were a number of mercenaries and foreigners (e.g., Carians, Phoenicians, Greeks) living in Egypt.⁷³ Consequently, these different populations brought

⁷³ The British Museum's online research catalogue on the city of Naukratis in the Egyptian Delta provides thorough research on life in this particular Egyptian port. Alexandra Villing, "Naukratis: Greeks in Egypt," *Naukratis, Egypt and the Mediterranean World: A Port and Trading City*, 2020, www.britishmuseum.org/naukratis.

their own religious beliefs and practices into Egyptian society at a time when the decentralized political structure led to renewed flexibility.

2.1.1 *The political context*

This study will zero in on the development and practices during the second half of the first millennium B.C.E. After Egypt was reunified under Piye during Dynasty 25 (712-664 B.C.E.), the Kushite kings established an “polycentric system” of hegemonic governance through their vast kingdom.⁷⁴ Despite the enormous wealth that the unified kingdom brought to the Kushite kings of Napata, it was undeniably challenging to maintain political unity within such a large span of land characterized by regional diversity. Eventually, Necho I from the Lower Egyptian city of Sais formed an alliance with the Assyrian king Esarhaddon and regained control of Upper and Lower Egypt from the Kushites. However, from the inception of the Dynasty 26 (646-525 B.C.E.) under rulers from Sais, the Saite kings were embroiled in regional conflicts with the Levant and continued conflicts with the Kushite kings to the south. This preoccupation with larger geopolitical challenges undermined the political stability of the Saite kings, and moreover, challenged their effectiveness in exerting a centralized Saite national agenda on the diverse communities living in Egypt.

The Saite kings relied on a hegemonic relationship with local ruling elites and governors. For instance, the Upper Egyptian religious city of Thebes was controlled by Montuemhat IV, who had been mayor of Thebes since Kushite rule. The representative of Saite power in Upper Egypt was instigated through the forced installation of King Psamtik I's daughter, Nitocris, as the legitimate heir to the “God's Wife of Amun” religious position in Thebes. Both the religious and political strategies of the Saite kings depended on the decentralization of power into the hands of the local

⁷⁴ Jeremy W. Pope, *The Double Kingdom under Taharqa: Studies in the History of Kush and Egypt, c. 690-664 BC*, vol. 69, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

elite. One of the byproducts of this decentralization was the blossoming of local cults within the Delta region. Many temples were rebuilt and restored during the Saite Period, although there is a scarcity of archaeological preservation due to the wet climate of the Delta. Nonetheless, the foundations of Dynasty 26 constructions are still visible at Tanis, Imet (Tell Nabasha/Tell Faraun), Pithom (Tell el- Maskhuta), and in the Libyan Desert.⁷⁵ This social setting is important for this study, because local elites had greater influence on the religious program and development of their local temples. This was reflected in the rise in the cult of Osiris, especially in specific local forms (e.g., “Osiris Who Resides in the Persea Tree”),⁷⁶ because there was no imposition of an official state deity beyond what had already been imposed previously. The decentralized political and social climate did not mandate that the patron deity of Sais, Neith, would be elevated to the extent that Amun-Re was during the height of the New Kingdom. This shift in religious control allowed for innovation in decision-making at the temple level—and it is during this period of flexibility that healing statues emerged as a new object type that participated in the forays of private religion into a temple setting.

2.1.2 *Shifts in the religious structure*

The Egyptian king was traditionally expected to be responsible for maintaining the main temple cults in order to preserve the balance of order in the cosmos. However, with the decentralization of political power, this core responsibility of supporting the temple cults became a local priority, with the priesthood and local leaders taking greater control in decision making surrounding the temple complexes.⁷⁷ Because temple complexes had their own inherent wealth through economic activity

⁷⁵ Christiane Zivie-Coche, “Late Period Temples,” UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (eScholarship, University of California, 2008), <http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/30k472wh>.

⁷⁶ Zivie-Coche.

⁷⁷ Alan B. Lloyd, “The Late Period, 664-323 BC,” in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, ed. Bruce G. Trigger et al. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 301–9.

and land, their regional thriving led to an almost feudal division of power and temple engagement. As a result, previous expectations and rules of decorum became more flexible, affecting the production of religious objects, religious architecture, and ritual practices.

The royal prerogative of temple building shifted toward non-royal initiatives. Neal Spencer's study of temple statuary precisely illustrated the active participation of elite individuals within both maintenance and construction projects, especially during the seventh to fourth centuries B.C.E. As Spencer observed, "in the first millennium B.C.E., formal temples had become the primary place for elite display and presentation."⁷⁸ This is striking because this revealed that previously restricted spaces have also become more publicly accessible to elites. Indeed, the scale of temple construction in the Theban area during the Late Period paled in comparison to the massive infrastructure campaigns of the New Kingdom, and the political priorities of the local leaders were often centered on the adaptation and modification of existing structures.⁷⁹ Within this climate, healing statues were witnesses to these changed realities. For example, the healing statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) included Djedhor's rebuilding of the Temple of Athribis as part of his biography and justification for the erection of his statue.

As the traditional power structures in the temple changed, there was a similar shift in access to religious knowledge. The restriction and display of religious knowledge were ways to tap into ideological power. For example, as the non-royal elites gained control of the temples and power

⁷⁸ Neal Spencer, "Sustaining Egyptian Culture? Non-Royal Initiatives in Late Period Temple Building," in *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE. Proceedings of an International Conference, Prague, September 1-4, 2009*, ed. Ladislav Bareš, Filip Coppens, and Květa Smoláriková (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Charles University in Prague, 2010), 483.

⁷⁹ They had access to the robbed-out tombs and newfound ability to use such materials. In addition, there were also building campaigns in Nubia under Kushite rule, and the Ptolemies at the end of the first millennium B.C.E. were also deeply invested in temple building projects. Peter Brand, "Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor," in *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, ed. Peter Dorman and Betsy Bryan, vol. 61, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2007), 52.

structures in Thebes during the onset of the Late Period, they incorporated the previously restricted Underworld Books from royal tombs into their own tombs.⁸⁰ The Tomb of Montuemhat (TT34) included examples such as the Book of the Hidden Chamber, the Book of Gates, and the Book of Caverns,⁸¹ displayed in a visually prominent way, in stark contrast to the elaborate but secretive manner of earlier royal tombs. Montuemhat's showcasing his possession of these previously inaccessible Underworld Books was a careful attempt to assert power within the decentralized political climate. This eagerness was not without precedent in Egyptian religious history, as the publication of religious knowledge was a longstanding strategy for maintaining or improving one's social standing or authority and it could be monetized in the production of products (for discussion of the use of religious knowledge see Section 2.2). Within this development, religious knowledge also became more systematized. The Saite Renaissance led to the careful study and canonization of religious knowledge, such as the Book of the Dead.⁸² The study of these texts by the scribes of the period revealed a focused categorization of religious knowledge, which allowed for meaningful recombinations and creative innovations. This systematization eased the commodification of religious knowledge into materiality, because as the display of knowledge became less restrictive, such standards provided a basis for people to understand how objects could possess this knowledge. In other words, the new owners of previously restricted knowledge needed a framework to display their newfound wealth—people needed to understand that what they had was desirable.

⁸⁰ John Coleman Darnell and Colleen Manassa Darnell, *The Ancient Egyptian Netherworld Books*, Writings from the Ancient World 39 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2018), 55–57.

⁸¹ Louise Gestermann and Farouk Gomaà, “Remarks on the Decoration and Conception of the Theban Tomb of Montuemhat (TT34),” in *Thebes in the First Millennium BC: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, ed. Elena Pischikova, Julia Budkha, and Kenneth Griffin (London: Golden House Publications, 2018), 152–62.

⁸² Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 339–45.

In addition, alongside the changes in the traditional religious structures, there were also ideological changes stemming from the emphasis on personal piety since the New Kingdom (ca. 1550-1070 B.C.E).⁸³ This new development in religious thinking was rooted in two central goals for non-royal individuals: aspiring to an ideal Egyptian by acting in accordance with *Maat*⁸⁴ and to connect with the divine. Within the local elite sphere, the ability of individuals to petition the gods was a realignment in religious thinking.⁸⁵ Such interactions could be direct (individual to god) or indirect (through an intermediary), but nevertheless, they reflected new possibilities of access. This desire to connect with the divine manifested in the reframing of temple images as sites of worship and the production of objects that assisted in furthering connections with the divine. Importantly, people needed these locations where they could come into contact with the gods.

During this time, religious decorations of gods on temple reliefs served as important icons for worship. As Peter Brand has studied and argued, the sacred spaces of the temples of Luxor and Karnak “evolved to meet the needs of later kings and pious commoners alike.”⁸⁶ A variety of strategies were adopted to redirect religious energy toward the divine images present on temple walls: inlays, appliqués, gilding, veiling, and graffiti. These interactions with temple spaces coexisted with the building of counter temples, contra shrines, and new “gateway” gods that were more

⁸³ While Egyptologists such as Jan Assmann understood the Ramesside Period’s embrace of personal piety as the catalyst for shifting religious priorities, the longstanding ties between individuals and devotion extended further back into Egyptian history. Assmann, 229–46.

⁸⁴ *Maat* was the Egyptian concept for cosmic order and justice. Françoise Dunand and Christiane Zivie-Coche, *Gods and Men in Egypt: 3000 BCE to 395 CE*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 145–47.

⁸⁵ For a further discussion of the history of personal piety and the evidence thereof, see Maria Michela Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe: Untersuchungen zur persönlichen Frömmigkeit in Ägypten von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2011).

⁸⁶ Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor,” 65.

publicly accessible.⁸⁷ In many ways, the non-royal strategies and attempts at accessing the divine mirrored the royal strategies of retrofitting the more restrictive royal spaces at the temples. Brand argued that “the explosion of marginalia, usurpations, and exterior wall decoration undertaken by the Ramessides reflects their innovation in the use of sacred space for political and ideological ends” and that these ubiquitous strategies were intentional and discriminate.⁸⁸ As a visual strategy, this density of temple decoration was an adaptive characteristic that shifted the foci of piety. Ordinary Egyptians were not able to witness directly the adaptations of interior, restricted spaces, since their interactions with the divine were limited to liminal spaces. However, the fact that their own strategies for approaching the divine quickly followed suit suggests that the restrictions in divine access were rather porous.

Objects connected individuals to the divine by reducing the barriers of access. Although a direct connection with the gods was preferable, the ordinary Egyptians’ direct connections were likely to be limited to the local or arguably less important members of the pantheon. The state gods were primarily concerned with cosmic issues, and while their world overlapped with the lived worlds of human beings, intermediaries were necessary to bridge the rather stark ontological difference between gods and humans. To this end, religious objects, such as ancestor busts or intermediary statues, were used as messengers to relay prayers, requests, and messages from private individuals to the divine. The intermediary statues, with the most famous examples being Horemheb and the several Amenhotep, son of Hapu statues, were set up in liminal areas of the temple such as the temple gates and relayed the messages of petitioners in exchange for offerings. Thus, while the statues provided a critical public service that allowed individuals to address their life crises with the

⁸⁷ Of course, within public accessibility, there was a hierarchy of access. Elites or people otherwise connected to the temple complexes had the greatest access to even these new religious spaces.

⁸⁸ Brand, “Veils, Votives, and Marginalia: The Use of Sacred Space at Karnak and Luxor,” 65.

divine, the services were not offered for free. Indeed, the fees and offerings collected provided for each intermediary statue's own cult and supported their continued commemoration. Moreover, the notion of patronage was an important factor at play, as powerful families and patrons (both longstanding and hereditary) must have had input in these social dynamics (see discussion in Section 2.3).

There is always an economic factor in paid religious rites, and such a reality has always been influential in the production of religious objects and in the sale of religious rituals. Votive objects in Egypt, for instance, were largely locally manufactured at temple complexes⁸⁹ in a manner that shortened the economic feedback loop of production and use. The producers of the votive objects had a ready market for their products. By the Late Period, reciprocity was a keystone in the interactions between statues and the living.⁹⁰ The fact that these exchanges were expected also highlighted the influence of economic wealth on the development of private commissions and engagements with previously royal-controlled sacred spaces. Specifically, these private models of sponsorship and commission grew to be the sustaining elements of a quickly decentralizing landscape.

The production of religious objects in the first millennium B.C.E. was additionally enmeshed with social competition. In periods of Egyptian history when the power of the central state was stronger, social competition existed within a traditionally state-condoned and organized decorum for Egyptian art and Egyptian religious practices. For instance, funerary resources were often allocated,

⁸⁹ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1993), 326–32.

⁹⁰ Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC),” 229–38. Also, see discussion in Christopher Eyre, “Reciprocity, Retribution and Feud,” in *Aere Perennius: Mélanges Égyptologiques En l'honneur de Pascal Vernus*, ed. Philippe Collombert et al., *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 242 (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), 163–79.

both in terms of location and materials; as part of this, elites commonly described their tombs as being gifted from the king. Perhaps best illustrated in the study of Egyptian art, during the periods where there lacked strong centralized stability (e.g., the intermediate periods), there was more regional flexibility in the development, commission, and aesthetics of objects. For example, the funerary stelae of the intermediary periods followed more regional preferences or artistic styles than those of the centralized periods of Egyptian history. The new arena of social competition in the first millennium B.C.E. was centered on access to restricted resources—both material and religious. Without the royal monopoly over these resources, this control naturally shifted toward the localized elites at temple complexes.

The material aspect of social competition is a question of economic scarcity and display. In times of economic scarcity, when certain materials were limited or unavailable, substitution or reuse become important production strategies. Social competition for restricted religious materials (see discussion in Section 2.2) was shaped by both the access to and the ability to publish (to make visible on commissioned objects or structures) previously unseen or rare religious knowledge.⁹¹ This display of ownership of restricted religious knowledge was a display of wealth and access and was pivotal for establishing one's social standing. Both of these arenas of competition have been analyzed based on a variety of datasets from the first millennium B.C.E.: Kathlyn Cooney has demonstrated this phenomenon of social competition for coffins⁹² and Marissa Stevens has

⁹¹ For example, see Kathlyn Cooney's study of coffins, Eric Well's study of private stelae, and Elizabeth Froom's discussion of biographies. Kathlyn M Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007); Eric Ryan Wells, "Display and Devotion: A Social and Religious Analysis of New Kingdom Votive Stelae from Asyut" (Los Angeles, University of California, Los Angeles, 2014); Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, *Writings from the Ancient World* 26 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007).

⁹² Cooney, *The Cost of Death*.

discussed it for funerary papyri⁹³ (the concept of reuse was discussed in Section 1.8), and their respective research proved that the owners embraced defensive techniques in the design and execution of religious objects to show off their value and to prevent reuse.

In particular, Cooney tied the corpus of coffins and other funerary objects to the functional materialism of the Third Intermediate Period. Functional materialism is the societal incentive to “expend economic surplus on socioeconomically and religious charged material objects.”⁹⁴ For coffins, their usage by individuals as transformative catalysts was critical for the afterlife of the deceased. Moreover, as Cooney writes,

“Functional materialism places the funerary object within a context of social inequality and competition, as opposed to simply seeing such objects as utensils of a rigid religious system in approach puts the object—more specifically the acquisition and use of the object—at the center of cultural/religious/socioeconomic dynamics and negotiations. ... The creation of funerary material (and by extension, the rituals in which these objects played a part), was driven significantly by socioeconomic ability and status. The functional materialism of death had dynamic consequences, spurring conspicuous consumption, high volume production, competition, ritual adaption, emulation, innovation, taste change, theft, and usurpation throughout the millennia.”⁹⁵

This heightened competitive reality during the Third Intermediate Period foregrounded the Late Period context beyond the funerary material realm. The shifts in political power structures from a state palace-based to a local temple-based level seemed to accelerate this competitive climate. As

⁹³ Marissa Ashley Stevens, “Shaping Identities in the Context of Crisis: The Social Self Reflected in 21st Dynasty Funerary Papyri” (Los Angeles, University of California, Los Angeles, 2018).

⁹⁴ Cooney, *The Cost of Death*, 260.

⁹⁵ Cooney, 261.

Vera Rondano argued based on her study of the standardization of funerary materials, “political fragmentation caused by foreign invasions made dynamics of social mobility and connectivity more visible and active in the Late Period”; importantly, the underlying competition always existed, but they were made more visible by the collapse of the “cohesive hierarchical superstructure.”⁹⁶ This competitive atmosphere affected the production of all religious objects, and healing statues were no exception.

Late Period statues must be viewed within the lens of social competition, although their development also benefited from the decentralized political climate. There was renewed flexibility in design, because no centralized political power dictated the social decorum of objects. Individuals and regional bases of power had the freedom to explore new objects and create them in accordance with their needs, desires, and preferences. Or likely, they also maintained the status quo for what was traditionally viable and potent within their religious landscape. The cultural interchanges that occurred during this period also led to an assertion of the Egyptian religious tradition—the idea of Egyptian-ness. There is always a social tension between innovation and tradition, because those who are competing in social displays of wealth, prestige, and connections have to allow their materiality to communicate in such a way that the overall language is understood. However, it is only through a component of innovation and novelty that the competition reaches new heights. Healing statues emerged from this complex environment to promulgate both the healing function and the commemoration of the elite individuals. Their design highlighted conspicuous display, but they existed within a modified model of functional materialism that existed for funerary objects. Objects of religious devotion changed meaning over time, and healing statues were one byproduct of the competitive economic imperatives that dominated the religious developments of this period.

⁹⁶ Vera Rondano, “Exploring Standardization of Late Period Burial Assemblages,” in *Proceedings of the Second Vatican Coffin Conference*, ed. Alessia Amenta, forthcoming.

2.2 *Proximity to religious power and restricted knowledge*

Religious proximity is defined by one's distance to the sacred center. The core is the most restricted and inaccessible part, and this exclusivity contributes to its desirability and influence. Within Egyptian religion, power is based on closeness to the deities who existed in the sacred center, so human beings competed for access to the deities. This fundamental struggle creates meaning and power within the Egyptian religious infrastructure and can exist in terms of place and in terms of access to religious information. In studying the extent to which knowledge is interlinked with power, John Baines has advocated using the two organizing principles of hierarchy and decorum as part of Egyptological analysis.⁹⁷ Indeed, these principles have led to productive insights about Egyptian society.

The physicality of a sacred place can be defined through exclusionary terms. In Egyptian temples, the architectural framework was structured around an inner sanctuary that housed the cult statue of the main deity. Religious power radiated from this center, and this center was highly restricted, limited to the king as the chief priest and the high priests that act on behalf of the king. The proximity to the sacred granted power and authority, because royal participation in the daily offering ritual of the god maintained the order in the world. The king, in providing for the god, ensured prosperity and cosmic order for his subjects. This royal responsibility and significant consequence justified the king's standing and purpose within Egyptian society. Similarly, in Egyptian tombs, the innermost chambers and the burial chambers were the most inaccessible parts, but also the most important. After all, this was where the bodies were placed. The tomb space mirrored temple space in ascribing central importance to the most secretive and dark spaces.

⁹⁷ John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990): 1–23.

Ordinary people's interactions with the divine only existed on the periphery of sacred spaces—primarily in liminal or boundary locations. These spaces, such as temple gates, processional roads, counter temples, and shrines, provided a limited access to the divine. For instance, even during festival processions, the gods were covered and not visible to the Egyptian public. Nonetheless, these access points were important to the public and were significant areas of private religious practice. The Osiris Sanctuaries at Karnak were points of highly focused religious energy as evidenced by the religious decorations and architectural design.⁹⁸ The fact that objects and images served as focal points for religious attention was a motivating factor for their creation and use. While ordinary Egyptians did not have access to restricted temple spaces, they understood the significance of them. Counter temples were set up at the back of the state temples and they were significant locations because they were closest in a physical sense to the innermost sanctuary. This is where the state gods could listen to the prayers of ordinary Egyptians. Furthermore, their existence and use still highlighted the exclusionary characteristic of the state cult, because these alternative spaces provided proximity to ordinary Egyptians to access the gods. In turn, through this access to the gods, liminal spaces became sites of pilgrimage.⁹⁹

The power that stems from religious knowledge is likewise linked to its restriction. To be sure, ordinary Egyptians had an understanding of Egyptian mythology (see discussion on the Osiris narrative in Section 2.5) and the functions of religious rituals. However, religious knowledge in textual or visual form was powerful because it was exclusionary and desirable. This information was carefully catalogued and archived in temple libraries, since knowledge of the divine was connected to

⁹⁸ Laurent Coulon, Aleksandra Hallmann, and Frédéric Payraudeau, "The Osirian Chapels at Karnak: An Historical and Art Historical Overview Based on Recent Fieldwork and Studies, Co-Authored with Laurent Coulon and Frédéric Payraudeau," in *Thebes in the First Millennium B.C.: Art and Archaeology of the Kushite Period and Beyond*, ed. E. Pischikova, Julia Budka, and K. Griffin (London: GHP Egyptology, 2018), 271–93.

⁹⁹ Pilgrims would sometimes leave votive objects, votive grooves, or graffiti at these locations.

the prosperity and function of the temple activities.¹⁰⁰ Decorum dictated the use of religious knowledge within the production of Egyptian religious objects, and during times of strong centralized control, such rules prevented the display of knowledge in unsanctioned contexts even during times of growing interest in religious knowledge. Within the funerary context, for example, the use of certain religious texts in monumental form was often reserved first for the king before it is diffused into the elite ranks.¹⁰¹ When this happened, new restricted religious knowledge was then prioritized again within the royal funerary space. This ensured that the king always maintained control of the most up-to-date secretive knowledge within Egyptian religious thought and demonstrated that religious texts showcased the power of kings to establish religious authority through their use of texts and images.

Implicit in the effect of exclusion in creating religious power is the question of how significant and powerful images were recognized by people who have not had access to such images. Undeniably, there was a certain cultural familiarity with religious content and images; for instance, even if the ordinary Egyptian was never privy to the Osiris mysteries (see discussion in Section 2.5), they could understand allusions to the mythology in other contexts. As Christina Riggs has observed,

“The third person, from whom the secret is kept, needs to know that the other two have a secret, otherwise secrecy is useless. Those outside the secret might even know what the

¹⁰⁰ Fayza Haikal described some of these varied institutions and collections of religious knowledge and the associated divinities tied to this process. Fayza Haikal, “Private Collections and Temple Libraries in Ancient Egypt,” in *What Happened to the Ancient Library of Alexandria*, ed. Mostafa El-Abbadi, Omnia Fathallah, and Ismail Serageldin, Library of the Written Word 3 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 39–54.

¹⁰¹ For example, see Harold Hayes’ discussion on the entextualization—converting texts into monumental hieroglyphs—of the Pyramid texts as a shift from ritual knowledge into monumental display. Harold Hays, “The Entextualization of the Pyramid Texts and the Religious History of the Old Kingdom,” in *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian and Thomas Schneider (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 200–226.

basics of the secret is—the mythology of the god, or the wrapping up of the statues—so long as they also realize their inability to know or understand it fully, and acknowledge that those in possession of the secret are in a position of privilege and power.”¹⁰²

Moreover, to an extent this question is also tied to the tiered authority and priesthood structure within ancient Egypt. Priesthood in Egypt was not a full-time profession, and the rotating employment system (i.e., people rotated through part-time positions throughout the year) seemed to be a structural choice that expanded the spread of influence and power from the temple complex.¹⁰³ There was differentiation in temple access, but this structure ensured that there was inclusive participation in the temple cults by the local communities. This employment practice was grounded in temple economics, and the large number of temple employees (even on a seasonal basis) increased the exposure of the population to restricted religious knowledge. The decentralization of the political hierarchy led to an increase in temples’ economic autonomy; yet this independence also encouraged temples to maintain control over the monetization of ritual practices and objects. Therefore, within Late Period Egyptian society, restricting religious knowledge was a concerted strategy to retain power in the priestly elite. Importantly, this was done through restricting access to knowledge, to spaces, and to rituals, since any diffusion of religious power came from the proximity to the original sources.

Healing statues were established within this religious context, since their religious decorations and textual inscriptions were representations of their religious knowledge and religious authority. Their functional efficacy was reliant on the ability of these objects to tap into how the

¹⁰² Christina Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 167.

¹⁰³ Fayza Haikal, “The Impact of Religious Initiation and Restricted Knowledge on Daily Life in Ancient Egypt: An Ethno-Egyptological Perspective,” in *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines*, ed. Elizabeth Froid and Angela McDonald (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2013), 135–40.

users and the practitioners accepted their visual displays. Their knowledge was explicitly visible in the dense decorative program found on these statues. As Campbell Price wrote,

“The power of objects come from ability to restrict access to and knowledge of them; had the healing statues been as widely accessible as so many claim then it is unlikely that their cultural prestige and perceived effectiveness would have been so pronounced.”¹⁰⁴

Thus, these religious objects existed in a balance between the visual display of their authority and the need to reinforce continually the restriction of such knowledge. Importantly, there was likely a shift in what was restricted within this context. Since the religious knowledge was so visible on the statuary surfaces, the access to these statues and the rituals surrounding them became increasingly exclusive. The restriction was important in providing meaning, and the scarcity that led to desirability provided the power that these objects held within their installed contexts.

2.3 Patronage and the commissioners

Patronage was an important part of economic exchange in Egypt. Important religious objects and other crafts always required specialized workers and sourced materials, and this structured system reflected the hierarchy between the different actors at play this process. From tombs to coffins, the patronage structure existed for the creation of many skilled crafts within the Egyptian society. To be sure, there have been shifting patronage models within Egyptian history, but by the onset of the Late Period, the traditional hierarchical models have shifted more toward family and kinship models in alignment with the decentralization of political power.¹⁰⁵ For instance, none of the healing statues

¹⁰⁴ Price, “On the Function of ‘Healing’ Statues,” 178–79.

¹⁰⁵ Christopher Eyre has outlined a summary of how hierarchy is balanced with the patronage structure in Egyptian history. Kathlyn Cooney has built on Eyre’s observations to explain the shifts in such structures during the historical transitions at the end of the New Kingdom between Dynasty 19 and Dynasty 20. Christopher Eyre, “Patronage, Power,

were described as being endowed by kings. This section will define the existing patronage structure in Egyptian society for the production of religious objects and Section 6.2 will discuss the self-representation in healing statues within these patronage structures.

There are several key actors that need to be distinguished for analysis of statue creation, and these roles can be overlapping. The *commissioner* is the individual or institution that provided the economic resources to create a religious object or structure. The *designer* is the individual or team of individuals who planned the compositional layout of an object, or the floorplans of a structure; they could be artists or architects who planned or were behind the conception of the product. The *creators* are the individuals who are responsible for the execution of the design plan. Depending on the object type or structure, the creators could be craftspeople with varying specializations in either a material, technique, or format.¹⁰⁶ This includes sculptors, painters, and scribes. Lastly, the *depicted*, *represented*, or prototype are the individuals whose likeness is portrayed in the statuary or iconography. Their manifestation, or ability to manifest, in these objects or images is an important component of their established personhood. Commissioners, designers, creators, and the depicted do not all have to be different individuals—the designers could be the creators and the depicted could also have a role in the design.

Patronage is an economic structure that ties the commissioner to the other actors within statue production and use. At its core, this is an exchange network of resources, skilled labor, and materials. The commissioner's expending of resources comes with an expectation of some form of benefit in the results. In Egypt, statue production was a cooperative process with many different

and Corruption in Pharaonic Egypt," *International Journal of Public Administration* 34, no. 11 (2011): 701–11; Kathlyn Cooney, "The End of the New Kingdom in Egypt: How Ancient Egyptian Funerary Materials Can Help Us Understand Society in Crisis," in *The Ramesside Period in Egypt: Studies into Cultural and Historical Processes of the 19th and 20th Dynasties*, ed. Sabine Kubisch and Ute Rummel (Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 63–87.

¹⁰⁶ The creation process was likely based in workshop settings or specialized sculptor's studios. As a result, the visual design was highly likely to be influenced by the production of similar objects that were being made at the same time.

actors behaving within their own motivations and needs.¹⁰⁷ The complexity of these interactions was grounded in the significance of the final product—private statues—that existed within the religious framework of Egyptian society as holding their own agencies. As Annette Kjølbj observed for private statues in the New Kingdom, “in an ancient Egyptian context there was ... no clear distinction between a person and his statues. Private statues were, as already considered, material manifestations of a person, extending his presence in the world of the living.”¹⁰⁸ Thus, these extensions of the self, of personhood, were significant investments because they instilled a sense of individual immortality with materiality.

Therefore, the design elements of statues are especially important in understanding the negotiated identities at play. All of the actors, at some level, want to connect themselves onto or with the final product through claimed participation in the process. The control of the design becomes the battleground for these objects of meaning. Specific to healing objects, this process was further complicated by the implication that the compositional design had in the religious efficacy of the object. A central thesis of this project is that the visual strategies in textual and image application built the religious potency of healing statues. While it may be impossible to differentiate between the influences of patronage versus religious influences on design, these factors in combination may help to explain how elite commemoration can become integrated with the religious ritual practice of healing.

¹⁰⁷ Maxim Panov has recently discussed the possibility that healing statues could have been produced in workshop settings. In particular, his analysis of Louvre E 10777 and Naples 1065 has shown clear parallels in the usage of texts and religious decorations. Panov, “Some Notes on the Healing Statue Louvre E 10777.”

¹⁰⁸ Annette Kjølbj, “Material Agency, Attribution and Experience of Agency in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom Private Temple Statues,” in *Being in Ancient Egypt: Thoughts on Agency, Materiality and Cognition Proceedings of the Seminar Held in Copenhagen, September 29-30, 2006*, ed. Rune Nyord and Annette Kjølbj, BAR International Series (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2009), 46. See also Kjølbj’s dissertation for a more in-depth discussion of the decision-making process in statue production. Annette Kjølbj, “New Kingdom Private Temple Statues: A Study of Agency, Decision-Making and Materiality” (Copenhagen, University of Copenhagen, 2007).

2.3.1 *The dedication example on Djedhor Cairo J.E. 46341*

The dedication formulas that were present on private statuary divulge additional details about the patronage structure. On private statues, the dedication formula was usually placed on the upper surface of the base (a “visually salient position”) and was often commissioned by a family member, when it was not commissioned by the depicted individual themselves.¹⁰⁹ In a sense, these dedications solidified the patronage and social standing of the commissioners. In both cases of self-commissions and statues commissioned by others, dedications were a demonstration of personal wealth and a strategy to promote one’s piety within a religious context. For healing statues, dedications helped to establish both of these factors on religious objects that were presumably actively used in religious ritual practices.

On the healing statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341), a dedicatory statement by Wahibre indicated that he inscribed both the Cairo and Chicago statues (Chicago OI 10589). Additionally, Wahibre claimed his acquaintance with Djedhor in a subtle justification of his self-insertion onto the Djedhor statue. Campbell Price noted that this strategy was adopted so that “Wahibre is able to effect the ‘saving’ of people” and that the Wahibre can by extension share in the power of the healing statue.¹¹⁰ E. Jelínková-Reymond speculated that Wahibre also may have succeeded Djedhor in his priestly position and may have felt the need to set up the statues in his memory.¹¹¹ The textual inscription is vague in the details surrounding the two men’s relationship within the temple space. In

¹⁰⁹ Campbell Price noted that 55 out of the 407 private statues that he studied from the Karnak Cachette included such inscriptions. Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC),” 101–2, 136.

¹¹⁰ Price, 123–24.

¹¹¹ Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 131–34.

addition, the inscription also does not fully clarify if Wahibre's role implied his active participation in the design or if he simply commissioned the statues.

Wahibre's dedication inscription was placed on the backside of the Djedhor statue base. The back of the statue base is divided into two parts (see Figure 2.1), with the viewer's left dedicated for Wahibre and the viewer's right for Djedhor. The inscriptions were inscribed over 17 vertical columns down this viewer's left side, which is half of the back side. There is also an image of Wahibre carved in sunk relief following the text on the viewer's left that pairs with the image of Djedhor carved in sunk relief to its right. While this backside was not the most visually prominent location on the healing statue, it is nonetheless a significant surface area allocated for Wahibre on a religious object dedicated to another individual with no kinship ties. Of course, Wahibre's presence on the statue is not altogether surprising, given that he controlled the inscription and compositional design of the statue.

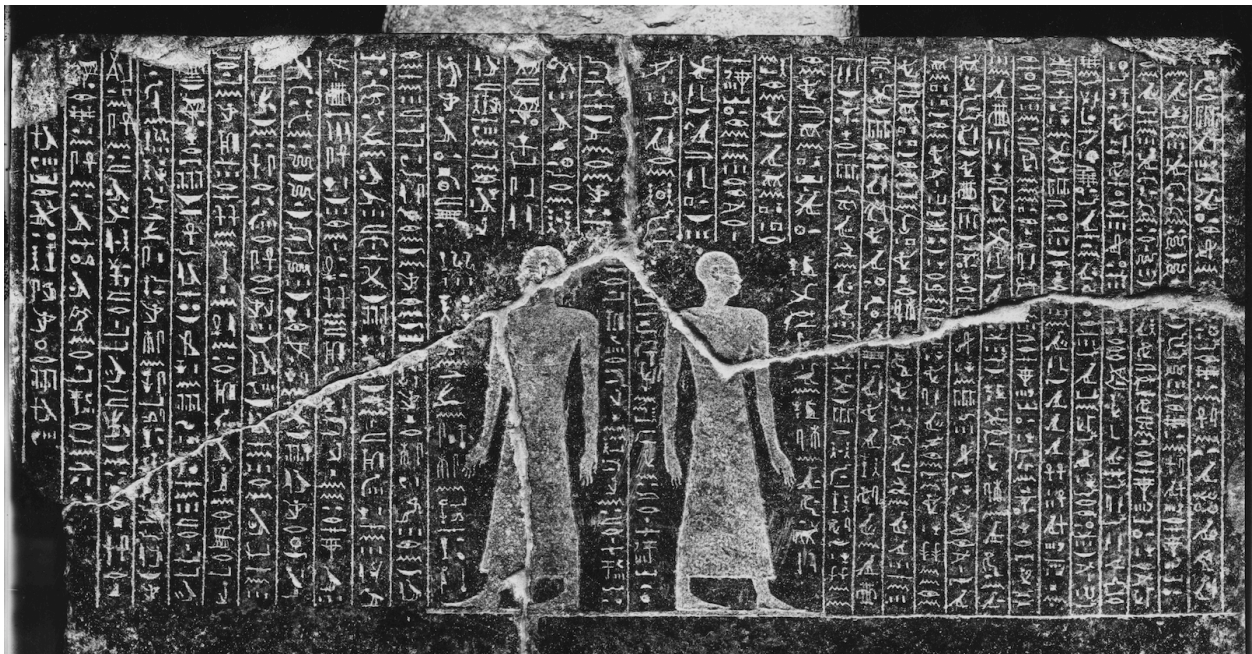


Figure 2.1. The backside of the statue base of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.

In essence, Wahibre tied himself into both the healing function and the elite commemoration of the statue of Djedhor. The importance of the patronage structure in the commissioning of healing statues was that the reciprocal exchange inherent to the objects' function also applied to its production. All of the actors within the realm of healing statue production understood that they were making meaningful religious objects and that they could take advantage of their roles to attach themselves to the new healing cult. This was an economic priority but also one that was rooted in their own self-interested desire to maintain or further their own social standing within Egyptian society. These dedicatory inscriptions were displays of the commission—they were a direct benefit in exchange for the financial or skill-based contributions that these actors made. These manipulations, especially in the additions of prosopographic inscriptions, also linked the familial connections into commemoration.

Therefore, patronage structures are important background context for understanding the production of healing statues. The various agencies of all the actors provided a complex web of multiple agencies as they interconnected to create these new religious objects. In addition, the economic basis that influenced the production also raised interesting questions about their use as functional healing objects. Despite the greater accessibility that these objects offered to the afflicted and injured, there were likely gatekeepers (i.e., priests) who served as instructors and guides for using healing statues. Similar to the manufacturing of votive objects found near temple complexes, these economic models created an economic feedback loop that contributed to the revenue stream of the larger temple or necropolis complex. Set within this structure, healing statues were patronage investments that were intended to pay dividends for the commissioners and the depicted.

The cultural awareness of these objects within the larger economic structure, moreover, emphasized the importance of the visual display. The designers and creators, in particular, must have had a heightened ability to adapt the aesthetic trend of statuary display. There was an element of

conspicuous display in showing off patronage and connections that paralleled the need to demonstrate access to restricted materials. The design choices were thereby influenced by the intended audience of these statues—what they would have seen and what they would have understood about what they were seeing.

2.4 *Approaching statues for semi-literate and non-literate users*

In Egypt, 95-99% of the population was not professionally literate (indeed, even the exceptionally literate workmen’s village at Deir el Medina during the New Kingdom were only 5-7.5% of the village population).¹¹² Although the segment of the population that was semi-literate, meaning that they were not professionally trained yet acquired a basis for reading Egyptian writing, was undeniably higher, the supermajority of Egyptians certainly did not have ready access to nor comprehension of Egyptian writing.¹¹³ In John Baines’ reflection on “Orality and Literacy,”¹¹⁴ he considered the spatial impact of written materials in order to parse out the importance of modeling the role of orality within Egypt to construct the context of orality and its relationship to writing.¹¹⁵ This assertion highlighted a greater dimensionality for aspects of written transmission.

While Baines has already discussed in depth the considerations into why something needs to be written down and the differences this raises for communication, it is important to focus on

¹¹² It is not my desire to entangle myself in the larger debates on the precise rate of literacy in ancient Egypt, but rather, I would like to consider the social impact of the minority-literacy in Egypt as it pertains to people’s understanding of Egyptian writing. John Baines and Christopher Eyre estimated that the percentage is perhaps five times higher in Deir el Medina than the average percentage in Egypt. John Baines and Christopher Eyre, “Four Notes on Literacy,” in *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, by John Baines (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 94.

¹¹³ Undeniably, literacy rates varied throughout Egyptian history, but this statement still stands true across time. Arguably, with the advent of the demotic script and its closer association with the Egyptian popular language, literacy was likely higher in the Late Period than previous periods of Egyptian history.

¹¹⁴ In particular, John Baines and Christopher Eyre also outline the different types of literacy in ancient Egypt. John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 146–69.

¹¹⁵ Baines, 171.

examining how texts created a visual impact for a non- or semi-literate individual. Especially given the state of literacy in ancient Egypt, the literate (or those in control of the literate) must have inevitably recognized the impression that writing can leave. Specifically, the effects of writing to be read aloud (i.e., heard) and, perhaps as importantly, to be seen. For example, consider the texts on the upper portions of the pylons at Egyptian temples that are clearly too high to be logistically legible to any human audience. Perhaps it would have been possible for the literate to interpret a few signs, but the heights of the inscriptions imply that the actual content of the inscriptions was less significant than the inscriptions' visual effect. Or perhaps the intended audience of these texts were meant to be the gods, but even in this scenario, the visual impact of the monument was still an inescapable focus of how the texts were formulated in combination with the surrounding images.

Therefore, it is imperative to consider how non- or semi-literate individuals entered a textually-mediated landscape. How were these encounters with Egyptian writing (either monumental or more administrative) built into the process of writing and written objects? How did this apply to the statues, where the use function was clear? Is it fair to assume that the non- or semi-literate individuals were more likely to experience the pictographic nature of Egyptian monumental writings? Is it possible to theorize the experiential aspects of these encounters? These difficult questions are not rhetorical, but rather, should be integrated into the holistic study of religious objects.

Furthermore, these questions are all pertinent for understanding the original function(s) of healing statues, because audiences and users of religious objects approach from different levels of access. The semi- and non-literate people who (possibly) engaged with healing statues would not have been able to read the spell texts or engage with the restricted religious knowledge displayed by the religious decorations. To be sure, there were probably priests who provided guidance for the use

of these objects and charged for such guidance.¹¹⁶ Yet they must have comprehended the power of these religious objects and bought into their function even without any guidance. The public's engagement with these objects was thereby grounded in their own familiarity with Egyptian religious iconographies, mythologies, and visual display. The following case study is of a Horus Cippus that employs pseudo-hieroglyphs in place of textual inscriptions of healing spells. This case study showcases the importance of considering how objects may have been approached without a literate appreciation of the text on the objects.

2.4.1 Case study: Horus Cippus with pseudo-writing

A Horus Cippus from the Ptolemaic Period (332-30 B.C.E.) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA 10.130.1164) raises interesting questions about both our understanding of the creation of efficacy for religious objects and the impact of writing. The combination of mythological scenes with the healing spell texts inscribed on the cippus endowed the object with its religious efficacy.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁶ David Frankfurter hypothesized that healing statues and Horus cippi could have also been commissioned for independent popular use. David Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt: Assimilation and Resistance* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 49.

¹¹⁷ For a comprehensive examination of Horus cippi, see: Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*.



Figure 2.2. Front Horus Cippus. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 10.130.1164. Gift of Helen Miller Gould, 1910. Photo Credit: The Met's website.

This small (h. 4.5 cm) soapstone object is roughly executed, and the modeling of the carvings is quite poor, but the central image of the Horus-upon-the-crocodile motif is clearly recognizable (Figure 2.2). The frontal image of Horus the child is lightly carved, with his characteristic side lock of hair (indicating youth) visible, and a sharp chin. While the definition of the central figure has an unfinished quality to it, Horus is clearly standing atop crocodiles with his hands outstretched grasping onto dangerous animals. Above the Horus figure, the frontal Bes head looms prominently as with many other examples of Horus Cippus. On both sides of Horus-the-child, there are two columns of “inscriptions”.



Figure 2.3. Back of Horus Cippus. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 10.130.1164. Gift of Helen Miller Gould, 1910. Photo Credit: The Met's website.

Moreover, both the front and the back faces of the cippus have two columns of textual “inscription”, and the back side (Figure 2.3) has five columns of “inscriptions”. Even the bottom of the object has an “inscription”, ensuring that the entire object is covered with “inscriptions”. Covering the object with inscriptions was a common practice on healing objects such as Horus cippi and healing statues, since the saturation of texts was a critical display of the object’s incorporation of restricted religious knowledge to support its religious function.

However, what is remarkable about this cippus is that instead of being inscribed with recognizable healing spell texts, the “inscriptions” on this Horus Cippus are pseudo-writing. The “script” here does not even resemble hieroglyphic signs, but are rather simply illegible markings.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸ These “inscriptions” of uniform signs or scratches are categorized by Alexandra von Lieven as Type II in her typology of strange inscriptions. Alexandra von Lieven, “Script and Pseudo Scripts in Graeco-Roman Egypt,” in *Non-Textual Marking Systems, Writing and Pseudo Script from Prehistory to Modern Times*, ed. Petra Andrassy, Julia Budka, and Frank Kammerzell, *Lingua Aegyptia-Studia Monographica* 8 (Göttingen: Seminar für Ägyptologie und Koptologie, 2009), 101.

Given that the texts were meant to inspire religious meaning (since the text and image on Horus Cippus worked in combination to provide the object with its meaning), the presence of this pseudo-writing demonstrates that the creator of this object understood the required components for an effective Horus Cippus, yet did not have the access to the textual knowledge to inscribe the correct healing spells or did not wish to make the effort.¹¹⁹ Nonetheless, it was important for the creator to provide an impression of having the textual component through these pseudo-writing markings. The object's efficacy was built not on the ability on the part of either the commissioner or the target-audience to read the text, but instead, it was built on the social impact that the visual display promulgated. In other words, the religious effectiveness of this object for the practitioner stemmed from a perceived understanding of what texts and images a Horus Cippus must contain and how it was seen.

Furthermore, assuming that these objects were effective, such a scenario further validates the essential nature of the religious authority (i.e., probably a priest) in these ritual interactions. In this case, the written script was used as a tool in ascribing religious efficacy to the object, which in turn validated the ritual practice.¹²⁰ In the midst of all of this, the priest's (perhaps implied) instructions and explanations became central to how the writing, the object, and the practice were understood. Importantly, the actual content of the spell texts mattered only insofar as people have an indirect acceptance of their efficacy.

¹¹⁹ Similar to the argument put forth by Alexandra von Lieven, I disagree with Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi's observation that these pseudo-scripts are indications of the decline of the hieroglyphic writing system. Nonetheless, Sternberg-el Hotabi posited three possibilities for the decline that she noticed in the cippi she studied: 1) insufficient correct copies, 2) low training, and 3) insignificant to the buyer. While certainly a combination of any of these factors could have resulted in the product of MMA 10.130.1164, these possibilities ascribed a primacy to the importance of the "correct" religious knowledge. This focus is part of the assumption that I aim to challenge in this dissertation, namely, that such primacy is wrongly stressed. von Lieven, 104; Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi, "Der Untergang Der Hieroglyphenschrift: Schriftverfall Und Schrifttod Im Ägypten Der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit," *Chronique d'Égypte Bulletin Périodique de La Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth* 69 (1994): 218–45.

¹²⁰ The inscription of texts on these objects is also relevant to a variety of object types for private religious practice (e.g., shabtis, scarabs, etc.).

Objects like this Horus Cippus¹²¹ revealed the pragmatism behind the construction of these religious objects, but also demonstrated the potency of the written script for non-literate Egyptians. If one were able to detect the authenticity of an object through personal expertise, one would not hesitate to dismiss its effectiveness. For this particular Horus Cippus, its visual impact is perhaps its most defining feature in setting its function. Its pseudo-writing inscriptions, on the other hand, perhaps helped to define the context of its intended non-literate audience.

2.5 The Osiris narrative and mythological precedent

The Osiris narrative is centered on the god Osiris' death and rebirth. This conception defines the Egyptian relationship with death, namely, that there existed an Osirian afterlife. However, along the fundamental thread of the Osiris myth within Egyptian cultural history, it is also an origin story that describes the legitimacy of Egyptian kingship. The Osirian afterlife beliefs shifted theologically over the course of Egyptian history, but they formed an important basis for ancient Egyptians' understanding of their own lives.

