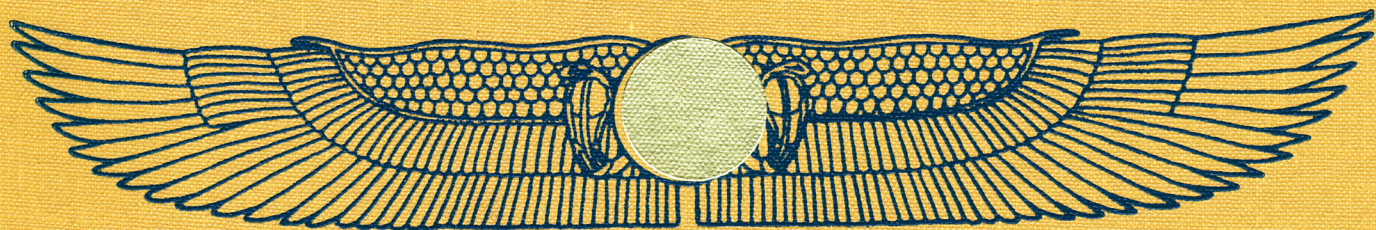


THE OXFORD ENCYCLOPEDIA OF



ANCIENT

EGYPT

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LISE MANNICHE

SHABAQA (r. 712–698 or 716–702 BCE), fourth king of the twenty-fifth or Kushite dynasty, Late period. In the second year of his reign, Neferkare Shabaqa invaded Egypt from Kush ending the western Delta-based regime of Bakenranef (Bocchoris). (The Apis bull embalmed in Bakenranef's Year 6 had its vault sealed in Year 2 of Shabaqa.) Shabaqa celebrated that conquest and the securing of his borders by issuing a commemorative scarab: "He has slain those who rebelled against him in both South and North, and in every foreign land. The [Near Eastern] sand-dwellers faint because of him, falling down through fear of him; they come of themselves as captives and each among them seized his fellow."

In 712 BCE or later, Shabaqa cooperated with Assyria by extraditing the fugitive Iamani, ruler of Ashdod, to Sargon II's army commander. In 706 BCE (or earlier), a text of Sargon II (Tang-i Var) shows that Iamani was handed back to the Assyrians by Shabtaka, perhaps as coregent with Shabaqa. The finding at Nineveh of clay bullae in Shabaqa's name (from long-lost missives) may also indicate the pharaoh's pacific policy regarding Assyria. Egyptian intervention (in the guise of Prince Taharqa) in Palestine against Assyria in 701 BCE, is less likely to have occurred during Shabaqa's reign than in that of Shabtaka, who caused Taharqa to bring an army some two thousand miles from Nubia and proclaimed his intentions by his militaristic titles. Under whichever reign, the Egyptian forces were defeated. Within Egypt, Shabaqa showed an interest in various temples: at Memphis he buried another Apis bull and had an ancient cosmogony of the god Ptah inscribed on a basalt slab; he is also mentioned at Dendera, Esna, and especially Thebes. His sister, Amenirdis I, served in priestly office as God's Wife of Amun at Thebes, while the high priesthood of Amun devolved on his son, Haremakhet. Other Kushite (Nubian) dignitaries were also given posts in Thebes. In Nubia, Shabaqa worked at Kawa and built his pyramid tomb at el-Kurru.

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KENNETH A. KITCHEN

SHABTIS. See Funerary Figurines.

SHADOW. One of the major components in the Egyptian concept of an individual was the shadow (*shut*; *šwt*), along with the body, the *ka* (*k3*), the *ba* (*b3*), and the name. Like the body, the shadow was seen as a physical entity, and its relationship to light was understood. The *Prophecy of Neferti*, describing the absence of sunlight, says "no one will distinguish his shadow." The term *šwt* is used not only with reference to the shadow of individuals but also for the shade cast by any object, such as trees and buildings: the Sphinx Stela of Thutmose IV describes how the king "rested in the shadow of this great god" at noon. The term is also employed as a metaphor for protection—understandable in Egypt's climate—both from the heat of the sun and in a broader sense, as that extended by a god over the king, by the king's arm over his subjects, or even by the king's sun-shade over bystanders.

In common with the other elements of an individual, the shadow was viewed both as a component of its owner and a separate mode of existence. The image of a god carved on a temple wall could be called the god's shadow, and the temple itself was sometimes known as the shadow of its deity.

Most references to the shadow of a human being occur in funerary texts dealing with the afterlife. The earliest instances appear in the Coffin Texts of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom, where the shadow is usually mentioned together with the *ba*. Like the latter, it can be viewed as a mode of existence after death. In some cases, however, the *ba* and shadow seem to be two parts of a single entity: "Go, my *ba* and my shadow, that you (singular) may see the sun." Since the deceased's *ba* is regularly said to possess physical powers such as eating, drinking, and copulating, the shadow in such cases may have been understood as that of the *ba* itself.

Other passages in the Coffin Texts present the *ba* and shadow as distinct entities. Both are closely associated with the body in the tomb: the *ba* is said to be "in the earth" while the shadow is "in the inaccessible places" (the burial chamber), and the deceased states that "my *ba* belongs to my body, my shadow belongs to its arm." Like the *ba*, the shadow returned to the mummy at night: the Coffin Texts speak of "my *ba* and my shadow going on their feet to the place where that man [the deceased] is." In some cases, however, the shadow is more closely allied than the *ba* to its body. This is reflected in a passage from

and *htr* in Late Egyptian) was used to describe a "team" or "yoked animal," and therefore a member of a two-horse chariot team. The horse is native to the Zagros Mountains and Iranian uplands, where it was first domesticated. Sumerian texts refer to the "donkey of the mountain" (*anše.kur.ra*), but its domestication postdates the third millennium BCE. Archaeological evidence suggests that by 1900 BCE, the horse had been introduced into Cyprus, and by 1800 BCE into the Troad, but the animal was still not fully accepted in Mesopotamia in the Middle Bronze II period. Certainly by the sixteenth century BCE, the horse had been introduced into Egypt, probably (though not certainly) during the Hyksos invasion, because horses are mentioned in the first Kamose text dealing with the expulsion of the Hyksos.

