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Los Angeles

Display and Devotion:

A Social and Religious Analysis of New Kingdom Votive Stelae from Asyut

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

by

Eric Ryan Wells

2014

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Display and Devotion:

A Social and Religious Analysis of New Kingdom Votive Stelae from Asyut

by

Eric Ryan Wells

Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2014

Professor Jacco Dieleman, Chair

This dissertation is a case study and analysis of provincial religious decorum at New Kingdom Asyut. Decorum was a social force that restricted and defined the ways in which individuals could engage in material displays of identity and religious practice. Four-hundred and ninety-four votive stelae were examined in an attempt to identify trends and patterns on self-display and religious practice. Each iconographic and textual element depicted on the stelae was treated as a variable which was entered into a database and statistically analyzed to search for trends of self-display.

The analysis of the stelae revealed the presence of multiple social groups at Asyut. By examining the forms of capital displayed, it was possible to identify these social groups and reconstruct the social hierarchy of the site. This analysis demonstrated how the religious system was largely appropriated by elite men as a stage to engage in individual competitive displays of identity and capital as a means of reinforcing their profession and position in society and the

patronage structure. Women also donated votive stelae at Asyut. Indeed, women appear to have enjoyed higher visibility, and much more independent social power and agency at Aysut than at any other New Kingdom site. However, the stelae also demonstrate that women were usually not public figures, and mostly gained their social capital through family connections.

The presence of multiple social groups engaged in religious practice at Asyut demonstrates that individuals from all levels of society actively participated in formal Egyptian religious practices and displayed a personal connection to Wepwaut—although this connection was expressed in different ways. This challenges the often presented belief that there was a divide between so-called ‘popular religion’ and temple-based religious practice in the ancient world, and complicates the perception that belief in a personal connection to the divine and participation in formal religious experiences were limited to elite members of society.

The dissertation of Eric Ryan Wells is approved.

Kathlyn Cooney

Stuart Tyson Smith

Jacco Dieleman, Committee Chair

To Amber, Liam and Connor.

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Curriculum Vitae

Eric Wells

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“Depicting Devotion: The Iconography of Piety and Personal Religious Practice in Ancient Egypt,” Theoretical Archaeology Group Meeting, Berkeley, CA, May 2011.

“Displaying Devotion: Some Social Aspects of Ramesside Votive Stelae,” American Research Center in Egypt’s Annual Meeting, Chicago, April 2011.

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“Religious Practice in Ramesside Egypt,” Egyptian Exploration Organization of Southern California, January 2011.

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“Solar and Stellar Alignments at Nabta Playa.” Cotsen Institute for Archaeology Annual Wep Waut Conference, UCLA, April 2005.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This dissertation is a case study in decorum, a societal force that constrained individual agency,¹ or the ability of an individual to act freely and make his or her own choices, when displaying religious practice and knowledge in ancient Egypt.² It aims to uncover and explicate the social meaning and function of votive stelae within a specific context, namely that of the town of Asyut, in order to construct a history of social identity and religious practice in provincial New Kingdom Egypt. Through an examination of 494 newly published votive stelae from New Kingdom Asyut,³ I will argue that certain votive stelae were created not only to serve a religious function, but also with the intention of conveying a lasting, material form of self-presentation (i.e. communicating identity, status, privilege, and religious access) that could be displayed to the larger community for eternity. By focusing on the social aspects of material

¹ Decorum is a social structure that restricted individual agency in ancient Egypt. Other social structures, such as class, gender, and status also constrained the action of members of society. As regards the present study, decorum can be seen as the end result of all of these social structures.

² The concept of decorum was introduced to Egyptology by John Baines, who has subsequently published and expanded on the concept in numerous publications. For various discussions of decorum see: John Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris and Phillips (1985), pp. 277-305; John Baines, 'The Stela of Emhab: Innovation, Tradition, Hierarchy', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 72 (1986), pp. 44-19; John Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23; John Baines, 'Kingship Before Literature: The World of the King in the Old Kingdom.' In: *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie Mainz 15-17, 1995*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 36, Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie 1. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 125-74; John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press: Oxford (2007), pp. 14-29; John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), pp. 11-20.

³ Although they were discovered in 1922, the majority of the stelae examined in this study were only recently published by Terence Duquesne in: *The Salakhana Trove: Votive Stelae and Other Objects from Asyut*. Darengo Publications: London (2009).

display, it is possible to examine how men of different social groups, women and children, in one locality participated in the Egyptian religious system.⁴

Before going forward, it is important to note that this dissertation focuses on displays of religious activity, and not the religious sentiments that motivated the creation of votive stelae. It is my intention to focus on the ways in which the local religious system at Asyut was coopted and used as a tool to establish, maintain, and display social prestige and power. This focus is not intended to deny or minimize the religious motivations of the people who commissioned the stelae considered in this study—far from it. It was no doubt the deep-seated devoutness of the ancient Egyptians that inspired individuals to display their social status in pietistic ways—and it was the widespread participation and prominence of the religious system that made these displays so effective.⁵

When discussing the role of religion in society, Karl Marx is famously cited as writing that “Religion is...the opium of the people.” Although Marx is frequently cited, he is often misunderstood, and it is necessary to contextualize this statement in order to understand what Marx was actually saying. In his *Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*, Marx wrote:

Religion is the general theory of this world, its encyclopaedic compendium, its logic in popular form, its spiritual *point d’honneur*, its enthusiasm, its moral sanction, its solemn complement, and its universal basis of consolation and justification. It is the *fantastic realization* of the human essence since the *human essence* has not

⁴ Geraldine Pinch notes that private individuals, at least those belonging to the artisan class or higher, clearly considered themselves capable of experiencing a direct relationship with the divine, but stresses that it is difficult to associate any particular social group with a specific type of votive object. See: Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 349 and Chapter 2.6.4. See also Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische ‘persönliche Frömmigkeit’ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), Chapter 4.

⁵ Even in the ancient world the Egyptians were considered to be especially religious. Herodotus noted that Egyptians were “religious to excess, far beyond any other race of men.” *The Histories of Herodotus, Book II* (translated by George Rawlinson). Available online at: <http://classics.mit.edu/Herodotus/history.2.ii.html>

acquired any true reality. The struggle against religion is, therefore, indirectly the struggle *against that world* whose spiritual *aroma* is religion. *Religious* suffering is, at one and the same time, the *expression* of real suffering and a *protest* against real suffering. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, and the soul of soulless conditions. It is the *opium* of the people. The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is the demand for their *real* happiness. To call on them to give up their illusions about their condition is to call on them to *give up a condition that requires illusions*.⁶

Marx wished to strip away religion. Life is often painful, and Marx believed individuals would revolt and bring about social change if they were forced to feel the unadulterated pain of life. By comparing religion to opium, Marx is not saying that it stupefies the people. What Marx is saying is that religion is a balm. Religion is a comfort that makes life bearable for many—this was especially true in the ancient world, where life was harsh and full of uncertainty. Individuals in ancient Egypt turned to religion when facing a personal crisis,⁷ and engaged in votive practices as a means of soliciting the divine to intercede on their behalf, and thus hoped to gain a measure of control regarding the vagaries of their existence. However, people are ever practical. For most, religious practice and display was also manipulated to serve secular and political objectives by engaging in competitive material displays of power and identity.⁸ The latter aspect is the primary focus of this dissertation.

It is important to note that individuals did not need to materially display their identity when engaging in votive practices. Individuals could offer food, incense, libations, or many different material objects to the gods. Even when an individual chose to create a stela, it did not

⁶ Karl Marx, 'Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right', first published: in *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, 7 & 10 February, Paris (1844), Introduction. Translated and available online at: <http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1843/critique-hpr/intro.htm>

⁷ In the ancient world there was no real understanding of how to cope with disease, illness, or even certain natural events, such as childbirth. Thus, childbirth, or even a lack of fertility, became a crisis which individuals had no control or understanding of, and they would therefore turn to supernatural means of control and resolution.

⁸ It is important to note that these manipulations may be conscious or unconscious.

need to contain any information regarding the donor to be ritually effective.⁹ Therefore, when a votive stela does include an image of its owner, it can be seen as an overt attempt to communicate social information about the donor in a religious context. Individuals in ancient Egypt, especially elite individuals, were driven to create objects that were intended to not only serve a ritual function, but were also meant to simultaneously communicate the prestige and social status of the owner. Kathlyn Cooney has termed this desire to create ritual prestige objects “functional materialism.”¹⁰

The driving force behind functional materialism was the ‘materialization of selfhood.’¹¹ The desire to create lasting monuments of identity was rooted in an Egyptian desire for permanence and self-preservation.¹² Indeed, self-presentation, or ‘self-thematization’, can be seen as the most important motivation in the production of ancient Egyptian art.¹³ However, the propagandistic nature of these presentations of self must also be taken into account.¹⁴

⁹ See Chapter 2.2 for a discussion of the form and content of votive stelae.

¹⁰ Kathlyn Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts in the Ramesside Period*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 22, Netherlands Institute of the Near East: Leiden (2007), p. 260; see also: Kathlyn Cooney, ‘The Functional Materialism of Death in Ancient Egypt: A Case Study of Funerary Materials from the Ramesside Period’, *Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie VII* (2007): pp. 273-299.

¹¹ Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present*, Berg Publishers, New York (2004), p. 10.; cf. L. Meskell, *Private life in New Kingdom Egypt*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey (2002); L. Meskell and R. A. Joyce, *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experiences*, Routledge, London (2003).

¹² Portraiture is a key aspect of preserving and presenting the self, and serves as visualized memory. For this concept of social memory see J. Assmann. ‘Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egypt’ in: P. Der Manuelian, ed. *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1996).

¹³ J. Assmann, *Ibid.*, p. 56; cf. J. Assmann ‘Sepulkrale Selbstthematization im alten Ägypten,’ in: A. Hahn and V. Kapp, eds., *Selbstthematization und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, Frankfurt (1987), pp. 196-222.

¹⁴ For a discussion see William Kelly Simpson, ‘Egyptian Sculpture and Two-Dimensional Representation as Propaganda’, in *the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 68 (1982), pp. 266-271.

The presentation of self is a performance. In this sense, the social interaction displayed on votive stelae can, and perhaps should, be viewed from a dramaturgical perspective.¹⁵ An individual depicted on a stela is playing a role. However, it is impossible to determine the sentiments held by the persons playing these roles. As discussed by Erving Goffman:

The cultural values of an establishment will determine in detail how the participants are to feel about matters and at the same time establish a framework of appearances that must be maintained, whether or not there is feeling behind the appearances.¹⁶

Therefore, by necessity, this dissertation focuses primarily on the display of religious practice and not the sentiments that motivated the practice. In the vast majority of cases, to even speculate as to the religious sentiments that led to the creation of any particular votive stela is pure conjecture; even when personal religious statements are present on a votive stela.¹⁷ However, regardless of whatever internal sentiments they may have held, an analysis of the representations of individuals on votive stelae allows us to determine the socially established roles society expected each individual to play in a public, religious setting. Egyptian art is especially suited to making such determinations, as it focused on the production of idealized images over realistic ones.

¹⁵ For the dramaturgical approach to social interaction see: Erving Goffman, Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor Books: New York (1959), pp. 240-242.

¹⁶ Erving Goffman, Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor Books: New York (1959), pp. 241-242.

¹⁷ It is necessary to be critical when analyzing every text. Indeed, if ancient Egyptian autobiographies are to be believed, the naked are all clothed, the widows are protected, and the orphans are raised by the nobles of the town. This topos is so common it might lead one to question whether or not there were in actuality enough paupers, widows, and orphans to be taken care of.

While there was a pervasive drive to present an image of one's self, attempts at realism or individualism were uncommon.¹⁸ Individual portrayals were created to be idealized images of self. They were not intended to be realistic portraits of an individual. Individuals were not represented as unique beings. Instead, each person was presented as an exemplar of what that individual should be (with attention to social status, rank, gender, etc.).¹⁹ Therefore, a priest would not normally have been presented as a unique being with individual features, but as the ideal societal conception of what a priest was.²⁰ In such cases, and in defining one's self in general, individual identity is achieved not through an examination of a person in isolation, but by contextualization and comparison with the images of other individuals.

Social identity is created and defined through difference.²¹ Differences in access to certain forms of material culture combined with taste, social behavior, and thought can all reflect

¹⁸ Assmann notes that Egyptian art followed a development counter to that of most portraiture. Rather than a trend which moved from general and abstract depictions to more individualized images, Egyptian art was highly individualized in the 3rd to early 5th dynasties, and then gave way to a tendency toward conformity and conventionalism in the 5th and 6th dynasties. This was likely due to the marked increase in production of non-royal statuary, which became more widely available throughout the 5th dynasty, leading to 'industrialized' serial production and 'generalization.' J. Assmann 'Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egypt' in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson, vol. 1*, edited by Peter Der Manuelian, Museum of Fine Arts: Boston (1996), pp. 55-81. Although he is writing on funerary statuary, conformity and conventionalism can be seen as principals which also guided the artistic representation of individuals found on votive stelae. Although I disagree, some scholars propose that these more individualized depictions are the result of a more refined artistic taste held by some of the highest elite. Cf. Dows Dunham, 'Portraiture in Ancient Egypt', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Vol. 41, No. 246 (1943), pp. 68-69.

¹⁹ With no clear cut demarcation between representational art and hieroglyphic writing, images serve models, or 'ideals,' in a concept Assmann refers to as 'hierotaxis' or 'hieroglyphicity.' Jan Assmann, *ibid.* p. 67; for the concept of 'hierotaxis' see J. Assmann, 'Hierotaxis. Textkonstitution und Bildkomposition in der altägyptischen Kunst und Literature,' in: *Form und Mass: Beiträge zur Literature, Sprache und Kunst*, edited by Jurgen Osing, and Gunter Dreyer. Wiesbaden (1987), pp. 18-41.

²⁰ This practice and the highly regularized nature of Egyptian art make the application of a semiotic methodology especially productive when studying Egyptian art. Each artistic element can be seen as a signifier which carried culture meaning and significance.

²¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (translated by Richard Nice) Routledge: London and New York (1984). See especially pp. 170-172.

an individual's social status. Through an identification and exploration of these differences we can see how individual social groups were conceptualized, created, maintained, and represented. By seeing the ways in which various social groups were restricted, with regard to what they were able to represent, it is possible to uncover the social structures of the community which framed their creation.

Each stela from Asyut not only identifies the owner, but also served to reinforce local social hierarchies by adhering to local systems of decorum and habitus. As discussed by Pierre Bourdieu:

Each agent, wittingly or unwittingly, willy nilly, is a producer and reproducer of objective meaning. Because his actions and works are the product of a *modus operandi* of which he is not the producer and has no conscious mastery, they contain an "objective intention," as the Scholastics put it, which always outruns his conscious intentions. The schemes of thought and expression he has acquired are the basis for the *intentionless invention* of regulated improvisation.²²

This perspective is especially applicable to ancient Egypt. Religious practice in ancient Egypt was tightly controlled and determined by the social group to which an individual belonged and his or her social status. Differences in religious practice determined the ways in which individuals interpreted religious practice. As noted by Maria Luiselli:

An solchen Feierlichkeiten, die ein wichtiger Bestandteil des religiösen Lebens bestimmter Religionen bzw. Konfessionen (wie z. B. des Katholizismus) darstellen, nehmen Privatpersonen aus allen sozialen Schichten teil und erleben somit eine religiös konnotierte Erfahrung auf gemeinschaftlicher Ebene. In Ägypten trafen sich bei der Ausübung der Religionspraxis alle Gesellschaftsschichten, denen wahrscheinlich die Überzeugung gemeinsam war, dass göttliche Mächte einen Einfluss auf das persönliche Leben hatten. Die sozialen Schichten bedienten sich jedoch unterschiedlicher Mittel, um mit der Gottheit zu kommunizieren: Dass den unteren Gesellschaftsschichten bestenfalls die Darbringung von Opfergaben möglich war, bedeutet allerdings nicht dass ihre Teilnahme an der Religion im Vergleich mit derjenigen der Elite, die sich Schriftdenkmäler leisten konnte qualitativ minderwertig war.

²² Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (1977), p. 79.

Der grosse Unterschied lag vielmehr in der Zugangsmöglichkeit zu theologisch-kulturellen Konzepten.²³

Individuals from different social groups had different levels of religious access and religious understanding. Votive stelae (and other votive objects) display the religious performance and understanding of the individuals who donated them.²⁴ Therefore, I argue it is possible to reconstruct the social order and social practices at Asyut through a systematic study of the performance of ritual activity as it is depicted on votive stelae. Since the religious role each individual played was defined by their social standing, each individual who commissioned a votive stela would have collaborated with the artist creating his or her stela to ensure that their social status and ritual activity was accurately displayed.

Before moving forward, it is worth discussing the role of the artist in ancient Egypt. Artists, or to use a more proper term, artisans, had little individual agency in ancient Egypt. But in this study, artisans can largely be seen as mediators of decorum. Artisans in ancient Egypt served to execute the will of the patron, but would have done so in ways that were socially acceptable. As noted by Jan Assmann, “it is not the self of an artist or writer which is revealed by a statue or speaking in an inscription, but the self of the patron...what matters is the ‘self’ that gives the order, not the one who executes it.”²⁵ Therefore, when unique iconographical elements are found they indicate social power and agency on the part of the donor—not the innovation of

²³ Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische ‘persönliche Frömmigkeit’ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 233.

²⁴ It is necessary to say something here about the prefabricated nature of some votive objects. Prefabricated votive objects were meant to engage with the widest audience possible, and can therefore be seen as representations of religious practice and conception of the general public. See Chapter 5.9 for a discussion.

²⁵ Jan Assmann, ‘Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egypt’ in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, edited by Peter Der Manuelian. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1996), p. 55.

an artisan.²⁶ One of the central questions of this study is who had such power and agency, and how it could be expressed in a provincial context.²⁷ In order to highlight the unique nature of the local society at Asyut, material from other sites, principally Deir el-Medina, Thebes, and Qantir, will occasionally be considered. Still, the primary focus of this dissertation is Asyut, a small provincial town with a local and less complex social hierarchy than large political and religious centers such as Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis, and Qantir; yet a town whose social structure was more diverse and representative of average life than that of the workman's village at Deir el-Medina, where most studies of non-elite Egyptian society have traditionally focused. Votive stelae are an ideal dataset to examine for such a study. Stelae are objects meant to display the identity and social status of the donor, but were more available to non-elite Egyptians than either tombs or statuary.²⁸

²⁶ The drive for individuals to create unique expressions of individuality was not limited to the New Kingdom. Tomb decoration in the Old Kingdom already shows evidence of the tension between normative artistic practices and the need for individuality. See: Deborah Vischak, 'Agency in Old Kingdom Elite Tomb Programs: Traditions, Locations, and Variable Meanings.' In *Dekorierte Grabanlagen im Alten Reich: Methodik und Interpretation*, edited by Martin Fitzenreiter, Golden House Publications (2006), pp. 255-276; and René van Walsem, 'Diversification and Variation in Old Kingdom Funerary Iconography as the Expression of a Need for Individuality', *Jaarbericht "ex oriente lux"* 44 (2012-2013), pp. 117-139.

²⁷ As this dissertation is concerned with public participation in religious ceremonies, aspects of 'private religion' are beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, such studies should be grounded in the domestic and urban archaeological context, which is impossible at Asyut, where practically nothing is known about the ancient city. For a discussion of the town of Asyut, see Chapter 2. For the need to study private religious practices from an archaeological settlement perspective, as well as an overview of the evidence, see: Anna Stevens, 'Domestic Religious Practices', In, *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Edited by Willeke Wendrich and Jacco Dieleman. University of California, Los Angeles (2009); see also Barry Kemp, 'How religious were the ancient Egyptians?', in *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1995), pp. 25 – 54. For some studies on private religion see: Anna Stevens, *Private Religion at Amarna. The Material Evidence*, BAR International Series 1587, Archaeopress: Oxford (2006); John Baines, 'Practical religion and piety', in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73 (1987), pp. 79 – 98; Florence Friedman, 'Aspects of domestic life and religion', In *Pharaoh's workers: The villagers of Deir el Medina*, edited by Leonard Lesko, Cornell University Press: New York (1994), pp. 95 – 117.

²⁸ By available, I mean economically accessible. As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, affordability seems to have been the only constraining influence when it came to commissioning a votive stela. Such a view has already been espoused by Pinch, who states that the donors depicted on votive stelae and textiles donated to Hathor mainly belonged to a 'middle class,' although she notes that wealthy individuals could also have

1.2 Stelae: Form and Function

Stelae normally take the form of rectangular slabs, usually with rounded tops. They are similar in size and appearance to western tombstones. However, some royal and temple stelae, which would have been displayed in palaces and temples, were much larger (including those carved into mountains and rock outcroppings). The stelae that have survived from antiquity are usually made of stone, although there are also examples of stelae made from wood and clay. Each stela could be decorated with both text and images. The decoration of stone and wooden stelae was achieved through painting or relief (sunken and raised). In the case of clay stelae, some were painted, while others were molded by hand or impressed using a stamp. Many stelae were not limited to a single decorative technique and are often executed in relief and then painted.

The fundamental purpose of all stela types can be ascertained by examining the Egyptian word for stela: *wḏ*. The root *wḏ* has the primary meanings: to order, to command, to decree, and to proclaim.²⁹ All four of these meanings denote a setting where information is conveyed amongst individuals. This aspect of communicating information can be seen as the primary function of all stelae.³⁰ Stelae were erected in public or semi-public places.³¹ Stelae were placed

participated in these types of display. Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 344.

²⁹ Adolph Erman and Hermann Grapow (ed.): *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*. Akademie-Verlag, Berlin 1926–1961 (hereafter abbreviated as *Wb*), volume 1, pp. 396-399; Leonard Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, second edition, vol. 1, Providence (2002), p. 119.

³⁰ Although not writing specifically about votive stelae, the communicative, or propagandistic nature of Egyptian art in general has already been recognized by William Kelly Simpson; Simpson writes: “I use the term (propaganda) to refer to a message, communication, or statement addressed by its author on behalf of an individual or group (a god, king, official, class) or ideology (cult, kingship, personal ambition, special interest group) to a specific or general audience...The statement or message can be a call to follow a cult or leader, may or may not include a reward for compliance or threat for non-compliance, or may be more in the nature of a declaration or

in temples, tomb chapels, household shrines, and other areas where they could be viewed. The importance of this communicative function is perhaps best exemplified by royal examples. The Restoration Stela of Tutankhamun decreed the end of Atenism and a return to the traditional religious system. Kamose commissioned stelae commemorating his victories over the Hyksos. In the Greco-Roman period, when Egyptian society became more culturally and linguistically diverse, the Ptolemies issued trilingual decrees, whose multiple languages and scripts express a desire to reach as wide an audience as possible. Before analyzing stelae any further, it is first necessary to examine the ways in which individuals created votive stelae

1.3 Representational Agency, Social Identity and the Creation of Stelae

As discussed above, votive stelae can be viewed as social objects concerned with fulfilling a ritual function while simultaneously displaying the religious access and social standing of the owner. Unfortunately, there is remarkably little evidence regarding the actual creation of a votive stela. While royal stelae will often include a message describing the circumstances under which a stela was created, votive stelae do not. When text is included on a votive stela it focuses mainly on the identification of what is being depicted, as opposed to how

proclamation.” William Kelly Simpson, ‘Egyptian Sculpture and Two-Dimensional Representation as Propaganda’, in *the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. 68 (1982), p. 66.

³¹ Notable exceptions to this rule are the Third Intermediate Period funerary stelae, which were discovered in burial chambers. It is possible that this placement was a secondary placement and these stelae were initially displayed in domestic or public settings before being deposited into the burial chambers. However, this is merely a suggestion of author. For a discussion of these stelae see the recent monograph by Heidi Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.) in Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports (B.A.R.) International Series: Oxford (2007).

the stela was created. There is in fact only one ancient Egyptian text that deals with the creation of a private, votive stela.

Ostrakon Deir el-Medina 246 discusses the artistic process of creating a votive stela. It reads:

Please send this back to me right away today. Pay heed, pay heed! A depiction of Montu seated on a throne and a depiction of the scribe Pentawere kissing the ground before him in adoration of him—(to be) in outline drawing.³²

The same type of communication regarding the commissioning of votive stelae must have happened at Asyut, but no records of these communications have been preserved.³³ In regards to the present study, the most important aspect of this text is what it suggests about the artistic agency of the stela donor, which can be understood by examining his iconographic specifications.

The writer of Ostrakon 246 identified many of the individual elements he wished to include on the stela. A specific named individual, as well as his title, is identified. This validates the suggestion that donors sought to reinforce their identity and position within the social hierarchy by displaying it on votive stelae. It also demonstrates that it was necessary to specify Pentawere's pose and position with respect to the deity represented. This indicates that there were a variety of options available to Pentawere. Pentawere needed to specify his position and pose, as well as the deity he was worshipping and his pose. However, it was not necessary to specify the dress or hairstyle worn by Pentawere. The lack of instruction regarding the

³² Edward Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*. Scholars Press: Atlanta (1990), p. 139.

³³ It is likely that at Asyut orders were communicated in a similar fashion, or were primarily communicated orally. Given the higher rate of literacy at Deir el-Medina, it makes sense that what would have traditionally been communicated orally at other sites was instead written. It is also possible that the workmen at Deir el-Medina were sought after by non-local elites, making it impossible to communicate instructions verbally. For a discussion of literacy at Deir el-Medina see: Jac Janssen, 'Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina,' in *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation,' Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991*. ed. Robert Demarée and Arno Egberts, CNWS Publications: Leiden (1992).

appearance of Pentawere indicates there was no need to detail Pentawere's personal appearance (i.e. clothing and hairstyle). The artisan creating the stela apparently had an implicit understanding of the social status and social role played by Pentawere.

The depictions of the men and women found on the votive stelae with which this study is concerned are social performances to an audience (the community). These individuals are playing a socially defined role for the benefit of other people. These other people are asked to take the performance seriously, and to believe that the individual making the presentation actually possesses the attributes they appear to possess, and that, in general, the matters depicted are what they appear to be.³⁴ The display of specific items of personal adornment and material culture are used to lend weight and meaning to these social performances.

Clothing, hairstyle, and personal appearance help to define identity and status because items of personal adornment are signifiers, or sign-vehicles.³⁵ From a purely functional interpretation, clothing exists solely as a means of covering and protecting the body. However, the actual function of clothing is multivalent. Many types of dress go beyond simply clothing the body, and can therefore be interpreted as forms of conspicuous or luxury consumption. As discussed by Susan Crane:

...in a real social economy, as opposed to a model, consumption is driven by a constellation of considerations in which managing and displaying status can be more compelling than keeping warm. Jean Baudrillard attacks "the myth of primary needs" by arguing that consumption is always laden with symbolic importance, so fundamentally laden that utility is a subordinate concern in any exchange.³⁶

³⁴ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor Books: New York (1959), p. 17.

³⁵ The term signifier is used here in a semiotic sense.

³⁶ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, (2002), p. 12.

In such an interpretation the use, or consumption, of any specific garment, hairstyle, or bodily adornment carries culturally specific symbolic value and meaning that outweigh its functional properties. Individuals select their clothing, hairstyle, and other forms of bodily display not just for the protection and warmth they may offer, but for what it communicates about their identity and social status. This holds true for ancient Egypt, where the ability to use specific symbolic resources, such as certain types of clothing and hairstyles, were restricted by social group and social status.³⁷

Janet Richards notes that, in ancient Egypt, social rank granted individuals “differential access to and/or control of economic, productive, and symbolic resources.”³⁸ The networks to which one belonged granted an individual the ability to access, use, and display different types of clothing and material culture. Therefore, social status and identity is embodied in material culture and cannot “float free from materiality.”³⁹ The differences in material culture observed from one sub-group to another can indicate class, social status,⁴⁰ ethnicity, and gender.⁴¹ These “variations in clothing choices are subtle indicators of how different types of societies and

³⁷ For a discussion of hairstyle as it relates to social class see: Gay Robins, ‘Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350 B.C.’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 36 (1999), pp. 55-69.

³⁸ Janet Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge (2005), p. 15.

³⁹ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, (2002), p. 6.

⁴⁰ Pierre Lemonnier ‘Introduction’ in: *Technological choices. Transformation in material cultures since the Neolithic*. Edited by P Lemonnier. London (1993), p. 19.

⁴¹ For a case study on the expression of ethnicity and gender in material culture in ancient Nubia see: Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. Routledge: London and New York (2003).

different positions within societies are actually experienced.”⁴² Put another way, items of clothing and personal adornment exist as social signifiers or sign-vehicles. By identifying individuals who had access to the same forms of material culture, it is possible to determine and create social groups. This is especially true given the public nature of the rituals in which the men, women, and children who appear on the stelae are participating.

Individuals engaging in public ritual activity likely could not even attempt to falsify their identity. Societal decorum, the mediating role of the artisan, and the public nature of the rituals which these individuals were engaged in would have prevented individuals from attempting to depict themselves playing roles different than those they actually played. The purpose of public appearance and behavior is not to falsify personal identity but, on the contrary, to establish and maintain it.⁴³ At the same time, these individuals were actively attempting to construct or negotiate their religious display in a way that represented and enhanced their position. As individuals rose in social status, they had greater and more varied religious access, resulting in additional options when it came to depicting their religious activity. This made it necessary for higher status individuals to specify which god would be included, and the form in which they would appear.

As detailed on Ostrakon Deir el-Medina 246, Pentawere requested that the god Montu be depicted seated upon his throne.⁴⁴ While there was no need to detail the appearance of Pentawere, it was necessary to do so for the god he was worshipping. Pentawere had to indicate

⁴² Diana Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing*, The University of Chicago Press: Chicago (2000), p. 1.

⁴³ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, (2002), p. 4.

⁴⁴ As gods could occur in a variety of forms, this demonstrates that the individual had some agency as to which form of the god they chose to show themselves worshipping. The ways in which a god could manifest are detailing in the following section on the Egyptian religious system.

which god would be present, as well as the posture and pose in which Montu would appear. The instruction that Montu was to be drawn in a specific manifestation suggests that there were other options available to Pentawere. However, the choice of one particular god should not be taken as the denial of other gods. The choice of one god over another was often dependent upon an individual's physical location. As noted by Maria Luiselli:

Diese Wahl bedeutete keinen Ausschluss von anderen Gottheiten, sondern vielmehr das Zugeständnis einer privilegierten Stellung einer bestimmten Gottheit im eigenen Leben. In erster Linie wurden Lokal- und Berufsgottheiten als persönliche Gottheiten gewählt, da die räumliche Nähe zu ihnen sowohl in intellektueller als auch in praktischer Hinsicht am meisten ausgeprägt war.⁴⁵

Individuals in ancient Egypt had artistic agency in displaying their personal religious preference. However, elements of personal adornment appear to have been socially determined and less variable. The choices in personal appearance and display available to each donor were subject to rules of decorum, which were determined by their religious access and position within the established social hierarchy.⁴⁶

1.4 Interpretive Framework

As discussed above, a votive stela need not contain an image of the donor. There are ample surviving examples of votive stelae which contain no reference to their donor/s in either

⁴⁵ For this as a typology of votive stelae see Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 83.

⁴⁶ This realization has already been discussed by Luiselli, who writes, "Durch festgelegte rituelle Praktiken und religiöse Gebetsformeln wurde die Sphäre des Göttlichen dem Individuum unmittelbar zugänglich gemacht. Die Erreichbarkeit des Göttlichen war je nach sozialer Schicht im unterschiedlichen Masse möglich, und zwar je nachdem, ob sie durch die theologische Kenntnis einzelner Spezialisten oder durch die magisch-rituelle Praxis von Individuen unterschiedlicher Gesellschaftsschichten erreicht wurde." Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011). p. 23.

text or image.⁴⁷ Therefore, when a donor is depicted, it is a conscious choice on the part of the donor to transform a stela from a solely religious votive object into a social object of self-presentation. As stated above, these multi-faceted objects are meant to publicly convey information about the religious access, identity, status, agency, and taste of the donor(s). These donors did not have unrestrained artistic license when it came to self-presentation.

Votive stelae represent a negotiation between individual tastes, desires, and economic constraints, with the restrictions of religious, artistic, and societal decorum, which did not permit the free use of certain images, or their depiction.⁴⁸ Rules of decorum determine what is permissible to display within a given context, with different rules for each individual. These rules are determined by the social status and economic ability of the donor, and the context in which they are appearing. Decorum is therefore inherently situational, and served to establish and legitimize the social position and social power of the donor. Each individual who creates an object within such a system is engaging in a negotiation where they are adhering to established rules of representational/artistic decorum, while attempting to serve their own individual needs. Therefore, as the individual works to create a personal object, they are simultaneously—consciously or unconsciously—recreating and reinforcing the system of decorum with which they are negotiating. As such, each stela not only contains information about the donor, but displays the systems of societal norms and local rules of decorum which framed its creation.

⁴⁷ As regards social display, such stelae may have been set-up in homes. The donors may also have donated them public in a community setting, but it is impossible to know if this is the case.

⁴⁸ John Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23; John Baines, 'Kingship Before Literature: The World of the King in the Old Kingdom.' In: *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie Mainz 15-17, 1995*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 36, Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie 1. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 125-74; John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press: Oxford (2007), pp. 14-29; John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), pp. 11-20.

Decorum itself is the product of a larger system of societal mores and beliefs, which can be characterized as *habitus*.

For this work the term *habitus* is used as it was defined by Pierre Bourdieu in his *Outline of a Theory of Practice*,⁴⁹ and later elaborated upon in his seminal work *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*.⁵⁰ *Habitus* plays a key role in studies, such as the one currently being conducted, which focus on identity and its presentation. *Habitus*, as defined by Bourdieu, is:

...both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices. It is in the relationship between the two capacities which define the *habitus*, the capacity to produce classifiable practices and works, and the capacity to differentiate and appreciate these practices and products (taste), that the represented social world, i.e., the space of life-styles, is constituted... The *habitus* is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices, but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes. Each class condition is defined, simultaneously, by its intrinsic properties and by the relational properties which it derives from its position in the system of class conditions, which is also a system of differences, differential positions, i.e., by everything which distinguishes from what it is not and especially from everything it is opposed to; social identity is defined and asserted through difference.⁵¹

Habitus orients the viewer, and restricts the donor of a stela; it frames what can be created, while providing a lens for other members of society to understand and interpret what has been created. When applied to Egyptian votive stelae, we can see that each iconographic and textual variable which is included—or excluded—serves to define the social identity, or class (to use the terminology of Bourdieu) of the stela donor. As noted by Bourdieu, these variables are

⁴⁹ Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Translated by Richard Nice), Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, (1977).

⁵⁰ Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Translated by Richard Nice), (1984).

⁵¹ Pierre Bourdieu. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Translated by Richard Nice), (1984), pp.170-172.

structuring structures. They are not unbreakable rules, but are a set of dispositions—often subconscious—that function as “principals of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively ‘regulated’ and ‘regular’ without in any way being the product of obedience to rules.”⁵² John Baines, who introduced the concept of decorum to Egyptology when writing specifically on ancient Egyptian artistic and social principles, states that these structures are hierarchically restricted according to social group.⁵³ The primary goal of this dissertation is to answer the question of how these social groups were organized, and the forms of capital held and displayed by each group.

There are four forms of capital: economic, cultural, social, and symbolic.⁵⁴ Each form of capital could play a role in the creation of a votive stela. As they apply to votive stelae, I define the forms of capital as follows:

Economic Capital: The financial resources an individual has available to invest in a votive stela. This can be reflected in the material, execution, and overall quality of the stela.

Cultural Capital: The intangible qualifications, specifically knowledge and education, which may result in display of, or allusion to restricted knowledge.

Social Capital: This form of capital is tied to group membership and access. It serves to define and limit elements of self-presentation, such as dress and hairstyle, which were restricted. Their use indicates membership to a certain social group. It can also indicate access to social networks which may have been granted more religious access.

Symbolic Capital: This capital is embodied by specific religious objects, poses, and positions of the donor in relation to the god/s. The use of specific poses and

⁵² Pierre Bourdieu. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Translated by Richard Nice), Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, (1977), p. 72.

⁵³ John Baines, “Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.” *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23.

⁵⁴ Pierre Bordieu, “The forms of Capital.” in *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, edited by J.G. Richardson, Greenwood: New York (1986) pp. 241–258.

ritual offerings indicates not just higher levels of access, but also religious prestige.⁵⁵

By examining the forms of capital it is possible to determine who had social power and social agency at Asyut, how agency and power were displayed, and what role individuals for different social groups played in society.

1.5 Summary

Most studies of Egyptian stelae have focused on funerary, royal, and temple stelae, with little attention being paid to votive stelae and their social function.⁵⁶ Most existing studies which have included votive stelae largely focus on aspects of personal piety, but adopt a textual approach that ignores the social aspects and social settings in which votive stelae appear.⁵⁷ Treating votive stelae in a more holistic manner allows us the ability to see how stelae function as objects of display meant to communicate social information while still serving a public religious function. Votive stelae were created for the purpose of creating a lasting, material self-presentation to the larger community while simultaneously serving a religious function and representing the religious experience of the owner in a publicly accessible location. The desire to create these monuments was rooted in the Egyptian desire to achieve religious and social

⁵⁵ For prohibition on the public commodification of objects see Igor Kopytoff, "The cultural biography of things: commodification" in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, ed. By Arjun Appadurai, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp. 72-77.

⁵⁶ Some notable exceptions to this are the work of Robert Demarée, *The 3h ikr n R^c-stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten: Leiden (1983), Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009); and Erika Morgen, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 61. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2004).

⁵⁷ The two notable exceptions to this are Geraldine Pinch's *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993), and Karen Exell's *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009).

permanence through the creation of monuments that continued to interact with the living after the death of the stela's owner.

Thus, while their display is overtly religious, votive stelae also express social concerns. They are encoded with information regarding the social status, agency, power, and religious experience of their donors. Because stelae were publicly displayed, decorum would have prevented individuals from falsifying their religious practice and social display while actively negotiating the expression of their social position on votive stelae. Therefore, by studying stelae from a single area as a corpus, it is possible to see how religion was experienced, and how social power and agency functioned and were displayed in a provincial town setting.⁵⁸ The depictions of people on votive stelae are a representation of the roles performed by each individual. By examining who could engage in certain types of public, ritual display, it is possible to reconstruct social and religious hierarchies, gender roles, community ritual practice, social and religious agency, and even societal values at New Kingdom Asyut.

⁵⁸ Luiselli has already noted how regional influences affected votive stelae iconography, resulting in different forms of display. See Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), especially pp. 37-39.

Glossary of Terms

Economic Capital: The financial resources available to an individual. Donors had many choices when it came to the commissioning of religious objects. Statues, votive stelae, smaller votive objects—all of these required an investment of economic capital. This can be reflected in the material, execution, and overall quality of an object.

Cultural Capital: The intangible qualifications, specifically knowledge and education, which may result in display, or allusion to restricted knowledge.

Social Capital: This form of capital is tied to group membership and access. It serves to define and limit elements of self-presentation, such as dress and hairstyle, which were restricted. Their use indicates membership to a certain social group or class. It can also indicate access to social networks which may have been granted more, or different types religious access.

Symbolic Capital: This capital is embodied by specific religious objects, poses, and positions of the donor in relation to the god/s. The use of specific poses and ritual offerings indicates not just higher levels of access, but also religious prestige.

Social Status: Refers to an individual's prestige, and position in society. While class and social status often overlap, or are clustered together, they are not the same thing.

Agency: Agency refers to an individual's ability to assert their will when creating a votive stela. Specifically, it indicates the conscious and deliberate involvement a stela owner in the selection of the various types of iconographic and textual elements represented on their stela.

Decorum: The product of a variety of social structures (i.e. class, gender, societal rank, age.) that limits defines what is proper for certain individuals to represent in a given context.

Chapter 2: Votive Stelae

2.1 The Functional Evolution of Private Stelae

As discussed in Chapter 1, stelae are objects which were intended to serve a ritual function while simultaneously communicating the social status and prestige of the owner. Given the vast number of stelae, Egyptologists have created various stela typologies and categories to allow for their study.⁵⁹ Stelae can be categorized in a variety of ways. For example, stelae can be classified on the basis of the donor (royal versus private), the location (temple, tomb, house, along a thoroughfare), or by the content (votive, funerary, marking a boundary). Each of these categories could then be even further subdivided by other characteristics of the stelae such as archaeological provenance and date. As this dissertation is concerned with public ritual activity conducted by private individuals, royal and temple stelae will not be examined in this study. However, it is necessary to examine the evolution of private stelae over time to understand the role and function of votive stelae in ancient Egypt.

⁵⁹ For some selected stela typologies and their study see: Heike Sternberg-el-Hotabi, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der Horusstelen: ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte Ägyptens im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* Wiesbaden (1999); William J. Murnane and Charles C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten*. Kegan Paul International: London (1993); Heidi Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.) in Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports (B.A.R.) International Series: Oxford (2007); Rob Demarée, *The Ax iqr n Ra-stelae: On ancestor worship in ancient Egypt*, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten (1983); Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009); and Erika Morgen, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 61. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2004); for collections of stelae see: various authors, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum Part*, volumes 1-12 (series publication, various years); Mario Tosi and Alessandro Roccati, *Stele E Altre Epigrafi Di Deir El Medina (n. 50001- n. 50262)*, Turin (1972); There are also numerous monographs which focus on individual stelae. See for instance: Christophe Thiers, *La stèle de Ptolémée VIII Évergète II à Héracléion*, Oxford (2009); and Anne-Sophie von Bomhard, *The Decree of Sais*, Oxford (2012).

As discussed in Chapter 1, stelae of all types were intended to communicate information. The earliest surviving examples of private stelae were funerary markers. It seems they intended to identify the owner and mark their tomb, possibly serving as a focal point for mortuary rituals and offerings. By the 1st dynasty, rulers were using funerary stelae to mark their tombs at Abydos, as evidenced by the stelae of Djet (fig. 2.1) and Merneith (fig. 2.2), which were discovered at the early dynastic cemetery at Umm el Qa'ab. These early stelae already appear in the elongated round-top form that would become typical of most Egyptian stelae. They were found outside of tombs and mastabas, although their exact placement in relation to the tombs is difficult to ascertain.⁶⁰ Even at this earliest period stelae were not limited to royals. The 1st dynasty stela of Nefer (also found at Umm el Qa'ab, see fig. 2.3), a servant of king Semerkhet, demonstrates that non-royals were using stelae to display identity in this early period. These early stelae only include the name, and sometimes title of the donor. These stelae can be seen as precursors to later, more extensive, autobiographical ones. The names, titles, and biographical information found on these stelae have made them a rich source for prosopographic and genealogical research, and demonstrate the connection between stelae and displays of social identity. Even these very early examples served to display and maintain an individual's place in society. The serekh depicted on the stela of Djet (fig. 2.1) exhibits the owner's royal status, while the male figure on the stela of Nefer (fig. 2.3) displays his gender, and possibly even communicates information about his social status.

⁶⁰ See G. Reisner, 'The Position of Early Grave Stelae,' in: *Studies Presented to F.Ll. Griffith*, Egypt Exploration Society: London (1932), pp. 324–31.



Fig 2.1: Stela of Djet (Louvre E 11007)



Fig 2.2: Stela of Merneith (Egyptian Museum JE 34450)



Fig 2.3: Stela of Nefer (British Museum EA 35018)

As Egyptian mortuary practices evolved, Egyptian funerary stelae became more complex. In the Old Kingdom funerary stelae began to include images of the deceased in front of loaded offering tables and lists of offerings. These new stelae, also referred to as ‘slab stelae’,

necessitated an adaptation in form to a rectangular piece of stone (fig. 4).⁶¹ These stelae also begin to be integrated into architectural elements such as tombs, cenotaphs, and shrines—resulting in more prominent display. The imagery found on these slab stelae is not unique to stelae and can also be found on false doors from the same period (see fig. 5).⁶² There have been numerous studies which attempt to trace the stylistic development of these stelae and false doors to aid in the dating of monuments,⁶³ while other studies have focused on their funerary or cultic function.⁶⁴

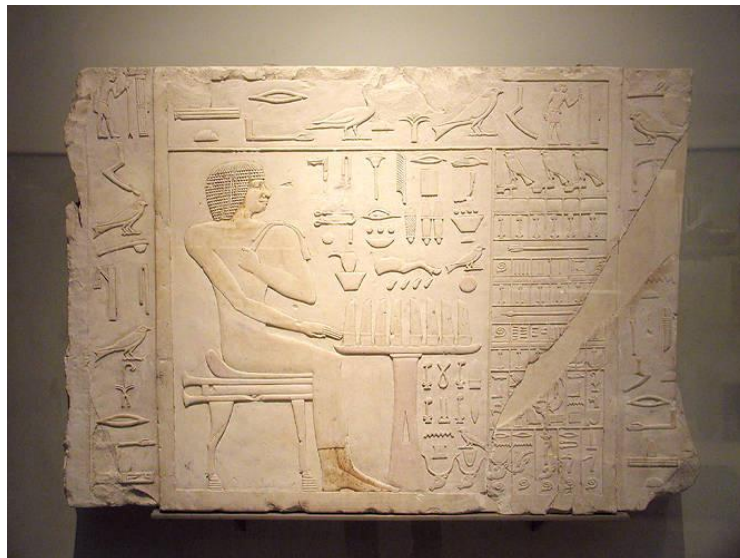


Fig. 2.4: Stela of Rahotep (British Museum EA 1242)

⁶¹ For the stylistic development of slab stelae see: P. Manuelian, *The Slab Stelae of the Giza Necropolis*, Philadelphia, (2003).

⁶² For false door development see S. Wiebach, *Die ägyptische Scheintür. Morphologische Studien zur Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Hauptkultstelle in den Privat-Gräbern des Alten Reiches*, Hamburg, (1981).

⁶³ See A. Rusch, 'Die Entwicklung der Grabsteinformen im Alten Reich,' *ZÄS* 58 (1923), pp. 101-124; H. Müller, 'Die Totendenkstein des Mittleren Reiches, Ihre Genesis, Ihre Darstellungen und Ihre Komposition,' *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pp. 165-206; for the theory that slab stelae led the development of false doors see G. Reisner, *A History of the Giza Necropolis* 1, Cambridge, 1942, pp. 7–8.

⁶⁴ See A. Shoukry, 'The So-called Stelae of Abydos,' *MDAIK* 16 (1958), pp. 292-297.



Fig. 2.5: False Door of Neferseshemkhufu (British Museum EA 1282)

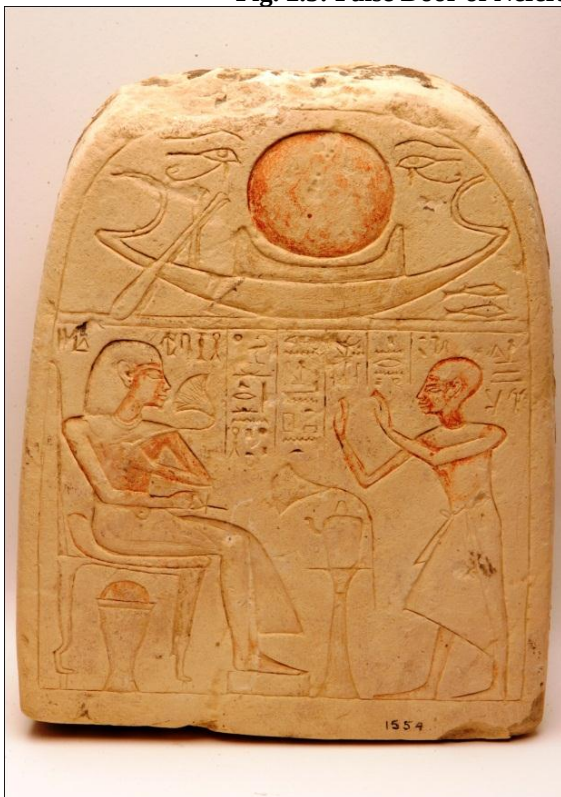


Fig. 2.6: Stela of Ptahhesy (Manchester Museum 1554)

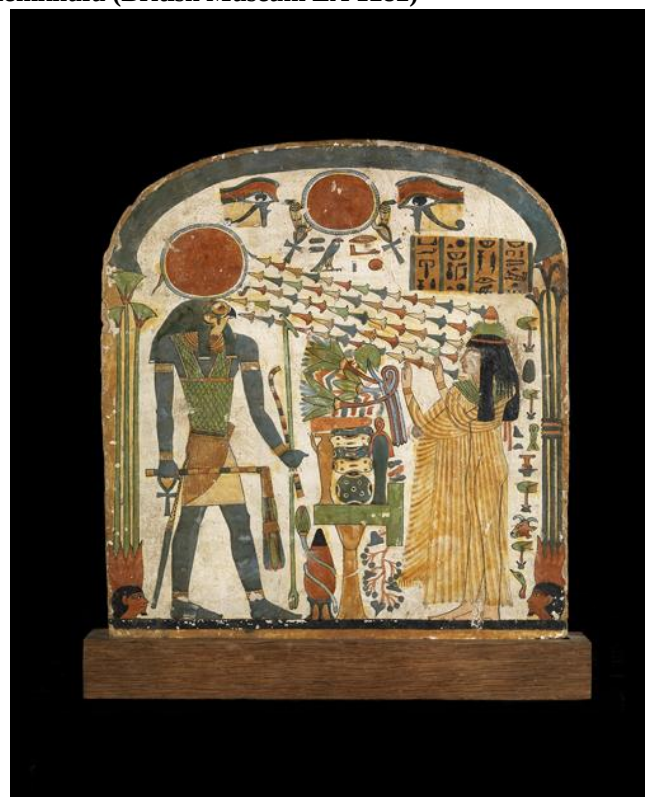


Fig. 2.7: Stela of Taperet (Louvre E 52)

There was a key shift in decorum that occurred in the Middle Kingdom. By at least the Middle Kingdom each person could become Osiris.⁶⁵ This evolution in religious thought made a pilgrimage to Abydos a central component of the funeral ritual and tomb iconography for non-royal Egyptians.⁶⁶ Elite Egyptians began to make pilgrimages in order to participate in the religious ceremonies of Osiris at Abydos, and they commemorated their participation in these religious activities at Abydos on stelae.⁶⁷

As discussed in Chapter 1, permanence in the social realm was a primary concern for ancient Egyptians.⁶⁸ To achieve this, individuals would donate stelae and erect tomb chapels and cenotaphs along the processional route at Abydos. These stelae and their associated tomb chapels were found in great number at the Terrace of the Great God at Abydos.⁶⁹ Many studies have

⁶⁵ Assmann sees the ability of non-royal individuals to become Osiris as a feature of the Middle Kingdom, see: Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton). Cornell University Press (2001), p. 185. This can be seen as a product of the so-called 'democratization of the afterlife.' However, many scholars now refute this point of view, and believe such access was already possible in the Old Kingdom, but decorum prevented its wide-spread display. For instance, Mark Smith demonstrates that non-royal individuals could already associate with Osiris and access *szh.w*, or glorification spells, in the Old Kingdom. See Mark Smith, 'Democratization of the Afterlife', In the UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, Los Angeles. Eds. Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. University of California, Los Angeles (2009), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/70g428wj>; see also Harold Hayes 'The death of the Democratization of the Afterlife', in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick, Oxford: Oxbow books (2011), (passim). While the direct association to Osiris was easily achievable for men, the situation for women was more complicated. Cf. Kathryn Cooney, 'The problem of female rebirth in New Kingdom Egypt: The fragmentation of the female individual in her funerary equipment', In *Sex and gender in ancient Egypt: 'Don your wig for a joyful hour.'* Edited by Carolyn Graves-Brown. Classical Press of Wales: Swansea, pp. 1 – 26.

⁶⁶ Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton). Cornell University Press (2001), p. 185.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that it is possible this participation may have existed in earlier periods, but decorum did not permit its display.

⁶⁸ See also Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Cornell University Press (2005), Chapter 2: Death as Social Isolation.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of evolution of the cult landscape of Abydos in the Middle Kingdom see: 'Chapter 6: The Expanding Landscape of the Middle Kingdom' in: David O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris*. Thames and Hudson: London (2009), pp. 86-103. For the seminal study on the terrace see William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. (New Haven and Philadelphia (1974).

focused on these stelae, examining aspects of iconography, dating, and production.⁷⁰ Regarding the ritual practice and the pietistic functioning of the stelae, Maria Luiselli notes that:

Piety—at least the way it can be assumed for the Middle Kingdom—is displayed on the stelae by the depiction of both the donor and the deity (or deities) to which the stela is dedicated. The donor is shown either with raised arms, in adoring gesture, or with hanging arms along the body and empty hands in a prayer pose. An offering table can—but must not—be part of the representation thus suggesting the execution of an actual ritual offering in order to get into contact with the deity.⁷¹

In focusing on three stelae from Abydos donated by Amenisoneb, John Baines notes that the public display of these objects served to demonstrate Amenisoneb's religious commitment to Wepwaut while communicating his prestige and social status.⁷²

The content of the Middle Kingdom stelae from Abydos represent a pivotal moment in the evolution in societal decorum. Non-royal Individuals began to represent themselves interacting directly with gods without the king being present as a mediator. The stelae where individuals are shown in connection with a god can be seen as attempts to push the boundaries of decorum. These stelae are not numerous. As noted by Maria Luiselli:

Insgesamt stellen 35 Stelen aus dem Mittleren Reich eine Szene von Verehrung durch eine Privatperson dar. Davon datieren 15 mit Sicherheit in die 13.

⁷⁰ For workshop production and dating of Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period stelae see Marcel Marée, 'A Remarkable Group of Stelae from the Second Intermediate Period,' *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden* 73, pp. 7-22; also R. Freed, "Stela Workshops of the Early 12th Dynasty", in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, Vol. 1, P. Manuelian (ed.), Boston: Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1996, pp. 296-336.

⁷¹ Maria Michela Luiselli, "Images of Personal Religion in Ancient Egypt: An Outline", in *Kult und Bild: Die bildliche Dimension des Kultes im Alten Orient*, in *Der Antike und in der Neuzeit*, edited by Maria Michela Luiselli, Jürgen Mohn and Stephanie Gripenotrog, Diskurs Religion: vol. 1, Ergon-Verlag: Würzburg, p. 20.

⁷² John Baines, "The Stelae of Amenisonbe from Abydos and Middle Kingdom Display of Personal Religion" in *Sitting Beside Lepsius: Studies in Honour of Jaromir Malek at the Griffith Institute*, edited by Diana Magee, Janine Bourriau and Stephen Quirke. OLA 185 Peeters: Leuven (2009), pp. 12-13. Interestingly, although they are found at Abydos, the three stelae donated by Amenisoneb focus on his connection with the god Wepwaut. It is possible that there was something about the nature of Wepwaut that made him more accessible than other deities, or that his cult encouraged and facilitated the donation of votive stelae more than other ancient Egyptian gods.

Dynastie, zwei in die 12. Dynastie. Den Rest machen solche Stelen aus, die nicht eindeutig chronologisch eingeordnet, aber aus verschiedenen Gründen eher an das Ende der 12. Dynastie datiert werden können.⁷³

The more experimental nature of these stelae is also reflected in their lack of standardization.

Luiselli states that, „Ein Einblick in die wenigen bekannten Stelen aus dem Mittleren Reich, die Formen von Interaktion zwischen menschlicher und göttlicher Sphäre in Bild wiedergeben, zeigt, dass diese frühen Bildmotive kein einheitliches Muster aufweisen.“⁷⁴ The lack of standardization demonstrates these individuals were engaging in new types of votive display which evolved over time.

The stelae from Abydos, which attempt to represent and commemorate the ways in which individuals attempted to interact with the gods,⁷⁵ can be seen as the direct precursors to the New Kingdom votive stelae studied in this dissertation.⁷⁶ By the Ramesside period the display of a

⁷³ Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 42.

⁷⁴ Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 42.

⁷⁵ Luiselli notes that although it is not depicted on votive stelae, it is highly possible that priests mediated the religious activity of the individuals depicted on the stelae. She believes that this was likely not represented because the purpose of these images was to display an individual's closeness to the gods. I believe it is likely that the individual's represented on the stelae did actually present the offerings in the manner shown. This ritual act can be seen as a public performance and, as Luiselli discusses, what was represented on votive stelae was the apex of the private ritual act. It is important to note however that while it was private individuals who were conducting the ritual act; it was done so within the context of a public religious festival. Priests must have played a role in this public performance. They likely led the procession and set the stage necessary to conduct the accompanying rituals. For Luiselli's comments see: "Images of Personal Religion in Ancient Egypt: An Outline", in *Kult und Bild: Die bildliche Dimension des Kultes im Alten Orient*, in *Der Antike und in der Neuzeit*, edited by Maria Michela Luiselli, Jürgen Mohn and Stephanie Gripenotrog, *Diskurs Religion*: vol. 1, Ergon-Verlag: Würzburg, p. 29. These Middle Kingdom stelae, and their dating, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

⁷⁶ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), p. 11, and Maria Luiselli "Chapter 3: The Personal Approach to the Divine in Ancient Egypt," in *Sacred and Profane: Treasures of Ancient Egypt from the Myers Collection, Eton College and University of Birmingham*, edited by Evrydiki Georganteli and Martin Bommas. London (2010), pp. 63-86.

personal interaction with the divine became standardized. Elite Egyptians were now able to display their religious access and participation—participation which was defined and restricted by status.

Over time, there were other evolutions in the form and style of devotional stelae. The *ꜣḥ jkr n Rꜥ* stelae⁷⁷ (fig. 2.6) and Rehorakhty stelae (fig. 2.7), dated to the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period respectively, are two such examples. These stelae demonstrate the adaptability and persistent popularity of stelae as a communicative medium throughout Egyptian history, although the popularity of votive stelae appears to have reached its zenith in the New Kingdom. Despite the different forms and possible cultic functions, all stelae can still be united in their overarching social function. They are meant to display the owner's identity to his or her community while still fulfilling a specific ritual need (i.e. the need for food and drink in the afterlife, assistance from a god in resolving a crisis, or devotion to a particular god). These stelae are therefore not only serving a ritual function, but are also acting as a form of social display.

2.2 Votive Stelae

2.2.1 Introduction

As discussed above, stelae have a primary function of communicating information with an audience. Therefore, votive stelae (and stelae as an object class) should not be viewed solely as private objects meant to commemorate individual piety or religiosity, but as objects engaging

⁷⁷ Rob Demarée, *The ꜣḥ jkr n Rꜥ-stelae: On ancestor worship in ancient Egypt*, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten (1983).

in a meaningful discourse with their viewers. Their use as objects of self-display that communicated identity, social status, privilege, and recorded participation in rituals and temple activity is the central concern of this study, and will be discussed at length in the following chapters. Stelae are an ideal object class to examine in order to gain a more nuanced understanding of Egyptian religious practices and society. A votive stela would have required a substantially lower investment of economic capital than a coffin, tomb, or statue, and were therefore available to a wider segment of society. However, before continuing, it is useful to define exactly what constitutes a “votive” stela.

The English term “votive” derives from the Latin *votivus*, meaning ‘avowed, or pertaining to a vow.’ As used by modern scholars, the term votive fits the more specific definition of an ‘*ex-voto*.’ In fact, ‘*ex-voto*’ is a shortening of the original *ex voto suscepto* or ‘from the vow made.’ This is an important distinction to make, as they indicate two different types of religious practice. A votive is an object offered in an attempt to gain favor, or influence the outcome of a situation in a positive way. An *ex-voto*, on the other hand, is an object given as thanks for the god intervening on their behalf. However, it is usually not possible to determine the specific circumstance which motivated an individual to commission a ‘votive stela.’

It was rare for an individual in ancient Egypt to record their personal sentiments on a votive stela.⁷⁸ Most stelae, if they contain any text at all, do not go beyond including names, formulaic titles, and epithets. The text found on most votive stelae usually serves as a caption that identifies the donor, and does not provide any specific explanation regarding the motivation that inspired the owner to create the stela. This being the case, it is usually impossible to identify

⁷⁸ For the comprehensive study of Egyptian hymns and prayers see Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Universitätsverlag Göttingen (1975).

the sentiment that led to the creation of most votive stelae, or even to specifically classify them as either votive or ex-voto. While this dissertation is primarily concerned with the social display of piety and ritual, and not examining the specific religious feelings that led to the creation of votive stelae, it is nevertheless beneficial to examine the possible sentiments that motivated individuals to commission a votive stela.

2.2.2 Motivations for the Creation of Votive Stelae

Thus far this study has focused on the social aspects of stelae and their communicative function—but their religious functioning should not be ignored. Votive stelae indicate a belief that gods could and would respond to the supplications of ordinary individuals, a belief that is made explicit in the textual attestations of religious belief.⁷⁹ Votive stelae, which usually do not contain explicit personal religious statements, exist as a physical commemoration of the personal connection between an individual and a deity, or deities, which was displayed to the entire community.

All votive stelae can be seen as commemorative. However, while some votive stelae may represent a specific, historical event, they cannot all be seen as commemorating a specific religious ceremony. Rather, they commemorate an individual's religious access (i.e. the type of

⁷⁹ This concept is evidenced by the addition of ear iconography on certain stelae, as well as divine epithets such as 'who-hears-prayers.' For so-called hearing, or ear stelae, see: Erika Morgen, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 61. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2004). For a discussion see Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), esp. Chapter 5.

religious activity in which the donor participated) and the owner's conception of the deity represented. They commemorated the intercession of a god, or the hope that a god will intercede. From this perspective, it is possible to identify 4 possible religious motivations for the creation of votive stelae: 1) Commemoration; 2) Pleas for Intercession; 3) Thanksgiving; and 4) Adoration/Propitiation. The commemoration category follows the work of Karen Exell.⁸⁰ The other three of these categories (thanksgiving, pleas for intercession, and adoration/propitiation) were adopted from Geraldine Pinch.⁸¹ It is necessary to stress that these categories are not mutually exclusive and often overlap. As noted by Pinch "Many of the offerings might be seen as embodying an automatic sequence of propitiation, intercession, and thanksgiving."⁸² Nevertheless, it is worth noting some of the specific reasons individuals chose to create a votive stela, as it is an indication of how individuals perceived their relationship to the gods and chose to display that relationship to his or her community.

The iconography used on votive stelae suggests that there was a formal, public setting that framed the commissioning and dedication of many votive stelae. Images of divine barques and divine standards in procession demonstrate that many stelae reflect an actual religious setting. In this sense, all votive stelae can be seen as commemorative. If not commemorating a

⁸⁰ For a discussion of stelae as representations of historical events see: Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), pp. 133-134.

⁸¹ Geraldine Pinch, following William Rouse, sees three possible motivations for intercession, propitiation, and thanksgiving. She notes that it is often difficult in Egyptian religion to distinguish between adoration and propitiation. However, she notes that while none of the texts specifically mention propitiation and specific transgressions against Hathor, a few texts do discuss this as an aspect of worshipping other gods. For discussions of motivations behind votive practice see: Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) pp. 352-3; W. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings. An Essay in the History of Greek Religion*. University Press: Cambridge (1901), pp. 350-2. For examples of propitiation in Egyptian votive practice see Chapter 1.4.2.3; see also Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Universitätsverlag Göttingen (1975) pp. 351-67.

⁸² Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 353.

specific ceremony, votive stelae can be seen as representing the generally understood religious practice and understanding of the donor. However, some stelae may in fact be referencing a unique historical event.

Karen Exell has noted that the presence of the king on stelae from Deir el-Medina may represent a specific historic visit by the king to the site. Individuals who depicted the king may have been highlighting their participation in a unique religious ceremony or notable event. Some of the best examples of these are those stelae found at the Terrace of the Great God at Abydos discussed above. These stelae were commissioned by individuals who made pilgrimages to the site to take part in the rituals of Osiris. The stelae they donated would therefore have commemorated that journey and participation. This would have provided them with increased social capital, as they were part of a special community of people who had made the pilgrimage, and had taken part in the procession.⁸³ At the same time, the depiction of individuals engaged in ritual activity would have allowed the individuals depicted on the stelae to continually take part in the procession. While these can be seen as commemorating a religious event, some votive stelae commemorate the intercession of a god, and the gratefulness of an individual for that intervention.

The stela of Nebre (Berlin Museum 20377) is an excellent example of a thanksgiving stela. On this stela Nebre commemorated his promise (and the fulfilling of that promise) to create a stela for Amun if he heals his colleague Nakhtamun:

I made a supplication before him (Amun),
In the presence of the whole land,

⁸³ In many religions it is common for those who have completed important religious rites of pilgrimages to gain forms of social capital. For instance, Muslims who take the Hajj, or pilgrimage, to Mecca are given the title *mustati*. The pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam for those can afford to make the journey. Those who are referred to as *mustati* are simultaneously displaying their piety, solidarity, and wealth to his or her community.

On behalf of the draftsman Nakhtamun, Justified,
 Who lay sick unto death,
 <in> the power of Amun, through his sin (*isft*)...
 He (Nebre) says:
 "I will make this stela to your name,
 And record this praise on it in writing,
 For you saved for me the draftsman Nakhtamun"
 So I said to you and you listened to me,
 Now behold, I do what I have said...
 Made by the draftsman Nebre and his son, the scribe Khay.⁸⁴

The above text demonstrates that this stela was commissioned in accordance with the vow of Nebre. It was erected, as promised, to praise Amun following the recovery of Nakhtamun. This stela would therefore have served not only to display the social connection between Nebre and Nakhtamun, but also to show that Nebre was favored by Amun, who had answered his request.

A stela similar to that of Nebre was also found at Asyut. British Museum stela EA 1632, donated by Pataweret, commemorates both textually and pictorially his rescue from a crocodile, which he attributed to the god Wepwaut.⁸⁵ While the text does not mention a vow, it was clearly erected after the event occurred in thanks to the god. The stelae of Nebre and Pataweret demonstrate the belief that gods would directly intervene on behalf of worthy individuals in moments of crisis. The stelae of Nebre and Pataweret show that individuals would commemorate such intervention by a god.

⁸⁴ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), pp. 106-107.

⁸⁵ For various discussions of this stela see: Hellmut Brunner, "Eine Dankstele an Upwaut," in *MDAIK* 16 (1958), pp. 5-19 pl 3; Ashraf Sadek, *Popular Religion in Egypt During the New Kingdom*, (1987) 41f; Martin Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum XII*, (1993) 24 pls 82-83; Dieter Kessler, 'Die kultische Bindung der Ba-Konzeption II: Die Ba-Zitate aus den Kultstelen und Ostraka des Neuen Reiches,' in *SAK* 29 (2001), pp. 162-168; Terence DuQuesne, "Exalting the god: processions of Upwawet at Asyut in the New Kingdom," *Discussion in Egyptology* 57 (2003) 42-45 pl IX; Heike Guksch in: *Grab und Totenkult im Alten Ägypten*, edited by Heike Guksch, Eva Hofmann, Martin Bommas, (2003) 113f; Meike Becker, "Popular Religion in Asyut," in: *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis After 300 Years of Research*. By Jochem Kahl. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden, (2007), pp. 147-150, fig 109; Pierre Meyrat, „Oupouaout-Rê, l'agitateur d'Assiout?" in *Göttinger Miszellen* 218 (2008), pp. 71-76; Terence DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove: Votive Stelae and Other Objects from Asyut*, London: Darengo (2009), pp. 289-291.

There are numerous stelae which were dedicated by individuals before the successful resolution of a crisis in order to move the god/s to answer the supplications of the donor. These stelae cannot strictly be seen as commemorative, as they are asking for a successful resolution which has not yet occurred. Such stelae were attempts to not only persuade the god, but also to demonstrate the owner's personal connection to a god, or gods to the community—an inherent function of all votive stelae. Public acts of worship are common in many religions. Muslims often pray together, as public prayer with your community is thought to have both spiritual and social benefits. In Islam, there are also specific rules regarding who leads the prayer, who holds positions of honor, and where men, women and children should be positioned, infusing a private ritual act with multiple layers of social meaning for both the participants and observers. As will be demonstrated below, religious practices in ancient Egypt was governed by similar social structures and constraints.

One example of a votive stela asking for a god to intercede on the behalf of the donor is a stela from Asyut dedicated by the chantress Tajay (CM171). On this stela Tajay mentions an unspecified act of mischief, and asks the god Wepwaut for compassion and a long life:

Be gracious (*htp*), O gracious one.
 A servant is inclined to mischief: a master(?) is inclined to graciousness.
 Be kind to me O Upwawet....
 Give praise to Upwawet the compassionate god
 Who creates on the winds(?).
 Be propitious, O propitious one.
 May you give a good lifetime in the following of your *ka*
 To the *ka* of the chantress of (Upwawet Ta-ia)⁸⁶

⁸⁶ Translation from Terence Duquesne in: *The Salakhana Trove: Votive Stelae and Other Objects from Asyut*. Darengo Publications: London (2009), pp. 203-205; see also Terence Duquesne, 'A Chantress of Upwawet in Asyut (stela Cairo CM171)', in: *The Horizon. Studies in Egyptology in Honour of M. A. Nur el-Din (10-12 April 2007)*, vol. 3, ed. by, Cairo (2009), pp. 147-152.

Here Tajay is clearly imploring the god Wepwaut for compassion. The initial *hṯp* should be taken as an injunctive, implying that action should and needed to be taken. She is also asking him to grant her a good lifetime—not thanking him for action already taken.

Stelae of adoration are often difficult to distinguish from the other categories discussed above. Many votive stelae contain statements that praise the gods and goddesses depicted on them. However, this praise is often tied to thanksgiving, or propitiation. One such example is the famous stela of Neferabu. It reads:

Giving praise to the Peak of the West,
Kissing the ground to her kA,
I give praise, hear (my) call,
I was a truthful man on earth!
Made by the servant in the Place-of-Truth, Neferabu, justified.
<I was> an ignorant man and foolish,
Who knew not good from evil;
I did the transgression against the Peak,
And she taught a lesson to me,
I was in her hand by night as by day,
I sat on bricks like the woman in labor,
I called to the wind, it came not to me,
I libated to the Peak of the West, great of strength,
And to every god and goddess.

Behold, I will say to the great and small,
Who are in the troop:
Beware of the Peak!
For there is a lion within her!
The Peak strikes with the stroke of a savage lion,
She is after him who offends her!

I called upon my Mistress,
I found her coming to me as a sweet breeze:
She was merciful to me,
Having made me see her hand.
She returned to me appeased,
She made my malady forgotten;
For the Peak of the West is appeased,
If one calls upon her.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), p. 108.

Here we can see how some categories discussed above intersect. Neferabu has been punished by Meretseger (the Peak of the West). He prays to her, and she forgives him. He then creates a stela that both praises her and tells others to be fearful. As noted by Geraldine Pinch, propitiation and adoration are not mutually exclusive and could be fused. Fear was likely an element of the worship of any god, even if this fear is not explicitly expressed.⁸⁸ Just because gods could be well disposed towards mankind does not mean that they should not be feared.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that some individuals taking part in public religious rituals did so as a form of social and religious maintenance, and not necessarily as a response to a particular crisis.

2.2.3 Votive Stelae and Personal Piety

All of the motivations discussed above indicate that, at least by the New Kingdom, Egyptians from a wide variety of social backgrounds believed they had a personal connection with the god/s, and wanted to display this relationship to their community.⁹⁰ However, the exact

⁸⁸ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 352.

⁸⁹ The dual nature of many Egyptian gods, especially goddesses, is well attested in Egyptian texts. See for instance the transformation of the goddess Hathor in the "Destruction of Mankind" from the "Book of the Heavenly Cow." For a translation see: Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), pp.197-99; Charles Maystre, "Le livre de la vache du ciel," *BIFAO* 40 (1941), pp. 53-115.

⁹⁰ While a expressing a personal connection to god became more permissible in the Ramesside era, I do not mean to say that it did not exist in earlier periods. As discussed earlier, individuals began to represent such interaction in the Middle Kingdom. These changes should, perhaps, not be seen as a democratization of religion, but rather as a loosening of decorum. It seems likely that the personal relationship to a god expressed on votive monuments and in texts was actually the result of longstanding and religious and literary traditions for which little evidence survives. For this view see John Baines and Elizabeth Froid, 'Piety, Change and Display in the New Kingdom', in *Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, edited by Mark Collier and Steven Snape, Rutherford Press: Bolton (2008), p. 16; for parallels in funerary material culture see also Harold Hayes 'The death of the Democratization of the Afterlife',

nature and origin of this phenomenon, often referred to as personal piety, is a much debated topic in Egyptology. The term Persönliche Frömmigkeit (personal piety), was first introduced into Egyptology by Adolph Erman in 1911, and was subsequently expanded upon by his student, James Henry Breasted in 1912.⁹¹ Focusing on the evidence represented on votive stelae from the New Kingdom site of Deir el-Medina, Breasted viewed the Ramesside period (dyn. 19-20) as an “age of personal piety” that represented a new development in religious understanding. Many scholars have adopted this view. They believe that personal piety was a relatively late phenomenon with roots in the turbulent Amarna period, but its expression was not fully articulated until the Ramesside period (1292-1070 BCE). This view has most notably been expressed by Jan Assmann, who describes the religious situation of the ordinary individual in the Amarna period thusly:

In the religion of Amarna, piety was a relationship between the god and the king (father and son) on the one hand, and between the king and the people on the other hand. Direct human piety toward the god was excluded, for outside the theocratic constellation, the god was nothing other than the sun, than life giving power.⁹²

Notably, Assmann sees this as a phenomenon that runs counter to traditional Egyptian religion (i.e. the priestly temple cult and traditional Egyptian mythology, which was completely focused

in *Old Kingdom, New Perspectives: Egyptian Art and Archaeology 2750-2150 BC*, eds. Nigel Strudwick and Helen Strudwick, Oxford: Oxbow books (2011), *passim*.

⁹¹ Adolph Erman, *Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt*. Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 49. Berlin (1911), p. 1086; James H. Breasted, “Lecture X: The Age of Personal Piety—Sacerdotalism and the Final Decadence.” in *Development of religion and thought in ancient Egypt: Lectures Delivered on the Morse Foundation at Union Theological Seminary (New York, 1912)*. London: Hodder and Stoughton (1912); see also J. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience*, Charles Scribner's Sons: New York (1933). Another notable early study on personal piety is that of Battiscombe Gunn, “The religion of the poor in ancient Egypt.” in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1916), pp. 81 – 95.

⁹² Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton) Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2001), p. 216.

on the king).⁹³ He views it as the result of a new phenomenon resulting from the trauma of the Amarna period. Assmann asserts, “My thesis is that it was precisely the experience of the persecution, as recorded in this dialectic⁹⁴ that determined the religious ambiance of the following era, the “age of personal piety,” as Breasted aptly called it in 1912.”⁹⁵

While many have accepted Assmann’s view of personal piety, others have challenged it. Some have challenged the very use of the term personal piety.⁹⁶ Other scholars have challenged the belief that personal piety runs counter to the official religion.⁹⁷ This religious system excluded all but the most elite members of society from participating in the cultic activity. Non-elite individuals were relegated to the margins of religious activity. The only participation most

⁹³ For an alternative perspective see Siegfried Morenz, who writes, “In retrospect we must say: the Egyptian gods were worshipped by the entire population, and at no time merely by the upper class.” Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, (1973), p. 56.

⁹⁴ The dialectic referred to is a text which Assmann takes to be a mourning hymn describing a wab priest’s desire to see his god during the Amarna period. For the text see Jan Assmann, *Ägyptische Hymnen und Gebete*, Universitätsverlag Göttingen (1975), no. 147.

⁹⁵ Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton) Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2001), p. 224.

⁹⁶ For a discussion of the history of terminology related to personal piety see: Maria Luiselli, “Personal Piety.” In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2008). Edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/49q0397q>; and also Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische ‘persönliche Frömmigkeit’ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), pp. 9—11. For alternate definitions of Personal Piety, Folk Religion, and Popular Religion, see: Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993), p. 325; cf. John Baines, “Practical Religion and Piety,” in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73, (1987) pp. 79-98; Ashraf Sadek, “Glimpses of Popular Religion in New Kingdom Egypt 1: Mourning for Amenophis 1 at Deir el-Medina,” in *Göttinger Mitteilungen* 36 (1979), pp. 51-56. See also John Baines and Elizabeth Frood, “Piety, Change and Display in the New Kingdom,” in *Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, edited by Mark Collier and Steven Snape, Rutherford Press: Bolton (2008), pp. 1-18. For the term “religiosité individuelle” see Susan Bickel, “Aspects et fonctions de la déification d’Amenhotep III.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 102 (2002), pp. 63 – 90.

⁹⁷ Hellmut Brunner, ‘Persönliche Frömmigkeit.’ In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 4. Edited by Wolfgang Helck, and Eberhard Otto. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1982); Barry Kemp, “How religious were the ancient Egyptians?” in: *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1) (1995), pp. 25 – 54; Susanne Bickel, “Aspects et fonctions de la déification d’Amenhotep III.” *Bulletin de l’Institut français d’archéologie orientale* 102 (2002), pp. 63 – 90.

average people had with the state cult occurred mainly in the context of festivals where their marginal role was passive and explicitly defined by the state.⁹⁸

Baines, who focuses on the social context of ritual practices and religious depictions, sees the phenomenon of personal piety not as an individual expression of religiosity, but as the result of a formal religious system that only allowed elite members of society to participate and formally display this participation to others (thereby granting them social capital).⁹⁹ He sees the increase in religious display in the later New Kingdom as a product not only of decorum, but also of “a mode of discourse whose unified application proliferated greatly in the New Kingdom and Later Period, in a process I (Baines) termed ‘sacralization.’”¹⁰⁰

Agreeing with Baines, I believe that personal piety, as it is expressed on votive stelae, is a discourse about display and who could *afford*, and who was *permitted* to display piety. As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, a wide spectrum of society participated in religious rituals, but certain rituals, and the display of those rituals, were only available to those of a certain social status.

While Assmann’s theory of personal piety has become a focusing point for most scholars who study the phenomenon of personal piety, these studies largely focus on identifying the genesis of these religious sentiments rather than their material manifestation.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, the

⁹⁸ Anthony Spalinger, ‘The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion,’ *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), pp. 241-260.

⁹⁹ John Baines, ‘Practical Religion and Piety,’ in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73, (1987) pp. 79-98.

¹⁰⁰ John Baines, ‘Practical Religion and Piety,’ in: *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 73, (1987) p. 80. For the term ‘sacralization’ see: John Baines, ‘Interpretations of religion: logic, discourse, rationality.’ *Göttinger Miszellen* 76 (1984), pp. 25–54.

¹⁰¹ For a discussion and summary of the scholarship related to personal piety see: Maria Luiselli, “Personal Piety.” In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2008). Edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/49q0397q>; cf. Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische ‘persönliche Frömmigkeit’ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes

discussion of personal piety has been dominated by a textual approach, with only a few scholars discussing archaeology and material culture related to this issue.¹⁰² However, a textually focused approach gives us an incomplete picture of ancient Egyptian religious practices. While texts largely reflect personal religious sentiments, the iconography associated with votive material culture depicts a cultic reality. As discussed by Maria Luiselli:

Als die erste Form möchte ich die intellektuelle Verarbeitung von normierten religiösen Prinzipien bezeichnen, die ihre primäre Ausdrucksformen in Autobiographien und Literaturwerken hatten. Daneben ist eine zweite Form zu erkennen, die durch Kultpraktiken umgesetzt wurde und die vor allem durch Votivstelen und Votivgaben, Zeugnissen aus dem Siedlungskontext, Briefen sowie in Dokumenten der Heilkunde greifbar wird, oder anders gesagt: Es ist m. E. möglich, zwischen einer intellektuell und einer praktisch gesuchten Gottesnähe zu unterscheiden. Während sich Erstere als ein „sprechen über“ die Gottesnähe präsentiert, stellt Letztere als ihre kultisch-rituelle Äusserung dar.¹⁰³

In many ways the previous focus on texts and the personal sentiments of individuals may give scholars a false or skewed impression of religious practices and beliefs. Few were literate in ancient Egypt, and writing and literacy was one of the chief ways elite Egyptians distinguished themselves from non-elites. Religious sentiment and piety are, after all, individually based and there is no reason to assume that every individual or every social group held similar religious

Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011). For a discussion of the link between earlier textual genres (specifically texts from loyalty and wisdom genres) the later textual genre of personal piety see: Jan Assmann, "Weisheit, Loyalismus und Frömmigkeit." In *Studien zu altägyptischen Lebenslehren*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 28, ed. Erik Hornung and Othmar Keel. Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen (1979); and Antonio Loprieno, "Loyalty to the king, to god, to oneself." In *Studies in honor of William Kelly Simpson, Vol. 2*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, Boston: Museum of Fine Arts (1996). pp. 533 - 552.

¹⁰² Barry Kemp, "How religious were the ancient Egyptians?" in: *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5 (1) (1995), pp. 25 – 54; Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009); Maria Luiselli, "Themen der modernen Kulturwissenschaft innerhalb der Untersuchung der Ägyptischen Religion," in *Ägyptologie und Kulturwissenschaft*, edited by Jan Assmann and Hubert Roeder, München (2011), pp. 81-90.

¹⁰³ Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011). p. 228.

conceptions or understandings. As noted by Webb Keane when writing on the materiality of religion:

...there is simply not conceptual consistency or consensus across any given social group. The claim has become commonplace in portrayals of nation-states, diasporas, and so forth. But even in so-called 'small-scale societies', there can be non-trivial differences in what people know about the local ritual system...The problem of unevenly distributed knowledge is vastly compounded in larger and more diverse groups.¹⁰⁴

This critique can already be seen in Egyptology, leading some scholars to assert that personal piety was an elite phenomenon because its expression can only be found amongst the elite. However, as will demonstrated throughout this dissertation, a wide range of social groups participated in displays of 'personal piety.' This being the case, what can votive stelae tell us about Egyptian religious practices and personal piety?

While the term 'personal piety' describes internalized religious sentiment, I believe it is better to use the German term *Gottesnähe*.¹⁰⁵ By *Gottesnähe*, which I translate as 'divine approximation,' (more literally 'nearness to god'), I mean the ways in which individuals attempted to interact with and communicate with divine beings.¹⁰⁶ Votive stelae are essential in explicating and examining the strategies used by ancient Egyptians to come into the divine presence. This does not mean texts should be discounted. Rather, text and image should be seen as complementary aspects of religious thought and practice, and speak to different audiences. As noted by Luiselli, "Anders formuliert: Die Autobiographien und die Literatur behandeln das

¹⁰⁴ Webb Keane, "The Evidence of the Senses and the Materiality of Religion," in *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (2008), p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ See Hellmuth Brunner, "Gottesnähe und -ferne." In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 2, ed. Wolfgang Helck, and Eberhard Otto. Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1977), columns 817 – 819.

¹⁰⁶ This interpretation is primarily advanced by Luiselli. See Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011).

Thema der Persönlichen Frömmigkeit rein deskriptiv; die Stelen stellen die Erfahrung der Gottesnähe dar.”¹⁰⁷ Where texts may describe religious sentiments, votive stelae are meant to capture and display the experience of individuals attempting to connect with a god. As a wide range of social groups are depicted on votive stelae, votive stelae demonstrate that the belief in a personal connection to a god, or gods, was widespread in ancient Egypt.

Clearly there was a belief that gods would and did intercede on the behalf of an individual, as demonstrated by an analysis of the texts appearing on the stelae discussed above. While it is usually not possible to recover the sentiments that inspired the ritual practices in which individuals engaged,¹⁰⁸ votive stelae do display the ways in which individuals attempted to enter the divine presence. A close examination of votive stelae shows that there was not a single method of achieving divine approximation. There were a variety of ways in which individuals endeavored to connect with a deity, or deities. These different attempts at divine approximation can be seen as the product of an exclusive religious system that was not freely accessible to all members of the community. As will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, the ways in which an individual could connect with a deity were largely determined by the social group to which an individual belonged, and their individual social status. By focusing on the social nature of votive stelae and the context in which votive stelae were donated, it is possible to identify a gradation, or degrees of divine approximation that were socially determined. However, before examining the specific religious activity depicted on

¹⁰⁷ Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 229.

¹⁰⁸ It must be recognized that texts themselves are biased and should be critically analyzed and not accepted at face value. The inclusion of a hymn or devotional statement in a letter, or on a stela or tomb wall was functional. The content was meant to impress, or say something about the author/owner. There is no way to actually prove that an individual felt the sentiments they claim to have, much as faith cannot be proven.

votive stelae, it is first necessary to examine the exclusive nature of the Egyptian religious system and the ways in which various people were allowed to participate in formal religious practices.

2.3 Egyptian Religion

2.3.1 The Egyptian Religious System

There is no Egyptian word for religion, and the extent to which religion permeated the daily life of most ancient Egyptians in the New Kingdom is debated. While there may be some contention regarding the influence of religion on daily life, there can be little doubt concerning the link between power and religion in ancient Egypt. Egyptian theology expresses the belief that the king was the sole priest of Egypt. Temples, referred to in ancient Egyptian as *ḥwt-ntr* (Mansion of the God), served not only as religious centers throughout the country, but also existed as bureaucratic centers and economic institutions. This created a society where religion permeated power and politics to such an extent that attempting to disentwine them from one another is futile.¹⁰⁹ This system enabled temples and members of the priesthood to control large amounts of land and other resources. As a result of the economic and social capital tied to temples, entrance into the Egyptian priesthood, especially at the higher levels, was highly prized. It was therefore restricted, and tightly controlled.

¹⁰⁹ The king was not only the head of the country, but the head of the religious system. Royal power in Egypt was therefore a sacred power that was legitimized through the religious system. Similarly, many non-royal individuals held both administrative and priestly offices. This was especially true in the New Kingdom, when many of the viziers also held the position of high priest of Amun.