The narrative of the biography of Osiris is often referenced within Egyptian religion, but rarely fully or directly described. With the exception of the Horus and Seth episode recorded on P. Chester Beatty I, Recto, this myth is rarely elaborated in great detail. Despite its preservation in fragments and pieces, the mythological narrative was well known and well understood within the Egyptian cultural imagination. References to the transpired events of the Osiris narrative abounded in Egyptian religious texts, objects, literature, and art. Mark Smith asserted that “the crucial significance of Osiris for [the Egyptians] lay in what he personally had experienced. His life, death,

¹²¹ For example, Berlin 7509 is a healing statue with pseudo-writing. The small size of the piece also raises the possibility that these objects could have also been samples or trial pieces for a final product. Nonetheless, they were still detailed with the pseudo-writing inscriptions that projected the meaning that the script had for its audience.

and resurrection were perceived to be particularly momentous ...”¹²² Osiris’s impact was pervasive, so despite the lack of a distinct textual authority for the Osiris narrative, its legacy was rather ubiquitous. More importantly, the cult of Osiris gained in importance at the beginning of the Late Period, and shrines and chapels were set up to support the different forms of the god Osiris.¹²³ Even when the Ptolemies took over politically, it seemed that they had little impact on the continued popular beliefs in the god Osiris.¹²⁴ Indeed, the broad popular appeal of Osiris was deeply connected to his death and resurrection.

Therefore, while variants abound regarding the precise details of the narrative, the fundamental episodes of the narrative remained consistent: it described the murder of Osiris by his brother Seth, he was reconstituted by his sister-wife Isis, and eventually Osiris’s son Horus was able to reclaim the throne of kingship. Set within a mythological timespan, this narrative laid the groundwork for important themes in Egyptian religion. It is an origin story—while not a cosmogony, per se—that still explained the world order. The struggle for kingship and its legitimacy within this narrative formed the basis for Egyptian society and expectations for order.

There are three specific episodes within this narrative that relate to the theme of healing. First, when Seth murdered the king of the universe Osiris, he dismembered Osiris’s body and scattered its pieces across the land of Egypt. The first significant episode of mythological healing occurred when Osiris’s sister-wife Isis recovered these scattered remains and assisted in the reconstitution of his body through mummification. Once reconstituted, Osiris was able to

¹²² Mark Smith, *Following Osiris: Perspectives on the Osirian Afterlife from Four Millennia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 7.

¹²³ Zivie-Coche, “Late Period Temples,” 6.

¹²⁴ As Mark Smith noted, there were some organizational changes and modifications to rituals, but the Ptolemies had little influence on the core beliefs surrounding the god. Smith, *Following Osiris*, 414.

impregnate Isis before being relegated to the domain of the Underworld. After their child Horus was born, Isis hid Horus within the marshes of the Nile delta in order to protect him from the god Seth. Second, as a child, Horus was stung by a scorpion while in the marshes. Isis called for the god Thoth to heal the injured Horus. In this same period of mythological time, Isis was able to cast her own poison removal spells when a human child was stung by a scorpion. Third, during the Contendings of Horus and Seth for the kingship of Egypt, Horus was blinded by Seth but his eye was eventually restored by the god Thoth or the goddess Hathor. This particular episode resulted in the association of the *wedjet* eye as the whole, restored symbol of healing and protection. From these three episodes of healing, the cast of gods and their narratives became embedded within Egyptian mythology as episodes of healing. This is important because they served as referenceable anchor points in mythological time for healing spells.

Mythological precedent is an important aspect of how magic spells function in ancient Egypt. As J. Borghouts explained,

“The spells themselves are either an immediate, unmythical confrontation between the magician or sufferer and an enemy, or the speaker draws on examples from mythology. In its most simple form mythologizing a spell consists of evoking the mere presence of certain divinities, which may occur illustrated in ‘vignettes’ ... In other instances, the earthly ‘case’ is similarized to a mythical antecedent by way of association, completely (at least, as complete as the magician thinks necessary) or by way of allusion only. This linking mechanism is of prime importance to make the spell work.”¹²⁵

The intended parallelism between the earthly incident and the mythological one is how the spell texts help to solve a current crisis. The linkage between a patient’s injury and Horus’s injury

¹²⁵ J.F. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1978), ix.

preordains the positive mythological outcome. Episodes from the Osirian cycle were preferred for such mythological precedents, but sometimes references to the victorious sunrise were used.¹²⁶ As Horus was healed in the mythological episode, the injured patient would be similarly healed. As Isis shielded Horus from harm, Egyptians could be similarly be protected from harm.

These spell texts inscribed on healing statues, then, provided an important religious connection for earthly concerns. These myths were “a means of conceptualizing and describing the world as well as explaining and controlling it,”¹²⁷ so the healing statues with the embedded mythological precedent provided a tool for injured Egyptians to seek recovery. The religious tradition solved the challenges at hand in a manner that is broadly more accessible to ordinary Egyptians.

2.6 Concluding thoughts: Innovation within a newly flexible religious context

The production of objects and religious intellectual developments converged during the first millennium B.C.E. to permit the rise of healing statues that met the needs of the pious public during this politically decentralized time. This background information showcased that the unique strategies in design found on healing statues had a longer historical precedent and emerged from a context that enabled innovation in part because religious practice was so flexible during times of localized rule. It also revealed how important economic factors were in the political and religious developments of Egyptian society.

The complex background that permitted the rise of healing statues was one rooted in decentralized economic control. These were not objects created through a centralized shift in statue

¹²⁶ Katja Goebis and John Baines, “Functions and Uses of Egyptian Myth,” *Revue de l’histoire Des Religions* 235, no. 4 (2018): 658.

¹²⁷ Goebis and Baines, 676.

production, but were more likely the result of a gradual shift of access to restricted religious knowledge with the larger decentralized patronage structures of the Late Period. This gradual development followed the trends in religiosity of the time period yet still relied on the mythological precedent model that was so central to healing in ancient Egypt (see Section 3.1.1). The barriers to religious practice continued to exist, but healing statues were religious objects that bridged the divide between ordinary Egyptians and their gods. Their function within this system allowed the self-extension of the depicted individual to serve as a player in the healing cult.

3 Chapter 3: Healing Spells and Private Religion

Egyptologists have long described a separation between state and private religion within ancient Egypt.¹²⁸ Within this traditional framework for understanding Egyptian religion,¹²⁹ the state religion was concerned with the official theology based in maintaining order over chaos to ensure the continual existence of the world; ordinary Egyptians did not have access to the state-controlled Egyptian cults and the Egyptian gods in the same way, because they were not involved with the cosmic concerns that were the purview of the king and the Egyptian state. However, ordinary Egyptians did have access to the local gods, ancestors, and house cults. Private religion, in contrast, dealt with the physical and social well-being of non-royal Egyptians, as it aimed to offer practical solutions during life crises. To be sure, there was a more continuous relationship with the divine that penetrated all aspect of life for ordinary Egyptians. Healing statues were one object type that bridged the relationships between Egyptians and the divine within the healing context.

Ordinary Egyptians' approach to the divine was restricted to the periphery of temple contexts and other sacred religious sites (see Section 2.2). Through personal piety and other private religious practices, Egyptians were able to address the divine with concerns relating to their physical and social well-being. Healing and the protection against illness were among the top areas of

¹²⁸ Jan Assmann, for example, described it as “religion in the wider sense” and “religion in the narrower sense.” To be sure, Assmann clarified that these are rather interconnected categorizations. Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). In a sense, then, J.Z. Smith’s spatial and contextual categories of understanding religious practices as “here,” “there,” and “anywhere” is a constructive way to consider the practices of healing in ancient Egypt, because it prioritizes the question of accessibility and preference to divine power. His categories are dynamic and relational. Healing statues, as I will demonstrate, are themselves players within these notions of divine access. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Relating Religion: Essays in the Study of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

¹²⁹ Brent Nongbri has challenged using the term “religion” for ancient cultures, because he argued that scholars often reconstruct religious practices from textual translation in a redescriptive manner. While the definitional challenge is problematic, this project on the study of healing statues strives to be a descriptive one that analyzes the social historical elements, religion being one, in Egyptian healing practices. Brent Nongbri, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (Yale University Press, 2013).

physical well-being, because their domain ensured that Egyptians continue to thrive as living beings on the earth. These private religious practices used healing statues to provide a curative healing remedy through an engagement with the mythological framework and the divine.

The intent of this chapter is to provide a theoretical background on magic¹³⁰ and religion in ancient Egypt. The religious textual knowledge used on healing statues has a long history, and the chronological development of this knowledge shows how important healing practices have always been for the ancient Egyptians. This remains an area of research that requires future study. The sections on the power of images and text relate directly to the discussion of visual strategies in compositional design that are central to chapters 4 and 5. These sections bring in comparative data from Egyptian religion to show how healing statues functioned in similar ways to the other religious objects in building efficacy. The materiality, decorated or inscribed, was endowed with meaning within the Egyptian religious context. Since water was a central component in transmitting the religious power of healing statues to the patient, the brief discussion of water as a vessel of power clarifies the logistics behind how the statues functioned.

Lastly, this chapter ends with a discussion of the visual compositional design on the statue of Udjahorresne (Vatican 22690), a densely inscribed private statue from the Late Period. While this statue is not a healing statue, the different perspectives and scholarship on the analysis of its textual inscriptions provide the methodology for thinking critically about the study of inscriptions in relation to their placement on statuary. This formed the basis for the methodology adopted in this dissertation to analyze healing statue's efficacy and meaning.

¹³⁰ In ancient Egypt, magic was the channeling of the cosmic force *heka* for personal needs (see discussion of *heka* in Section 3.1.1). Magic was a serious endeavor in Egyptian society and reflected a deeply religious approach to the world.

3.1 *Healing practices in ancient Egypt*

Life in the ancient world was harsh and difficult. Most infants did not survive into childhood, and often children did not survive into adulthood. The lifespans of ancient Egyptians were short, with the average Egyptian dying between thirty and forty years old.¹³¹ There were dangerous animals in the landscape of Egypt and the daily farming or construction tasks were labor intensive and hard on the body. Even during stable political time periods—when there was likely greater economic prosperity, less food scarcity, and fewer military conflicts—the Egyptians faced constant threats to their survival. Foremost among these threats were common illnesses and injuries that could prove fatal if not treated.¹³² Within Egyptian medicine, there was a difference between prophylaxis and cure that is important to consider for categorizing people’s approaches. Prophylaxis attempts to prevent illness or injuries and cures are treatments for after the onset of an illness or after an injury has occurred. Both prevention and healing practices were important for the physical well-being of ancient Egyptians as they ensured individual health and survival. Within healing treatments, the types of healing practices have been analyzed as “empirically”-based or magic-based (*beka*-driven).¹³³ While the distinctions are categorically different in terms of form and use, the Egyptian healers would not have distinguished between the two approaches to healing as two different categories.

¹³¹ This is based on population studies at Egyptian cemeteries. One study in particular calculated the average age of death at one cemetery to be 36 years old. Of course, many individuals lived beyond forty in ancient Egypt. For a more recent discussion see Roger Bagnall and Bruce Frier or Rosalind Janssen and Jac Janssen. M. Masali and B. Chiarelli, “Demographic Data on the Remains of Ancient Egyptians,” *Journal of Human Evolution* 1, no. 2 (1972): 161–69; Roger S Bagnall and Bruce W Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Rosalind Janssen and Jac. J Janssen, *Growing Up and Getting Old in Ancient Egypt* (London: Golden House, 2007).

¹³² For a list of diseases known and discussed by Egyptians, see John Nunn’s compilation and discussion. J. F Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine* (London: British Museum Press, 1996), 64–95.

¹³³ Roger Forshaw, “Before Hippocrates: Healing Practices in Ancient Egypt,” in *Medicine, Healing and Performance*, ed. Effie Gemi-Jordanou et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 25; James Walker, “Egyptian Medicine and the Gods,” *The Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology* 4 (1993): 83–101.

Both categories were therapeutics used by Egyptians healers to solve the immediate crises of illness or injuries.

Empirically-based treatments required an understanding of the human body and the natural world. The Egyptians had a good understanding of anatomy through their burial and mummification processes, although their understanding of physiology was poor. Consequently, Egyptian doctors were competent at administering first-aid or drugs but struggled with internal diseases or long-term diseases. Clear evidence for their medical knowledge were found in the groups of medical papyri that described a variety of diseases and remedies¹³⁴ and the funerary materials that were preserved in tombs. For example, there was a fundamental understanding of herbal treatments and surgeries. Similarly, the famous Brooklyn Snakebite Papyrus (Brooklyn 47.218.48a-f) described the documentation, symptoms, and medical treatment for snakebites. This set of accumulated knowledge was pragmatic and effective for known afflictions. Indeed, pragmatism seemed to be the approach in how the Egyptians developed and prescribed therapeutics.

Magic-based (*heka*-driven) treatments were another strategy to combat illnesses or injuries. The Egyptians believed that one disease causing agent was demons that enter the body, and healing would involve their expulsion through magical means.¹³⁵ Most healing recipes recommended applying an inscribed amulet to the injured area.¹³⁶ It was necessary to consult the gods and seek their assistance for such problems; a divine relationship could serve as the catalyst for healing. Magic-based treatments were effective through a variety of religious objects, ritual action of practice,

¹³⁴ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 24–41.

¹³⁵ Nunn, 103–4.

¹³⁶ See Jacco Dieleman's work on inscribed magical papyri that were used to help to drive out demons. Jacco Dieleman, "The Greco-Roman Magical Papyri," in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 283–321; Jacco Dieleman, "The Materiality of Textual Amulets in Ancient Egypt," in *The Materiality of Magic*, ed. Dietrich Boschung and Jan N Bremmer (Paderborn: Wilhelm Fink, 2015).

and incantations. For example, incubation (healing during sleep) was used as a practice as early as the First Intermediate Period;¹³⁷ in the Greco-Roman Period, sick people would sleep in the temples of the deities Isis or Sarapis, follow prescribed rules, and were thought to receive treatment through dreams or visions.¹³⁸ By the Greco-Roman period, infrastructure (e.g. sanatoriums) was set up in temple complexes for healing.¹³⁹ These divine interventions asked for more active participation from the divine, whether through invocations, offerings, or threats. In sum, most healing practices used the access to the divine for these personal life crises.

There is a distinction between religious objects created for prophylaxis versus healing: they utilize different religious traditions and strategies.¹⁴⁰ It is also important not to discount, as Roger Forshaw observed, the “beneficial psychological effect” that is integrated with the “curative value of suggestion and expectation of cure.”¹⁴¹ Within this background, healing statues existed as magical objects that tapped into *heka* to serve a specific function (see Section 3.1.1). Importantly, as David Frankfurter has noted, magical objects “act in the world as a subject—that carries agency”; in other

¹³⁷ For example, see Letter of the Dead in the Michael C. Carlos Museum (2014.033.001). Julia Troche, “Letters to the Dead,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, and Elizabeth Froid (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2018), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002kdds6>.

¹³⁸ Panayotis Pachis, “Data from Dead Minds? Dream and Healing in the Isis/Scrapis Cult During the Graeco-Roman Age,” *Journal of Cognitive Historiography* 1, no. 1 (2014): 52–71.

¹³⁹ There is better archaeological material for the preservation of such structures from Greco-Roman temples. These spaces were likely part of an older trend that became more prevalent by the Late Period. After all, this was the context of the healing statues. Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 46–52.

¹⁴⁰ See a discussion of this in Joachim Quack’s publication of a stela from Karlsruhe, especially in comparison to the prophylaxis stela of Rameses III (Cairo J.E. 69771). Joachim Friedrich Quack, *Eine magische Stele aus dem Badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Inv. H 1049)* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2019), 97–98.

¹⁴¹ Forshaw has advocated for incorporating our scientific understanding of the placebo effect in assessing ancient medicinal practices. Forshaw, “Before Hippocrates: Healing Practices in Ancient Egypt,” 38.

words, these objects bore agency in a material form.¹⁴² Healing statues adopted this agency in how they supported the healing practices of their context.

Moreover, there was a performative aspect in healing practices. As Jane Draycott's research on healing shrines in the Roman Period demonstrated, practitioners likely had an audience in their healing of a patient. She observed that healing shrines could be "theatre for a range of different types of performed behaviours and performative acts that incorporated diverse elements of religious ritual and perhaps even healing practice."¹⁴³ The community experience of healing also validated the systemic structures of economic, political, and religious power near the temple context. The density of visual design elements makes a strong visual impact, implying that healing statues were meant to be seen, and by extension that the community aspect of healing was likely also an important part of the rituals in which these objects participated.

3.1.1 *Dependency on heka*

Radcliffe Edmonds described magic as distance from the ordinary, noting that "this very distance from the ordinary, however, is the reason that people in the ancient Greco-Roman world turned to magic in times of extraordinary troubles."¹⁴⁴ Magic in ancient Egypt was based on directing the energies of the powerful religious force *heka* (**HkA**) for personal needs. *Heka* could be represented as a deity and could be depicted as part of the solar barque's entourage in the sun-god's journey

¹⁴² David Frankfurter, "Magic and the Forces of Materiality," in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 676.

¹⁴³ Jane Draycott, "Who Is Performing What and for Whom? The Dedication, Construction and Maintenance of a Healing Shrine in Roman Egypt," in *Medicine, Healing and Performance*, ed. Effie Gemi-Iordanou et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2014), 52.

¹⁴⁴ Radcliffe G. Edmonds, *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2020), 118.

across the sky each day.¹⁴⁵ *Heka* was a cosmic force that is part of the established state religion, but also had his own cult. Furthermore, within the private religious sphere, *heka* could be channeled for a personal, private solutions through religious objects and religious rituals.¹⁴⁶ Importantly, *heka* was a morally neutral force and was subject to the use of the ritualist.¹⁴⁷ *Heka* used effectively was known as *akhu* (*Ax.w*), or a clear “verbal manifestation” of a religious idea.¹⁴⁸ Using *heka* as a personal solution ascribed agency to an individual. Within the social context of healing practices and the need for healing, an individual could access the divine and religious practice to solve a life crisis at a basic level. This permitted a level of active participation and engagement by the individual to solve their own issue. In other words, these practices empowered individuals with the agency to solve their own problems.

Magic works through three processes of persuasive analogy: translation, homeopathic (“sympathetic”) magic, and through contact.¹⁴⁹ Translation relies on myth and coverts a current life crisis into a mythological episode with a predetermined, desired outcome.¹⁵⁰ This desired episode is

¹⁴⁵ While the imagery of *Heka* is rare prior to the New Kingdom, John Baines noted that the “general personification” of Heka became more widespread by the New Kingdom. John Baines, “On the Iconography of the God Heka and Old Kingdom Magic or Magicians,” in *Parcourir l'éternité: Hommages à Jean Yoyotte*, ed. Christiane Zivie-Coche and Ivan Guermeur, vol. 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 49–58.

¹⁴⁶ Robert Ritner has offered a full description and synthesis on the complicated historicity of *Heka* in Egyptian history. Robert Kriech Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago, Ill.: Oriental Institute of University of Chicago, 1993), 14–28.

¹⁴⁷ Robert Ritner, “The Religious, Social, and Legal Parameters of Traditional Egyptian Magic,” in *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. Marvin Meyer and Marvin Mirecki (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 43–60.

¹⁴⁸ See Jacco Dieleman for a fuller description of *heka* and its uses in many different contexts. See Ritner for his discussion of *akhu* in relation to *heka*. Jacco Dieleman, “Egypt,” in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 87–114; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 30–35.

¹⁴⁹ Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 64–77.

¹⁵⁰ This idea of translation was also discussed by Jan Assmann in relation to the Egyptian cult. This is the same religious process that grounded a cosmic idea into the earthly realm. Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 47–52.

the mythological precedent.¹⁵¹ For example, the mythological precedent of the god Horus being healed by Thoth after being stung by a scorpion was the desired outcome for anyone injured by a scorpion sting. This idea allowed the injured to be identified with the child Horus, whose healing was the desired outcome for the afflicted person seeking help. Homeopathic magic works through the law of similarity that maps a relationship between a ritual object and the intended subject. By damaging an execration figurine, one is able to damage one's enemy.¹⁵² The law of contact describes contagious magic that functions through physical contact. For instance, the Bes-heads on Horus Cippi and the hands of healing statues are frequently worn, which could indicate that these were high-touch surfaces used by the practitioners to receive the religious power of the objects.¹⁵³ These three strategies of magical practices were often used in combination to create the function and context of Egyptian magical objects.

Healing statues utilized both translation and contact magic. These statues were catalysts for the healing practice, because their religious decorations presented appropriate mythological precedents for healing and the manner through which they could charge water to create a curative solution. In a sense, they directed the energies of *heka* from a mythological episode and converted it into a functional ritual format that was approachable for the ordinary Egyptian. In this role, a healing statue and its materiality served as a surrogate for both the mythological tradition and the individual depicted. The efficacious nature of such a statue is derived from its use of religious images and

¹⁵¹ Jørgen Podemann Sørensen, "The Argument in Ancient Egyptian Magical Formulae," *AODNS Acta Orientalia (Societates Orientales Danica, Fennica, Norvegica, Svecica)* 45 (1984): 5–19.

¹⁵² Kerry Muhlestein, "Execration Ritual," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2008), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz000s3mqr>.

¹⁵³ Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 102.

religious texts (discussed in chapters 4 and 5). The density and visibility of these statues allowed for an interplay between text and image that helped them establish their ritual legitimacy.

The mechanics behind how healing statues work reflects the broader mechanics of how magic works in ancient Egypt. The magical strategies of translation, homeopathic magic, and contagious magic still functioned within the precise confines of ritual mechanics. In particular, as Robert Ritner described, there is a “tripartite nature of magic, being viewed as an inherent quality or property to be ‘possessed,’ an activity or rite to be ‘performed,’ and as words or spells to be ‘spoken.’”¹⁵⁴ Accordingly, healing statues possessed magical qualities through their design, mediated the charging of healing water, and their spell texts were ritually recited (see Section 6.4). They were fully enmeshed in the system of magical practice in ancient Egypt and worked within it to provide a private religious solution for the healing of ordinary Egyptians.

3.1.2 *Serpents and scorpions*

Serpents and scorpions were part of the natural landscape of ancient Egypt and were a constant threat to Egyptian lives. However, Egyptians also observed their incredible physical might and ability to regenerate their bodies by shedding their skins. As a result, the symbolism and meaning of serpents and scorpions within Egyptian religion had both negative and positive connotations. Snakes could be both protective (e.g., the royal uraeus) or serve as agents of chaos (e.g., the enemies in the underworld realm). However, in both situations, their iconography was relatively consistent, and the difference was largely discernable through context. Nonetheless, the large volume of spells and

¹⁵⁴ Robert Ritner used an example from the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85) to illustrate this breakdown: “I am Isis the goddess, the possessor of magic, who performs magic, effective of speech, excellent of words” (*ink As.t nTr.t nb.t HkA ir HkA Ax Dd mnx mdw*). Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 34–35.

images that existed to counteract the effects of these animals' venom indicated Egyptians' awareness of the power that these creatures held between human life and death.

There was a large corpus of magical spell texts used against serpents on a variety of religious materials. These include defensive magical spells written to repel serpents and scorpions, and remedy spells intended to cure their poison.¹⁵⁵ Both types are found on papyri, tomb walls, ritual objects, and statuary.¹⁵⁶ The three major gods that were most often referenced in these texts were Horus, Shed, and Amun-Re.¹⁵⁷ Each of these deities were important actors in the mythological traditions describing their dominance over snakes, thus the reference to these gods was logical and reflected the translation strategies used by Egyptians to create magical meaning.

The use of spells against serpents and scorpions on healing statues led to the interpretation that these statues primarily provided curative solutions to serpent bites and scorpion stings. Yet given the wider religious meaning of these animals as agents of chaos, healing statues could have been used beyond the prescriptions against serpents and scorpions. Healing statues could then, metaphorically, have had a broader application toward illnesses and injuries.

3.2 Healing spells on healing statues

The healing spells that are found on healing statues have a long history within the trajectory of Egyptian religion. While healing statues were the first to incorporate the density of these spell texts as inscriptions on their surfaces, healing spells have long been found in tombs, chapels, amulets,

¹⁵⁵ Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert, *Altägyptische Zaubersprüche*, vol. 18375, Reclams Universal-Bibliothek (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2005), 19.

¹⁵⁶ Katharina Stegbauer has compiled all the known spells pertaining to the serpents and their venom. Katharina Stegbauer, *Magie Als Waffe Gegen Schlangen in Der Ägyptischen Bronzezeit*, Ägyptologische Studien Leipzig 1 (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 2019).

¹⁵⁷ Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 11–14.

stelae, on papyrus in temples libraries and on other religious objects. They would have also been part of oratory transmission of spells that existed in an informal context. Healing spells were part of a known, yet restricted corpus of privileged religious knowledge that were used in magical practices. Their structure followed the typical structure of magical spells, and their historical development contributed to the nature of textual transmission in Egyptian scribal culture.

3.2.1 *Structure of healing spells*

Egyptian magic spells were standard and formulaic in terms of structure, and healing spells were no exception to this rule. These spells worked by employing a magic argument, not “because they persuade or inspire fear, but because they are powerful, efficacious words.”¹⁵⁸ Importantly, magic texts were ritual texts. As Jørgen Podermann Sørensen argued,

“Ritual communication is a closed circuit; it derives its efficaciousness not from the impression it makes on any of the persons it addresses, but only through conformity with cosmology.”¹⁵⁹

It was precisely through this conformity with cosmology that Egyptians were able to channel *heka* for their personal means. Healing spells required references to mythological precedents of healing.

There are general parts to the structure of a every magic spell: a title, an invocation, a request, a threat, and instructions. The title describes the spell’s intended function. The invocation appeals to god(s) to provide assistance for the request. The threat challenges the god to assist or the enemy to retreat lest a dire consequence befalls them. Finally, the instructions prescribe the ritual action

¹⁵⁸ Sørensen, “The Argument in Ancient Egyptian Magical Formulae,” 7.

¹⁵⁹ Sørensen, 17.

necessary to use the spell. Not every spell had all of these components, but this was a framework from which it is possible to begin to understand the structure of healing spells.

“(Title) A spell for warding off a snake.

(Request) Your fury is repelled, you who were sent as a furious attacker!

(Threat) I have scattered your books with this clay of Isis...

(Instructions) Words to be said over clay in which a knife is enclosed, a bundle...”¹⁶⁰

This general structure was standardized and is an example of how Egyptians categorized religious knowledge. However, in addition to this structure, magic spells could also adopt an epic formula (long mythological narratives) or a dramatic formula (direct speech) in how they were structured.¹⁶¹ The dramatic formula, in particular, was a useful way to establish authority for the spell, because it often framed the texts as the words of a deity. For instance, a spell on pTurin 54003 rt. 13-16 (also found on the healing statue Leiden F 1950/8.2):

“A spell for warding off a scorpion. Words to be said: I am Isis. I had come from the spinning house...”¹⁶²

The framing of the dramatic formula using the speech of Isis was what endowed this spell text with its religious authority and tied it to the mythological precedent (in this case, one that described a particular Isis narrative). Here, speech formed the center of the religious power. The healing spells found on healing statues followed these general structures, as they functioned within the ritualized context of the healing practice. Interestingly, the epic formula and dramatic formula included in these spell texts did not include ritual instructions within their magic argument.

¹⁶⁰ pTurin 54003 rt. 13-16, translated by J.F. Borghouts. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, 91.

¹⁶¹ Sørensen, “The Argument in Ancient Egyptian Magical Formulae.”

¹⁶² pTurin 54003 rt. 13-16, translated by J.F. Borghouts. Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, 91.

3.2.2 *History of healing spells*

Healing spells would have been originally housed in a temple library or archive, and as such, there may have been centralized control over the transmission and use of the restricted religious texts.¹⁶³ It is clear that these spell texts, like other religious texts that have been passed down in Egyptian history, have gone through revisions and adaptations in their history. For instance, healing spells that referenced scorpion stings can be found as early as the Pyramid Texts from the Old Kingdom.¹⁶⁴ In editions of magical objects and papyri, scholars have examined the corpus of healing spells in an attempt to place the objects into a relative chronology. The synthesis of the chronological development of healing spells, however, still requires its own fuller, independent study and is beyond the scope of this project. The brief discussion here is intended to give a chronological overview for the study healing spell “Text B”, to provide a background, and to highlight possible avenues for future research.

Most of the diachronic study of healing spells have been centered on Text A and Text B. These are two of the most common healing spell texts, the Spell for the Triumph of Horus (Text A) and The Spell for the Drowning of Osiris (Text B), and they were often inscribed on healing statues and the reverse side of Horus cippi (see Section 5.2 for a discussion of common healing spell texts, including these two examples).¹⁶⁵ These complementary texts were closely associated on healing objects, and the earliest examples of both of these texts could be dated to the New Kingdom (Text

¹⁶³ The royal ones are not included in J.F. Bourghout’s publication. Bourghouts, vii–xii.

¹⁶⁴ James P. Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 17.

¹⁶⁵ Georges Daressy was the first to coin the terms to describe these two spells on healing objects. Georges Daressy, *Textes et Dessins Magiques*, Catalogue Général Des Antiquités Égyptiennes Du Musée Du Caire, no. 9401-9449 (Cairo: Impr. de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1903), 7–8.

A on an ostrakon oDeM 1680; Text B on Horus Cippus Cairo J.E. 60273).¹⁶⁶ Thus, by the time they were incorporated onto healing statues of the fourth century B.C.E. (such as Djedhor Cairo J.E. 46341), these texts had been in use for at least a thousand years. When they were adapted onto statues, they were already known, and likely frequently used, by the Egyptian population for healing practices. Thus, their appearance on healing statues would have enabled people who knew these spells to recognize the statues' function.

There has been no systematic study of the chronological development of healing spell Text A. The text is widely translated in publications of cippi and healing statues and does not seem to have significant variations between the different versions. There is a relatively stable Text A for textual transmission, although any variances between the known examples of Text A would need to be investigated further.

The greatest contribution to the chronological development of healing spells was completed by Wilfried Gutekunst in his study of Text B. Previous scholarship on Text B¹⁶⁷ was synthesized in his study to provide a more comprehensive examination of the spell's development, use, and reuse. Since there are so few securely datable Horus cippi and healing statues, he created a chronological four phase model for dating centered on the few absolutely datable objects and grouped other objects according to the textual similarities. His chronological breakdown was adopted in Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi's study of Horus cippi.

¹⁶⁶ However, as Kákósy has noted, most of the sources of these spells come from the first millennium B.C.E. See Kákósy for other important examples of Text A and Text B found on religious objects. Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 20.

¹⁶⁷ For instance, in Sergio Donadoni's study of the healing statue from Ostia, he builds a stemma to situate its variant of Text B with the inscription of Text B on ten Horus cippi. Sergio Donadoni, "Una Statuette Egiziana Da Ostia," in *Studi in Memoria Di Ippolito Rosellini Nel Primo Centenario Della Morte (4 Giugno 1843 - 4 Giugno 1943)*, vol. 2 (Pisa: Università di Pisa, 1955), 57–71.

Table 3.1. Gutekunst's chronological phases.¹⁶⁸

	Phases	Time Period
1	Frühphase	ca. 1200-670 B.C.E.
2	Mittelphase	ca. 670-400 B.C.E.
3	Hochphase	ca. 400-200? B.C.E.
4	Spätphase	ca. 200 B.C.E.- 100 C.E.

Gutekunst compiled numerous occurrences of Text B on cippi, healing statues, and other objects and defined the broad characteristics associated with each phase. In his research, he identified the Text B versions that are prevalent in each particular phase, respectively: Early version, Kf-D (Kurzfassung-mit Text D) Version, two P-R (Paris-Right) versions, and a P-L (Paris-Left) version.¹⁶⁹ He has studied the parallel development of Text A and Text B across different object types, and identified elements of other texts (Text C and Text D) that are sometimes combined with Text B. This work underscored the flexibility in manipulating the textual material found on healing objects. More importantly, Gutekunst demonstrated one method to ascribe relative dating sequence to the development of these spell texts.

There are, to be sure, preferred texts that were inscribed onto healing statues (see Section 5.2). Part of the ability of Wilfred Gutekunst to study and track the development of Text B was because of the spell's widespread occurrence on healing objects. As the study into the history of

¹⁶⁸ Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen*, 34.

¹⁶⁹ The Kf-D version included a portion of Text D. P-R and P-L refers to the presence of two different versions of Text B on Louvre E 10777. In particular, Gutekunst identified the constituent elements of Text B and categorized his four Text B versions based on which elements were present and the order in which they appeared. There are, to be sure, many variants within each Text B version. For instance, in a simplified account of Gutekunst's overview, P-R usually consisted of constituent elements (see Gutekunst for the breakdown) 3.3-5, 7.2, 10.41, 10.43, 11.11, 12.6, whereas P-L consisted of 3.3-5, 7.2, 8, 10.11, 10.2, 10.41, 11.1. There were overlapping constituent elements between these two, along with similar ordering, but in Gutekunst's analysis, the variations were significant enough to separate out two branches of Text B's textual transmission history. Gutekunst, 309, 319–21.

healing spells continues to develop, other spell texts' transmission histories should be compared with Text B's to understand the selection and maybe even canonization of spell texts on healing objects within Egyptian society. Most importantly, however, our Egyptological study of these texts demonstrated that the Egyptians engaged with these healing spell texts for thousands of years before the emergence of healing statues. The spell texts developed into more distinct "canonized" forms in the New Kingdom/post-New Kingdom period, and their long durations affirmed the significance that these spells had in the ritual acts of healing in Egyptian religious practice.

3.3 Power of images

In the framework of Egyptian religion, images were powerful tools to direct religious knowledge in order to obtain desired outcomes. There are three main ways to categorize the Egyptian uses of images: 1) through the "relationship they posit between the image and depicted entity" ("presentification"), 2) the "influence the entity depicted through the making/and or subsequent manipulation of the image", and 3) through the "temporary connection between image and entity which can later be severed."¹⁷⁰ These functions of the images¹⁷¹ were employed in very specific ways within the ritual context. Images were popularly used because they were a way to connect petitioners to the religious practices and mythologies. Petitioners could learn to recognize specific images and their associated meanings and power.

¹⁷⁰ As Rune Nyord described, this third way is rare, but involved a transference of illness to an image that can then be destroyed. Rune Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, Cambridge Elements Ancient Egypt in Context (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 54.

¹⁷¹ Jan Assmann termed this concept *Bildakt* and argued that they should be considered in the same way speech acts were understood. Jan Assmann, "Die Macht Der Bilder: Rahmenbedingungen Ikonischen Handelns Im Alten Ägypten," in *Genres in Visual Representation*, ed. Hans Kippenberg, vol. 7, Visible Religion (Leiden: Brill, 1990), 1–20.

The use of images through the ontological relationship describes the connection between an image and an entity. Egyptian gods could be manifested in cult statues, and these images were considered to be their extensions in the early realm. Divine images, such as the Hathor fetish at the counter temple at Dendera, served as a focal point for religious piety. The Hathor fetish was recognizable by the Egyptian pilgrims who accessed the space, and, in addition, they understood the religious practice that they could direct within this context. A similar ontological connection existed for royal and private statuary as well.¹⁷² Specifically, in the case of healing statues, the image of the individual represented their presence within the healing context that they have endowed, which in turns furthered their commemoration. The carving of the religious images on these statues, also established an endowment of religious power because the images evoked the mythological tradition or meaning of the scenes. These images allowed these traditions and meanings to be present in a material form.¹⁷³

In a ritual context, images could be used to manipulate entities that were the target of the religious energy. *Wedjet* eyes amulets, for example, were used to associate wholeness with the area where the image was applied. This was especially applicable to areas of the body that had been injured. Related to this is how tattooing worked to also link individuals to a specified role or community; such is the case for the tattooed woman found in Deir el-Medina with the *wedjet* eyes tattoo.¹⁷⁴ These examples highlight the semiotic link between the symbol depicted and their functions. More directly, spell text instructions can also dictate the drawing of an image as part of

¹⁷² Inscriptions of names help to solidify this relationship.

¹⁷³ See Rune Nyord for a more detailed discussion of presentification for Egyptian objects. Nyord, *Seeing Perfection*, 56–64.

¹⁷⁴ Anne Austin and Cédric Gobeil, “Embodying the Divine: A Tattooed Female Mummy from Deir El-Medina,” *BIFAO* 116 (2016): 23–46.

the ritual process. Such instructions are common on papyrus amulets, where the concluding words prescribe an original creation of an image (e.g., on Papyrus Deir el-Medina no.36: “Gods’ words, to be said over two divine barks and two Horus-Eyes, two scarabs, drawn on a new piece of papyrus. To be applied at his throat, that it may drive him out quickly.”).¹⁷⁵ In another example, the injured is expected to ingest the created image in order to absorb their efficacy.¹⁷⁶ These manipulations of images were necessary to create the powerful effects of ritual.

The power images that were carved onto the healing statues served a specific, directed purpose that manipulated religious energy and adopted it for ritual use. The incorporation of such a function relied on the relationship between the image and different entities. In the same way that aggressive or victorious images could be directed for an apotropaic use,¹⁷⁷ the images on healing statues derived their healing potency from mythological precedents of healing. Healing statues employed both an ontological relationship to the images depicted and an attempt at manipulating it in the course of ritual. In the production of statuary, these images were used to adopt their powers for the anticipated ritual uses. Chapter 4 will outline the visual strategies that were used to organize and structure these images within the compositional design of healing statues.

3.4 Power of texts

Egyptologists have long discussed the sacredness and power of written texts. These two qualities, while overlapping, could be categorized as forming religious function and establishing a social

¹⁷⁵ Translation by Jacco Dieleman.

¹⁷⁶ Geraldine Pinch described the physical engagements that such manipulations of the image could entail: “One anti-venom spell specifies that three images are to be drawn on the patient’s hand and then licked off by him. Sometimes spells were written on a small piece of papyrus or linen and hung around the patient’s neck or attached to the afflicted part of the body. The physical contact between the written words and the patient was part of the protective magic.” Pinch, *Magic in Ancient Egypt*, 70.

¹⁷⁷ Frankfurter, *Religion in Roman Egypt*, 47–48.

presence. Stemming from the Egyptian description of hieroglyphs literally as “god’s speech,” there existed a fundamental relationship between writing and divinity, but also a fundamental tension between writing and speech. Texts could build religious efficacy and also be a part of the monumental discourse¹⁷⁸ within Egyptian society, and they held value as both informative and performative. In this way, there was a strong interplay between the text and the interlocutor who could read it aloud.

Speech (i.e., what is spoken) was the driver of religious power and energy in Egyptian thought. Nonetheless, the act of writing and recording was also personified in Thoth, the god of writing. Thoth’s role as both a scribe, but also a healer, in multiple mythological contexts created a powerful association between the written texts and healing practices. In addition, in assessing the power of texts in Egypt, Hany Rashwan stressed the need to acknowledge the “visual frame of the aesthetics of ancient Egyptian writing,” since the Egyptian scribes knew how to “visually train and amuse their readers [with text].”¹⁷⁹ There was undoubtedly a visual component that compounds the power of texts for the ancient Egyptian viewers. Therefore, when considering the low rates of literacy within ancient Egyptian society (see Section 2.4), texts had an especially potent hold on ritual power.

Speech acts were a powerful aspect of religious practice. Many rituals specifically prescribed that the reading be read out loud, and this itself would be the performance of the ritual. In Egypt, the “vocalization of words was symbolically fixed to their written expression (and vice versa), so writing could substitute for vocal utterance [for the ritualist], as in the healing and mortuary spells

¹⁷⁸ See Assmann’s discussion on monumental discourse in self-presentation and my further discussion in Chapter 6. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 93–105.

¹⁷⁹ Hany Rashwan, “Ancient Egyptian Image-Writing: Between the Unspoken and Visual Poetics,” ed. Emily Teeter, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 55 (2019): 137–60.

which are meant to ‘work’ merely through their inscribed presence on stelae and tomb walls.”¹⁸⁰

Similar to how images needed to be ingested by the injured, the “washing off” of the power of texts on Horus cippi and healing statues reflected the “importance of materiality as a medium of agencies, even a kind of contagion in the distribution of agency.”¹⁸¹ The written materiality of speech occurred with the inscription of texts onto religious objects. Primarily, the hieroglyphic script was used for objects in sacred settings, whereas the “secular” hieratic (and later demotic) script was used for non-sacred settings.¹⁸² The addition of texts, especially spell texts, occurred on religious objects from amulets and scarabs, to stelae and statues. Herein lay the power of texts as a transferrable force—it was transmitted from the god to a written materiality to actual ritual use by the injured.

For healing statues, the inscription of texts on the body of the statues was an especially clear demonstration of how texts created meaning and power. The texts were a transformative force. One highly productive framework is to consider the skin-scapes of statues’ bodies, since this offers a way of seeing the self within “culturally determined relationships.”¹⁸³ This framework allows us to question how the visual display of religious knowledge on healing statues contributed to their efficacy. As Mary Nooter Roberts argued, “In the writing of the body and its reading by others, identity is performed and literacy is materialized.”¹⁸⁴ Religious texts on skin-scapes served as an

¹⁸⁰ David Frankfurter, “The Magic of Writing in Mediterranean Antiquity,” in *Guide to the Study of Ancient Magic*, ed. David Frankfurter (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 630.

¹⁸¹ As David Frankfurter describes, in the story of Setne-Khamwas, a scribe soaks a papyrus in beer and then drank it to memorize its contents. Frankfurter, 634–35.

¹⁸² Diana Craig Patch, “Art and Writing in Ancient Egyptian Culture,” in *Inscribing Meaning: Writing and Graphic Systems in African Art*, ed. Christine Mullen Kreamer et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of African Art, 2006), 107–16.

¹⁸³ Mary Nooter Roberts, “Inscribing Identity: The Body,” in *Inscribing Meaning: Writing and Graphic Systems in African Art*, ed. Christine Mullen Kreamer et al. (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of African Art, 2006), 55.

¹⁸⁴ Roberts, 69.

intermediary that bound the individual to the religious content. In turn, the individual became the one who controlled the textual religious content and its associated meanings and power.

The power of non-sacred texts is also an important component of the creation of objects. Healing statues adopted both sacred texts (healing spells) and non-sacred texts (biographical information) in their compositional design. This combination was created to prioritize the support for the depicted individual's cult. Roberts' stress on identity is a critical aspect of why elites chose to invest in such displays. The power of the textual material was a multi-dimensional one that drew meaning from various sources known within the visual language of the Egyptians.

Moreover, the dense presentation of text on healing statues was a powerful display of restricted religious knowledge. This power stemmed from the texts' ability to build relationships with both the divine and the individual depicted. The inscription of texts on healing objects, therefore, grounded these religious objects within a social framework that was meaningful for the practitioners and the injured.

3.5 Power of water in Egyptian religion

Water was both a destructive and a creative force within Egyptian religion. Egyptian society was dependent on the life-giving waters of the Nile River, since its annual inundations provided the Nile Valley with the fertile soils responsible for the prosperous agriculture of ancient Egypt. While too great or too little a flood could be detrimental, water was also creative, and associated with fertility, renewal, rejuvenation, and rebirth. As such, water was also connected with purification (evinced by the term *wab*, which means "pure," and was spelled with the hieroglyph of a water libation).

In temple rituals, water was often used for purification. Rituals of purification were performed on all actors in the temple space, from priests, to the space, the religious tools, and the cult statues to remove negative forces. Libations were by nature purifying rituals, as the gods were

encouraged to imbibe the waters to be purified from within.¹⁸⁵ These rituals took on a cosmological significance¹⁸⁶ when associated with the Nile inundation as a reflection of the cyclical nature of Egyptian existence. Moreover, libations demonstrated the reciprocal nature of Egyptian practice, because the offering was presented to the god in exchange for the maintenance of the cosmos. The purification aspect of water could be directed toward healing practices. For example, the 19th Dynasty stela of Qenherkhepeshef (BM EA 278) referenced drinking sacred water for healing.¹⁸⁷ After the Late Period, sanatoriums were set up in temple complexes that channeled water from the Sacred Lake to cells used for healing.¹⁸⁸

Water also served as a catalyst for ritual. For example, Isis knot (*tit*) amulets required a sprinkling of water for their activation (e.g., the description of their use in Book of the Dead Spell 156). When water was poured over a religious image and text, it could absorb the *heka* intrinsic to the image and text (see examples discussed above in Sections 3.3 and 3.4). Healing statues worked similarly, in that the water poured over the magical statues activated and absorbed the religious potency found on the statues. This *heka* was then transferred from the statue to the water. There was a regenerative power to water, since it was symbolic of life and was able to transfer this religious power.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁵ Mu-chou Poo provided many temple texts and funerary texts to demonstrate the role of water in both purification rituals and libation rituals. Poo, “Liquids in Temple Ritual.”

¹⁸⁶ Jan Assmann has argued that the mythological precedent for libations refers to the PT, spell 32, where the Eye of Horus was brought and poured to allow regeneration. Jan Assmann, “Das Leichensekret Des Osiris’: Zur Kultischen Bedeutung Des Wassers Im Alten Ägypten,” in *Hommages à Fayza Haikal*, ed. Nicolas Grimal, Amr Kamel, and Cynthia May-Sheikholeslami, 138 (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 2003), 5–16.

¹⁸⁷ Forshaw, “Before Hippocrates: Healing Practices in Ancient Egypt,” 34.

¹⁸⁸ Nunn, *Ancient Egyptian Medicine*, 110–11.

¹⁸⁹ Fayza Haikal has observed that these general characteristics about the power of water in Egyptian religion still remains visible in Egyptian society today. To an extent, there is an element of universality to human’s understanding of water. Fayza Haikal, “Water of Life,” in *The Realm of the Pharaohs: Essays in Honor of Toby Handoussa*, ed. Zahi Hawass,

3.6 *Visual and textual strategies used on Udjahorresne (Vatican 22690)*

Visual and textual strategies could be adapted onto Egyptian statuary in order to create additional meaning and function. One important statue from the Late Period that illustrates the careful use of textual strategies is the statue of the official Udjahorresne (Vatican 22690). While Udjahorresne was a physician, his statue is not a healing statue. However, the statue shares design commonalities with healing statues because it used similar visual strategies of textual application. In fact, the analyses of the Udjahorresne's statue's textual inscriptions lay out methodological strategies for how to analyze the textual inscriptions on healing statues.

Udjahorresne lived during Dynasty 26 and Dynasty 27, and his statue's autobiographical inscriptions served to present himself as a witness and important actor in the political climate of Achaemenid rule. The ten textual inscriptions¹⁹⁰ on Udjahorresne's statue densely covered the statue's surfaces and described his titles, his deeds, his appeals to the gods of Sais, and the celebration of his successes. Although this manner of textual inscription was uncommon within Egyptian statuary of this period,¹⁹¹ there were earlier Egyptian statue precedents such as block statues that included dense surface areas of biographical texts. During this period of foreign influence, this reassertion of Egyptian aesthetics was a way to promote Udjahorresne's titles as part of elite social competition.