The earliest physical evidence of equines in Egypt comes from a horse burial found at the fortress at Buhen. Difficulties exist in dating the remains, owing to problems of stratigraphy. A study of the horse's dentition, however, shows that it was controlled with a bit—a practice that postdates the Middle Kingdom. Horses first appear in the artistic record at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, and they are well documented in the Egyptian wars of conquest of that period. Horse-drawn chariots are well known, forming a major contingent of the armies of the day—with the chariot-warrior (*snnti*) becoming an important new officer class. The Karnak annals of Thutmose III lists 2,041 horses among the booty taken at the battle of Megiddo, including six stallions and numerous foals. From northern Syria, Hurrian documents of late New Kingdom times preserve prescriptive manuals that give instructions on the training and care of war horses. Military barracks, where soldiers were trained and registered, also functioned as stables that could, in some cases, house up to two hundred horses.

Besides their use in the military, horses were also utilized for hunting, again in concert with the chariot. Horseback riding was not favored by the Egyptians, in general, the animal probably being regarded as a less than dignified means of transportation. The care of horses and their use in recreation were favored by royalty to the extent that it became a recognized cliché corresponding to social reality. Both Amenhotpe II and Thutmose IV loved their horses, as did all the warrior kings of the nineteenth dynasty. While trade in horses is attested in the early Iron Age, there is no reason to question the genuine attachment of kings to their equines. The Piya Stela, which vilifies Tefnakhte for his mistreatment of horses, describes Tefnakhte's escape on horseback as an ignominious retreat. A stela of Amenhotpe III depicts prisoners of war being transported on the backs of the king's chariot team. Artistic representations of Egyptian horsemen from the late eighteenth dynasty and from Ramessid times suggest that they may be grooms, military scouts, or outriders.

Horses were not associated with Egyptian deities in any context. Yet the Syrian goddess Astarte, who enjoyed some popularity in the eighteenth dynasty and Ramessid period, was portrayed in Egyptian painting and relief on horseback in the guise of a war goddess.

The donkey (*Equus asinus*) is possibly an indigenous African domesticate. A species of wild ass (*Equus africanus*) is known to have inhabited northeast Africa, extending from Nubia to at least the southern part of the Nile Valley and also to parts of the Eastern Desert and the Western Desert. Physical remains of the wild African ass in Egypt are known from Late Paleolithic levels at several sites in the Western Desert, as well as at Kom Ombo; from Early Neolithic sites, remains are known in the Faiyum. Comparative physiological studies provide a strong indication that the wild African ass is the progenitor of the domestic donkey. By the late Predynastic period, the donkey is a domesticate and appears in the record in the Early Dynastic period.

Throughout Egyptian history, the donkey was an important beast of burden and functioned as the primary means of conveyance on trade caravans and mining expeditions. The sixth dynasty Elephantine-based official Harhuf reported that he returned from one of his missions to Nubia with three hundred donkeys laden with all sorts of trade goods, and his near contemporary Sabni took one hundred laden asses with him when he went south to recover the body of his father. Farmers sometimes employed donkeys to tread out the grain.

There is no certain evidence for the breeding and use of mules in pharaonic Egypt. It has been suggested that they are represented in Thebes (tomb 57; time of Amenhotpe III), but others have identified the animals in question as onagers (wild asses, *Equus hemionus onager*) of Central Asia.

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SUSAN REDFORD

EROTICA. Ancient Egyptian erotica are manifested in pictorial representations—figurines of clay, faience, or stone, wall paintings, papyrus and leather scrolls, ostraca, and other media—and in the texts of love poems, magic spells, tales, and treatises on subjects such as medicine,

dreams, local customs, and calendars. The sources are rather scattered; most are of New Kingdom date or later, and the majority of erotic figurines and spells date to Greco-Roman times. Some information may also be gathered from classical authors writing on Egyptian matters. The subject is interlinked with sexuality and fertility, which for the Egyptians exceeded the boundaries of life on earth; it is not always easy to determine whether an object was thought to bring about fertility on earth or to assist in rebirth in the hereafter, if indeed it was not simply fashioned to amuse the owner.

In its most tangible form, erotic intent is apparent in numerous figurines dating especially to the Late and Greco-Roman periods. Such objects may be fashioned of clay or stone, or later, of blue or green faience. A common motif is sexual intercourse, with the male participant sporting a huge phallus; the figure of the woman has often broken off, leaving the group incomplete. Musical instruments are often involved in such representations—for example, an angular harp of which the phallus may seem to form a part. Larger figurines of limestone may pursue the theme of musical accompaniment to sexual intercourse, or the group of two participants may be extended to include a number of “helpers.” The purpose of these figurines may be magico-religious, reflecting the life-giving activities of the goddess Isis.