As discussed in Chapter 1, an individual's religious participation was determined by their social status. Variability in religious experience created a society where individuals conceptualized religion in different ways. Elite individuals manipulated their religious practice so as to extend their social power, employing religious display as a social tool. Only elite members of society would have had the access and ability to read religious texts, which would have further compounded these differences in religious conceptions among different social groups. Different religious practices and conceptions eventually led to diverse forms of religious display, as those with higher levels of religious practice and understanding wished to differentiate themselves from others. Therefore, displays of religious practice also stand as signifiers of an individual's social status and religious understanding; and can be viewed as a form of conspicuous consumption aimed at demonstrating the elite position, understanding, and access of the donor.

Gods in ancient Egypt could manifest in a variety of forms, some of which were more accessible than others. This multiplicity of forms led to expressions which explicitly recognized that gods possessed 'many *kheperu* (appearances),' or 'many visages.'¹¹⁰ Gods could manifest in the form of an animal. They could also be represented as a divine standard, a cult item, or the mixed animal-human form for which Egypt is probably most famous. In addition to these tangible manifestations, there were also incorporeal manifestations of the divine. Gods could appear to humans in dreams,¹¹¹ or could manifest in natural elements like the wind. The *ba* of the

¹¹⁰ For the seminal study on this phenomenon see: Erik Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, Cornell University Press (1996).

¹¹¹ See Kasia Spakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt*, The Classical Press of Wales: Swansea (2003); Kasia Spakowska, "Dream Interpretation in the Ramesside Age." In: *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, edited by Mark Collier and Steven Snape, Rutherford Press Limited: Bolton (2011), pp. 509–517; For an overview of the published evidence see Luigi Prada, "Classifying dreams, classifying the world: ancient Egyptian oneiromancy and demotic dream books," in: *Current Research in Egyptology 2011, Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Symposium which took place at Durham University, United Kingdom March 2011*, edited by

god was thought to be present in all of these manifestations, and it has been suggested that each of these forms was perhaps linked to a specific function, or aspect of the deity.¹¹² Different forms of the god would have been accessed in different ways, and it is possible that accessing the god in a variety of forms would have been seen as more socially prestigious or religiously efficacious.

Certain manifestations of a god would have been restricted to those who possessed certain forms of social and cultural capital. For instance, the cult statue was protected and not freely accessed.¹¹³ On the other hand, divine barques and divine standards would have been highly visible, but not necessarily approachable.¹¹⁴ Animal forms of certain gods could be found in nature, and many temples even supported large divine herds of sacred animals.¹¹⁵ Even within

Heba Abd El Gawad, Nathalie Andrews, Maria Correias-Amador, Veronica Tamorri and James Taylor, Oxbow Books: Oxford (2012), pp. 167-177.

¹¹² Francoise Dunand and Christine Zivie-Coche, *Gods and Men in Ancient Egypt: 3000 B.C.E. to 395 C.E.*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2004), p. 15.

¹¹³ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), pp. 35-37.

¹¹⁴ A prohibition regarding the access of divine barques and standards can be seen in The Instruction of Any, which reads: 'Do not question his images/Do not accost him when he appears/Do not jostle him in order to carry him/do not disturb the oracles.' Translation from Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom*, University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), pp. 141; for a discussion of this passage see Georges Posener, 'Aménémopé 21, 13 et *hꜛꜣj.t* au sens du <<oracle>>' *ZÄS* 90 (1963), pp. 98-102.

¹¹⁵ While animal cults are normally thought of as a Late Period phenomenon, there is evidence for their presence at New Kingdom Asyut, as indicated by the title 'scribe of the estate of the jackal.' As noted by Ursula Verhoeven, "in two cases we find scribes in the context of the local animal cult (*sh hꜛw.t wnš resp. sh wnš n/m pr Wp-wi.wt nb sꜣw.yt* "scribe of the jackal house resp. of the jackals of the domain of Wepwawet."" Ursula Verhoeven, 'The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N.13.1: An Overview.' In *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th-11th of October, 2009*, The Asyut Project 2, Wiesbaden (2012), p. 54; see also U. Verhoeven, 'Tomb N13.1: More literary graffiti and the title "scribe of the estate of jackals"', in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., 'The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork (2009),' in: *Studien zur Ägyptischen Kultur* 39, (2010), pp. 196-198; See also Nicole Durisch, 'Culte des canides a Assiout: trios nouvelles stèles dédiées a Oupouaout,' *BIFAO* 93 (1993), pp. 205-221. These titles demonstrate that animals were part of New Kingdom religious beliefs and practices at Asyut, and likely elsewhere, and refute the view of Kessler, who interprets the presence of animals on votive stelae as representing *hꜛ*-manifestations of the creator god who appear sunrise. Cf. Dieter Kessler, 'Die kultische Bindung der Ba-Konzeption. II: Die Ba-Zitate auf den Kultstelen und Ostraka des Neuen Reiches', in *SÄK* 29 (2001), pp. 139-186.

these groups it is possible to differentiate further. For instance, animals would have existed freely in nature, while some animals were raised by the thousands in temples to the great satisfaction of the devotees. From these herds a single animal was often selected to serve as the living representative of the god on earth, while others would be mummified and offered to the god as a form of his own image.¹¹⁶

In ancient Egypt only the elite were granted access to temples and allowed to actively participate in, and experience formal Egyptian religious practices deep inside a temple.¹¹⁷ While some members of society could probably access the outer portions of the temples complex, it was only when the god left their temple as part of religious processions and festivals that most ordinary individuals would be able to see divine cult objects, such as barques and standards. Yet even in these more accessible festivals, the role of lower status individuals was passive and tightly defined.¹¹⁸ Different religious experiences, tied to different forms of the god, fostered great variety in the ways in which individuals visually depicted their religious knowledge and experiences. Like the religious system itself, these images were controlled, resulting in the

¹¹⁶ On the perception and function of animals and votive animal offerings in Ancient Egypt, see: Edward Bleiberg, Yekaterina Barbash, and Lisa Bruno, *Soulful Creatures: Animal Mummies in Ancient Egypt*, Brooklyn (2013), especially Chapters 2 and 3.

¹¹⁷ While texts indicate that temple access was restricted, many scholars have noted that the presence of modest votive offerings in some temples may indicate that a wider cross-section of society was able to access the temple to a larger degree than these texts imply. For this perspective see: Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire*. Routledge: London and New York (2003), pp. 177-183 and Lazlo Torok, *Between Two Worlds*, Brill (2009), pp. 210.

¹¹⁸ Anthony Spalinger, 'The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), pp. 241-260.

establishment of rules of artistic decorum that hierarchically restricted the display of religious knowledge and experience.¹¹⁹

2.3.2 Egyptian Festivals and Votive Stelae

Jan Assmann has identified three dimensions of contact with the divine in ancient Egypt: the mythic, the cosmic, and the cultic. The mythic concerns what is said about the gods, and how they exist in cultural memory. The cosmic refers to the workings of nature, which was thought to be the sphere of divine action and religious experience. The cultic dimension, which is the dimension of religious experience this dissertation is primarily concerned with, included the local temples, divine statues, and rituals performed by mankind.¹²⁰ In theory, temples, cults and festivals were all primarily concerned with the maintenance of the cosmos in some way. The temples themselves were representations of the cosmos, and the procession of the god through a temple was a symbolic recreation of the cosmos.¹²¹ Thus, festivals and processions can be seen as vital elements of ancient Egyptian religion. Their performance helped satisfy the gods and served to maintain the proper cosmic order (ma'at).

As discussed above, access to Egyptian temples was controlled and restricted to elite members of society. Therefore, most ancient Egyptians could only access and experience formal

¹¹⁹ John Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23.

¹²⁰ Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton), Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2001), p. 8.

¹²¹ For a discussion of the temple as the cosmos and the principals of center and way, see: Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton), Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2001), Chapter 2.

Egyptian religion in the context of the holy festivals and processions that regularly occurred throughout the country. During these occasions the divine statue would leave its shrine to take part in procession and rituals. Some processions were held inside the temple.¹²² However, the main focus here is on those occasions when the god/s would exit their temples in order to visit other gods or other sacred locations. These large festivals were meant to engage with the community at large and not just elites. This is reflected in the texts that discuss festival preparation. In one instance, over 11,000 loaves of bread and cakes were prepared for a single three week festival.¹²³ The preparation of such vast amounts of offerings, which would have been distributed to the populace, suggests that the entire community took part in at least some part of the celebration.¹²⁴

The celebratory nature of these festivals would have served to bolster the participation and commitment of the participants and enhance the communicative nature of the event.¹²⁵ While the visible and festive nature of processions was designed to engage with the entire population, it appears that most individuals were not allowed to actively participate in the festivals. The focus of these events was on the major activities of deities and the king,¹²⁶ and most members of the

¹²² Filip Coppens, 'Temple Festivals of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich. University of California, Los Angeles (2009). <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/4cd7q9mn>. pp. 2-3.

¹²³ Kenneth Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times and Ramesses II, King of Egypt*, Aris and Phillips: Warminster (1982), p. 169.

¹²⁴ Elaine Sullivan, 'Processional Routes and Festivals', On *Digital Karnak*, University of California, Los Angeles (2008), <http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak>.

¹²⁵ John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Studies in Egyptology and the Ancient Near East, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), p. 9.

¹²⁶ John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Studies in Egyptology and the Ancient Near East, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), p. 9.

general population would have been relegated to the passive role of a spectator, or audience.¹²⁷ Therefore, these festivals would also have served as opportunities to establish and maintain the social hierarchy, which was determined and displayed by the visible nature of an individual's place within these festivals. Elite individuals could demonstrate their largesse by giving food stuffs while simultaneously displaying their privileged access and status. Therefore, while Claas Bleeker asserts that the purpose of all Egyptian festivals was religious renewal,¹²⁸ I believe that this statement can be broadened to include social renewal (i.e. the reestablishment of an individual's place in society). This can be seen in examining the various roles individual's play in ancient Egyptian festivals.

Most processions were comprised of 5 different groups: 1) the primary deities; 2) secondary or accompanying deities; 3) the king; 4) those who acted in the procession; and 5) those who served as the audience.¹²⁹ The surviving depictions of festivals show the various ways in which individuals could actively and passively participate in these processions. To use the terminology of Erving Goffman, individuals actively participating in festivals can be seen as a "performance team", or "team."¹³⁰ The goal of the team is to accentuate certain aspects of the performance and their character while concealing others, which requires distancing themselves from the audience. The restrictions placed upon participation can be seen as maintenance of a social distance. By maintaining this distance, awe can be generated and sustained in the

¹²⁷ Anthony Spalinger, 'The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), pp. 241-260.

¹²⁸ Claas Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*, Brill: Leiden (1967), p. 144.

¹²⁹ Martin Stadler, 'Procession', in the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles (2008), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/679146w5> p. 3.

¹³⁰ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor Books: New York (1959), p. 79, and Chapter II (passim).

audience, allowing the audience to be held in a state of mystification in regards to the performers.¹³¹ This mystification gives the audience a chance to idealize the performers¹³²—increasing not just the veneration of the gods, but also the esteem held by the audience for those who are actively participating in the procession. All of the above social processes can all be seen when examining ancient Egyptian processions.

Unfortunately the temple of Wepwaut from Asyut is not preserved, and there is no specific evidence regarding the various actors and the roles they may have played in this procession. However, many festival processions, such as the Opet Festival, are well known from the ancient sources, and through their study we can examine some general aspects of Egyptian religious festivals. The Opet Festival was a royal-centric festival that occurred in the Theban capital. And while there can be no doubt that the procession of Wepwaut at Asyut would have been very different, we can nevertheless gain a greater understanding of how a New Kingdom Festival was conducted, and the various roles which the participants played.

The Opet Festival, which occurred once a year, involved the divine triad of Thebes (Amun-Re, Mut, and Khonsu) travelling south to the temple of Luxor. After arriving at Luxor the King and Amun-Re would travel into the deepest recesses of the temple into the presence of Amun-em-opet, a special form of Amun who was infused with powers of fertility and regeneration. A series of ceremonies would then be conducted inside the temple. When the king emerged, he would have been imbued (or reimbued) with the powers of the royal ka, and his divine kingship was renewed.¹³³ The images of this festival from the festival scenes of

¹³¹ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, Anchor Books: New York (1959), p. 67.

¹³² Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, Scribner's Press: New York (1922), p. 351.

¹³³ John Darnell, "Opet Festival" In the *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles (2010), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025n765>; Elaine Sullivan, "The Opet Festival" in "Processional Routes and Festivals." On *Digital Karnak*, Los Angeles (2008),

Tutankhamun in the colonnade hall of the Luxor temple demonstrate how a variety of individuals accompanied the procession. The divine barque of Tutankhamun is shown along with the riverine barque of Mut. Along the shore, these barques are being accompanied by Nubian dancers and a military escort (fig. 2.8). Other scenes show priests and priestesses singing (fig. 2.9) and dancers, musicians, standard bearers, and military men (fig. 2.10) accompanying the procession. These images not only highlight the celebratory nature of the festival, but also demonstrate how these individuals accompanied the festival but did not interact directly with the god or king. And yet the position these individuals occupied should still be considered as more privileged than the general populace, as they were part of the select few who could actively participate in the festival. Most members of society are not depicted in these scenes, and it seems that their role in the festival was to observe from the riverbank.¹³⁴

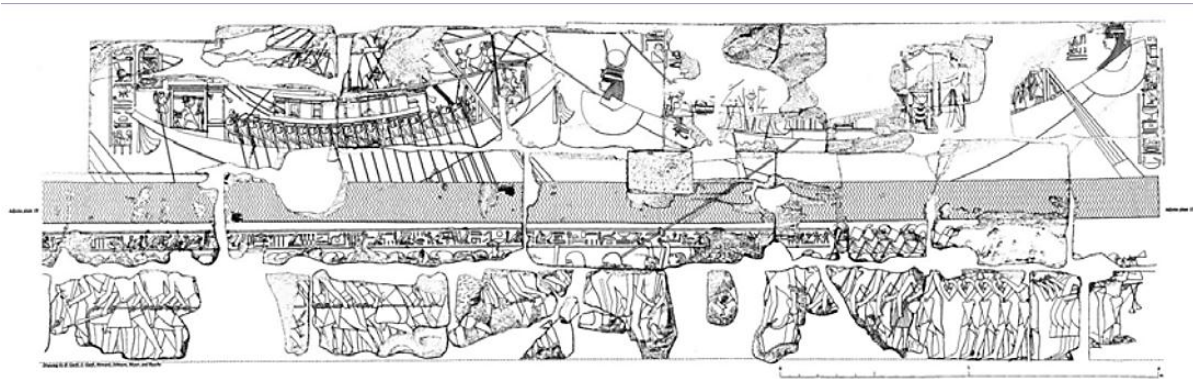


Fig: 2.8: Individuals on the riverbank escorting the divine Barques during the Opet Festival Procession. From the festival scenes of Tutankhamun in the colonnade hall of the Luxor Temple.

<http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak>; See also Lanny Bell, "The New Kingdom 'divine temple' the example of Luxor, in *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, edited by Byron Schafer, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (1997), pp. 127-84; William Murnane, "Opetfest," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. IV, edited by Eberhard Otto, Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhart Westendorf, O. Harrassowitz (1975), pp. 574-579.

¹³⁴ John Darnell, 'Opet Festival', In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles (2010), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025n765>, p. 9; John Darnell, 'The rock inscriptions of Tjehemau at Abisko', *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 130 (2003), p. 44.

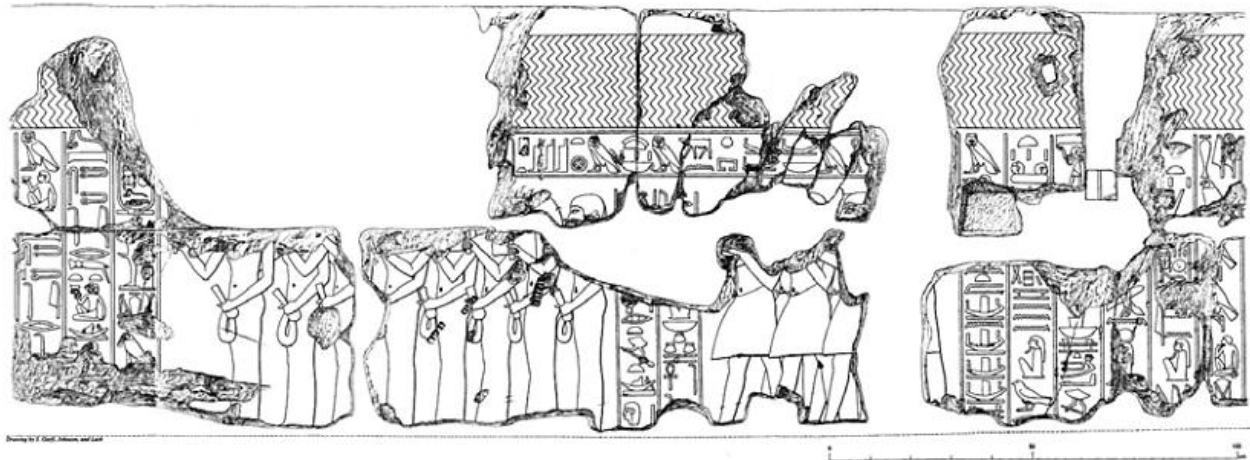


Fig. 2.9: Priests and Priestesses singing as part of the Opet Festival procession. From the festival scenes of Tutankhamun in the colonnade hall of the Luxor Temple.

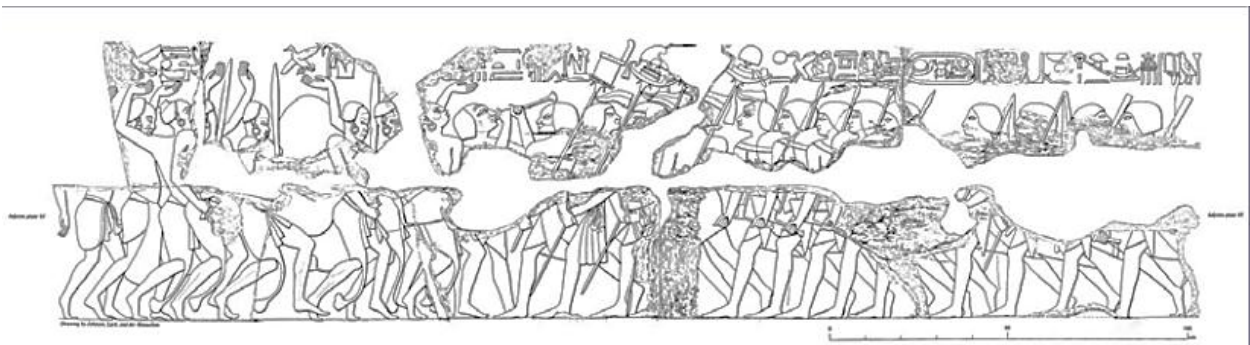


Fig. 2.10: Dancers, musicians, standard bearers, and military men participating in the Opet Festival Procession. From the festival scenes of Tutankhamun in the colonnade hall of the Luxor Temple.

The procession of these barques during the festival went beyond moving from point A to point B. The divine barques would have stopped at various points, known as barque stations. These occasions could have served as another place for individuals to view the festival. It was possible for some individuals to make oracular consultations of Amun, serving to further relate the events of the festival to the general populace.¹³⁵ Even in these situations it is likely not

¹³⁵ John Darnell, 'Opet Festival', In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles (2010), <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025n765>, pp. 9.

everyone could approach the divine barque. However, elites of a certain social status do appear to have been able to actively participate in these festivals.

At a pragmatic level it would have been necessary for multiple individuals to actively participate in a festival. Individuals were needed to carry the divine barques and standards, and other individuals would have served other ritual functions—these roles would have been filled by elite members of Egyptian society. However, it was not always permissible to display such festival interaction, even for elites. While there is clear evidence for the existence of festivals in the Old Kingdom,¹³⁶ there are no pictorial or textual sources regarding their execution. However, it can be assumed that even at this early point elite individuals played highly visible and important roles in processions and festivals. After all, a single individual (i.e. the king) could not have completed every aspect of a festival. However, at this point in time it was not appropriate for elites to record and display their roles in these festivals.

As discussed above, there appears to have been a shift in societal decorum in the Middle Kingdom. Elites now began to erect chapels and donate stelae to the god Osiris at the so-called Terrace of the Great God at Abydos.¹³⁷ The ritual processions at Abydos appear to have moved beyond a local festival. Many of the individuals who donated votive stelae and shrines at Abydos have titles and inscriptions that indicate they were not from the region, implying they had travelled to the site as a pilgrimage.¹³⁸

¹³⁶ Claas Bleeker, *Egyptian Festivals: Enactments of Religious Renewal*, Brill: Leiden (1967), p 31-32.

¹³⁷ For a discussion see: Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), pp. 11-14; and Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), pp. 42-44.

¹³⁸ This also holds true for the Cult of Heqa-ib at Elephantine. For a study of the monuments at Abydos see: William Kelly Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. New Haven (1974); for the shrine of Heqa-ib see: Detlef Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine. Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, Heidelberg (1994).

By the Ramesside period the displays of public religious practice became more common, and public cult locations served as the central backdrop for elite display of both stelae and statuary—further highlighting the cooption of public religious spaces for displays of private religious and social display. As noted by Frood, “...in the Ramesside period, the temple was the central domain of elite self-presentation.”¹³⁹ Displays of identity in a temple setting demonstrate the power of these elite individuals. The elite were able to permanently, by means of a statue or stela, assert their presence in a place where, theoretically, only the king was permitted. Therefore, displaying one’s status on votive stelae in a public religious context would have been a powerful and effective way to communicate and reinforce the social status of the donor to the widest possible audience.

Festivals, like the aforementioned Opet Festival, focused on the presence of the king and his role within the community of both gods and men. The visible nature of such festivals communicated the role of the Pharaoh to the community at large. But just as the king legitimized his role and status by displaying his privileged interaction with the gods, elite individuals who were allowed to actively participate in the festival reinforced their place in society by displaying their active role in the festival and their connection to the king.

The general population was no doubt pleased to take part in the celebratory nature of the event and receive the offerings distributed therein. The participation of the entire community would have resulted in a setting where social demarcations were clearly visible. The manner in which one was able to participate in the procession would have been a clear indication of where one stood in relation to the other members of their community. The regular nature of these events would serve to constantly reinforce these social roles. The commissioning of votive stelae and

¹³⁹ Elizabeth Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*, the Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta, (2007), p. 22.

statuary and their placement as part of the processional route would therefore have served to eternally establish and display an individual's place in society, accentuating the importance of those individuals who possessed social power and displaying that power to the community.

. Individuals representing themselves on votive stelae would have accurately represented their social status and identity. As discussed in Chapter 1, ancient Egyptian art was not concerned with portraiture. Instead, ancient Egyptians created images that represented types of individuals and types of religious access. Given the public, performative ritual aspect of the activities in which the individuals who appear on the stelae are participating, adhering to the rules of decorum would have been especially important. Decorum is not just about social rule making. It represents an ingrained understanding of who had power, capital, and agency. Individuals engaging in these public rituals did not attempt to recreate or falsify their identity. Indeed, decorum would have prevented such attempts. Rather, the purpose of public appearance and behavior is not to falsify personal identity but, on the contrary, to establish and maintain it.¹⁴⁰ Individuals donating votive stelae wished to commemorate and display their elite access. At the same time, rules of society and decorum would have constrained the ability of individuals to jump social hierarchies and display images and practices to which they did not have access.

2.4 Summary

Stelae were used by private individuals for ritual and identification purposes throughout all major periods of Egyptian history. Like Egypt itself, the form and function of private stelae evolved and changed over time. Private stelae evolved from simple markers of identity in the

¹⁴⁰ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, (2002), p. 4.

Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom to New Kingdom votive stelae which could express a personal relationship with a deity. A key moment in this development was a change in decorum that occurred in the Middle Kingdom, where individuals began to display themselves personally interacting with a god at Abydos. It appears that the religious and ritual activity in the Middle Kingdom did not change, as there are hundreds of stelae from the site that commemorate the participation of individuals textually, but did not attempt to artistically display their religious practice. It seems that individuals now sought out ways to publically display their connection to god/s in order to gain social capital in ways they previously could not. These initial displays were not standardized, and focused on the role of depicting individuals participating in the religious procession of Osiris that occurred at Abydos, commemorating the owner's prestige as well as their participation in religious activities at the site.¹⁴¹

Like the stelae from Abydos, many New Kingdom votive stelae focus on festivals and processions. This is due to the highly exclusive nature of Egyptian religion, which did not allow most individuals to even enter the temple complex, let alone actively participate in rituals and ceremonies that took place inside. Since each festival and procession was uniquely local, the religious understanding of most individuals would have been shaped by confined by their local context. Therefore, in order to fully understand the votive stelae from Asyut, it is imperative to examine the social, archaeological, and religious context that framed their creation.

¹⁴¹ The aforementioned stelae of Amenisoneb are extremely important as examples of increased social and religious display. Amenisoneb not only depicts himself interacting with the god Wepwaut, but mentions that he built and restored his shrine—one of the duties of the king.

Chapter 3: Ancient Asyut

3.1 Introduction

This dissertation is primarily concerned with 494 votive stelae found at the New Kingdom provincial site of Asyut. It is hoped that a study of these stelae will serve as a welcome addition to existing studies of Egyptian society and religious practices and allow for a more nuanced understanding of ancient Egyptian civilization and religion. Even though Asyut was never a major political or religious center, there can be little doubt that the town had a rich local culture. As will be demonstrated below, the small size and political unimportance of the site made Asyut a local center that was likely more typical of the towns and villages in which most ancient Egyptians lived, and is therefore an ideal topic for studying social history in ancient Egypt. It is hoped that the study of Asyut can serve as a counter-balance to more traditional studies of life in ancient Egypt, which are generally more interested in examining the religious and political centers of Memphis and Thebes.

A social approach to history began to develop and become popular in the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, although it had already existed in France for decades, as embodied by the Annales School.¹⁴² Social historians now began to study ‘history from below’. These historians—who studied a variety of civilizations and societies—focused not on great leaders, politicians, capitalists, and generals, but approached history from the perspectives and experiences of ordinary individuals. The benefits of such an approach are obvious. Histories

¹⁴² This origin of this movement can first be seen in France with the Annales School of history, which influenced and predated the movement in the United States. Lucien Febvre along with Marc Bloch, founded the journal, *Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale* in 1929. It is from this journal which the Annales School derived its name. This journal broke with current conventions and focused on social histories that examined all levels of society.

which adopt the attitude that it is ‘great men’ who make history ignore the voices of the vast majority of a civilization’s population and the social systems in which these ‘great men’ lived. Social histories serve to correct this by studying and giving voice to those who have traditionally remained silent; the ordinary men, women, children, minorities, and provincial peoples in order to form a more holistic picture of a society.

There have been numerous studies which have attempted to study daily life in ancient Egypt. Lynn Meskell’s *Private Life in Ancient Egypt* and Andrea McDowell’s *Village Life in Ancient Egypt* serve as two excellent examples of such studies. In both studies the authors focus—by necessity—on the New Kingdom’s workman’s village at Deir el-Medina. However, the individuals at Deir el-Medina led privileged lives that were in no way representative of the daily life of the vast majority of ancient Egyptians.¹⁴³ Nevertheless, while life at Deir el-Medina was in no way typical of the existence of average ancient Egyptians, there can be little doubt of the importance of the community within the whole of Egypt. The life of craftsmen, royals, elites, farmers, and those living in provincial towns were all part of ancient Egyptian society, and it is

¹⁴³ Many studies have questioned the uniqueness of Deir el-Medina, and the applicability of life there to other regions of Egypt. On literacy see for instance: John Baines and Christopher Eyre, ‘Four notes on literacy’, In *Göttinger Miszellen* 61 (1983), pp. 65-96; cf. Jac Janssen, ‘Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medīna’, in *Village Voices. Proceedings of the symposium ‘Texts from Deir el-Medīna and their interpretation’*. Leiden, May 31 - June, 1, 1991 (CNWS Publications 13), edited by Robert Demarée and Arno Egberts, Leiden (1992), pp. 81-94; For the unique religious nature of the site see: Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009). Especially Chapter 2; Florence Friedman, “Aspects of Domestic Life and Religion,” in *Pharaoh’s Workers. The villagers of Deir el Medina*, Edited by Leonard Lesko, Ithaca and London, (1994), pp. 95-111; Ashraf Sadek, ‘Glimpses of Popular Religion in New Kingdom Egypt. I. Mourning for Amenophis I at Deir el-Medina’, *Göttinger Miszellen* 36 (1979), pp. 51-56; Pascal Vernus, “La piété personnelle à Deir el-Médineh. La construction de l’idée de pardon,” in: G. Andreu ed., *Deir el-Médineh et la Vallée des Rois. La vie en Égypte au temps des pharaons du Nouvel Empire. Actes du colloque organisé par le musée du Louvre les 3 et 4 mai 2002*, Paris (2003), pp. 309-347; for the inability to take religion at Deir el-Medina as representative of all of Egypt see Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische ‘persönliche Frömmigkeit’ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 84.

through the study and comparison of all of these groups, that we are able to gain a fuller, richer understanding of ancient Egypt.

Deir el-Medina was a community of artisans and their families. Far from ordinary, these were the Michaelangelos, Leonardos, and Raphaels of their day. They were tasked with creating the tombs meant to enshrine and protect the New Kingdom pharaohs for all eternity. They were paid by the state—although not always on time¹⁴⁴—and were provided with food, temples, and even state sponsored healthcare. It has been argued that the rate of literacy (not only in terms of ability to read, but also in terms of sacred knowledge) was far higher at Deir el-Medina than it would have been amongst ‘ordinary’ ancient Egyptians.¹⁴⁵ The craftsmen at Deir el-Medina would have been familiar with many of the mythic dimensions of religious theology that ordinary Egyptians did not have access to. They were artists familiar with netherworld books like the Book of Gates, the Book of Nut, the Amduat, and others. Evidence of this sacred knowledge can be seen in their tombs, where such imagery was often appropriated. The lives of the inhabitants of Deir el-Medina did not revolve around the Nile and its inundation, as it did for most ancient Egyptians, but around the whims and patronage of the King. The lives of the craftsmen at Deir el-Medina cannot be seen as typical, or similar to the lives of ‘ordinary’ ancient Egyptians.

¹⁴⁴ The artisans at Deir el-Medina were forced to strike in response to the late payment of their wages. See: Jac Janssen, “Background Information on the Strikes of Year 29 of Ramesses III,” *Oriens Antiquus* 18 (1979), pp. 301-308; Paul Frandsen, “Editing Reality: The Turin Strike Papyrus,” in: *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim I*, edited by Sarah Israelit-Groll, Jerusalem (1990), pp. 166-199; and Jac Janssen, “The Year of the Strikes,” *Bulletin de la Société d’Égyptologie de Genève* 16 (1992), pp. 41-49.

¹⁴⁵ Jac Janssen, ‘Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina,’ in *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium ‘Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation,’ Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991*. ed. Robert Demarée and Arno Egberts, CNWS Publications: Leiden (1992).

The above should not be taken as a criticism of previous Egyptological scholarship. Indeed, scholarship on the community of Deir el-Medina has done much to advance our knowledge of ancient Egyptian civilization. Further, these scholars were limited by the lack of available source material for study. Perhaps more so than any other civilization, ancient Egyptians were concerned with attempts to materially express their identity.¹⁴⁶ The tombs, temples, and monumental statuary of the elite are but a few reflections of a culture that invested vast amounts of capital in their struggle for permanence.¹⁴⁷ In such a society the wealthy and powerful create such a large and imposing figure that it is all but impossible to see the common people who lived in their shadow. The farmers, servants, potters, washmaids, and other illiterate common people had neither the means nor ability to leave such large material markers or texts which may speak for them; and we who study them are limited by what material has been preserved.¹⁴⁸ Nonetheless, these studies have done much to advance our understanding of ancient Egyptian society. However, I propose that it would be useful to study all social groups from one provincial locality to gain a better understating of ancient Egyptian society. The elite and non-elite, men and women, craftsman and farmer should all be studied together and not in isolation. It is hoped that this study on public displays of religion and identity by people from a variety of social groups living at the town of Asyut will add a new and important voice to the conversation by focusing on provincial lives and practices.

¹⁴⁶ Lynn Meskell, *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt :Material Biographies Past and Present*, Berg Publishers, New York (2004), p. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Jan Assmann. 'Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egypt' in: *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, Edited by Peter Der Manuelian, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1996).

¹⁴⁸ As discussed by Stuart Tyson Smith, it is the study of archaeology which has "the potential to provide insights into individual lives and agency," even of non-elite individuals. See Stuart Tyson Smith, "A Portion of Life Solidified: Understanding Ancient Egypt Through the Integration of Archaeology and History", *Journal of Egyptian History* vol. 3, issue 1 (2010), p. 156.

Studying Asyut can serve as a corrective to existing studies on religion and society. The stelae from Asyut, collectively known as the Salakhana Trove, provide a window into local provincial culture. While it cannot be assumed that all individuals would have the social or economic capital to donate a stela, stelae do not require the economic or social capitals required to build a tomb, and thus are more freely available to a wider cross-section of society, as previously discussed by Terence DuQuesne.¹⁴⁹ As noted by Geraldine Pinch, in her seminal study *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, the stelae and votive cloths offered belonged to what she termed a ‘middle class.’¹⁵⁰ While one must be careful when making any comparisons between the ancient and modern world, Pinch’s point is well taken. The titles of the men and women appearing on the votive offerings to Hathor indicate they were not royals, or members of the high elite. Nevertheless, even the individuals who held these titles were of a more elite status, and possessed more economic and social capital than the average Egyptian. It was a similar case at Asyut, where the widespread use of votive stelae and objects by various social groups is evidenced by the titles (and lack of titles) that appear on the stelae.

Stelae at Asyut were donated by both men and women. Some contain no titles, while others contain relatively low titles such as servant (*sdm-ꜥꜥ*), and mistress of the house (*nbt-pr*). It appears that the ability of an individual to commission a votive stela was only constrained by economic factors. However, as will be demonstrated throughout this dissertation, *what* one could depict on a personal stela was tightly controlled by decorum. As discussed in Chapter 1, access to specific items of material culture and their display was determined by one’s place in society. Therefore, these stelae are a reflection of local social hierarchies and religious practices. They

¹⁴⁹ See Terence DuQuesne, ‘Gender, Class, and Devotion: social and demographic aspects of the Salakhana stelae’, *Discussions in Egyptology* 63 (2006), pp. 40-57.

¹⁵⁰ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 344.

demonstrate not only how social standing was conceptualized, but how it was maintained and enforced. Through the study of these stelae we are able to pierce the veil of time and gain a window into the past. We are able to see power and agency, access and restriction, but above all we see how the men, women, children, and families of Asyut viewed and represented themselves. We see their values, their lives, and the society in which they lived.

3.2 The Town of Asyut: Geography and Location

The ancient town of Asyut was located in Middle Egypt. The town was slightly less than halfway between Thebes (modern Luxor) and Heliopolis (modern Cairo) when travelling downstream along the Nile.¹⁵¹ Known as *Sꜣwty* in ancient Egyptian, the town was situated on the western bank of the Nile River. The landscape of both the ancient town and modern city are dominated by the nearby western mountain, which lay approximately two kilometers south of the town. It was the capital of the 13th Nome of Upper Egypt. However, it was never a large city like Memphis, Thebes, Heliopolis, or Elephantine. Hassan estimates that the population in the dynastic period was limited to perhaps 1,500-3,000 people.¹⁵² Asyut never existed as either a religious or a political center. The town's small size and relative unimportance made Asyut a provincial center that was, in all likelihood, typical of the type in which most ancient Egyptians lived: situated along the Nile, agrarian in economic focus, led by a few elite families who

¹⁵¹ Following the path of the Nile, Luxor is approximately 740km south of Cairo. Asyut is approximately 400km south of Cairo.

¹⁵² Fekri Hassan, "Cities," in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, volume 1, by Donald B. Redford. Oxford, (2001), p. 271.

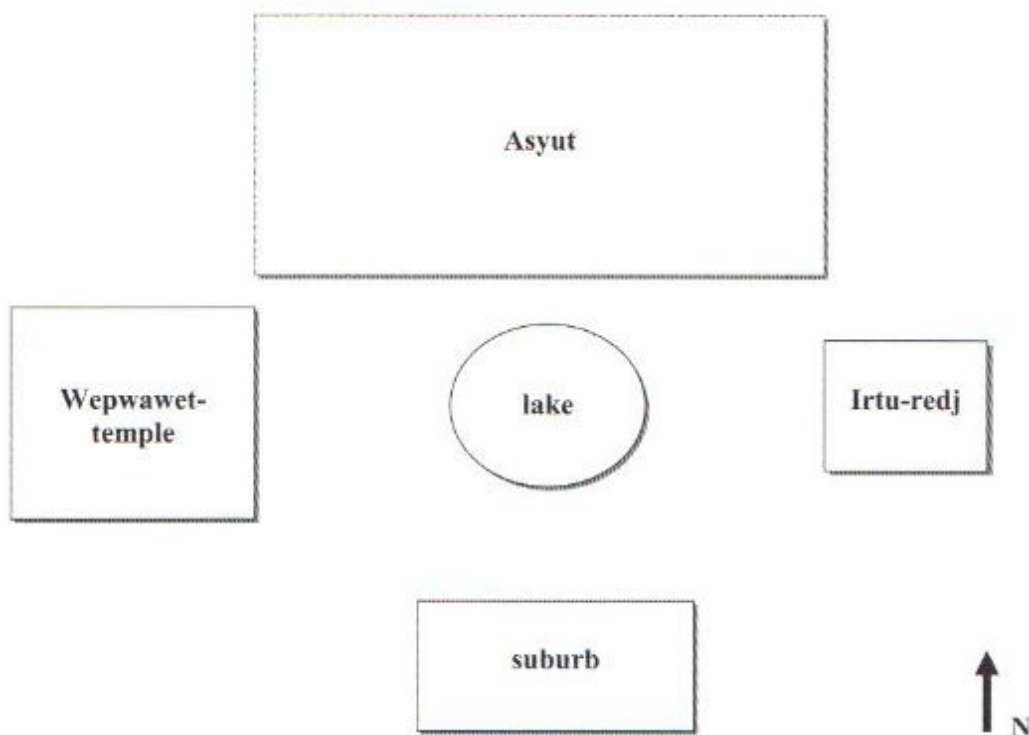
controlled much of the area's commodities and assets, collected rent and taxes from the peasants on behalf of the crown, religiously focused on a city god and his temple (which would have had its own landholdings and peasant laborers), and which was rarely, if ever, visited by the king and his entourage.

Asyut was the cult center of the god Wepwaut. The most prominent temple belonged to Wepwaut, with a smaller temple of Anubis. However, it was also home to other smaller temples dedicated to other gods at various points in its history. Both Wepwaut and Anubis take the animal form of a jackal, and it was from that animal that the town was given its Greek name of Lycopolis, or City of the Wolf.

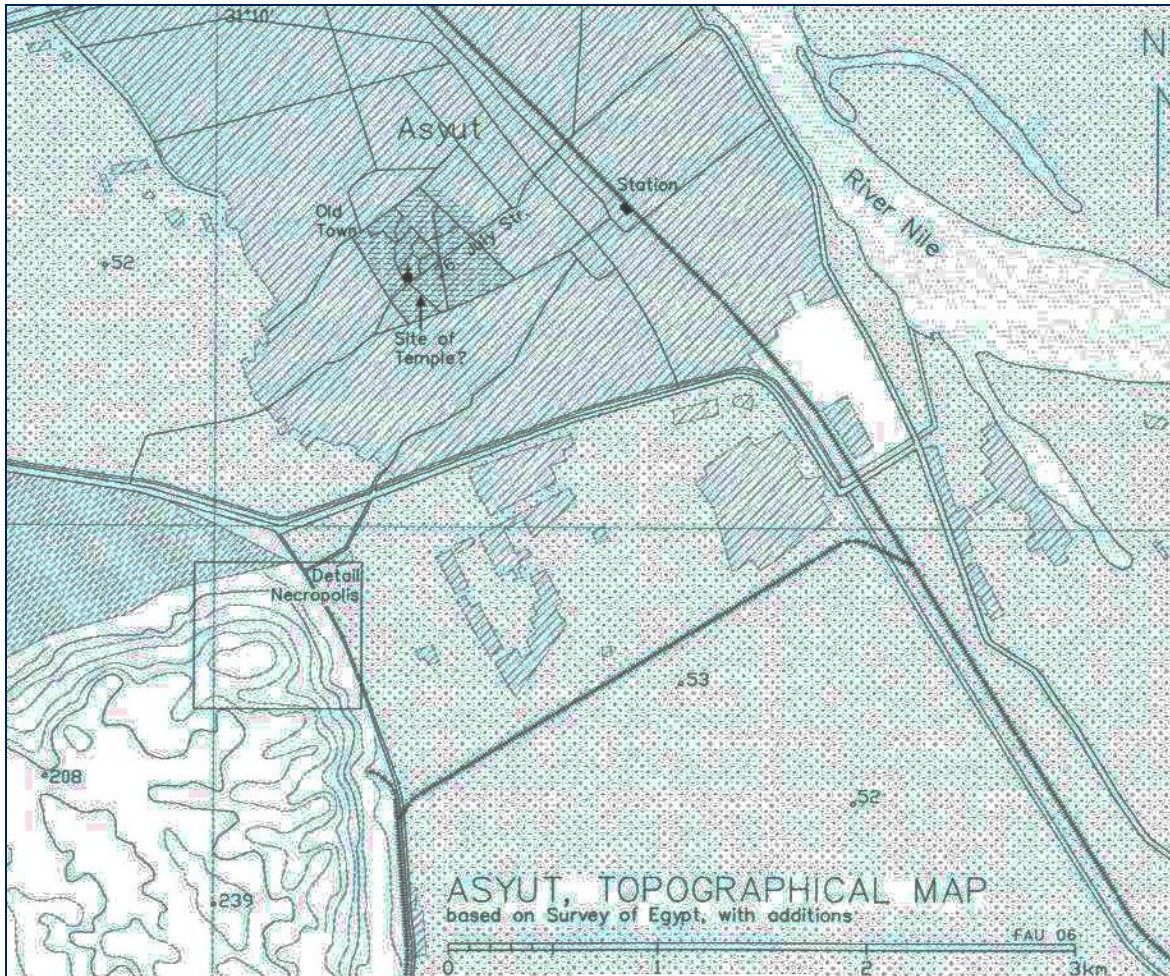
Similar to many ancient towns, the ancient city of Asyut lies under a modern city. This has, unfortunately, prevented any scientific archaeological work at the site. Very little can be said about the temples, buildings, or even the general layout and position of the town.¹⁵³ We are therefore forced to rely solely on texts and material culture discovered in the nearby necropolis, or purchased on the antiquities market, for information concerning the town. Textual sources, as well as the results of illegal excavations, indicate the temple was located to the southwest of the town (see map 1). With no possibility of being able to excavate the town, the archaeological work conducted at the site has focused on the necropolis in the western mountain, which has been suggested may contain thousands of tombs (see map 2).¹⁵⁴ The history of archaeological work at the site will be summarized in the following sections.

¹⁵³ Jochem Kahl, *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*, Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden, (2007), p. 3.

¹⁵⁴ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 59.



Map 1: Jochem Kahl's reconstruction of the layout of Asyut based on textual sources.



Map 2: The Topography of Asyut

3.3 History of Archaeological Work at Asyut

Asyut was first studied by the French Expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte¹⁵⁵ and subsequently received the attention of scholars whose interest was piqued by the publication of their results. Unfortunately, many of the monuments were destroyed before a more thorough

¹⁵⁵ René Édouard Devillers (du Terrage) and Jean Baptiste Prosper Jollois, "Description de Syout, et des Antiquités qui paraissent avoir appartenu à l'ancienne ville de Lycopolis," in: *Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'Expédition de l'armée française*, (Volume II, 1), Paris, 1818.

analysis could be conducted. In a commentary on the destruction, the English traveler Henry Windsor wrote in 1879:

We reached Siout and paid a visit to the bazaar, where we bought some daggers of native manufacture; they are of good design but of bad iron and practically worthless. We bought some pottery for which the district is famous. We then started for the tombs, which I found cruelly mutilated since our last visit... These interesting monuments are being rapidly destroyed for the sake of the limestone in which they are excavated. The whole mountain is a mass of limestone, and any quantity might be obtained without a single tomb being injured, but of course it is less trouble to carry away the walls and columns found in these tombs hewn ready to hand, then quarry the mountain in fresh places. For the sake of this advantage, records of priceless value to the historian are ruthlessly destroyed forever, after having escaped for 4000 years. If the work of spoliation goes on much longer the roofs will fall in, and their total destruction will be consummated.¹⁵⁶

While such calamitous quarrying activity is common at many ancient sites, Asyut appears to have been disproportionately effected by such activities.

Despite the destruction, many visitors still travelled to Asyut to visit the tombs. Asyut was notable not just for the artistic quality of the tombs, but their number. In the 1880s Francis Llewellyn Griffith came to Asyut to examine the necropolis. Using ladders, he transcribed hieroglyphs from walls 11 meters high, eventually publishing his epigraphic work on these tombs, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh*, in 1889. This work is still the authoritative starting point for studying the texts of tombs I-V.¹⁵⁷

Much of the work in the two decades following Griffith's study was aimed at enhancing and improving Griffith's epigraphic survey. Percy Newberry came to work in Asyut around 1893. His work, copying texts and making sketches of the tombs, was meant to serve as a

¹⁵⁶ Villers Stuart, *Nile Gleanings concerning the Ethnology. History and Art of Ancient Egypt as revealed by Egyptian Paintings and Bas-Reliefs. With Descriptions of Nubia and its Great Rock Temples to the Second Cataract*, London, (1879), pp. 92-94.

¹⁵⁷ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 27.

correction to Griffith's publication. However, he never completed his work.¹⁵⁸ Newberry was followed by Pierre Montet, who came to copy the inscriptions in 1911 and 1914. Montet also included a small paleography and photographs, along with his transcription of the inscriptions, which he published in 1928 and 1930-35.¹⁵⁹

At the same time as this epigraphic work was underway, some excavations were also taking place around the necropolis. However, these excavations do not appear to have been particularly successful. To this day their results remain either entirely undocumented, or unsatisfactorily published.¹⁶⁰

In 1903 Charles Palanque excavated in Asyut. His results were posthumously published by Chassinat in 1911.¹⁶¹ The work focused on 26 excavated graves. However, no detailed plan of the necropolis, nor the architectural features of any tomb, were ever published. The report focused mainly on the inscriptions and the statuary that was recovered.

The most substantial archaeological activity seems to have been carried out by Ernesto Schiaparelli. Schiaparelli conducted five archaeological campaigns between 1905 and 1913.¹⁶² Although he initially focused on the southern half of the necropolis, he later expanded his work

¹⁵⁸ Diana Magee, "A Small Tomb at Asyut Based on the Mss of P. E. Newberry," in: *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3-9 September 1995*, edited by C. Eyre. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 82; Leuven, (1998), pp. 717-18.

¹⁵⁹ Pierre Montet, "Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh," in: *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*, 1 (1928), pp. 53-68; and Pierre Montet, "Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh (suite)," in: *Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et coptes*, 3, (1930-35), pp. 45-111.

¹⁶⁰ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 28.

¹⁶¹ Émile Chassinat and Charles Palanque, *Une Campagne des fouilles dans la nécropole d'Assiout (Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire* 24, Cairo, (1911).

¹⁶² "Asiut", in: Anna Maria Donadoni Roveri (ed.), *Passato e future del Museo Egizio, Torino*, Turin, (1989), pp. 188-194.

to cover the entire necropolis. Only one article regarding the activities of these excavations was ever published, and there are currently thousands of finds in the Museo Egizio di Torino from this field work that have yet to be properly studied.¹⁶³

In 1906-7 David George Hogarth explored the necropolis in search of intact tombs. His goal was to procure as many quality finds as possible for the British Museum. He appears to have repeatedly used dynamite¹⁶⁴ and Kahl states that he failed to produce any documentation related to his work.¹⁶⁵ However, Marcel Zitman has been able to reproduce much of Hogarth's activity from unpublished papers, maps, reports, and letters found at the British Museum.¹⁶⁶

It appears that Hogarth was largely concerned with identifying tombs and mapping their location. However, Zitman points out that Hogarth's survey was ill-documented, and many of his maps cannot be trusted.¹⁶⁷ He appears to have surveyed approximately 300 tombs, but he only included information on approximately 100 of these.¹⁶⁸ 60 of these tombs are published in his final report to the British Museum. An additional 44 tombs are included in his diary, but these have not been assigned numbers.¹⁶⁹ His survey methodology largely seems to have been informed by his expected results. Vast amounts of his concession were left unexplored in order

¹⁶³ Silvio Curto, *Storia del Museo Egizio Torino*, Turin, (1976, p. 52 and 105). Some of these objects, and a discussion of them, has recently been published in: *Ägyptens Schätze entdecken - Meisterwerke aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Turin, Historisches Museum*. München (2012).

¹⁶⁴ Cf. Donald P. Ryan, *The Archaeological Excavations of David George Hogarth at Asyut, Egypt*, Cincinnati, (1988).

¹⁶⁵ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 29.

¹⁶⁶ Marcel Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut: A Case Study of Local Egyptian Funerary Culture from the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Peeters Press (2010).

¹⁶⁷ Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, p. 49.

¹⁶⁸ Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, p. 53.

¹⁶⁹ Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, p. 51.

to move to areas where he hoped to have better luck. Hogarth's notes, mainly consisting of his report, field diary, tomb register, and map also lacks homogeneity, and it is often not possible to synthesize these sources.

Ahmed Bey Kamal appears to have been acting as a contract excavator in the region prior to the outbreak of World War I.¹⁷⁰ Kamal also worked for Sayed Bey Khashaba and procured many items for him that originated in Asyut. Kamal published records of these items,¹⁷¹ but this listing appears to be incomplete.¹⁷² Work in the region halted with the outbreak of World War I.

The most notable work in the remainder of the 20th century, particularly in regards to this project, was the work conducted by Gerald Avery Wainwright in 1922. Wainwright, working under Pierre Lacau, who was then Head of the Antiquities Service, began to clear the 12th Dynasty tomb of Djefay Hapy III. It appears that the ceiling of the tomb had collapsed in antiquity. Wainwright cleared this and discovered a truly astonishing cache of hundreds of votive stelae and other votive objects, which are often collectively referred to as the Salakhana Trove.¹⁷³ Lacau speculated that their presence indicated a reuse of this Middle Kingdom tomb as a necropolis for sacred animals:

Dans la première chambre, supportée par des colonnes papyriformes et servant de chapelle, on a placé des stèles commémoratives. Ces stèles sont d'un type inconnu jusqu'à ici: le dédicant fait une offrande au dieu loup monté sur le perchoir d'honneur qui sert de support aux divinités des nômes...A côté du dieu une série de petits loups lui font cortège dans le champ même de la stèle. Nous avons plus de 600 stèles s'étendant de la XVIIIe dynastie jusqu'à la fin de la

¹⁷⁰ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 28.

¹⁷¹ Ahmed Bey Kamal, "Fouilles à Deir Dronka et à Assiout (1913-14)" in: *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 16 (1916), pp. 65-114.

¹⁷² Henri Wild, "Note concernant des antiquités trouvées, non à Deir Dronka, mais dans la nécropole d'Assiout," in: *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 69 (1971), p. 308.

¹⁷³ For a discussion of the archaeological context of the trove see Chapter 4.

période saïte. Beaucoup étaient peintes et la décoration a disparu. Pour celles qui sont gravées, le travail est médiocre, ce sont les stèles bon marché d'un province pauvre. M. Wainwright en a commencé l'étude, et les dessins sont déjà en cours d'exécution.¹⁷⁴

While the find seems extraordinary, Lacau's statement that work 'est médiocre, ce sont les stèles bon marché d'un province pauvre' foreshadows the relegating of these objects to the basement of the Cairo Museum and their subsequent lack of study. No doubt the 'poor provincial' quality was further highlighted by the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun in that same year. A plan of the tomb was later published by Rosalind Moss in 1933 (see plan 1).¹⁷⁵ She describes the tomb as follows:

This tomb consists of an unfinished outer court with subsidiary tombs, a pillared hall, an inner hall, and a vaulted passage, beyond which is the sanctuary with three niches in the west wall. The large pillared hall is now roofless, but on the jambs of the doorway leading to the interior are remains of titles of the deceased, part of an inscribed architrave is lying on the ground, and on the right (northwest) wall of the hall is still covered with inscriptions to a great height. This, however, is so badly destroyed that it is impossible to make out much, but the greater part consists of a long vertical text containing epithets of Hepzefa, who apparently lived in the reign of Amenemhat II, and is described as a hereditary prince and overseer of prophets. Then follows the usual address to the living, and next to it is a contract in tabular form. It was on the floor at the south-east end of this hall that a large number of New Kingdom stelae leaning against the walls was found by Mr. Wainwright in 1922 when clearing the tomb for the Service des Antiquités.

The following year, in the Porter and Moss' *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings: Vol. IV* the contents of the tomb are described as being located in the Cairo Museum.¹⁷⁶

Following the activities of Wainwright there appears to have been only brief and sporadic archaeological activity at Asyut. These included surveys conducted by Moharram Kamal in

¹⁷⁴ Pierre Lacau. 'Rapport sur les travaux de Service Antiquités de l'Égypte en 1921-1922', in: *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1992*. Vol 66, issue 5, Paris, (1922), p. 379.

¹⁷⁵ Rosalind Moss, 'An unpublished rock-tomb at Asyut', *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (1933), p. 33.

¹⁷⁶ Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings: Vol. IV*, Griffith Institute: Oxford (1934), p. 264.

1931-1932, Ali Hassan in 1962, and Donald B. Spanel and Diana Magee in the 1980s. As most of the ancient town exists under the modern city, and the western mountain was being used as a military base, substantial archaeological work was not possible.

The situation has changed somewhat in recent years. In 2003 a joint German-Egyptian mission began archaeological work at the site. The main goal of this continuing archaeological mission, headed by Jochem Kahl, Ursula Verhoeven, and Mahmoud el-Khadragy is, at present, to conduct a complete scientific survey of the western mountain and its tombs. In addition to producing yearly reports¹⁷⁷ and a number of articles on specific topics, the projects has published five different monographs of the site: *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 years of Research*,¹⁷⁸ *Seven Seasons at Asyut*,¹⁷⁹ a collected volume of essays from a conference held in

¹⁷⁷ M. El-Khadragy and J. Kahl, 'The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisted', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32 (2004), pp. 233-243; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, and U. Verhoeven, 'The Asyut Project: Fieldwork s Season 2004', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 33, 2005, pp. 159-167; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, and U. Verhoeven, 'The Asyut Project: Third Season of Fieldwork (2005)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 34 (2006), pp. 241-249, pl. 20-21; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, and U. Verhoeven, with a contribution of Monika Zöllner, 'The Asyut Project: Fourth Season of Fieldwork (2006)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36 (2007), pp. 81-103; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, and U. Verhoeven, with a contribution by Abd el-Naser Yasin, 'The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37 (2008), 199-218; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., 'The Asyut Project: Sixth Season of Fieldwork (2008)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 38 (2009), pp. 113-130; M. El-Khadragy and J. Kahl, Preliminary Report of Fieldwork Season 2007 in the Necropolis of Asyut, in: *ASAE* 83 (2009), pp. 177-189; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, and U. Verhoeven et al., 'The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork (2009)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 (2010), pp. 191-210, pl. 14-19; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., 'The Asyut Project: Eighth Season of Fieldwork (2010)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40 (2011), pp. 181-209, pl. 6-13; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, M. Abdelrahim, M. van Elsbergen, H. Fahid, A. Kilian, C. Kitagawa, T. Rzeuska, and M. Zöllner-Engelhardt, 'The Asyut Project: Ninth Season of Fieldwork (2011)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012) pp. 189-234, pl. 21-22; J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, M. Abdelrahim, and E. Czyżewska, 'The Asyut Project: Tenth Season of Fieldwork (2012)', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 42 (2013), pp. 123-153.

¹⁷⁸ Jochem Kahl, *Ancient Asyut: The First Synthesis after 300 Years of Research*, Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden, (2007).

¹⁷⁹ Jochem Kahl, *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th-11th of October, 2009*, Harrassowitz Verlag; Wiesbaden (2012).

Asyut in 2009, *Asyut, Tomb III: Objects*,¹⁸⁰ *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut*,¹⁸¹ and *Die Zeit lag nun tot darnieder: Die Stadt Assiut und ihre Nekropolen nach westlichen Reiseberichten des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts: Konstruktion, Destruktion und Rekonstruktion*.¹⁸² These works, combined with Marcel Zitman's *The Necropolis of Assiut: A Case Study of Local Egyptian Funerary Culture from the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom*¹⁸³, have done much to increase and nuance our understanding of the site.

The work of Kahl and Zitman are complimentary in many respects. Kahl's team has focused on surveying the necropolis, while Zitman has focused on integrating information from previous excavations and surveys. Unfortunately there is still much uncertainty regarding the specific location and identification of many tombs, and there are still inscribed tombs which have yet to be documented or published,¹⁸⁴ but the picture today is much clearer than it was just five years ago.

3.4 Asyut as a Cultural Center

¹⁸⁰ Jochem Kahl, Nadine Deppe, Dora Goldsmith, Andrea Killian, Jan Moje, and Monkia Zoller-Engelhard, *Asyut, Tomb III: Objects*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (2014).

¹⁸¹ Jan Moje, *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut*, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2013).

¹⁸² Jochem Kahl, *Die Zeit lag nun tot darnieder: Die Stadt Assiut und ihre Nekropolen nach westlichen Reiseberichten des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts: Konstruktion, Destruktion und Rekonstruktion: Die Stadt Assiut und ihre Nekropolen nach westlichen Reiseberichten des 17. bis 19. Jahrhunderts: Konstruktion, Destruktion und Rekonstruktion*, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2013).

¹⁸³ Marcel Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut: A Case Study of Local Egyptian Funerary Culture from the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, Peeters Press (2010).

¹⁸⁴ Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, p. 35.

As stated above, the city of Asyut was never large or especially important in the Pharaonic era. Kahl stresses that the city existed as a border town between various factions vying for control in times of strife. This positioning led to multiple destructive incursions throughout its history.¹⁸⁵ These damaging invasions, combined with a lack of archaeological work, have made reconstructing the history of Asyut extremely difficult. This is perhaps best evidenced by the recent work of Marcel Zitman.

Focusing on the necropolis, Zitman believes he has identified as many as 11 possible ‘new’ candidates who may have been mayors, or nomarchs, of Asyut in the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.¹⁸⁶ It was in the First Intermediate Period when the city was perhaps most prominent, serving as the southern boundary of the Herakleopolitan kingdom. Despite its small size and political unimportance, Asyut seems to have been a vibrant cultural center, at least in the Middle and New Kingdoms. Rather than always emulating texts and styles from other, larger sites, the inhabitants of Asyut developed distinctly local textual and artistic traditions. These traditions demonstrate the presence of an established local elite who has different societal concerns and engaged in different forms of social display than those found at other sites.

Asyuti texts from First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom were valued as late as the Roman Period. Texts from Asyut were “copied in libraries and tombs all over Egypt as if they had been part of the encyclopedia of Egyptian culture.”¹⁸⁷ For instance, Osing has shown

¹⁸⁵ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁸⁶ Marcel Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, p. 357.

¹⁸⁷ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 151; citing Pascal Vernus, *Langue litteraire et diglossie*, in: Antonio Loprieno (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 10, Leiden-New York-Köln (1996), pp. 555-564; and Jochem Kahl, *Siut-Theben: zur Wertschätzung von Traditionen im alten Ägypten*, Probleme der Ägyptologie 13, Leiden-New York-Köln (1999).

that Roman period decanal star lists were transmitted from Asyut to Tebtunis.¹⁸⁸ There were also unique artistic styles at Asyut. Statuary, one the principal forms of elite display, was also created for the local gentry at Asyut. Pieces bearing the name of Djefay-Hapy, presumably of Middle Kingdom-Second Intermediate Period date, were transported to the Near East and Sudan¹⁸⁹ where they were valued as prestige objects¹⁹⁰, and possibly used to commemorate an Egyptian defeat at the hands of Kerma.¹⁹¹ Many of these statues have unique stylistic features that can be seen as clear evidence of local workshops.¹⁹² This is especially well evidenced by the decoration found on Middle Kingdom coffin lids, which reproduce diagonal star tables. At present there are about twenty coffins that contain these star tables, and most come from Asyut.¹⁹³ The unique form of these coffin lids shows that the elite at Asyut were not simply interested in imitating the elite royal styles found at Memphis, or later Thebes, but wished to differentiate themselves by displaying unique forms of knowledge and material culture.

¹⁸⁸ Jürgen Osing, „PSI inv. I 3 + pCarlsberg 305 + pTebt. Tait Add. 2 e PSI inv. I 4 + pCarlsberg 306 + pTebt Add. 3. Copie delle incrizioni nelle tombe di Assiut,“ in *Papiri geroglifici e ieratici da Tebtynis*, (eds,) Jürgen Osing and Gloria Rosati, Florence, (1998), pp. 55-100.

¹⁸⁹ Wolfgang Helck, „Ägyptische Statuen im Ausland—ein chronologisches Problem,“ in: *Ugarit Forschungen*, 8 (1976), pp. 101-115.

¹⁹⁰ Timothy Kendall, *Kerma and the Kingdom of Kush, 2500-1500 B.C.: the archaeological discovery of an ancient Nubian Empire*, Washington (1997), pp. 24-27.

¹⁹¹ Stuart Tyson Smith, personal communication.

¹⁹² Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'Archéologie égyptienne. Tome III. Les grandes époques. La Statuaire*, Paris, (1958), p. 161; Roland Tefnin, *Statues et Statuettes de l'ancienne Égypte*, Bruxelles, (1988), pp. 25-27; Emily Teeter, „How Many Status of Nakhty?,“ in: *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 114, (1990), pp. 101-106.

¹⁹³ These star clocks were the prototype for later astronomical texts, see: Jochem Kahl, „Textkritische Bemerkungen zu den Diagonalsternuhren des Mittleren Reiches,“ in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 20 (1993), pp. 95-107.

Asyut continued to exist as a center of culture and craftsmanship in the New Kingdom.¹⁹⁴ Kahl cites reliefs from the tomb of Amenhotep¹⁹⁵ (see fig. 3.1) and the statue of the Overseer of the Double Granary of Upper and Lower Egypt, Si-Ese III (see fig. 3.2) as prime examples of local artistic productions.

Regarding literature and elite education at the site, the existence of more than 140 graffiti in Tomb N13.1 indicates the presence of a scribal school at Asyut in the New Kingdom.¹⁹⁶ Ursula Verhoeven has identified 201 graffiti: 142 textual graffiti and 59 pictorial representations.¹⁹⁷ Based on the paleography and dates mentioned in the graffiti, they are dated to the beginning of the 18th to the end of the 20th dynasty.¹⁹⁸ One graffito mentions the Vizier Kaires as the author (until recently unknown) of the Loyalist Teaching. Its presence at Asyut

¹⁹⁴ William Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675-1080 B.C.)*, New York (1959), pp. 347-359; Joachim Karig, "Die Kultkammer des Amenhotep aus Deir Durunka," in: *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 95 (1968), pp. 27-34.

¹⁹⁵ The tomb reliefs of Amunhotep now exist in four collections: Ägyptische Museum Berlin, inv. 31010/1; Zürich, Kunsthhaus, inv. 1963/36; Cleveland Museum of Art, inv. 63.100, and Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art, inv. 62/64. The tomb was erroneously thought to have come from Deir Dunka. For a discussion see Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 97.

¹⁹⁶ Jochem Kahl, "Ein Zeugnis altägyptischer Schulausflüge," in: *Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion* 211 (2006), p. 25-29.

¹⁹⁷ Ursula Verhoeven, "The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N.13.1: An Overview." In *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th-11th of October, 2009*, The Asyut Project 2, Wiesbaden (2012), p. 48; For further discussion of the graffiti see: U. Verhoeven, "Graffiti from the New Kingdom in Tomb N13.1," in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Fourth Season of Fieldwork," in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36, (2007), pp. 85-87; U. Verhoeven, "Tomb N13.1: graffiti," in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, "The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007)," in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37, (2008), pp. 201-204.; U. Verhoeven, "Tomb N13.1: graffiti," in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., "The Asyut Project: Sixth Season of Fieldwork (2008)," in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 38, (2009), p. 117; U. Verhoeven, "Tomb N13.1: More literary graffiti and the title "scribe of the estate of jackals",," in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., "The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork (2009)," in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 (2010), pp. 196-198.

¹⁹⁸ Ursula Verhoeven, "The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N.13.1: An Overview." In *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th-11th of October, 2009*, The Asyut Project 2, Wiesbaden (2012), pp. 50-1.

demonstrates not only the presence of a scribal school at Asyut, but situates the site as belonging to a network of intellectual centers where texts and teachings were shared and discussed.

Regarding the pictorial representations, Kahl argues that the drawings found among the graffiti are comparable in quality to graffiti found at Deir el Medina.¹⁹⁹ It was within this rich context of local artistic and intellectual practice that the votive stelae found in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III were created.



Figure 3.3: Line Drawing of the Cult Chamber of Amunhotep, from his tomb at Asyut

¹⁹⁹ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 153.



Figure 3.4: Statue of Si-Ese III, 19th Dynasty (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 34)

Chapter 4: The Salakhana Trove

4.1 The Archaeological Context of the Stelae

This dissertation focuses on 494 votive stelae from Asyut. As discussed in Chapter 1, the text and iconography found on votive stelae can be considered the products of habitus, which were shaped by decorum. Individuals at Asyut exhibited their elevated status and sought to gain and show social capital through displays of public religious practice. The key to interpreting these content found on these votive stelae is understanding the sociocultural and religious context that framed their creation. The stelae considered in this study were discovered together in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III. Most of the scholarship regarding the depositing of the stelae can be grouped into two general camps: those who believe that the tomb served as a chapel or sacred place,²⁰⁰ and those who believe the tomb served as a cachette of sorts for the temple of Wepwaut.²⁰¹ This uncertainty is perhaps best summarized by Kahl's view on the subject "It is still unclear whether the tomb functioned as a sanctuary from the New Kingdom or whether it was re-used as a cachette of the Wepwawet-temple. The fact that the stelae refer to Wepwawet and not to the tomb-owner points to the second option."²⁰²

The stelae were found upright, against the walls of the pillared hall (see fig. 4.1). While most of the stelae date to the Ramesside Period, the tomb of Djefay Hapy III dates to the Middle Kingdom. The tomb is located near the bottom of the north-eastern side of the western mountain

²⁰⁰ Hellmut Brunner, 'Eine Dankstele an Upuaut', *MDAIK* 16 (1958), p. 10; Ashraf Sadek. *Popular Religion in Egypt During the New Kingdom*. Hildesheim (1987), p. 42.

²⁰¹ Nicole Durisch, 'Culte des canides a Assiout: trios nouvelles stèles dédiées a Oupouaout', *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 221.

²⁰² Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 93.

(see fig 4.2, Tomb VII).²⁰³ The location of this tomb seems to follow a general trend observed by Marcel Zitman that “when put into spatial terms, the sites chosen for the principal tombs seem to descend downhill as time progresses.”²⁰⁴ As discussed in Chapter 3, the graffiti found in tomb N.13.1 demonstrate that individuals in the New Kingdom were actively visiting the tombs of individuals from earlier periods.

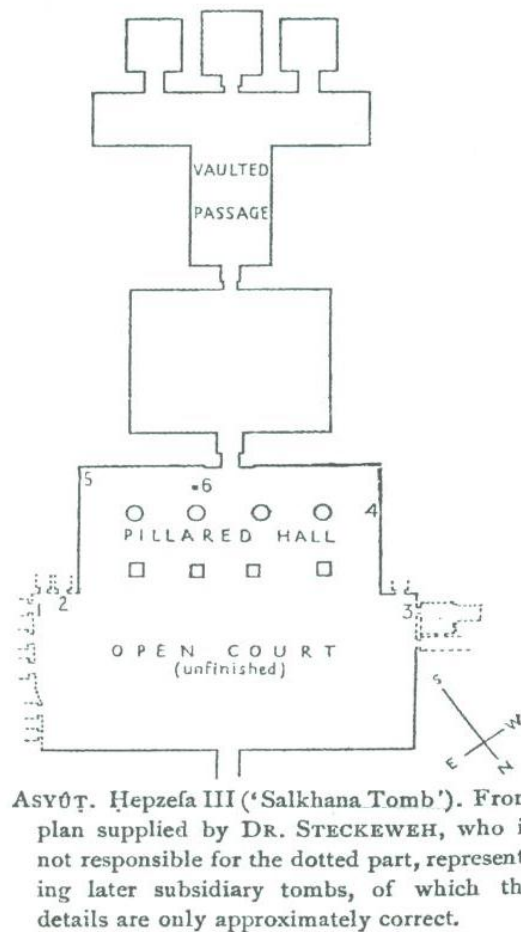


Figure 4.1: Plan of the Tomb of Djefay-Hapy III (From Rosalind Moss, ‘An unpublished rock-tomb at Asyut’, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 19 (1933), p. 33).

²⁰³ The extent to which tombs were constructed in the New Kingdom is unclear. The only two original tombs known from the New Kingdom are the tombs of Amenhotep (now lost) and Siese III. Jan Moje, *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut, Mainly by David George Hogarth and Ahmed Bey Kamal*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (2013), p. 29.

²⁰⁴ Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut*, p. 35.

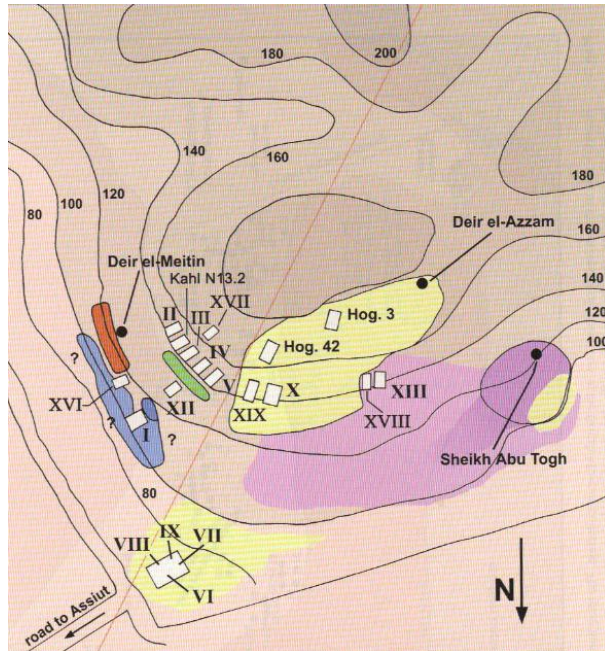


Fig. 4.2: Detail of the Necropolis of Asyut (From Marcel Zitman, *The Necropolis of Assiut, maps...* p. 4 (map2))

It is impossible to know exactly when the tomb was discovered by modern scholars, and practically nothing is known about many of the excavations at Asyut.²⁰⁵ In a letter, dated to March 1889, Charles Edwin Wilbour notes that substantial work was already being carried out by Mohammed Halfawee. He writes:

a considerable excavation, quite grandiose, which Mohammed Halfawee, with permission from Grebáut, was making. It is only a few rods north of the end of the causeway, perhaps one third of the way to the cemetery, and thirty or forty feet up. A narrow way cut through the rock leads to an open place, on the north side of which are two rock chambers, the door of the farthest being inscribed in the name of Hap-jef whose two tombs have been a wonder for many years. Why two? And now it is why three? Two or three broken steles have been found and an offering table with the name of Hap-jef. Digging is already begun on the north side of the place. Above six feet of sand is a four or five foot layer of jackal mummies in pots.²⁰⁶

The location described above seems to indicate Halfawee was working in front of the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III (see map 2, Tomb VII). However, the fact that the work is described as being

²⁰⁵ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 28.

²⁰⁶ Jean Capart (ed.), *Travels in Egypt (December 1880 to May 1891). Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, Brooklyn (1936), p. 528.

carried out ‘in the north of the place’ seems to indicate Halfawee was focusing on Tomb VI. Unfortunately there is no documentation concerning this excavation, and the extent to which Halfawee may have worked at the Tomb of Djefay-Hapy III is unknown. Wilbour’s comment that the two tombs of Djefay Hapy ‘have been a wonder for many years,’ suggests that the tombs were already regularly being examined by visitors, and perhaps scholars as well.

More is known about the work carried out by David George Hogarth.²⁰⁷ Hogarth arrived at Asyut in December of 1906. In a letter Hogarth writes that all the tombs in the northwestern side of the courtyard were open, and that Tomb VI was closed by an iron fence. In this same letter he states that the Tomb of Djefay-Hapy III was ruined.²⁰⁸ It was not until 1922 that systematic clearing of the tomb began.

It was not until Gerald Avery Wainwright, working under Pierre Lacau, that work on clearing the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III began in 1922. While Wainwright mentions his plan to study the trove in detail, it appears that his study resulted in the publication of a single, 14- page article on the animal form of Amun in 1928.²⁰⁹ In the article Wainwright describes the trove:

In the Spring of 1922 a great hoard of stelae was found in clearing out one of the rooms of the tomb now known as that of the Salakhana at Asyut. They belonged to the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, Thothmes III, Thothmes IV and Horemheb being shewn on three of them as making offerings to Ophois, and another dated in the 51st, or probably 61st, year shews the cartouche of Ramesses II receiving worship. The greater part of the stelae were in a grievous state, the result of decomposition, and the incrustation of salt and dirt. The vast majority of those that could be studied at all naturally celebrated the worship of Ophois, the local god of Asyut, to whom some two hundred and forty-seven were dedicated. But besides these there were some thirty three that were either dedicated to, or included in their dedication, various of the great gods of Egypt, Amon, Hathor,

²⁰⁷ Until recently there was no information available regarding the activities of Hogarth. However, Marcel Zitman has recently compiled and synthesized many of his observations from unpublished records held at the British Museum. See: Marcel Zitman, *The Necropolis of Asyut*.

²⁰⁸ Hogarth, *Letter to Report*, 10 (unpublished), reproduced in Zitman, *The Necropolis of Asyut*, p. 47.

²⁰⁹ Gerald Wainwright, “The aniconic form of Amon in the New Kingdom,” *ASAE* 28, (1928), pp. 175-189.

Osiris, Ptah and Thoth. Fourteen of these thirty three were dedicated to Amon or Amon-Re in his ordinary forms, whether anthropomorphic, ram-headed, or as a ram.²¹⁰

Also found in the tomb, and no doubt tied to votive activity, was a large number of canine mummies. These mummies appear to have been found in various tombs throughout the western mountain.²¹¹ To my knowledge the present location of these canine mummies remains unknown. In addition to the stelae and canine mummies, a number of small stone and terracotta votive figurines were also found in the tomb, but their exact number and location is unknown. A Demotic family archive of papyri dating to the Persian Period was also found in the tomb. These papyri were published by Wilhelm Spiegelberg in 1932.²¹² An additional papyrus belonging to this archive was later published by Shore in 1988.²¹³ Moss mentions that “the demotic papyri... were discovered at the same time high up in the rubbish near the centre of the hall,”²¹⁴ suggesting that all stelae and votive objects were deposited in the tomb prior to 522 BCE,²¹⁵ the latest date mentioned in the archive.

²¹⁰ Gerald Wainwright, ‘The aniconic form of Amon in the New Kingdom’, *ASAE* 28, (1928), p 175.

²¹¹ Canine mummies are mentioned as being found throughout the necropolis, and not just in the tomb of Djefay Hapy III. Recent work conducted by the current German-Egyptian mission has uncovered many canine mummies in the so called ‘Tomb of the Dogs.’ For a discussion of the faunal analysis see C. Kitagawa, ‘Tomb of the Dogs in Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (Middle Egypt, Late to Ptolemaic/Roman Period): preliminary results on the canid remains’, in *Archaeozoology of the Near East X: Proceedings of the tenth international Symposium on the Archaeozoology of southwestern Asia and adjacent areas*, edited by Bea De Cupere, V. Linseele, and S. Hamilton-Dyer, Brussels (2013), pp. 343-356.

²¹² Wilhelm Spiegelberg. *Demotische Denkmäler, III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri (CG 50023-50165) (Catalog Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Berlin (1932), pp 39-53, plates 17-27. (CG 50058-50062; Trismegistos 45568, 45569, 45570, 45571, 45572, 102188, 102189, 102190).

²¹³ A. F. Shore, ‘Swapping property at Asyut in the Persian Period’, in: *Pyramid Studies and other Essays presented to IES Edwards*, Edited by John Baines, T. G. H. James, Anthony Leahy, and A. F. Shore. The Egypt Exploration Society Occasional Publications 7: London (1988), pp. 200-206.

²¹⁴ Rosalind Moss, “An unpublished rock-tomb at Asyut,” *JEA* 19 (1933), p. 33.

²¹⁵ Wilhem Spiegelberg, *Die Demotische Denkmäler. III. Demotische Inschriften und Papyri, (CG50023-50165) Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Berlin (1932), p. 43f (pCairo 50059; Trismegistos 45568).

DuQuesne mentions the destructive incursions of the Assyrians and Persians in the seventh and sixth centuries respectively as a possible motivation for moving the stelae from the temple to the tomb.²¹⁶ However, the attacks of the Assyrians and Persians seem an unlikely reason for the moving the stelae from the temple to the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III. If this were the case, one would expect to see many higher quality temple items and sculpture, which are notably absent. It also seems unlikely individuals clearing out the temple would have traveled such a distance to deposit the votive stelae of private individuals created centuries earlier, as these items likely had little value to priests. Furthermore, tombs were often a prime source of looting, and it seems likely that any major looting activity at the site would have focused on the tombs as well. The Egyptians likely knew this, as the Middle Kingdom statuary found in Sudan demonstrates the necropolis had already been robbed prior to the New Kingdom.²¹⁷

Nicole Durisch suggests that the tomb was first used as a necropolis for canid mummies. The storage of canid mummies eventually led to a sanctification that then allowed for the storage of sacred stelae.²¹⁸ Again, this solution does not seem overly likely, as the entire western mountain has been used as a repository to store canine mummies. Members of the Napoleonic expedition noted that:

In all of the tombs of Asyut one sees a large number of caskets that formerly encloud the mummies. We have even found in several [tombs], fragments of the

²¹⁶ Terence DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove: votive stelae and other objects from Asyut*, London, (2009), pp. 82-84.

²¹⁷ See Chapter 3.

²¹⁸ Nicole Durisch, 'Culte des canides à Assiout: trois nouvelles stèles dédiées à Oupouaout', in: *BIFAO* 93 (1993), p. 21.

mummies themselves, particularly wolves, jackals, young cats and also birds of prey still retaining their plumage.²¹⁹

In 1837 John Gardner Wilkinson wrote similarly, “the tombs in the mountains above Lycopolis, the modern E’Sioot, contain the mummies of wolves, many of which I have examined and ascertained to be sacred animals of the place,”²²⁰ It seems then that the appropriation of tombs in Asyut for the depositing of animal mummies was a regional phenomenon that covered the entire western mountain, and was not focused specifically on the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III. Recent archaeological work at the site has also found another tomb with canine mummies.²²¹

Durisch’s theory also begs the question, why was this the only tomb selected for the mass storage of votive stelae and votive objects? If priests were simply attempting to find a storage space, Tombs VI, VIII, and IX were all closer to the city (see fig. 4.2). Why would the priests travel all the way to the western mountain to store the private votive stelae of individuals who had been dead for over 500 years? Furthermore, this theory cannot account for the placement of small clay and stone votive objects within the tomb. Such objects are more commonly found in votive chapels, not temples, and their presence indicates votive deposition.

²¹⁹ René Édouard Devillers (du Terrage) and Jean Baptiste Prosper Jollois, “Description de Syout, et des Antiquités qui paraissent avoir appartenu à l’ancienne ville de Lycopolis,” in: *Description de l’Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l’expédition de l’armée française*, Seconde édition, publiée par C.L.F. Panckoucke, Tome quatrième, Antiquités-descriptions, Paris, (1812), p. 153 as translated and cited in Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 148.

²²⁰ John Gardner Wilkinson, *Manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians. Including their private life, government, laws, arts, manufactures, religion, and early history. III*, London (1837), p. 27.

²²¹ C. Kitagawa, “Tomb of the Dogs in Gebel Asyut al-gharbi (Middle Egypt, Late to Ptolemaic/Roman Period): preliminary results on the canid remains.” in *Archaeozoology of the Near East X: Proceedings of the tenth international Symposium on the Archaeozoology of southwestern Asia and adjacent areas*, edited by Bea De Cupere, V. Linseele, and S. Hamilton-Dyer, Brussels (2013), pp. 343-356.

DuQuesne suggests that Djefay-Hapy III may have been beatified, in a way similar to Amenhotep I,²²² or instilled with a cult like Heqa-ib.²²³ This idea has also been presented by Sadek, who wonders whether the tomb was a chapel, or had an active cult.²²⁴ Textual evidence supports this theory. Hieratic graffiti found in a tomb N13.1, dated to the late SIP or early New Kingdom, state that scribes came to see the temple of Djefay-Hapy.²²⁵ While it is unclear whether the scribe is referring to Djefay-Hapy III, or another Djefay-Hapy, there was definitely a veneration of an individual by that name at Asyut. However, the reason for the deposition of the votive stelae in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III is tied not just to his social status and possible deification, but also to the procession of Wepwaut to the temple of Anubis. It should be noted here that the ancestor cult and a cult devoted to gods were not mutually exclusive and could exist side by side. In her study on the chapels Ann Bomann notes that chapels at Amarna could be associated with deities while also observing an ancestor cult.²²⁶ There could have been a similar situation at Asyut, where elite individuals intentionally inserted themselves into formal religious practices in an attempt to facilitate their deification.²²⁷

²²² See Dietrich Wildung, *Egyptian saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*. New York: New York University Press (1977); and also Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*. Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag (1977).

²²³ DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove*, pp. 79-80. For the cult of Heqa-ib see: Detlef Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine. Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, Heidelberg (1994).

²²⁴ Ashraf Sadek. *Popular Religion*, p. 42.

²²⁵ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 57, fig. 32.

²²⁶ See especially the discussion of chapel 561. Anne Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt*, New York (1991), pp. 57-59. Interestingly, Wepwaut appears to have played a role in this chapel, as indicated by the presence of a standard of Wepwaut and a pottery dog head. Perhaps Wepwaut's position at the head of festivals and processions made him an especially accessible deity to the general populace.

²²⁷ Jochem Kahl, 'Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: Die Vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut', in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), pp. 163-188.

4.2 The Procession of Wepwaut, the Deification of Djefay Hapy III, and the Deposition of the Stelae

While it will never be possible to know for certain what the procession of Wepwaut looked like, there is enough information to allow for a reasonable reconstruction. Mortuary contracts from the tomb of Djefay-Hapy I mention a procession of Wepwaut and the people of Asyut from the temple of Wepwaut in Asyut to the temple of Anubis. Kahl's reconstruction of the town, based on texts, places the temple of Anubis west of the necropolis (see fig. 4.1). The main road from the western mountain to the city passes right in front of the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III, so any procession between the two temples would likely have passed directly in front of the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III (see fig. 4.5). I believe this tomb was appropriated as a stopping point along the procession. The dominance of items donated to Wepwaut and jackal iconography, which appears on over 95% of the stelae, indicates a specific and formalized ritual practice that focused on a single deity, as opposed to the informal depositing of votive objects.²²⁸ Furthermore, the presence of two royal stelae, donated by Thutmose III (fig.4.3) and Horemheb (fig. 4.4), indicate that the tomb of Dejafay-Hapy III was the site of formal, state-sponsored religious practice. It therefore seems likely that the prominent status and possible deification of Djefay-Hapy III, combined with the accessibility of his tomb (see fig. 2, tomb VII), led to the appropriation of his tomb as a votive site along the processional route. This was not a unique case and there were other tombs that were appropriated in the New Kingdom and used for

popular cultic practices.²²⁹ But there were other social factors, specific to Asyut, which would have facilitated such an appropriation and possible deification.



Fig. 4.3: Stela depicting Horemheb worshipping Wepwaut. Cairo Museum Stela CM041.



Fig. 4.4: Stela depicting Thutmose III worshipping Wepwaut. Cairo Museum CM038

²²⁹ For instance, the Middle Kingdom tomb of Antefoker (TT60), as well as Old Kingdom Tombs in Giza, became the site of popular religious practice in the New Kingdom. See: Selim Hassan, *The Great Sphinx and its Secrets*, (Excavations at Giza VIII), Cairo (1953), p. 54-64; Ashraf Sadek, *Popular Religion in Ancient Egypt*, Hildesheim (1987), pp. 23-29; Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 59.