Daoud Khaled, and Sawsan El-Fattah, vol. 1 (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 2008), 283–85.

¹⁹⁰ The commonly used categorization (inscriptions A through F) and column numbers are based on Georges Posener's publication of the statue texts. Georges Posener, *La Première Domination Perse En Egypte: Recueil d'inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, Bibliothèque D'Étude 11 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1936), 1–26.

¹⁹¹ There is no Persian tradition of statues with writing around or on the body, and furthermore, only a few Achaemenid statues have been preserved.

The historical readings of the statue have attempted to define a reading sequence for these inscriptions, but more recent scholarship has promoted a need to rethink assumed organizing principles. One persisting, and perhaps forced, assumption was that the text was a continuous inscription, that there was a correct reading order for the inscriptions, and that the sequence is meaningful to understand the historicity and context of the content. John Baines' reordering of the inscriptions (A D C B E)¹⁹² in contrast to Ursula Rößler-Köhler's (A B C D E; thematically based on the deities mentioned),¹⁹³ changed the referred to episode of the historical revolt and its historical significance. However, John Baines observed that "a work of art such as the statue may not impose any one sequence of viewing and reading, even if texts are necessarily more sequential than pictorial materials."¹⁹⁴ Indeed, the important characteristic of the statue, as Baines demonstrated, is that there was a careful organization of the placement of the statue's inscriptions. Moreover, the careful organization affected the statue's meaning and function. The "core" texts on this statue are the ones that are closest to the naos (offering formulas, Cambyses's ritual actions and endowments at the Temple of Neith),¹⁹⁵ which is logical, since the content of these inscriptions are religious in nature and related directly to key functions of a naophorous statue in holding the naos that enshrined a divine image (discussed further in Section 4.1). More specifically, the "distribution of the core texts is also analogous with the cosmological implications of temple and stela decorations" since the most sacred materials were placed on the naos top closest to Udjahorresne; in contrast, the address to

¹⁹² John Baines, "On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne," in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian and Rita E. Freed (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 87–90.

¹⁹³ Ursula Rößler-Köhler, "Zur Textkomposition der naophoren Statue des Udjahorresnet/Vatikan Inv.Nr. 196," *Göttinger Miszellen: Beitr. zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 85 (1985): 43–54.

¹⁹⁴ Baines, "On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne," 86.

¹⁹⁵ Baines, 90.

visitors was placed on the plinth.¹⁹⁶ The inscription content dictated placement on the statue in a manner consistent with a hierarchical ranking of each inscription's religious importance. The parallels with temple decoration are especially noteworthy, because it underscored that the rules of decorum found in state and formal religious architecture was emulated in private commissions.

Furthermore, what the statue of Udjahorresne revealed about the historical events of Dynasty 27 was secondary to the statue's primary function as a dedicatory piece serving Udjahorresne the private individual. To be sure, the historical details were a clear visible link that bridged his person with the Persians. Clearly, Udjahorresne's titles were positioned prominently, but complementing that, Baines noted that the "presentation of general and cosmological concerns" was forefront in the design of this statue and "[implies] that its owner embodied the essentially royal role of setting order in place of disorder."¹⁹⁷ Henry Colburn expanded on this idea and argued that it is precisely legible in different settings, because it reflected how Udjahorresne constructed his identity in several ways.¹⁹⁸ Udjahorresne's statue placed him within a traditional Egyptian context even within the midst of an imperial world. Importantly, Colburn noted that Udjahorresne was not unique in his statue design, as fragments of other statues demonstrated that other elites also knew how to stake out their standing within the cultural practices of the period.¹⁹⁹ Thus, while Udjahorresne's inscriptions are significant for our reconstruction of Achaemenid and Egyptian history, the statue's importance to Udjahorresne lay in how it contributed to Udjahorresne's commemoration within his contemporary community of peers.

¹⁹⁶ Baines, 91.

¹⁹⁷ Baines, 92.

¹⁹⁸ Henry P. Colburn, *Archaeology of Empire in Achaemenid Egypt* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 187.

¹⁹⁹ Colburn, 187.

For this dissertation project, the study of Udjahorresne's inscription by John Baines presented an important methodology for examining the compositional nature of textual inscriptions. Considering the availability of inscribable surfaces is commonplace in the study of Egyptian art, because pragmatism was a major force in the design and execution of objects. In addition, the translation of textual inscriptions has always been accepted as an unquestioned aspect of an object's meaning and purpose. However, by paying special attention to the relationship between the textual content and the texts' placement on the statue (body), John Baines's reading considered the visual strategies used in the compositional design and how this is related to the statue's original function. Because the statue of Udjahorresne was so densely inscribed, the object provides unique insight into how the placement of religious knowledge could be so critical to creating authority and meaning. There needs to be a closer engagement in understanding the distribution of religious materials on Egyptian objects, and this is a central aim of my dissertation on healing statues. The meaningful manner in which religious decorations and healing spells were applied onto healing statues mirrored how Udjahorresne's statue carefully placed core religious texts around the naos embraced by Udjahorresne the individual.

On the statue of Udjahorresne, the inscriptions were never placed on the skin of the body, and this was a threshold that was perhaps first widely broken in the innovation of healing statues (see discussion in Section 4.1). The visual appeal that was perhaps grounded in the extreme density of decorations and inscriptions has led to a cross-temporal visual appeal of these statues and was perhaps part of the reason that Udjahorresne's statue ended up in Italy²⁰⁰ and many healing statues ended up in European collections. The discussion of the visual strategies used in religious

²⁰⁰ Colburn, 150–51.

decorations and healing spell texts will demonstrate how, in the creation of religious objects, aesthetics remains an influential factor.

3.7 Concluding thoughts: power and potency in religious knowledge

Healing practices in ancient Egypt could rely on magic to solve threatening life crises. Healing objects were created to direct *heka* for personal solutions, and healing statues' function was derived from a central principle within Egyptian religion that dealt with image and text: building an ontological relationship with mythological precedent. The potency of the religious knowledge was grounded in the practical ritual use in objects.

There was an interplay between text and image in the building of religious power. The powers of text and image were longstanding themes in the practice of Egyptian religion—there was a long tradition of using these principles to create meaning within beliefs, rituals, practices, and speech. The interrelationship between text and image was clearly evident in the compositional design of healing statues, which I will illustrate in discussions of visual strategies in chapters 4 and 5. These ways of using *heka* for an explicit purpose was the innovation of this object type, which built a new functional role for statuary in the first millennium B.C.E. context.

Furthermore, John Baines' analysis of the statue of Udjahorresne offered a framework to think about compositional design through the application of textual inscriptions on a statue. The close attention paid to precise placement and intertextual functions allows us to analyze how such applications of religious knowledge creates meaning in objects. This methodology is adopted in the discussion in the next two chapters as I unpack the visual strategies used by the designers and creators of healing statues to construct a religious object effectively. In the same way that the “*grammaire du temple*” (temple syntax) of Ptolemaic Temples challenged the understanding of the

construction of meaning within temple decorations and architectures,²⁰¹ I hope that my study of the visual strategies surrounding statues' compositional design will also showcase new ways to consider the construction of meaning for private statuary.

²⁰¹ As Philippe Derchain argued, the decorations have become the ritual act in of themselves. Similarly, I argue, the decorations on healing statues should be thought of from this same perspective on image, text, and architecture. Philippe Derchain, "Du Temple Cosmique Au Temple Ludique," in *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the International Conference Organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 17th to the 20th of April 1991*, ed. J. Quaegebeur, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 55 (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), 93–98.

4 Chapter 4: Layout Design of the Religious Decorations

The designers and craftspeople of Egyptian healing statues decorated these statues with a variety of divine images and mythological scenes. They selected and placed these images and scenes based on the religious decoration's content, context, and contribution to the religious efficacy of the statues. The distinction between the images and scenes lay in the visual establishment of relationship(s) among the actors depicted: the images showcased isolated deities or ones depicted in an organized register, whereas mythological scenes depicted multiple actors or decorative elements arranged to evoke a religious reference or context. The divine images could include gods and goddesses who were important to healing practices (such as Isis or Nephthys)²⁰² or whose cult place overlapped with the location a healing statue was originally erected. Mythological scenes are visual compositions that include deities, other supernatural actors, or religious imagery to highlight the attributes of a particular deity, reference a particular mythological incident, or establish a religious link. In other words, the scenes strongly referenced mythological precedents and referred to these myths for meaning and power.

Religious decorations were commonly used on Egyptian religious objects to establish religious authority. Religious objects advertised access to restricted religious knowledge by incorporating and revealing recognizable religious iconography (see Section 2.2). Through the use of this iconography, these objects were able to tap into established cultural associations of Egyptian deities and myths. One seemingly ubiquitous religious reference is to the Osirian myth; mythological scenes depicting the god Osiris were often used on funerary equipment to relate to the mythology surrounding Osiris's rebirth. These scenes adopted the associated qualities of the deity and his myth, such as fertility or renewal, and used the display of Osiris to further the intended functions of the

²⁰² This association stemmed from both goddesses' role in the revivification of the god Osiris in the Osiris narrative. After Osiris was dismembered by the god Seth, Isis recollected the various parts and Nephthys assisted in the reconstitution. See Section 2.5 for discussion on the Osiris narrative.

funerary equipment to aid in the rebirth of their owners.²⁰³ These religious decorations provided meaning for the objects through this transference of meaning.

Divine images and mythological scenes were used by the designers and craftspeople of healing in a similar way. Specifically, both types of religious decorations on healing statues referenced mythological precedents and transferred the meanings of healing to statues. It is important for the religious iconography to have a degree of recognizability to the viewer even if the full meaning and potency was secretive.²⁰⁴ There was a clear overlap between the images and the function of the new religious object. The placements of these decorations were often site-specific in a way that paralleled the placement of amulets onto mummified bodies. In studies of Egyptian mummification, the specific placement of amulets has been shown to be related to religiously meaningful locations on the body.²⁰⁵ For instance, the two fingers amulet was placed directly above the embalming incision in order to seal that precise rupture in the body. The relationship between the religious object and its placement is central for the object's meaning and use.

Importantly, there was flexibility in the organization of the mythological material on healing statues. Unlike other examples of monumental display in Egyptian public spaces, their organization was not necessarily sequential or part of a coherent narrative. For example, the military reliefs of the New Kingdom used “directional flow” in creating their narrative of military conquests and

²⁰³ As Emily Teeter long demonstrated, there was a consistent interdependence of religious meaning and the artistic representation. Emily Teeter, “Religion and Ritual,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda Hartwig (Malden, MA; Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 341. A further illustration of statue gestures evoking divine identification has also been argued by David Klotz concerning the relationship between carrying a naos and the Heliopolitan god Shu. David Klotz, “Replicas of Shu: On the Theological Significance of Naophorous and Theophorous Statues,” *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'archéologie Orientale* 114 (2014): 328.

²⁰⁴ It is certainly possible that these objects could be consulted for these visual images as part of healing rituals. For example, see the discussion of the use of the image of the “Adoration of Amun” in Section 4.4.2.

²⁰⁵ Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt*, 7–8.

success.²⁰⁶ In contrast, the connections between mythological narratives were more complex and difficult to organize. In a way, the religious mythological narrative associations may be more related to the ostraca narratives that adopt spontaneous creativity.²⁰⁷ After all, the engagements with visual narratives followed different patterns in private religious practice, and consequently, there was no need to structure decoration layout in a linear, sequential manner.

The figures and scenes of healing were generally placed on the upper portion of healing statues in visually prominent locations. The most common positions were the upper chest, upper arms, and on the sides of the body. However, these religious decorations could be found on the back pillars and on any bodily surface other than the statues' faces, hands, and feet. The most prominent mythological scene found on healing statues was the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif located on the Horus Cippus held by healing statues. This mythological scene was usually carved in high raised relief and was the focal point of the healing statue (further discussion in Section 4.4.1). In contrast, the other mythological scenes were surface decorations carved in sunk relief. There were patterns in the selection and placement of these surface decorations,²⁰⁸ and I will show how visual strategies were adopted to reinforce the statues' overall display and effect. By analyzing these strategies, we gain an approximation of the interactions that ancient Egyptians once had with these religious objects.

²⁰⁶ Anthony John Spalinger, *Icons of Power: A Strategy of Reinterpretation* (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, 2011).

²⁰⁷ Jennifer Miyuki Babcock, "Overlapping and Contradictory Narratives in Ancient Egyptian Visual Programs," in *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists, Florence Egyptian Museum, Florence, 23-30 August 2015*, ed. Maria Cristina Guidotti and Gloria Rosati (Oxford: Archeopress, 2017), 26–28.

²⁰⁸ Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi has discussed several of the scenes in her analysis of Horus cippi from what she classified as the Hochphase (380-30 B.C.E.). Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, 105–26. Maxim Panov has more recently noted similarities between two healing statues (Louvre E 10777 and Naples 1065) and has argued that they may have been from the same workshop. Panov, "Some Notes on the Healing Statue Louvre E 10777."

Healing statues were visually striking due to their lack of unscribed and undecorated surfaces. More typically, Egyptian statuary were left unscribed beyond simple titles, and undecorated beyond stylistic features (e.g., clothing, jewelry, facial features, etc.). Therefore, the religious decoration and textual inscriptions found on healing statues were laid out with such density that it was impossible for the objects' users and viewers to overlook their exaggerated displays of religious knowledge. Akin to conspicuous consumption for social prestige and display, the dense decorative program on healing statues projected an image that furthered these objects' and their owners' religious authority.

The most comprehensive study of the religious decorations on healing statues to date was included in László Kákósy's publication of healing statues in Italian museums.²⁰⁹ For each object in his detailed catalogue, Kákósy included line drawings of individual scenes,²¹⁰ the hieroglyphic signs of the epithet or label associated with the scene, and a brief description and summary. Where possible, he referenced parallel scenes or discussions in other scholarship for particular imagery. While the publication serves as a valuable documentation of the religious images on these healing statues, it did not answer questions about their functions, interrelationships, or meanings. Furthermore, even though Kákósy observed patterns in scene selection, he did not analyze them in relationship to the overall decorative program. Research thus far has highlighted comparisons to the occurrences of deities without much discussion of the significance or implications.²¹¹ To be sure,

²⁰⁹ Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*.

²¹⁰ This was only provided for the first statue in his catalogue, the healing statue of Psametk-seneb (Turin Suppl. 9 + Florence 8708). There are some sparse selective line drawings for some other scenes on the other healing statues in the catalogue.

²¹¹ This was also true in Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi's study of the mythological scenes on the Metternich Stela and the brief analysis done by E. Jelínková-Reymond of Djedhor's (Cairo J.E. 46341) figural decorations. However, it is necessary to catalogue the occurrences before they can be analyzed, so these editions are important contributions for this study. Section 4.4 and Appendix C list some of the most common scenes and their occurrences. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*; Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Die Götterdarstellungen Der Metternichstela: Ein Neuanatz Zu Ihrer Interpretation Als Elemente Eines Kontinuitätsmodells."

there had been no systematic study of all the scenes found on healing statues, and Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi's illustrations of 36 common scenes in her monograph on Horus cippi offer the only initial foray into this investigation.²¹² At this juncture, the dataset on all the religious decorations on healing statues is too open-ended, and a comprehensive catalogue would be rife with unidentifiable (or possibly misidentified) figures and scenes. As scholarship continues to develop, constant revisions of the scenes' interrelationships would be necessary.

To analyze this display of religious knowledge, it is necessary to differentiate between the study of the religious decorations and the study of the textual inscriptions. With a few exceptions, the images do not illustrate the spell texts inscribed on healing statues.²¹³ Namely, there is often no direct correlation between the images depicted and the spell texts adjacent to them.²¹⁴ Nonetheless, the existing symbiotic relationship between these two types of religious knowledge, and the function of text and image will be discussed further in Section 5.10. It is my goal to stress an emic approach in examining the religious knowledge on these statues, even if the organizational structure of my methodology and analysis divorces text from image in the initial categorizations and discussions. My study begins with a study of the religious decorations, because the visual patterns in religious decorations are more recognizable to us (and perhaps to non-literate Egyptians) than the textual patterns in the spell texts. This approach is in contrast to published scholarship on healing statues

²¹² These are perhaps the most relevant scenes for this corpus as well, since she identified them from the 4th century B.C.E. corpus of Horus cippi and healing statues. Compare with Appendix C. Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, 113–15.

²¹³ Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi first noted this observation on her study of the mythological scenes on the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85). Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Die Götterdarstellungen Der Metternichstela: Ein Neuansatz Zu Ihrer Interpretation Als Elemente Eines Kontinuitätsmodells."

²¹⁴ For example, the registers of divine figures on the statue of Hor, Turin 3030, have no relation to the spell texts closely adjacent to them. In other words, the texts do not serve as captions for the images.

thus far, which has deemphasized the decorations in relation to the textual inscriptions.²¹⁵ Past scholars' approaches to this material reflected the undeniable reality that the translated spell texts offered a clearer meaning of the religious knowledge, use, and comparanda. However, as I will demonstrate, by thinking about how images were placed specifically on the body of statues, we gain a clearer understanding into how texts were placed. This chapter will therefore outline the methodology used to demonstrate the visual strategies drawn on by the statues' commissioners in the religious decorations, and chapter 5 will adopt a similar methodology for the analysis of the textual inscriptions.

In this chapter, I will analyze the manner and intent of using religious decorations on private statuary and their organizational layout priorities on healing statues. This first point situates the carving of religious decorations within the larger context of statue design and construction in the Late Period. I will argue that the shifting representation and presentation of the divine relationship reflected a larger theological change in the ascribed function of religious statuary. The addition of the divine images and mythological scenes onto private statuary was an explicit development from previous presentations of gods on naophorous and theophorous statues. The second point expands on how visual organizational strategies helped to promote the intent of the decorative program and, in turn, the new cultic practices created.

²¹⁵ For example, the publication of Djedhor Cairo J.E. 46341 is solely centered on the inscriptions of the statue. The brief descriptions of the religious decoration only included labels of the epithets and names of the deities (see discussion in Section 4.3). Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*.

4.1 *Carving gods on Third Intermediary and Late Period statues*

The addition of divine images onto the figural surfaces of private statuary has a few early precedents from the New Kingdom,²¹⁶ but the practice became more widespread starting in the Third Intermediate Period²¹⁷ and continued through the first millennium B.C.E.²¹⁸ These images were typically carved in sunk relief on the clothing of the figures, and more rarely on the bodily surfaces themselves. They could, however, also be carved in raised low relief. The deities Osiris and Maat are particularly common in both manners. For instance, in Olivier Perdu's survey of the Louvre's collection of first millennium B.C.E. private statuary, there are two examples of Osiris carved in sunk relief (Louvre E 13106; Louvre E 10966), one Osiris in raised relief (Louvre E 10295), two examples of Ma'at in raised relief as an amulet (Louvre E 13892; Louvre E 12980), and a sunk relief carving of Mehyt and Onouris (Louvre E 5830).²¹⁹ This sample survey briefly illustrates the various approaches to the application of images of gods onto private statuary.

These new applications also provide various interpretations regarding the function of these images on statuary. Edna Russmann has framed the discussion in terms of a "changed sensibility" regarding aesthetic taste.²²⁰ Indeed, there is a visually striking nature sparked by the presence of divine images carved into the stone—especially on the rarely decorated surfaces of clothing. Briefly, and perhaps foreshadowing the more recent Egyptological discussion of piety during the New

²¹⁶ For instance, the Amun image on the right forearm of the statue of Horemheb (MMA 23.10.1) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. H. E. Winlock, "A Statue of Horemhab before His Accession," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 10, no. 1 (1924): 1–5.

²¹⁷ Edna R. Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture: Cairo and Luxor*, 1st ed (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1989), 159.

²¹⁸ John Taylor described this application as "particularly characteristic." Taylor, "Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period," 66.

²¹⁹ Olivier Perdu, *Les statues privées de la fin de l'Égypte pharaonique. (1069 av. J.-C. - 395 apr. J.-C.): Hommes*, vol. 1, 2012.

²²⁰ Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 159.

Kingdom,²²¹ Russmann also understands such images from the Third Intermediate Period as expressions of piety.²²² After all, the logic seems to follow, how else could the sudden appearance of gods on private statuary be otherwise explained? Taylor complicated Russmann's observations by noting that "it is perhaps no coincidence that, at the time temple statues assumed a stronger role in the mortuary cult, surface decoration began to be applied to them on a more regular basis."²²³ Social access to the gods likely played a role as well, but Taylor tied the new surface decorations to the shift in the function of the statues.

John Taylor identified three categories of figural surface decorations on metal statuary²²⁴—isolated figures, figures in formal groups, and a program of scenes in registers—and argued that there are potentially differences in function based on these variations.²²⁵ However, he asserted that the primary function:

“... was to create a conduit between the earthly and the divine. The statue, like the tomb and the coffin, acted as the threshold to the divine realm, and it permitted communication in both directions. The divine images on the surface provided benefits in the form of the production of the gods depicted (sometimes in the manner of amulets) and close identification with divinity, which was believed to

²²¹ Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt*, 229–46.

²²² Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 145.

²²³ Taylor, “Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period,” 68.

²²⁴ Although metal statuary (e.g., gold, copper, silver) were, by nature of its materiality, more connected to Egyptian gods and temples than stone statuary, the application of divine images and mythological scenes on healing statues created a different shift in divine relationships. Marsha Hill asserted that metal statuary is distinctive in serving as “actors” in temple rituals, but this distinction between stone and metal statuary began to blur in the first millennium B.C.E. For a more thorough discussion, see: Marsha Hill, “Art and Influence in Temple Images,” in *Gifts for the Gods: Images from Egyptian Temples*, ed. Marsha Hill and Deborah Schorsch (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2007), 3–5.

²²⁵ Taylor, “Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period.”

bring about the rebirth of the deceased. Such images also allowed the owners of the statues to petition the gods for offerings and to participate in cult activities in both temple and tomb. The more complex decoration on certain statues, such as that on the figure of Takushit, perhaps perpetuated the sacred environment that housed the cult image of the deity and thus ensured the appropriate degree of protection for it even when it was outside the precincts of the temple.”²²⁶

These images appointed the statues, and in turn, the individuals depicted, as links between the earthly world and the divine world. For Taylor, while piety was still a critical component of the statue’s function, his stress on this linkage underscored his understanding of these images as having transformative potential. The images transformed the statues so that increased cultic participation for the owners became possible.

Moreover, such images emphasized the perceived religious knowledge of the statue owner. Whether the owner’s religious knowledge was real, imaginary, or idealized in this state is less significant than the perception that owner possessed the religious knowledge and was able to capitalize on it within this healing context. In this context, social power was derived from the demonstration of personal piety. By their nature, these religious decorations connected the statues to other object types or contexts already containing similar formats of imagery. For instance, any exposure to papyri, coffins, tombs, temples, or shrines could provide a viewer an associative connection between the religious iconography and the implied access that the statue owner had. The possession and broadcast of this access by the statue owners reflected both the individual’s real-world access and a crafted situational access made available through the creation of these statues.

²²⁶ Taylor, 80.

The unique proposition exhibited in these statues is the transference of religious knowledge from other mediums to stone. Most likely, the religious knowledge was originally recorded on papyrus in the form of temple handbooks (see Section 2.2). Ownership of this religious knowledge at the level of both access and use shaped how they could be adapted. This transference of knowledge to stone reflected a contextual shift that occurred periodically in Egyptian religious history and seemed to be more fluid by the first millennium B.C.E. For instance, a parallel contextual shift occurred in the publication of the Underworld Books (e.g., Book of the Hidden Chamber, Book of Caverns, Book of Gates, Books of the Earth, etc.) from the royal tombs in the Valley of the Kings to the Theban elite tombs of the Late Period (see Section 2.2). Elites such as Montuemhat, Fourth Priest of Amun and Mayor of Thebes, may have incorporated such religious books onto the walls of their tombs²²⁷ as part of their elite display of political power—more so than actual claims of their own ability to participate fully in the religious cycles and rites reserved for the Egyptian kings.

Similarly, the use of religious knowledge on healing statues was a religious transference that was about showing off the religious knowledge that the commissioner had access to since it established legitimacy and authority for the statues. In other words, while these religious decorations may have set up the “conduit between the earthly and the divine”,²²⁸ they also forcefully showed the commissioner’s access to and connection with the divine. By transferring religious decorations across mediums in creating the new object type of healing statues, these commissioners were able to create new rules for the interaction with this religious knowledge. The religious link between the presentation of deities on healing statues and the users of the healing statues was then tied closely to

²²⁷ For a full list and comprehensive description of the books included in the Tomb of Montuemhat TT34, see Jean Leclant’s 1961 publication. Jean Leclant, *Montouemhat quatrième prophète d’Amon, prince de la ville* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1961).

²²⁸ Taylor, “Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period,” 80.

the social prestige and competition of these commissioners (see Section 6.2). Moreover, the physical act of drawing and carving images onto the statuary surfaces was in of itself a meaningful act. The creation of religious objects endowed them with a material agency that was central to their function.

John Taylor's additional observation regarding the 25th Dynasty statue of Takushit (Athens 110) offered an interesting hypothesis regarding how figural decoration can reflect context of placement. Because the statue's decoration incorporated wall decoration from shrines, Taylor argued that the shrine could, in fact, be embodied so that the figure could stand before a cult image.²²⁹ In particular, this proposition was supported by the banded border often used in the decoration of architectural elements (e.g., naos or walls). Such a strategy would have precluded the shifting relocation of these statues, as their design so clearly would have reflected a specific installation location. Furthermore, in the *Gift for the Gods* catalogue entry for the statue of Takushit, Eleni Tourna posited that its divine associations were "suggestive of the statue's provenance as well as Takushit's own origins."²³⁰ The challenge for appreciating the object's function, therefore, lay with these different motivations behind the application of the images of gods. Fundamental in scholarly approaches to the application of divine images is the central premise laid out by Taylor in understanding these objects as increasing a participatory relationship with the divine. Therefore, these categorizations or observable patterns provided a lens through which it is possible to consider the application of divine images onto healing statues.

Directly related to the carving of divinity onto statuary is the corpus of naophorous and theophorous statues of private individuals displaying divine images. The naophorous statues depicted private individuals presenting a naos, and the theophorous statues depicted private

²²⁹ Taylor, 79.

²³⁰ Eleni Tourna, "Takushit," in *Gifts for the Gods: Images from Egyptian Temples*, ed. Marsha Hill and Deborah Schorsch (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2007), 99.

individuals presenting a god. While these forms of statues date to the New Kingdom (and the theophorous statues were especially popular during the Ramesside Period),²³¹ the variability and number of statues increased dramatically during the Late Period. As David Klotz argued, these statues “communicate above all else a privileged relationship between worshipper and the divinity,”²³² but more importantly, his research on the god Shu demonstrated that the dedicants’ identification with Shu permitted them to “accomplish . . . superhuman activities [of carrying divine statues and divine shrines].”²³³ While this argument stemmed from understanding the relationship with the divine as participatory, it reveals how association with the divine was the manner through which private individuals became endowed with superhuman abilities. In this case, the self-presentation that Klotz illustrated was specifically accomplished through using Shu-like gestures and incorporating textual references to the god Shu versus a pure affiliation with the divine for underscoring personal piety or devotion. Therefore, this iconographic adaptation of Shu showed the flexibility in how religious decorations could define meaning and function in statuary. The construction and display of these private statues became a way to solidify the association of private individuals with desired attributes of the divine.

On healing statues, divine attributes were adopted for the initiation of a new cultic activity. While healing statues were closely tied to the fundamental religious meaning behind theophorous statues in their presentation of the Horus Cippus, they exhibited a different categorical usage of religious decoration. For these healing objects, the presentation of the stela with the Horus-upon-

²³¹ It is worth considering the Egyptian architect Senenmut’s contribution to Egyptian statuary development. Within the history of Egyptian statue production, Senenmut’s statues were the most varied in terms of typological variations. These creative adaptations of statuary for a non-royal individual set a precedent for the possibilities available to commissioners, designers, and creators in Egyptian statue production process. Cathleen Keller, “The Statuary of Senenmut,” in *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, ed. Catherine Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen Keller (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 117–30.

²³² Klotz, “Replicas of Shu,” 292.

²³³ Klotz, 331.

the-crocodiles motif and the addition of saturated religious decorations were not strategies to highlight a participatory link between the individual and the divine. Commissioners of healing statues were not showcasing their relationships to Horus-the-child or the other deities carved onto the statues. Instead, the religious decorations served to situate the owners as practitioners of *heka* and presented the functional use of the statues. For example, the vizier Psammetik-seneb (Florence 8708 + Turin Suppl. 9) was not trying to stress his proximity to the gods through the decorations on his healing statue, but rather, he was trying to stress his proximity to the healing context determined by the mythological precedent embodied by the gods depicted. The difference here is that users of the statue were not petitioning or approaching the gods depicted—Amun-Re, Thoth, Horus, etc.—but rather, they were using these images as a way to capture and direct *heka*. In turn, this creative shift implied that the users of these statues petitioned the individuals depicted by the statues rather than the gods themselves.

The religious images on healing statues were formulated to be activators for the cultic healing practices tied to these statues. In this way, the restricted religious knowledge directly builds the religious efficacy for these objects. In the following sections, I aim to analyze the different typologies (discussed in Section 1.3) of healing statues to unlock the inherent logic behind the design and adaptations of similar and different religious decorations. Through a study of the patterns in religious decoration placement, we are able to parse out the visual effect projected by healing statues to create meaning for the afflicted seeking healing from the statue cult.

4.2 *Challenges in scene identification*

The identification and categorization of the religious scenes on healing statues is extremely challenging. Many of the figures and scenes are unlabeled and have ambiguous iconographies, so without their names or epithets, it is difficult to deduce their identities through context or

comparisons to other statues (see Section 4.3 on labeling the gods). In a sense, this is a reflection of the flexibility in the use of religious decorations on healing statues: compositional components of the scenes can be varied as long as constituent elements remain the same. The basis is rooted in the need to underscore recognizable elements within each scene for the Egyptian audience. In addition, the added challenge of figural decorations on three-dimensional surfaces meant that organizational structures, i.e., gridlines²³⁴ or frames, were not always present or consistently used. Therefore, it is not always possible to discern where one scene or figural compositional begins and another ends. The lack of clarity on the relationship among figures and scenes complicates the categorization of the religious decorations on healing statues. In addition, this could also indicate that the Egyptians did not have the same need to categorize these religious decorations into a precise constellation of meaning.

Thus, instead of a comprehensive documentation approach, the methodology used in this chapter strives to analyze observable patterns in scene layout and selection. I am prioritizing the study of choice, variation, and placement in my analysis. Given the large number of variable scenes among healing statues,²³⁵ I will focus on describing some of the most common and significant religious scenes found on healing statues and explain their placement on the statues' bodies. Admittedly, pragmatism is also key to this approach, since the larger corpus size of 41 healing statues is a rather unwieldy number to fully document and publish in consideration of the three-dimensionality of the objects. Despite my best efforts, the lack of museum permissions or cold trails of missing statues meant that it was not possible to study all of the objects in the catalogue in

²³⁴ By gridlines I am referring to the lines that demarcate a vertical column or horizontal row. I am not referring to the gridlines that are sometimes visible as underdrawings of paintings that inform our understand of figural proportions.

²³⁵ For example, the healing statue of Psametik-seneb (Turin Suppl. 9 + Florence 8708) has 14 registers of deities and 11 mythological scenes. A statue of similar size and state of preservation, the healing statue of Hor (Turin 3030) has 18 registers of deities and 14 mythological scenes. Between the two statues, there are 8 mythological scenes that are identical or similar.

person.²³⁶ It is my hope that my study's approach to thinking about scene selection on healing statues serves as an introduction for considering the visual strategies used in statues' compositional designs. Future complete publications of individual statues can then benefit from a basis of pattern recognition in their analysis.

4.2.1 Case study: *The decorative program of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341)*

The following case study on the healing statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) illustrates the challenges for identification and categorization of the religious decorations. Due to the density of surface decoration on healing statues, a mixture of John Taylor's categories of surface decorations (i.e., isolated figures, figures in formal groups, and program of scenes in registers) can be found on Egyptian healing statues.²³⁷ On the statue of Djedhor, the 60 divine figures²³⁸ can be separated into all three categories: there are carvings of Bes-headed polymorphic deities as "floating" isolated figures on the shoulder blades (upper back); there is the formal group of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif on the cippus; and there are programs of scenes in registers on the statue's arms.²³⁹ While past Egyptologists have described the "new aesthetic sense" of the statues as a "love for small-scale patterns of figures or texts, drawn like a net over all empty surfaces,"²⁴⁰ the religious decoration is part of a concerted structure that adopt visual design strategies to create religious

²³⁶ I am deeply appreciative of the photographs supplied to me by various museums and collections (see Acknowledgements) and the information found in Bernard von Bothmer's CLES archive.

²³⁷ Taylor, "Figural Surface Decoration on Bronze Statuary of the Third Intermediate Period."

²³⁸ These are 23 figures on the right side, 22 figures on the left side, two polymorphic deities on the shoulders, and 13 figures on the Horus cippus. There are 29 additional divine figures on the base in the basin.

²³⁹ While there are no clear register lines, there is a clear demarcation between the rows of deities and supernatural figures.

²⁴⁰ Russmann, *Egyptian Sculpture*, 197.

efficacy. In addition, the program of scenes on Djedhor is much more complicated than such programs on bronze statuary like the statue of Takushit (Athens 10). Takushit's surface decoration program does clearly mirror temple register decoration in its depictions of rows of standing deities, whereas the register program on Djedhor present a number of standing deities interspersed with mythological scenes. For example, the three registers of these programs on Djedhor's right arm and shoulder exhibit a combination of standing deities, seated deities, scorpions, and spearing scenes (Figure 4.2).

The statue of Djedhor has a clear front and back layout program (see discussion in Section 5.4 for the textual layout of the front and back program) indicated by the forward or backward orientation of the figures. On the three registers of deities and supernatural beings on the statue's left arm, all of the figures are facing forward. Some of the figures are identifiable through iconography, and some are identifiable because they are labeled with names or epithets (see Section 4.3 for a discussion of these labels).²⁴¹ On the statue's right side, there are also three registers of deities and supernatural beings. In the first register, all the figures are facing forward. In the second register, there are ten figures (standing and seated deities) facing forward and four deities facing backward. In the third register, there are five figures facing forward and four facing backward.²⁴² The division between the forward-facing and the backward-facing groups of figures is not marked in either register. Furthermore, although both registers two and three have four backward facing figures, the two registers are not lined up evenly (i.e., the four figures in register three takes up twice the space of the figures in register two). This fluidity in the figural orientations and placement in the registers are not uncommon in Egyptian art; for instance, the display of figural orientation on tombs

²⁴¹ Jelínková-Reymond has identified the gods and she has noted some parallel occurrences to the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85) and Louvre E 10777. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 36–38.

²⁴² The identification and parallels are noted by Jelínková-Reymond. Jelínková-Reymond, 21–23.

walls or on other religious objects may not have a clear ordering or meaning.²⁴³ However, it is usually possible to identify the general purpose or theme of such groupings (e.g., “Presentation of Offering Scene” or “Festival Scene with Musicians” on tomb walls). In contrast, the surface decorations on healing statues are more complex and unfamiliar in that it is difficult to identify the themes behind the groupings. To be sure, it is possible to identify most of the cast of characters from the iconography and accompanying label texts. In E. Jelínková-Reymond’s publication of the textual inscriptions on the statue of Djedhor, she identified and described all of the figures on Djedhor’s arms. In her brief comments on these figural decorations, she highlighted parallels between each figure to similarly depicted ones on other healing objects. For example, from the six figures on the first register of Djedhor’s left arm, Jelínková-Reymond identified parallels for figure 3 (with Louvre E 10777 and Metternich Stela), figure 4 (with Metternich Stela), and figure 6 (with Louvre E 10777 and Metternich Stela).²⁴⁴ Even though the figures are grouped together in one register on Djedhor, the parallels are found in separate locations (different registers and different sides) on the Metternich Stela and on Louvre E 10777. This demonstrates the flexibility in combining the various religious decorations on healing objects. The variation permitted competition for its audience to recognize it as unique or especially potent.

²⁴³ In particular, the orientations of figures in passageways of religious structures were meaningful. For instance, the figures in Underworld Books on tombs (such as the Book of Caverns or Book of Gates in KV 9) were oriented toward the innermost tomb structure, the burial chamber. Similarly, the orientation of figures in the staircases at the Temple of Dendera also indicated the intended ascension or descension of the staircase (they either process in ascension or descension).

²⁴⁴ Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 38.

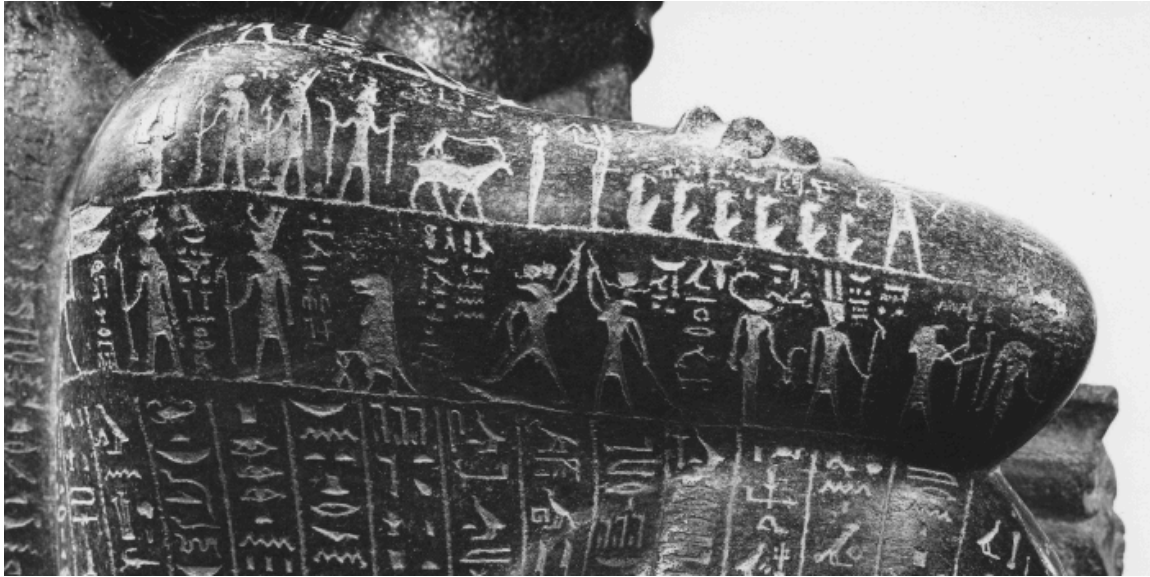


Figure 4.1. Registers of decoration on Djedhor's right arm. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.



Figure 4.2. Registers of decoration on Djedhor's left arm. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.

In addition, the figures found on healing statues are often unlabeled and do not have recognizable iconography. There are possibly new and unknown gods not otherwise recorded.²⁴⁵ A combination of factors—including preservation, quality, and our etic approaches—are stumbling

²⁴⁵ For example, László Kákósy identified a scorpion with woman head called *xr.t* and a hippo goddess *hr.t* as new unknown gods found on Turin 3030. Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 46.

blocks for a holistic understanding of these statues' religious decoration. Indeed, what is notably missing from Jelínková-Reymond's publication of the statue of Djedhor is an analysis of the scenes in terms of how they work together to form meaning.²⁴⁶ The process of identifying and describing every figure and scene on each statue is necessary, but it prioritized our etic categorizations over how these objects showcased a blending of tradition and innovation.

The organizational method by which the religious decorations on the statue of Djedhor was structured is representative of the larger corpus of healing statues. By and large, the religious decorations on healing statues were organized into clear registers, but the meanings behind the patterns of each religious scene, motif, or figure(s) were never explicitly presented. Instead, when compared across the larger corpus, the organization of each register illustrated the fluidity and creativity of the designers in combining the different motifs together. So, in spite of the challenges in identification, a study of these religious decorations could use the framework of intericonicity, or thinking about how images related to one another, to showcase what Dmitri Laboury would describe as the "tokens of creativity" within the production of these statues (see definitions in Section 1.3.5 and further discussion in Section 4.6).²⁴⁷ To understand how the religious decorations worked to create effective religious objects, we must understand the variances of images, their interrelationship with other images, and eventually, how they interacted with the textual inscriptions covering healing statues. This study of the transmission and transformation of motifs and sets of motifs shows how religious meaning is built.

²⁴⁶ A discussion of how the images also work together with texts to form meaning can be found in Section 5.10.

²⁴⁷ Dmitri Laboury argued that such a framework is perfectly adapted to consider "complex cases of transmission or transformation of images." A further discussion of this framework's conclusions is in Section 4.6. Laboury, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art," 249.

4.3 *Flexibility in image labeling*

The visual image of the deities and mythological scenes on healing statues are important elements of design. In some cases, the deities and the scenes on healing statues are identifiable from their iconography or context. For instance, in the “Adoration of Amun” scene (discussed in Section 4.4.2), the members of the Ogdoad are recognizable from their grouping (i.e., there are eight members) and their zoomorphic heads (i.e., frog- and snake- headed on human bodies, which is a common iconographic trait of the Ogdoad). However, there is an overarching challenge with understanding these scenes for modern scholars, because many of the figures are not identifiable due to ambiguous iconographies and imprecise execution (i.e., lack of distinctive details) in the carvings. It is thus extremely valuable when the image is labeled, an inscription of the deity’s name or epithet accompanies the scene, because it helps with identification. Moreover, “inscribing the very names of gods on monument[s] invoked and assured divine presence.”²⁴⁸ However, here I want to emphasize that the presence and absence of these labels raise interesting questions about their significance in the design and in creating meaning. After all, the integration and interrelationship of image and text is nuanced across the design of healing statues. Although the variability in labeling is a challenge to modern researchers, here I argue that it highlights flexibility in the design of these statues and display of religious knowledge. Importantly, the lack of labeling could also permit the figures to serve multiple roles and identified as different deities. The application of images and the labels was undeniably a pragmatic process.

Labeling was not uniform even across the different scenes and examples on the same statue. The statue of Hor (Turin 3030) is a Type II standing healing statue with a missing head. The “Adoration of Amun” scene was placed on the front chest of the statue of Hor, and the members of

²⁴⁸ Price, “On the Function of ‘Healing’ Statues,” 171.

the Ogdoad are all labeled with inscriptions of their names directly above the figures.²⁴⁹ Following the common format on Type II statues, the sides of the high kilt worn by Hor included deities and scenes organized into registers. The general format is a symmetrical arrangement, with nine registers on the statue's left side and nine registers on the statue's right side filled with religious decorations.²⁵⁰ On the left side of the statue (see Figure 4.3), only the figures in registers 6, 7, and 8 were labeled (eight of the thirteen deities have accompanying inscriptions of their names or epithets). On the right side of the statue, only the figures in register 6 have labels (three of the six figures). On the

²⁴⁹ Amun, Amunet, Hehu, and Hehut are on the statue's right upper torso, and Keku, Kekuet, Nu, and Naunet (strange orthography) are on the statue's left upper torso.

²⁵⁰ There is an additional blank register above the ones filled with decoration. It appears to be an intentional design and not because the statue is unfinished.

back pillar, registers 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 12, and 13 include deities with inscriptions of their names or epithets. This is a small minority of the deities depicted on the back pillar.



Figure 4.3. Left side of the statue of Hor. Turin 3030.
Photo credit: CLES.

There are no clear patterns as to why some gods were labeled and some were not. While some composite gods or ones with nontraditional iconographies were given inscriptions to specify their identities, many of the unlabeled deities depicted also have challenging iconographic characteristics. In addition, the omission of labels was not motivated by space constraints, as there were plenty of spaces available for inscriptions on this completed statue (i.e., note the negative spaces in the horizontal rows above rows 6, 7, 8 that do not have labels for the depicted deities). Furthermore, some of the deities who were labeled are clearly identifiable from their iconography or

grouping—such as Isis or the Ogdoad—making the labelling seemingly superfluous and unnecessary. To be sure, it is possible that not naming or vaguely naming deities could have its own religious power.

Thus, these inscriptions most likely reflected variances in choice surrounding the display of religious knowledge. Because the same scene across different statues could exist with or without inscriptions (e.g., the Ogdoad is labeled on Turin 3030, but unlabeled on Naples 1065), these inscriptions were probably insignificant to the overall religious efficacy of each healing statue. Instead, there was an inherent understanding of the religious power and potency of names, and so I suggest that their inclusion in any particular instance could reflect a desire to add a level of knowledge to the image.

Specifically, the inscriptions reflected a desire to display a differentiated level of access to restricted religious knowledge. Within Egyptian religion, text and image often functioned together to create meaning. The addition of an inscription to the image demonstrated familiarity with not just the sources for the visual image, but a deeper level of the presumed mythology behind the figure. After all, these statues functioned through their effective visual display, so the collection of images was enhanced with complementary knowledge of the deities. It is important to recognize that these elements of the compositional design were precisely elements whose constellation must have functioned together in order to create religious meaning for the statue as a ritual object.

4.4 Common scenes and scene selections

Flexibility in design is also apparent when looking at common scenes and scene selections. Across the corpus of healing statues, there are common religious decorations of figures and scenes used on these statues. These common depictions and renderings could be placed in similar locations, which possibly indicates that specific location placements could be meaningful or necessary in the statue's

compositional design. However, there was also variability in their placement, showing that none of the placement rules were strictly followed. The following discussion analyzes the four most common scenes found on healing statues: “Horus-upon-the-crocodiles”, “Adoration of Amun”, “Isis of Akhbit”, and the “Polymorphic deity.” A more comprehensive listing and description of additional scenes found on healing statues can be found in Appendix C: List of Common Scenes. The descriptions and catalogues of these four scenes are meant to emphasize both patterns and variabilities in placement. In turn, this foregrounds the intericonicity of scenes on healing statues and also showcases the construction of visual strategies in creating religious efficacy.