The most significant erotic document from ancient Egypt is the so-called Erotic Papyrus in the Museo Egizio in Turin. It dates from the New Kingdom (c. 1200 BCE) and shows an orgy in the form of a cartoon, presented on the same scroll as illustrations to satirical tales involving animals. The tales have no accompanying text, but fragments of Hieratic text remain among the twelve erotic illustrations. The participants in this orgy are male and female (at least two different men are shown, along with women who have at least three different hairstyles); there are also a number of helpers. Each scene shows a variation on the theme of sexual intercourse, and the text leaves no doubt about its nature, since it renders scraps of the conversation by the participants, concerning their activities. Among the paraphernalia at hand in the establishment are a bed and a stool with a cushion, a chariot drawn by two pubescent girls, musical instruments, a jar used as a dildo, a mirror, and cosmetics. The lotus flower (symbol of love and sexuality) and a twining plant that may be convolvulus (morning-glory) emphasize the erotic atmosphere; both plants are otherwise also found in scenes dealing with conception, birth, and rebirth. Completing the picture are a vervet monkey on the chariot and a duck's head decorating the lyre—both of these animals are exponents of female sexuality.

On this New Kingdom scroll, the motif and style of illustration are related to material found at Deir el-Medina,

the workmen's village that was the home of those engaged in excavating and decorating the tombs in the Valley of the Kings. A great many ostraca were found there, a number of which bear drawings of an erotic nature, from naked women with or without musical instruments to variations on the theme of intercourse. A rare fragment of leather, discovered at Deir el-Bahri (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York) shows an interesting fragment of an erotic occasion in which more than two persons take part. A woman kneels under a grapevine playing a harp, the sound of which arouses a man dancing or running in front of her. It appears that he carries a bundle of straps or similar objects. The feet and ankles of another kneeling woman appear at the edge of the fragment.

A wall painting excavated in one of the houses at the village of Deir el-Medina depicts a dancing musician playing the double oboe, clad in flimsy garments and with tattoos of the god Bes on her upper thighs. She performs in the shade of a convolvulus vine. Perhaps this is the physical setting of the orgy depicted on the papyrus and leather scrolls. The wall painting was situated on one of the walls of a kind of alcove, taken by some to be a bed; others see such a raised podium as a shelf for ancestral busts.

That establishments catering to the needs of the flesh existed is suggested by the discovery at Saqqara of a series of rooms that have been called “Bes chambers” because of their large-scale decoration, in relief, of the god Bes with female companions. Because of their lavish decoration, the chambers may well have had some ritual function rather than being a mere brothel. According to literary references, such places existed. One tale from the Late period relates how the goddess Isis had to seek refuge in a house full of women of different rank when she was fleeing with her son Horus. That women could be bought for money or merchandise is also evident from literary texts such as the “Story of Setne and Tabubu,” or Herodotus' report on the daughter of King Khufu.

Prostitution carried out under the auspices of a temple probably existed in Egypt, at least in the later phases of its long history. Strabo, a Greek historian who traveled in Egypt around 25 BCE, mentions child prostitutes in the temple of Amun. The god Amun is indeed credited with having a “harem,” and although the titles of some of his female associates hint at sexual matters, no detailed information is available.

Although explicit erotic images are perhaps less abundant in Egypt than in some other ancient civilizations, the subject was most frequently treated in symbolic fashion. The texts, however, are quite straightforward in their vocabulary. The expressions for sexual activities are extensive; there are at least fifteen words for “copulating,” including the biblical “knowing.”

In the world of the gods, it is related that the primeval

god, Re-Atum, created the world by masturbating and impregnating himself; there was no female in the world, and none was needed. The act was reenacted, if not in reality then at least in spirit, in temples where a priestess bore the title "Hand of the God." Amun-Re, the mighty god governing the acts and destiny of the rulers of the New Kingdom, enters the stage as father of royal offspring in an even more human fashion. In the guise of the king, he seduces the queen. Emotions come into the picture as well, for we are told:

When smelling the divine scent, she woke up, and she smiled to him . . . he lusted after her, and he gave her his heart. He allowed her to see him in his real god's figure, having come close to her. She rejoiced at his virility, and love for him flowed through her body . . . thereupon the god did what he wished with her. She made him rejoice over her, and she kissed him. She said, "How splendid it is to see you face to face. Your divine strength engulfs me, your dew is all through my limbs." The god once more did what he wanted with her.

Although the text is mundane, the accompanying illustrations make it clear that this is literally a union made in heaven. It is the most detailed description of sexual intercourse from ancient Egypt, and an official one at that, since it was inscribed on the walls of three temples, with different queens playing the female lead.

Among ordinary human beings, erotic matters were treated as affection, as sexual attraction, or in purely legal terms. The last two are treated straightforwardly, however much modern translators attempt to vary or modify their vocabulary. Excerpts from court cases at Deir el-Medina give a vivid picture of the goings-on at that locality, where the regular ten days' absence of husbands would leave their wives ample opportunity for extramarital relationships. Tales and letters dating from the New Kingdom to the end of pharaonic times elaborate on the theme of physical pleasure in a romantic setting, but not without mentioning the punishment that befell those who were discovered in adultery.

References to sexual intercourse can be gathered from stray passages in various texts. The Demotic "Story of Setne and Tabubu" describes in a most dramatic way the advances and demands made by the beautiful Tabubu, who even persuades Setne to kill his own children before she lets him have his way with her. In love lyrics, the erotic acts are veiled in symbolic imagery. There is talk of the young man "playing with the latch," of "fluttering door hangings," and "the sky coming down in the wind," and of the prominence of "fragrance" at the moment of climax (see the passage quoted above about Amun-Re). On such occasions, intoxicating beverages were often mentioned: "He begins to feel the strong ale"; she lets him spend a "merry" day (*nefer*, meaning "laden with sexuality");

"when I kiss her and her lips are open, I rejoice even without having drunk beer"; "she lets him become drunk and does whatever he says . . . her garment is below me and the 'sister' is moving about."