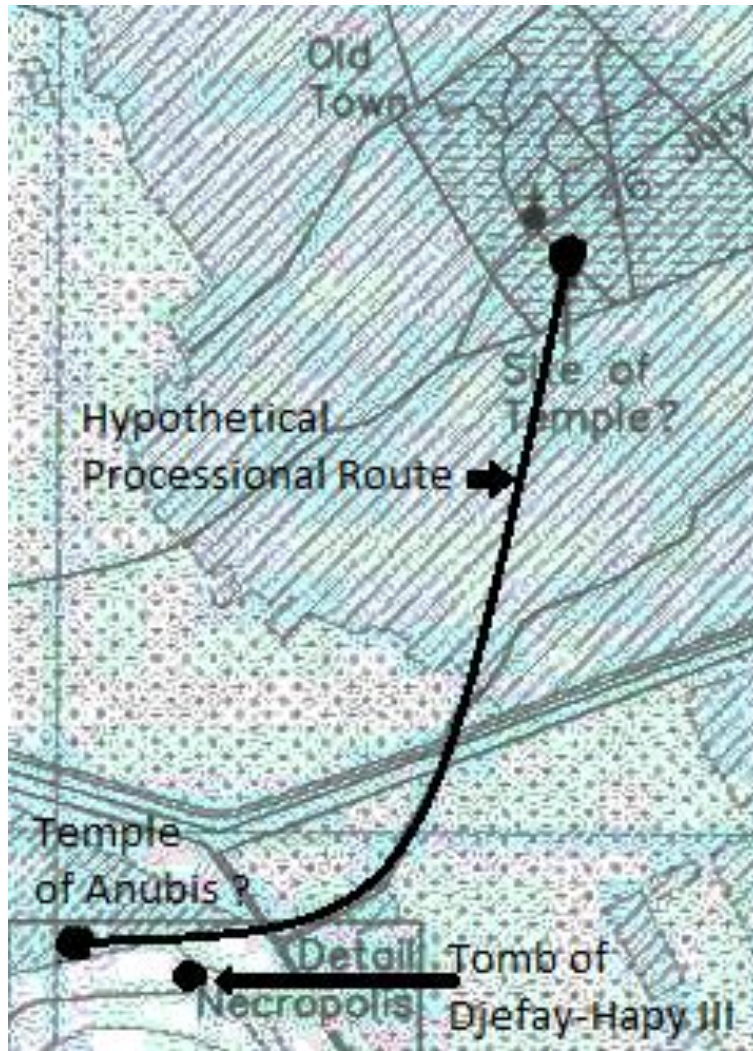


Fig. 4.5: Reconstructed Route of the Procession of Wepwaut to the Temple of Anubis

While individuals in the New Kingdom could conceivably appeal to all the gods of the Egyptian pantheon, they also appealed to their ancestors. The proliferation of ancestor busts,²³⁰ effective spirit of Re stelae²³¹, and letters to the dead indicate that the ancient Egyptians thought

²³⁰ For an overview of ancestor busts see: Karen Exell, "Ancestor Bust." In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, University of California, Los Angeles (2008). <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/59k7832w>

²³¹ Robert Demarée, *The *ꜣḥ ikr n R*-stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten: Leiden (1983).

appealing to the deceased was an effective way of remedying daily life maladies and conflicts.²³² The deceased, whether they were transfigured into an *ꜣḥ* or *mwt* spirit, became part of the divine realm. They could affect the living in both positive and negative ways. Practices revolving around deceased ancestors eventually became formalized. It is also possible that individuals descended from beatified individuals gained social capital, as it would have raised the prominence of their family. Festivals such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley focused on the provisioning and renewal of the deceased in the necropolis, often focusing on certain prominent individuals. While there are numerous examples of deceased kings being elevated to the level of a god, non-royals could also be elevated to the level of a god. Imhotep and Heqa-ib were both elevated to such levels, while other prominent individuals, such as Amenhotep, son of Hapu, consciously attempted to insert themselves into the divine realm by presenting themselves as favored intermediaries between the gods and mankind.²³³

To serve as an intermediary for the living was an eminently desirable position for a deceased individual, and it is common in the New Kingdom to see prominent individuals attempting to insert themselves into this role, usually by means of placing a statue or stela with an appeal to the living at key religious locations. This is made explicit by the texts found on some of these statues. For instance, the inscription carved on the base of a statue of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, reads:

²³² For the classic study of the letters to the dead see: Alan Gardiner and Kurt Sethe, *Egyptian Letters to the Dead: Mainly from the Old and Middle Kingdom*, The Egypt Exploration Society: London (1928); for the relationship between the living and the dead see: Nicola Harrington, *Living with the Dead: Ancestor Worship and Mortuary Ritual in Ancient Egypt*. Oxbow Books: Oxford (2013).

²³³ For studies on the deification of humans see: Dietrich Wildung, *Egyptian saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt*. New York: New York University Press (1977); and also Dietrich Wildung, *Imhotep und Amenhotep: Gottwerdung im alten Ägypten*. Munich and Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag (1977).

O people of Karnak, who wish to see Amun. Come to me that I may report your petitions (*sprwt*). I am the herald (*whmw*) to this god, as Nebmaatre has appointed me to herald what the Two Lands say. Carry out ‘an offering that the king grants,’ summon my name every day like it is done for a praised one.²³⁴

Pragmatically speaking, the reading aloud of this inscription (and the offering formula that followed it), would have provided the deceased with a steady stream of offerings. Thus, such statues would have served to magically supply the deceased owner with the offerings needed to sustain the *k3* of the deceased, while at the same time keeping the memory of the deceased alive. This desire for social permanence can be seen throughout Egyptian history, and was one of the central goals in Egyptian mortuary practice.²³⁵ The individuals commissioning statuary and stelae with appeals to the living were consciously attempting to increase their social capital in the afterlife by presenting themselves as a sort of patron who would act on the behalf of the living. In many ways, the attempt to act as a patron in the after is a reflection of daily life practices, where most Egyptians—especially those in towns and provincial regions—were dependent upon leaders and wealthy men.²³⁶ Those who could afford to build elaborate tombs and created endowments designed to support a mortuary cult which would continue to provide the deceased with offerings after their death and communicated the prestige of the donor. This would not only have served the deceased in the afterlife, but would perhaps have granted prominence and prestige to their descendants. At Asyut we can see that prominent individuals could, and did,

²³⁴ José Galán, ‘Amenhotep Son of Hapu as Intermediary Between People and God’, *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century: Proceedings of the Eight International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000, Volume Two: History and Religion*, Edited by Zahi Hawass, American University in Cairo Press: Cairo (2004), p. 222.

²³⁵ Jan Assmann. ‘Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egypt’ in: P. Der Manuelian, ed. *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1996).

²³⁶ See Christopher Eyre, ‘Patronage, Power, and Corruption in Pharaonic Egypt’, in *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34 (2011), pp. 701-711.

contract with a variety of temples and cemeteries to ensure their provisioning in the afterlife.²³⁷

We can see exactly how this process worked by examining elements of the mortuary contracts of a predecessor to Djefay-Hapy III, Djefay-Hapy I.

As noted by Spalinger, “Djefay-Hapy instituted observances for himself at key calendrical points, such as New Year’s Day, the Wagdy Feast, and ‘first fruits’ celebration.”²³⁸ Not only did he insert these observances for himself at key points in the festival calendar, but he contracted with temple clergy to conduct rituals on his behalf. His detailed mortuary contracts, which were included as decorative elements of his tomb, Djefay-Hapy I made specific endowments in exchange for specific offerings to be given to him at certain times.²³⁹ Most interesting for the purposes of this study is the fact that Djefay-Hapy I contracted with all of the major areas of the Asyuti landscape that, in the New Kingdom, framed the creation and dedication of the votive stelae. He contracted not only with the priests at the temples of Wepwaut and Anubis (the procession which is depicted on the majority of votive stelae), but he also contracted with the overseer of the cemetery workmen (where the stelae were deposited) and his assistants.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Jochem Kahl, ‘Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: Die Vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut’, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), pp. 163-188.

²³⁸ Anthony Spalinger, ‘The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4. (Oct., 1998), p. 249.

²³⁹ For a detail description of the economic aspects of these contracts see Spalinger, ‘A Redistributive Pattern at Assiut’, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. 105, No. 1, (Jan-March 1985) pp. 7-20.

²⁴⁰ Kahl sees these mortuary contracts as Djefay Hapy I intentionally setting up his own deification. See: Kahl, ‘Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: Die Vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut’, in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), pp. 163-188.

Unfortunately very few mortuary contracts survive²⁴¹, so it should not be surprising that we do not possess the mortuary contracts for Djefay-Hapy III. However, Djefay-Hapy I's mortuary contracts provide us with an example how these contracts were executed at Asyut, as well as the individuals with which one would contract. It is a logical assumption that Djefay-Hapy III would have created instructions and endowments similar to those of Djefay Hapy I. It is easy to see how such actions (specifically the conducting of personal rites alongside temple rites and practices) might, over generations, have led to the sanctification of his tomb and the creation of a popular cult—even those not originally compensated by the contract. Furthermore, graffiti from tomb N13.1 state that individuals came to see the beautiful shrine of Djefay-Hapy, demonstrating that there was a deified Djefay-Hapy who had a temple associated with him by the New Kingdom. Concerning the location of the temple of Djefay-Hapy, Ursula Verhoeven writes, “the temple of Djefai-Hapi, which may be identical with its (Djefay-Hapy I) large rock tomb or possibly a separate temple for the deification of this nomarch as Jochem Kahl is presuming.”²⁴² While Verhoeven posits that the reference to the temple of Djefay-Hapy may be referring to the large tomb of Djefay-Hapy I, I believe that the writing discussing the temple of Djefay-Hapy are actually making reference to the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III.

²⁴¹ Janet Richards, *Society and Death in Ancient Egypt: Mortuary Landscapes of the Middle Kingdom*, Cambridge, (2005), p. 65.

²⁴² Ursula Verhoeven, “The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N.13.1: An Overview.” In *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th-11th of October, 2009*, The Asyut Project 2, Wiesbaden (2012), p. 54 cf. J. Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, pp. 57-58. For further discussion of the graffiti see: U. Verhoeven, “Graffiti from the New Kingdom in Tomb N13.1,” in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, “The Asyut Project: Fourth Season of Fieldwork,” in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 36, (2007), pp. 85-87; U. Verhoeven, “Tomb N13.1: graffiti,” in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven, “The Asyut Project: Fifth Season of Fieldwork (2007),” in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 37, (2008), pp. 201-204.; U. Verhoeven, “Tomb N13.1: graffiti,” in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., “The Asyut Project: Sixth Season of Fieldwork (2008),” in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 38, (2009), p. 117; U. Verhoeven, “Tomb N13.1: More literary graffiti and the title “scribe of the estate of jackals”,” in: J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy, U. Verhoeven et al., “The Asyut Project: Seventh Season of Fieldwork (2009),” in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 (2010), pp. 196-198.

The dating of the graffiti is crucial evidence that supports the suggestion that it was the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III that was referred to as a temple in the graffiti. Unfortunately it is not possible to know exactly which Djefay-Hapy was deified, or if the entire family benefited from this deification. The dating of these graffiti fall between the first year of the reign of Amenhotep III and the first year of the reign of Ramesses XI. This roughly corresponds to 1388-1102 BCE. Assuming, as I do, that the stelae found in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III were originally deposited there and not moved there at a later date, the erection of the stela of Thutmose III would have predated these graffiti, and the stela of Horemheb would have been placed in the tomb in the period in which the graffiti were being written. The presence of these royal stelae can be seen not only as evidence for active cult practice in the tomb, but as the state approving and sanctifying this cult location—just as the royal stela found in the shrine of Heqa-jb at Elephantine did.²⁴³

Much like the situation at Elephantine, other local rulers may have inserted themselves into this cult landscape and benefited from such practices. As discussed by Ursula Verhoeven, when writing on dedications made to deceased ancestors at Asyut:

Very interesting are two graffiti with dedications of the offering *pr.t-ḥrw* for the able spirit of the Dead, the *ḏḥ-jkr*, of two persons whose names correspond with the owners of Tomb Siut 111 (Iti-ibi: *Jt=j-jb=j*) and of Tombs Siut V or IV (Khety, here written: *ḥdj*). That would imply that the former nomarchs of the First Intermediate Period, whose tombs are lying directly underneath Tomb N13.1, were still well-known and considered to be powerful beings during the New Kingdom.²⁴⁴

²⁴³ Detlef Franke, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine. Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, Heidelberg (1994).

²⁴⁴ Ursula Verhoeven, "The New Kingdom Graffiti in Tomb N.13.1: An Overview." In *Seven Seasons at Asyut. First Results of the Egyptian-German Cooperation in Archaeological Fieldwork. Proceedings of an International Conference at the University of Sohag, 10th-11th of October, 2009*, The Asyut Project 2, Wiesbaden (2012), p. 53.

Clearly there was a long lasting tradition at Asyut of offering to powerful local rulers after their death,²⁴⁵ and this was likely the case in many other provincial towns and throughout Egypt. The local elite would likely attempt to serve their own ritual and social needs by manipulating the religious system in a way which would benefit them personally by displaying and elevating their importance in a way that was effective not just in this life, but in the afterlife as well.

It therefore seems likely that, as DuQuesne suggests, Djefay-Hapy III may have been recognized as a beatified individual of sorts by the beginning of the New Kingdom. His prominence in life, combined with a local system where elites consciously inserted personal rites for themselves into temple and festival practices, directly translated to prominence in the necropolis (which would have been further bolstered by Djefay-Hapy III's support of the workmen and overseers of the necropolis) and the eventual claiming of his tomb as a place of votive activity—or possibly even a shrine or formal cult, as Sadek suggests.²⁴⁶ Religious activity may have been informally centered on Djefay-Hapy III at first, but his tomb was eventually adopted as a way station for the procession of Wepwaut—which explains why images of procession and the divine standard dominate the stelae and there are no images of Djefay-Hapy III. It is equally possible that rules of decorum made it inappropriate to dedicate votive stelae to Djefay-Hapy III. As cited above, the graffiti mention *pr.t-hrw* individuals coming to give voice offerings to the deceased. This ritual practice would have left no traces of the offerings or rituals conducted for the benefit of Djefay-Hapy III. It is also possible that the turbulent events of the Second Intermediate Period led to a break in cultic activity, or even some sort of destruction.

²⁴⁵ As noted by Alexandra von Lieven, there was a hierarchy among deified humans. However, it is virtually impossible in most cases to determine why one individual was deified and another was not. A. von Lieven, "Deified Humans." In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Edited by Willeke Wendrich, Jacco Dieleman, and Elizabeth Froid, University of California, Los Angeles (2010), <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/3kk97509>, pp. 1-2.

²⁴⁶ Ashraf Sadek, *Popular Religion*, p. 42.

Numerous statues from Asyut, such as that of the wife of Djefay-Hapy I, the Lady Sennuwy (fig. 4.6), were discovered in Nubia, indicating that the necropolis was pillaged before the New Kingdom. Depending on the extent of the damage, this may have led to an extended break in cultic activity which was then revived with modifications in the New Kingdom.

After the appropriation of the tomb as a repository for votive stelae in the New Kingdom, ritual activity may have focused more on Wepwaut—or the two may even have been offered to side-by-side.²⁴⁷ It may also have been a matter of religious pragmatism on the part of the priests conducting the rituals. Perhaps, as more and more individuals inserted themselves into temple religious practice, priests blended the religious festivals and private rites into a single festival that was undistinguishable in the eyes of the laity. Festivals created a celebratory atmosphere that engaged the entire community, even if participation and understanding was varied among the population.²⁴⁸ As discussed by Luiselli:

Auf der Ebene der Religionsausübung war die lokale Bindung an eine Gottheit sowie die funktionale Rolle zentral. Nicht nur für das „Schöne Fest vom Wüstental“ ist die Teilnahme einer breiten Öffentlichkeit belegt. Auch auf den sog. Salakhana-Stelen ist im Bildprogramm die Religionspraxis durch die Partizipation an Prozessionen für Upuaut belegt. Durch die Teilnahme an solchen Festivitäten erfuhr das einzelne Individuum ein soziales, kulturelles und religiöses Gemeinschaftserlebnis, das es an den Ort und dessen Gottheit band, wodurch sich ein verbindliches Zugehörigkeitsgefühl entwickelte. Soziologisch betrachtet stellte diese Teilnahme eine unterschiedliche Bedeutung dar: Die intellektuelle Elite war sich des theologisch-religiösen Hintergrundes wahrscheinlich bewusst, wie dies auch heutzutage für die Beteiligung an religiösen Prozessionen gilt. An solchen Feierlichkeiten, die ein wichtiger Bestandteil des religiösen Lebens bestimmter Religionen bzw. Konfessionen (wie z. B. des Katholizismus) darstellen, nehmen Privatpersonen aus allen sozialen Schichten teil und erleben somit eine religiös konnotierte Erfahrung auf gemeinschaftlicher Ebene.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Anne Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt*, New York (1991), pp. 57-59.

²⁴⁸ Anthony Spalinger, 'The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), pp. 241-260.

²⁴⁹ Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische 'persönliche Frömmigkeit' von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), p. 233

Religious festivals and processions were activities that helped to form a sense of community by providing a place for the entire town to come together. The participation of the community made these public events the ideal place to display votive stelae, and demonstrate one's social status, and reinforce social bonds and expectations, while simultaneously displaying their devotion and patronage to the cult of Wepwaut.

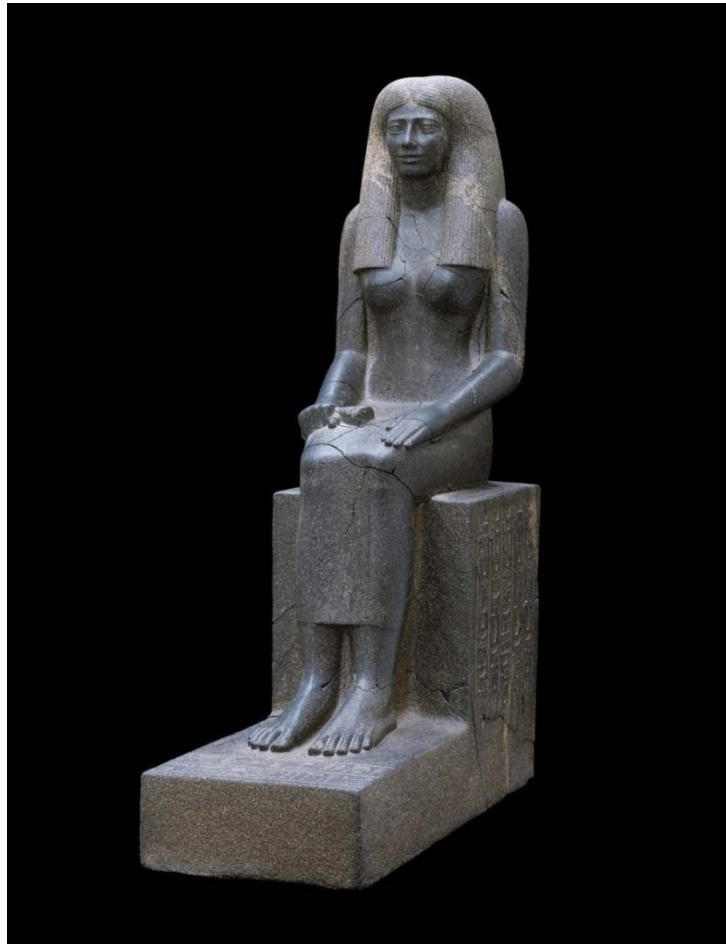


Fig. 4.6: Statue of Lady Sennuwy, wife of Djefay-Hapy I, found in Nubia.
Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Accession Number 14.720.

By the time the mortuary cult of Djefay-Hapy III died out—which invariably happened to all mortuary cults given enough time—the ritual landscape could have been altered in the minds

of the populace and the way stations in the necropolis were seen as an aspect of official religion. The dating of the hieratic graffito cited above (SIP to the early 17th dyn.) would support both of the above suggestions and demonstrates that people were already visiting the tomb as a shrine well before the deposition of votive stelae began. By the time societal decorum permitted individuals to depict themselves directly worshipping gods in the New Kingdom (most of the stelae are dated to the late 18th dynasty or Ramesside period). The tomb of Djefay-Hapy III would have existed as a sanctified part of the ritual landscape and an ideal location to deposit votive stelae and other votive offerings.

4.3 The Primary Dataset

This dissertation focuses primarily on votive stelae from Asyut. There are a total of 494 votive stelae from New Kingdom Asyut, which are collectively referred to as the Salakhana Trove.²⁵⁰ There are 357 stone stelae and 137 stelae made of clay. Most stone stelae are made of limestone, with a few stelae made of sandstone or calcite (see table 1). The stelae themselves appear to be the products of local workshops. They represent local artistic forms, practices and innovation discussed in Chapter 2, rather than following artistic practices found at other sites.

²⁵⁰ These stelae have been collected and published by Terence DuQuesne in his monumental *The Salakhana Trove: Votive Stelae and Other Objects from Asyut*, London: Darengo (2009). There was also an earlier exhibition of some of these stelae in Cairo, which were published in Terence DuQuesne, *Anubis, Upwawet, and Other Deities. Personal Worship and Official Religion in Ancient Egypt*. American University in Cairo Press, Cairo (2009).

Stelae from Asyut		
Stone Stelae		357
	Limestone	328
	Sandstone	27
	Calcite	2
Clay Stelae		137
Total Stelae		494

Table 4.1: Votive Stelae from Asyut

The clay stelae represent a variety of production techniques. Most are round-topped rectangular stelae. Some appear to be hand molded, while others are incised or painted. Some clay stelae appear to have been ‘mass produced’ using an impressing technique similar to that used in the creation of funerary cones (see fig. 4.6),²⁵¹ again demonstrating the innovative use and adaptation of technology to service local needs. A recent study by Teeter shows that some clay votive beds and other votive objects from Medinet Habu were created using a similar impressing technique.²⁵² We also find that many clay stelae were created using multiple techniques of production and decoration, such as molding and paint (see fig. 4.7).

²⁵¹ The use of this technique was the subject of a paper titled, “The Iconography and Material Culture of Personal Piety,” which I presented in 2010 at the American Research Center in Egypt’s Annual Meeting, April 26, 2010.

²⁵² Emily Teeter, *Baked Clay Figured and Votive Beds From Medinet Habu*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago: Chicago (2010). The votive objects from Medinet Habu date to the Third Intermediate Period and may represent the possible influence of artistic traditions from Asyut. However, impressing was already an established technique used in the production of funerary cones and other objects. It seems likely that the use of such a technique at both sites can be attributed to demand, and the prefabrication of votive objects. This is significant, as it shows not only a societal demand for votive objects, but also demonstrates that there was a votive industry at both sites.



Figure 4.7: An Impressed Votive Stela from Asyut. Museum Stela CM 012. Photograph © Terence DuQuesne.

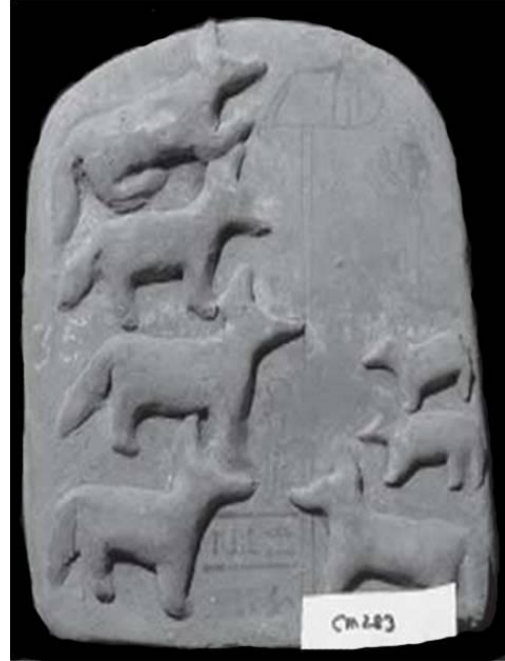


Figure 4.8: A Molded and Painted Stela from Asyut. Cairo Museum Stela CM 128. Photograph © Terence DuQuesne.

Most of the votive stelae from Asyut are made of stone and not clay. This is important to note, as different materials were available to different social groups. A holistic study of the stelae shows that there was a standardized iconographic repertoire of religious display at Asyut. Stela CM029 (fig. 4.6) can be seen as a typical example of a votive stela from Asyut. The vast majority of the stone stelae are round-topped rectangular stelae. They usually show a single donor, facing to the left while adoring the chief local deity, Wepwaut. Wepwaut normally appears in the form of a striding jackal atop his standard, but he can also be depicted as canine, or in his mixed human-animal form. A number of canids, usually standing, are found underneath the standard. In between the donor and standard stands a single offering table, usually laden with a jar and a wide variety of other offerings.



Fig. 4.9: A Typical Example of a Votive Stela from Asyut. Cairo Museum Stela CM029. Photograph © Terence DuQuesne

The text on the stelae usually appears at the top in the lunette. The most common textual elements are the name and titles of Wepwaut, usually presented as *Wp-w3wt šmꜥw, ḥbꜣ t3.wy* (Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands), although other epithets also occur. The signs are sometimes written horizontally over the back of the standard, with the text written from right to left. They can also be written in one or two vertical columns that appear in front of the standard and over the donor, as shown in figure 4.6. These hieroglyphs are normally meant to be read from right to left and top to bottom. Many stelae only include the name and epithets associated with Wepwaut. For text identifying the stela owner, it is most common to see the owner's name, less often their title. When personalized statements about the donor do appear, they are usually written in vertical columns above the donor. The hieroglyphs describing the

stela owner are read from top to bottom and left to right. In the case of stelae with multiple donors, the other individuals who appear on the stela usually appear behind the stela's owner or underneath them on a separate register. These other individuals are sometimes named, but are usually not titled, stressing they had less power and were reliant on the primary donor, who therefore occupied a superior position. Often times the text found on the stelae extends behind the donor and below the lines marking the columns. This indicates the textual elements found on the stelae were often added after the iconographic elements, and probably by different artisans, as the proper space was not allotted for the writing of the hieroglyphs the owner wished to include when the stela was initially outlined (fig. 4.9).



Fig. 4.10: A stela where accurate column lines were not drawn to allow for the proper spacing of the text referring to the stela owner. Stela CM 456. Photograph © Terence DuQuesne

As will be discussed throughout this dissertation, there are many unique iconographic elements found on the votive stelae from Asyut. However, it is also interesting to note the absence of many other iconographic elements that became common in the New Kingdom. For instance, there is not a single example of an ear stela, or hearing stela at Asyut (fig. 4.10). The absence of ear iconography is another piece of evidence how iconography and decorum were locally determined in Ancient Egypt.



Fig. 4.11: 'Ear Stela' of Mahwia (British Museum EA 1471). While this iconography became prominent at some sites in the New Kingdom sites, it was never used at Asyut.²⁵³

²⁵³ Erika Morgen, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine. Ägypten und Altes Testament* 61. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2004).

4.4 Previous Approaches to the Study of Votive Stelae

As discussed in Chapter 2, traditional studies of Egyptian stelae have focused on creating typologies that allow for the study of subsets of stelae.²⁵⁴ This also holds true for the study of votive stelae. However, there have been remarkably few attempts to systematically study votive stelae.²⁵⁵ The vast majorities of votive stelae remain unpublished, or appear only in museum catalogs and databases, lacking any sort of systematic analysis or comparison. However, as this study will demonstrate, conducting a systematic analysis of votive stelae is both highly useful and long overdue, as it facilitates a better understanding of ancient Egyptian society and religious practices.

The lack of scholarly attention regarding votive stelae is a result of the conception that votive stelae are “in most cases, extremely formulaic.”²⁵⁶ This has led most scholars to adopt a textual approach when studying votive stelae. As mentioned above, those stelae which are unique—especially those with individualized prayers and hymns—have received much attention. Yet even in cases where a stela does contain unique text, the images are ignored. However, a

²⁵⁴ For some examples see: Robert Demaree, *The ꜥḥ iḳr n Rꜥ-stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten: Leiden (1983); Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009); Heidi Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.) in Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports (B.A.R.) International Series: Oxford (2007); Erika Morgen, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 61. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2004).

²⁵⁵ The most comprehensive study of votive stelae is Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009). For more selective approaches see: Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993), Chapter 2.1; and Erika Morgen, *Untersuchungen zu den Ohrenstelen aus Deir el Medine*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 61. Harrasowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2004).

²⁵⁶ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), p.1.

focus on the extraordinary at the expense of the conventional only serves to obfuscate a holistic understanding of object classes.

At a superficial level most votive stelae do appear to be uniform in appearance. This view is summarized by Sadek, who wrote that New Kingdom stelae are “innumerable merely conventional stelae.”²⁵⁷ However, a close examination reveals that this is not the case. There are not only a variety of individual elements text and iconographic elements, but it is also possible to identify different types of votive stelae. In her study on *Votive Objects to Hathor*, Pinch has identified three categories of votive stelae:

- A) Stelae on which only deities are represented.
- B) Stelae with a single register on which deities and donors are shown.
- C) Stelae of more than one register where deities and donors are shown. This category has two subdivisions:
 - 1) Stelae with deities in the upper register and donors on owner registers.
 - 2) Stelae with deities and the principal donor/s in the upper register, and other donors in the lower register/s.²⁵⁸

Pinch notes that there are further possible variations of type C, but she does not focus on these variations as they are not represented in her dataset, which focuses exclusively on votive offerings to Hathor.²⁵⁹

²⁵⁷ Ashraf Sadek, *Popular religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom*. Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge, Gerstenberg (1987), p. 43.

²⁵⁸ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993), p. 83.

Adopting a different categorization system, Karen Exell, who has conducted the most comprehensive study of votive stelae to date, proposes classifying votive stelae into three distinct categories based on the relative position of the dedicator to the deity:

Type A: The dedicator stands directly in front of the deity.

Type B: A higher-ranking intermediary stands between the deity and dedicator

Type C: The dedicator is depicted in a separate, lower register.²⁶⁰

Type A indicates the direct cult access of the stela owner,²⁶¹ or a cult figure which could be easily accessed by the dedicator. Type B indicates “actual events at official cult locations.”²⁶² For Exell, the depiction of a higher ranking intermediary (such as the king, or vizier) indicates an expansion of religious access through the presence of these high ranking figures. For instance, individuals may not have been able to access the divine cult statue of a certain god, but the king could. Elite individuals would include images of the king worshipping the cult statue, while they worship the king, thus allowing them to display restricted imagery which they did not have the capital to depict independently. The display of restricted religious imagery, combined with representations of high ranking officials, would have enhanced not only the religious standing of the owner, but also his social status—the owners of type B stelae were commemorating this

²⁵⁹ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993).

²⁶⁰ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), p. 20.

²⁶¹ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, p. 138.

²⁶² Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, p. 36.

enhanced access. Type C stelae may be a stylistic variation of type A stelae, or refer to a cult location that was more formal and less accessible than the cults represented on type A stelae.²⁶³

It is through this typology that Exell reconstructs a social history of Deir el-Medina which focuses largely on cult accessibility and the forms in which various deities and cult objects appear. Seeing votive stelae as commemorative, Exell attempts to connect the representations found on many votive stelae to specific historical events, or cult locations.

As discussed in Chapter 2, most votive stelae can be seen as commemorative. Most stelae seem to commemorate a general understanding of religious practice and the relationship between the stela's owner and a deity. This has been noted by Exell, who notes that "broadly speaking, all of the stelae record some kind of social practice that may have taken place in a festival context, but the specific practice or event can be harder to discern."²⁶⁴ Therefore, it is better to interpret most votive stelae as a general representation the religious access and understanding of the donor.²⁶⁵ Unfortunately, there are issues that prevent the application of Exell's to the votive stelae from Asyut.

The central challenge in applying Exell's methodology to the votive stelae at Asyut is the general typology proposed by Exell, which is not sufficient as a tool to analyze votive stelae from Asyut. An application of Exell's typology to the votive stelae from Asyut shows that there is not a single example of a Type B stela, and approximately 31 examples of Type C stelae (fewer than 10% of all stelae).

²⁶³ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, p. 20.

²⁶⁴ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, p. 138.

²⁶⁵ John Baines, "Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), p. 6.

The unproductive results of an application of Exell's methodology to the votive stelae from Asyut should not be taken as a repudiation of her methodology. It should instead be seen as a validation of the hypothesis that localized decorum was generated from habitus (which was always locally constructed) in ancient Egypt—one of the central points of this dissertation. However, it also demonstrates the need for a site-specific method of analysis that allows for a holistic discussion of votive stelae from Asyut and the society that produced them.

Exell's study primarily focuses on Deir el-Medina, a town of artisans whose existence depended upon the patronage of the king and the elite. Surviving documents from the site show that these individuals were able to act as freelance artisans who could sell their services and skills. In such a community, stressing the connection to the king, vizier, or other prominent members of the Theban region would have helped to not only cement one's position in the community, but may have even aided in attracting future business. It is also possible that the inclusion of these high ranking individuals may be seen as a reference to work the artisans had performed for them. There can be no doubt that this unique social backdrop nuanced decorum at Deir el-Medina in distinctive ways. There was a drive at the site for individuals to display their social connections, and thereby increase their social capital, by including images of royalty, high elite, and even local foremen (Exell Type B stelae). As should be expected, the societal drives and needs were much different at a provincial site like Asyut.

It can be imagined that the royal court did not visit the town of Asyut often. However, royal stelae were amongst those found in the Salakhana Trove.²⁶⁶ If Exell's interpretation of type B stelae is accurate, one would imagine that the visit of the king to Asyut would be a notable event that would be commemorated by those present. It seems almost self-evident from what we

²⁶⁶ Stelae donated by Thutmoses III (CM038) and Horemheb (CM041) were found among the other votive stelae.

known about elite Egyptian society that the elite individuals at Asyut would want to connect themselves with the king. However, the lack of even one type B stela shows that this was not the case. There appears to have been no societal drive to personally display a votive connection to a higher status individual like the King at Asyut.

In the New Kingdom, elite individuals at provincial sites likely acted with a large amount of autonomy. The king does not appear to have been overly concerned with micro-managing the affairs of provincials. Individuals at Asyut were probably not competing with other artisans for work, as would have occurred at Deir el-Medina; or facing intense competition with other elites for royal favor, as would be expected at a royal site like Thebes or Memphis. The elite at Asyut were more interested in establishing and reaffirming their elite local identity and position, as there were few ways to advance socially or professionally. Given the different social situation at Asyut, it was necessary to construct a method that considered the unique context of this provincial town.

4.5 Method of Analysis

The classifications of both Pinch and Exell have merit, and are a useful tool for analyzing and grouping votive stelae. However, neither system was adopted in the present study. In order to gain a more nuanced picture of society at Asyut it was necessary to create a methodology that goes beyond creating a single variable typology. In an attempt to gain a more holistic understanding of the donors of votive stelae, this study focuses on the donors of votive stelae and treats each artistic element occurring on a votive stela as a signifier which carried cultural

meaning. It was determined that the best way to identify social hierarchy and religious access was to focus on the variation that occurred within the whole. Rules of decorum can only be understood and explicated by viewing multiple images of multiple actors, who appear together in the same context. The variability seen on votive stelae is a demonstration of social power and religious access, with higher status individuals possessing more artistic agency than lower level individuals.

By analyzing each iconographic element of the stelae (i.e. hairstyle, dress, pose, cult objects, etc.) as a variable, we can see that there are literally thousands of possible combinations—but certain combinations are clearly favored. Therefore, what seems rote and insignificant to us is, in fact, exactly what created value for the ancient Egyptians. I maintain that the repetition of specific combinations of variables operated as semiotic signifiers of social groups and status in ancient Egypt that would have been clearly understood by the ancient Egyptians.

As discussed in Chapter 1, identity is created through distinction and comparison with others. Identity is created by means of differentiating one's self from certain groups or people, while linking one's self to others. On votive stelae such attempts at individualization resulted in iconographic and textual variation, each of which can be seen as a variable. By studying these variables, it is possible to identify social and religious trends that allow us to reconstruct the social structure of New Kingdom Asyut, and see how social structures influenced and manipulated religious structures.

In order to analyze social and religious trends, various elements occurring on a votive stela were entered into a database as independent variables. The database program chosen for

this was Filemaker Pro. This program was chosen primarily for its ease of use, and the ability to create a custom user interface. The variation occurring on votive stelae was quantified in a binary sense (i.e. was a certain iconographic or textual element present or not present). This made it possible to identify who could access and display specific variables and thus reconstruct societal, religious and artistic decorum at New Kingdom Asyut.

Once variables were entered into the database it was possible to identify groupings, or clusters of variables. These clusters were then analyzed and interpreted. As might be expected, certain variables, such as dress, were indicators of social status and allowed for social grouping. However, this is not always the case. The limited styles of dress available to women and children (who are often depicted nude, or in simple dress) made other variables, such as hairstyle or objects, or other elements more important. This being the case, the primary variables for men, women, and children are different. The relevant sets of variables for each group will be discussed in the chapters dedicated to them.

As discussed in Chapter 1, Egyptian art has a ‘hieroglyphizing’ aspect where people and objects are depicted not as unique iterations, but as idealized symbolic displays of that which is being represented.²⁶⁷ Therefore, each iconographic element depicted serves as a signifier, in a semiotic sense. By studying these elements as a corpus, it is possible to isolate and interpret what these variables signified and the role they played in social display.

²⁶⁷ Jan Assmann. ‘Preservation and Presentation of Self in Ancient Egypt’ in: P. Der Manuelian, ed. *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 1, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (1996); Jan Assmann ‘Sepulkrale Selbstthematization im alten Ägypten,’ in: A. Hahn and V. Kapp, eds., *Selbstthematization und Selbstzeugnis: Bekenntnis und Geständnis*, Frankfurt (1987), pp. 196-222.

Egyptian artistic depictions were subject to rules of decorum which did not permit the free representation of religious knowledge, or experience.²⁶⁸ The ability to use, or depict usage of, certain signifiers would have been restricted. An individual needed to possess specific forms of social and cultural capital in order to show their access to certain signifiers. The demonstration and meaning of capital is often obvious to the members of a society where they are being used, but less clear to those outside that society.

For instance, in modern western society a watch can serve as a powerful signifier. The primary function of a watch is to keep time. However, the widespread use of cell phones with built in clocks, which keep time more accurately than battery powered or wound watches, have made watches largely obsolete—and yet many individuals still wear watches. Therefore, as discussed by Baudrillard, the primary function of these objects has been superseded by its display. As discussed in Chapter 1, the symbolic value, or sign value which this object signifies actually outweighs its functional value or consumption value. So what might a watch signify in culture?

Each watch can, in fact, be seen as signifying something different. There are watches made specifically for men and women. A Rolex (a very expensive luxury watch) is primarily a signifier of economic capital, or wealth. A golden watch is often presented to an employee retiring from a company. Other watches, such as Breitlings, are used by pilots. A pocket watch on chain can be seen as a formal, even antiquarian form of time keeping. Each of these watches signifies a certain social and economic message about the wearer. The messages such objects communicate can vary and are more or less laden with meaning depending on the perspective

²⁶⁸ John Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), p. 1-23.

and experience of the viewer. Individuals of lower socio-economic groups are likely not overly familiar with the variety of high end watches, although they recognize them as expensive, and therefore a signifier of wealth. However, members a high socio-economic class are likely more familiar with specific brands and styles, and can attribute other meanings to their use. Was a certain watch limited in production? Is it an antique? Is it a \$5,000 watch, or a \$50,000 watch? Such additive interpretations are only available and understood by those of the elite who are familiar with the extended meaning of these objects, even though the watch itself still conveys meaning to members of lower social classes. Additionally, the example of a watch demonstrates how mechanisms of decorum are not always clear. It is entirely possible that a poor individual may possess a \$50,000 watch, and a woman may wear a pocket watch with a pair of shorts—but such use would be shocking as it runs counter to societal norms and expectations. There were not sumptuary laws preventing the purchase or display objects in ancient Egypt. Rules of decorum are usually not formalized in codes of law, although they can be.²⁶⁹ Often it is social pressures (often unspoken) and economic constraints that limit or encourage the use or consumption of objects in a society. Werner Gundersheimer notes that the highest level patron in a society often had the most extensive obligations:

The urban elite of each major city—consisting of the dynastic house and its collateral lines, the court, and a small group of aristocratic families—is by virtue of its dominant local role forced to raise its political and intellectual sights and to measure its achievement against that of similarly placed elites in other cities. Such local elites know that their own clients will judge them in comparison with their peers elsewhere.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ In modern society the United States has laws prohibiting the unauthorized display of certain military medals, such as the Medal of Honor. Many Muslim countries have sumptuary laws regarding the dress and appearance of women. Sumptuary laws existed for centuries in pre-revolutionary and pre-industrialized France, and there are currently laws in France prohibiting the wearing of overtly religious dress, such as veils, in public schools. In ancient Greece, the laws of Solon prohibited extravagant burials and ceremonies, even limiting the clothing and offerings which could be given. See Plutarch, *Lives*, translated by John Dryden, available at <http://classics.mit.edu/Plutarch/solon.html>

²⁷⁰ Werner Gundersheimer 'Introduction' in *Patronage in the Renaissance*, eds. Guy Fitch Lytle and Stephen Orgel, New Jersey: Princeton University Press (1981), p. 17.

Those who held elevated positions in society were often forced to engage in elite display in order to highlight their social position and show how they compared to other elites. Social status can be signified in a variety of ways and in many different settings. While it is not always possible to uncover the meaning behind every signifier, it is possible to determine who had access to these signifiers and speculate as to the meaning behind them and the capital needed to access them.

4.6 Variable Classification System

In order to allow for a statistical analysis it was necessary to develop a methodology that enabled quantitative analysis of iconography and text. As clothing and hairstyles were often gender specific, the identification of specific types of hairstyles and clothing will be discussed with each group (.i.e. men, women, and children). With regards to the name and text variables, specific transliterations and translations have been given wherever possible.²⁷¹ Occasionally, some variables are unclassifiable due to their absence, untranslatability, or damage. The categories of “none”, “unclear”, and “broken” have been employed in order to standardize these categories.

²⁷¹ All transliterations and translations are based on those proposed by DuQuesne. In some cases alternative readings or identifications have been proposed. Alternate readings are indicated by the inclusion of a question mark, or a footnote.

None	This designation is primarily used for text analysis. None indicates that there is clearly no name or title present.
Unclear	Regarding text, the term unclear is used when text is clearly present, but it cannot be read or identified. As it applies to clothing or hairstyle, unclear is used when a specific identification cannot be made.
Broken	The stela is damaged and a specific identification cannot be made.

Table 4.2: Variable Classifications Used to Identify the Presence Textual Variables

In order to analyze large amounts of data, social groups in this study are analyzed in terms “named/unnamed” status, and “titled/untitled” status, as described below. In cases where textual readings may have been present, but their reading or presence is uncertain, the presence of the title or name is listed as unclear.

Named	Indicates the donor’s name is clearly present on the stela. Occasionally a name cannot be transliterated or translated, but the orthography makes it clear a name was present.	Unnamed	A name is clearly not present on the stela. No traces of hieroglyphs can be seen, and the layout suggests hieroglyphs were never present.
Titled	A title was clearly present. Titled status is only given when the title can be clearly transliterated and translated.	Untitled	A title was clearly not present. No traces of hieroglyphs can be seen, and the layout indicates hieroglyphs were never present.

Table 4.3: Criteria for Assigning Named or Titled Status

4.7 Summary

Although it was a relatively small provincial site, Asyut was home to a number of elite groups that supported a thriving religious and artistic provincial culture. Elite members of society at Asyut asserted their status by connecting themselves with the local religious system.²⁷² Although this practice at Asyut dates back to at least the Middle Kingdom, it would have increased in the New Kingdom, and especially in the Ramesside period, when the temple became the primary venue where elites would express their identity and social position.²⁷³ This display could take a variety of forms. Elites at the site could donate statuary as well as votive stelae, as long as they remained within the established confines of local decorum. The iconography found on these stelae appears to have developed organically out of local festivals which revolved around the town's principal deity, Wepwaut. These local religious festivals served as the ideal setting to establish and maintain local identity and elite status. Individuals often pushed the limits of decorum in order to serve personal needs.²⁷⁴ Individuals would not only have participated in these ritual festivals, but would have ingratiated themselves into the ritual landscape. Thus, every festival, every reviewing of a votive stela, was a reestablishment of identity and a reinforcement of the social hierarchy and provided an opportunity for adjusting one's social position through competitive display in subtle and overt ways. In subsequent chapters, I will demonstrate that there was a great deal of iconographic variety on these votive stelae. This variety was used by members of society to differentiate themselves and assert their place in the hierarchy of Egyptian

²⁷² J. Kahl, „Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: Die Vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut,“ in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), pp. 163-188, pl.17-19.

²⁷³ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2007), p. 11.

²⁷⁴ John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Studies in Egyptology and the Ancient Near East, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), p. 13.

society. By analyzing the various forms of personal and religious expression found on the stelae it is possible to reconstruct the social hierarchy at the site, and thus produce a nuanced study of social and religious structures at New Kingdom Asyut.

Chapter 5: Men at Asyut

5.1 Introduction

This dissertation focuses on aspects of provincial decorum which, as noted by Baines, were vital organizing features of ancient life that pervade the artistic record.²⁷⁵ As discussed in Chapter 1, these rules determined what was permissible to display in a given context, with different rules for each individual based on their social status, gender, religious access, and a variety of other factors.²⁷⁶ Rules of decorum were based on Egyptian social attitudes. The study of these rules enables us to explore how provincial systems of patronage and power were manipulated and displayed in a public religious context. The numerous professions and social roles available to men, both religious and secular, granted the men who occupied them various forms and amounts of social, economic, and cultural capital that was not normally available to women. In ancient Egypt men led public, professional lives, while women were expected to lead private lives;²⁷⁷ these societal attitudes led to the establishment of normative gender roles and perceptions that created different societal expectations for men, women, and children. Elite men in ancient Egypt possessed more social power and agency than women or children, and appear to

²⁷⁵ John Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23; John Baines, 'Kingship Before Literature: The World of the King in the Old Kingdom', In: *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie Mainz 15-17, 1995*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 36, Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie 1. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 125-74; John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press: Oxford (2007), pp. 14-29; John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), p. 11.

²⁷⁶ See Chapter 1.

²⁷⁷ For a discussion on the status of women in ancient Egypt see Chapter 6.2.

have faced societal pressure to not only publicly engage in displays of identity, but to differentiate themselves from other men and show the capital they possessed. The social pressure for individuals to display elite identities resulted in a wide variety of ways in which men could visually and textually display their social standing. On the other hand, women were subject to different societal expectations and rules of decorum, and were usually only identified through their relationship with their husband,²⁷⁸ largely relegating them to passive familial roles.²⁷⁹ The situation for children is even more extreme, as they do not possess a social identity outside of their parents. For this reason, men, women, and children will all be examined individually in this study in an effort to gain a nuanced understanding of the societal and religious roles occupied by each group. Regarding men, I will demonstrate the existence of 6 social groups at Asyut: 1) The General Populace; 2) The Lower Elite; 3) The Ritual Specialists; 4) The Military; 5) The Local High Elite; and 6) the Courtly Elite. Each of these social groups had access to different forms of material culture and religious iconography, which they displayed in order to assert their social status and power.

5.2 A General Description of Society, Men and Social Status at Asyut

The goal of the state bureaucracy in ancient Egypt was to ensure the maintenance of the current social order and guarantee that revenues (in the form of taxes) were collected. This being

²⁷⁸ Gay Robins, 'Some Principals of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 31 (1994), p. 34.

²⁷⁹ One of the few public roles available to women was the cult role of a chantress. In a provincial setting, the office of chantresses appears to have enabled the women holding the office to accumulate their own social and economic capital. See Chapter 6.

said, the bureaucratic government in ancient Egypt was deeply inefficient,²⁸⁰ and did not often interject itself into local affairs. As described by Christopher Eyre:

Egyptian central government justified itself as guarantor of social order. Its bureaucracy was concerned essentially with revenues, and the exercise of hierarchy, not with the provision of any form of public service. There was no interest in creating an efficient bureaucracy that penetrated deeper into the life of the individual. To the individual, the hierarchy was on the one side a revenue system imposed on him, and on the other a patronage structure to which he could appeal in need.²⁸¹

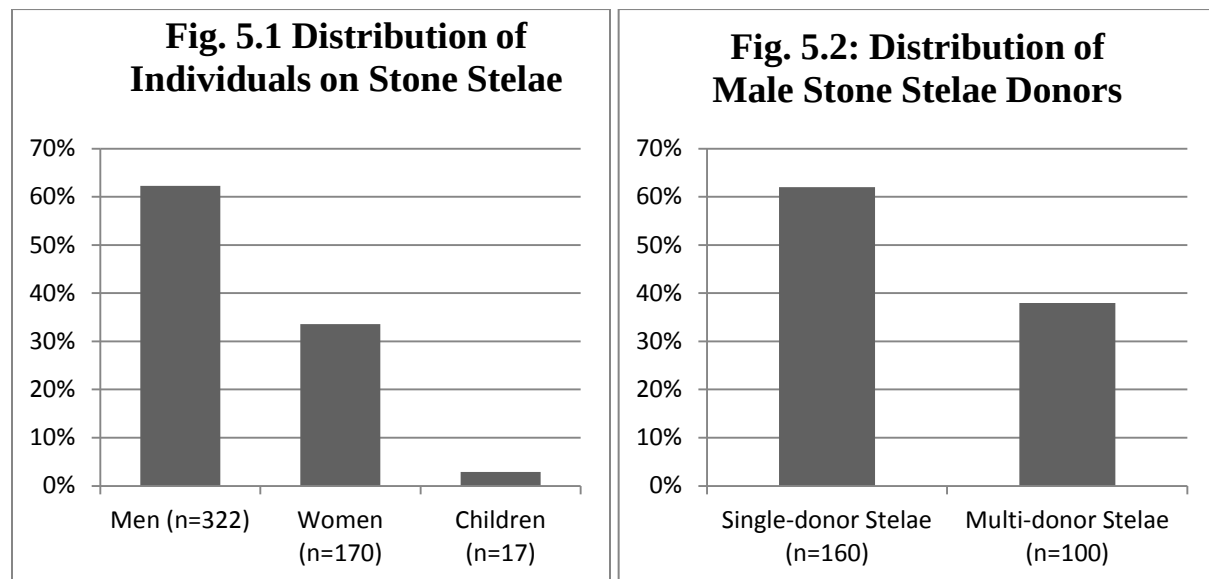
The importance of the local patronage system is often a theme in autobiographical texts, and indicates a social system where local elite men were the primary authority and controlled nearly every aspect of provincial life. Local elite men present themselves in the role of patrons who took care of the weak and dispossessed. These men would also focus on their role as a local judge and protector, stating that they acted justly, and did not favor elite men and women over the non-elite. Elite men existing in these types of patronage systems will often engage in public displays of identity intended to establish and reaffirm their relative elite status. At Asyut, and throughout Egypt in the Ramesside period, public religious settings became a prime setting for competitive displays of elite identity.

Public life in ancient Egypt focused on men and the social roles they played. This being the case, we would expect men to be over-represented on votive stelae. Of the 509 individuals represented on the stone votive stelae, 63% (322) are male (see fig. 5.1). These men appear on 260 different stone stelae: 62% (160) of these are single-donor stelae, and the remaining 38% (100) depict multiple-donors (see fig. 5.2). This preference for single donor stelae indicates that men at Asyut were more concerned with the establishment and display of their public (often

²⁸⁰ Christopher Eyre, 'On the inefficiency of bureaucracy', in, *Egyptian archives*, edited by Patrizia Piacentini and Christian Orsenigo (pp. 15–30). Milan: Cisalpino Istituto Editoriale Universitario (2009), pp. 15-30.

²⁸¹ Christopher Eyre, 'Patronage, Power, and Corruption in Pharaonic Egypt', in *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34 (2011), p. 711.

professional) identity. While some men asserted a familial identity (i.e. as husbands, fathers, and occasionally sons)—most chose not to display this aspect of their identity. This makes sense, as the ‘big men’ in such a patronage system would have wished to focus on their public position as a patron, and not their private role as husband and father. However, as will be demonstrated below, certain groups were more interested in displaying their family identity than others. The different rates at which men depicted their families suggest there were different values, concerns, and social expectations among the various social groups represented on the stelae.



When studied individually, little can be said about the social status of many donors. Numerous stelae donors lack titles, or even names, making it difficult to interpret the donor’s possible social standing. While examining a stela in isolation can often yield valuable prosopographic, genealogical, religious, and historical information, it is not an especially productive way to determine social identity, decorum and agency. In order to determine the

social aspects of votive stelae it was necessary to study votive stelae as a corpus in order to determine the normative principals that framed the creation of votive stelae. Having determined these normative principals, it is then also possible to identify the extraordinary and examine the ways in which individuals contended with decorum in order to serve their own religious, social, and political needs.

As discussed in Chapter 1, identity and meaning is displayed by showing which groups an individual belonged to while simultaneously differentiating themselves from others. Social identity and social status can therefore only be determined by contextualizing the depictions of individuals and examining how they appear in relation to others. As noted by Bourdieu,

Each class condition is defined, simultaneously, by its intrinsic properties and by the relational properties which it derives from its position in the system of class conditions, which is also a system of differences, differential positions, i.e., by everything which distinguishes from what it is not and especially from everything it is opposed to; social identity is defined and asserted through difference.²⁸²

It is not always easy to identify difference in tightly controlled and restricted artistic systems, such as those that existed in ancient Egypt. Indeed, Egyptian stelae have often been characterized as generic.²⁸³ Much of Egyptian self-display exhibits this tension between communicating meaning through powerful normative conventions and the desire for more individual display.²⁸⁴ Evidence of this tension and negotiation can already be seen in the in the Old Kingdom, where some striking examples of innovations reveal an urge to break with conventional forms of

²⁸² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, (translated by Richard Nice) Routledge: London and New York (1984), p. 172.

²⁸³ See Chapter 4.4.

²⁸⁴ John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), p. 13.

display in order to express individuality.²⁸⁵ In an artistic system which tended toward standardization, powerful individuals could display their social power and agency by creating unique images that highlighted their social power and agency through the use of restricted or new themes and imagery. Whether the depiction was found on a stela or in a tomb, unique representations would serve as highly visible symbols of who was powerful enough to bend decorum to serve their own needs and thus, who should be respected, obeyed, and sought out as patron.

The patronage system, as it existed in ancient Egypt, is exemplified by the relationship of nobles to the king. As described in *The Teaching for King Merikare*:

Show due respect to your nobles, support your people...
Make men loyal to you (40) through your good disposition...
Promote your officials that they may fulfill your decrees,
For he whose house is wealthy will not take sides (against you),
And he who wants for nothing is a wealthy man,
A poor man does not speak honestly,
And he who says "Would that I had!" cannot be upright.
He will be partial toward him who is generous to him
And biased toward the one who pays him.
Great is the ruler whose officials are themselves great,
Mighty is (45) the king who has a large entourage,
And wealthy is he who is rich in officials.²⁸⁶

The king consolidated his position by acting as a patron to his nobles and providing them with wealth, land, and status. The nobles, in turn, ensured a steady supply of taxes and wealth to the crown, and acted as patrons to their local community. The middleman status of the nobles in ancient Egypt was similar to that of the "gamellotto" or "mafioso" in nineteenth-century Sicily.

As discussed by Albini:

²⁸⁵ See for instance: René van Walsem, 'Diversification and Variation in Old Kingdom Funerary Iconography as the Expression of a Need for Individuality', *Jaarbericht "ex oriente lux"* 44 (2012-2013), pp. 117-139.

²⁸⁶ Vincent A. Tobin 'The Teaching for King Merikare', in William K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Cairo: American University Press in Cairo (2003), p. 156.

By using violence, by subjugating the tenant into accepting impossible leases, by extorting the small farmer with threats of attacks upon person and property, the “gambellotto” entrenched himself in a patronage system which continues today. As a client to his landowner (the Pharaoh in Egypt) in return for certain favors he continued suppression of the peasant. As a patron to the peasant he promised work and the continuation of tenant contracts.²⁸⁷

While the presence of the mafia in Sicily is informal, the patronage of the nobility in ancient Egypt was formalized. As agents of the pharaoh, it was the duty of the nobility to not only collect taxes and revenue on behalf of the crown, but to act as judges and carry out justice. In such a system there was little average individuals could do to solicit any sort of help or justice beyond that which was locally available, allowing the local elite to become extremely powerful and entrenched in their positions.²⁸⁸ The widespread nature of the patronage system, and these local power dynamics, are documented in the Wilbour Papyrus.

The Wilbour Papyrus is an administrative document that dates to the reign of Ramesses V. It is a land assessment of lands beginning somewhere just north of Crocodilopolis and ending a little distance downstream from the modern town of El-Minyah.²⁸⁹ While this area of land is relatively small, there were some 2800 plots of land mentioned in the survey²⁹⁰, indicating that each nome was divided into hundreds of individual tracts of land. These plots were of a variety of sizes, and a large number of smallholders are mentioned, in addition to the large tracts of land held by the nobility, crown and temples. Very frequently, the plots of lands held by an individual

²⁸⁷ Joseph Albini, *The American Mafia: Genesis of a Legend*, New York: Irving (1979), p. 133.

²⁸⁸ One such example of how such a patronage system is corruptible is the example of Paneb at Deir el-Medina. Even in the heart of the Theban region, this local foreman was able to divert the local system of production in a way that benefited him personally at the expense of the crown. See Pascal Vernus, *Affairs and scandals in ancient Egypt* (translation by David Lorton.). Ithaca: Cornell University Press (2003), Chapter 3. The abuses of Paneb were only brought to light as the result of a letter sent to the vizier. In a provincial town, the vast majority of individuals would have neither the means nor the ability to send such a communication.

²⁸⁹ Alan Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus, Volume 2: Commentary*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (1948), p. 197.

²⁹⁰ Sally Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period*, New York: Routledge (1989), p. 1.

or entity are recorded as belonging to one individual, but were being cultivated by another party. Here we can see the patron-client system at work: an individual of high rank and prestige (the patron) is usually listed as the owner of the land; the owner's name and title are followed by the preposition *m-drt* (in the hand of), which precedes the name and title of the individual working the land (the client).²⁹¹ These individuals came from a variety of backgrounds and professions. There were 54 titles, including from wab-priests, soldiers, potters, and many other professions.²⁹² Not only did the elite control and rent out land, but individuals from a variety of professions worked, or leased the land from them. In addition to these private individuals, many of the land holdings were held by the major temples at Thebes, Heliopolis, and Memphis²⁹³--providing the temple priesthoods with access to huge amounts of economic capital. These temples, and their priests, would also have acted as patrons. Public displays of identity would have served to remind people of the power held by these patrons.

Individuals wishing to highlight their power and elite status could do so by displaying certain forms of material culture. Since access to specific items of material culture (i.e. clothing, ritual objects, tools, etc.) were restricted,²⁹⁴ it is possible to identify social groups and social status by clustering and analyzing the individuals who displayed the use of the same forms of material culture. Many variables were initially analyzed in an attempt to identify relevant trends. For instance, the pose of the donor, who could access a certain form of the god, or a certain ritual objects were all considered. However, clothing appeared to be the most prolific signifier of social status. This makes sense, as clothing is the most visible marker of social status and is easily

²⁹¹ Sally Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period*, New York: Routledge (1989), pp. 116-17.

²⁹² Sally Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period*, New York: Routledge (1989), p. 16.

²⁹³ Sally Katary, *Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period*, New York: Routledge (1989), pp 2-3.

²⁹⁴ See Chapter 1.

communicated and understood by an audience. The 6 social groups from Asyut are associated with the following types of dress and material culture:

Social Group	Brief Description	Physical Appearance	Non-funerary Religious Material Culture
Courtly Elite	The wealthiest individuals at the site. Their titles and status indicate they were part of the royal court and held state offices (i.e. overseer of the granaries of the two lands). This is largely a control group, as no members of this group are depicted on the Salakhana votive stelae. Statuary makes it clear that some members of this group existed at Asyut, but apparently they did not donate votive stelae.	Men from this group wear a bag tunic (<i>mss</i>) and pleated kilts. Most of the men are depicted with a bob hairstyle of some kind.	Statuary
Local High Elite	This group is comprised of highest members of the local society. It includes high priests and overseers from a variety of fields.	Men from this group wear a bag tunic (<i>mss</i>) and a variety of kilts. Most of these men are depicted with a bob hairstyle of some kind.	Stone stelae
Military	These are men from the military group. The most commonly held title is <i>wꜥw</i> (infantry man). Many also hold overseer titles for a variety of areas.	Men from this group appear in a military kilt. They usually appear with a bob or Nubian/feathered style haircut.	Stone stelae
Ritual Specialist	Most of these men are wab-priests in the service of a specific god, usually Wepwaut.	Long Kilt with a long belt, usually depicted bald	Stone stelae
Lower Elite	There are a variety of titles. The most common titles are non-specific wab priests and servants (<i>sdm-ꜥ</i>). Although the mix of titles for this group is very eclectic.	Simple kilt, usually depicted bald.	Stone stelae
General Populace	These individuals usually do not appear on the stelae, and are not named or titled.	Unclear (perhaps similar to Lower Elite)	Terracotta stelae and votive objects.

In the following sections I will discuss the primary variables used in this study. I will then explore the various ways in which individuals displayed these variables to express their membership in a certain social group, personal status, and religious access; and how this led to the establishment of a unique system of local artistic and religious decorum at New Kingdom Asyut.

5.3 Variables

5.3.1 Primary Variables for the Identification of Male Social Status

In order to create social groups it is first necessary to identify the key attributes which express social standing for men. Four principal categories were identified as variables associated with social and economic status: Name, Title, Clothing, and Hairstyle.²⁹⁵ Clothing and hairstyle will be examined first, as they are the most visible and easily understood expressions of individual identity. As discussed in Chapter 1, many societies had rules, formal and informal, regarding the use of clothing and other forms of bodily adornment. While there do not appear to have been formal regulations regarding the consumption of specific forms of dress in ancient Egypt, there do appear to have been informal social expectations. Therefore, clothing will serve as the starting point for identifying each social group. Hairstyle, which is also a marker of identity and status, will be also be examined. The additional textual elements of a name and title

²⁹⁵ There are many other variables. However, most of the other variables are forms symbolic capital, and indicate individual power and prestige not necessarily associated with a specific social group.

will then be considered as a control, and studied in an attempt to identify the trends regarding the occupations held by each group, as well as the rates at which donors from each group display a name and title, as these both exist as forms of conspicuous consumption and social display. Each of these categories, and their relation to social and economic capital, will be discussed in the following sections.

5.3.2 Textual Variables

As discussed in Chapter 1, this dissertation focuses on forms of capital and their material display in an effort to gain a nuanced understanding of social and religious roles at Asyut in the New Kingdom. The display of text on votive stelae was a form of social capital, just as literacy itself is a form of a social capital. Writing was a tool and symbol of hierarchy.²⁹⁶ The respect for writing in ancient Egypt is likely the result of the connection between literacy and elite status, which was often gained from holding bureaucratic positions. From a very early period in Egyptian history the elite social system focused on literate officials acting as bureaucrats under the king.²⁹⁷ Throughout ancient Egyptian history those of the highest social status continued to occupy roles as bureaucrats and administrators. Literacy was never widespread, and it is estimated that approximately 1% of the population was literate.²⁹⁸ Literacy was therefore limited

²⁹⁶ Christopher Eyre, 'Patronage, Power, and Corruption in Pharaonic Egypt', in *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34 (2011), p. 701.

²⁹⁷ See John Baines, 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', in *Man*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Sept. 1983), p. 580.

²⁹⁸ John Baines and Christopher Eyre, 'Four notes on literacy', *Göttinger Miszellen* 61 (1983), pp. 65–96.

to elites, and created societal divisions between those who could read and those who could not.²⁹⁹ The elites learned to read and write as it was a tool required to maintain economic control of the country, extract taxes, and act as patrons, while the lower and non-elite populace learned other, less specialized forms of labor.

In ancient Egypt there were various levels of literacy.³⁰⁰ The inclusion of writing on a stela would possibly have signaled literacy to the audience to which it was displayed, even if most individuals could not understand exactly what was written. As the deposition of these stelae suggests a formalized, ritual setting,³⁰¹ even non-literate individuals could have appreciated the text elements included on a stela, which they could likely view as it was being donated by a patron.³⁰² At a functional level, text also adds an additional social and religious element to the stelae. Votive stelae embody the principal of functional materialism. They were objects that were created to serve a ritual function while simultaneously communicating prestige.³⁰³ The addition of text to a votive stela would serve both of these goals. Text on a votive stela would bolster ritual efficacy while also enhancing the social prestige of the donor. Therefore, the inclusion of

²⁹⁹ John Baines notes that while it was true that in some societies, such as Europe during the middle Ages, elites would often benefit from the products of literacy, although they themselves may not have been literate, this was probably never the case in ancient Egypt. See John Baines, 'Literacy and Ancient Egyptian Society', in *Man*, New Series, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Sept. 1983), p. 580.

³⁰⁰ Jac Janssen, 'Literacy and Letters at Deir el-Medina', in *Village Voices: Proceedings of the Symposium 'Texts from Deir el-Medina and Their Interpretation,' Leiden, May 31-June 1, 1991*. ed. Robert Demarée and Arno Egberts, CNWS Publications: Leiden (1992).

³⁰¹ See Chapter 4.2.

³⁰² Some stelae show signs of display in other contexts, such as suspension holes. It is possible that some, if not most of stelae were initially displayed in private contexts, such as a household. Individuals may have displayed a stela in such a way, making it possible for many of the individuals in the community who viewed the stela to be familiar it before it was ever deposited in a formal, ritual setting.

³⁰³ Kathlyn Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts in the Ramesside Period*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 22, Netherlands Institute of the Near East: Leiden (2007), p. 260.

text on a stela can be seen as a display of social capital. As it was likely necessary to consult a scribe or draughtsman to outline an individual's name before it could be inscribed by a sculptor, the presence of a name also represents an additional investment (possibly a substantial one) of economic capital. The two primary forms of writing on votive stelae that are used in connection with individuals are the inclusion of their personal name and title.

5.3.3 Name

Every individual in ancient Egypt had a personal name.³⁰⁴ In fact, many individuals had more than one name.³⁰⁵ However, it is impossible to determine if the name presented on any votive stela was chosen by the stela's owner, or assigned to them at birth. Therefore, any over-

³⁰⁴ For the function and uses of proper names see Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen II: Einleitung: Form und Inhalt der Namen. Geschichte der Namen. Vergleiche mit anderen Namen. Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I. Umschreibungslisten*, Hamburg and New York: J.J. Augustin (1952), pp. 1-12; and Pascal Vernus, 'Name, Namengebung, Namensbildung', In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 4, eds. Wolfgang Helck, and Wolfhart Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (1982), columns 320 – 337.

³⁰⁵ In the Old Kingdom many individuals had a so-called major name (*rn ʿ3*) and a minor, or beautiful name (*rn nḏs*). In the Middle Kingdom the formula "A who is called B" (*A ḏdw n.f B*) begins to be used. However, none of these terms are used on the stelae from Asyut. For a discussion of names, the associated terminology, and its use and evolution over time, see: Günter Vitmann, 'Personal Names: Function and Significance', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2013), pp. 2-4. For studies on double names see Pascal Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: Répertoire, procédés d'expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XIIe dynastie à la fin de la XVIIe dynastie*. Studia Pohl 13. Rome: Biblical Institute Press (1986); and Katrin Schelle-Schweitzer, *Die Personennamen des Alten Reiches: Altägyptische Onomastik unter lexikographischen und sozio-kulturellen Aspekten*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (2014). For a study of the so-called *rn nḏs* of the Late Period see: Hermann de Meulenaere, *Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque*. Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten (1966); Hermann de Meulenaere, 'Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque (Addenda et Corrigenda).' *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 12 (1981), pp. 127 – 134; and Hermann de Meulenaere, 'Le surnom égyptien à la Basse Époque (Deuxième série d'Addenda et Corrigenda)', In *Mélanges offerts à Edith Varga: "Le lotus qui sort de terre"*, ed. Hedvig Györy, Budapest: Musée Hongrois des Beaux-Arts (2001).pp. 381 - 394.

interpretation into the significance of any specific name (particularly theophoric names) as representing the religious sentiments of the individual who held the name should be avoided.

Nevertheless, an individual's name was considered to be an intrinsic part of their personality.³⁰⁶ The inclusion of an individual's name on a votive stela would have kept their presence alive in the social sphere.³⁰⁷ This was eminently desirable for the ancient Egyptians, as the continued existence of an individual's name and reputation amongst the living would have helped to ensure their eternal existence in the afterlife.³⁰⁸ Despite this, many individuals who appear on the votive stelae from Asyut were clearly unnamed. The fact that certain individuals appearing on the stelae are unnamed demonstrates that the inclusion of one's name on a votive stela was not essential to its primary functioning.

As noted by Geraldine Pinch, some votive stelae contain no image of the donor.³⁰⁹ When the identity of the owner is displayed, it increases both the ritual functioning and prestige value of the stela. The drive to create objects that are ritually effective while also communicating the prestige of the owner is the result of a pervasive ancient Egyptian social pressure that Kathlyn Cooney has identified and described as 'functional materialism.'³¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter 4,

³⁰⁶ See G. Vittmann, 'Personal Names: Function and Significance', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2013), p. 1; Andrey Bolshakov discusses the how the term *kꜣ* (spirit) is sometimes used as a synonym for *mn* (name). See: Andrey Bolshakov, *Man and his double in Egyptian ideology of the Old Kingdom*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 37, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 154-157.

³⁰⁷ For a discussion of the immortal aspect of an individual's name see Siegfried Schott, 'Zur Unvergänglichkeit des Namens', in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 25 (1969), pp. 131-135.

³⁰⁸ See Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2005), Chapter 2.2 'One Lives if His Name is Mentioned', see also Chapter 2 of this study.

³⁰⁹ Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 83.

³¹⁰ Kathlyn Cooney, *The Cost of Death: The Social and Economic Value of Ancient Egyptian Funerary Arts in the Ramesside Period*. Egyptologische Uitgaven 22, Netherlands Institute of the Near East: Leiden (2007), p. 260.

the layout of many stelae suggests that text was often not considered in the initial design and layout of the stelae, indicating the later use of an additional, literate craftsman. This addition likely required a more substantial investment of economic capital.³¹¹ Therefore, the inclusion of a donor's name on a votive stela represents a desire for ritual effectiveness, an increased economic investment, prestige, and greater social display. As will be demonstrated in subsequent sections, the likelihood that a name was inscribed on a stela was directly related to an individual's social status. The higher an individual's status, the more likely it was that their name was present.

5.3.4 Title

The most explicit means of textually defining social status in ancient Egypt was the use and display of official and honorary titles. Titles are included here because they were really only available to men. Most non-royal women could only hope to possess two titles: the private title *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) and the public religious title *šmꜣyt* (Chantress). Ancient Egypt was a highly stratified society where rank and social standing permeated daily life. As noted by Baines, “there were interlocking and subordinate hierarchies between the administrative and title holding elite and the rest of society, and within the elite, in both secular and religious official hierarchies.”³¹² Titles are explicit manifestations of this hierarchy. Their inclusion on public

³¹¹ See Chapter 4.3.

³¹² John Baines, ‘Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions’, in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 27, (1990), p. 19.

monuments reproduces this social hierarchy and demonstrates the elite status of the titled donor. It demonstrates not just social capital, in the form of literacy, but it also serves as a display of social power.

The importance of rank and its association with social status is expressed in numerous ancient Egyptian texts. ‘The Instruction of Any’ states that one should:

Stand according to your rank
“Who’s there?” so one always says,
Rank creates its rules;
A woman is asked about her husband,
A man is asked about his rank.³¹³

In *The Maxims of Ptahhotep* we see that individuals should “bow respectfully to him who is superior to you...wretched is he who opposes a superior.”³¹⁴ Elite Egyptian society valued the maintenance of the current social order and did not necessarily believe social mobility was desirable, as it could be a threat to those who currently held power.

Political intrigues appear to be rare in ancient Egypt, with few explicit examples of internal political strife during the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms.³¹⁵ As discussed above, kingship and patronage system was set-up to ensure the king was powerful, and his nobles were satisfied with enough wealthy and powerful to not be tempted into any acts of subversion.³¹⁶ The Egyptian political system valued the maintenance of the existing social order and did not

³¹³ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II: The New Kingdom*, University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles (1976), p. 140.

³¹⁴ William Kelly Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*. Third Edition. Yale University Press (2003), pp. 142-143.

³¹⁵ It should also be noted that decorum may have prevented the public discussion of political intrigue, as it could be interpreted as presenting royal fallibility. The destruction of private names in tombs and on moments may indicate this was a larger problem than texts indicate. For some examples see Pascal Vernus, *Affair and Scandals in Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press (2003).

³¹⁶ See Chapter 5.2.

encourage backstabbing and social climbing. Numerous Egyptian texts reinforce this concept.

The aforementioned *Instructions of Any* also states:

Attend to your position,
Be it low or high;
It is not good to press forward,
Step according to rank.³¹⁷

Egyptian kingship itself embodies this concept, as demonstrated in the myth of Horus and Seth. Such myths are not simply tales, but carry culturally specific meaning allowing individuals to interpret and understand the present day society and social order. In this story the rightful heir to the throne Horus contends his more powerful uncle Seth, who has seized control of the country. In the end, Horus is placed upon his rightful throne and rules over ancient Egypt, despite Seth being older and more powerful. Therefore, the Horus and Seth myth complex provided a societal example of how rank and position should be passed from father to son, and not on the basis of an individual's strength. Passing down positions and specialized knowledge would have been desired by most families, as specialized labor brought with them more economic and social capital³¹⁸—further strengthening the familial lines of patronage within a community, and discouraging any social-climbers and challengers to their position.

Ancient Egypt can be said to have possessed a pre-capitalist market economy.³¹⁹ Skilled labor was valued and, for most ancient Egyptians, their societal rank was tied to their profession. Egyptians valued skill and expertise, and there was a clear social distinction between skilled and unskilled labor. This social attitude is perhaps an embodiment of the realization that specialized

³¹⁷ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume II: The New Kingdom*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, (1976), p. 142.

³¹⁸ This attitude can also be observed as one the principals that guided ancient Egyptian marriage practices, especially among the elite. See: Jacco Dieleman, 'Fear of Women. Representations of Women in Demotic Wisdom Texts', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 25 (1998), p. 20-2; and Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, p. 74.

³¹⁹ David Warburton, *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt: Fiscal Vocabulary of the New Kingdom*, *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 151, University Press Fribourg (1997), p. 300.

labor was necessary to create excess and wealth. For Émile Durkheim, the division of labor in society (into specialized forms of labor) was a natural law.³²⁰ However, where Durkheim saw the division of labor as having the potential to foster social solidarity,³²¹ this was not true in ancient Egypt. In fact, ancient Egyptian workers were subject to alienation, as it has been described by Karl Marx.³²² As discussed by Cooney:

The social system valued artisanship and craft abilities...a skilled state craftsman, such as a stone sculptor or goldsmith, was afforded more freedoms and leeway, even within his institution workshop system...on the other hand, an unskilled state worker, such as a mover of stone blocks or a water carrier, was given very few freedoms and no luxuries. His wages were very low, often in the form of just enough bread and beer to get him through the day...farmers, fishermen, and herdsmen, although very capable in their work, had no crafts skills and thus ranked quite low on the Egyptian social scale. Peasants were severely taxed by the local state officials, paid high rents if they were tenant farmers, and their farm yields amounted to bare subsistence levels year after year, even during optimal Nile conditions.³²³

Skilled labor translated directly into increased social and economic capital, while unskilled laborers were often mired in inescapable cycles of taxation and poverty. The plight of these unskilled laborers is detailed in papyrus Lansing.³²⁴ It reads,

³²⁰ Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, (Translated by W. D. Halls) The Free Press: New York (1984), p. 3.

³²¹ Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, (Translated by W. D. Halls) The Free Press: New York (1984), pp. 16-17.

³²² In a strict sense, the pharaoh can be seen as the consumer who exploits the labor (manual and intellectual) of all of Egypt. Workers were alienated from the product of their work through systems of taxation and corvée labor by the pharaoh. The alienation from the means of production is evidenced at Deir el-Medina, where scribes accounted for the use, and even wear, on the tools used by the artisans who lived at the site. For an overview of the four forms of alienation see Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscript of 1844*.

³²³ Kathlyn Cooney, 'Labour', in *The Egyptian World*, Edited by Toby Wilkinson, Routledge: New York, (2007), pp 160-161.

³²⁴ P. British Museum 9994. See E. A. W. Budge, *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Second Series*, London (1923), pls. 15-30; Adolf Erman and H. O. Lange, *Papyrus Lansing: eine ägyptische Schulhandschrift der 20. Dynastie*. Danske videnskabernes selskab, historisk-filologiske meddelelser, X, 3, Copenhagen, (1925); Alan Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bruxelles (1937), pp. 99-116.

Let me expound upon the situation of the peasant...even his midday hour he spends on farm labor...When he reaches his field he finds <it> [broken up]. He spends time cultivating, and the snake is after him. It finishes off the seed as it is cast to the ground. He does not see a green blade. He does three plowings with borrowed grain...now the scribe lands on the shore. He surveys the harvest. Attendants are behind him with staffs, Nubians with clubs. One says (to him): "give grain." "There is none." He is beaten savagely. He is bound, thrown into the well, submerged head down. His wife is bound in his presence. His children are in fetters.³²⁵

We see here how the scribe (who was part of the elite patron group) uses violence if the peasant farmer does not provide the required taxes. For those who possessed a skill, showing their title in a public setting would have served to demonstrate and reinforce their elevated social status while displaying the capital they possessed. At Asyut we can see a hierarchy of provincial 'big men' and 'little men' who wished to display their elevated status. There were many levels within the patronage system, and each individual would have wanted to demonstrate their place in the local hierarchy.³²⁶ In the Ramesside period this display often occurred in religious contexts, because it was through the use of rituals and religious display that ancient Egyptians reified their social status and their social system of patronage.³²⁷

The addition of a title enhanced the status of the donor. Similar to displaying one's name, the inclusion of a title on a votive stela constitutes a conscious display of social capital and increased social communication on the part of the donor. However, the inclusion of a title should

³²⁵ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom*, University of California Press: Berkeley and Los Angeles (1976), pp. 170-171.

³²⁶ Even minor officials could abuse their role within this system. As discussed by Eyre, a decree of Horemheb created a series of measures to prevent minor officials from abusing their right to draw on sectors of the population for revenues and services. See Christopher Eyre, 'Patronage, Power, and Corruption in Pharaonic Egypt', in *International Journal of Public Administration*, 34 (2011), p. 708. See also Jean-Marie Kruchten, *Le décret d'Horemheb: traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutionnel*. Brussels: Université Libre de Bruxelles (1981); and Andrea Gnirs, 'Horemheb - ein Staatsreformer. Neue Betrachtungen zum Horemheb-Dekret', *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 16 (1989), pp. 83-111.

³²⁷ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2007), p. 7.

also be seen as a display of various forms of capital. As with the inclusion of a donor's name, the addition of a title represents an extra investment of economic capital; thus, the presence of a title on a votive stela can be seen as a form of conspicuous consumption demonstrating the social power, and social and economic capital of the donor. As will be discussed below, the presence of a title on a stela occurred less commonly than the name of the donor. However, as with names, the likelihood of a title being present was higher for the men who belonged to more elite social groups.

5.3.5 Male Clothing Typology

This study employs the categorization of male dress as defined by Janet Johnstone in *The Salakhana Trove: votive stelae and other objects from Asyut*.³²⁸ She has identified 10 primary types of male, non-military dress. Nine of these types of dress are variations on a sash kilt and have been designated K1-K9 (see chart 5.1). The 10th type of primary dress is a wrap-around kilt, designated WA (see chart 5.1). There are an additional 6 forms of military dress, designated MA-ME and an additional type of military dress designated MSQ (see chart 5.2). SX is the designation given by Johnstone to clothing styles which cannot otherwise be identified.³²⁹

³²⁸ Johnstone "Clothing represented on the Salakhana Trove" in *The Salakhana Trove: votive stelae and other objects from Asyut*, pp. 537-601.

³²⁹ Certain forms of dress included by Johnstone are not included in this study. Most of these are forms of dress found on Late Period and Re-Horakhty stelae not included in this study. The only exception to this is dress style PRR. These are not included as a primary form of dress because no donor ever depicts themselves wearing such a style. It is only used to depict priests carrying the divine barque of Wepwaut.

In addition to the clothing types listed above, Johnstone further subdivides by garment length and hem. These subdivisions have been given the designations:

- A) Kilt with angled hem, longer at back and shorter in front.
- B) Mid-calf or longer kilt with straight hem.
- C) Knee length or shorter kilt with straight hem.

For Johnstone, each subdivision is treated individually. However, this system prevents the identification of the dress worn by many individuals on the stelae, which are unfortunately too damaged to allow for such a specific designation. To overcome this problem I have created categories that, I believe, follow the general spirit and intention of her system. For example, K1a refers to a long sash kilt with an angled hem. However, in many cases the bottom section of a stela is damaged, preventing an analysis of the hem and classification. In these cases I assigned a more general designation of K1 in order to include as much data as possible in my statistical analysis. The use of more general categorizations for clothing follows Johnstone's typology, but was never used by the author herself. As will be demonstrated in the following sections, these clothing types were the primary way individuals displayed their membership in a social group at Asyut.



K1: Sash Kilt³³⁰



K2: Sash Kilt
with Belt³³¹



K3: Short Pleated
Sash Kilt³³²



K4: Sunray
Pleated Kilt³³³



K5: Long Sash Kilt
with One Short End³³⁴



K6: Long Sash Kilt
with Under-Folded End³³⁵

Chart 5.1: Non-Military Male Clothing Styles

³³⁰ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 561, fig. 16.

³³¹ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 562, fig. 19.

³³² Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 564, fig. 20.

³³³ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 565, fig. 22.

³³⁴ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 566, fig. 22.

³³⁵ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 567, fig. 23.



**K7: Long Pleated
Sash Kilt with
Double Fold³³⁹**



K8: Mss and Sash Kilt³³⁶



**K9: Mss and Sash Kilt
with Double Fold³³⁸**



WA: Wrap-Around Kilt³³⁷

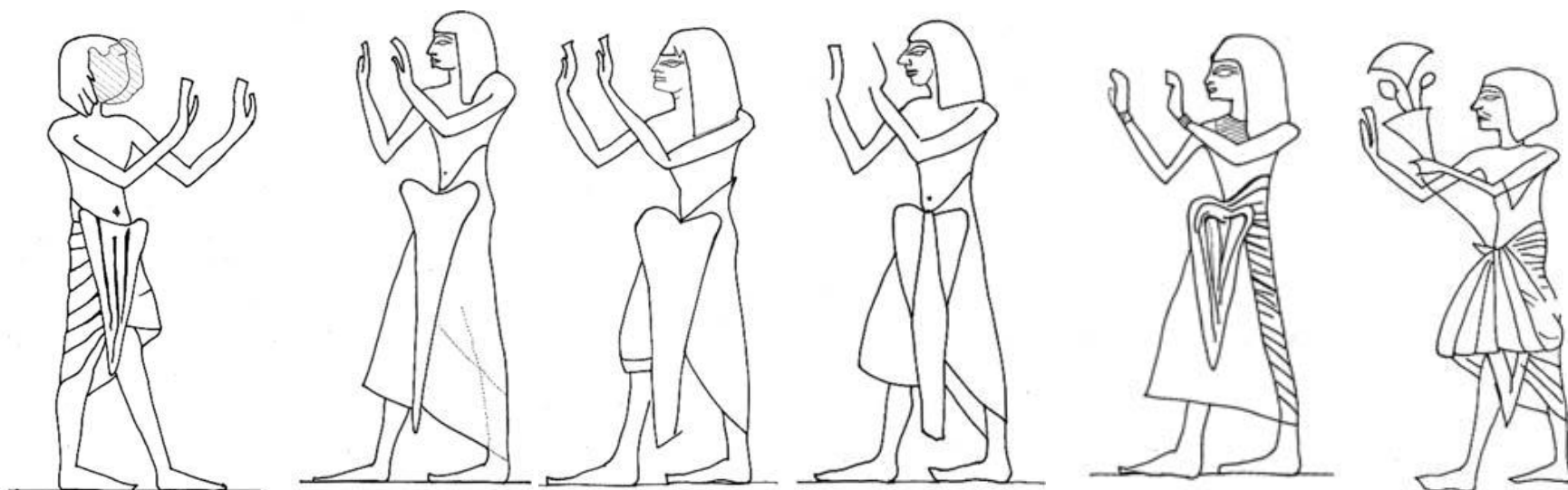
Chart 5.1: Non-Military Male Clothing (continued)

³³⁶ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 568, fig. 24.

³³⁷ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 569, fig. 25.

³³⁸ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 571, fig. 26.

³³⁹ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 574, fig. 29.



MKA: Short Military Kilt with Front Fold³⁴⁰

MKB: Long Military Kilt with Exaggerated Pointed Front Fold³⁴²

MKC: Long Military Kilt with Exaggerated Front Fold³⁴³

MKD: Long Military Kilt with Exaggerated Front Fold and Sash Kilt³⁴⁴

MKE: Other Military Garments with a Front Fold³⁴⁵

MSQ: Short Mss and Sash Kilt³⁴¹

Chart 5.2: Male Military Clothing

³⁴⁰ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 575, fig. 30.

³⁴¹ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 584, fig. 35.

³⁴² Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 588, fig. 37.

³⁴³ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 591, fig. 40.

³⁴⁴ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 592, fig. 41.

³⁴⁵ Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 593, fig. 43.

5.3.6 Male Hairstyle Typology

This study employs the categorization of male hairstyles employed by Geoffrey Tassie in *The Salakhana Trove: votive stelae and other objects from Asyut*.³⁴⁶ Tassie has identified 10 types of male hairstyles depicted on the stelae from Asyut.³⁴⁷ These are:

Duplex	“The duplex style consists of a row of plaits or curls at the nape of the head, with a curly or wavy top section partially covering the lower section, giving the effect of two hairstyles in one. In artistic depictions it is shown as straight across the back, with a fringe and usually pushed behind the ears.” ³⁴⁸
Shoulder-length Bob	“Two types of bob style originally existed: the jaw-length bob and the shoulder-length bob. The jaw-length bob was particularly popular with women during the Old Kingdom, when they were shown on statuary, often having their own hair showing as a fringe beneath their wig. The difference between the shoulder-length and jaw-length bob is that one ends at jaw level and the other rests squarely on the shoulders.” ³⁴⁹
Angled Shoulder-length Bob	“This hairstyle is a normal shoulder-length bob, but angled so that the front is longer than the back. This angle can become quite steep, although the back always rests on the shoulders or neck of the wearer.” ³⁵⁰
Bipartite	“The bipartite style is similar to the shoulder-length bob but has two distinct lappets falling just on to the chest, and a very short back section is sometimes observed on the neck.” ³⁵¹
Corn-rowed Bob	“This hairstyle consists of corn-rowed plaits. However, unlike the short round tiled style, the top section is plaited to the head.” ³⁵²

³⁴⁶ Geoffrey Tassie ‘Hairstyles Represented on the Salakhana Stelae’, in *The Salakhana Trove: votive stelae and other objects from Asyut*, pp. 459-507.

