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The American University in Cairo  
School of Humanities and Social Sciences

*Maintaining 'Order over Chaos':*  
A study of the *b3* and *b3w* concepts in the Predynastic Period, Early Dynastic Period,  
and Old Kingdom

A Thesis Submitted to  
The Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Egyptology (SAE)

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

By Bianca van Sittert

Under the supervision of Dr. Fayza Haikal  
First Reader: Dr. Salima Ikram  
Second Reader: Dr. Mariam Ayad

December 2019

**DEDICATION**

*The bond that links your true family is not one of blood, but of respect and joy in each other's lives*

To my *Husband*, my *Mother*, and my *Sister*, for being my *true family*

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## ABSTRACT

Among the corpus of ancient Egyptian religious terminology, *b3* and *b3w* stand out as two of the oldest, most wide-spread, and enduringly used terms. From the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty until the very end of ancient Egyptian history, these terms were utilized in a wide variety of contexts, including divine, royal, and non-royal names, titles, and epithets, didactic literature, and mortuary, administrative, temple, and royal propagandistic texts. However, despite their prominence and significance in the ancient Egyptian textual record, the function and meaning of these terms are still imperfectly understood, as evidenced by the multiple and varying translations within the Egyptological literature. A major issue which has contributed to this state of research, is the fact that the origins, early function, and original meaning of *b3* and *b3w* have not been comprehensively investigated.

This thesis is a study of the earliest material pertaining to *b3* and *b3w* from the Late Predynastic Period to the end of the Old Kingdom. The material analyzed includes Late Predynastic art in which the stork (Saddlebill stork, signs G29 & G30) later used as a hieroglyph for *b3* and *b3w* appears, as well as a large corpus of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts (1<sup>st</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty names, titles, and epithets; the Pyramid Texts, and two 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty non-royal texts). Through a chronological study of this iconography and of these texts, it was demonstrated that (a) the original ideas and principles encompassed within the terms *b3* and *b3w* are apparent in Late Predynastic Saddlebill stork images, (b) that the terms *b3* and *b3w* originally functioned to express divine and royal ideology and that their use in the earliest royal mortuary texts was an extension of this function, and (c) that these terms essentially signified, reinforced, and perpetuated the fundamental ancient Egyptian doctrine of “Order over Chaos” or *m3ꜥt* vs. *isft*.

**ABBREVIATIONS**

Abstr. N – *Abstract Noun*

BM – *British Museum*

Ind. Ent. – *Index Entry*

LÄ - *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*

MDAIK - *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

MFA – *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*

PM – *Porter and Moss*

Urk - *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*

Wb - *Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache*

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## Chapter 1 – Introduction, Literature Review, and Methodology

Among the corpus of ancient Egyptian religious terminology, *b3* and *b3w* stand out as two of the oldest, most prevalent, and enduringly used terms. From the standardization of writing in the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty until the very end of Ancient Egyptian history, *b3* and *b3w* were utilized in a wide variety of contexts, including divine, royal, and non-royal names, titles, and epithets, funerary texts, didactic literature, administrative texts, temple texts, and royal propagandistic texts.

Since the decipherment of Hieroglyphs in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>1</sup>, a number of scholars have recognized the prominence and significance of *b3* and *b3w* and several studies have been dedicated to elucidating the nature of these ancient Egyptian terms. Despite the nearly 200 years of scholarship, however, the function and meaning of *b3* and *b3w* remain a topic of debate. This is evidenced by the multiple and varying translations and interpretations within the Egyptological literature thus far, including, but not limited to, the ancient Egyptian conception of ‘the soul’<sup>2</sup>, a posthumous ‘state of being’<sup>3</sup>, “supra-mundane and divine power”<sup>4</sup>, “impressiveness”<sup>5</sup>, “visible and earthly manifestation”<sup>6</sup>, and “the creative ability/power to manifest and form manifestations”<sup>7</sup>.

A major issue that has contributed to debates surrounding *b3* and *b3w* is the fact that the origins, early use, and original meaning of these terms have not been

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<sup>1</sup> J. F. Champollion, *Précis du système hiéroglyphique des anciens égyptiens* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1824), 407-408.

<sup>2</sup> H. Kees, *Der Götterglaube im alten Ägypten*, (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1956), 58-67.

<sup>3</sup> L. V. Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept in ancient Egyptian texts*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 54-57.

<sup>4</sup> W. A. Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3: etymological and Egypto-Semitic studies*, (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978), 67-88.

<sup>5</sup> J. P. Allen, *The ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015).

<sup>6</sup> P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 63 & 236.

<sup>7</sup> E. M. Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA' anhand der Überlieferung der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (Freiburg: G. Seeger, 1968).

comprehensively investigated. The term ‘comprehensive’ signifies not only analyzing the content of the early texts in which these terms appear, but also taking into consideration the chronology and types of texts, associated art, larger developments within ancient Egyptian religion and society, as well as the hieroglyphs that were utilized to signify these terms. The latter factor is especially important, as Jiri Janák<sup>8</sup> recently demonstrated that the original and most enduringly used hieroglyphic signifier for *b3* and *b3w*, the Saddlebill stork<sup>9</sup> (G29 & G30), appears in and is confined to Late Predynastic art (Naqada IID – IIIB<sup>10</sup>). As the Early Dynastic textual evidence for *b3* and *b3w* is limited, an analysis of the stork in Late Predynastic iconography may provide insights into the conceptualization and original meaning of these terms.

This thesis presents a chronological study of the early extant evidence pertaining to *b3* and *b3w*. Data analyzed in this thesis dates from the Late Predynastic Period (Naqada IID-III B) through to the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, and includes; a corpus of Late Predynastic images of the Saddlebill stork; Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom divine, royal, non-royal, and place names, divine and royal epithets, and administrative and priestly titles; the *Heb-Sed* festival reliefs of Niuserre at Abu Ghorab; the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Pyramid Texts; and two 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty non-royal texts, namely an inscription from the tomb of Herimeru at Saqqara and a legal dispute from Elephantine (pBerlin 9010). These sources provide an overview of the origins, subsequent standardization, development, and contextual use of *b3* and *b3w*. This material will help answer the questions posed in this study, namely, in which Late Predynastic iconographic contexts do images of the Saddlebill stork appear? What is the function and meaning

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<sup>8</sup> J. Janák, “A question of Size: A Remark on Early Attestations of the *ba* Hieroglyph”, *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 40 (2011): 143-153.

<sup>9</sup> A. Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 470; P. F. Houlihan & S. Goodman, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1986), 23; J. Janák, “A question of Size”, 143.

<sup>10</sup> Dating according to E. Teeter, *Before the Pyramids: The Origins of Egyptian Civilization* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2011), 8.

of Saddlebill stork images in Late Predynastic art? Why was this particular bird associated with *b3* and *b3w*? In which contexts are the terms *b3* and *b3w* utilized? Is there continuity between the iconographic contexts of the Saddlebill stork and the textual contexts of *b3* and *b3w*? And finally, what is the function and meaning of *b3* and *b3w*? By addressing these questions, it may be possible to establish a better understanding of the fundamental principles and ideas encompassed within these terms, and subsequently, provide a basis for future work on *b3* and *b3w* in texts and art from the First Intermediate Period onward.

### *1.1 Literature Review*


While there are several studies that have dealt with the ancient Egyptian terms *b3* and *b3w*, the majority of these studies, however, have either focused on later material or on a specific text/typology of texts<sup>11</sup>. In comparison, there are relatively few which have analyzed the early evidence. The small number of works that have been produced lie at two extremes, either only analyzing the content of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts or focusing specifically on the Late Predynastic images of the Saddlebill stork.

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<sup>11</sup> J. F. Borghouts, “Divine intervention in ancient Egypt and its manifestation (bAw)”, in *Gleanings from Deir el-Medīna*, eds. R. J. Demarée, R. J. and J. J. Janssen (Leiden: Nederlands Inst. voor het Nabije Oosten, 1982), 1-70; A. Wüthrich and S. Stöhr, *Ba-Bringer und Schattenabschneider: Untersuchungen zum so genannten Totenbuchkapitel 191 auf Totenbuchpapyri* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013); J. Assmann, *Death and salvation in ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2015); E. Casini, “The three-dimensional representations of the human-headed ba-bird: some remarks about their origin and function”, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 38 (2015): 9-31. J. L. Foster, “The sad song of the *Lebensmüde*”, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 42 (2015-2016): 1-15; M. V. Almansa-Villatoro, “A ba speaking to his owner: warning about an imminent danger and giving an admonition”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 52 (2016): 1-9; M. Escolano-Poveda, “New fragments of Papyrus Berlin 3024: the missing beginning of the Debate between a man and his ba and the continuation of the Tale of the herdsman (P. Mallorca I and II)”, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 144, no. 1 (2017): 16-54; M. Bonanno, “The Coffin Texts spells 94-96 and 488-500 as liturgy of ontological dissociation: the meaning of “sHr bA r XAt” and its context”, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 168, no. 2 (2018): 275-300.

Hermann Kees' study *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter* (1926) represents a milestone in scholarship on the terms *b3* and *b3w*. Kees was the first scholar to argue that there was a diversified use and development of the terms *b3* and *b3w* according to period and according to whether it was applied to the gods, the king, or non-royal individuals. According to Kees, prior to the First Intermediate Period, the terms *b3* and *b3w* were used solely in connection with the gods and the deceased king, and it was only after the "democratization of the afterlife" in the First Intermediate Period that these terms were used in relation to non-royal individuals. Furthermore, he argues that the terms *b3* and *b3w* had varying functions and that the meaning was dependent upon the contexts in which they were being used. While Kees' work laid the foundation for subsequent research, it cannot be considered a comprehensive study of the early use and meaning of *b3* and *b3w*, as he focused solely on the Pyramid Texts and a much later text, the Saqqara Kings' list. Furthermore, the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscription of Herimeru at Saqqara, which was first brought to attention by L.V. Žabkar (1968), is indicative of an earlier use of *b3* by non-royal individuals than posited by Kees. Lastly, while Kees does take note of the Saddlebill stork as a visual signifier for *b3* and *b3w*, he only briefly comments that its bird form was associated with the idea of 'freedom of movement'.

Louis V. Žabkar's *A Study of the Ba concept in Ancient Egyptian Texts* (1968) remains the largest and most comprehensive study on this topic. This seminal work is a philological analysis of *b3* and *b3w* in funerary texts, didactic texts, religious treatise, royal propagandistic texts, and non-royal texts from the Early Old Kingdom through to the Greco-Roman Period. Žabkar commences his study with a critique of the earlier definitions of *b3* as 'soul', stating that this term carries connotations of the dualistic perception of the human being, a belief which is not apparent in ancient

Egyptian texts. For the use of these terms in the Old Kingdom, Žabkar analyses a small group of royal and non-royal names and titles, the Pyramid Texts, the inscription on the architrave of Herimeru's tomb at Saqqara, and the legal dispute from Elephantine (pBerlin 9010). He essentially arrives at the conclusion that *b3* and *b3w* were originally funerary concepts and that during the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty they began to be used in a 'non-mortuary' sense to express the power of the gods and the king. While Žabkar's work fruitfully and insightfully furthered the groundwork laid down by Kees and highlighted the fact that there is in fact, a text which associates *b3* with a non-royal individual prior to the First Intermediate Period, it does not, however, cover all of the material for *b3* and *b3w* in the earlier periods. This is especially apparent in that he did not take into consideration any of the Early Dynastic names and titles, nor the hieroglyphs used to signify *b3* and *b3w*. With regards to the latter, it is surprising that in the New Kingdom section of his study, he discusses the introduction of a new signifier and symbol for *b3*, the human-headed bird (  sign G53), in texts and tomb paintings, but does not even mention the fact that the Saddlebill stork was the original and most enduring used signifier for *b3* and *b3w*.

Elske Marie Wolf-Brinkmann's PhD dissertation *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes "b3" anhand der Überlieferung der Frühzeit und des Alten Reiches* (1968) is a philological analysis of *b3* and *b3w* in their earliest textual occurrences in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. It includes over 40 royal, non-royal, and place names and titles, as well as the Pyramid Texts. She essentially arrives at the conclusion that during the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom, *b3* and *b3w* were used exclusively in connection with the gods and the deceased king. Wolf-Brinkmann's study is a significant contribution to the topic and provides the first comprehensive list of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names and titles in which

these terms occur. However, as with Žabkar, she focuses solely on the phonetic value of the hieroglyph used to signify *b3* and *b3w*, and does not take into consideration the visual significance of the Saddlebill stork. Furthermore, her study does not take into account the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscription of Herimeru from Saqqara, nor the legal dispute from Elephantine (pBerlin 9010).

William. A. Ward's *The Four Egyptian Homographic Roots B-3* (1978) is a detailed philological analysis of a large corpus of ancient Egyptian terms formed around the root-stem *b3*. Using semitic cognates, he argues that there are essentially four roots – (1) “tremble, flutter”, (2) “Break Earth, Open”, (3) “Possess supra-mundane Power”, and (4) “Pour out, mix”. According to Ward, *b3* and *b3w* belong to the third root and express a uniquely Egyptian idea without a definite or possible foreign cognate. Furthermore, as with Kees, Žabkar, and Wolf-Brinkmann, he states that *b3* and *b3w* were originally only utilized in relation to the gods and the deceased king. While Ward emphasizes the varying uses of the root *b3*, his study, however, drew all of its arguments from the Pyramid Texts. This, furthermore, brings into question whether one can divide all of the terms with the root-stem *b3* into four distinct categories, or even, whether there are different roots for the stem *b3*.

The only piece of research which stands out against this exclusively philological background is the article of Jiri Janák, *A Question of Size: A Remark on Early Attestations of the Ba Hieroglyph* (2011). With the aim of elucidating the connection between the terms *b3* and *b3w* and their earliest hieroglyphic signifier, Janák highlighted the significant fact that representations of the Saddlebill stork appear in and are confined to Late Predynastic iconography (Naqada IID- IIIB). Furthermore, through a brief discussion of the living species, the signification of the Late Predynastic stork images, and the role and meaning of *b3* and *b3w* in Early



Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts, he emphasizes that the use of the Saddlebill stork as a hieroglyph was intimately associated with the meaning of *b3* and *b3w*. According to Janák, as Late Predynastic images of the stork appear amongst depictions of other large and powerful animals, such as elephants, lions, and hyenas, and as these animals are mostly carved into the handles of weapons, the stork can be understood as a symbol of ‘power’. It’s subsequent association with *b3* and *b3w* is thus not coincidental, as these terms expressed the ‘visible or earthly manifestation of divine (and heavenly) power’. Although Janák’s work has highlighted the significance of the Saddlebill stork in connection with *b3* and *b3w*, there is, however, a major problem with his research. This is namely that he projected extant definitions of *b3* and *b3w* from the studies of Žabkar (1968) and Wolf-Brinkmann (1968) onto the Late Predynastic images of the stork. As a consequence, he did not take into consideration the larger theme and iconographic contexts in which Late Predynastic images of the Saddlebill stork appear.

### *1.2. Methodology*

The aim of the current work is to (a) provide a comprehensive understanding of the original function and meaning of the terms *b3* and *b3w*, and (b) provide suitable translations that are faithful to the fundamental ideas and principles encompassed within these terms. As is evident in the literature review, the full corpus of early evidence for *b3* and *b3w* has not been dealt with in a single study. Furthermore, the studies that have been produced display a distinct tendency to focus on *b3* and *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts. This has led to a number of assumptions, the most significant being that these terms originally functioned to express funerary beliefs. The fact that

the term *b3* was used in a 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty king's name, *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3*<sup>12</sup>, and the fact that the earliest textual evidence explicitly associating *b3* and *b3w* with a deceased king only appears during the reign of Sahure<sup>13</sup>, suggests, however, that while these terms were utilized in funerary contexts, they did not necessarily represent and express exclusively funerary concepts. In order to clarify the original function of these terms, this thesis thus utilizes a chronological approach, focusing on and highlighting the contextual use of Saddlebill stork images in the Late Predynastic Period and the terms *b3* and *b3w* in the Early Dynastic Period and early Old kingdom.

The iconographic and textual data in this thesis derived from several sources, including previous studies on *b3* and *b3w*, excavation reports and archaeological surveys, indices and online databases of ancient Egyptian personal names, online museum collections, and James P. Allen's 6 volume publication *A New Concordance of the Pyramid Texts* (2013). The final corpus of data is constituted of:

- 6 Naqada IID-III A carved handles adorned with a highly standardized motif referred to as the 'animal-rows' motif - Carnarvon knife handle (MMA 26.7.1281), Abu Zeidan knife handle (Brooklyn Museum 09.889.118), Pitt-Rivers knife handle (BM EA68512), Davis comb handle (MMA 30.8.224), Sayala Mace handle<sup>14</sup> (now lost), and the most recently found Abydos K1262b knife handle<sup>15</sup>;
- A Naqada IID cylinder seal impression from Tomb U-210 in Cemetery-U at Abydos (Abydos K2160c) and a Naqada IIIB ivory cylinder seal from Tomb L17 in Cemetery L at Qustul in Lower Nubia (L17-26 OIM 23662);

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<sup>12</sup> Ind. Ent. **D**.

<sup>13</sup> The earliest is a priestly title containing the 'name' of Sahure's Pyramid (Ind. Ent. **EE**).

<sup>14</sup> C. Firth, *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia: Report for 1910-1911* (Cairo: Government Press, 1927), 205.

<sup>15</sup> G. Dreyer, "Motive und Datierung der dekorierten prädynastischen Messergriffe", in *L'art de l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, ed. C. Ziegler (Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1999), 17.

- A Late Predynastic rock inscription in the Theban Western Desert - Gebel Djehuty inscription no. 1<sup>17</sup>, and a Naqada III rock inscription near the modern town of el-Khawy;
- A corpus of 38 1<sup>st</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty divine, royal, non-royal, and place names, divine and royal epithets, and administrative and priestly titles (Appendix A);
- Reliefs depicting the *Heb-Sed* festival of Niuserre from his sun-temple at Abu Ghorab;
- The 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Pyramid Texts of Unas, Teti, Pepi I, Merenre, Pepi II, Neith, and Wedjebtni;
- A 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty legal dispute from Elephantine (pBerlin 9010) and the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscription on the architrave of Herimeru's tomb at Saqqara.

The line drawings referred to throughout this thesis were rendered by the author from existing, credited line drawings. Photographs and linked videos were obtained online from sites registered as public domain (i.e. Wikimedia Commons and YouTube).

The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, epithets, and titles are presented in an index (Appendix A) and arranged into five groups - Divine names and epithets; Royal names and epithets; Non-royal names; Administrative and Priestly Titles; and Place names. The entries within each group are arranged chronologically and each entry includes the hieroglyphic rendering and transcription, as well as (a) dating, (b) provenance, (c) type of text i.e. epithet, name or title, and (d) previous transcriptions and translations. Royal names with a *b3* or *b3w* element backdated to the Early

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<sup>17</sup> In the publication, this inscription is referred to as the “Gebel Tjauti” inscription – J. C. Darnell, D. Darnell, R. Friedman, and S. Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, I: Gebel Djehuty rock inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi el-Hôl rock inscriptions 1-45* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2002), 10-19.

Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom in didactic literature and Kings' lists were not included in the index, as this thesis focuses upon textual evidence archaeologically dated to the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. Names included in the studies of Žabkar and Wolf-Brinkmann, such as *b3w.f-r<sup>c</sup>* (Westcar Papyrus pBerlin 3033)<sup>18</sup>, *ntri-b3w* (Saqqara no. 3 & Turin 2.20)<sup>19</sup> and *b3-ntrw* (Saqqara no.5)<sup>20</sup>, were thus omitted as they are not reflected in actual archaeological record of the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom.

In order to contextualize the images of the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic iconography, this thesis includes a brief discussion on the species' appearance, ecology, and characteristic behaviour. The information was gleaned from both broader ornithological studies, as well as studies focusing on classification of stork species. Further additional iconographic and textual sources from the Predynastic Period through to the Coptic Period are included and referenced throughout this thesis, primarily for comparative purposes.

### 1.3. Thesis Organization

This thesis is organized into 5 chapters following the introduction (Chapter 1). The body of the work (Chapters 2 to 5) follows a broader chronological framework (Late Predynastic to the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty), with each chapter dedicated to a certain typology of data. Chapter 2 focuses on the earliest material and is an analysis of the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic iconography. Chapter 3 introduces the earliest textual evidence and discusses and analyzes the function of *b3* and *b3w* in the corpus of 1-6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty names, titles, and epithets. Supplementing this analysis is a discussion of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty *Heb-Sed* festival reliefs of Niuserre from his sun-temple at Abu Ghorab.

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<sup>18</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 58.

<sup>19</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 10.

<sup>20</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 10.

These reliefs not only depict and contextualize the roles played by the *ḥm b3w nḥn* “*ḥm*-priest of the *b3w* of Nekhen” and the *ḥm b3w p* “*ḥm*-priest of the *b3w* of Pe”, but also contain images of the *b3w* themselves and thus provide useful information regarding their nature, identities, and function. Chapter 4 is dedicated to a discussion and analysis of *b3* and *b3w* in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Pyramid Texts, while Chapter 5 focuses on the use of these terms in 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty non-royal texts - the legal dispute from Elephantine (pBerlin 9010), and the architrave inscription of Herimeru. This organization and arrangement of the data highlights (a) the development of the Saddlebill stork from image to hieroglyphic signifier, (b) the contextual use of *b3* and *b3w*, and (c) developments and trends within each type of text (i.e. the names, titles, and epithets, and the Pyramid Texts). The final chapter, Chapter 6, presents the conclusions. Appendix A presents an index of all the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom divine, royal, non-royal, and place names, divine and royal epithets, and administrative and priestly titles discussed and analyzed in Chapter 3.


## Chapter 2 – The Saddlebill Stork in Late Predynastic Iconography

Although a large number of Egyptological studies specifically reference the appearance of the *b3* as a ‘human-headed bird’ when discussing ancient Egyptian funerary beliefs<sup>21</sup>, in the history of the *b3*’s visual representation, the ‘human-headed bird’ actually represents its youngest form<sup>22</sup>. From their earliest occurrence in names and titles of the Early Dynastic Period through to the large mortuary and temple texts of the Greco-Roman Period, *b3* and *b3w*’s oldest and most prevalent hieroglyphic signifier was, in fact, a stork  (G29)  (G30). This stork has been identified as the Saddlebill stork (*Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*)<sup>23</sup>, one of the largest and most distinctive avian species on the African continent.

Several spellings of *b3* with the uniliteral phonetic compliments *b* and *3* in the Pyramid Texts<sup>24</sup> make it clear that the Saddlebill stork hieroglyph functioned as the biliteral phoneme *b3* in the ancient Egyptian writing system. In previous studies, this function has been the primary focus and little attention has been given to the use and function of the Saddlebill stork as a meaningful *visual* signifier as well. Whilst scholars such as Kees<sup>25</sup> have briefly referenced it in connection with ideas of the *b3*’s flight and movement within the heavenly realms, others, such as Ward, have

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<sup>21</sup> Eg. H. Frankfort, *Ancient Egyptian Religion: An Interpretation* (New York: Harper, 1948), 97-8; J. Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 2015), 89-90; C. Graves-Brown, *Daemons and Spirits in Ancient Egypt* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2018), 94-96.

<sup>22</sup> The earliest use of  (sign G53) in vignettes and texts is during the reign of Thutmose III, and appears specifically within the *Amduat* Texts adorning the walls of his tomb in the Valley of the Kings. It should be kept in mind, however, that sign G53 did not replace the older signs used to signify *b3* and *b3w* in texts.

<sup>23</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar*, 470; Houlihan & Goodman, *The Birds of Ancient Egypt*, 23; Janák, “A question of Size”, 143.

<sup>24</sup> PT 539 §1310a, PT690 §2096a, PT 467 §886a & PT 572 §1472b.

<sup>25</sup> Kees, *Götterglaube*, 58.

dismissed its relevance entirely<sup>26</sup>.

The more recent study by Janák has, however, highlighted and emphasized the iconographic origins of the Saddlebill stork hieroglyph. The impact of Janak's study on our understanding of the origins and development of *b3* and *b3w* is twofold. Firstly, it suggests that the relationship between the Saddlebill stork hieroglyph and the terms *b3* and *b3w* is more than, as previously argued, simply phonetic. And secondly, it suggests that the Saddlebill stork was specifically chosen to represent and signify these terms during the standardization and formalization of writing in ancient Egypt. The aim of the following chapter is thus to establish the role and significance of the Saddlebill stork in ancient Egyptian thought by analyzing the bird's earliest visual attestations in Late Predynastic iconography. Consequently, establishing this role and significance will allow for a comparison with Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom textual attestations of *b3* and *b3w*, and thus provide the opportunity to (a) determine whether there is continuity in meaning, and (b) if so, provide a fuller understanding of *b3* and *b3w* in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom thought.

In order to achieve this aim, however, it is important that we first consider the Saddlebill stork as a living species. It is well known that the ancient Egyptians regarded the animal world with enormous interest, observing and being inspired by their appearance and behaviour<sup>27</sup>. Discussing and highlighting these aspects may contextualize the subsequent manner in which it was represented in Late Predynastic

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<sup>26</sup> W.A. Ward is of the opinion that there is no semantic connection between the stork as signifier and the *b3* and *b3w* concepts as signified, and that it was simply used by the ancient Egyptians on a phonetic basis. He posits further that the connection between the stork and the phonetic *b3* is related to the root "to open" (i.e. *wb3*), as the stork digs in the earth with its long beak - *The Four Egyptian Homographic roots B-3*, 67-88.

<sup>27</sup> F. Raffaele, "Animal rows and ceremonial processions in late predynastic Egypt", in *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology: proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, June 18th-20th 2008*, eds. F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo & I. Incordino (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 245.

art. The first part of this chapter will thus be dedicated to describing the stork's most distinctive features, characteristics, and behavior. The discussion and analysis proper will begin with a brief summary of Janák's findings in order to establish the current understanding of the relationship between the stork and the terms *b3* and *b3w*. A discussion and analysis of Late Predynastic Saddlebill stork imagery will follow. Concluding the chapter will be a summary of the role, function, and significance of the bird in Late Predynastic thought as gleaned from the analysis.

### 2.1. *The Saddlebill Stork: Appearance, Ecology, and Behavior*

The Saddlebill stork (*Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*) (Figure 1) is native to the African continent and occurs today throughout sub-Saharan Africa<sup>28</sup>. Also known as the African Jabiru stork, the Saddlebill stork is one of the world's tallest and largest species of stork, standing between 1.3-1.5 meters in height (3-5 ft.), with a wingspan of over 2.5 meters (8 ft.)<sup>29</sup>. Although the Saddlebill stork is widespread throughout Africa, it is never very numerous<sup>30</sup>, the species' territoriality and solitary nesting limiting numbers in suitable habitats<sup>31</sup>. These habitats include aquatic, as well as open or semi-arid areas, the bird favoring shallow freshwater marshes, swamps, rivers, lakeshores, and flood plains<sup>32</sup>. The Saddlebill stork is a sedentary species, there being no evidence of regular long-distance migration, and will use the same territory continuously if not affected by drought<sup>33</sup>.

In general appearance, the Saddlebill stork is a stately bird with a slim stature, erect posture, long neck and legs. Its plumage is predominantly black and white, with

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<sup>28</sup> J. Hancock, J.A. Kushlan & M.P. Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills of the World* (London: Academic Press, 1992), 116.

<sup>29</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 109 & 115; M.P. Kahl, "Comparative Behavior and Ecology of African Storks", *National Geographic Society Research Reports* (1973), 17.

<sup>30</sup> The most recent surveys state that the population density of the Saddlebill stork is approximately 1 bird per 5.6-5.8 km<sup>2</sup> - Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.

<sup>31</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.

<sup>32</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.

<sup>33</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.



glossy black plumage on the head, neck, scapulars, wing coverts, and tail; and white plumage on the back, breast, abdomen, and leading edge and flight feathers of the wing<sup>34</sup>. The tail feathers of the stork are short and squared and the bill is long (+/- 35cm), thin, and slightly recurved<sup>35</sup>. The bill is also highly distinctive and unique to this species of stork, exhibiting a deep red color at the tip, a black band in the center, followed by a deep red fleshy lappet that extends back to the eye<sup>36</sup> (Figure 2). Upon this red lappet is a second yellow lappet in the shape of a 'saddle', and hanging down on either side where the lower mandible articulates with the neck are two yellow, lobe-like flaps of skin or 'wattles'<sup>37</sup>.

Storks of this tall species typically forage in shallow fresh water marshes, striding slowly and probing vertically in the water and submerged vegetation<sup>38</sup>. Their diet mainly consists of fish, but the bird will also consume frogs, crustaceans, mollusks, mice, small birds, as well as carrion<sup>39</sup>. Reports from the Kruger National Park in South Africa state that the stork has also been seen consuming snakes, as well as juvenile crocodiles when the opportunity presents itself<sup>40</sup>. With live, moving prey, the Saddlebill stork's hunting technique includes snatching the prey from the water or ground, dropping it, and repeatedly stabbing it with the tip of its long and pointed beak. The stork will then wash the prey in water, removing mud or sand from the body, and swallow it whole<sup>41</sup>.

Unlike many other species of stork, the Saddlebill stork is most often found

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<sup>34</sup> Kahl, "Comparative Behavior", 17.

<sup>35</sup> Kahl, "Comparative Behavior", 17.

<sup>36</sup> Kahl, "Comparative Behavior", 17.

<sup>37</sup> Kahl, "Comparative Behavior", 17.

<sup>38</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.

<sup>39</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.

<sup>40</sup> <http://www.krugerpark.co.za/krugerpark-times-5-11-saddle-billed-stork-25181.html>

<sup>41</sup> Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116.

singly or in pairs<sup>42</sup>. Although small groups have been observed feeding together, this usually consists of an adult pair and their offspring<sup>43</sup>. Despite this communality in family groups, this species of stork is highly territorial and will threaten any other birds, mammals, or large reptiles that impose on their territory or pose a risk to their mate and/or offspring<sup>44</sup>.

As one of the world's largest and most distinctive species of stork today, it is hardly surprising that the Saddlebill stork was included in the larger corpus of faunal signifiers in the ancient Egyptian writing system. Its immense size and striking coloration would certainly have caused it to stand out in the Egyptian faunal landscape. Furthermore, as a wading bird that favors shallow fresh water marshes, river banks, and floodplains, and thus environments that were central to the ancient Egyptian *modus vivendi*, the Saddlebill stork would have formed part of a regularly encountered group of fauna, including hippopotamuses, crocodiles, other species of birds, reptiles, as well as fish. The Egyptians would thus have had the opportunity to observe the stork's behavior, and we can assume that this, in addition to its appearance, must have contributed to its believed significance. The above discussion has also demonstrated, however, that the bird is no longer found in Egypt, its attestations limited to Sub-Saharan Africa. This begs the question as to when the stork disappeared from Egypt.

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<sup>42</sup> Kahl, "Comparative Behavior", 20.

<sup>43</sup> According to Hancock, Kushlan & Kahl, the average number of offspring is 2-3 per season - *Storks, Ibises and Spoonbills*, 116-118.

<sup>44</sup> This threat consists of a defense or 'Arching' display in which the stork stands erect, opens its wings fully, lowers and clatters its bill loudly and slowly while advancing, and often lunging, toward the threat. The stork's subsequent increase in size (i.e. spreading of the wings), flashing black and white wing pattern, loud bill clacks, as well as visible bright red and yellow bill, thus render it an imposing and formidable sight to the threat - Kahl, "Comparative Behavior", 20.

## 2.2. J. Janák and the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic Iconography

J. Janák's article, *A Question of Size: A Remark on Early Attestations of the Ba Hieroglyph* (2011), represents the first and only study thus far to investigate the connection between Late Predynastic images of the Saddlebill stork and its later use as a hieroglyph for the *b3* and *b3w* concepts. According to Janák, as the Saddlebill stork represents both the earliest and most attested hieroglyphic signifier for the terms *b3* and *b3w*, it serves as a crucial witness to their original meaning<sup>45</sup>.

Janák's study essentially starts with an established definition of *b3* and *b3w* in texts from the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom. Working from the studies of L.V. Žabkar (1968) and E.M. Wolf-Brinkmann (1968), he states that this early notion of *b3* and *b3w* encompassed the idea of a visible or earthly manifestation of divine (i.e. heavenly) powers<sup>46</sup>. He then proceeds with a brief description of the Saddlebill stork as a living species, discussing its appearance and highlighting its most characteristic features. The actual size of the bird is, however, focused upon – “The impressive size and stately appearance of the Saddlebill stork, which was probably the largest flying bird of ancient Egypt, might have largely influenced its significance to the Egyptians. These characteristics might also have played a key role in connecting this particular bird with the *b3*-concept, since it seems only logical that such an impressive bird should represent an earthly manifestation of divine (i.e. heavenly) powers”<sup>47</sup>.

In support of this argument, Janák proceeds with a discussion of Saddlebill stork imagery. He notes that the most accurate and elaborate depictions of the stork appear on objects dating to the Late Predynastic Period. These include the Carnarvon, Abu Zeidan, and Pitt-rivers knife handles, the Davis comb handle, and the gold mace

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<sup>45</sup> Janák, “A question of Size”, 143.

<sup>46</sup> Janák, “A question of Size”, 144-5.

<sup>47</sup> Janák, “A question of Size”, 147.

handle from Sayala (Figures 3-7)<sup>48</sup>. The stork, which is represented in the second row of animals on the flat side of the knife handles, both sides of the Davis comb handle, and on the Sayala mace handle, is easily recognizable due to its characteristic features, namely the long legs and neck, upright stance, recurved bill, short and squared tail feathers, and wattle at the base of the lower mandible.

According to Janák, there are two aspects which are important for our understanding of the meaning of the stork upon these objects. The first is that these objects are primarily carved with images of powerful animals, including elephants, lions, bulls, hyenas, and dogs, and the second is that the objects themselves i.e. knife and mace handles, are symbols of power and strength<sup>49</sup>. The inclusion of the Saddlebill stork amongst powerful animals and upon this class of object is thus not coincidental. Janák states the impressive and distinctive Saddlebill stork must have left a great impact on the mind of the Egyptians and they subsequently connected it not only with ideas of greatness and power, but also with other animals which represented or even manifested these characteristics<sup>50</sup>. Furthermore, the depiction of these powerful animals upon knife and mace handles may have served to increase the power of the appropriate weapon or tool<sup>51</sup>.

Part of Janak's study also includes tracing and elucidating the apparent degradation in accuracy of Saddlebill stork hieroglyphs from the Early Dynastic Period to the Old Kingdom. He notes that from the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty onwards, the Saddlebill stork no longer appears in the artistic record and its depiction is confined to its use as a hieroglyphic signifier<sup>52</sup>. The earliest of the latter appears on the rim fragment of a large porphyry jar from Hierakonpolis (Figure 8), and while only the

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<sup>48</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 147-8.

<sup>49</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 149.

<sup>50</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 150.

<sup>51</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 150.

<sup>52</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 148.

head and neck of the bird have survived, the remaining features are nevertheless well rendered<sup>53</sup>. Following this date, however, there is steady decrease in the accuracy of Saddlebill stork hieroglyphs. By the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, the attitude and posture of the bird has changed, as can be seen in the rendering of *b3w* from the tomb of Khabawsokar (Figure 9), and by the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the bird's signature wattle has shifted from the base of the lower mandible to the neck, such as on slab stela from the tomb of Wepemnofret from Giza (Figure 10)<sup>54</sup>. Janák attributes these inaccuracies and schematization to the extinction of the species in Egypt, probably during the Late Early Dynastic Period to Early Old Kingdom<sup>55</sup>. This is further supported by the fact that there are no skeletal or other remains (i.e. mummies) of the Saddlebill stork attested for any period of Egyptian history, as well as no dynastic artistic representations of this bird in scenes where other birds usually occur (i.e. fowling scenes)<sup>56</sup>.