Although these quotations are most discreet, it would seem that the erotic imagination of the Egyptians was vivid. The so-called Dream Books are a good example. Two have survived, one dealing with a man's dreams (c.1175 BCE) and another with those of a woman (second century CE). The erotic dreams of the man range from seeing his phallus erect to having intercourse with his mother or sister, or with an animal (jerboa, kite, or pig). The woman's dreams list a whole range of animals as partners (among others, baboon, horse, donkey, wolf, crocodile, and the more fanciful mouse, bird, and serpent), as well as a peasant, a foreigner, and another woman.

These lists alone introduce the question of whether the sexual life of the Egyptian world included intercourse with animals and homosexuality. The former was referred to by Herodotus, who was told of a he-goat having had intercourse with a woman. Since he mentions the incident in connection with the city of Mendes in the Nile Delta, where goats were sacred, this may well have been a ritual act performed in connection with the cult of the animal. A similar situation is hinted at in connection with the sacred bull at Memphis, but this bull had cows at his disposal from time to time. A curse of very ancient date was "May a donkey copulate with your wife and children!" But bestiality does not seem to have been common practice in Egypt, as far as we know.

Homosexuality was not alien to the Egyptians. The sources are not abundant, and discussion has usually focused on the case of Horus and Seth and the possible deficiencies of Akhenaten. In the Horus/Seth case, the episodes of homosexual behavior are components of the ongoing struggle for power and have little to do with the inclinations of the two deities; in the Akhenaten case, the question is raised by the iconography. Stray references in the literature are ambiguous; for example, a passage in a woman's copy of the *Book of Going Forth by Day* (*Book of the Dead*) mentions not having had intercourse with a woman in the temple (it was obviously copied from a male version, with incomplete editing). Pictorial evidence (as seen through the eyes of the male artist) suggests a certain sexual rapport between women who may be shown embracing or playing with erotic symbols. In images of the Amarna period it is sometimes difficult to distinguish males from females, and other representations may also appear to depict two persons of the same sex in an intimate situation.

Incest was by no means a common practice among ordinary Egyptians, but it is attested in myths and in royal families. Polygamy, too, was an exception rather than the

dreams, local customs, and calendars. The sources are rather scattered; most are of New Kingdom date or later, and the majority of erotic figurines and spells date to Greco-Roman times. Some information may also be gathered from classical authors writing on Egyptian matters. The subject is interlinked with sexuality and fertility, which for the Egyptians exceeded the boundaries of life on earth; it is not always easy to determine whether an object was thought to bring about fertility on earth or to assist in rebirth in the hereafter, if indeed it was not simply fashioned to amuse the owner.

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In the world of the gods, it is related that the primeval

a beloved family pet, sometimes bejeweled, often sitting under the mistress's chair. In contrast with pet dogs, however, there is only one cat known to have received a personal name: in the eighteenth dynasty tomb-chapel of Puimre at Thebes (tomb 39), a tabby is called "The Pleasant One." Since most cat owners seem to be women, several leading Egyptologists have suggested that the cat may have had erotic connotations or was even a symbol of female sexuality. The image of a cat is known from a host of minor works of art, such as jewelry, cosmetic implements, and amulets. It was also a popular character in the topsy-turvy animal world found on limestone figured ostraca and a couple of "satirical" papyri from the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties.

Nowadays, the cat is widely known as a manifestation of the goddess Bastet, who was worshipped at the Delta site of Bubastis (modern Tell Basta), but this association came comparatively late in Egyptian history. Beginning in the Third Intermediate Period, cats became closely linked with the gentle side of the lioness goddesses. This connection prompted the thousands of votive bronze cat statuettes, as well as the tens of millions of cat mummies, offered by pious pilgrims wishing to petition these deities at their cult temples in late dynastic and Greco-Roman times. According to Diodorus Siculus (I, 84), who visited Egypt in the first century BCE, the unintentional killing of a cat brought a sentence of death.

[See also Feline Deities.]

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PATRICK F. HOULIHAN

FERTILITY. In the ancient Egyptian context, the concept of "fertility" is strangely elusive. There is no depiction that realizes this abstraction; it is not described, discussed, or even designated by any precise term. Its absence, however, was denoted by the words *ind* (barrenness, of women) and *mhs* (sterility, of men).

Nonetheless, as in all other early civilizations, the concept of fertility was immanent in all aspects of life. The Nile Valley owes its fertility to the rich black silt brought downstream by the river—the womb in which the planted grain germinates and matures under proper climatic conditions. The invisible power to grow crops was visible in the dark bounty of the flooding river, which was imagined to be carried by a personification of the Nile, the androgynous deity Hapy. "Hapy" was also the name for the Nile, specifically during the annual inundation, the time when the river's water and silt were directly related to the fertility of the land. The deities connected with the end product, the harvest—for example, Nepri, god of corn, Renenwetet, goddess of the vintage, and the chthonic gods Osiris and Sokar—are, by implication, also deities of fertility.

The Egyptian pantheon included gods whose main attribute was their virility: Min is the god of vegetation and harvest, and Amun acquired this attribute through his part in the creation myth and his affinity with Min. Their main area of concern was not human fertility, but the fertility of the land. Osiris, however, was concerned with both. When the world was created, according to several versions of the Egyptian creation myth, fertility simply happened. In the Heliopolitan version, when Atum, "Lord of All," impregnated himself, the required male and female elements were already present in his own body, and his issue was the first divine pair, Shu and Tefnut. In the Memphite Theology, Atum's creation of this pair is the result of a masturbatory act, not a bizarre form of reproduction, but a solution, in sexual terms, of the transition from a unitary creator to a sexual pair. In the Hermopolitan version, four pairs of male and female elements constituted the beginning, with the implied catalyst of fertility