³⁴⁷ Tassie, *Salakhana*, pp. 481-507.

³⁴⁸ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 481.

³⁴⁹ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 484.

³⁵⁰ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 487.

³⁵¹ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 488.

³⁵² Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 489.

Shaved/Bald	The individual is depicted with no hair.
Sidelock of Youth	“The sidelock of youth consisted of a lock of shoulder-length hair, with the rest of the hair being either cropped or completely shaved.” ³⁵³
Composite Sidelock	“This style differs from the normal sidelock of youth as the sidelock, either plaited or left straight, is attached to a hairstyle.” ³⁵⁴
Short Round Tiled Style	“This is a short style that can either be cut round the ears or just cover them. Rather than having uniform curls all over the head, it consists of many layers of overlapping corn-rowed plaits, or possibly spiral curls or dread-locks, all of which will have been coated in beeswax, resin and perfumed oil as a fixative. The internal decoration of this style in artistic depictions is shown by horizontal and vertical striations, giving a brickwork-like effect.” ³⁵⁵
Nubian/Feather Styled	“This hairstyle is worn by men and women, royalty and non-royalty in mid-Dynasty XVIII, particularly in the Amarna Period. It has a basic jaw-level bob-shape, feather layered around the face so the layers are overlapping and often being much shorter at the nape. In artistic depictions between three and nine distinct layers can be identified, with the top section often showing striations indicating that it was curled.” ³⁵⁶

No male hairstyle at Asyut appears to have been restricted. However, as will be demonstrated below, there do appear to have been tastes, preferences, and occupations that made certain styles more popular among specific groups.

5.3.7 Primary Variables Used to Identify Religious Access and Agency

As discussed in Chapter 2, there was a strong preference at Asyut to donate votive stelae to Wepwaut, and he appears on over 90% of the stelae dedicated by each group. Wepwaut

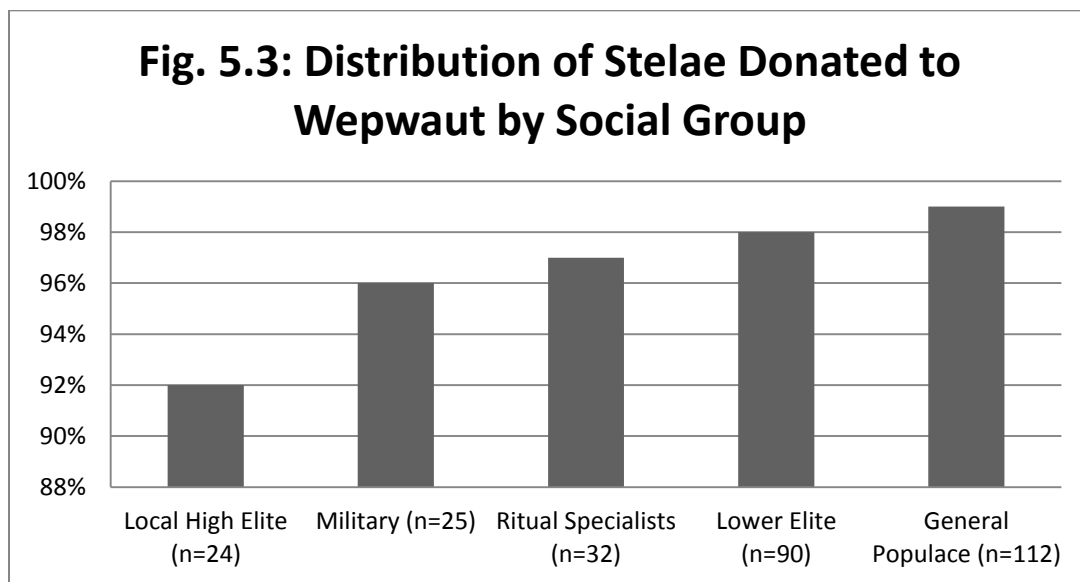
³⁵³ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 494.

³⁵⁴ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 497.

³⁵⁵ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 501.

³⁵⁶ Tassie, *Salakhana*, p. 504.

normally appears in the form of a divine standard, which is usually accompanied by jackals, or canids. This appears to be the standard form of religious expression at Asyut, and its prevalence is well attested for every group. Although Wepwaut dominates the votive stelae donated by all groups, more elite individuals are more likely to commission stelae that do not include Wepwaut—demonstrating how elite status was directly tied to higher and more varied levels of religious access, which elite men displayed as a form of social capital (see fig. 5.3). Through an examination of this variety it is possible to identify the religious trends and tastes of each social group.



5.3.8 Choice of God

The selection and representation of a god was likely based not only on personal choice, but also on local cultic practices. The dominance of Wepwaut, who normally appears alone, demonstrates that there was a standard concept of religious practice at Asyut. However, other

gods are also present on the stelae from Asyut, as is the depiction of donors worshipping multiple gods. But what might the inclusion of these other gods signify?

At a primary level, the inclusion of a god other than Wepwaut is meant to signify a personal and cultic connection to another god. In terms of display, this can be interpreted as a form of social capital. Individuals who chose to depict themselves worshipping multiple gods likely possessed greater, or at the very least, more varied religious access. In some cases individuals who had access to other gods did not depict this access.³⁵⁷ Through their connection to other gods, these individuals demonstrate not only that they were allowed access to the cult of Wepwaut, but also their role in the cults of other gods as well. While there can be no doubt that other gods were worshipped at Asyut,³⁵⁸ this religious practice may have been informal, inaccessible to the general populace, or was not deemed appropriate to depict on a votive stela. The fact that so few individuals depict themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut, or multiple gods, indicates the depiction of multiple deities, or gods other than Wepwaut, was tightly controlled. The few occasions where individuals did represent gods other than Wepwaut may have been attempts to indicate that the donors who were depicted worshipping these gods did so in formal contexts at other sites. Another possibility is that, since there appear to have been no large, formal processions of other gods at the site, their cults were more restricted. There were likely shrines and cult statues of other gods present in the temple of Wepwaut, but perhaps these gods never went out in procession, and had no presence outside of the temple—limiting participation in their cult to the elite who could formally access the temple. There is also the possibility that local rules of decorum made it inappropriate to dedicate stelae to other gods along

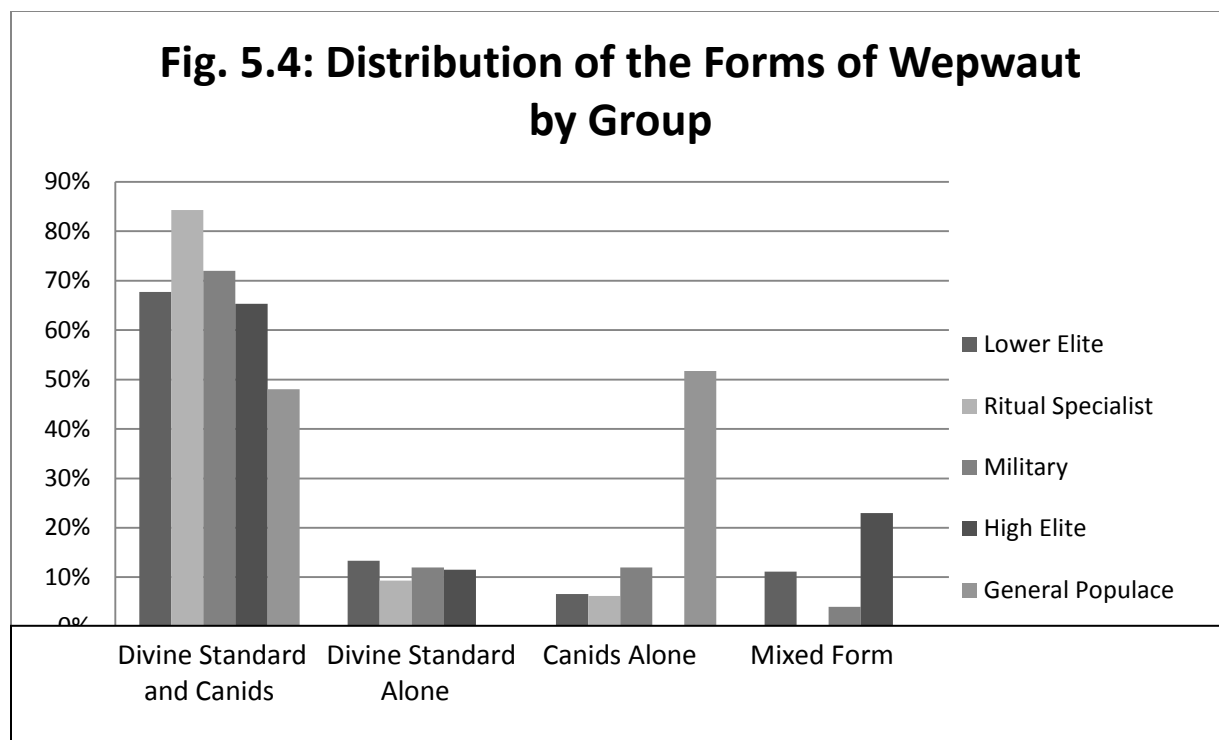
³⁵⁷ On CM 464 a high priest of Hathor is shown worshipping Wepwaut, and not Hathor. This is an extraordinary and unique stela, which was jointly commissioned. This joint commissioning may have led to a negotiation regarding the religious content and layout of the stela. CM464 is discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

³⁵⁸ For a discussion of the cults attested at Asyut see Chapter 3.

the processional route of Wepwaut, or that the procession of Wepwaut made him an especially accessible deity. Whatever the reason, the restriction of this imagery indicates it was a tightly controlled form of social capital that was not freely displayed.

5.3.9 Divine Manifestations

As discussed in Chapter 3, many cults and temples are attested at New Kingdom Asyut. However, most votive stelae focus exclusively on Wepwaut. Wepwaut was represented in a variety of ways. He usually appears in the form of the divine standard accompanied by canids or jackals. He also appears in theriomorphic or mixed animal-human form—but these iconographies are not employed by every group. Figure 5.4 demonstrates that certain groups did not have the ability to access certain forms of Wepwaut. This indicates that the form in which the god appeared was a form of social capital that was regulated. This form of capital was likely determined by the cult access and practices of the donor. By examining the forms in which Wepwaut appears, and their association with specific social group, it is possible to reconstruct the religious experience and understanding of each group, as well as their cult access.



5.4 The Courtly Elite

5.4.1 The Social Status of the Courtly Elite

In ancient Egypt priestly and administrative positions were often hereditary and passed on from father to son. This is especially true for high positions. An examination of texts and artifacts from New Kingdom Asyut demonstrates that there were at least some individuals from Asyut who held important hereditary administrative and courtly positions. These individuals would likely have been land-holding patrons at Asyut, who required an extensive system of clients to manage their lands and collect revenue, as they would have existed at court for much of the year. There appear to have been at least two such families at Asyut that held hereditary positions in the court of the king during the New Kingdom. These individuals are depicted wearing pleated kilts with a *mss* (bag tunic), and usually wear bob cuts of some kind, making

their appearance identical to that of the Local High Elite group. The Courtly Elite group was comprised of the wealthiest and highest ranking individuals at Asyut. They do not appear to have donated votive stelae, but instead commissioned statuary and possibly other high prestige items such as shrines or other temple cult items, thus serving as patrons to cult of Wepwaut, and no doubt many of the citizens of Asyut. Some of these objects were found in tombs, but the exact location where many of these statues were found is unclear. It may be that the wealthiest and most important families at Asyut focused on individualized display in their own tombs as opposed to placing items in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III.

There were at least two very important families in New Kingdom of Asyut: the families of Amenhotep and Siese II. Amenhotep was the chief physician of the king and also held the titles lector priest, overseer and chief of the wab-priests of Sakhmet, and scribe of the king. He appears to have lived in the transition period from the end of the 18th Dynasty to the beginning of 19th Dynasty.³⁵⁹ His son Yuny lived under the reigns of Seti I and Ramesses II. Yuny held the title chief royal scribe, and it is possible that he also held the position of chief physician of the king, although he never used that title.³⁶⁰ Amenhotep's wife Renenutet held a variety of titles, including chantress of Wepwaut and chantress of Amun-Re. Kahl believe this last title can be taken as an indication that Amenhotep, Renenutet, and Yuny's life was largely focused on Memphis. He speculates that Yuny may have been buried at a tomb in Memphis, which is why there is no tomb of Yuny at Asyut, only statuary, which was found in the tomb of his father.³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, pp. 132-33; Kenneth Kitchen, 'Encore la famille de Iouny', in *Revue d'Égyptologie* 28 (1976), pp. 156-8.

³⁶⁰ Amenhotep did not use the title chief physician of the king on his own monuments. It is only found on the monuments of his son, Yuny.

³⁶¹ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 134.

One of these statues depicts Yuny and his wife, Renenutet (fig. 5.5); the other is a naophorus statue that shows a kneeling Yuny offering a shrine to Osiris (fig. 5.6).³⁶² There are possible two other members of this family. Two individuals with the title physicians of the queen, Huy and Khay commissioned stelae which included Yuny, possibly indicating they were his sons, but this is not explicit and their exact relationship to Yuny is unclear.³⁶³



³⁶² Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 133.

³⁶³ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 133.

Fig. 5.5: Statue of Yuny and his wife, Renenutet. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 15.2.1



Fig. 5.6: Kneeling Naophorus Statue of Yuny. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession Number: 33.2.1

The second family of courtly elite at Asyut is comprised of individuals connected with the office of the overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. Siese II held this position early in the reign of Ramesses II (fig. 5.7).³⁶⁴ This office was also held by his son Qeny,³⁶⁵ and

³⁶⁴ Briant Bohleke, *The Overseers of the Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom. 1570-1085 B.C.*, New Haven (1993), pp. 324-341.

³⁶⁵ Briant Bohleke, *The Overseers of the Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom. 1570-1085 B.C.*, New Haven (1993), pp. 342-349.

his grandson Siese III,³⁶⁶ who held the office under Ramesses II and Merenptah. Siese III is extremely well attested. This lid of Siese III's sarcophagus is in the Egyptian Museum in Berlin (fig. 5.8); the Brooklyn Museum houses a wooden statue depicting himself as a standard bearer (fig. 5.9); the Metropolitan Museum of Art has a statue he commissioned of Wepwaut and Isis (fig. 5.10); and the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum houses a naophorus statue of Siese III (fig. 5.11). Other individuals from Asyut also held the title overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. Wepwautmose II, son of Wia, a wab-priest of Wepwaut, and grandson of Panehesi, a scribe of the royal harem, also held the title overseer of the two granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt under Seti I.³⁶⁷ Siese I, son of Kha, held the position at the end of the 18th dynasty.³⁶⁸ Another individual at Asyut, Parahotep, appears to have held the title overseer of the double granaries of lord of the Two Lands. His name and title are inscribed on a wooden object, which Jan Moje has dated to the time of Ramesses II.³⁶⁹ It seems likely that all of these individuals were somehow related, although exactly how they may have connected is unclear.

The important offices held by these two families demonstrates the close connection of some families at Asyut to the royal court and administration. It indicates that the king would have kept positions at court for important provincial families from Asyut— and probably did so for every nome. As discussed above, the king would have wanted to keep the elite of each city well-disposed toward him. Supplying prominent provincial families with wealth and important

³⁶⁶ Briant Bohleke, *The Overseers of the Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom. 1570-1085 B.C.* New Haven (1993), pp. 356-68.

³⁶⁷ Briant Bohleke, *The Overseers of the Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom. 1570-1085 B.C.* New Haven (1993), pp. 288-297.

³⁶⁸ Siese I is known from two stelae: Vienna KHM 126 and Leiden AP8. Both of these stelae are unprovenanced and did not come from the Salakhana Trove. See Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 134; and Bohleke, *The Overseers of the Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom. 1570-1085 B.C.* New Haven (1993), pp. 260-80.

³⁶⁹ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, p. 135.

positions would have ensured their loyalty, preventing uprising against the king and guaranteeing the flow of local taxes, troops, and labor to the crown.

It also indicates they likely spent a good amount of time away from Asyut carrying out their courtly and administrative duties. Exactly how many of these individuals existed at Asyut is unclear. The only original New Kingdom tombs known from Asyut are that of Siese III and Amenhotep. Nevertheless, the statuary and tombs of these individuals shows that these elite men often maintained their connection to the site.³⁷⁰ This connection was no doubt sustained for personal and political reasons. Their extended families would still have resided at Asyut, and they no doubt continued to benefit from their role as the chief patrons of the local town, even while at court, through an extensive network of clients.

³⁷⁰ Jan Moje, *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut, Mainly by David George Hogarth and Ahmed Bey Kamal*, Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (2013), p. 29. Unfortunately the tomb of Amenhotep has been lost. For a discussion and further literature see: Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, pp. 132-133.

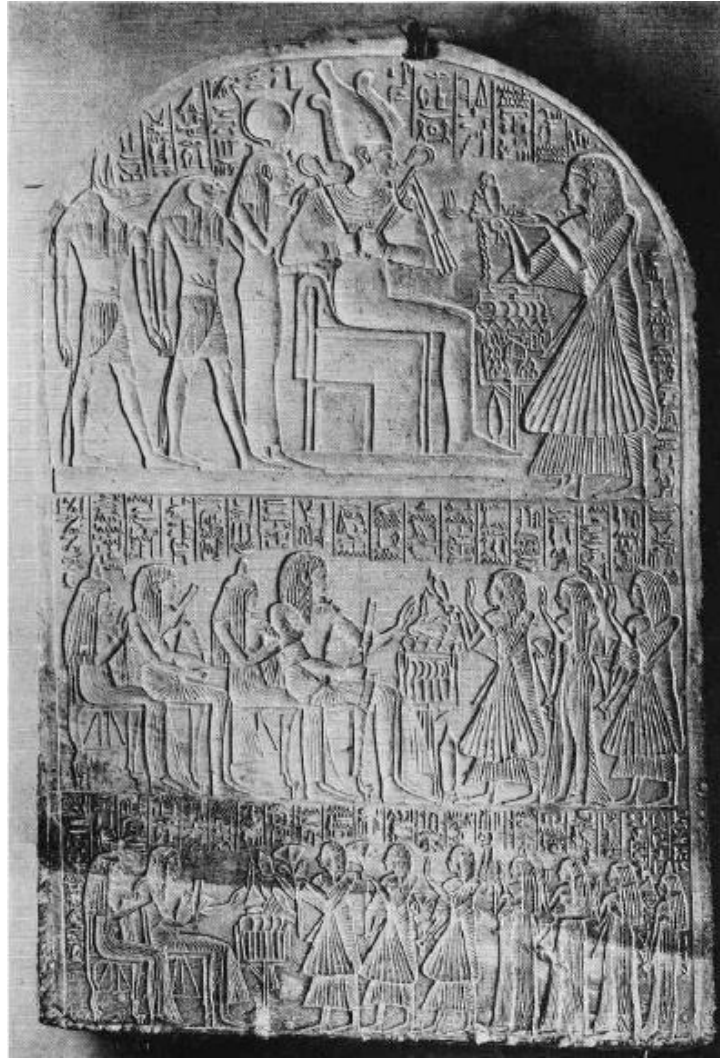


Fig. 5.7: Funerary stela of the superintendent of the treasury of the pharaoh, Huy. Siese II, son of Khaa, appears on the second register as the fourth person from the left. His wife is behind him, and behind her are his parents. Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, Ägyptisch-orientalische Sammlung, accession number: 126.³⁷¹

³⁷¹ Hellmut Satzinger, "Der Leiter des Speicherwesens Si-Êse Sohn des Qeni und Seine Wiener Statue," in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 74, Vienna (1978), p. 26.

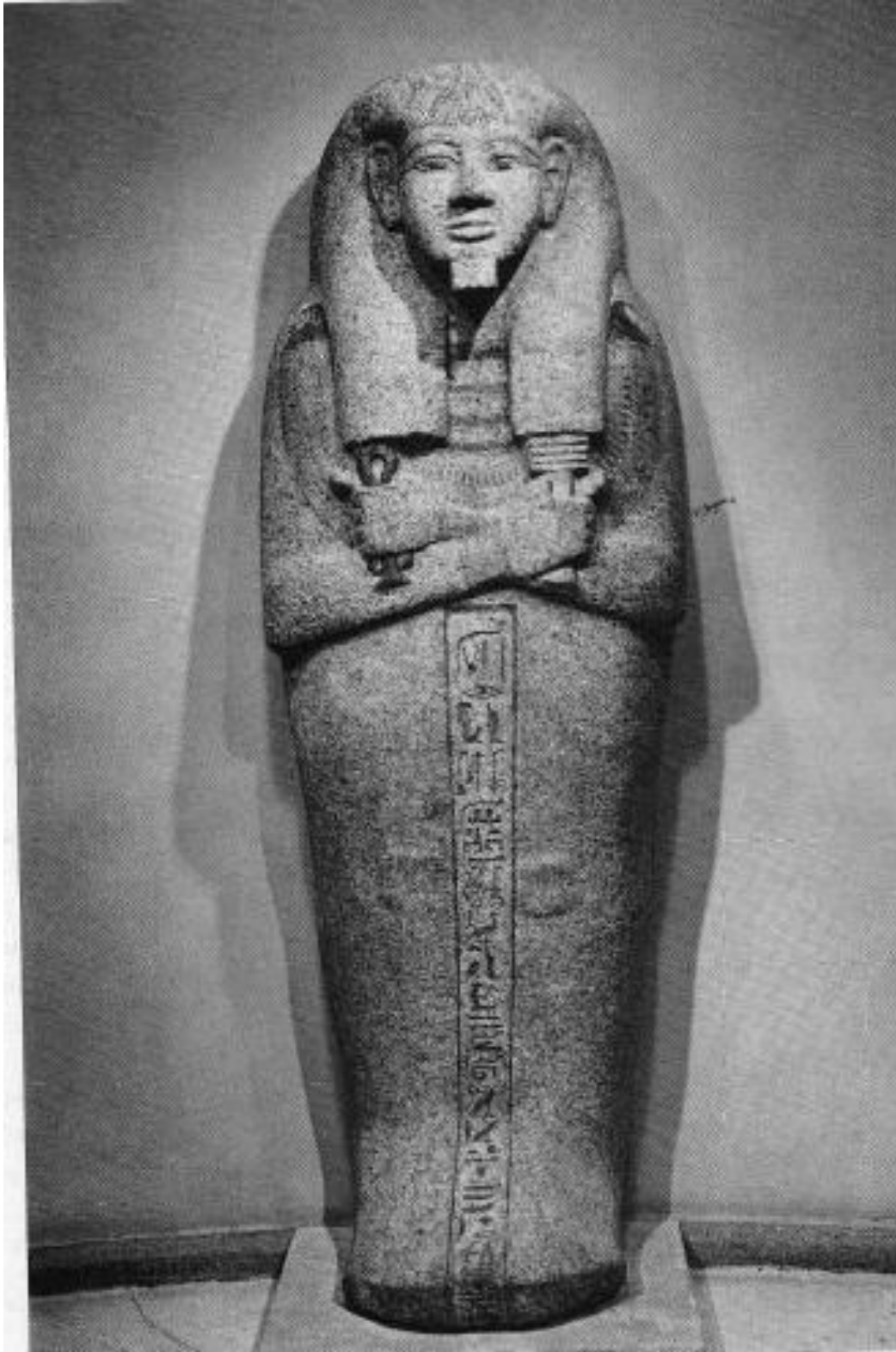


Fig. 5.8: Coffin Lid of Siese III, Berlin-West, Ägyptisches Museum accession 1/71.



Fig. 5.9: Wooden Statue of Siese III as a standard-bearer: Brooklyn Museum: 47.120.2. Photo from the Brooklyn Museum Website.
[http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3484/Sa-Iset the Younger](http://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3484/Sa-Iset_the_Younger)



Fig. 5.10: Statue of Wepwaut and Isis donated by Siese III. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Accession number: 17.2.5³⁷²

³⁷² Image from Gay Robins, *Egyptian Statues*, no. 26 in the Shire Egyptology Series, Shire Publications: Buckinghamshire (2001), p. 32.



Fig. 5.11: Kneeling Naophorus Statue of Siese III. Louvre Accession: A. 73. The inscription lists Siese as the donor, but does not list the father. However, Helmut Satzinger believes that, based on the style, this must have been commissioned by Siese III and not Siese I.³⁷³

³⁷³ Helmut Satzinger, "Der Leiter des Speicherwesens Si-Êse Sohn des Qeni und Seine Wiener Statue" in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 74, Vienna (1978), pp. 21-22.

5.4.2 The Religious Practice and Display of the Courtly Elite

Interestingly, the Courtly Elite group of individuals does not appear to have participated in the commissioning and donation of votive stelae. None of the titles held by these individuals appear on any of the votive stelae from Asyut. While they were clearly present at the site, and had the economic and social capital necessary to commission a votive stela, they chose not to engage in this type of religious practice and display.

The statuary donated by the courtly elite demonstrates that they did take part in cult activity at the site. It seems most likely that these individuals did not donate votive stelae because they enjoyed a higher level of religious access, and were also obligated to produce higher quality items as a result of their higher social status. The Courtly Elite group likely participated in rituals inside the temple of Wepwaut and chose to commission objects for that ritual space, and therefore of greater significance to the Wepwaut, as demonstrated by the cult statues donated by Siese III. It also seems likely that, as members of the royal court, the Courtly Elite were not interested in, or available to engage in displays of identity at the local, community level. They were likely engaged in competition with other courtly elite in the capitals, and cared little about demonstrating their position to people whose social status was far beneath them. Instead, they opted to create more ritually effective cult items for the temple—which would have reinforced their privileged position to the elite who could access the temple. Therefore, the displays of prestige and religiosity, as they are depicted on the votive stelae from the Salakhana Trove, can, socially speaking, be seen as primarily interested in maintaining and constructing local identity for the local community.

5.5 The Local High Elite

5.5.1 The Social Status of the Local High Elite

There are 27 members of the Local High Elite group at Asyut (see Appendix 1, table 5.22). This group was identified by their wearing of a *mss*, or bag tunic. The wearing of a *mss* was a signifier of elite clothing not just at Asyut, but throughout Egypt. As an item of clothing that covered the upper body, it was possible to combine a *mss* with any kilt. Members of this elite group were depicted wearing various types of kilts, including pleated kilts, unpleated kilts, and military kilts. This diversity demonstrates the wide variety of dress options available to high elites, and the overlapping of various social spheres at Asyut.

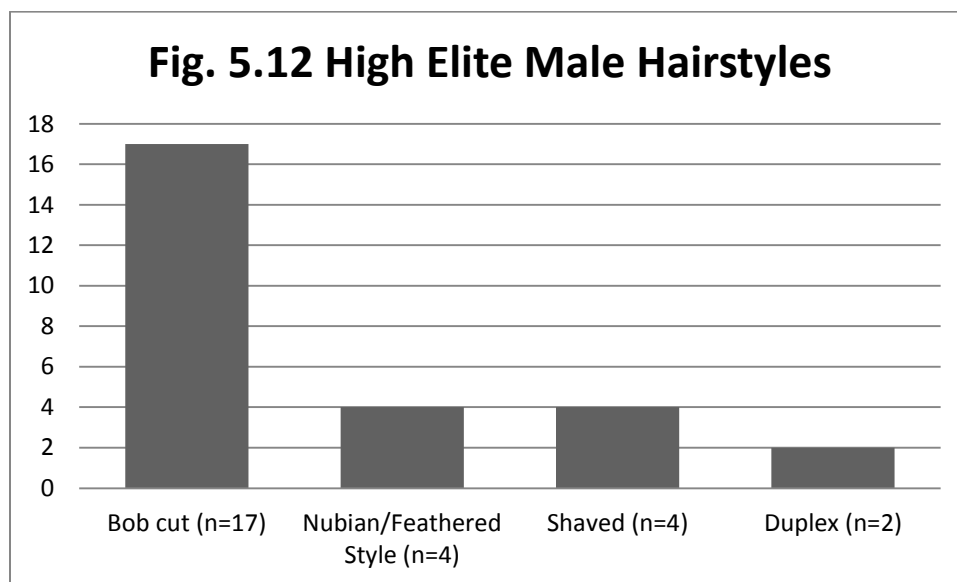
An analysis of the titles and religious access displayed by the Local High Elite indicates that this was likely the highest local social group at Asyut. There is only a single example of a member of the High Elite being shown in a position secondary to a man from a lower social group. On this stela (CM460) an individual from the Local High Elite is shown behind his sister, mother, and father, who is a member of the Lower Elite group. This stela is particularly interesting, as it demonstrates social mobility between elite groups, and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.³⁷⁴

Some members of the Local High Elite group also belonged to the Military group. This should not be surprising, as identity is multivalent and individuals could belong to various, overlapping social spheres.³⁷⁵ This dual status is demonstrated by wearing a *mss* in combination

³⁷⁴ See Chapter 7.4.

³⁷⁵ Michael Mann, *The sources of social power: A history of power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. I Cambridge (1986), p. 1.

with a military kilt. This style of clothing has been given the dress designation MSQ (see Chart 5.2). This overlapping of social spheres is significant as it demonstrates that membership in the Local High Elite was not associated with any particular profession, although their titles do tend to be secular and not religious (see Appendix 1, table 5.24). The secular nature of the Local High Elite group is demonstrated by the hairstyles worn by the men of this social group. Only 4 men (15%) are depicted with a shaved head, indicating they held a sacral position of some sort (see Appendix 1, table 5.22).³⁷⁶ However, 17 men (63%) belonging to the Local High Elite are depicted with a bob style cut of some kind (see Appendix 1, table 5.23), which is itself a signifier of a more elite social status.³⁷⁷ An additional 4 (15%) are depicted with a feathered, or Nubian hairstyle (see fig. 5.12 and Appendix 1, table 5.22).



³⁷⁶ Hair was considered to be impure, and priests were required to shave their heads and bodies. Therefore, a shaved head can be seen as signifying ritual purity, and possibly the inhabiting of a priestly office.

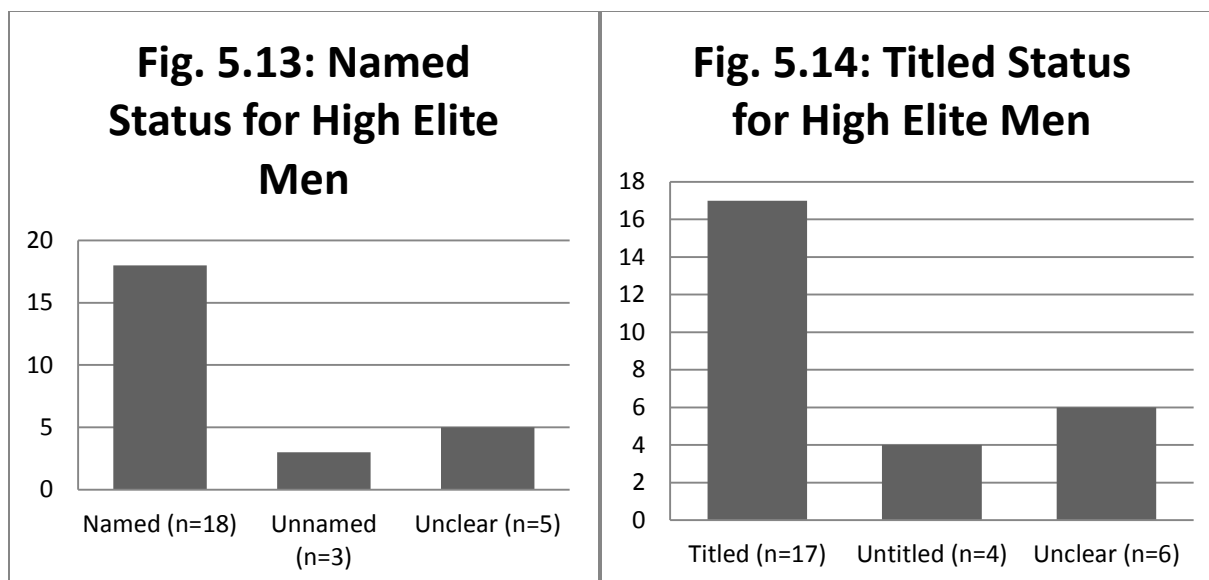
³⁷⁷ Gay Robins, "Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350 B.C." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 36 (1999), pp. 55-69.

It is tempting to speculate that members of the Local High Elite at Asyut may have belonged to a hereditary group of nobles. Throughout Egyptian history many individuals indicate membership to such groups by referring to themselves as a *ḥꜣty-ꜥ*,³⁷⁸ or *jrj-pꜥt (r-pꜥt)*.³⁷⁹ However, no individual represented on the stelae from the Salakhana Trove actually displays this title. The absence of the titles *ḥꜣty-ꜥ*, or *jrj-pꜥt (r-pꜥt)* indicates that their elite status was relative. While their status was high at Asyut, it was significantly lower than that of the Courtly Elite who lived in the political and religious centers—to whom the local high elite were likely clients.

With regards to the textual display of capital, 18 (67%) of the men in the High Elite group are named (see Appendix 1, table 5.23), with only 3 (11%) being clearly unnamed and named status being unclear for 6 (22%) of these men (fig. 5.13). Seventeen (63%) of the men in this social group are titled (see Appendix 1, table 5.25)—the highest titled rate for any group on the stelae. Only 15% (4) are clearly untitled, with titled status being unclear for 6 (22%) of donors (fig. 5.14).

³⁷⁸ Wb 3, 25.7-26.2; Leonard Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, second edition, vol. 1*, Providence (2002), p. 298; Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch, Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Marburger Edition, Mainz (2006), p. 539.

³⁷⁹ Leonard Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, second edition, vol. 1*, Providence (2002), p. 261; Rainer Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen Großes Handwörterbuch, Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.)*, Marburger Edition, Mainz (2006), pp. 95-6.



A survey of the titles possessed by the men of the Local High Elite confirms the high status of the men who are depicted wearing a *mss*. Some of the more notable titles include: *ḥm-ntr tpy Jmn* (Chief priest of Amun),³⁸⁰ *ḥry³⁸¹ ḥsy³⁸² n Wp-w3wt* (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut), *jd³⁸³ n sktyw³⁸⁴* (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Officers?), *ḥm-ntr tpy*

³⁸⁰ The high priest of Amun appearing on stela CM454 chose not to include an image of Amun. This raises the interesting possibility that this individual may have traveled to Asyut and donated the stela as a pilgrimage token of sorts. However, while the name of this individual is unclear (DuQuesne tentatively suggests *ḥwy-nfr-tf-n*, *Salakhana*, p. 232), the signs are clear, most particularly the *nfr* sign group. This is significant, as there is no known Theban high priest of Amun whose name includes *nfr* in the New Kingdom. This individual may have been the head of the Amun temple at Asyut, but chose to connect himself with the more prominent and public cult of Wepwaut, as his association with Wepwaut may have granted him more social capital—especially as this cult likely had larger land holdings and revenues. Another stela, CM464, which was dedicated by a high priest of Hathor, also depicts only Wepwaut. The high priest of this stela is depicted along with a chantress of Wepwaut, indicating a local connection to the site. For the title *ḥm-ntr tpy jmn* see: *Wb* 3, 89.18; *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, p. 474.

³⁸¹ *Wb* 3, 141.14-142.2; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, v. 1, p. 323-4; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, p. 586.

³⁸² *Wb* 3, 165.3-11; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, v. 1, p. 329-30; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, p. 602.

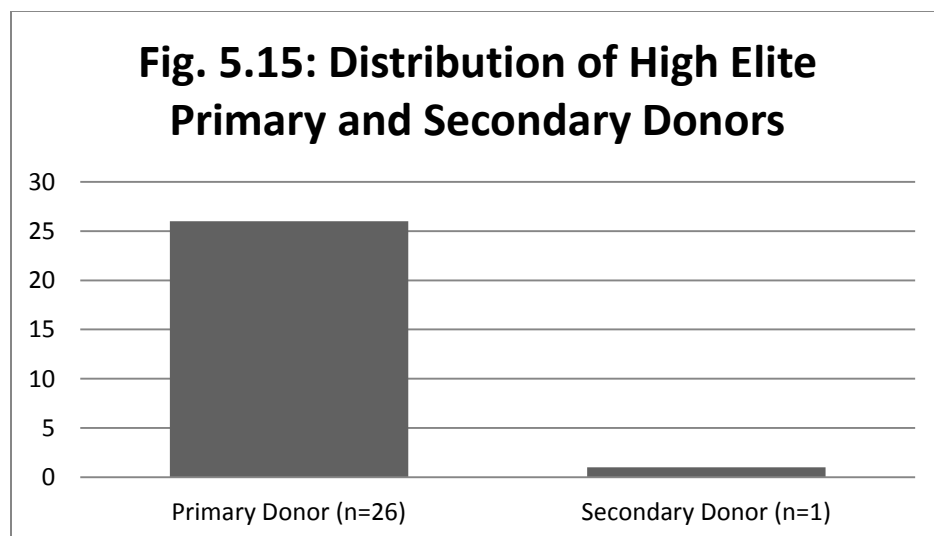
³⁸³ *Wb* 1, 154.6-9; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, v. 1, p. 54; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, p. 130-1.

³⁸⁴ *Wb* 4, 319.16-17; Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian*, v. 2, p. 88; Hannig, *Großes Handwörterbuch*, p. 838.

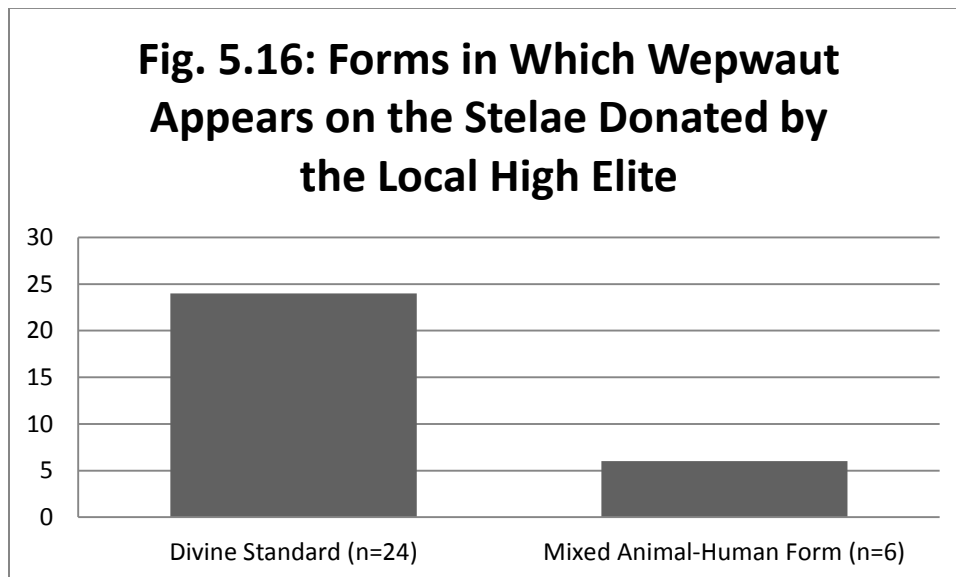
Wp-wꜣwt (Chief Priest of Wepwaut), *skt n tꜣ jwꜥt pr-ꜥꜣ* (Commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh), *sš ḥtp.w-nꜥr n nꜥr.w nb.w* (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods), *(jmy-r) pr.wj (ḥd)* *šmꜥw mḥw* (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt), *jmy-r jḥwn Pꜣ-Rꜥ* (Overseer of the Herd of Pre), and the *jmy-r ḥm-nꜥr n nꜥrw nbw* (Overseer of the *ḥm-nꜥr* priests of all the gods). While many of these titles appear to be local, others seem to be national titles. For some titles, like the *jmy-r jḥwn Pꜣ-Rꜥ* (Overseer of the Herd of Pre), it is unclear if these titles were local or national.

5.5.2 The Religious Practice and Display of the Local High Elite

In order to determine the religious access and practices of the Local High Elite, only stelae whose primary donor is a member of this group will be considered. As the highest social group, donors wearing a *mss* are almost always the primary donors of the stelae on which they appear. The members of the high elite were the primary donors of 26 (96%) of the 27 stelae on which they appear (see fig. 5.15 and Appendix 1, Table 5.26).



Wepwaut is the god most represented on the votive stelae of the High Elite. He appears on 24 (92%) of the stelae donated by this group. He appears in the form of a divine standard on 20 (83%) of the stelae, which is accompanied by jackals or canids on 16 stelae (80%). He appears in mixed animal-human form on 6 (24%) of the stelae on which he appears (fig. 5.16). It seems that members of the Local High Elite eschewed the animal form of the god. It was apparently acceptable for members of the Local High Elite to display Wepwaut in theriomorphic form, but only as an accompanying element to another form of the god—never as the primary manifestation of Wepwaut. No member of the Local High Elite ever depicts themselves worshipping Wepwaut in solely theriomorphic form.



The mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut does not occur often on votive stelae from Asyut. When he does appear in this form, it is disproportionately connected with members of the Local High Elite. Members of this group are depicted worshipping Wepwaut in mixed animal-human form at more than twice the rate of any other. Although only 8% of the men depicted on

the stelae belonged to the Local High Elite group, they donated 12% of all the stelae offered by men, and were responsible for donating 35% of the stelae on which Wepwaut is depicted in mixed human-animal form. I believe this uneven distribution across the social groups indicates that this restricted imagery is probably a signifier of restricted religious practice, likely indicating access to the cult statue of the god by members of the elite and the priesthood.³⁸⁵ Even if this form were not to represent the cult statue, its association with elite religious practice is clear, as the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut is the form which Thutmose III and Horemheb depict themselves worshipping on the two royal stelae found in the tomb. Displaying a ritual connection to the mixed-form of Wepwaut next to an image of the king, who was engaged in the same ritual activity, would have been a marker elite social status, and therefore serve as a form of religious access and social capital.

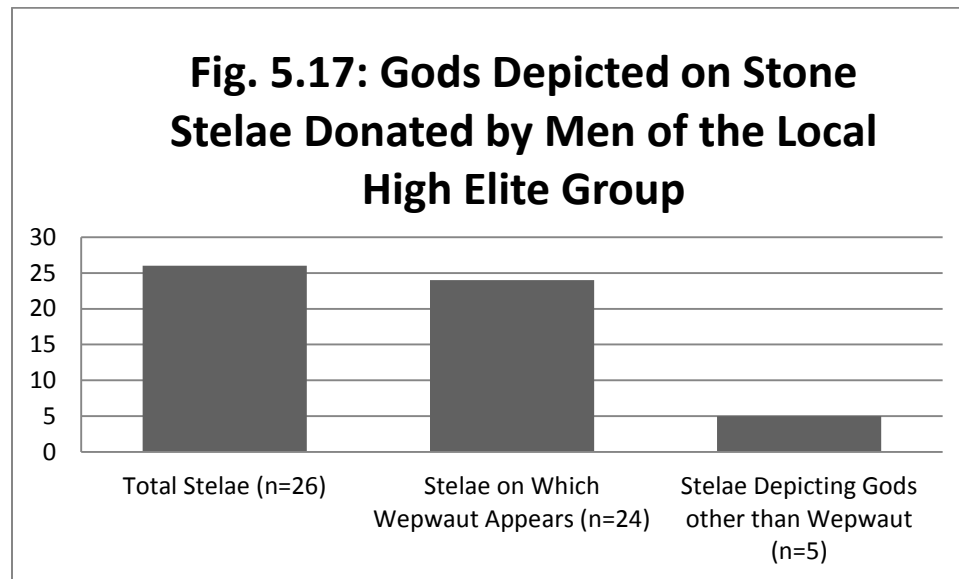
If the mixed animal-human form is meant to represent the divine cult statue the god inhabits, which seems likely given that the mixed-form of the god often appears on a raised pedestal (especially when seated), then only certain members of society would have been allowed access to this statue. In the New Kingdom, cult statues were kept deep within the temples, and their access highly restricted. In ancient Egypt only those of the highest rank were granted the privilege of viewing the divine cult statue, which the god was thought to inhabit.³⁸⁶

In addition to displaying the mixed form of Wepwaut, the Local High Elite were also more likely to donate stelae to gods other than Wepwaut, as well as to depict themselves worshipping multiple gods. With the exception of the Military group, members of the Local High Elite have the highest rate of donating stelae to gods other than Wepwaut. Five (19%) of the

³⁸⁵ As discussed in Chapter 3, decorum is likely tied to religious practice. Individuals would have wished to depict their individual conceptions of religion, which would have been based on their cult practice. It would have been socially unacceptable for individuals to depict religious practice to which they did not have access.

³⁸⁶ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), p. 81.

stelae donated by members of this social group are dedicated to gods other than Wepwaut, or depict the worship of multiple gods (fig. 5.17).



This trend seems counter-intuitive. As discussed in Chapter 3, Asyut was home to the cults of multiple gods in the New Kingdom. It appears that there were several temples at New Kingdom Asyut. There were apparently temples dedicated to Wepwaut, Anubis, Osiris, and Hathor, with cults of Amun-Ra, Isis, Khnum (?), Ramesses Meryamun, The God in Asyut, and Djefai-Hapy.³⁸⁷ The presence of multiple cults is also confirmed by priestly titles found on the stelae. So why were so few stelae dedicated to gods other than Wepwaut?

The dominance of Wepwaut on the votive stelae is likely due to a combination of factors. First, divine power was often thought to be locally based and manifested. As the chief deity of Asyut, Wepwaut's prominence is to be expected. Second, the procession of Wepwaut, which served as the backdrop for donating the votive stelae, likely encouraged votive offerings to

³⁸⁷ Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, pp. 35-38.

Wepwaut over other gods, and the appropriation of the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III as a shrine for the god. Third, given the restriction on display of the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut, which I believe represents his cult statue; it seems likely that the cult statues of other gods were also restricted. Therefore, the divine standard and theriomorphic forms of Wepwaut are the most commonly displayed forms of the god because these were the most accessible forms at Asyut. These forms of Wepwaut would have been visible as the god moved in procession, and thus reflect a concrete religious reality that was easily accessed and understood by most members of society. Fourth, as the main temple of the site, the cult of Wepwaut would have had more land holdings and economic resources than the cults of other gods at the Asyut. Temples employed other individuals than priests. Artisans, bureaucrats, herdsman, peasants to work the land, and many other professions were necessary to ensure a temple cult ran smoothly. Individuals connected with the temple of Wepwaut would have held regional power and social capital, and manipulated religious display to not only demonstrate their piety, but their social status to the community. However, this then begs the question: why include other gods on the stelae at all?

It is difficult to imagine why individuals would donate stelae to other gods in this provincial context. Religiously speaking, the few stelae donated to other gods would appear to indicate that few individuals felt a connection to the gods other than Wepwaut. However, an examination of theophoric names from the site shows that this was not the case. Many individuals had names which associated them Re and Amun—indicating that they (or their parents) felt connected to these gods. If these deities were popular and accessible, why are so few stelae dedicated to them? The answer is likely connected to the capital gained by associating one's self with these other gods.

Just as each form of Wepwaut likely indicated a different level of religious access, and therefore social capital, so too would the depiction of gods other than Wepwaut be seen as a form of social capital. The disproportionate clustering of gods other than Wepwaut in the Local High Elite seems to indicate that displaying one's self worshiping a god other than Wepwaut was a form of religious worship that was mainly available to higher status individuals, and can therefore be interpreted as a display of social status.

By virtue of the professions held by members of the Local High Elite, some would have had the ability to travel the country. The display of gods other than Wepwaut was perhaps meant to signify participation in the religious festivals and cults of gods from outside of Asyut, further highlighting the social and economic capital of the donor. These representations were therefore possible attempts by provincial elite to display their non-provincial connections to the local community. Perhaps they were demonstrating that they were connected to the world beyond Asyut, and were therefore powerful and worthy of respect. It is even possible that these individuals had formal economic associations with other temples, and wished to display this association to the town. However, it is important to note that even when other gods were displayed, they were usually depicted alongside Wepwaut. This can be seen as attempts by these individuals to negotiate with decorum. They wished to highlight their unique privileged status (and capital) by showing themselves in connection with a god other than Wepwaut, but were still forced to do so in ways that were acceptable to the local community.

5.6 The Military Group

5.6.1 The Social Status of the Military Group

The next distinct social group appearing on the stelae from Asyut is the Military group. Although Johnstone has divided military dress into 6 distinct categories (see chart 5.2), all individuals wearing military forms of dress are treated as one social group for the purpose of this study. Thirty-four men (11% of the male population) were depicted in military dress. Twenty-one of these men appear on multiple donor stelae (see Appendix 1, table 5.21). However, as discussed above, 5 men from the Military group wear a *mss*, and are therefore considered to be part of the High Elite. The study of the Military group will therefore focus on the remaining 29 men depicted in military dress who do not wear an additional *mss* (see Appendix 1, table 5.16).

There appears to have been a long standing connection between elite status and the military at Asyut. As discussed in chapter 2, Asyut served as a border town in times of strife due to its strategic importance.³⁸⁸ This positioning may have created a situation where the local nomarchs were in charge of a local standing army, or garrison of some sort. This positioning may have led to a militarization of the site, and a need for the local governor to be skilled in warfare in order to protect the town. There are two tombs at Asyut belonging to soldiers which date to the First Intermediate Period or Early Middle Kingdom. The first is the tomb of Khety II, sometimes referred to as the ‘Soldier’s Tomb’,³⁸⁹ and a second tomb, which belonged to an

³⁸⁸ M. El-Khadragy and J. Kahl, ‘The First Intermediate Period Tombs at Asyut Revisited,’ in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 32 (2004), p. 233.

³⁸⁹ M. El-Khadragy, ‘The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut,’ *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2006).

unknown individual, referred to as the ‘Northern Soldiers Tomb.’³⁹⁰ Each tomb depicts multiple rows of marching soldiers, suggesting that the owner was the leader of an army.³⁹¹ The tomb of Khety II is dated by its inscription to the reign of Merykare,³⁹² while El-Khadragy suggests that the ‘Northern Soldiers Tomb’ be dated to the 11th dynasty, likely the reign of Mentuhotep II.³⁹³ The iconography in the ‘Northern Soldiers Tomb’ suggests the tomb owner was not only the leader of an army, but possibly a high priest as well.³⁹⁴ This practice may have continued through the Middle Kingdom and into the New Kingdom, or perhaps a military connection was revived in the Second Intermediate Period due to the strategic importance of the site. Unfortunately the current state of research and preservation of tombs from both the Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom makes it impossible to confirm any of the above suggestions. However, a reverence for strong, regional nomarchs is confirmed by the New Kingdom veneration of both Khety and Iti-ibi.³⁹⁵ In the New Kingdom, elite individuals like Khety and Iti-bi asserted their identity not only in tombs, but in temples.

By the Ramesside period the temple had become the premier venue of elite display.³⁹⁶

Autobiographies developed in new directions during this period due to increased competition

³⁹⁰ This tomb has been given the designation M 11.1 by the current joint German-Egyptian mission headed by J. Kahl, M. El-Khadragy and U. Verhoeven. For a discussion of previous numberings and designations see M. El-Khadragy, ‘The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut’, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2006), p. 146.

³⁹¹ M. El-Khadragy, ‘The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut’, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2006), p. 156.

³⁹² Griffith, Siut IV [3,9,22].

³⁹³ M. El-Khadragy, ‘The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut’, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2006), p. 155.

³⁹⁴ M. El-Khadragy, ‘The Northern Soldiers-Tomb at Asyut’, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 35 (2006), p. 156.

³⁹⁵ See Joachem Kahl, ‘Regionale Milieus und die Macht des Staates im Alten Ägypten: Die Vergöttlichung der Gaufürsten von Assiut,’ in: *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 41 (2012), pp. 163-188.

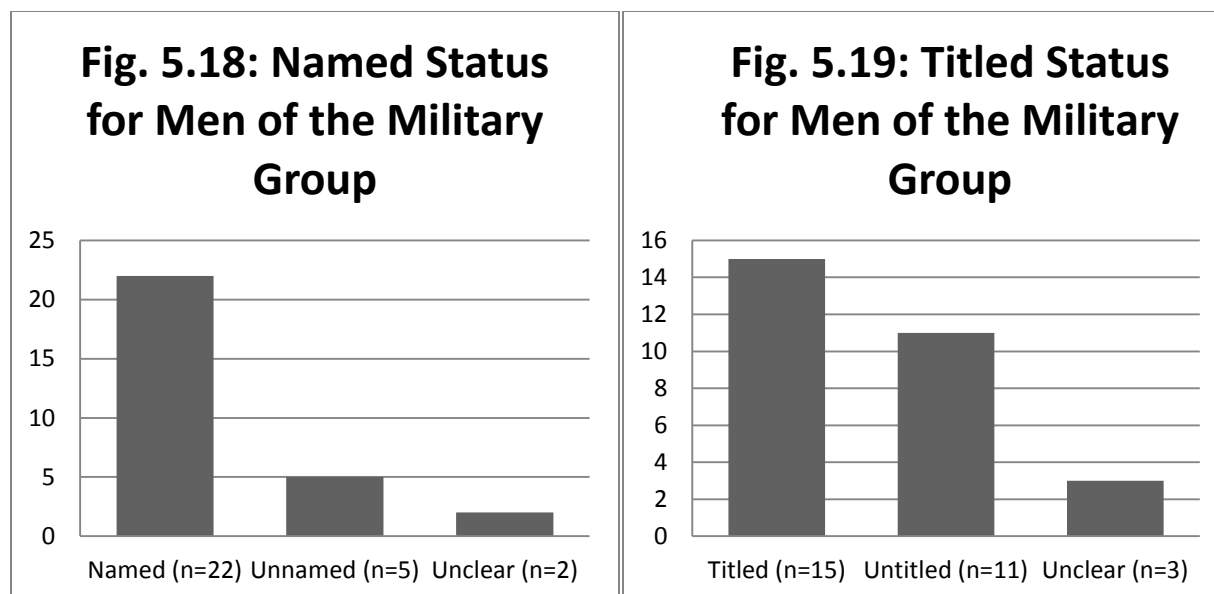
³⁹⁶ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2007), p. 22.

among elites.³⁹⁷ Accounts of travel and military exploits increased in this period, indicating a trend of militarization in Egyptian society in the Ramesside Period. Lengthy accounts were often similar to royal narratives and annals,³⁹⁸ which likely served to link the donor with the king. Although not a detailed career autobiography, the choice to be depicted in military dress would have signified similar ideas about travel, bravery, and a connection to the king to the local community at Asyut.

The men of the Military group appear to have been of a high social status based on their display of capital. Twenty-two (76%) of the men in the Military group were named (see table 5.17), and 5 (17%) were clearly unnamed (fig. 5.18), with named status being unclear for 2 (7%). This is the highest amount of clearly named individuals for any group of stelae. Fifteen (52%) of the men from the Military group are titled, with 11 (38%) being clearly untitled. Titled status is unclear for 3 (10%) men of this group (fig. 5.19). This display of textual capital is higher than that for the Lower Elite, Ritual Specialist, and General Populace group, but lower (with respect to titled status) than the High Elite.

³⁹⁷ Andrea Gnirs, 'Die ägyptische Autobiographie', in *Ancient Egyptian Literature: History and Forms*, Edited by Antonio Loprieno. Probleme der Ägyptologie 10. Leiden: Brill (1996), pp. 191-241.

³⁹⁸ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2007), p. 11.



As might be expected, the titles of these men are secular and mainly tied to the military. No member of the Military possesses a temple or religious title. The most common title is $w\text{r}w$ ³⁹⁹ (Infantryman), which occurs 4 times. Other titles include $\text{š}m\text{sw}$ ⁴⁰⁰ (Follower), ḥry-jḥ ⁴⁰¹ (Stable Master), nfw ⁴⁰² (Boat Captain), and even a $\text{ḥry-jḥ } n \text{ nb } t\text{z}.wy$ (Chief of the Stable of the Lord of Two Lands) (see appendix 1, table 5.19). The variety of these titles demonstrates that there was an active group of military men donating stelae at Asyut, they came from a variety of ranks, and not do belong to a single unit. Unfortunately there is no way to determine if these men originally came from Asyut, but it seems likely.

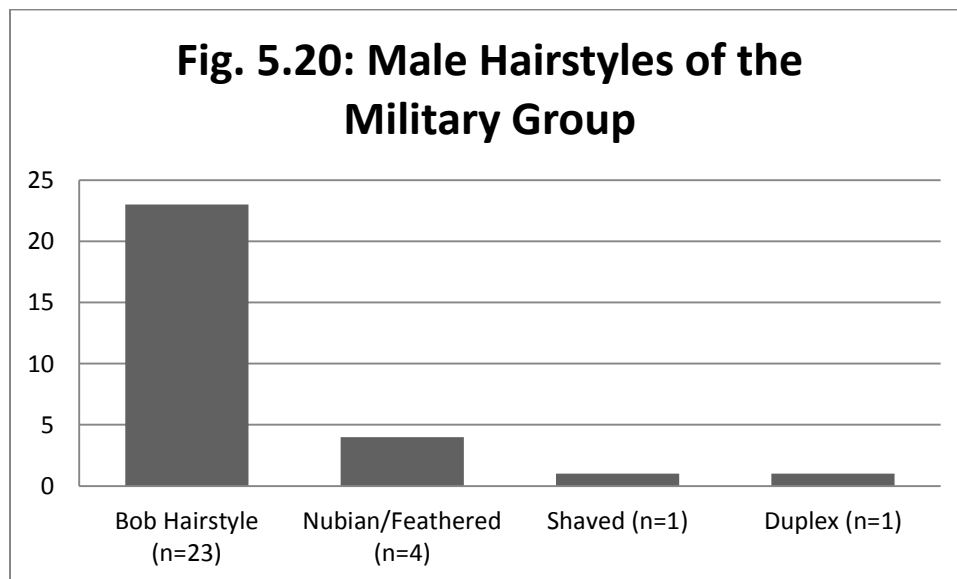
³⁹⁹ *Wb* 1, 280.3-8.

⁴⁰⁰ *Wb* 4, 485.6-486.15.

⁴⁰¹ *Wb* 1, 121.7; Lesko, *Dictionary II*, 131.

⁴⁰² *Wb* 2, 252.1-2.

The hairstyles worn by members of the Military follow the secular trend established by a survey of their titles. Only 1 military member of the military group chose to depict himself with a shaved head,⁴⁰³ while 23 (79%) of the men in this group are depicted with either an angled bob or shoulder-length bob—which appears to have been popular across elite groups at Asyut, and throughout the country in this period (see Appendix 1, table 5.18).⁴⁰⁴ Four (14%) of the men are depicted with a Nubian, or feathered hairstyle. Three of the men wearing style MSQ (the military members of the High Elite) also wear a Nubian/feathered style (fig. 5.20). These 7 men account for 64% of all individuals depicted with this feathered hairstyle on stone stelae from Asyut. It seems likely that this hairstyle carried connotations of exoticness, and perhaps served as a signifier of travel and foreign experience, or may even have served to indicate a higher rank or status within the military.

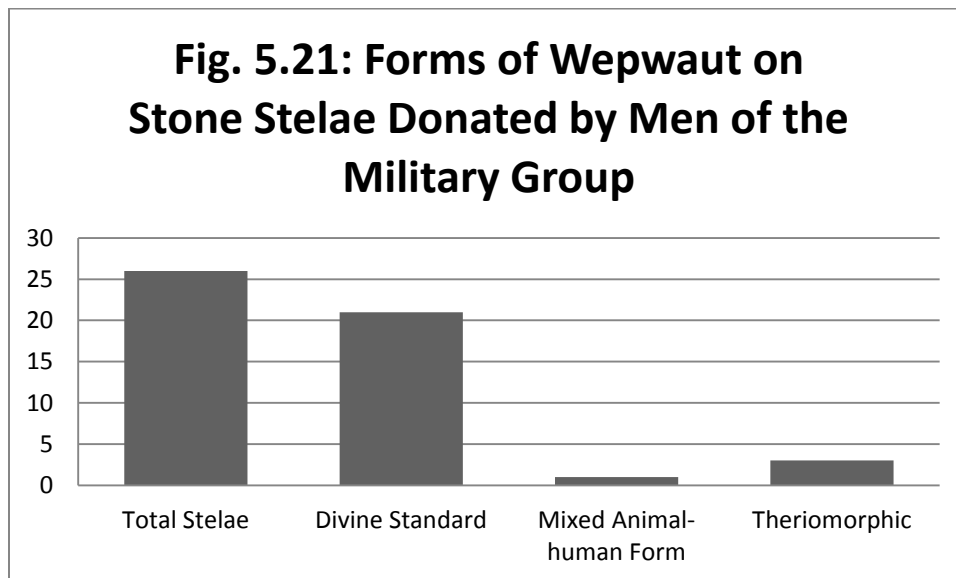


⁴⁰³ CM019

⁴⁰⁴ See Tassie, *Salakhana*...pp. 448-452.

5.6.2 The Religious Practice and Display of the Military Group

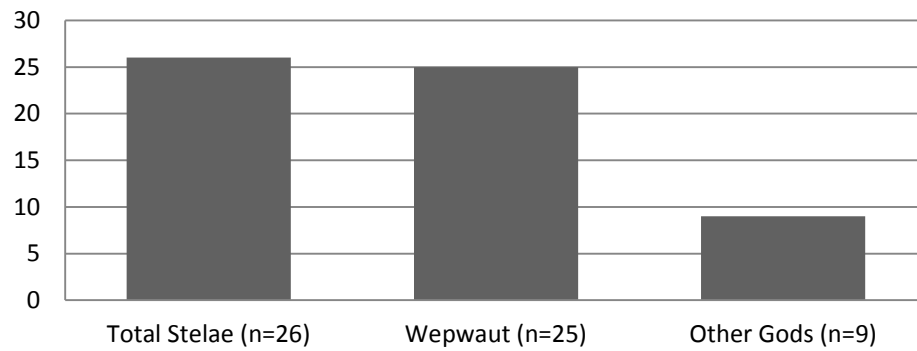
There are 26 stelae that have men in military dress as their primary donors (see Appendix 1, table 5.20). As is typical of all social groups, Wepwaut is the dominant deity on the votive stelae of military donors. He is represented on 25 (96%) of the stelae. He appears in the form of the divine standard on 21 (84%) stelae, which is accompanied by jackals on 15 (68%) stelae. Wepwaut occurs in solely theriomorphic form on 3 (12%) stelae, and only appears in mixed animal-human form on a single (4%) stela (fig. 5.21). It is interesting to note that, despite the social capital they possess, most military men were apparently not able to access, or display access, to the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut. However, they were the group most likely to depict themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut.



Wepwaut is depicted in the company of other gods on 9 (27%) of the stelae donated by men of the Military group (fig. 5.22). The display of gods from outside of Asyut is likely due to a variety of social and religious factors. As discussed above, the depiction of other gods was possibly linked to travel outside of Asyut. As noted by Anthony Spalinger, the New Kingdom military structure allowed for such social and physical mobility.⁴⁰⁵ Military service would have required members of the Military to travel throughout Egypt, and even into foreign lands. This mobility could have expanded their religious experience and knowledge by putting them into contact with other deities and other temples. This increased exposure to other gods from outside of Asyut may have fostered individual religiosity and personal devotion to deities with which they would have never had contact if they had not travelled outside of Asyut. But, while members of the Military group were comfortable displaying devotion to a god other than Wepwaut, they were still subject to local rules of religious decorum, and framed their religious experience in this way. They did not possess the same agency as men of the local High Elite who, although they were less likely to donate stelae to gods other than Wepwaut, were more likely to produce stelae where Wepwaut was not represented.

⁴⁰⁵ Anthony Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt: The New Kingdom*, Blackwell (2005), p. 273.

Fig. 5.22: Distribution of Gods on Stone Stelae Donated by Men of the Military Group



The presence of a god from outside of Asyut on a donor's stela could have represented exoticness in much the same way I have proposed the Nubian/feathered hairstyle signified travel and a connection to foreign lands. Although it was still framed within the boundaries of religious decorum at Asyut, the inclusion of an additional god or gods may have signified to the audience that the donor had travelled the country. It was also likely intended to signify their connection to other gods and participation in religious festivals and ceremonies outside of Asyut. This is not meant to imply that other gods were not worshipped at Asyut. As discussed above, there is clear evidence for the presence of temples and cults dedicated to other gods at Wepwaut.⁴⁰⁶ However, the presence of these other gods may also have been meant to signal deeper or more varied religious knowledge, as demonstrated through a connection to multiple gods. Nevertheless, the fact that so few individuals depict themselves worshipping multiple gods demonstrates that such iconography was not freely available, and supports the argument that the presence of multiple

⁴⁰⁶ In the New Kingdom there were apparently temples dedicated to Wepwaut, Anubis, Osiris, and Hathor, with cults of Amun-Ra, Isis, Khnum (?), Ramesses Meryamun, The God in Asyut, and Djefai-Hapy. See Kahl, *Ancient Asyut*, pp. 35-38.

gods was more likely connected to individual preferences and status, as opposed to being more religiously efficacious.

5.7 The Ritual Specialist Group

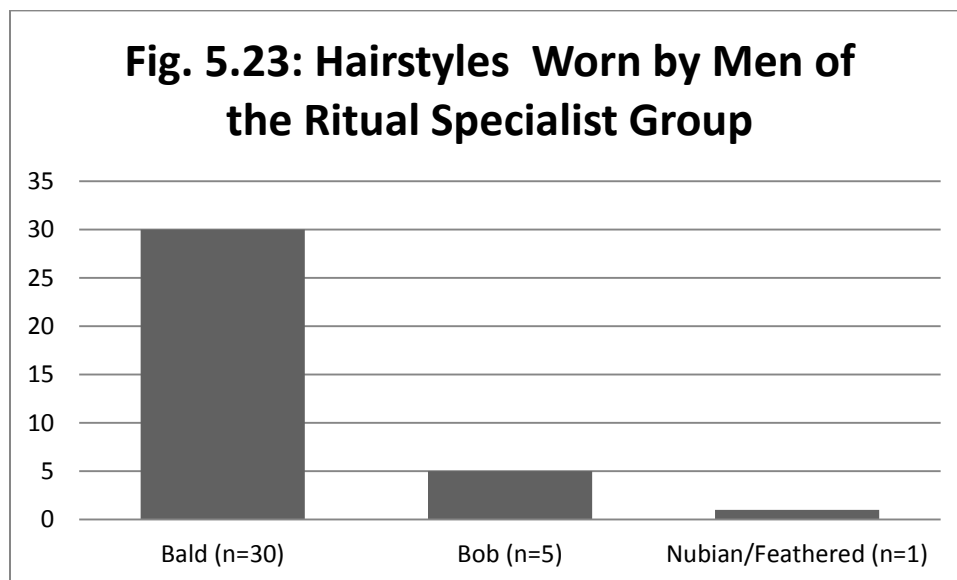
5.7.1 The Social Status of the Ritual Specialist Group

The men referred to as the Ritual Specialist group were the second largest social group depicted on the stelae. The Ritual Specialist group has 36 members (see Appendix 1, table 5.8). Inclusion in this social group was signified by wearing clothing style K2. This is the same sash kilt designated K1, but with the addition of a long belt (see Chart 5.1). While the addition of a belt seems minor, it appears to have carried a great deal of social and ritual significance. A survey of the members of this social group indicates that it was largely comprised of specialty priests and ritual specialists. By specialty priests and ritual specialists, I mean those priests who had more training and attained a higher level of ritual purity, allowing them to participate in specialized activities beyond that of ordinary wab-priests. .

Most of the donors of the Ritual Specialist group were priests. Sixteen (84%) of the titles are explicitly associated with temples or gods. Twelve of these donors are listed as *wꜥb*-priests—accounting for 60% of all the titled K2 donors (see Appendix 1, table 5.12). The title *wꜥb* literally means ‘a pure one’.⁴⁰⁷ This was a generic priestly title associated with temple cults, as cleanliness was a pre-requisite when acting in the service of a god. Hair was considered to be

⁴⁰⁷ For the verb *wꜥb* see: *Wb* 1, 280.12-282.5, for the title wab see: *Wb* 1, 282.13-283.12

impure, perhaps due to an association with lice⁴⁰⁸ and priests were required to shave off all their body hair⁴⁰⁹—which is why thirty (83%) of the members of the Ritual Specialist group are depicted bald/shaved (see Appendix 1, table 5.10). Only five (14%) are depicted with a bob cut of some kind (see Appendix 1, table 5.11), and one man is depicted with a Nubian or feathered style haircut (fig. 5.23). In addition to being clean shaven, various levels of purity were achieved through abstention from certain activities, such as sex, for prescribed amounts of time. These levels of purity were hierarchical, with higher levels of purity being required for deeper access into the temple.⁴¹⁰



Seven (58%) of the men identified as wab-priests are designated as being in the service of a certain god, most often Wepwaut (4 total). Attachment to a specific god appears to signify a

⁴⁰⁸ Gay Robins, 'Hair and the Construction of Identity in Ancient Egypt, c. 1480-1350 B.C.', *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, vol. 36 (1999), pp. 55-69.

⁴⁰⁹ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), p. 36.

⁴¹⁰ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), pp. 35-42.

higher place in the priestly hierarchy, and therefore more social capital. As opposed to members of the Ritual Specialist group, most of the priests from the Lower Elite are listed as wab-priests, but they are not associated with the cult of any specific god. Other individuals in the Ritual Specialist group explicitly associated with the temple include two temple scribes, a god's father, and a noble of the temple (see Appendix 1, table 5.12). As will be demonstrated below, it appears that this group may have served as ritual specialists.

One of the most interesting aspects of the votive stelae from Asyut is the lack of diversity with respect to identifying various members of the clergy. For instance, the title *ḥm-nṯr* (God's Servant) only appears once in isolation. Every other time it appears it is further qualified, such as with the *ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-wꜣwt* (High Priest of Wepwaut), or the *jmy-r ḥm-nṯr n nṯrw nbw* (The Overseer of the God's Servants of Every God). It is curious that more priests are not designated as *ḥm-nṯr* (God's Servant), or any of the other priestly classes, except for that of a *wꜣb*-priest. As will be demonstrated below, it seems that nearly every priest at Asyut held the general designation of wab-priest in lieu of a more specific priestly title.⁴¹¹

Lector priests were an essential part of the Egyptian cult. These priests served an important role in the festivals, as evidenced by their name, *ḥry-ḥbt*⁴¹², which literally translates to 'he who holds the festival roll.' While the title *ḥry-ḥbt* (lector priest) is not clearly attested

⁴¹¹ The absence of other priestly is also paralleled in the ushebtis from Asyut. While there is an overseer of *ḥm-nṯr* priests and a god's father (both titles are also found on the votive stelae), no ordinary *ḥm-nṯr* priests, lector priests, hour priests, or other specialized priestly titles are found the New Kingdom ushebtis from the site. See: Jan Moje, *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut, Mainly by David George Hogarth and Ahmed Bey Kamal*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (2013), p. 117.

⁴¹² *Wb* 3, 395.4-10.

anywhere on the stelae from Asyut,⁴¹³ it is possible to identify lector priests at Asyut by means of the special form of dress they wore, specifically a shoulder sash that ran across their chest.⁴¹⁴ This allows for the visual identification of lector priests without their title being present.

Thirteen men on the stelae from Asyut wear the shoulder sash typically associated with lector priests (see Appendix 1, table 5.15). Individuals wearing this sash are disproportionately clustered in the Ritual Specialist group. Eight men who belong to the Ritual Specialist group also wear this sash (22% of all Ritual Specialists); and although only 11% of the men at Asyut belong to the Ritual Specialist group, 62% (8) of all men who wear this sash belong to the Ritual Specialist group. The theory that these individuals played a special role in cult festivals and divine processions at Asyut is confirmed by an analysis of the non-specific representations of priests that sometimes appear on the stelae, who are often depicted carrying the barque of Wepwaut.

Individuals wearing a shoulder sash appear on stelae CM203, CM027, and EA1632, in addition to those examples cited above. Some of the priests depicted on these stelae have been assigned a unique style of dress by Johnstone, style PRR.⁴¹⁵ Style PRR is characterized by a high-waisted kilt with a long belt and shoulder sash (see fig. 5.11). All individuals wearing style PRR (14 total) are shown carrying the barque of Wepwaut. This may indicate that lector priests at Asyut would carry the divine barque, and it can be inferred that they likely manipulated other ritual and cult objects. It should be stressed that the priests depicted in style PRR do not represent

⁴¹³ There is one possible attestation of the title *hry-ḥbt*. On stela CM204 we have a title read by DuQuesne as *wꜥb n ḥbt*. It may be possible that this should be read *wꜥb, hry-ḥbt*, but this reading is highly speculative, and the orthography is different than the standard writing of the title.

⁴¹⁴ Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2005), p. 303.

⁴¹⁵ See Johnstone, *Salakhana*...p. 571.

donors, and are likely abstracts that were not intended to represent any specific individual. They are never named or titled, and they exist solely as secondary figures that carry the barque of Wepwaut, or the divine standard, which the stelae donors are shown worshipping. For some of the individuals wearing PRR the shoulder sash is clearly present, while others appear without it. This abstract representation demonstrates that the long belt and shoulder sash were signifiers of specialized priests who carried the divine barque, many of whom were likely lector priests, or occupied other special roles in the temple.

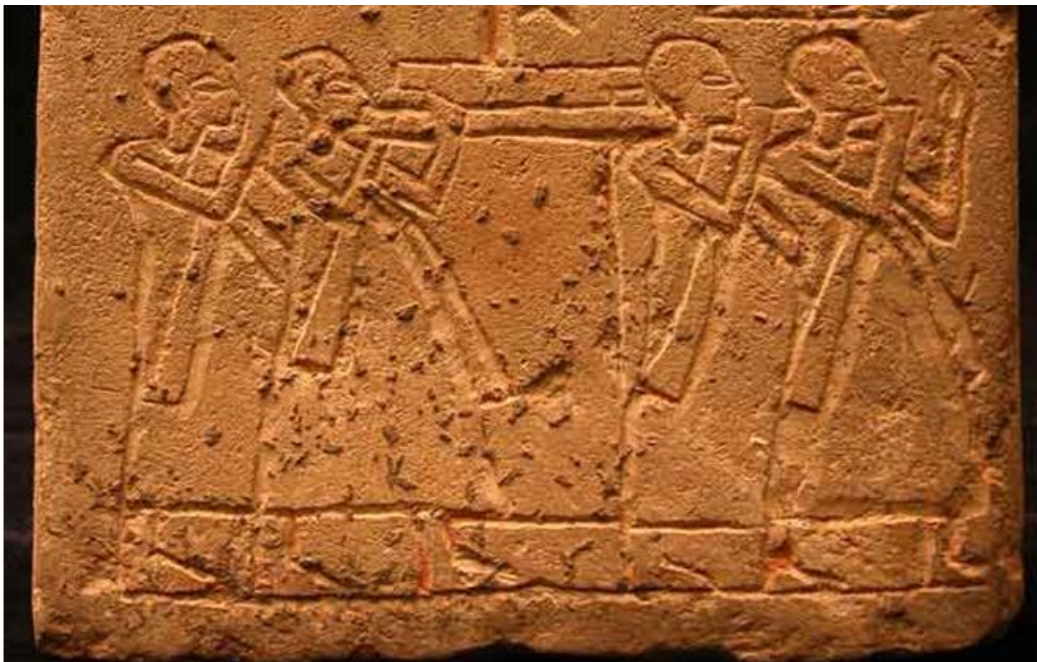


Fig. 5.24: Priests Depicted Wearing Style PRR from CM 203. Photograph © Terence DuQuesne.

I suggest that the long kilt, belt, and shoulder sash of the PRR style is perhaps a high-waisted, more billowy variation of the K2 style worn by the Ritual Specialist group. Perhaps it was cinched higher around the bodies to avoid slippage when carrying the barque, or perhaps it

was a style that was only worn while carrying out official temple duties. It is also possible that PRR and K2 represent the same kilt, but it takes on a slightly different appearance based on the pose and movement of the priests carrying the barque, as opposed to those in a stationary pose of adoration. Any of these possibilities seem likely, as no donor depicts himself wearing this kilt. This suggests that the higher-waisted version was a situational form of dress and its use was restricted.⁴¹⁶ It is also possible that the K2 style evolved as an informal form of the PRR style that was worn by individuals who were off duty, but still wished to express their cult identity.

The donors who wear the shoulder sash are likely attempting to communicate their greater role in the temple. If they are lector priests and pastophori, as indicated by representations of the abstract priests represented on the stelae, then they served a larger role in the temple cult than ordinary wab-priests—even though they are not specifically titled as such. However, the position of lector priest represented more than just religious access and social capital—it also translated directly into economic capital.

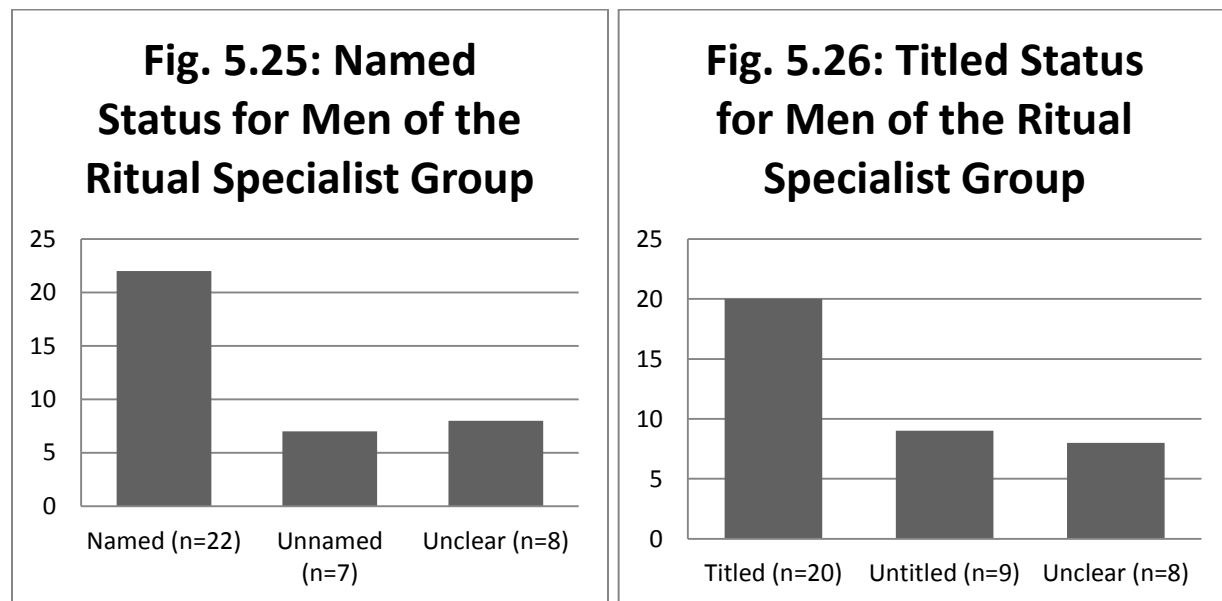
Lector priests were not just associated with temple ritual, but also with magic and medicine. When not on duty at the temple, lector priests would often sell their ritual expertise to members of the community, performing private funerary rites and a variety of other spells and rituals that could benefit both the living and the dead.⁴¹⁷ This led to a popular fascination with lector priests, who became the archetype for magicians and were often characterized as the hero

⁴¹⁶ Similar restrictions are common in many periods and cultures. For instance, the Catholic Church restricts the use of certain vestments not only by the position of the clergy member, but by the particular setting in which they appear.

⁴¹⁷ See Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, no. 54. University of Chicago Press: Chicago (1993), pp. 220-233.

of ancient Egyptian stories and fables.⁴¹⁸ The position of lector priest was therefore one that granted this group of priests increased social and economic capital and respect from the general population.

As regards the textual display of capital, 22 (61%) of these men are named (see Appendix 1, table 5.9) and 7 (19%) are clearly unnamed, with named status being unclear for 7 (19%) of the men from this group (fig. 4.25). Twenty (56%) of the members of this group are titled (see Appendix 1, table 5.12), with 9 (25%) clearly untitled and titled status being unclear for 8 (22%) of the men represented (fig. 4.26). Thirty-three (92%) of individuals of the Ritual Specialist group are the primary donors of their stela (see Appendix 1, table 5.13), and 12 (33%) of these men appear on multi-donor stelae (see Appendix 1, table 5.14).



⁴¹⁸ For the role and status of priests in society see Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites. The London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)*, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World - RGRW 153; Brill Academic Publishers; Leiden (2005), Chapter 6, esp. 6.3.3; Alan B. Lloyd, 'Heka, dreams, and prophecy in ancient Egyptian stories', In Szpakowska, Kasia (ed.), *Through a glass darkly: magic, dreams & prophecy in ancient Egypt*, Swansea: Classical Press of Wales (2006), pp. 71-94; and Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), p. 61.

While it is difficult to specifically define this group of priests, these individuals appear to have been of a relatively high status, as indicated by their display of capital. Over 20% are identified as lector priests through imagery. The belt worn by members of the Ritual Specialist group is associated with specialized ritual practice, such as carrying the divine standard. Men shown carrying the divine barque also wear this long belt, and it seems plausible that other priestly classes absent from the stelae, such as *jmy-wnwt*⁴¹⁹ (hour-priest)⁴²⁰ and *ḥm-ntr* priests, also belonged to this group. However, it is challenging to specifically define their place in the temple hierarchy. This difficulty in defining priestly classes was noted by Sauneron in *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*. His description of priestly classes captures the challenges faced when attempting to categorize the Ritual Specialist group; he writes,

...while it is evident that the number of “purified ones” (wab-priests) was considerable, there was a vast gap between an ordinary chaplain and the priest designated to behold the divine statue. The many temple occupants having the right to be called priests were divided into a certain number of priestly classes. We can distinguish a higher and lower clergy, and auxiliary personnel as well; but problems mount when we attempt to define each of these classes more rigorously.

First of all, the hierarchy of these classes is ambiguous. Certain groups of priests, such as the pastophori, or the singers, were sometimes among the high clergy and sometimes in the lower ranks...Second, the very classes themselves do not suffice, for various categories of priests and specialists functioning in the temples cannot be systematically attached to the one or the other...⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ *Wb* 1, 317.9-10.

⁴²⁰ For a discussion of the role of the hour priests in ancient Egypt see Jacco Dieleman, ‘Claiming the stars – Egyptian Priests facing the Sky’, in: *Basel Egyptology Prize 1. Junior Research in Egyptian History, Archaeology, and Philology*, (eds) Susanne Bickel and Antonio Loprieno, (Aegyptiaca Helvetica 17; Basel 2003), pp. 277-89.

⁴²¹ Sauneron, *Priests...* pp. 54-55.

One final aspect of the Ritual Specialist group to consider is the possible indications of the hereditary transfer of priestly offices and priestly obligations, which was a common practice in ancient Egypt.⁴²² There are only two examples where men from the Ritual Specialist group appear in subordinate positions to other men.⁴²³ In both of these cases they are subordinate to their fathers, who are also members of the Ritual Specialist group. There is one other example of a member of the Ritual Specialist group appearing alongside his father.⁴²⁴ In this instance the father, who possesses the title *ss*⁴²⁵ (Scribe), appears in a position subordinate to his son, and his son's wife. Unfortunately it is not possible to determine the dress of the father, but the title *ss* (Scribe) is held by some Ritual Specialists, and it seems likely that his father would also have belonged to the Ritual Specialist group.

5.7.2 The Religious Practice and Display of the Ritual Specialist Group

As demonstrated above, individuals wearing the K2 kilt were members of a religious group that appears to have been largely populated by ritual specialists. This group was comprised of lector priests, and likely other ritual specialists, who were mainly members of the cult of Wepwaut. The members of the Ritual Specialist group were the primary donors of 33 votive stelae (see Appendix 1, table 5.37), 32 (97%) of which depict the god Wepwaut. Wepwaut never appears in the company of another god on these stelae. There is only a single instance where a

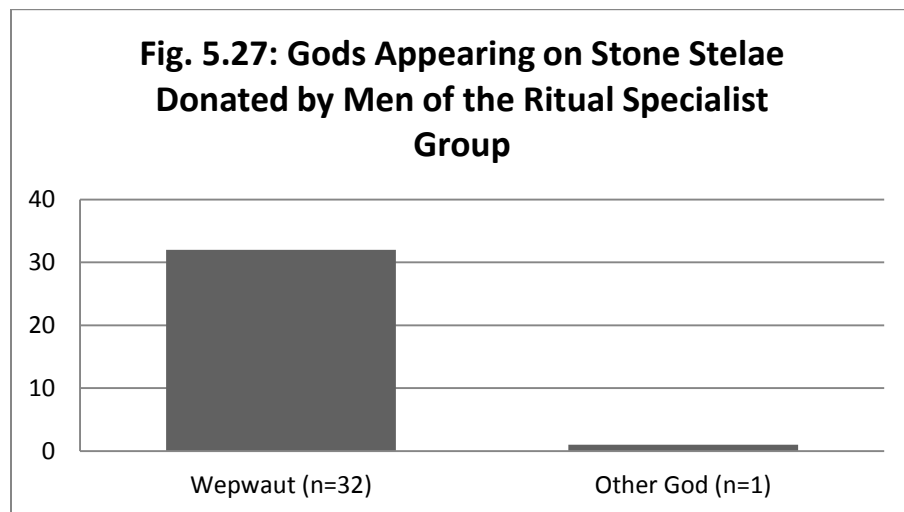
⁴²² Sauneron, *Priests...* pp. 43-45.