4.4.1 *Horus-upon-the-crocodiles*

The Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif (Figure 4.4) is the most prominent image placed front and center on Horus cippi and healing statues. Healing statues were private individuals holding or presenting Horus cippi. As the largest religious motif on healing statues, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles scene was usually carved in high relief. Due to the fragmentary nature of many healing statues, it is impossible to confirm that all of them once held a Horus Cippus. From the healing statues examined for this study, only Berlin 7554 and Turin 3033 do not include a prominent Horus Cippus at the front part of the statue.²⁵¹

²⁵¹ This excludes the fragments that do not have the front portion preserved. Berlin 7554 depicts the individual holding an image (statue) of Osiris. The statue has not been published beyond brief descriptions and was unfortunately partially destroyed during World War II. Turin 3033 depicts a kneeling individual not holding a Horus Cippus; however, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles image does appear in the second register of the back pillar in sunk relief.



Figure 4.4. Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif on the Metternich Stela. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950. Photo Credit: The Met's website.

In this scene, the Horus child (also known as Harpocrates) is depicted nude, with a characteristic youth sidelock of hair, standing atop two crocodiles. The Horus child embodies celestial associations of both the newborn sun god but also the young moon god.²⁵² Above Horus is the head of the protective god Bes, whose apotropaic domain involves the protection of children. Horus grasps a variety of animals in his hands (including serpents, scorpions, antelopes, and lions) and is sometimes flanked by two standards (on Horus cippi like the Metternich Stela MMA 50.85 in Figure 4.4, the Horus child is sometime also flanked by gods such as Thoth, Isis, and Re-horakhty).

²⁵² Dmitri Meeks, "Harpocrates," *IDD - Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient Near East*, 2010, http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublications/e_idd_harpocrates.pdf.

The two standards are usually topped with a lotus (symbolizing Nefertum) or papyrus (often symbolizing Horus). These iconographic variations have been used to for dating Horus cippi.²⁵³

The meanings behind the motif underscores the functional purpose of Horus cippi and healing statues. As Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi argued in her study on Horus cippi, there are two divergent interpretations of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif: the various animals could be interpreted as dangerous and life-threatening or as protective and symbolizing regeneration.²⁵⁴ The first interpretation highlights Horus' vulnerability as a child among potent creatures, whereas the second reinforces his command and dominance over these creatures. In reality, both understandings were probably incorporated into the motif's efficacy as a religious decoration. The duality of meaning in the iconography was embraced in in this situation as a particularly dynamic relationship.²⁵⁵ This aspect promoted the relatability of the religious image, which in turn allowed the objects to serve in the personal piety relationship embedded within the healing practices.

As the most prominent image, the Horus-upon-the-crocodile motif was the religious and visual focal point on healing objects. Framing elements were used to emphasize the scene on Horus Cippi (such as the Metternich Stela MMA 50.85) and on healing statues. Most healing statues are stelophorous examples,²⁵⁶ so the Horus cippi—and therefore, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif—are given visual primacy since they are being presented by the individuals. Stelophorous statues may have originally emerged to accommodate hymns to the sun in the Eighteenth Dynasty,²⁵⁷

²⁵³ See Section 1.7 for a discussion on the challenges of dating and Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi's research into the chronological development of Horus cippi.

²⁵⁴ Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, 14–19.

²⁵⁵ Frédéric Servajean, "Duality," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich and Jacco Dieleman, 2008, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/95b9b2db>.

²⁵⁶ See Section 1.3 for the discussion of typology.

²⁵⁷ David Silverman expanded on the idea first proposed by H.M. Stewart. H. M. Stewart, "Some Pre-'Amārnah Sun-Hymns," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 46 (1960): 84; David Silverman, "Pashed, the Servant of Amon: A Stelophorous Figure in the Oriental Institute Museum," in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes: January 12, 1977*, ed. Janet

and this long duration of the object type's function was retained even though the exact religious content changed. In other words, the stelae held still attempted to tap into the solar regeneration associated with such presentations; but instead of a solar hymn, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif replaced the solar imagery. There was undeniably a component of personal piety inherent to the object type and the religious themes of rejuvenation and healing. There was a solar association with the notion of healing, because it ties the daily renewal and rebirth of the sun to a personal transition from sickness to health.

While the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif is the most important image for healing statues and Horus cippi, this motif was rarely presented in isolation. The scene is usually accompanied by additional religious decorations and textual inscriptions. In Annie Gasse's survey of forty Horus cippi in the Louvre's collection, she observed that eleven examples included textual inscriptions, eleven examples include divine figures, and two examples included both.²⁵⁸ In the Louvre cippi, the most commonly depicted figures are Isis and Horus in the Marshes, Horus of Hebenou, a crocodile atop a chest, and Thoth. Many of these figures can be found elsewhere on cippi.²⁵⁹ Similarly, on healing statues such as Stockholm NME 92 (Figure 4.5), numerous deities are carved in sunk relief in the background of the Horus Cippus and there are at least two label text inscriptions accompanying two of the deities.

Johnson and Edward Wente, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 39 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1976), 203.

²⁵⁸ Gasse, *Les stèles d'Horus sur les crocodiles*, 20.

²⁵⁹ Gasse, 20.



Figure 4.5. Horus Cippus with a variety of deities carved in sunk relief surrounding the image. Stockholm NME 92. Photo credit: Author.

The deities and textual inscriptions in the shadow of the larger Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif is evidence of the flexibility in adaption of religious decorations and the visual preference of these objects. In surveying all the extent Horus cippi on healing statues (see Table 4.1), the cippi included varying combinations of deities and text. The selected deities varied across different cippi on healing statues, and mythological scenes such as the “Adoration of Amun” and “Isis of Akhbit” could also be found on the stela around the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif.²⁶⁰ The texts on cippi were primarily label texts that name or describe the depicted deities, but there are two examples

²⁶⁰ Both of these scenes will be discussed in the following pages. The “Adoration of Amun” scene is found on the cippus of Leiden 1953/5.1, and the “Isis in the Marshes” scene is found on the cippus of Paris BN 53.238bis.

(Florence 8798 + Turin Suppl. 9; Turin 3031) where there are columns inscribed with spell texts invoking protection from depicted gods. In combination, all of these additional religious decoration and textual inscriptions filled in the negative spaces on the stelas in order to project visuals of densely decorated objects. This was central to the visual impression that the designers wanted to convey to the practitioners and observers of healing statues.

Table 4.1. Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif on healing statues.

	Inventory Number	Flanked by Standards	Description of Images or Texts
1	Berlin 7509	No	None (difficult to discern).
2	Cairo J.E. 46341	No	Horizontal registers of deities and label texts.
3	Debrecen Déri EV 33	No	None (difficult to discern).
4	Florence 1011	Yes	None.
5	Florence 8708 (belongs with Turin Suppl. 9)	Yes	One register of deities in lunette; columns of text invoking protection from the gods Nefertum and Horus-Shed. ²⁶¹
6	Leiden 1953/5.1	Yes	Three registers of deities and mythological scenes.
7	Moscow I.1.a. 5319	Yes	Two short columns of label text.
8	Oxford Ashmolean AN 1990.60	No	Two columns of text.
9	Paris BN 53.238bis	Yes	Deities (Isis lactans scene).
10	Paris Louvre E 10777	Yes	Deities and supernatural figures throughout; label texts.
11	Stockholm NME 76	Yes	Deities; two columns of text.
12	Stockholm NME 92	Yes	Deities; label texts.
13	Turin 3030	Yes	None.
14	Turin 3031	Yes	Three rows of deities; columns of text invoking protection from Horus and Horus-Shed. ²⁶²
15	London Cassirer	Yes	One register of gods; columns of text.
16	New York Schimmel	Yes	Unable to tell.
17	Rome Iseum Campense	Yes	Unable to tell.

²⁶¹ Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 41.

²⁶² Kákosy, 92–93.

18	Zurich Galerie Nefer	Unable to tell.	Unable to tell.
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Additionally, the variance is a clear indication that choice was prevalent in the design of these objects. The priority lay in the visual design, but while there was a need to showcase the most prominent and probably most recognizable image, the other religious decoration selections may not have needed to follow strict design rules so long as the objects themselves were devoid of clear negative spaces that would detract from the visual effect of the statues. Here, on a superficial level, the texts and images functioned in unison in service of the visual design (more discussion in Section 5.10).

4.4.2 *Adoration of Amun (by the Ogdoad)*

The adoration of Amun (or Amun-Re) scene depicts the sun god as a four-headed winged ram encircled by the sun disk. He is flanked by either four or eight figures all raising their arms in a sign of adoration. The figures can be all baboon-headed (Figure 4.6) or be alternating snake-headed and frog-headed. The label texts that sometimes accompany these adoring figures indicate that they are the primordial deities of the Ogdoad.



Figure 4.6. Adoration of Amun on the Metternich Stela. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85.

Fletcher Fund, 1950. Photo Credit: The Met's website.

Importantly, this particular image has a corresponding spell instruction found in religious texts. For this image, there is a direct reference in the New Kingdom Harris Magical Papyrus (British Museum 10042), a document that predates the corpus of healing statues by more than a thousand years and was used to ward off Mega the crocodile.²⁶³ In the text, the spell reads:

“Words recited over an image of Amun with four heads on one neck. Drawn upon the ground. With a crocodile under his feet, and the Ogdoad on his right and his left, and giving him adoration.”²⁶⁴

²⁶³ Kákosy, 14.

²⁶⁴ Section I, Spell VI, lines 8-9. Christian Leitz, *Magical and Medical Papyri of the New Kingdom* (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Press, 1999), 39.

Egyptian magical spell formulae were often pronounced over images in the activation of ritual practice.²⁶⁵ This act ties the spoken text with the religious image (see Section 3.2).

Egyptian magical instructions were never fully defined for its audience, but the permanent fixture of the “Adoration of Amun” scene on healing statues raises two possibilities for the interpreting the image’s role in the ritual. Did this remove the need for the practitioner to duplicate the image on the ground? Or was it simply a visual guide that facilitated this process, so that the practitioners could then visually reference the image that they needed to replicate? In both scenarios, the power of the image itself was undeniably recognizable and understood within the healing context by the practitioner of the healing practice. Moreover, this situated these objects within the longer continuity of Egyptian religious traditions and showed how such images reflected the religious authority of ritual objects.

The composition of the “Adoration of Amun” scene varies widely across healing statues. Some variances include: 1) the god Amun-Re surrounded by *ka*-arms or without; 2) the adorers could be baboon-headed, snake-headed, or frog-headed; 3) the adorers could also be arranged in a single row or two rows (See descriptions in Table 4.2). In every variation, however, the “Adoration of Amun” scene was still distinguishable, because the core elements were consistent—a four-ram-headed Amun was flanked by figures in adoration. These core elements were required for the scene to be recognizable to us and possibly its contemporary audience.

The variations could be partially explained by practical constraints and preferential factors. Scene placement was inherently dependent on the size and shape of the available surface, the skill of the carvers, and the resources allotted for the commission. For example, the reason that the Ogdoad members were divided into two rows could be possibly because there is not space to depict them in

²⁶⁵ Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 35–57.

one row (e.g., Cairo J.E. 41677). Yet, space constraints do not explain every variation. After all, depicting different heads for the members of the Ogdoad does not require more space. Therefore, there could be preferential motivations at play in the design decisions that reflected the preferences of the statue's workshop, region, or the statue commissioner. Indeed, social competition could also be a motivating factor, as the variations with the scenes could be part of how a statue could compete with other statues within its community. Relics could be added to or varied to manufacture power and enhance pilgrimage rituals, and healing statues functioned in the same manner. It is also possible that the variations were insignificant in the design decision, because there is great fluidity allowed in the placement of religious decorations. The designers were able to manipulate the images so long as the core elements remained easily recognizable to the practitioner and users, because this was the only important feature necessary to attract users to activate the statues for healing practices.

This placement of the "Adoration of Amun" is shaped by its ideological purpose. On healing statues, the scene was predominantly placed on the front side and usually across the chest (see Table 4.2 for the placement on statues and a brief description on each example).²⁶⁶ More specifically, the scene was carved onto the bare chest of the statues and not on top of the high-kilts worn by the statue bearers. This figural surface decoration directly on the body linked these private individuals with cultic participation. This design decision clearly links the statue bearers with the god Amun to invoke Amun's protection against crocodiles. However, the adoption of this scene as a motif on healing statues was not a showcase of personal devotion to the god Amun. The scene was not selected as an expression of personal piety, but rather because of its religious power. The emphasis on this relationship parallels the prominent Horus-upon-the-crocodiles scene, since both

²⁶⁶ There are two exceptions where the "Adoration of Amun" scene was placed on the back pillar: Stockholm NME 092 and Turin 3030). In these examples, Amun is only adored by four figures, instead of the standard eight figures of the Ogdoad. However, the "Adoration of Amun" scene that is placed on the front side of Paris BN 53.238bis is also only adored by four figures.

visuals utilized a solar theme and the triumph of order over chaos. The inscriptions sometimes included on both the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles and the “Adoration of Amun” scenes were invocations for protection that assist in the translation of the mythological precedent into a reality for the users of these statues. Thus, the placement was a consequence of the scene’s role as an ideological centerpiece of the statue’s efficacy.

Table 4.2. “Adoration of Amun” scene on healing statues.

	Inventory Number	Location	Description
1	Berlin 7554	Front; on chest	Ogdoad in two registers on each side. Baboon headed. Portion now lost.
2	Cairo J.E. 41677	Front; on chest	Ogdoad in two registers on each side. Frog and snake headed.
3	Leiden F 1953/5.1	Front; top of front side of Horus Cippus	Lunette section of cippus. Amun is not encircled. Ogdoad members in one row. Frog and snake. headed.
4	Munich ÄS 2824	Front; forehead	Faint carving. Possible that there are only four adoring figures. Baboon headed.
5	Naples 1065	Front; on chest	Ogdoad in one row adoring Amun. Baboon headed.
6	Oxford Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E.3465	Front; on chest	Only two figures of the Ogdoad are carved on the statue’s left. Frog and serpent headed. Possibly unfinished.
7	Paris BN 53.238bis	Front; top of kilt above Horus Cippus	Amun adored by four baboon-headed figures.
8	Paris Louvre E 10777	Front; on chest	Ogdoad in one row adoring Amun. Baboon headed.
9	Stockholm NME 092	Back; on top register of back pillar	Amun adored by four figures.
10	Turin 3030	1. Front; on chest 2. Back; third register from bottom on the back pillar	1. Ogdoad in one row adoring Amun. Frog and serpent headed. 2. Encircled sun god adored by four jackal-headed (?) figures.
11	Turin Supplement 9	Front; on chest	Ogdoad in one row adoring Amun. Six of eight figures still preserved. Frog and snake headed.

4.4.3 *Isis of Akhbit (Chemmis)/Isis Lactans*

In the Osiris myth narrative,²⁶⁷ after the goddess Isis gave birth to Horus, Isis and Horus hid in the marshes near Akhbit from the god Seth. The “Isis of Akhbit”, “Isis with Horus Child in Marshes”, or *Isis lactans* scene refers to this particular mythological episode of Isis nursing the Horus child in a state of vulnerability. Horus was poisoned (either by a scorpion sting or a snake bite), and a group of gods led by Thoth healed him. This episode of healing is one of the mythological precedents for the desired function of healing statues.

The *kourotrophos* (“woman and child”) iconography had an extremely long history within Egyptian religion. In Stephanie Lynn Budin’s longue durée study of *kourotrophos*, she described various attestations and typologies throughout Egyptian history, but she also emphasized how rare the image was within Egyptian religion.²⁶⁸ Although traditionally thought to serve as a fertility image, the *kourotrophos* reflects a process of status transfer and transition between the two figures depicted. In divine realm (goddess to king), the direction of such a transfer is from nurser to nursed, whereas in the mortal realm (queen, tutor, or nurse to king) the direction is from the nursed to the nurser.²⁶⁹ Moreover, important for the context of the “Isis of Akhbit” scene on healing statues, Isis did not become a common maternal figure in statue form until Dynasty 25.²⁷⁰ It is probably around this same time that Isis statuettes, which often have healing spell texts (see Section 1.4) inscribed on their

²⁶⁷ The Osiris myth narrative and the importance of this mythological precedent were discussed in greater detail in Section 2.5.

²⁶⁸ Stephanie Lynn Budin, *Images of Woman and Child from the Bronze Age: Reconsidering Fertility, Maternity, and Gender in the Ancient World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 35–148.

²⁶⁹ Budin, 330.

²⁷⁰ In other words, while the *kourotrophos* iconography was known, Isis was rarely depicted as the maternal figure. There were descriptions of her as a mother goddess in the Pyramid Texts and in other object types, but not in statuary. Hans Wolfgang Müller, “Isis Mit Dem Horuskinde: Ein Beitrag Zur Ikonographie Der Stillenden Gottesmutter Im Hellenistischen Und Römischen Ägypten,” *Münchener Jahrbuch Der Bildenden Kunst Dritte Folge* 14 (1963): 8–12.

bases, also emerged.²⁷¹ Heike Sternberg-el Hotabi argued that this particular “Isis of Akhbit” scene becomes central in the Ptolemaic Period.²⁷² The historical development of iconography of this scene demonstrated that scene was always used with a clear function and intent.



Figure 4.7. Isis of Akhbit. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950. Photo Credit: The Met’s website.

Moreover, this scene is closely related to the spell that describes the Story of Isis and Infant Horus and Thoth’s Spells for healing Horus. This full narrative is inscribed on the base of Metternich Stela (Spell “Story of Isis and Infant Horus”) with a circumambulatory ritual movement encoded into the inscription on the stela (see the discussion on textual wrapping in Section 5.8) with Thoth’s spell and invocations inscribed on the sides. On healing statues, abridged versions of the same spells also accompany the “Isis of Akhbit” scene. The image was clearly tied to an important mythological narrative that paralleled the intended function of the healing objects. Thus, it provides a clear visual advertisement for the statues’ religious function.

The “Isis of Akhbit” scene appeared on healing statues with many variations. The suckling Horus could be depicted as the Horus child or as the Horus falcon. The figures flanking the scene could include other female goddesses, Thoth, protective cobra, and Isis’s entourage of seven scorpions. All of these divine figures were characters from the mythological narrative who assisted Isis while she was nursing the god Horus. The marsh scene itself was rendered differently based on the available surface area and the composition of the figures. Yet despite the difference in the

²⁷² Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, 121.

depictions, the core elements of scene—Isis and Horus in the marshes—remained consistent across the different examples. The recognizability of the scene along with its mythological ties contributed to the religious meaning of healing statues.

Table 4.3. “Isis of Akhbit” on healing statues.

	Inventory Number	Location	Description
1	Leiden F 1953/5.1	Left side (lower body). Lowest register of religious decorations (above spell texts).	Closely surrounded by her entourage of 7 scorpions. Horus as falcon.
2	Naples 1065	Back; top register of back pillar	Flanked by Thoth and Sakhmet. Horus as falcon.
3	Paris BN 53.238bis	Front; on Horus Cippus	On the left side of Horus’ head.
4	Paris Louvre E 10777	Back; top register of back pillar	Flanked by Thoth and Sakhmet. Horus as falcon.
5	Stockholm NME 76	Front; on chest	Horus as child.
6	Turin 3030	Back, top register of back pillar	Flanked by Thoth and Sakhmet. Horus as falcon. Two scorpions in register.

Important to the layout design of this scene was its placement on the backs of healing statues. In three high quality examples of Type II healing statues (Naples 1065; Paris Louvre E 10777, and Turin 3030; see Table 4.3), the “Isis of Akhbit” scene was placed on the top register of the back pillar. Moreover, the back pillar registers on which the scene was carved are given larger surface areas (more height) than the other back pillar registers. To an extent, this pattern was also present on Horus cippi, where “Isis of Akhbit” was depicted on the back sides as a counterbalance to the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif on the front sides.²⁷³ This placement mapping reflected the shift from a stela to a statue, because the backside of the Horus Cippi translated to the backs of

²⁷³ For example, on Leiden A 1049. Another example, Vienna ÄS 1059, shows an Isis statuette where the frontside shows Isis nursing Horus and the backside is a Horus Cippus. Helmut Satzinger. Helmut Satzinger, “Acqua Guaritrice: Le Statue e Le Stele Magiche Ed Il Loro Uso Magico-Medico Nell’Egitto Faraonico,” in *La Magia in Egitto Ai Tempi Dei Faraoni: Atti, Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Milano, 29-31 Ottobre 1985*, ed. Alessandro Roccati and Alberto Silotti (Verona: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica arte e natura libri, 1987), 189–204.

healing statues. These placements were essentially on similar locations. However, in the same way that the “Isis of Akhbit” scene could also be depicted on the front side of a Horus Cippus (e.g., Chicago OI 16881²⁷⁴), the “Isis of Akhbit” scene could also appear on the front of healing statues. Most notably, on Stockholm NME 76, the scene was placed prominently on the bare chest of the healing statue (Figure 4.8). On this particular statue, one of Thoth’s spells for Horus, which was clearly associated with this scene, was inscribed in columns across the arms, chest, and front torso of the statue. There were patterns in the association of image with texts, as well as their placement on statues. While the layout of Stockholm NME 76’s was markedly different than other healing statues in its central usage of the “Isis of Akhbit” scene, it still exhibited a similar strategy in linking the image with the texts of closely associated spells. It nonetheless projected the mythological narrative of Horus’ injury and recovery.

²⁷⁴ In this example, the “Adoration of Amun” scene was depicted in the top of the lunette of the backside. This scene placement location was not uncommon for the “Adoration of Amun” scene on Horus cippi.



Figure 4.8. Isis of Akhbit on Stockholm NME 76.
Photo credit: Author.

4.4.4 Polymorphic deity (“Scenes”)

The image of the polymorphic deity depicted a Bes- or human-headed individual with a scarab body, wings, and additional heads of animals emerging atop the basic form. These figures were also ithyphallic and expressed “aggression, power, and potency, not sexuality and fertility.”²⁷⁵ On the

²⁷⁵ Joachim Friedrich Quack, “The So-Called Pantheos: On Polymorphic Deities in Late Egyptian Religion,” in *Aegyptus et Pannonia III: Acta Symposii Anno 2004*, ed. Hedvig Győry (Budapest: MEBT-ÓEB, 2006), 176.

basis of a spell text with the image on Papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.156, Joachim Friedrich Quack has noted that these polymorphic deities were cosmic deities, who were often invoked for protection against diseases.²⁷⁶ As such, these figures are also found on Horus cippi; for instance, a prominent polymorphic deity was depicted on the center of the lunette on the back of the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85).



Figure 4.9. Polymorphic deities on the back shoulders of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.

These deities appeared primarily on the backs of healing statues (see Table 4.4). Since the depicted individual could not see what was behind him, this placement was logical for protection. These deities can also be portrayed as a pair in a symmetrical format. For instance, the two polymorphic deities on the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) were carved on Djedhor's back left shoulder and back right shoulder (Figure 4.9). These parallel images flanked the central columns of text depicted on the back pillar. In the same way that the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif and the

²⁷⁶ Quack, "The So-Called Pantheos: On Polymorphic Deities in Late Egyptian Religion."

Isis of Akhbit scene were closely related in meaning and perhaps function, the paralleled symmetrical layout of paired polymorphic deities could be indicative of a visual design strategy. Specifically, the larger sizes of these images and their placement could denote that they were visually recognizable depictions for the statues' users. As such, the image's role in the collective process that recognized the religious efficacy of the images serves as a reminder of the interactive possibilities between images. Moreover, the image's tie to ritual spell text (similar to the Adoration of Amun example), strengthened the possibility that the images were incorporated directly into ritual practices involving these statues.

Table 4.4. Polymorphic deities on healing statues.

	Inventory Number	Location	Description
1	Cairo J.E. 46341	1. Back; left shoulder 2. Back; right shoulder	1. Bes-headed with scarab body 2. Bes-headed with scarab body
2	Naples 1065	1. Front; on right shoulder 2. Back; left shoulder 3. Back; right shoulder	1. Hathor-headed with scarab body 2. Lion/Cat-headed god with winged human body 3. Bes-headed winged Sopdu
3	Paris Louvre E 10777	Left side: lower section between Horus Cippus and back pillar	Human-headed ithyphallic double-winged body

4.4.5 *Elements of scene selection*

The Horus-upon-the-crocodiles, “Adoration of Amun”, “Isis of Akhbit” and “Polymorphic Deity” scenes discussed above are the most prevalent images found on healing statues. These images were important sources that were consulted during the activation of the statue or in the context of other religious rituals and practices. The mythological content of the scenes helped to establish the religious authority of these statues as objects of healing. The iconographic display creates the cultic space, especially since the religious decorations were easily recognizable and allowed the function of

the statues to be identified immediately. The image existed as a mythological reference that would have been accessible to the individuals using these statues. This was especially true for these images relative to the textual inscriptions, which would not have had an equivalent visual impact for many individuals in the largely non-literate and semi-literate Egyptian population. To be sure, the dense textual layout was a recognizable feature that would have delineated these objects as magical objects with spells, but a non-literate Egyptian would not be able to access the text in the same way as they could these visual images. By considering many examples, it can be determined which core elements had to remain constant, as opposed to which elements could be varied according to individual preferences and practical concerns.

Healing statues needed to be recognized as healing objects, but each statue (and its owner by proxy) also needed to create a visual reputation among a discerning audience. Certain core elements were necessary to establish a baseline that would allow the depicted individuals to serve as an intermediary between the ritualists and the petitioners. This consistency was a visual advertisement that situated the object type as healing objects. However, the flexibility in design was important in the social competition of these objects. As these objects were used by the community, the variation provided a way for these statues to distinguish themselves as more potent or more efficacious than their peers.

In addition, the descriptions of these scenes have unpacked some of the strategies used in the design of these statues. The priorities in scene selection were based on a close linkage between ideological association and placement location. The association between the scene and the text was a significant factor in the design and use of healing statues. On Stockholm NME 76, the “Isis of Akhbit” scene and Thoth’s Spell for Horus inscription were placed closely together on the chest and front side of the statue. This shows how the ideological linkage manifested in a placement proximity

on the statue. Furthermore, the scene selection (the “Isis of Akhbit” was not commonly placed on the front of healing statues) could have been dependent on the text selection.

The placement of each scene also reinforced the relative balance of significance between scenes. After all, more important scenes were placed more prominently in the more central and visible portions of the statue (e.g., the statue’s chest, the statue’s wig). The logic of the placement coincided with the use of the scenes in the ritual activity, such as in the direct reference to the “Adoration of Amun” scene with a spell text found on the Harris Magical Papyrus, because the content of the spell prescription required the spell to be spoken over the image. In this scenario, the practitioner would have needed to identify the position of the image (to make a visual link) on the healing statue. Therefore, the images’ religious power was derived from a familiarity with the “core elements” of the scenes.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to bridge the gap between what the intended Egyptians users understood about these scenes and what we are able to reconstruct. The rules for the design were not to be set in stone for prescribing a proper placement of religious scenes onto healing statues. My analysis of the dataset of healing statues recognizes the flexibility in statue design and acknowledges the role that this flexibility could be key to social competition. Importantly, this study reaffirms the necessity of understanding the visual strategies discussed in the subsequent sections, because these were the tools that the designers used to arrange religious material on these statues to create religious meaning.

4.5 Layout and framing of deities and scenes

The organization lines on healing statues were important for the structuring the design of the religious decorations. The design programs were flexible, and the lines of organization formed critical grouping(s) and emphasized important visual displays on these statues. In turn, these

groupings showcased different emphases and relationships, raising two questions: 1) how did the organization draw attention to specific scenes or areas of the statues, and 2) did proximity between scenes build meaning? These questions may not be answerable with all of the examples in the dataset, but the descriptions and analyses offered here attempt to highlight some of the priorities in design in presenting religious materials on healing statuary.

The religious decorations on healing statues could be placed into registers or boxes. Religious decorations were always applied upright and never sideways or upside down; this stood in contrast to the layout of the textual inscriptions, which could be applied in vertical columns, sideways (such as on the chest of Naples 1065), or upside down (such as on the wig of Cairo J.E. 46341). The levels of organization of the religious decorations varied from statue to statue, and often the delineations between groups of deities or between scenes are not clear to the modern viewer. Nonetheless, there were general formatting guidelines for the corpus that are useful for considering the conceptual or thematic grouping of religious knowledge, and more importantly, how they were presented. General background descriptions of the typology of healing statues were detailed in Section 1.3.

4.5.1 Type I healing statues

Type I healing statues are image-centered statues, and they have the least complex compositional design format. However, there are nonetheless indications of strategic organizational design related to the materiality of the statue. For three of the objects within this group (Munich ÄS 2824, New York Bastis 24, and Paris Louvre E 4898), religious decorations have been applied across the wigs of the statue heads. In general, no decorations were applied to the wigs of Late Period statuary, although stylized hairstyles were often incorporated. Indeed, even among healing statues, the application of religious decorations on the wig was uncommon (the preference was to apply

columns or rows of textual inscriptions). Therefore, the placement of these decorations on the head of the statues must have been visually striking and unexpected.

The religious decorations on Type I statues are generally poor in quality, shallowly carved, and seemingly randomly applied. However, the modeling of the statues' faces and bodies could be higher in quality than the decorations. For example, in Munich ÄS 2824, the body shape and contours were so well-defined that the musculature of the upper torso is pronounced. Indeed, the roughly applied, poor-quality decorations are rather striking when compared to the sculpted form.²⁷⁷ On the Munich statue, there were also no register lines that organized the decorative program. On Type I statues, the decorations are primarily standing deities unaccompanied by labels or epithets, so their identifications as specific deities are challenging. This is also the case on this Munich example, and while the decorations on the upper chest were more clearly carved (with deeper lines), the ones on the bag wig were shallow and worn.

Generally, the contours of the wig determined the layout of the decoration. For these image-centered statues, there are clear front sides and back sides to the decoration program as evident by the direction that the figures face and their positioning. For instance, on Munich ÄS 2824, directly above the forehead is the "Adoration of Amun" scene. Another scene, depicting a seated god encircled by a protective cobra, is adjacent to it but facing the backside of the statue. Other images of deities wrap around the sides of the wig from the statue's left to the statue's right. On New York Bastis 24, there is a winged scarab (facing front side), a crocodile god in a box (directly on the very top of the statue but the base of the box is on the back side), and a crocodile god (facing back side). On Paris Louvre E 4898 (Figure 4.10), all the preserved decorations face the front side, and they were organized into registers. While there would have originally been more registers, two registers have been preserved on the statue's right side and three registers have been preserved on the statue's

²⁷⁷ This contrast is possible evidence that this healing statue was converted from another private statue.

left side. In sum, the religious decorations were applied on an uneven, disorganized surface, and this accounted for the multiple possible perspectives of approach in encountering these healing statues. The contours were used to set up these different visual angles, and consequently, they divided the statues' design programs into front and back sides.



Figure 4.10. Right side of the statue's wig. Paris Louvre E 4898.
Photo credit: CLES.

Type I statues could also have less formalized organizational structures. In particular, Munich ÄS 2824 and New York Bastis 24 were organized without any register or grid lines. On the front chest of Munich ÄS 2824 there are two rows of deities, the top row includes six deities whereas the second row is a scene of four deities. Without the guidance lines, the figures appear to be free floating and randomly applied. But there is nonetheless a design program—after all, the “Adoration of Amun” scene was placed front and center above the forehead on Munich ÄS 2824,

and the Bastis head's placement of a winged-scarab also projected a solar connotation. In sum, the variation in organizational strategies on Type I statues displayed their complicated relationship between the religious decorations and the layout. The layout and design on these statues did not discern between sequences of scenes and it is not clear if they conveyed a particular narrative for the statue design. Nonetheless, the embrace of multiple perspectives of viewership was, in essence, an embrace of the three dimensionality of statuary and a utilization of this feature in presenting religious knowledge.

4.5.2 *Type II healing statues*

The complex designs of Type II healing statues have a clear balance between the textual inscriptions and religious decorations. The religious decorations were primarily placed in three locations on Type II healing statues: 1) upper torso or chest (generally above the kilt line), 2) sides of the high kilt, and 3) the back pillar (see Table 4.5). Textual inscriptions take up the rest of the exposed surfaces on these statues. Every Type II healing statue where the upper torso and chest area has been preserved has religious decorations placed in this visually prominent location. In general, there was a preference of content-based placements of the religious material and the organizational design of the decorations also indicated that there were likely relationships within the grouping of scenes and deities used in the religious decoration, even if the logic is indecipherable to us.

Table 4.5. Locations of religious decorations on Type II healing statues

	Inventory Number	Upper Torso/Chest	Sides of Statue	Back Pillar	Comments
1.	Berlin 7554 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
2.	Cairo J.E. 41677 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
3.	Cambridge 1951.562	Unknown	Unknown	No	No religious decorations

	Inventory Number	Upper Torso/Chest	Sides of Statue	Back Pillar	Comments
					visible on the preserved portion
4.	Chicago OI 9379 (S)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Only base and portion of feet are preserved
5.	Florence 1011 (S)	Unknown	No	No	Textual inscriptions on sides and on the back pillar
6.	Florence 8708 + Turin Suppl. 9 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
7.	Leiden F 1950/8.2 + Vienna 40 (S)	Unknown	No, unlikely	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers on back pillar only
8.	Leiden F 1953/5.1 (S)	Yes	Yes	No	Figures and scenes in registers
9.	London Petrie UC 14733 (S)	Yes	Unknown	Unknown	Figures and scenes in registers
10.	Naples 1065 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers; also in individual boxes along the back pillar
11.	Oxford Ashmolean AN 1990.60 (K)	Unknown	No	No	No religious decoration on the preserved portion
12.	Oxford Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E. 3465	Yes	Unknown	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers; unfinished
13.	Paris BN 53.238bis (S)	Yes	Yes	No	Figures and scenes in registers
14.	Paris Louvre N 2540 (S)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No religious decoration on

	Inventory Number	Upper Torso/Chest	Sides of Statue	Back Pillar	Comments
					the preserved portion
15.	Paris Louvre E 10777 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
16.	Stockholm NME 76 (K)	Yes	Yes	Maybe top register of back pillar	Figures and scenes are partially in registers; on the sides there are no structuring lines
17.	Stockholm NME 92 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes, one image	Figures and scenes in registers or boxes
18.	Turin 3030 (S)	Yes	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
19.	Turin 3031 (S)	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
20.	London Cassirer (S)	Unknown	Yes	Yes	Figures and scenes in registers
21.	New York Schimmel	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	No religious decoration on the preserved portion
22.	Rome Iseum Campense (S)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	
23.	Zurich Galerie Nefer (S)	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	

In general, most of the decoration was arranged in horizontal registers. This is the clear preferred organization layout of the images, especially on the sides on the clothing (i.e., usually the high kilt) of the statues. However, even within a horizontal register, there could be multiple

groupings of scenes. While there were no division lines within a register, these groupings or scenes could be delineated from their figural orientations. When closely examining the directions that the depicted figures faced (for example, two adjacent figures could be facing away from one another), it is sometimes possible to determine that they represented two distinct scenes. These distinctions are confirmed by identifying the placements of each scene on different healing statues; they could be placed on different locations with different surrounding scenes. For example, the scene of the two cats flanking a large sistrum is one such scene that has different surrounding scenes on different healing statues.²⁷⁸ Thus, while there may be some decorative groupings that were more desirable or frequently used, these patterns were not consistently executed in the decorations across all healing statues. Each scene can be adapted and used alongside other religious decorations in a myriad of ways.

Box grids could also be used to organize the mythological scenes or deities found on certain Type II statues. On Naples 1065, for example, the sides of the back pillar include boxed deities stacked on top of each other in a grid format. It is not clear how their precise arrangement and sequences was meaningful, or why these grids were used instead of horizontal registers.²⁷⁹ Some Type II healing statues adopt a symmetric design with the same number of registers on each side of

²⁷⁸ On Register V on the left side of Florence 8708, the scenes are 1) Falcon with double crown on hippopotamus, 2) sistrum flanked by cats, 3) standing god with snake, and 4) animal on papyrus column. On Register III on the left side of Turin 3030, the scenes are 1) falcon with the northern crown on hippopotamus, 2) sistrum flanked by cats, 3) animal-headed deity holding snake and scepter, 4) animal-headed god holding lotus of Nefertum. On Register IV of Turin 3031, the scenes are 1) seated crocodile-headed god, 2) standing co-headed goddesses, 3) standing god, 4) falcon with double crown on hippopotamus, 5) sistrum flanked by cats. While Register V of Florence 8708 and Register III of Turin 3030 showed similar adaptations of the scenes in a register (with only minor iconographic differences), the use of the “sistrum flanked by cats” scene on Register IV of Turin 3031 showed that this scene could be included within a register filled with other decoration programs. Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*.

²⁷⁹ Naples 1065, for instance, used box grids on the decorations of the statue’s left side (on the back pillar), and registers on the statue’s right side (on the back pillar). These design organizations were not always symmetrical, which again highlights the flexibility in statue design.

the statue. This intentional layout demonstrates the importance of mapping out the design, making it clear that these were original commissions with intentional choices in design.

There was variability in how the register lines were incised into the statue. On some statues, the registers ignored the contours of the body, and the lines were applied straight across the body. This execution seemingly ignored the body shape and presented a crudely applied appearances, because there was a visual disjunction between the straightness of the register lines and the curvilinear shape of the statue body. In other examples, there was a greater effort dedicated to laying the register lines along the shape of the body. By integrating the body contours into the compositional design, the images appeared to be more coherently part of the statues' bodies. Furthermore, the body contours could also limit the layout grid and frame on Type II healing statues by creating negative spaces in the areas between the statues' arms and high kilts. These small triangular areas on certain statues due to natural body contours restricted the possible scenes that could be included due to the scenes' size constraint. There was a pragmatic consideration that was necessary for scene selection.

In summary, Type II healing statues employed a complex organization of the religious decorations with the inscribed texts on the statues. The decorations were typically organized into registers and were placed on more visually prominent areas of the statue surface. This group of statues used a variety of line structures (registers and boxes) to organize the religious decorations applied to the statue surfaces.

4.5.3 Type III healing statues

Type III healing statues are especially complex in their layout of religious decorations. As block statues, these healing statues had larger surface areas to develop their compositional design. In addition, these inscription and decoration areas were also smoother in nature, because there were

not significant contours in the statue body that would have influenced the design organization. In a sense, there was greater flexibility in deciding the combination of text and image on these statues.

The organizational characteristics on the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) showed that the compositional design accounted for a multi-perspective visual approach. On the statue, there are three registers of decorations on each upper arm, decorations on the Horus Cippus, and in the basin on the base, but otherwise the statue was mostly inscribed with healing spell texts. Thus, besides the visual display on the cippus, this statue prioritized the textual content, by placing texts on the statue's most visible locations (see discussion of the placement of Djedhor's titles in Section 6.3). As described in Section 4.2.1, the religious decorations were organized symmetrically on both arms in terms of the rows, but the program differed between the two sides. On the statue's right, all of the figures in the first row are forward facing, whereas in the second and third horizontal rows, there are both forward-facing figures and rear-facing figures (See Figure 4.1).²⁸⁰ On the statue's left, all of the figures are forward facing. Interestingly, there are no division lines to distinguish between the front-facing and back-facing figures, and only the orientation of the figures indicated their organizational separation. The right side's organization reflected the existence of both a front-facing and back-facing decoration program; this is shown in the textual programs as well on the statue, given that the textual program has a clear front-facing and back-facing inscription pattern (see Section 5.4).

²⁸⁰ In the second register, ten figures are forward facing, and four figures are rear facing. In the third register, five figures are forward facing, and four figures are rear facing.

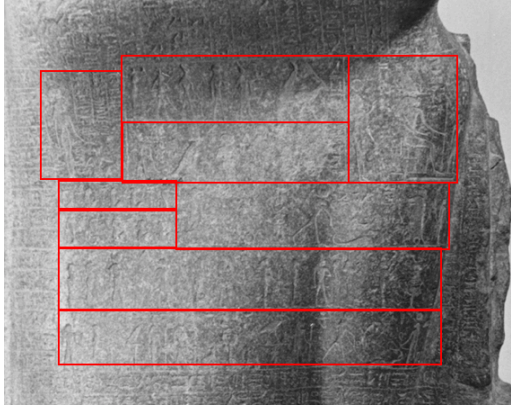


Figure 4.11. Right side of the healing statue of Horkhebe. Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319.
Photo credit: CLES.

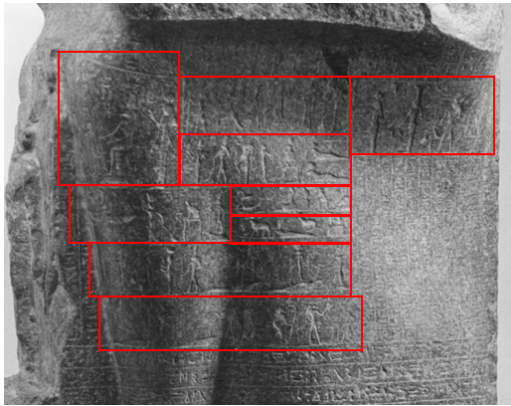


Figure 4.12. Left side of the healing statue of Horkhebe. Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319.
Photo credit: CLES.

The complexity of the religious decorations on Type III healing statues shows that the organization of religious information was not standardized. On the left and right sides of the statue of Horkhebe (Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319), for example, the organization used a combination of horizontal registers and boxes of different sizes. On the right side (Figure 4.11), for example, the different sizes of the registers and boxes led to uneven alignments along the decorative surface. Even within a register, the figures could be facing different directions, indicating the presence of different distinct scenes. There was a general symmetry between the general grouping of the scenes between the left and right side (see Figure 4.11 and Figure 4.12, respectively). For instance, there is a large rectangular scene near the knees, which is followed by two horizontal registers splitting the

height of the initial scene. There are slight deviances in the sizes of the registers and boxes between the two sides; for example, the bottom two registers extend longer on the statue's right side, but do not on the left side as there are columns of spell texts inscribed. However, on each side, the grouping and organization of the religious decoration was a non-consistent visual display. Yet even within this variability, it is clear how the compositional design was intentionally planned on this healing statue. Importantly, the symmetrical organizational structure possibly built meaning between the two sides of the statue, but also highlighted relationships between the large initial image by the knee and the two shorter horizontal bands behind it.

Type III healing statues have a varied, complex organizational structure for their religious decoration. Given the wider surface areas available for decoration, there was greater flexibility in designing the outline structure for the different elements of religious knowledge. The smoother surfaces that are characteristics of block statues also lend themselves to different variations in design, as body contours were less influential as a pragmatic challenge.

4.5.4 Lines of organization serving visual strategies

The lines of organization serve to structure religious decorations on healing statues and form the basic visual strategies found on healing statues. These register and box lines organized religious knowledge into framed boxes and registers on healing statues showcased how the register structures formed units of religious meaning. Despite the likely presence of multiple scenes within a register (based on the orientation of figures), presumably, the scenes placed together were grouped together for a particular reason. Despite our inability to decipher the exact intent of the original compositional layout of the different registers of images, the identification of “units” of religious decoration, the directionality of figures, and the relationships (if any) with nearby texts and images

unpacked the strategies used by the designers of healing statues to create visually recognizable and religious efficacious objects.

The register structure could be used as a visual display of information. The popular offering formula tables found in the offering chapels of Old Kingdom private tombs adopted a grid format to present a large volume of information in a manner meant to impress.²⁸¹ This systemization of information was summative and provided an overview of the vast quantity of offerings given to the deceased in an efficient way. The register organizations on healing statues must have functioned in a similar visual way. While the layout was not always in a grid-like formation (with the back pillar registers of boxed deities, such as the ones on Naples 1065), the consistent layouts and common placements did indicate that visual strategies were integrated into the design.

The lines of organization established a visual emphasis on different units of religious decoration that allowed the viewer to recognize efficacious religious knowledge. Indeed, when contrasting the Type II and Type III organized displays of religious decorations to the Type I examples,²⁸² the lines of organization were the centerpiece that parlayed the concerted effort toward an established strategy. In other words, the organizational lines created a clearer delineation of the units of the religious decorations (as scenes and figures) that allowed them to function in a composite way. Because the Type I statues did not have such lines of organization, the images applied there were free-floating in their application. Stockholm NME 76, a Type II statue, is an interesting example that straddles this complicated use or organization. This statue adopted visual decorations in placement locations typical of Type II statues—chest, sides, and back pillar—but the religious decorations were not framed by organizational or register lines (see Figure 4.13 for the left side of the statue). Instead, these carvings along the left side of the statue and along the side of the

²⁸¹ For example, see the slab stela of Nefret-iabet (Paris Louvre E 15591).

²⁸² Louvre E 4898, of course, has register lines across the bag wig.

back pillar are free-floating like those found on Type I statues. To be sure, the placement of these free-floating images is consistent with a Type II design, but the lack of defined organization leaves a unique opportunity to highlight the function that these organizational lines served for healing statuary.



Figure 4.13. Left side of the statue. Stockholm NME 76.
Photo credit: CLES.

Without the organization lines, the religious decorations appeared more crudely rendered. In a significant way, the organizational lines served as a frame for the religious decoration. Frames and register lines provided a visual focus framed image, and they would have allowed easy distinguishment of the religious decorations into visual units. Furthermore, these organizational lines could also heighten or protect the religious decoration. In a visual way, these two qualities worked to emphasize the sacred religious knowledge applied onto these statues. There was equivalency in the

organizational structure of image and text, which further demonstrated how the restricted religious knowledge works in concert to create meaning.

4.6 Intericonicity of the statue decoration

Intericonicity as a framework was introduced earlier to consider the creative interpretations and usage of religious decorations (especially scenes) on healing statues (see Section 1.3.5). To reiterate, intericonicity focuses on the productive or creative aspect of creating the design of a statue.²⁸³

Building on the discussion from the earlier section, this framework stresses the interrelationship between the same scenes across different statues, instead of the interrelationship between different scenes on the same statue. It has been difficult for scholarship to unlock this latter relationship, given the elusive nature of restricted religious knowledge and the fragmentary preservation of evidence. Therefore, by examining patterns across statues like the discussion of common scenes, it is possible to address how healing statues as a corpus could have been interrelated in their original contexts.