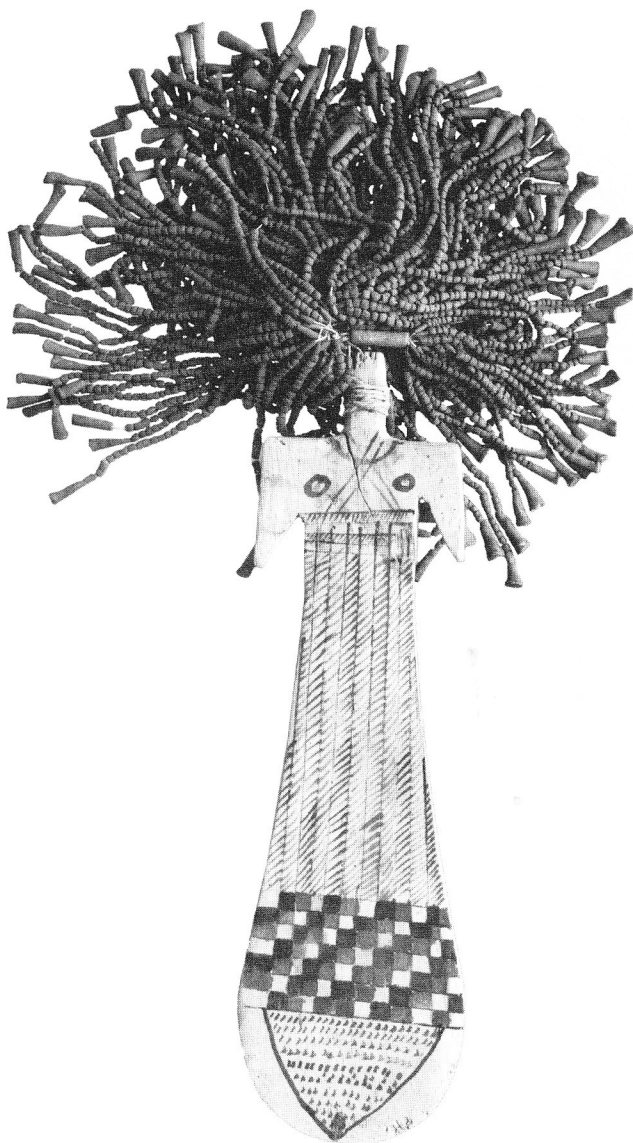
FERTILITY. *Depiction of the fertility god Hapy.*
(Courtesy Dorothea Arnold)

to effectuate the next step, in the form of the egg that appeared on the primordial mound, with no further explanation of who was responsible for it. No goddess except Nut is recorded to have borne more than one child. As for the gods, four sons are attributed to Horus, but they were not necessarily created through the agency of a mother.

In the New Kingdom theological system of Akhenaten, predating his move to Tell el-Amarna, the king himself, as the earthly representative of the solar disk, contains both male and female principles in his body, anticipating the phrases in the solar hymn which describe how the Aten has placed the seed of men in the wombs of women.

The feminine iconography of the king in the Karnak colossi and numerous reliefs suggests that the king is not the originator of the fertile sperm—this role belongs to the Aten—but he shelters it while it matures, just as in the Heliopolitan myth Atum became the womb for his own seed. This concept emphasizes the king's direct link to the Aten, the creator god, whose power of procreation is transmitted solely via the king to ordinary humans. This interpretation may help to explain the unisexual, or feminized, aspect of the Amarna period.

Throughout Egyptian history, in the royal family the power of procreation and proof of fertility was displayed



FERTILITY. A so-called "paddle doll," eleventh dynasty, Thebes. Wooden figurines such as this one, graphically depicting the female body, were previously and incorrectly thought to have been children's toys. Rather, they were most likely magically connected with the sexual aspects of regeneration and rebirth. (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Museum Excavations, 1931; Rogers Fund, 1931. [31.3.36])

in multiple offspring (in the Amarna period, there was emphasis on female children). The harem served as a repository for the royal seed, offering the promise of the renewal of divine kingship. Producing a large number of children, as is recorded by Ramesses II, among others, would have guaranteed the succession.

Among ordinary mortals, it is rarely said that a large number of children is the ideal, although it might bring respect in the afterworld. The New Kingdom *Instructions of Anii* advises that it is a good thing to have numerous children because they bring recognition. It was crucial to have children to look after their parents in old age and to arrange their burials.

The Egyptians' knowledge of the processes of conception, pregnancy, and birth implies that they held views about human and animal fertility, but they seem not to have found it necessary (or perhaps appropriate) to discuss the idea. They understood the procreative consequences of cohabitation and correctly calculated the nine months of pregnancy. They seem to have taken the powers of engendering and conceiving for granted, if only because they recorded cases to the contrary. Medical prescriptions, magic formulas, and aphrodisiacs seem to have as their ultimate aim the increase of sexual enjoyment rather than specifically securing fertility.

The numerous votive offerings presented to Hathor, goddess of love and motherhood, are not explicitly to be taken as prayers for fertility in the sense that the offerer wished for numerous children in this life. But at Thebes, where many votive offerings have been found, Hathor was also goddess of the western mountain, the gate to the afterworld. It was to her domain in the western cliffs that Amun-Re traveled from Karnak to renew his creative power in a celebration of divine marriage.

The annual cycle of the seasons was the pulse of life to the Egyptians, and its repetitiveness became synonymous with eternity. The relation of the fertile soil to the promise of eternal life was visualized in the motif combining the familiar shape of Osiris with a seed tray, a part of the burial equipment. Egyptian funeral practices express the notion of fertility in subtly sexual terms: the ministrations of Isis to awaken her deceased husband were seen as exemplifying the sexual union required to achieve rebirth.