⁴²³ Stelae CM175 and CM039.

⁴²⁴ See stela CM204.

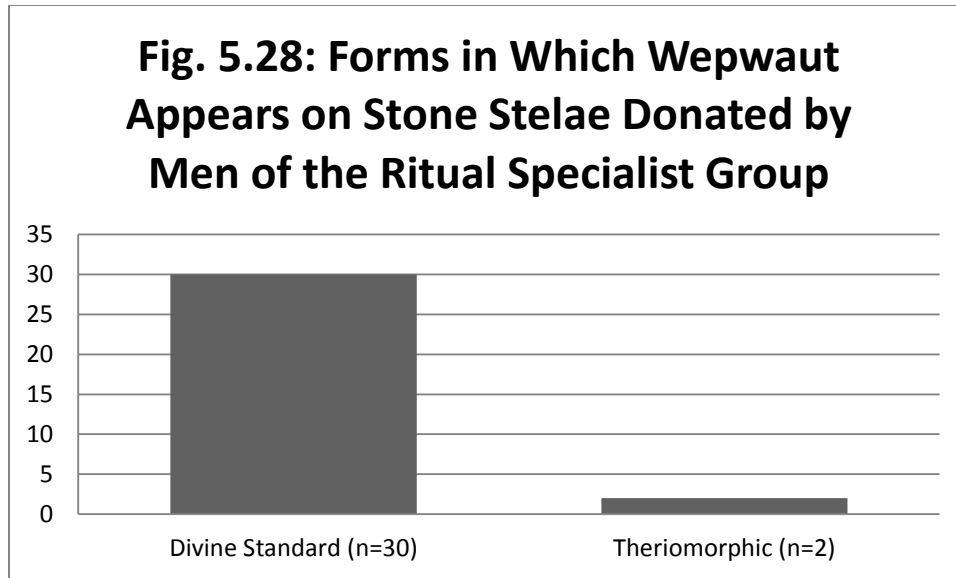
⁴²⁵ *Wb* 3, 479.14-481.4.

god other than Wepwaut is depicted by a K2 donor, a single deity stela which is dedicated to the god Min (fig. 5.27).⁴²⁶



The divine standard dominates the iconography of stelae donated by members of the Ritual Specialist group far more than it does for any other group of donors. Wepwaut appears in the form of the divine standard on 94% (30) of the stelae on which he appears. The remaining 6% (2) of the time he appears in theriomorphic form (fig. 5.28). Wepwaut never appears in mixed human-animal form on the stelae donated by this group. The reasons for the lack of diversity, with respect to the appearance of other gods and the forms in which Wepwaut appears, may be due to the proposed specialized role that these ritual specialists played in the cult of Wepwaut.

⁴²⁶ CM231, the stela on which Min appears, is unique in many ways. The individual is depicted on the left side of the stela, which is rare. Also, the donor appears behind the god and not facing him.



If the ritual specialist class was comprised largely of individuals who carried the barque of Wepwaut, as was proposed above, they may have wished to highlight their special position. Although it was standard religious iconography, individuals from this social group may have wished to emphasize and reinforce their special connection to the festival and procession of Wepwaut by displaying themselves in relation to the form of the god with which they were mostly intimately familiar, and with which most people associated them: the divine standard. It is also possible that, while this group of ritual specialists was dedicated to carrying the divine standard and the divine barque, they were not allowed to directly interact or offer to the cult statue proper. The seemingly extraordinary devotion which these men held for Wepwaut may also be a reflection of the fact that they owed their social status and position to their connection with his cult far more than any other group represented on the stelae.

5.8 The Lower Elite Group

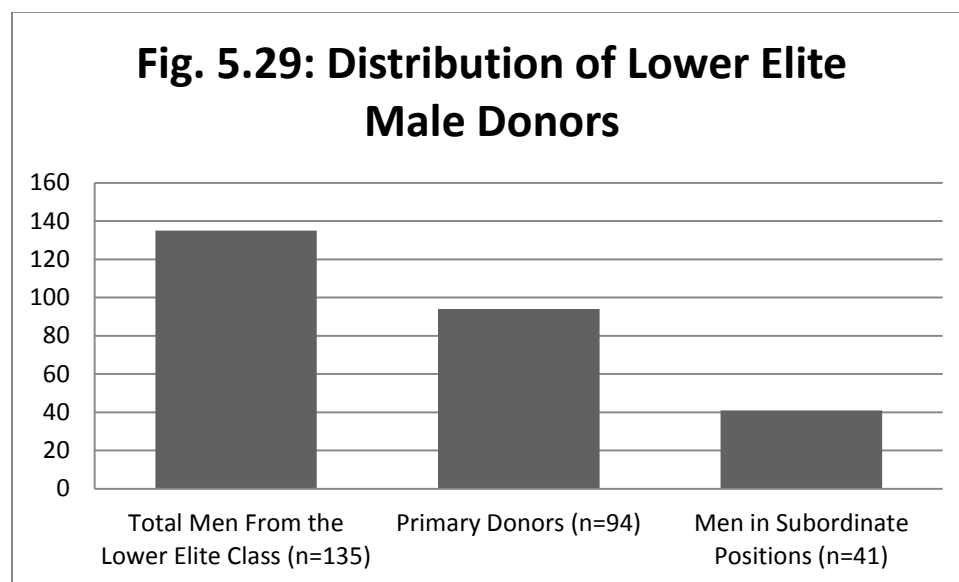
5.8.1 The Social Status of the Lower Elite Group

This group of individuals appears to have been a Lower Elite group of individuals, many of whom were priests. The plain sash kilt they wear has been designated K1, and it appears to have been the most accessible clothing option available to men who possessed the economic and social capital needed to depict themselves on a votive stela. This is evidenced not only by the number of men depicted wearing the K1 kilt, but by the biographical information (or lack thereof) included on their stelae.

There are a total of 135 men (43% of all male donors) in the Lower Elite group (see Appendix 1, table 5.1). They represent the largest group of individuals depicted on the stelae. Ninety-four (70%) of these individuals are the primary donors of the votive stelae on which they appear (see Appendix 1, table 5.6). This relatively low number is significant, as it indicates that men of the Lower Elite group were often represented in positions subordinate to other men (fig. 5.29). The size and relative position of many of the men from the Lower Elite group indicate that some were the sons of men from the Ritual Specialist, Military, and even the High Elite social groups. The fact that the sons of many social groups were often marked by dress as being members of the Lower Elite may indicate that many were young men who were still apprenticing, or that they held positions different from their fathers.⁴²⁷ It should, perhaps, not be expected that these sons would appear in the same social groups as their fathers, as social

⁴²⁷ The position and appearance of the men appearing as sons on the votive stelae from Asyut will be discussed in Chapter 7.

positions were often inherited. It seems that, even if there was a social expectation that they would inherit the office of their father,⁴²⁸ they could not actually display the capital granted by that office until they truly occupied it. It also demonstrates that the dress of the Lower Elite group was likely freely available, and possibly served as a generic form of dress for men of a certain social status.

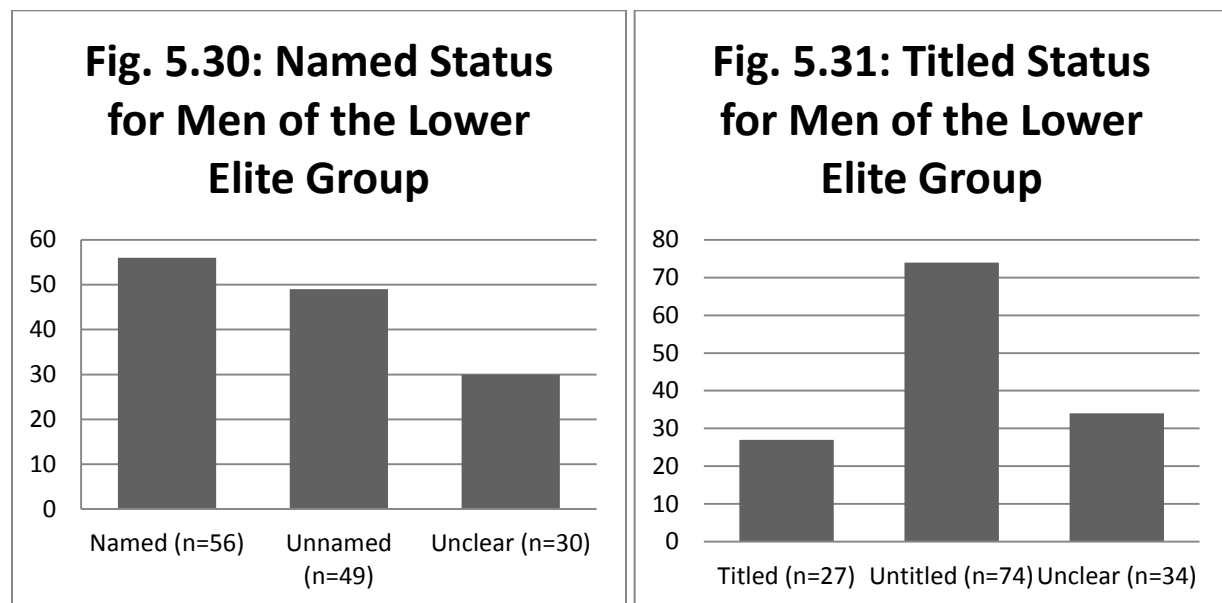


Only 56 (41%) of the men in this social group are clearly named (see Appendix 1, table 5.3)⁴²⁹, and 49 (36%) are clearly unnamed, with the names of an additional 30 (23%) being unclear, or broken (fig. 5.30). Only 27 (20%) of these men are titled (see Appendix 1, table 5.5) with 55% (74) of the men clearly possessing no title. Titled status is unclear for 34 (25%) of the

⁴²⁸ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), pp. 43-45.

⁴²⁹ This includes 3 individuals whose names cannot be read, but the presence of a title makes it clear a name was originally present.

men from the Lower Elite group (fig. 5.31). The lack of names and titles associated with many of the men of the Lower Elite indicates that they did not possess the social power and capital associated with possessing a title, and/or the economic capital needed to have a stela inscribed with their name and/or title.



The lack of name, titles, and to a certain extent primary-donor status, demonstrates that this was a Lower Elite group with respect to the other groups of men who appear on the stela. This indication is strengthened by an examination of the titles which are represented. Six of the men represented have the title of wab-priest, 4 are listed as *sdm-ꜣ*⁴³⁰ (Servants), and there are 2 *mnjw*⁴³¹ (Herdsman) and 2 *kd*⁴³² (Builders). The rest of the titles are unique (see Appendix 1,

⁴³⁰ Wb 4, 390.5.

⁴³¹ Wb 2, 74-75.10.

table 5.5). Ninety-nine (73%) members of the Lower Elite group are depicted with a bald or shaved head (see Appendix 1, table 5.3).⁴³³ As discussed above, individuals who were depicted as bald or shaved were often signaling purity and membership in the clergy. The high number of Lower Elites with shaved heads demonstrates that this was also a group largely comprised of temple personnel—even though many are not textually identified as priests. This is to be expected, as a temple would have needed a large and varied workforce to operate properly.

As discussed in Chapter 2, temples were economic and administrative centers. Temples were comprised not only of priests, but included a variety of other auxiliary personnel. Herdsmen, administrators, artisans, scribes, and many other positions were necessary to keep temples functioning properly, and at smaller temples individuals often held priestly and administrative roles.⁴³⁴ At Asyut it seems likely many members of the lower clergy and auxiliary personnel belonged to this Lower Elite group, although other individuals belonged to this group as well.

As noted above, many of the titles of the Lower Elite are unique. A few of these titles bear special scrutiny, as they are high ranking. The most notable of these titles are the *sš n pr-ḥd*⁴³⁵ *n nb t3.wy* (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands), *t3y-ḥw*⁴³⁶ *n nb t3.wy* (the

⁴³² *Wb* 5, 74.1-75.2.

⁴³³ Twenty-three (17%) men from the Lower Elite class are depicted with a bob style (see Appendix 1, table 5.4). The hairstyle is unclear for seven (5%) of these men, and the remaining men wear hairstyles represented 3 or fewer times.

⁴³⁴ Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt (New Edition)*, Cornell University Press: Ithaca (2000), pp. 54-57.

⁴³⁵ William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut (1982), title no. 1382.

⁴³⁶ *Wb* 3, 298.7.

Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands), and *jmy-r pr-wr*⁴³⁷ (One in Charge of the per-wer).

These more elite titles suggest courtly activity, and something one would associate with the Local High Elite.

In the case of the *sš n pr ḥd n nb t3.wy*, the person holding this title, a certain Hori, was not actually the primary donor of the stela. He appears kneeling behind his father and mother. His father was a member of the Military group, and held the title *ḥry-jḥ n nb t3.wy* (Chief of the Herd of the Lord of Two Lands). This raises the possibility that Hori may not have lived at Asyut, but was only included by his father on the stela so that his would also benefit from the ritual activity displayed. If this were the case, the artisan may not have known how to represent Hori, and opted on the safer side for a general form of dress. However, upon completion of the stela, Hori's father, Khonsu, insisted on adding Hori's title, as he wished to communicate the elevated status of his son to his peers Asyut. It seems equally plausible that this form of dress was considered pious or pure, as it was associated with the general garment worn by most priests.

The other two titles, *t3y-ḥw n nb t3.wy* (the Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands), and *jmy-r pr-wr* (One in Charge of the per-wer) are also interesting. As noted above in regards to Hori, it is possible that these individuals were not from Asyut. If this were the case, the local artisans may have been uncertain as to how to represent them, and depicted them in the most general form of dress available for those who are clearly not members of the High Elite, Military, or Ritual Specialist groups. It is equally possible that these individuals, who may have belonged to other communities, were adhering to other rules of artistic decorum. They may have intentionally opted to be depicted in a simpler, classic style as a demonstration of humility.

⁴³⁷ Wb 1, 517.2-3.

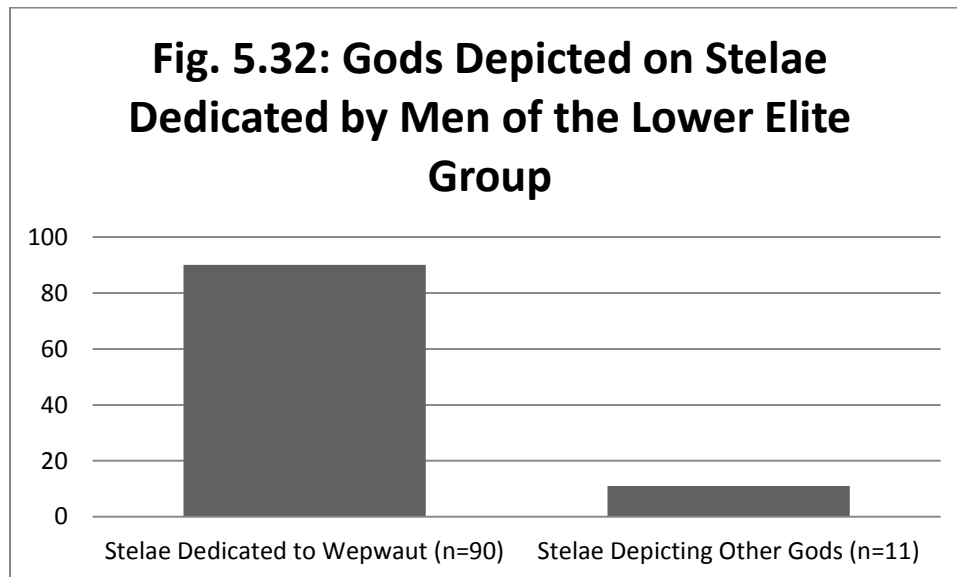
As demonstrated above, members of the Lower Elite are far less likely to be named or titled than any other individuals appearing on the stelae from Asyut. While this group displays less capital than any of the other elite groups depicted on the stelae, it does not mean that they represented the lowest social group at Asyut. There were no doubt lower social groups that were incapable of even purchasing a votive stela (see General Populace below). Throughout its history Egypt was an agricultural society.⁴³⁸ It is likely that farmers and other individuals of lower social status also participated in votive practices at Asyut, although they likely did not possess the economic capital to commission an inscribed stone stela.

Individuals from the Lower Elite were more likely to represent themselves worshipping alongside other donors. Eighty-one (60%) members of the Lower Elite group are depicted alongside other donors (i.e. the stelae on which they appear are not single donor stelae) (see Appendix 1, table 5.7). As discussed above, only 38% (100) of all stelae donated by men at Asyut were multi-donor stelae. This indicates that the men of the Lower Elite group were far more likely to depict themselves worshipping gods alongside other individuals, usually family members. This may indicate that men of the Lower Elite were more interested in displaying their family identity. Perhaps this was also due to a scarcity of economic capital for the Lower Elite group, or different social expectations that encouraged families of this group to worship together (as they did not actively participate in the procession), and display images of family worship.

⁴³⁸ Douglas Brewer and Emily Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians, second edition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge (2007), p. 68.

5.8.2 The Religious Practice and Display of the Lower Elite Group

Members of the Lower Elite were the primary donors of 92 stelae (see Appendix 1, table 5.33).⁴³⁹ There are 101 different representations of gods on these 92 stelae (fig. 5.32, see Appendix 1, table 5.33).⁴⁴⁰ Wepwaut is present on 90 (98%) of these stelae. He appears alone on 85 (92%) of the stelae and is depicted in the company of other god/s on 5 (6%) stelae (see Appendix 1, table 5.34).⁴⁴¹



As discussed in Chapter 2 and demonstrated above, there is an overwhelming preference for Wepwaut to be represented in the form of a divine standard accompanied by canids or

⁴³⁹ K1 donors donated more than 92 votive stelae, but it was not always possible to determine the deity due to wear or breakage. Only stelae where it is possible to identify the god and their form have been included.

⁴⁴⁰ Gods found on stelae dedicated by K1 donors include Wepwaut, Amun-Re, Hathor, Isis, Min-Amun, Heryshef and Re-Sobek.

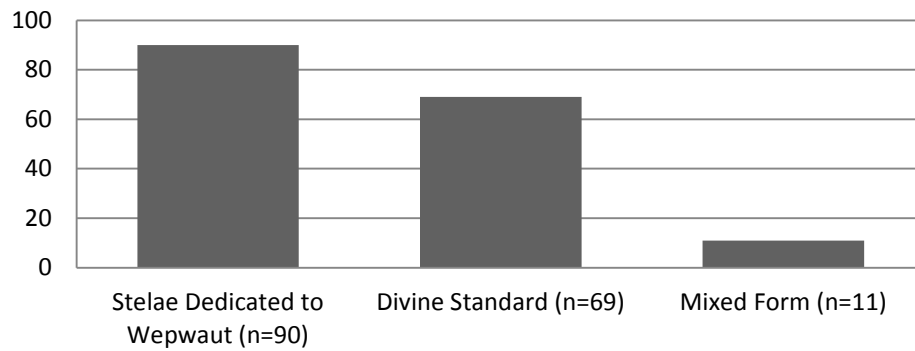
⁴⁴¹ A god tentatively identified as Re-Sobek appears on a single stela (CM263).

jackals. This was likely meant to serve as a visual representation of the procession of Wepwaut from his temple in Asyut to the temple of Anubis near the western mountain.⁴⁴² Lower Elites are most likely to depict themselves worshipping Wepwaut in the form of the divine standard, which appears on 69 (75%) of the stelae, 60 (87%) of which also include images of canids, or jackals. While the religious experience of most of the lower elite appears to be limited to worshipping and observing the god in procession, some individuals of this group had access to more restricted forms of Wepwaut, namely the mixed human-animal form in which he sometimes appears. It is unclear why some individuals chose to depict Wepwaut in certain forms, or include gods other than Wepwaut. However, it is possible to speculate as to some of the possible religious and societal motivations.

Wepwaut appears in mixed animal-human form on 11 (12%) of the stelae donated by the Lower Elite, demonstrating that certain members of this social group were granted higher levels of cult access and participation (fig. 5.33). Of the 11 donors who depicted themselves worshipping the mixed form of Wepwaut, 5 (46%) were named and 4 (37%) were titled (see Appendix 1, table 5.35). The rate of titled donors is well above the average rate for the members of Lower Elite group, and demonstrates the link between social capital and the display of the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut.

⁴⁴² See Chapter 4.2.

Fig. 5.33: Stone Stelae Dedicated to Wepwaut by Men of the Lower Elite and the Forms in which they Appear



As demonstrated above, displaying the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut was more prevalent among higher social groups—particularly the High Elite—who possessed and displayed more capital than any other group. The identification of a subgroup within the Lower Elite who accessed this form of the god, and displayed more capital than their peers, demonstrates that there were nuances within the individual social groups identified and discussed in this dissertation. Depicting the mixed form of Wepwaut was itself a form of capital that certain members of the Lower Elite possessed and displayed—likely in an effort to distinguish themselves from other members of the same social group, and associate themselves with the Local High Elite.⁴⁴³

Members of the Lower Elite also depicted themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut. Only 7 (8%) members of this social group depict themselves worshipping a god other than Wepwaut. 57% (4) of these donors are named and titled, with named and titled status being

⁴⁴³ The idea of elite religious practice focusing on the mixed form of Wepwaut and not the divine standard is also evidenced by royal religious practice at the site. There are only two royal stelae in the Salakhana Trove (CM041 and CM038). Both are dated to the 18th dynasty (Horemheb and Thutmose III), and show the king worshipping a mixed form of Wepwaut.

unclear for the remaining 43% (3) of donors—none of these donors are clearly unnamed or untitled (see Appendix 1, table 5.36). Like those who could access Wepwaut in mixed animal-human form, these individuals were more likely to possess and display textual forms of capital than any other members of the Lower Elite. Not only is the named and titled status for these donors much higher than that of the average for this group, but the lack of any clearly unnamed or untitled stelae makes it possible that all were named and titled. Clearly individuals who depicted themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut possessed more social and economic capital than any other subgroup. But why might this be the case?

Votive stelae are functional artistic expressions of personal religious practice that were meant to not only record religious participation, but to ensure the individual depicted would be able to participate in these practices for eternity.⁴⁴⁴ This functional understanding of votive stelae, and other votive monuments, presupposes the individuals depicted actually took part in the religious activities depicted. If it holds true that individuals depict religious practices in which they actually participated, individuals who depicted gods other than Wepwaut actually participated in the worship of these other gods. We know that cults to other cults existed at Asyut. The lower status of these cults likely granted the individuals associated with them less capital than those who were associated with the larger and more prominent cult of Wepwaut. It seems likely that individuals representing other gods may have been doing so for pietistic reasons. However, it is also possible that the depiction of gods other than Wepwaut was tied to individuals who had travelled throughout the country.

Only higher status individuals could travel the country, as the lower levels of society were often tied to the land and were not able to accumulate the economic or social capital

⁴⁴⁴ Gay Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt*, Harvard University Press (2008), p. 189.

necessary to travel. The titles related to the individuals who depicted themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut also seem to confirm this. Three of the individuals are titled *sdm* ʕš (servants), one of whom has the specific designation of *sdm-ʕš mst(r?)*⁴⁴⁵ (servant of the chancellor).⁴⁴⁶ The other possesses the title of *tzy-hw n nb t3.wy* (Fan-Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands). These titles may indicate the individuals who possessed them did not live at Asyut year round and spent a significant amount of time at court. The fact that none of these individuals had an explicit connection to the temple of Wepwaut may also indicate that they were less invested in the cult of Wepwaut than many of their peers. Wepwaut is still normally present in some form on 7 (78%) of the stelae donated by these individuals, demonstrating that these individuals were still subject to local forms of religious decorum—but they still felt compelled to include images of other gods to which they were devoted or felt a connection.

5.9 The General Populace

5.9.1 The Social Status of the General Populace

Most ancient Egyptians were poor, agricultural workers who lived in small towns and villages, and were not permitted to enter the temple and take part in formal religious ceremonies and practices. They no doubt worshipped the gods, but likely did so in other, less formal ways, as they did not possess the status and capital needed to engage in competitive material displays of identity. Their votive practices could have taken a variety of forms. They may have focused on a cult representation in their household, offering food, incense and libations which would have left

⁴⁴⁵ Lesko, *Dictionary I*, p. 207.

⁴⁴⁶ This is a tentative reading of the title, and its meaning is uncertain. See DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 302.

no trace in the archaeological record. Evidence from other sites suggests that they also deposited smaller, less expensive items at local cult shrines and chapels. There is also the possibility that members of the general populace may have donated less expensive stelae and smaller votive objects, some of which were also found in the Salakhana Tomb.

While most of the stelae included in this study were inscribed, with many bearing some traces of paint, there were numerous stone stelae in the trove that were solely painted. These non-inscribed stelae likely required substantially less capital to create. Whether or not members of the general populace would have been able to afford any form of stone stelae, even a non-inscribed stela, is unclear. However, 137 clay stelae found were found alongside the stone stelae. These clay stelae would have required a less substantial investment of economic capital than the stone stelae. The crude form of many of these stelae also suggests that many of these could have been made by ordinary donors and did not require specialized knowledge or tools.⁴⁴⁷

Only 21 men and 1 woman are represented on the clay stelae. No members of the Ritual Specialist, High Elite, or Military groups are depicted on these stelae. Unfortunately it is not possible to identify the clothing of most of the men who appear on the stelae. Of the clothing that can be identified, 6 men are represented in style K1, the dress of the Lower Elite, and two are represented in unclassified styles (style K4 and K5). None of these 8 individuals are titled, and only 3 appear to have been named (38%). This is further evidence of the low status of the individuals donating the clay stelae, as their display of capital was far less than any other group on the stelae. The 6 men represented in style K1 are especially striking, as all the stelae on which

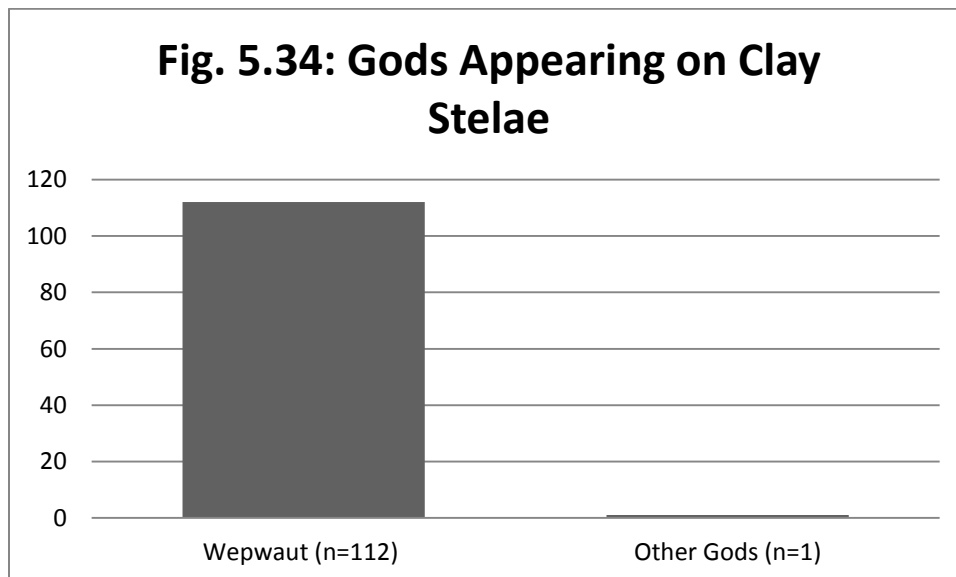
⁴⁴⁷ No scientific analysis of the clay fabric has yet been conducted. It is also unclear if these clay stelae were baked in the sun, or fired in a kiln—which would have required access to special tools and a craft specialist. Future study into the material and production of these stelae would do much to answer the question of whether or not these stelae were produced by laymen, or craft specialists.

they appear were created using a single stamp or mold. This indicates that at least a portion of the stelae were prefabricated, and raises the possibility that many of the molded and painted clay stelae could have been produced prior to their commission. The prefabricated nature of the some stelae and the lack of personalization make it necessary to keep in mind that many of these objects may have been donated by women, or even children.

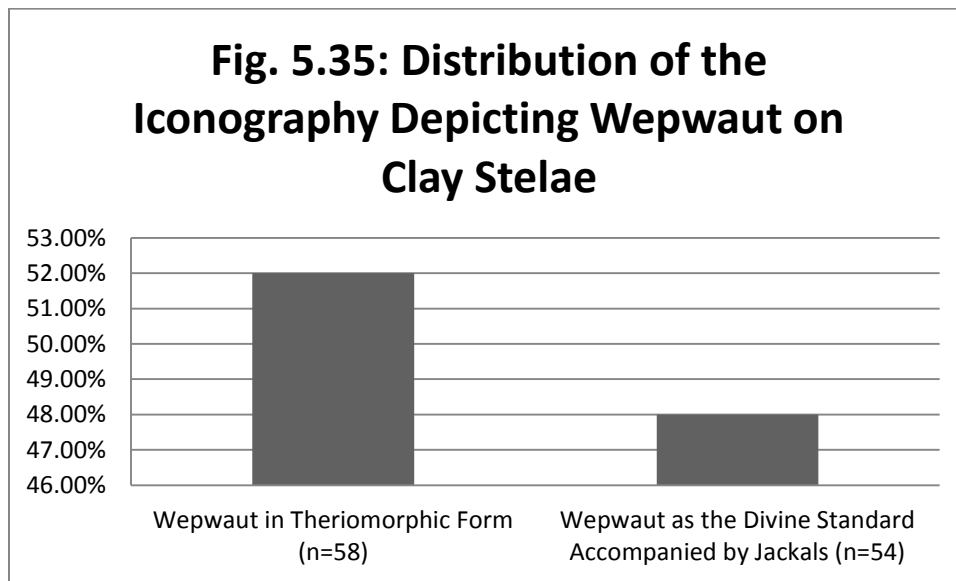
It is curious that so many of the clay donor stelae abstained from including any personalizing or identifying elements on their votive stelae. There can be little doubt that many of these clay stelae were created and donated in response to individual moments of crisis, or as devotional tributes. And while these stelae may have granted the donor with a degree social capital, as the entire community would likely have known or been present when these objects were donated, but they did not allow for the lasting and precise displays of identity presented by more elite men. It is also possible that some of these items may have originally been displayed in a domestic setting. Some clay stelae have holes, which suggest they were intended to be suspended and displayed. If displayed in a household setting, it may indicate that the clay stelae were primarily intended to display the piety of the donor, or even serve as the focus for domestic religious practice. Unfortunately it is only possible to suggest this function, as it is difficult to determine if the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III was a primary or secondary place of display and depositing.

5.9.2 The Religious Practice and Display of General Populace

It is possible to identify the gods depicted on 113 of the 137 clay stelae found. One-hundred and twelve (99%) of these depict Wepwaut. There is only 1 stela (1%) depicting multiple gods and 1 stela (1%) dedicated to a god other than Wepwaut (fig. 5.34). This lack of diversity demonstrates the limited religious experiences available to men and women of the General Populace, which can be interpreted as reflecting a lower degree of social agency and power. Few clay stelae adopt the iconography commonly favored by the donors of the stone stelae. The depiction of Wepwaut in the form of a divine standard appears on less than half the clay stelae. Instead, the donors of the clay stelae favored depictions of Wepwaut in his theriomorphic form.



Of the clay stelae that depict Wepwaut, 58 (52%) depict him in solely theriomorphic form and 54 (48%) depict him in the form of a divine standard, which is usually accompanied by canids or jackals (see fig. 5.35). However, even when the standard is depicted, it is rarely shown being worshipped. Of the 137 clay stelae, only 21 (15%) include a depiction of a male donor and only 1 includes an image of a female donor. The infrequency with which donors are present on the clay stelae may be an indication that members of the General Populace did not have access to the divine standard. The high representation of Wepwaut in solely animal form signals that most individuals who donated clay stelae interacted with the deity in his animal form. This implies that individuals needed to possess social capital to interact with the divine standard. However, it was permissible to depict the divine standard, which could be freely viewed as the god moved in procession—even if it was not permissible for these individuals to approach the standard. As might be expected, no individual donating a clay stela depicts Wepwaut in his mixed animal-human form.



5.10 Unclassified Individuals

5.10.1 Other men at Asyut

The categories of clothing discussed above constitute the main subdivisions of dress for this study. These forms alone account for 70% (227) of all males appearing on the stone stelae at Asyut. If we include the priestly style PRR discussed above (14 examples) and the unclassified forms (see below) of dress (34), 85% (275) of the men on the stelae are represented in this study.⁴⁴⁸ The clothing of the remaining men is either unidentifiable, or fall under 6 other categories of dress (fig. 5.36). Unfortunately the small numbers of individuals in these remaining types of dress make it difficult to say anything about the donors as a group. However, it is possible to make some limited observations about each type of dress.

Type of Dress	Number of Men Wearing
K3	5
K4	7
K5	6
K6	2
K7	11
WA	2

Fig. 5.36: Distribution of Clothing Type for Men Not Included in the 4 Primary Categories of Dress

⁴⁴⁸ The dress of the remaining 15% is not identifiable, and those individuals are therefore excluded from this study.

5.10.2 Style K3

Only 5 donors are depicted wearing style K3 (see Appendix 1, table 5.28). K3 is a short, pleated kilt (see Chart 4.1). 80% (4) of all K3 donors are named, and 80% (4) are depicted with shaved heads. Only 40% (2) of K3 donors are titled. The first individual bears the title *sdm-ꜥꜥ n pr-ḥd* (Servant of the Treasury), and the second has the title *ms-wdn*⁴⁴⁹ *Wp-wꜣwt* (Courier of Offerings of Wepwaut). The dominance of shaven heads indicates that individuals adopting this style were largely of a priestly class. However, the lack of titles makes it difficult to determine what exactly the nature of this group might have been. The few individuals depicted wearing this kilt may demonstrate that it was not a popular form of dress at Asyut, or that it only remained popular for a short period of time.⁴⁵⁰ Given its short length, it may also represent a more elaborate version of style K1. It seems likely that the pleated folds indicate a form of conspicuous consumption and status.

5.10.3 Style K4

There are 7 individuals depicted in style K4 (see Appendix 1, table 5.29). K4 is a pleated version of the long sash kilt (see Chart 4.1). 57% (4) of the K4 donors are named. One K4 donor is clearly unnamed, and named status is unclear for the remaining 2 donors. With the exception of a single donor, all K4 donors are depicted with shaved heads. 28% (2) of the donors are

⁴⁴⁹ *Wb 1*, 392.6. This title *hrj ms-wdn* is found on an ushebti from Asyut (UM-16, 1-9). See Jan Moje, *The Ushebtis from Early Excavations in the Necropolis of Asyut, Mainly by David George Hogarth and Ahmed Bey Kamal*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (2013), p. 54-59.

⁴⁵⁰ Johnstone, *The Salakhana Trove* ...p. 520.

depicted wearing the shoulder sash associated with style K2 and PRR—both of these individuals have the title of wab-priest. One of the sash-wearers also wears the long belt associated with the ritual specialist group (CM487), and the other does not (CP3). The only other title clearly associated with a K3 donor is *jmy-r hꜣyt(?)*⁴⁵¹, which is tentatively identified by DuQuesne as the Overseer of the Portal.⁴⁵²

5.10.4 Style K5

Style K5 is yet another variant of the sash kilt. K5 has the addition of one short end and one long end lying on the front of the kilt (see Chart 4.1). Six people are depicted wearing style K5 (see Appendix 1, table 5.30). 67% (4) of these individuals are named. All but one of these donors is depicted with a shaved head. 67% (4) of individuals wearing style K5 are titled. One of these individuals has the interesting title of *wꜥb n Jmn mꜣj pꜥty* (Wab-priest of Amun, Lion of Strength). The remaining titled individuals include a *rwd*⁴⁵³ (Inspector), *sꜥ* (Scribe), and a *ꜥd* (Builder).

5.10.5 Style K6

Only two donors are depicted wearing style K6. This elaborate style of dress is pleated and extends up the small of the donors back. It was tied over the hips and knotted so that the sash

⁴⁵¹ *Wb* 2, 476.4-11.

⁴⁵² DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 148.

⁴⁵³ *Wb* 2, 413.12-26.

ends were held flat against the thighs.⁴⁵⁴ Both of the K6 donors are named and titled. One has the title of *sš tpy* (Chief Scribe), and the other is a wab-priest (see Appendix 1, table 5.31), indicating that this was a form of dress favored by members of high social groups.

5.10.6 Style K7

Style K7 is clearly an elite form of dress. It consists of a pleated kilt with a double folded sash, which creates a looped front (see Chart 4.1). There are 11 men depicted wearing this style (see Appendix 1, table 5.32). Named status is clear for all K7 donors except 1, whose named status is unclear. Six of these individuals are titled, and in their titles include a *hm-ntr tpy Hwt-hr* (High Priest of Hathor), 2 *hry-jh* (Stable Master), a *hry-*⁴⁵⁵ (Foreman), and a *wpwty*⁴⁵⁶ (Messenger). The presence of a *hm-ntr tpy Hwt-hr* (High Priest of Hathor) is especially interesting. As discussed above, it is clear that there were cults devoted to gods other than Wepwaut at Asyut. However, few stelae display these other gods. Even though Hathor was the consort of Wepwaut, it seems especially significant that Hathor is not even present on the stela of her own high priest. It is also notable that the high priest of Hathor does not appear in the dress of the Local High Elite group, as the *hm-ntr tpy Wp-w3wt* (High Priest of Wepwaut) does. This seems to indicate that positions within the cult of a god other than Wepwaut were not invested with as much capital as positions within the cult of Wepwaut.

⁴⁵⁴ Johnstone, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 522.

⁴⁵⁵ Lesko, *Dictionary 1*, p. 387.

⁴⁵⁶ *Wb 1*, 304.6-11.

5.10.7 Style WA

Only 2 individuals are depicted wearing wrap-around style kilt WA (see Chart 4.1). One is a secondary donor and the other is the primary donor of a single donor stela; neither donor is clearly named nor titled, and they each wear different hairstyles. Very little can be said about these two donors, and they seem to have little in common.⁴⁵⁷

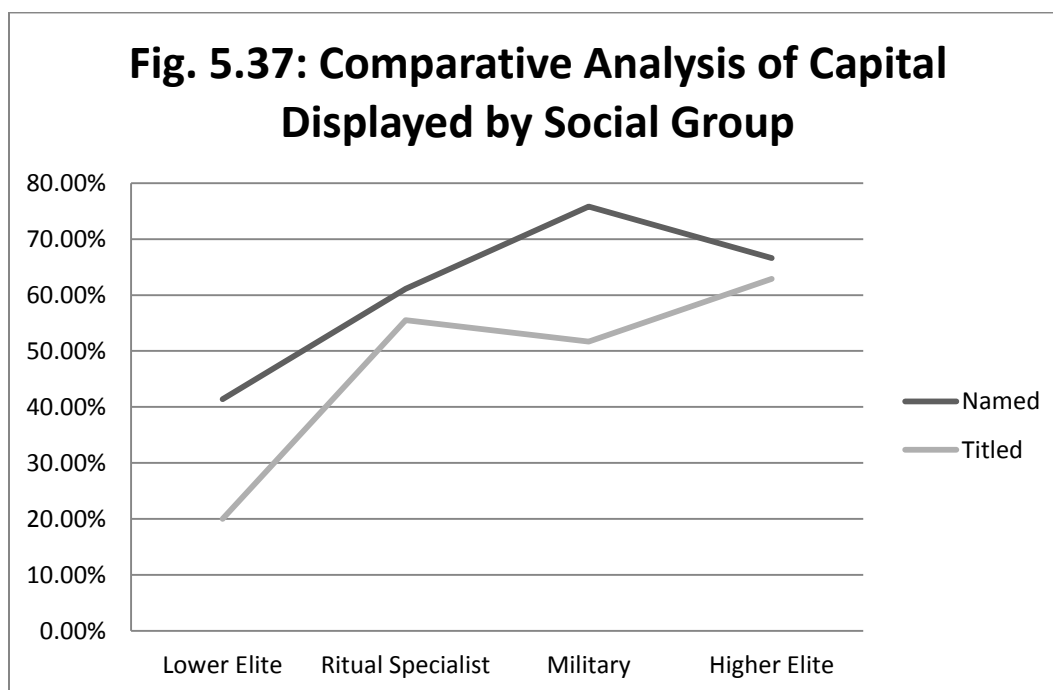
5.11 Social Hierarchy at Asyut

It is possible to identify 6 male social groups at Asyut. These are: the Courtly Elite, Local High Elite, Military, Ritual Specialists, Lower Elite, and the General Populace. These groups were determined by analyzing trends in the types and amount of capital displayed, similarity in dress and hairstyle, types of material culture available to each group, and then confirmed by surveying the titles held by the men of each group.

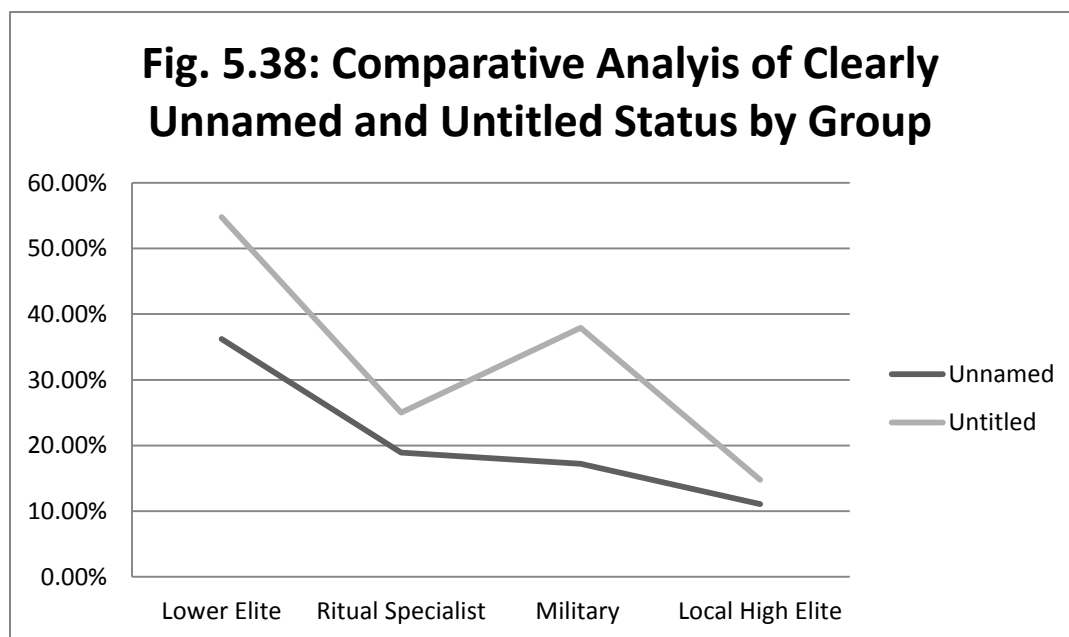
The courtly elite chose not to donate votive stelae. Instead, they donated statuary and likely other items which were intended to not only reflect their piety and patronage of the cult of Wepwaut, but their national identity and social status. The other social groups were determined and analyzed by examining their displays of capital on votive stelae. As discussed above, the

⁴⁵⁷ Johnstone dates the two wraparound kilts included in this study to the Third Intermediate Period and 25th Dynasty. However, this type of kilt was common throughout pharaonic history. Johnstone sees these archaizing, and thus dates them later. Given the difficulties dating provincial material, as discussed in Chapter 3, they are included here for the sake of completeness, but may likely fall outside of the New Kingdom scope of this study. Cf. Johnstone, *The Salakhana Trove*. p. 574.

display of a name and title signifies the possession of social and economic capital. Figure 5.37 demonstrates a steady increase in the rate of named and titles status for individuals as the social hierarchy progresses from Lower to Higher Elite. An analysis of titles and hairstyles also demonstrates that individuals from the highest groups (the High Elite and Military) were more secular, with many of these individuals holding courtly and military positions that provided them with the capital to move throughout the country. In contrast, the Lower Elite and Ritual Specialists were primarily locally based, and received their elevated status through their affiliation with the local cult of Wepwaut. This analysis is based on those examples that are securely named and securely titled. However, there are many examples where variables such as named or titled were “unclear”. In an attempt to compensate for this, the lack of capital was also examined to confirm these trends.

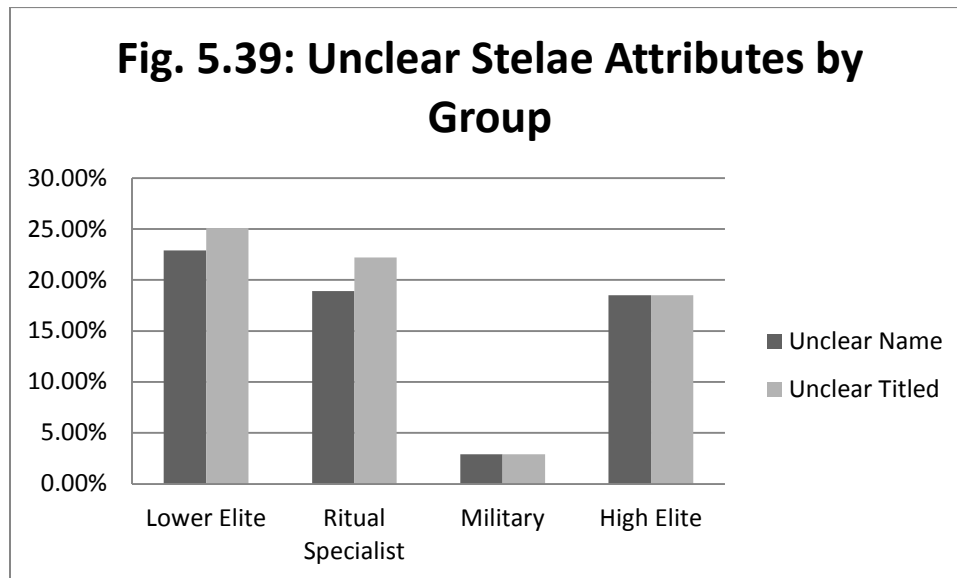


While the primary method of analyzing and determining social groups was to focus on the amount of capital displayed by each social group, it is also possible to see how many people in each group chose *not* to display capital (i.e. individuals who chose not to inscribe a name or title on a votive stela). Examining the lack of capital being displayed by different social groups can serve as a check, or verification of the methodology used above. Focusing on those individuals who are clearly unnamed and untitled, we can see that the hierarchical structure remains the same as it did when examining social groups and their display of capital (fig. 5.38). In fact, the trends observed by studying the presence of capital are not only verified by the analysis of non-displays of capital, they are actually more pronounced.



The relatively uniform distribution of “unclear” attributes stelae across groups also provides some certainty to the trends observed above (see fig. 5.39). The only outlier in this respect is the Military group of donors. The certainty of readings regarding these stelae is much higher than that found on stelae of other groups. As most readings are uncertain due to damage, it may indicate that the military stelae were largely displayed in one area that received less

damage. Unfortunately the poor archaeological recording of the discovery of the stelae makes this a tentative suggestion that cannot be confirmed.



5.12 Religious Display and Decorum

As demonstrated above, religious practice and display was hierarchically defined by social group. Nearly all religious practice and display focused on the god Wepwaut and his procession, despite the presence of other temples and cults at the site. Wepwaut could appear in a variety of forms on these votive stelae, each of which signifies a different level of religious access.

Members of the High Elite were the most likely to depict themselves worshipping the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut. This is the most restricted form in which Wepwaut appears, and its display seems to signify religious access to the cult statue which Wepwaut

inhabits, thus providing a clear demarcation between those who can access the god in this form and those who cannot. Significantly, no member of the General Populace, and relatively few members of the other social groups were able to display this image. Most members of the High Elite, Lower Elite, Ritual Specialist, and Military groups depicted themselves worshipping the divine standard. This was a highly visible symbol of the public procession of Wepwaut. The dominance of this iconography suggests that elite men worshipped and offered to the divine standard in public. Public ritual display provided an opportunity for elite members of society to communicate their place in the local social hierarchy and patronage system by reinforcing their identity and status, which the votive stelae then captured and displayed. While this opportunity was granted to the elite, it seems that members of the General Populace were relegated to the passive role of onlookers, and were not permitted to actively participate in the proceedings, or decorum prevented their ability to display the active role they did play.

Most members of the General Populace were not permitted to display themselves worshipping the divine standard, and instead focused largely on depicting Wepwaut in solely theriomorphic form. Based on this display, it seems most members of the General Populace were only able to passively interact with the divine standard by observing its movement and procession.

It seems that the General Populace may have been able to directly interact with an animal manifestation of Wepwaut. Given the nature of the canines which appear to have been part of the divine procession of Wepwaut, members of the General populace may have been able to feed and offer water to these animals as part of the procession. Some stelae actually depict individuals offering food and water to the animals (Fig. 5.40), as well as the animals eating these offerings (Fig. 5.41). This type of interaction was likely part of the procession, and it would have been one

of the few active ways in which the members of the General Populace could participate in the procession. This would also explain why so many members of the General Populace who donated clay stelae chose to depict Wepwaut in solely theriomorphic form—they were depicting their religious experience and conception of divinity.



Fig. 5.40. Donor Offering Water in a Bowl
Cairo Museum Stelae CM059

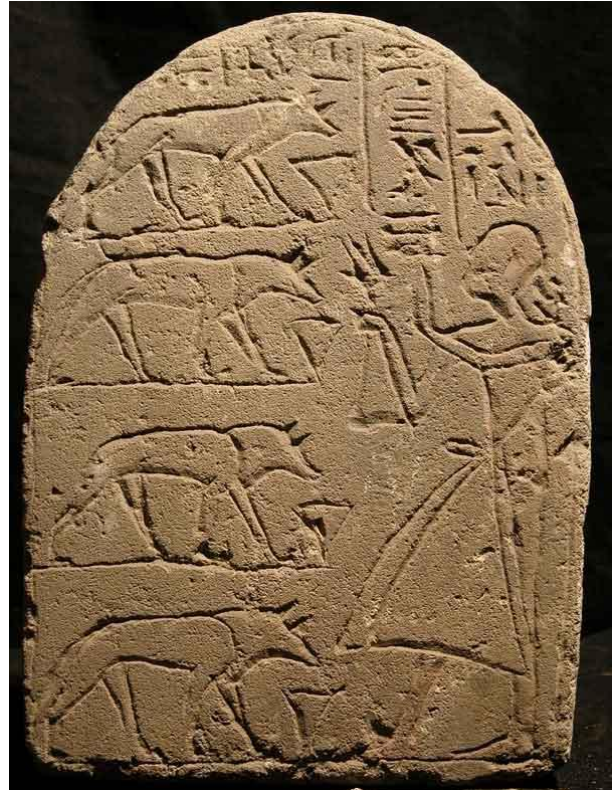


Fig. 5.41: Depiction of Canines Drinking
Cairo Museum Stelae CM398

Perhaps, in an effort to distinguish themselves from the General Populace, individuals from the Lower Elite, Ritual Specialist, and Military groups eschewed depicting themselves interacting with the solely animal form of Wepwaut (see Fig. 5.42). No member of the High Elite showed themselves engaged with Wepwaut in solely animal form (see fig. 5.43).

Fig. 5.42: Distribution of the Forms of Wepwaut by Social Group

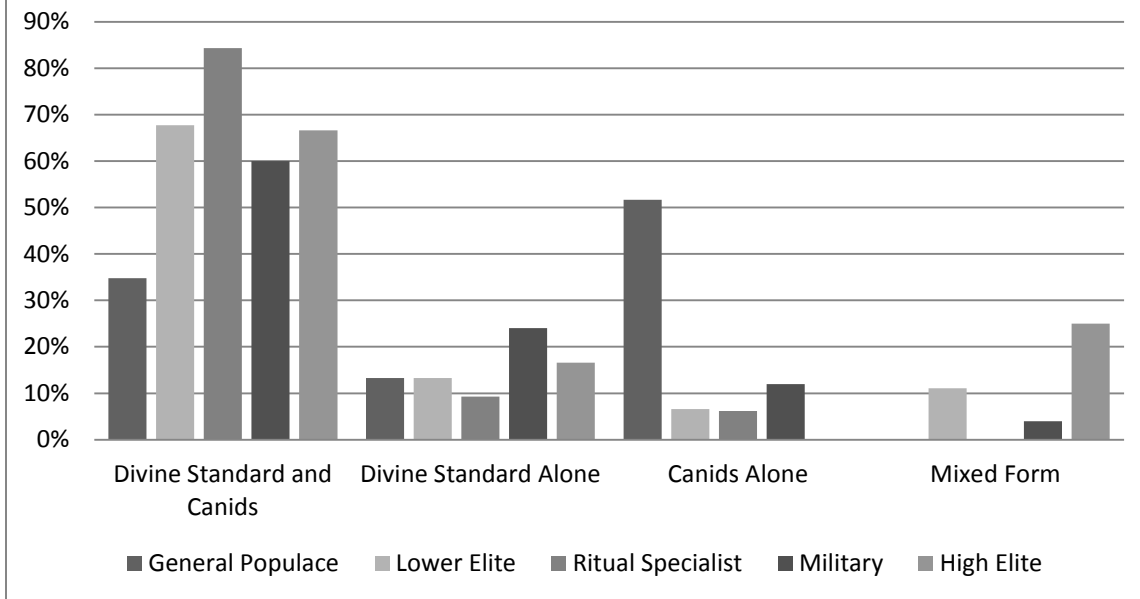
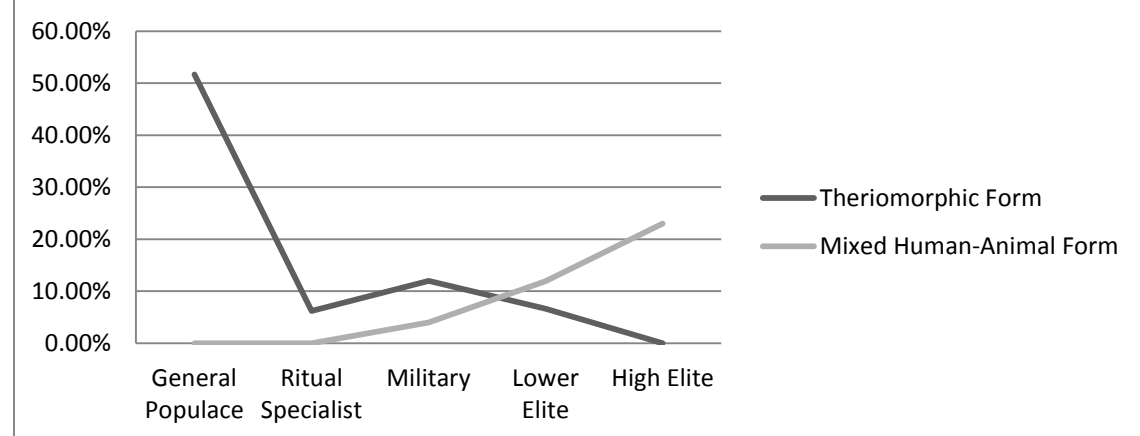
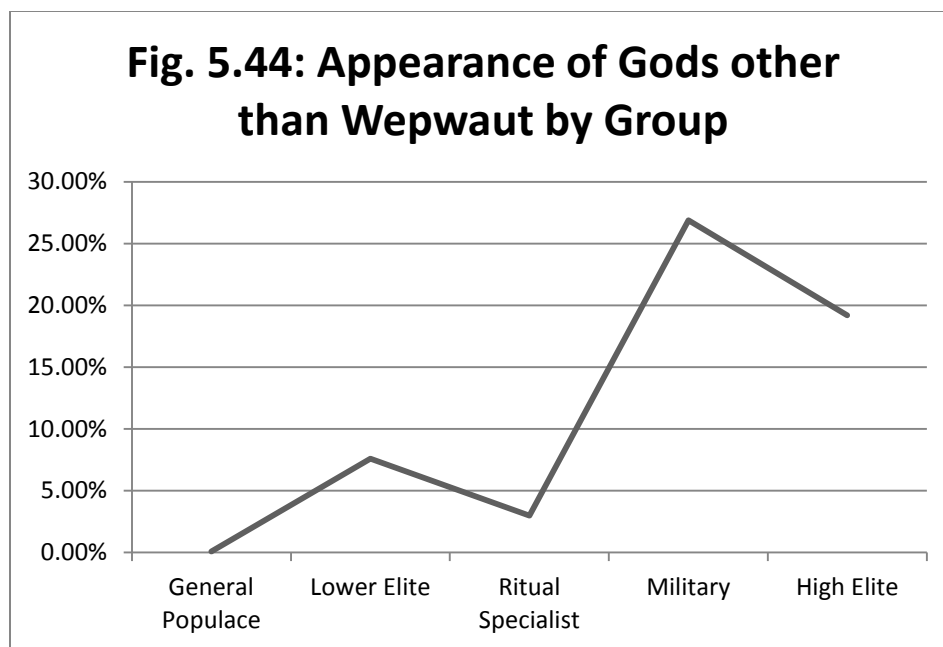


Fig. 5.43: Comparison of the Occurance of the Theriomorphic and Mixed Animal-Human forms of Wepwaut by Group



Occasionally gods other than Wepwaut are also found on the stelae. There is an observable trend of members of the High Elite and Military groups being more likely to display these ‘outside’ gods than members of other social (see fig. 5.44). The display of gods other than Wepwaut appears to be tied to profession. Men from the High Elite and Military social groups tend to hold secular positions, many of which indicate they spent at least part of the year outside of Asyut. This indicates that the display of gods other than Wepwaut was likely a signifier not only of participation in religious festivals and rites outside of Asyut, but also signified their elevated social position.

The above indicates the presence of a two-tiered system of social display at Asyut and serves as a model for how social power at Asyut was concentrated, wielded and displayed. Members of the Lower Elite and Ritual Specialist groups asserted their place in society by stressing their connection to the divine standard in procession and participation in the local cult of Wepwaut, using the local cult as a way to legitimize and display their socio-economic power and capital, which was likely derived from that cult. While the option of local display was available to, and used by, members of the High Elite and Military groups, they often chose to signify a more nuanced, blended form of national *and* local identity by asserting their national courtly (and possibly international) identity through their dress, hairstyle and the inclusion of gods other than Wepwaut.



5.13 Summary and Discussion

In the Ramesside period elite individuals expressed their identity by asserting their presence in public religious spaces, such as temples and festival settings. This was done by means of erecting images of themselves in temples, shrines, and other religious settings. These items extended traditional aspects of the tomb (such as displays of rank and autobiography) into the temple, which became the center of elite display in this period.⁴⁵⁸ The group possessing the most capital, the Courtly Elite, participated in displays of identity in a temple setting, while lower social groups engaged in similar forms of display outside the temple, particularly within the context of religious festivals and processions. Participation in these public rituals served to

⁴⁵⁸ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2007), pp. 7.

establish and maintain an individual's elite status while simultaneously marking where they stood in relation to the other members of their community.⁴⁵⁹

While many elite individuals from sites such as Thebes elected to set up statues of themselves in a temples and shrines,⁴⁶⁰ this practice was less common at Asyut. Those who did donate statues were members of the Courtly Elite who held national and royal administrative positions. Although it has been demonstrated that there was a local class of sculptors at Asyut, most individuals would not have possessed the economic capital necessary to commission these statues. This lack of the capital necessary to create statuary led to a preference by the non-courtly elite for erecting votive stelae, which may also have been viewed as more appropriate items to display along a festival route.⁴⁶¹

The religious statuary and votive stelae from Asyut suggest that there were at least 6 distinct social groups at the site: the Courtly Elite, the Local High Elite, Military, Ritual Specialist, Lower Elite, and General Populace. However, only 5 of these commissioned votive stelae (the Local High Elite, Military, Ritual Specialist, Lower Elite, and General Populace). All of the social groups that donated votive stelae at Asyut favored the depiction of Wepwaut in the form of a divine standard accompanied by canids, or jackals, which finds its origins in the procession of Wepwaut from his temple at Asyut to the temple of Anubis in the western mountain. This highly visible religious experience would have been easily understood by all members of the community, and was widely employed by all donors. However, religious experience was restricted and differed among the social groups, and thus led to the established of

⁴⁵⁹ Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*. University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, (2002), p. 4.

⁴⁶⁰ Robins, *The Art of Ancient Egypt: Revised Edition*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge (2008), p. 189.

⁴⁶¹ While there are examples of statues from this period from Asyut, they are relatively few. See Chapter 5.4.1

an artistic and religious decorum at Asyut that reflected the social and political hierarchy of the town.

The vast majority of elite individuals represented themselves actively worshipping the divine standard in procession, which was usually accompanied by canids or jackals. Members of the General Populace were relegated to more passive roles, and were usually not even present on the stelae they donated, while more elite members of society demonstrated their social and religious capital by documenting their interaction with the cult statue of Wepwaut, as well as other gods. However, an analysis of all the religious iconography found on the votive stelae from Asyut demonstrates religious practice was more nuanced than a simple binary model of elite and non-elite religious practice.

The solely theriomorphic form of Wepwaut was the most widely available iconographic form, likely indicating that religious practices involving animal forms of the god were the most accessible. Encountering Wepwaut in his animal form seems to have been a freely available religious experience that was not hierarchically restricted. This is supported by the fact that more than half the clay stelae, which I suggest were donated by the General Populace, represent only the theriomorphic form of Wepwaut.⁴⁶² Members of the more elite groups eschewed this imagery and rarely depict themselves engaged with Wepwaut in solely animal form. Men from the High Elite group never depict themselves worshipping Wepwaut in the solely animal form. In opposition to the solely animal form, representing the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut was a marker of high social status and likely meant to signify access to the divine cult statue. The High Elites were twice as likely as the Lower Elites to depict the mixed form of Wepwaut, and were more than 5 times as likely to engage in this ritual activity as men of the Military

⁴⁶² The remaining stelae depict Wepwaut in the form of the divine standard, usually accompanied by canids, but they rarely depict an individual worshipping the standard.

group—no members of the Ritual Specialist and General Populace were permitted to participate in, or display this type of religious access. The few members of the General Populace shown worshipping the divine standard also raises the possibility that interaction with the divine standard was restricted, as was displaying worship to gods other than Wepwaut.

There are a few examples of individuals who donated votive stelae to gods other than Wepwaut. It seems probable that only those who had participated in the religious ceremonies or festivals of other gods were able to depict themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut. This would have restricted the depiction of gods other than Wepwaut to those who could travel outside of Asyut. This hypothesis is confirmed by a survey of the individuals donating stelae to gods other than Wepwaut, most of whom are members of the High Elite and Military groups, whose professions required/allowed movement throughout the country. The depiction of a god other than Wepwaut was therefore also a form of social display, and can possibly even be seen as signifier related to the profession of the donor. It is also likely that the depiction of other gods was not as concretely tied to economic capital as the depictions of Wepwaut. The Lower Elite and Ritual Specialist groups appear to have largely drawn their power and prestige from association with the cult of Wepwaut, and therefore wished to highlight and display their connection to Wepwaut. Those who chose to depict other gods were likely doing so in an attempt to display personal religious sentiments, and also their connections social networks beyond Asyut—which would have carried less specific meaning and relevance for most locals. However, Wepwaut is normally still present on the stela depicting other gods, showing that these individuals were still subject to local rules of artistic and religious decorum.

The above arguments demonstrate that there were various social groups at New Kingdom Asyut. Members of these groups displayed and reinforced the existing social hierarchy and

signified their place in it by means of dress and specific religious iconography that represented their social lives and access to religious and cult practices. As a result of their connection to social status, aspects of dress and religious display were therefore restricted and tightly controlled by the local community, leading to the establishment of uniquely local rules of artistic and religious decorum at Asyut.

Chapter 6 Women at Asyut

6.1 Introduction

Men in ancient Egypt led public lives. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, men at Asyut held a variety of socially ranked positions and occupations. This ranking granted incrementally increasing social and economic capital dependent on one's relative position within the ranking. This relative ranking also created social pressure, or social need, for individuals of high status to publicly display their capital, identity, rank and social position in order to differentiate themselves from men who belonged to lower social groups. This drive to display social status resulted in a remarkable variety of strategies which men could use to visually and textually display their social status and capital. For instance, on the stelae from Asyut there are over 80 different variations of titles, 16 forms of dress, and 10 different hairstyle choices available to men. For women, however, the situation was quite different. They had far fewer options available to them when it came to displaying their identity and social status.

6.2 The Visibility, Status and Agency of Women at Asyut

Women at Asyut only possessed 2 titles, the private title *nbt-pr*⁴⁶³ (Mistress of the House), and the temple title *šmꜣyt*⁴⁶⁴ (Chantress). The few roles for women are reflected in the limited forms of dress and personal adornment available to women. Women only possessed 1 principal form of dress (which could be augmented with a shoulder drape) and 2 main hairstyles.

⁴⁶³ *Wb* 2, 232.

⁴⁶⁴ *Wb* 4, 479.8-480.4.

The lack of display options for women can be interpreted as the product of a society that did not afford a wide variety of public social roles to women. The lack of public roles available to women resulted in a lack of social status and, consequently, little social need or pressure for women to differentiate themselves from other women. Indeed, in ancient Egypt, women of any social group were ideally women and mothers who did not go out to work or take part in public life.⁴⁶⁵ Women therefore led private lives. When women are represented in public spaces, they are usually not independently identified, but are defined by their relationship to a man.⁴⁶⁶ However, as will be demonstrated below, while they in no way enjoyed agency equal to men, women at Asyut demonstrate far more independent social agency than women at any other New Kingdom site, in regards to the independent display of identity on votive stelae. The increased agency of women at Asyut shows that women at the site were able to independently accumulate and display capital at a greater rate than women living at the political centers. This display can therefore be seen as a feature of the provincial nature of the society in which they lived. Social pressures and artistic decorum vary by site. In provincial centers, the local elite, including women, would rarely have had to contend with royal interference, as discussed in chapter 5. The lack of royal intervention would have resulted in greater control and more stable social roles for the local elites who lived at the site when compared to the elites who lived at court. The elites living at Asyut likely existed as landed gentry who not only owned and managed land holdings, but also maintained control over workshops and other local resources. This system would have allowed the local elites living at Asyut to be far more independent than members of the royal

⁴⁶⁵ Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge (1993), p. 15. As is common in many societies, it appears that the restrictions placed on women were directly tied to their social status—they higher their status, the more their behavior was restricted. Since this was an elite venue of display, we should expect the depictions of women to be highly restricted and regulated.

⁴⁶⁶ Gay Robins, "Some Principals of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art." *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 31 (1994), p. 34.

court. While the elite living at Asyut would not have possessed the economic capital of the courtly elite who held royal appointments, they would have been in a better position to reinforce and maintain their social rank as they maintained control not only of provincial resources, but the local religious institutions and bureaucracy which was used to maintain the local social hierarchy. Such a system likely allowed individual families to consolidate and transfer social and economic capital generationally and enabled them to possess these forms of capital longer than individuals at sites founded on royal patronage and appointment. While women could not normally participate in public life or, if they did, could not freely display their participation, they probably benefited from this system in ways similar to men, with respect to the accumulation of social and economic capital. Provincial society in ancient Egypt was probably more homogenous, with a long-standing population. This would result in more fixed social hierarchies with less social competition for rank and position. The lack of competition, combined with fewer local resources at a provincial site, may have organically created a situation which allowed women a greater and more public social role.

It is more challenging to determine the specific social status and roles of women at Asyut than it is for men. This is due to not only less evidence, but the relative homogeneity with which women are depicted at the site. The analysis conducted in Chapter 5 demonstrated how it is possible to determine the social standing of men based on an analysis of the variables associated with men at Asyut. However, an application of the method used to analyze men proved unproductive for women, due to the lack of display variation discussed above. There were few clothing options available to women, indicating a lack of social pressure for women to differentiate their status from other women. The lack of clothing options available for women suggests that ancient Egypt was a society where women occupied few public social roles, or

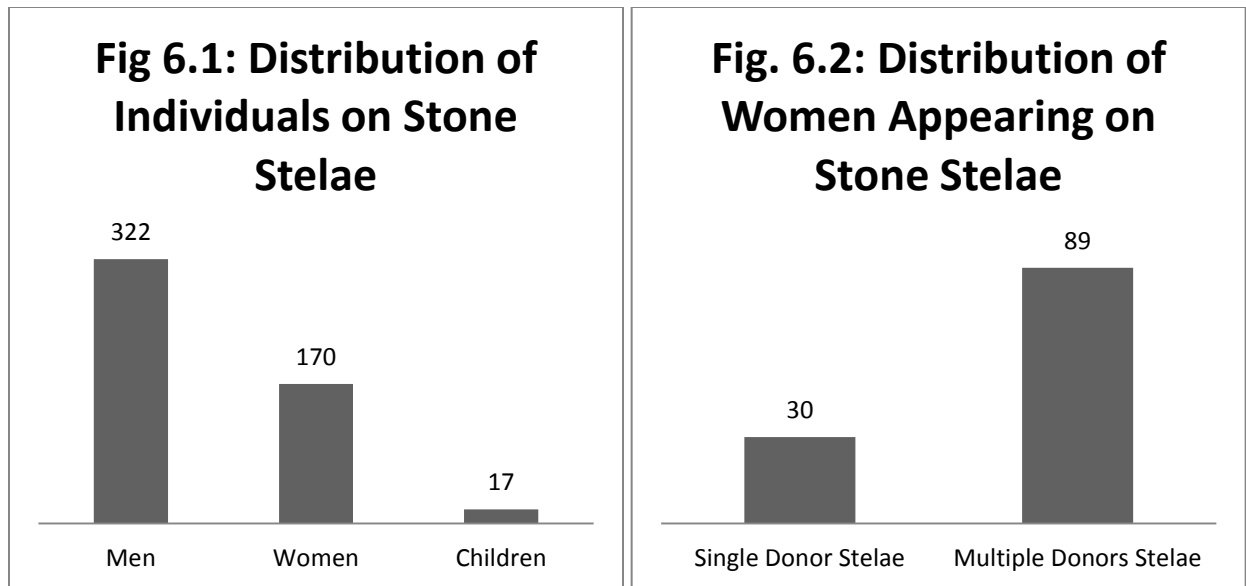
where there was no perceived social need for women to engage in competitive displays of public identities. Furthermore, the fact that most men did not include images of his wife also suggests that men gained little social capital by including an image of his spouse.

Five-hundred and nine individuals are represented on the stone stelae from Asyut. One-hundred-seventy of these individuals (34%) are women (see Fig. 6.1). Women appear on 119 different stone stelae: 25% (30) of these women appear on single donor stelae, while the remaining 75% (89) appear on stelae depicting multiple donors (see Fig. 6.2). Most women appear on multi-donor stelae alongside their husbands, who are almost always the primary donors. This represents a general rule of Egyptian art: men are identified by their name and titles, while women are identified through their relationship to their husband.⁴⁶⁷ The limited number of stelae donated by women is a reflection of ancient Egyptian society, in which women were largely relegated to the domestic sphere and were only rarely able to enter administrative or priestly positions.⁴⁶⁸ Therefore, while women may have had legal rights comparable to men,⁴⁶⁹ they did not enjoy the same access to institutions or professions as men in ancient Egypt. In cases where women may have occupied a public social role, they were not often permitted to display an independent public identity.

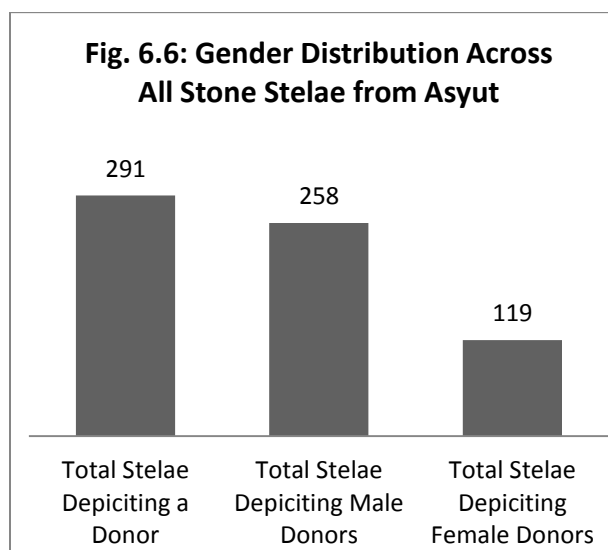
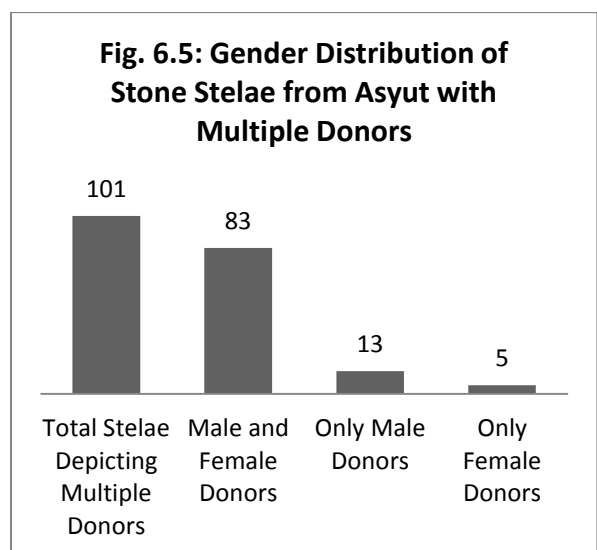
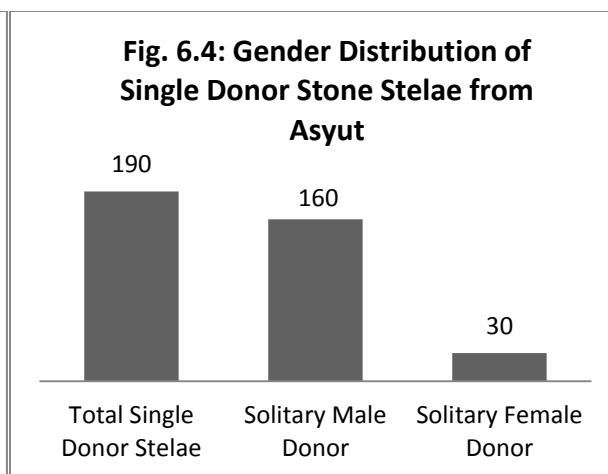
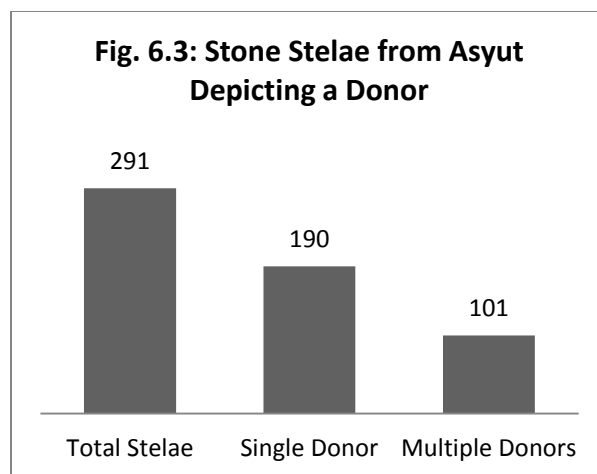
⁴⁶⁷ Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge (1993), p. 35.

⁴⁶⁸ Catherine Roehrig, 'Women's Work: Some occupations of non-royal women as depicted in ancient Egyptian art', in, *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in ancient Egypt*, edited by Anne Capel and Glenn Markoe, Hudson Hill Press: New York (1996), p. 13.

⁴⁶⁹ Douglas Brewer and Emily Teeter, *Egypt and the Egyptians, second edition*, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge (2007), p. 125.



At Asyut there seems to be a general preference for individual stelae. Of the 291 stelae depicting a donor/s, 65% (or 190) were commissioned by single donors (Fig. 6.3). However, the vast majority of these single donor stelae (85%) were created by men (Fig 6.4), although women are well represented on the group stelae, appearing 87% of the time multiple individuals are present (Fig. 6.5). When individual and group stelae are grouped together, women appear on approximately 40% of the stelae (Fig. 6.6), usually appearing in the secondary roles (i.e. not as the primary donor) discussed above.



While many scholars initially emphasized the equality women had in ancient Egypt,⁴⁷⁰ women were in fact far from equal. The absence of women, and their relative inequality has been noted by many modern scholars, most notably Gay Robins.⁴⁷¹ Women could only enter high administrative positions in extraordinary circumstances. Most women in ancient Egypt were seen

⁴⁷⁰ See for instance: Peter Schulze, *Frauen im alten Ägypten. Selbständigkeit und Gleichberechtigung im häuslichen und öffentlichen Leben*, Bergisch Gladbach (1987).

⁴⁷¹ See: Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge (1993).

primarily as wives and mothers. While some women were able to act as priestesses or hold other social positions—these were not the societally accepted ideal. The ideal ancient Egyptian woman was “a model wife and mother who did not go out to work or take part in public life.”⁴⁷² If women did occupy roles outside of the home, it was usually not depicted as it was considered a deviation from the ‘proper’ and ideal role that women should play in society. It should be noted that the focus on women primarily on wives and mothers is a feature of elite Egyptian society, and this perspective may not have been held by all social groups.⁴⁷³ Out of necessity, women of lower social groups likely had more responsibilities inside and outside of the home as they did not have the servants and economic resources available to women of higher social groups. This may have instilled in the lower social groups a more egalitarian perception of women, as they were required to work and perform duties outside of the household. An analysis of the Salakhana stelae confirms the assessment.

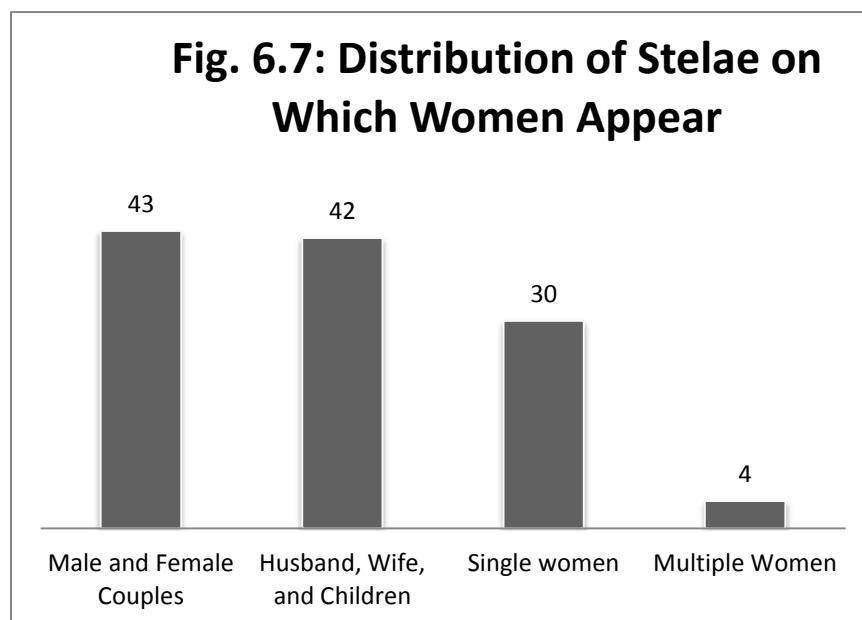
Women at Asyut appear on 4 types of stelae: 1) Stelae which depict a male and female couple; 2) Family stelae where women are accompanied by a husband and children; 3) stelae donated by solitary female donors; 4) Stelae depicting multiple women (with no men) (Fig. 6.7). On 85 stelae (71%) women are explicitly depicted in the typical role of a mother or wife. Notably, the opposite is true of men, who appear alone on 160 (73%) of the stelae on which they are depicted. This demonstrates that, while the role of wife and mother was the most prominent aspect of female identity at Asyut, a man’s family identity (i.e. husband or father) was not the primary element of a man’s publicly displayed identity. This can be seen as a feature of the

⁴⁷² Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (1993), p. 15.

⁴⁷³ For a discussion on the gaps in source material and a focus on elite women see Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, (1993), pp. 13-17.

patronage system discussed in chapter 5. A votive stela including images of the donor's family may have served as a ritually effective object for the entire family. However, there may have been little social capital to be gained by displaying a familial identity. When women do appear, it may have been an attempt to display and highlight family connections. As discussed by Claude Lévi-Strauss, "It is always a system of exchange that we find at the origin of rules of marriage."⁴⁷⁴ Marriage is a commodity that has value. It can be used to cement ties between social groups and strengthen bonds. In some cases, it would have been useful to highlight the status of women who hailed from prominent families, as it increased the social capital of her husband.

Women only appear alone on 30 (25%) of the votive stelae on which they appear. Given that women would have comprised at least 50% of the population of ancient Asyut, it might be expected that women should appear on more stelae. However, as will be demonstrated below, the rate at which women do appear on the stelae from Asyut is actually uncharacteristically high when compared to other sites in Ancient Egypt.



⁴⁷⁴ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Boston: Beacon Press (1969), p. 478.

Similar to Asyut, most depictions of women in ancient Egypt focus on representing women in the role of a wife (*hmt*) and the related role of mother (*mwt*). Occasionally these positions are explicitly defined through the use of familial titles. However, the roles that these women play are normally indicated by their relative positioning to men. On Egyptian votive stelae wives almost always appear behind their husbands, who are usually depicted in the superior, forward position,⁴⁷⁵ which places them at the center of the composition and in a more privileged position with respect to the god they are worshipping. This relegating of women to secondary positions indicates a social system where women were represented as decidedly less active and possessing of less social power than their male counterparts.

That women appear in positions secondary to men should not be surprising, as ancient Egyptian society focused on relegating women to that role. Many didactic texts belonging to the genre of ‘wisdom texts’ are explicit in classifying women primarily as mothers, and that the value of a woman was tied to her role as a wife and her ability to produce offspring. The *Instruction of Any* opens by saying, ‘Take a wife while you are young, that she may make for you a son.’⁴⁷⁶ The Teaching of Ptahhotep notes that it is important to take a wife, but that she must be controlled:

If you are excellent, you shall establish your household (i.e. take a wife),
And love your wife according to her standard:
Fill her belly, clothe her back;
Perfume is a prescription for her limbs.
Make her as happy as long as you live!

⁴⁷⁵ Gay Robins, ‘Some Principals of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art’, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 31 (1994), p. 35.

⁴⁷⁶ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Volume II: The New Kingdom*, University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), p. 136.

She is a field, good for her lord.
You shall not pass judgment on her.
Remover her from power, suppress her;
Her eye when she sees (anything) is her storm wind.
This is how to make her endure in your house:
You shall restrain her.⁴⁷⁷

The metaphor of a wife as field (for her husband's seed) stresses the conception that her role was to be fruitful and produce offspring for him. That a wife was largely valued as a child bearer is also highlighted in the *Dialogue Between a Man and His Ba*, where the loss of potential unborn children is presented as more tragic than the death of the wife.⁴⁷⁸ Richard Parkinson notes that the storm wind metaphor indicates that women are seen as stormy and unsettled when they see anything, and thus need to be controlled.⁴⁷⁹ In demotic wisdom texts, Jacco Dieleman has noted the objectification of women, and their being depicted as neither thinking nor acting.⁴⁸⁰ While he is explicit in noting that these texts represent a male dominated view that was likely not an accurate reflection of women's ordinary lives,⁴⁸¹ the representation can be viewed as an accurate reflection of elite male social attitudes. Men were public patrons who engaged in multiple social

⁴⁷⁷ Translation from Richard Parkinson, 'Maxim 21' in *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman (1991), pp. 69-70.

⁴⁷⁸ Jaana Toivari-Viitala, "Marriage and Divorce," In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Elizabeth Froid and Willeke Wendrich, University of California, Los Angeles (2013).
<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002cbdg5>, p. 4; Richard Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and other ancient Egyptian poems 1940 - 1640 BC*. Oxford University Press: Oxford (2008), p. 157; Richard Parkinson, 'Boasting about hardness: Constructions of Middle Kingdom Masculinity', In: *Sex and gender in ancient Egypt: "Don your wig for a joyful hour"*, ed. Carolyn Graves-Brown, pp. 115 - 142. The Classical Press of Wales: Swansea (2008), p. 126.

⁴⁷⁹ Richard Parkinson, *Voices from Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Middle Kingdom Writings*, University of Oklahoma Press: Norman (1991), p. 70.

⁴⁸⁰ Jacco Dieleman, 'Fear of Women. Representations of Women in Demotic Wisdom Texts', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 25 (1998), p. 41.

⁴⁸¹ Jacco Dieleman, 'Fear of Women. Representations of Women in Demotic Wisdom Texts', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 25 (1998), p. 42.

relationships and ought to have control over the areas of public life (politics, property, etc.),⁴⁸² while women should primarily be relegated to the household and be concerned with household matters, which center on producing offspring. Even when they are in the role of a wife, the husband is often presented as the active agent who takes a woman and educates her into a socially recognized adulthood.⁴⁸³ It is only in extraordinary circumstances that women can become public figures and act as independent figures and patrons to others.

Gender is a social construction.⁴⁸⁴ However, as argued by Lynn Meskell, the Egyptians do not appear to have separated sex from gender, so we should perhaps not make this distinction either.⁴⁸⁵ The resulting Egyptian categories of male and female seem rigid, particularly in the realm of artistic representation.⁴⁸⁶ However, some exceptions to the strict rules of gender decorum do appear. The most notable examples of this come from the reign of Hatshepsut, who was forced to negotiate between artistic conceptions of women and conceptions of kingship, which was an exclusively male role. Early in her rule Hatshepsut attempted to blend these two

⁴⁸² Jacco Dieleman, 'Fear of Women. Representations of Women in Demotic Wisdom Texts', *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 25 (1998), p 43.