Although Janák's study has highlighted the significance of the Saddlebill stork in connection with *b3* and *b3w*, there are, however, three major interrelated problems with his argument for its meaning in Late Predynastic iconography. The first is the fact that he based his interpretation of the stork not only on the meaning of *b3* and *b3w* in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts, but also specifically on definitions of the latter provided by two scholars<sup>57</sup> who did not study these images of the stork, let alone consider the stork as a meaningful visual signifier. Janák thus projected older understandings of these terms onto Late Predynastic images of the Saddlebill stork, an approach that runs counter to the original sequence and development.

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<sup>53</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 148.

<sup>54</sup> By the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, the attitude and posture of the bird has changed, and by the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty the bird's signature wattle has shifted from the base of the lower mandible to the neck - Janák, "A question of Size", 148-149.

<sup>55</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 149.

<sup>56</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 149.

<sup>57</sup> Žabkar, 1968 & Wolf-Brinkmann, 1968

This leads to the second major problem. By utilizing this approach, Janák essentially overlooked the larger theme and iconographic context in which the stork appears. The above Late Predynastic carved handles have received a substantial amount of attention within studies of Predynastic art<sup>58</sup>, and it has been recognized since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century that the rows of animals adorning these handles form part of highly standardized and formalized motif<sup>59</sup>. Furthermore, it has been widely accepted within the last decade that this motif, along with associated Late Predynastic motifs of hunting and military triumph, essentially functioned to represent and eternally replicate the fundamental ancient Egyptian belief in the establishment of “Order” and the subjugation and banishment of “Chaos”<sup>60</sup>.

This brings us to the third and final problem. Upon review of studies focusing on these objects and this motif, such as that of F. Raffaele<sup>61</sup> and G. Dreyer<sup>62</sup>, as well

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<sup>58</sup> G. Bénédite, “The Carnarvon ivory”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 5 (1918): 1-15, 225-241; B.V. Bothmer & J. L. Keith, *Brief guide to the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art*. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974); C.S. Churcher, “Zoological study of the ivory knife handle from Abu Zaidan”, in *Predynastic and archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum: with a reexamination of Henri de Morgan's excavations based on the material in the Brooklyn Museum initially studied by Walter Federn and a special zoological contribution on the ivory-handled knife from Abu Zaidan by C. S. Churcher*, ed. W. Needler (Brooklyn: The Brooklyn Museum, 1984): 152-169.; K.M. Ciałowicz, “La composition, le sens et la symbolique des scènes zoomorphes prédynastiques en relief: les manches de couteaux”, in *The followers of Horus: studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman*, eds. R. Friedman and B. Adams (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992): 247-258.; D. Huyge, “A double-powerful device for regeneration: the Abu Zaidan knife handle reconsidered”, in *Egypt at its origins [I]: studies in memory of Barbara Adams. Proceedings of the international conference "Origin of the state: predynastic and early dynastic Egypt"*, Kraków, 28th August - 1st September 2002, eds. S. Hendrickx, R. F. Friedman, K. M. Ciałowicz, and M. Chłodnicki (Leuven: Peeters, 2004): 823-836; F. Raffaele, “Animal rows and ceremonial processions in late predynastic Egypt”, in *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology: proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, June 18th-20th 2008*, eds. F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo & I. Incordino (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 245-285; G. Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment eines dekorierten Messergriffes aus Abydos”, in *Echoes of eternity: studies presented to Gaballa Aly Gaballa*, eds. O. El-Aguizy & M. Sherif Ali (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 15-22.

<sup>59</sup> Bénédite, “Carnarvon ivory”, 1-15.

<sup>60</sup> J. Baines. “Origins of Egyptian Kingship”, in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, eds. D. O’Connor & D. P. Silverman (Leiden: Brill, 1995): 109-112; B.J. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a civilization* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 92-96. F. Raffaele, “Animal rows and ceremonial processions in late predynastic Egypt”, in *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology: proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, June 18th-20th 2008*, eds. F. Raffaele, M. Nuzzolo & I. Incordino (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 245-285; S. Hendrickx & M. Eyckerman, “Continuity and change in the visual representations of Predynastic Egypt”, in *Recent discoveries and latest researches in Egyptology: proceedings of the First Neapolitan Congress of Egyptology, June 18th-20th 2008*, eds. R. Francesco, M. Nuzzolo, & I. Incordino (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010): 121-143.

<sup>61</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 245-285.

as related studies on Predynastic iconography, it became apparent that images of the stork are not confined to the above carved handles, but also appear on a Naqada IID cylinder seal impression from Cemetery-U in Abydos<sup>63</sup>, a Naqada IIIB cylinder seal from Qustul<sup>64</sup>, as well as two Late Predynastic rock inscriptions, namely Gebel Djehuty inscription no. 1 in the Theban Western Desert<sup>65</sup> and an inscription near the modern town of el-Khawy in the Eastern Desert<sup>66</sup>. Thus, in addition to overlooking the iconographic context in which the stork appears, Janák did not include further significant attestations of the stork in Late Predynastic iconography.

In closing, it is evident that although Janák has widened the range of material to consider when investigating the early function and meaning *b3* and *b3w* and has highlighted the importance of the Saddlebill stork as a meaningful visual signifier, he has not, however, fully explored and investigated the role, function, and significance of the stork in Late Predynastic iconography.

### 2.3. *Reviewing the Evidence: The Saddlebill Stork in Late Predynastic Iconography*

A review of the current literature available on Predynastic iconography indicates that images of the Saddlebill stork appear in three Late Predynastic (Naqada IID-IIIB) iconographic contexts - the ‘animal-rows’ motif adorning handles of weapons and items of personal adornment, cylinder seals and cylinder seal impressions, and rock inscriptions. The following discussion and analysis of Saddlebill stork images within these iconographic contexts will be divided into two parts. The first will consist of a description of the iconography within each iconographic context, each description

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<sup>62</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 15-22.

<sup>63</sup> U. Hartung, “Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab)”, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 54 (1998): 202.

<sup>64</sup> B. Williams, B. *The A-group royal cemetery at Qustul: Cemetery L*. Excavations between Abu Simbel and the Sudan Frontier 1; The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 3 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1986), 157-8.

<sup>65</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 10-19.

<sup>66</sup> J.C. Darnell, ‘The Early Hieroglyphic Inscription at el-Khawy’, *Archéo-Nil* 27 (2017): 49-64.

followed by a brief presentation of extant interpretations. The second part will consist of a wider discussion of the Saddlebill stork within Late Predynastic iconography, comparing and interpreting the images of the stork in terms of significant and recurrent associations, extant interpretations, the distinctive characteristics, ecology, and behavior of the living species itself, as well as related textual evidence and iconography.

### 2.3.1. The ‘animal-rows’ motif (Figures 3-7 & 11)

The meaning of the ordered rows of animals adorning the Late Predynastic<sup>67</sup> Carnarvon knife handle (MMA 26.7.1281), Abu Zeidan knife handle (Brooklyn Museum 09.889.118), Pitt-Rivers knife handle (BM EA68512), Davis comb handle (MMA 30.8.224), Sayala Mace handle<sup>68</sup> (now lost), and the most recently found Abydos K1262b knife handle<sup>69</sup> have been a subject of much speculation. Starting with G. Bénédite in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century, several scholars have not only endeavored to identify all of the species depicted, but also interpret the larger message of the motif. The latter was considered especially significant, since the motif displays high levels of standardization and formalization akin to writing.

#### 2.3.1.1. Description

On both sides of the Abu Zeidan, Pitt-Rivers and Davis handles, on the flat side of the Carnarvon and Abydos knife handles, and on the Sayala mace handle are multiple

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<sup>67</sup> The precise dating of these objects has remained an issue since the Carnarvon and Pitt-Rivers knife handles and Davis comb handle do not have recorded archaeological provenances. Furthermore, while H. de Morgan did describe the tomb in which the Abu Zeidan knife handle was found, namely Burial 32 at Abu Zeidan, his excavation report of this area in general is lacking and has made dating of the tomb itself a problem. However, the Sayala mace handle, discovered in Tomb 1 at Cemetery 137 in Sayala by C.M. Firth, and the Abydos K1262b knife handle, discovered by G. Dreyer in Cemetery-U at Abydos, does provide an approximate period in which these handles were probably produced. The latter places the earliest date in the Naqada IID Period, while the Sayala Mace handle has been attributed to the Naqada IIIA Period - Firth, *The archaeological survey of Nubia*, 205; Needler, *Predynastic and archaic Egypt in the Brooklyn Museum*, 58; Dreyer, “Motive und Datierung”, 17.

<sup>68</sup> Firth, *The archaeological survey of Nubia*, 205.

<sup>69</sup> Dreyer, “Motive und Datierung”, 17.



horizontal rows of animals (Figures 3-7 & 11). Barring the Davis comb handle, upon which the rows take a boustrophon pattern, the animals are all depicted facing in the same direction. In the case of the knife handles, this is towards the blade.

The flat side of the knife handles, both sides of the Davis comb handle, and the Sayala mace handle display a highly standardized and formalized set and sequence of animals. A ‘classic model’ can be laid out as follows:

<b>Row 1</b>	A series of elephants standing upon intertwined snakes or a snake
<b>Row 2</b>	A Saddlebill stork with a snake at its beak, followed by a single giraffe, more Saddlebill storks, Herons <sup>70</sup> , and Secretary birds <sup>71</sup> .
<b>Row 3</b>	A series of large felines, usually interpreted as lions <sup>72</sup>
<b>The Rest of the Rows</b>	(Table 1). Various species of wild and domesticated fauna typical of the deserts, mountain ranges, and semi-desert plains, as well as mythological hybrids. Each row is confined to the depiction of a single species, and often closing the rows is either an image of a hunting dog with its paw raised toward the animal it directly follows, a rosette, or a catfish.

While large parts of the Pitt-Rivers and Abydos knife handles are damaged (Figures 5 & 11), the remaining species indicate that the rows followed the above sequence<sup>73</sup>. The Carnarvon handle on the other hand, differs in that the first two rows have been switched, and the second and third rows have been condensed so that three large felines follow a single elephant standing upon intertwined snakes (Figure 3). According to Ciałowicz, these differences are probably due to problems in composition, the enlargement of the figures resulting in space constraints and the loss of the heads of the animals in the first row<sup>74</sup>. Space constraints can also be cited as a reason for the differences seen on the Sayala mace handle (Figure 7). While the iconography retains the most important elements, the rows have been condensed and

<sup>70</sup> Churcher, “Zoological study”, 155-56.

<sup>71</sup> Churcher, “Zoological study”, 155-6.

<sup>72</sup> Churcher, “Zoological study”, 156-7.

<sup>73</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 16.

<sup>74</sup> Ciałowicz, “Scènes Zoomorphes Prédynastiques”, 252.

represented by a single animal. One can imagine, however, that upon turning the handle and ‘reading’ the mace from top to bottom, the animals would have followed in rows as on the other objects.

On the boss side of the Pitt-Rivers and Abu Zeidan knife handles (Figures 5 & 6), the rows of animals do not display the same levels of formalization and standardization. Only the first row has the same sequence of species on both knife handles, namely a series of mythological hybrids consisting of a vulture with the head and trunk of an elephant<sup>75</sup> followed by a single catfish<sup>76</sup>. The rest of the rows are composed again of fauna typical of the deserts, mountain ranges, and semi desert plains, and are often closed with the image of a hunting dog<sup>77</sup>.

#### 2.3.1.2. Current Interpretations of the ‘animal-rows’ motif:

The highly standardized nature of the Late Predynastic ‘animal-rows’ motif has caught the attention of several scholars. G. Bénédite posited that it was a reflection of the politico-religious geography of Predynastic Egypt or territorial division into ‘proto-nomes’<sup>78</sup>. B.V. Bothmer viewed it as a hunter’s procession in which the animals depicted embody the fulfillment of what was hoped for in the afterlife i.e. an abundance of game<sup>79</sup>. K.M. Ciałowicz, on the other hand, argued for a royal display of power, wealth, and victory<sup>80</sup>.

More recently, however, the motif’s association with the doctrine of ‘Order over Chaos’ has gained wide support and recognition<sup>81</sup>. The association with ‘Order over Chaos’ is based upon three major factors. The first is the actual layout and

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<sup>75</sup> Huyge, “A double-powerful device”, 831.

<sup>76</sup> Ciałowicz, “Scènes Zoomorphes Prédynastiques”, 249.

<sup>77</sup> Row 4 on the boss-side of the Abu Zeidan Knife handle.

<sup>78</sup> Bénédite, “The Carnarvon ivory”, 1-15.

<sup>79</sup> B.V. Bothmer & J. L. Keith, *Brief guide to the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art*. (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 19

<sup>80</sup> Ciałowicz, “Scènes Zoomorphes Prédynastiques”, 258.

<sup>81</sup> Refer to footnote 58 for references.

composition of the iconography. According to Raffaele, the clear linear arrangement of the figures constitutes an effective expression of order, balance, and control, and enhances the contrast between the ‘savage’ character of the displayed fauna and the rigorous order in which they proceed<sup>82</sup>. The second factor is that early prototypes of ordered rows of animals are associated with scenes of hunting and military triumph on Naqada I- early Naqada II C-ware<sup>83</sup>, the latter two widely accepted as symbolizing the maintenance of order and the subjugation and containment of disorder<sup>84</sup>. It is noteworthy that although the ‘animal-rows’ motif had largely been separated from hunting and military triumph scenes by the Late Predynastic Period, the boss side of the Carnarvon knife handle is, however, carved with a ‘Desert hunt’ scene<sup>85</sup> (Figure 3), which indicates that they were still thematically associated. The third and final factor is the presence of the hunting dog and the rosette often depicted at the end of the rows. These elements, coined as ‘control signs’ by B. Kemp<sup>86</sup>, have been associated with ideas of ‘control’, ‘power’, and ‘subjugation’<sup>87</sup>.

Within this context of ‘Order over Chaos’, two scholars have forwarded more detailed ‘readings’ of the motif, as well as of the meaning and symbolism of the

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<sup>82</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows” , 258.

<sup>83</sup> Early examples in which ordered rows of animals are paralleled with hunting/military triumph scenes include, a jar from tomb U-415 in Cemetery-U at Abydos upon which ordered rows of hippopotamuses and gazelles followed by a hunting dog are paralleled with a row of bound captives; Turin Museum bowl S.1827 upon which hunters holding bows and arrows lead a file of tethered gazelles; and Turin Museum double-jar S.1823, which not only includes a file of tethered gazelles lead by hunters holding bows, as on Turin museum bowl S.1827, but also includes an image of a crocodile followed by a file of figures holding harpoons or spears - Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 247 & 260.

<sup>84</sup> ‘Disorder’ or ‘Chaos’ upon these objects is represented by the hunted wild fauna and tethered captives – H. Asselberghs, *Chaos en Beheersing: Documenten uit Aeneolithisch Egypte* (Leuven: Brill, 1961), 286.; Baines. “Origins of Egyptian Kingship”, 112; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 46.

<sup>85</sup> Ciałowicz, “Scènes Zoomorphes Prédynastiques”, 255.

<sup>86</sup> B. J. Kemp, A. Boyce & J. Harrell. 2000. “The Colossi from the Early Shrine at Coptos in Egypt”, *CAJ* 10 no. 2 (2000): 234.

<sup>87</sup> S. Hendrickx, “The dog, the *Lycaon pictus* and order over chaos in Predynastic Egypt”, in *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa*, eds. K. Kroeper et al. (Poznan: Poznan Archaeological Museum, 2006): 723-749; Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 245-285; Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 15-22; J. Baines, “Symbolic Roles of Canine Figures on Early Monuments”, *Archéo-Nil* 3 (1993): 57-74; H.S. Smith. 1992. “The Making of Egypt: A Review of the Influence of Susa and Sumer on Upper Egypt and Lower Nubia in the 4th Millennium B.C”, in *The followers of Horus: studies dedicated to Michael Allen Hoffman*, eds. R. Friedman and B. Adams (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1992): 235-246.

Saddlebill stork. Raffaele posits that the Late Predynastic ‘animal-rows’ motif essentially represents a visual replica of a ‘slaughtering’ or ‘offering’ ritual which functioned to ensure the “triumph of Order over Chaos”<sup>88</sup>. The use of significant compound images within the first two rows, as well as the repetitive and standardized nature of these rows, indicate to Raffaele that they are of primary significance to the meaning of the motif<sup>89</sup>.

‘Reading’ the motif in a quasi-linguistic sense, Raffaele posits a tripartite structure of meaning in which the various animals depicted represent (a) the *subject* of the ritual, (b) the *action* of the ritual, and (c) the *object* of the ritual. The *subject* is represented by the elephant standing upon intertwined snakes, which refers to the divine power of the king as the insurer of order<sup>90</sup>. The *action* of the ritual is expressed by the foremost Saddlebill stork with a snake at its beak, as well as by the single giraffe which follows it. According to Raffaele, the compound of the stork + snake refers to the concept of ‘capture’, this reading supported by the fact that the same compound appears associated with a scene in a rock inscription of the Theban Western Desert in which a nude and long-haired captive is bound and controlled by a bald, bearded figure holding a mace<sup>91</sup> (Gebel Djehuty inscription no. 1- Figure 12).


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<sup>88</sup> According to Raffaele, the actual practice of such rituals may be indicated by contemporary archaeozoological evidence, such as the large slaughtering and butchering ceremonial center at Hierakonpolis (HK 29A) in which vast numbers of animal bones (both wild and domesticated species) were found. Furthermore, when the motif decorates knife handles, the animal rows are invariably directed towards the blade, signifying their fate as ‘potential victims of the knife’. Raffaele further posits that these knife handles may actually have been used in these rituals - Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 258-269.

<sup>89</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 262.

<sup>90</sup> This interpretation is based on the close association of this symbol with a shrine and the figure of a seated king on the flat side of another carved Late Predynastic knife handle, Ashmolean Museum E4975. While the elephant standing upon intertwined snakes may be a designation for this shrine or a symbol referring to the divine entity or god to whom the shrine belongs, Raffaele is of the opinion that it metonymically expresses royal power, as the Late Predynastic Period witnessed an increasing centralization, formalization, and ideologization of religious institutions and beliefs - Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 266.

<sup>91</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 264; J. C. Darnell, D. Darnell, R. Friedman, and S. Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey in the Egyptian Western Desert, I: Gebel Djehuty rock inscriptions 1-45 and Wadi el-Hôl rock inscriptions 1-45* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2002), 11.

The giraffe<sup>92</sup>, owing to its height and its hieroglyphic use as a determinative in  *sr* ‘to foresee’, is associated with the concepts of foreseeing and prophesying, and combined with the stork + snake compound, thus alludes to a ‘profitable game capture’<sup>93</sup>. The remaining animals in the lower rows, which do not exhibit a recurring pattern of species arrangement and include species known to have had importance as sacrifice victims (gazelles and cattle), represent the *object* of the ritual i.e. the forces of chaos<sup>94</sup>. According to Raffaele, the recurring appearance of ‘control signs’ at the end of these rows, such as the domesticated hunting dog and the rosette, further support this reading and essentially serve to ensure that the ‘forces of chaos’ are subdued<sup>95</sup>.

Published within the same year as the study of Raffaele, is Dreyer’s study of the Abydos K1262b knife handle (Figure 11). As with Raffaele, Dreyer recognizes and underscores the almost formulaic and repetitive character of the motif’s upper rows. Tracing the image of the elephant standing upon intertwined snakes in Late Predynastic iconography, Dreyer highlights the fact that it is also found carved into two other Late Predynastic knife handles in connection with ‘victory’ scenes, namely the Ashmolean Museum knife Handle (Figure 14) and the Metropolitan Museum Knife handle (Figure 14)<sup>96</sup>. According to Dreyer, the association of the elephant with

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<sup>92</sup> For a further discussion on giraffe iconography and its potential meaning see, S. Ikram, ‘A Desert zoo: An exploration of meaning and reality of animals in the rock art of Kharga Oasis’, in *Desert animals in the eastern Sahara: Status, economic significance, and cultural reflection in antiquity. Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary ACACIA Workshop held at the University of Cologne December 14-15, 2007*, eds. H. Riemer, F. Förster, M. Herb & N. Pöllath (Köln: Heinrich-Barth-Institut, 2009), 263-91.

<sup>93</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 265-6.

<sup>94</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 265-6.

<sup>95</sup> Raffaele, “Animal rows”, 265.

<sup>96</sup> The flat side of the Ashmolean Museum knife handle displays the elephant standing upon intertwined snakes beneath a depiction of the pr-wr shrine and behind the figure of a seated king. The boss side of this knife handle includes depictions of kneeling, bound enemies who are tethered and controlled by seated men wielding long sticks. The boss side of the Metropolitan Museum handle displays the elephant standing upon snakes above a procession of six ships heading towards a shrine. Upon the flat side of this knife handle is another similar shrine, before which are three rows of standing

the *pr-wr* shrine on the Ashmolean Museum knife handle suggests that it should be regarded as a divine power<sup>97</sup>. Furthermore, the connection of the elephant with victory scenes on both of the above knife handles<sup>98</sup> and its depiction ‘trampling’ snakes, the latter of which represent the (chthonic) forces of chaos<sup>99</sup>, indicate that this compound specifically refers to the divine power that ensures order, including the subjugation of enemies<sup>100</sup>.

The recurrent connection of the elephant standing upon snakes compound with the stork + snake compound suggests to Dreyer that both have a similar meaning. This is further supported by the fact that the stork and snake compound is associated with a *victory* scene in the Gebel Djehuty inscription no. 1, namely the bound captive controlled by the figure holding a mace<sup>101</sup>. Thus like the elephant standing upon intertwined snakes, the stork with a snake at its beak refers to the subjection and subjugation of enemies<sup>102</sup>.

As with Raffaele, Dreyer connects the single giraffe following the foremost stork in the ‘animal-rows’ motif with the concept of ‘foresight’<sup>103</sup>. However, Dreyer does note a significant change in attitude between the animals preceding the giraffe and those that follow. Preceding the giraffe, the animals are depicted in active poses, the elephants trampling snakes and the foremost stork of the second row grasping a

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and seated figures, as well as a badly damaged, yet discernable smiting scene - Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 16.

<sup>97</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 16.

<sup>98</sup> i.e. bound captives on the Ashmolean Museum knife handle, and ‘smiting scene’ on the Metropolitan Museum knife handle.

<sup>99</sup> The intertwined snakes beneath the feet of the elephant also appear in another contemporary motif in which they are intertwined around a number of rosettes. According to Dreyer, in this symmetrical form, the snakes are controlled by the rosettes, the latter of which should also be understood as signs of divine or royal power - Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17.

<sup>100</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 16-17.

<sup>101</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17; Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, & Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>102</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17.



<sup>103</sup> Again this is due to the long neck of the giraffe which allows it to see great distances, as well as its use as a determinative in the word *sr* “predict, prophesy, promise, prospect” – Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17.

snake in its beak<sup>104</sup>. Behind the giraffe, however, are storks without snakes, signaling a significant change with the *caesura* of the giraffe<sup>105</sup>. According to Dreyer, the following message is thus conveyed - in front of the giraffe chaos is fought and subjugated, and following the giraffe is the consequent “desired future state”. This state is characterized by peace without chaos and an abundance of game animals<sup>106</sup>.

### 2.3.2. Cylinder Seals and Cylinder Seal Impressions

A Naqada IID cylinder seal impression from Tomb U-210 in Cemetery-U at Abydos (Abydos K2160c – Figure 15) and a Naqada IIIB ivory cylinder seal from Tomb L17 in Cemetery L at Qustul in Lower Nubia (L17-26 OIM 23662 - Figure 16) contain images of Saddlebill storks. Although the characteristic ‘wattle’ and ‘saddle’ of the stork are not present, the scholars who have studied the iconography of the above two seals nevertheless agree that the depicted birds are Saddlebill storks.

#### 2.3.2.1 The U-210 Cylinder Seal Impression (Figure 15)

The iconography of the seal consists of a central figure surrounded by alternating rows of smaller symbols. The central figure, which faces to the left, has been identified as a Saddlebill stork<sup>107</sup>, and the surrounding rows alternate between three-peaked mountains signs  and bow-tie shaped signs <sup>108</sup>.

According to Hartung, the central figure of the stork may refer to the name of a Predynastic ruler i.e. *King Stork*, an interpretation which is based upon G. Dreyer’s argument that the combination of an animal + land/vegetation sign in Late


<sup>104</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17.

<sup>105</sup> Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17.

<sup>106</sup> G. Dreyer, “Ein neues Fragment”, 17.

<sup>107</sup> Hartung. “Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen”, 202; L.D. Morenz, *Bild-Buchstaben und symbolische Zeichen: die Herausbildung der Schrift in der hohen Kultur Altägyptens* (Fribourg; Göttingen: Academic Press; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 60.

<sup>108</sup> Hartung. “Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen”, 201.

Predynastic iconography refers to a district or production center of a ruler<sup>109</sup>. The latter argument has, however, been widely criticized over the last decade<sup>110</sup>. J. Hill on the other hand, posits that the alternating rows of mountain signs and bow-tie shaped signs refer to tribute from a foreign area<sup>111</sup>. This interpretation is based upon the reading of the mountain signs as *h3swt* and the bow-tie signs as an earlier version of  (sign V32), which when tripled in later dynastic texts serves as the determinative for *g3wt* ‘tribute’<sup>112</sup>. According to Hill, as the stork also features prominently on an ivory cylinder seal from Qustul in Lower Nubia (discussed below), specifically preceding the figure of a man holding a staff, it may have served as a title designation for an official trade liaison of the Nubians, who had regular dealings with Egypt<sup>113</sup>.

#### 2.3.2.2. The Ivory Cylinder Seal (L17-26 OIM 23662) (Figure 16)

Although the ivory cylinder seal from Tomb L17 is badly spilt and a section of the seal’s design is missing, B. Williams was able to reconstruct large parts of the iconography<sup>114</sup>. Between two borders with zig-zag patterns signifying water, is a row of three large long-legged wading birds, followed by a group of smaller wading birds, and finally the figure of a man<sup>115</sup>. While the latter is mostly damaged, according to Williams, his dress and pose clearly parallel the ‘greeting man’ on the Naqada III (A-group) Qustul incense burner<sup>116</sup> (Figure 17). The man’s head is indicated by the tip of

<sup>109</sup> Hartung, *Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen*, 214.

<sup>110</sup> F. A. K. Breyer, “Die Schriftzeugnisse des Prädynastischen Königsgrabes U-j in Umm el-Qaab: Versuch einer Neuinterpretation”, *JEA* 88 (2002): 53-65; J. Kahl, “Die frühen Schriftzeugnisse aus dem Grab U-j in Umm el-Qaab”, *Chronique d’Egypte* 78 (2003): 112-135.

<sup>111</sup> J.A. Hill, *Cylinder seal glyptic in Predynastic Egypt and neighboring regions*, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006), 27.

<sup>112</sup> Hill, *Cylinder seal glyptic*, 27.

<sup>113</sup> Hill, *Cylinder seal glyptic*, 27.

<sup>114</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 157.

<sup>115</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 157-8.

<sup>116</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 158; for dating see D. Michaux-Colombot, “New Considerations on the Qustul incense burner iconography”, in *Between the Cataracts, Part 2, fasc.1*,



the beard, the tie of the garment is indicated at the waist, and his left arm is bent upward towards the birds in the gesture of presentation, worship, or salutation<sup>117</sup>. Above the fourth smaller bird is a harpoon, which stretches up to the left and ends above the head of the second larger wading bird<sup>118</sup>. According to Williams, the position of the harpoon in this context indicates that it was intended as a label<sup>119</sup>.

While Williams does not specifically identify the first three larger wading birds on the seal as Saddlebill storks, J. Hill has compared them with that on the U-210 seal impression. Hill has also interpreted the raised forearm of the man as the tip of a staff, the rest obscured by the erosion of the seal's surface<sup>120</sup>. According to Hill, the combination of the man with a staff suggests that he represents an official, and as stated above, the birds may have served as locational and administrative symbols for a trade liaison between Lower Nubia and Egypt<sup>121</sup>. According to Hill, the single stork on the U-210 seal impression is thus a condensed version of the Qustul ivory cylinder seal.

### 2.3.3. Rock Inscriptions

A Late Predynastic rock inscription in the Theban Western Desert (Gebel Djehuty inscription no. 1 – Figure 12) and a Naqada III rock inscription near the modern town of el-Khawy (Figure 18) in the Eastern Desert contain images of Saddlebill storks. Again, while the characteristic 'wattle' and 'saddle' of the stork are not present, the scholars who have studied the iconography of the above two inscriptions nevertheless agree that the depicted birds are Saddlebill storks.

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*Session Papers. Proceedings of the 11<sup>th</sup> Conference of Nubian Studies, Warsaw 2006*, eds. W. Godlewski & A. Lajtar (Warsaw: Warsaw University Press, 2008), 359-370.

<sup>117</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 158.

<sup>118</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 158.

<sup>119</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 158.

<sup>120</sup> Hill, *Cylinder seal glyptic*, 27.

<sup>121</sup> Hill, *Cylinder seal glyptic*, 27.

### 2.3.3.1. The Gebel Djehuty Rock Inscription (Figure 12)

During the mapping and recording of the archaeological sites, ancient routes, and rock inscriptions of the Theban western desert<sup>122</sup>, the *Theban Desert Road Survey* discovered a Late Predynastic rock inscription containing images of Saddlebill storks. The inscription, catalogued as Gebel *Tjauti* (Djehuty) Inscription no. 1, is located in a dominant position high on a rock face that backs a natural shelf where the main track of the ‘Alamat Valley Road ascends to the top of Gebel Djehuty<sup>123</sup>.

According to J.C. Darnell, R. Friedman, and S. Hendrickx, the inscription essentially consists of two layers. The pair of antelopes or ibex on the right represent the earliest layer of inscription, and the rest of the images or the ‘tableau’ belong to a later layer of inscription<sup>124</sup>. The tableau proper is composed of two registers in which all figures face to the right. The upper register commences (from right to left) with the image of a tall structure identified as a shrine<sup>125</sup>, flanked and partially overlain by a pair of Saddlebill storks<sup>126</sup>. Following this is a falcon preceding a man holding a staff, above which are two more falcons followed by a carrying chair<sup>127</sup>. The lower register commences with the image of a falcon above a scorpion<sup>128</sup>. This is followed by a figure carrying a staff, before which is a partially lost image that has been interpreted as representing part of a standard on a pole<sup>129</sup>. Behind the figure is a single nude and long-haired captive tethered to a rope held by a bald, bearded male figure holding a

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<sup>122</sup> This desert, formed by a high plateau that is bounded to the north by the Darb Naqadiya and to the south by the great bay of the Rayayna Desert, fills the great Qena bend in the Nile.

<sup>123</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 7.

<sup>124</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>125</sup> According to Darnell, Friedman & Hendrickx, this structure can be identified as a shrine due to parallels on later documents such as the Narmer mace-head and the tablet of Horus Aha, notably in conjunction with long-necked birds identified as Herons - Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>126</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>127</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>128</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>129</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

mace<sup>130</sup>. Between the latter two figures is a bucranium on a pole and closing the register are a number of enigmatic incisions identified as a three-peaked mountain and vegetation<sup>131</sup>.

Darnell, Friedman & Hendrickx have interpreted the pair of storks and the shrine within the upper register as a representation of a shrine situated in the Coptite Nome, the latter location identified by the two storks as a proto-hieroglyphic writing of the Nome's Dynastic name *b3wy*<sup>132</sup>. The falcons which follow, distinguished by a different set of attributes and internal decoration, are representations of three forms of Horus, each associated with aspects of victory and power<sup>133</sup>. From the arrangement of the composition, the male figure holding the staff appears to be equated with the falcons<sup>134</sup>. Interpreting his high shoulders as indicative of a garment, and based on later documents in which a figure wearing a panther-skin appears in close proximity to the king (i.e. the Narmer Palette), this figure has been interpreted a representation of the king's son<sup>135</sup>. The upper register of the Gebel Djehuty inscription thus represents a royal procession to a shrine located in the Coptite Nome<sup>136</sup>.

According to Darnell, Friedman & Hendrickx, the falcon and the scorpion in the lower register signify the name of king Scorpion, and based on G. Dreyer's identification of the owner of tomb U-j as Scorpion, as well as a number of parallels with iconography from Tomb U-j, places the date of the tableau in the Naqada IIIA Period or slightly earlier<sup>137</sup>. The combination of the standard and the figure carrying a staff recall a number of procession scenes on later documents, such as the Narmer

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<sup>130</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 11.

<sup>131</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 12.

<sup>132</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 12.

<sup>133</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 12.

<sup>134</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 13.

<sup>135</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 13.

<sup>136</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 14.

<sup>137</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 16.

Palette, and indicate that they should be interpreted as part of the retinue of the king<sup>138</sup>. The stork and snake compound, which parallels the second row of the ‘animal-rows’ motif, functions as an introduction, announcement, and label for the scene that follows, the main content of which is the triumph of ‘Order over Chaos’, or more simply stated ‘victory’<sup>139</sup>. This victory is represented by the subjugation of the captive, as well as by the bucranium on a pole<sup>140</sup>. The three-peaked mountain and vegetation which occur behind the armed bearded figure are locational information, setting the origin of the entire procession in the desert mountains in which the inscription is located<sup>141</sup>.

Taking into consideration socio-political events which took place during the early part of the Naqada III period in which a number of regional chiefdoms in Upper Egypt became larger kingdoms, Darnell, Friedman and Hendrickx posit that the Gebel Djehuty inscription represents a record of a successful military operation carried out by an Abydene ruler, possibly King Scorpion<sup>142</sup>. The tableau essentially depicts the result of this victory and shows the dedication of the conquest (i.e. the nude, bound captive) by the victor to a deity or temple (i.e. shrine) situated within the Coptite Nome<sup>143</sup>. The placement of the inscription on the rock face of Gebel Djehuty thus appears to be concerned with the ruler’s control over the ‘Alamat Valley Road and may therefore have served as an early type of ‘victory stela’<sup>144</sup>.

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<sup>138</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 15.

<sup>139</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 16.

<sup>140</sup> According to Darnell, Friedman & Hendrickx, the bucranium that appears between the captive and his capturer is a symbol that signifies the capture and slaughter of an extremely strong enemy and the subsequent power now held over this enemy –*Theban Desert Road Survey*, 16.

<sup>141</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 16.

<sup>142</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 17.

<sup>143</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 17.

<sup>144</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 17.

### 2.3.3.2. The el-Khawy Inscription (Figure 18)

During surveys of the northern hinterland of Elkab, the *Elkab Desert Survey Project* discovered a rock inscription near the modern town of el-Khawy that contains images of Saddlebill storks. The inscription is located on a high rock face above the modern railroad and adjacent highway<sup>145</sup>.

According to J.C. Darnell, the inscription forms part of a larger grouping of inscriptions, dubbed the ‘central area’, that date from the Naqada I Period through to the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty<sup>146</sup>. The inscription containing the images of the storks is located in the upper left section of this ‘central area’ and is composed of 5 large images or ‘signs’ (the overall size of the inscription is 1.15 m x 0.6 m)<sup>147</sup>. From right to left the inscription comprises of a bucranium on a pole followed by an addorsed pair of Saddlebill storks, above and between which is an image of a bald ibis<sup>148</sup>. Behind the bucranium and below the beak of the rightmost stork is an image of a rearing snake<sup>149</sup>. Barring the leftmost Saddlebill stork, all the images face to the right.

According to Darnell, close parallels between the rendering of the signs in the el-Khawy inscription and those adorning the labels and ceramics discovered in tomb U-j, date the inscription to the late Naqada III Period<sup>150</sup>. Darnell states that the addorsed Saddlebill storks within the inscription recall zoomorphic and anthromorphic representations of horizon hills, and may thus be a reference to the cosmos<sup>151</sup>. The bald ibis, which later functioned as the hieroglyph for *ꜣh* ‘luminosity’, may specifically function as a designation for the eastern horizon *ꜣht*<sup>152</sup>, an

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<sup>145</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 50.