The link between the blackness of the Nile silt and its implications for fertility were reflected in some representations of deceased royalty: black figures of Queen Ahmose Nefertari, the black seated statue of Montuhotep I, and the black image of Tutankhamun among three red images on his cartouche-shaped perfume container. The blackness symbolizes the state of the life cycle just before rebirth, before the resurrection of the individual or of the dynasty. The black unguent offered to the god Min at the temple of Edfu, and the black bitumen-smeared guardian statues from the tomb of Tutankhamun, also affirm this interpretation of the signification of blackness, which may be the only way the Egyptians knew to give visual expression to the phenomenon of fertility.

[See also Erotica; Hathor; Min; and Sexuality.]

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LISE MANNICHE

FESTIVAL CALENDARS. Egyptian temple walls or doorways were inscribed with a series of detailed accounts connected with the religious activity of the residing deity or deities. These texts are called "festival calendars." Being a requisite element of the inscriptional set-up, they were put into place shortly before the temple was fully operational. Usually they consist of a terse, non-narrative rendering of the key events of the Egyptian civil year as they affected the particular temple: religious celebrations, sacerdotal duties, and lists of offerings that had to be made. These texts are often crucial for reconstructing the calendrical outlook of a single priesthood and for understanding the complex economic subsistence of the priests and workers.

The most ancient festival calendar that is preserved dates from the Old Kingdom. It is written on two sides of the doorway in King Newoserre Any's funerary sun temple. Although fragments from Sahure's mortuary temple, situated in his valley complex, may be an earlier fifth dynasty example, it is Newoserre Any's lengthy account that provides us with the basic arrangement of these calendars. Generally, there is a preamble covering the construction of the temple or additions made to an existing one, the donations made by the pharaoh, often with dates, and the purpose of these offerings. Newoserre Any's text then details the festival celebrations themselves. Exact dates within the civil year are listed in conjunction with precisely described foods—for example, one haunch of beef or five bundles of vegetables. Even when the celebration is related to the moon, the calendrical organization is that of the 365-day civil year. For a lunar-based feast, such as the full moon, additional data are presented. In certain of these calendars, but not all, the estates providing the temple equipment and foods are credited. Ramesses III's extensive Medinet Habu festival calendar is the most highly itemized in this way.

Festival calendars were a continuous and characteristic aspect of most religious institutions from the Old Kingdom onward. For instance, we can reconstruct what occurred at the twelfth dynasty site of Illahun from the

fragmentary temple accounts there; unfortunately, the scarcity of royal hieroglyphic records limits us in interpreting any changes over time.

These lists of religious events attempted to cover all the standard celebrations. The lunar-based "feasts of heaven" were expressly separated from the "seasonal festivals" that occurred only once a year. Thutmose III of the eighteenth dynasty left us a long but fragmentary account of additions made to his endowments at Karnak. This composition, posted in his festival temple Akhmenu, is archetypical of the more exact yet simplified approach taken by later kings. The entire calendar is drawn up as a grid, with the left-hand column containing only dates and the right-hand columns having numbers referring to headings describing foods such as oxen, bulls, and ibexes. The almost mathematical regularity of this system of horizontally and vertically ruled boxes distinguishes the New Kingdom festival calendar arrangement from that of the Old. In fact, from this king's reign there remain five other separate festival calendars: at Buto in the Nile Delta (see below); at Karnak, south of the granite sanctuary; Karnak, Pylon VI, north wing; Karnak, south wall of the temple of Akhmenu; and at Elephantine. In the latter calendar there occurs one of the few references to the key ideal New Year's Day of the helical rising of Sirius (Egyptian Sothis) set on a specific day within the Egyptian civil year. In addition, Thutmose III's Buto text, this time recorded on a free-standing stela instead on a temple wall, presents a calendar that can only be dated to an earlier time period.

It must be kept in mind that kings could often renew the offerings of past monarchs without altering the earlier or original calendar. On the other hand, they might expand or revise old calendars; and it is only from internal evidence that we can judge between these two possibilities. To take an example, the fragmentary Amenhotpe I festival calendar seems to have been recopied from the Middle Kingdom, yet some of the celebrations appear to have been current rather than anachronistic. The same may be said with regard to a very late calendar, at Esna, where the composer has added some New Kingdom references to his up-to-date calendar.

From the late New Kingdom we have a contemporary calendar of Ramesses II at Abydos, as well as the great Medinet Habu exemplar dated to the reign of Ramesses III. The latter is known to be a copy of Ramesses II's with minor additions, such as the basic daily offerings; indeed, one key festival of victory has been added later as a palimpsest over the original account. These two calendars are the most detailed cases from the New Kingdom. Others—of Thutmose IV at Karnak, Akhenaten at Thebes, or even Ramesses III and IV—do not present the awesome size of that at Medinet Habu.

By the Late period in Greco-Roman Egypt, the purpose

rary and later. King Sobekemsaf I is known for building activities of some scale; blocks and quarry inscriptions with his name are attested in Karnak, Medamud, and Wadi Hammamat.

From the middle of the dynasty comes a monument that sheds some light on the political situation in Upper Egypt. Created during the reign of Sewadjenre Nebiriaw I, the famous Juridical Stela (discovered in the temple of Amun in Karnak) commemorates a sale of the office of governor of Elkab between members of an important military family. Several members of this family held the position of vizier, while others seem to have been connected with the royal families of the thirteenth and seventeenth dynasties. The text of the stela demonstrates the relative independence and power of local clans.

For the rulers at the end of the dynasty, records are more numerous and diversified, granting us some understanding of the political situation as well as of the genealogical relations of the royal family of this and the early eighteenth dynasty. At least four consecutive kings of this period—Sekenrenre Ta'o, Kamose, Ahmose, and Amenhotpe I—were members of the same family, despite the fact that in the Turin Canon the seventeenth dynasty ends with Kamose.