The iconographic parallels undoubtedly existed, and there were some common traits and patterns to the various executions of an image. First, the variations in the precise rendering of the scene were less important than the ability to recognize the scene's significance. This idea was illustrated in the wide variance in depicting the Ogdoad in the Adoration of Amun scenes (see Section 4.4.2). Each of the scenes existed in a constellation of similar scenes with likely similar intent and use. In the same way that the visual of a modern national flag is immediately recognizable despite their variations or adaptations onto different objects (for example, stars and stripes on swimsuits as an adaptation of the American flag), the use of religious scenes functioned with the

²⁸³ Laboury, "Tradition and Creativity: Toward a Study of Intericonicity in Ancient Egyptian Art."

same potential. This adaptation was marked by pragmatism and thus, images could be understood through their essential constituent parts. For example, the presence of eight figures depicted with their hands upraised in adoration toward an encircled deity was essential enough to recognize it as the Adoration of Amun.

Second, the intericonicity of the images resulted in content-based placements. This created preferred or desired locations in adapting religious decorations specifically to statuary bodies. Because the familiarity and recognition were visual, the users focused on the image placements, which were then reinforced feedback loops that then determined placement “rules.” This was likely how image placement became religiously powerful—through copying until the practice became precedent. Even if the statues were workshop products, so even if the same creators were using the same scenes, Dmitri Laboury has stressed that even such “self-copies are not purely reproductive but, on the contrary, productive or creative.”²⁸⁴ Egyptian art is hyper-intericonical and there was a strong tradition of innovation that permitted the complex reinvention and reinterpretation of materials. This process occurred in the context of political decentralization (greater room for interpretations of religious materials) and social competition. These uses of images allow us to categorize objects within the same typological model.

Third, this framework elevates the role of individual choice in the making of religious objects. Each actor in the production process of healing statues—commissioners, designers, creators, depicted—had a vested interest in the success of the cult surrounding these objects. The created final products, healing statues, existed within the context of an active ritual cult use. When petitioners poured liquids over these statues to create these curative solutions, such ritual acts were likely a spectacle. This use was visible, participatory, and involved the community. As such, the creative interplay between known and desired religious decorations was inevitable. The framework

²⁸⁴ Laboury, 247.

of intericonicity, thus, also encourages challenges to the assumptions behind the motivations in the statue's compositional design.

In Egypt, visual images were inherently part of the constant creative process. They were reinterpreted and adapted every time they were reproduced. For religious images, this took on an added meaning, since the image-production (i.e., the drawing of an image as part of the spell instructions) was often integrated into ritual act. For the function of healing statues, such a nuance is important in our understanding of how design was combined with function. In Egyptological studies, the priority accorded to singular, high-quality objects has led to an evaluation of images primarily from that perspective. For instance, the mythological images on the Metternich Stela have been used as the predominant reference point for discussing the religious decoration on all healing objects.²⁸⁵ To be sure, it is certainly possible that the Egyptians considered more elaborately designed or complex healing objects (e.g., Metternich Stela or the statue of Djedhor) to be more efficacious than their peers. This would be the byproduct of the social competition. After all, there was likely a spectrum on which Egyptians judged the potency of the known religious objects within their community. Therefore, by considering the intericonicity of the religious decorations, we move toward a better method to analyze critically and holistically these groups of powerful images that have thus far defied our attempts to identify and understand them.

4.7 Concluding thoughts: projecting a visual effect

Healing statues did not draw upon their religious decorations to invoke a participatory relationship with the gods. Instead, the commissioners and designers of these statues compiled these scenes of

²⁸⁵ See, in particular, Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi's discussion of the different decoration programs on the front and backside of the stela. Sternberg-el Hotabi, "Die Götterdarstellungen Der Metternichstela: Ein Neuansatz Zu Ihrer Interpretation Als Elemente Eines Kontinuitätsmodells."

religious imagery to transform statues into healing statues. These actors also understood how social capital was embedded in these scenes, and they used the statues to invite the viewer to create meaning from the context projected by its compositional design. These statues adopt the transformative powers of divine scenes in order to present themselves as ritual objects of power and meaning.

In this chapter, I outlined common scenes found on healing statues to show that there were patterns in how they were positioned and adapted onto healing statues. These trends were reflective of intericonic practices that must have influenced the different actors in the statue production process. I have demonstrated through the discussion of the lines of organizational structure and the variances among the different types of healing statues that there was clear intentionality in design, although organized and prioritized differently for different examples. From this intentionality, it is also possible to understand how structure could build meaning through emphasis or affecting the visual display.

Elements in these scenes, both in the iconography and sometimes in the label inscriptions, worked in tandem to create meaning through their strategic placements and interplays on the statues (see Section 4.4). The added layer of complexity created when the images were accompanied by inscriptions, such as the occasional labeling of the gods (see Section 4.3), is a demonstration of both the healing function of the statue and the religious knowledge of the statue's owner or commissioner. The uniqueness of this corpus of ritual objects lies in how they integrated the application of divine images with the display of restricted religious knowledge to tie ritual function with elite commemoration (see Chapter 6). This is how the object, and arguably the owner, moved beyond serving as a link for participation with the gods into acting as an agent who engaged with the larger mythologies surrounding healing in ancient Egypt.

Although it is impossible to fully understand the meanings of all of the religious knowledge behind the images, it is possible to recognize the creative interpretations of religious images onto statuary. The visual strategies that were adopted to ensure these statues' efficacy were a careful balancing act between pragmatism and a stress on recognizability. The actors in the production process of healing statues and the users of the statues shared a common restricted access to the religious knowledge present in the scenes. Even the designers of the statues may not have fully appreciated the religious potency of every scene carved onto these objects. Thus, the stress in unpacking these objects through visual strategies is nevertheless important, because it provides a useful perspective in revealing how knowledge and information were combined in synthesis to form an effective religious object.

5 Chapter 5: Layout Design of Spell Texts

Egyptian healing statues were densely inscribed with spell and biographical texts. For the Egyptian magical spells (Axw),²⁸⁶ John Baines noted that “the symbolic power of writing is as a vehicle conveying the import of the spells”²⁸⁷ when the statues were functionally used through contagious magic. In this chapter, I will argue that the spell text layout functions to form a visual design that creates efficacy for these religious healing objects. Campbell Price has observed that the “visual impact of a densely-inscribed statue is likely to have been significant,”²⁸⁸ and my research attempts to unpack precisely the strategies used to layout the spell texts to create this visual impact. In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the spell selection and textual layout organization on Egyptian healing statues were clearly and intentionally structured to create efficacy from the spell texts. This layout, then, revealed the usage of spell content in shaping meaning. In combination with the mythological images discussed in the previous chapter, these spell texts formed the basis for these statues’ religious function.

Indeed, there were many possible locations on healing statues for textual inscriptions. The bodies of the statues could be covered with inscriptions on the legs, thighs, torsos, chests, arms, and even on the wigs. In general, inscriptions were less commonly found on the statues’ hands and feet.²⁸⁹ However, the faces of healing statues were never inscribed. The statue bases, Horus cippi

²⁸⁶ This is well studied by Robert Ritner in *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, especially in the chapter on “The Vocabulary of Magic.” I discussed the religious efficacy of spell texts in Section 3.2. Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 29–72.

²⁸⁷ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, 56.

²⁸⁸ Price, “On the Function of ‘Healing’ Statues,” 171.

²⁸⁹ When they did occur, they usually signaled spell content-based inscriptions; namely, the spell placement was determined by the content of the spell text. See further discussion on the statue of Djedhor in Section 5.5. Also, László Kákósy has discussed the significance of the hand of healing statues due to their proximity to the Horus Cippus. Kákósy, “Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues,” 180.

held by the statues, and the back pillars were also often covered with textual inscriptions. All of these possible inscription locations on healing statues were also possible decoration locations, and the evident interplay between text and image varied from statue to statue. Nonetheless, the saturation of texts and images on healing statues left few empty surface areas on these statues as the layout design seemed to avoid negative space. As a complement to the previous chapter's discussion on the layout design of the mythological images, in this chapter I aim to analyze the placement of textual inscriptions onto healing statues through a breakdown of the various strategies used in the textual compositional design. The different genres of textual inscriptions are discussed separately— healing spells (this chapter) and biographical or titulary inscriptions (Chapter 6)—although they were likely composed in conjunction and both employed in the textual strategies to be discussed in this chapter.

5.1 Textual composition on statues in the Late Period

By the Late Period, the increased saturation of textual inscriptions and figural carvings onto statuary had become a common practice.²⁹⁰ The extension of the textual composition increased from the primary inscription locations of statue bases, back pillars, and negative spaces (for example, the surface area between a standing statue's legs) to secondary inscription locations such as the clothing depicted in the statues. Yet as Campbell Price observed, extensive textual inscriptions were extremely uncommon on the “unclothed skin of a statue, with text instead being focused on a clothed or shrouded surface.”²⁹¹ Exception, of course, was given to the display of the royal name in

²⁹⁰ While this combination has been found in block statues of earlier periods (New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period), the dense inscriptions of text continued this trend into the Late Period.

²⁹¹ Price, “On the Function of ‘Healing’ Statues,” 172. Price’s observation was also evident in the New Kingdom on statues that incorporate a large number of textual inscriptions. For example, in Cathleen Keller’s description of statue of Senenmut kneeling with Sistrum (Cairo CG 579), she writes, “the front of the sistrum and Senenmut’s face and figure alone remain uninscribed. Indeed, the sculptors of the statue appear to have enjoined to cram as much hieroglyphic text onto the base, back pillar, and interstices of the piece as humanly possible.” The desire to avoid inscribing texts on the

a cartouche on elite sculptures, although this practice was clearly meant to signal devotion or loyalty to the king.²⁹² These textual inscriptions on clothing or shrouded surfaces could include a variety of different content.

Many private statues from this period included textual inscriptions on clothing. On the statue fragment of Ankhemtenenet (MMA 07.228.47), for example, the inscription of hieroglyphs on Ankhemtenenet's tightly form-fitting cloak details his name and his affiliation to the Temple of Ptah. The horizontal rows on the back were inscribed with a standard offering formula. Likewise, on the statue of Menuemhat (Chicago Natural History Museum 31723 + Brooklyn 16.580.186), his name and titles were written in hieroglyphs and are inscribed draped in a sash-like manner atop his priestly leopard skin. On the statue of Amasis (Berlin 14460), his name and titles were inscribed in Demotic on the kilt. These few selected examples of textual inscription on clothing illustrated an increasing flexibility in moving texts from more traditional locations onto the figure of the statuary.

Even the well-known example of the Twenty-Seventh Dynasty Udjahorresne statue (Vatican 22690) had inscriptions (in this case, autobiographical)²⁹³ on his dress-kilt and on the Osiris naos that he holds. Here, the primacy of Udjahorresne's biography demanded more surface area for textual

body of the statue seemed to be a prevailing preference on Egyptian statuary. Catharine H. Roehrig et al., eds., *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh* (New York : New Haven: The Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2005), 125.

²⁹² I think there is a distinction between the display of royal names on royal and divine statues versus elite statues. The former could be indicative of reuse, while the latter displays royal devotion. For example, see discussion in Arielle Kozloff and Betsy Bryan's on Louvre A20. Kozloff et al., *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 172–73. By the Late Period, the trend shifted such that the king's name is often integrated into elite individuals' personal names; most recently studied by Roberto Gozzoli on elite individuals during the reign of Psamtik II's reign. Roberto B. Gozzoli, *Psammetichus II: Reign, Documents and Officials*, GHP Egyptology 25 (London: Golden House Publications, 2017). I think that the visual prominence of these markers of patronage must be especially prized during periods of strong kingship. After all, these are royal endorsements with their value directly linked to the power of the king. Two Late Period examples, Harbes with Osiris (MMA 19.2.2) and a Bust from Memphis (Walters Art Museum 22.198), both illustrate their connections to Psamtik II with cartouche inscriptions. Both of these examples have Psamtik II's cartouches on both the upper right and upper left arms, and the Walters Art Museum bust also has Psamtik II's cartouche directly on its chest.

²⁹³ Udjahorresne was an Egyptian high official who worked for both the kings of Dynasty 26 (Saite) and 27 (Persian). His self-aggrandizing description of his roles between Egyptians and the foreign kings has informed our understanding of Egypt under the Persian conquest of 525 B.C.E.

inscription, so the inscription on the structural naos was an appropriate addition. Despite the textual saturation on the statue, there are no textual inscriptions on Udjahorresne's sleeve or on his exposed lower arms. Thus, even with this densification of texts on the statue's surface, inscribing text on the lightly shrouded and unclothed skin seemed to be avoided. Although the placement of the textual inscription was central in the statue's design, such placement still followed the rules of statue construction (whether aesthetic or commissioner preference).

Considerations of textual placement may take precedence over the narrative sequence. The textual composition on Udjahorresne's statue explicitly presented the significance of his autobiography, although the textual placements have led to differing interpretations of his message.²⁹⁴ As John Baines reflects on Udjahorresne:

“...a work of art such as the statue may not impose any one sequence of viewing and reading, even if texts are necessarily more sequential than pictorial materials. It is, however, worth investigating whether the distribution of the texts has a thematic or iconographic significance, in addition to the sequence in which the inscriptions may best be read. While the distribution of the inscriptions on the statue will hardly have been deliberately ambiguous, its prime purpose was probably not to create a single consistent narrative.”²⁹⁵

It is precisely this flexibility with the distribution of the textual inscriptions that marked a dramatic departure from other private statuary. The inscriptions on Udjahorresne highlighted an important

²⁹⁴ See, for example, the different interpretations between Ursula Rößler-Köhler and John Baines. Rößler-Köhler, “Zur Textkomposition der naophoren Statue des Udjahorresnet/Vatikan Inv.Nr. 196”; Baines, “On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne.”

²⁹⁵ Baines, “On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne,” 86.

characteristic in these heavily inscribed statues: the textual composition created new possibilities for understanding the placement and function of private statues.

Indeed, Egyptian healing statues expanded the priority in using textual composition to create narratives for statuary. Healing statues developed from within this context, but further expanded the textual inscriptions onto even the unclothed and un-shrouded portions of the body. Visually, they must have been striking even among the other densely inscribed statuary of the Late Period. By moving text onto the body, the designers and commissioners of healing statues devised a new object type that was able to tap into restricted religious knowledge and constructed a religious function for its new context. The body of the statue was turned into a spell itself, as ritual movements, voice, sight, hearing were all ritualized as part of this compositional design. The various layout strategies discussed below are both analyses of construction decision making and a demonstration of how religious meaning was ascribed to objects.

5.2 Common spells and spell selections

Healing spell texts were inscribed onto healing statues to endow the statues with religious efficacy and meaning. This adaptation process required both intentional spell selection and organization in forming the compositional design of healing statues. The similarities and differences in textual spell selection across different healing statues indicated that the designers of these objects were drawing their source material from a known textual spell corpus. These designers' manipulations of the sources revealed both patterns in creating religious efficacy and individualization in statue construction.²⁹⁶ Namely, the selection of the spell texts is important, because the presence of these

²⁹⁶ Michael Chen, "Adapting Ancient Egyptian Healing Spells onto Late Period Statuary," in *"As It Is Written"? Uses of Sources in Ancient Mediterranean Texts*, ed. Jennifer Singletary and Chiara Meccariello, SERAPHIM (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Publishers, forthcoming).

spells was assumed to be a display of restricted religious knowledge that connected the statues to religious power.

Similar to the commission of other private statuary from ancient Egypt, there was inherently a degree of individualization in each healing statue commission.²⁹⁷ To be sure, the widely varying selection of spells found on healing statues indicated that spell selection (beyond the basis for tying the object to religious power) retained a certain degree of individualization for the designer or commissioner. Further, the sheer number of unique spells (i.e., no other known parallels) found on individual healing statues remained a fixture in published editions of healing statues.²⁹⁸ As such, it seemed that the creativity behind the innovation of the object type extends to flexibility in the spell selection.

My analysis of the textual composition of healing statues strives to uncover the balance between the essentialness of core spell texts, the preference of the commissioner in spell placement, and how the depicted was placed at the center of the spells. While the selection of spells was certainly part of the individualizing aspect of statuary design, assessing such choices requires a more extensive examination of the healing spell corpus than is possible here. The approach here is predominantly from a visual perspective in that I will analyze the visual strategies that were used within Egyptian healing statues to contribute to their religious function. As I argued in Section 3.6 in outlining my methodology based on John Baines' study of Udjahorresne (Vatican 22690) and in the similar discussion concerning the mythological scene design (Section 4.4), the visual approach is particularly central for healing statues, given that the afflicted individuals were probably non- or

²⁹⁷ This chapter is focused on the individual spell selection as it pertains to the overall layout of the textual composition. Other individualizing characteristics, especially as they are connected to elite commemoration, will be discussed in Chapter 6.

²⁹⁸ For example, László Kákósy identified four unique spells on Naples 1065 out of the 8 or possibly 9 preserved spells on the torso fragment. Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 119.

semi-literate and would not have been able to read the spell texts themselves. Therefore, the consideration of the visual display gives us a better approximation of how these afflicted patients would have come into contact with the statues.

The selection of common spells discussed in this section are the “core texts” used on healing statues. In particular, Text A and Text B are the most common spells found on healing statues and Horus cippi; both of these texts discuss the theme of rejuvenation and are closely associated with healing objects. For the history of the study of these spells, see Section 3.2.2. Text A celebrates the goal of the rejuvenation and the triumph of the god Horus over the venom, whereas Text B incorporates a cosmological dynamic that builds up to the triumph over the poison.²⁹⁹ In a similar manner to the analysis of common scenes in Chapter 4, this section intends to emphasize patterns and variability in placement of texts. It is beyond the scope of this project to provide a philological analysis of the variants for each spell text across the various examples. A more comprehensive listing and description of other healing spells can be found in Appendix D: List of Common Spell Texts.³⁰⁰

5.2.1 *Text A*

Text A is a spell text spoken by the god Thoth to celebrate the triumph of the god Horus. The spell uses the typical formula structure: title, invocation to Horus, request, and instructions. The spell title and prelude frame the spell as being spoken by Thoth, adding divine authority to the words spoken. In Thoth’s words, he ascribes power and potency to the god Horus: he is using

²⁹⁹ The most commonly cited translations of Text A and Text B are the examples found on the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85), because the texts were completely inscribed and well-preserved. For a translation, see Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 49–63.

³⁰⁰ The titles of the spell texts were not original to the Egyptians. Instead, they were labeled according to their thematic content. Appendix D provides an English translation of the first few lines of each of the spells.

Horus's name, *heka*, and *akhu* to “close the mouth of any reptile (*Ddf.t*).”³⁰¹ Through metaphoric language, Thoth asks Horus to render all dangerous crocodiles and biting snakes harmless and exorcise the poison within a “man who is suffering.”³⁰² The instructions then prescribe the ritual action that this spell should be spoken over a statue with the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles image.³⁰³

The focus on the triumphant or victorious Horus (over the serpents) invokes the god's established ability to ensure victory for the injured. The hymn-like invocations in this spell text describes the inevitable success in healing, and this is precisely the goal of tapping into a desirable mythological precedent. Herein lies also the symbolism of Horus as powerful over dangerous and threatening animals and is why Text A is closely tied to the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif (see Section 4.4.1). Moreover, the position of Horus as the “Savior” (*Sdw*) identifies the central protagonist for the spell who can direct *heka* for healing. After all, the hope is that Horus would replicate his success and cure the suffering man. This spell thus translates a cosmic reality into a personal reality.

The healing statues that include an example of Text A are: Cairo J.E. 46341, Florence 1011, Florence 8708+Turin Supplement 9, Leiden F 1950/8.2+Vienna 40, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 53.238bis, Turin 3030, and Turin 3031.³⁰⁴ Given that many healing statues are only preserved as fragment(s), it is possible that many other examples would also have Text A inscriptions.

³⁰¹ Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, 84.

³⁰² Borghouts, 84.

³⁰³ There are many variants of this spell. For a full translation see J.F. Borghout's translation (No. 123) of the version found on the Metternich Stela and supplemented by other sources. Alternatively, see E. Jelínková-Reymond's translation of the spell text on the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341). Borghouts, 83–85; Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 56–62.

³⁰⁴ This is adapted from Wilfried Gutekunst's study. Gutekunst argued that while Text A was prevalent on both Horus cippi and healing statues, it was much more prevalent on cippi. Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen*, 81.

5.2.2 *Text B*

Text B is a spell that invokes the sun-god to act against a crocodile. The structure of this spell includes an invocation, a request, and a threat. The spell invokes an “old one who rejuvenates himself” alongside many other deities to drive away or incapacitate a dangerous crocodile.³⁰⁵ The crocodile receives a variety of epithets that relate to how it dwells in the water. Within the narrative set up of this spell, various deities work in conjunction to disable these “water-dwellers” as metaphoric representations of order over chaos.

Text B has a cyclical spell structure in how it alternates between invocations to the gods and threats to the crocodile. The speaker would address the gods, then narrate, then address the crocodile; these shifts in perspective create a thematic disorientation in the format of the spell. Moreover, the spell not only details the deities’ ability to vanquish the crocodile threat, but also showcases how urgent and important the invocation of the divine was within this equation.

The healing statues that include an example of Text B are: Cairo J.E. 46341, Florence 1011, Florence 8708+Turin Supplement 9, Leiden F 1950/8.2+Vienna 40, Naples 1065, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 53.238bis, Paris Louvre E 10777 (2 versions), Rome Ostia, Turin 3030, Turin 3031.³⁰⁶ Similar to the discussion above on Text A, the fragmentary nature of healing statues means that it is possible that other known examples of healing statues could originally also have had an inscription of Text B.

5.2.3 *Spell of Isis and Horus the Child*

The “Isis and Horus the Child” spell is a long narrative that describes how Horus was injured and healed. This particular spell is a detailed, lengthy, mythological precedent adopted in healing spells as

³⁰⁵ Borghouts, *Ancient Egyptian Magical Texts*, 85.

³⁰⁶ Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen*, 84.

a mythological situation that is desirable by the users of the spells. The spell begins with a dramatic formula that identifies the narrator as the goddess Isis, the mother of Horus “I am Isis...” (*ink As.t*). As a vulnerable child in the marshes of Akhbit, Horus was injured by a dangerous animal (scorpion or snake with poison). Isis positions the issue as a cosmic issue, and she recounts how she alerted central deities within the Egyptian pantheon to solve this problem. Isis stops the boat of Millions and even the Sun stops in his track. Despite Isis’ and the other goddesses’ despair at Horus’ dire health, the god Thoth is able to assert Horus’ protection and repel the poison within him. Finally, Thoth announces Horus’ well-being to all deities.

The lengthy narrative format of this particular spell makes it extraordinary in terms of use and possible function. The inscription of the spell text requires a significant investment in statue surface area, indicating that its complete rendering on an object reflects its importance in the ritual use of the object. Indeed, this spell’s placement and arrangement on the Metternich Stela serves as an important example for the discussion of textual wrapping (see Section 5.8). The spell of Isis and Horus the Child uses both the epic formula (long narrative) and dramatic formula (direct speech) in its spell structure. In addition, through the content described, this spell is associated with the “Isis of Akhbit” scene where the child is being nursed by Isis (see Section 4.4.3).

5.2.4 *Hand of Atum*

The “Hand of Atum” spell (or “Conflict between Re and Apophis”) removes reptilian venom from the body. This spell is framed with the god Atum as the central protagonist, whose hand drives away the storms. Its primary reference is a mythological incident in which the sun god Re is in conflict with the chaos serpent force Apophis. Re is injured, and so the god Atum summons Horus to heal the sun god by disabling the power of the poison inside of Re. This narrative concludes successfully with the sun god revived and the venom being declared dead.

Atum's hand is especially efficacious within Egyptian religious thought. In the Heliopolitan creation story, the god Atum places his penis into his fist and masturbates to create the existence of the deities Shu and Tefnut (see PT 527/ Pepi P 475).³⁰⁷ The agency resides in Atum's hand, since the penis was placed into the fist, and there was creative power associated with Atum's hand that was necessary for the ritual act. Therefore, this spell's direct reference to the hand of Atum taps into this potency and coincides with the spell's strategic placement on the hand (especially right hand) healing statues (see Section 5.5). This spell is inscribed on similar locations on quite a few healing statues: Berlin 7554 (right arm), Florence 8708+Turin Supplement 9 (right hand), Turin 3030 (right hand and back side), Cairo J.E. 41677 (left side), Cairo J.E. 46341, Louvre E 10777 (right hand), and Moscow I.1.a.5907 (right hand). It is therefore important to consider the placement of the hands along the sides of the Horus Cippus, since these two important religious symbolisms are interlocked in providing meaning for the design.

5.2.5 *Arm of Lord of Millions of Years*

The spell "Arm of Lord of Millions of Years" is a short spell that references the god Heh (the Lord of Millions of Years) and the hand of the sun god Re to seek their assistance in driving out the poison from the body. Heh is a member of the Egyptian Ogdoad and is a primordial deity associated with water. As such, he is able to quell the flame associated with poison and drive the venom from the body.

Due to the brevity of this spell, it could have had more flexible placement. However, this spell tended to be linked with other thematically similar spells. On the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341), this spell was inscribed as the first spell in a section ("Conjuration of the Venom") of similar

³⁰⁷ Allen, *Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 164.

spells devoted for driving out poison. The start of this spell section was inscribed on the left arm of the statue (see Section 5.5) and then proceeded onto the left side of the block statue. The associated spells are all short spells (with the clear spell dividers, “another spell,” between the individual spells) and all utilize mythological references to repel the poison from the body. They were all thematically linked and likely worked in concert to achieve the desired effect.

5.3 Using gridlines to build a visual effect

Besides the spell themselves, gridlines were structuring elements that could affect the visual impact and thus functionality of the statues. The visual effect created by the gridlines and text applications on healing statues was fundamentally different than the gridlines and text applications on other Late Period statues. “Gridlines” in this discussion refers to the vertical column lines or horizontal row lines that divide the columns and rows of text; it refers to the organizational structure rather than the artistic grids used to study the proportion of figures. Because the inscription of gridlines directly on the human body (unclothed and un-shrouded surfaces) was not found on other Late Period statuary, the gridlines found on healing statues were presumably visually striking to the afflicted individuals using these statues.³⁰⁸ In addition, the notion of adding gridlines to the body was an invitation to move texts onto the body, so this phenomenon was inherently closely tied with the larger discussion on inscribing texts on the body and notions of wrapping. The format of text application was different from healing statue to healing statue, so the spatial layout of the gridlines also varied. In addition, the characteristics of gridlines discussed in this section applied to both spell texts and biographical texts.

³⁰⁸ Organizational lines were used to structure Egyptian objects from coffins, to tombs, to stelae, and other objects. Perhaps these gridlines, that were placed on the bodies of healing statues, were used to adapt a similar organizational structure and associate these texts with the other corpora.

Since most Egyptian healing statues were carefully designed, high quality objects, the Egyptian inscribers most likely plotted out gridlines and the textual spacing on each statue. This attentiveness to detail incorporated the physical material quality of the stone in the design. For instance, the base of the statue of Djedhor (Cairo JE 46341) was carved and smoothed from a damaged block of stone. The biographical section on Djedhor's declaration as a savior (Jelínková-Reymond lines 123-135)³⁰⁹ was inscribed on the left side of the statue base, and the gridlines and texts navigated around a previously damaged section of the stone (Figure 5.1). Because there was no lacuna in the text, the inscriber must have resigned himself to working with an imperfect stone, and as such, he likely worked around the damaged portions in inscribing the complete narrative. This illustrates the precision with which the inscriber carried out the design of the text.

³⁰⁹ Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 122–25.

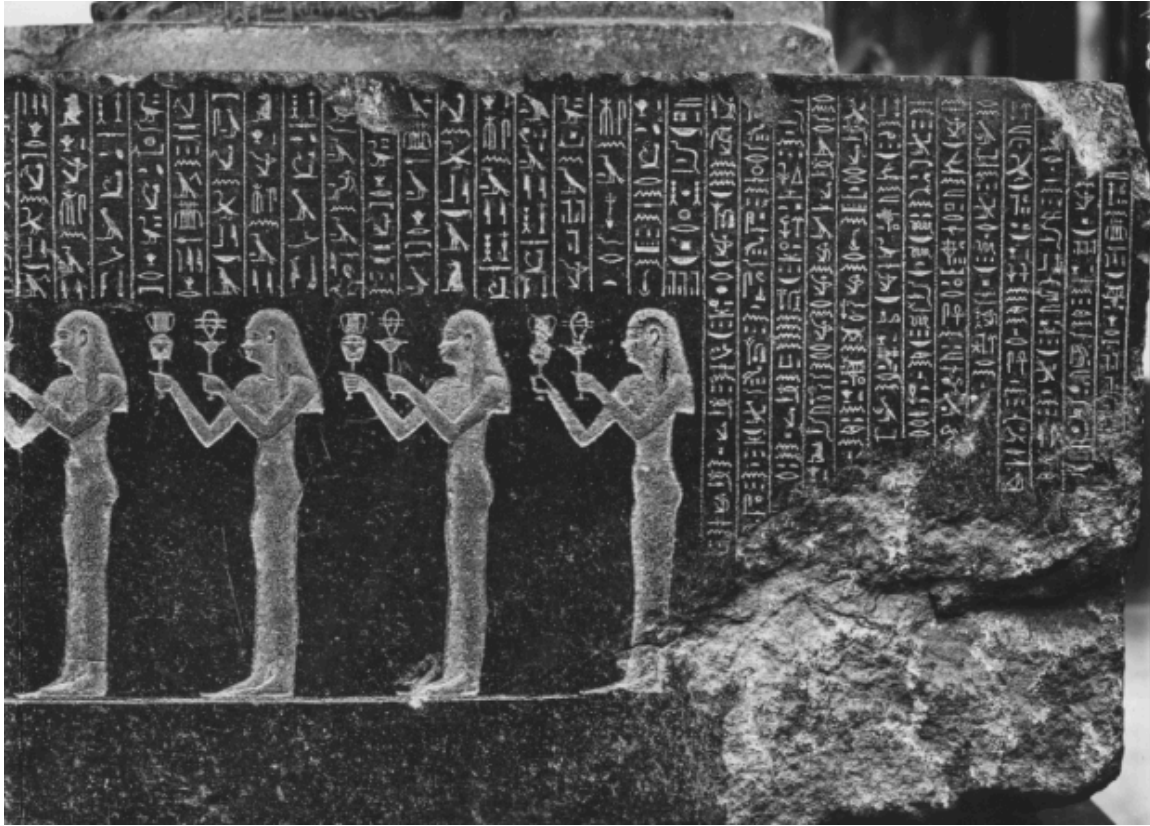


Figure 5.1. Djedhor's statue base. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.

The intentionality of the textual design was evident from how it integrated with the statue's body to create different visual effects. Gridlines used on Egyptian healing statues tended to follow the contour of the body in a manner similar to clothing. The gridlines were not imposed upon the bodily surfaces of the statues, but rather, they conformed to the natural curvature and modeling of the Egyptian body. For example, on either side of the statue of Djedhor, the gridlines (and text) clung onto the definitions of Djedhor's calves, thighs, torso, and buttocks. In a sense, the gridlines reinforced a wraparound visual effect of the text that heightened the shape of the body while providing a forum for the spell texts. On the statue of Djedhor, the vertical gridlines appeared more form-fitting visually, because they mapped onto the slenderness of his sculpted body in a more linear manner. On Naples 1065, the horizontal rows of texts clung to the bare (i.e., unclothed) torso

of the statue. The similarity between Naples 1065 and the statue of Djedhor lay in how the textual application was integrated with the modulations of the musculature of the statue's body.

On the other hand, gridlines could also visually create stark contrasts. Often, the textual inscriptions were set within rows or columns organized with gridlines, and sometimes these “rows” and “columns” did not follow a strict horizontal or vertical orientation to build a visual effect.³¹⁰ In fact, the gridlines and lines of text could wrap across the surface of the statue in a manner that contrasted against the rigidity of the gridlines with the statues' bodily surfaces. In other words, the design of the gridlines adjusted to the definitions and musculature of the Late Period statue bodies but did not follow the bodies' natural vertical modulations. For example, in Hor (Turin 3030, Figure 5.2), the spell for the transformation of Re into an ichneumon (statue's right side)³¹¹ and spell Text A (statue's left side)³¹² were adapted diagonally to the contours of the body of the scribe of the Army, Hor. How the gridlines and the text were applied to the body endowed healing statues with a flowing emphasis: the saturated textual placement on the body was an innovative design decision. In addition, the reading directions of the spell texts of Hor flowed from the lower arms toward the shoulders on both sides, which further accentuated the visual effect of the texts as radiating from the Horus Cippus (which is the focal visual of the healing statue). This form-fitting method of inscription tied the texts directly to the body of the individual, but the flowing nature of this method created a stark contrast.

³¹⁰ My definitions of “rows” and “columns” are dependent on the reading directions of the hieroglyphic signs. If the signs are read vertically, the text is ordered in columns. If the signs are read horizontally, the text is ordered in rows. These reading orientations may be different than the absolute vertical and horizontal axes of the statue. Due to this discrepancy, these texts will be described as being at a right angle to the vertical axis of the statue when appropriate.

³¹¹ Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 73–74.

³¹² Kákósy, 75–79.



Figure 5.2. Right side of the statue of Hor. Turin 3030.
Photo credit: CLES

In the torso fragment of Ankhhap (Cairo JE 41677, Figure 5.3), the shifts in the gridlines and text orientation reveal how textual inscriptions were used to create an oppositional visual effect. On the lower right arm of the statue, the inscriptions proceeded up the length of the arm, employing the surface area of the front of Ankhhap's dress-kilt for textual placement. The "columns" of text on the front torso of Ankhhap continued from the dress-kilt onto the right arm. These columns of text then progressed toward the shoulders of the statue fragment. While there were no division lines placed in the center of the front of the dress-kilt, the reading directions of the hieroglyphic signs indicated a break in the textual layout program on the left from the right of the statue. The left side

followed an essentially similar inscription pattern. The oppositional directionality of the transverse columns³¹³ of text on the front of the dress-kilt created a visual bifurcated effect that was probably striking to the viewers. When viewing the statue in profile (Figure 5.4), the larger textual decoration program was even more pronounced in how it contrasted the text across the available surfaces. The neat columns of text on the backside of the torso were a continuation of the text from the top of the shoulders, signaling that organization and format of the text were quite intentional in design. The planning of the statue and text was done together during the design stage of the statue production, so the textual inscriptions were not an afterthought.

³¹³ Georges Daressy, "Quelques Inscriptions Provenant de Bubastis," *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 11 (1911): 188.

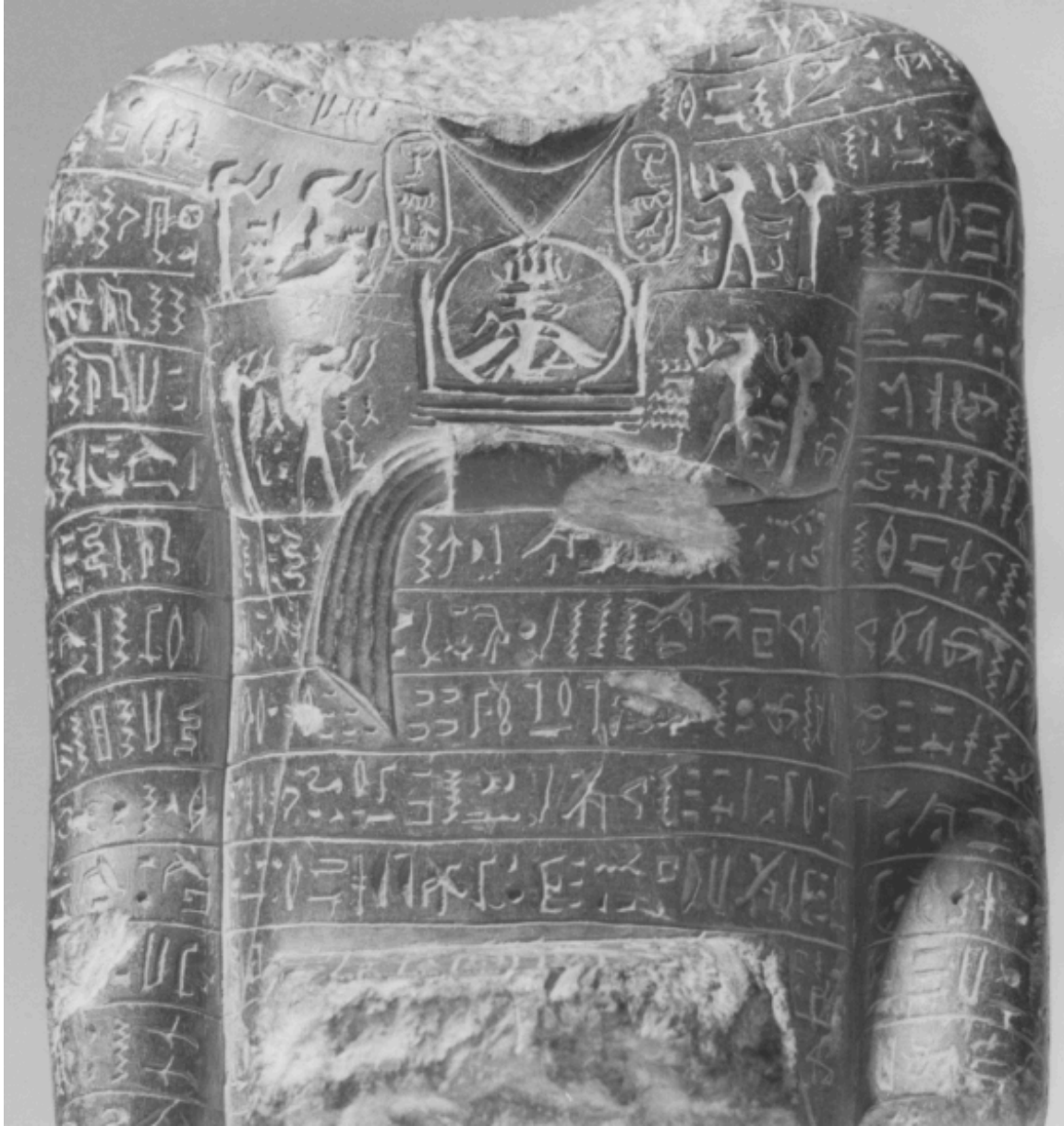


Figure 5.3. Frontal view of the statue of Ankhhap. Cairo J.E. 41677.

Photo credit: CLES.



Figure 5.4. Left side of the statue of Ankhhap. Cairo J.E. 41677.
Photo credit: CLES.

The wrapping of the spell texts around the body in this layout design was reminiscent of the bandage wrappings of Egyptian mummies. This was an empowering way to present priestly knowledge, and this was a powerful comment on establishing the bodies of the represented individuals as sacred. As Christina Riggs argued about the wrapping concept in Egypt,

“It was the materiality of valued textiles, and the ability to manipulate them in the performance of wrapping, that enabled ancient Egyptian ritualists to access the sacred.

Covering or concealing what could be seen, touched, and handled was a way to make manifest what could only be imagined.”³¹⁴

This mimicry of bandage wrappings was a possible strategy of empowerment that situated these represented individuals as a source of religious healing power. Similarly, Anders Bettum has observed that the nesting of coffins was used in the construction of sacred space and to express the hierarchies of power.³¹⁵ The gridline design was a visual display that was important in establishing the meaning of healing statues, because it enshrouded the wrapped individuals as actors of the ritual healing practice.

Whereas the format of the textual layout clearly demonstrated a visual effect, it is challenging to interpret the gridline design structure itself. This raises important questions for future studies: Was there any particular significance to the choice of columns and rows on any particular surface area? Furthermore, beyond the coherency within each individual healing statue, were there larger patterns in understanding the gridline design?

5.3.1 *The gridlines on the Metternich Stela MMA 50.85*

The Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85, Figure 5.5), an extremely high-quality Horus Cippus, has a complex gridline design pattern. Most of the gridline design is rather straightforward, and the sentence breaks follow the gridline layout. However, on this object, there are sentences that break in

³¹⁴ Riggs, *Unwrapping Ancient Egypt*, 215.

³¹⁵ Anders Bettum, “Faces Within Faces: The Symbolic Function of Nested Yellow Coffins in Ancient Egypt” (Oslo, University of Oslo, 2012).

shifts from columns to rows (e.g., in Sander-Hansen line 29 of “Spells for Healing a Cat”)³¹⁶ or from rows to columns (e.g., in Sander-Hansen line 172 of “Story of Isis and the Infant Horus”).³¹⁷ In other words, certain sentences straddle the divide from column orientation to row orientation, or vice versa. This is rather unusual for layout design within Egyptian art and hints at a possibility that the grid layout has an underlying meaning in the design of the object.



Figure 5.5. Metternich Stela. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950. Photo Credit: The Met’s website.

³¹⁶ The sentence begins vertically on Line 29 (“You cat, your feet. . .”) and continues onto Line 30 (“are the feet of Amun. . .”) in a horizontal format. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*, 36.

³¹⁷ The sentence begins on the front surface of the base Line 172 (“... but the child was helpless”) and continues onto Line 173 (“...and refused the milk jug, having been left alone too long”) in a vertical format. Sander-Hansen, 61.

Prioritizing the grid layout design is a pattern that is also observable on healing statues. For example, in the short columns that wrap around the lower arms of Turin 3030, there was limited surface area for textual inscriptions, and consequently, a limited number of hieroglyphic signs could fit into the short column that wrapped around the statue's wrist. However, what makes the Metternich Stela particularly intriguing is that as a stela with large flat surfaces (rather than a statue of a private individual with smaller contoured body surfaces), there should be greater flexibility in laying out the format and gridlines of the object. Instead, there are clear gridline design choices that defy easy explanation: specifically, the shift from rows to columns on the front and back sides of the stela.

On the front side, the text begins below the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif in 8 horizontal rows before shifting into columns starting with line 9; this continues for a total of 21 columns before reverting back to an additional 8 rows. The initial shift from rows to columns is logical, since a new spell section ("Spells for the Healing of a Cat") begins with the columns, but the return to rows in line 30 does not entail a new spell or spell section. The "Spells for the Healing of a Cat" continues for almost six more rows through line 35. Therefore, the columns-to-rows shift shows that the textual layout was adapted to the format of the gridlines. Visually, then, the gridline format for the textual inscriptions on the front of the stela (excluding the base) follows a symmetrical format of 8 rows of text, 21 columns, and eight additional rows of text.

The backside of the Metternich Stela has a textual program that begins in rows of text (after five rows of mythological scenes). Interestingly, there is a shift from rows to 21 columns at the exact same height position on the stela as the shift on the front. The backside has 22 rows of text before the shift to columns (instead of the 8 on the front side), because the Horus-upon-the-crocodile motif and frame on the front takes up the equivalent of 14 rows of space. The maintenance of this shift in rows to columns shows that the design of the textual format was a wholly integrated

decorative program for the entire object. The designers considered the format program in laying out the religious material on this stela. Furthermore, the backside also demonstrates how the spell texts were adapted to the gridline format. Indeed, the shift from rows to columns occurs in the middle of the “Story of Isis and the Noblewoman.” In fact, when the spell ends within the middle of the columns of text, the inscriber added a spell division line and continued with the subsequent “Spell Against a Scorpion Sting.” This spell then follows the shift from columns again to rows. So, both the front and backsides demonstrate that the textual inscriptions were simply applied to the preexisting and predetermined gridline format on the stela.

This dominance of gridlines over textual format on this stela reveals how the building blocks of religious efficacy occur within the textual decorative program. In essence, the gridlines lay out the directionality, both for the reading directions of the hieroglyphs and the visual emphasis that the designers wanted to convey, which in turn allowed for the adaptation of textual strategies used to create efficacy. The following sections serve to highlight different aspects of these strategies of textual layout in order to provide a more complete rendering of the functioning of Egyptian healing statues. The gridlines, as an integral organizational feature, played a significant role in adapting the text onto the statuary bodies to create meaning.

5.4 Gridlines revealing statue production process

This section demonstrates that not all statues were produced using the same order of operations, and thus there was variability not only in the design of the statues but in their actual production. The design of gridlines is part of the integrative design that builds into a cohesive completed object. Thus, the gridlines inscription could also reveal the order of inscription—particularly, whether the texts or gridlines were inscribed first on healing statues. Moreover, remnant clues regarding incomplete or damaged gridlines reveal the priorities behind the healing statues’ production process.

First, even functioning religious objects like healing statues could be unfinished. The statues were completed to the extent that they were activated and used (through the “Opening of the Mouth” ceremony; see Section 1.6), but they, like other active religious objects, were constantly added to, modified, or repaired. However, the healing statue production process was also pragmatic, and the gridline layout possibly revealed which components were essential (by virtue of being present) to the religious object. For example, Berlin 7554 (Figure 5.6),³¹⁸ a low-quality theophorous Type II healing statue, has roughly inscribed gridlines across most of the surface areas of the statue. The gridlines are visibly crooked and meandering, instead of the expected sharp, straight lines. This coarse craftsmanship is also reflected in the carvings of the hieroglyphic signs, which are inconsistent in size and quality. On the upper left thigh, however, the gridlines are missing from the textual inscriptions. Since the rest of the statue has gridlines, it is likely that this surface area had not yet received its gridline inscriptions. This indicates that for this object, the spell texts were formatted onto the object prior to the inscription of the gridlines.

³¹⁸ This object has suffered serious damage during and in the aftermath of WWII and only a portion remains. As a result, the study of the more complete Berlin 7554 is only possible through archival photographs from CLES and the Ägyptisches Museum Berlin’s Archives.



Figure 5.6. Left side of the statue. Berlin 7554.
Note the missing gridlines on the statue's left leg. Photo credit: CLES.

In contrast, on Oxford Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E. 3465, the gridlines appear to be outlined on the statue before the inscription of the spell texts. This unfinished statue has inscribed gridlines that are typical of Type II healing statues: the lines are organized in a diagonal format that follows the body contours across the upper chest and back shoulders (see Figure 5.7), however, the left side of the statue was left uninscribed, while the right side has been inscribed. This statue shows a different design-to-execution priority than Berlin 7554, as the gridlines were inscribed before the text. Generally, it seems like it would be more logical for high quality examples to give primacy to gridline format over spell placement, because such organizational structures were more important to

the visual aesthetic of an object. However, these examples showcased how the production process could underscore a broader rethinking of flexibility in the production of these objects.