<sup>146</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 52.

<sup>147</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 52.

<sup>148</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 52.

<sup>149</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 52.

<sup>150</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 53-54.

<sup>151</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 57.

<sup>152</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 57.

interpretation which is supported by the reading of the rearing serpent as a proto-hieroglyphic writing of *dw* ‘mountain’<sup>153</sup>. According to Darnell, the storks, bald ibis, and the snake may thus function to express the concept of a balanced and light suffused cosmos<sup>154</sup>. Lastly, Darnell states that the bucranium in the el-Khawy inscription is a royal symbol, and specifically refers to the authority and power of the king<sup>155</sup>. The bucranium on a pole combined with the representation of the cosmos, thus functions to express a politico-religious message, namely the concept of royal authority over the ordered cosmos<sup>156</sup>. Darnell states that this reading is supported by later developed renderings of this message, namely the decoration on the comb of king Djjet (JdE 47176 – Figure 19). The comb’s iconography consists of the king’s name within a *serekh* surmounted by a depiction of Horus framed by two inward-facing *w3s*-scepters. Above this the wings of the sky are depicted carrying the solar bark<sup>157</sup>. According to Darnell, the message conveyed by this iconography is that the power of the sun in the sky and that of the king on earth were essentially equivalent, filling and ordering the cosmos<sup>158</sup>.

The royal nature of the el-Khawy inscription and its intended visibility, due to the size of the signs and high placement on the rock face, thus indicates to Darnell that it had a similar function to the Gebel Djehuty inscription, serving as a type of public ‘signpost’ or ‘billboard’ and expressing the power and authority of the king to travelers in the area.

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<sup>153</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’,

<sup>154</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 58.

<sup>155</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 59.

<sup>156</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 60.

<sup>157</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 59.

<sup>158</sup> Darnell, ‘el-Khawy’, 59-60.

#### 2.4. *The Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic Iconography: A discussion and Interpretation of the evidence*

The above descriptions and review of current interpretations of the iconography in which the Saddlebill stork appears already demonstrates that the function of Saddlebill stork imagery in Late Predynastic iconography is more complex than that forwarded by Janák. This is especially true of the ordered rows of animals adorning the carved handles, which do not simply include depictions of various “powerful animals”, but represent a highly organized, standardized, and formalized motif. The above review has also demonstrated, however, that there is no congruent and widely accepted interpretation of the function and meaning of Saddlebill stork imagery in Late Predynastic iconography.



From a broader perspective, the representation of the Saddlebill stork within the ‘animal-rows’ motif, upon cylinder seals, and within rock inscriptions indicates that the inhabitants of Egypt (and Lower Nubia) were well-acquainted with the species. The fidelity of the stork images and rendering of minute details of the head in the ‘animal-rows’ motif especially implies close and prolonged contact. Certainly the distinctive appearance and large size of the bird caused it to stand out in the faunal landscape, and we can assume that these aspects played a part in its appeal. However, the recurrent representation of the stork with a snake in or at its beak also indicates that the bird’s behavior was observed.

As noted in the discussion of the living species, the Saddlebill stork has been seen consuming snakes in the Kruger National Park in South Africa. An individual even uploaded a video of this on YouTube<sup>159</sup>. In the video the stork snatches a large snake from the water, grasps it by the head, shakes it, drops it, and proceeds to stab it

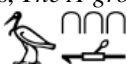
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<sup>159</sup> [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEKVvY\\_77-g](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NEKVvY_77-g)

repeatedly with its sharp beak while the snake coils in on itself. This pattern occurs for several minutes until the snake dies and the stork swallows it whole. Apart from demonstrating the powerlessness and vulnerability of the snake against the stork, this video also highlights a significant behavioral feature of the bird, namely the hunting technique in which it utilizes its long, thin, and slightly recurved beak to repeatedly impale and kill its prey.

On the Qustul ivory cylinder seal (Figure 16), it has been noted that a harpoon is depicted above the row of storks and smaller wading birds preceding the figure of a man. While J. Hill has interpreted the birds as a title designation for trade relations between Lower Nubia and Egypt, the presence of the stork and other species of wading birds in the ‘animal-rows’ motif and in the Gebel Djehuty and el-Khawy inscriptions, however, indicates that this interpretation is inconsistent with the iconographic evidence. As mentioned by Williams<sup>160</sup>, the position of the harpoon above the birds indicates that it was intended as a label. In this regard it is significant and noteworthy that the harpoon and spear are identified as  *m<sup>c</sup>b3*<sup>161</sup> in Old Kingdom texts<sup>162</sup>, an instrumental noun derived from the verb  *b3*<sup>163</sup>. This suggests that the ability of the stork to snatch prey from the water and subsequently kill through repeated stabs with the beak was equated with the harpoon and the spear, and that the harpoon on the Qustul cylinder seal functions as a label for the birds. It

<sup>160</sup> Williams, *The A-group royal cemetery*, 158.

<sup>161</sup> Variant . In a recent study, M. Odler & M. Peterková Hloučová have demonstrated that *m<sup>c</sup>b3* is the name of the complete harpoon or spear - “May you Receive that favourite harpoon of yours...Old Kingdom spears/harpoons and their contexts of use”, in *Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur* Band 46 (2017): 191-222.

<sup>162</sup> E.g. PT 519.

<sup>163</sup> G. Takács and several other scholars who have studied Afro-Asiatic and Semitic languages state that the *m<sup>c</sup>-* or *m-* prefix functions to transform verbs into instrumental nouns, i.e. Egyptian noun *mnht* ‘clothing or garments’ from the verb *wnh* ‘to clothe’ – G. Takács. *Etymological Dictionary of Egyptian: M- (Vol. III)* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 8; S. E. Thompson. “Egyptian Language and Writing”, in *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*, ed. K. A. Bard (London: Routledge): 325-328; E. Lipiński, *Semitic Languages: Outline of a Comparative Grammar. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*. (Leuven: Peeters & Departement Oostere Studies, 2001), 223.



should be kept in mind that although the ‘stabbing’ technique is not unique to the Saddlebill stork, as indicated on the cylinder seal itself by the inclusion of other smaller species of wading birds, the larger size and foremost position accorded to the storks in the seal’s iconography, as well as the subsequent use of the stork as a visual signifier in the Egyptian term for harpoon/spear<sup>164</sup>, however, suggests that it held a prominent status among wading birds. This can be attributed to the stork’s immense size, which in territorial displays allows it overpower and drive off its smaller counterparts, as well as predators. It might also, however, be due to the length and sharpness of the stork’s beak, which may have been viewed as the epitomic model of a spear or harpoon, as well as the red coloration that adorns the beak’s tip (Figure 2). The latter may have been seen an emblem of the stork’s effectiveness as a predator, as well as its aggressiveness, the red coloration equivalent to the blood that results from driving the beak into flesh<sup>165</sup>.

Besides the practical function of the harpoon and spear in fishing, Predynastic and Dynastic iconography and texts also present it as a weapon, and specifically as a means for achieving the subjugation and destruction of enemy forces and the establishment of ‘Order over Chaos’. Early hunting motifs on Predynastic White Cross-lined ware (C-ware) include scenes in which hunters harpoon/spear and lasso hippopotamuses and crocodiles from boats (Figure 20), and Decorative ware (D-ware) in the form of hippopotamuses were painted with depictions of hunters carrying

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<sup>164</sup> It should be kept in mind and recognized that the *b3* syllable in *m<sup>c</sup>b3* could have been spelt using unilateral signs. This suggests that the Saddlebill stork was specifically chosen as both a phonetic and visual signifier.

<sup>165</sup> The representation of blood resulting from impaled flesh is, according to Hendrickx, attested on a clay hippopotamus figurine from Tomb U-239 in Cemetery-U at Abydos. The figurine was painted red and displays a deliberate incision on the neck in the same spot as the impact of harpoons in painted hippopotamus hunting scenes on Naqada I-II C-ware – S. Hendrickx, “Hunting and social complexity in Predynastic Egypt”, *Bulletin des séances - Académie royale des sciences d'outre-mer / Mededelingen der zittingen - Koninklijke Academie voor Overzeese Wetenschappen* 57 (2013): 237-263.

harpoons and lassoes<sup>166</sup> (Figure 21). As discussed above, it has been widely accepted that the impaled and lassoed fauna within these scenes signify the defeat of chaos and the establishment of order<sup>167</sup>. This interpretation is supported by an Early Dynastic royal ‘smiting’ scene on a cylinder seal impression from the tomb of King Den in which the mace typically wielded by the king is replaced by a harpoon, essentially equating the decapitated enemies depicted beneath the king with the impaled hippopotamuses and crocodiles in earlier hunting scenes<sup>168</sup> (Figure 22). Furthermore, the slaying of the hippopotamus via the harpoon or spear in the Dynastic Royal Hippopotamus Hunt was symbolic of the king’s ability to dispel chaos and establish *m3ʿt*, and the deceased king/queen in PT 519 utilizes a harpoon/spear to establish order in the ‘Field of Rest’ by severing the heads of his/her adversaries that dwell there<sup>169</sup>.

As mentioned in the discussion of the living species, the Saddlebill stork uses this ‘impaling’ technique on all of its live prey. The specific and recurrent representation of the stork with a snake is thus significant. While there are numerous sources that can be cited that highlight the positive aspects of snakes in ancient Egyptian religion, it should be kept in mind that these aspects were utilized apotropaiely. Snakes are inherently dangerous creatures and their ability to induce death via spitting and injecting venom or via constriction lead to their portrayal as chaotic and inimical forces. This is especially apparent in later funerary texts, where snakes are posed as the epitomic enemy of the deceased king and sun god Ra<sup>170</sup>.

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<sup>166</sup> Hendrickx, “Hunting and social complexity”, 249.

<sup>167</sup> See footnote 58 for references

<sup>168</sup> Hendrickx, “Hunting and social complexity”, 249.

<sup>169</sup> Hendrickx, “Hunting and social complexity”, 165.


<sup>170</sup> A group of spells called the ‘Snake Spells’ in the Pyramid Texts functioned to ward off hostile, dangerous creatures such as scorpions, millipedes, crocodiles, and above all, snakes, which may impede the deceased king’s journey to heaven and continual rebirth PT 226-243, PT 276-299, PT 314, PT 332, PT 375-399, & PT 401 – G. Meurer, *Die Feinde des Königs in den Pyramidentexten* (Freiburg

The association of the Saddlebill stork with the harpoon in both the iconography of the Qustul cylinder seal and in the term for harpoon/spear in Dynastic texts, and the snake's prominent connection with chaos and the enemy in later funerary texts, suggests that the stork and snake compound essentially parallels images of hunters or the king harpooning and killing 'embodiments of chaos' i.e. hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and enemies. This argument is supported by the larger 'Order over Chaos' theme of the contexts in which the compound appears, signified by the ordered rows of animals and mythological creatures on the carved handles, as well as the bucranium on a pole and the bound, nude captive controlled and subjugated by a figure holding a mace in the Gebel Djehuty inscription. Taking this into consideration, it is thus unlikely that the stork and snake compound refers to 'capture' as forwarded by Raffaele, as the term 'capture' does not carry the nuances of violence, defeat, and conquest that is embodied in the iconography. Rather, as posited by Dreyer, it can be suggested that it refers to the violent subjection and subjugation of chaotic forces.

The compound's association with the giraffe (i.e. a symbol referring to the future state) in the 'animal-rows' motif and the leading position which it is accorded in both this motif, as well as in the Gebel Djehuty inscription, further suggests that it functions as a *prelude* or *introduction* to scenes in which 'Order over Chaos' has been established. As noted by Dreyer, there is a significant change in the attitude of the animals preceding the giraffe and those following, suggesting a change in meaning<sup>171</sup>.

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(Schweiz); Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 269; a giant snake with a hypnotizing eye is posed as the enemy of the sun god and his crew at dusk in the Middle Kingdom Coffin Text Spell 160 II 375b-383b – J. F. Bourghouts, "The Evil Eye of Apophis", *JEA* 59 (1973):

114-150; and  *ʿ3pp* or 'Apophis', a giant snake, represented the epitomic enemy of the sun god Ra during the nightly journey of the solar barque in the *Amduat* Texts- E. Hornung. 1999. *The Ancient Egyptian Books of the Afterlife*, trans. By D. Lorton (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1999: 34,38 & 41).

<sup>171</sup> Dreyer, "Ein neues Fragment", 17.

Dreyer has posited that the storks, Herons, and Secretary birds following the giraffe signify 'peace', based on the fact that they are depicted without snakes<sup>172</sup>. This argument can be further supported by the fact that all three species of birds are known to feed on snakes, the secretary bird's Latin name *Sagittarius serpentarius* deriving from its reputation in Africa as the 'serpent-killer'<sup>173</sup>. It is noteworthy that once again, the Saddlebill storks have been accorded the foremost position when depicted amongst other birds.

While Dreyer interprets the fauna in the lower rows as an 'abundance of game'<sup>174</sup>, the inclusion of mythical creatures within these rows suggests that they rather designate the control of chaos that results from violent action (i.e. the stork and the snake). This control is not only signified by the ordered manner in which the fauna and mythical creatures have been portrayed, but also by the use of domestic hunting dogs and rosettes as 'control signs' at the end of these rows. The idea that violent action and subjugation leads to control and order is also evident in the Gebel Djehuty and el-Khawy inscriptions. In the former, this narrative is especially apparent - violent action and subjugation i.e. stork and snake compound, followed by the defeat of a strong enemy i.e. bucranium on a pole, which leads to the control of chaos i.e. the ritual 'parading' of the nude, bound war-captive controlled and tethered to a rope held by a figure *holding* and not *wielding* a mace<sup>175</sup>. The bucranium on a pole and the Saddlebill stork also occur together in the el-Khawy inscription, suggesting that their association and meaning was standardized. While Darnell interprets the inscription as a reference to the cosmos and royal authority, there is, however, no explicit evidence

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<sup>172</sup> Dreyer, "Ein neues Fragment", 17.

<sup>173</sup> T. Stevenson & J. Fanshawe, *Birds of East Africa: Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, Burundi* (London: T & AD Poyser, 2004)

<sup>174</sup> Dreyer, "Ein neues Fragment", 17.

<sup>175</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 16.

that specifically links the bucranium with royal power<sup>176</sup>. Instead it may be suggested that the inscription refers to the defeat and subjugation of an area in the east, this interpretation supported by the reading of the bald ibis and rearing snake as a reference to the eastern mountains<sup>177</sup> and the bucranium as a reference to ‘defeat’, as in the Gebel Tjauti inscription. The addorsed Saddlebill storks within this inscription could have a similar function to the *w3s*-scepters (the term *w3s* meaning ‘dominion’<sup>178</sup>) on the comb of king Djet, signifying the ‘subjugation’ and power over the area. This reading may be further supported by the iconography of the cylinder seal impression from Tomb U-210 in Cemetery-U at Abydos. As forwarded by Hill, the rows of three-peaked mountains could signify a desert or foreign area i.e. *h3swt*, and the rows of bow-tie signs, *g3wt* ‘tribute’<sup>179</sup>. Combining this reading with the meaning of the Saddlebill stork in the ‘animal-rows’ motif and the Gebel Djehuty inscription, the iconography of the seal impression could thus represent the subjugation of a desert or ‘foreign’ area and the resulting receiving of tribute as levy.

Finally, it should be noted that there are inconsistencies in the argument of Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx that the dual storks in the Gebel Djehuty inscription no.1 are a proto-hieroglyphic writing of *b3wy*, the later attested name of the nome in which, the inscription is situated. Firstly, upon inspection of the photographs provided in the publication<sup>180</sup>, it is evident that the storks and shrine do not belong to the same layer of inscription<sup>181</sup>. Secondly, and most importantly, the

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<sup>176</sup> Bucrania were used as decorative elements in both royal and non-royal tombs of the First Dynasty. For further information on ‘Bucrania’ see, R. van Dijk, ‘The Use of Bucrania in the Architecture of First Dynasty Egypt’, *Journal for Semitics* 22 (2013): 449-463.


<sup>177</sup> J. Kahl, M. Bretschneider & B. Kneissler, *Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch. Erste Lieferung. A-f* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002), 5.

<sup>178</sup> Wb 1, 260.6.

<sup>179</sup> Hill, *Cylinder seal glyptic*, 27.

<sup>180</sup> Darnell, Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, plate 9.

<sup>181</sup> The shrine’s inscription lines are far deeper and cut through the visible lines of the storks, suggesting that the latter are a palimpsest and belong to an earlier layer of inscription.

earliest attestation of the Coptite Nome's name in texts is actually written with a double falcon on a standard *ntrwy*  , with *b3wy* only appearing during the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>182</sup>. The subsequent meaning of the dual storks in the Gebel Djehuty inscription is difficult to ascertain, but it may be suggested that they were carved over the antelope or ibex as a means of controlling and eliminating the potential threat that these images of desert-dwelling, and thus chaotic, animals posed to the larger establishment of order.

### 2.5. Conclusion

It is highly contradictory that extant studies on the terms *b3* and *b3w* have discussed the significance of the human-headed bird hieroglyph (sign G53) and images thereof in New Kingdom and later funerary iconography<sup>183</sup>, yet have largely excluded and disregarded the Saddlebill stork as a meaningful visual signifier. As stated by Janák, as both the earliest and most attested hieroglyph for *b3* and *b3w*, the Saddlebill stork serves as a crucial witness to their original meaning<sup>184</sup>.

As demonstrated above, while Janák's study has contributed to our understanding of the origins and development of these terms, there are, however, significant problems with his subsequent arguments on the meaning of the stork in Late Predynastic iconography. The investigated material was limited to the corpus of handles carved with the 'animal-rows' motif and his argument for the meaning of the stork was based upon extant definitions of *b3* and *b3w*. The latter approach also essentially resulted in an interpretation that did not recognize the function and larger

<sup>182</sup> H.G. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite nome: dynasties VI-XI* (Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964), 46; Ind. Ent. **B**.

<sup>183</sup> As noted in the literature review, L. V. Žabkar, who has performed the most exhaustive study of the *b3* and *b3w* concepts, does not even mention the stork. Yet his analysis of New Kingdom and later attestations of the *b3* and *b3w* concepts includes a detailed discussion of the Human-Headed bird in various iconography - *A study of the Ba concept*, 83-85.

<sup>184</sup> Janák, "A question of Size", 143.

message of the motif adorning the carved handles. This indicated that the function and meaning of Saddlebill stork images in Late Predynastic iconography had not been fully explored and that it required further investigation.

From a review of studies on Predynastic iconography, it became apparent that the Saddlebill stork appears in three Late Predynastic iconographic contexts – the Naqada IID-III A ‘animal-rows’ motif adorning knife, mace, and comb handles; a Naqada IID cylinder seal impression and a Naqada IIIB ivory cylinder seal; and two Late Predynastic (Naqada II-III) rock inscriptions. Several scholars have studied these attestations and provided interpretations of the role and function of the stork in each context. However, upon review of these interpretations it became apparent that there is not a widely accepted and congruent understanding of the meaning of Saddlebill stork imagery. Utilizing these various interpretations and comparing them with related textual and iconographic evidence, as well as the distinctive characteristics and behavior of the Saddlebill stork in Africa today, it was subsequently demonstrated that there is a remarkable continuity in the role and function of Saddlebill stork imagery.

The images of the Saddlebill stork in the above contexts essentially function as a symbol to achieve the subjugation and subjection of, and domination over chaotic forces that pose a threat to ‘order’ or *m3t*. The association of the stork with a harpoon on the Qustul ivory cylinder seal and the later Old Kingdom use of the stork as both a phonetic and visual signifier in the term *m3b3*, ‘harpoon’ or ‘spear’, corresponds with and represents an Egyptian allegory for the hunting technique of the living species in which it uses its beak to repeatedly impale and kill its prey. The recurrent representation of the stork with a snake at or in its beak in the ‘animal-rows’ motif and the Gebel Djehuty inscription is not only consistent with the known prey of the

living species, but also confers a symbolic and significant meaning on the stork. Based on the chaotic and inimical characteristics of snakes in later funerary texts, as well as the use of the harpoon as a weapon against chaotic forces and enemies in Predynastic and Dynastic iconography and texts, it has been suggested that the stork and snake compound parallels Predynastic and Dynastic images of hunters or the king harpooning the forces of chaos (i.e. hippopotamuses, crocodiles, and enemies). This argument is supported by the larger 'Order over Chaos' theme of the 'animal-rows' motif and the associated 'victory' scene in the Gebel Djehuty inscription, in which a war-captive is bound and controlled by a figure holding a mace.

As with Dreyer, it has also been argued that the stork essentially represents the necessary violence and subjugation that leads to the establishment of 'Order over Chaos'. This is based upon the fact that the stork and snake compound introduces scenes that depict the result of violent action or conquest. The latter is represented by the control over fauna and mythological creatures depicted in the lower rows of the 'animal-rows motif, the stork's recurrent association with the bucranium on a pole in the rock inscriptions, the parading of a war-captive in a ritual procession in the Gebel Djehuty inscription, and the receiving of tribute on the cylinder seal impression from Tomb U-210.

The role and function of Saddlebill stork images in Late Predynastic iconography are thus centered on violence and domination in the service of 'Order over Chaos' and control. That the stork was specifically selected to signify this message is not surprising. As one of the largest and most distinctive storks in Africa, it conveys a sense of dominance in the faunal landscape. Furthermore, its territorial behavior and 'brutal' hunting technique gives the impression of aggressiveness,



strength, and power. All of these attributes may thus have played an important role in selecting the stork as the hieroglyphic signifier for *b3* and *b3w* as a powerful force.

### Chapter 3 – *b3* and *b3w* in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Names, Epithets, and Titles

A wide range of textual data from the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty to the 6<sup>th</sup> attest to the use of *b3* and *b3w* in divine, royal, non-royal, and place names, divine and royal epithets, as well as in administrative and priestly titles. While L.V. Žabkar<sup>185</sup> briefly noted some of these texts in relation to *b3* and *b3w*, the only scholar to have presented and studied this corpus of evidence in depth, however, is E.M. Wolf-Brinkmann<sup>186</sup>. An analysis of these names, titles, and epithets will thus provide a more comprehensive understanding of *b3* and *b3w*, as these texts represent both the earliest and largest corpus of evidence for the original function and meaning of these terms.

The aim of the following discussion and analysis is to review and reanalyze this corpus of texts. The focus will be on identifying the function(s) of the terms *b3* and *b3w*, co-textual associations and collocations, as well as developments in the use of these terms. Establishing these aspects will not only allow for a better understanding of the overall meaning of *b3* and *b3w*, but also contextualize their use in the Pyramid Texts (Chapter 4) and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty non-royal texts (Chapter 5).

A major focal point of this chapter will be the *b3w* associated with the ancient cities of Nekhen, Pe and Heliopolis. The nature of these *b3w* has been a major topic of debate<sup>187</sup> and represents key evidence for our understanding of the basic function and meaning of the terms *b3* and *b3w*. Reliefs depicting the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe, as well as their associated priests in the *Heb-Sed* festival of Niuserre, spells specifically referring to the *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts, and several later texts will be discussed in

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<sup>185</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 54-57.

<sup>186</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 9-25.

<sup>187</sup> For a complete overview of the various arguments, see L.J. Cazemier, “Die *Baw* der alten Hauptstädte”, in *Symbolae biblicae et Mesopotamicae Francisco Mario Theodoro de Liagre Böhl dedicatae*, eds. M.A. Beek, A. A. Kampman, C. Nijland, & J. Rijckmans (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973): 71-80.

order to reach a comprehensive understanding of their nature.


The following discussion and analysis is divided into four sections, followed by the conclusion. The first section presents the functions of the terms *b3* and *b3w* as gleaned from the entire corpus of names, titles, and epithets. The second focuses on the *b3w* associated with the ancient cities of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, presenting previous interpretations, and discussing the related iconographic and textual evidence. The third section presents an overview of developments in the use of *b3* and *b3w* in the names and titles from the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty onwards, and focuses specifically on contextualizing these developments. The fourth and final section is a preliminary argument for the meaning of *b3* as gleaned from a discussion on the function and role of the goddess *b3t*, the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, and the associated *šmsw-ḥr* “Followers of Horus” in iconography and texts from the Predynastic Period to the Old Kingdom. Comparisons will also be made with the role and function of the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic iconography in order to establish whether there is continuity in meaning. The names, titles, and epithets referred to throughout this chapter i.e. Index Entry (Ind. Ent.), are presented in Appendix A.

### 3.1. *The function(s) of the terms b3 and b3w*

The corpus of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets indicates that the terms *b3* and *b3w* had two major functions, namely (a) to express an attribute/quality of a god or king, and (b) to express a god or king in a state of being.

(a) *b3w* (abstract noun) - expressing an attribute/quality of a god or king

An established and recurrent typology of non-royal name constituted of the direct genitival subject ‘*b3w* of god/king’ qualified by an adjective, such ‘*3-b3w-ntr* (Ind. Ent. **G**), *ḥ<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-skr* (Ind. Ent. **H**), and *wr-b3w-ḥnmw* (Ind. Ent. **N**), indicate that various gods and the king were believed to *possess* *b3w* (also Ind. Ents. **M**, **R**, **T**, **U**,

W, X, Y as well as J, O, and Q<sup>193</sup>). This is paralleled in the 5/6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty epithets of the syncretic goddess Bastet-Sekhmet-Seshmetet (Ind. Ent. C) and the goddess Sekhmet (Ind. Ent. JJ), both of which state that the goddess causes ‘her *b3w*’ to ‘appear or arise in glory’; the name of Khasekhemwy’s royal domain<sup>194</sup> *b3w-hrw-dw3w* (Ind. Ent. CC), which states that the *b3w* of Horus is “praised”; the name of Neferefre’s pyramid (Ind. Ent. HH), which designates the king as *ntri b3w* ‘divine of *b3w*’; and the names of the mortuary domains of Sahure and an unidentifiable king (Ind. Ent. KK & LL), which describe the king as *hnt(y) b3w* “preeminent<sup>195</sup> of *b3w*” and *wr b3w* “Great of *b3w*”. Scholars such as Wolf-Brinkmann and E. Hornung have stated that the term *b3w* within these names and epithets should be read as a false plural denoting an abstract noun<sup>196</sup>, as is the case with terms such as  *nfrw* ‘beauty’ or ‘perfection’<sup>197</sup>.

(b) *b3* – expressing a god or king in state of being

A second typology of non-royal names constituted of the name of a god or king and followed by the optative *sdm.f* ‘*b3.f*’, such as *snfrw-b3.f* (Ind. Ent. I) and *hrw-b3.f* (Ind. Ent. K), further indicate that in addition to possessing *b3w*, the gods and the king were also believed to *be b3* i.e. “Snefru, may he be *b3*”<sup>198</sup> (also Ind. Ent. L, P,

<sup>193</sup> According to Wolf-Brinkmann, while these non-royal names do not contain the name of a god/goddess or a king, the parallel use of the adjectives *wr* and *h<sup>c</sup>i* qualifying *b3w* in Ind. Ents. R and T i.e. *wr-b3w-skr* (Ind. Ent. R) and *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-pt<sup>h</sup>* (Ind. Ent. T), indicates that Ind. Ent. J and O are abbreviated versions. Furthermore, the use of *b3w.s* in Ind. Ent. Q parallels that in the epithets of the syncretic goddess Bastet-Sekhmet-Seshmetet (Ind. Ent. C) and Sekhmet (Ind. Ent. JJ), indicating that the feminine suffix pronoun *.s* refers to a goddess - *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 9-25.

<sup>194</sup> T.A.H. Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt* (London; New York: Routledge, 1999), 100-102

<sup>195</sup> *hnt(y)* in this context denotes *degree* and not position - Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 37.

<sup>196</sup> As indicated by Wolf-Brinkmann’s translation of *b3w* as *Gestaltfähigkeit* ‘creative power’ (Ind. Ent. F, I, K, R, Q, T, U, AA, CC, EE, II, and KK); E. Hornung, *Conceptions of god in ancient Egypt: the one and the many*, trans J. Baines (London; Ithaca NY: Routledge & Kegan Paul; Cornell University Press, 1982): 61

<sup>197</sup> R. O. Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Brussels: Edition de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1929), 41 f., § 36; for the use of *nfrw* as an abstract noun in an Old Kingdom non-royal name see <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?noms=nefer&os=25>.

<sup>198</sup> These names display a loose construction in which the extraposed noun is the emphasized subject of the prospective verb form - E. Doret. 1980. “A Note on the Egyptian Construction Noun + *sdm.f*”, *JNEA* 39 (1980): 45

**S, and V**). This idea of being *b3* is most strongly exemplified in the name of the goddess *b3t* (Ind. Ent. **A**), which indicates that she was believed to be a divine feminine personification of *b3*<sup>199</sup>, but is also paralleled in the Horus name of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty king *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3* (Ind. No. **D**), as well as in the names of the pyramids of Sahure (Ind. No. **EE**), Neferirkare (Ind. No. **GG**) and Kakai (Index. No. **II**), all of which designate the king as either a *b3* or a *b3* that is *h<sup>c</sup>i* ‘appearing or arising in glory’. To the idea of the king being *b3* we can also add the name of the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ship *b3-ntrw* ‘*b3* of the gods’ (Ind. Ent. **DD**) and the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ship *wn-hr-b3w* ‘The manifestation/revelation<sup>200</sup> of *b3w*’ (Ind. Ent **FF**). S. Esposito in her lexicographical analysis of Old Kingdom nautical terms, notes that proper names given to official ships during the Old Kingdom were direct references to the living king, accentuating his symbolic authority<sup>201</sup>. This argument is further supported by other associated Old Kingdom official ship names, such as *nb-rhyt* “Lord of the people”, *s<sup>c</sup>nh-rhyt* “He who causes the people to live”, *dw3-t3wy* “He whom the two lands praise”, and *3-pht(y)-issi* “Great is the strength of Isesi”<sup>202</sup>, all of which also refer to and express the power and authority of the king.

### 3.2. *The b3w of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis*

Two priestly titles from the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty (Ind. Ent. **AA** & **BB**) indicate that there were active cults dedicated to the *b3w* of the ancient cities of *Nekhen* (i.e. Hierakonpolis) and *Pe* (i.e. Buto). This was eventually extended to include the *b3w* of Heliopolis by the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as indicated by Menkaure’s epithet *mr(y) b3w iwnw*

<sup>199</sup> Note the parallel with the term *sh<sup>m</sup>*, which was also personified as the female goddess *sh<sup>m</sup>t*.

<sup>200</sup> For the translation of *wn-hr* as ‘manifestation’ or ‘revelation’ see R. Hannig, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit* (Mainz: von Zabern, 2003), 343 [7532]

<sup>201</sup> S. Esposito, “Riverboats and Seagoing Ships: Lexicographical Analysis of Nautical Terms from the Sources of the Old Kingdom”, in *Stories of Globalization: The Red Sea and the Gulf from Late Prehistory to Early Modernity*, eds. A. Manzo, C. Zazzaro & D. J. de Falco (Leiden: Brill, 2018):51

<sup>202</sup> Esposito, “Riverboats and Seagoing Ships”, 51.

‘beloved of the *b3w* of Heliopolis’ (Ind. No. E)<sup>203</sup>. In contrast to the use of the false plural and abstract noun *b3w* in the above names, titles, and epithets, when *b3w* is associated with ancient cities, it denotes the true plural form of *b3* i.e. multiple bas. This interpretation is supported by the representation of these *b3w* in 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal mortuary iconography, in which the titles *b3w nhn* and *b3w p* label three or more anthropomorphic figures with jackal or falcon heads<sup>204</sup>.

The nature of the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis has remained a major topic of debate and the resulting arguments can be divided into two broader ‘schools of thought’. On the one hand are those scholars who follow K. Sethe’s original hypothesis<sup>205</sup>: taking into account that the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe are often referred to as the *šmsw-hr* ‘Followers of Horus’, Sethe equated these *b3w* with Manetho’s ‘dead demigods’ and with the *3hw šmsw-hr* “Akhs, Followers of Horus” of the Turin Annals, and considered them to be the divinized dead kings of their respective cities<sup>206</sup>. This argument was subsequently strengthened by A.H. Gardiner, who drew attention to a Roman Period hieroglyphic text from Tanis<sup>207</sup> that specifically identifies the *b3w* of Pe as “Followers of Horus, the Kings of Lower Egypt” and the *b3w* of Nekhen as “Followers of Horus, the Kings of Upper Egypt”<sup>208</sup>. Within this ‘school of

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<sup>203</sup> The establishment of a cult for the *b3w iwnw* is further supported by the annals on the verso of the Palermo stone, which state that in addition to Ra, the *psdt*, and Horus, “donations” (i.e. offerings) were also made to the *b3w iwnw* during the reigns of *Userkaf*, *Sahure*, and *Neferirkare* – M. P. Hlouchová, “Gods with Solar Aspects in Selected Written and Epigraphic Sources of the Old Kingdom”, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, eds. M. Bárta, F. Coppens & J. Krejčí (Prague: Charles University, 2017): 346.

<sup>204</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 20.

<sup>205</sup> H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the gods: a study of ancient Near Eastern religion as the integration of society & nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), 93; Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 34; F. Daumas, *Les mammisis des temples égyptiens* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1958), 448; W. Kaiser, “Einige Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Frühzeit I: Zu den Smsw-Hr (Fortsetzung)”, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 85 (1960):135.

<sup>206</sup> K. Sethe, “Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter”, *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 18 no. 4 (1930): §191.

<sup>207</sup> ‘Tanis sign Papyrus’ BM EA 10672.2; F. L. Griffith, ‘Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis’, *MEES* IX (1889): Pl. IX, fragment 10.

<sup>208</sup> A. Gardiner, *Egypt of the pharaohs: an introduction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 421.

thought', *b3w* has been and largely still is translated as 'souls'<sup>209</sup>. This highlights the general acceptance within the field of Egyptology that *b3* and *b3w* originally expressed funerary beliefs.

The second 'school of thought' includes those scholars who follow H. Kees' original argument<sup>210</sup>. According to Kees, the term *b3w* did not *originally* denote the royal ancestors of the king, but rather the very ancient groups of deities tied to the cities Nekhen and Pe<sup>211</sup>. Furthermore, the addition of the *b3w* of Heliopolis to these older groups of *b3w* during the Old Kingdom was an artificial creation that resulted from the increasing supremacy of Heliopolis as a religious center<sup>212</sup>. This argument was subsequently strengthened by E. Hornung, who observed that the two Enneads of gods, *psdt wrt* "The Great Ennead" or Ennead of Upper Egypt (Abydos) and *psdt 3t* "The Elder Ennead" or Ennead of Lower Egypt (Heliopolis)<sup>213</sup>, are referred to as part of the *b3w* of Heliopolis in the Pyramid Texts (PT 606 §1689)<sup>214</sup>. According to this school of thought, the term *b3w* was thus equivalent to the term *ntrw*.

There are several factors which favor Kees' general argument that *b3w* originally referred to gods. The first is that the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis are either directly referred to as *ntrw* or are stated to include various gods in the Pyramid Texts. In the Pyramid Texts of Unas for example, it states *-j n.f ntrw b3w p ntrw b3w nhnw ntrw jr w pt ntrw jr w t3* (PT 306) "There come to him (i.e. Unas) the gods, the *b3w* of Pe, the gods, the *b3w* of Nekhen, the gods who belong to the sky and the gods who belong to the earth". That the "gods who belong to the sky" refer to the *b3w* of Pe and the "gods who belong to the earth" to the *b3w* of Nekhen, is supported by

<sup>209</sup> See Ind. Ents. **AA & BB**.

<sup>210</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*; E. Hornung, *Conceptions of god*.

<sup>211</sup> Kees, *Götterglaube*, 188-91.

<sup>212</sup> Kees, *Götterglaube*, 188-91.

<sup>213</sup> W. Barta, *Untersuchung zur Götterkreis der Neunheit*, MÄS 28 (1973): 50ff; J. G. Griffiths "Some Remarks on the Enneads of the Gods", *Orientalia* 28 (1959): 34-56.