All these kings were to some extent involved in military campaigns against the contemporaneous rulers of the fifteenth dynasty, the Hyksos, who ruled the Nile Delta and parts of northern Egypt from their capital at Avaris (modern Tell ed-Dab'a). A Ramessid literary text seems to indicate a major quarrel between Sekenrenre Ta'o (c.1600–1571 BCE) and the Hyksos king Apophis. The fact that the skull of Sekenrenre's well-preserved mummy shows several lethal wounds, some apparently inflicted by non-Egyptian weapons, has been interpreted as the result of the personal involvement of the king in a military clash with the Hyksos.

It is, however, more likely that Sekenrenre Ta'o's son and successor, Kamose, started the so-called wars of liberation against the Asian rulers in the Nile Delta. Two royal stelae erected by Kamose in the temple of Karnak as well as the famous Carnarvon Tablet and several biographical private inscriptions, commemorate the king's raids against his northern opponent. Under Kamose's successors, Ahmose and Amenhotpe I, the wars continued, and the Hyksos were finally expelled from Avaris.

The royal cemetery of the seventeenth dynasty lies in the northern part of the Theban necropolis in an area called Dra Abul Naga, where a number of royal coffins (today in the Cairo Museum, the Louvre, and the British Museum) and other objects of royal burials were found. However, to date no royal tombs of this period have been positively identified. Dra Abul Naga is also the site of a large private cemetery of the period. During recent excavations there by a joint expedition of the German Archae-

ological Institute and the University of California Angeles, several rock-cut tomb shafts and mud-brick perstructures were discovered.

[See also Dra Abul Naga; Hyksos; Kamose; and Intermediate Period.]

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DANIEL C.

SEXUALITY. Sexuality in the universe of the Egyptians can be assessed at different levels. It is interlinked with fertility and erotica in a common aim, the procreation of the species and the continuation of life, even after death. A primitive awareness of sexuality is apparent in Pre-dynastic figurines, but it is only during the Old Kingdom that we find a more sophisticated approach to the subject, which during the entire pharaonic period was veiled by symbolic conventions.

The available evidence for the attitude of the Egyptians toward sexuality is literary and pictorial. The written sources are by no means abundant, and the interpretation of representations is far from straightforward. With the exception of certain unofficial depictions of sexual intercourse, in pictorial language the means of expression are restrained and often disguised in a coded language. In the corpus of literary texts, information must be gleaned from stray references.

Divine Sexuality. Few members of the Egyptian pantheon are specifically credited with a sexual identity, though some are placed in situations where this is implied, such as triads of gods united to conform to a conventional mother-father-child pattern. Though distinguished in appearance and grammatical gender as male or female, some deities appear almost asexual. An exceptional case is that of the Syrian goddess Anat, who is sa-

to be "a woman acting as a warrior, clad as men and girt as women." When sexuality is emphasized in the world of the gods, it is seen not only as a natural characteristic distinguishing the two sexes, but also as a power, a weapon to be exploited for the benefit of some and the disadvantage of others.

Some deities, like Min or the composite god Min-Amun, display their male sex in no uncertain terms in order to emphasize their position as powerful fertility gods. Min is depicted with an erect phallus; the color of his skin is the deep black of the fertile Nile silt that contains the life-sustaining seeds; and his heraldic plant is the Cos lettuce, whose stem exudes a sap reminiscent of seminal fluid. Bes, the dwarf god, uses his disproportionate characteristics of short body and long phallus in order to establish his image as protector of the woman's world from the moment of conception to childbirth. His look-alike Nekhet, meaning "the strong one," appears in literature and art as a virile god: his iconography includes, in addition to his erect member, birds' wings and composite headgear made of the heads of animals.

Among goddesses whose sexuality is of prime importance, Hathor must be mentioned—goddess of love, fertility, music, joy, and inebriation. Although these goddesses sometimes have a companion of the opposite sex (Hathor of Dendera cohabits with Horus of Edfu once a year, for example), they preserve their individual sexual identity, which functions in relation to the public whether they are on their own or not. The case of Osiris and Isis is different, for their destinies are linked in their sexual embrace: the fate of one is the *raison d'être* of the other.

According to popular belief, Osiris, mythological king of Egypt, is overcome and murdered by his brother Seth in a struggle for the leadership of the world. His body is dismembered and scattered along the Nile. Knowing that a complete body was essential for survival in the afterworld, Isis, his sister and wife, painstakingly searches for and assembles the pieces of his body. But until she works her magic with him, it remains a dead body. By positioning herself over his abdomen she "revived what was faint for the Weary One," as it says in one of the many hymns in her honor. In pictorial representation Isis is usually performing this crucial act in the guise of a bird hovering over the corpse of Osiris. At this moment she conceives an heir, the young Horus, who is later to undertake a battle with Seth for the rulership of the world; finally, Horus is declared the winner. Osiris, fulfilling his destiny as a dead king, becomes king of the underworld. The miracle of conception, brought about entirely by the magical ministrations of Isis, became a beacon of hope for many Egyptians who aspired to achieving rebirth in the afterworld. This sexual concept is of vital importance for an understanding of Egyptian funerary beliefs.

In popular literature, Isis appears a number of times

in a role where she makes specific use of her sexuality for her own ends. During the trial concerning the case of Horus and Seth, a number of amusing episodes take place, including one in which Isis transforms herself into a beautiful maiden and lures Seth to condemn himself and his vile acts. Seth, in turn, is seen in a homosexual encounter with Horus, whereby, through the intervention of Isis, Seth is made to eat Horus's sperm. This is seen as a sign of defeat for Seth and a triumph for Horus.