Figure 5.7. Backside of the statue. Oxford Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E. 3465. Note the gridlines on the left side with no text inscriptions. Photo credit: Author.

Second, on Djedhor's (Cairo JE 46341) healing statue the gridlines and placement of spells reveal details of the inscription process. The "Conjuration of the Venom" Spell was inscribed on the left-front side and left side of the statue (left side shown in Figure 5.8). The hieroglyphic signs are consistently proportioned and spaced throughout the lines of text, which suggests that the inscriber pre-planned (and mapped the signs onto the gridlines in the design process). However, the inscriber did run out of space in the final column, so the final word "sA=k (your protection)" was inscribed

upon the cushion on which Djedhor was seated instead of on his body. This indicated that there was a priority in conserving the nature of spell texts (i.e., it was important to finish inscribing the complete spell), but also that this pragmatic solution fixed an unplanned issue that occurred during the inscription process, perhaps caused by the textual application onto the contours of Djedhor's body. After all, the front lines (e.g., lines 1, 3, 4, etc.) of the left side have available empty space that, had the sign sizes been adjusted appropriately, could have fit the two signs that had been relegated to the cushion seat. In addition, the desire to delineate the front versus backside textual program (as noted by the forward-facing and backward-facing reading directions for the hieroglyphic signs) also meant that the spells texts were formatted to conclude at the end of each column, unlike having spell division lines on the Metternich Stela. Therefore, this misstep, along with the empty spaces in the first few lines, implies that the text was applied to the gridlines for this particular object.



Figure 5.8. Left side of the statue of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.

Moreover, the gridlines and text placement on the right side of the statue indicate the order of inscription. The right side of Djedhor (Figure 5.9) contains both the continuation of the “Conflict between Re and Apophis” spell from the front of the statue and Text B from the back of the statue. Similar to the gridline design layout on the front of the statue, this delineation is maintained by the different reading directions of the hieroglyphic signs for the spells (“Conflict between Re and Apophis” faces forward; Text B faces backwards). For the inscription of Text B, however, the inscriber ran out of space and had to relegate the final 21 hieroglyphic signs to the cushion seat of

Djedhor. This lengthier textual section may be the result of the preexistence of the texts on the front side of the statue (i.e., the “Conflict between Re and Apophis” spell); in fact, had the sculpture been inscribed from the back first, the inscriber could have simply mapped out another column for Text B. Rather, the gridline layout indicates that the front of the statue was inscribed first and the backside second. In other words, the inscriptions on the front side of the statue were given organizational priority.



Figure 5.9. Right side of the statue of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341. The forward-facing signs and the rear-facing signs indicate a distinct front and back decoration program. The shift in the column line is approximately where the upper knee and thigh intersects with the upper arm. Photo credit: CLES.

The study of the compositional design of healing statues provides intriguing details regarding the production process of statuary because the saturation of the texts leaves observable possibilities for inscriber choices and procedure. The pragmatic decisions that arise from inevitable challenges in

the decoration process detail how much these religious objects are subject to human error, but in turn, also underscore acceptable remedies that still preserve the function of the objects. The unfinished examples provide clues into the design-to-execution process that underscore the lack of a true “order of operations” in the design and inscription process. There was a flexibility in how the creators of healing statues adapted designs to the materiality of the statues, which speaks to the decentralized craftsmanship production of these religious objects.

5.5 Textual placement based on spell content

Another consideration for the design of textual layout is that the arrangement of healing spell texts can create or enhance the religious efficacy of healing statues. Beyond the visual effect conveyed by the textual application, and how that combined with the mythological images, these spells also held their own religious efficacy based on their positioning on the statues. Indeed, the patterns of textual placement on healing statues indicated that the spell content and intertextual relationships (see Section 5.6) dictated the possible and preferential bodily placements of the spells. Egyptians understood religious efficacy as being tied to proximity, and the relationship between spell content and textual placement was an important one in the compositional design of healing statues. Moreover, the efficacy of the end product was enhanced by the potent connections of a compelling relationship between text and body.

This placement could be directly dictated by the content of the textual inscription itself. On the waist-belt of Naples 1065, the spell addresses the waist-belt directly and directs it to “block the venom, tie a knot!” so that the host would not be afflicted by the venom.³¹⁹ The address of a particular section of the surface of the statue shows a textual “self-awareness” of its intended

³¹⁹ Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 121.

function. This is important because it highlights how design ideas, textual content, and placement were all interrelated on healing statues.

One common content-based placement is the inscription of protective spells on the breasts of the healing statues. Turin Supplement 9 includes an example of a spell on the breast that commands Thoth to “Restore the heart, put the heart in his chest. Bring the heart of every man, every animal who are suffering in its place and the heart on its seat like you make firm Horakhty in the *(m)skt.t* bark, so that he may travel in the *manD.t* bark.”³²⁰ László Kákosy identified this connection (also on Naples 1065 and Louvre E10777, etc.) and observed that “Egyptian magicians and physicians were well aware of the effects of the [scorpion or snake] poison and knew that it could cause heart failure.”³²¹ Snake and scorpion venom could result in a burning sensation in the chest. Thus, the protective spell placement was a remedy designed to accentuate the potency of the spell itself on the area most affected. Not every healing statue included such a protective spell on its breast, but an appropriate placement did enhance the function of the spell text.

On the statue of Djedhor Cairo JE 46341, its spell placement also recognized spell content in assigning spell position. I will first discuss the placement of two spells on the body of the statue of Djedhor and then describe how the placement is logically decided based on the content. The placement of the spell “Hand of Atum” (described as a “Conflict between the god Re and Apophis”) on the healing statue of Djedhor begins on the right hand of the Djedhor statue, which then continues down the length of the entire right forearm. The spell columns cross between the forearm and part of the statue’s shin that is directly above the Horus Cippus. This spell then continues down the right lower leg moving right to left from the shin to the calf. Then the final

³²⁰ Kákosy, 39.

³²¹ Kákosy, 39.

portion of this spell section begins on the right side of the Horus Cippus and proceeds in vertical columns that overlaps with the statue's right foot.

The opposing spells of the “Conjuration of the Venom” section were written on the left arm of the statue, and they also use part of the statue's shin, directly above the Horus Cippus, as a continuation of the columns closest to the elbow. The spell then continues onto the left foot of the statue and proceeds left to right in orientation from the calf to the thigh. The final word of the spell “*sA=k* (your protection)” (referenced above in 5.2) was inscribed on the cushion on which Djedhor sits.

For these two spells, the inscriber chose to use the content from the spell to determine the starting points of inscription on the statue (Figure 5.10). The “Conflict between Re and Apophis” begins with a reference to the hand of Atum (“This *hand* of Atum which chases the storm ...”),³²² and therefore, the spell begins on the right hand of the statue. In contrast, the Conjuration of the Venom spell begins with the spell of the “Arm of the Lord of Millions of years” with a reference to the arm of the Lord of Millions of Years (“The *arms* of the [Lord] of Millions of Years ...”),³²³ and therefore, the spell begins on the left lower arm of the statue. Had the inscriptions for the “Conjuration of the Venom” section begun on the hand to symmetrically match the “Hand of Atum” spell, then the inscriber would not have run out of space toward the end of the spell (see discussion in Section 5.2.4). In addition, the hands of healing statues are in an especially efficacious area, often closest in proximity to the Horus Cippus.³²⁴ While this is not the case for the Djedhor statue, the association of hands with religious power is part of the religious meaning of the objects. The explicit design choice on the statue of Djedhor was carefully aligned with the spell content.

³²² Section 2, line 12. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 9.

³²³ Section 6, line 49. Jelínková-Reymond, 30.

³²⁴ Kákósy, “Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues,” 180.



Figure 5.10. Top of the statue of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
 Note the placement of the beginnings of the spells based on spell content. Photo credit: CLES.

Whereas the statue of Djedhor was precise in drawing the distinction of the hand in the “Conflict between Re and Apophis” spell, the placement of this spell on other healing statues indicates that the bodily content relationship was not always prioritized. For instance, the same spell is placed on the right arm of Hor (Turin 3030), but it does not start on the right hand. On the Socle Behague (Leiden F 1950/8.2) an abridged version of this text appears on the left side of the top of the base of the healing statue. Certainly, these comparisons emphasize the importance of flexibility in the layout design of spell texts. The construction of healing statues’ religious efficacy stemmed from a combination of different textual strategies and no singular component predominated for all healing statues. Nonetheless, a fuller picture of the statues’ function comes from understanding the correspondences between textual positioning and bodily importance on healing statues.

Importantly, these content-based placements are on parts of the body that are described in the spell texts as being active participants in stopping the venom. The waist-belt tightens, the breasts are where the poison affects, and the hands are active participants in solving the problem through

mythology. The correlation in matching spells to body clearly highlights how intentional the design was formulated to create meaning.

5.6 Intertextuality: Complementary placement of Text A and Text B

Fundamentally related to the placement of spells based on content is the organization of spells intertextually. One of the significant examples of intertextuality between Text A and Text B,³²⁵ which were often complementarily placed of on Horus cippi or healing statues. The joint functioning of these particular spells echoed how spell texts function together more generally in creating religious efficacy for healing statues.

On the basis of content, there are several good reasons for understanding Text A and Text B to be complementary texts, due to the thematic similarities and the contrasting moods of the two texts. In Wilfried Gutekunst's diachronic study of Text B, he described Text A as perfective and Text B as imperfective, arguing that their differentiation lay in their completed and ongoing plot theme, respectively.³²⁶ Moreover, both texts are related to the central Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif (discussed in Section 4.4.1),³²⁷ so they may both needed to be placed near the motif which thereby resulted in complementary placement: Text A was often inscribed on the front and Text B was often inscribed on the back. For example, on the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85), the placement of Text B was precisely in the rows on the reverse side of the framed Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. Therefore, for healing statues, both of these texts were often placed in close proximity to the Horus Cippus.

³²⁵ These spells were first classified by Geroges Daressy. See discussion of the summary of these two spells in Section 5.2. Daressy, *Textes et Dessins Magiques*, 3–13.

³²⁶ Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen*.

³²⁷ Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen*, 9.

In textual layout Text A could be substituted by the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. This motif was most directly related to this spell, and when Text A was not inscribed on the healing statue, Text B's placement was still on the cippus. For example, on the healing statue of Hor (Turin 3030), Text B was inscribed directly on the sides of the Horus Cippus. The text begins on the top right side of the Horus Cippus (from the statue's perspective) and proceeds in vertical columns from the front to back of the Horus Cippus and onto the front right side of Hor's dress-kilt (Figure 5.11). Then, the rest of Text B was inscribed in columns on the top left side of the Horus Cippus and proceeds from the front to the back of the Horus Cippus (the lines of text that continue onto the front of the right side of the dress-kilt are a snake charm).³²⁸ Although there is no division line at the top of the Horus Cippus between the right and left sides, the distinction between the spell sections is clear given the top to bottom reading order of the hieroglyphic signs. Text B was the only text inscribed on the Horus Cippus, underscoring the special relationship between the text and the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. The meaning was emphasized by the close proximity between the text and the image.

³²⁸ Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 81.



Figure 5.11. Detail on top of Horus Cippus. Turin 3030.
Photo credit: CLES.

Healing statues also had interconnected, symmetrical features in how the spells are laid out. The statue Turin 3031 provides an example of both Text A and Text B being inscribed onto the statue in a symmetrical design on the Horus Cippus. The gridline layout on the Horus Cippus is similar to Turin 3030 in that the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif was framed by columns of texts that were inscribed on its top, sides and back. In addition, the inscriptions on the top of the Horus Cippus part toward the right and left sides within a clear division line (except the reading order of the hieroglyphic signs from top to bottom as a guide). Text B was inscribed on the right side of the cippus, from the four columns on the side to the pedestal, the back of the cippus, and then to the front of right side of the dress-kilt. Text A was inscribed on the left side of the cippus, from the four

columns on the side to the pedestal, the back of the cippus, and then to the front of left side of the dress-kilt. The interrelationship between the two texts was visible by how the inscriber set them up within a symmetrical layout surrounding the central Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif that served as the focal point of healing statues.

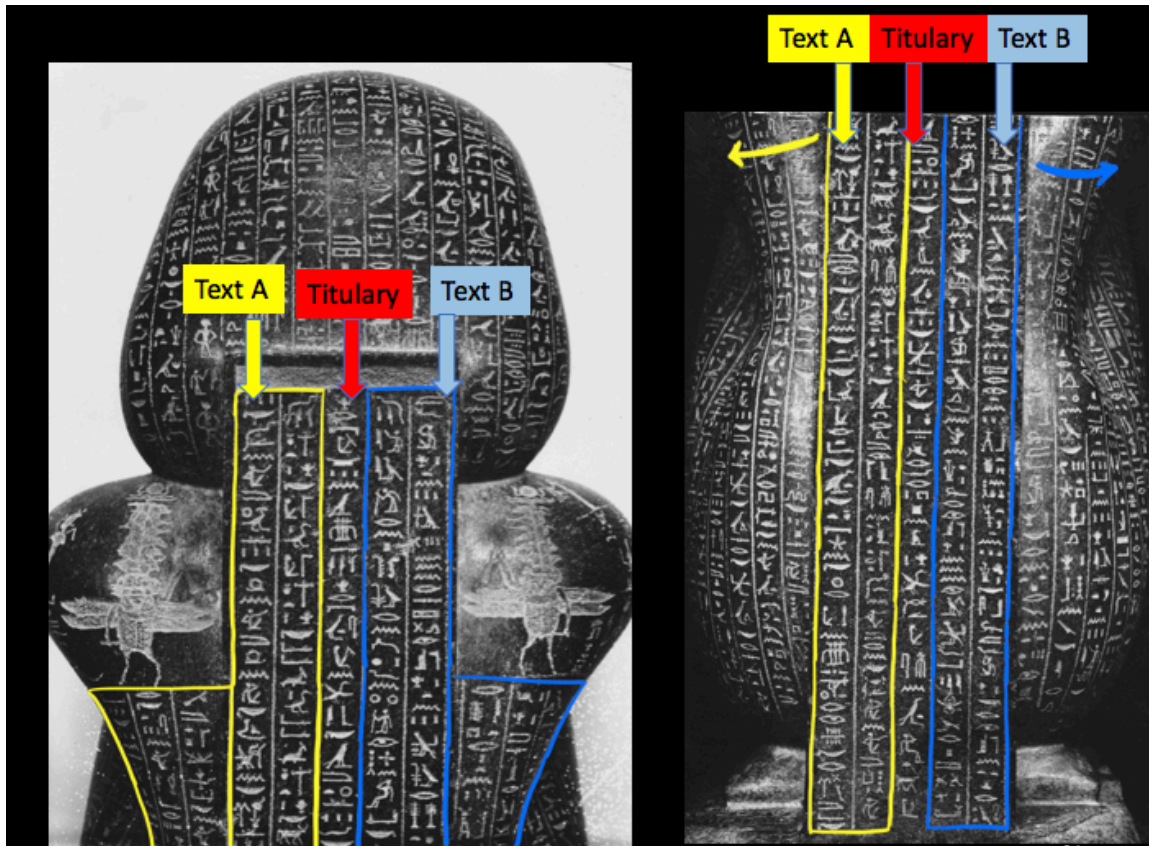


Figure 5.12. Reverse side of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341. Note the complementary placement of Text A and Text B. Photo credit: CLES.

Yet the complementing nature of Text A and Text B was not limited to being centered on the Horus Cippus. For instance, the reverse side of the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341, Figure 5.12) also highlighted how these textual traditions were imposed upon the materiality of the object in a systematic, organized fashion from the backside of the statue. The central column on the back pillar contained Djedhor’s titulary. From this central anchor, Text A was inscribed along the left vertical columns on the back pillar, and Text B was inscribed along the right vertical columns on the

back pillar. The two texts then wrapped around the left and right portions of the backside of Djedhor, respectively. These two spells were clearly part of the backside's decorative program and were separated from the spells written on the front of the statue. There is a division column line between the front and the back sides of the statue that is clarified by the divergent directions that the hieroglyphic signs face (i.e., Text A and Text B face backwards). The spells on the front part of the statue faced forward ("Conjuration of the Venom" section and "Conflict between Re and Apophis"), while the spell text of Text A and Text B faced backward. This symmetrical layout of Text A and Text B emphasized the parallelism between the two spells and continued a larger tradition in Egyptian art in following visual symmetry as an aesthetic preference.

This simple example of intertextuality between Text A and Text B only hints at the possibilities for considering how the textual program was designed on these statues. The textual content across spells is broadly related as the spells tap into the same mythological precedents, and as such, the distinctions and characteristics could indicate interesting textual interplay between the different inscribed healing spells. For instance, the presence of the two versions of Text B (P-R and P-L) on Louvre E 10777 created a strange contrast in the use of the textual meaning and material.³²⁹ Wilfred Gutekunst has classified them into distinct phases, which highlighted how adaptive religious textual materials were within this healing context. Intertextuality is an important framework that shows the creativity inherent in the planning and execution of the healing statues' compositional design. Importantly, as more texts are studied over the variety of healing objects, our ability to study the textual transmission will permit fruitful future studies into intertextuality.

³²⁹ Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen*.

5.7 *Visual opposition*

The discussion in the previous section on intertextuality stressed the symmetrical inscription of Text A and Text B, which indirectly emphasized how the integration of gridline format with the directionality of hieroglyphic signs could build a visual cohesive presentation. Even without spell division lines, the divergent reading directions of the top of the Horus cippi clearly indicated the flow of the textual content. However, when the spell reading directions faced opposite directions, they set up a visual opposition that could be used to create distinct sections of textual layout or areas of added textual meaning. Since healing statues were so saturated with both mythological scenes and textual decorations, the patterns of visual opposition are more easily observed and analyzed.

Textual visual opposition is created when two adjacent columns of texts have different reading directions away from each other. This design is evident in Djedhor (Cairo JE 46341) in the differentiation between the front textual decorative program from the back textual decoration, because where the two sections meet, the signs in the lines of texts have reading directions facing away from each other (see earlier discussion of possible inscription order and priorities in Section 5.3). This sectional division of the gridline format in Djedhor suggests a multi-perspective visual approach to the statue. Specifically, the visual opposition suggests both an approach of the statue from the front (with the functional basin as the basis of approach) and an approach from the back (with the symmetrical textual placements of Text A and Text B). The statue was designed so that the viewers experienced its compositional design from at least these two different perspectives.

In addition, visual opposition could also be used to enhance content. An interesting strategy observable for the “Conflict between Re and Apophis” spell on Djedhor is the creation of a visual opposition between lines on the combat between Re and Apophis (Jelínková-Reymond, section 2 line 26-30) and lines on the negation of the venom (Jelínková-Reymond, section 2 line 31-34). In this situation, the text portions are facing opposing directions because the first section is read from

right to left and the second section is read from left to right. Because, the text content is continuous between the two sections, this continuous progression within the spell text builds a visual opposition that mirrors the spell content.

In the spell, the usage of this visual opposition helped to structure the mythological episode presented on the body of Djedhor in contrast to the centerpiece healing of the Horus Cippus. Here, the combat narrative was placed on the body (right shins and thigh) of the statue, whereas the more forceful negation—and the more formulaic spell text—was placed on the side of the Horus Cippus. Specifically, the second portion of the spell text stressed the negation of the venom and uses a dramatic formula to tap into the power of the god Horus in repelling the venom.³³⁰ There is religious efficaciousness stemming from the close proximity to the Horus Cippus, and therefore, the placement of the second part of the spell on the cippus itself was entirely appropriate. The visual opposition is a structural demarcation and a content one, which builds emphasis for the display of the spell onto the healing statue.

This example of visual opposition is an interesting example used in displaying the texts on the statue in a way that acknowledges the religious spell content. While the practitioners of these objects may not always notice or highlight how the intentional spell layout was especially meaningful, this strategy showed how actors in the statue design or production process may have understood this nuanced reference to textual content to be significant in building the statue's religious efficacy.

5.8 *Textual wrapping*

³³⁰ Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 30.

The layout design of textual inscriptions could also take into account the physical use of the object, and this is best exemplified in textual wrapping. Textual wrapping is the placement of textual inscriptions around the three-dimensional object. This visual strategy, when used on healing objects, can prescribe ritual movement through the reading of the textual inscription.³³¹ There are two related effects that this ritual movement entails: 1) the movement from organization of the text that charges the object with its religious efficacy and 2) the movement of the practitioner in the ritual use of the religious object. Thus, movement is the central key to the whole enterprise of meaning-creation for the object, because it unveils the relationship of how religious efficacy is tied to use. In this way, textual wrapping is functionally different than the saturation of textual and mythological scenes onto healing statues and Horus Cippi.

To begin, this strategic placement of spells is perhaps most clearly illustrated by examining the spell “Isis and Horus the Child” on the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85). The placement of this spell on the Metternich Stela wraps around the object in such a way that a reader of the text would have to move around the object three times in order to read the spell from beginning to end. The spell begins on the second horizontal row (line 168)³³² on the top of the base of the stela and continues for three more rows on the top of the base (Figure 5.13). Then, the text continues onto the front of the base in vertical columns. After moving from right to left across 25 columns (lines 172-196) (Figure 5.14), the text continues on the right side of the base, moving from right to left across 11 columns (lines 197-207). Then, the text continues on the back side of the base, moving from right to left across 25 columns (lines 208-232), before moving from right to left across the 11

³³¹ Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs were meant to be read into the face of the signs. The signs themselves had directional value and were meant to mimic or create movement on behalf of the reader. This has been studied in tomb inscriptions, such as in James Allen’s study of the Old Kingdom burial chamber of Unis. James P. Allen, “Reading a Pyramid,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, ed. Catherine Berger, Gisèle Clerc, and Nicolas Grimal, vol. 1, 4 vols. (Le Caire: Institut français d’archéologie orientale, 1994), 5–28.

³³² The line numbers in this section follow the ordering created by Sander-Hansen. Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*.

columns on left side of the base (lines 233-243) (Figure 5.15). At this point, the text has completely wrapped around all four sides of the base.

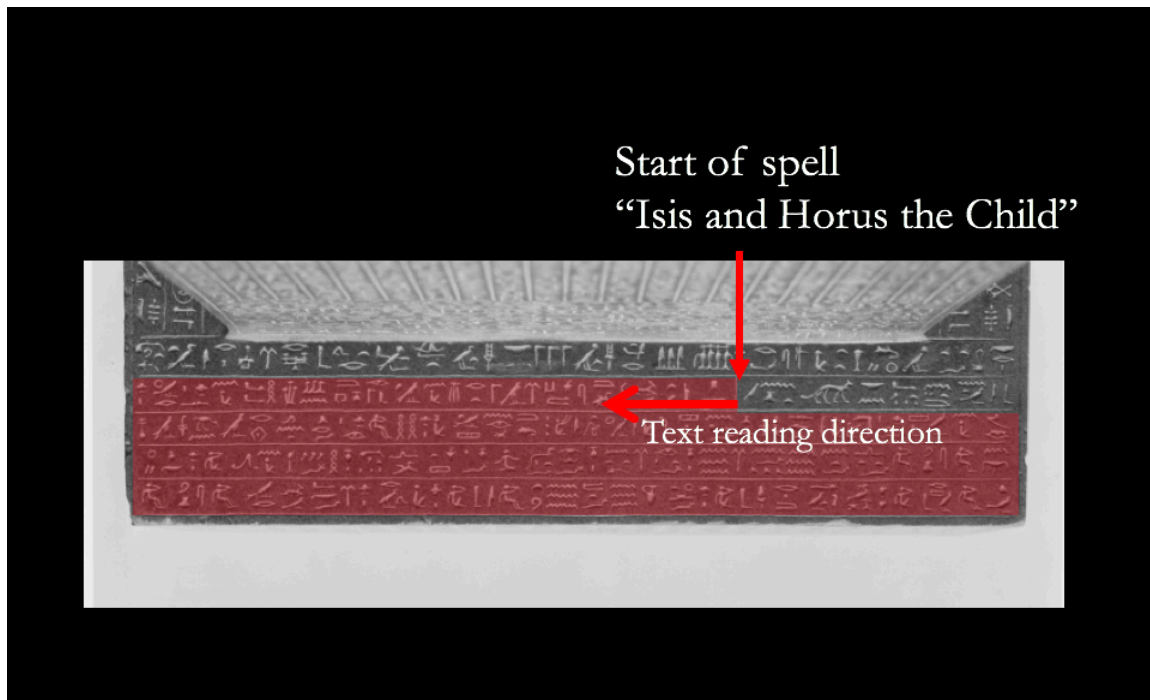


Figure 5.13. Top of the base of the Metternich Stela. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950. The start of the spell “Isis and Horus the Child” starts at the red arrow. Photo Credit: The Met’s website.

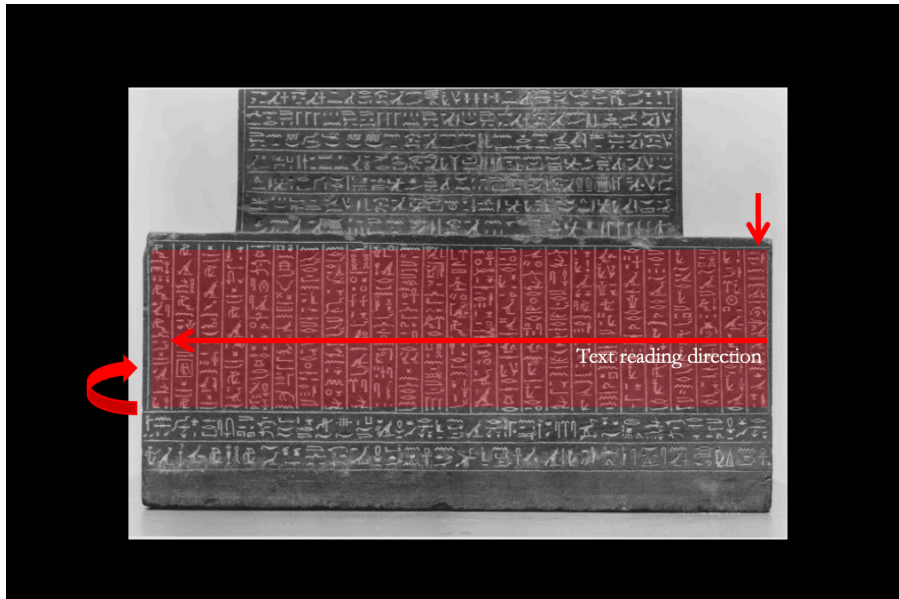


Figure 5.14. Front of the base of the Metternich Stela. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950. The spell continues in vertical columns from right to left before continuing onto the right side of the stela. Photo Credit: The Met's website.

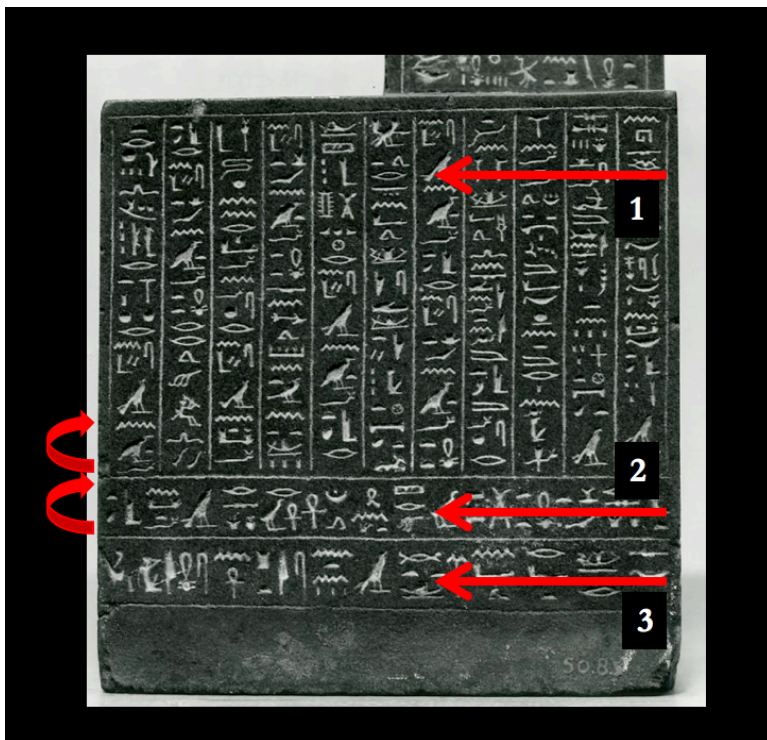


Figure 5.15. Left side of the base of the Metternich Stela. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950. The spell progresses from (1) the vertical columns from right to left, then encircles the piece before continuing onto (2) the top horizontal row below the columns. Then it encircles the piece again before continuing onto (3) the second horizontal row. Photo Credit: The Met's website.

The spell text then shifts to the horizontal row below the vertical columns on the left side of the base (line 244) before returning to the horizontal row on the front of the base (line 245). Next, the text continues around to the horizontal row on the right side of the base (line 246) and then to the horizontal row on the back of the base (line 247). At this point, the text has completely wrapped around all four sides of the base a second time. The text continues to the lower horizontal row on the back of the base (line 248) and then wraps around the left side (line 249), the front side (line 250), and ends on the right side of the stela (line 251). In all, the textual wrapping for this particular spell prescribes circumambulation around the stela three times. Furthermore, this ritual prescription could also be indicative of the pace of the ritual. The first encircling requires reading more text, since the surface area of the densely inscribed columns is much larger than each of the horizontal rows. This means that the second and third encircling would potentially be faster, since only one horizontal row is read in each of these subsequent circumambulations. Understanding the strategic function of this format is essential for the study of Egyptian ritual activity and how textual sources are organized to build religious efficacy.

Using textual wrapping as a visual strategy is more complicated on a healing statue. To be sure, the layout of the text plays a role in the function (as demonstrated in Section 5.5, 5.6, and 5.7), but because a healing statue is more multi-dimensional than Horus cippi (such as the Metternich Stela), the adaptation is not as explicitly clear. Healing statues do not have completely smooth, flat surfaces for inscriptions, and there are more viewing perspectives for the textual inscriptions due to the nature of how they account for the bodily contours of a statue. Therefore, visual wrapping and its relationship to ritual movement deviates from solely circumambulations around the religious object. On Leiden F 1950/8.2, the placement of the same spell of Isis and Horus the Child also uses textual wrapping to highlight movement around the statue. The inscription of the spell begins on “section c” between the two feet of the statue, then continues onto sections “d” and “e” on the top

of the base, then onto section “f” on the right side of the base, and then finally onto section “g” on the backside of the base.³³³ This directed movement across specific areas of the statue is done through the reading direction and sequence of the textual inscription.

Textual wrapping could also be used to build visual effect, not just to prescribe ritual movement. The way that the gridlines were laid out on Turin 3030 (see Section 5.1) builds a visual effect distinctive for private statuary. The mapping of the textual inscriptions onto the body of the statue dictated a movement for the textual reading. Specifically, there is an upward flow that radiated from the “Adoration of Amun” scene on the front of the statue. The movement across the shoulders and onto the back side is laid out in a manner that framed the back pillar. This radiation of the text was a visual aesthetic that emerged from the textual inscriptions following the statue contours. This visual strategy supported the coherency and interlocking nature of the compositional design through establishing a visual aesthetic.

Textual wrapping as a ritual visual strategy functioned both for individuals who can read the text and those who did not or could not. The readers of the texts could appreciate the direct acts of movement prescribed by the layout, whereas the non-readers of the texts could have only appreciated the texts visually. On the statue of Ankhhap (Cairo J.E. 41677), the columns of textual inscriptions wrapped around the front of the statue in a sideways manner (Figure 5.16). Indeed, while there is no textual division line straight down the center of the front of the statue, there is a clear split in the textual layout, because the sequences of hieroglyphic signs face opposing directions (toward right and left). For the semi-literate reader of hieroglyphs,³³⁴ this layout orientation may have been jarring given that the columns were usually laid out vertically. Thus, the textual wrapping was

³³³ Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*.

³³⁴ Without a foundational level of hieroglyphic literacy, the viewer may not have found the orientation and layout of the signs jarring.

perhaps intended to instill such an effect in order to draw extra emphasis to the textual layout density.



Figure 5.16. Front of the statue of Ankhap. Cairo J.E. 41677.
Photo credit: CLES.

Textual wrapping was an important aspect of statuary layout. Because the density of textual inscriptions on statuary body was an innovation for this object type, the examination of the content and aesthetic decisions in the textual applications is especially important. Moreover, there was often evidence of ritual movement in how texts were applied, and this reveals how action was integrated into design.

5.9 Textual framing

Textual framing is a design layout strategy that uses textual inscriptions as a border to create emphasis. Framing is the intentional visual strategy that creates emphasis around a religious image.

This can be created through a physically elevated structural border around a religious image, but it could also be done through iconographic images or texts. It is important to note that framing goes beyond the simple use of texts as a decorative pattern and that the framing strategies discussed here are not just decorative borders. Framing has the power to emphasize religious meaning and protect a central image.

Textual framing, in particular, expresses ideology or religious meaning. Framing is evocative of an Egyptian shrine or naos and can thus establish a protective relationship for the religious image. This visual strategy, then, reinforces a shrine-like protection. For instance, on the funerary stela of Pa-inmu (MMA 66.99.67) the central figures of Pa-inmu and his father were depicted frontally in high raised relief. These figures, the central religious image depicted on this object, were framed by a band of inscribed text. While the inscribed text is simply the Egyptian offering formula, which is commonly found on funerary objects to allow the deceased to partake in offerings, the layout of the text enshrined Pa-inmu and his father to evoke protection. While this stela is not a healing object, it illustrates how framing can be used in creating religious emphasis and meaning. These texts are more than border texts, because the content of the inscriptions provided an added layer of religious meaning for the enshrined image. The textual framing of the inscribed offering formulae accentuated the religious focus of this image and presented Pa-inmu and his father as the primary benefactors of a mortuary cult. Here, the visual design reinforced the religious function of the object. The framing also protected the figures by setting it apart in the same way that naoi protected divine images.

Similarly, framing is used frequently on healing objects to add a layer of religious meaning and protection to the central religious image of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. One clear example is the framing used on the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85). The frame of the central scene is raised from the main plane of the front surface plane of the stela. The physical frame itself protrudes

out from the rest of the surface significantly, so great effort was required to carve away the areas above and below the frame to create this raised physical frame. This intentional elevation creates an automatic visual emphasis on the central image of the stela.

This frame around the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif on the Metternich Stela adopts both textual and image religious decorations. The top and bottom registers of the Metternich Stela's frame comprise of images of deities and religious decorations identifiable to us through their iconographies. Some of these images are simply of deities or religious symbols; others are references to mythological episodes. The left and right sides of the frame were inscribed with hieroglyphic texts with narrow recesses on the outward facing sides. The side on the viewer's right side was inscribed with a recitation by the god Thoth whereas the side on the viewer's left side was inscribed with a recitation by the goddess Isis. In these inscriptions, these two deities affirmed their commitment to protecting Horus, but also any other suffering man. Therefore, this broadened the appeal and healing potential of the stela from a mythological episode into a useful prescription for any injured person. The texts, in essence, outlined the function of the religious object.

The framing around this central scene foregrounds it as the most potent image on the stela and establishes the gods in the scene—Isis, Re-Horakhty, Horus-upon-the-crocodiles, and Thoth—as a formal group. In this instance, the frame also ties the texts with the religious images together. It highlights the interrelationship of text and image in providing a summary for how this object functions. Also, the framing is evocative of a naos that enshrines the frontal Horus figure. Since Egyptian naoi protected divine figures or images, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles image is in turn protected. This is an important added quality, because the protection is necessary for a divine image, and more so because the Horus child was especially vulnerable. Thus, the framing around this central image serves an important religious function for the central image.

In addition, naos-bearing statues display a reciprocal relationship between the bearer and the deity enshrined. The individual carrying the naos is protecting the deity with his arms, and in turn, he receives the protection of the god. The bearer is performing an intimate service for the divine and receives offerings alongside the deity. The bearer becomes part of the offering cult. Thus, by protecting the image of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles with a frame, the commissioners of these objects are in turn being protected. But the context is different for healing objects, because the commissioners are injecting themselves into a healing cult practice. As the injured use these objects for healing, they are engaging with both the Horus mythology and the commissioner. This concept becomes more evident in healing statues, since the commissioner himself is rendered as a statue holding the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles image.

Two examples of Type II healing statues are healing statues that are carrying an enshrined naos. These naophorous statues retain a fragmentary preservation of the naos and there are textual inscriptions preserved on the naos. On Stockholm NME 076, the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles scene is clearly framed within the naos, with the front side inscribed with both texts and carved standards flanking Horus. The top, sides, and even bottom of the naos are inscribed with three running columns of text. Thus, in addition to the physical framing of the naos structure, the added textual framing further accentuates both the importance of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif and the protection of the image. On the statue of Ankhhap (Cairo J.E.41677), the central image has been lost, but the outline of the frame remains. There are textual inscriptions on the preserved portions of the naos, and the texts likely framed the naos as a textual wrapping.

The textual inscriptions on the naos of naophorous statues are especially significant in building their meaning and display. In John Baines's compositional study of the statue of Udjahorresne, he has argued that the most important texts were inscribed at the front and near the

naos (see Section 3.6).³³⁵ This intentional placement in design prioritized the prayers and religious texts that framed the naos, and as such, meaning was built both visually and through the content. The clear priority ascribed to the religious potential of the central divine image, and the framing of the text was not just fitting texts to any available surface. Instead, the textual selection was intentional and directed.

Most healing statues, however, are not naos-bearing statues but they could still adopt a similar use of textual framing. Stela-bearing statues are more common. On these, the sides of the stela were inscribed with columns of textual inscriptions. The textual framing on the stelae held by healing statues was inscribed in a similar manner as the framing on the naos held by healing statues. When comparing Type II standing stelophorous statues such as Louvre E 10777 with the Type II naophorous statues such as Stockholm NME 076, it is clear that the outer surfaces of the held object were inscribed with texts. Both examples of textual framing were being used to emphasize the central image of the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif. On these stela bearing statues, the use of the textual frame around the outer sides of the stela provided an intentional strategy to mimic the protection normally provided by the naos. This was an adaptation of the same visual strategy in creating meaning. This intentionality becomes clear when we examine the choice of the texts inscribed and the inscription manner.

The use of textual framing on stelophorous healing statues could be linked to spell text selection. For example, on Turin 3031, the preserved sections do clearly illustrate the textual framing around the stela. On this healing statue, textual framing is evident through the intentional placement of Text A and Text B that links their complementary relationship. Text A was inscribed on the middle of the top of the stela above the image of Horus-upon-the-crocodiles. The text continues

³³⁵ Baines, “On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne.”

down the left side of the stela, skipping over the hand of the statue and continues down the length of the stela. The text continues back at the top of the stela and then continues down the second column. The inscription follows a similar pattern for the remaining portion of the left side of the stela. Text B was inscribed on the right side of the stela and follows a similar inscription pattern. The text begins on the middle of the top of the stela and then continues down the right side. Thus, there is a symmetrical textual placement between Texts A and B on the stela. Because the theological themes of these two texts complemented one another (see Section 5.6), this textual placement around the stela framed the central image of Horus-upon-the-crocodiles as especially meaningful and balanced. Here, text A highlighted the completed healing of Horus, whereas Text B highlighted a continued renewal. The spell texts functioned together with the central image, and through framing, they also connoted protective qualities to the overall design. Such a layout design strategy reinforced the proximity between the individual and the divine image. Yet, the frame also served as boundary that maintained the separation between the individual and the divine. While there existed a desire to approach the divine in Egyptian religion, direct contact was itself an impossible act. Thus, the protective textual frame provided the individual with the closest possible approach to the divine image. Within this context, then, the textual framing both highlighted the emphasis of the central scene and also contributed to the object's overall religious function.

In sum, framing is one layout design strategy that could be used to contribute to religious meaning for healing objects. On healing statues, the central Horus-upon-the-crocodiles image could be framed in a variety of ways. The image could be encased in a naos or textually framed by the intentional complementary placements of texts. All of these methods of framing helped to reinforce the religious potency of the central image and provided a degree of protection for it. The visual frames brought together an understanding of reciprocal protection that was desirable for these types of statuary. More importantly, framing further supported the idea that the religious efficacy of these

objects was supported by careful placements of textual inscriptions and religious decorations. Framing worked in combination with the other design strategies in creating these functional religious objects.

5.10 Functioning of text and image

The compositional designs of healing statues showed that distinct layout design strategies were used in the application of religious knowledge onto the statuary surfaces. Design was intentional and the purposeful applications endowed the statues with their religious power. Thus far, I have discussed text and image as divorced elements in design, since for healing statues, there were certainly elements of intericonicity and intertextuality at play. However, text and image always worked in combination in Egyptian art and Egyptian religion. As Valérie Angenot described, “Egyptians considered text and image as complementary and working on similar bases and principles, only producing full meaning when associated with each other.”³³⁶ Indeed, both the texts and images on healing statues were religious content that worked in conjunction to create meaning for these statues. They were part of the same strategic program to ensure that these statues worked. For instance, this relationship between text and image was clear from the instructions associated with magical practices. After all, many magical texts were intended to be spoken over images as part of the ritual act (see Section 3.3). In this section, my goal is to highlight how text and image were interrelated on healing statues’ decorations and how this relationship sometimes adopted visual strategies in combination. In turn, I hope to illustrate that the adoption of sacred content onto healing statues was part of a coherent design program that recognized this relationship between text and image in placement and in the creation of religious efficacy.

³³⁶ Valérie Angenot, “Semiotics and Hermeneutics,” in *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*, ed. Melinda K. Hartwig (Chichester, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 100.

The simplest relationship between text and image is when the image directly illustrates what the spell text describes. For instance, on Stockholm NME 076, the central image on the healing statue's chest is the "Isis of Akhbit" scene (see discussion in Section 4.4.3), which describes the mythological narrative when Horus the Child was injured and was then healed by the god Thoth. Inscribed directly below this scene are columns of the spell text "Thoth's Spell for Horus," which uses the dramatic formula (with Thoth as the speaker) to prescribe the healing of Horus. This prescription reminds Horus that each part of his body is intact, powerful, and has cosmological references. The spell text relates to the scene, because it is the dramatic narrative speech of Thoth during this healing incident. However, this direct relationship between text and image is often not reflected in healing statue design.

There are also thematically related relationships between text and image layout. This is evident in the placement of Text A and Text B on or near the Horus Cippus (or Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif) (see Section 5.6). This is a thematic relationship, because the depicted subject in the image does not illustrate a mythological event within the spell text. Instead, the depicted image illustrates a figure or scene related to the spell text. Arguably, many of the texts and images on healing statues relate directly to healing practices, but the thematic relationship refers to an analogous comparison similar to intericonicity or intertextuality in associating meaning.

However, often there is not a direct or even thematic relationship between the text and image. Instead, the prevailing organizational lines that structure the layout seem to dominate the design. In other words, the layout of the text and images was dictated by the predetermined lines that are laid out over the statues. For instance, Type II healing statues, the most common typological model, have a general structural division between the text and image in terms of where these elements are placed. Images were primarily placed on the front chest of the statue and along each side in registers. Similarly, the back pillar was organized into registers of images on many statues.

However, beyond these broad patterns that one could draw regarding the application of the text and image, there were no further relationships between the content of the texts and what was depicted in the images. Thus, the organizational layout was the forefront of the statues' visual presentation. This configuration also stressed the extent to which flexibility was key in the compositional design. The various actors in the statue production process (commissioners, designers, creators, and the depicted) with similar and opposing stakes in the design adapted and compromised in their application of religious content onto healing statues.

Therefore, I think that it is necessary to consider the interplay of the text and image decoration from how they are applied structurally to the organization of information found on statues. In considering how the actors in the production process were able to manipulate organization, space, form, and the visual perspective of these statues, it is important to keep in mind that the inscriptions of texts and carvings of images on statuary bodies were fundamentally novel. This density of decoration was a visual development from how statues had been decorated and inscribed in Egyptian society. The designers' and creators' new approach in adapting religious content to the materiality of private statues was undoubtedly a new engagement with how text and image within religious thought. The bodies of the represented became the intermediary between the religious content and the petitioners, but they also became the negotiators between the text and image. In the previous discussion of images (see Section 4.4), one common thread in the adaptability of images was that the basic visual recognizability (the presence of "core elements") of a scene or deity was the most important factor in all variations. In this vein, religious materials should perhaps be seen, first and foremost, through the lens of the utility: how were they functional? Functional efficacy could only work if each constituent part (image and text) was recognized as efficacious individually as an element and then, collectively, as part of a constellation. The visual strategies were important adaptive strategies, because they tied these applications of texts and images together on

the statues' bodies. The represented individuals were placed at the center of this equation, and the design prioritized the priests and ritualists. In addition, these strategies revealed how the Egyptians themselves worked with the religious materials, understood them, and applied them to materiality. It is only through this lens that we are able to approach an understanding of how ritual power was created.

5.11 Concluding thoughts: Strategies in creating efficacy through textual layout

The application of texts onto Egyptian statuary was done in strategic ways to heighten the visual potency of the design so that the statues were religiously efficacious. There was a careful curation of the depicted religious knowledge, and these curated displays of textual materials were how the designers of these healing statues heightened efficacy. Texts were a clear way to advertise the possession of religious knowledge, and the density of their application on healing statues is a display of abundance and access. Importantly, primacy was given to the visual effect, and therefore the layout and placement of the texts was extremely important in creating meaning.

Many visual strategies could be observed in the application of healing spells onto healing statues. From an examination of some of the common spells found on these statues (Section 5.2), I demonstrated that there were inherently more desirable or useful spells for this religious type, but a future study of the textual transmission history would provide us with clearer understanding of the text selections themselves. Therefore, my approach was centered on examining the layout structure of the texts on the statues and analyzing placement in creating meaning. From this basis, I observed that gridlines on the statues were instrumental in building a visual effect that is central to the use and effectiveness of these statues. These structuring elements are extremely revealing of both the design and visual priorities, but also show the flexibility inherent in the production process of these statues. Then, I explored how strategies like content-based placement (Section 5.5), intertextuality (Section

5.6), visual opposition (Section 5.7), textual wrapping (Section 5.8), and textual framing (Section 5.9) were used in building the religious function of the magical healing spells onto materiality. Textual placement was often as meaningful as the spell contents themselves. In sum, ritual activity was embedded within the social and material context of display.