<sup>214</sup> E. Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 61.

representations of these two groups in 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal mortuary iconography, the *b3w* of Pe traditionally depicted as anthropomorphic figures with the heads of falcons, and the *b3w* of Nekhen as anthropomorphic figures with the heads of jackals<sup>215</sup>. With regards to the *b3w* of Heliopolis, it has already been mentioned that the two Enneads are referred to as part of this group of *b3w*, as described in PT 606 §1689 – *it iw<sup>c</sup>t it.k gbb m-b3h psdt m jwnw m twt n.f jn psdty wrt <sup>c</sup>3t hntt b3w jwnw* “Acquire your father Geb’s inheritance in the presence of the Ennead in Heliopolis, as one similar to him’, say the two Great and Elder Enneads foremost of the *b3w* of Heliopolis”<sup>216</sup>. A further example also includes PT 539 §1305a – *irty N wrt hntt b3w iwnw* “N’s two eyes are the great ones (i.e. goddesses) foremost of the *b3w* of Heliopolis”<sup>217</sup>. The use of *b3w* as a designation for gods becomes even more explicit in the later Coffin Texts, in which the *b3w* of various cities, cardinal points, and festivals are directly identified as triads of gods<sup>218</sup>.

The second factor is that in addition to *b3w* (pl.), Old Kingdom texts also refer to the dual *b3wy*, i.e. a pair of *b3*. This is first attested in the reliefs from the mortuary temple of Sahure, as well as in a 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty priestly title (Ind. Ent. **B**), both of which refer to the *b3wy hnt(y) pr hr(y)-wdb* “The *b3wy* foremost of the house of the master of offerings/largesse”<sup>219</sup>. The epithet *hnt(y) pr hr(y)-wdb* is already attested in the Early Dynastic Period, specifically on a cylinder seal impression from the tomb of

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<sup>215</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 20.


<sup>216</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 224.

<sup>217</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 173.

<sup>218</sup> The *b3w* of Heliopolis are identified as *Re*, *Shu*, and *Tefnut*, the *b3w* of the New-moon festival as *Osiris*, *Anubis*, and *Isdes*, the *b3w* of Hermopolis as *Thoth*, *Sia*, and *Amun*, the *b3w* of Pe as *Horus*, *Imsety*, and *Hapy*, the *b3w* of Nekhen as *Horus*, *Duamutef*, and *Kebehsenuef*, and the *b3w* of the West as *Atum*, *Sobek*, and *Seth* – Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 29.

<sup>219</sup> According to H. Papazian, the central component in this administrative department’s multipart designation is *wdb* ‘to revert’, which implies a function connected to donation management and specifically, the practice of redistributing offerings – H. Papazian, “The Central Administration of the Resources in the Old Kingdom: Departments, Treasuries, Granaries, and Work Centers”, in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. J.C. Moreno García (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2013): 77.



*Khasekhemwy* in Abydos<sup>220</sup>. However, instead of *b3wy*, this epithet qualifies  *ntrwy* “the two gods”<sup>221</sup>, indicating that the term *b3wy* was interchangeable with *ntrwy* by the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The Pyramid Texts also present us with further examples of *b3wy*, such as the *b3wy hnt(y) b3w iwnw* “The *b3wy* foremost of the *b3w* of Heliopolis”<sup>222</sup>. Fischer<sup>223</sup>, Wolf-Brinkmann<sup>224</sup>, and L.J. Cazemier<sup>225</sup> state that these *b3wy* undoubtedly refer to Isis and Nephthys, as they are described as “spending the night making that god’s (i.e. the king) bewailing”<sup>226</sup> and “kneeling down at the Sun’s (i.e. the king’s) head”<sup>227</sup>, actions which are characteristic of these two goddesses in both mortuary texts and iconography<sup>228</sup>. The fact that these two goddesses are referred to as the *b3wy* foremost of the *b3w* of Heliopolis further supports Hornung’s statement that the two Enneads formed part of the *b3w* of Heliopolis, as Isis and Nephthys were two of the nine gods who belonged to the *psdt ʿ3t* or Ennead of Heliopolis<sup>229</sup>.

The third and final factor is that while late texts may refer to the *b3w* of ancient cities and *šmsw-ḥr* as divinized, deceased kings, the earliest equation of these two groups in texts explicitly refer to them as gods. In the tomb of the Middle Kingdom *ḥm-ntr* priest of *wp-w3wt* and nomarch Hapdjefay at Assyut, he is described as *shkr(w) b3w nhn db3(w) htw s3bw ntrw šmsw-ḥrw* “one who adorned the *b3w* of

<sup>220</sup> Fischer, *Coptite nome*, 45-46; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *The royal tombs of the First Dynasty* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1900-1901), Pl. 23 No. 197.

<sup>221</sup> According to R. Shalomi-Hen, when the falcon on a standard (G7) was used as an ideogram it signified *ntr* – R. Shalomi-Hen, *The Writing of the Gods: The Evolution of Divine Classifiers in the Old Kingdom* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), 159.

<sup>222</sup> PT 302 §460a.

<sup>223</sup> Fischer, *Coptite nome*, 45.

<sup>224</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 71.

<sup>225</sup> Cazemier, “Die *Baw* der alten Hauptstädte”, 73.

<sup>226</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 61.

<sup>227</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 61.

<sup>228</sup> Further references to Isis and Nephthys bewailing the dead king can be found in PT 259, PT 670, PT 701A, and PT 797.

<sup>229</sup> See PT 600 – “Ho Great Ennead (*psdt ʿ3t*) in Heliopolis – Atum, Shu, Tefnut, Geb, Nut, Osiris, Isis, Seth, and Nephthys, Atum’s children!” – Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 265.

Nekhen, who clothed the bodies of the jackals, the gods Followers of Horus”<sup>230</sup>. Since the *b3w* of Nekhen were traditionally represented with the heads of jackals, it follows that the *b3w* of Nekhen, ‘Jackals’, and ‘the gods Followers of Horus’ within this text refer to the same group<sup>231</sup>. Although Kees states that the nature of the ancient *b3w* of Nekhen, as well as the *b3w* of Pe was not fixed and that the term *b3w* was used to denote the totality of gods tied to this city<sup>232</sup>, it is noteworthy and significant, however, that in the various depictions of the *šmsw-ḥr*, i.e. the divine standards (Figures 22 & 23), and in the Pyramid Texts<sup>233</sup>, Wepwawet, a jackal god, is specifically depicted and referred to as one of these “Followers”. This further indicates that Hapdjefay’s ‘adorning’ and ‘clothing’ of the *b3w* of Nekhen, ‘jackals’, and ‘gods Followers of Horus’ actually describes his service as a *ḥm-ntr* priest of Wepwawet. The link between Wepwawet, *šmsw-ḥr*, and the *b3w* of Nekhen is further strengthened by the reliefs of the *Heb-Sed* festival in the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghorab<sup>234</sup>. Several of these scenes include depictions of a *ḥm b3w nḥn* “*ḥm*-priest of the *b3w* of Nekhen” performing various activities with the king, such as the ‘ritual run’ (Figure 23). As can be seen in the reliefs, this *ḥm*-priest is recurrently represented carrying a standard mounted by Wepwawet and his *šdšd*<sup>235</sup>.

Further evidence from the *Heb-Sed* reliefs of Niuserre that elucidate the identities and nature of the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe are two scenes that depict the palanquin procession and offerings to the shrines of Upper Egypt (Figure 24) and the shrines of Lower Egypt (Figure 25). Facing the king and the *sm*-priest, the latter of

<sup>230</sup> Urk VII, 56 lines 18-20; Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 20.

<sup>231</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 20.

<sup>232</sup> Kees, *Götterglaube*, 188-91.

<sup>233</sup> PT 471 & PT 525.

<sup>234</sup> F. W. F. Von Bissing & H. Kees, *Das Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures). Band II: Die Kleine Festdarstellung* (Leipzig: J.C Hinrich, 1926).

<sup>235</sup> A recent study by L. Evans has convincingly argued that the *šdšd* represents a dug ‘canid den’, emphasizing and symbolizing Wepwawet’s role as the ‘Opener of ways’ – L. Evans, “The Shedshed of Wepwawet: An Artistic and Behavioural Interpretation”, *JEA* 97 (2011): 103-115.

which invokes a royal offering of ointments, linen, and incense to the *irti* “Dual shrines”, are depictions of the *šmsw-ḥr ntrw* “The divine Followers of Horus” and a *ḥm-ntr* priest associated with the Upper Egyptian *b3w* of Nekhen and the Lower Egyptian *b3w* of Pe. Unsurprisingly, the *šmsw-ḥr* associated with *b3w* of Nekhen is Wepwawet, who is accompanied by smaller depictions of a bow and an object upon a standard identified as the *nḥn* or ‘royal placenta’<sup>236</sup>. The latter two objects also accompany the *šmsw-ḥr* associated with the *b3w* of Pe (Figure 25), who are depicted as Horus, Thoth, and again, Wepwawet. The duplication of Wepwawet in both depictions of the *šmsw-ḥr ntrw* refers to the two forms of Wepwawet, that of Upper Egypt and that of Lower Egypt<sup>237</sup>. The equating of the Lower Egyptian *šmsw-ḥr* with the *b3w* of Pe is also found in PT 505 §1089a-1090b, in which Horus, Thoth, and Wepwawet are specifically connected with Pe as part of the *b3w* of Pe – *pr.n NN m p ḥr b3w p št NN m št n ḥrw ḥbs NN m ḥbs n dhwti ist tp-wy.f nbt-ḥwt m-ḥt.f wp-w3wt wp.f n.f w3t* “NN has come from Pe with the *b3w* of Pe, NN is banded with the breast-band of Horus, NN is clothed in the clothing of Thoth, Isis before him, Nephthys behind him, (while)Wepwawet he parts a path for him”<sup>238</sup>.

The recurrent association of *b3w* with the term *ntrw* and with groups of gods (i.e. Enneads and Triads) in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, the interchangeability of *b3wy* and *ntrwy* and the use of *b3wy* as a designation for pairs of gods, and the identification of the *šmsw-ḥr* and *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe as gods, all indicate that while late texts may refer to the *b3w* as divinized, deceased kings, in its earliest use, the term *b3w* had a parallel meaning to that of *ntrw*. The shift in meaning

<sup>236</sup> E. Morris, “Propaganda and Performance at the Dawn of the State”, in *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority: Cosmos, Politics, and the Ideology of Kingship in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, eds. J. Hill, P. Jones & A.J. Morales (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013): 45.

<sup>237</sup> “Upuaut” in E. Graefe, LÄ VI: 863.

<sup>238</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 161.

from *b3w* as gods to *b3w* as divinized royal ancestors in later texts may have been part of the larger mythologization of history characteristic of the New Kingdom through to the Greco-Roman Period. According to scholars such as J. Van Seters, this shift in the historical perspective is evident when comparing texts such as the Turin Canon and the Palermo stone<sup>239</sup>. While the Palermo stone, which is generally accepted to be a 25<sup>th</sup> Dynasty copy of an Old Kingdom text, bears no suggestion that gods and mythical heroes ruled Egypt before the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty, the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Turin Canon, however, presents a complete mythologizing of prehistory in which an original unified rule of the country under successive periods of gods and heroes preceded the historical period<sup>240</sup>.

The use of *b3w* in the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom to designate gods alongside the term *ntrw* is not necessarily incongruent with the earlier theological thinking. Hornung has noted that in addition to *b3* (dual *b3wy*, pl. *b3w*) and *ntr* (dual *ntrwy*, pl. *ntrw*), Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts also utilized the term *sh̄m* ‘controlling and powerful one’<sup>241</sup> to refer to gods as well<sup>242</sup>. This use of *sh̄m* is apparent in the names of two kings of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, *ḥtp-sh̄mwy* and *ḥi-sh̄mwy*, which refer to Horus and Seth as *sh̄mwy*<sup>243</sup>, as well as spells from the Pyramid Texts, such as PT 690 §2110d<sup>244</sup>, which refer to the gods as *sh̄mw*<sup>245</sup>. The above discussion thus strengthens the argument that *b3* (pl. *b3w*) functioned to express a god or a king

<sup>239</sup> J. Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 136.

<sup>240</sup> Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 136.

<sup>241</sup> H. Roeder, *Mit dem Auge sehen. Studien zur Semantik der Herrschaft in den Toten- und Kulttexten* (Heidelberg, 1996), 291-315.

<sup>242</sup> Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 63.

<sup>243</sup> Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt*, 77; J. Kahl, *Ra is my Lord: Searching for the rise of the sun god at the Dawn of Egyptian History* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007): 2 & 9; R.J. Leprohon, *The great name: ancient Egyptian royal titulary* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013), 27 & 29.

<sup>244</sup> *wḏ.tj-mdw ntrw sh̄m is ḥnty sh̄mw* “You (i.e. the king) govern the gods as the *sh̄m* foremost of the *sh̄mw*”.

<sup>245</sup> Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 63.

in a state of being, as is apparent in the above discussed non-royal names *ḥrw-b3.f* ‘Horus, May he be *b3*’ (Ind. Ent. K) and *snfrw-b3.f* ‘Snefru, May he be *b3*’ (Ind. Ent D)<sup>246</sup>.

### 3.3. *Funerary beliefs or divine and royal ideology? A broader view on the development of the use of *b3* and *b3w* in 1<sup>st</sup> to 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty names, titles and epithets*

As is evident in the literature review of this thesis, the general consensus among scholars is that the terms *b3* and *b3w* were used exclusively in association with the gods and with *deceased* kings. The latter interpretation was especially influenced by the Pyramid Texts, as well as by the use of *b3* and *b3w* in the names of 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty pyramids (Ind. Ent. **EE,GG, HH, II**) and mortuary domains (Ind. Ent **KK & LL**)<sup>247</sup>. It should be kept in mind, however, that these names represent the first explicit textual association of *b3* and *b3w* with funerary contexts.

The names and titles of the Early Dynastic Period, including *b3t* (Ind. Ent. **A**), *ḥw-b3*<sup>248</sup> (Ind. Ent. **F**), *ʕ3-b3w-ntr* (Ind. Ent **G**), *ḥm-b3w-p* (Ind. Ent. **BB**), *ḥm-b3w-nḥn* (Ind. Ent **CC**), and *ʕd-mr b3w-ḥrw-dw3w* (Ind. Ent. **DD**), indicate that *b3* and *b3w* were originally utilized to refer to (a) god(s) as *b3(w)* or as possessing *b3w*. This evidence thus suggests that *b3* and *b3w* originally functioned within and expressed divine ideology. During the beginning of the Old Kingdom, however, these terms began to be used in direct association with the *living* and *reigning* king, as indicated by the Horus name of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty king *ḥʕi-b3* “The *b3* who appears in glory” (Ind. Ent.

<sup>246</sup> Also Ind. Ents. **L, P, and S**.

<sup>247</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 61; Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 11.

<sup>248</sup> The fact that *b3* in this name is replaced with *b3wy/b3w* in the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty version (Ind. Ent. **Z**) indicates that it refers to the protection of (a) god(s). This reading is supported by later 4<sup>th</sup>- 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty royal and non-royal names, in which the protection of a god is also evoked, such as in *Khufu's* full throne name *ḥnmw-ḥw.f-wi* “Khnum, may he protect me” - Leprohon, *The great name*, 35; *inpw-ḥw.f* “Anubis, may he protect (me)” – A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire: fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris: Vieweg, 1889), 205 (CG 1482); and *ihy-ḥw.f* “Ihy, may he protect (me)” - Urk I: 148, I. 6.

**F).** Several scholars who have studied the development of royal names and titles, including T.A.H. Wilkinson<sup>249</sup> and R.J. Leprohon<sup>250</sup>, have noted that changes in names of kings from the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty to the 3<sup>rd</sup> reflect a shifting emphasis of Egyptian kingship from authority based upon fear, military might, and aggression to authority based upon the ‘divineness’ of the king. This increasing divinity during the Old Kingdom is apparent in Snefru’s eventual adoption of the royal title *ntr nfr* “The perfect or young God”<sup>251</sup>. Within this context, it is thus not coincidental that the first reference to the king being *b3* in a non-royal name, namely *snfrw-b3.f* (Ind. Ent. **I**), coincides with the first overt and direct reference to the king being a god, i.e. *ntr nfr*. In fact, this evidence suggests that the terms *b3* and *b3w* were appropriated and utilized to legitimize and reinforce the growing ideology of divine kingship.

This interpretation is further supported by names of the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ship *b3-ntrw* (Ind. Ent. **FF**) and the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ship *wn-hr-b3w* (Ind. Ent. **DD**). According to S. Esposito, the boat hieroglyph used to determine these names indicates that they belong to a category of ships called *wi3*<sup>252</sup>. While Gardiner<sup>253</sup> and Faulkner<sup>254</sup> translate *wi3* as ‘sacred bark’, Esposito demonstrates, however, that it was also used in non-royal tomb biographies to refer to boats belonging to a centralized fleet used by the royal court<sup>255</sup>. Within this context, the names of these types of ships can be understood as epithets of the living and reigning king, reinforcing and accentuating his divine and symbolic authority<sup>256</sup>. This is especially apparent in the other names of these types of ships, such as *nb-rhyt* “Lord of the people” and *dw3-t3wy* “He whom

<sup>249</sup> Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt*, 172-173.

<sup>250</sup> Leprohon, *The great name*, 24-31.

<sup>251</sup> A.M. Roth, “Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organization of Pyramids, Tombs and Cemeteries”, *Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt* 30 (1993): 54.

<sup>252</sup> Esposito, “Riverboats and Seagoing Ships”, 42-43.

<sup>253</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar*, 499.

<sup>254</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 56.


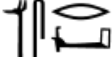
<sup>255</sup> Esposito, “Riverboats and Seagoing Ships”, 42.

<sup>256</sup> Esposito, “Riverboats and Seagoing Ships”, 51.

the two lands praise”<sup>257</sup>.

It is thus noteworthy and significant that overt statements about the deceased king being *b3* and possessing *b3w* only appear during the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as indicated in the name of Sahure’s pyramid (Ind. Ent **EE**) and mortuary domain (Ind. Ent **KK**). This suggests that the use of *b3* and *b3w* in connection with deceased kings was a later development, essentially representing an extension of the ideology of divine kingship into royal funerary beliefs and expressing the king’s continued royal and divine status and authority in the afterlife.

#### 3.4. *The role and function of the goddess b3t, the b3w of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, and the šmsw-ḥr*

Janák, along with scholars such as Ward<sup>258</sup> and Žabkar<sup>259</sup> have defined *b3* and *b3w* as some form of ‘divine or supernatural power’. This definition does not, however, differentiate *b3* and *b3w* from associated terms such as  *šhm* and  *wsr*, both of which have also been broadly defined as ‘power’<sup>260</sup>. It can be argued that ‘power’ functions as an *umbrella-term* for these ancient Egyptian concepts and is thus too broad to be used as a direct translation for *b3* and *b3w* alone.






On the other hand, E.M. Wolf-Brinkmann has offered a more precise definition of *b3* and *b3w* within this context of ‘power’. According to Wolf-Brinkmann, *b3* and *b3w* essentially designate the creative power, will, and ability of divinities (i.e. gods and deceased kings) to reveal themselves in visible and earthly forms. To be *b3* was thus to be able to manifest – *Gestaltfähig*, and to possess *b3w* was to possess the creative power that could form manifestations – *Gestaltfähigkeit*. However, if we take into consideration Old Kingdom verbs formed around the root

<sup>257</sup> Esposito, “Riverboats and Seagoing Ships”, 51.

<sup>258</sup> Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 67-88.

<sup>259</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 54-57.

<sup>260</sup> *šhm* ‘powerful’ in Wb 4, 243.5-245.2; *wsr* ‘to be powerful’ in Wb 1, 360.7-362.9.

stem  *b3*, such as  *wb3* ‘to open, to drill (stone)’<sup>261</sup>,  *hb3* ‘to destroy or diminish’<sup>262</sup>,  *b3k* ‘to work (for), to enslave’<sup>263</sup>, and  *ꜥb3* ‘to command’<sup>264</sup>, they all signify action that is penetrative, destructive, controlling, and subjugative. This contrasts with the ‘creative’ aspect of Wolf-Brinkmann’s definition and indicates that the meaning of *b3* and *b3w* is still not comprehensively understood.

The earliest extant use of *b3* in the ancient Egyptian textual record is in the name of the goddess *b3t* (Ind. Ent. A), a rather obscure bovine deity whose cult was celebrated in the 7<sup>th</sup> Nome of Upper Egypt<sup>265</sup> near the town of Hu<sup>266</sup>. As with *shmt*, a lion goddess whose nature and name was based on *being shm* ‘controlling and powerful’, *b3t* represented a divine feminine personification, essentially embodying *being b3*. While the 1<sup>st</sup> Dynasty Hierakonpolis porphyry bowl represents the earliest extant textual reference to Bat, parallel renderings of her emblem (i.e. a frontally facing trapezoidal bovine head with thick, ribbed, and inward curving horns) on a Naqada IIC-D palette recovered from Gerzeh<sup>267</sup> (Tomb 59, Cairo Museum, JE 34173 – Figure 26), as well as on a Naqada IID ivory dagger handle<sup>268</sup> from Cemetery U in Abydos (Tomb U-181, K 3475 – Figure 27), indicate that her origins lie in the Predynastic Period<sup>269</sup>.

<sup>261</sup> Wb 1, 290.1-291.7.

<sup>262</sup> Wb 3, 253.2-11.

<sup>263</sup> Wb 1, 426.3-427.12.

<sup>264</sup> Wb 1, 177.1.

<sup>265</sup> On the parapet of the White Chapel of Senusret I at Karnak, bAt is explicitly named as the local deity of the 7<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt – H.G. Fischer, “The cult and nome of the goddess Bat”, *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 1 (1962): 7.

<sup>266</sup> Fischer, “The cult and nome of the goddess Bat”, 7; Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt*, 244.

<sup>267</sup> W.M.F. Petrie, G.A. Wainwright, & E. Mackay, *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*. (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, University College, 1912), 22, pl. VI, no. 7.

<sup>268</sup> U. Hartung, “Ein Fragment eines Verzierten Dolchgriffs aus dem Friedhof U in Abydos (Umm el-Qaab)”, in *Zeichen aus dem Sand: Streiflicher aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, eds. E.M. Engel, V. Müller & U. Hartung (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2008): 183-194.

<sup>269</sup> Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt*, 245; Hartung, “Ein Fragment eines Verzierten Dolchgriffs”, 190-92.



*b3t*'s emblem often includes representations of stars at the tips of the horns and ears and upon the forehead (Figure 26 and Ind. Ent. **A**), indicating that she had a cosmic function<sup>270</sup>. Furthermore, her appearance on the Naqada IID dagger from Tomb U-181 and on the Narmer Palette (Figure 28) indicates that she had a martial and protective function as well. U. Hartung has noted that the sequence of *Bat* symbols on the sides of the Naqada IID dagger handle anticipate and parallel the motif on Narmer's belt, their amuletic-like appearance indicating that they not only functioned to imbue the bearer of the dagger with power, but also to protect both the bearer and the represented figures from the forces of chaos<sup>271</sup>. This parallels the function of the depictions of *Bat* flanking the *serekh* on either side of the Narmer Palette, which not only protect the king, but also provide him with the necessary and effective power to subjugate and destroy his enemies. Later Dynastic textual attestations of *b3t* also reference her protective function. PT 506 §1096b for example, refers to her as *b3t hrwy snw* "Bat with her two faces", the epithet *hrwy snwy* functioning as an allegory for her impressive power to both see and guard from forward and behind<sup>272</sup>.

The martial and protective aspects of being *b3* are further evidenced by the role and function of the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis. Although the first textual evidence for the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe only appear during the reigns of Qaa (Ind. Ent. **AA**) and Ninetjer (Ind. Ent. **BB**), depictions of the *šmsw-ḥr* are, however, already attested on the mace-head of king Scorpion, as well as on the Narmer Palette (Figure 28). Further depictions of the *šmsw-ḥr*, specifically Wepwawet, appear on two ivory

<sup>270</sup> Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt*, 245; Hartung, "Ein Fragment eines Verzierten Dolchgriffs", 245.

<sup>271</sup> Hartung, "Ein Fragment eines Verzierten Dolchgriffs", 92.

<sup>272</sup> B.S. Lesko, *The great goddesses of Egypt* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 81

labels from the tomb of king Den in Abydos<sup>273</sup> (Figures 29 & 30). In all of these representations, the *šmsw-ḥr* are either associated with ‘smiting scenes’ (Narmer Palette – Figure 28; Den’s ivory label – Figure 29) or with the *Heb-Sed* festival of the king (Den’s ivory label – Figure 30), indicating that they had both a martial and protective function like *b3t*, as well as assisted the king during his *Heb-Sed* in the renewal of his powers and ability to keep the ‘forces of chaos’ at bay. Once again, the identification of the *šmsw-ḥr* as the later *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe, is supported by the direct parallels between the depiction of Den’s ritual running during the *Heb-Sed* on the label from his tomb (Figure 30), and the scenes showing the ritual run of Niuserre (Figure 23), both king’s accompanied by Wepwawet upon his standard. In the latter case, however, the standard is specifically carried by the representative *ḥm*-priest of the *b3w* of Nekhen.

In the Pyramid Texts, the roles played by the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis parallel that of the *šmsw-ḥr*. They assist the deceased king in his rebirth and renewal by: (a) conveying the king to the sky - on their arms (Nekhen and Pe – PT 306 & 474), by laying down a stairway (Heliopolis – PT 505), by bearing and gilding a ladder (Nekhen and Pe – PT 530), or by receiving the king’s arm (Heliopolis – PT 532); (b) accepting and inviting the king amongst the gods (Heliopolis and Pe – PT 575, PT 798); (c) invoking the king’s divine heritage and status (Heliopolis – PT 606); and (d) bewailing and tending to the deceased king (Isis and Nephthys as the foremost *b3wy* of the *b3w* of Heliopolis – PT 302).

In addition to providing assistance, the *b3w* also protect the deceased king. In PT 482 §1005a-c, the *b3w* of Pe are described as “dancing with sticks for you (i.e. ritual fencing), hitting their flesh for you, striking their arms for you, and shaking for

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<sup>273</sup> British Museum 55586 & Dreyer: 1993, 61, pl. 13b, new fragm. in: MDAIK 59 (2003): 94, pl. 18g, matching with MDAIK 46, pl.26c (by J. Degreef).

you with their braids”<sup>274</sup>. These actions are also accompanied by the following recitation – “Though you have gone away, you have returned; you have awoken, though you have gone to sleep, established in life. Stand up and see this, stand up and hear this, which your son has done for you, which Horus has done for you, beating he who beat you, binding he who bound you, and putting him under his eldest/greatest daughter in Qedem”<sup>275</sup>. According to P.A. Piccione, the recitation by the *b3w* of Pe not only invokes life in the deceased king, but also equates and allegorizes their dancing, striking, and shaking with Horus’ smiting and binding the enemies of Osiris, thus providing the necessary protection and conditions for the king’s rebirth<sup>276</sup>. Furthermore, in the Pyramid Texts, the individual gods who constituted the *šmsw-ḥr* and the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe, including Horus, Thoth and Wepwawet, are recurrently cited as protecting the deceased king – “Horus has come seeking you. He has made Thoth drive back Seth’s followers for you”<sup>277</sup>; “Thoth behind me! Trample the one of the dark, trample the one of the dark!”<sup>278</sup>; “Thoth has seized your opponent for you, beheaded along with his retinue, and there is none of them whom he spared”<sup>279</sup>; and “Wepwawet parting a path for me (i.e. the king)”<sup>280</sup>.

The active roles played by *b3t*, the *šmsw-ḥr* and the *b3w* in battle, in the *Heb-Sed* festival, and in the resurrection of the deceased king are not mutually exclusive. In all of these contexts, the principal and driving aim of their actions is the restoration

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<sup>274</sup> P.A. Piccione, “Sportive fencing as a ritual for destroying the enemies of Horus”, in *Gold of praise: studies on ancient Egypt in honor of Edward F. Wente*, eds. E. Teeter & J. A. Larson (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1999): 335-349; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 136.

<sup>275</sup> According to J. G. Griffiths, the identity of the goddess referred to as ‘the eldest/greatest daughter in Qedem’ is unknown, although the entire text refers to the punishment of Seth by Horus for murdering his father Osiris. This Goddess is also described in a text from Deir el-Bahri and may refer to a foreign divinity from the Near East, as there are references in Egyptian texts to a region North of Syria called Qedy and a town in the same vicinity called Qed – J.G. Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and his Cult* (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 127; Piccione, “Sportive fencing”, 340; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 136.

<sup>276</sup> Piccione, “Sportive fencing”, 340.

<sup>277</sup> PT 356; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 76.

<sup>278</sup> PT 279; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 56.

<sup>279</sup> PT 367; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 85.

<sup>280</sup> PT 505; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 161.

of ‘Order over Chaos’ and the instillation of peace. In war or battle this included ensuring that the king had the necessary protection and power to subjugate and destroy enemies, in the *Heb-Sed* festival it was assisting the king in the renewal of his power and ability to uphold *mꜣꜥt*, and in the Pyramid Texts it was remedying the triumph of *isft* or chaos embodied in the death of the king by assisting in and ensuring his rebirth and resurrection.

The association of being *bꜣ* with instilling order and peace is further supported by the association of *bꜣwy* with the *pr ḥry-wdb* ‘House of the master of offerings/largesse’. The idea of causing peace or *šḥtp* is the result of action in accordance with *mꜣꜥt*, which also included the continual and proper provisioning and distribution of *ḥtp* ‘offerings’ or ‘that which satisfies/pacifies’<sup>281</sup>. By ensuring that the gods, deceased kings, and deceased non-royal individuals received continual offerings and are *ḥtp* ‘satisfied’, the *bꜣwy* of the *pr ḥry-wdb* thus safeguard and guarantee ‘Order over Chaos’ and peace.

The parallels between the role of *bꜣt* / *šmsw-ḥr* / *bꜣw* and the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic iconography is significant. In both cases they ensured the attainment of ‘Order over Chaos’ through their actions. During the Predynastic Period, the roles played by the Saddlebill and *bꜣt* indicate that this was largely based upon martial, violent, and aggressive action directed against the ‘forces of chaos’. However, the roles played by the *šmsw-ḥr*, *bꜣw* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, and the *bꜣwy* indicate that by the Early Dynastic Period and Old Kingdom this had widened to include any necessary action that would ensure *mꜣꜥt*, including assisting the king in both his *Heb-sed* Festival and his rebirth and renewal after death, as well as ensuring the consistent and proper distribution of offerings. It can be suggested that

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<sup>281</sup> V. Davies, *Peace in Ancient Egypt* (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2018), 59-66.

being *b3* denoted actively interceding in contexts in which ‘order’ has or will potentially be threatened by ‘chaos’, and subsequently ensuring the restoration and maintenance of peace through that action. This indicates that the use of the Saddlebill stork as a signifier for *b3* and *b3w* was not simply on a phonetic basis, but that the stork itself also contributed to and reinforced the meaning of these terms.

On a final note, it is also not coincidental that the first reference to the king being *b3* in a non-royal name, namely during the reign of Snefru, not only coincides with the first use of the royal title *ntr-nfr*, but also with the phrase *nb-m3t* ‘Lord of *m3t*’, which Snefru used as both his Horus name and his Two Ladies name<sup>282</sup>. This is indicative of a major development in the believed status, authority, and function of the king, who no longer only dispensed punishment against those who had transgressed *m3t*, but became the very representation of *m3t* itself, as the term *nb* signifies possession in addition to mastery<sup>283</sup>. Within this context it is thus not surprising that Snefru would be referred to as being *b3* in a non-royal name, as this state of being specifically expressed the active and protective aspects of kingship in maintaining and ensuring order and peace.

### 3.5. Conclusion

A study of the terms *b3* and *b3w* in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets has resulted in the following conclusions. The first is that the terms *b3* and *b3w* had two major functions. The term *b3* (pl. *b3w*) was used to designate a god or king in state of being, while the abstract noun *b3w* denoted an attribute/quality of a god or king.

The second conclusion is that the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis were not

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<sup>282</sup> Leprohon, *The great name*, 35.

<sup>283</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 128.

originally the deceased royal ancestors of the king, but rather various groups of gods tied to these cities – the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe most likely being the original Upper and Lower Egyptian *šmsw-hr*, and the *b3w* of Heliopolis including the Enneads of Upper and Lower Egypt. This was indicated by three factors, including (a) the recurrent association of *b3w* (pl.) with the term *ntrw* and with groups of gods (i.e. Enneads and Triads) in the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, (b) the interchangeability of *b3wy* and *ntrwy* and the use of *b3wy* as a designation for pairs of gods, such as Isis and Nephthys as the foremost *b3wy* of the *b3w* of Heliopolis (PT 302), and (c) the identification of the *šmsw-hr* and *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe as gods in the Middle Kingdom tomb inscription of Hapdjefay, the reliefs depicting the *Heb-Sed* festival of Niuserre, and the Pyramid Texts. Furthermore, it was suggested that the shift in meaning from *b3w* as gods to *b3w* as divinized deceased kings during the New Kingdom formed part of the larger mythologization of history characteristic of this period.

The third and final conclusion is twofold. By examining the development in use of *b3* and *b3w* in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets, it was demonstrated that prior to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty, these terms were used exclusively in association with gods. Following this period, however, *b3* and *b3w* also came to be used in reference to the king. While previous scholars have argued that these terms were only used to refer to deceased kings, it was demonstrated, however, that this was in fact a later development. The increasing divinity of the king during the beginning of the Old Kingdom, and the use of *b3* and *b3w* in a 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty king's name, as well as in the names of official ships expressing the king's divine and royal status and authority, indicated that the terms *b3* and *b3w* functioned to express divine royal ideology. The use of these terms in pyramid names, in the names of mortuary

domains, and in the Pyramid Texts during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasties do not indicate that *b3* and *b3w* represented funerary concepts, but suggests that they were rather utilized to express the king's continued divine and royal status and authority in the afterlife.

Lastly, through a study of the roles and functions of Bat, the *šmsw-ḥr*, the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, and the *b3wy* associated with the *pr ḥry-wdb* it was demonstrated that there is a remarkable continuity with the function and meaning of the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic iconography. It was argued that being *b3* encompassed effectively and actively contributing to the restoration and maintenance of 'Order over Chaos' and *m3t*. This was indicated by the fact that these gods are predominantly depicted and referenced in contexts in which order or *m3t* has been threatened or needs to be restored, such as war, the *Heb-Sed* festival of the king, and the death of the king. Within these contexts, their actions, including providing the king with the necessary protection and power to overcome his enemies in battle, protecting and assisting the king in his rebirth and renewal in his *Heb-Sed* festival and after his death, and ensuring the continual and consistent provisioning of offerings, effectively resulted in the triumph of order over chaos and instillation of peace.


















#### Chapter 4 – *b3* and *b3w* in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Pyramid Texts

The Pyramid Texts have played a significant role in previous studies on the terms *b3* and *b3w*. Being the first extensive and comprehensive exposition on ancient Egyptian religion, this corpus of spells used for funerary purposes has repeatedly been discussed and analyzed, often forming the bulk of evidence for the early use, function, and meaning of the terms *b3* and *b3w*. However, although the Pyramid Texts are certainly invaluable for our understanding of the nature and role of these terms, they can be misleading. Their mortuary context and function has lead several scholars to argue that the terms *b3* and *b3w* were only used to refer to the deceased king, and furthermore, that *b3* and *b3w* expressed funerary beliefs. The above discussion has demonstrated, however, that these arguments are unfounded, resulting from an overestimation of the Pyramid Texts and an undervaluation of earlier texts and iconography.