⁴⁸³ Jaana Toivari-Viitala, 'Marriage and Divorce', In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Elizabeth Frood and Willeke Wendrich, University of California, Los Angeles (2013). <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz002cbdg5>, p. 5; Janna Toivari-Viitala, *Women at Deir el-Medina: A study of the status and roles of the female inhabitants in the workmen's community during the Ramesside Period*. Egyptologische Uitgaven XV. Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten: Leiden (2001), pp. 70 – 71.

⁴⁸⁴ See for instance: Judith Lorber and Susan Farrell (eds.), *The Social Construction of Gender*. Sage Publication (1991); and Patricia Yancey Martin, 'Gender as Social Institution', in: *Social Forces*, Vol. 82, No. 4 (Jun., 2004), pp. 1249-1273.

⁴⁸⁵ Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of social life: Age, sex, class et cetera in ancient Egypt*. Blackwell: Oxford, UK, and Malden, MA (1999), pp. 218. For an alternative perspective see: Sweeney, Deborah, 'Sex and Gender', In: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2011), edited by Elizabeth Frood, Willeke Wendrich. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0027fc04>, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁸⁶ Deborah Sweeney, 'Sex and Gender', in: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2011), edited by Elizabeth Frood, Willeke Wendrich. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0027fc04>, p. 3.

identities, representing herself with a combination of male and female elements.⁴⁸⁷ However, she quickly adopted a masculine visual identity, although female nouns and pronouns were often used in the accompanying text.⁴⁸⁸ The example of Hatshepsut can be seen as the exception that proves the rule. It demonstrates how, even when a woman acted as the most powerful individual in Egypt, she was still unable to significantly alter societal rules of artistic decorum. Even the small negotiations she engaged in were only allowed because she existed at the very top of Egyptian society. Although rare, similar negotiations can be seen at Asyut, where there was clearly a drive to display the special status of certain women at Asyut. Much like Hatshepsut, the individuals engaging in such negotiation had to do so within the confines of societal and artistic decorum that did not freely permit such display, requiring innovative artistic negotiations.

CM 464 is an excellent example of the ways in which some individuals at Asyut negotiated with decorum in an effort to display social power while still adhering to socially acceptable forms of display. CM 464 shows a chantress of Wepwaut and a high priest of Hathor offering to Wepwaut. The high priest appears in the lunette. This placement at the top of the stela demonstrates his status as the most important individual on the stela. He is depicted offering to the restricted mixed human-animal form of Wepwaut, and a 'made by formula' precedes his name, indicating he was the primary donor. However, the appearance and position of the chantress is extraordinary.

⁴⁸⁷ Deborah Sweeney, 'Sex and Gender', in: *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2011), edited by Elizabeth Froid, Willeke Wendrich. <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0027fc04>, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁸ Peter Dorman, 'Hatshepsut: Princess to queen to co-ruler', In: *Hatshepsut: From queen to pharaoh*, edited by Catharine Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Cathleen Keller, pp. 87 - 91. New York: The Metropolitan Museum (2005), pp. 88; Ann Macy Roth, 'Models of authority: Hatshepsut's predecessors in power', In: *Hatshepsut: From queen to pharaoh*, ed. Catharine Roehrig, Renée Dreyfus, and Catheline Keller, New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. (2005), p. 9.

The chantress, who is shown worshiping the more freely available theriomorphic form of Wepwaut, dominates the composition. She is depicted approximately 150% the size of the male figure on the stela.⁴⁸⁹ Rather than being shown as youthful, her face is drawn, indicating she is of a more advanced age. Representing a woman's with an aged countenance is a rare occurrence in Egyptian art, where women are usually depicted as young, slender, and fertile, regardless of their age.⁴⁹⁰ Her name is also preceded by a "made by formula," making this a rare example of one of the few stelae from Asyut that employs a double made by formula.⁴⁹¹ Additionally, the chantress was able to display her status not just through her size, but through the use of an additional item of material culture—a sistrum. Despite the fact that 18 women possess the title of chantress, only 3 women are depicted holding a sistrum—making it one of the most exclusive items of material culture a woman could possess.⁴⁹² All of these elements demonstrate a clear attempt to give the chantress visual prominence over, or at the very least, equality with the high priest, while still adhering to traditional rules of decorum regarding the placement of men over women.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ The high priest depicted on CM464, who appears without a *mss*, is unique at Asyut. He wears kilt style K7, and was therefore not included in any of the principal social groups analyzed in chapter 4. He wears a sash, which should likely place him in the ritual specialist group. The cult of Hathor was likely not as large as the cult of Wepwaut, and thus granted less access to economic and social capital to this high priest. It may also be possible that the high priest depicted on stela CM464 was a young son of the chantress depicted, and was not yet as established in the social hierarchy of Asyut.

⁴⁹⁰ Deborah Sweeney, 'Forever Young? The Representation of Older and Ageing Women in Ancient Egyptian Art', in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 41 (2004), pp. 67-84.

⁴⁹¹ There are only 3 examples of a double made by formula on the stelae from Asyut, and this is the only example where it is being used by a woman.

⁴⁹² CM464 is, in fact, the only stela where a woman depicted holding a sistrum does not appear alone. The other two stelae which contain a sistrum, CM027 and CM171, are also extraordinary. CM171 features a solitary female donor facing to the left and contains a personal prayer asking Wepwaut for forgiveness. CM027, although damaged, also contains a substantial amount of text. The relief that is preserved on CM027 is some of the highest quality relief found on any stela.

⁴⁹³ Gay Robins, 'Some Principals of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art', in: *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 31 (1994), p. 35.



Fig. 6.8: Stela CM 464 An attempt to display the status and prominence of a woman, while still adhering to the established rules of decorum.

While it is impossible to determine the specific drives that led to the creation of this votive stela, it is possible to speculate as to some possible motivations. Perhaps the chantress was a widow and the mother of the high priest of Hathor. She may have commissioned the stela, but wished to stress her connection to her son, who held a high religious position. Or perhaps the priest was her husband, but came from a lesser family and felt the need to validate his own position by displaying his connection to the chantress. Whatever factors motivated the creation of the stela, it demonstrates that there were instances where individuals, male or female, wished

to stress the status of the women. However, the strict rules of decorum did not readily allow for the differentiation of women, even those of high social status, whose birth and connection to an important family provided them with significant social and economic capital.

This high visibility of women at Asyut is extraordinary when compared to other sites across Egypt. This has already been recognized and discussed by DuQuesne.⁴⁹⁴ However, a comparative analysis of stelae donated by women at the site demonstrates just how unique the social agency enjoyed by women at Asyut was in ancient Egypt.

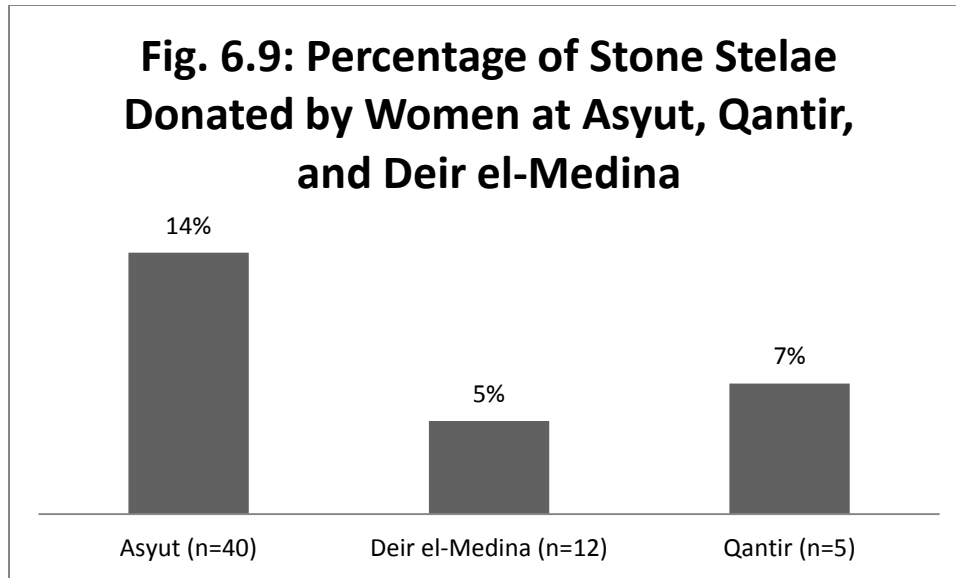
Using the dataset constructed by Exell for her study of Ramesside votive stelae as a comparative dataset, we can see that women at other sites were less likely to donate stelae than women at Asyut (Fig. 6.9). Beginning with the sites that contain at least 50 votive stelae, we see that of the 264 votive stelae from Deir el-Medina,⁴⁹⁵ only 12 (5%) are dedicated by women; of the 74 stelae from Qantir,⁴⁹⁶ only 5 (7%) were dedicated by women; and of the 55 stelae attributed to Thebes, only 3 (5%) were dedicated by women.⁴⁹⁷ The lack of female votive stelae donated by women from the Theban region is especially interesting, given the concentration of wealth and elite status at the site.

⁴⁹⁴ Terence DuQuesne, 'Power on Their Own: gender and social roles in provincial New Kingdom Egypt', in *Sex and Gender in Ancient Egypt, 'Don your wig for a joyful hour'*, edited by Carolyn Graves-Brown, Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales (2008), pp. 47-62. This article was based on DuQuesne's analysis of the stelae at that point in time. He notes that there are approximately a dozen stelae donated independently by women. As discussed above, the count of stone stelae independently donated by women is now at 30. An additional 10 women are the primary donors of multi-donor stelae. The increase in female donors only serves to further highlight the ways in which gender roles and decorum varied by site.

⁴⁹⁵ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), pp. 139-167

⁴⁹⁶ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), pp. 179-185.

⁴⁹⁷ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), pp. 167-173.



There appears to have been no restriction on women in the Theban region commissioning stelae. In her study on Libyan Period funerary stelae (which she dates to the period of 1069-715 BCE), Heidi Saleh notes that women were responsible for donating the majority of the wooden funerary stelae—all of which she believes came from the Theban region.⁴⁹⁸ These stelae were found deposited in tomb shafts, indicating that perhaps they did not exist as public display objects, or that a public display was never intended.⁴⁹⁹ Since there was not a sharp gender distinction with regards to the donors of these wooden funerary stelae, it demonstrates that there were different rules of decorum regarding votive stelae and funerary stelae at Thebes.

⁴⁹⁸ Heidi Saleh, *Investigating Ethnic and Gender Identities as Expressed on Wooden Funerary Stelae from the Libyan Period (c. 1069-715 B.C.E.) in Egypt*. British Archaeological Reports (B.A.R.) International Series: Oxford (2007), (passim).

⁴⁹⁹ It is also possible that these stelae were first displayed and then deposited into tomb shafts, or that they were displayed in private settings. However, even if this were the case, funerary stelae were subject to different rules of decorum than votive stelae, suggesting that funerary display was permitted, but it was not permissible for women to display votive practices.

Perhaps women at Thebes lacked the economic and social capital needed to produce stelae out of more expensive materials and it was not considered appropriate to create a votive stela out of wood. However, given the number of elite women in the Theban region who could likely have afforded to commission a votive stela, it seems more probable that rules of decorum discouraged or disallowed women to produce or display votive stelae. This can be seen as a reflection of social attitudes regarding the roles and status of women.

As discussed above, women were meant to occupy the household and were not expected to lead public lives. This system may have resulted in societal pressure that discouraged women from participating in public material displays of identity and status. Whatever the reason, the sharp difference in the number of Theban women commissioning votive stelae in the Ramesside period and the number of Theban women commissioning funerary stelae in the Libyan period serves to highlight the fact that, although we might consider funerary and votive stelae to be similar objects classes, the Egyptians had different systems of decorum regarding each.

While most other sites do not yield a significant amount of votive stelae to allow for a numerically significant comparison, a general trend of male dominance on votive stelae can nonetheless be observed at other sites throughout New Kingdom Egypt (Fig. 6.10). Continuing with Exell's dataset, of the 15 stelae found at Wadi es-Sebua, only 1 is dedicated by a woman;⁵⁰⁰ none of the 21 stelae found at Abu Simbel are dedicated by women, nor are any of the 7 stelae cited from Zawiyet Um el-Rakham. Robbins has studied other sites and notes a similar trend:

...of the twenty-four votive stelae found in the area of the sphinx at Giza, twenty were dedicated by men alone and none solely by women. Taking primary and secondary dedicators together, men outnumber women thirty-five to six. Of the seventeen stelae that came from the temple of Ptah at Memphis eleven were

⁵⁰⁰Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), pp. 177-8.

dedicated by men alone, and only two by women. Counting all the figures depicted on the stelae, twenty-five are male and seven are female.⁵⁰¹

With the exception of Memphis, from where only 17 stelae are extant, women at Asyut were more than twice as likely to donate votive stelae as women from any other New Kingdom site. Furthermore, more votive stelae were created for women at Asyut than all other New Kingdom sites combined. Clearly women at Asyut enjoyed more autonomy, social agency, and power than their contemporaries at other sites. But why might this be the case? In order to determine why women appear on so many stelae from Asyut, it is first necessary to examine the appearance of all women at the site and not just women who were primary donors of votive stelae.

Site	Total Votive Stelae	Donated by Women	Total of Corpus
Asyut	291	40	14%
Deir el-Medina	264	12	5%
Qantir	74	5	7%
Thebes	55	3	5%
Abu Simbel	21	0	0%
Giza	24	0	0%
Memphis	17	2	12%
Wadi es-Sebua	15	1	7%
Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham	7	0	0%

Fig 6.10: Total votive stelae by site with total donated by women and the total % of the corpus donated by women.

⁵⁰¹ Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, p. 157-8.

Given the relative homogeneity with which women were depicted at Asyut, I determined that it was best to focus on women in two respects. First, I will analyze women associated with the principal male social groups who donated votive stelae, as they were outlined in Chapter 5 (General Populace, Lower Elite, Ritual Specialist, Military, and High Elite), in order to identify stylistic trends associated with the women of these social groups. Second, I will analyze the stelae where women appear as primary donors in order to determine the ways in which women independently displayed their social capital in order to identify and explicate the social agency and power they possessed.

6.3 Women and Social Groups

The social standing of women in ancient Egypt was inherently tied to their relationships with men. This social perspective was noted by the Egyptians themselves. *The Instruction of Any* comments upon the social position of women noting that, “A man is asked about his rank, a woman is asked about her husband.”⁵⁰² Having established 6 social groups to which men could belong to at Asyut (the General Populace, Lower Elite, Ritual Specialist, Military, and Local High Elite, and Courtly Elite), it is possible to examine the women connected with each of these social groups in order to determine the ways in which the women associated with each group displayed their identity and social status. As will be demonstrated below, while there were differences in the frequency with which men of different social groups displayed their wives,

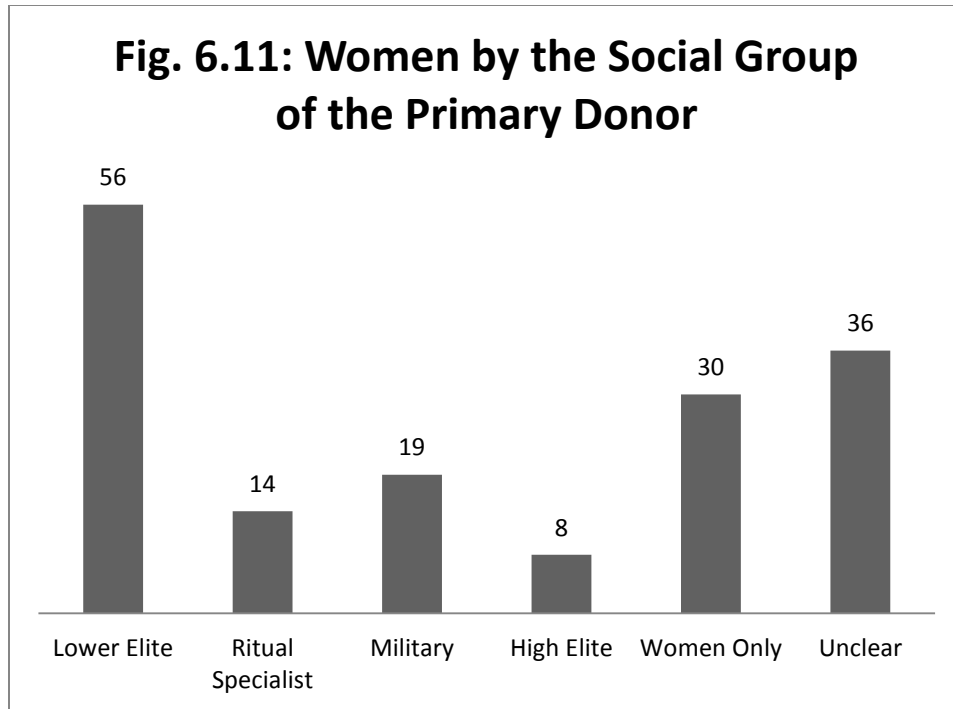
⁵⁰² Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), p. 140.

there do not appear to have been any substantial differences in the ways women themselves were presented, indicating a fixed conception of women that was not altered by social standing.

Most women appearing on the votive stelae from Asyut are connected with, and appear secondary to, a man. Fifty-six women (33%) are associated with men from the Lower Elite, 19 (11%) are associated with men from the Military group, 14 (8%) are associated with men from the Ritual Specialist group, and 8 (5%) are associated with the Local High Elite. The social status of 36 (21%) is unclear.⁵⁰³ Thirty women (17% of all women) appear alone (fig. 6.11).

When compared to men, lack of women donating votive stelae and appearing alone can be seen as a direct reflection of the attitudes discussed above. Women were not expected to enter public life, and therefore were not expected, and perhaps even faced social pressure not to publically display and reaffirm their identity and social standing. This is demonstrated by an examination of the iconographic and textual variables available to women.

⁵⁰³ Unclear social group refers not women, but to the men with which they are associated. This only includes men whose form of dress was unclear and not forms such as WA, K5, or K6, as those men have identified forms of dress.



6.4 Variables

6.4.1 Variables Associated with Women at Asyut

The same variables associated with men (i.e. clothing, hairstyle, and titles) at Asyut are also associated with women. However, an examination of these categories shows the limited options available to women at the site. This demonstrates how few choices women had when it came to expressing their identity publicly and can be seen as a reflection of a society dominated by men, where women were objectified and largely excluded from participating in public life.

6.4.2 Women's Clothing at Asyut

In her study of the clothing appearing on votive stelae from Asyut, Janet Johnstone has identified 8 categories of dress available to women.⁵⁰⁴ However, in actuality there is only one primary type of dress that is regularly shown being worn by women at Asyut. This long, flowing dress is sometimes increased with the addition of a shoulder drape, or large shawl. There is only one example of alternate type of female dress, a simple skirt (Chart 6.1). The lack of clothing options available to women was not unique to Asyut and was common for elite throughout Egypt in the New Kingdom and Ramesside periods.⁵⁰⁵ Indeed, when examining tomb scenes, it is usually women of lower social status who show differentiation by appearing nude, or as dancers or musicians. This shows how elite women were seen to occupy a single role, which lower status women, who likely did not possess the economic or social capital needed to donate a stela, may have had dress options which were tied to their professions.

The variations that do occur in this system are based not on new types of dress, but on whether one or both upper arms are exposed. Johnstone believes that this exposure of an arm, in connection with the way a woman's hair falls (either over or under a woman's arm), may indicate her status, occupation, or even that she was performing ritual activities.⁵⁰⁶ However, a close analysis does not support this. For instance, of the 44 women with the title *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) the form of dress is clearly identifiable for 32. Sixteen (50%) of these women wear a shoulder drape and 16 (50%) do not. Twenty-two (69%) women have one arm covered, while

⁵⁰⁴ Janet Johnstone, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 539.

⁵⁰⁵ Janet Johnstone, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 537.

⁵⁰⁶ Janet Johnstone, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 539.

10 (32%) have both arms covered. The hair of 11 (34%) women falls against their body and under their arm, while the hair of 21 (66%) women lies over their arm. Given that all these women possess the same elite title, one would expect a more established trend. While there can be little doubt that these choices in appearance meant something, it does not seem to be related to a specific title or social position, as will be demonstrated below.

The lack of clothing options available to women demonstrates that women were not as invested in, or perhaps not allowed to participate in social display to the same extent as men in this period. There does not even appear to have been an urge for women of one social group to differentiate themselves from the women of other social groups. This indicates that women, regardless of social standing, were largely stereotyped and thought to have occupied the same social roles regardless of social standing. Women were meant to be young, fertile, childbearing mistresses of the house regardless of the rank of their husbands. While some women may have occupied different roles, this ran counter to established societal expectations and thus societal decorum may have prevented its display. It appears that once women reached a certain elite status, they became thought of as ‘gentlewomen’ who needed to dress (and perhaps act?) in a certain manner. The subtle variations in dress, such as an exposed shoulder cap, and perhaps should, be seen as individualizing elements reflecting personal taste or style. However, these differences in dress do not reflect different social roles or social standing, as they do with men. This is confirmed by an analysis of the trends observed in the selection of women’s clothing.

No form of dress appears to have been restricted or even favored by a particular group. Unfortunately, the uniform appearance of female clothing has resulted in a high degree of uncertainty in identifying the dress of many women appearing on the stelae. However, in cases

where it is possible to identify the dress of the women, we find that dress type is almost equally distributed across all social groups.



D1: Dress with shoulder drape and upper part of one arm covered



D2: Dress with shoulder drape and upper part of both arms covered



D3: Dress with shoulder and upper part of both arms covered



D4: Dress without shoulder drape

Chart 6.1 Dress Categories for Women at Asyut



D5: Dress without shoulder drape and upper part of both arms covered



D6: Dress without shoulder drape and upper part of one arm covered



D7: Skirt

Chart 6.1 Dress Categories for Women at Asyut (continued)

6.4.3 Women's Hairstyles

Like clothing, hairstyles for women at Asyut were extremely limited. Geoffrey Tassie has identified a variety of hairstyles worn by the women at Asyut in the New Kingdom.⁵⁰⁷ The women examined in this study are depicted wearing 6 hairstyles: 1) Classic Tripartite, Modified Tripartite; 3) Enveloping Gala; 4) Gala; 5) Angled Shoulder-length Bob; 6) Nubian/feathered style (Table 6.1).⁵⁰⁸ Two of these hairstyles are actually variations of other hairstyles, and only distinguished from one another by their length (Classic Tripartite > Modified Tripartite; Gala > Enveloping Gala). Even the appearance of so many hairstyles is misleading, as only 2 (1%)⁵⁰⁹ women are depicted with an angled shoulder-length bob and only 1 woman (1%) is shown wearing a Nubian/feathered hairstyle. All the remaining women are depicted wearing a gala or tripartite style of some type, showing the relatively few options to which women regularly had access.

Tripartite Style (Modified and Classic)	“Tripartite is a term given by Egyptologists to long hair that in its classical form ends below the shoulders and above the waist. The term describes the way the hair naturally parts to accommodate the shoulders of the wearer. When plaited it makes the hair behave or hang in a heavier manner, further emphasizing the parting of the hair. The Egyptians portrayed

⁵⁰⁷ Some of the styles identified by Tassie, such as the Hathoric Bouffant, are not considered in this study, as donors are never represented wearing this hairstyle. For the complete listing of hairstyles see Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, pp. 479-481.

⁵⁰⁸ Tassie does not list the two forms of the tripartite (modified and classic) as separate hairstyles, although he differentiated between the two. For clarity, I have separated the two in this study. cf. Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, pp. 465-471.

⁵⁰⁹ Tassie states that women represented on the votive stelae from Asyut are never depicted wearing an angled shoulder-length bob hairstyle. However, I believe two women, depicted on Cairo Museum Stelae CM030 and CM008 are both represented wearing this hairstyle. Cf. Geoffrey Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 487.

	objects in their most easily recognizable rather than in their natural form. Thus they portrayed long hair as sitting on the chest in two lappets, with another section hanging down the back. The hair is sometimes shown pushed behind the ears. This style could be depicted as plain black, or with vertical and sometimes also diagonal striations.”⁵¹⁰ The modified tripartite can be distinguished from the classic tripartite by its length. The modified tripartite falls to below the breasts and as far as the waist, while the classic tripartite extends to the upper chest.
Gala Style	“This was a long style similar to the tripartite style, though without any partings, enveloping the shoulders and upper arms. This hairstyle was either made from hundreds of plaits or curls or left loose and wavy; the tips were either twisted or tightly plaited to form a kind of fringe. These plaits were indicated by either wide or narrow vertical striations with diagonal lines or crosses. The curls were indicated by zigzag lines and the loose wavy hair by close wavy lines. The braids were possibly attached to one another, or the locks of hair were many and thick. Some depictions of this style suggest a great deal of movement, indicating that they were not attached to one another.”⁵¹¹
Enveloping Gala Style	“The term enveloping style is sometimes used interchangeably with gala. However, when the term enveloping is used here it is to describe the longer version of the gala hairstyle that reaches below the elbow of the lady wearing it, sometimes right down to her waist. Sometimes shorter side braids are shown framing the face. Although this may seem a rather arbitrary distinction, the terms enveloping and gala are Egyptological terms, not ones that the ancient Egyptians used themselves. Therefore, the term is used here to make a distinction between the

⁵¹⁰ Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 465.

⁵¹¹ Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 471.

	lengths of hairstyles being depicted rather than the actual manner of dressing the hair.” ⁵¹²
Nubian/Feather Styled	“This hairstyle is worn by men and women, royalty and non-royalty in mid-Dynasty XVIII, particularly in the Amarna Period. It has a basic jaw-level bob-shape, feather layered around the face so the layers are overlapping and often being much shorter at the nape. In artistic depictions between three and nine distinct layers can be identified, with the top section often showing striations indicating that it was curled.” ⁵¹³
Angled Shoulder-length Bob	“This hairstyle is a normal shoulder-length bob, but angled so that the front is longer than the back. This angle can become quite steep, although the back always rests on the shoulders or neck of the wearer.” ⁵¹⁴

Table 6.1: Hairstyles of Women at Asyut

6.5 Women Associated with the High Elite Social Group

As discussed above, association with a specific social group was assigned to women on the basis of the group to which their father or husband belonged. When women do appear alongside men, they are almost always in a position secondary to their husbands or fathers, and it can therefore be assumed the decision to include women on these stelae was made by the men who were the primary donors of the stelae, and not the women who appeared on them.

⁵¹² Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, pp. 474-5.

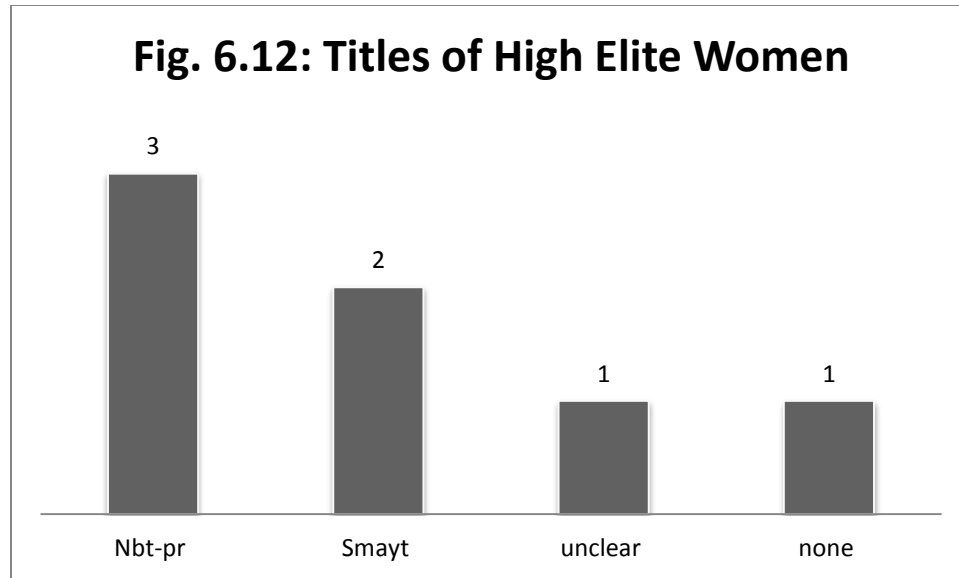
⁵¹³ Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 504.

⁵¹⁴ Tassie, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 487.

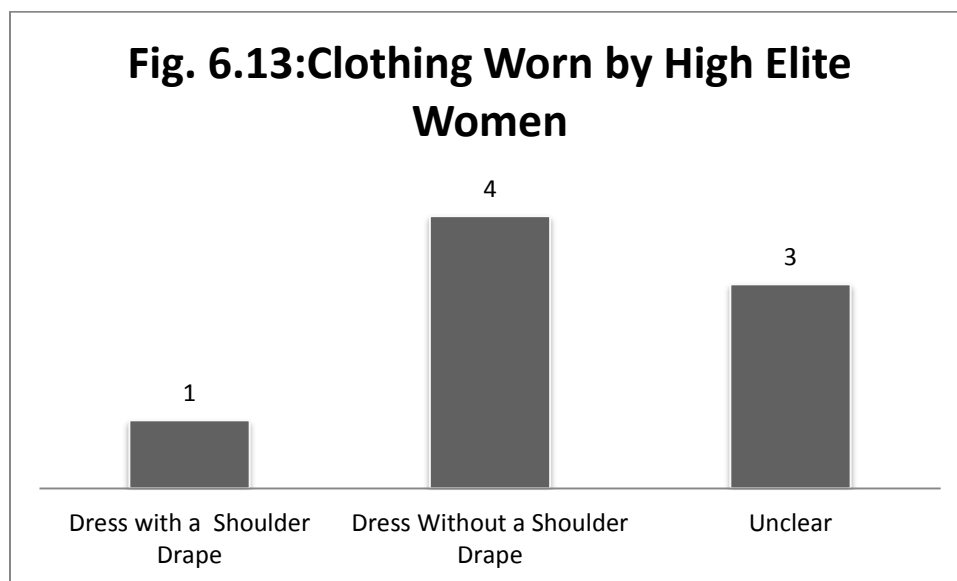
The men from the Local High Elite did not often choose to include images of their families or wives. Of the 26 stelae donated by High Elite men, only 7 (27%) include depictions of women. Only the Ritual Specialist group was less likely to include an image of a woman on their stelae, perhaps confirming the hypothesis that they were depicting themselves in connection to their cultic duties, which would have excluded women. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine the social group a woman was associated with if she appears alone.⁵¹⁵ It is tempting to speculate that women associated with this group possessed greater social and economic capital than other women at Asyut, and therefore had a greater ability to donate their own single donor stela independent of their husband. Unfortunately there is no way to confirm this. It also seems possible that lower status men from the Lower Elite may have gained social capital by displaying their wife (who may have been from an important family); while high elite men who reached such a high level that they gained little prestige or social capital by displaying their connection to another family.

Like their male counterparts, women of the High Elite group often possess titles. Of the 8 women who are associated with the Local High Elite, 4 are titled (50%), 1 (13%) is clearly untitled and titled status is unclear for the remaining 3 women (38%). Three women (38%) possess the title *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) and 2 women (25%) possess the title *šmꜣyt* (Chantress) (Fig. 6.12).

⁵¹⁵ Women who appear alone will be examined in detail below.

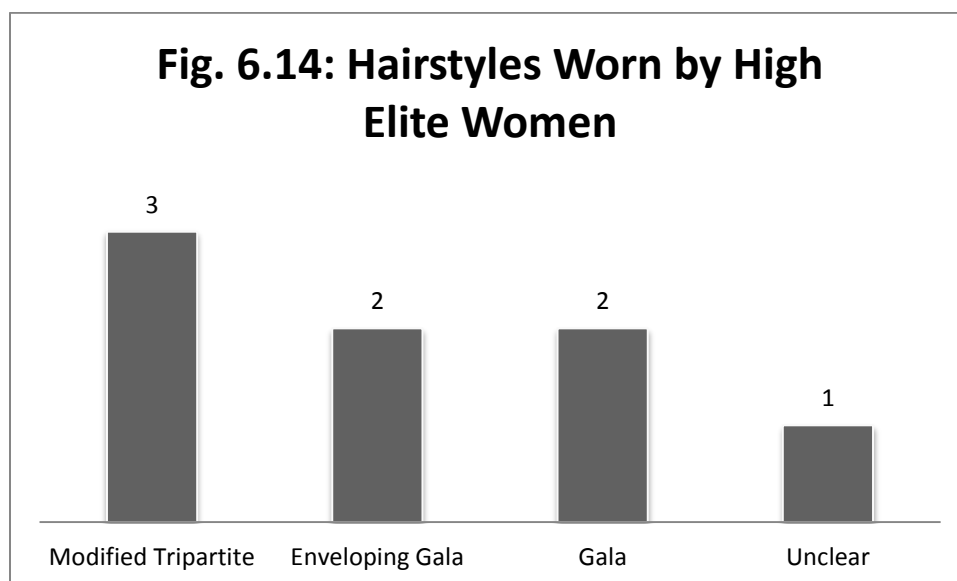


The low number of women associated with the High Elite makes it difficult to determine trends in their clothing. One (13%) woman appears wearing a shoulder drape and 4 (50%) appear without one. Unfortunately the dress of the remaining 3 (38%) women is unclear (fig. 6.13). There does appear to have been a preference for women of the High Elite to appear without a shoulder drape—a trend that seems counter-intuitive when compared to the men of the same social group.



Men of the High Elite group displayed their social status by wearing an additional garment known as a *mss*, or bag tunic. If the wearing of extra clothing served as marker of status and conspicuous consumption, we would expect women of the High Elite to follow this trend and wear a shoulder drape. However, only 1 High Elite woman chose to wear a shoulder drape and at least half of the women of this group chose not to wear one. The choice not to wear a shoulder drape was likely not an economic one, as women from the other, lower social groups often wore a shoulder drape.

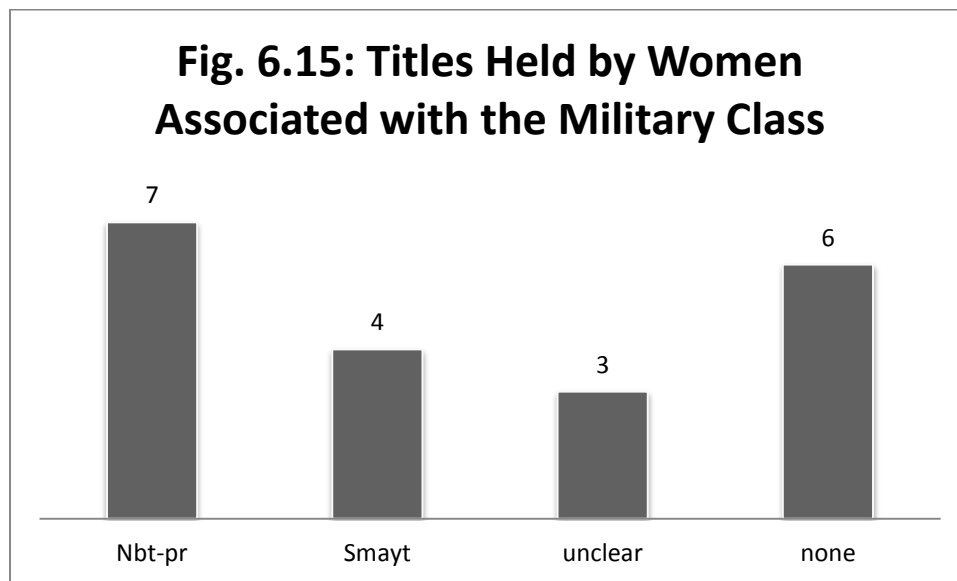
There are 3 hairstyles worn by women of the High Elite group: modified tripartite, enveloping gala and gala. These hairstyles are almost equally distributed among the women associated with the High Elite. Three women (38%) wear a modified tripartite style; 2 (25%) wears an enveloping gala, 2 (25%) wear a gala, and the hairstyle of 1 woman is unclear (13%) (fig. 6.14). This distribution demonstrates that there was no clear preference for a specific hairstyle among women of the High Elite.



6.6 Women Associated with the Military Group

Male members of the Military were more likely than men of any other social group to include women on the votive stelae they donated. Women appear on 14 (48%) of the 29 stelae dedicated by military donors. Men from the Military are approximately 12% more likely to include an image of a woman than men from the Lower Elite, and nearly twice as likely as men from the High Elite and Ritual Specialist groups to include images of women.

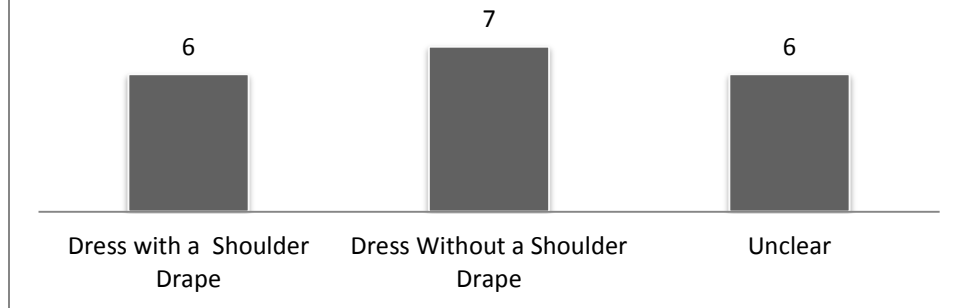
Nineteen women appear on the stelae of donated by men of the Military social group. As with men from this group, the women associated with men from the Military are often titled. Ten women (53%) associated with the Military group are titled. Six women (32 %) clearly possess no title and titled status is unknown for 3 women (16%). Seven women (37%) possess the title *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) and 4 (21%) have the title of *šmꜣyt* (Chantress) (Fig. 6.15).



The high frequency with which women appear on the votive stelae of the Military social group may be a reflection of the secular, mobile nature of this social group. We know that men from the Military group would have regularly spent at least part of the time away from Asyut and their families while they were in the service of the king. This may have created within this group a stronger desire to assert their family identity, as they were not always with them. Men from the Military may have wished to remind others at Asyut of not only their own personal status, but the connection they had to those who they left behind. Or, perhaps these stelae were commissioned as an apotropaic offering meant to ensure the safety of the man depicted. This may have even served as a protective measure at Asyut, reminding those who might wish to take advantage of the owner's family whom they would have to contend with upon his return. Another likely possibility is that women commissioned some of these stelae while their husbands were away. These women may also have commissioned stelae to serve their religious needs, but still included depictions of their husbands in order to enhance their own social status and adhere to established rules of decorum.

Six of the women (32%) associated with men from Military group are depicted wearing a shoulder drape, while 7 (37%) are depicted without a shoulder drape. Unfortunately the clothing worn by the remaining 6 women (32%) is unclear (fig. 6.16). This distribution demonstrates there is no significant trend in the clothing tastes or options available to women from this social group.

Fig. 6.16: Distribution of Clothing Worn by Women Associated with the Military Group



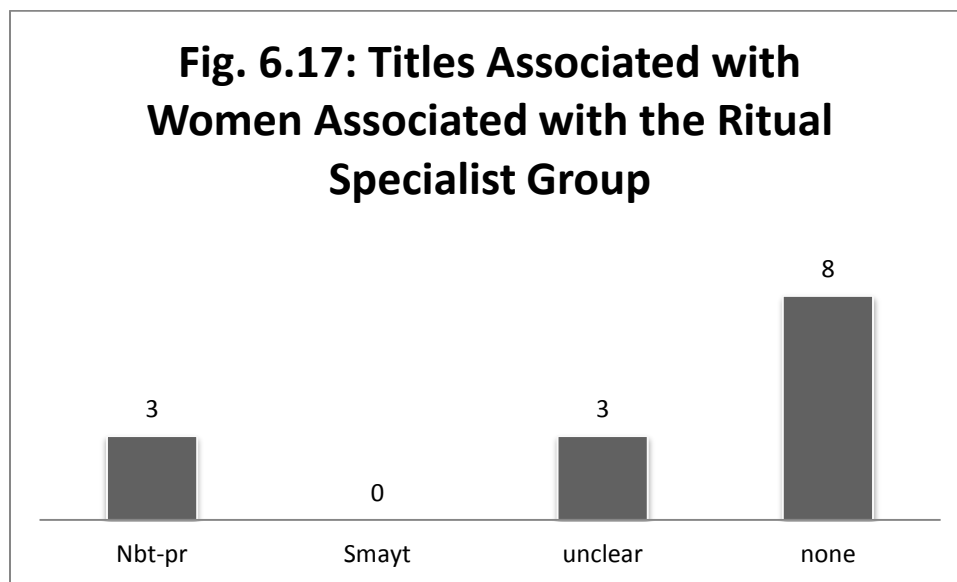
Like the other social groups at Asyut, women associated with the Military appear to have slightly preferred gala style hairstyles to tripartite. Six women (32%) are depicted with an enveloping gala hairstyle and 6 (32%) are depicted with a gala hairstyle. Three (16%) are depicted with a classic tripartite and 4 (21%) are depicted with a modified tripartite.

6.7 Women Associated with the Ritual Specialist Group

There are 14 women associated with the Ritual Specialist group. Like members of the High Elite, few members of the Ritual Specialist group chose to include depictions of women. In fact, Ritual Specialists were the least likely of any social group to display their family. Women are only found on 8 (22%) of the stelae donated by Ritual Specialists. This suggests that men of

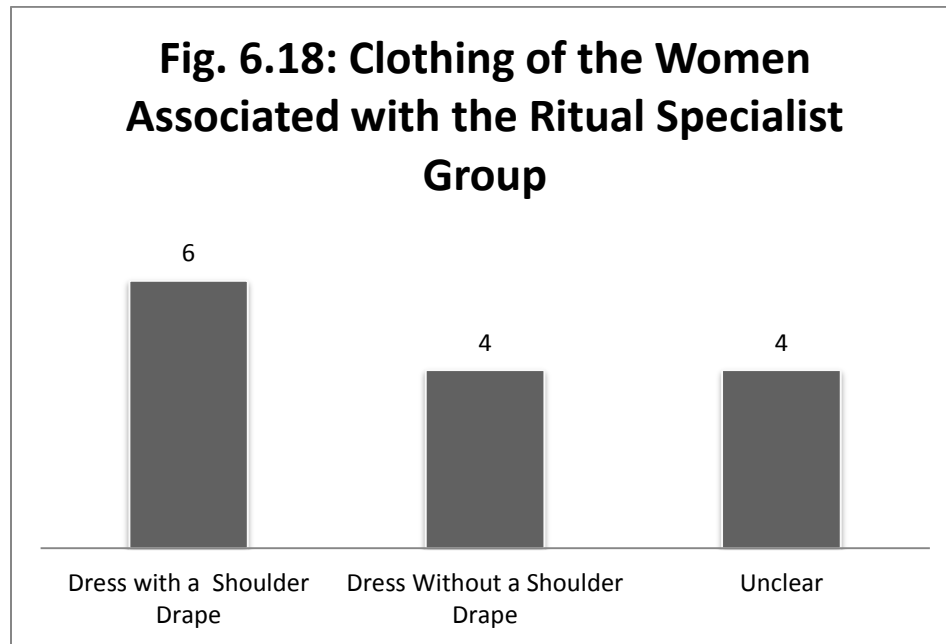
the Ritual Specialist group had the least to gain by including an image of their wife, possibly as a result of the highly visible role they played in society.

Few of the women associated with men of the Ritual Specialist display a title. Only 3 women from this social group (21%) possess a title. The only title held by the women of this social group is *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) (fig 6.17). This seems odd, considering their husbands and fathers were so strongly associated with the temple and cult. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, it is often not possible to determine the relative rank of various members of clergy. As individuals whose social and economic capital was derived from their special religious role and knowledge, it is possible that the social capital possessed by men of the Ritual Specialist group did not necessarily transfer to their wives and daughters.



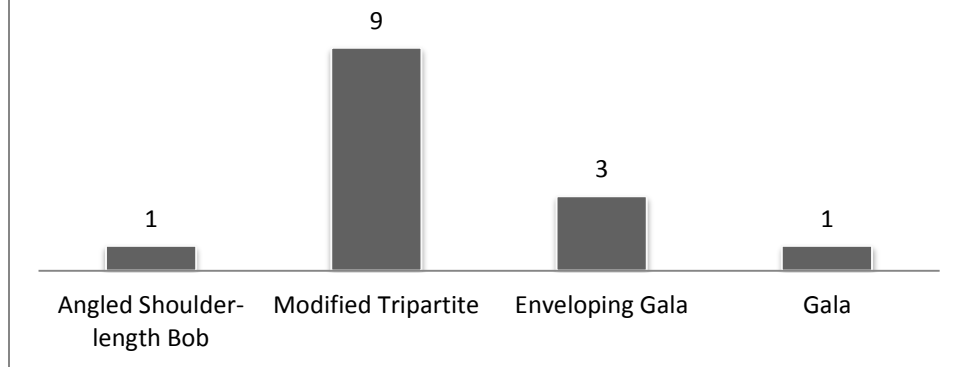
Like nearly every other group, women associated with the Ritual Specialist group show no clear clothing preference. Six women (43%) of the women are depicted wearing a shoulder drape, and 4 (29%) are shown without a shoulder drape. The clothing style of the remaining 4

women (29%) is unclear (fig. 6.18). However, women associated with the Ritual Specialist group do seem to have a hairstyle preference.



The women associated with the Ritual Specialist group have a clear predilection for the modified tripartite hairstyle. Nine women (64%) are depicted wearing this style. Three women (21%) are shown wearing an enveloping gala hairstyle, 1 woman (7%) is shown wearing a gala style and 1 (7%) is shown with an angled shoulder-length bob (fig. 6.19). Unfortunately it is difficult to ascribe any significance to the selection of this hairstyle.

Fig. 6.19: Hairstyles of Women Associated with the Ritual Specialist Group



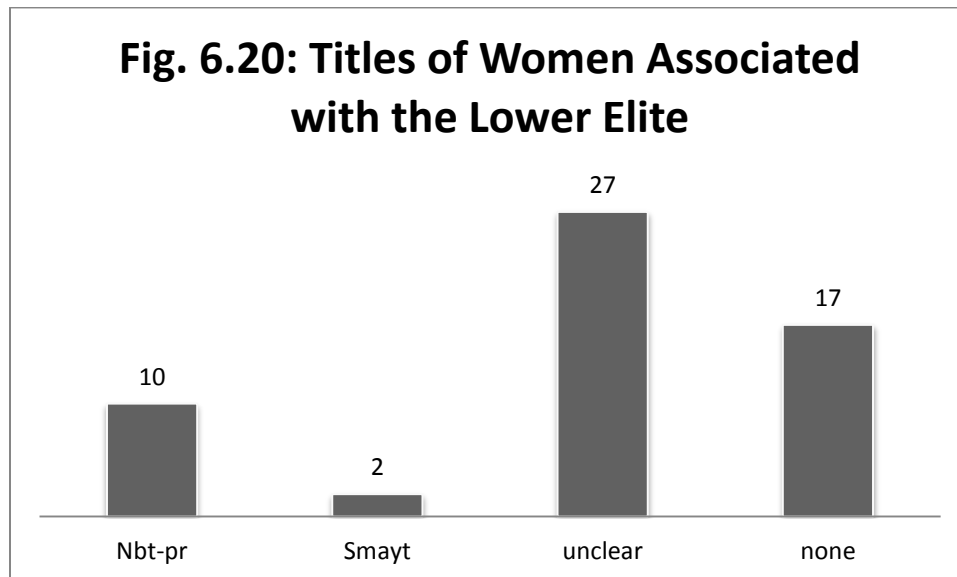
6.8 Women of the Lower Elite

There are 56 women associated with the Lower Elite. These women appear on 34 (36%) of the stelae dedicated by men of the Lower Elite social group. While women appear on more stelae donated by the men of the Lower Elite than either the Ritual Specialist or High Elite groups, the majority of men from the Lower Elite social group who donated a stela still preferred to be depicted alone.

Ten women (18%) associated with the Lower Elite possessed the title *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) and 2 (4%) of the women from this social group held the title *šmꜣyt* (Chantress).

Twenty-seven (48%) of Lower Elite women possess no title and titled status is unclear for 17

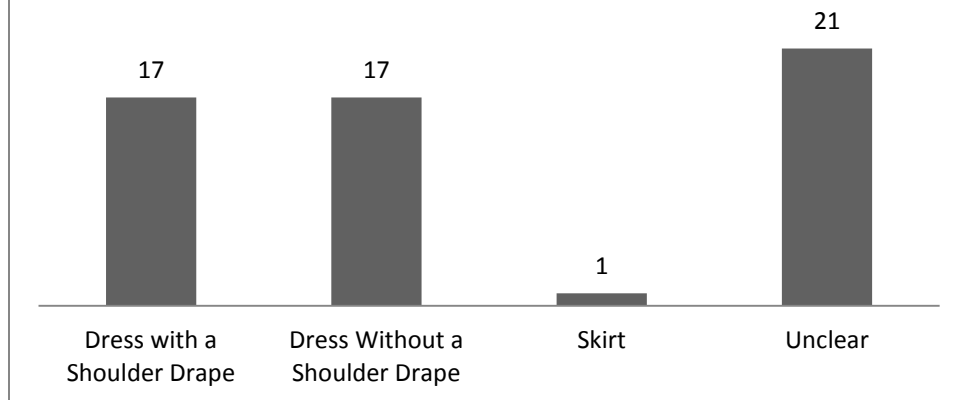
(30%) women of this group (fig. 6.20).⁵¹⁶ This low rate of titled status for women of the Lower Elite is perhaps to be expected, and follows the trend of a low titled status observed for men of the Lower Elite.



Seventeen (30%) women associated with the Lower Elite wear a dress with a shoulder drape and 17 (30%) wear a dress without a shoulder drape. One woman (2%) from the Lower Elite wears a skirt. The dress of the remaining 21 (38%) women of the Lower Elite group is unclear (fig. 6.21). The equal distribution of dress type for women from this group demonstrates not only that both forms were freely available, but that there was no preference for either type (fig. 6.21). A similar trend can be observed when examining the hairstyle of Lower Elite women.

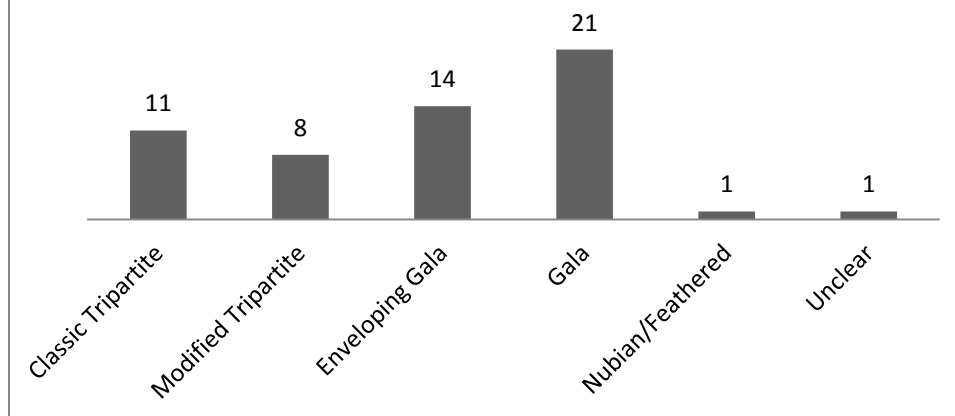
⁵¹⁶ The high amount of unclear titled status for women is interesting, and may indicate these stelae were in an area of the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III that received more damage, just as the stelae of military men have a higher certainty of textual readings, indicating they may have been in a better preserved part of the tomb.

Fig. 6.21: Clothing Worn by Women Associated with the Lower Elite



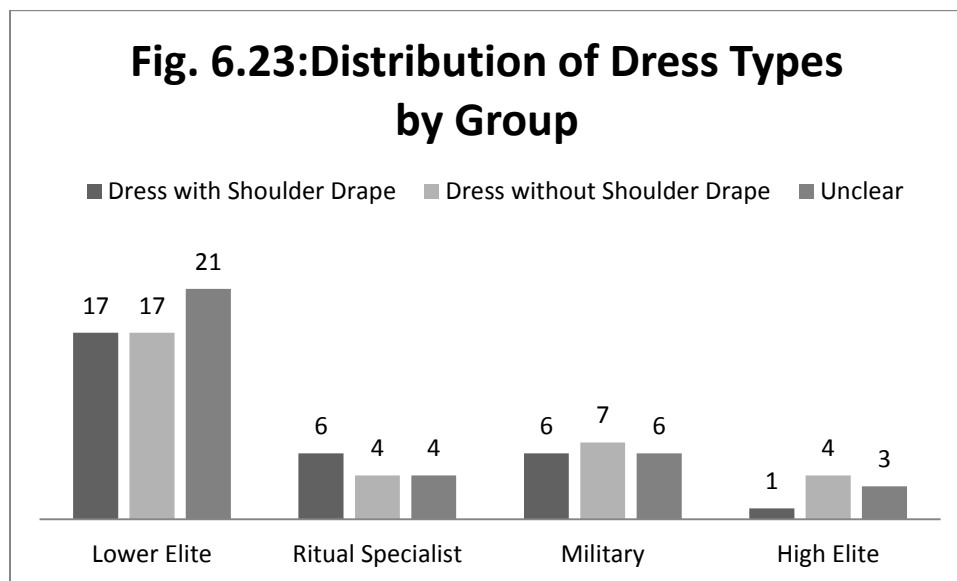
There are 5 different hairstyles worn by the women associated with the Lower Elite. Thirty-five women (63%) wear a Gala style of some type, while 19 women (34%) are depicted with a tripartite style. One woman wears a Nubian/feathered hairstyle and the hairstyle of 1 woman is unclear (fig. 6.22). As with dress, hairstyle does not appear to have been restricted by class, although there was clearly a preference for Gala styles among women associated with the Lower Elite.

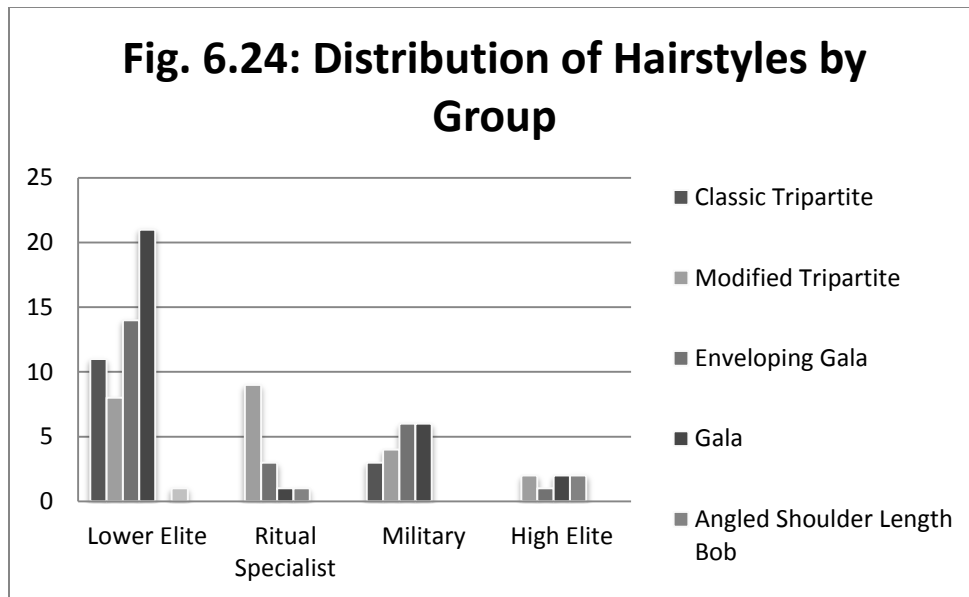
Fig. 6.22 :HairStyles Worn by Women Associated with the Lower Elite



6.9 Social Hierarchy and Women at Asyut

As demonstrated above, there was no attempt to visually distinguish women of one social group from another. This lack of unique identity can be seen as a reflection of Egyptian social attitudes and beliefs regarding women. Women were not supposed to exist as public figures, and there was therefore no social need for them to be artistically distinguished from one another. They were identified and represented according to stereotypically perceived notions of femininity and style held by men. Thus, no items of dress or clothing were restricted to women of any social group, as demonstrated by an analysis of the styles of dress (fig. 6.23) and hairstyles worn (fig. 6.24) by women from each group.



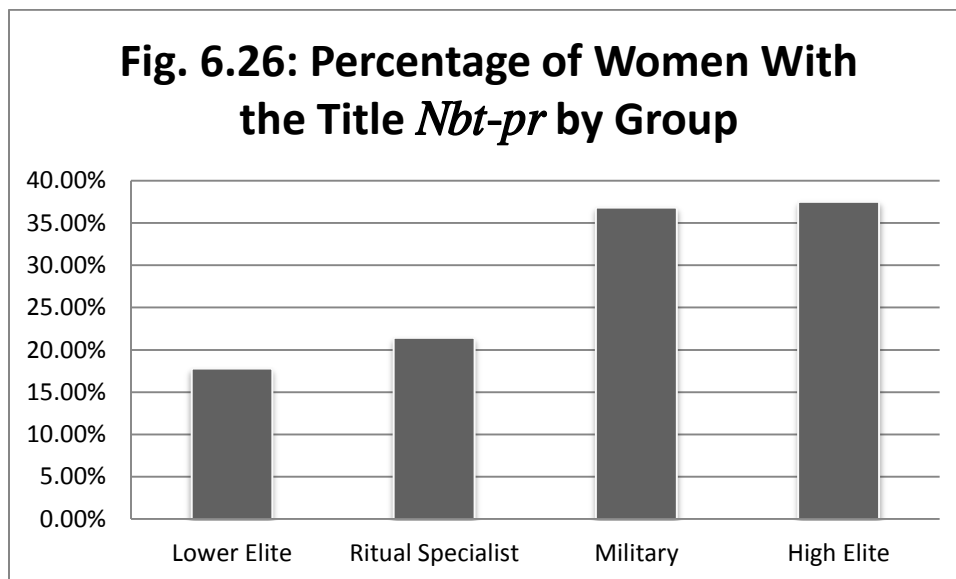
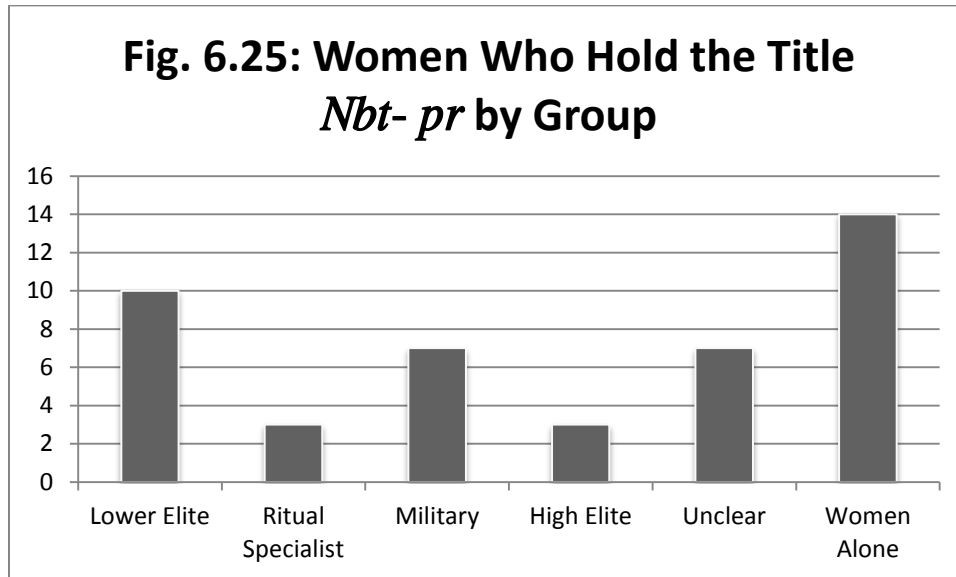


There were only two titles available to women at Asyut: *nbt-pr* (Mistress of the House) and *šmꜣyt* (Chantress). At both Asyut and Thebes *nbt-pr* is the most popular female title, and *šmꜣyt* is the second most popular.⁵¹⁷ The title *nbt-pr* focuses on the role of women in the domestic sphere, and is the most commonly held female title in ancient Egypt. However, this title does not appear to have been freely available and was only clearly held by 44 (26%) women (fig. 6.25) at Asyut. Therefore, while this title is explicitly associated with the household, it does appear to be associated with a degree of social capital and social power.

By percentage, women from the higher social groups (i.e. the High Elite and Military) were more likely to possess the title *nbt-pr*. Three women (38%) of the High Elite and 7 women (37%) of the Military held this title. Only 10 women (18%) from the Lower Elite and 3 women (21%) of the Ritual Specialist group held this title. Interestingly, this display of titled status for women matches the upward trend of titled status being displayed more frequently as individuals progress

⁵¹⁷ For the use of the title at Thebes see Robbins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, p. 145.

through the social groups from Lower Elite to High Elite (fig. 6.26). A similar trend is observed for the title *šmꜣyt*.



As opposed to the household connection of the *nbt-pr* title, the title *šmꜣyt* focuses on the cult role of women. Of the 170 women who are depicted on the stela, 18 (11%) possess the title *šmꜣyt* and 7 (4%) women hold both the title *nbt-pr* and *šmꜣyt*. By the early New Kingdom the so-

called ‘professionalization of the priesthood’,⁵¹⁸ appears to have largely marginalized and excluded women from temple positions. Priestess titles which were held by women in the Old and Middle Kingdoms⁵¹⁹ appear to have fallen out of use by the 18th dynasty, at the latest.⁵²⁰ Despite the disappearance of female priestess titles, we do see a proliferation of the more general religious title of *šmꜣyt* across Egypt.

Despite the increasing use of the title *šmꜣyt*, it is still uncertain exactly how these women were chosen and what specific roles they played in the temple cult. In a recent study on the title *šmꜣyt*, Suzanne Onstine demonstrates that, in the Ramesside period, this title not only appears more frequently than in previous periods, but appears to have been available to members of the ‘wealthy middle class’ and not restricted to members of the elite.⁵²¹ However, the few women who hold the title at Asyut, combined with a lack of evidence regarding the titles held by women in Middle Kingdom Asyut, makes it unclear if this title was truly more freely available at Asyut in the New Kingdom, as it appears to have been throughout the country.

While the title *šmꜣyt* may have become more accessible throughout Egypt in the Ramesside period, it was still largely held by women of the more elite social groups at Asyut. Two women (25%) from the High Elite and 4 women from the Military group (21%) hold this title. Only 2 women (4%) from the Lower Elite hold this title and no women associated with the

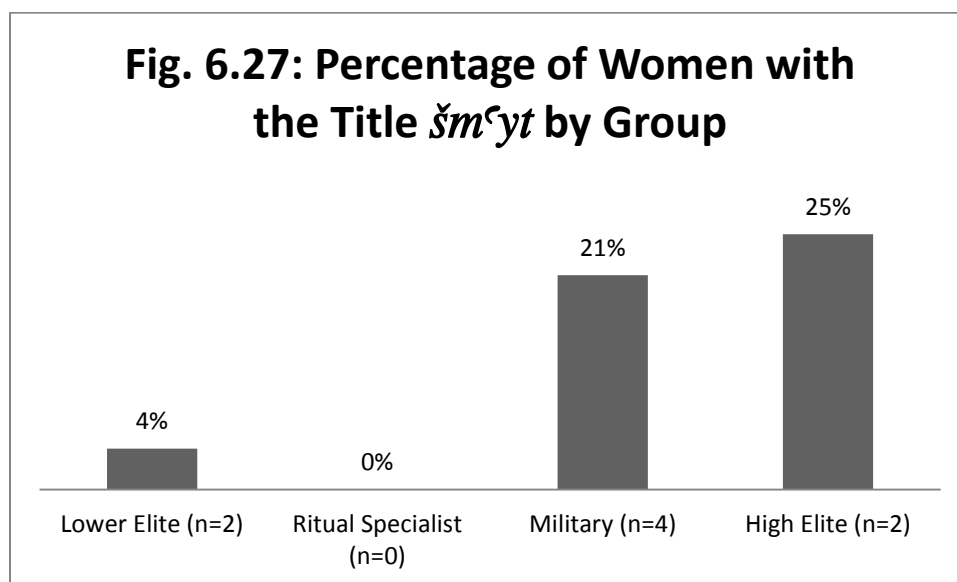
⁵¹⁸ Anthony Spalinger, ‘The Limitations of Formal Ancient Egyptian Religion’, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 57, No. 4 (Oct., 1998), p. 245.

⁵¹⁹ General terms for priestesses such as *wꜣbt*, and *ḥmt-nṯr* fall out of use by the New Kingdom. Specific offices, specifically the Divine Adoratrice of Amun and God’s Wives of Amun are well known in this period, but installation into these offices was a royal prerogative and their function appears to be an honorary one dependent upon their connection to the ruling king. For the God’s Wife of Amun see Miriam Ayad, *God’s Wife, God’s Servant: The God’s Wife of Amun (c. 740-525 BC)*, Routledge (2009).

⁵²⁰ Robbins, *Women in Ancient Egypt*, p. 145.

⁵²¹ Suzanne Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress in Ancient Egypt*, London (2005), p. 30.

Ritual Specialist group hold the title *šmꜣyt*. Significantly, 8 of the *šmꜣyt* (44%) appear on their own, with no men present on their stelae. As with the title *nbt-pr*, women belonging to higher social groups are also more likely possess the title *šmꜣyt* (fig. 6.27). The possible role of the *šmꜣyt* at Asyut will be examined in the next section, which focuses on women and religious practice at Asyut.



6.10 Women and Religious Practice at Asyut

Unfortunately the lack of iconographic variation makes it impossible to determine the social group which a woman may have been associated with unless she appears alongside a man. In these cases the women are usually in a secondary position, and it is therefore not her religious practice and religious access being depicted, but that of the man with whom she is depicted. Therefore, only the women who were the primary donors of a votive stela will be examined in order to determine the religious access and cult practices of women at Asyut.

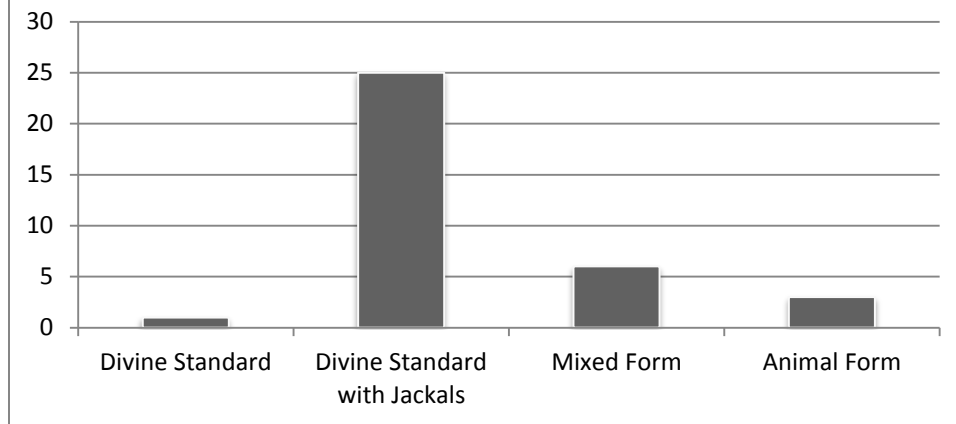
At Asyut women can be identified as the primary donors of 40 votive stelae.⁵²²

Demonstrating a trend similar to men, 30 (75%) of the stelae which women are primary donors of are single-donor stelae, indicating that women also preferred single-donor stelae when they commissioned them. It is possible to identify the god present on 39 (98%) of these stelae.

Wepwaut appears on 35 (90%) of the stelae donated by women. He appears alone on 33 (94%) stelae. As with men, these stelae are dominated by images of his divine standard in procession. Twenty-five stelae (72%) depict the divine standard accompanied by jackals. Wepwaut appears in mixed animal-human form on 6 (17%) of the stelae donated by women. Only 3 (9%) women depict themselves worshipping Wepwaut in solely animal form and only 1 (3%) woman depicts the standard without accompanying canids (fig. 6.28). This distribution demonstrates that, although decorum did not allow women to donate votive stelae in the same numbers as men, they were subject to the same rules of artistic and religious decorum, with display of the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut being tightly regulated and controlled.

⁵²² There are a total of 41 female primary donors. One stela, PP1, was commissioned by two women. For a discussion of this stela, see Chapter 7.2.

Fig. 6.28: Manifestations of Wepwaut on Stone Stelae Donated by Women



Although they are few in number, it is important to note that, if not with Wepwaut, women are depicted with female deities only. These include Taweret, Hathor, and a tree goddess who may also be a representation of Hathor.⁵²³ In one particularly interesting example (CM237) a double-sided stela depicts a woman worshipping Hathor on one side, and a man worshipping Wepwaut on the other. While the visible nature of the festival procession of Wepwaut would not have excluded women, it is notable that when women stepped outside of this system they chose to focus on female deities (however limited). This preference may indicate the existence of gender based religious practice at the site. An examination of the iconography on the stelae also indicates that there were specific gender roles within the cult of Wepwaut.

The display of women engaged in active ritual activity on the stelae indicates that there may have been gender regulated religious practice at Asyut. Seventeen stelae from Asyut depict a donor actively pouring libations to a god (see fig. 6.29). Twenty-four individuals are shown engaged in this ritual activity; 15 (63%) of whom are women and 9 (38%) of whom are men (fig.

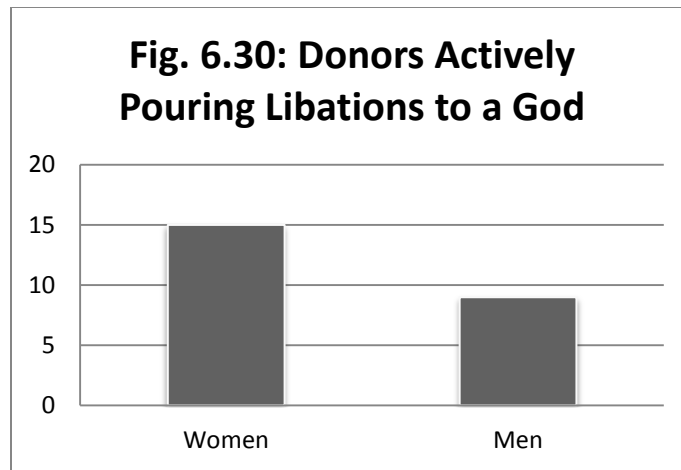
⁵²³ DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 307.

5.29). Seven of these stelae depict a solitary donor pouring libations: 4 (57%) of the stelae depict a woman pouring libations on her own, while men only appear as solitary libation pourers on 3 (43%) stelae. The remaining 10 stelae depict mixed gender groups of individuals: 4 depict both men and women pouring, 3 depict only women pouring, and 2 depict only men pouring.⁵²⁴



Figure 6.29: Solitary Woman Pouring Libations (Cairo Museum, CM059)

⁵²⁴ The male donor depicted on British Museum EA 1632 should perhaps be excluded. The top register depicts the donor in a pose of adoration before the divine standard of Wepwaut, the middle register shows him pouring libations to a mummiform figure, perhaps indicating the pouring of libations in a funerary context.



While women only comprise 34% of all individuals depicted on the stelae from Asyut, they account for 63% of all the donors engaged in the ritual pouring of libations. This overrepresentation of women indicates this was a cult role held by women at Asyut. Or, at the very least, was a cult role accessible to, and often occupied by women. Additionally, the men depicted pouring libations often belong to a high social group. Of the eight men depicted pouring libations, 3 (38%) are members of the High Elite, 1 (13%) is from the Ritual Specialist group and 1 (13%) is from the Lower Elite. The remaining 3 (38%) have unclear styles of dress or do not belong to any of the social groups established in Chapter 5. The dominance of men from the High Elite group indicates that this was restricted religious practice that mainly included women and High Elite men.

When men are engaged in ritual pouring, they are usually of the highest social group and status. They also often hold high religious titles, such as the *ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-wꜣwt* (High Priest of Wepwaut), *ḥm-nṯr tpy Ḥwt-ḥr* (High Priest of Hathor) and *jt-nṯr* (God's Father), indicating a high level of religious access. It should also be noted that men and women usually offer libations with different vessels. Men pour offerings from an oval-shaped jar with a spout. However, women pour from an open, long-necked jar with an oval base. Both of these are

depicted together on stelae CM464 (see fig. 6.31). The depiction of these two jars, side-by-side, demonstrates that these were specific ritual vessels, indicating formalized religious roles and practice for men and women.



Figure 6.31: Male and Female Libation Vessels Being Used Side-by-side

6.11 Summary and Discussion

Women in ancient Egypt are often described as having rights and status equal to men. However, an analysis of the status and social roles of women, as displayed on votive stelae from Asyut, offer additional evidence that this was not the case. Women were meant to occupy household roles and not enter public life. Of the 119 votive stelae on which a woman is present, 75% represent these women within a family unit. Men, on the other hand, only appear in a family role on 39% of stelae. The difference with which men and women are shown in a family unit illustrates that women were primarily identified by their family role. Apparently men did not feel strong societal pressure to display their family identity—a trend seen throughout Egyptian society.⁵²⁵ This focus on the presentation of women as wives, mothers, or daughters resulted in a system of artistic and societal decorum that offered women few ways through which to create a unique self-identity and display their social position.

Despite the limited visibility and social roles afforded to women at Asyut, they appear to have enjoyed far more visibility and social agency than women from other New Kingdom sites. This can be seen as a product of the communities that produced the stelae. The other major sites examined (i.e. Deir el-Medina, Thebes and Qantir) were all royal centers. Men at these royal centers likely faced more elite competition for royal favor and elite positions, which were granted by the king. This competition would have resulted in increased social pressure for men to display and reinforce their social status. This social need resulted not only in the creation of votive stelae, but a whole spectrum of material self-display including tombs, statuary, and residences. However, as a provincial site, society at Asyut was inherently different. Social roles at a small provincial site like Asyut were more firmly established and less dependent upon royal

⁵²⁵ For a discussion see: Gay Robins, "Some Principals of Compositional Dominance and Gender Hierarchy in Egyptian Art," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, Vol. 31 (1994).

favor. The elite status of most of the member of society at Asyut was established and maintained by the local community itself. There was likely less social mobility at Asyut, and individuals living at the site likely faced little competition for their positions. This system would have allowed more economic and social capital to be hereditarily passed not just from fathers to sons, but possibly to mothers to daughters.

Women at Asyut may have been allowed to possess and maintain their social and economic capital more easily than at royal centers. Women throughout Egypt gained social status through the men to whom they were connected. If a man died occupying a high position at a royal center his position would have passed to his son or the king would have appointed a replacement—divorcing the wife from the social and economic capital she enjoyed by her association with her husband. However, a woman at a small site like Asyut would likely have been better able to maintain the property and status of her husband, and ensure the position stayed within her family. This may have granted provincial women more visibility and social power, while still displaying women in ways that adhered to general ancient Egyptian concepts of gender roles. Women may also have been actively managed and pursued a certain degree of social and economic capital independent of their husbands, likely based on inheritance and the special role they played in the temple, creating a small group of elite women who led public lives and actively engaged in social display and competition with other elite women—and even men.

There appear to have been two cult roles available to women at Asyut. Some women possessed the title *šmꜣyt* (Chantress) and other women were able to act as the pourers of libations in the cult of Wepwaut. The latter appears to have been a role that was more often occupied by women than men, although some men of high elite status also held this role. In the New Kingdom, when women were largely excluded from formal temple practices, this may have

granted the women at Asyut who held these positions social and economic capital that existed independent of their husbands. And although they did not have ways to clearly differentiate themselves, women holding these independent positions were more likely to be the primary donors of votive stelae and thus display the social and economic capital they possessed.

Chapter 7: Children and Families at Asyut

Chapter 7.1: Introduction

This chapter focuses on the role of children and families at Asyut. As demonstrated in Chapters 5 and 6, men and women are well represented on the stelae; children—especially juvenile children—are not. Children represent the smallest group of individuals found on the votive stelae from Asyut. Moreover, the children who are represented on the stelae appear in a variety of ways. Therefore, it is first necessary to specifically identify how children are depicted before analyzing their social status and religious activity.

For the sake of this study, children are organized into two distinct categories: 1) juvenile children; and 2) mature children. The term ‘juvenile child’ is used to refer to children who appear nude and bald, adhering to the stereotypical ways in which young children are represented in ancient Egypt (fig. 7.1).⁵²⁶ The label ‘mature child’ refers to those individuals who are clothed, thus appearing as adults (i.e. clothed, adopting a variety of hairstyles) and who occasionally possess names and titles. Although they are depicted as adults, these individuals are recognizable as mature children through text, or by their position relative to their parents (fig. 7.2). The display of mature children may have granted their parents a certain degree of social capital, and displayed a family network which could be very useful in a provincial context—especially for those of middling social status.

⁵²⁶ For a discussion of the representation of children in ancient Egyptian art see: Erika Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten*, Frankfurt (1995), Chapters 7, 8, 9.

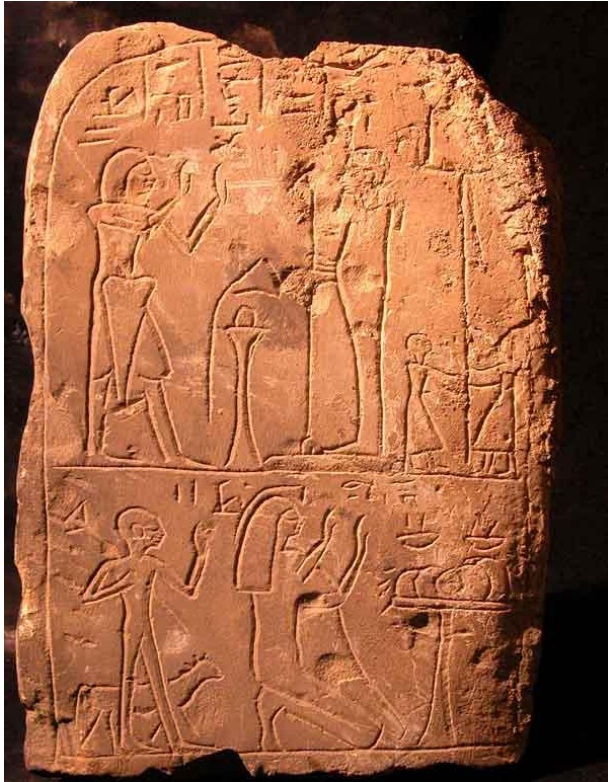


Fig. 7.1: A typical representation of juvenile child appearing behind his mother on the bottom register. Cairo Museum Stela CM 212

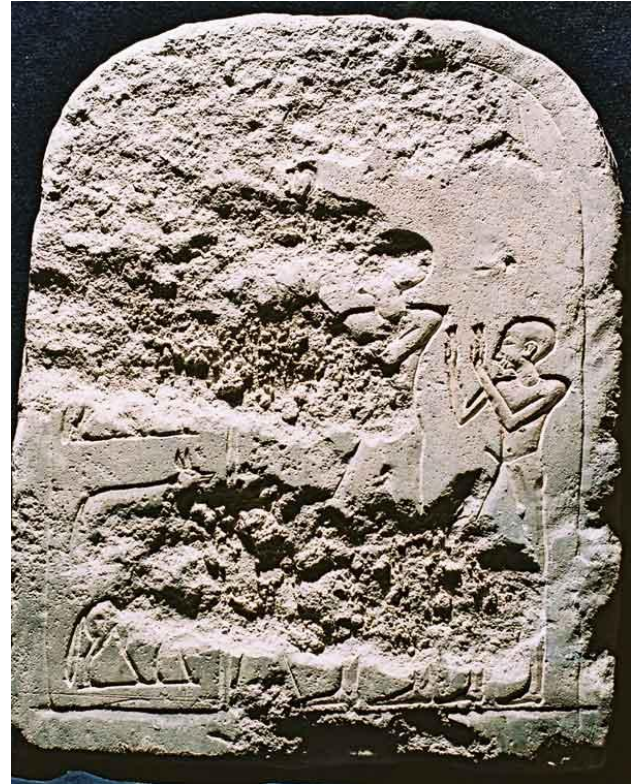


Fig. 7.2: A typical representation of a mature child shown behind his father. Cairo Museum stela CM333

Juvenile children are artistically represented as young children: they appear nude and bald, or occasionally wearing a sidelock.⁵²⁷ This makes it impossible to determine the biological sex of a juvenile child without the inclusion of additional elements, usually textual elements which name the child as a son or daughter of the donor.⁵²⁸ The nudity and androgynous nature of the depictions of juvenile children seem to indicate that they have not yet reached puberty and that the Egyptians saw these children as a group distinct from either men or women. On the other hand, mature children seem to fall along a much wider social spectrum. Mature children

⁵²⁷ The depiction of a side-lock is uncommon at Asyut. There are only two instances (CM 460, CM190) of the traditional Horus-lock, or side-lock of youth, as a marker of childhood.

⁵²⁸ A few stelae appear to separate genders on different registers. In these cases it is possible to identify the biological sex of the child based on their position relative to their parent and siblings.

are depicted wearing the forms of dress associated with the social classes identified in Chapter 5. Some mature children hold titles, indicating that they were fully integrated into Egyptian society and not simply members of their parent's household.

It is difficult to identify exactly how many children appear on the votive stelae from Asyut. Juvenile children, of whom there are 17, are depicted nude, making their appearance so distinctive that they are easy to identify and form a unique group different from men and women (see Appendix 3: Table 7.2). However, it is much more difficult to identify mature children. Only 8 stelae actually use the terms *sꜣ* (son) and *sꜣt* (daughter) to identify offspring. Most do not include text to name or identify any of the children depicted. Therefore, most children are identified by relative positioning (fig. 7.3). It is assumed that each stela showing a man and a woman with additional figures is in fact a family stela. For the sake of this study, the additional figures have been treated as children of the couple. Following this system, there are possibly 86 mature children represented on the stelae (see Appendix 3: Table 7.3).⁵²⁹ Since mature children are shown clothed, and are occasionally named and titled, they must have held some social status. Therefore, mature children were treated as adults and analyzed in Chapters 5 and 6. Given the tentative nature of the identification of mature children, this chapter will mainly focus on juvenile children. At the end, both juvenile and mature children will be analyzed in an attempt to examine the significance of public displays of family at Asyut, and possible ways in which children and families participated in religious activities as group.

⁵²⁹ While this is a generally true artistic principal, there are enough examples to the contrary that this category is very uncertain. For instance, stela CM257 includes both the wife and mother of the primary donor, who are then followed by the owner's children. Stela CP1 shows a long line of women and men, but they are all listed as offspring of the primary donor, making his wife notably absent. Other stelae, such as CM158 and CM204 place the father of the primary donor where we would expect to find his son. All of the relationships in these examples, which are confirmed by the accompanying text, show how many mature children many in fact be extended family. Therefore, the number of 86 mature children remains tentative at best.



Fig 7.3: Five Individuals Classified as Mature Children on the Basis of Their Size and Position. Stela CM175

Chapter 7.2: Family at Asyut

As discussed in chapter 5, many Egyptian texts focus on the importance of family. Even individual identity was often presented by means of genealogical statements.⁵³⁰ Beginning in the Late Old Kingdom, individual identity was often presented by including the name, and sometimes the title of the individual's father.⁵³¹ Although these texts represent a, elite male point of view, we can nonetheless see that there was societal pressure and great emphasis placed on

⁵³⁰ See Martin Fitzenreiter (ed.), *Genealogie: Realität und Fiktion von Identität: Workshop am 04. und 05. Juni 2004*. Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie 5. London: Golden House Publications (2005). (Available online at: <http://www2.hu-berlin.de/nilus/net-publications/ibaes5/index.html>); for an example of identification through an individual's father see Eric Peet, *The great tomb-robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty*. Oxford: Clarendon Press (1930), passim; for a study on the family representation in New Kingdom tombs see Sheila Whale, *The family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A study of the representation of the family in private tombs*, Australian Centre for Egyptology Studies 1, Sydney: Australian Centre for Egyptology (1989).

⁵³¹ G. Vittmann, 'Personal Names: Function and Significance', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles (2013), p. 2.

men establishing a household, getting married, and having children.⁵³² However, this is at odds with the representations of families on the votive stelae from Asyut. There appears to have been little social need for stela owners to display their family, or their familial identity (i.e. their identity as a mother, wife, husband, father, etc.) on votive stelae from Asyut. As discussed in the previous chapters, most stelae represent men alone. This suggests that prestige, power and patronage operated on the basis of loyalty to an individual, and not necessarily to a family. Such a system may have been encouraged and even fostered by the pharaoh.

The pharaoh depended upon the backing of the nobles, and he would have kept them happy and wealthy in order to ensure their support and to provide stability.⁵³³ However, these same nobles could provide a threat the authority and life of the king if he did not take precautions to curb their power. In the *Teaching of King Amenemhet I* the pharaoh is advised to:

Maintain your vigilance against those who should be subordinate to you,
But who turn out not to be so,
Men in whose loyalty one can place no trust;
Do not let yourself be alone with them
Put no trust in a brother,
Acknowledge no one as friend,
Do not raise up for yourself (1,5) intimate companions,
For nothing is to be gained from them.
...I was generous to the pauper, I sustained the orphan,
I caused him who had nothing to become at length a man of means,
But it was one who ate my bread who conspired (against me),
One to who I had given my support devised dread deeds thereby.
Those clad in my fine linen behaved toward me like worthless louts.⁵³⁴

The pharaoh had to be cautious when dealing with his nobles. To display extended family networks and patronage systems may have been seen as a threat and challenge to the power of

⁵³² See Chapter 6.2.