Female sexuality in the divine sphere is displayed when a new sacred bull is installed in the city of Memphis. According to Diodorus (I.85), when the new bull, recognized by its special markings, is carried in procession on a state barge and placed in its new abode in the temple, for forty days women stimulate its power by lifting up their skirts and displaying their genitals to it. The tale of the struggle of Horus and Seth contains a related incident: Re, who presides over the court, becomes angry and exhausted. Hathor, in this case playing the part of daughter of Re, "came and stood before her father, the master of the universe. She uncovered her vulva for his face, and the great god smiled at her."

Royal Sexuality. In the corpus of miscellaneous texts from the Old Kingdom known as the Pyramid Texts, the sexuality of the king is mentioned together with his other physical needs. Through recitation of spells, he is encouraged in general to be sexually active. When the dead king commutes in the universe, there are no moral limits, and he may cohabit with all the females available.

By the time of the New Kingdom, royal sexuality is described in a particular literary genre known as "theogamy," or divine marriage. This was created in order to legitimize the divine institution of royal marriage and succession. Here, the royal husband is watching from the sidelines while the mighty god Amun enters the stage, allegedly in the guise of the king, but with easily recognizable characteristics such as "the scent of god." According to divine plan, the queen is to submit herself to the god in order to conceive an heir to the throne of suitable divine parentage. The queen soon acknowledges the divine qualities of her partner and becomes the receptacle for his seed. This event was narrated first by Queen Hatshepsut (playing the part of the divine issue), then copied by Amenhotpe III and Ramesses II.

A related theme is reflected in the Greco-Roman birth-houses, the so-called *mammisi*, built at right angles to the main axis at the entrance of major temples (Dendera, Edfu, etc.). Here was celebrated the birth of the son of the resident divine pair, whose qualities are mirrored in the ruler. The world of the gods and the life of the king are interwoven.

Private Sexuality. In Egyptian nonroyal funerary belief, sexuality plays a crucial part. The way in which this was clad in metaphorical language was first understood

by Desroches-Noblecourt in 1954, followed up by important discussions by Westendorf (1967) and by Derchain in the 1970s. Certain aspects of the pictorial repertory in tombs with wall decoration, particularly from the Middle and New Kingdoms, make sense only when interpreted in the total context of funerary beliefs concerned with a continued existence after death. Rebirth was seen as a reenactment of birth, and so the necessary preliminaries for the miracle of conception had to be available, this time in the decoration and equipment of the tomb. The crucial concept of sexuality and the preamble to sexual intercourse were underlined by the presence of beds and headrests, and more subtly in certain of the scenes of daily life. The "banquet scene" abounds in erotic symbolism: heavily made-up participants, often wearing flimsy garments; the omnipresent lotus flower, a common symbol of rebirth; the unguent cone and garments soaked in scent; heavy wigs and jewelry; the presence of mandrake fruits and intoxicating beverages—all details that, along with other symbols of female sexuality such as vervet and duck, relate to sexuality. In the Theban tombs of the eighteenth dynasty, the framework of the banquet scene is the annual Valley festival, celebrated in honor of Amun of Karnak visiting Hathor of Thebes. In Roman times this was explicitly interpreted in terms of divine cohabitation. It was an occasion when, under the influence of intoxicating beverages originating at the offering tables of the gods, the participants gathered in the tombs to communicate both with the divine and with their deceased relatives "coming out." The sexual atmosphere of the occasion is suggested by the symbolic imagery of the representations.

The fishing and fowling scenes in tombs of Middle and New Kingdom date, and perhaps even of the Old Kingdom, refer not to the tomb owner's sporting activities but to his capacity for procreation; the scene showing him hunting game in the desert with bow and arrow points in the same direction. Many of these interpretations can be substantiated by plays on words, a common Egyptian device.

Looking back to the Old Kingdom, with the later representations and their interpretation in mind, it is possible to see a link. The prominence of the lotus flower in wall decoration is a case in point. The flower, later proved to be symbol of rebirth, a token of affection among lovers, and even a slightly narcotic remedy facilitating the lifting of the spirit, is prominent because of its exaggerated size in the representations. The motif of the bed and the conjugal pleasures enjoyed on it is referred to in some sixth dynasty tombs, where the tomb owner's wife plays the harp in bed. The fact that this is part of funerary decoration makes clear its role as a prerequisite for rebirth.

In Egypt, where death played such a prominent part in life, it was inconceivable in conventional funerary belief to foresee a continued existence without the essential ac-

tivities performed on earth to sustain life: breathing, eating, drinking, and copulating. These concepts were taken either literally or in sublimated form, the deceased person having been transformed to a glorified spirit.

Sexuality in Focus at Tell el-Amarna. Nowhere is the question of sexuality more in focus than in the brief reign of Akhenaten. In the Amarna period, concepts were reconsidered and openly displayed in a different form, although sometimes the essence of the message was unaltered. The canon of representation centered on the king's own physiognomy, carefully worked out with the artists to portray him as the fertile manifestation on earth of the solar disk (Aten), incorporating both the male and female creative principles—just as the solar deity had proceeded alone to create the world. Akhenaten's outward form was adapted to the female (narrow shoulders, broad hips, accentuated breasts): male characteristics were confined to codes of dress, such as his bare upper torso and king's crown. In one case (a colossus from Karnak, now in the Cairo Museum), he is shown without his kilt and with no genitals. In art, the king's subordinates are rendered with similar female contours. A final detail of what can best be termed "unisex" consists in abandoning the usual skin color of red for men and yellow for women for a more or less uniform dark orange for both sexes.

It is perhaps significant that in the Amarna period the conventional sexual symbolism in funerary art disappeared, in itself evidence that the so-called scenes of daily life were far more than representations of leisure activities.

[See also Children; Erotica; Family; Fertility; and Marriage and Divorce.]

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