The aim of the following chapter is to provide a clearer and more comprehensive understanding of the function and meaning of *b3* and *b3w* by re-analyzing the use of these terms in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Pyramid Texts. The analysis builds on the analysis of personal names, titles, and epithets discussed above and will take into consideration the function of these terms (as presented in the previous chapter), as well as the role of the gods and king as *b3w*. The analysis is divided into three parts followed by the conclusion. The first part includes a brief discussion of the hieroglyphs used to signify *b3* and *b3w*, the second includes an in-depth analysis of the function of these terms, and the third includes a discussion of the meaning of these terms.



#### 4.1. The Hieroglyphs

While the abstract noun *b3w*, the plural *b3w*, and the dual *b3wy* are consistently written with  (sign G30) and  (sign G227) respectively, *b3*, on the other hand, is written in a variety of ways, including  <sup>284</sup>,  <sup>285</sup>,  <sup>286</sup>,  <sup>287</sup>, and , the latter with variations , , ,  and  <sup>288</sup>. Scholars such as Žabkar<sup>289</sup> and J. P. Allen<sup>290</sup> have treated all of the above hieroglyphs as referring to the same concept. This treatment is only partly correct. The interchanging of  with ,  and  in parallel spells from different Pyramid Texts, such as PT 273-74 §396c & 413c, PT 360 §603d, PT 412 §723a-c & 724a, PT 422 §753a, PT 437 §799c, and PT 450 §833c, indicate that they all signify *b3*. On the other hand, these terms are never transposed with  (sign W10) and its variants. The different ‘spelling’ of the latter and the contexts in which it is utilized actually indicates that it is a homonym, and that it denotes *b3* ‘ram’ rather than *b3*. This is most apparent in PT 246 §252a-b:



<sup>284</sup> PT 11 §8h; PT 214 §139c; PT 215 §144a & 144b; PT 218 §162c; PT 222 §204c & 206c; PT 223 §215b; PT 245 §250d; PT 246 §253a-b; PT 273-74 § 394a & 396c, PT 301 §457c; PT 356 §579a & 580a; PT 360 §603d; PT 364 §621c; PT 412 §723b & 723c & 724a; PT 422 §753a, 758b, 760a & 763b; PT 423 §767b; PT 434 §785b; PT 436 §789a; PT 437 §799c; PT 450 §833c; PT 451 §837c & 839b; PT 452 §841a; PT 457 §859c; PT 467 §886a-b & 887b; PT 468 §904a-c; PT 480 §992c; PT 510 §1144b; PT 519 §1209a; PT 535 §1285a; PT 539 §1303c; PT 553 §1362c; PT 572 §1472b; PT 578 §1534b; PT 582 §1559a; PT 599 §1650c; PT 601 §1663a; PT 612 §1730b; PT 663 §22, 24, 25, 26; PT 665D §1921; PT 667A §1943b; PT 676 §2010a-b; PT 687 §2075b; PT 690 §2096a, 2098b, 2108b & 2110c; PT 691A §2120b, 2121b, 2123b & 2124b; PT 696A §2167b; PT 703 §2201a-b; PT 753 §13; PT 767 §21; PT 794 §9; PT 795 §2; PT 805 §11.

<sup>285</sup> PT 273-74 §396c, 413a & 413c; PT 410 §719a; PT 422 §753a; PT 437 §799c; PT 480 §992c; PT 510 §1144b; PT 572 §1472b; PT 581 §1557b; PT 625A §1762a; PT 627B §1782d; PT 667A §1943b; PT 691E §2133.

<sup>286</sup> PT 273-74 §413c; PT 412 §723a & 723c-724a; PT 665D §1921.

<sup>287</sup> PT 360 §603d; PT 412 §723b; PT 450 §833c.






<sup>288</sup> PT 246 §252a; PT 262 §334a; PT 456 §854a; PT 506 §1098c; PT 519 §1205a; PT 555 §1378c; PT 575 §1478c; PT 611 §1724b; PT 614 §1740b; PT 665A §1899b; PT 665c §1913c; PT 666 §1931b; PT 690 §2096c-d; PT 755 §12.

<sup>289</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 55.

<sup>290</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*.

*m3 ḥt wnīs pn m b3 ḥwy tp. f sm3wy n twt is si km s3 sit kmt*

“This Unas’ standing as a ram with two wild bull horns on his head is seen, for you are a black ram, son of a black ewe”<sup>291</sup>.

Further evidence which points towards the use of the sign W10 and its variants for ‘ram’ include PT 262 §334a, PT 666 §1931b, and PT 755 §12, all of which include the phrase *pr b3 pf*, variously written as , , and . Ward has demonstrated that this phrase refers to the ‘house’ of a ram deity known as *b3-pf* “Bapef(i)” or “That Ram”, who is further attested during the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in the title  *hm(t)-ntr b3-pf* “*hm-ntr* priestess of *Bapef(i)*” held by several queens, including Hetepheres II, Meresankh III, and Khamerernebtly I and II<sup>292</sup>. This evidence indicates that when  and its variants are utilized, it does not denote *b3*, but rather ‘ram’. Furthermore, the function of the Saddlebill stork hieroglyph in this context is purely phonetic, complementing the sign W10 in order to restrict its significance to the biliteral phonogram *b3*<sup>293</sup>.

The confusion amongst scholars with regards to *b3* and *b3* ‘ram’ in the Pyramid Texts may be due to the fact that the scribes of the Coffin Texts and later funerary and non-funerary texts utilized the sign W10 as a hieroglyphic signifier for both *b3* and *b3* ‘ram’<sup>294</sup>. Ward has argued that this change is possibly the result of the transmission of the Pyramid Texts onto coffins during the First Intermediate Period<sup>295</sup>.

Before beginning with the analysis and discussion of *b3* and *b3w* in the



<sup>291</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 44.

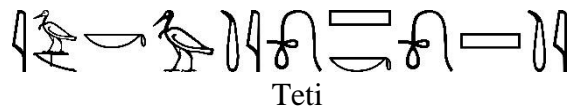
<sup>292</sup> *b3-pf* also appears in the *Coffin texts*, as well as in the later New Kingdom *Book of the Day and Night* and the *Amduat*, where he is either represented as a mummiform deity, or as an anthropomorphic deity with bull or ram horns - Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 117-119; D. Jones, *An index of ancient Egyptian titles, epithets and phrases of the Old Kingdom*, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000), 512 no. 1916.

<sup>293</sup> Other terms in which this sign appears include *iḥb* ‘cup’, *wsh* ‘cup’, and *shw* ‘width’ - Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar*, 528.

<sup>294</sup> Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 148-149.


<sup>295</sup> Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 148-149.

Pyramid Texts, attention should first be given to the use of  as a signifier for *b3*, as it has not received any attention in previous studies on these terms. This composite sign, which consists of the Saddlebill stork (G29) and hoe  (sign U7), first appears in the Pyramid Texts of Teti<sup>296</sup>, and subsequently in that of Pepi I<sup>297</sup>, Merenre<sup>298</sup>, Pepi II<sup>299</sup>, Neith<sup>300</sup>, and Wedjebtni<sup>301</sup>. The contexts in which this composite sign is used indicates that the hoe sign (U7) does not carry a phonetic value, such as in PT 412 §723b:



*i.b3.k b3.ti i.w3š.k w3š.ti*

“You shall become *b3* and be *b3*, you shall become esteemed and be esteemed”<sup>302</sup>

As a determinative, the hoe sign (U7) is utilized in the Old Kingdom terms *hbs* ‘to cultivate or hoe (land)’, ‘*d* ‘to hack up’, and *hb3* ‘to destroy or diminish’, suggesting that it signified varying degrees of penetrative and destructive action<sup>303</sup>. In this regard, it is significant and noteworthy that the composite sign  is only ever used to signify *b3* when functioning as a stative<sup>304</sup> or as the verb in a prospective *sdm.f*<sup>305</sup>, suggesting that the hoe sign was combined with the Saddlebill stork in order to emphasize the active and destructive aspects embodied in being *b3*.

<sup>296</sup> PT 412 §723b

<sup>297</sup> PT 412 §723b, PT 450 §833c & PT 665D §1921

<sup>298</sup> PT 412 §723b, PT 450 §833c & PT 665D §1921

<sup>299</sup> PT 412 §723b, PT 450 §833c & PT 665D §1921

<sup>300</sup> PT 412 §723b, PT 450 §833c & PT 665D §1921

<sup>301</sup> PT 665D §1921.

<sup>302</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 90.



<sup>303</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar*, 516; Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 187.

<sup>304</sup> PT 412 §723b & PT 360 §603d.

<sup>305</sup> PT 412 §723b & PT 450 §833c.

#### 4.2 The function(s) of *b3* and *b3w*

As presented in the above discussion of names, epithets, and titles, the plural *b3w* as a designation for gods is frequently attested in the *Pyramid Texts*. In addition to the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, they also mention the *b3w* of the East<sup>306</sup>, who are subsequently identified in the *Coffin Texts* as *Harakhti*, *b3s hwr* “the newborn calf”<sup>307</sup>, and the *Morning star*<sup>308</sup>.

The *Pyramid Texts* also use the singular *b3* to refer to a god. For example, *Nut* is referred to as *b3 pn* “this *b3*” in PT 11 §8h  *hnm nfr.k m ht nw b3 pn* “Mingle with your perfection in the belly of this *b3*”<sup>309</sup>, and *Wadjet* as the king’s *s3mwt* ‘Leading Uraeus’ is designated  *ptrt b3 3ht nt3.s ht* “The *b3* and effective one who is beheld (when) she shoots<sup>310</sup> fire” in PT 273 §396c. That being designated *b3* referred to a god or a king in a ‘state of being’ is evidenced by the use of *b3* as a verb in a prospective *s3m.f* and as a stative, such as in:

  
*di.f n.k imt-h3t hrw b3.k im.s s3m.k im.s*

“He (Geb) will give to you (the king) what is on Horus’ brow (i.e. Horus’ eye). You will become *b3* through it and you will take control through it”<sup>311</sup> - PT 214 §139c

  
*dd.n gbb pr m r n psdt bik imi ht it.f in.sn m.k b3.ti s3m.ti*

“Geb has spoken and it has come from the mouth of the Ennead, “O next falcon who acquires (the throne),” they said, “Behold you are *b3* and in control”<sup>312</sup>- PT 218 §162b-c

<sup>306</sup> PT 217 §159a.

<sup>307</sup> T. T. Shmakov, *New readings in the Pyramid Texts* (Omsk, 2015), 61,

[https://www.academia.edu/1319063/New\\_readings\\_in\\_the\\_Ancient\\_Egyptian\\_Pyramid\\_Texts](https://www.academia.edu/1319063/New_readings_in_the_Ancient_Egyptian_Pyramid_Texts)

<sup>308</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 29.

<sup>309</sup> Allen reads this spell as “(I) protect your perfection inside this (my) *b3*” - Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 247.

<sup>310</sup> For *nt3* as ‘shoots’ see Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 54.

<sup>311</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 34.

<sup>312</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 37.



*ntrw nb rditi.sn nfr rwd mr pn k3t tn nt NN inti.sn*<sup>313</sup> *spd.sn inti.sn w3š.sn inti.sn b3.sn inti.sn shm.sn*

“All the gods that will make this pyramid and this work of *NN* good and firm – they are the ones who will be sharp, they are the ones who will be esteemed, they are the ones who will be *b3*, they are the ones who will have control”<sup>314</sup> - PT 599 §1650a-c

In addition to *b3* as a state of being (pl. *b3w*), the abstract noun *b3w* is also utilized in the Pyramid Texts. Furthermore, it is also presented as an attribute which the gods and the king possess – *b3w.f* “his *b3w*”<sup>315</sup>, *wrt b3w* “Great of *b3w*”<sup>316</sup>, *b3w.k* “your *b3w*”<sup>317</sup>, *b3w.s* “her *b3w*” , and *b3w.i* “my *b3w*”<sup>318</sup>. However, unlike the above name, titles, and epithets, in the Pyramid Texts, the singular noun *b3* is also used in addition to the abstract noun *b3w* -



*h3 ppy pw h3 b3.k m-m ntrw m-m h3w snd.k pw ir h3tyw.sn*

“Ho this Pepi! Your *b3* stands among the gods and among the *Akhs*: it is the fear of you against their hearts”<sup>319</sup> - PT 422 §763a-b



*iiṯ.n.t n.t ntr nb hr.t hr hb3.f sb3.t (n).sn m h3-b3.s*

“You have acquired for yourself every god with you to carry his *hb3*-boat, that you might make them a star in “she whose *b3* is thousand-fold” (i.e. *Nut*)”<sup>320</sup> - PT 434 §785b

While the use of the abstract noun *b3w* and the singular noun *b3* seem to carry different meanings, Žabkar<sup>321</sup> has noted in his study of the *b3* concept that these two terms are interchangeable, such as in:

<sup>313</sup> J.P. Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Language: An Historical Study* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 108.

<sup>314</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 267.

<sup>315</sup> PT 306 §477a & PT 690 §2101a.

<sup>316</sup> PT 468 §901a-b.

<sup>317</sup> PT 468 §901a-b & PT 570 §1449b-c.

<sup>318</sup> PT 493 §1601c.

<sup>319</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 105.

<sup>320</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 108.

<sup>321</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 55.



*b3.f tp.f hk3w.f ir gswy.f sct.f ir rdwy.f*

“his *b3* atop him, his magic at his sides, his ferocity at his feet”<sup>322</sup> - PT 480 §992c



*b3w.f tp.f sct.f r gswy.f hk3w.f tp rdwy.f*

“His *b3w* atop him, his ferocity at his sides, his magic atop his feet”<sup>323</sup> - PT 306 §477a

To this we can also add the following spells -



*s3hi shm pn n b3.f*

“This controlling power is one who is glorified because<sup>324</sup> of his *b3*”<sup>325</sup> - PT 436 §789a



*dit i3 n nt wrr nt hr b3w.f*

“Praise is given to Neith who becomes great because of her *b3w*”<sup>326</sup> - PT 493 §1061c

The transposition of *b3* and *b3w* in the former spells and the similar contexts in which *b3* and *b3w* appear in the latter spells indicates they essentially refer to the same concept. This is paralleled in the use of the related term *shm*, which can appear as the singular noun *shm* ‘control’, such as *shm.k* ‘your ability to control’<sup>327</sup>, or the abstract noun *shmw* ‘controlling power’, such as in *shmw.k* ‘your controlling power’<sup>328</sup>

The above evidence thus indicates that the terms *b3* and *b3w* had the same function in the Pyramid Texts as the one they had in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names and titles – designating the gods and the king in a *state of being*, and as an *attribute which the gods and the king possess*. While the Pyramid Texts do differ in that they introduced the singular noun *b3* alongside the abstract noun *b3w*, the

<sup>322</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 276.

<sup>323</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 61.

<sup>324</sup> For the use of *n* as ‘because’ in the *Pyramid Texts* see, J.P Allen, *Grammar of the ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts. Volume 1: Unis* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2017), 63.

<sup>325</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 109.

<sup>326</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 149.

<sup>327</sup> PT 451 §839b.

<sup>328</sup> PT 767 §5.

transposition of these terms and the similar contexts in which they are used, however, indicate that they refer to the same concept.

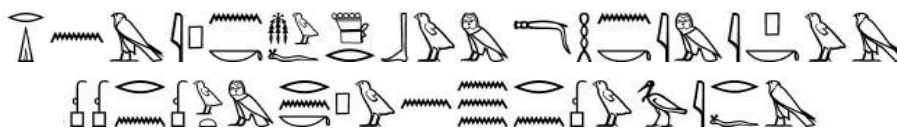
### 4.3. The meaning of *b3* and *b3w*

#### 4.3.1. Being *b3*

Several of the above quoted spells from the *Pyramid Texts* emphasize and highlight an important aspect of being *b3* that is alluded to in the Old Kingdom non-royal names with the construction *NN + optative b3.f* i.e. “Snefru, may he be *b3*” (Ind. Ent. I). This is the idea that the gods and the king are not simply *b3*, but that they become *b3* through their actions. In addition to PT 599 §1650a-c, which states that the gods will ‘only’ become *b3* if they make the pyramid and work of Pepi *nfr* “good” and *rwḏ* “firm”, other spells that emphasize this causality include:



“Horus has had you seize your opponents and there shall be none of them who will turn their back to you. So Horus becomes *b3*”<sup>329</sup> - PT 356 §579b-580b



“Horus has had his children assemble you in the place in which you are made whole. Horus assembles you year by year, rejuvenated in this your name of the rejuvenated waters. So, Horus becomes *b3*”<sup>330</sup> - PT 423 §766d-767b

Spells such as these thus not only support the argument that being *b3* was closely and specifically associated with acting, but also further indicate that *b3* was a state attained by divine beings who had effectively taken action.

Other spells that have been mentioned above, such PT 214 §139c<sup>331</sup>, also indicate that the deceased king’s becoming *b3* is brought about through the receiving

<sup>329</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 76.

<sup>330</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 106.

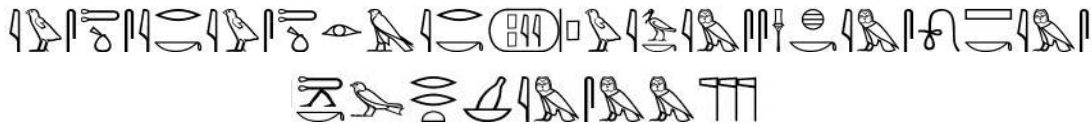
<sup>331</sup> Refer to page 74

of offerings and Horus' eye. Further examples include:



*ts tw r t.k pn i.hm hsd hnkt.k i.hmt ʿm3 b3.k im spd.k im shm.k im*

“Raise yourself to this your bread that does not molder and your beer that does not sour, that you may become *b3* through them, that you may become sharp through them, that you may take control through them”<sup>332</sup> - PT 457 §859a-c



*iw st.s ir.k iw st irt hrw ir.k ppy pw i.b3.k im.s shm.k im.s w3s.k im.s it.k wrwt im.s m-m ntrw*

“Its scent is on you. The scent of Horus' eye is on you, this Pepi. May you become *b3* through it, may you take control through it, may you become esteemed through it, and may you acquire the *wrrt*-crown through it among the gods”<sup>333</sup> - PT 687 §2075b

A similar set of circumstances in which the act of offering, as well as the offerings themselves lead to divine beings becoming *b3* can be found in the above discussed Upper and Lower Egyptian palanquin procession and offering ritual of Niuserre's *Heb-Sed* Festival (Figures 24 & 25). In addition to offering linen and incense to the dual shrines and *šmsw-hr*, the *hm-ntr*-priest also recites the following - *di ʿnh w3s b3w nhn* “Giving life and dominion (to) the *b3w* of Nekhen<sup>334</sup>” (Figure 22). In his study of the *Heb-Sed* festival, J. D. Degreef<sup>335</sup> has demonstrated that in the sequence of rituals, the palanquin procession and offering to the dual shrines of Upper and Lower Egypt occurs before the king's rebirth and ‘rising’ at dawn on the throne podium and before the king's running, the latter two rituals being those in which the *b3w* of Nekhen are present and active (Figures 24). What this evidence thus suggests is the following sequence: (a) the king offers to the gods (i.e. the *šmsw-hr*) who reside in the

<sup>332</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 123.

<sup>333</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 286.

<sup>334</sup> Although the reliefs depicting Lower Egyptian palanquin procession and offering ritual are heavily damaged, the parallels between the two scenes indicate that the same invocation was probably recited by the *hm-ntr* priest associated with the *b3w* of Pe.

<sup>335</sup> J.D. Degreef, “The Heb-Sed Festival Sequence and pBrooklyn 47.218.50”, *Gottinger Missellen* 223 (2009): 27-34.



*irti* ‘Dual shrines’, providing them with life and dominion and invoking them as *b3w* in the hopes that they will assist and be effective, (b) they protect and assist the king in his rebirth and the renewal of his powers, and (c) the *šmsw-ḥr* become and are *b3w* because of their actions.

The act of offering and the offerings themselves thus initiate the process of the gods and the deceased king becoming *b3*, not only providing and sustaining them with the life that it necessary to act, but also ensuring that they will act beneficially and contribute to the maintenance of *m3ʿt*. The latter also emphasizes the conditional and reciprocal relationship between the gods and the king and between the deceased and the living, the offerings essentially functioning as an incentive for support, protection, and assistance, as well as insurance that the gods and the deceased themselves will not act malevolently and cause *isft*.

The above argument regarding the function of offerings in relation to becoming *b3* is supported by the fact that in *Unas’ Pyramid Texts*, the first invocation for the deceased king to possess *b3* and become *b3* occurs within the ‘offering ritual’ itself<sup>336</sup>. According to Allen, the offering ritual took place in the initial phases of the entire funerary ritual<sup>337</sup>. In subsequent spells, however, *Unas’* taking action is directly equated with his becoming and being *b3*, such as in the ‘Commendation to Osiris’:



*isir ii r.f wnis pn ḥwrr psdt 3ḥ iḥm sk ip.f ibw nḥm.f k3w nḥb.f k3w m tnt.f nbt šnt .n.f spr. n.f ni ḥmw.ti.fi nb ni t.f ni t k3.f dr t.f r.f dd.n gbb pr m r psdt bik imi ḥt iṯi.fi in.sn mk b3.ti šḥm.ti*

“Osiris, this Unas has come, the Ennead’s fledgling, an Akh who does not perish. He will claim minds, take away Kas, and bestow Kas as what he reckons, including whomever he associates to himself or petitions to him. There is none who will be excluded without his bread, without his Ka’s bread, deprived of his bread. Geb has spoken and it has come from

<sup>336</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 30.

<sup>337</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 17-31.

the mouth of the Ennead, ‘O next falcon who acquires (the throne)’, they said, ‘behold you are *b3* and in control’<sup>338</sup> - PT 218 §161a-162c

The above evidence thus indicates that being *b3* was a state of distinction, essentially denoting the gods and the king as beings who had acted efficaciously. Furthermore, as with *b3t*, the *šmsw-hr*, and the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, this action was directed towards restoring order and *m3t*, including - removing opposition (PT 222), providing the necessary power to overcome enemies (PT 356), ensuring the rebirth and resurrection of the king by assembling his body (PT 423), and ensuring the continual and everlasting provision of offerings (PT 218). That being designated *b3* denoted effectiveness, authority, eminence, and prestige is further supported by the recurrent association of *b3* with being *šhm* ‘in control and powerful’, *w3š* ‘esteemed and honored’<sup>339</sup>, and *spd* ‘sharp and effective’<sup>340</sup> in the above quoted spells. The consistent appearance of *b3* and *šhm* together is also particularly noteworthy, as this parallels the larger theme of the Late Predynastic iconography discussed in the preceding chapter, in which the Saddlebill stork’s destructive and protective action results in the control of the ‘forces of chaos’.

#### 4.3.2. Possessing *b3* and *b3w*

The role and meaning of the singular noun *b3* has been a major topic of debate in previous studies. Its occurrence with a suffix pronoun has resulted in arguments that it represented a component part of the deceased king that separated after death, similar to the *k3*<sup>341</sup>, or a visible and separate manifestation<sup>342</sup>. It has already been demonstrated, however, that the abstract noun *b3w* and the singular noun *b3*

<sup>338</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 37.

<sup>339</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 55.

<sup>340</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 223-24.

<sup>341</sup> H. Kees, *Totenglauben und Jenseitsvorstellungen der alten Ägypter: Grundlagen und Entwicklung bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1926), 54.

<sup>342</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 51-67.

essentially refer to the same concept, signified by the fact that they can be transposed in parallel spells and are used in similar contexts. Furthermore, the recurrent association of *b3* and *shm* and the striking similarities in their functions (i.e. to designate a state of being and an attribute), suggests that the use of the singular noun *b3* and abstract noun *b3w* parallels that of the singular noun *shm* and the abstract noun *shmw*. As has been noted above, these latter two uses of *shm* denote an ability i.e. *shm.k* “your (ability to) control”, and a form of power i.e. *shmw.k* “your controlling power”.

A spell that highlights the meaning of *b3* as an *ability* can be found in the Pyramid Texts of Neith -



*shm n.k isir nt w3š n.k isir nt b3 n.k isir nt s'nh n.k isir nt*

“Control is yours Osiris Neith<sup>343</sup>, esteem is yours Osiris Neith, *b3* is yours Osiris Neith, life-giving (lit. causing life) is yours Osiris Neith”<sup>344</sup> - PT 805 §11

The association of *b3* with the ability to ‘control’ and the ability to ‘cause life’ in this spell indicates that although the *b3* of the king might be referred to as a separate entity, it actually denoted a capability. This is further supported by the fact that it often occurs alongside *š't.f* “his (ability to instill) terror” and *hk3w.f* “his magic”<sup>345</sup>. While both of the latter are also referred to as being visible and acting as independent entities, this could, however, have functioned as a metaphor for the powerful and glorious state into which the deceased king had been transformed, evoking a visual image of the king with his powers upon, before, and around him.

There is also the possibility, however, that the king’s various abilities and

<sup>343</sup> The appellation *Osiris Neith* and the use of male suffix pronouns in this PT Spell is probably a result of the fact that these texts were originally created and used for the male kings of the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. K. Cooney has also suggested another interpretation based on her studies on Ramesside coffins, which is namely that women had to be transformed into men during the ‘rebirth process’ as men were specifically associated with creation and regeneration – K. Cooney, “Gender Transformation in Death: A Case study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt”, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73 no. 4 (2010).

<sup>344</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 311.

<sup>345</sup> PT 245 §250d and PT 480 §992c.

powers, including *b3* and *b3w*, were represented by real ritual items that were presented during the funerary ritual. In PT 468, the *dšrt* ‘Red Crown’ is not only described as *wrt b3w* ‘Great of *b3w*’, but also provides the king with his *b3w* –



*di.s b3w.k NN pn hnt psdt m wty imti h3t.k*

“She will put your *b3w*, O this NN, at the fore of the Ennead as the two begetters on your front”<sup>346</sup> - PT 468 §902a-b

This suggests that the Red Crown was specifically associated with and embodied the king’s *b3w*. In PT 221, the Red Crown is also invoked to bestow its ferocity, fearsomeness, and acclaim upon the deceased king so that he might become ferocious, fearsome, and acclaimed like it <sup>347</sup>. Furthermore, it also places the king’s ‘*b3*-scepter and *šhm*-scepter at ‘the head of the living’ and ‘the head of the *Akhs*’<sup>348</sup>. It has often been stated that *šhm* ‘to control’ is embodied in and represented by the *šhm*-scepter<sup>349</sup>. Along the same lines, it may be suggested that the king’s *b3* is embodied in and represented by the ‘*b3*-scepter. This argument is supported by the use of the ‘*b3*-scepter in the Pyramid Texts, such as in PT 459 §866b-c -



*(i)h(y)<sup>350</sup>.k m ‘b3 hrp.k m i3t i.wd.k mdw n ntrw*

“You strike with the ‘*b3*-scepter, you direct with the *i3t*-scepter, and you govern the gods”<sup>351</sup>.


Along with this spell, several other spells<sup>352</sup> recurrently associate the ‘*b3* scepter with the action of ‘striking’ and control, indicating that it was associated with violent

<sup>346</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 129.

<sup>347</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 42; K, Goebis, *Crowns in Egyptian funerary literature: royalty, rebirth, and destruction* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 2008), 204.

<sup>348</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 42; Goebis, *Crowns*, 204.

<sup>349</sup> W. C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt: A background for the Study of the Egyptian*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1978), 287.

<sup>350</sup> The full spelling of this can be found in PT 511 -  ; for the translation of *ihy* as ‘strike’ see Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 124; there is also the possibility that this verb is *hwi* “to beat, to hit” – Wb 3, 46.1-48.15.

<sup>351</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 124.

action in service of control and order. Furthermore, the verb *b3* signifies ‘to command’<sup>353</sup>, which expresses both the application and effect of *b3* – acting (i.e. ‘striking’) and having authority and control.

The close association between *b3*, violence, and control is also apparent in the following spells-



*h3 ppy pw h<sup>c</sup> b3.k m-m ntrw m-m 3hw snd.k pw ir h3tyw.sn*

“Ho this Pepi! Your *b3* stands among the gods and among the Akhs: it is the fear of you against their hearts”<sup>354</sup> - PT 422 §763a-b



*ii r.tn hrw hsbdr irty s3.tn hrw d3r irti mr 3t ni hsf<sup>355</sup> b3.f*

“Blue-eyed Horus comes to you (gods); Beware of red-eyed Horus, the one whose wrath is painful of (moment of) rage, his *b3* cannot be avoided!”<sup>356</sup> - PT 246 §253a-b

The effect of the king’s *b3* and Horus’ *b3* is one of fear, suggesting that it is related to violent action. This is further indicated by the reference to ‘red-eyed’ *Horus* in PT 246. According to A. M. Hussein<sup>357</sup>, the color blue when associated with deities signifies pacificity, calmness, and *h<sub>3</sub>tp* “being satisfied”, while the color red expresses anger, rage, and wrath. V. Davies has further noted that the latter emotions are recurrently cited in texts when describing a situation in which *m3<sup>c</sup>t* has been transgressed, and that violence subsequently plays an important role in restoring *m3<sup>c</sup>t* and causing the gods and the king to be *h<sub>3</sub>tp*<sup>358</sup>. The reference to red-eyed Horus thus refers to him in a state of anger because of a violation of *m3<sup>c</sup>t*, who then subsequently

<sup>352</sup> PT 511, PT 519, PT 614, & PT 691D.

<sup>353</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 41.

<sup>354</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 105.

<sup>355</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 197; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 44.

<sup>356</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 44.

<sup>357</sup> A. M. Hussein, “Beware of the Red-Eyed Horus: The Significance of Carnelian in Egyptian Royal Jewelry”, in *Perspectives on Ancient Egypt: Studies in Honour of Edward Brovarski*, eds. Z. Hawass, P. der Manuelian, & R. B. Hussein (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010): 186

<sup>358</sup> Davies, *Peace*, 48.

enacts his ‘wrath’ upon the transgressors as a form of punishment. The association of *b3* with red-eyed Horus thus indicates that it denotes the ability to act (i.e. punishment in the form of painful wrath) in order to produce a desired result, the latter being the restoration of *m3t*.

This link between *b3* and restoring order is further indicated by PT 412 §723a



*s3h.k pt mr*<sup>359</sup> *s3h spd b3.k mr spdt*

“(when)You (the king) touch the sky like Orion, your *b3* is sharp like Sothis”<sup>360</sup> - PT 412 §723a

As noted above, the term *spd* can denote ‘sharp’ and ‘effective’. However, Faulkner has noted that when it is utilized as a verb, it can also signify ‘restoring order’<sup>361</sup>. Furthermore, *Sothis* or *Sopdet*, a personification of the star Sirius, was associated with ‘being effective’ and ‘restoring order’, based on the fact that she signaled<sup>362</sup> and thus ‘brought about’ the yearly inundation of the Nile<sup>363</sup>. The equating of the king’s *b3* with *Sothis* thus not only implies that the king’s *b3* is effective, but also that it is effective in restoring order like *Sothis*.

The abstract noun *b3w* has variously been translated as “power”, “mightiness”, “fame” and “reputation”<sup>364</sup>, the creative power to manifest forms<sup>365</sup>, and ‘impressiveness’<sup>366</sup>. However, as mentioned above, the transposition of *b3* and *b3w* and the similar contexts in which they are used indicate that they refer to the same

<sup>359</sup> This spelling is the old form of *mi* before the loss of the final r in the Middle Kingdom–Allen, *Grammar*, 67.

<sup>360</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 90.

<sup>361</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 224.

<sup>362</sup> i.e. the heliacal rising of Sirius

<sup>363</sup> In texts *Sopdet* or *Sothis* is described as “Bringer of the New Year and the Nile Flood” - F.A. Hassan, “Between Man and Goddess: The Fear of Nothingness and Dismemberment”, in *Egypt at Its Origins: Studies in memory of Barbara Adams*, eds. S. Hendrickx, R.F. Friedman, K.M. Cialowicz, & M. Chlodnicki (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters & Departement Oosterse Studies, 2004): 790.

<sup>364</sup> Kees, *Totenglauben*, 59; Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 80-85.

<sup>365</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*.

<sup>366</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*.

concept. As demonstrated above, the Red Crown is specifically associated with *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts. According to K. Goebis, the *dšrt* ‘Red crown’ was not only associated with the red light or the sun disc at sunrise, but also with blood, slaughter, and violence<sup>367</sup>. Texts such as PT 221, indicate that this crown inspired *šꜥt* ‘respect or dread’ and *snḏ* ‘fear’, and granted the deceased king’s “knife to be firm against his enemies” and for his “*b3-* and *šhm-*scepter to be placed at the head of the living and the *Akhs*”<sup>368</sup>. The association between the Red Crown’s *b3w* and inspiring ‘fear’ and ‘dread’ directly parallels the effect of the king’s *b3* on the gods and the *Akhs* in PT 422 §763a-b, further demonstrating that the terms *b3* and *b3w* essentially referred to the same concept. Furthermore, the Red crown’s granting of a “firm knife” and the *b3-* and *šhm-*scepters to the king also emphasizes her effectiveness, essentially imbuing the king with the necessary power to act, overcome, subjugate, control, and instill order. The resulting image that is evoked is that the king is endowed with *b3w* when he receives the Red Crown, allowing him to inspire ‘fear’ and ‘dread’ in others, overcome his enemies, and instill order among the living, the gods, and the *Akhs*. This evidence indicates that possessing *b3w* denoted possessing the power to restore and enforce order i.e. efficacious power.

The above discussion demonstrates that the king and the gods’ *b3* and *b3w* did not denote an independent aspect that manifested after death or a separate manifestation of their power, but rather denoted their ability and power to act in order to restore order. For *b3*, the term ‘efficacy’, i.e. the ability to produce a desired result, is probably the closest modern translation, as it not only implies action, but also action that is effective. For *b3w*, the translation ‘efficacious power’ i.e. the power to produce a desired result, is appropriate, as it not only represents an abstraction of

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<sup>367</sup> Goebis, *Crowns*, 215 & 371.

<sup>368</sup> Goebis, *Crowns*, 215-6.

‘efficacy’ like the term *b3w* itself, but also expresses effective power. A god and a king’s *b3* and *b3w* thus represented the means through which they enforced *m3t* and ‘Order over Chaos’ and thus also the means through which they attained the state of *b3*.

#### 4.4. Conclusion

The above discussion and analysis has demonstrated that the use, function, and meaning of *b3* and *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts was an extension and exposition of that in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets. Thus while they were utilized in a mortuary context, *b3* and *b3w* were not, however, exclusively funerary concepts.

As with the names, titles, and epithets, the terms *b3* and *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts had two major functions – to denote a divine being in a state of being (singl. *b3*, dual. *b3wy*, pl. *b3w*), and to designate an attribute of divine beings (Abstr N. *b3w*). The Pyramid Texts further added the singular noun *b3*, which was subsequently shown to be similar in function to the abstract noun *b3w*. A discussion of the hieroglyphs used to signify *b3* further demonstrated that its principal and sole signifier in the Pyramid Texts was the Saddlebill stork (sign G29), and that previous scholars had incorrectly assigned sign W10 as an hieroglyphic signifier for *b3*. Furthermore, a comparison of the hieroglyphs for *b3* also demonstrated that the scribes of the Pyramid Texts of Pepi modified sign G29 with the hoe (sign U7) when used as a stative or prospective *sdm.f* in order to reinforce and emphasize the active aspects encompassed in *b3*.

An in-depth analysis of the various spells in which *b3* and *b3w* occur has demonstrated that these terms were utilized to express the role and authority of the gods and the king in ensuring order and maintaining peace. The recurrent association between *acting* and *becoming/being b3* further indicated that the latter state denoted



gods and the king as beings who had effectively taken action and restored order and peace. With regards to the deceased king, this action is centered around re-attaining his sovereignty and authority in the afterlife.