⁵³³ See Chapter 5.2.

⁵³⁴ Vincent A. Tobin 'The Teaching of King Amenemhet I', in William K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Cairo: American University Press in Cairo (2003), p. 168.

the king, and was therefore dangerous and to be avoided. In *The Instruction for King Merikare*, the king is specifically warned to guard against those who have many clients,

If you find some who did not have many supporters,
And whom the townspeople did not know,
But whose many partisans are now a multitude
And respect him for his possessions and for his cleverness,
One who has gained (men's) confidence
And has ingratiated himself in the sigh of his dependents,
And who persists as a troublemaker and a spreader of talk,
Get rid of him and slay his children,
Obliterate his name, and destroy his supporters,
Banish all memory of him and of the partisans who respect him.⁵³⁵

Here we see the complicated nature of the patronage system as it existed in ancient Egypt. The king was forced to rely on nobles to collect taxes and support him. This made the nobles powerful, and they could eventually become a threat to the king if their power increased and was not checked. It is notable that the passage above instructs the king to not only destroy the patron, but his family and network of clients. Thus, it could have been dangerous for patrons and clients to display their social networks, as it may have marked him as being too powerful, or possibly even seditious. This resulted in a system of self-display that focused on the depicting individuals in isolation, and not contextualized within their family and social networks.

Only 48 stone stelae (16% of all stone stelae where a donor appears) actually depict a family. For this study a family stela is defined as consisting of at least one parent and at least one child. Those stelae that do represent a family focus almost exclusively on depicting the immediate family. There is a remarkable absence of fathers, mothers, uncles and aunts (of the stela donor) on the majority of the votive stelae from Asyut.

⁵³⁵ ⁵³⁵ Vincent A. Tobin 'The Teaching for King Merikare', in William K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, Cairo: American University Press in Cairo (2003), p. 154.

There is an observable lack of kinship terminology in the Egyptian language.⁵³⁶ There are only 6 terms used to express kinship in ancient Egypt: *hzy*⁵³⁷ (husband), *hmt*⁵³⁸ (wife), *jt*⁵³⁹ (father), for *mwt*⁵⁴⁰ (mother), *sn*⁵⁴¹ (brother), and *s3*⁵⁴² (son).⁵⁴³ The latter two terms are made feminine by the addition of a -t-ending *s3t*⁵⁴⁴ (daughter) and *snt*⁵⁴⁵ (sister).⁵⁴⁶

When presenting one's identity to the community, there were few attempts by primary donors to include images of their mothers, fathers, or siblings. There are only 6 possible examples where primary donors went beyond representing their nuclear family to include images of their parents, as opposed to only depicting themselves, their spouse, or their children. The term *mwt* (mother) appears clearly on two stelae (CM200 and CM257), and is tentatively identified by DuQuesne on a third (CM486). There are only 3 possible occurrences of the term *jt*

⁵³⁶ Although it focuses on the Middle Kingdom, the most extensive study is that of Franke. See: Detlef Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, Hamburg (1983); see also: Gay Robins, "The Relationships Specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms," *Chronique d'Égypte*, 54 (1979), pp. 197-217.

⁵³⁷ *Wb* 2, 475. 10-12.

⁵³⁸ *Wb* 3, 76.16-77.19.

⁵³⁹ *Wb* 1, 141.10-19.

⁵⁴⁰ *Wb* 2, 54-1-10.

⁵⁴¹ *Wb* 4, 150.8-151.4.

⁵⁴² *Wb* 3, 408.1-409.14.

⁵⁴³ Harco Willems notes that, in the New Kingdom, the term *s3(t)* was gradually replaced by *šri(t)*. See Harco Willems, 'A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom c. 2000-1650 B.C.', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 139, 1ste Afl., Anthropologica XXV* (1983).

⁵⁴⁴ *Wb* 3, 411.9-412.7.

⁵⁴⁵ *Wb* 4, 151.5-16.

⁵⁴⁶ For a discussion of these terms see Harco Willems, 'A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom c. 2000-1650 B.C.', in: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Deel 139, 1ste Afl., Anthropologica XXV* (1983), p. 153.

(father) appearing on the stelae. This term is clearly attested twice (CM204 and CM158), with one additional possible attestation (CM058).

In terms of the relative position of women, every time a woman is identified as the *mwt* (mother) of the primary donor, she appears ahead of the wife of the primary donor (fig. 7.4). This positioning indicates that the mother of the primary donor could be included in the family of the son, and possibly even held a position superior to that of the donor's wife. This positioning is different from the depiction of fathers, who appear after the wife of the primary donor, distinguishing them as a separate family unit from his son and his wife. The relative positioning of the husband's mother appearing ahead of his wife can be seen as reflecting a society where men were expected to care for their mothers. This topic is addressed in numerous texts, such as the Instruction of Any, which encourages a man to:

Double the food your mother gave you,
Support her as she supported you;
She had a heavy load in you,
But she did not abandon you.
When you were born after your months she was yoked <to you>,
Her breast in your mouth for three years.
As you grew and your excrement disgusted,
She was not disgusted, saying: "What shall I do!"
When she sent you to school,
And you were taught to write,
She kept watching over you daily,
With bread (8,1) and beer in her house.
When as a youth you take a wife,
And you are settled in your house,
Pay attention to your offspring,
Bring him as did your mother.
Do not give her cause to blame you,
Lest she raise her hands to god,
And he hears her cries.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴⁷ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), p. 141.

Although women could be integrated into the family units of their sons, the infrequency with which the term *mwt* (mother) occurs may indicate that this was not an overly common practice.⁵⁴⁸ Of course, it is also possible that most mothers had already died by the time their son had accumulated the social and economic capital necessary to commission a votive stela.

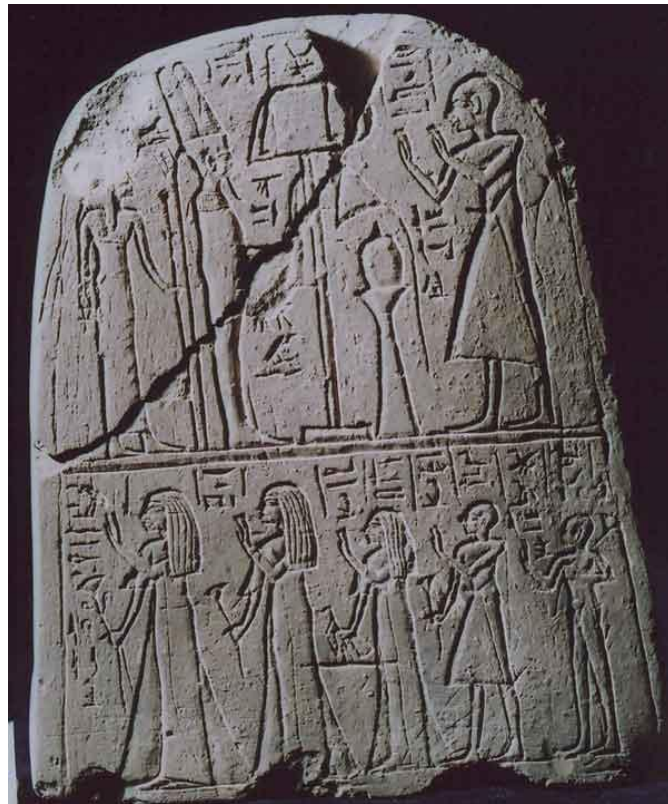


Fig. 7.4: The mother of the primary donor appearing in front of his wife on the bottom register. Cairo Museum Stela CM257

There are three instances where the term *jt* (father) can be identified on a stela from Asyut. On stelae CM058 the father is not depicted. His name appears in text only, and is listed after the names of the primary donor and his wife, but before the children of the primary

⁵⁴⁸ It is possible that some of the unidentified women appearing on the stelae may also have been mothers of primary donors. This may be indicated by the presence of the title *nbt-pr* appearing in positions subordinate to other women, indicating they were married. However, there is no way to determine these women are daughters of the primary male donor who have married, or if they are the wife of the primary donor appearing behind his mother, or even another wife.

donor.⁵⁴⁹ The other two stelae appear to represent the parents as distinct family units. CM158 depicts the primary donor standing alone, with his father and mother appearing below him on a separate register. This is one of the few stelae to contain a dual *jrj.n* (made by) formula, indicating the stela was jointly commissioned. The final example of the term *jt* appears on stela CM204. On this stela the primary donor and his wife appear kneeling, with the father and mother of the primary donor appearing behind the primary donor and his wife (fig. 7.5). In these cases, the relative position of the father and mother of the donor indicates that each group represented an independent family unit.



Fig. 7.5: The stela owner and his wife, followed by the owner's father and mother. Cairo Museum Stela CM204

⁵⁴⁹ The woman appearing on this stela appears after the primary donor and is identified as *snt.f*, 'his sister'. This term was used in ancient Egypt to refer to a wife or sister. If the woman was the sister of the primary donor, one would expect the father to not only be visually depicted, but to appear before her in both text and image. Cf. DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 256.

There are three examples of donors integrating their own siblings with their nuclear families on their votive stela. The first example is CM257, which also includes the mother of the owner (fig. 7.4). The second example is CM230. CM230 was donated by a wab-priest, and represents the family of the donor on a separate register. Going from left to right, it lists the wife (who holds the title *nbt-pr*), his son (who holds the title scribe), a woman holding a bouquet, who is followed by a woman listed as his sister Taweret, and then a smaller man with the name Kar (see fig. 7.6). This appears to be an example where the donor included his sister (or possibly aunt) and her son on his votive stela. Similar to the style used above to represent the father and mother of the donor as a separate unit, his sister and her child appear after the wife and son of the stela owner.

One of the UCL Lahun papyri shows that female relatives from outside the immediate family could be integrated into the household of a male relative. On UC 32163 (lot I.3) a soldier names Snefru lists the members of his household as:

His mother Satsopdu's daughter Shepset
 Mother of his father Harekheni
 Sister of his father Qat-senut
 Sister of his father Iset
 Sister of his father Satsneferu⁵⁵⁰

It seems extraordinary that we have three generations of women listed as living in Snefru's household. However, it is important to note that no extended male members of the family are listed in this papyrus, just as they are absent from the votive stelae at Asyut. It seems to indicate that men were expected to be independent and self-sufficient, while women could be integrated into the households of their relatives. This was no doubt a product of a social system which, as

⁵⁵⁰ Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical, volume 2: Commentary*, BAR International Series 1209 (2004), Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 110-11.

discussed in Chapter 6, afforded women few professions and public opportunities to accumulate capital independently and thus forced them to rely on family networks for support.



Fig. 7.6: A depiction of a sister of the primary donor and her son appearing on a votive stela. Cairo Museum Stela CM230.

The final reference to a sibling can be found on stela PP1. This stela is notable in many respects. Not only is the stela donated by two women, but both women also possess the title *nbt-pr* and chantress. One is a chantress of Amun and the other is a chantress of Wepwaut. Two gods are depicted on the stela. Wepwaut appears in mixed-animal human form. Another god appears in anthropomorphic, or mixed-form, but it is too damaged to tell which god it might be—

although it is tempting to speculate that it may represent Amun (fig. 7.7). Unfortunately it is not possible to view the stela, as it is in an unknown, private collection.⁵⁵¹ However, it shows how women in ancient Egypt largely gained their social and economic capital through family connections, while men primarily gained capital through their profession.



Fig. 7.7: Stela donated by two sisters. Listed in this study and DuQuesne's as PP1, currently in an unknown private collection.

The fact that votive stelae from Asyut focus on depicting the nuclear family does not mean that there was no concept of an extended family in ancient Egypt. When examining kinship and extended family relations, Marcelo Campagno writes:

⁵⁵¹ See Jacques Clère, 'À propos du nom du XIIIe nome de Haute Égypte', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 24 (1969), pp. 93-95.

From the late Old Kingdom on, the term *ꜣbt* referred to households or extended families, while the term *hꜣw* identified the close kin of an individual. From the Middle Kingdom on, several terms were in use, such as *mhwt* (clan or extended kin group), *whyt* (kin group in village contexts), *hr* (kin group living in the same household), and *hnw* (all members of a household). During the New Kingdom, *dnjt* or *dnwt* was used to refer to a familial kin group. Moreover, terms with broader meanings, such as *ht* (group, corporation, generation) or *wndw(t)* (group, troop, gang), were sometimes used to refer to kin groups.⁵⁵²

Despite the presence of this terminology, the lack of Egyptian vocabulary used to identify specific extended family relations (i.e. cousins, uncles,) combined with the absence of extended family on the votive stelae from Asyut, indicates that the focus remained on the nuclear family. For the Egyptians, the family unit was largely considered to be the immediate family unit that consisted of a mother, father, and their children. While some scholars have challenged the nuclear family as an elite construction of family structure,⁵⁵³ the distribution of social groups in this study indicates that it was uncommon for any individuals commissioning votive stelae to include images that extended beyond their immediate family.⁵⁵⁴

The lack of family (and extended family) representations from Asyut demonstrates that family identities were not usually displayed at Asyut on votive stelae, and it has been suggested above that such displays may have been seen as a threat to the crown. However, the system of

⁵⁵² See Marcelo Campagno, 'Kinship and Family Relations', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, eds. Elizabeth Frood and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles (2009), p. 4; see also Schafik Allam, 'Familie (Struktur).' In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Vol. 2, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz (1977), columns 104 – 113; and Detlef Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, Hamburg (1983), pp 178-298.

⁵⁵³ Marcelo Campagno, 'Kinship and Family Relations', in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, eds. Jacco Dieleman and Willeke Wendrich, Los Angeles (2009), p. 4; see also Juan Carlos Moreno Garcia, 'Consideraciones sobre el papel y la importancia de la familia extensa en la organización social de Egipto en el III milenio antes de Cristo.' In *Estudios sobre parentesco y Estado en el Antiguo Egipto*, ed. Marcelo Campagno, Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Signo: Universidad de Buenos Aires (2006). pp. 121 - 146.

⁵⁵⁴ It must be conceded that votive stela decorum at Asyut favored the representation of individuals, and it may have simply been an artistic preference to depict as few people as possible. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 5, the general populace did not often represent the primary donor. The poorest classes would have not only been most likely to have extended families living together, but also would not have possessed the economic capital needed to commission a votive stela.

display at Deir el-Medina was different than the system of display at Asyut and did directly display patron-client relationships. As discussed in Chapter 4, there are no so-called intermediary stelae at Asyut (Exell's Type B). Individuals who commissioned stelae depicting the king, vizier, or other high-ranking, were likely attempting to stress their political ties and connections. Similarly, many men at Deir el-Medina would jointly commission stelae with their sons, or other workmen, displaying the social networks to which they belonged. This type of display is rare at Asyut, where individuals preferred to donate single donor stelae over multiple donor stelae, and slightly favored commissioning stelae with their wives, as opposed to stelae depicting their wives and children.

The lack of juvenile and mature children appearing on votive stelae from Asyut is especially odd considering the emphasis placed on having children often found in ancient Egyptian texts.⁵⁵⁵ They were responsible for maintaining the mortuary cult of their parent. In many ways this runs counter to the way identity was constructed and displayed among the courtly elite, whose statues and tombs often traced the owner's lineage through multiple generations of ancestors as a way of displaying and legitimizing their social status. This difference should be interpreted as an aspect of audience and decorum regarding votive stelae at Asyut, and demonstrates different rules of decorum regarding each type of display. Nonetheless, this is a very significant point. More elite items like statuary and tombs would not have been viewed by as many members of society, but were intended to engage with a more literate and elite group of society. On the other hand, votive stelae were meant to engage with as wide an audience as possible. This may have led to more straightforward presentations of identity which were accessible to the entire community. It is also possible that the lack of genealogies on the

⁵⁵⁵ See chapter 6.

votive stela from Asyut is the result of a lack of space, or an unwillingness to invest the additional economic capital needed to display the lineage of the owner.

7.3 Juvenile Children

7.3.1 The Social Role and Status of Juvenile Children

Only 17 (3%) of the 509 individuals depicted on votive stelae from Asyut are juvenile children. These children appear alongside their parents on 15 different stelae. As discussed above, these children are represented in stereotypical ancient Egyptian fashion, appearing bald and nude.⁵⁵⁶ Juvenile children's lack of clothing and hair should be interpreted as a lack of social status and standing. Nothing is communicated about these children beyond their existence, which they owe to their parents. They possess no rank, have no active social role, and it is not even possible to determine their gender unless it is textually marked. Interestingly, 7 of these children can be identified as male by either their name, use of the term *s3* (son) or their positioning on the stelae.⁵⁵⁷ None of the juvenile children can be firmly identified as female. This makes it possible that all of these juvenile children were meant to represent sons, although this cannot be said definitively. What can at least be said is that no primary donor invested the economic capital to

⁵⁵⁶ For a discussion of the two dimensional representation of children in ancient Egypt see chapter 9 in Erika Feucht, *Das Kind im Alten Ägypten: Die Stellung des Kindes in Familie und Gesellschaft nach altägyptischen Texten und Darstellungen*, Frankfurt (1995).

⁵⁵⁷ Many of the stelae from Asyut separate men and women and place each gender on a different register. In these cases, where a father appears with a juvenile child and the mother with a mature daughter, the juvenile child appearing behind the father is considered to be male.

inscribe to identify a juvenile child as female, or to inscribe a female juvenile child's name. This may indicate that male children were themselves a form of capital displayed by the owner of the stela.

Juvenile children are usually depicted nude in Egyptian art. This nudity should perhaps be interpreted as signifying that they have not yet entered puberty. Juvenile children are always depicted standing on the votive stelae from Asyut, suggesting they could stand and walk on their own and were not infants. The relative height of the juvenile children depicted on the stelae ranges from approximately the upper thigh or waist of the adults with which they appear to full adult height (Chart 7.1). These differences in the heights of juvenile children are likely an attempt to represent them at various ages.



CM461



CM460



CM562



CM466



CM233



CM333



CM535



CM098



CM062

Chart 7.1: Relative Heights of Juvenile Children Appearing on Votive Stelae from Asyut

Some insight into the possible social status of these juvenile children can be gained by examining the autobiography of a Ramesside period official Bakenkhonsu. In his biography, which has preserved on a block statue, Bakenkhonsu details the major professional events of his youth career. It reads:

*I spent 4 years as an excellent youngster.
I spent 11 years as a youth,
As a trainee stable-master
For King Men[maat]re (Sety I).
I was a wab-priest of Amun for 4 years.
I was a god's father of Amun
for 12 years.
I was third priest of Amun
for 15 years.
I was second priest of Amun for 12.
He favored me; he perceived me because of my character.
He appointed me high priest of Amun
for 27 years.⁵⁵⁸*

Here we can see that Bakenkhonsu apparently lived as a toddler with no social expectations or responsibility for 4 years, after which time he began formal training. This time frame roughly correlates to Egyptian textual references to breastfeeding. When describing the relationship between a mother and son, *The Instruction of Any* states, “When you were born after your months, she was yet yoked <to you>. Her breast in your mouth for three years...”⁵⁵⁹ If it was common to breastfeed for approximately 3 years, then it seems that a child was apprenticed shortly after weaning. In the case of Bakenkhonsu, he then spent the next 11 years as a ‘youth’ in the training stable of the king.⁵⁶⁰ Finally, at age 15, he became a priest of Amun and began his

⁵⁵⁸ Elizabeth Froom, *Biographical Texts from Ramesside Egypt*. Society of Biblical Literature: Atlanta (2007), p. 41.

⁵⁵⁹ Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature, Vol. II: The New Kingdom*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1976), p. 141.

⁵⁶⁰ Similar to the autobiography of Bakenkhonsu, the Late Period Insinger Papyrus places the time of apprenticeship at 10 years. It states that “He spends another ten <years> acquiring the work of instruction by which he will live.” Translation from Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: Volume 3: The Late Period*. University of California Press: Los Angeles (1980), p. 199.

professional life. Although they would have been trained locally, the early life of some elites and craftsmen at Asyut may have been similar to that of Bakenkhonsu.

Based on the height of juvenile children depicted on stelae from Asyut, and the information contained in the autobiography of Bakenkhonsu, it seems likely that juvenile children at Asyut ranged in age from approximately 4 to 16 years of age. Until they reached the age of three to four, children were not part of formal society. Up to that moment they were not considered true individuals, but existed only as extensions of their parents (perhaps only their mother?). They would then start to assist their parents, or begin training as an apprentice, until they hit puberty. In the Roman world the minimum age of puberty was fourteen; St. Augustine put the age at sixteen and, legally speaking, one became a legal adult in Rome at eighteen.⁵⁶¹ It is likely the onset of puberty occurred at similar ages in ancient Egypt, falling somewhere between fourteen-eighteen.

The depiction of children on the stelae indicates that children were not part of formal society until they reached age 3-4. At this point they were represented not as individuals with any social power, but as individuals who existed simply as extensions of their parent's identity. While the children of the peasants and farmers would likely have begun to assist their parents in the field, the male children of craftsmen and elite individuals would have begun their formal education or apprenticeship.⁵⁶² Training lasted approximately 10-12 years, or until they hit

⁵⁶¹ Emiel Eyben, 'Antiquity's View of Puberty', in *Latomus*, T. 31, Fasc. 3 (Oct-Dec, 1972) p. 696.

⁵⁶² Here I use the terms education and apprenticeship together, but a distinction between the two should be made. Education implies a social institution where students are broadly trained in a variety of subjects such as mathematics, reading, ethics, and propriety. This likely included some scribal training, and the genre of instruction texts can largely be seen as belonging to this sphere of training. However, apprenticeship implies more advanced training in a specific craft, or subject—and this likely took place in an informal setting. For an overview see: Nikolaos Lazaridis, "Education and Apprenticeship," In *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, edited by Elizabeth Froid and Willeke Wendrich, University of California, Los Angeles (2010),

puberty, at which point they became mature children and likely earned a title or position and formally entered society as individuals with an independent identity that was distinct from their parents.

7.3.2 Juvenile Children as Religious Participants

In Excell's study on Ramesside votive stelae, she posits that all stelae are commemorative and meant to represent participation in a specific cult or religious ceremony.⁵⁶³ As discussed in Chapter 4, there are problems with applying this interpretation to all votive stelae. However, there can be little doubt that many stelae do in fact represent generalized conceptions of religious practice, if not representing an actual specific event. This is encoded in the representation itself. In discussing the Middle Kingdom stelae donated at the Terrace of the Great God at Abydos, Luiselli notes that:

The donor is shown either with raised arms, in adoring gesture, or with hanging arms along the body and empty hands in a prayer pose. An offering table can—but must not—be part of the representation thus suggesting the execution of an actual ritual offering in order to get into contact with the deity.⁵⁶⁴

<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025jxjn>; for education see: Hellmut Brunner, *Altägyptische Erziehung*. 2nd edition. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz. (1991); for apprenticeship see: Kathlyn Cooney, "Informal apprenticeship: Sketching on figured ostraca in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art." In *Archaeology and apprenticeship: Acquiring body knowledge of the ancient world*, edited by Willeke Wendrich, University of Arizona Press: Tucson (2012).

⁵⁶³ Karen Excell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers*, p. 138.

⁵⁶⁴ Maria Michela Luiselli, "Images of Personal Religion in Ancient Egypt: An Outline", in *Kult und Bild: Die bildliche Dimension des Kultes im Alten Orient, in Der Antike und in der Neuzeit*, edited by Maria Michela Luiselli, Jürgen Mohn and Stephanie Gripenrog, Diskurs Religion: vol. 1, Ergon-Verlag: Würzburg, p. 20.

These stelae from Abydos, which served as the prototype for New Kingdom votive stelae, demonstrate the ways in which individuals attempted to interact with the divine. Therefore, we should also interpret the ways in which secondary donors are depicted, and the offerings they give, as reflective of their ritual actions and the ways in which they attempted to communicate with a deity. When viewed in this way, even though they are secondary, juvenile children can be seen as active ritual participants.

As discussed in Chapter 1, the goal of Egyptian art was not individual portraiture, but an idealized representation that encapsulated the essential aspects of what was being depicted. The inclusion of juvenile children on some stelae can therefore be seen as indicating that some families worshipped together and offered to the gods as a group. This being the case, it may have been very important for families who participated in the religious festival of Wepwaut to show all the family members who took part in the procession and to represent them in ways commensurate with their age and social standing. Children who appear on the stelae often adopt a specific pose, perhaps indicating the ways in which children offered to the gods and participated in ancient religious practice. The presence of a juvenile child also suggests their parent (or parents) gained something from the display of a juvenile child.

Despite their youth, the juvenile children who appear on votive stelae from Asyut are often represented as active participants in cult practice. While they do not interact directly with a deity, children often appear with a specific cult item and pose. Nine juvenile children are depicted holding what appears to be a large lotus flower, or multiple lotus flowers. The flower is usually held with one hand, while the stem/shaft rests on their shoulder at such an angle that the head of the scepter/lotus appears directly behind the back of their head and well past the shoulder on which it rests (CM098). While flowers are common offerings, the manner in which the child

is holding the lotus seems to be representative of children. This particular iconography only appears on the stelae 14 times. Nine juvenile children (52%) are depicted in this way, and I therefore refer to this representation as the ‘juvenile pose’ (see fig 7.8).⁵⁶⁵ Two mature children appear in this pose, but are still represented as being smaller in stature than their parents and, in the case of CM096, depicted smaller than their accompanying siblings.⁵⁶⁶ The social status of the individuals depicted this way on the remaining three stelae is unclear, and it is difficult to determine why these individuals are represented in a way typically associated with juvenile children.



Fig 7.8: A typical representation of a juvenile child in the ‘juvenile pose.’ Cairo Museum stela CM098

The three stelae on which adults appear in the ritual pose of children are each unusual in some way. Stela CM541 is divided into three registers (see fig 7.9). The first two depict canines

⁵⁶⁵ Juvenile children depicted in this way appear on stelae CM062, CM460, CM233, CM098, CM488, CM562, CM333, CM257, and CM335

⁵⁶⁶ Mature children depicted in this way appear on stelae CM 096 and CM491.

surrounding offering tables. On the bottom register a woman appears on the right, facing to the left. Rather than appearing behind her, a man appears across the offering table from her holding a lotus to his shoulder. On stela CM058 the lotus to shoulder pose is adopted by a woman who appears to be the wife of the primary donor (fig. 7.10). Three women are depicted, each smaller than the last. The first two of these women have the lotus to shoulder pose. While the text mentions the wife (*snt*) of the primary donor, it also mentions the father—but he does not appear on the stela, making it possible that the wife does not appear either. In that case, the three women may be the daughters of the stela owner. The third stela, EA 896, is the most perplexing of all of these stelae. EA 896 is an anepigraphic stela that depicts a woman in the juvenile pose followed by a man in a juvenile pose. This is the only stela where a primary donor is depicted in the juvenile pose.

The woman represented on EA 896 is depicted in a unique fashion, wearing only a skirt and no blouse (fig 7.11). No other woman depicted on the stela appears topless, and this is likely an indication of a low social status. The man, who appears behind her, is shorter than she is, indicating that he is her son. It is hard to imagine what the social status of this woman might be. The fact that each of the non-juvenile children depicted in the juvenile pose are atypical in some way may indicate that this depiction was special, and reserved for those of particular (i.e. lower) social status.

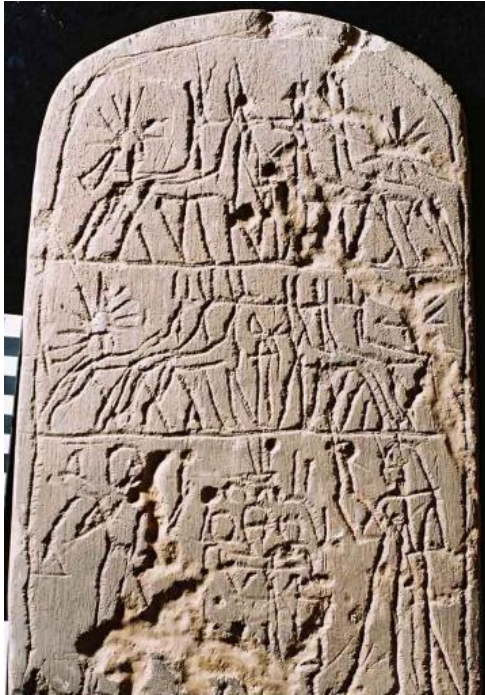


Fig 7.9: An unusual example of juvenile pose being adopted by a man, or mature child. Cairo Museum Stela CM541.

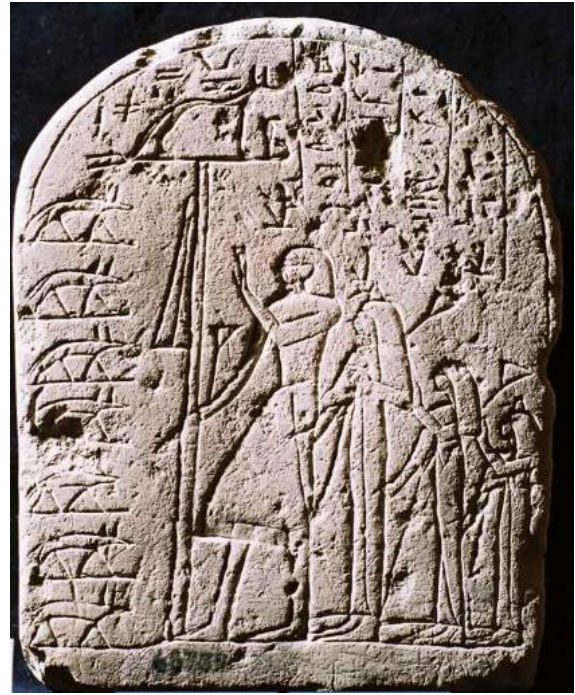


Fig. 7.10: A wife and daughter, or two mature daughters, in the juvenile pose. Cairo Museum Stela CM058



Fig. 7.11: The only example of a primary donor adopting the juvenile pose. British Museum EA 896

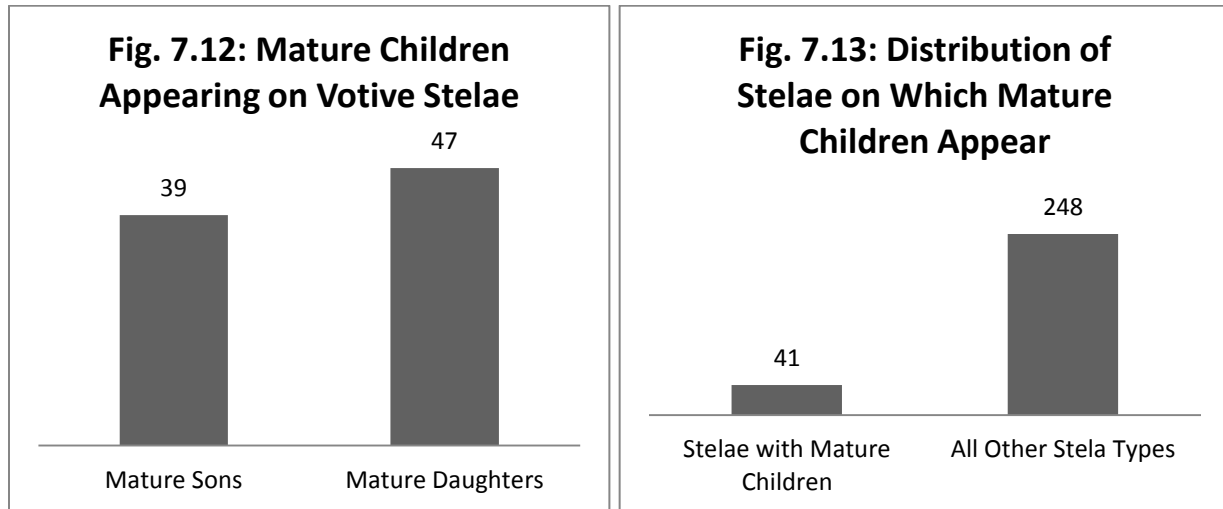
I believe that it is clear that the majority of individuals adopting a juvenile pose were children, although it is unclear why some mature children, and possibly adults, adopt this pose. It may be meant to signify that individuals depicted in this manner participated in the procession by making offerings, but were only allowed to make offerings of a certain kind. As discussed in Chapters 6, while women were more likely to pour libations. Perhaps lotuses, which occur as a stock offering in many scenes, were the most appropriate offering for children (both juvenile and mature) to give to gods. Regardless of what exactly the juvenile and offering of a lotus may signify, one may assume that it signifies something. Juvenile children were not completely hidden, or completely passive. While their numbers are small, so are the numbers of wives depicted, relatively speaking. It can therefore be concluded that children actively participated in festival practices, and made offerings to the gods, and the depiction of children was of some social value to their parents. Whether or not this interaction was mediated by the primary donor is an interesting question, which can unfortunately not be answered.⁵⁶⁷

Chapter 7.4 Mature Children at Asyut

There are significantly more mature children represented on the stelae from Asyut than juvenile children. However, as discussed in the introduction of this chapter, the identification of many of these mature children remains tentative. There are possibly 86 (17% of all donors)

⁵⁶⁷ A priest mediating religious activities is mentioned in letters, but does not seem to have been visually depicted. See, Maria Luiselli, "Images of Personal Religion in Ancient Egypt: An Outline", in *Kult und Bild: Die bildliche Dimension des Kultes im Alten Orient, in Der Antike und in der Neuzeit*, edited by Maria Michela Luiselli, Jürgen Mohn and Stephanie Gripenotrog, Diskurs Religion: vol. 1, Ergon-Verlag: Würzburg, p. 29; and Maria Luiselli "Chapter 3: The Personal Approach to the Divine in Ancient Egypt," in *Sacred and Profane: Treasures of Ancient Egypt from the Myers Collection, Eton College and University of Birmingham*, edited by Evrydiki Georganteli and Martin Bommas. London (2010), pp. 63-86. As many of the individuals on the stela are represented as priests, it is possible they mediated their family's religious activities, but this remains uncertain.

mature children represented on the stelae. Forty-seven of the mature children are daughters, and 39 are sons (fig. 7.12). These children appear on 41 votive stelae (14% of all votive stone stelae. fig 7.13).



As regards the display of capital, only 35 (41%) mature children are named and only 9 are titled (10%). This minimal display of capital is perhaps to be expected, given that many of these children were likely still members of their parent's household. However, an examination of some of the titles may indicate that certain parents attempted to enhance their own status by including the prestigious titles held by their children.

The group of titled mature children is comprised of 2 *šmꜣyt n Wp-wꜣwt* (Chantress of Wepwaut), a *sš* (Scribe), a *sš n pr-ḥd n nb tꜣwy* (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands), a *sš...n pꜣ mšꜥ* (...Scribe of the expeditionary force), a *wꜥw* (Infantryman), a *wꜥb n ḥbt* (Wab-priest of the Festival?), a *ḥry jḥ* (Overseer of the Herd), and a *nbt pr* (Mistress of the

House). The relatively high titles of some of these children indicates that they themselves belonged to various elite classes, which is confirmed by an examination of the dress of some mature children.

As discussed in Chapter 6, it is not possible to determine the social class of women by their dress. However, as demonstrated in Chapter 5, it is possible to do so for men. Most mature sons appearing on the votive stelae appear in the generic dress of the Lower Elite class—regardless of the class to which their father belonged. This is perhaps to be expected, as they had not yet taken over the office of their father. This is important to note however, as it indicates that social positions needed to be actually held to gain access to the capital that such an office granted—although it would have been assumed that a son would take his father's position upon the latter's death, decorum did not permit the depiction of the transfer of rank and status until it actually occurred. This analysis is confirmed by the fact that there is not a single example of a man and his son are both being depicted as members of the Local High Elite class (i.e. wearing a *mss*). When sons of Local High Elite are depicted, they always appear in the dress of the Lower Elite. This indicates a well-balanced social system that did not permit the expansion of the elite class. Rank and position were tightly controlled. This mechanism could have lessened elite competition, as there was not an expanding noble class fighting amongst each other for rank and position.

There are two examples where children are depicted of a higher social class than their father. CM460 depicts a man from the Lower Elite class with two sons. One of the sons is depicted wearing *mss*, and therefore belonging to the High Elite class. Interesting, the other son is depicted in Lower Elite dress (fig. 7.14). There is another example, CM158, where a father belonging to the Military Class is shown with a son who belongs to the High Elite class (fig.

7.15). The depiction of these two High Elite individuals demonstrates that there was a degree of social mobility at Asyut, at least among the elite classes. This is confirmed by a text included on stela CM200.

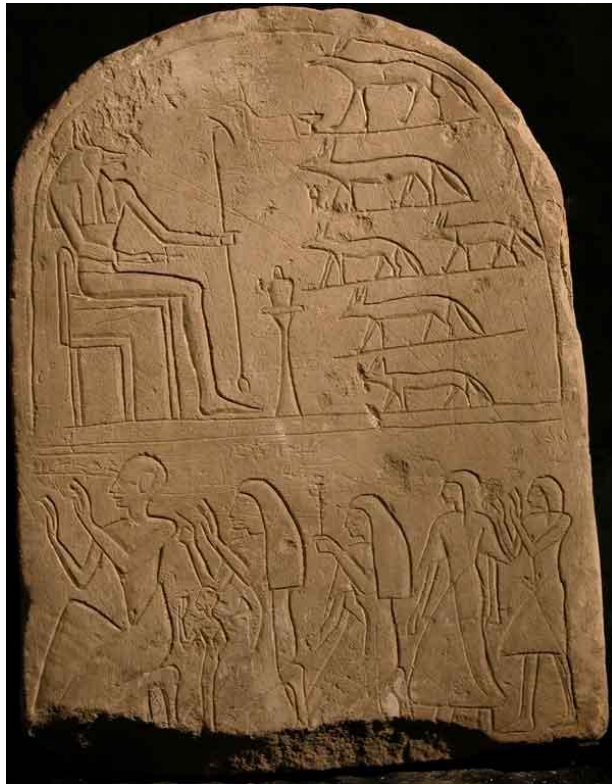


Fig. 7.14: A Lower Elite man depicted with two sons: One of the High Elite Class and one of the Lower Elite. Cairo Museum stela CM158.



Fig. 7.15: A father of the military class depicted With a son who is a member of the High Elite. Cairo Museum stela CM460.

The text found on stela CM200 discuss the humble origins of the donor (fig. 7.16). The owner of the stela, Nakht-Amun, writes, “I am a poor man, without resources, a junior one of his fathers, and I am not rich in the possessions of his father. I had no mother. As for the one whom Wepwaut fashions, the marvel which will come, he will find (it).”⁵⁶⁸ While the exact meaning of this autobiographical statement is unclear, it seems to imply that Nakht-Amun was of humble origins and was a self-made man of sorts. The content of the stela makes this a somewhat

⁵⁶⁸ DuQuesne, *The Salakhana Trove*, p. 286.

dubious claim. While he claims he has no mother, his mother appears on the stela and possesses the title *šmꜣyt n Wp-wꜣwt* (Chantress of Wepwaut). This should instead be taken as reflection of personal piety. The presentation of a donor as alone, and without friends or resources, is a topos in the personal piety texts of the New Kingdom.⁵⁶⁹ He is showing that he is ‘in the hand of the god,’ and is attributing his success as the result of his devotion to the god Wepwaut. It was through his piety and devotion that he was able to advance beyond the rank of his parents.

The statements of Nakht-Amun,⁵⁷⁰ combined with the images of sons who rose above the rank of their father, demonstrates that social mobility between elite classes was possible at Asyut. The analysis of other mature children also shows that children did not automatically inherit the social status of their fathers. This seems to imply that membership to the High Elite class at Asyut was extremely small, and tightly regulated—at least in terms of displaying connection to this social group. Unfortunately, as mature children are not primary donors of the stelae they donate, it is not possible to isolate any religious trends or patterns of mature children at Asyut. However, to attempt to do so would likely be redundant. Since mature children belong to various social classes, they would have been subject to the religious practices and trends associated with the Lower Elite, Ritual Specialist, Military Class, and Local High Elite, and Courtly Elite as they were outline discussed in Chapters 5.

⁵⁶⁹ For a literary analysis of the themes associated with personal piety see: Gerhard Fecht, *Literarische Zeugnisse zur "persönlichen Frömmigkeit" in Ägypten: Analyse der Beispiele in den ramessidischen Schulpapyri*. Heidelberg (1965).

⁵⁷⁰ Whether they applied to Nakht-Amun or not, I believe that the theme presented by him demonstrates the concept that individuals could advance beyond the station to which they were born.

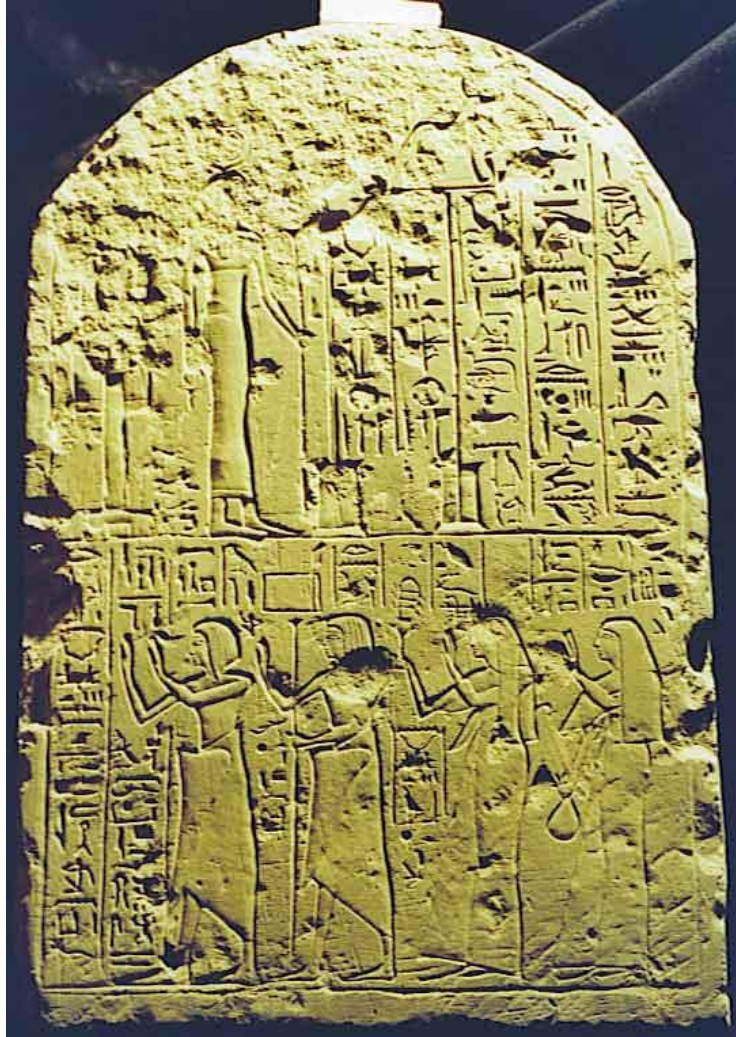


Fig. 7.16: Stela of Nakht-Amun where he describes his humble origins. Stela CM200

7.5 Summary and Discussion

Children at Asyut seemed to have played a minimal role in public life, and the presentation of family in a public setting (i.e. the settings where the votive stelae were deposited) was uncommon. The fact that few children are depicted on the votive stelae from Asyut is a

concept which seems to run counter to Egyptian preoccupations with establishing households and having children. However, even the identification of ancestors and extended family was rare. Some common methods of presenting identity, such as the genealogical listings often found in tombs and on statutes, are notably absent from the stelae. The lack of family representations show that the religious setting of a public festival favored the presentation of individual identity over family identity, and was possibly the result of a political system that discouraged the building and display of partisan networks that could be seen as a challenge to the king.

When children do appear at Asyut, they fall into two distinct categories: 1) juvenile children, who are depicted nude, and 2) mature children who are clothed, belonged to a variety of social classes, and possessed various degrees of social status. Juvenile children seem to have no status, and solely existed as extensions of their parents identity. Notably, only male juvenile children were named. This may indicate that male juvenile children were more valued, and stelae owners were therefore more inclined to invest the additional economic capital to display that they did in fact have sons. This extra investment was necessary as it is not possible to distinguish the sex of a juvenile child without any accompanying text, or resorting to other strategies, such as organizing each gender on separate registers. It is suggested that these juvenile children ranged in age from perhaps 3 years to approximately 17 years old, when the onset of male puberty likely began. Therefore, juvenile children are likely children who were in the process of being educated, or formally apprenticed. For this reason they are depicted with neither titles nor clothing, as they possess no societal position. Rather, they are still in the process of becoming active members of society with some measure of social power and identity.

While juvenile children possessed no social status, they do appear to have been active religious participants. Juvenile children at Asyut are often depicted in what I term the ‘juvenile

pose.’ In this pose they hold a lotus flower, or a bouquet of flowers, as an offering to the god. It is unclear if this ritual would have been mediated by the primary donor, or perhaps a priest. Nonetheless, it demonstrates the way in which formal Egyptian religion could incorporate a wide cross-section of the populace—even juvenile children. It also shows that not only did children and whole families participate in these religious practices, but there also existed a social need amongst some donors to commission votive stelae that commemorate and display these familial ritual acts. However, the fact that so few stelae actually depict the presence of juvenile children shows that most individuals engaging in religious display were more concerned with constructing and presenting their public, professional identity, rather than commemorating the exact nature of a specific ritual event. It highlights that many individuals were primarily interested in using votive practice, and its display, as a tool for the construction and maintenance of individual identity and social hierarchies than creating multifaceted objects which could have ritually functioned for an entire family unit and not just the individual donor.

. Mature children, or children who hold social positions and have already entered public life, appear in greater numbers than juvenile children. As these children do not appear as the primary donors of the stelae on which they appear, it is not possible to draw many conclusions about their religious participation past highlighting that their appearance serves as further evidence demonstrating the possible familial nature of religious practice at Asyut. An analysis of mature children also allows us to determine how social positions were passed through generations, and recognize that there was a limited degree of social mobility in provincial centers.

The majority of male mature children appearing on votive stelae are depicted as belonging to the Lower Elite class, regardless of the class of their father. This difference

indicates that children were not automatically admitted into the social class of their parents—far from it. While some sons of men from Military and Ritual Specialist classes were depicted as the belonging to the class as their fathers, no sons of men belonging to the High Elite class were shown belonging to that class. Children were apparently forced to wait until they formally inherited their father's social position before they could display the capital associated with that class and position. This means the sons of elite men would have been forced to find occupations before inheriting their father's position and resources. Apparently this system also allowed some men to surpass the status of their fathers. This social mobility is evidenced by a small number of stelae where the primary donors are shown as members of the Lower Elite or Military classes, and their sons are depicted as belonging to the High Elite class. Notably, the text inscribed on stela CM200 also discusses how individuals could overcome their social origins. However, the few cases where this appears can likely be seen as an indication that, while there was a concept of meritorious societal advancement through devotion and hard work, it was not common for children to exceed the social status of their parents.

Chapter 8: Summary and Conclusions

This dissertation set out to examine the ways in which provincial social identities (i.e. membership in a social group, individual social status, gender, and age) were presented, established, and maintained through participation in a local religious festival. Through an examination of personal religious display as it is represented on votive stelae from the Salakhana Trove, it is possible to determine some of the social structures that contributed to the establishment of local rules of artistic decorum with which individuals (and artisans) were forced to negotiate while attempting to present unique, individual identities. The products of these negotiations document not only the desire of individuals from all social groups to participate in formal aspects of Egyptian religious practice, but also highlights the social and cultic complexity of the provincial town of Asyut in New Kingdom Egypt.

John Baines has written extensively on the principle of decorum and the role and influence of social structures on religious experience and artistic depiction in ancient Egypt.⁵⁷¹ However, few studies have been able to produce a nuanced analysis of how an individual's identity was tied to religious practice and understanding. Previous scholars who have engaged in such studies have been limited by lack of evidence and were only able to make broad distinctions in religious practice such as royal vs. non-royal, elite vs. non-elite, or male vs. female religious practice. Some scholars have focused on the type, quality and cost of votive

⁵⁷¹ John Baines, 'Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions.' *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 27 (1990), pp. 1-23; John Baines, 'Kingship Before Literature: The World of the King in the Old Kingdom.' In: *Selbstverständnis und Realität: Akten des Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie Mainz 15-17, 1995*. Ägypten und Altes Testament 36, Beiträge zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie 1. Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden (1997), pp. 125-74; John Baines, *Visual and Written Culture in Ancient Egypt*, Oxford University Press: Oxford (2007), pp. 14-29; John Baines, *High Culture and Experience in Ancient Egypt*, Equinox Publishing: Sheffield (2013), pp. 11-20

objects in order to make these distinctions.⁵⁷² However, as noted by Geraldine Pinch, “the quality of craftsmanship is not always an indication of wealth or social status.”⁵⁷³ This has led some scholars to question whether it is even possible to identify connections between social groups and the display of certain religious practices.⁵⁷⁴ Few have tested the concept of decorum in a practical discussion of display to determine why people show themselves engaged in public ritual activity, how that depiction is regulated, and what individuals may have been hoping to socially achieve by engaging in public displays of identity. Through an analysis of iconographic and textual variables found on 494 votive stelae found in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Djefay-Hapy III at Asyut, I have identified 6 distinct social groups at Asyut. I was also able to identify different religious and social trends for each social group, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of social identity and how identity shaped and limited religious practice and conceptions, and I was able to see how the social structures work to create patronage, balance among officials, balance between landed gentry families, their clients, and state institutions and temples in ancient Egypt.

I have identified six social groups at Asyut.⁵⁷⁵ These are: The Courtly Elite, Local High Elite, Military, Ritual Specialist, Lower Elite, and General Populace. Each of these groups had different levels of religious access and understanding, and employed different strategies to create and display their individual identity through depictions of religious practice. The Courtly Elite

⁵⁷² See for instance: Battiscombe Gunn, ‘The religion of the poor in ancient Egypt’, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 3 (1916), pp. 81 – 95.

⁵⁷³ See: Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993) p. 349.

⁵⁷⁴ See: Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor*, Griffith Institute: London (1993), Chapter 2.6.4. See also Maria Luiselli, *Die Suche nach Gottesnähe. Die altägyptische ‘persönliche Frömmigkeit’ von der Ersten Zwischenzeit bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches*. Ägypten und Altes Testament vol. 73, Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden (2011), Chapter 4 (passim).

⁵⁷⁵ See Chapter 5.

does not appear to have donated votive stelae. While there can be no doubt that they had the economic capital to donate votive stelae, this group appears to have preferred commissioning statuary. Nevertheless, the statue of Siese III, which depicts him as a standard bearer of Wepwaut, indicates that, if the Courtly Elite were present at Asyut during the procession of Wepwaut, they would have enjoyed a privileged role in the festival. However, the lack of items of material culture associated with the Courtly Elite in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III indicates that the courtly elite were not interested in engaging in lasting forms of material self-display within the context of the procession of Wepwaut. It seems likely that they did not deposit material forms of self-display in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III because they chose to place their statues in the temples where the procession began and ended.

All the other social groups at Asyut commissioned votive stelae, which were deposited in visible locations as part of the procession of Wepwaut (unfortunately the lack of excavation of the temple of Wepwaut makes it unclear if individuals deposited stelae inside and around the temple itself as part of the procession). However, they did not all enjoy the same level of cult access, or even have the same tastes regarding the depiction of deities. Over 90% of the stelae from all social groups who commissioned votive stelae depicted themselves worshipping Wepwaut. Different groups chose to highlight their connection to different forms of Wepwaut. For instance, the Local High Elite were more than twice as likely to depict themselves worshipping Wepwaut in mixed animal-human form, and were also most likely to donate a stela that did not depict Wepwaut, demonstrating the religious options and agency available to this social group. On the other hand, members of the Ritual Specialist group focused almost entirely on depicting themselves worshipping Wepwaut in the form a divine standard, possibly in an attempt to display their special cult status and connection to the procession. The Lower Elite

were more eclectic in their commissioning of votive stelae. Some individuals chose to display the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut, but not many. They also donated some stelae to gods other than Wepwaut. Again though, the percentage of individuals from the Lower Elite who depicted themselves worshipping gods other than Wepwaut was small, especially when compared to members of the Military and Local High Elite. Individuals from the General Populace are usually not even present on the stelae they donate, and focus their devotion more on the theriomorphic form of Wepwaut than the members of any other social group. Interestingly, no members of the General Populace are shown interacting with the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut, while no member of the Local High Elite depicts himself worshipping Wepwaut in solely theriomorphic forms.

The difference in religious practice displayed by each social group demonstrates the wide variety of religious practices and conceptions at Asyut—and yet it seems almost certain some forms of religious activity were not displayed. Asyut was home to many cults besides that of Wepwaut. However, the vast majority of individuals did not express or display any religious connection to gods other than Wepwaut—suggesting there was little to be gained socially by displaying religious activity centered on other gods. An association with the cult of Wepwaut provided individuals with more social and economic capital than associations with smaller cults, and was therefore more likely to be publicly displayed and emphasized. Even the high priests of Hathor and Amun chose to display a connection to Wepwaut over depictions to the gods they regularly served. This is important to note, as each social group depicted variability in their religious practices, indicating a range of options in what they could display, with individuals belonging to more elite social groups possessing more options and greater religious access.

Membership to an elite social group did not guarantee access to restricted religious practice. For instance, while the Local High Elite enjoyed a higher level of religious access as a group, many individuals in the Local High Elite still could not depict themselves interacting with the mixed animal-human form of Wepwaut, indicating that admission to the temple and cult statues was restricted even to them. Or, at the very least, decorum prevented many of the Local High Elite from displaying this type of ritual activity. The restriction of religious practice and display among the elite indicates the presence of multiple, overlapping social networks at Asyut. There must have been other networks beyond membership in a social group at Asyut that provided individuals with the social capital needed to enter the temple and access and display different forms of Wepwaut. Interestingly, while Egyptologists tend to stress the connection between wealth, power, and temples in ancient Egypt, the highest social groups (Local High Elite and Military) were mostly comprised of men who held secular positions. At Asyut it was the Ritual Specialist and Lower Elite groups who drew their capital from their positions and connections within the temple of Wepwaut. Most men of The Local High Elite likely held and managed their own land and local other resources, while the Military gained capital through military exploits and the state, and could also hold or lease land. However, the large resources and lands belonging to the temple of Wepwaut would have created a large class of priests and temple workers who would have managed these local resources and profited from them. The temple (as the main religious and state institution) and procession of Wepwaut were the venues that all of these social groups manipulated to display and reinforce their identity and social status.

Displays of social identity at Asyut were not limited to men. Women also donated votive stelae. At Asyut women were largely defined through their connection to their spouse, and

normally appear behind or beneath their husbands in subordinate roles. The lack of variety in personal adornment (i.e. clothing and hairstyle) available to women can be seen as a reflection of a society that did not overly value public displays of female social identity and status. Instead, depictions of women usually focused on their private roles as wives and mothers. However, women donated far more votive stelae at Asyut than any other New Kingdom site. In fact, women at Asyut donated votive stelae at more than double the rate of women living at any other New Kingdom site.⁵⁷⁶ Women who do appear on the votive stelae are often represented pouring libation offerings, and at much higher rate than their male counterparts, indicating that they played an active role in the cult of Wepwaut. The increased prominence of women on the stelae from Asyut demonstrates that, although they were not equal to men, women in provincial settings appear to have enjoyed more social prominence and social agency than women at large, urban centers. The increased agency and visibility of women at Asyut is likely a result of the more homogenous nature of provincial society. In provincial towns the populations were usually longstanding,⁵⁷⁷ resulting in firmly established social roles. Elite families likely faced less social competition than they would have at the large cities associated with the royal court, allowing women to more easily accumulate their own capital through their family connections and role in the local temple.

Beyond the husband and wife, other members of the family are notably absent from most votive stelae. Even representations of stela owner's children are uncommon, and any depictions

⁵⁷⁶ The rate for women donating votive stelae at Memphis was similar to Asyut. However, there are only 17 total stelae (2 donated by women), making it difficult to say if this was truly representative of practice at the site. See Chapter 6.2.

⁵⁷⁷ In ancient Egypt only the elite would have possessed the economic capital necessary to travel. Most individuals would have been tied to the land they worked, and existed in the same town for generations, similar to serfs in medieval Europe.

of extended family members on the stelae are extremely rare. The absence of children on votive stelae seems somewhat counterintuitive, given the abundance of depictions of children in tombs and on funerary stelae, and the many Egyptian texts that place great emphasis on having children, thus indicating that having children was an important social value.⁵⁷⁸ Even so, the occasional presence of juvenile children on some of the stelae indicates that even young children actively participated in religious activity at the site. Many juvenile children hold offerings of lotus flowers, indicating that they could actively offer to the gods in a formal religious setting. Mature children (i.e. children who are depicted as adults) appear more commonly than juvenile children, and appear to have been constrained by the same rules of decorum as their parents. Interestingly, many mature children are represented as belonging to a social group different than that of their parents. Most mature children are depicted as members of the Lower Elite, regardless of the social group to which their parents belonged. However, a few examples depict sons of men from the Military and Lower Elite as members of the Local High Elite.⁵⁷⁹ This indicates not only that children did not automatically inherit the social status and position of their parents, but also that there was a limited degree of social mobility between groups at Asyut. The variety of individuals depicted on the votive stelae from Asyut, as well as the other votive objects found in the tomb (such as clay figurines) demonstrate that individuals of all social standing could participate in religious practices at the site. While the cult statue was sheltered in the sanctuary, to which access was denied to the laity, local religious processions and festivals allowed the entire population to engage with the divine presence and thus limit the distance between deity and believer.

⁵⁷⁸ See Chapter 6.2.

⁵⁷⁹ See Chapter 7.4.

There were physical degrees of Gottesnähe (divine approximation). While certain individuals were able to get physically closer to certain forms of the deity, the idea that one form of the god was more powerful than another is likely a modern perception. There can be little doubt that entering the temple and interacting with the cult statue required the possession of certain forms of social capital, but this is not the same as being more religiously efficacious. At Asyut, it appears that members of every social group wished to participate in religious practices to the extent that they were allowed. Most elite individuals used the context of the religious procession to establish and commemorate their place in the social and religious hierarchy. While members of the General Populace do not usually appear to have possessed the economic capital needed to create lasting material offerings, they likely made other offerings. The depictions of perishable offerings such as libations, flowers, and even meat, makes it clear that many individuals offered items which would leave no trace in the archaeological record, indicating even wider religious participation than that demonstrated by the votive objects and stelae found in the tomb of Djefay-Hapy III. It is even possible that members of the General Populace also engaged in displays of prestige, but these offerings were of a perishable nature, and required less investment of economic capital. Offerings of wine would no doubt carry greater social prestige than offering water; offering incense would likely be more respected than offering flowers. In this way, even the members of the General Populace could have engaged in acts of conspicuous consumption in a formal religious setting.

While it is impossible to recover beliefs and motivations without emic cognitive access through textual sources, I believe it is unlikely that the restriction of certain divine manifestations would have caused societal strife, or envy among social groups. Individuals at Asyut represented the gods in the form that best matched their religious practice and understanding. This usually

meant depicting Wepwaut in the form of a divine standard, or as a canine. It does not seem likely that individuals were jealous of those who could access the cult statue, although they *were* likely envious that they did not possess the social and economic capital needed to access the cult statue. The texts and depictions show that individuals all felt they could have a personal connection with the divine. Indeed, for most individuals representing the form of the god with which they were most familiar was probably seen as most efficacious. A similar trend can be observed among many modern-day Catholics. Catholics in many regions pray to local versions of Mary, such as the Lady of Guadalupe in the Americas, or the Lady of Covadonga in Spain. These are not seen as lesser versions of the Virgin Mary, but as specific local manifestations which are tied to that region, making them more accessible. The same concept of accessibility and effectiveness also holds true for many Catholic saints, some of which are not only tied to specific regions, but are also affiliated with specific requests, or crises.⁵⁸⁰ Similar beliefs also hold true for ancient Egypt. The concept that divine power was locally based is well attested, as is the belief that certain aspects of a god were better suited to answer specific requests.

The votive stelae from Asyut show how all members of an ancient Egyptian society could participate in formal religious practice at the site. Processions and festivals were social occasions that allowed individuals the opportunity to publicly attempt *Gottesnähe*, or ‘divine approximation,’ while still protecting the temple as a pure and sacred space. Therefore, religious practice in ancient Egypt, and the belief that one could engage in a personal relationship with the gods, was not limited to the elite, but was instead a locally focused experience available to everyone. The dominance of Wepwaut on these stelae is remarkable, but the preference for a locally based deity is not an isolated phenomenon. At Qantir, 91% (68 of 74) of the votive stelae

⁵⁸⁰ For instance, Saint Christopher is associated with travelers, and Saint Jude is associated with lost causes. In ancient Egypt, Isis is associated with healing, while Meshkenet and Taweret are associated with childbirth.

are dedicated to Ramesses II.⁵⁸¹ Only a single stela is dedicated solely to Amun.⁵⁸² Even at Deir el-Medina, in the heart of the Theban region, less than 20% of the stelae feature Amun, and on most of these stelae he is in the company of other gods.⁵⁸³ Approximately 33% of votive stelae are dedicated to the local gods Meretseger, Amenhotep I, and Ahmose Nefertari.⁵⁸⁴ The ritual focus on local divinities demonstrates that the so-called transcendence and universality of Amun-Re and the dominance of his cult was not a cultic reality in Ramesside Egypt, but only a theological exercise of a priestly elite—one which itself was no doubt the product of political and religious motivations.⁵⁸⁵

Politically speaking, the stelae from Asyut indicate the presence of a local patronage system that was tightly controlled. This system was the foundation of the entire political system in ancient Egypt. The king needed the local elite to control the people and ensure a steady stream of taxes and resources reached the crown. He would elevate some of the most prominent members from local communities and appoint them to positions at court. These individuals

⁵⁸¹ Using the dataset constructed by Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009), Table 5, pp. 179-185.

⁵⁸² Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009) p. 186, Stelae #486.

⁵⁸³ Karen Exell, *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers: A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stela*. Golden House Publications: London (2009). 29 and Table 1, pp. 139-197.

⁵⁸⁴ If one were to include the effective spirit of Re stelae as a local manifestation, which should perhaps be allowed as this was a community living in the necropolis, the focus on specifically local divine beings becomes even more pronounced. The cultic complexity found at Deir el-Medina is unique, and a detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it should be noted that there are approximately 47 gods represented on the votive stelae from Deir el-Medina. This diversity is striking when compared to Asyut, which actually produced more votive stelae. Perhaps, as builders of the pharaoh's tombs, the workmen at Deir el-Medina enjoyed higher access to restricted knowledge, and the display of different gods, including foreign gods, was a display of social capital. For the effective spirit of Re stelae see: See: Robert Demarée, *The *ꜥḥ iḳr n R*-stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt*. Nederlands Instituut voor Nabije Oosten: Leiden (1983).

⁵⁸⁵ For the counter perspective see: Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, (translated by David Lorton). Cornell University Press (2001), Chapter 9, especially 9.3.

would have controlled land and resources at home and passed their positions on to their sons. Such a system valued social maintenance and did encourage the expansion of the nobility and discouraged the construction of large patronage and social networks which could challenge the position of the king. Strict rules of decorum indicate that children of elite men could not gain access to the social capital held by their fathers until their fathers died and they actually took possession of their office. Such a social system would have limited the number of elite, and likely helped to curb social climbing and strife among elite families.

The landed gentry at Asyut would have employed other provincials to serve as ‘middle-men’ who would extract resources from the populace. This would have resulted in the establishment of local patronage networks where the highest elite at the site not only controlled some economic aspect of most individual’s lives, but could reinforce and maintain their power and position by virtue of the judicial authority and power granted to them by the king. In addition to the elite who controlled their own resources, there were also local individuals who gained their wealth and status from the temple. The temple of Wepwaut would have controlled a significant amount of resources. This would have provided individuals associated with the temple access to social and economic capital. However, as these individuals controlled the temple resources, but did not own them, their wealth was transitory and no doubt care was taken to ensure these positions stayed within a family unit. Like the landed elite, the highest priests would have had the ability to make appointments and grant others social and economic capital, resulting in temple based patronage systems. Many of these individuals engaged in forms of self-display to demonstrate their social power and status, and to show where they ranked in comparison to other elite at the site.

In principal, it was only the lack of economic and social capital that prevented individuals from creating objects that materially commemorated their participation in the processions and festivals of the gods. However, what could be displayed on these material objects was tightly controlled by decorum. Men used this opportunity to display their social status and religious access to the community, creating ritually effective objects that also communicated their social prestige. They favored presenting their public identities (i.e. profession, and rank) over their private identities (i.e. familial ties and personal relationships). Women also participated in these displays, but less often, and appear to have negotiated with more restrictive rules of decorum regarding their place in society. Juvenile children also participated in religious practice at the site, although they only did so while accompanying their parents and do not appear to have possessed an independent social identity. All of these social and religious aspects, which are represented on votive stelae, demonstrate how the representation of religious performance in ancient Egypt was a product of *habitus*. Therefore, the religious system in ancient Egypt was, in the words of Bourdieu, “a social structure and a structuring structure”⁵⁸⁶ which shaped the ways in which elite and non-elite—consciously and unconsciously— negotiated and communicated their social status, power, and agency. At the same time, the individuals engaging in self-display were forced to contend with aspects of societal decorum which hampered their ability to present a unique, personal identity to the community. However, the tension to adhere to social norms while still expressing individuality was not a uniquely Egyptian phenomenon, nor was it even an ancient phenomenon. To this day, this tension affects the behavior of most individuals in every society.

⁵⁸⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press (1977), p. 72.

APPENDIX I

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>zwr</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	<i>zm?</i>	<i>hm-ntr</i> (god's servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM340
3	<i>Jjt</i>	<i>sdm ꜥꜥ mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury)	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM336
4	<i>Jy</i>	<i>sš</i> (Scribe)	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
5	<i>Jpy-sw-pzy?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM621
6	<i>Jmn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM064
7	<i>Jmn?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM224
8	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM034
9	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>ꜥꜥ Wp-wꜥwt</i> (the Doorkeeper of Wepwaut)?	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM563
10	<i>Jmn-(ms?)</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wab</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
11	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
12	<i>Jn-rw-wꜥt</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

13	<i>W^c-h-s-r?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
14	<i>Wp-w3wt</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM108
15	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>w^cb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM082
16	<i>Wpj-nht</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM046
17	<i>Wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
18	<i>B3k-3st</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
19	<i>P-n-r-n-t</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM139
20	<i>P3(-n) Jmn</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
21	<i>(P)?3-jry</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM146
22	<i>P3-wn</i>	<i>mnjw ih</i> (the Herdsman of the Cattle)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM062
23	<i>P3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM036
24	<i>P3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
25	<i>P3-wnš</i>	Unclear (likely none)	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM477

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

26	<i>P3-mn</i>	<i>ṯ3y-ḥw n nb</i> <i>ṯ3. wy</i> (the Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM194
27	<i>P3-mn(Jmn?)</i>	<i>wḥb</i> (<i>wḥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM210
28	<i>P3-nb</i>	<i>ḥry-šw?</i> (the One in Charge of the Fan)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM457
29	<i>P3(-n)</i> <i>Rḥ-nḥt</i>	<i>wḥb</i> (<i>wḥb</i> -priest)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM135
30	<i>P3(-n)</i> <i>Rḥ-ḥtp</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr</i> (One in Charge of the Per-Wer)	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM525
31	<i>P3(-n)</i> <i>Rḥ-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm ḥš</i> (Servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM192
32	<i>P3-ḥry</i>	<i>sdm ḥš</i> (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	19594
33	<i>P3y-nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM532
34	<i>Pn-ṯ3-nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
35	<i>Pṯḥ-mn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM057
36	<i>...mnw...?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM253
37	<i>Ms</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM145

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

38	<i>Nht-n-jr?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
39	<i>Nnf</i>	<i>ḳd?</i> (Builder)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
40	<i>R-m-^c?</i>	unclear	K1a	Unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM152
41	<i>Rh-m-ś-f</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob (both men)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM014
42	<i>Šdy</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
43	<i>Ḳn?</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm225
44	<i>Hwrj</i>	<i>sš n pr-ḥd n nb t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
45	<i>Hwy-nfr</i>	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM366
46	<i>Hr</i>	<i>w^cb n Hwt-ḥr</i> (wab-priest of Hathor)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM488
47	<i>Hr-mn</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	K1b	Duplex	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
48	<i>Hrj</i>	None (DuQuense suggests <i>wr</i>)	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM440

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

49	<i>Htp...?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM368
50	<i>H^c?</i>	<i>hry pr-wr?</i> (the Overseer of the per-wer)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM170
51	<i>Hbsd</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM159
52	<i>Hnm-m-htp</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM462
53	<i>Df-h^cpy</i>	<i>b3k n t3 sh^cpy</i> <i>n Wp-w3wt</i> (the Servant of the Censer Bearers of Wepwaut)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM169
54	Broken	Broken	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM547
55	Broken	Broken	K1c	Duplex	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM402
56	Difficult to read	<i>hry-^c</i> (Foreman)	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM058
57	None	None	K1a	shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM203
58	None	None	K1	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM045
59	None	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM097
60	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM133

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

61	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM099
62	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM088
63	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM105
64	None	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM461
65	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
66	None	None	K1C	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM127
67	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM452
68	None	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM473
69	None	None	K1a	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM104
70	None	None	K1a?	shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
71	None	None	K1?	Nubian/feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM435
72	None	None	K1c	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM435
73	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM096
74	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM096
75	None	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

76	None	None	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	no	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053
77	None	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168
78	None	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168
79	None	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
80	None	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes?	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
81	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
82	None	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM098
83	None	None	K1c	Bipartite Style	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM055
84	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
85	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
86	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
87	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
88	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
89	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
90	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

91	None	None	k1?	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM369
92	None	None	K1b	Duplex	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM205
93	None	None	K1A	unclear	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM538
94	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
95	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
96	None	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
97	None	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
98	None	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
99	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
100	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
101	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
102	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
103	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
104	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
105	Unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

106	Unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212
107	Unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM546
108	Unclear	Unclear	K1a?	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122
109	Unclear	Unclear	K1c?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM080
110	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM511
111	Unclear	Unclear	K1	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm024
112	Unclear	None	K1?	Sidelock?	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190
113	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM535
114	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM537
115	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM337
116	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM118
117	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM540
118	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM166
119	Unclear	unclear	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM650

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

120	Unclear	Unclear	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM614
121	Unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM124
122	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM371
123	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM256
124	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM089
125	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051
126	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051
127	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM486
128	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460
129	Unclear	Unclear	K1c	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460
130	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM263
131	Unclear	Unclear	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM263
132	Unclear	<i>jky mš</i> (Military Stonecutter?)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM501
133	Unclear	<i>mnjw?</i> (Herdsman)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM397

Table 5.1: Men of the Lower Elite Class

134	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM437
135	Unclear	Unclear	K1c	Unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM549

Table 5.2: Named Lower Elite Donors

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>zwr</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>w^cb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	<i>zm?</i>	<i>hm-ntr</i> (god's servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM340
3	<i>Jjt</i>	<i>sdm</i> <i>ṣ</i> <i>mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury)	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM336
4	<i>Jy</i>	<i>ss</i> (Scribe)	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
5	<i>Jpy-sw-pzy?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM621
6	<i>Jmn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM064
7	<i>Jmn?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM224
8	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM034
9	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>ṣ</i> <i>Wp-w3wt</i> (the Doorkeeper of Wepwaut)?	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM563
10	<i>Jmn-(ms?)</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>wab</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
11	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm</i> <i>ṣ</i> (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
12	<i>Jn-rw-w3t</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
13	<i>w^chsr?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
14	<i>Wp-w3wt</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM108
15	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>w^cb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM082
16	<i>Wpj-nḥt</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM046
17	<i>wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
18	<i>b3k-3st</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)

Table 5.2: Named Lower Elite Donors

19	<i>P-n-r-n-t</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM139
20	<i>p3-jmn</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
21	<i>(P)?3-jry</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM146
22	<i>p3-wn</i>	<i>mnjw ih</i> (the Herdsman of the Cattle)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM062
23	<i>P3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM036
24	<i>p3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
25	<i>P3-wnš</i>	Unclear (likely none)	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM477
26	<i>P3-mn</i>	<i>ṯzy-ḥw n Nb ṯz.wy</i> (the Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM194
27	<i>p3-mn(jmn?)</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM210
28	<i>P3-nb</i>	<i>hry-šw?</i> (the One in Charge of the Fan)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM457
29	<i>p3-rꜥ-nḥt</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM135
30	<i>P3-rꜥ-ḥtp</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr</i> (One in Charge of the <i>Pr-Wr</i>)	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM525
31	<i>P3-Rꜥ-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm</i> ꜥš (Servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM192
32	<i>P3-kry</i>	<i>sdm</i> ꜥš (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	19594
33	<i>P3y-nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM532
34	<i>pn-ṯz-nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
35	<i>Pṯḥ-mn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM057
36	<i>..mnw..?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM253

Table 5.2: Named Lower Elite Donors

37	<i>ms</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM145
38	<i>nh̥t-n-jr?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
39	<i>nnf</i>	<i>ḳd?</i> (Builder)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
40	<i>r-m-^c?</i>	unclear	K1a	Unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM152
41	<i>rh̥-m-ṣ-f</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob (both men)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM014
42	<i>sdy</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
43	<i>Ḳn?</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm225
44	<i>ḥwrj</i>	<i>ss̥ n pr-ḥḳ n nb t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
45	<i>ḥwy-nfr</i>	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM366
46	<i>ḥr</i>	<i>w^cb n ḥwt-ḥr</i> (wab-priest of Hathor)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM488
47	<i>ḥr-mn</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	K1b	Duplex	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
48	<i>ḥrj</i>	None (DuQuense suggests <i>wt</i>)	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM440
49	<i>ḥtp...?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM368
50	<i>ḥ^c?</i>	<i>ḥry pr-wr?</i> (the Overseer of the per-wer)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM170

Table 5.2: Named Lower Elite Donors

51	<i>ḥbsd</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM159
52	<i>ḥnm-m-ḥtp</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM462
53	<i>ḏf-ḥꜣpy</i>	<i>bꜣk n tꜣ šḥtpy n Wp-wꜣwt</i> (the Servant of the Censer Bearers of Wepwaut)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM169
54	unclear	<i>jky mšꜥ</i> (Military Stonecutter?)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM501
55	unclear	<i>mnjw?</i> (Herdsman)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM397
56	difficult to read	<i>ḥry-ꜥ</i> (the Foreman...)	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM058

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>zwr</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>w^cb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	<i>zm?</i>	<i>hm-ntr</i> (god's servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM340
3	<i>jyt</i>	<i>sdm</i> <i>ꜥꜥ</i> <i>mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury)	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM336
4	<i>jt</i>	<i>ss</i> (Scribe)	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
5	<i>Jpy-sw-pꜣy?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM621
6	<i>Jmn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM064
7	<i>Jmn?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM224
8	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>ꜥꜥ Wp-wꜣwt</i> (the Doorkeeper of Wepwaut)?	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM563
9	<i>jmn-(ms?)</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>wab</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
10	<i>jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm</i> <i>ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
11	<i>jn-rw-wꜣt</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
12	<i>w^chsr?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
13	<i>Wp-wꜣwt</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM108
14	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>w^cb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM082

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

15	<i>wpj-nht</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM046
16	<i>wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
17	<i>b3k-3st</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
18	<i>p-n-r-n-t</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM139
19	<i>p3(-n) Jmn</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
20	<i>(P)?3-jry</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM146
21	<i>p3-wn</i>	<i>mnjw ih</i> (the Herdsman of the Cattle)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM062
22	<i>p3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM036
23	<i>p3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
24	<i>p3-mn</i>	<i>t3y-hw n Nb</i> <i>t3.wy</i> (the Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM194
25	<i>p3-mn(Jmn?)</i>	<i>wcb</i> (<i>wcb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM210
26	<i>p3-nb</i>	<i>hry-šw?</i> (the One in Charge of the Fan)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM457
27	<i>p3(-n) R^c-nht</i>	<i>wcb</i> (<i>wcb</i> -priest)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM135
28	<i>p3(-n) R^c-htp</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr</i> (One in Charge of the <i>Pr-Wr</i>)	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM525

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

29	<i>pꜣ(-n) Rꜥ-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sḏm</i> ᜥš (Servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM192
30	<i>pꜣ-kꜣry</i>	<i>sḏm</i> ᜥš (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	19594
31	<i>pꜣy-nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM532
32	<i>pn-tꜣ-nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
33	<i>Pth-mn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM057
34	<i>...mnw...?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM253
35	<i>ms</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM145
36	<i>nḥt-n-jr?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
37	<i>nnf</i>	<i>ḳd?</i> (Builder)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
38	<i>sdy</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
39	<i>ḥr</i>	<i>wꜥb n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (wab-priest of Hathor)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM488
40	<i>ḥrj</i>	None (DuQuense suggests <i>wṯ</i>)	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM440
41	<i>ḥtp...?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM368
42	<i>ḥꜥ?</i>	<i>ḥry pr-wr?</i> (the Overseer of the per-wer)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM170
43	<i>ḥbsd</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM159

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

44	<i>hnm-m-htp</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM462
45	<i>df-h'py</i>	<i>b3k n t3 sh'py n Wp-w3wt</i> (the Servant of the Censer Bearers of Wepwaut)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM169
46	unclear	<i>jky mš'</i> (Military Stonecutter?)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM501
47	unclear	<i>mnjw?</i> (Herdsman)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM397
48	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM133
49	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM099
50	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM088
51	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM105
52	none	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
53	none	None	K1C	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM127
54	none	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM452
55	none	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM473
56	None	None	K1a?	shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
57	none	None	K1c	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	EA 1632
58	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM546

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

59	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM080
60	none	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168
61	none	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168
62	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
63	none	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM098
64	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
65	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
66	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
67	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
68	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
69	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
70	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
71	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
72	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
73	none	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
74	none	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

75	none	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
76	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
77	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
78	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
79	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
80	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
81	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
82	unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212
83	Unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212
84	Unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM546
85	Unclear	Unclear	K1c?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM080
86	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM511
87	unclear	unclear	K1	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm024
88	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM535
89	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM166
90	Unclear	Unclear	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM614

Table 5.3: Bald/Shaved Lower Elite Donors

91	unclear	unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM124
92	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM371
93	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM089
94	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051
95	unclear	unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460
96	unclear	unclear	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM263
97	broken	broken	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM547
98	none	None	K1a	shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM203
99	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM437

Table 5.4: Lower Elite Donors with a Bob Hairstyle

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM034
2	<i>P3-wnš</i>	Unclear (likely none)	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM477
3	<i>rh-m-^c-f</i>	<i>kd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob (both men)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM014
4	<i>kn?</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM225
5	<i>hwrj</i>	<i>ss n pr-hd n nb t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
6	Hwy-nfr	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM366
7	difficult to read	<i>hry-^c</i> (the Foreman...)	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM058
8	none	None	k1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM369
9	unclear	unclear	K1a?	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122
10	Unclear	unclear	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM537
11	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM118
12	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM256
13	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM486
14	unclear	unclear	K1c	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460

Table 5.4: Lower Elite Donors with a Bob Hairstyle

15	None	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM097
16	none	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM461
17	none	None	K1	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM045
18	none	None	K1a	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM104
19	None	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053
20	None	None	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	no	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053
21	none	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
22	none	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes?	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
23	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051

Table 5.5: Named Lower Elite Donors

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>zwr</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	<i>zm?</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr</i> (god's servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM340
3	<i>jyt</i>	<i>sdm</i> <i>ꜥš mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury)	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM336
4	<i>jy</i>	<i>ss</i> (Scribe)	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
5	<i>Jpy-sw-pzy?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM621
6	<i>Jmn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM064
7	<i>Jmn?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM224
8	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM034
9	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>ꜥz Wp-w3wt</i> (the Doorkeeper of Wepwaut)?	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM563
10	<i>Jmn-(ms?)</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (wab-priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
11	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm</i> <i>ꜥš</i> (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
12	<i>jn-rw-w3t</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
13	<i>wꜥhsr?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
14	<i>Wp-w3wt</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM108
15	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM082
16	<i>wpj-nḥt</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM046
17	<i>wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)

Table 5.5: Named Lower Elite Donors

18	<i>b3k-3st</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
19	<i>p-n-r-n-t</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM139
20	<i>p3(-n) Jmn</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
21	<i>(p)?3-jry</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM146
22	<i>p3-wn</i>	<i>mnjw ih</i> (the Herdsman of the Cattle)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM062
23	<i>P3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM036
24	<i>p3-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
25	<i>p3-wnš</i>	Unclear (likely none)	K1b	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM477
26	<i>p3-mn</i>	<i>t3y-ḥw n Nb t3.wy</i> (the Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM194
27	<i>p3- mn(jmn?)</i>	<i>wḥb</i> (<i>wḥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM210
28	<i>p3-nb</i>	<i>ḥry-šw?</i> (the One in Charge of the Fan)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM457
29	<i>p3(-n) Rḥ- nhṯ</i>	<i>wḥb</i> (<i>wḥb</i> -priest)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM135
30	<i>p3(-n) Rḥ- ḥtp</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr</i> (One in Charge of the <i>Pr-Wr</i>)	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM525
31	<i>p3(-n) Rḥ- m-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm</i> ḥš (Servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM192
32	<i>p3-kry</i>	<i>sdm</i> ḥš (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	19594
33	<i>p3y(-n) nṯr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM532

Table 5.5: Named Lower Elite Donors

34	<i>pn-t3-ntr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
35	<i>Pth-mn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM057
36	<i>..mnw..?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM253
37	<i>ms</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM145
38	<i>nh-t-n-jr?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
39	<i>nnf</i>	<i>kd?</i> (Builder)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
40	<i>r-m-?</i>	unclear	K1a	Unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM152
41	<i>rh-m-s-f</i>	<i>kd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob (both men)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM014
42	<i>sdv</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
43	<i>Kn?</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm225
44	<i>hwrj</i>	<i>sš n pr-hd n nb t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1?	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
45	<i>hwy-nfr</i>	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM366
46	<i>hr</i>	<i>w^cb n hwt-hr</i> (wab- priest of Hathor)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM488
47	<i>hr-mn</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	K1b	Duplex	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054

Table 5.5: Named Lower Elite Donors

48	<i>hrj</i>	None (DuQuense suggests <i>wr</i>)	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM440
49	<i>hṭp...?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM368
50	<i>h^c?</i>	<i>hry pr-wr?</i> (the Overseer of the per-wer)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM170
51	<i>hbsd</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM159
52	<i>hnm-m-hṭp</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM462
53	<i>df-H^cpy</i>	<i>bꜣk n tꜣ shṭpy n Wp-wꜣwt</i> (the Servant of the Censer Bearers of Wepwaut)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM169
54	unclear	<i>jky mš^c</i> (Military Stonecutter?)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM501
55	unclear	<i>mnjw?</i> (Herdsman)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM397
56	difficult to read	<i>hry-^c</i> (the Foreman...)	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM058

Table 5.6: Lower Elite Primary Donors

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>zwr</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	<i>zm?</i>	<i>hm-nṯr</i> (god's servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM340
3	<i>jjt</i>	<i>sdm</i> ꜥꜥ <i>mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury)	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM336
4	<i>Jpy-sw-pꜣy?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM621
5	<i>jmn-(ms?)</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (wab-priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
6	<i>Jmn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM064
7	<i>Jmn?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM224
8	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM034
9	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	ꜥꜣ <i>Wp-wꜣwt</i> (the Doorkeeper of Wepwaut)?	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM563
10	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm</i> ꜥꜥ (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
11	<i>wꜥhsr?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
12	<i>Wp-wꜣwt</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM108
13	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (<i>wꜥb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM082
14	<i>Wpj-nḥt</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM046
15	<i>P-n-r-n-t</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM139

Table 5.6: Lower Elite Primary Donors

16	<i>(p)?z-jry</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM146
17	<i>pz-wn</i>	<i>mnjw ih</i> (the Herdsman of the Cattle)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM062
18	<i>pz-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM036
19	<i>pz-wnš</i>	Unclear (likely none)	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM477
20	<i>pz-mn</i>	<i>tz-y-hw n Nb tz.wy</i> (the Fan Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM194
21	<i>Pz(-n) mn(Jmn?)</i>	<i>wʿb</i> (<i>wʿb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM210
22	<i>pz(-n) nb</i>	<i>hry-šw?</i> (the One in Charge of the Fan)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM457
23	<i>pz(-n) Rʿ-nht</i>	<i>wʿb</i> (<i>wʿb</i> -priest)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM135
24	<i>pz(-n) Rʿ-htp</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr</i> (One in Charge of the <i>Pr-Wr</i>)	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM525
25	<i>pz(-n) Rʿ-m-hb</i>	<i>sdm ʿš</i> (Servant)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM192
26	<i>pz-kr̥y</i>	<i>sdm ʿš</i> (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	19594
27	<i>pzy(-n) ntr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM532
28	<i>Pth-mn</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM057
29	<i>..mnw..?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM253
30	<i>ms</i>	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM145