Furthermore, within this process, pragmatism and flexibility were a key part of the design and creation. Every healing statue examined within the framework of my analysis shows variation in textual selection, textual application, visual strategies, and relationship with images. Therefore, I conclude that the stress in the compositional design is on individual coherency—this is the prevailing goal for each healing statue. In other words, despite the variants in effective or ineffective adaptations of visual strategies, each healing statue functioned in its own setting. Each statue existed in a system of social rituals and social competition. The textual placements could provide authority and meaning, but each object needed to justify its own religious efficacious function to its audience.

This individuality in healing statue design also reflects the remarkable entrée of the social elites into the private sphere of religious healing. The noteworthy religious development that served as the context for healing statues was not solely in the creation of these objects to function within healing cults, but rather, in how the elites were able to entangle themselves within these practices to further their own commemoration. The actors in the statue production process, especially the commissioners, were experts in adapting religious knowledge. In the case of this object type, they were able to channel that expertise for their own, direct benefit, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. The visual strategies outlined here are then used and incorporated into the discussion in the next chapter on how individuals tied their commemoration to religious practice.

6 Chapter 6: Elite Commemoration in Healing Statues

Historical changes during the first millennium B.C.E. allowed new configurations between individuals and the creation of religious objects. The decentralized system of kingship during this period, colored by the constant changes in political leadership, had bolstered local elite's influence over the religious infrastructure of Egypt (see Section 2.1). Local officials, as opposed to royal appointees, were always the ones involved in the maintenance and development of local cult activity, and they prospered in this role during this time period. Undoubtedly, the economic wealth of the temple complexes associated with land ownership cemented the priesthood's power.³³⁷ In particular, the temples of the Delta region exhibited greater priestly initiatives in designing architectural building projects and cultic practices. Given this social environment, display and elite competition are important factors to consider for the emergence, use, and development of healing statues.

As I argued in Chapters 4 "Layout Design of Religious Decorations" and Chapter 5 "Layout Design of Spell Texts", healing statues were carefully designed and created objects. The layout design of religious decorations and textual inscriptions adopted strategies that reinforced the objects' religious authority and efficacy. Given that in addition to the display of religious knowledge, these statues depicted specific elite individuals, then the commissions of healing statues were explicit attempts to present the depicted individuals together with the objects' religious power. By embedding themselves within this healing context, and in many cases as clear activators of the healing practice, these individuals became the sources that the afflicted and injured turned to for healing. There was a highly participatory intent behind the use and function of these statues. The integration of these individuals into this religious context was an innovative way of claiming a new space for elite commemoration.

³³⁷ Lloyd, "The Late Period, 664-323 BC," 301-3.

Furthermore, whether or not the depicted individuals actively participated in the design process, what the commissions and the contexts say about their commissioners also provides a unique perspective into the shifting non-royal elite competition in the design of monuments. The designs not only show how design priorities were manipulated in the creation of religious objects, but also demonstrate the important role of these objects in activating new local cult spaces. The entire process reveals the complex interactions between individuals and objects in Egyptian private religious practices.

Below I explore the developments in statuary that enabled healing statues to take the forms that they did (Section 6.1) and the strategies in layout design that were used to facilitate elite commemoration (Sections 6.3-6.4). By examining textual placement and visual display, we gain a better understanding of how these statues were individualized to serve the represented individual.

6.1 *The context of commemoration*

Elite commemoration has always been a central tenet of the social preparation for the afterlife. The Egyptians believed that the needs for earthly life and the afterlife were the same, and therefore, there were physical spheres and social spheres to both life and death.³³⁸ Therefore, adequate preparations were necessary to ensure a successful afterlife.

To this end, for the physical sphere, they prepared the goods and nourishment that were necessary for the sustenance of life as part of the funerary assemblage. If it was economically feasible for the individual to be provided with real versions of such goods and nourishment, it was provided; if it was less economically feasible, representations were intended to meet the needed supply. For the social sphere, they prepared ways to preserve the deceased's social status in the earthly realm. For

³³⁸ Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 39–63.

example, through false door (or more broadly tomb) inscriptions that preserved the deceased's name and titles. This discourse is most evident in the mortuary realm, where biographies and self-representation were concerted strategies to promote one's social standing.³³⁹ Biographies, often inscribed on the outer facades of tombs or on stelae, are by nature public-facing, manipulated texts and reflect the deceased' idealized presentation of his social capital. This can also be done by manipulating of a known ancestor and claiming their power. In the tomb space, the living continued to interact with these individuals through the exchange of offerings (libations, incense, and other offerings) for the maintenance of mortuary cults or to extract favors that affect the daily lives of the living. These interactions are recorded in the corpus of the letters to the dead and show that they relied on the reciprocal nature of Egyptian religious practices.³⁴⁰

Statues provide a critical avenue for private commemoration in both mortuary and temple spaces. Statues were the extensions of individuals to a specified location (see Section 2.3), and they served an important social role.³⁴¹ In tomb spaces, they provided an opportunity for the living to engage with the image of the deceased. In temple spaces, elite commemoration was interlinked with the erection of commissioned private monuments, such as statues. These commissions advertised a private individual's social contributions within society, set in material monumentality in both explicit (through biographies, titles, inscriptions) and implicit ways (context and use). They were installed in

³³⁹ See Eric Wells' analysis of votive stelae for a discussion on personal piety in stelae dedications and how this relates to social capital. Wells, "Display and Devotion: A Social and Religious Analysis of New Kingdom Votive Stelae from Asyut."

³⁴⁰ Troche, "Letters to the Dead"; Sylvie Donnat Beauquier, *Écrire à Ses Morts: Enquête Sur Un Usage Rituel de l'écrit Dans l'Égypte Pharaonique.*, HOROS (Grenoble: Jérôme Millon, 2014).

³⁴¹ It is important to consider is how one component of personhood, the *ka*, can inhabit statues. These components of personhood were dissociated from the individual at death (described by Jan Assmann as a "dismemberment"), yet each retained individual characteristics that permitted an element of independent functioning. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, 23–38.

accessible portions of temple courtyards or shrines to partake (if only tangentially) in the temple rituals.³⁴² As Elizabeth Froid has observed,

“Statues have distinct and multiple intersecting ontologies. They are manifestations and role-plays of the person they represent, of whom they can describe themselves as substitutes and extensions in a wide variety of ways.”³⁴³

These images of the person represented provided a way to expand oneself through space and time. The statues also had a degree of self-awareness to them, as some include inscriptions asking for expired provisions to be removed.³⁴⁴ This highlights a very sensory, lived observation of their existence within their religious environment. Importantly, components of an individual’s personhood could reside in statuary or objects in the earthly realm, which reinforced the self’s ability to continue to exist.

The aspiration to be remembered could manifest in a variety of ways, but was perhaps most effective as shrines and statues, because these material establishments created loci for developing a cult. Elite commemoration could develop into strong religious cult worship that was tied to the extraordinary efficacy of an individual. This is the case in visible growth of deified humans and apotheosis of exceptional Egyptians that existed since the Old Kingdom. These cults were the forerunners to healing statues. These individuals could continue to play active roles within their

³⁴² See the study by Campbell Price on the private statues found in the Karnak Cachette. Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC).”

³⁴³ Froid, “When Statues Speak about Themselves,” 15.

³⁴⁴ Price, “Materiality, Archaism and Reciprocity: The Conceptualisation of the Non-Royal Statue at Karnak During the Late Period (c. 750-30 BC),” 250–54.

communities through ritual and festival participation, oracles, and even healing.³⁴⁵ As Julia Troche described,

“Individuals within communities were seeking out posthumous privilege, divine access, and assurance of eternal life. Though apotheosis may have been constructed and manipulated for socio-political gains by a few, for the many these local gods became powerful anchors that connected local communities to the divine realm. Their memories were embedded within the cultural fabric that made up these local communities. Whether for a single generation or for a dozen, upon their death these mere mortal men were displayed, worshiped, and called upon as gods.”³⁴⁶

In certain communities, shrines were erected to showcase this apotheosis. For example, the shrine of Heqaib (an expedition leader of the Old Kingdom) at Elephantine became its own pilgrimage site with associated religious relics.³⁴⁷ Later rulers explicitly tied their own commemoration to this initial sacred site in order to attach themselves to Heqaib’s commemoration. Heqaib’s cult was able to thrive, because people continued to rely on him for protection before initiating their expedition journeys southward. Thus, it is through continual ritual participation with the living that commemorated individuals continue to live. The early precedents of prosperous individual cults permitted healing statues to emerge millennia later to establish their own individual cults within the Egyptian healing practices.

³⁴⁵ Alexandra von Lieven, “Deified Humans,” in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, and Elizabeth Froid (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2010), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025k5hz>.

³⁴⁶ Julia Troche, “Origins of Apotheosis in Ancient Egypt” (Providence, Brown University, 2015), 75.

³⁴⁷ Labib Habachi, *Elephantine IV: The Sanctuary of Heqaib*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 33 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1985).

As Troche observed, individual deification was an effective strategy for maintaining a continued presence in the earthly realm because it provided a reason for ritual participation. Short of this, however, the best strategies centered around highlighting participatory relationships with the divine. It is in this participatory strategy for commemoration, within the larger context of strategies for commemoration, that healing statues emerged to situate their depicted within the ritual participation of healing practices. Accordingly, the institution of the priesthood could then build on such individuals and individual cults by connecting and tying themselves into the ritual acts.

The focus on individual identity in healing statues is underlined by the prominent position of titles and names. In general, in ancient Egypt, names and titles determined social prestige in the earthly life and in the hereafter. To be sure, the desire to display one's name prominently is a common thread on many different types of religious objects. On private statuary, of course, the placement of title and name inscriptions are often part of the compositional design (see example of Udjahorresne in Section 3.6). In healing statues, the focus on individual identity was not only a way to extend oneself into a specific space, but also became a concerted strategy to incorporate the individual into the religious function of the statues (see Section 6.4).

6.1.1 Intermediary statues and approaching the divine

Healing statues of the Late period were influenced by the development of religious interactions with statuary in the New Kingdom. Since the New Kingdom, Egyptian private religious practices functioned with the general principle that individuals could have a relationship with the divine. In the use of religious objects, donors thereby tried to adopt a “correct relationship” with the divine that benefited the donor.³⁴⁸ One such example, intermediary statues, served to bridge the divide between private individuals and the divine. These statues became commonplace during the New

³⁴⁸ Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, 349–55.

Kingdom and represented important individuals who, through merit or relationships, have gained access to a special relationship with the divine. Previously, such interactions were largely reserved for the king.³⁴⁹ These intermediary statues served to relay concerns between individuals and the divine as part of private religious practice, but they also mark a new kind of elite commemoration in that they embedded a religious function. They served a particular need by providing indirect access to the divine that circumvented the king. Critically, this was a development in elite commemoration, in that an individual's commemoration became explicitly tied to a religious function serving others.

Intermediary statues were highly participatory objects in that they engaged with the users. These statues speak in the first person in their inscriptions and present themselves as the conveyer of messages to the gods (for example, the inscriptions on the Amenhotep of Hapu statues, such as CGC 44861 and CGC 44862 found at temple gates of the Temple of Amun-Re at Karnak in Thebes). These messages were carried in exchange for a royal offering (*Htp-d-nswt*). This was part of the reciprocal exchange that was part of the transactional nature of Egyptian religion.³⁵⁰ The Ramesside “bald ones” (*iAs/is*) are intermediary statues that call special “attention to their distinctive form, asking for their bald heads to be anointed and their cupped hands to be filled.”³⁵¹ These exceptional individuals had closer proximity to the gods, and it was through this relationship, and the lens of personal piety, that these statues were able to exert themselves socially in their communities. These ritual interactions were intended to activate the statues and they were utilized in

³⁴⁹ To be sure, there are examples of private individuals' insertions of themselves into associations with the divine as early as the late Old Kingdom, as evinced by what Troche refers to as “distinguished dead” (e.g., the governors of Ain Asil), deified dead, or by onomastics. Indeed, many of these individuals had statues commissioned and they may have been called upon as divine intercessors, but these statues exclusively lived in the tomb or in a temple shrine (for the cases of deified dead). However, the creation of public and visible statuary to further these interactions did not occur until the New Kingdom.

³⁵⁰ Specifically, there are also implicit social contracts between the living and the dead that are made apparent in the letters to the dead. Troche, “Letters to the Dead.”

³⁵¹ Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 189–91.

a manner that forced the user to participate with their cult. These intermediary statues highlighted an important insertion of private individuals and their commemoration into relationships with ritual practice.

6.1.2 *Healing statues as a new approach to commemoration*

Healing statues were involved in the elite commemoration of the depicted individuals, and they achieved this by positioning themselves as the actors of Egyptian healing practices. The element of commemoration was a departure from other intermediary statues because, unlike those statues, healing statues were not completely dependent on a close relationship with the gods.³⁵² To be sure, some personal piety with local gods was likely a priority for these elites. For instance, in his biography, Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) described his dedication to his local temple of Athribis. However, these participatory connections with gods were not the primary strategy that healing statues used to ensure their commemoration. Instead, healing statues connected users to the religious mythological precedents decorated and inscribed onto their surfaces. It is through this latter connection that healing statues promoted the continual ritual actions that support the depicted individual's commemoration. After all, as users continued to use healing statues for private healing, they were engaging with the statues of these private individuals for religious functions.³⁵³

This is a new method of commemoration, because while other religious objects were only dedicated to individuals, healing statues place the depicted individual at the center of the cultic

³⁵² The ritualists' proximity to power, however, was likely important in sponsoring the use of healing statues.

³⁵³ In a way, this pattern is reminiscent of how kings placed themselves within the ritual landscapes to ensure their own commemoration through participation with ritual and festival practices. For example, see the study of the Valley Festival. Masashi Fukaya, *The Festivals of Opet, the Valley, and the New Year: Their Socio-Religious Functions*, vol. 28, Archaeopress Egyptology (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019).

practices. This is a profound reorientation, because the healing statues were installed in ritual spaces that they themselves defined. Traditionally, the dedications found on religious objects, such as on Horus cippi, described the commission and its purpose. For example, on the Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85), the priest Esatum described how he renewed the religious writings and installed it for his mother, for suffocating individuals, and for the gods.³⁵⁴ This description listed Esatum's intent and indirectly affirmed his achievement and generosity in setting up such a monument. In turn, it is implied that his social standing was improved by such an act. The contrast in the healing statues' adoption of commemoration was that it placed the elite individual directly into this setting of healing. Users of the Metternich Stela only came across Esatum's dedication if they were literate and could find the dedicatory inscriptions on its reverse side; users of healing statues were forced to engage visually with the private individuals depicted in a highly participatory way. There was no doubt that there was an individual behind each healing statue and that the healing practices were tied to their cult.

To be sure, there are textual inscriptions on healing statues that are simple dedications similar to those on other religious objects, however they remain secondary in importance. For example, on the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341), the purpose of the statue is outlined on the left side of the base, in a section that describes Djedhor's celebration as "Savior" (*Sd*). There is undoubtedly an attempt, at least in the framework of Egyptological understanding of this relationship, that his "name would be preserved, remembered and spoken by the people who had recourse to it, and that they would recite an offering prayer for him."³⁵⁵ This was the longstanding

³⁵⁴ This short dedication inscription is found on the back side of the stela, immediately above the base. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 63.

³⁵⁵ Ockinga, "A Magical Plate in the Museum of Ancient Cultures, Macquarie University: A Tool of Trade of An Ancient Egyptian Medico-Magical Practitioner," 255.

procedure for interactions with private statuary and it ensured that the individual was remembered in their community. Djedhor had many achievements that he accomplished for his community: he reburied the mummified sacred falcons at Athribis, reorganized the temple structure, and rebuilt the Wabet (purification place) within the temple precinct. Yet all these biographical details are only secondary to the primary healing function of the statue and the ritual activity that it created, because these details were relegated to the statue base, whereas most of the religious decorations and inscriptions were on the statue or the top of the base.³⁵⁶ Furthermore, healing and ritual activities were likely evident through the visual cues understandable to the majority of users, but the dedicatory and biographical information were only understandable to the literate. In sum, healing statues offered a new method of commemoration that was bold in its injection into a new space of ritual activity.

Within all of this, the living practitioners and ritualists who managed the use of healing statues were placed at the center of the healing practices and commemorative acts. The setup, of stressing Djedhor or the god Horus as the “savior” within the healing context, shifted responsibility for the healing simultaneously away and toward the living ritualists. If the healing was unsuccessful, the represented individual or the god received the blame, and if the healing was successful, the ritualists was congratulated (and likely paid) for effectively channeling the power of the statues.

The novel commemoration offered by these statues was derived from the power of restricted religious knowledge and meaning, as evident from the layout and visual strategies discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Indeed, the central goal of this section is to analyze the individualizing strategies that were used in the adaptation of religious power and meaning. In other words, because the layout designs were so intentionally constructed to create meaning, how then, did

³⁵⁶ The only exception is in the placement of Djedhor’s name and titulary on his chest. This is discussed below in Section 6.3.

the strategies also tie in to, or further, the commemoration of the depicted individual? The linkage, not just between text and image (see Section 5.10), but also with commemoration, showcases the concurrent function of healing statues to serve the individual who is depicted. This commemoration was not simply a remembrance of the individual's social standing; instead, it was an active engagement with religious knowledge to situate the individual within an active religious practice. Visitors interacted with these statues, poured water over them, and were healed through the magical practices that they supported. In turn, these individual cults were maintained, and the depicted individuals were commemorated.

6.2 Commissioners and the represented

The donors and commissioners of healing statues were the main players in selecting or creating the strategies used for elite commemoration on individual statues. While the discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 were primarily focused on the designers and creators of the healing statue production process, it is important to not lose sight of the fact that healing statues were commissioned objects. As such, they were developed by, and functioned within, the larger social background that was both highly competitive and hierarchical. In the first millennium B.C.E., this context of elite activity was dominated by local priests who controlled the religious knowledge and practices of Egyptian temples. These priests likely were actors within the statue production process and maintained this influence over the cult and continued use of the statues.

There was both a tension and an interrelationship between the commissioner and the represented individual. They could be the same individual, as elites did commission their own statues. However, they could also be different actors with different interests within the production process. For example, as the statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) revealed, the priest Wahibre commissioned this statue and tied his own commemoration to the healing cult around Djedhor (see

Section 2.3.1). The priestly dynamics and engagement with these practices are especially interesting because they highlight how religious knowledge and religious practice were tied to broader economic, political, and social factors.

The fragmentary status of healing statues complicates the study of self-representation for healing statues. While the names and titles are sometimes preserved, there are few extensive biographies preserved on healing statues. Indeed, if the model for the statue of Djedhor was an archetypical sample, then it is likely that most of the biographical details regarding the depicted individual and their commissioners were recorded on the bases of the statues. The statue of Djedhor, in its remarkable state of preservation, presents clear details about the historical nature of his time, his achievements, and his position within the healing cult in which he became established. Julia Troche has argued that efficacy in life was translated into special statuses in death for the deified dead, and a similar concept could apply for healing statues.³⁵⁷ This is, to be sure, difficult to prove given that the inscriptions and religious decorations on healing statues prioritize communication through visual display over the actual textual content. Logically, though, the very donation of a statue implies a belief in the depicted person's efficacy, since it explains their selection.

Nevertheless, all healing statues were individualized for the person they represented. There are individualizing markers that were conceived of alongside the design of the religious imagery and textual material, and the placement of these markers follows similar visual strategies. The meanings of placement can be significant, and with a similar logic, visual and display prominence are important characteristics for assessing their function to serve the commemoration of the commissioners and represented.

³⁵⁷ Troche, "Origins of Apotheosis in Ancient Egypt."

6.3 *Strategic placement of individualizing markers*

The goal of elite commemoration was central to the design of healing statues, and one way this was achieved was by including individualizing markers. Healing statues were thought to be efficacious religious objects, which derived their religious power through a combination of the text and image on their surfaces. However, the integration of the elite identity within this religious potency is also revealed through both the depiction of the individual in the overall shape of the statue and in the strategic placement of these individualizing texts that include the name, titles, and biographical details. Importantly, these individualizing markers also help to prevent the reuse of these objects.

Individualizing markers on private statuary were common for establishing the ownership or significance of an individual. For example, as John Baines illustrated that on the statue of Udjahorresne (Vatican 22690), there was a concerted effort to tie the prominence of the naos to the “core statements of a traditional biography” of Udjahorresne the individual (see Section 3.6).³⁵⁸ The designer of the Udjahorresne statue understood the strategic significance of selectively placing Udjahorresne’s name, titles, and biographical details, and this attempt at making the individual more visible reveals the importance of these core individualizing components to commemoration and the overarching purpose of the statue.

The placements of individualizing components were determined by their visual and religious significance. Unlike Udjahorresne, where the centrality of the naos marked the prime location for the placement of his social identity,³⁵⁹ on healing statues, the central Horus Cippus (and Horus-upon-the-crocodile) was not thought of as the prime location for the placement of elite identities. Instead, the most common placement for identifying markers is on the front and upper portions of

³⁵⁸ Baines, “On the Composition and Inscriptions of the Vatican Statue of Udjahorresne,” 90.

³⁵⁹ The texts describe Udjahorresne’s accomplishments and his appeal to the living to preserve his name.

the body, notably visible prominent locations. This is a familiar concern—after all, textual placement based on spell content was used in the layout design of spell texts (see Section 5.5.).

On the Type III block statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341), Djedhor's name and titles were placed in visually prominent locations like on his chest and on the back pillar. The titles on the chest were inscribed in 11 columns directly above Djedhor's folded arms. Given that the statue is approximately 65 centimeters tall and placed on a base with a height of 31 centimeters, any individual over a meter tall would have had a higher viewing vantage point on the statue.³⁶⁰ Thus, the viewing angle at this height makes Djedhor's name and titles visually prominent for the user of the statue, and in addition, the location is one onto which water could have been poured. This individualizing section was completely bordered by the magical texts and mythological images that form the statue's religious efficacy, meaning that Djedhor's social accomplishments were intertwined with the religious efficacy of the religious knowledge depicted on the statue.

On the back pillar, Djedhor's titles were also placed strategically within the textual layout program. There were five columns of inscribed texts on the statue's back pillar: the central column was inscribed with Djedhor's titles, the two columns on the left (viewer's and statue's) were inscribed with the first part of Text A, and the two columns on the right (viewer's and statue's) were inscribed with the first part of Text B.³⁶¹ The initial portions of both Text A and Text B flanked Djedhor's titles and radiated from it (i.e., the reading direction face the central column; Text A was read from right to left, while Text B was read from left to right) (Figure 6.1). The focal point of the titulary reflected how this individual marker was sandwiched between these important spell texts central to healing. Djedhor was therefore claiming his elite commemoration in this space, within the textual tradition, both visually and religiously.

³⁶⁰ Assuming that the base is not further elevated.

³⁶¹ Text A and Text B continue onto the statue's left and right sides, respectively.

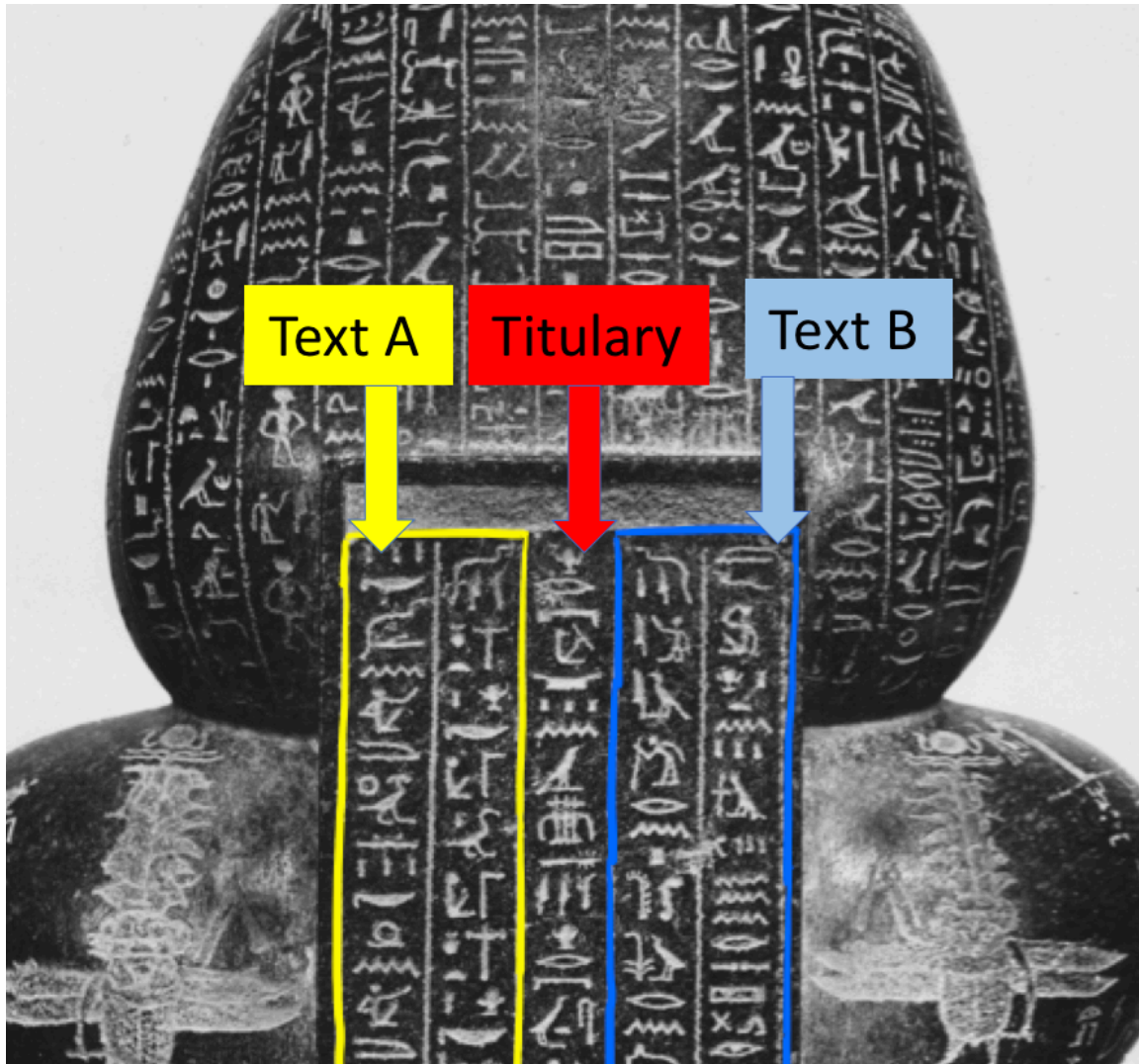


Figure 6.1. Back Pillar of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Photo credit: CLES.

Linking the individualizing component not just to the texts, but also to the active religious function was also central to the strategic design. This religious interlinking on the healing statue of Djedhor was tied to the flow of water over the statue during a ritual activation. The strategic placement of Djedhor's individualizing components on the statue's chest ensured that the user would see his titles or possibly have poured water that would come into direct physical contact with his inscriptions. This was an adaption of the contagious magic that was fundamental to the efficacy of the interaction between the water and the religious object (see Section 3.5). The intended

interaction between the ritual water and Djedhor's individualizing markers is most evident on the base. Djedhor's titles were also placed directly at the slit in four columns where the water would flow into the basin.³⁶² The charged waters poured over the statue would have flown down the statue, across the surface depression of the base and across Djedhor's titles before collecting in the basin (Figure 6.2). In this setup, the water was guaranteed to come into contact with his titles before it could be used by the afflicted. This was a careful strategy by Djedhor to incorporate his social accomplishments into the religious efficacy of the magical text tradition and the concept of contagious magic. In turn, Djedhor became the important catalyst for the healing practice.

³⁶² Again, Djedhor's titles are also sandwiched between two well-known healing texts: Spell of Isis and Horus the Child (Section 5.2.3) and Legend of the Cat.



Figure 6.2. Detail of the statue of Djedhor. Cairo J.E. 46341.
Note the placement of Djedhor's titles before the slit that allows water to flow into the basin. Photos credit: CLES.

Importantly, these strategic placements of titles (patron, priestly elite identity) visually and religiously furthered the personal commemoration of elite individuals. These inscriptions were part of the contagious magic equation for the users, but they also acted to ensure the continual survival of the depicted individual. By tying himself to a ritual practice that intended to solve a health crisis, Djedhor in turn receives continual healing. Similar to the intermediary statues, these ritual objects were highly participatory in intent. The statue owner, Djedhor, was inherently a part of this healing equation. Through this, a new model of commemoration was then embraced.

The placement of biographical description was front and center on the statue base, an explicit choice that highlighted the importance of the accomplishments for establishing Djedhor's

societal status. This strategy was also evident on the Type III statue of Horkhebe (Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319), where Horkhebe placed his name, titles, and images of himself on the front side of the statue in a symmetrical arrangement on each side of the Horus Cippus. There is a visual juxtaposition here, since his two images are on the same visual line as Horus the child. As is evident in the strategic placement of his name and titles on the chest of the Djedhor statue, these individualizing markers were as significant as the restricted religious materials when it came to placement. The designers and creators of these statues adapted these important markers into appropriate and strategically meaningful areas of the statue.

6.4 *Speaking the spell texts*

Magical texts were meant to be recited aloud. The speech act recognizes their religious potency and is the process by which the ritual activity is initiated (see Section 3.4). The designers of healing statues recognized this potency and integrated the names and titles of the represented strategically to serve as the speaker of the spell texts. This method supported the elite commemoration of these statues because these prefaces explicitly ascribed agency to the statue. Thereby, they were able to transform the represented into the ritual initiator and the controller of religious information and positioned the commemorated individual as someone who helped the injured with their ailments. As John Baines has observed,

“Magical texts have a rather different position. Great emphasis was placed on age and on exact copying and performance, and they could be legitimized by introductory matter or postscripts that emphasized the efficacy of a spell.”³⁶³

³⁶³ Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, 56.

This legitimization was the strategy that was adopted as the represented individuals strived to integrate themselves within the healing context.

For example, on Turin 3030, the Scribe of the Army Hor included his participation in the ritual declaration through a preface to the spell texts. The inscription of Text A on the statue's left arm begins with, "Words spoken by the watchful one who wards off disaster, the scribe of the army, Hor, the justified. He speaks: (Text A)" (*Dd-mdw in Dar Hd n Sni Ss mSa Hrw mAat-hrw. Dd=fff*).³⁶⁴ This two-column preface to the healing spell Text A sets up Hor as speaking the spell that benefits the injured and thus, serving as an activator for the healing practice. In turn, as his healing statue was used, Hor was being continually remembered. This strategy was used for two other spells on the statue of Hor, but not for every spell. The addition of the preface to spells seemed to be determined by practical concerns in the spell layout rather than by the specific spell content.

This simple and effective strategy of including a spell preface was also used on several other examples of healing statues. For example, on the statue of the vizier Psammetik-seneb (Turin Supplement 9), a preface included his titles and name was inscribed before the inscriptions of four spells. Likewise, the inscription of titles within the body of text was used on the statue of Ankhhap (Cairo J.E. 41677) to allow the commemorated individual to be integrated into the spell recitation. These examples showcase that these inscriptions were original and would be difficult to re-carve, because these names were inscribed as the introductory prefaces to the various spells on these healing statues. Thus, this insertion of commemoration into the healing spell text space also served as insurance against reuse for the statue owner.

³⁶⁴ Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*, 76–77.

6.5 Concluding thoughts: from intermediary to agent

The designs of healing statues emphasized the individual commemoration of the represented individual. There were variations in the design of healing statues, and each statue used a mixture of different visual strategies in how they adopted religious knowledge onto the statuary surfaces. After all, the religious efficacy of these objects was supported by careful placements of textual inscriptions and religious decorations. Elite local officials understood the potency of these objects in healing cults and explicitly tied their own elite commemoration to these practices by adopting individualizing markers onto healing statues.

The commissioners and those represented on healing statues understood how these statues were designed and how both the religious knowledge and the biographical information of the statue owners were placed in strategic meaningful ways (Section 6.2). In particular, I have shown how statue owners achieved this goal by placing their names and titles in potentially ritually meaningful locations (e.g., Djedhor's names and titles on his chest) (Section 6.3) and as embedded prefaces to spell texts (Section 6.4). These strategies transformed the elite individual into an agent of the spell tradition. These depicted individuals became the active participants in the ritual practices of healing and the center of the ritual discourse. In a way, this marked a departure from other commemorative statues that prioritized relationships to the divine for establishing their commemoration. The customization of healing statues allowed the statue owners to place themselves as catalysts for the healing practices in order to further their own elite commemoration.

7 Chapter 7: Conclusion

Healing statues were religious objects that employed a variety of religious decorations and textual inscriptions to operate effectively within the religious practices of ancient Egypt. The knowledge displayed by the texts and inscriptions was exclusive and restricted, thus the objects' ability to display such information formed the centerpiece of their religious power. Petitioners recognized the basics of this secret knowledge, but they also recognized that the statues materially controlled and contained this knowledge on their bodies. As the petitioners and the practitioners approached and interacted with these statues, they were able to access the statues' ability to translate immediate life crises into desirable mythological precedents (see Section 3.1). In doing so, injuries and illnesses could be resolved by the ritually charged liquids that were poured over these statues. In other words, the afflicted could be healed.

This dissertation studied the layout design of healing statues, because their dense religious program presented a singular opportunity to explore the creative design of a religious object type. By analyzing the placement and organization of texts, images, and biographical information, I demonstrated that there were common patterns in the design of healing statues, and that such designs were both intentional and flexible. More importantly, this dataset was unique and showed not only new ways the design of religious objects facilitated their functioning, but also that elites co-opted healing practices as an area where they could incorporate their own commemorations. These statues, therefore, were testaments to the religious and social interactions at work in creating new ritual practices.

7.1 Integration of text and image in creating meaning

Healing statues used a combination of healing spells and images to build their religious efficacy through visual display. The religious content (healing spells and images) found on these statues was not new and had a longer history in Egyptian religious thought. However, the application and organization of this preexisting content onto the statuary body surfaces showcased how individuals in the first millennium B.C.E. manipulated religious knowledge in service of developing a new healing ritual practice. The ritual specialists, in particular, were able to place their own agency at the center of this context.

The healing ritual created by these statues was based on using *heka* to solve personal injuries or illnesses. *Heka* was an important cosmic force within Egyptian religion that was accessible to Egyptians through objects and rituals. Fundamentally, the interplay between text and image was a way to tap into *heka* by adopting magico-religious strategies of persuasive analogy (see Section 3.1). Texts and images worked in synthesis to create meaning, although Egyptological scholarship has sometimes divorced these two concepts during analysis. For instance, publications on healing statues to date have primarily focused on the textual inscriptions (see Section 1.5). To be sure, future studies are needed to enhance our understanding of the textual transmission of healing texts and the image transmission of healing decorative images. By broadening my focus beyond texts, I was able to study how texts and images interacted to enhance religious function (see Section 5.10), and I was able to consider the materiality of the pieces and how designers used the interplay of gridlines and body form to enhance the visual impact of the statues (see Section 5.3).

A discussion of the common scenes (see Section 4.4) and common spell texts (see Section 5.2) was central to the approach used here to examine this material. I analyzed the religious materials found on healing statues using the frameworks of intertextuality (see Section 5.6) and intericonicity (see Section 4.6), as they permitted categorization of the creative relationships between the different

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statues (and how creation of statues of the same type differed). Importantly, this study reconciled these differences by studying the placement strategies of texts and images in the design in order to unpack how the Egyptians' understood and manipulated of religious knowledge. Specifically, I showed that the manifestation of religious knowledge was a flexible process, and visual recognizability was key in the design.

7.2 Adaptation of visual and textual strategies

The central analysis of my dissertation rests on examining design strategies for locating information onto statuary surfaces. Questioning placement on such religious objects enables us to understand how they followed or deviated from traditional Egyptian patterns of organizing religious materials. The contents of the religious knowledge found on these statues were not new and have a long history in Egyptian religious thought. Therefore, it is in the application and placement of this preexisting knowledge where innovations occurred for this object type.

The intentionality and flexibility of the design of healing statues was seen in a number of ways. First, the labeling of the deities and scenes added context and meaning, but it also showcased the flexibility accorded the object designers, as the same deity could be labeled on one statue but not on another, and there were no correlations based on a deity's recognizability or iconography (see Section 4.3). Second, the lines of organization (register lines, column lines, grid boxes, "gridlines") that structured the religious decoration were variable but helped to create ritual movement and meaning. Importantly, these lines of organization helped to identify the typological model for comparative purposes (see Section 4.5). There is directionality in the reading of Egyptian images and texts, which contributed to understanding the full impact of their meaning. For images, the groupings of scenes and deities into registers or boxes framed how each component "unit" functioned independently or symbiotically with other "units." For texts, the textual organizations

helped us to identify the visual strategies used for the application of spell texts. Gridlines were integral to the meaning of healing spell texts and dictated how religious information was organized and read. Third, the strategies that I identified in this dissertation—content-based placement (see Section 5.5), visual opposition (see Section 5.7), textual wrapping (see Section 5.8), and textual framing (see Section 5.9)—are not an exhaustive list, but they do begin to underscore how the application of religious material on healing statues was always done intentionally and meaningfully. Each healing statue adopted a selection of these strategies in order to build up their religious authority as healing objects.

7.3 Shifting priorities in commemoration

Elite individuals recognized the potency of including their commemoration within the context of ritual healing. To be sure, healing statues were commissioned and created within the patronage structure of Egyptian society. Each actor in the statue production process (commissioner, designer, creator, depicted; see Section 2.3) had their own motivation within this context, and the notion of reciprocity was central to their creation and use. However, the emergence of healing statues was an elite appropriation of a cultic space that shifted their individual stake from one of a participatory relationship with the divine into one that situates the represented individual at the center of the religious cultic practice. These individuals' statues rested at the intersection between the users and the religious traditions, and as a result, these statues were the ones people turned to for healing.

The designers of healing statues were able to claim a stake in the active religious function of healing through the strategic use of individualizing markers. The layout designs of names, titles, and other biographical information were significant in ascribing meaning for ownership and the statue owner's participation in ritual. For instance, the layout of individualizing markers could directly interface with the liquids used for contagious magic (see Section 6.3) or situate the depicted as the

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reciter of spell texts (see Section 6.4). In particular, these strategies were excellent insurance policies to protect against reuse, because the individualizing markers were so integrated into the statuary decoration layout.




7.4 Reflection




Healings practices are a human solution to threats against life. Healing statues were a solution provided by the Egyptian religious tradition to counteract immediate crises. The materiality of these objects offers a unique perspective into the organization of religious knowledge and how that manifested in an effective way. The holistic study of this corpus showed how important compositional design was in establishing this efficacy. However, the examination of each individual statue revealed the tension that existed among intention, pattern, and flexibility. These objects were enormously innovative products, and the Egyptians' engagements with them displayed some of the most creative solutions for ensuring survival.




Appendix A: List of Healing Statues



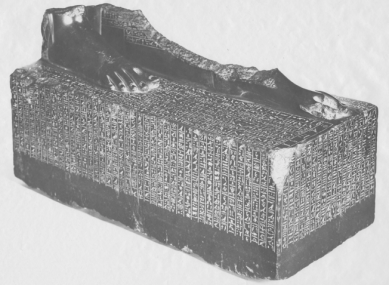
Please see Appendix B: Catalogue of Healing Statues for more information about each individual object (including image credit) and for statues whose current location is unknown.




	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
1	Berlin 7509	Type I?	Steatite	10.5 x 3 x 3.5	ca. 180-30 B.C.E.	
2	Berlin 7554	Type II (S)	Basalt	10 x 8.5 x 11.5	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
3	Cairo J.E. 41677 Ankhhap	Type II (S)	Black siltstone	17 (h.)	ca. 360-342 B.C.E. (Nectanebo II)	

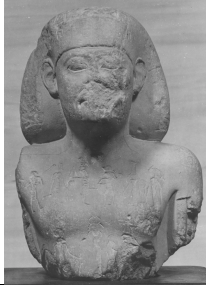


	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
4	Cairo J.E. 46341 Djedhor	Type III	Granite	Statue: 65 (h.) Base: 94 x 56 x 31	ca. 323-284 B.C.E., (cartouche either: Philip Arrhidaeus (323-316 B.C.E.) or Ptolemy I (304-284 B.C.E.))	
5	Cairo J.E. 87083	Type II?	Basalt	28 x 34 x 24	Uncertain	
6	Cairo Temporary Number 30/8/21/2	Type II or III?	Granite	10 (h.) x 8 (d.)	Uncertain	


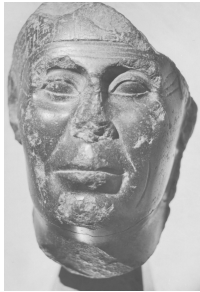

	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
7	Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology 1951.562	Type II	Diorite	15 x 14 x 11.7	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
8	Chicago Oriental Institute 9379	Type II (S)	Basalt	16.5 x 39.4 x 21.7	ca. 380-343 B.C.E.	
9	Chicago Oriental Institute 10589	Type II or III?	Basalt	31.5 x 56.2 x 33	ca. 325 B.C.E.	




	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
10	Debrecen Déri Museum EV 33	Type I	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	
11	Florence 1011 Merhoritef	Type II (S)	Schist	25.7 x 9.5 x 7.9	ca. 380-343 B.C.E.	
12	Florence 8708 (belongs with Turin Suppl. 9) Psammetik-Seneb	Type II (S)	Dark granite	36 (h.)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	




	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
13	Heliopolis Fragments (7)	Type II or III?	Black granite	Data unavailable	Data unavailable	
14	Iasi Historical and Archaeological Institute 633	Type II or III?	Data unavailable	16 (h.)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
15	Leiden F 1950/8.2 (belongs with Vienna 40)	Type II (S)	Black granite	32.2 x 15 x 12	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	




	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
16	Leiden F 1953/5.1	Type II (S)	Basalt	41 x 10.2 x 22.5	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
17	London Petrie UC 14733	Type II (S)	Basalt	9 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
18	Moscow Pushkin I.1.a. 5319 Horkhebe	Type III	Gray granite	55 x 39 x 37	ca. 280-180 B.C.E.	




	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
19	Munich ÄS 2824	Type I	Limestone	18 (h)	4-5 century B.C.E.	
20	Munich ÄS 7262	Type I	Limestone	10.1 x 12.6 x 11.2	4 th century B.C.E.	
21	Naples 1065	Type II (S)	Basalt	26 x 20.5 x 19.5	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	

	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
22	New York Bastis 24	Type I	Feldspathic Rock	4.5 x 3.7 x 4.4	4 th century B.C.E.	
23	New York Metropolitan Museum of Art 1989.281.102	Type II or III?	Basalt	21.2 x 14.5 x 11.5	Probably 360-343 B.C.E., probably reign of Nectanebo II	
24	Oxford Ashmolean AN 1990.60	Type II (K)	Limestone	24 x 8.5 x 15	Ca. 688-252 B.C.E.	

	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
25	Oxford Ashmolean AN 1896-1908 E.3465	Type II	Steatite	13.5 x 10.2 x 7.3	4 th century B.C.E.	
26	Paris Bibliothèque Nationale 53.238bis	Type II (S)	Basalt	18.9 x 4.5 x 9.2	ca. 180-30 B.C.E.	
27	Paris Louvre N 2540	Type II (S)	Granite	4 x 15.2 x 25.2	4 th century B.C.E.	

	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
28	Paris Louvre E 4898	Type I	Basalt	10 x 12.5 x 8.6	4 th century B.C.E.	
29	Paris Louvre E 10777 "Tyszkiewicz"	Type II (S)	Basalt	67.7 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
30	Rome Ostia		Gray Granite	13 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	No photo available
31	Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet NME 76	Type II (K)	Basalt	30 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	

	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
32	Stockholm Medelhavsmuseet NME 92	Type II (S)	Limestone	40 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
33	Turin 3030 Hor	Type II (S)	Gray Diorite	50 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
34	Turin 3031	Type II (S)	Gray limestone	23 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	

	Inventory Number	Type (Section 1.3)	Material	Measurements (h/w/d; cm)	Dating	Thumbnail
35	Turin 3033	Type I	Green Steatite	18.5 x 7.4 x 13.5	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
36	Turin Supplement 9 (belongs with Florence 8708) Psammetik-Seneb	Type II (S)	Dark granite	25 (h)	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	
37	Vienna 40 (belongs with Leiden F 1950/8.2)	Type II (S)	Black Granite	18 x 13 x 16	ca. 380-280 B.C.E.	

Appendix B: Catalogue of Healing Statues

This catalogue is the corpus of healing statues examined for this dissertation project. Every effort was attempted to study as many of these objects in person as possible, and I deeply appreciate the museums and collections that were willing to share study photographs with me (see Acknowledgements). These images are being used here solely for study purposes. All rights remain with the collections that own the objects. There are, to be sure, possible healing bases that were not included in this dataset because they did not meet the clear identifying markers defined in Section 1.2. Please note that the literature listed here is only a selection of the most important studies of each object and not intended to be comprehensive. The sources are arranged from most recent to least recent.

1. Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum) 7509

Title: Miniature healing statue with pseudo-writing

Material: Steatite

Measurements: 10.5 cm (h), 3 cm (w), 3.5 cm (d)

Weight: 0.16 kg

Provenance: Unknown

Dating: ca. 180-30 B.C.E. (dated to Späte Hochphase by Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi)

Description: This miniature stelophorous healing statue is roughly carved. The man depicted is wearing a high kilt, on which inscriptions of texts are inscribed in columns. It is difficult to make sense of the hieroglyphic signs inscribed, and past scholars (including the Ägyptisches Museums' object notes) have described the text as pseudo-writing.

Type: Type I?

Image Credit: Ägyptisches Museum Berlin

Literature:

1. Wilfried Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungsspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen* (Trier: W. Gutekunst, 1995), 367.
2. W. Spemann, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1899), 309.