The means through which the gods and the king achieved the state of being *b3* is furthermore presented as their *b3* (singl. N) and their *b3w* (Abstr. N). While the former has been interpreted as a component part similar to the *k3* that was released after death, or a separate manifestation of power, it has been demonstrated that it actually denoted the ability of a divine being to act in order restore and enforce order i.e. their *efficacy*. Its recurrent association with *sh̄m* “to control”, and its appearance alongside *s̄nh* “to cause life” in the Pyramid Texts of Neith supported this argument. It has also been suggested that the recurrent presentation of the king’s *b3* and *b3w* as independent entities in the Pyramid Texts refers to the offering of ritual items, namely the Red Crown and *ʿb3*-scepter. This was indicated by the fact that the former is said to provide the king with *b3w*, and the contexts and manner in which the latter was used i.e. the king ‘striking’ with the scepter in order to gain control and authority over the gods, the *Akhs*, and the living. The association between *b3* and the *ʿb3*-scepter was further indicated by the signification of the verb *ʿb3* itself, which means “to command”.

The transposition of *b3* and *b3w* in parallel texts and the similar contexts in which they are used indicated that these terms essentially referred to the same concept. It has been argued that *b3w* represents an abstraction of *b3*, and thus denotes a power to effectively enforce order i.e. a divine being’s *efficacious power*. That *b3w* also referred to restoring and enforcing order or *m3̄t*, was indicated by the various abilities that the Red Crown bestowed upon the king, namely the power to instill ‘fear’ and ‘dread’ in others, to destroy his enemies, and to control the gods, the *Akhs*,

and the living.

As with the names, titles, and epithets, *b3* and *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts thus functioned to assert and reinforce divine and royal ideology, essentially expressing the power and authority of the gods and the king in maintaining and restoring 'Order over Chaos'.

## Chapter 5 – *b3* and *b3w* in 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Non-royal Texts

During the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, the terms *b3* and *b3w* were utilized in two non-royal texts<sup>370</sup>. The first, which belongs to the corpus of letters from the so-called Elephantine archive, is a hieratic document (Papyrus Berlin 9010) pertaining to a legal dispute between Sobek-Hetep and Tjau over the will of Tjau's late father, User<sup>371</sup>. The second, which dates to the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, is the inscription on the architrave of Herimeru's tomb at Saqqara<sup>372</sup>. While the former text has only been briefly noted in previous studies<sup>373</sup>, the latter text has received a significant amount of attention<sup>374</sup>. Žabkar was the first to highlight the existence of the text and discuss it<sup>375</sup>, and it was subsequently published in full in 1975 by S. Hassan and Z. Iskandar as part of their *Excavations at Saqqara* series<sup>376</sup>. The importance accorded to Herimeru's architrave inscription is based on the fact that it represents the first use of the term *b3* in relation to a non-royal deceased individual, a development that was previously believed to only have occurred after the collapse of the Old Kingdom<sup>377</sup>. The aim of the following discussion is thus to review these two texts in order to determine whether there is continuity in the function and meaning of *b3* and *b3w* in a non-royal context.

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<sup>370</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the ba concept*, 60 & 87.

<sup>371</sup> N.C. Strudwick, *Texts from the pyramid age* (Atlanta; Leiden; Boston: Society of Biblical Literature; Brill, 2005), 186-7

<sup>372</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: 626

<sup>373</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 87.

<sup>374</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 60; H. Altenmüller, "Sein ba möge fort dauern bei Gott", *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 20 (1993): 1-15.

<sup>375</sup> The un-published text was brought to the attention of Žabkar by E. F. Wente - Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 60.

<sup>376</sup> S. Hassan & Z. Iskandar, *Excavations at Saqqara Vol. III, Mastabas of Princess Hemet Ra and others* (Cairo: General Organisation for Government Printing Offices, 1975).

<sup>377</sup> Kees, *Totenglauben*, 59-61.

### 5.1. *The Will Dispute from Elephantine – pBerlin 9010*

The text known as Papyrus Berlin 9010 has been dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty by scholars such as Jasnow<sup>378</sup>, Strudwick<sup>379</sup>, Theodorides<sup>380</sup>, and Muhs<sup>381</sup>. According to Theodorides and Muhs, it records the legal decision of an anonymous judicial institution, most likely the *d3d3t*-court, and presents the official report of the tribunal's finding. The actual dispute appears to have been between Tjau, the eldest son of the late 'royal noble' and Overseer of Foreigners' User, and Sobek-Hetep, who was purportedly appointed as User's estate administrator by a testamentary disposition document<sup>382</sup>. Tjau, however, maintains that his father never made this document, and that he, as the eldest son, is now the estate administrator according to customary intestate succession law<sup>383</sup>. According to the text, the legal decision made by the court is that if Sobek-Hetep can produce three witnesses who are trustworthy and who can make an 'oath' swearing that the document contains the words of *User*, then the estate shall remain with Sobek-Hetep<sup>384</sup>. However, if Sobek-Hetep does not produce these three witnesses, then the estate shall remain with Tjau<sup>385</sup>. The part of the text that is of interest to this thesis is the actual 'oath' to be said by the witnesses, which was quoted in the document itself (lines 4-6) -



<sup>378</sup> R. Jasnow, "Egypt: Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period", in *A history of ancient Near Eastern law 1*, ed. R. Westbrook (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 125

<sup>379</sup> N.C. Strudwick, *Texts*, 186-7.

<sup>380</sup> A. Théodorides, "The concept of law in ancient Egypt", in *The legacy of Egypt*, ed. J.R. Harris (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971): 298.

<sup>381</sup> B. Muhs, *The ancient Egyptian economy 3000-30 BCE* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 28.

<sup>382</sup> possibly a *wdt-mdw* or *imyt-pr* - R. Jasnow, "Egypt: Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period", in *A history of ancient Near Eastern law 1*, ed. R. Westbrook (Leiden: Brill, 2003): 125


<sup>383</sup> Muhs, *economy*, 28.

<sup>384</sup> Muhs, *economy*, 28.

<sup>385</sup> Muhs, *economy*, 28.

*ir ini sbk-htp pn irw 3 ikrw nw nht [hr-sn] irti.sn b3w.k r.f ntr mi ntt ir.n.t(w) is šs pn hft dd  
wsr pn [im]*

‘If this Sobek-Hetep brings 3 excellent witnesses who are convincing concerning this and who will make (the oath) “May your *b3w* be against him (i.e. Sobek-Hetep) Oh God!” that this document was indeed one that was made according to that which this User has said therein...’<sup>386</sup>.

While J. F. Borghouts<sup>387</sup> maintains that *ntr* ‘god’ in the above quoted oath is anonymous, N. Strudwick<sup>388</sup>, on the other hand, argues that it actually denotes the living and reigning king. The latter argument is supported by the study of R. Shalomi-Hen, who demonstrated that the classifier  (sign G7) was specifically used from the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty onwards to refer to the king as a god<sup>389</sup>. This evidence thus further strengthens the non-mortuary nature of the terms *b3* and *b3w*, and demonstrates that the living king was believed to possess *b3w*.

The basic message signified by the above quoted text is that if Sobek-Hetep had lied with regards to the ‘document’, the *b3w* of the king will be against him. Several later Middle Kingdom texts elucidate the Egyptian view of lying and falsehood. The ‘tale of the Eloquent Peasant’ for example, lists the five basic characteristics of an effective ruler, one being ‘*šhtm grg*’ “a destroyer of falsehood”<sup>390</sup>. Furthermore, throughout Khun-Anup’s discourse, he defines falsehood as one of the cardinal evils, it being corrosive and destructive to *m3ct*, and that it must be expelled in order for *m3ct* to be maintained<sup>391</sup>. In the above legal text, there is thus a link between *b3w* and maintaining ‘Order over Chaos’ or *m3ct*. If Sobek-Hetep had lied, he would thus threaten order and must be punished in order for *m3ct* to be

<sup>386</sup> Muhs, *economy*, 28; Strudwick, *Texts*, 186.

<sup>387</sup> J.F. Borghouts, “Divine intervention”, 68.

<sup>388</sup> Strudwick, *Texts*, 186 & 206 ft. 1.

<sup>389</sup> Shalomi-Hen, *The Writing of the Gods*, 159.

<sup>390</sup> M. Karenga, *Maat, the moral ideal in ancient Egypt: a study in classical African ethics* (New York; London: Routledge, 2004), 170.

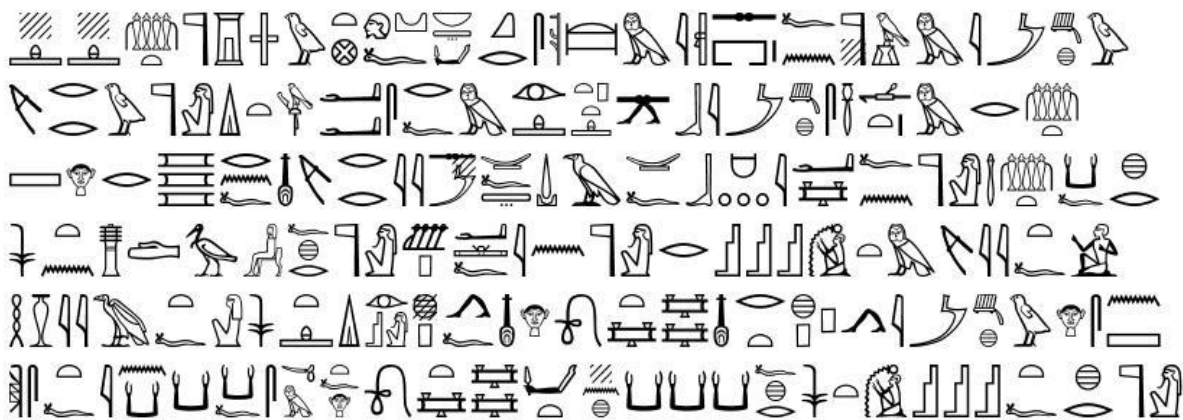
<sup>391</sup> Karenga, *Maat*, 171.

restored. While the actual form of punishment is not described, it is insinuated by the threat that the king's *b3w* will be against him. The context in which *b3w* is utilized thus indicates that it carries the same meaning as in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets, as well as in the Pyramid Texts: the king's efficacious power to restore order and maintain *m3t*.

## 5.2 The Architrave Inscription of Herimeru

As mentioned above, the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty inscription on the architrave of Herimeru's tomb at Saqqara represents the first extant use of the term *b3* in relation to a non-royal individual. The inscription essentially consists of three parts – (1) the offering formula, (2) the festival list, and (3) the autobiography and threat formula. Parts 1 and 3 are of specific interest to the function and meaning of *b3* in this text:

### The Offering Formula



*h̄tp-[di-nsw] h̄tp-[di-inpw] h̄nt sh-ntr imy wt tpy dw.f nb t3 dsr krs m is.f n hrt-ntr m im3hw mrrw ntr dit imnt wy.s r.f m ir(w) h̄tpt sbi im3h smr w<sup>c</sup>t imy-r h̄nt(y)-š hr(y)-mrw rn.f nfr mrry sm3.f t3 d3.f bi3 i<sup>r</sup>.f n ntr 3 h̄nt k3.f hr nswt ddw b3.f hr ntr šsp <sup>c</sup>.f in ntr r swt w<sup>c</sup>bt m mry it.f hsy mwt.f h̄tp-di-nswt isir h̄p.f nfr hr w3wt nfrt h̄pp im3hw hr.sn šmstw.f in k3w.f sšmtw.f hr w3wt dsrt [...]*n̄h* k3w.f hr nswt w<sup>c</sup>b(t) swt.f hr ntr*

“An offering which the king and which Anubis, foremost of the divine booth, who is in his embalming place, who is atop his mountain, lord of the sacred land, give, namely a burial in his tomb in the necropolis as an *imakhu* whom the god loves. May the West give her arms to him as one who does what satisfies and who has reached (the state of) *imakhu*, the sole companion, overseer of the *h̄nty-š*, *Herimeru*, whose good name is *Merery*. May he be united with the land, may he cross the heavens,

may he ascend to the Great God. May his Ka be foremost before the king, may his *b3* endure before the god, may his ‘document’ be accepted by the god at the pure places as a beloved of his father and a praised one of his mother. An offering which the king and which Osiris give that he may make a perfect journey on the perfect ways on which the *imakhu* travel, that he may be followed by his Ka, that he may be led on the holy ways, that his Kas (may be excellent) before the king, and that his places be pure before the god”<sup>394</sup>.

### The Autobiography and Threat Formula



[*shd hnt(y)-š pr-ꜥ3 hr(y)-mrw*] *dd.f ink 3h ikr rh(w) ht dd(w) nfr whm(w) nfr ni-sp dd iry.(i) ht nb dw r r(m) nb mr m3ꜥ n(t) hr ntr nfr n(t) rh r(m) ir sw si nb (i)rti.fi ht nb dw r is.(i) ꜥkti.fi r.f sb(t) iw.(i) r itt i(3s.f)*<sup>395</sup> *mi smn wdꜥ.k(wi) hnꜥ.f m d3d3t ntr-ꜥ3 ir swt rmt nb prtj-hrw sti.sn mw wꜥbti.sn mi wꜥb n ntr iw.(i) r h3.f m hrt-ntr*

“[the supervisor of *hnty-š* of the Great House, *Herimeru*] He says: I am an excellent Akh. One who knows things, one who speaks good, and one who repeats good, who never said or did any evil thing against any people, a true servant favored by the perfect/young god (i.e. the king) and known of the people. But with regard to any man who shall do any evil thing to my tomb and who shall enter into it wrongly, I shall take (i.e. wring) his neck like a goose, and be judged with him in the *d3d3t*-court of the Great god. (However), with regards to all people who shall make invocation offerings or shall pour water, or shall be pure like the purity of the god, I will protect him in the necropolis”<sup>396</sup>.


In his brief discussion of this text, Žabkar interprets the reference to Herimeru’s *b3* as the singular noun *b3*, stating that the text indicates that non-royal individuals were believed to have ‘a *b3*’ prior to the ‘democratization of the afterlife’ in the First Intermediate Period<sup>397</sup>. There is, however, a significant factor that favors the argument that this text actually utilizes the term *b3* as a *state of being* rather than as an attribute. This is namely the sign used to determine *b3* in Herimeru’s text, the seated

<sup>394</sup> Strudwick, *Texts*, 219

<sup>395</sup> Wb 5, 400.8-9.

<sup>396</sup> Strudwick, *Texts*, 219-220.

<sup>397</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 60-61.

nobleman  (sign A50). During the Old Kingdom, this sign was used as the 1<sup>st</sup> person male singular suffix pronoun ‘I’ when the speaker or subject was deceased, to determine the name of a deceased individual, or to determine the name or title of a nobleman<sup>398</sup>. Furthermore, the only other time in which it is used in Herimereu’s text is as the determinative for *ʒh*, the term *ʒh* ‘effective, useful and luminous one’ designating a desired state of being in the afterlife<sup>399</sup>. This evidence suggests that sign A50 was utilized in Herimereu’s text to determine *bʒ* as a state of being.

It has been argued that in the Pyramid Texts, the designation *bʒ* was a distinction specifically denoting a god or king who had acted effectively in restoring order and maintaining *mʒt*. In this respect, it is significant and noteworthy that having acted in accordance with, and thus also having maintained *mʒt* is a major theme not only in the inscription of Herimereu<sup>400</sup>, but in Old Kingdom non-royal autobiographical funerary texts in general. This distinct genre of self-presentation in which the tomb owner, by narration and declaration, recorded the essential aspects of his life and his morality, emerged during the 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and developed into a repeated and standard set of phrases by the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>401</sup>. The latter include – “I spoke truthfully”; “I did *mʒt*”; “I judged between two parties so as to content them”; “I rescued the weak from one stronger than he as much as I could”; “I gave bread to the hungry”; “I gave clothes (to the naked)”; “I ferried the boatless”; “I respected my father”; “I pleased my mother”<sup>402</sup>. Statements such as these emphasize the significance accorded to having acted justly and well during life, and furthermore, the

<sup>398</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian grammar*, 447; J. Adams, *The Title hnty-š in the Old Kingdom* (Master of Arts thesis, The Pennsylvania State University, 2003), 22.

<sup>399</sup> F. Friedman, ‘The Root Meaning of *ʒh*: Effectiveness or Luminosity’, *Serapis* 8 (1985): 39-46.

<sup>400</sup> i.e. “one who does what satisfies” (Offering Formula), and “one who speaks good and one who repeats good, who never said or did any evil thing against any people” (autobiographical text),

<sup>401</sup> M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom: a study and an anthology* (Freiburg; Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988), 5.

<sup>402</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian autobiographies*, 6.



importance and necessity of these acts for successfully reaching the afterlife and attaining the states of *im3hw* ‘revered one’<sup>403</sup> and *3h*.

An important text that highlights the connection between these statements of having acted in accordance with *m3t* and the state of being *b3* is the ‘Instructions of *pth-hotp*’. While this text has widely been ascribed to the Middle Kingdom, the reference to Ptah-Hotep as a vizier under King Isesi in the copy preserved on Papyrus Prisse<sup>404</sup> does suggest that the text may have originated in the Old Kingdom<sup>405</sup>. Of interest to this discussion is column 15 line 12 to column 16 line 2:



*in rh sm b3.f m smnt nfr.f im.f tp t3 s3.tw rh hr rht.n.f in sr hr sp.f nfr m<sup>n</sup>406 ib.f ns.f<sup>c</sup>k3 spti.fy  
iw.f hr dd irty.fy hr m33<sup>n</sup>hw.f t(w)t.(w) hr sdm 3ht n s3.f ir r m3t sw.(w) m grg*

“It is the knowledgeable who nourishes his *b3*<sup>407</sup> by establishing his goodness upon earth. The knowledgeable is recognized because of what he knows, the official because of his good actions; his mind matches his tongue, his lips are accurate when he is speaking, his eyes when seeing, both ears are assembled for hearing what is useful for his son. Acting in accordance with *m3t* is being free from falsehood”<sup>408</sup>.


This passage thus elucidates that an individual’s state of being *b3* is founded upon his actions during life. Doing good deeds, being knowledgeable, being free of falsehood, and acting according to *m3t* ‘nourishes’ an individual’s state of being *b3*. When used

<sup>403</sup> Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary*, 20.

<sup>404</sup> Now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.


<sup>405</sup> M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian literature. A book of readings, volume I: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1973), 73; J.P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian literature: eight literary works of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 162.

<sup>406</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian literature*, 73.

<sup>407</sup> The use of  (sign R7) in this text demonstrates that it is a Middle Kingdom copy, as this sign was added to the various signifiers for *b3* during the Middle Kingdom.

<sup>408</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian literature*, 73; Allen, *Middle Egyptian literature*, 214-216.

in relation to a deceased non-royal individual, *b3* thus denotes a state of distinction and eminence, designating the individual as one who has acted in accordance with *m3ʕt*.

Going back to Herimeru's inscription, the text states that he wishes that his distinction of being *b3* 'endures' before the god – *dd b3.f hr ntr*. This phrase suggests that Herimeru's state of being *b3* undergoes a form of divine judgement. This argument is supported by the next reference to Herimeru's  ʕ "document" or "certificate", which he hopes will be accepted by 'the god at the pure places'. During the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, a number of texts refer to a ʕ-*nsw* 'royal document', which according to C. J. Eyre and Strudwick, was a type of written 'permission' witnessing the rights and authority bestowed upon the bearer by the king<sup>409</sup>. The 'document' in this context may thus refer to a type of metaphorical written certification or witness of Herimeru's deeds and worthiness<sup>410</sup>.

On a final note, the use of *b3* in Herimeru's text and absence beforehand is most likely due to the decreasing authority and power of the monarchy at the end of the Old Kingdom. This argument is supported by two factors. The first is that the terms *b3* and *b3w* were applied exclusively to the gods and the king prior to the inscription of Herimeru. While they were used in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom non-royal names, it has to be kept in mind that they always referred to a god or a king. Furthermore, these terms were gradually subsumed into royal ideology during the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, essentially expressing the divine role, function, and power of the king as the restorer and maintainer of *m3ʕt*. The second factor is the parallels between

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<sup>409</sup>C.J. Eyre, "Work and the organisation of work in the Old Kingdom", in Powell, Marvin A. (ed.), *Labor in the ancient Near East*. (New Haven, CN: American Oriental Society, 1987), 5-47; N.C. Strudwick, *The administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: the highest titles and their holders*. (London: KPI, 1985), 199-216.

<sup>410</sup> This idea is also apparent in *Islam*, where it is believed that each individual possesses a book in which all deeds are recorded and judged by God – personal communication with Dr. Fayza Haikal.

the earlier funerary texts of non-royal individuals and that of Herimeru, both essentially containing the same wishes, as well as declarations of innocence. However, rather than including direct statements about the deceased non-royal being *b3*, the earlier texts include veiled references through declarations of their good deeds and actions in life. It is thus not coincidental that the first attestation of *b3* in a non-royal text occurs during a period that is known for its political instability and for the increasing power of the non-royal<sup>411</sup>.

### 5.3. Conclusion

The discussion and analysis of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ‘will dispute’ from Elephantine and the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty architrave inscription of Herimeru at Saqqara has demonstrated that there is a remarkable continuity in meaning between the terms *b3* and *b3w* in these texts and that in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets, and the Pyramid Texts. As with the abstract noun *b3w* in the Pyramid Texts, the term *b3w* in the ‘will dispute’ designates and signifies the king’s efficacious power to enforce and maintain order. This is supported by (a) the use of sign G7 as a determinative for the term *ntr* within the quoted ‘oath’, which, during the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, was used to specifically designate *ntr* as the king, and (b) the contexts in which the term *b3w* has been used, the ‘oath’ essentially embodying a guarantee of divine retribution against Sobek-Hetep if he had lied about the validity and contents of the document.

On the other hand, the discussion and analysis of the term *b3* in Herimeru’s architrave inscription has demonstrated that it does not refer to an attribute, as previously argued, but rather to Herimeru’s state of being *b3*. A comparison of Herimeru’s text with earlier non-royal funerary texts and with ‘The Instructions of

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<sup>411</sup> For a detailed discussion of the decline of the Old Kingdom see M. Bárta, “Ancient Egyptian History as an Example of Punctuated Equilibrium: An Outline”, in *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom: Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, eds. P. Der Manuelian & T. Schneider (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, 2015): 1-17.

Ptah-Hotep' has demonstrated that like the use of *b3* as a designation for gods and the king, the non-royal state of being *b3* also designated a state of distinction and eminence, specifically denoting the individual as one who had acted in accordance with *m3ct*. This is especially apparent in the 'Instructions of Ptah-Hotep', which states that a man nourishes his *b3* by being knowledgeable and by acting in accordance with *m3ct*. Furthermore, the wish of Herimeru for his *b3* to 'endure' before the god suggested that the non-royal deceased may have been subject to a form of judgement in the afterlife. This is further supported by the subsequent request that Herimeru's 'document' be accepted by the god, which served as a witness to Herimeru's good deeds. Finally, it has been suggested that the use of *b3* in Herimeru's text is the result of the increasingly declining power and authority of the monarchy during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasties. This argument is supported by several factors, including the parallels between Herimeru's text and the earlier non-royal funerary texts (i.e. the declarations of good deeds), the absence of the term *b3* in these earlier non-royal funerary texts, the exclusively divine and royal nature of *b3* and *b3w* prior to Herimeru's text, and the political and social contexts surrounding Herimeru's text. This evidence thus indicates that as the non-royal began to assume more power and authority, they were also gradually appropriating and utilizing divine and royal terminology.

## Chapter 6 – Conclusion

This study has analyzed the earliest extant evidence pertaining to the ancient Egyptian terms *b3* and *b3w* from Late Predynastic Period to the end of the Old Kingdom in order to elucidate their original function and meaning. The significance of these terms is evidenced by both their antiquity, as well as their widespread use throughout ancient Egyptian history. Although various scholars have recognized this and dedicated studies to elucidating the original function and meaning of these terms, it has been demonstrated that no single study thus far has investigated all of the extant evidence. This is especially apparent with regards to the hieroglyph used to signify *b3* and *b3w*, the Saddlebill stork, which represents the oldest and most prevalent signifier for these terms.

The first and only scholar thus far to recognize the fact that the connection between the Saddlebill stork and *b3* and *b3w* had not been investigated is Jiri Janák (2011). His study highlighted the significant fact that while there are no representations of this bird in Dynastic iconography, numerous images thereof are attested in the Late Predynastic Period. The latter evidence predates the standardization and formalization of writing in Egypt and suggested that the Saddlebill stork was consciously selected to signify the terms *b3* and *b3w* in the ancient Egyptian writing system. In order to establish the perceived relationship between the stork and the terms *b3* and *b3w*, and thus also refine the meaning of the *b3* and *b3w* in their earliest textual attestations, this thesis thus analyzed images of the Saddlebill stork in Late Predynastic iconography.

A review of Janák's study demonstrated that not only did he project extant later definitions of *b3* and *b3w* onto the Late Predynastic images of the stork, but also that he had not studied all of the extant attestations. This indicated that the meaning

and function of Late Predynastic Saddlebill stork images had not been fully explored.

Images of the Saddlebill stork appear in three Late Predynastic iconographic contexts – the Naqada IID-III A ‘animal-rows’ motif adorning the handles of weapons and items of personal adornment; cylinder seals and cylinder seal impressions; and rock inscriptions of the Eastern and Western Deserts. From a detailed study of this iconography, as well as a discussion of the appearance, ecology, and behavior of the living species, it was demonstrated that images of the Saddlebill stork signified violent action and subjugation in the service of ‘Order over Chaos’ and ‘Peace’. That the stork was not only connected with violence and subjugation, but also enacting violence and subjugating, is supported by its association with a harpoon on the Naqada IIIB cylinder seal from tomb L-17 in Qustul, as well as the fact that it is recurrently depicted with a snake at its beak, such as in the ‘animal-rows’ motif and the Gebel Djehuty inscription no. 1.

The discussion of the living species highlighted the fact that the stork has a unique hunting technique in which it utilizes its long, thin, and slightly recurved beak to repeatedly impale its prey. That the Predynastic Egyptians observed and subsequently associated this technique with the harpoon was further indicated by the fact that the term for ‘harpoon (and spear)’ in Old Kingdom texts was an instrumental noun derived from the verb *b3*, *m<sup>c</sup>b3*<sup>412</sup>. It was further demonstrated that the harpoon functioned not only as a practical tool, but also as a weapon, and that it was depicted primarily as a means of overcoming and subjugating the ‘forces of chaos’ in Predynastic, Early Dynastic, and Old Kingdom iconography<sup>413</sup>. The recurrent depiction of the stork with a snake at its beak further emphasized and reinforced the stork’s association with subjugating ‘chaos’, as snakes are both known prey of the

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<sup>412</sup> Refer to pages 38-40.

<sup>413</sup> Refer to pages 38-40.

living species<sup>414</sup> and are associated with ‘chaos’ and ‘the enemy’ in later ancient Egyptian funerary texts<sup>415</sup>.

The violent action of the stork as a prelude to “Order over Chaos” and “peace” was further indicated by the fact that the stork and snake compound is exclusively depicted in contexts in which order and peace had been established. Thus in both the ‘animal-rows’ motif and in the Gebel Djehuty inscription, it precedes scenes depicting the control over ‘forces of chaos’, the latter signified by the nude, bound war captive controlled by a figure holding a mace (Gebel Djehuty) and the ordered rows of desert fauna and mythological creatures controlled by hunting dogs and rosettes (“animal-rows” motif). This narrative is further emphasized by the fact that a giraffe is recurrently depicted directly following the stork in the ‘animal-rows’ motif. Both Dreyer (2010) and Raffaele (2010) highlighted the fact that the giraffe was associated with the concept of ‘foresight’, and Dreyer further emphasized that the giraffe functions as a *caesura* within the ‘animal-rows’ motif, essentially introducing the result of the stork’s action. The link between the stork, subjugation, and the resulting ‘control’ was also indicated by the fact that it is associated with the bucranium on a pole, a symbol referring to the defeat of a strong enemy, in both the Gebel Djehuty inscription and the el-Khawy inscription. In addition to control over ‘chaos’, this result is also characterized by peace, the latter indicated by the fact that the Saddlebill storks and other species of birds known to feed on snakes directly following the giraffe in the ‘animal-rows’ motif are depicted without snakes.

The argument that the stork was associated with bringing about ‘order’ and ‘peace’ through subjugation was finally emphasized and reinforced by the iconography of the Naqada IID cylinder seal impression from Tomb U-210 in

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<sup>414</sup> Refer to pages 38-41.

<sup>415</sup> Refer to pages 38-41.

Abydos. While J. Hill (2006) interpreted this impression as evidence for trade relations between Egypt and Nubia, it was demonstrated, however, that it signified the subjugation and subjection of a foreign area and the levy that resulted from that subjugation. This was indicated by the bow-tie shaped signs as signifying *g3wt* ‘tribute’ and the three-peaked mountain signs as *h3swt* “foreign lands” or “desert”.

Images of the Saddlebill stork did not thus simply signify ‘power’ as forwarded by Janák, but formed part of a formalized corpus of images and motifs that expressed, reinforced, and perpetuated the fundamental Egyptian doctrine of ‘Order over Chaos’. That this species of stork was specifically selected to signify the actual subjecting of ‘chaos’ is not surprising. As one of the largest and most distinctive storks in Africa today, and most certainly in ancient Egypt, it conveys a sense of dominance in the faunal landscape. Furthermore, its territorial behavior and ‘brutal’ feeding technique gives the impression of ferocity, strength, and power.

In previous studies on the terms *b3* and *b3w* in Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts, the majority of scholars have argued that they express ‘divine or supernatural power’<sup>416</sup>. This already indicated that the relationship between the Saddlebill stork and *b3* and *b3w* was more than simply phonetic, as previously argued by Ward<sup>417</sup>. However, it was also noted that the definition ‘power’ is too broad, as there are several other related terms, such as *sh̄m* and *wsr*, which have also been defined as ‘power’. It has been argued that ‘power’ should be considered an *umbrella-term*, which then contains the various types of nuanced power i.e. *b3*, *sh̄m*, and *wsr*. In order to refine and clarify the nuances of *b3* and *b3w*, this thesis thus proceeded with an in-depth analysis of the earliest textual and iconographic evidence for *b3* and *b3w*, including 38 Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom divine, royal, non-royal, and place


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<sup>416</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 51-57; Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 67-88.

<sup>417</sup> See footnote 26.



names, divine epithets, and administrative and priestly titles; reliefs depicting the *Heb-Sed* festival from the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghorab; the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty Pyramid Texts; the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ‘will dispute’ from Elephantine (pBerlin 9010), and the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty architrave inscription of Herimeru at Saqqara.


The discussion and analysis of the above evidence lead to the following conclusions. The first conclusion is that the terms *b3* and *b3w* had two major functions and that their meaning was based not only upon grammar and context, but also on the determinatives used. They could either designate attributes, signified by the use of suffix pronouns and direct genitives, or a state of being, signified by the use of *b3* as a verb in a prospective *sdm.f* or stative. Studying the evidence chronologically demonstrated that the singular noun *b3* as an attribute was only introduced during the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as evidenced in the Pyramid Texts<sup>418</sup>. Furthermore, the architrave inscription of Herimeru highlighted the importance of taking into account the hieroglyphs used to determine a term. While previous scholars had interpreted *b3* within this text as an attribute, the use of sign  (A50) as a determinative indicated that it rather referred to Herimeru in the state of being *b3*<sup>419</sup>.

The second conclusion is that there was a gradual development in the characteristics necessary to be considered as being *b3* and possessing *b3(w)*. Through a discussion of the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom names, titles, and epithets, as well as related iconography, it was demonstrated that originally only the gods were referred to as being *b3* and possessing *b3w*. As a result, the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis were not originally the deceased royal ancestors of the king, as was the general consensus in Egyptology, but rather various groups of gods associated with these cities – the *b3w* of Nekhen and Pe most probably being the Upper and Lower

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<sup>418</sup> Refer to pages 74.

<sup>419</sup> Refer to page 94.

Egyptian *šmsw-hr* (Horus, Thoth, and the Upper and Lower Egyptian Wepwawet), and the *b3w* of Heliopolis including the Enneads of Upper and Lower Egypt<sup>420</sup>. During the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Dynasties, however, these terms were gradually subsumed into royal ideology, evidenced by the use of *b3* in the royal Horus name of a 3<sup>rd</sup> Dynasty king *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3* (Ind. Ent. **D**), as well as the reference to Snefru being *b3* in a non-royal name (Ind. Ent. **I**). This gradual adoption of divine terminology into royal ideology was shown to coincide with the increasing “divineness” of ancient Egyptian kingship during the early Old Kingdom, as evidenced by Snefru’s use of the royal title *ntr nfr* “the perfect/young god”. Furthermore, while previous scholars have argued that only the deceased king could be *b3* and possess *b3w*<sup>421</sup>, it was demonstrated that these terms were actually first applied to the living and reigning king, and then subsequently extended into royal funerary beliefs. This argument is supported by the names of two 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty official ships (Ind. Ents. **DD** & **FF**), which functioned to express the divine and royal status and authority of the living king, as well as the fact that overt references to the *deceased* king being *b3* and possessing *b3w* only appear during the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, as evidenced by the name of Sahure’s pyramid and mortuary domains (Ind. Ents. **EE** & **KK**). That the living king possessed *b3w* was further indicated by the discussion of the 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty ‘will dispute’ from Elephantine, the use of sign  (G7) as a determinative for the god in the ‘oath’ specifically indicating that this ‘god’ referred to the king<sup>422</sup>. Finally, the text of Herimereu indicated that during the late 6<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, non-royal individuals began to be referred to as being *b3*. As this is the only extant evidence that associates non-royal individuals with these terms, it is not possible to assert whether they were also believed to possess

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<sup>420</sup> Refer to pages 51-58.

<sup>421</sup> Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 57-88; Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 51-57; Kees, *Totenglauben*, 53-56.

<sup>422</sup> Refer to pages 89-92.

*b3* and *b3w*, although it is most likely that this is the first timid way to mention it.

The third and final conclusion is that the terms *b3* and *b3w* were utilized to express the status, authority, effectiveness, power, and ability of the gods, the king, and non-royal individuals to actively uphold and maintain cosmic order or *m3t*. The Pyramid Texts consistently associate being *b3* with being *shm* “in control”<sup>423</sup>, *w3š* “esteemed”<sup>424</sup>, and *spd* “sharp and effective”<sup>425</sup>. This indicated that *b3* was a state of distinction, prestige, and eminence. Furthermore, various spells from the Pyramid Texts recurrently associate becoming *b3* with taking action and being *b3* with having acted. This further indicated that the state of *b3* was ascribed to and attained by those who had acted effectively. A discussion of the role of *b3t*, the *šmsw-ḥr*, the *b3w* of Nekhen, Pe, and Heliopolis, and the *b3wy* of the *pr ḥry-wdb* “house of the master of distribution/largesse” further demonstrated that this action was directed towards the restoration and maintenance of “Order over Chaos” or *m3t* and peace<sup>426</sup>. For the gods, this included providing the king with the necessary protection and power to overcome his enemies in battle, protecting and assisting the king in the renewal of his powers and ability to uphold *m3t*, protecting and assisting the deceased king in his rebirth and resurrection, as well as ensuring the continuous provision of offerings. It should be noted that all of these actions are also mentioned clearly in the didactic text, the ‘Instructions for king Merykare’<sup>427</sup>.

The Pyramid Texts further indicated that the actions taken by the king essentially parallel that of the gods, PT 218 specifically stating that he ensured the continual provisioning of offerings<sup>428</sup>. On the other hand, with regards to Herimeru’s

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<sup>423</sup> Wb 4, 245.10-248.21.

<sup>424</sup> Wb 1, 261.9-262.8.

<sup>425</sup> Wb 4, 108.15-109.13.

<sup>426</sup> Refer to pages 61-67.

<sup>427</sup> Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian literature*, pg. 106 2<sup>nd</sup> paragraph - parallel noted by Dr. Fayza Haikal.