Table 5.6: Lower Elite Primary Donors

31	<i>nnf</i>	<i>kd</i> ? (Builder)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
32	<i>r-m-^c?</i>	unclear	K1a	Unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM152
33	<i>rh-m-^s-f</i>	<i>kd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob (both men)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM014
34	<i>Kn?</i>	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm225
35	<i>hwy-nfr</i>	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM366
36	<i>hr</i>	<i>w^cb n Hwt-hr</i> (wab-priest of Hathor)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM488
37	<i>hrj</i>	None (DuQuense suggests <i>wt</i>)	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM440
38	<i>htp...?</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM368
39	<i>h^c?</i>	<i>hry pr-wr?</i> (the Overseer of the per-wer)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM170
40	<i>hbsd</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM159
41	<i>hnm-m-htp</i>	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM462
42	<i>df-h^cpy</i>	<i>b3k n t3 sh^tpy n Wp-w3wt</i> (the Servant of the Censer Bearers of Wepwaut)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM169
43	broken	broken	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM547
44	broken	broken	K1c	Duplex	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM402
45	difficult to read	<i>hry-^c</i> (the Foreman...)	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM058

Table 5.6: Lower Elite Primary Donors

46	none	None	K1a	shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM203
47	none	None	K1	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM045
48	None	None	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM097
49	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM133
50	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM099
51	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM088
52	None	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM105
53	none	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM461
54	none	None	K1C	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM127
55	none	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM452
56	none	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM473
57	none	None	K1a	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM104
58	none	None	K1?	Nubian/feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM435
59	none	None	K1c	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM435
60	None	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053
61	none	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168

Table 5.6: Lower Elite Primary Donors

62	none	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
63	none	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM098
64	none	None	K1c	Bipartite Style	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM055
65	none	None	k1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM369
66	none	None	K1b	Duplex	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM205
67	unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212
68	Unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM546
69	unclear	unclear	K1a?	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122
70	Unclear	Unclear	K1c?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM080
71	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM511
72	unclear	unclear	K1	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	cm024
73	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM535
74	Unclear	unclear	K1a	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM537
75	unclear	unclear	K1b	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM337
76	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM118
77	unclear	unclear	K1a	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM540

Table 5.6: Lower Elite Primary Donors

78	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM166
79	unclear	unclear	K1c	unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM650
80	Unclear	Unclear	K1b?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM614
81	unclear	unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM124
82	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM371
83	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM256
84	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM089
85	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051
86	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM486
87	unclear	unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460
88	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM263
89	unclear	<i>jky mšꜥ</i> (Military Stonecutter?)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM501
90	unclear	<i>mnjw?</i> (Herdsman)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM397
91	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM437
92	Unclear	Unclear	K1c	Unclear	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM549

Table 5.7: Lower Elite Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Number of Donors	Museum	Accession Number
1	ꜣwr	wꜥb (wꜥb-priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	jjt	sdm ꜥš mst(r)? (Servant of the Treasury)	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM336
3	jy	sš (Scribe)	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
4	jmn-(ms?)	wꜥb (wab-priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
5	Jmn-ḥb	sdm ꜥš (Servant)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
6	n-rw-wꜣt	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
7	wꜥhsr?	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM632
8	wnš	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
9	ḥꜣk-ꜣst	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
10	pꜣ(-n) Jmn	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM257
11	pꜣ-wn	mnjw iḥ (the Herdsman of the Cattle)	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM062
12	pꜣ-wnš	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)

Table 5.7: Lower Elite Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

13	<i>p3-mn(Jmn?)</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (<i>w^cb</i> -priest)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM210
14	<i>pn-t3-ntr</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
15	<i>nh-t-n-jr?</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
16	<i>nnf</i>	<i>kd?</i> (Builder)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
17	<i>sdv</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Neues Museum	AM 31216 (CP1 in DuQuesne)
18	<i>hwrj</i>	<i>sš n pr-ḥd n nb t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
19	<i>hr</i>	<i>w^cb n ḥwt-ḥr</i> (wab-priest of Hathor)	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM488
20	<i>hr-mn</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	K1b	Duplex	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM054
21	<i>hbsd</i>	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM159
22	broken	broken	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM547
23	broken	broken	K1c	Duplex	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM402
24	difficult to read	<i>hry-^c</i> (the Foreman...)	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM058

Table 5.7: Lower Elite Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

25	none	None	K1b	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM461
26	none	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes?	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM485
27	none	None	K1C	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM127
28	none	None	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM452
29	none	None	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM473
30	none	None	K1a	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM104
31	None	None	K1a?	shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
32	none	None	K1?	Nubian/feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM435
33	none	None	K1c	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM435
34	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM096
35	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM096
36	None	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053
37	None	None	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	no	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM053
38	none	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168
39	none	None	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM168

Table 5.7: Lower Elite Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

40	none	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
41	none	None	K1c	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes?	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM090
42	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
43	none	None	K1c	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM098
44	none	None	K1c	Bipartite Style	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM055
45	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
46	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
47	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
48	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
49	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
50	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
51	None	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
52	none	None	k1?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM369
53	none	None	K1b	Duplex	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM205
54	none	None	K1A	unclear	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM538

Table 5.7: Lower Elite Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

55	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
56	none	None	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
57	none	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
58	none	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
59	none	None	K1a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm335
60	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
61	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
62	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM007
63	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
64	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
65	None	none	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1632
66	unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212
67	Unclear	Unclear	K1?	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM212
68	Unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM546
69	unclear	unclear	K1a?	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122

Table 5.7: Lower Elite Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

70	Unclear	None	K1?	Sidelock?	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190
71	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM535
72	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM089
73	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051
74	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM051
75	unclear	unclear	K1b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM486
76	unclear	unclear	K1a	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460
77	unclear	unclear	K1c	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460
78	unclear	unclear	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM263
79	unclear	unclear	K1c	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM263
80	unclear	<i>jky mšꜣ</i> (Military Stonecutter?)	K1b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM501

Table 5.8: Men of the Ritual Specialist Class

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jpn?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Unknown	(DuQuesne CP6)
2	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM456
3	<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>sš n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Scribe of Hathor)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM028
4	<i>Wp-wꜥwt</i>	<i>šps pr</i> (Noble of the Temple)?	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM137
5	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-pꜣ-šw</i>	<i>sš n pr Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Scribe of the Temple of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM029
6	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	K2? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
7	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM003
8	<i>Bꜣk-mḥ</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob(?)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM459
9	<i>Pꜣ-m-w-y</i>	<i>wꜥb, jt nṯr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
10	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Wp-wꜥwt</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
11	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜣ-nb</i>	<i>šms...</i> (Escort?)	K2b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM063

Table 5.8: Men of the Ritual Specialist Class

12	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	<i>b3k 3st</i> (Servant of Isis?)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM201
13	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-w3wt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM052
14	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	None	K2b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM199
15	<i>Rꜥ-nb</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	Cm138
16	<i>H3t-j3y</i>	<i>wꜥb Hr-m-wjꜥ/Hr-3h.tj?</i> (Wab-priest of Horemwia or Horakhty)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM398
17	<i>Hr-m...?</i>	None	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM548
18	<i>Hwy</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-w3wt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM026
19	<i>Hꜥy</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM032
20	<i>Hfy?</i>	<i>wꜥb n Hwt-hr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor), wears the sash of Lector-priest	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM526
21	Named (damaged)	Unclear	K2a	Nubian/Feathered, Modified Tripartite	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM475
22	None	None	K2b	Angled-Shoulder Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030
23	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM355

Table 5.8: Men of the Ritual Specialist Class

24	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030
25	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM231
26	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM047
27	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
28	None	None	K2b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
29	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM534
30	Unclear	<i>sdm</i> 'š? (Servant)	k2?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190
31	Unclear	Unclear	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM529
32	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM071
33	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM576
34	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM123
35	Unclear	Unclear	K2b?	Shaved?	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM542
36	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM095

Table 5.9: Named Ritual Specialists

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jpn?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Unknown	(DuQuesne CP6)
2	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM456
3	<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>sš n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Scribe of Hathor)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM028
4	<i>Wp-wꜥwt</i>	<i>šps pr</i> (Noble of the Temple)?	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM137
5	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-pꜣ-šw</i>	<i>sš n pr Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Scribe of the Temple of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM029
6	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	K2? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
7	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM003
8	<i>Bꜣk-mḥ</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob(?)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM459
9	<i>Pꜣ-m-w-y</i>	<i>wꜥb, jt nṯr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
10	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Wp-wꜥwt</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
11	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜣ-nb</i>	<i>šms...</i> (Escort?)	K2b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM063
12	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	<i>bꜣk ꜣst</i> (Servant of Isis?)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM201

Table 5.9: Named Ritual Specialists

13	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM052
14	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	None	K2b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM199
15	<i>Rꜥ-nb</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	Cm138
16	<i>Hꜣt-jꜣy</i>	<i>wꜥb Hr-m-wjꜥ/Hr- ꜣh.tj?</i> (Wab-priest of Horemwia or Horakhty)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM398
17	<i>Hr-m...?</i>	None	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM548
18	<i>Hwy</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM026
19	<i>Hꜥy</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM032
20	<i>Hfy?</i>	<i>wꜥb n Hwt-hr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor), wears the sash of Lector- priest	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM526
21	Named (damaged)	Unclear	K2a	Nubian/Feathered, Modified Tripartite	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM475

Table 5.10: Ritual Specialists Depicted Bald/Shaved

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jpn?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Unknown	(DuQuesne CP6)
2	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM456
3	<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>sš n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Scribe of Hathor)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM028
4	<i>Wp-wꜣwt</i>	<i>šps pr</i> (Noble of the Temple)?	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM137
5	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-pꜣ-šw</i>	<i>sš n pr Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Scribe of the Temple of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM029
6	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	K2? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
7	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM003
8	<i>Pꜣ-m-w-y</i>	<i>wꜥb, jt ntr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
9	<i>Pꜣ-wp-wꜣwt</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
10	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	<i>bꜣk ꜣst</i> (Servant of Isis?)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM201
11	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM052
12	<i>Rꜥ-nb</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	Cm138
13	<i>Ḥꜣt-jꜣy</i>	<i>wꜥb Ḥr-m-wjꜥ/Ḥr-ꜣḥ.tj?</i> (Wab-priest of Horemwia or Horakhty)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM398

Table 5.10: Ritual Specialists Depicted Bald/Shaved

14	<i>Hr-m...?</i>	None	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM548
15	<i>Hwy</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM026
16	<i>Hꜥy</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM032
17	<i>Hfy?</i>	<i>wꜥb n Hwt-hr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor), wears the sash of Lector-priest	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM526
18	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM231
19	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM047
20	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
21	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM355
22	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030
23	None	None	K2b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
24	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM576
25	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM123
26	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM095
27	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM534
28	Unclear	Unclear	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM529
29	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM071

Table 5.10: Ritual Specialists Depicted Bald/Shaved

30	Unclear	Unclear	K2b?	Shaved?	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM542

Table 5.11: Ritual Specialists with a Bob Hairstyle

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>B3k-mḥ</i>	w ^c b (Wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob(?)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM459
2	<i>P3(-n) R^c-nb</i>	šms...(Escort?)	K2b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM063
3	<i>Nfr-rmpt</i>	None	K2b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM199
4	Unclear	sdm ʿš? (Servant)	k2?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190
5	None	None	K2b	Angled-Shoulder Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030

Table 5.12: Ritual Specialists with a Title

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jpn?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Unknown	(DuQuesne CP6)
2	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM456
3	<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>šš n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Scribe of Hathor)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM028
4	<i>Wp-wꜥwt</i>	<i>šps pr</i> (Noble of the Temple)?	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM137
5	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-pꜣ-šw</i>	<i>šš n pr Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Scribe of the Temple of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM029
6	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	K2? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
7	<i>Wp-wꜥwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜥwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM003
8	<i>Bꜣk-mḥ</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob(?)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM459
9	<i>Pꜣ-m-wy</i>	<i>wꜥb, jt nꜥr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
10	<i>Pꜣ-wp-wꜥwt</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
11	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜣ-nb</i>	<i>šms...</i> (Escort?)	K2b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM063
12	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	<i>bꜣk ꜣst</i> (Servant of Isis?)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM201

Table 5.12: Ritual Specialists with a Title

13	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM052
14	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	None	K2b	Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM199
15	<i>Rꜥ-nb</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	Cm138
16	<i>Hꜣt-jꜣy</i>	<i>wꜥb Hr-m-wjꜥ/Hr- ꜣh.tj?</i> (Wab-priest of Horemwia or Horakhty)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM398
17	<i>Hwy</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM026
18	<i>Hꜥy</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM032
19	<i>Hfy?</i>	<i>wꜥb n Hwt-hr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor), wears the sash of Lector- priest	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM526
20	Unclear	<i>sdm ꜥꜥ?</i> (Servant)	k2?	Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190

Table 5.13: Ritual Specialist Primary Donors

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jpn?</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Unknown	(DuQuesne CP6)
2	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>w^cb n Wp-w^cwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM456
3	<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>ss n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Scribe of Hathor)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM028
4	<i>Wp-w^cwt</i>	<i>šps pr</i> (Noble of the Temple)?	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM137
5	<i>Wp-w^cwt-p³-šw</i>	<i>ss n pr Wp-w^cwt</i> (Scribe of the Temple of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM029
6	<i>Wp-w^cwt-ms</i>	<i>w^cb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	K2? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
7	<i>Wp-w^cwt-ms</i>	<i>w^cb n Wp-w^cwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM003
8	<i>B³k-mḥ</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob(?)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM459
9	<i>P^c-m-w-y</i>	<i>w^cb, jt ntr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
10	<i>P³(-n) R^c-nb</i>	<i>šms...</i> (Escort?)	K2b	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM063
11	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	<i>b³k 3st</i> (Servant of Isis?)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM201

Table 5.13: Ritual Specialist Primary Donors

12	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM052
13	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	none	K2b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM199
14	<i>Rꜥ-nb</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	Cm138
15	<i>Ḥꜣt-jꜣy</i>	<i>wꜥb Ḥr-m-wjꜥ/Ḥr-ꜣḥ.tj?</i> (Wab-priest of Horemwia or Horakhty)	K2a	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM398
16	<i>Ḥr-m...?</i>	None	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM548
17	<i>Ḥwy</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM026
18	<i>Ḥꜣy</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM032
19	<i>Ḥfy?</i>	<i>wꜥb n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor), wears the sash of Lector-priest	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM526
20	Named (damaged)	Unclear	K2a	Nubian/Feathered, Modified Tripartite	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM475
21	None	None	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM355
22	none	none	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030

Table 5.13: Ritual Specialist Primary Donors

23	none	none	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM231
24	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM047
25	none	none	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
26	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM534
27	Unclear	<i>sdm</i> ṣ? (Servant)	k2?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190
28	Unclear	Unclear	K2?	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM529
29	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM071
30	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM576
31	unclear	unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM123
32	unclear	unclear	K2b?	Shaved?	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM542
33	unclear	unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM095

Table 5.14: Ritual Specialist Primary Donors Appearing on Multi-donor Stelae

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single/Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	K2? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
2	<i>P-ꜥ-m-w-y</i>	<i>wꜥb, jt nṯr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
3	<i>P3-wp-w3wt</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM039
4	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	none	K2b	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM199
5	Named (damaged)	Unclear	K2a	Nubian/Feathered, Modified Tripartite	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM475
6	none	none	K2b	Angled-Shoulder Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030
7	none	none	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM030
8	none	none	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
9	none	none	K2b	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175
10	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM534
11	Unclear	<i>sdm</i> ʕꜥ? (Servant)	k2?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM190
12	unclear	unclear	K2b	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM123

Table 5.15: Donors Wearing a Lector Priest Sash

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM456
2	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM003
3	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt/wꜥb, ḥry ḥbt?</i> (Wab priest of the festival/Wab-priest, Lector Priest?)	K2?+ shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM204
4	<i>Bꜣk-mḥ</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob(?)	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM459
5	<i>Pꜣ-jnp?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (wab-priest)	K4 + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM487
6	<i>Pꜣ-nty</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (wab-priest)	K4 with shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Unknown	CP3 in DuQuesne
7	<i>Nꜣ-ḥr-ḥw</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (High Priest of Hathor)	K7 + shoulder sash	Shaved, Classic Tripartite	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM464
8	<i>Nb?</i>	Unclear	K7 + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM031
9	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b? + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM052
10	<i>Ḥfy?</i>	<i>Wꜥb n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor)	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaven	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM526
11	None	None	K1a + shoulder sash	shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM203
12	None	None	K2b + shoulder ash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM047
13	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM175

Table 5.16: Men of the Military Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn</i>	None	MB	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM019
2	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort?)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM562
3	<i>Jmn-m-jnt</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	20756
4	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
5	<i>P3-wjw</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Private Collection, Kansas	CP2
6	<i>P3-nb-ḥtp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
7	<i>M-ꜥ-r</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM101
8	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>ḥry n ḥbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth?)	MB	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM061
9	<i>N3tj</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ</i> (Stable Master)	MB	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
10	<i>Nḥt-jmn</i>	<i>ṯzy-ḥw</i> (The Fan Bearer)	MB	Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
11	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM020
12	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
13	<i>Ḥꜥ?</i>	<i>ṯꜥy-ḥw n s3 Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ?</i> (The fan bearer of the regiment of King Kheper)	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158

Table 5.16: Men of the Military Class

14	<i>H^c-m-jpt</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM117
15	<i>H^cri</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM466
16	<i>H^cri</i>	<i>w^cw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Unknown	CP1
17	<i>H^cry-^c</i>	<i>jmy-r w^crt m zhtp</i> (Overseer of the Guild in the Field)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM025
18	<i>H^cnsw</i>	<i>hry-h^cwn nb t3.wy</i> (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM536
19	<i>H^cnsw</i>	<i>hry-jh n nb t3.wy</i> (Chief of the Royal Stable)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
20	<i>H^cn?</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM353
21	<i>Štp-n-bs</i>	None	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM056
22	(Named)	Broken	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM233
23	Broken	Broken	Military	Broken	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM401
24	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM329
25	None	None	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM544

Table 5.16: Men of the Military Class

26	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM044
27	None	None	Mai	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM258
28	None	None	Mdi	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM049
29	Unclear	Unclear	MC	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM164

Table 5.17: Named Men of the Military Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn</i>	None	MB	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM019
2	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort?)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM562
3	<i>Jmn-m-jnt</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	20756
4	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
5	<i>P3-wjw</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Private Collection, Kansas	CP2
6	<i>P3-nb-ḥtp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
7	<i>M-ꜥ-r</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM101
8	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>ḥry n ḥbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth?)	MB	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM061
9	<i>N3tj?</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ</i> (Stable Master)	MB	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
10	<i>Nḥt-jmn</i>	<i>ṯ3y-ḥw</i> (The Fan Bearer)	MB	Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
11	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM020
12	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
13	<i>Ḥꜥ?</i>	<i>ṯ3y-ḥw n s3 Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ?</i> (The fan bearer of the regiment of King Kheper)	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158

Table 5.17: Named Men of the Military Class

14	<i>H^c-m-jpt</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM117
15	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM466
16	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>w^cw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Unknown	CP1
17	<i>Hry-^c</i>	<i>jmy-r w^crt m zhtp</i> (Overseer of the Guild in the Field)	MB	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM025
18	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>hry-h^cwn nb t3.wy</i> (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM536
19	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>hry-jh n nb t3.wy</i> (Chief of the Royal Stable)	MB	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
20	<i>Hn?</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	MB	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM353
21	<i>Štp-n-bs</i>	None	MD	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM056
22	(Named)	Broken	MD	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM233

Table 5.18: Men of the Military Class Depicted with a Bob Hairstyle

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort?)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM562
2	<i>Jmn-m-jnt</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	20756
3	<i>P3-wjw</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Private Collection, Kansas	CP2
4	<i>P3-nb-ḥtp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
5	<i>M-ꜥ-r</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM101
6	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>ḥry n ḥbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth?)	MB	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM061
7	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM020
8	<i>Ḥꜥ?</i>	<i>ṯꜥy-ḥw n s3 Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ?</i> (The fan bearer of the regiment of King Kheper)	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
9	<i>Ḥꜥ-m-jpt</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM117
10	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>wꜥ(w)</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM466
11	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Unknown	CP1
12	<i>Ḥry-ꜥ</i>	<i>jmy-r wꜥrt m šḥtp</i> (Overseer of the Guild in the Field)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM025

Table 5.18: Men of the Military Class Depicted with a Bob Hairstyle

13	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>hry-hꜣw n nb t3.wy</i> (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM536
14	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>hry-jh n nb t3.wy</i> (Chief of the Royal Stable)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
15	<i>Hn?</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM353
16	<i>Štp-n-bs</i>	None	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM056
17	(Named)	Broken	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM233
18	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM329
19	None	None	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM544
20	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM044
21	None	None	Mai	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM258
22	None	None	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM049
23	Unclear	Unclear	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM164

Table 5.19: Titles Men of the Military Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort?)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM562
2	<i>P3-nb-ḥtp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
3	<i>M-ꜥ-r</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM101
4	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>ḥry n ḥbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth?)	MB	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM061
5	<i>N3tj</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ</i> (Stable Master)	MB	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
6	<i>Nḥt-jmn</i>	<i>t3y-ḥw</i> (The Fan Bearer)	MB	Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
7	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM020
8	<i>Ḥꜥ?</i>	<i>tꜥy-ḥw n s3 Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ?</i> (The fan bearer of the regiment of King Kheper)	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
9	<i>Ḥꜥ-m-jpt</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM117
10	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>wꜥ(w)</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM466
11	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Unknown	CP1
12	<i>Ḥry-ꜥ</i>	<i>jmy-r wꜥrt m šhtp</i> (Overseer of the Guild in the Field)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM025
13	<i>Ḥnsw</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥꜥwn nb t3.wy</i> (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM536
14	<i>Ḥnsw</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ n nb t3.wy</i> (Chief of the Royal Stable)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
15	<i>Ḥn?</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM353

Table 5.20: Primary Stelae Donors Wearing Military Dress

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn</i>	None	MB	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM019
2	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort?)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM562
3	<i>Jmn-m-jnt</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Bode Museum, Berlin	20756
4	<i>P3-wjw</i>	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Private Collection, Kansas	CP2
5	<i>P3-nb-htp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
6	<i>M-ꜥ-r</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM101
7	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>hꜣry n hbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth?)	MB	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM061
8	<i>N3tj</i>	<i>hꜣry-jh</i> (Stable Master)	MB	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
9	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM020
10	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
11	<i>Hꜥ-m-jpt</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM117
12	<i>Hꜣrj</i>	<i>wꜥ(w)</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM466
13	<i>Hꜣrj</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Unknown	CP1
14	<i>Hꜣry-ꜥ</i>	<i>jmy-r wꜥrt m 3htp</i> (Overseer of the Guild in the Field)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM025

Table 5.20: Primary Stelae Donors Wearing Military Dress

15	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>ḥry-ḥꜥwn nb t3.wy</i> (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM536
16	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ n nb t3.wy</i> (Chief of the Royal Stable)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430
17	<i>Hn?</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM353
18	<i>Štp-n-bs</i>	None	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM056
19	(Named)	Broken	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM233
20	Broken	Broken	Military	Broken	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM401
21	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM329
22	None	None	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM544
23	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM044
24	None	None	Mai	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM258
25	None	None	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM049
26	Unclear	Unclear	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM164

Table 5.21: Military Class Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn</i>	None	MB	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM019
2	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort?)	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM562
3	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
4	<i>P3-nb-ḥtp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM333
5	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>ḥry n ḥbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth?)	MB	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM061
6	<i>N3tj</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ</i> (Stable Master)	MB	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
7	<i>Nḥt-jmn</i>	<i>ṯ3y-ḥw</i> (The Fan Bearer)	MB	Feathered	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM200
8	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM020
9	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	None	MA	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM004
10	<i>Ḥꜥ?</i>	<i>ṯꜥy-ḥw n s3 Ḥpr-k3-Rꜥ?</i> (The fan bearer of the regiment of King Kheper)	Mdi	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
11	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>wꜥ(w)</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM466
12	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Unknown	CP1
13	<i>Ḥnsw</i>	<i>ḥry-jḥ n nb t3.wy</i> (Chief of the Royal Stable)	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	British Museum	EA 1430

Table 5.21: Military Class Donors Appearing on Multi-Donor Stelae

14	(Named)	Broken	MD	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM233
15	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM329
16	None	None	MC	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM544
17	None	None	MB	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM044
18	None	None	Mai	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM258

Table 5.22: Men of the Local High Elite Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jḥ-ms</i>	<i>jmy-r ḥm-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Overseer of the <i>ḥm-nṯr</i> Priests of Every God)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm114
2	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>sš...n pꜣ mšꜥ</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
3	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM363
4	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chief Priest of Wepwaut)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM033
5	<i>Bḥy-nfr-n?</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Jmn</i> (Chief priest of Amun)	K9	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM454
6	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM002)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM022
7	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM022)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM002
8	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Tꜣ-wrt</i>	none	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple?	British Museum	EA 1632
9	<i>Pꜣ-tj</i>	<i>skt?</i> (commander)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM528
10	<i>Mrjtf</i>	<i>ḥsy n nṯr nfr</i> (one praised of the good god), (<i>jmy-r</i>) <i>pr.wj (ḥd)</i> <i>šmꜥw mḥw</i> (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt)	K8	Duplex Style	Yes	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM076
11	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sdm ꜥš pr-wr</i> (Deputy of the Per-Wer)?	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM445

Table 5.22: Men of the Local High Elite Class

12	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdñw n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM040
13	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	<i>jmy-r jhw n Pz-R</i> (Overseer of the Herd of Pre)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM068
14	<i>R^c-ms</i>	<i>...n Jmn-R^c</i> (...of Amun-Ra)	MSQ	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
15	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>skt n t3 jw^ct pr^cz</i> (commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh)	K8	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 891
16	<i>Hrj?</i>	<i>hry hsy n Wp-w3wt?</i> (DuQuesne reads <i>hsy pr n Wp-w3wt</i>) (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut?)	Mss +unclear	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
17	<i>Hw-R^c</i>	<i>...n mš^c</i> ([Commander?]...of the Army?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM438
18	Broken	Broken	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Likely Single	Cairo Museum	CM575
19	none	none	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
20	none	none	MSQ	Duplex Style	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM465
21	None	None	K8	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 873
22	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM042
23	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM482
24	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM592
25	Unclear	<i>3tw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM120
26	Unclear	Unclear	K8?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122
27	Unclear (son of primary donor)	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460

Table 5.23: Named Men of the Local High Elite Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jḥ-ms</i>	<i>jmy-r ḥm-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Overseer of the <i>ḥm-nṯr</i> Priests of Every God)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm114
2	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>sš...n p3 mšꜥ</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
3	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM363
4	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-w3wt</i> (Chief Priest of Wepwaut)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM033
5	<i>Bḥy-nfr-n?</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Jmn</i> (Chief priest of Amun)	K9	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM454
6	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM002)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM022
7	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM022)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM002
8	<i>P3(-n) T3-wrt</i>	none	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple?	British Museum	EA 1632
9	<i>P3-tj</i>	<i>skt?</i> (commander)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM528
10	<i>Mrjtf</i>	<i>ḥsy n nṯr nfr</i> (one praised of the good god), (<i>jmy-r</i>) <i>pr.wj (ḥḏ) šmꜥw mḥw</i> (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt)	K8	Duplex Style	Yes	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM076
11	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sdm ꜥš pr-wr</i> (Deputy of the Per-Wer)?	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM445

Table 5.23: Named Men of the Local High Elite Class

12	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdñw n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM040
13	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	<i>jmy-r jñw n Pz-R^c</i> (Overseer of the Herd of Pre)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM068
14	<i>R^c-ms</i>	<i>...n Jmn-R^c</i> (...of Amun-Ra)	MSQ	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
15	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>skt n t3 jw^ct pr-^c3</i> (Commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh)	K8	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 891
16	<i>Hrj?</i>	<i>hry hsy n Wp-w3wt?</i> (DuQuesne reads <i>hsy pr n Wp-w3wt</i>) (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut?)	Mss +unclear	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
17	<i>Hw-R^c</i>	<i>...n mš^c</i> ([Commander?...]of the Army?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM438
18	Unclear	<i>3tw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM120

Table 5.24: Local High Elite Men Depicted with a Bob Hairstyle

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>ss...n p3 mšc</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
2	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM363
3	<i>P3(-n) R^c-nh_t</i> (same donor as CM002)	<i>ss htpw-ntr n ntrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM022
4	<i>P3(-n) R^c-nh_t</i> (same donor as CM022)	<i>ss htpw-ntr n ntrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM002
5	<i>P3(-n) T3-wrt</i>	none	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple?	British Museum	EA 1632
6	<i>P3-tj</i>	<i>skt?</i> (commander)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM528
7	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sdm š pr-wr</i> (Deputy of the Per-Wer)?	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM445
8	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdnw n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM040
9	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	<i>jmy-r jhw n P3-R^c</i> (Overseer of the Herd of Pre)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM068
10	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>skt n t3 jw^ct pr-š</i> (commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh)	K8	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 891

Table 5.24: Local High Elite Men Depicted with a Bob Hairstyle

11	None	None	K8	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
12	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM042
13	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM482
14	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM592
15	Broken	Broken	K9	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Likely Single	Cairo Museum	CM575
16	Unclear	Unclear	K8?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122
17	Unclear (son of primary donor)	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460

Table 5.25: Titled Men Of the Local High Elite Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jḥ-ms</i>	<i>jmy-r ḥm-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Overseer of the <i>ḥm-nṯr</i> Priests of Every God)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm114
2	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>sš...n p3 mšꜥ</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
3	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM363
4	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-w3wt</i> (Chief Priest of Wepwaut)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM033
5	<i>Bḥy-nfr-n?</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Jmn</i> (Chief priest of Amun)	K9	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM454
6	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM002)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM022
7	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM022)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM002
8	<i>P3-tj</i>	<i>skt?</i> (commander)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM528
9	<i>Mrjtf</i>	<i>ḥsy n nṯr nfr</i> (one praised of the good god), (<i>jmy-r</i>) <i>pr.wj (ḥd) šmꜥw mḥw</i> (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt)	K8	Duplex Style	Yes	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM076
10	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sdm ꜥš pr-wr</i> (Deputy of the Per-Wer)?	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM445
11	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdwn n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM040
12	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	<i>jmy-r jḥw n P3-Rꜥ</i> (Overseer of the Herd of Pre)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM068

Table 5.25: Titled Men Of the Local High Elite Class

13	<i>R^c-ms</i>	<i>...n Jmn-R^c</i> (...of Amun-Ra)	MSQ	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
14	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>skt n t3 jw^ct pr-^c3</i> (commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh)	K8	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 891
15	<i>Hrj?</i>	<i>hry hsy n Wp-w3wt?</i> (DuQuesne reads <i>hsy pr n Wp-w3wt</i>) (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut?)	Mss +unclear	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
16	<i>Hw-R^c</i>	<i>...n mš^c</i> ([Commander?])...of the Army?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM438
17	Unclear	<i>3tw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM120

Table 5.26: Primary Donors of the Local High Elite Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jḥ-ms</i>	<i>jmy-r ḥm-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Overseer of the <i>ḥm-nṯr</i> Priests of Every God)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM114
2	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>sš...n p3 mšꜥ</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
3	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM363
4	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-w3wt</i> (Chief Priest of Wepwaut)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM033
5	<i>Bḥy-nfr-n?</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Jmn</i> (Chief priest of Amun)	K9	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM454
6	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM002)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM022
7	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-nḥt</i> (same donor as CM022)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM002
8	<i>P3(-n) T3-wrt</i>	none	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple?	British Museum	EA 1632
9	<i>P3-tj</i>	<i>skt?</i> (commander)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM528
10	<i>Mrjtf</i>	<i>ḥsy n nṯr nfr</i> (one praised of the good god), (<i>jmy-r</i>) <i>pr.wj (ḥd)</i> <i>šmꜥw mḥw</i> (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt)	K8	Duplex Style	Yes	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM076
11	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sḏm šꜥ pr-wr</i> (Deputy of the Per-Wer)?	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM445

Table 5.26: Primary Donors of the Local High Elite Class

12	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdnw n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM040
13	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	<i>jmy-r jhw n P3-R</i> (Overseer of the Herd of Pre)	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM068
14	<i>R^c-ms</i>	<i>...n Jmn-R^c</i> (...of Amun-Ra)	MSQ	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
15	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>skt n t3 jw^ct pr-^c3</i> (commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh)	K8	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 891
16	<i>Hrj?</i>	<i>hry hsy n Wp-w3wt?</i> (DuQuesne reads <i>hsy pr n Wp-w3wt</i>) (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut?)	Mss +unclear	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
17	<i>Hw-R^c</i>	<i>...n mš^c</i> ([Commander?])...of the Army?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM438
18	Unclear	<i>3tw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM120
19	None	None	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
20	None	None	MSQ	Duplex Style	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM465
21	None	None	K8	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Single	British Museum	EA 873
22	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM042
23	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM482
24	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM592

Table 5.26: Primary Donors of the Local High Elite Class

25	Broken	Broken	K9	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Likely Single	Cairo Museum	CM575
26	Unclear	Unclear	K8?	Shoulder- Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122

Table 5.27: Men of the Local High Elite Class Appearing on Multi-donor Stelae

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jḥ-ms</i>	<i>jmy-r ḥm-ntr n ntrw nbw</i> (Overseer of the <i>ḥm-ntr</i> Priests of Every God)	K8	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	cm114
2	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>sš...n pꜣ mšꜥ</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM158
3	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM363
4	<i>Bḥy-nfr-n?</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr tpy Jmn</i> (Chief priest of Amun)	K9	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM454
5	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Tꜣ-wrt</i>	none	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple?	British Museum	EA 1632
6	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdnw n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM040
7	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>...n Jmn-Rꜥ</i> (...of Amun-Ra)	MSQ	Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM491
8	<i>Hrj?</i>	<i>ḥry ḥsy n Wp-wꜣwt?</i> (DuQuesne reads <i>ḥsy pr n Wp-wꜣwt</i>) (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut?)	Mss +unclear	shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM094
9	Unclear	<i>ꜣtw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Nubian/Feathered	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM120
10	None	None	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM048
11	Unclear	Unclear	K8?	Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM122
12	Unclear (son of primary donor)	Unclear	K8	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM460

Table 5.28: Donors Wearing Style K3

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Donors	Primary Donor	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Nht?</i> Or <i>Wp-w3wt-nht?</i>	<i>Ms-wdn Wp-w3wt</i> (Courier of Offerings of Wepwaut)	K3	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM075
2	<i>H-3-w-nfrit</i> (sic)	None	K3	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM125
3	<i>Hy?</i>	None	K3	Duplex	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM065
4	Name appears to have been intentionally destroyed	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ n pr-hꜥ</i> (Servant of the Treasury)	K3	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM035
5	None	None	K3	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM173

Table 5.29: Donors Wearing Style K4

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Single	Primary Donor	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>P3-jnp?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K4 + shoulder sash	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM487
2	<i>P3-nty</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K4 + should sash	Shaved	Single	Yes	Unknown	CP3 in DuQuesne
3	<i>Pth-m-hb</i>	None	K4	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM514
4	<i>H3?</i>	<i>jmy-r h3yt?</i> (Overseer of the Portal)	K4	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM648
6	Unclear	Unclear	K4	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM527
5	None	None	K4	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM480
7	Unclear	Unclear	k4	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM209

Table 5.30: Donors Wearing Style K5

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Single	Primary Donor	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>ssj?</i>	<i>ḳd?</i>	K5	Shoulder-Length Bob	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM553
2	<i>ḥꜣy</i>	<i>ss</i> (Scribe)	K5	Shaved	Multiple	No	Cairo Museum	CM230
3	Named (name unclear)	<i>rwd</i>	K5	Shaved	Multiple	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM005
4	Named (name unclear)	<i>wꜥb n Jmn mꜣj-pḥty</i> (Wab-priest of Amun, Lion of Strength)	K5	Shaved	Multiple	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM230
5	Unclear	Unclear	K5	Shaved	Single	Yes	Cairo Museum	CM010
6	None	None	K5	Shaved	Multiple	No	Cairo Museum	CM230

Table 5.31: Donors Wearing Style K6

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K6	Shaved	No	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM114
2	<i>Ssw</i>	<i>ss tpy</i> (Chief Scribe)	K6	Shaved	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM074

Table 5.32: Donors Wearing Style K7

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Primary Donor	Single or Multiple Donors	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Pz.. Wn</i>	<i>Wpwtj?</i> (Messenger)	K7	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM126
2	<i>Pz-sw-r</i>	None	K7	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM037
3	<i>N-ḥr-ḥw</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (High Priest of Hathor)	K7	Shaved, Classic Tripartite	Yes	Multiple	Cairo Museum	CM464
4	<i>Nb?</i>	Unclear	K7 + shoulder sash	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM031
5	<i>R^c-ms</i>	<i>ḥry-^c</i> (Foreman)	K7	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM539
6	<i>Sw-ḥr-^c-p3-R?</i>	none?	K7	Shaved	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM113
7	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>ḥry jḥ</i> (Stable Master)	K7	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM358
8	<i>Ḥrj</i>	<i>ḥry jḥ</i> (Stable Master)	K7	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM165
9	<i>Ḥ^c-Jmn</i>	Unclear	K7	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM489
10	<i>Tj</i>	<i>grg n nb=f?</i> (One Who Establishes for His Lord)	K7	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM136
11	Unclear	Unclear	K7	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Yes	Single	Cairo Museum	CM498

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>zwr</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (wab priest)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut of Upper Egypt), Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM054
2	<i>zm?</i>	<i>hm-nṯr</i> (hem-netjer Priest)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM340
3	<i>Jjt</i>	<i>sdm-^cs mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury?)	K1?	Amun-Re, Wepwaut, Hathor	Mixed Form	Amun-Re; Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Hathor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM336
4	<i>Jpy-sw-pzy?</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals and Divine Statue	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM621
5	<i>Jmn</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM064
6	<i>Jmn?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM224
7	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM034
8	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>ṣ wp-w3wt?</i> (the Doorkeeper of Wepwaut)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM563
9	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm-^cs</i> (Servant)	K1a	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Divine Standard, Mixed	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Min-Amun, Bull of His Mother; Isis the Great, Lady of...	Cairo Museum	CM257
10	<i>W^chsr?</i>	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut	Cairo Museum	CM632
11	<i>Wpj-nḥt</i>	None?	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM046
12	<i>Wp-w3wt</i>	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM108
13	<i>Wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (wab-priest)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM082

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

14	<i>P-n-r-n-t</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM139
15	<i>(P)?z-jry</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals and Divine Statue	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM146
16	<i>Pz-wn</i>	<i>mnjw jh</i> (Herdsman)	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Son of Isis, Beloved of Ma'at.	Cairo Museum	CM062
17	<i>Pz-wnš</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM036
18	<i>Pz-wnš</i>	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Damaged	Cairo Museum	CM477
19	<i>Pz-mn(jmn?)</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (wab-priest)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM210
20	<i>Pz-mnw</i>	<i>tzy-hw n Nb</i> <i>tzywy</i> (The Fan-Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Wepwaut and Amun-Re	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, (Lord) of Asyut; Amun-Re, (Lord) of the Two Lands, Lord of Brightness	Cairo Museum	CM194
21	<i>Pz-nb</i>	<i>hry-šw?</i> (The One in Charge of the Fan)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut of Upper Egypt), Controller of the (Two Lands)	Cairo Museum	CM457
22	<i>Pz-nhsy</i>	None	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Unknown	CP5
23	<i>Pz(-n) R^c-m-hb</i>	<i>sdm-š</i> (Servant)	K1b	Wepwaut, Hathor, Min? Amun-re?	Mixed Form	(Wepwaut), Controller of the Two Lands, Hahtor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM192
24	<i>Pz(-n) R^c-nht</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (wab-priest)	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM135
25	<i>Pz(-n) R^c-htp</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM525
26	<i>Pz-krj</i>	<i>sdm-š</i> (Servant)	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut	Bode Museum, Berlin	19594

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

27	<i>Pth-mn</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM057
28	<i>Pzy-ntr</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM532
29	<i>Pjzy</i>	None	K1a, D5b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	British Museum	EA 1725
30	<i>..mnw..?</i>	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut) of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM253
31	<i>Ms</i>	None	K1c	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM145
32	<i>Nnf</i>	<i>kd?</i> (Builder)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	None	Cairo Museum	CM485
33	<i>R-m-^c?</i>	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM152
34	<i>Rh-m-^c-f</i>	<i>kd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut, the Good God	Cairo Museum	CM014
35	<i>Hwy-nfr</i>	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut), Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM366
36	<i>Hr</i>	<i>w^cb n Hwt-hr</i> (wab-priest of Hathor)	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM488
37	<i>Hrj</i>	unclear (DuQuense suggests wt)	K1b?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller (of the Two Lands)	Cairo Museum	CM440
38	<i>Htp...?</i>	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut) of Upper Egypt, Controller (of the Two Lands)	Cairo Museum	CM368
39	<i>H^c?</i>	<i>hry pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM170
40	<i>Hbsdj</i>	None	k1b	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM159
41	<i>Hnm-m-htp</i>	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM462
42	<i>Kn?</i>	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, (Controller of) the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM225

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

43	<i>Df-hꜥpy</i>	<i>b3k n t3 shꜥpy n Wp-w3wt</i> (Servant of the censer-bearers of Wewaut)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM169
44	Named (name unclear)	<i>hꜥry-ꜥ</i> (Foreman)	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM058
45	Unclear	<i>jky mšꜥ?</i> (Military Stonecutter)	k1b	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the (Two Lands, Lord of) Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM501
46	Unclear	<i>mnjw?</i> (Herdsman)	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller (of the Two Lands)	Cairo Museum	CM397
47	Broken	Broken	K1?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM212
48	Broken	Broken	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM547
49	Broken	Broken	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM402
50	Broken	Broken	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Damaged	Cairo Museum	CM540
51	None	None	K1a with shoulder sash	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM203
52	None	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM097
53	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Likely None	Cairo Museum	CM133
54	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM105
55	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM461
56	None	None	K1C	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM127
57	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM452

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

58	None	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM473
59	None	None	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM104
60	None	None	k1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM053
61	None	None	k1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM168
62	None	None	k1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM090
63	None	None	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM098
64	None	None	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM055
65	None	None	K1	Wepwaut	Mixed form	None	Cairo Museum	CM045
66	None	None	K1?	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	None	Cairo Museum	CM435
67	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM088
68	None	None	k1?	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Lord of the Sacred Land	Cairo Museum	CM369
69	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	None	Cairo Museum	CM205
70	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut (likely)	Mixed Form with jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM099
71	Broken	Broken	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM650
72	Broken	Broken	K1c?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM080
73	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Heryshef, Isis or Hathor?	Mixed Form	Heryshef, the self (created)	Cairo Museum	CM256
74	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Re-Sobek?	Mixed Form	Avenger?..Ruler?	Cairo Museum	CM263

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

75	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Barque	The Barque of Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM089
76	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM337
77	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM118
78	Unclear	Unclear	K1c	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM549
79	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM166
80	Unclear	Unclear	K1b?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM614
81	Unclear	Unclear	K1?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller (of the Two Lands), Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM124
82	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM371
83	Unclear	Unclear	K1	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM024
84	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM437
85	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller...	Cairo Museum	CM546
86	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Lord of Nedfyt, the Great God	Cairo Museum	CM051
87	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM122
88	Unclear	Unclear	K1b,	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM486
89	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt	Cairo Museum	CM535
90	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM460
91	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM537

Table 5.33: Gods Worshipped by Lower Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

92	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut and Thoth	Divine Standard and Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt...Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM511

Table 5.34: Multi-Gods Stelae Donated by Lower Elite Men

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jjt</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury?)	K1?	Amun-Re, Wepwaut, Hathor	Mixed Form	Amun-Re; Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Hathor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM336
2	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1a	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Divine Standard, Mixed	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Min-Amun, Bull of His Mother; Isis the Great, Lady of...	Cairo Museum	CM257
3	<i>P3-mnw</i>	<i>ṯzy-ḥw n Nb t3wy</i> (The Fan-Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Wepwaut and Amun-Re	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, (Lord) of Asyut; Amun-Re, (Lord) of the Two Lands, Lord of Brightness	Cairo Museum	CM194
4	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1b	Wepwaut, Hathor, Min? Amun-re?	Mixed Form	(Wepwaut), Controller of the Two Lands, Hahtor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM192
5	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Heryshef, Isis or Hathor?	Mixed Form	Heryshef, the self (created)	Cairo Museum	CM256
6	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut and Thoth	Divine Standard and Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt...Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM511

Table 5.35: Lower Elite Donors Worshipping Wepwaut in Mixed Animal-Human Form

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jjt</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury?)	K1?	Amun-Re, Wepwaut, Hathor	Mixed Form	Amun-Re; Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Hathor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM336
2	<i>Pꜣ-mnw</i>	<i>ṯꜣy-ḥw n Nb</i> <i>ṯꜣwy</i> (The Fan-Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Wepwaut and Amun-Re	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, (Lord) of Asyut; Amun-Re, (Lord) of the Two Lands, Lord of Brightness	Cairo Museum	CM194
3	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜥ-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1b	Wepwaut, Hathor, Min? Amun-re?	Mixed Form	(Wepwaut), Controller of the Two Lands, Hahtor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM192
4	<i>Rḥ-m-ꜥ-f</i>	<i>ḳd</i> (Builder)	K1a	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut, the Good God	Cairo Museum	CM014
5	<i>Ḥbsdj</i>	None	k1b	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM159
6	None	None	K1	Wepwaut	Mixed form	None	Cairo Museum	CM045
7	None	None	K1?	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	None	Cairo Museum	CM435
8	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM088
9	None	None	K1b	Wepwaut (likely)	Mixed Form with jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM099
10	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt	Cairo Museum	CM535
11	Unclear	Unclear	K1a	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	None	Cairo Museum	CM460

Table 5.36: Lower Elite Donors Worshipping Gods Other Than Wepwaut

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jjt</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ mst(r)?</i> (Servant of the Treasury?)	K1?	Amun-Re, Wepwaut, Hathor	Mixed Form	Amun-Re; Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Hathor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM336
2	<i>Jmn-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1a	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Divine Standard, Mixed	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands; Min-Amun, Bull of His Mother; Isis the Great, Lady of...	Cairo Museum	CM257
3	<i>Pꜣ-mnw</i>	<i>tꜣy-ḥw n Nb tꜣwy</i> (The Fan-Bearer of the Lord of the Two Lands)	K1b	Wepwaut and Amun-Re	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, (Lord) of Asyut; Amun-Re, (Lord) of the Two Lands, Lord of Brightness	Cairo Museum	CM194
4	<i>Pꜣ(-n) Rꜥ-m-ḥb</i>	<i>sdm-ꜥꜥ</i> (Servant)	K1b	Wepwaut, Hathor, Min? Amun-re?	Mixed Form	(Wepwaut), Controller of the Two Lands, Hahtor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM192
5	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Heryshef, Isis or Hathor?	Mixed Form	Heryshef, the self (created)	Cairo Museum	CM256
6	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Re-Sobek?	Mixed Form	Avenger?...Ruler?	Cairo Museum	CM263
7	Unclear	Unclear	K1b	Wepwaut and Thoth	Divine Standard and Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt...Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM511

Table 5.37: Gods Worshipped by Ritual Specialists and the Forms in Which They Appear

Number	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jpn?</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (Wab-priest)	K2a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Unknown	CP6
2	<i>Jmn-m-ḥb</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM456
3	<i>Jmn-ḥtp</i>	<i>ss n Ḥwt-ḥr</i> (Scribe of Hathor)	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM028
4	<i>Wp-wꜣwt</i>	<i>šps pr</i> (Noble of the Temple)?	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM137
5	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-pꜣ-šw</i>	<i>ss n pr Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Scribe of the Temple of Wepwaut)	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Powerful One of the Two Lands, the Perfect God, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM029
6	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2a + shoulder sash	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM003
7	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt/wꜥb, ḥry ḥbt?</i> (wab-priest of the festival/wab-priest, Lector Priest)	k2?	Wepwaut-Re	Divine Standard with Jackals	Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM204
8	<i>Bꜣk-mḥ</i>	<i>wꜥb</i> (wab-priest)	K2b + shoulder sash	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut of Upper Egypt), Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM459

Table 5.37: Gods Worshipped by Ritual Specialists and the Forms in Which They Appear

9	<i>P^c-m-w-y</i>	<i>w^cb, jt ntr</i> (Wab-priest, God's Father)	K2b	Wepwaut-Re	Divine Standard with Jackals	Lord of Asyut, The Great God, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM039
10	<i>Pz(-n) R^c-nb</i>	<i>šms</i> (Escort)	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt,	Cairo Museum	CM063
11	<i>Mn-nfr</i>	<i>bzk zst?</i> (Servant of Isis)	K2b	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	None	Cairo Museum	CM201
12	<i>Nb-ms</i>	<i>w^cb Wp-wzwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b + shoulder sash?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM052
13	<i>nfr-rnpt</i>	none	k2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM199
14	<i>R^c-nb</i>	<i>kd</i> (Builder)	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut-Re, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	Cm138
15	<i>Hst-jzy</i>	<i>w^cb Hr-m-wjz/Hr-zh.tj?</i> (Wab-priest of Horemwia/Horakhty)	K2a	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM398
16	<i>Hwy</i>	<i>w^cb Wp-wzwt</i> (Wab-priest of Wepwaut)	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM026
17	<i>Hr-m...?</i>	None	K2?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM548
18	<i>Hcy</i>	<i>w^cb</i> (wab-priest)	K2?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM032
19	<i>Hfy?</i>	<i>w^cb n Hwt-hr</i> (Wab-priest of Hathor)	K2b + shoulder sash	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals and Divine Statue		Cairo Museum	CM526

Table 5.37: Gods Worshipped by Ritual Specialists and the Forms in Which They Appear

20	None	None	K2b	Min? Reshep?	Anthropomorphic	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM231
21	None	None	k2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, the Great God, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM030
22	None	None	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM355
23	None	None	k2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM175
24	None	None	K2b + shoulder sash	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals and Divine Statue	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM047
25	Unclear	Unclear	K2b?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard and Divine Statue		Cairo Museum	CM542
26	Unclear	<i>sdm</i> 𓂏? (Servant)	k2?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, Lord of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM190
27	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut[...]	Cairo Museum	CM071
28	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM095
29	Unclear	Unclear	K2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM576
30	Unclear	Unclear	K2?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM529
31	Unclear	Unclear	k2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM534
32	Unclear	Unclear	k2a	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, The Good God?	Cairo Museum	CM475
33	Unclear	Unclear	k2b	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	...Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM123

Table 5.38: Gods Worshipped by Military Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn</i>	Broken	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM019
2	<i>Jmn-m-jpt?</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM562
3	<i>Jmn-m-jnt</i>	None	MB	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	None	Bode Museum, Berlin	20756
4	<i>P3-wjw</i>	None	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Private Collection, Kansas	CP2
5	<i>P3-nb-ḥtp</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Ptah, Wepwaut	Anthropomorphic and divine standard	Ptah, Lord of the Land...	Cairo Museum	CM333
6	<i>M-ꜥ-r</i>	<i>wꜥw</i> (Infantryman)	ME	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM101
7	<i>Ms..</i>	<i>ḥry ḥbs?</i> (Overseer of Cloth)	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM061
8	<i>N3tj</i>	<i>ḥry jḥ</i> (Overseer of the Herd)	MB	Hathor and Wepwaut	Anthropomorphic and divine standards	Hathor, the Goddess at the Head of the Pa-Sheno, Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, the Great God, Wepwaut of Lower Egypt, the Great God	Cairo Museum	CM200
9	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	None	Mai	Amun-Re Kamutef, Wepwaut, Amun	Divine Standard, Theriomorphic	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky, MAA bw nfr?	Cairo Museum	CM004
10	<i>Rꜥ-ms/unclear</i>	<i>k3ny</i> (vintner)	MC	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM020

Table 5.38: Gods Worshipped by Military Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

11	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>Wꜣw</i> (Infantrymen)	ME	Wepwaut, Hathor	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, the Great God, Lord of the Sky; Hathor, Lady of Medjed, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Two Lands	Unknown	CP1
12	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>wꜣ..</i> (Infantryman)	MC	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM466
13	<i>Hꜣry-ꜥ</i>	<i>jmy-r wꜣrt m 3htp</i> (Overseer of the Guild in the Field), <i>sš</i> (Scribe)	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM025
14	<i>Hꜣ-m-jpt</i>	<i>šmsw</i> (Escort)	MC	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM117
15	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>hꜣry jh n nb t3.wy</i> (Overseer of the Herd of the Lord of Two Lands)	MB	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Wepwaut	British Museum	EA 1430
16	<i>Hnsw</i>	<i>hꜣry hꜣw n nb t3.wy</i> (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Wepwaut, Hathor, Ptah	Divine Standard, Divine statue, anthropomorphic	Wepwaut, the (Great God), ruler..., Lord of the Sky, he of Upper Egypt, (Lord of) the Lands; Hathor of Medjed, Lady of the Sky, the Great Goddess	Cairo Museum	CM536
17	<i>Hn?</i>	<i>jmy-r pr-wr?</i> (Overseer of the Per-Wer)	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM353
18	<i>Štp-n-Bs?</i>	None	MD	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM056
19	unclear	unclear	Military	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM401
20	unclear	unclear	MD	Wepwaut	Divine Statue and Divine Standard	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Glorious Offspring, Champion of His Father	Cairo Museum	CM233
21	Unclear	Unclear	MC	Wepwaut	Theriomorphic	Wepwaut	Cairo Museum	CM164

Table 5.38: Gods Worshipped by Military Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

22	None	None	MC	Amun Re, Min-Amun-Kamutef, Hathor?	Anthropomorphic, Divine Barque	Amun-Re, Lord of the Sky; Min-Amun-Kamutef, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM544
23	None	None	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	none	Cairo Museum	CM329
24	None	None	MB	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	none	Cairo Museum	CM044
25	None	None	MDi	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM049
26	None	None	Mai	Wepwaut, Amun-Re	Mixed Form	Wepwaut, Lord of the Sky; Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM258

Table 5.39: Gods Other Than Wepwaut Appearing on Military Donor Stelae

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>P3-nb-htp</i>	wꜥw (Infantrymen)	MC	Ptah, Wepwaut	Anthropomorphic and divine standard	Ptah, Lord of the Land...	Cairo Museum	CM333
2	<i>N3tj</i>	hry jh (Overseer of the Herd)	MB	Hathor and Wepwaut	Anthropomorphic and divine standards	Hathor, the Goddess at the Head of the Pa-Sheno, Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, the Great God, Wepwaut of Lower Egypt, the Great God	Cairo Museum	CM200
3	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	None	Mai	Amun-Re Kamutef, Wepwaut, Amun	Divine Standard, Theriomorphic	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky, MAA bw nfr?	Cairo Museum	CM004
4	<i>Hrj</i>	Wꜥw (Infantrymen)	ME	Wepwaut, Hathor	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, the Great God, Lord of the Sky; Hathor, Lady of Medjedny, Lady of the Sky, Mistress of the Two Lands	Unknown	CP1
5	<i>Hnsw</i>	hry hꜥw n nb t3.wy (Inspector of the Ordinance of the Lord of the Two Lands)	MB	Wepwaut, Hathor, Ptah	Divine Standard, Divine statue, anthropomorphic	Wepwaut, the (Great God), ruler..., Lord of the Sky, he of Upper Egypt, (Lord of) the Lands; Hathor of Medjed, Lady of the Sky, the Great Goddess	Cairo Museum	CM536
6	None	None	MC	Amun Re, Min-Amun-Kamutef, Hathor?	Anthropomorphic, Divine Barque	Amun-Re, Lord of the Sky; Min-Amun-Kamutef, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM544
7	None	None	Mai	Wepwaut, Amun-Re	Mixed Form	Wepwaut, Lord of the Sky; Amun-Re, King of the Gods, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM258

Table 5.40: Gods Worshipped by High Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jḥ-ms</i>	<i>jmy-r ḥm-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Overseer of the <i>ḥm-nṯr</i> Priests of Every God)	K8	Osiris- Khentyamentiu, Anubis, Hathor, Wennefer	Anthropomorphic	Osiris-Khentyamentiu, Lord of the Land of Life, Lord of Eternity, Ruler of Djed, Anubis, Who is in the Place of Embalmmnt,	Cairo Museum	CM114
2	<i>Jmn-wjz</i>	<i>sš...n p3 mšꜥ</i> (...Scribe of the Expeditionary Force);	K8	Wepwaut and Hathor	Anthropomorphic, divine standard	Wepwaut, The Great God; Hathor, Lady of Medjed	Cairo Museum	CM158
3	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Wepwaut	Mixed form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM363
4	<i>Wp-w3wt- ms</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Wp-w3wt</i> (Chief Priest of Wepwaut)	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut who is deep within Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM033
5	<i>Bḥy-nfr-n?</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr tpy Jmn</i> (Chief priest of Amun)	K9	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM454
6	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ- nḥt</i> (same donor as CM002)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM022
7	<i>P3(-n) Rꜥ- nḥt</i> (same donor as CM022)	<i>sš ḥtpw-nṯr n nṯrw nbw</i> (Scribe of the Divine Offerings of All the Gods)	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM002
8	<i>P3(-n) T3- wrt</i>	None	K9	Wepwaut, Anubis?, Wepwaut-Re, Amun	Divine Standard, Mixed, Divine Statue, Jackals	Wepwaut, the Great God, Controller of the Two Lands, the Great God, Lord of the Sky	British Museum	EA 1632
9	<i>P3-tj</i>	<i>skt?</i> (Commander)	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM528

Table 5.40: Gods Worshipped by High Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

10	<i>Mrjtf</i>	<i>ḥsy n ntr nfr</i> (one praised of the good god), (<i>jmy-r</i>) <i>pr.wj (ḥd) šmꜥw mḥw</i> (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt)	K8	Wepwaut	Mixed form	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM076
11	<i>Ms</i>	<i>sdm ꜥš pr-wr</i> (Deputy of the Per-Wer)?	K9	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM445
12	<i>Nb-ms?</i>	<i>jdnw n sktyw?</i> (the Lieutenant General of the Lower Ranking Officers?)	K9	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM040
13	<i>Nfr-rnpt</i>	<i>jmy-r jḥw n Pꜣ-Rꜥ</i> (Overseer of the Herd of Pre)	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, The Good God	Cairo Museum	CM068
14	<i>Rꜥ-ms</i>	<i>...n Jmn-Rꜥ</i> (...of Amun-Ra)	MSQ	Wepwaut, Amun-Re, Thoth	Divine Standard and Theriomorphic Divine Statues	Amun-Re, the Lion of Strength, the Good God; Wepwaut...; Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis, the Great God, Lord...	Cairo Museum	CM491
15	<i>Hrj</i>	<i>skt n tꜣ jwꜥt pr-ꜥꜣ</i> (commander of the Garrison of Pharaoh)	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut	British Museum	EA 891
16	<i>Hrj?</i>	<i>ḥry ḥsy n Wp-wꜣwt?</i> (DuQuesne reads <i>ḥsy pr n Wp-wꜣwt</i>) (Overseer of the Temple Singers of Wepwaut?)	Mss +unclear	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM094
17	<i>Hw-Rꜥ</i>	<i>...n mšꜥ</i> ([Commander?])...of the Army?)	MSQ	Amun-Re	Theriomorphic Divine Statue	Amen-Re, Lord of the Sky and Earth... for ever	Cairo Museum	CM438
18	Unclear	<i>ꜣtw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM120
19	None	None	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM048

Table 5.40: Gods Worshipped by High Elite Donors and the Forms in Which They Appear

20	None	None	MSQ	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM465
21	None	None	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	None	British Museum	EA 873
22	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	(Wepwaut) of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM042
23	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM482
24	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM592
25	Broken	Broken	K9	Wepwaut	Divine Standard	Broken	Cairo Museum	CM575
26	Unclear	Unclear	K8?	Wepwaut	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM122

Table 5.41: High Elite Donors Worshipping Wepwaut in his Mixed Form

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	God	Form	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Jmn-m-jpt</i>	<i>nfw</i> (Boat Captain)	Mss + military kilt + leopard skin?	Wepwaut	Mixed form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM363
2	<i>Pz(-n) Tz-wrt</i>	None	K9	Wepwaut, Anubis?, Wepwaut-Re, Amun	Divine Standard, Mixed, Divine Statue, Jackals	Wepwaut, the Great God, Controller of the Two Lands, the Great God, Lord of the Sky	British Museum	EA 1632
3	<i>Mrjtf</i>	<i>ḥsy n ntr nfr</i> (one praised of the good god), <i>(jmy-r) pr.wj (ḥd) šmꜥw mḥw</i> (the Overseer of the Two Treasuries of Upper and Lower Egypt)	K8	Wepwaut	Mixed form	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM076
4	Unclear	<i>zrw?</i> (Deputy?)	MSQ	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM120
5	None	None	MSQ	Wepwaut	Mixed Form with Jackals	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM465
6	Unclear	Unclear	K8	Wepwaut	Mixed Form	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM592

Appendix II

Table 6.1 Women Associated with the Lower Elite Class

#	Name	Title	Dress	Hairstyle	Stela Type	Museum	Accession #
1	ꜣst	None	Unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM159
2	ꜣst-ꜣbd?	None	D2a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM632
3	ꜥš	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM257
4	J-ꜣ-n-R ^c	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D3b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM159
5	Jwy	mwt n Xt	D5b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM257
6	Jht-nfrit	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D4b	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM336
7	Whd?	None	Unclear	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM488
8	Pꜣ-dw ^c t?	None	D5a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM159
9	Nfrit?	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM486
10	Nfrit-jry?	None	D2a	Classic Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM535
11	H ^c t	None	D4b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM159
12	Hwt-hrw	<i>snt=f</i> (His Sister), <i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Enveloping Gala	Couple	British Museum	EA 1725
13	Hmt-(?)Hwt-hr	None	Unclear	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM488
14	Sprt?	None	D2a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM632
15	Shmt	<i>snt=f</i> (His Sister), <i>nb(t)-pr</i> (Mistress of House)	D2a	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM210
16	Shmt?	šm ^c yt (Chantress)	D8	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM473
17	Tꜣ-n?	None	D2a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM632
18	Tꜣjs	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM062
20	t-n-wjꜣ	<i>snt=f</i> (His Sister)	D5b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM257
19	Tꜣ-wsrt	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5a	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Unknown	CP5
21	Dwꜣ-nfr	None	Unclear	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM488
22	Dwꜣt-nfrit	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D4b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM054
23	None	None	D5b	Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM104
24	None	None	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM127
25	None	None	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM205
26	None	None	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM369
27	None	None	D2a	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM452
28	None	None	D5b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM053
29	None	None	D5b	Classic Tripartite?	Family	Cairo Museum	CM053
30	None	None	D5b	Classic Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM053
31	None	None	Unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM055

Table 6.1 Women Associated with the Lower Elite Class

32	None	None	Unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM090
33	None	None	Unclear	Gala?	Family	Cairo Museum	CM096
34	None	None	Unclear	Gala?	Family	Cairo Museum	CM096
35	None	None	D5b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM098
36	None	None	Unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM168
37	None	None	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM263
38	None	None	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM263
39	None	None	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM263
40	None	None	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM263
41	None	None	Skirt	Unclear	Family	Cairo Museum	CM435
42	None (erased?)	None (erased?)	K1b, D3a	Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM546
43	Broken	Broken	D2a	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM402
44	Broken	Broken	Unclear	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM547
45	Unclear	Unclear	D5b	Enveloping Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM089
46	Unclear	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Classic Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM397
47	Unclear	None	D2a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM058
48	Unclear	None	D5b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM058
49	Unclear	<i>šnt=f</i> (His Sister)	D5a, D5b, D2a,	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM058
50	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM263
51	Unclear	Unclear	D2b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM460
52	Unclear	Unclear	D2b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM460
53	Unclear	Likely None	Unclear	Unclear	Family	Cairo Museum	CM501
54	Unclear	None	Unclear	Classic Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM501
55	Unclear	<i>b3kt?</i> (Servant)	D2a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM535
56	Unclear	<i>šmcyt?</i> (Chantress)	D2a	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM535

Table 6.2 Women Associated with the Ritual Specialist Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Stela Type	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>Hnwt-nswy</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM204
2	<i>Hwt-hr</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM204
3	<i>Hhy?</i>	None	D1b	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM199
4	<i>T3-styt</i>	<i>nbt pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D4a	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM039
5	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM534
6	Unclear	Unclear	D5a	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM475
7	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM123
8	None	None	D3a	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM030
9	None	None	D4b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM175
10	None	None	D4a	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM039
11	None	None	D3b	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM175
12	None	None	D3b	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM175
13	None	None	D2b	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM175
14	None	None	D2b	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM175

Table 6.3 Women Associated with the Military Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Stela Type	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>zst</i>	<i>šmꜥyt wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Family	Unknown	CP1
2	<i>Jrtt</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM333
3	<i>Wbht</i>	<i>šmꜥyt n wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D5b	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM200
4	<i>Wp-wꜣwt-jwy?</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House), <i>šmꜥyt Wp-Wꜥwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	Unclear	Classic Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM233
5	<i>Whbt?</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2a	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM562
6	<i>Nbt-ḥwt</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM200
7	<i>Nfṛt-njw</i>	Unclear	D5a	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM019
8	<i>Sꜣt-snfr</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2b	Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM061
9	<i>Tꜣ-wr.t</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Modified Tripartite	Family	British Museum	EA 1430
10	<i>Tꜣ-wnšt</i>	<i>šmꜥyt wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Family	Unknown	CP1
11	<i>Tꜣ-kꜣpy</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM466
12	Unclear	Unclear	D5b	Enveloping Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM020
13	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Family	Cairo Museum	CM562
14	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM562
15	None	None	Unclear	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM044
16	None	None	D5b	Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM258
17	None	None	D5b	Enveloping Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM329
18	None	None	D3b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM544
19	None	None	D3b	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM544

Table 6.4 Women Associated with Local High Elite Class

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Hairstyle	Stela Type	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>ꜣst</i>	<i>nbt pr</i> (Mistress of the House), <i>šmꜣyt wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D5b	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM454
2	Unclear	<i>nbt pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Gala	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM120
3	Unclear	Unclear	D4a	Modified Tripartite	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM122
4	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM363
5	Unclear	Unclear	D2b	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM460
6	Unclear	<i>šmꜣyt ꜣst</i> (Chantress of Isis)	D3b	Modified Tripartite	Family	Cairo Museum	CM158
7	none	<i>nbt pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Enveloping Gala Style	Couple	Cairo Museum	CM040
8	None	None	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Family	Cairo Museum	CM048

6.5: Female Primary Donors

#	Name	Donor Titles	Dress	Deity	God	Titles	Museum	Accession #
1	<i>zst</i>	<i>šmꜥy(t) Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D3b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM018
2	<i>zst-nfrit</i>	None	Unclear	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM436
3	<i>Jy(t)</i>	<i>šmꜥyt</i> (Chantress), <i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, The Great God, Lord of Neheh	Cairo Museum	CM027
4	<i>Jyt-wꜣdt</i>	<i>šmꜥyt n Hnm</i> (Chantress of Khnum)	D4b	Single	Wepwaut	Broken	Cairo Museum	CM072
5	<i>Whdt</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D3b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut...	Cairo Museum	CM451
6	<i>Bꜣkt-Jmn</i>	<i>nb(t)-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5a	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyt	Cairo Museum	CM206
7	<i>Bꜣkt-Dḥwty?</i>	None	D3b?	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Unknown	CP4
8	<i>Mḥyt-ꜣb-sw</i>	None	D5a?	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyt	Musée du Louvre	AF 6949
9	<i>Nb(t)-wnn?</i>	Unclear	D3b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut...	Cairo Museum	CM153
10	<i>Nfrit</i>	None	D2b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM066
11	<i>Nfrit</i>	Unclear	D2a	Single	Wepwaut	(Wepwaut) of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM069
12	<i>Hnty-tꜣ-wrt?</i>	<i>šmꜥyt</i> (Chantress)	D1a	Single	Taweret	Taweret, Lady of the Sky, Who Give Birth to God	Cairo Museum	CM264
13	<i>Rḥj(t)?</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D5b	Single	Wepwaut	None	Cairo Museum	CM365
14	<i>Sꜥnh-Tꜣ-wrt</i>	<i>nb(t)-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut...Lord...	Cairo Museum	CM084
15	<i>Shmt</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House), <i>šmꜥyt n Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D2b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, (withing) the heart of Nedfyt	Unknown	DuQuesne PP1

6.5: Female Primary Donors

16	<i>Šhmt?</i>	<i>nb(t)-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut, Lord of Asyut, The Great God, Lord of the Sky	Cairo Museum	CM622
17	<i>K3-k3j</i>	None	D5b	Multiple	Wepwaut and Osris	None	Cairo Museum	CM008
18	<i>T3-j3y</i>	<i>šmꜥyt n Wp-w3wt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D2a	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands...Lord of Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM171
19	<i>Tjy</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House), <i>šmꜥyt n Jmn</i> (Chantress of Amun)	D2a	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, (withing) the heart of Nedfyt	Unknown	DuQuesne PP1
20	<i>T3-wnšt</i>	<i>šmꜥy(t) Wp-w3wt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D2a	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM060
21	<i>T3-wrt</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM545
22	<i>T3-wrt</i>	<i>nbt-pr?</i> (Mistress of the House), <i>šmꜥyt n Wp-w3wt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	D2A	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, the Beautiful God, The One Who is Over Asyut	Cairo Museum	CM464
23	<i>T3-wrt</i>	None	D2b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM142
24	<i>Thy</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	None	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, (Controller) of the the Land	Cairo Museum	CM134
25	Broken	Broken	Unclear	Single	Hathor?	Unclear/none	Cairo Museum	CM642
26	Broken	Broken	Broken	Single	Wepwaut	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM616
27	Unclear	<i>ḥsy(t)?</i> (Praised One), <i>nb(t)-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM484
28	None	None	D4b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut	Cairo Museum	CM059
29	None	None	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	None	Cairo Museum	CM096
30	None	None	D4b	Single	Wepwaut	None	Cairo Museum	CM043
31	None	None	D3a	Multiple	Hathor and Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands, Lord (of Asyut)	Cairo Museum	CM237
32	None	None	Unclear	Multiple	Wepwaut and Osiris	None	Cairo Museum	CM538
33	None	None	D7	Single	Wepwaut	None	British Museum	EA 896

6.5: Female Primary Donors

34	Unclear	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D2a	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt...	Cairo Museum	CM552
35	Unclear	None	D5b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of (Upper Egypt, Controller) of the Two Lands, the Great God	Cairo Museum	CM193
36	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Single	Wepwaut	(Wepwaut) of Upper Egypt, (Controller) of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM597
37	Unclear	Unclear	SX	Single	Tree goddess	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM503
38	Unclear	Unclear	D5a	Single	Wepwaut	Unclear	Cairo Museum	CM362
39	Unclear	Unclear	D5A	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut of Upper Egypt, Controller of the Two Lands	Cairo Museum	CM455
40	Unclear	Unclear	Unclear	Single	Wepwaut	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM241
41	Unclear	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	D4b	Single	Wepwaut	Wepwaut...	Cairo Museum	CM067

Appendix III

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

#	Name	Titles	Father's Class	Relation	Dress	Hairstyle	Deity	Single or Multiple Deities	Deity Form	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>zst</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	Unclear	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM159
2	<i>zst</i>	<i>šmꜣyt n Wp-wꜣwt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	Military	Daughter	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
3	<i>zst-zbd</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM632
4	<i>jmn-wjz</i>	<i>ss...n pꜣ mꜣ</i> (...Scribe of the expedition ary force)	Military	Son	K8 (High Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut and Hathor	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM158
5	<i>jn-rw-wꜣt?</i>	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1a	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM632
6	<i>jry-dp?</i>	none	Unclear	Son?	SX (unclear)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
7	<i>nh-nfr-r</i>	none	Unclassified (K5)	Daughter	D5b	Classic Tripartite	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230
8	<i>wp-wꜣwt-ms</i>	<i>wꜣb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	Unclear	Son	K2?+ shoulder sash (Ritual Specialist)	Shaved	Wepwaut-Re	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM204
9	<i>wpjw</i>	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	nude	Bald	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine statue, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM257

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

10	<i>wnš</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
11	<i>whd?</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM488
12	<i>bšk-šst</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
13	<i>p3(-n) Jmn</i>	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Min- Amun, Isis	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine statue, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM257
14	<i>p3(-n) Wp- w3wt</i>	none	Ritual Specialist	Son	K2 (Ritual Speciali st)	Shaved	Wepwaut- Re	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM039
15	<i>p3-wnš</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
16	<i>p3(-n) R^c</i>	none	Military	Juvenile (son)	Nude	bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM562
17	<i>p3-rsy-^c?</i>	none	Unclear	Son?	SX (unclear)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
18	<i>p3-dw3t</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM159
19	<i>pjwy</i>	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
20	<i>pn-t3-ntr</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

21	<i>pth-ms</i>	none	Unclear	Son	K1? (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM481
22	<i>nztj</i>	<i>hry jh</i> (Stable Master)	Military	Son	MB (Military)	Nubian/Fe athered	Hathor and Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and divine standards	Cairo Museum	CM200
23	<i>nfrt</i>	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	D5b	Angled Shoulder- length bob	Wepwaut and Osris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and theriomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM008
24	<i>nfrt-jry</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
25	<i>nfrt-jry</i>	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	D5b	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut and Osris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and theriomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM008
26	<i>nht-n-jr?</i>	none	Military	Juvenile (Son)	nude	Bald	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
27	<i>hr-mn</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	Lower Elite	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Duplex	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM054
28	<i>hrj</i>	<i>ss n pr-hd n nb t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands)	Military	Son	K1? (Lower Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder- Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Theriomorphic	British Museum	EA 1430
29	<i>hzt</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D4b	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM159
30	<i>hy</i>	<i>ss</i> (Scribe)	Unclassified (K5)	Son	K5	Shaved	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

31	<i>sprt?</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM632
32	<i>sdv</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
33	<i>k3r</i>	none	Unclassified (K5)	Son	K5	Shaved	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230
34	<i>t3-wnšt</i>	<i>šmꜣyt n Wp-w3wt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	Military	Daughter	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
35	<i>t3-wryt</i>	none	Unclassified (K5)	Daughter	D4a	Classic Tripartite	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230
36	<i>t3js</i>	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM062
37	<i>t3.wy</i>	<i>nbt-pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Daughter ?	SX (unclear)	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
38	<i>t-n-wj3</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5b	Gala	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine statue, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM257
39	<i>dw3-nfr</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM488
40	none	none	Unclear	Daughter	D5a	Enveloping Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM007
41	none	none	unclear	Daughter	D5a	Enveloping Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM007
42	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Son	unclear	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard	Cairo Museum	CM030
43	none	none	High Elite	Son	K1b (Lower Elite)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM048

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

					Dress)						
44	none	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5b	Classic Tripartite?	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
45	None	None	Lower Elite	Daughter	Db5	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
46	none	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
47	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shoulder-Length Bob,	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
48	none	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile	nude	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM055
49	none	none	Unclear	Daughter	unclear	Unclear	Hathor and Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and Divine Standard	Cairo Museum	CM078
50	none	none	Unclear	Son	unclear	Shaved	Hathor and Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and Divine Standard	Cairo Museum	CM078
51	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM090
52	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	unclear	unclear	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM096
53	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Son	K1b	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM096
54	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Son	K1b	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM096
55	none	None	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM098

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

56	none	none	Lower Elite	Daughter ?	unclear	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM168
57	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM168
58	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D4b	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
59	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D2b	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
60	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D3b	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
61	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	unclear	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
62	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Son	K2b (Ritual Specialist)	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
63	none	none	Military	Juvenile	Nude	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM233
64	none	none	Military	Juvenile	nude	Shaved	Ptah, Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM333
65	none	none	Unclear	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
66	none	none	Unclear	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
67	none	none	Unclear	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
68	none	none	Unclear	Son	K1A (Lower	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

					Elite Dress)						
69	none	none	Unclear	Son	Unclear	Unclear	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
70	none	none	Unclear	Son	D3b	Gala	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
71	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM435
72	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM435
73	none	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM461
74	none	none	Military	Juvenile	nude	bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM466
75	none	none	Military	Juvenile	nude	bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM466
76	None	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (Son)	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM488
77	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	Unclear	Unclear	Wepwaut and Osiris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM538
78	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Unclear	Wepwaut and Osiris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM538
79	none	none	Military	Daughter	D3b	Gala	Amun Re, Min-Amun-Kamutef, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, Divine Barque	Cairo Museum	CM544

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

80	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5b	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM058
81	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2,	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM058
82	unclear	unclear	Unclear	Daughter	D5b	Modified Tripartite	unclear			Cairo Museum	CM236
83	unclear	unclear	Unclear	Daughter	D5b	Modified Tripartite	unclear			Cairo Museum	CM236
84	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
85	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
86	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Enveloping Gala	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
87	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
88	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
89	unclear	none	High Elite	Daughter	SX	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM363
90	unclear	none	Unclear	Daughter ?	SX (unclear)	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
91	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter ?	Unclear	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
92	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Sidelock	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
93	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K8 (High Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460

Table 7.1 All Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

94	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
95	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Theriomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM501
96	Unclear	Unclear	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	SX	Enveloping Gala	Tree goddess	Single	Tree/anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM503
97	Unclear	Unclear	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	SX	Enveloping Gala	Tree goddess	Single	Tree/anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM503
98	unclear	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
99	unclear	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
100	unclear	unclear	Unclear	Daughter ?	unclear	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM555
101	unclear	unclear	Military	Daughter	unclear	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM562
102	unclear	unclear	Military	Daughter	unclear	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM562
103	unnamed (listed as daughter)	None	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D4a	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut-Re	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM039

Table 7.2 Juvenile Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

#	Name	Titles	Father's Class	Relation	Dress	Hairstyle	Deity	Single or Multiple Deities	Deity Form	Museum	Accession Number
1	<i>wpjw</i>	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	nude	Bald	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine statue, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM257
2	<i>p3-r</i>	none	Military	Juvenile (son)	Nude	bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM562
3	<i>pjwy</i>	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
4	<i>nht-n-jr?</i>	none	Military	Juvenile (Son)	nude	Bald	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
5	<i>t3js</i>	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM062
6	none	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM461
7	none	none	Military	Juvenile	nude	bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM466
8	none	none	Military	Juvenile	nude	bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM466
9	None	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (Son)	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM488

Table 7.2 Juvenile Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

10	none	none	Military	Juvenile	Nude	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM233
11	none	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
12	none	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile	nude	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM055
13	none	None	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM098
14	none	none	Military	Juvenile	nude	Shaved	Ptah, Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM333
15	none	none	Unclear	Juvenile	Nude	Bald	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
16	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Juvenile	Nude	Sidelock	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
17	unclear	none	Lower Elite	Juvenile (son)	Nude	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

#	Name	Titles	Father's Class	Relation	Dress	Hairstyle	Deity	Single or Multiple Deities	Deity Form	Museum	Accession Number
1	ꜣst	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	Unclear	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM159
2	ꜣst	šmꜣyt n Wp-wꜣwt (Chantress of Wepwaut)	Military	Daughter	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
3	ꜣst-ꜣbd	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM632
4	jmn-wjꜣ	šš...n pꜣ mšꜣ (...Scribe of the expeditionary force)	Military	Son	K8 (High Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut and Hathor	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM158
5	jn-rw-wꜣt?	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1a	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM632
6	jry-dp?	none	Unclear	Son?	SX (unclear)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
7	ꜣnh-nfr-rꜣ	none	Unclassified (K5)	Daughter	D5b	Classic Tripartite	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

8	<i>wp-w3wt-ms</i>	<i>wꜥb n ḥbt</i> (Wab-priest of the Festival?)	Unclear	Son	K2?+ shoulder sash (Ritual Specialist)	Shaved	Wepwaut-Re	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM204
10	<i>wnš</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
11	<i>whd?</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM488
12	<i>b3k-3st</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
13	<i>p3(-n) Jmn</i>	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine statue, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM257
14	<i>p3(-n) Wp-w3wt</i>	none	Ritual Specialist	Son	K2 (Ritual Specialist)	Shaved	Wepwaut-Re	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM039
15	<i>p3-wnš</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

17	<i>p3-rsy-ε?</i>	none	Unclear	Son?	SX (unclear)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
18	<i>p3-dw3t</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM159
20	<i>pn-t3-nṯr</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknow n	CP1
21	<i>pth-ms</i>	none	Unclear	Son	K1? (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM481
22	<i>n3tj</i>	<i>hry jh</i> (Stable Master)	Military	Son	MB (Military)	Nubian/Fe athered	Hathor and Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and divine standards	Cairo Museum	CM200
23	<i>nfri</i>	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	D5b	Angled Shoulder- length bob	Wepwaut and Osris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and theriomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM008
24	<i>nfri-jry</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
25	<i>nfri-jry</i>	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	D5b	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut and Osris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and theriomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM008

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

27	<i>hr-mn</i>	<i>w^c(w)</i> (Infantryman)	Lower Elite	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Duplex	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM054
28	<i>hrj</i>	<i>sš n pr-ḥd n nb</i> <i>t3.wy</i> (Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of Two Lands)	Military	Son	K1? (Lower Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Theriomorphic	British Museum	EA 1430
29	<i>h3t</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D4b	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM159
30	<i>h^cy</i>	<i>sš</i> (Scribe)	Unclassified (K5)	Son	K5	Shaved	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230
31	<i>spri?</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM632
32	<i>sdj</i>	none	Military	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
33	<i>k3r</i>	none	Unclassified (K5)	Son	K5	Shaved	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230
34	<i>t3-wnšt</i>	<i>šm^cyt n Wp-w3wt</i> (Chantress of Wepwaut)	Military	Daughter	D3a	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut, Hathor	Multiple	Divine Standard with Jackals	Unknown	CP1
35	<i>t3-wryt</i>	none	Unclassified (K5)	Daughter	D4a	Classic Tripartite	Amun-Re, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM230

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

37	<i>ts.wy</i>	<i>nbt pr</i> (Mistress of the House)	Unclear	Daughter ?	SX (unclear)	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453
38	<i>ṯ-n-wjz</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5b	Gala	Wepwaut, Min-Amun, Isis	Multiple	Anthropomorphic, divine statue, divine standard	Cairo Museum	CM257
39	<i>ḏwz-nfr</i>	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM488
40	none	none	Unclear	Daughter	D5a	Enveloping Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM007
41	none	none	unclear	Daughter	D5a	Enveloping Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM007
42	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Son	unclear	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard	Cairo Museum	CM030
43	none	none	High Elite	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM048
44	none	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5b	Classic Tripartite?	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

45	None	None	Lower Elite	Daughter	Db5	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
47	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shoulder-Length Bob,	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM053
49	none	none	Unclear	Daughter	unclear	Unclear	Hathor and Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and Divine Standard	Cairo Museum	CM078
50	none	none	Unclear	Son	unclear	Shaved	Hathor and Wepwaut	Multiple	Anthropomorphic and Divine Standard	Cairo Museum	CM078
51	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM090
52	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	unclear	unclear	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM096
53	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Son	K1b	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM096
54	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Son	K1b	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM096

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

56	none	none	Lower Elite	Daughter ?	unclear	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM168
57	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM168
58	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D4b	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
59	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D2b	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
60	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D3b	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
61	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	unclear	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
62	none	none	Ritual Specialist	Son	K2b (Ritual Specialist)	Bald	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM175
66	none	none	Unclear	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

67	none	none	Unclear	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
68	none	none	Unclear	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
69	none	none	Unclear	Son	Unclear	Unclear	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
70	none	none	Unclear	Son	D3b	Gala	unclear	unclear	unclear	Cairo Museum	CM335
71	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM435
72	none	none	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	shaved	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM435
77	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	Unclear	Unclear	Wepwaut and Osiris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM538
78	none	none	Female Primary Donor	Son	K1A (Lower Elite Dress)	Unclear	Wepwaut and Osiris	Multiple	Anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM538
79	none	none	Military	Daughter	D3b	Gala	Amun Re, Min- Amun- Kamutef, Hathor?	Multiple	Anthropomorphic , Divine Barque	Cairo Museum	CM544

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

80	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	D5b	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM058
81	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2,	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM058
82	unclear	unclear	Unclear	Daughter	D5b	Modified Tripartite	unclear			Cairo Museum	CM236
83	unclear	unclear	Unclear	Daughter	D5b	Modified Tripartite	unclear			Cairo Museum	CM236
84	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
85	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	Unclear	Enveloping Gala	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
86	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Enveloping Gala	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
87	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K1b (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
88	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Shaved	Re-Sobek?	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM263
89	unclear	none	High Elite	Daughter	SX	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM363
90	unclear	none	Unclear	Daughter ?	SX (unclear)	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM453

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

91	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter ?	Unclear	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
93	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K8 (High Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
94	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Son	K1c (Lower Elite Dress)	Angled Shoulder-Length Bob	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM460
95	unclear	unclear	Lower Elite	Daughter	unclear	Classic Tripartite	Wepwaut	Single	Theriomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM501
96	Unclear	Unclear	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	SX	Enveloping Gala	Tree goddess	Single	Tree/anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM503
97	Unclear	Unclear	Female Primary Donor	Daughter	SX	Enveloping Gala	Tree goddess	Single	Tree/anthropomorphic	Cairo Museum	CM503
98	unclear	none	Lower Elite	Daughter	D2a	Gala	Wepwaut	Single	Mixed Form	Cairo Museum	CM535
100	unclear	unclear	Unclear	Daughter ?	unclear	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM555
101	unclear	unclear	Military	Daughter	unclear	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM562
102	unclear	unclear	Military	Daughter	unclear	unclear	Wepwaut	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM562

Table 7.3 Mature Children Represented on the Votive Stelae

103	unnamed daughter	None	Ritual Specialist	Daughter	D4a	Modified Tripartite	Wepwaut-Re	Single	Divine Standard with Jackals	Cairo Museum	CM039

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