2. Berlin (Ägyptisches Museum) 7554

Title: Healing statue holding Osiris

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 10 cm (h), 8.5 cm (w), 11.5 cm (d), 3.2 cm (w of back pillar)

Weight: 0.86 kg

Provenance: Unknown

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (dated to Frühe Hochphase by Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi)

Description: This statue fragment was originally part of the East Berlin collection and has since been partially destroyed. According to Bernard von Bothmer's archival notes, it was originally a headless theophorous statue presenting the god Osiris



that was broken off at the thighs. The statue is comprised of many fragments that have been carefully pieced together and conserved.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: Ägyptisches Museum Berlin

Literature:

1. Heike Sternberg-El Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen: ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1999), 107.
2. Wilfried Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen* (Trier: W. Gutekunst, 1995), 367.
3. W. Spemann, *Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse* (Berlin: Königliche Museen zu Berlin, 1899), 309.

3. Cairo (Egyptian Museum) J.E. 41677

Title: Statue torso of Ankhhap

Material: Black siltstone

Measurements: 17 cm (h)

Provenance: Tell Basta (Bubastis)

Dating: ca. 360-342 B.C.E. (Nectanebo II, cartouche)

Description: This torso fragment of Ankhhap, the chancellor of the Lower Egyptian King, was found in the excavation at Tell Basta. A portion of the naos held by the statue is preserved, with the cartouche of Nectanebo II on its top surface. Across the front of torso, the columns of text are placed sideways, wrapping around the body.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. Bernard V. Bothmer, "Egyptian Antecedents of Roman Republican Verism.," *Quaderni de "La Ricerca Scientifica"* 116 (1988): 60.
2. Marie-Louise Ryhiner, "À Propos de Trigrammes Panthéistes.," *Revue d'égyptologie* 29 (1977): 129.
3. Gustave Lefebvre, "La Statue 'Guérisseuse' Du Musée Du Louvre.," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 30 (1931): 94.
4. Georges Daressy, "Quelques Inscriptions Provenant de Bubastis.," *Annales Du Service Des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 11 (1911): 187–91.



4. Cairo (Egyptian Museum) J.E. 46341

Title: Healing statue of Djedhor the Savior

Material: Black granite

Measurements: Statue: 65 cm (h); base: 94 cm (h) x 56 cm (w) x 31 cm (d)

Provenance: Temple district of Athribis, statue found in 1918, base fragment found in 1919

Dating: ca. 323 B.C.E. (cartouche either: Philip Arrhidaeus (323-316 B.C.E.) or Ptolemy I (304-284 B.C.E.), Sherman argues for this dating based on an empty cartouche that resulted from the uncertainty surrounding Alexander's death)

Description: The statue of Djedhor is the largest and best-preserved example of a healing statue. The statue of Djedhor is carved in a block statue form with the Horus Cippus directly in front of it. The statue is attached to a base that has a built-in basin to collect the water that would have been poured over the statue to harness its healing properties. The statue itself includes inscriptions of Djedhor's titulary and healing spell texts, as well as carvings of divine images and mythological scenes. The top of the statue base draws from a similar genre of religious materials, while the sides of the base are inscribed with Djedhor's biographical information.

Type: Type III

Prosopography: Djehor and Tasheritentaihet (see Jelínková-Reymond, 119-121).

Images: CLES

Literature:

1. E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissense de Djed-ber-le-sauveur* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956).



5. Cairo (Egyptian Museum) J.E. 87083

Title: Fragment of a healing statue (possibly right waist?)

Material: Black basalt

Measurements: 28 cm (h), 34 cm (w), 24 cm (d)

Provenance: Tell Basta, 1943 Habachi's excavation (possibly 30 m. north of the Hall of Nectanebo)

Dating: Uncertain

Description: Large fragment of a magical statue with both images and textual inscriptions.

Bernard von Bothmer believes that this could be the right waist of the statue with a portion of the back pillar.

Type: Type II (?)

Images: CLES



6. Cairo (Egyptian Museum) Temporary Number 30/8/21/2

Title: Shoulder fragment of a healing statue

Material: Granite

Measurements: 10 cm (h), 8 cm (d)

Provenance: Unknown

Dating: Uncertain

Description: This fragment is likely a shoulder fragment of a healing statue and it shows a neckline.

Type: Type II or III?

Images: CLES



7. Cambridge (Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology) 1951.562

Title: Healing statue fragment

Material: Diorite

Measurements: 15 cm (h), 14 cm (w), 11.7 (d)

Provenance: Athribis? From the Frederick Green collection

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (dated to Frühe Hochphase by Heike Sternberg el-Hotabi)

Description: This torso fragment is inscribed with text arranged in register rows. Although arms are missing, they were likely hanging down, meaning that this could be a standing statue. The back pillars are inscribed with four columns of text.

Type: Type II

Prosopography: Djedhor, son of Imhotep

Image Credit: Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology

Comments: This statue was on loan to the Fitzwilliam from 1971-2010 as ANT 1971.57



8. Chicago (Oriental Institute) 9379

Title: Statue base

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 16.5 cm (h), 39.4 cm (w), 21.7 cm (l), (Base height is 10.1 cm)

Dating: ca. 380-343 B.C.E. (from van de Walle, p. 70: Dynasty 30)

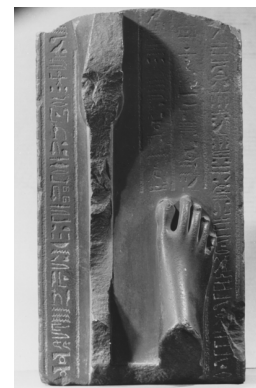
Description: This is the base of a standing statue, with parts of the feet still preserved. Each side of the base has two rows of textual inscriptions. The front of the base is damaged and the inscriptions are missing.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. B. van de Walle, "Une Base de Statue-Guerisseuse Avec Une Nouvelle Mention de La Deesse-Scorpion Ta-Bithet," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 31, no. 2 (1972): 67-82.



9. Chicago (Oriental Institute) 10589

Title: Statue base of Djedhor

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 31.5 cm (h) x 56.2 cm (w) x 33 cm (l)

Provenance: Athribis, Temple of Horus

Dating: ca. 325 B.C.E. (dating by Sherman)

Description: This is the statue base of Djedhor, the same individual who is represented in Cairo J.E. 46341. E. Sherman has argued that a torso fragment in Cairo (Temp number 4/6/19/1) belongs with this statue base, but I have not been able to locate and verify this fragment in the Cairo Egyptian Museum.

Type: Type II or III?

Propsoigraphy: Djehor and Tasheritentaihet

Image Credit: Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago

Literature:

1. Elizabeth J. Sherman, "Djedhor the Saviour Statue Base OI 10589," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 67, no. 1 (1981): 82–102.



10. Debrecen, Hungary (Museum Déri) EV 33

Title: Kneeling man with Horus Cippus

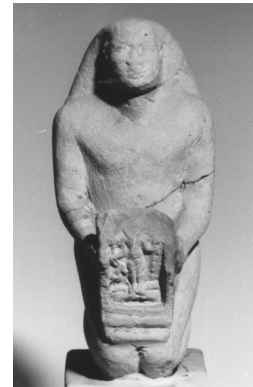
Description: I was unable to verify additional information about this statue except from notes in Bernard von Bothmer's CLES archive. This kneeling man does present a Horus Cippus, which clearly situates this object in this corpus. There seems to be no additional religious text or decorations on this statue. This statue could be an unfinished version of a Type II (K) statue.

Type: Type I

Images: CLES

Literature:

1. László Kákosy, "Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues," in *La Magia in Egitto Ai Tempi Dei Faraoni: Atti, Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Milano, 29-31 Ottobre 1985*, ed. Alberto Siliotti and Alessandro Roccati (Milan, Italy: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica: Arte e natura libri, 1985), 172.



11. Florence (Museo Egizio) 1011 (Old number is F 1788)

Title: Lower portion of standing healing statue of Merhoritef

Material: Green Schist

Measurements: 25.7 cm (h), 9.5 cm (w), 7.9 cm (l)

Dating: Frühe Hochphase (according to Vernus, p. 181 it is Dynasty 30)

Description: This is the lower portion of a standing healing statue with the Horus Cippus largely preserved (Horus's face is missing). The back pillar has three columns of inscribed texts.

Type: Type II (S)

Prosopography: Merhoritef, son of Taiemherimu

Image Credit: CLES



Literature:

1. Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Catalogo generale dei musei di Antichità e degli oggetti d'arte raccolti nelle gallerie e biblioteche del Regno.*, vol. 1 (Roma: Museo Archeologico di Firenze: antichità egizie, 1887), 121-124.

12. Florence (Museo Egizio) 8708 (belongs with Turin Suppl. 9)

Title: Stelophorous fragment of Psammetik-Seneb

Material: Dark granite

Measurements: ca. 36 cm (h) (with Turin Suppl. 9 = 61 cm (h))

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: See entry under Turin Suppl. 9. The lower part of the stelophorous healing statue of Psammetik-Seneb is Florence 8708; the upper part of the statue is Turin Suppl. 9. This portion is preserved from the waist down to the knee with most of the Horus Cippus visible.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. László Kákosy, "Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues," in *La Magia in Egitto Ai Tempi Dei Faraoni: Atti, Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Milano, 29-31 Ottobre 1985*, ed. Alberto Siliotti and Alessandro Roccati (Milan, Italy: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica: Arte e natura libri, 1985), 37-67.



13. Heliopolis Fragments (U2099-4, U2105-3A, U2105-3B, U2107-3A, U2109-5, U2107-3B, U2114-3.)

Title: Fragments of a healing statue

Material: Black granite

Description: Seven fragments have been found in Area 200 of the temple at Suq el-Khamis by the Heliopolis Project. Some of the fragments seem to be part of the back pillar, and they should be part of one healing statue.

Image Credit: Heliopolis Project; Egyptian Museum George Steindorff, Leipzig University, Photo: Marion Wenzel.

Literature:

1. Langermann, Florence, "Fragments of a healing-statue from the temple of Heliopolis", forthcoming.



14. Iasi, Romania (Historical and Archaeological Institute) 633

Title: Fragment of a healing statue head (headdress)

Material: “Dark stone” (Cihó and Kákosy)

Measurements: 16 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: This statue fragment is of the wig of a healing statue. There are three spell texts that are partially preserved on this statue wig.

Type: Type II or III?

Image Credit: Cihó and Kákosy

Literature:

1. M. Cihó and László Kákosy, “Fragment of a Magical Statue in Iași (Roumania).,” *Oriens Antiquus* 24 (1985): 45–53.



15. Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) F 1950/8.2 (belongs with Vienna 40)

Title: Healing statue base (Socle Béhague)

Material: Black granite

Measurements: 32.2 (h), 15 (w), 12 cm (d)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

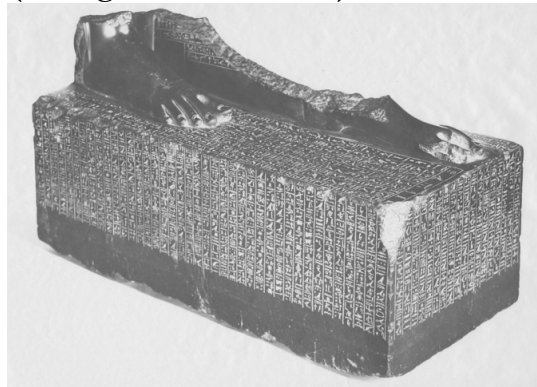
Description: See entry under Vienna 40. H. Altenmüller argues that Vienna 40 is the torso for this base, even though the two fragments do not join. This healing statue base includes the feet of the standing healing statue. There are textual inscriptions around the base and on top of the base. A register of the back pillar is preserved and is decorated with a mythological scene.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. Hartwig Altenmüller, “Der ‘Socle Béhague’ und ein Statuentorso in Wien,” *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 1965, 10–33.
2. Adolf Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952).



16. Leiden (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden) F 1953/5.1

Title: Fragment of a healing statue

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 41 (h), 10.2 (w), 22.5 (d)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E.

Description: This is a standing stelophorous healing statue with its lower half and Horus Cippus well preserved. The religious decoration registers are taller than comparable examples on other Type II healing statues. The back pillar is inscribed with three columns of text.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

Literature:

1. Maarten Jan Raven, *Schrift en schrijvers in het Oude Egypte* (Amsterdam; Leiden: De Bataafsche Leeuw; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1996), 75.



17. London (Petrie Museum) UC14733

Title: Fragment of a healing statue

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 9 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E.

Description: This small fragment of a healing statue is part of the front left chest and torso. One of the clothing knots is visible from the kilt worn by the statue. Both spell inscriptions and images remain visible on this object.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: Courtesy of the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology, UCL

Literature:

1. H. M Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection. Part Three, The Late Period* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1983), pl. 41, no. 124.



18. Moscow (Pushkin Museum) I.1.a. 5319 (previously Golenicheff 88, or 4174)

Title: Statue of Horkhebe

Material: Gray granite

Measurements: 55 cm (h), 39 cm (w), 37 cm (d)

Provenance: Mendes (?)

Dating: ca. 280-180 B.C.E. (Mittlere Hochphase by Maxim Panov)

Description: This headless block statue healing statue has a complex design of inscriptions and religious decoration along all of its surface area. The Horus Cippus is placed center and prominently, and is attached to the statue's shins. Individualizing markers are also added to the front of this statue.

Type: Type III

Prosopography: Horkhebe, son of Khnumhotep

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:



1. Maxim Panov, *Надписи На Целительной Статuye Хорхебе [Die Statue Des Horchebe]*, ET, II (Novosibirsk, 2014).
2. Svetlana Khodzhash, *Изображения Древнеегипетского Бога Беса в Собрании Государственного Музея Изобразительных Искусств Имени А С Пушкина: Каталог / God Bes's Images in the Ancient Egyptian Art in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts.* (Moskva: Vostochnaia Literatura, 2004), 12-35.

19. Munich (Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst) ÄS 2824

Title: Bust of a healing statue

Material: Limestone

Measurements: 18 cm (h)

Dating: 4-5 century B.C.E.

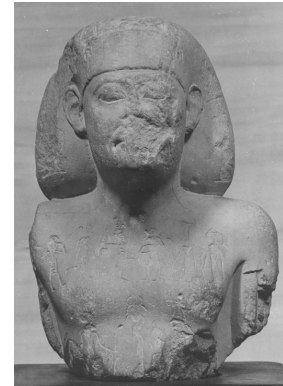
Description: This bust of a healing statue is decorated with divine figures (many with identifiable iconography) and mythological scenes. The placement of the scenes on the wig shows a front-side and back-side decorative program. There are inscriptions of text along the sides and on the back pillar.

Type: Type I

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. Dietrich Wildung, *Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst: München, Residenz Hofgartenstrasse* (München, 1976), 191.



20. Munich (Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst) ÄS 7262

Title: Upper portion of a healing statue

Material: Limestone

Measurements: 10.1 (h), 12.6 (w), 11.2 (d)

Dating: 4th Century B.C.E.

Description: Only the upper portion of this block statue healing statue is preserved. The top of the Horus Cippus is still visible on the front of the statue. The top of the statue has textual inscriptions, while each side has remnants of a row of divine figures. The backside of the statue is damaged.

Type: Type I

Image Credit: Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, München

Literature:

1. Isabel Grimm-Stadelmann et al., eds., *Isisblut & Steinbockhorn: Amulett Und Talisman in Altägypten Und Im Alpenraum* (München: Staatliches Museum Ägyptischer Kunst, 2010), 92.



21. Naples (Museo Archeologico Nazionale) 1065

Title: Healing statue fragment; Borgia Torso (Cat. No. 11.11)

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 26 (h) 20.5 (w), 19.5 cm (d)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

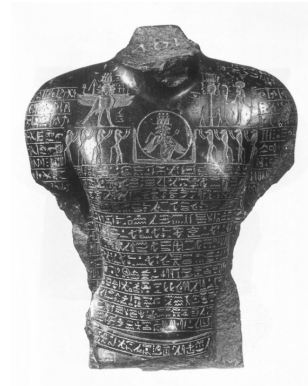
Description: This headless torso of a healing statues is covered with textual inscriptions and religious decorations. The statue was likely holding a Horus Cippus, which is no longer preserved. This statue has a number of polymorphic deities carved onto its surfaces, with unique and unusual forms.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy*.

Literature:

1. László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), 119-153.



22. New York (Bastis Collection) 24

Title: Head of a healing statue

Material: Gray-brown feldspathic stone

Measurements: 4.5 (h), 3.7 (w), 4.4 cm (d)

Dating: 4th century B.C.E. (Dated by Bothmer, p. 67)

Description: This healing statue head is decorated with religious scenes and divine figures. The decoration is on all sides of the wig. The head was on long term loan to the Brooklyn Museum (L. 75.6.3) until 1999.

Type: Type I

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. Emma Swan Hall and Bernard V. Bothmer, *Antiquities from the Collection of Christos G. Bastis*. (Mainz: von Zabern, 1987), 67-69.



23. New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art) 1989.281.102

Title: Head of a healing statue

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 21.2 cm (h), 14.5 cm (w), 11.5 cm (d)

Dating: Probably 360-343 B.C.E., probably reign of Nectanebo II

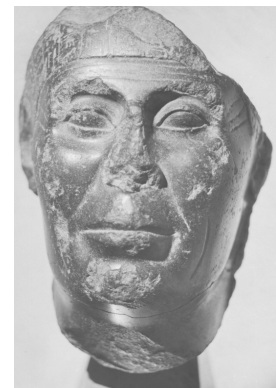
Description: This life-size head was originally part of a healing statue. The face has realistic features and has deeply lined wrinkles. There are at least ten columns of inscriptions along the wig of the statue that have been partially preserved.

Type: Type II or III?

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. James P. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt* (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art; Yale University Press, 2005), 68-69.



24. Oxford (Ashmolean Museum) AN1990.60

Title: Fragment of a stelophorous statue with Horus stela

Material: Limestone

Measurements: 24 cm (h), 8.5 cm (w), 15 cm (d)

Provenance: Saïs

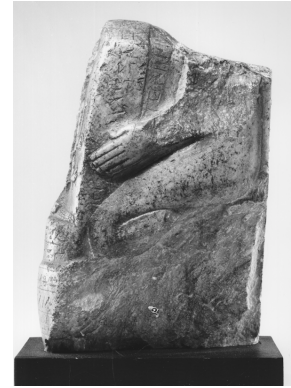
Dating: Mittelphase (Dynasty 26 according to Whitehouse, 688-252 B.C.E.)

Description: The lower portion of this kneeling healing statue has been preserved, with the Horus Cippus front and center. There are hieroglyphic inscriptions carved around the Horus Cippus, on the base, and on the back pillar. However, there are no visible inscriptions on the body of the statue.

Type: Type II (K)

Prosopography: Son of Ptahhotep and Tasheriteniakh

Image Credit: CLES



25. Oxford (Ashmolean Museum) AN1896-1908 E.3465

Title: Upper portion of a healing statue

Material: Steatite

Measurements: 13.5 cm (h) 10.2 cm (w), 7.3 cm (d)

Dating: 4th century B.C.E.

Description: This unfinished healing statue fragment has gridlines that show the organizational structure of the textual inscriptions. On the right side of the statue, textual inscriptions have already been inscribed; on the left side of the statue, the columns are still empty. The cartouches on the front of the statues are also uninscribed.

Type: Type II

Image Credit: CLES



26. Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale Cabinet des Médailles) 53.238bis

Title: Healing statue

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 18.9 cm (h), 4.5 cm (w), 9.2 cm (d)

Dating: ca. 180-30 B.C.E. (Bibliothèque Nationale lists it as Dynasty 26)

Description: This miniature healing statue is missing its head. The statue is richly decorated and inscribed with religious knowledge. The statue is holding a proportionally large Horus Cippus that dominates the front side of the statue.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: Bibliothèque Nationale Cabinet des Médailles, Paris

Literature:

1. E. Jélinkova-Reymond, "Statuette Magique No. 238bis de La Bibliothèque Nationale," *Revue d'égyptologie*, no. 7 (1950): 47–51, Pls. 13-18.



27. Paris (Louvre) N 2540

Title: Base of healing statue of Tashemin

Material: Black granite

Measurements: 4 cm (h), 15.2 cm (w), 25.2 cm (d)

Dating: Late Period

Description: This healing statue base includes inscriptions on the top.

There are no inscriptions on its sides, and Étienne Drioton hypothesized that this could be inserted into a larger statue base.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. Étienne Drioton, "Religion et magie: Un avertissement aux chercheurs de formules," *Revue de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1928, 52–54.



28. Paris (Louvre) E 4898=A.F. 1657

Title: Fragment of a head

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 10 cm (h), 12.5 cm (w), 8.6 cm (d)

Dating: 4th century B.C.E.

Description: This head of a healing statue is missing its face and the top of the head. The religious decorations applied to the wig are organized into horizontal register lines. The back pillar has six columns of text.

Type: Type I

Image Credit: CLES



29. Paris (Louvre) E 10777

Title: Healing statue ("Tyszkiewicz")

Material: Black basalt

Measurements: 67.7 cm (h) (including restored feet)

Provenance: Probably Bubastis

Dating: The disagreement in the dating of this statue highlights the challenge of dating healing statues (see Section 1.7). [von Bissing] Dynasty 26 (664–525 B.C.E.); [Leclant] Dynasty 30 (380–342 B.C.E.); [Lefebvre] Frühe Hochphase (Frühptolemäisch) ca. 380–280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase)

Description: This healing statue is a standing statue that holds a well-preserved Horus Cippus. The statue surfaces are covered with textual inscriptions and religious decorations. The statue itself is inscribed for three priests of Bastet and has specific instructions for users of the statue to imbibe the liquids poured over the statue.

Prosopography: Three priests of Bastet had their names inscribed on this statue: 1) Padimahesa, son of Bastet Priest Pasheribastet 2) Pasherimut, son of the Lady Isis 3) Djedhor

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:



1. Maxim Panov, "Some Notes on the Healing Statue Louvre E 10777," in *Egyptian and Mediterranean Culture in Ancient and Medieval Times: Papers in Memory of Tatiana Savelieva* (Moscow: Centre for Egyptological Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences, 2017), 75–94.
2. Wilfried Gutekunst, *Textgeschichtliche Studien zum Verjüngungspruch (Text B) auf Horusstelen und Heilstatuen* (Trier: W. Gutekunst, 1995).

30. Rome, Ostia (Museo Ostiense)

Title: Fragment of a statuette

Material: Gray granite

Measurements: 13 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: This statue fragment was excavated in 1941 and has been compared in the literature to the other known healing statues.

Literature:

1. Sergio Donadoni, "Una Statuette Egiziana Da Ostia," in *Studi in Memoria Di Ippolito Rosellini Nel Primo Centenario Della Morte (4 Giugno 1843 - 4 Giugno 1943)*, vol. 2 (Pisa: Università di Pisa, 1955), 57–71.

31. Stockholm (Medelhavsmuseet) NME 76

Title: Healing statue holding a naos

Material: Basalt

Measurements: 30 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: This headless healing statue is holding a naos with the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles image framed. The statue's chest has highly modelled breasts, which may parallel the unusual application of the "Isis of Akhbit" decoration that is placed on the front of this statue.

Type: Type II (K)

Image Credit: CLES



32. Stockholm (Medelhavsmuseet) NME 92

Title: Healing statue

Material: Limestone

Measurements: 40 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: This standing statue is a tall and relatively large example that is holding a Horus Cippus. There is a dense application of images and text on this statue, but the quality is crude. The texts are shallowly inscribed, which makes many of the readings uncertain.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm



33. Turin (Museo Egizio) 3030

Title: Standing healing statue of Hor

Material: Gray Diorite

Measurements: 50 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)
(Dynasty 30, cf Klasens, Socle Behague, p. 1)

Description: This standing healing statue is headless but is otherwise well-preserved. The statue is holding an intricately carved Horus Cippus. The statue itself is decorated with a mixture of religious decorations and spell text inscriptions.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), 69-90.



34. Turin (Museo Egizio) 3031

Title: Standing healing statue

Material: Gray limestone

Measurements: 23 cm (h)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: This statue is only preserved from the hips and below, but the Horus Cippus held by the statue is well-preserved. The statue is otherwise clearly inscribed and carved, with both the text and image clearly legible. On the sides of the statue are several registers of divine images and mythological scenes.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), 91-108.



35. Turin (Museo Egizio) 3033

Title: Kneeling healing statue

Material: Green steatite

Measurements: 18.5 cm (h), 7.4 cm (w), 13.5 cm (d)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: This kneeling statue is not inscribed or decorated except for the back pillar. There is no Horus Cippus on the front of the statue, but the Horus-upon-the-crocodiles motif is on the back pillar. The eyes were formerly inlaid.

Type: Type I

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:



1. Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri, *Egyptian Museum of Turin: Egyptian Civilization, Monumental Art* (Milan: Electa, 1989), 173, fig. 264.

36. Turin (Museo Egizio) Suppl. 9 (belongs with Florence 8708)

Title: Stelophorous fragment of Psammetik-Seneb

Material: Dark granite

Measurements: 25 cm (h) (with Florence 8708 = 61 cm (h))

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: See entry under Florence 8708. The lower part of the stelophorous healing statue of Psammetik-Seneb is Florence 8708; the upper part of the statue is Turin Suppl. 9. This portion is preserved from the neck and upper arms down to the waist. Only the very top of the cippus is visible.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. László Kákosy, "Some Problems of the Magical Healing Statues," in *La Magia in Egitto Ai Tempi Dei Faraoni: Atti, Convegno Internazionale Di Studi, Milano, 29-31 Ottobre 1985*, ed. Alberto Siliotti and Alessandro Roccati (Milan, Italy: Rassegna internazionale di cinematografia archeologica: Arte e natura libri, 1985), 37-67.



37. Vienna (Kunsthistorisches Museum-Ägyptische-Orientalische Sammlung) 40 (belongs with Leiden F 1950/8.2)

Title: Statue torso of a standing naophorous healing statue

Material: Black granite

Measurements: 18 cm (h), 13 cm (w), 16 cm (d)

Dating: ca. 380-280 B.C.E. (Frühe Hochphase by Sternberg-el Hotabi)

Description: See entry under Leiden F 1950/8.2. H. Altenmüller argues that Leiden F 1950/8.2 is the base for this torso, even though the two fragments do not join. This thigh fragment shows a standing-striding figure who was holding a Horus Cippus. This fragment is completely inscribed with spell texts.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES

Literature:

1. Adolf Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1952).
2. Hartwig Altenmüller, "Der 'Socle Béhague' und ein Statuentorso in Wien," *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*, 1965, 10–33.
3. Eva Rogge, *Statuen Der Spätzeit (750 - ca. 300 v. Chr.)*, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum, Ägyptisch-Orientalische Sammlung 9* (Mainz/Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), 138-144.



Current Location Unknown

38. London Cassirer Collection (?) (Sotheby's) December 3, 1956, No. 205

Title: Fragment of a healing statue

Measurements: 20.3 cm (h)

Dating: 4th century B.C.E.

Description: The lower portion of this healing statue has been preserved, with the Horus Cippus at the front of the statue. The Horus Cippus has particularly thick sides that are inscribed with columns of healing spell texts. On the sides of the statue's kilt are registers of religious decorations. This object was sold at Sotheby's in 1956.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: CLES



39. New York Norbert Schimmel Collection (formerly)

Title: Fragment of a stelophorous statue

Material: Black Schist

Measurements: 8.9 cm (h)

Dating: Late Period, probably 30th dynasty, 380-342 B.C.E.

Description: This is a small fragment of a healing statue. The statue's right hand is partially preserved where it meets the Horus Cippus. On the Horus Cippus, only the right hand of Horus is remains, showing the god grasping serpents. There are columns of spell texts inscribed on the sides of the Horus Cippus. This object was sold at Sotheby's in 1992.

Type: Type II

Image Credit: CLES



40. Rome Iseum Campense

Title: Statue fragment of a stelophorous statue with Horus stela

Material: Basalt

Provenance: Iseum Campense

Dating: Dynasty 26-30 or Ptolemaic (likely 4th century B.C.E.)

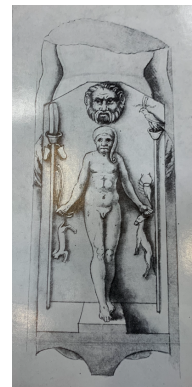
Description: Only the lower portions of this standing healing statue are preserved. The Horus Cippus at the front of the statue is well-preserved. From the drawing, it appears that the bodies of both the god Horus and the represented individual are not modeled in an idealized form but have corpulent bodies.

Type: Type II (S)

Image Credit: Drawing from Roulet.

Literature:

1. Anne Roulet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, vol. 20, *Études Préliminaires Aux Religions Orientales Dans l'Empire Romain* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), 119.



41. Zurich Galerie Nefer Frederica Tchacos

Title: Statue fragment

Description: This fragment is the lower portion of a possible healing statue. The lower part of the Horus Cippus can be seen at the front of the statue. Textual inscriptions are inscribed along the base and sides of the statue.

Type: Type II (S) (likely)

Image Credit: CLES



Appendix C: List of Common Scenes

The following is a selection of common scenes and deities found on healing statues. Many of these scenes or deities are also found on Horus cippi. See also László Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples*, for a list of the divine figures³⁶⁵ and the religious scenes³⁶⁶ found on a few examples of Egyptian healing statues.

Adoration of Amun (see Section 4.4.2)

Description: This image shows the god Amun depicted as a four-headed ram god. He is often shown with wings and is encircled by a sun disk. Amun is being adored by the eight members of the Ogdoad. There are many iconographic variations of the depictions of the members of the Ogdoad.



Image Credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950.

Baboon and serpent

Description: A baboon is seated and presents a *wedjet* eye to a cobra on the top of stairs. Possibly a reference to the Myth of the Sun's Eye.

Image Credit: Florence 8708. László Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), III.



Dwarf god and crocodiles

Description: This image shows a dwarf god encircled by the *sed-em-re* ("tail in mouth") image above crocodiles on a pedestal. An androgynous (ithyphallic) Sakhmet appears next to this image on Turin 3031 within the same register on the back pillar.

Image Credit: Turin 3031. CLES



Falcon on a hippopotamus

Description: This image depicts a falcon on a walking hippopotamus. The falcon can be adorned with a variety of headdresses.

Image Credit: Turin 3030. László Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), XXII.



³⁶⁵ Kákósy, 171–85.

³⁶⁶ Kákósy, 189–90.

Falcon on a gazelle

Description: This image depicts a falcon riding on a gazelle.

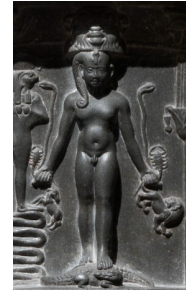
Image Credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950.



Horus-upon-the-Crocodiles (see Section 4.4.1)

Description: This image shows the god Horus as a young child standing atop crocodiles. Horus is often grasping dangerous animals in his hands, such as serpents and scorpions. An image of the protective god Bes is also often depicted above Horus. This scene can be flanked by papyrus and lotus standards.

Image Credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950.



Isis of Akhbit (see Section 4.4.3)

Description: Isis is nursing Horus the Child in the Delta marshes. This is a visual reference to the mythological narrative of the Isis and Horus the Child spell. There are also variants of Isis nursing crocodiles.

Image Credit: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.85. Fletcher Fund, 1950.



Sistrum flanked by cats

Description: This image shows a large sistrum that is flanked by two cats. The sistrum can have protective connotations.

Image Credit: Turin 3030. László Kákosy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), XXII.



Two crocodiles

Description: Two crocodiles are placed with one directly above the other, facing the same direction. The lower crocodile is falcon-headed and on a pedestal, whereas the upper crocodile is in a chapel with two *wedjet* eyes.

Image Credit: Turin 3031. CLES



Polymorphic deity (see Section 4.4.4)

Description: This image shows a winged Bes-headed deity with a scarab body. Additional divine heads emerge from the top of the Bes-head. There are many variants of this scene incorporating different divine iconographies into their design.

Image Credit: Cairo J.E. 46341. CLES



Appendix D: List of Common Spell Texts

The following is a selection of common spell texts found on healing statues. Some of these spells are also found on Horus cippi. In addition, the spell texts found on a Horus Cippus (Metternich Stela MMA 50.85), one Type II healing statue (Turin 3030) and two Type III healing statues (Cairo J.E. 46341 and Moscow I.1.a.5319) are included here (for typology discussion see Section 1.3). These objects were selected because they are the best-preserved “complete” examples of each type, thus showcasing a sample of the spell texts that were inscribed onto each type.

The titles of the spell texts are not original to the Egyptian scribes. Instead, the titles reflect scholarly understating of the thematic content of each spell. An English translation of the first few lines of each spell is included to help with identification and ease of comparison.

Common Spell Texts

Arm of Lord of Millions of Years (See Section 5.2.5)

Text Translation: The arm of the Lord of Millions of Years. The hand of Re...³⁶⁷

Hand of Atum (See Section 5.2.4)

Text Translation: This hand of Atum who chased the storm of heaven and the trouble that was in Heliopolis, who fought victoriously and who defended his master. The Mighty one who protected Re that day from the great fight northwest of the House of Iaret-Ious-Aas, Re turned into...³⁶⁸

Invocation of Re

Text Translation: O Re, who is in the horizon! Turn your face toward me!³⁶⁹ (There are many variants of the epithets and commands directed toward Re).

Isis and Horus the Child (See Section 5.2.3)

Text Translation: I am Isis, who had conceived her baby and was pregnant with divine Horus. When I had given birth to Horus, Osiris’s son, within the nest of Khemmis...³⁷⁰

Isis and the Noblewoman (or seven scorpions)

Text Translation: I am Isis. I came out of the weaving house that my brother Seth had put me in and Thoth, the elder god, chief of Maat in the sky and earth, spoke to me.³⁷¹

³⁶⁷ Cairo J.E. 46341. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-ber-le-sauveur*, 28.

³⁶⁸ Cairo J.E. 46341. Jelínková-Reymond, 7.

³⁶⁹ Moscow I.1.a.5319. Panov, *Надписи На Целительной Статuye Хорхебе [Die Statue Des Horchebe]*, 24–25.

³⁷⁰ Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 55–59.

³⁷¹ Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85. Allen, 60–62.

Legend of the Cat

Text Translation: To recite. O Re! Come to your daughter. The scorpion has stung her on his own. His moan came up to him. Come to your daughter!³⁷²

Text A (See Section 5.2.1)

Text Translation: Greetings, god, son of a god! Greetings, heir, son of an heir!³⁷³

Text B (See Section 5.2.2)

Text Translation: Oh, elder one who rejuvenates himself at this time, long-lived one who makes his youth, may you make Thoth come to me at my voice and make Wild-Face retreat for me when Osiris is on the water, Horus's eye with him, and the great Scarab spread over him.³⁷⁴

Spells on the Metternich Stela

The Metternich Stela (MMA 50.85) is the largest and most complex Horus Cippus preserved. Due to its well-preserved condition, it is the most cited healing object within Egyptological scholarship. As such, the first portions of each spell text are included here for reference, since healing statue spells are often compared to the ones found on the Metternich Stela. The translations (and spell titles) here are from James Allen.³⁷⁵ It was necessary to adopt a modified line numbering system based on Allen's 2005 translation.³⁷⁶ Yet due to the prevalence of C. Sander-Hansen's edition³⁷⁷ within Egyptological scholarship, his numbering is also provided.

MET 1 Spell Against Apophis (front) (Sander-Hansen Spruch I; Lines 1-3)

Text Translation: Back, you, Apophis! You intestine of the Sun, you folding of the intestines, who has no arms, who has no legs, you have no body in which you have evolved.

MET 2 Spell Against Poison (front) (Sander-Hansen Spruch IIa; Lines 3-5/ Spruch IIb; Lines 5-8)

Text Translation: Be spewed out, you poison! Come, come out on the ground! Now that Horus has enchanted you, constrained you, and spat on you, you cannot rise up, trampled down;

³⁷² Cairo J.E. 46341. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérissante de Djed-her-le-sauveur*, 72–84.

³⁷³ Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85. Allen, *The Art of Medicine in Ancient Egypt*, 59.

³⁷⁴ Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85. Allen, 60.

³⁷⁵ Metternich Stela, MMA 50.85. Allen, 49–63.

³⁷⁶ James Allen's ordering is more logical than Sander-Hansen's, because spell MET 4 and spell MET 5 are closer linked in terms of content than spell MET 4 and spell MET 9. Moreover, Sander-Hansen includes the dedication lines as part of spell VIII (spell MET 12). Sander-Hansen's ordering is based on Golenischeff's initial reading of the statue from the front to the back to the base.

³⁷⁷ Sander-Hansen, *Die Texte der Metternichstela*.

MET 3 Spell for Healing a Cat (front and base) (Sander-Hansen Spruch III; Lines 9-35)

Text Translation: Spell for enchanting a cat. Recitation: O Sun, come for your daughter, for a scorpion has bitten her on the path alone!

MET 4 Spell for Healing a Cat (base) PART 2 (Sander-Hansen Spruch IV; Lines 35-37)

Text Translation: Another Spell. Recitation: Sun, come to your daughter! Shu, come to your wife! Isis, come to your sister! Save her from that bad poison that is in any limb of hers! O You gods, come and fell that bad poison that is in any limb of this cat that is suffering!

MET 5 Spell for Healing a Cat (base) PART 3 (Sander-Hansen Spruch XIII; Lines 167-168)

Text Translation: Another spell like it. Don't fear, don't fear, Bastet, powerful of mind at the fore of the sacred marsh! You shall have control of all the gods, and no one can have control of you. Come out after my speech, you bad poison that is in any limb of the cat who is suffering!

MET 6 Story of Isis and the Infant Horus (base) (Sander-Hansen Spruch XIV; Lines 168-251)

Text Translation: I am Isis, who had conceived her baby and was pregnant with divine Horus. When I had given birth to Horus, Osiris's son, within the nest of Khemmis...

MET 7 Thoth's Spell for Horus (top and right side) (Sander-Hansen Spruch XI; Lines 126-137/ Spruch XII; Lines 138-162)

Text Translation: You who are in the hole, you who are in the hole, you who are in the mouth of the hole! You who are in the path, you who are in the path, you who are in the mouth of the path!

MET 8 Thoth's Invocation of Horus (top and left side) = Text A (Sander-Hansen Spruch IX; Lines 89-100/ Spruch X; Lines 101-125)

Text Translation: Horus was bitten in the marsh of Heliopolis, north of Vulva-town while his mother Isis was in the upper houses giving cool water to her brother Osiris. ... Greetings, god, son of a god! Greetings, heir, son of an heir!...

MET 9 Spell for Protection on Water (back)= Text B (Sander-Hansen Spruch V; Lines 38-48)

Text Translation: Oh, elder one who rejuvenates himself at this time, long-lived one who makes his youth, may you make Thoth come to me at my voice and make Wild-Face retreat for me when Osiris is on the water, Horus's eye with him, and the great Scarab spread over him.

MET 10 Story of Isis and the Noblewoman (back) (Sander-Hansen Spruch VI; Lines 48-71)

Text Translation: I am Isis. I came out of the weaving house that my brother Seth had put me in and Thoth, the elder god, chief of Maat in the sky and earth, spoke to me.

MET 11 Spell Against a Scorpion Sting (back) (Sander-Hansen Spruch VII; Lines 71-83)

Text Translation: “Isis, Isis, come to your Horus! You who know her spell, come to your son,” so say the gods in her area “ since a scorpion has stung him, a spiny scorpion has hunted him, an insect has rubbed him.”

MET 12 Spell Against Poison (back) (Sander-Hansen Spruch VIII; Lines 83-88)

Text Translation: He rises from the Akhet, sets into the Duat, and comes into being in the Height Enclave. He opens his eye and light happens, he closes it and darkness happens.

Spells on the Statue of Hor

The Type II statue of Hor (Turin 3030) is a stelophorous statue that is missing its head. The statue is holding a Horus Cippus and is inscribed with textual inscriptions and decorated with religious decorations. Note the addition of the individualizing markers of Hor as prefaces to the spell texts. The translations and numberings are from László Kákósy, *Egyptian Healing Statues in Three Museums in Italy: Turin, Florence, Naples* (Torino: Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali, Soprintendenza al Museo delle antichità egizie, 1999), 69-90.

Legend of Re

Text Translation: To be pronounced. The flame against [the heaven, the sharp flame] against the earth.

Transformation of Re into an Ichneumon (Hand of Atum)

Text Translation: Words spoken by the watchful one to ward off disaster, Hor, the justified. This here is the hand of Atum which dries away the storm in the sky.

Text A

Text Translation: Words spoken by the watchful one to ward off disaster, the scribe of the army, Hor, the justified. He speaks: Greetings, god, son of a god! Greetings, heir, son of an heir...

Arm of Lord of Millions of Years

Text Translation: Another utterance. To be pronounced. My forearm with millions, my fingers with millions. The hand of Re. Fire comes forth against the hole.

Text B

Text Translation: Words spoken by the watchful one who wards off disaster, Hor. Oh, elder one who rejuvenates himself at this time,

Snake Charm

Text Translation: Another utterance. To be pronounced. The Ennead of Re [was bitten] by the Nay serpent.

Spells on the Statue of Djedhor

The Type III statue of Djedhor (Cairo J.E. 46341) is completely inscribed with spell texts, with the exception of the added titles of Djedhor on his chest and down the central column of the back pillar. The top of the statue base also has spell texts, but the sides of the base are inscribed with biographical information for Djedhor and the commissioner of the statue, Wahibre. For the full publication of the object, see E. Jelínková-Reymond, *Les inscriptions de la statue guérisseuse de Djed-her-le-sauveur* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956). The line numbers and section titles provided here are from Jelínková-Reymond.

Legend of Re against Apophis (Hand of Atum) (Lines 12-34)

Text Translation: This hand of Atum who chased the storm of heaven and the trouble that was in Heliopolis, who fought victoriously and who defended his master. The Mighty one who protected Re that day from the great fight northwest of the House of Iaret-Ious-Aas, Re turned into...

Invocation of Re (on the legs of the statue) (Lines 35-48)

Text Translation: O magic power of Re! The tired have formed on the edge of the sky! What happens to me, what happens to me the magical power of Re!

Legend of Re (1st part: on the legs of the statue, on the upper part of its support; 2nd part: on the head of the statue and begins on the right ear) (Lines 49-72; Lines 73-98)

[The first section includes a compilation of eight spells.]

Text Translation: The arm of the Lord of Millions of Years. The hand of Re

[The second section includes a compilation of seven spells.]

Text Translation: The flame against the sky, the arrow against the earth! The flame against the sky, the arrow against the earth! Re's venom is in his body. Spread to the ground! That you perish, snake that exhales and makes its celebration in the blood of Re where its mother has put it in the world.

Legend of the Drowning of Osiris =Text B (right side of the statue, back) (Lines 100-119)

Text Translation: To recite. O old man who grows younger in his time, old man became the child. May Thoth come to me on appeal and cause Nehaher to draw back? Osiris is on the water and the eye of Horus is with him. The great scarab spreads over him.

Horus' childhood events in the Heliopolitan Countryside = Text A (left side of the statue, back) (Lines 114-122)

Text Translation: Hail to you, god, son of the god! Greetings to you, the heir son of the heir! Greetings to you, bull, son of the bull, born of the divine lady! Greetings to you, Horus, from Osiris, born by Isis the goddess. I have pronounced your name. I recited your magic formulas. I recited the rites.

[Additional spell attached to this: Line 122.]

Text Translation: The great one circled in the sky.

Invocation of Re (top of base in basin) (Lines 134-138)

Text Translation: O Re! You did not hear the great voice...

Legend of Horus (Buto) = Spell of Isis and Horus the Child (right side of the upper part of the base) (Lines 143-161)

Text Translation: To recite. The voice was screaming outside. Now, Isis ran to him...

Legend of the Cat (Left side of the upper part of the base) (Lines 162-180)

Text Translation: To recite. O Re! Come to your daughter. The scorpion has stung her on his own. His moan came up to him. Come to your daughter!

Spells on the Statue of Horkhebe

The Type III statue of Horkhebe (Moscow I.1.a.5319) is a healing statue that has fourteen healing spells inscribed on its surfaces. The following summary list of the spells found on this statue is based on Maxim Panov's publication. The titles and numbering follow his ordering and see his Section 1.3³⁷⁸ for a concordance with O. Berlev's numbering.³⁷⁹

Eyes of the Savior (Lines 1-19)

Text Translation: The savior, who removes adversity from the sky, the earth, and the water in the temple...

Invocation of Re (Lines 20-56)

Text Translation: O Re, who is in the horizon! Turn your face to me!

Isis and the seven scorpions (Lines 57-84)

Text Translation: I am Isis. I came from the weaving mill where my brother Seth placed me.

Hand of Atum (Lines 85-103)

Text Translation: O this hand of Atum, the one who chased away the storm in the sky.

Spell about the sun (Lines 103-106)

Text Translation: His ... is in the limbs of this man... [extremely fragmentary].

Second spell about the sun (Lines 106-111)

Text Translation: ... with the light of Re.

Isis and Geb (Lines 112-116)

Text Translation: I am Isis, the mistress of Akhbit, the excellent of speeches in the secret place, who gave Geb his power, to protect my son Horus.

³⁷⁸ Panov, *Надписи На Целительной Статuye Хорхебе [Die Statue Des Horchebe]*, 12.

³⁷⁹ See Oleg Berlev's translation in Khodzhash, *Изображения Древнеегипетского Бога Беса в Собрании Государственного Музея Изобразительных Искусств Имени А С Пушкина: Каталог / God Bes's Images in the Ancient Egyptian Art in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*.

Hand of Aker (Lines 117-120)

Text Translation: As for the hand of Aker, that is Benti ...

Invocation of Isis to Protect Horus (Lines 121-135)

Text Translation: O Isis, O Isis, Come to Horus.

Nehaher and Osiris (Lines 136-141)

Text Translation: If the Nehaher is hostile toward Osiris, while he is on the water...

Adoration of the Sun god (Lines 141-143)

Text Translation: O you, who comes from the Underworld, and appear from the Nun...

Hand of Re (Lines 144-159)

Text Translation: [Highly fragmentary] The hand of Re ... is on the mouth of ...³⁸⁰

Text A (Lines 160-163)

Text Translation: Greetings, god, son of a god!

Text B (Lines 164-165)

Text Translation: Oh, elder one who rejuvenates himself at this time ...

³⁸⁰ See Klasens Spell VII for a better-preserved spell parallel. Klasens, *A Magical Statue Base (Socle Béhague) in the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden*, 60.

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