<sup>428</sup> Refer to page 79.

text, as well as the later ‘Instructions of Ptah-*Hotep*’, it is clear that a non-royal individual’s state of being *b3* was associated with their essential ‘goodness’ during life, and was measured by their deeds. This is evidenced by the various declarations in tomb biographies, such as “I spoke truthfully”, “I did *m3t*”, and “I judged between two parties so as to content them”, as well as the direct association between *b3* and acting according to *m3t* in the “Instructions of Ptah-*Hotep*”. Furthermore, the use of the phrase *dd b3.f hr ntr* “May his *b3* endure before the god” in Herimeru’s text suggested that, unlike the gods and the king, the non-royal deceased underwent a form of judgement in the afterlife, his distinction of being *b3* essentially brought into question before the god. This judgement of the deceased becomes very clear in the later New Kingdom Book of the Dead Chapter 125, the vignette of this chapter often including an image of the deceased’s *b3* observing the weighing of the heart<sup>429</sup>.

The Pyramid Texts further illustrated the means through which the gods and the king achieved the state of being *b3*, and thus also the restoration of order and peace, was through their *b3* (singular noun) and their *b3w* (abstract noun). The recurrent association of *b3* with *sh̄m* “to control”, and its appearance alongside *s̄nh̄* “to cause life” in the Pyramid Texts of Neith indicated that it denoted the ability of a god or a king to act in order to instill order or *m3t* i.e. their *efficacy*. It has also been suggested that the recurrent presentation of the king’s *b3* and *b3w* as independent entities in the Pyramid Texts referred to the offering of ritual items to the king, namely the *ds̄rt* ‘Red Crown’ and ‘*b3*-scepter’<sup>430</sup>.

The transposition of *b3* and *b3w* in parallel texts and the similar contexts in which they are used further demonstrated that these terms essentially referred to the

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<sup>429</sup> Development noted by Dr. Fayza Haikal. For an image of the *b3* at the weighing of the heart see the Papyrus of Ani, BM 10470.3.

<sup>430</sup> Refer to pages 81-86.

same concept. It has been argued that *b3w* represents an abstraction of *b3*, and thus denotes the power to effectively enforce order i.e. a divine being's *efficaciousness* or *efficacious power*. Furthermore, the king is endowed with *b3w* through the *dšrt* 'Red crown', which effectively imbued him with the power (i.e. *b3w*) to instill 'fear' and 'dread' in others, to destroy his enemies, to control the gods, the living, and the *Akhs*, and thus to instill order and *m3t*.

The terms *b3* and *b3w* thus emerged to essentially explain and articulate how the Egyptians viewed the gods', the king's, and eventually non-royal individuals' roles and duties within the cosmos. This centered on the fundamental belief in "Order over Chaos" or *m3t* versus *isft*, and how the former was in perpetual battle against the latter.

The parallels noted between the function and meaning of *b3* within the 'Instructions of Ptah-Hotep' and Herimereu's text indicates that there is continuity. A further group of later texts that also highlight this continuity is a corpus of non-royal texts from Deir el-Medina<sup>431</sup>. These texts include short and fragmentary descriptions of events within the community, including theft, court judgments in which the accused was found to be lying, and social impropriety, and the subsequent result of these actions<sup>432</sup>. This result was expressed by the phrase *b3w ntr hprw* "the *b3w* of the god happened/came about" and how this caused fear and dread within the transgressor<sup>433</sup>. The contexts in which *b3w* is used and the resulting dread and fear, exactly parallels the contexts and effect in the above earlier texts, such as the "will dispute from Elephantine", and PT 422 and 221, which state that the king's *b3w* will be against transgressors and that it inspires 'dread' and 'fear'. This indicates that *b3w*

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<sup>431</sup> Borghouts, "Divine intervention", 1-70.

<sup>432</sup> Borghouts, "Divine intervention", 4-6.

<sup>433</sup> Borghouts, "Divine intervention", 4-6.

within these New Kingdom texts retained the meaning apparent in the Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom texts and that it continued to signify the efficacious power of a god/king to restore and enforce order and *mꜣt*. On a final note, it is interesting that the term *bꜣw* is preserved in the Coptic ΒΗΥ<sup>434</sup> ‘outrage’, ‘wrath’, or ‘punishment’,<sup>435</sup> which very closely parallels the broader meaning of *bꜣw* in the above ancient Egyptian texts.

The use of the Saddlebill stork as a hieroglyph for *bꜣ* and *bꜣw* was thus intimately associated with the meaning of these terms. It not only signified the phoneme *bꜣ*, but also expressed the impactful, authoritative, and effective nature of the gods, the king, and non-royals as *bꜣ*. The interrelatedness between the stork and *bꜣ* and *bꜣw* further underscores the importance of taking into consideration the visual aspect of ancient Egyptian terms and that this also contributed to the signified meaning. As Orly Goldwasser reminds us, “As they (i.e. hieroglyphs) are images, the icons nevertheless always retain the ability to return to their raw iconic phase”<sup>436</sup>.

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<sup>434</sup> J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 28.

<sup>435</sup> Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, 28; Hornung, *Conceptions of god*, 61.

<sup>436</sup> O. Goldwasser, *From Icon to Metaphor: Studies in the Semiotics of the Hieroglyphs* (Fribourg: University Press Fribourg, 1995): 19.

## Appendix A

### *Index of Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom Names, Epithets and Titles*

#### Divine names and epithets

A. *b3(t)*  <sup>437</sup>

- (a) Early Dynastic Period, Dyn. 1
- (b) Raised relief on reconstructed porphyry bowl, Hierakonpolis ‘Main Deposit’<sup>438</sup>
- (c) Name of Goddess
- (d) Taken to be the feminine form of *b3*:

*b3t* ‘female power’<sup>439</sup>

*b3t* ‘She who possesses supra-mundane power’<sup>440</sup>

B. *b3wy hnty pr hryw-wdbw* 


- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Sahure
- (b) Relief block from the Valley Temple of *s3hw-r*<sup>c</sup>, Abusir<sup>441</sup>
- (c) Divine epithet; is also attested in the priestly title *hm-ntr b3wy hnty pr hryw-wdbw*<sup>442</sup>
- (d) *b3wy hntywy pr hryw-wdbw* “The two souls (Horus & Seth), preeminent in the house of those in charge of reversions (of offerings)”<sup>443</sup>

C. *b3stt nb(t)-nh(-t3wy) shmt šsmtt ish<sup>c</sup>it b3w.s nbt h3bs*



- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Niuserre
- (b) Relief fragment (Berlin 16101), Mortuary Temple of Niuserre, Abusir<sup>444</sup>

<sup>437</sup> These are the only two signs that have survived from the fragments of the bowl. This reading was

based on later Old Kingdom attestations of the goddess’ name -  (PT 506 §1096b).

<sup>438</sup> E.M. Burgess & A. J. Arkell, “The reconstruction of the Ḥathōr Bowl”, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 44 (1958): 6-11.

<sup>439</sup> Lesko, *great goddesses*, 81.

<sup>440</sup> Ward, *The four Egyptian homographic roots B-3*, 84.

<sup>441</sup> L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S’azhu-Re’* vol 3 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910-1913), pl.19.

<sup>442</sup> A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l’Ancien Empire: fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris: Vieweg, 1889), 419 & 455.

<sup>443</sup> Fischer, *Coptite nome*, 45.

(c) Divine epithet of Syncretic Goddess Bastet-Sekhmet-Seshmetet

(d) *sh<sup>c</sup>t-b3w.s* “one who makes her bas shine”<sup>445</sup>

*jsh<sup>c</sup>it-b3w.s* “She who makes her creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) appear”<sup>446</sup>

## Royal names and Epithets

D. *hrw h<sup>c</sup>i-b3*



(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 3 – Khaba

(b) two cylinder seal impressions; Hierakonpolis<sup>447</sup> & unprovenanced<sup>448</sup>

Inscription on 5 dolomite bowls, Zawiyet el Aryan Mast. Z500<sup>449</sup>

Inscription on diorite bowl, Elephantine<sup>450</sup>

Inscription on stone bowl, Mortuary Temple of Sahure, Abusir<sup>451</sup>

(c) Horus name of King

(d) *h<sup>c</sup>-b3*<sup>452</sup>

*hrw h<sup>c</sup>i-b3* “Horus, the one who is capable of changing forms (Gestaltfähige) appears”<sup>453</sup>

*h<sup>c</sup>-b3* ‘arisen as a *b3*’<sup>454</sup> (Wilkinson, 1999: 173)

*h<sup>c</sup>-b3* ‘The (very) appearance of a *b3*’<sup>455</sup>

E. [...] *sn hr sth mr(y) b3w twnw*



(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 4 – Menkaure

<sup>444</sup> L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re'* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907), 94 fig. 72

<sup>445</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 15.

<sup>446</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 21.

<sup>447</sup> J.E. Quibell & F. W. Green, *Hierakonpolis* vol II (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1900-1902), pl. 70.1.

<sup>448</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Scarabs and cylinders with names: illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt; Constable & Co.; Bernard Quaritch, 1917), pl. 8.2 (UC 11755).

<sup>449</sup> D. Dunham, *Zawiyet el-Aryan. The Cemeteries Adjacent to the Layer Pyramid* (Boston: Department of Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1978), 34.

<sup>450</sup> W. Kaiser, G. Dreyer, H. Jaritz, A. Krekeler, T. Schläger & M. Ziermann, *Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 13./14. Grabungsbericht, Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 43 (1987): 109, Abb.13.

<sup>451</sup> L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'azhu-Re'* vol 1 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910-1913), 114.

<sup>452</sup> J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 526.

<sup>453</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 9.


<sup>454</sup> Wilkinson, *Early dynastic Egypt*, 173.

<sup>455</sup> Leprohon, *The great name*, 211.



- (b) 9 Cylinder seal impressions (Seal 12), ‘Pottery Mound’ in the ‘Western Town’ south-east of the Sphinx, Giza<sup>456</sup>
- (c) Epithet of Menkaure
- (d) [...] *sn hr sth mr(y) b3w iwnw* “[Menkaure,] brother of Horus and Seth (and) beloved of the Souls of Heliopolis”<sup>457</sup>

### Non-royal Names


F. *hw-b3*<sup>458</sup> 

- (a) Early Dynastic Period, Dyn. 1 - Djer
- (a) Inscription on two copper adzes and one ivory label, subsidiary tombs 461 & 612 of Djer’s Funerary Enclosure, North cemetery, Abydos<sup>459</sup>
- (b) Name of non-royal individual
- (s) *bh*<sup>460</sup> (Petrie, 1925: 4)

*ih̄t b3* - “Property of Ba”<sup>461</sup>

*ih̄t-b3* “Property of the one who is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähigen)”<sup>462</sup>

*hw-b3* “The one whom the ba protects”<sup>463</sup>

G. *3-b3w-ntr* 

- (a) Early Dynastic Period, Dyn. 2 – Khasekhemwy<sup>464</sup>
- (b) Ink inscription on stone vase fragment, subterranean galleries under the Step Pyramid in Saqqara<sup>465</sup>

<sup>456</sup> J. Nolan, *Mud sealings and Fourth Dynasty administration at Giza*. (PhD Dissertation, University of Chicago, 2010), 5-20.

<sup>457</sup> J. Nolan, *Mud sealings*, 210.

<sup>458</sup> This reading is further supported by later attestations of this name in which the *w* is present – see 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty seated statue of *hw-b3* and his wife, *b3rw* MFA 06.1885.

<sup>459</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers and Oxyrhynchos* (London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt; Bernard Quaritch, 1925), 4.

<sup>460</sup> W. M. F. Petrie, *Tombs of the courtiers*, 4.

<sup>461</sup> P. Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* vol I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1963), 461.



<sup>462</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 13.

<sup>463</sup> According to Kahl, the writing of *hw* without the *w* is attested from later renderings of the name of Khufu – J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 526, ft. 767.

<sup>464</sup> Dating by I. Regulski, *A palaeographic study of early writing in Egypt* (Leuven: Peeters; Departement Oosterse Studies, 2010), 448.

<sup>465</sup> P. Lacau & J.-Ph. Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés. Tome V. Inscriptions à l'encre sur les vases* (Le Caire: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 1965), no.47, Pl. 22.8.


(c) Name of non-royal individual

(d) *ntr-imy*()-*b3w* or *ntr-wn*()- *b3w*<sup>466</sup>

*ntr-imy-b3w*, “god who is in the Bas” or “god in whom the Bas are”<sup>467</sup>

*3-b3w-ntr* “Great is the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of the god”<sup>468</sup>

*3-b3w-ntr*<sup>469</sup>

H. *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-skr* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 3 – Sanakht<sup>470</sup>

(b) False door of *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-skr* (CG 1385), Mast. S3037, Saqqara<sup>471</sup>

(c) Name of non-royal individual

(d) *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-skr* ‘The *b3w* of the (God) *skr* shine (glänzen)’<sup>472</sup>

*h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-skr* ‘Resplendent of Bas is Sokar’<sup>473</sup>

*h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-skr* “The creative power of Sokar appears”<sup>474</sup>

I. *snfrw-b3.f* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 4 – Snefru<sup>475</sup>

(b) False door of *k3(.i)-nfr*<sup>476</sup>, Mast. of *k3(.i)-nfr*, east of North Pyramid of Snefru, Dahshur<sup>477</sup>

(c) Name of non-royal individual

(d) *snfrw-b3.f* “King Snefru is ensouled (beseelt)”<sup>478</sup>

*snfrw-b3.f* “Snefru, he is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>479</sup>

<sup>466</sup> Lacau & Lauer, *La pyramide à degrés*, 36.

<sup>467</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 60.

<sup>468</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 18.

<sup>469</sup> Kaplony, *Inschriften Frühzeit*, 444.

<sup>470</sup> Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 526

<sup>471</sup> A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire: fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris: Vieweg, 1889).

<sup>472</sup> H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I: Verzeichnis der Namen* (Glückstadt: J. J. Augustin, 1935), 357 no. 14.

<sup>473</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 59.

<sup>474</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 20.

<sup>475</sup> J. de Morgan, ‘Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894-5’ II (Vienna, 1903), pl. XXVI; PM III<sup>2</sup>, 893.

<sup>476</sup> BM 1324


<sup>477</sup> J. de Morgan, ‘Fouilles à Dahchour’, pl. XXVI.

<sup>478</sup> H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band II: Einleitung; Form und Inhalt der Namen; Geschichte der Namen; Vergleiche mit anderen Namen; Nachträge und Zusätze zu Band I; Umschreibungslisten* (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1952), 80 no. 25.

<sup>479</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 14.

J. *wr-b3w* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 4 – Khufu<sup>480</sup>
- (b) Painted tomb relief, eastern wall of Mast. of *wr-m-nfrt* (G1201), Giza<sup>481</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *wr b3w* “Great is the creative power (of X)” or “Great in creative power (is X)”<sup>482</sup>

K. *hrw-b3.f* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 4 - Khufu<sup>483</sup>
- (b) Inscription on red granite sarcophagus (CG1788), shaft A of Mast. of *hrw-b3.f* (G7420), Giza<sup>484</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *hr-b3.f* “Horus is ensouled (beseelt)”<sup>485</sup>

*hr-b3.f* or *b3.f-hr*<sup>486</sup>

*hrw-b3.f* “Horus, he is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>487</sup>

L. *b3-b3.f*<sup>488</sup> 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Late Dyn. 4 – Early Dyn. 5<sup>489</sup>
- (b) Inscriptions from the Mast. of *b3-b3.f* (G5230), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>490</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *b3-b3.f* “The (sacred) ram is ensouled (beseelt)”<sup>491</sup>

<sup>480</sup> W.S. Smith, ‘The stela of Prince Wepemnofret’, in *Archaeology* 16 no. 1 (1963), pp. 2-13.

<sup>481</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/309/full/>

<sup>482</sup> According to Wolf-Brinkmann, in cases such as these where the name of a king or god/goddess is missing, it is the shortened version of the name - *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 20.


<sup>483</sup> PM III<sup>1</sup>: 194

<sup>484</sup> PM III<sup>1</sup>: 194

<sup>485</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band II*, 33 & 258.

<sup>486</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 58.

<sup>487</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 14.

<sup>488</sup> While the name has previously been read as either *b3-b3.f* or *hnmw-b3.f*, according to Wolf-Brinkmann, a fragment from the tomb containing the name of the deceased does include  (sign W10A) before the ram (E10), which indicates it should be read as *b3* rather than *hnmw* - *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 14.

<sup>489</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/2020/full/>

<sup>490</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/2020/full/>

<sup>491</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band II*, 275 no. 30.

*hnmw-b3.f*<sup>492</sup>

*b3-b3.f* “The Ram, he is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>493</sup>

M. *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-hwt-hrw* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Userkaf

(b) Tomb relief, west wall of hall, Rock-cut Mast. of *nj-k3(.j)-<sup>c</sup>nh*, Tihna<sup>494</sup>

(c) Name of non-royal individual

(d) *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-hwt-hrw* “The *b3w* of Hathor shine (glänzen)”<sup>495</sup>

*h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-hwt-hrw* “The creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Hathor appears”<sup>496</sup>

N. *wr-b3w-hnmw* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Sahure<sup>497</sup>


(b) Relief from the Mortuary Temple of Sahure, eastern section of the southern wall, southern passage, Abusir<sup>498</sup>

(c) Name of non-royal individual

(d) *wr-b3w-b3* “Great in Glory (Ruhm) is the ram”<sup>499</sup>

*wr-b3w-b3*<sup>500</sup>

*wr-b3w-hnmw* “Great is the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Khnum”<sup>501</sup>

O. *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Neferirkare<sup>502</sup>

(b) False door of *wš-ptḥ isi*, Mast. of *wš-ptḥ isi* (D.38), Saqqara<sup>503</sup>

(c) Name of non-royal individual

(d) *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w*<sup>504</sup>

<sup>492</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 59.

<sup>493</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 14.

<sup>494</sup> Urk. 1 26; PM IV: 131

<sup>495</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 263 no. 13.

<sup>496</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 20.

<sup>497</sup> Borchartt, *S'azḥu-Re'*, pl. 17.

<sup>498</sup> Borchartt, *S'azḥu-Re'*, pl. 17.

<sup>499</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 80 no. 26.


<sup>500</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 59.

<sup>501</sup> When  $\overline{\text{W}}$  (W10A) is not included before the ram (E10), Wolf-Brinkmann states that it should be read as *hnmw* rather than *b3* - Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 15.

<sup>502</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: 456.

<sup>503</sup> A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire: fragment du dernier ouvrage de A. Mariette* (Paris: Vieweg, 1889), 269.

*ḥꜥi-bꜣw* “The creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) (of X)<sup>505</sup> appears”

P. *pth-bꜣ.f* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Neferirkare<sup>506</sup>
- (b) False door of *wš-ptḥ isi*, Mast. of *wš-ptḥ isi* (D.38), Saqqara<sup>507</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *pth-bꜣ.f* (Ranke, vol I 1935: 139 no.8)

*pth-bꜣ.f* “Ptah, he is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>508</sup>

*pth-bꜣ.f* “Ptah is immanent”<sup>509</sup>

Q. *iw-m-bꜣw.s* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Neferirkare or later<sup>510</sup>
- (b) False door of *nfr-irt-n.f*, Mast. of *nfr-irt-n.f*, east of the Step Pyramid at Saqqara<sup>511</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *iw-m-bꜣw.s* “It is in her power (?)”<sup>512</sup>

*iw-m-bꜣw.s* “I exist through her creative ability (Gestaltungsvermögen)”<sup>513</sup>

*iw-m-bꜣw.s* “It is in her *bꜣw* (?)”<sup>514</sup>

R. *wr-bꜣw-skr* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Niuserre<sup>515</sup>
- (b) Tomb relief from the Mas. of *ptḥ-špss*, Eastern wall of room 10, Abusir<sup>516</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *wr-bꜣw-skr* “Great is the power of Sokar”<sup>517</sup>

<sup>504</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 263 no.11.

<sup>505</sup> See footnote 482 for this reading and for reference.

<sup>506</sup> Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 270.

<sup>507</sup> Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 269.

<sup>508</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 14.

<sup>509</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G29&os=11>

<sup>510</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>:584.

<sup>511</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>:584.

<sup>512</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 13 no. 15.


<sup>513</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 22.

<sup>514</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?id=190>

<sup>515</sup> M. Verner, *Abusir I: The mastaba of Ptahshepses*, (Prague: Charles University, 1977).

<sup>516</sup> Verner, *Abusir I*, 93, 95, 165 no. 131 & pl. 51.

<sup>517</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?id=1088>

S. *k3k3i-b3.f* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Niuserre<sup>518</sup>
- (b) Relief fragments, west end of the north wall, northern corridor of pillared courtyard, Mortuary Temple of Niuserre, Abusir<sup>519</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *k3k3i-b3.f* “The (king) *k3k3i* is ensouled”<sup>520</sup>

*k3k3j-b3.f* “Kakai, he is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>521</sup>

T. *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-ptḥ* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5- Niuserre<sup>522</sup>
- (b) Inscriptions in Mast. of *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-ptḥ* (D.42), north of the Step Pyramid, Saqqara<sup>523</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-ptḥ* “It shines (erglänzt) (namely) the glory (Ruhm) of Ptah”<sup>524</sup>

*h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-ptḥ* “The *b3w* of ptah shine (glänzen)”<sup>525</sup>

*h<sup>c</sup>i-b3w-ptḥ* “The creative ability (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Ptah appears”<sup>526</sup>

U. *nfr-b3w-ptḥ* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Niuserre<sup>527</sup>
- (b) Inscriptions in Mast. of *nfr-b3w-ptḥ* (G6010), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>528</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *nfr-b3w-ptḥ* “Beautiful of souls is Ptah”<sup>529</sup>

*nfr-b3w-ptḥ* “Perfect is the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Ptah”<sup>530</sup>

<sup>518</sup> L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-re*. (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907), 74.

<sup>519</sup> Borchardt, *Ne-user-re*, 74.

<sup>520</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band II*, 322 no. 7.

<sup>521</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 15.

<sup>522</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: 453.

<sup>523</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: 453; Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, 294-295.

<sup>524</sup> Borchardt, *S'azḥu-Re*, 124.

<sup>525</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 263 no. 12.

<sup>526</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 20.

<sup>527</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1363/full/>

<sup>528</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1363/full/>

<sup>529</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 195 no. 29.

V. *issi-b3.f* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Djedkare-Isesi<sup>531</sup>
- (b) West wall tomb relief, north panel, Mastaba of *snḏm-jb-jntj* (G2370), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>532</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *issi-b3.f* “Isesi is ensouled”<sup>533</sup>  
*issi-b3.f* “Asosi, he is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>534</sup>

W. *wr-b3w-k3k3i* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Djedkare Isesi<sup>535</sup>
- (b) The Abusir Papyri, Berlin P.15722<sup>536</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *wr-b3w-k3k3i* “Great is the Power of Kakai”<sup>537</sup>

X. *wr-b3w-rʿ* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn 5-6<sup>538</sup>
- (b) Inscription on architrave (Hildesheim, Pelizaeus-Museum 3), from the Mast. of *wr-b3w-rʿ* (D.19), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>539</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *wr-b3w-rʿ* “Great in glory (Ruhm) is Ra”<sup>540</sup>  
*wr-b3w-rʿ*<sup>541</sup>  
*wr-b3w-rʿ* “Great is the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Ra”<sup>542</sup>

<sup>530</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 20.

<sup>531</sup> E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex. Part I: The Mastabas of Senedjem Inti (G2370), Khnumenti (G2374), and Senedjemib Mebi (G2378)* (Boston: Art of the Ancient World/ Museum of Fine Arts, 2001), 37.

<sup>532</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/1865/intro/>

<sup>533</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 45 no. 22.

<sup>534</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 15.

<sup>535</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=7>

<sup>536</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=7>

<sup>537</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=7>

<sup>538</sup> PM III<sup>1</sup>: 109



<sup>539</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/58/full/>

<sup>540</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 80 no. 28.

<sup>541</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 60.


Y. *wr-b3w-ptḥ* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 6<sup>543</sup>
- (b) False door of *nfrn* (Leipzig 3135), from Mast. of *nfrn* (G4351), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>544</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *wr-b3w-ptḥ* “Great in glory (Ruhm) is Ptah”<sup>545</sup>  
*wr-b3w-ptḥ* “Great of Bas is Ptah”<sup>546</sup>  
*wr-b3w-ptḥ* “Great is the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Ptah”<sup>547</sup>  
*wr-b3w-ptḥ* “Great is the power of Ptah”<sup>548</sup>

Z. *ḥw-b3wy*  (var.) *ḥw-b3w* 

- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 6 – Pepi II<sup>549</sup>
- (b) ‘House Stela’ of *ḥwi-b3wy* (CG 49805), also rendered as *ḥwi-b3w* on two obelisks belonging to the same individual, recovered from cache near the entrance to the secondary enclosure of *wḏbt-n(.j)*, Saqqara<sup>550</sup>
- (c) Name of non-royal individual
- (d) *ḥwi-b3w* (?)<sup>551</sup>  
*ḥwi-b3wy*<sup>552</sup> “Protégé/dependent (Schützling) of the two creative powers (Gestaltfähigen)”  
*b3w-ḥw* “The power of the protector”<sup>553</sup>

## Administrative and Priestly Titles

AA. *ḥm-b3w-p* 

- (a) Early Dynastic Period, Dyn. 1 – Qaa<sup>554</sup>

<sup>542</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 19.

<sup>543</sup> PM III: 120-121

<sup>544</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1253/full/>

<sup>545</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 80 no. 27.

<sup>546</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 59.

<sup>547</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 20.

<sup>548</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=4>

<sup>549</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=8>

<sup>550</sup> <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=8>

<sup>551</sup> Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen. Band I*, 266 no. 15.

<sup>552</sup> According to Wolf-Brinkmann, the lower quality of the obelisks in comparison to the stela suggest that the rendering of *ḥwi-b3w* instead of *ḥwi-b3wy* was a mistake on the part of the craftsmen who created the obelisks - *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 22.


<sup>553</sup> <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/agea/noms/?encod=G30&os=8>



(b) Stela of *mr-k3*, Mastaba *mr-k3* (S3505), Saqqara<sup>555</sup>

(c) Title of *mr-k3*

(d) *ḥm-b3w-p* “Servant of the Souls of Pe”<sup>556</sup>

BB. *ḥm-b3w-nḥn* 


(a) Early Dynastic Period, Dyn. 2 - Ninetjer<sup>557</sup>

(b) Inscribed diorite bowl fragment, subterranean galleries under the Step Pyramid in Saqqara<sup>558</sup>

(c) Title of non-royal individual, inscription also includes the name *k3-n(j)-nb.f*

(d) *ḥm-b3w-nḥn* “Servant of the Souls of Nekhen”<sup>559</sup>

*ḥm-b3w-nḥn* “Servant of the Souls of Hierakonpolis”<sup>560</sup>

CC. *ꜥd-mr b3w-ḥrw-dw3w* 

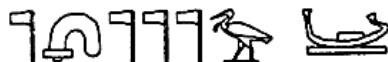
(a) Early Dynastic Period, Dyn. 2 -Khasekhemwy<sup>561</sup>

(b) Cylinder seal impression from Tomb 5 at Umm el-Qaab, Abydos<sup>562</sup>

(c) Title of non-royal individual

(d) *ꜥd-mr ḥr-sb3-b3w* “Administrator of the royal domain *ḥr-sb3-b3w*”<sup>563</sup>

*ꜥd-mr ḥr-sb3-b3w* “Administrator of Horus, Star of the *b3*-souls”<sup>564</sup>

DD. *ḥtm(w)/ḥtm-ntr b3-ntrw* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 4<sup>565</sup>

<sup>554</sup> Regulski, *A palaeographic study of early writing*, 448 (o4:3\_2817\_S); Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 303 & 526.

<sup>555</sup> W.B. Emery, *Great tombs of the First Dynasty I* (Cairo: Government Press, 1949), fig. 39.

<sup>556</sup> Jones, *index*, 501 no. 1876.

<sup>557</sup> Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 352 (2817) & 526.

<sup>558</sup> C.M Firth & J. E. Quibell, *The step pyramid vol 2* (Le Caire: Imprimerie de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie orientale, 1935), Taf. 91.3.

<sup>559</sup> Jones, *index*, 501 no. 1877.

<sup>560</sup> Kaplony, *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, 458 & 655.

<sup>561</sup> J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte: ethnographie préhistorique et tombeau royal de Négadah* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897), 243.

<sup>562</sup> de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines*, 243; Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 361.

<sup>563</sup> Jones, *index*, 358 no. 1330.

<sup>564</sup> E. Endesfelder, “Königliches Boden-Eigentum in der ägyptischen Früh-Zeit”, in *Grund und Boden in Altägypten (rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse): Akten des internationalen Symposions, Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990*, ed. S. Allam (Tübingen: [published by editor], 1994), 266 no. 13.

(b) Inscription on the Chapel entrance of the Mast. of *mr-ib k3p(w)-nswt* (G2100-1), Cemetery G2100, Giza<sup>566</sup>

(c) Title of *mr-ib k3p(w)-nswt*

(d) *htm(w)-ntr b3-ntrw* “God’s sealer of (the ship) *Manifestation of the Gods*”<sup>567</sup>

*b3-ntrw* “Incarnation (Verkörperung) of the gods (is Khufu)”<sup>568</sup>

EE. *wꜥb hꜥi-b3-s3hw-rꜥ* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Sahure<sup>569</sup>

(b) False door of *tp-m-ꜥnh* (CG 1564), mast. of *tp-m-ꜥnh* (D.11), Saqqara<sup>570</sup>

(c) Title of *tp-m-ꜥnh*

(d) *hꜥj-b3-s3hw-rꜥ* “The incarnation (Verkörperung) of Sahure appears”<sup>571</sup>

*wꜥb hꜥi-b3-s3hw-rꜥ* “*wꜥb* priest of (the pyramid) *The-Ba-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor*”<sup>572</sup>

*wꜥb hꜥi-b3-s3hw-rꜥ* “Pure priest of the pyramid *Sahure appears as a Ba*”<sup>573</sup>

FF. *htm(w)/htmty-ntr n wn-hr-b3w* 

(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Userkaf-Neferikare<sup>574</sup>

(b) False door of *snb* (JE 51297), Mast. of *snb*, Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>575</sup>

(c) Title of *snb*

(d) *wn-hr-b3w* “It reveals the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) (of the king/god X)”<sup>576</sup>

GG. [*imy-r3*] *hm(w)-ntr nw b3-nfr-ir-k3-rꜥ*

<sup>565</sup> Based on the dating of *mr-ib k3p(w)-nswt*’s Mast. at Giza – P. de Manuelian, *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery G2100: Part I: Major Mastabas G2100-G2220* (Boston, Museum of Fine Art, 2009), 72.

<sup>566</sup> de Manuelian, *Mastabas of Nucleus Cemetery*, 74.

<sup>567</sup> P. Kaplony, *Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966), 63 & 236.

<sup>568</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 25.

<sup>569</sup> M. Nuzzolo & P. Zanfagna, ‘Patterns of Tomb Placment in the Memphite Necropolis. Fifth Dynasty Saqqara in Context’, in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, eds. M. Barta, F. Coppens & J. Krejčí (Prague, Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2017), 263.

<sup>570</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup> 483.

<sup>571</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 11.

<sup>572</sup> Jones, *index*, 376 no. 1397.

<sup>573</sup> A. Roccati, *La littérature historique sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1982), 73.

<sup>574</sup> Based on the dating of Seneb’s tomb in A, Woods, ‘A Date for the Tomb of Seneb at Giza: Revisited’, in *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honor of Naguib Kanawati Volume II*, eds. A. Woods, A. McFarlane & S. Binder (Cairo: Supreme Council of Antiquities, 2010), 313.

<sup>575</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/1979/full/>

<sup>576</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes 'bA'*, 25.



(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Niuserre<sup>577</sup>

(b) Tomb inscription from the Mastaba of *ty* (D.22), north west of the Step Pyramid complex, Saqqara<sup>578</sup>

(c) Title of *ty*

[*imy-r3*] *hm(w)-ntr nw b3-nfr-ir-k3-r* “Overseer of the *hm-ntr* priests *May Neferirkare be ba*”<sup>579</sup>

*b3-nfr-ir-k3-r* “Neferirkare is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig)”<sup>580</sup>

#### HH. *imy-ht hm(w)-ntr ntry-b3w-nfr.f-r*



(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 - Menkauhor<sup>581</sup>

(b) False door of *nh-m-r*, Mast. of *nh-m-r* (D.40), Saqqara<sup>582</sup>

(c) Title of *nh-m-r*

(d) *ntry-b3w-nfr.f-r* “Divine is the creative power (Gestaltfähigkeit) of Neferefre”<sup>583</sup>

*ntry-b3w-nfr.f-r* “Divine is the power of Neferefre”<sup>584</sup>

#### II. *wb (n) b3-k3k3i*



(a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Djedkare Isesi<sup>585</sup>

(b) Inscription on sarcophagus lid of *f3f* (good name *idw*), Mast. of *f3f* and *hnt*, Abusir<sup>586</sup>

(c) Title of *f3f* (good name *idw*)

(d) *wb (n) b3-k3k3i* “*wb*-priest (of the pyramid) *Kakai* is the Soul”<sup>587</sup>

<sup>577</sup> Nuzzolo & Zanfagna, ‘Patterns of Tomb Placment’, 264.

<sup>578</sup> H. Wild, *Le Tombeau De Ti. La Chapelle* (Cairo: l’Institut Français d’Archéologie orientale, 1966), pl. CL 156.

<sup>579</sup> H. Goedicke, “Two mining records from the Wadi Hammamat”, *Revue d’égyptologie* 41 (1990): 72 no. 35.

<sup>580</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes ‘ba’*, 11.

<sup>581</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: 455

<sup>582</sup> Mariette, *Les mastabas de l’Ancien Empire*, 282-2.

<sup>583</sup> Wolf-Brinkmann, *Versuch einer Deutung des Begriffes ‘ba’*, 11.

<sup>584</sup> W. Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Leiden; Köln: E. J. Brill, 1968), 66.

<sup>585</sup> M. Verner & V. G. Callender, *Abusir VI: Djedkare’s family cemetery*. Excavations of the Czech Institute of Egyptology (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, 2002), 68.

<sup>586</sup> Verner & Callender, *Abusir VI*, 68.

*b3-k3k3j* “Kakai is capable of changing form (Gestaltfähig), embodies himself” (Wolf-Brinkmann, 1968: 11)

JJ. *hm-ntr shmt ishꜥt b3w.s m swt.s nbwt*



- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5-6
- (b) False door of *3ht-htp*, Mast. of *3ht-htp*, Saqqara<sup>588</sup>
- (c) Title of *3ht-htp*
- (d) *hm-ntr shmt ishꜥt b3w.s m swt.s nbwt* “*hm-ntr* priest of Sekhmet who manifests her powers in all her (cult-) places”<sup>589</sup>

Place names

KK. *s3hw-rꜥ-hnt(w)-b3w*



- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5- Djedkare Isesi<sup>590</sup>
- (b) Inscription on North Wall of the tomb of *sšm-nfr* III (G5170), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>591</sup>
- (c) Name of Mortuary domain of *Sahure*<sup>592</sup>
- (d) *s3hw-rꜥ hnt(w) b3w* “Preeminent in Power is *s3hw-rꜥ*”<sup>593</sup>  
*s3hw-rꜥ hnt(w) b3w* “Sahure is preeminent of Bas”<sup>594</sup>

LL. *(N)-wr-b3w*



- (a) Old Kingdom, Dyn. 5 – Djedkare Isesi<sup>595</sup>
- (b) Inscription on North Wall of the tomb of *sšm-nfr* III (G5170), Western Cemetery, Giza<sup>596</sup>
- (c) Name of Mortuary domain of unidentifiable king<sup>597</sup>

<sup>587</sup> Verner & Callender, *Abusir VI*, 68.

<sup>588</sup> PM III<sup>2</sup>: 638

<sup>589</sup> Jones, *index*, 577 no. 2123.

<sup>590</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/538/full/>

<sup>591</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/538/full/>; H, Junker, *Giza III: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Giza. Die Maßstabas der vorgeschrittenen V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof* (Wien; Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1938), 209.

<sup>592</sup> Junker, *Giza III*, 209; Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 61.

<sup>593</sup> Junker, *Giza III*, 209; Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 209.

<sup>594</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 61.

<sup>595</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/538/full/>

<sup>596</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/538/full/>

(d) (N)-wr-b3w “Great of Power is N”<sup>598</sup>

(N)-wr-b3w “Great of Bas is King N”<sup>599</sup>

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<sup>597</sup> <http://giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/538/full/>

<sup>598</sup> Junker, *Gîza III*, 209; Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 209.

<sup>599</sup> Žabkar, *A study of the Ba concept*, 61.

Figures



Figure 1 – The Saddlebill Stork © Lip Kee Yap (2014)



Figure 2 - The head and beak of the Saddlebill stork © Steve Garvie (2010)

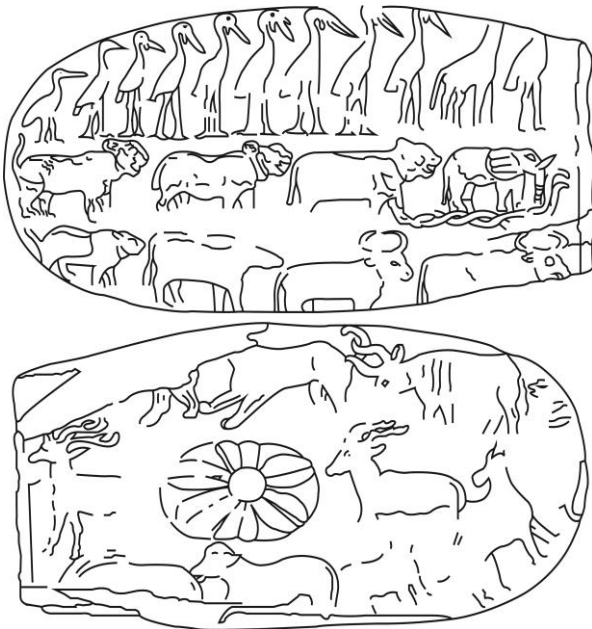


Figure 3 – The Carnarvon knife handle; after Benédité, “The Carnarvon Ivory”, pl. 1-2.

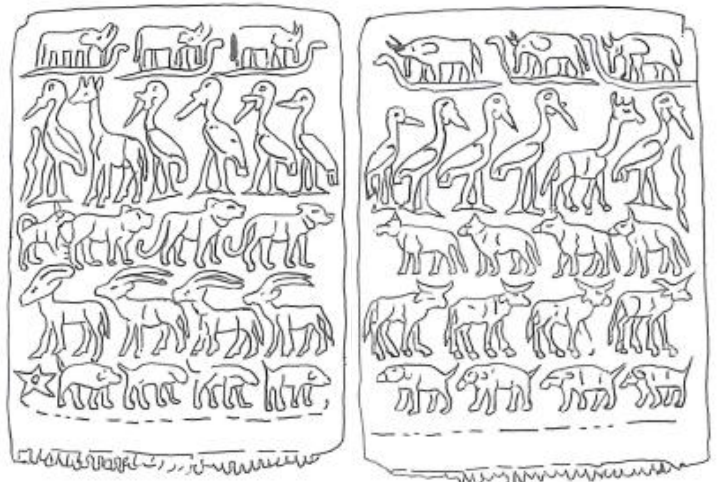


Figure 4 – The Davis comb handle; after Raffaele: <http://xoomer.virgilio.it/francescora/f/hesyra/new/Daviscomb-MMA30.8.224.jpg>

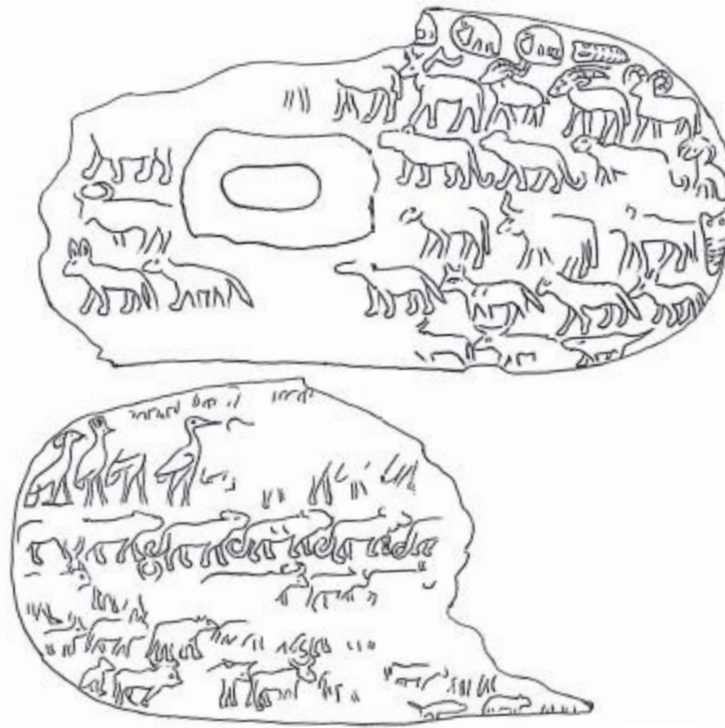


Figure 5 – The Pitt-Rivers knife handle; after Petrie and Quibell, *Naqada and Ballas*, 51 pl. 77

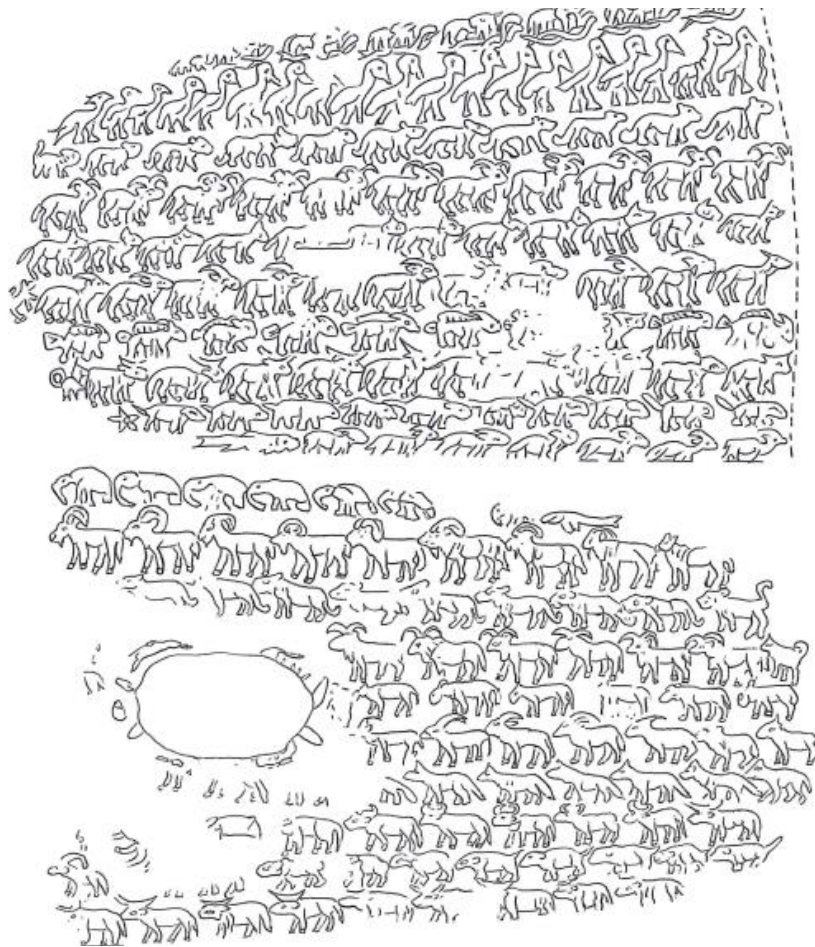


Figure 6 – The Abu Zeidan knife handle; Churcher, “Zoological study”: fig. 29 & 34.

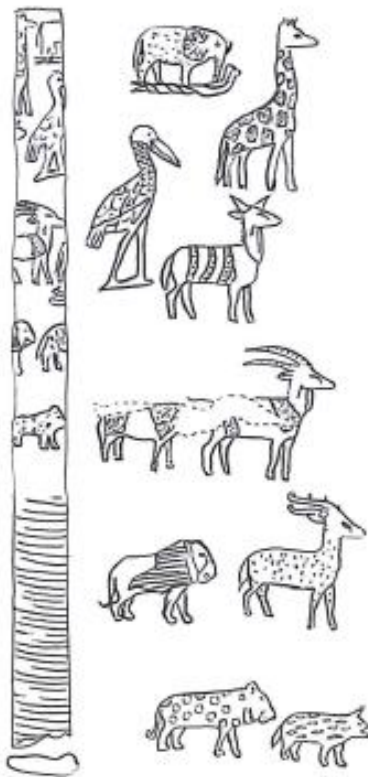


Figure 7 – The Sayala mace handle; after Firth, *The archaeological survey of Nubia*, fig. 8.

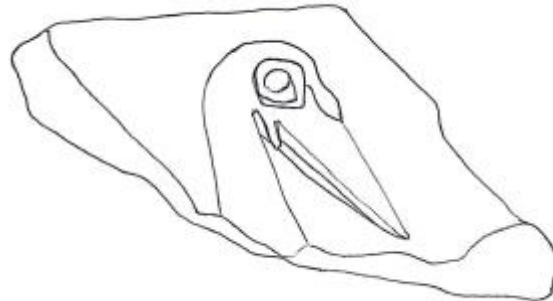


Figure 8 - Fragment of the Hierakonpolis porphyry bowl with Saddlebill stork hieroglyph; after Janák, 'A Question of Size': 150.



Figure 9 - Sign G30 from the tomb of Khabawsokar, Saqqara, Dyn. 3; after Janák, 'A Question of Size': 150

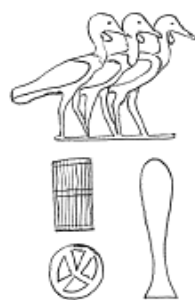


Figure 10 - Rendering of *b3w* on the slab stela of Wepemnofret © Bianca van Sittert (2019)

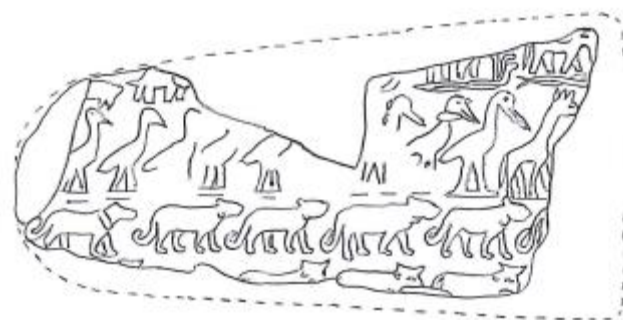


Figure 11 - The Abydos K1262b knife handle; after Dreyer, 'Ein neues Fragment': 17.



Object rows	Abu Zeidan handle (Flat side)	Camaron handle (Flat side)	Pitt Rivers handle (Flat side)	Abydos frag. 1262b	Davis comb	Davis comb	Seydis mace handle
Row 4	Barbary sheep ( <i>Ammotragus lervia</i> )	Aurochs or wild bull ( <i>Bos primigenius</i> ) + leopard (?)	Aurochs or wild bull ( <i>Bos primigenius</i> )	Short horned cattle ( <i>Bos Taurus</i> )	Scimitar-horned Oryx ( <i>Oryx dammah</i> )	Long-horned cattle ( <i>Bos Taurus</i> )	Short horned cattle ( <i>Bos Taurus</i> )
Row 5	Nubian ass ( <i>Equus asinus africanus</i> )		Jackal ( <i>Canis aureus lupaster</i> )		Honey Badger/Ratel ( <i>Mellivora capensis</i> ) + rosette	Honey Badger/Ratel ( <i>Mellivora capensis</i> )	Scimitar-horned Oryx ( <i>Oryx dammah</i> ) + bovid
Row 6	Scimitar-horned Oryx ( <i>Oryx dammah</i> ) + domestic dog ( <i>Canis familiaris</i> )		Short & long-horned cattle ( <i>Bos Taurus</i> ) + bird (?)				Fallow deer ( <i>Dama mesopotamica</i> ) + Lion ( <i>Felis leo</i> )
Row 7	North African porcupine ( <i>Hystrix cristata</i> ) or Ilex-tilepis hybrid		Honey Badger/Ratel ( <i>Mellivora capensis</i> ) + Catfish				Striped Hyena ( <i>Hyena Hyena</i> ) (?) + leopard ( <i>Felis pardus</i> )
Row 8	Short & long-horned cattle ( <i>Bos Taurus</i> ) + domestic dog ( <i>Canis familiaris</i> )						
Row 9	Honey Badger/Ratel ( <i>Mellivora capensis</i> ) + rosette						
Row 10	Scimitar horned Oryx ( <i>Oryx dammah</i> ) + Catfish						

Table 1 – Animal Species in the Lower Rows of the ‘animal-rows’ motif; after Churcher, ‘Zoological study’ & Huyge, ‘A Double Powerful device’.

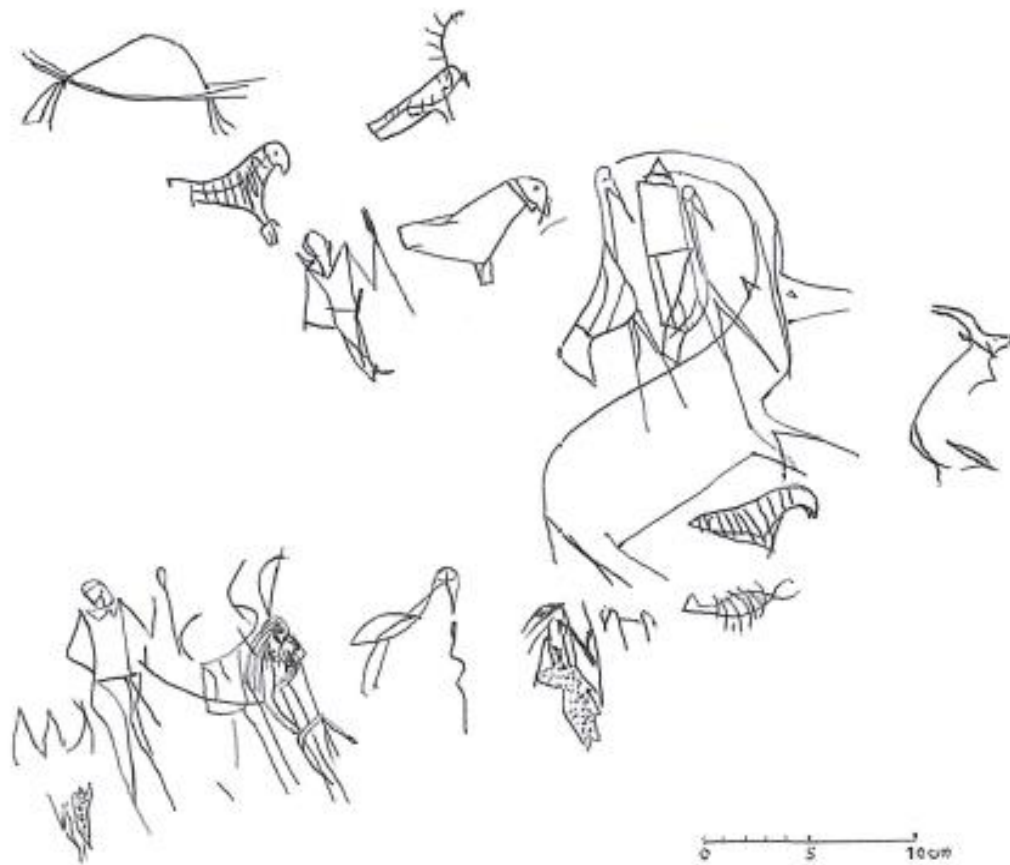


Figure 12 - The Gebel Djehuty Inscription no. 1; after Darnell, Friedman, and Hendrickx, *Theban Desert Road Survey*, 10.

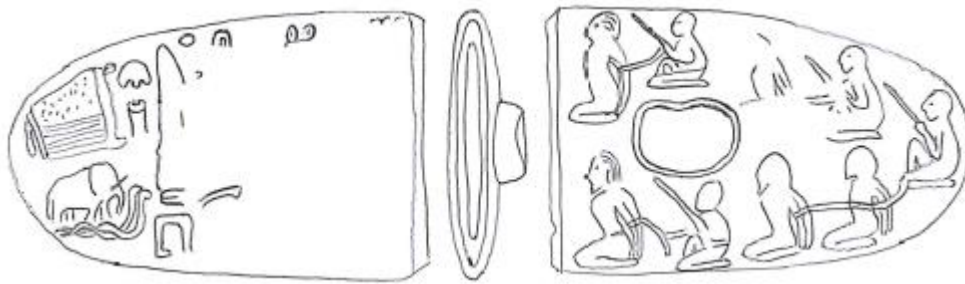


Figure 13 - The Ashmolean Museum knife handle, E4976; after Whitehouse, 'A decorated knife handle': 429.

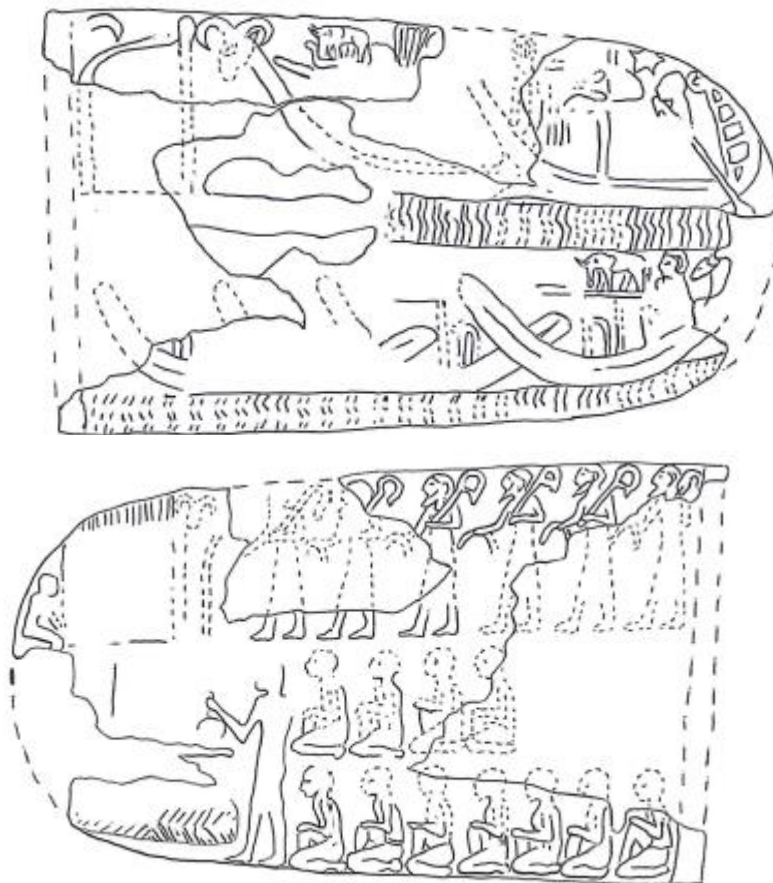


Figure 14 - The Metropolitan Museum knife handle, MMA 26.241; after J. Josephson & G. Dreyer, 'Naqada IId: The Birth of an Empire. Kingship, Writing, and Organized Religion', *JARCE* 51 (2015): 168.

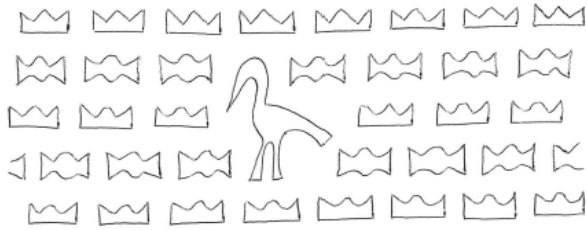


Figure 15 - The Tomb U-210 Cylinder Seal Impression; after Hartung, 'Prädynastische Siegelabrollungen': fig. 6.8.

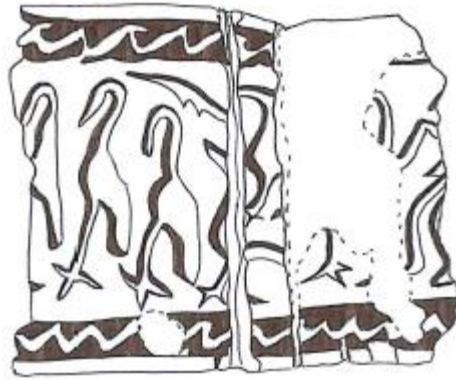


Figure 16 – The Qustul Ivory Cylinder Seal; after Williams, *The A-Group Royal Cemetery*, 156 fig. 57



Figure 17 – The Qustul Incense Burner; after Williams, *The A-Group Royal Cemetery*, 140 fig. 54.

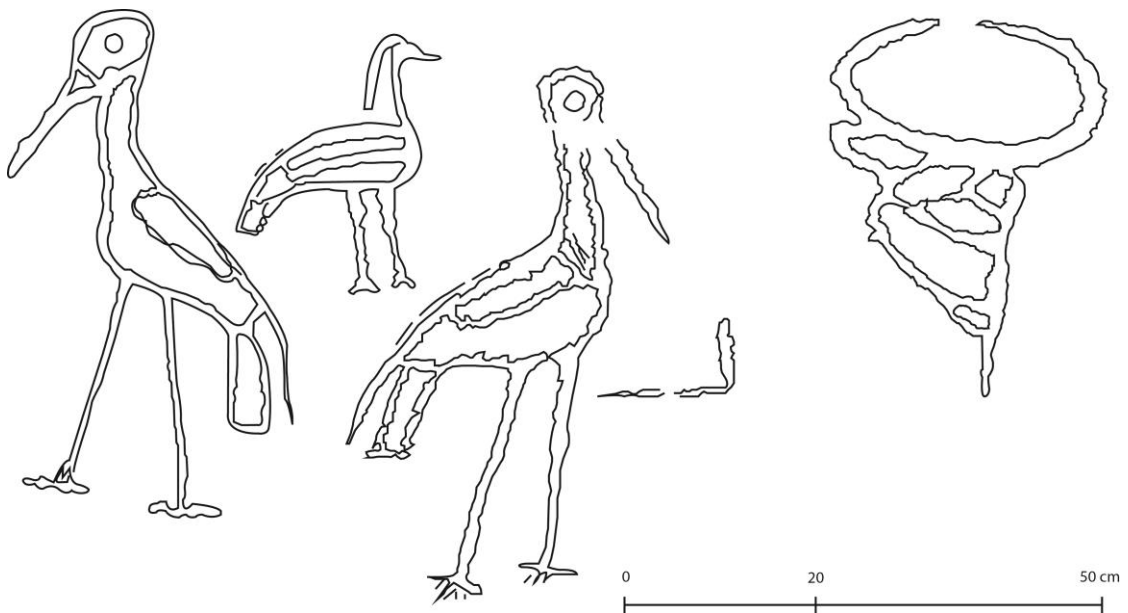


Figure 18 – The el-Khawy rock inscription; after Darnell, 'The Early Hieroglyphic Inscription': 53 fig. 7.

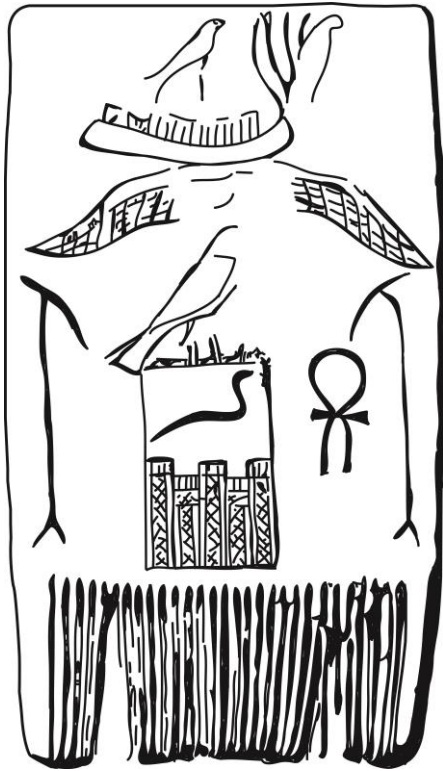


Figure 19 - Ivory Comb of King Djet  
JdE 47176 © Bianca van Sittert  
(2019)



Figure 20 - A White Cross- lined plate with depictions of lassoed and harpooned crocodiles and hippopotamuses MMA 35.10; after Hendrickx, 'Hunting and social complexity', 239 fig. 1.



Figure 21 - Fragmentary D-ware in the shape of a hippopotamus painted with images of hunters carrying harpoons; after Hendrickx, 'Hunting and social complexity', 250 fig. 9.



Figure 22 - A Cylinder Seal Impression from the Tomb of king Den; after Müller, 'Nilpferdjagd und Geköpfte Feinde – zu zwei Ikonen des Feindvernichtungsrituals, in *Zeichen aus dem Sand – Streiflichter aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, ed. By E.M. Engel, V. Müller, & U. Hartung (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz, 2008), 477–493.



Figure 23 - Relief depicting Niuserre during the Ritual Run of his Heb-Sed; after Von Bissing & Kees, *Kleine Festdarstellungen*, pl. 13.

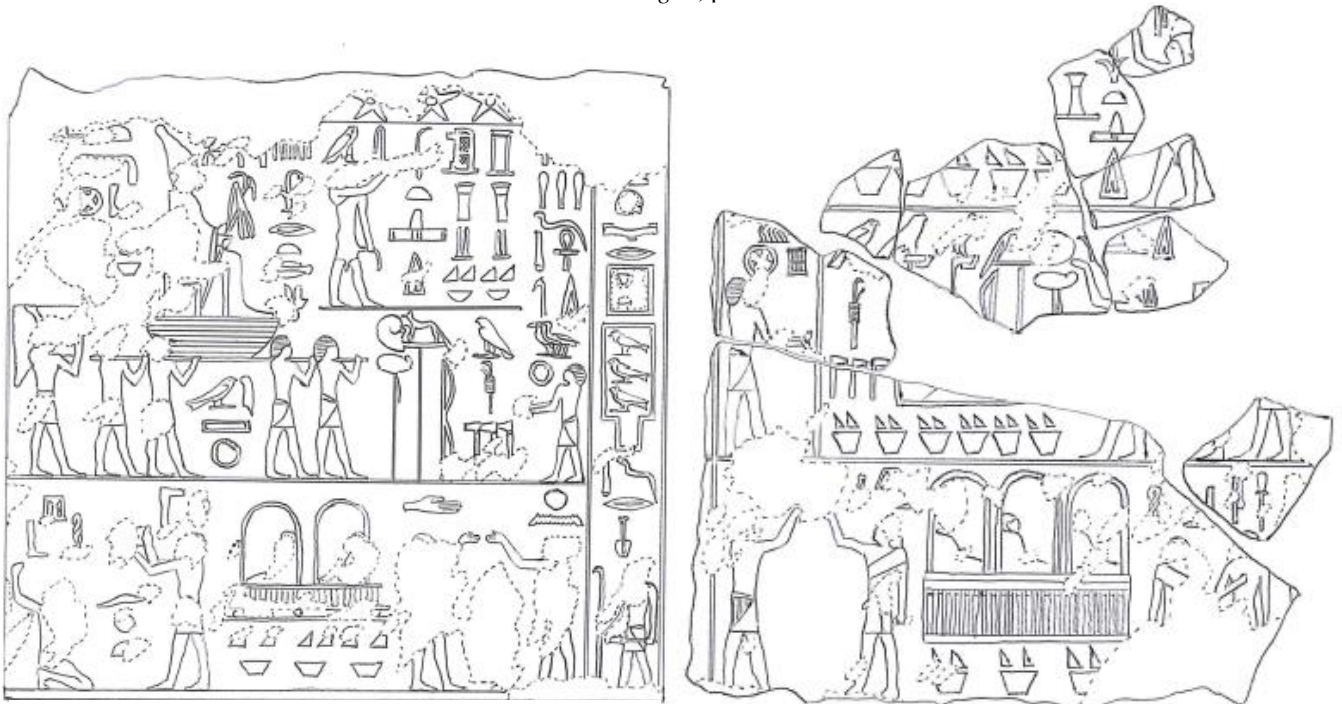


Figure 24 - Relief depicting the Upper Egyptian Palanquin procession and offering ritual of Niuserre's Heb-Sed Festival; after von Bissing & Kees, *Kleine Festdarstellungen*, pl. 18 no. 44d.

Figure 25 - Relief depicting the Lower Egyptian Palanquin procession and offering ritual of Niuserre's Heb-Sed Festival; after von Bissing & Kees, *Kleine Festdarstellungen*, pl. 21 no. 50a.

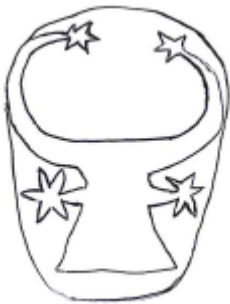


Figure 26 – The Gerzeh Palette; after Petrie & Wainwright, *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* (London: British School of Archaeology, 1912), 22.

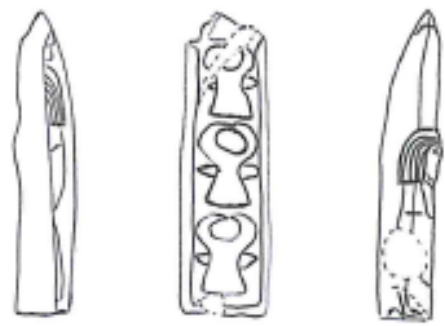


Figure 27 - A dagger handle from Abydos with depictions of *b3t*; after Hartung, "Ein Fragment eines verzierten Dolchgriffes", 181 Abb. 6.

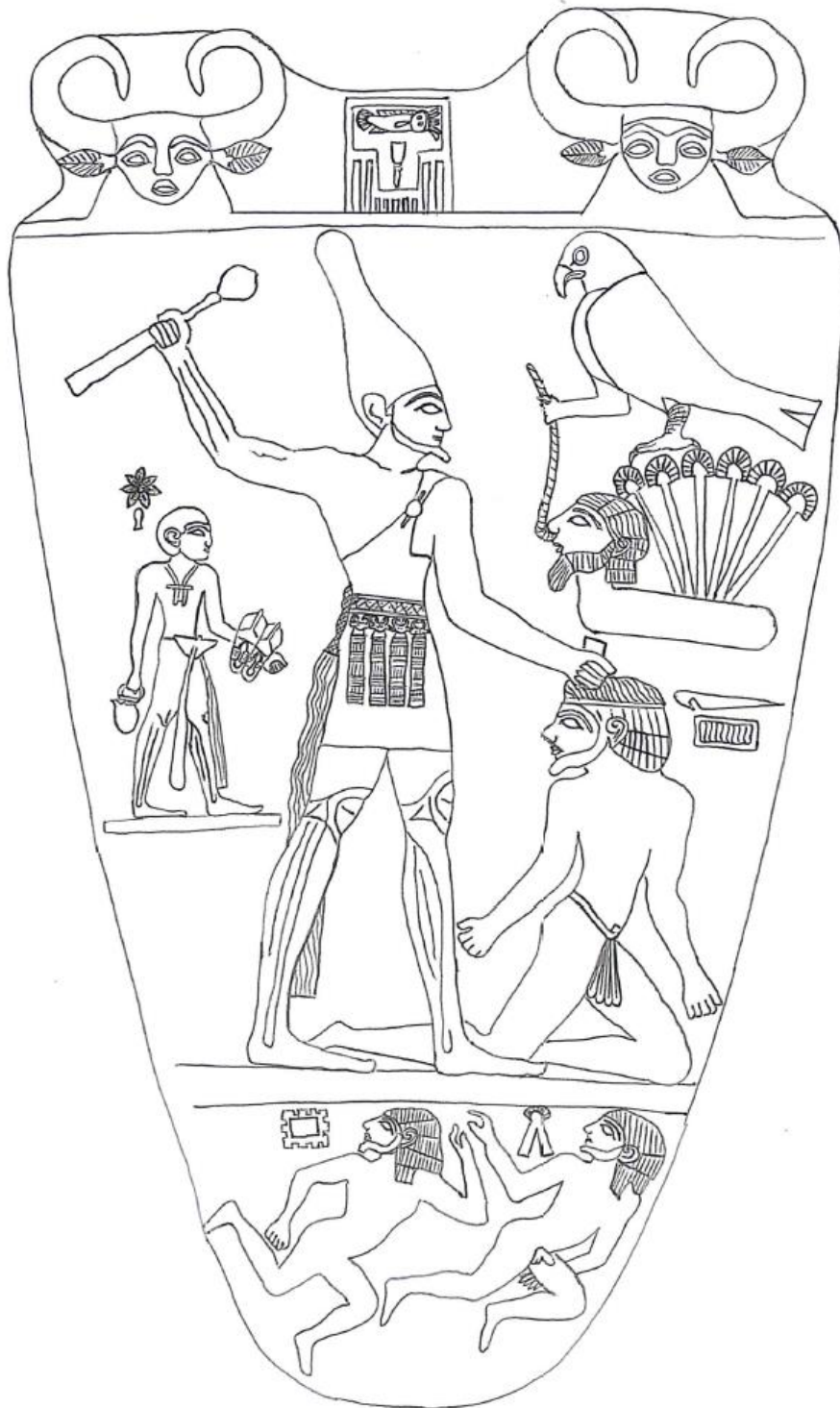


Figure 28 - Verso of the Narmer Palette; after D. O'Connor, 'The Narmer Palette: A New Interpretation', in *Before the Pyramids, The Origins of Egyptian Civilization* ed. By E. Teeter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 43 fig. 2.2.

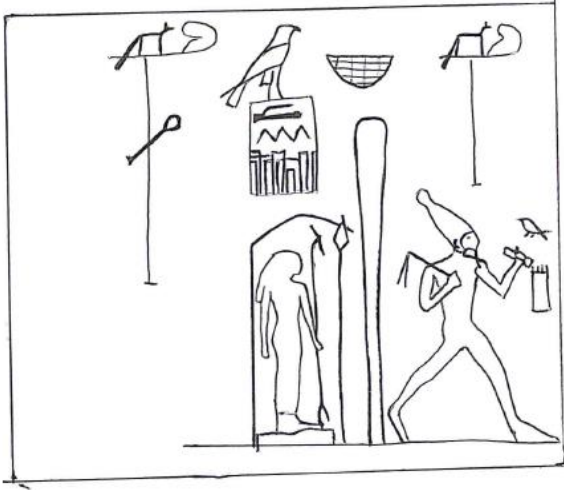


Figure 29 - An Ivory Label from the Tomb of King Den depicting his Ritual Run in the *Heb-Sed* festival; after Dreyer, 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen 13/14/15', pl. 18g.

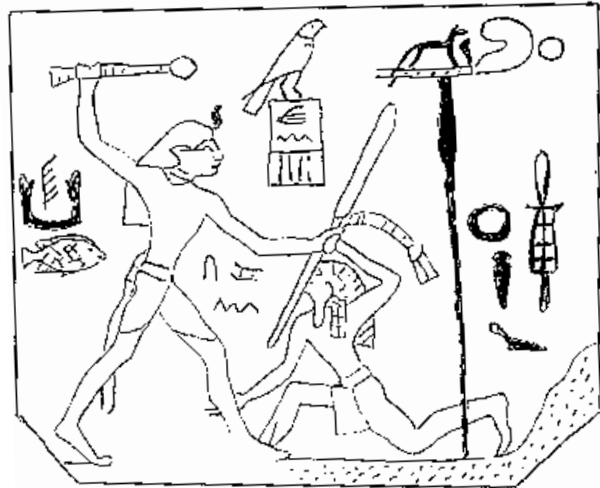


Figure 30 - A Label from the Tomb of King Den depicting a Smiting Scene; after Dreyer et al., 'Umm el-Qaab: Nachuntersuchungen 9/10', pl. 13b.

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